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THE ISMAILI SOCIETY SERIES A No. 7

THE  
**TRUTH-WORSHIPPERS**  
of  
**Kurdistan.**

AHL-I HAQ' TEXTS

edited in the original Persian and analysed by

**W. Ivanow.**

(formerly Assistant Keeper, the Asiatic Museum of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.)

**A-7**

1953

Published for the Ismaili Society by successors of  
E. J. BULL, Oude Rijn, 33a, Leiden HOLLAND.

Edited for the "Isma'ili Society" by W. Ivanow. Printed by V. N. Hoolis  
at the Isma'ili Printing Press, Durgri Street, Bombay 9.  
Copies printed: 500.

## NOTICE

The aim of the "Isma'ili Society", founded in Bombay on the 16th February 1946, is the promotion of independent and critical study of all matters connected with Isma'ilism, that is to say, of all branches of the Isma'ili movement in Islam, their literature, history, philosophy, and so forth. The Society entirely excludes from its programme any religious or political propaganda or controversy, and does not intend to vindicate the viewpoint of any particular school in Isma'ilism. The "Isma'ili Society" propose to publish monographs on subjects connected with such studies, critical editions of the original texts of early Isma'ili works, their translations, and also collections of shorter papers and notes. Works by various authors are accepted for publication on their merits, i. e. the value of their contribution to the knowledge of Isma'ilism. It is a consistent policy of the "Isma'ili Society" to encourage free exchange of opinions and ideas so long as they are based on serious study of the subject. It may be noted that the fact of publication of any work by the "Isma'ili Society" does not by itself imply their concurrence with, or endorsement of, the views and ideas advanced therein.

## PREFACE.

The sectarian texts, edited and analysed in this volume, considerably expand our still very meagre knowledge of the beliefs and tradition of the *Ahl-i Haqq* community in Persia. Their value, however, may be even greater in connection with a wider issue, namely, the study of the mediæval mentality of the vast rural and tribal masses in Persia, and to an extent elsewhere. Such mentality not infrequently generated powerful movements, usually with a religious colouring, but we can find very little authentic information about them from the incidental and hostile references scattered throughout general histories. As the communities concerned were almost entirely illiterate, they were unable to leave to posterity any genuine written material.

For this reason every scrap of information directly coming from this illiterate milieu well deserves the most careful study and analysis. These texts, being the product of the literary efforts of some unknown sectarians who never imagined that their work would reach the world outside the narrow limits of their community, are a genuine voice from that strange world. Moreover, certain of their features, discussed in the Introduction, make them particularly valuable, especially in connection with the study of Ismailism.

The latter, as is already known, developed a brilliant literature which, as now becomes increasingly clear, exercised a far reaching influence upon the evolution of Islamic thought. But the ambitious goal, which the movement had set for itself, emphasised the importance of winning over the vast masses. This created a complex situation in which Fatimid philosophy and the theology of the leaders could not ignore certain vital and basic aspects of the mentality of those they led, and had to take them into consideration, thus introducing various concessions and modifications in their learned system.

No one will dispute that conceptions such as the "mentality of the masses", or "popular forms of religion" are vague ideas which may be understood differently by different people. There always have been different schools, those who regarded folklore

elements as relics of great antiquity, and those who treated them as of comparatively recent development, a product of the "sinking" of the "cultural wealth" into the illiterate strata. Such attitude denies the creative activities of the masses, reviving the purely theological mediaeval view of popular religion as of ignorant perversion of orthodoxy, often tainted by obnoxious heretical errors.

We may roughly define these terms of which we will have to make use in this work. Most probably in the overwhelming majority of cases new ideas are either invented or picked up from learned sources by especially gifted individuals in various communities, and they put such ideas into circulation. But this surely does not mean that every such new idea is received with enthusiasm, and remains in general use. The strong conservatism and general distrust of the intentions of the rulers and their theologians are usually opposed to "innovations". New ideas have therefore to pass a rigid selective test, a kind of filter, of conformity with habitual outlook, economic and social usefulness, etc., which will pass a very small proportion of what is presented and is discussed. But even those ideas which pass such test are bound to undergo a still further lengthy process of adjustment, synthesis, rolling and polishing in the course of their oral transmission and diffusion. Religious outlook which comes out of all this may be called *popular religion*.

It is the whole complex work of such selective, adjusting and synthesizing factors which may be regarded as constituting the "creative activities" of the masses. Such activities are spontaneous and have a levelling tendency.

*Popular religion* differs profoundly from the theologically developed "orthodoxies". The latter are unthinkable without their literary records. In the course of their development they expound their literature, going more and more into detail. *Popular religion*, developed orally, by word of mouth, naturally tends to develop all possible conciseness and simplicity. Its ideal is the most simple all-comprising, ultimate, absolute, highest, and so forth, Divine Truth, *Haqq* or *Haqiqat*, which may serve as a kind of a magic

key to all knowledge, obviating all religious, legal systems, learning, and which can only be revealed by God Himself.

Being unaccustomed to thinking in the terms of abstract ideas, so much cultivated by learned theology, the illiterate bearers of such revealed "Divine Truth" are compelled to use in their speculations concrete forms of myths, parables, or miracle stories. These, being in constant use, are not easily fossilized or fetishized, for a long time preserving their living freshness of symbolism which is directly felt and understood, adequately conveying the necessary ideas.

The supernatural elements which abound in our texts should not be taken as something fixed or fossilized. The ordinary member of the sect is surely no savage who would believe that a man can turn into an animal, or that beasts could talk as humans. But in his religious love he ungrudgingly accepts this as a *part of fact*, way of expression of religious ideas. If questioned, he takes refuge under a rationalistic attitude, explaining this as a relic of that fantastically remote antiquity which the sectarians claim for their beliefs.

Such are a few of the basic features of popular religion which stand out prominently in these texts. They are of particular importance in the study of Ismailism, — as also of Shi'ism in general,—in which their real nature, and the part they play, have been considerably obscured by the influence of learned theology and its literature.

It is impossible at this stage to think of offering a reliable account of the Ahl-i Haqq beliefs in the form of an organic and balanced religious system, or philosophy,—if such a term can be used in this case. Our knowledge of their tradition, rites and customs remains incomplete and fragmentary. In addition, it is still necessary to collect information about the social and economic background of life in various branches of the Ahl-i Haqq community. All that can be offered at present therefore is an analysis of the elements of their beliefs, and a preliminary systematization of ideas revealed in the texts edited in this volume.



Once more I have to offer my profound gratitude to the Ismaili Society for their valuable encouragement and kindness in accepting this work for publication in their series. This is particularly gratifying at such trying times when many things which used to be quite possible have now become out of the question. This book has taken a long time to prepare and print, owing to adverse circumstances. But however imperfect it may be, it is a matter of great satisfaction that here for the first time a substantial amount of *Ahl-i Haqq* texts has been made accessible in the original to the intending students who may take them as a starting point in their further researches.

I have also to acknowledge my gratitude to Prof. V. F. Minorsky who has kindly translated poems in Adharhayani Turkish, published here in a "supplement".

Bombay, August, 1953.

W. Ivanow.

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## I. INTRODUCTION.

### 1. The Sect.

The *Ahi-i Haqq*, or *Ahi-i Haqiqat*,—the term themselves by the Persian Nizari Isma'ili,<sup>1</sup> i.e. "th (the religion of the Absolute Divine) Truth",—form Shi'ite sect. They are popularly known as "Ali-Ishis of 'Ali (ibn Abi Talib)."<sup>2</sup> Not only Sunnite but also theologians treat them as *ghalib*, i.e. "hyperbolists" (i tion to 'Ali) and regard them as heretics. For this keeps its beliefs secret, using in its contacts with th that well-tested disguise of claiming to be *darwishes*.

This concealment of their connection with th statistical assessment impossible, and even their app number remains unknown. They do not present populati anywhere, usually being met with in its pockets scattered in many parts of Persia, as also in Russia (Caucasus), but their principal habitat is Per and Adharbayjan.

In Persia they are closely connected with popu in the form of the *Jalili* (also called *Haydari* or *KI*) whose members in their higher degrees are initiates. The question may arise whether the *Haydari*'s origin a "monk" wing within the sect, similar to the *darwish* shism. Apparently there is also some connector *Qizilbash*, *Alevi*s and other similar sects amongs

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Taj-e-munawwar* (Im. Soc. Ser. A no. 4, 1950), text pp. 54, 89, etc. *Fardiyat-i Jowamard* (Skl. no. 6, 1953), text, pp. 101, 102. *Bayan-i Shikhat-i Isma'ili* (Im. Soc. S. B no. 3, 1949), The Druzes call themselves *ah-i-Haqq*.

<sup>2</sup> For saving space the abbreviation AH is here even here used for "Ahi-i Haqq".

<sup>3</sup> Note that the *Khakkar* *darwishes* of Persia have no- ing whatsoever to do with any modern political organisation of the same name in India.

sects of Asia Minor and the Ahl-i Haqq, and, ultimately, with the Bektaşis, although this matter still remains obscure owing to the paucity of reliable information available. As is known, the AH very often talk about themselves as "Nuşayris", with their patron saint Nuşayr. It seems, however, that they have nothing whatever to do with Syrian Nuşayris, but appear, on the contrary, to come remarkably close to the Druzes in many of their ideas. There are many points of contact with the Yazidis,—perhaps more than seen at the first glance.

As far as is possible to see (although this needs verification), the sect has no central religious organisation, no recognised head or directing organ, no headquarters, no priesthood in the usual sense of the word, no systematic dogma, no sacred books, and not even any religious books worthy of the name which are universally recognised, as may be natural in an almost entirely illiterate community.<sup>1</sup> Their isolated pockets are almost completely independent in their religious life. The only institute which to some extent plays the part of a skeleton of this otherwise shapeless body is that of the *Şifâ* Sayyids, on whom depends the division of the community into what foreigners call "sub-sects," as will be explained presently.

Despite all this the community seems to possess a strong spirit of unity and consciousness of their identity, and are very sensitive of intrusion by any outsiders into their religious life. Probably under the influence of adverse historical circumstances and their apprehension of the hostility of the bigoted Ithna-ashari mullas, they have developed this mania for concealment to ridiculous limits, and, as they themselves are almost invariably quite vague about the principles of their religion, they often "improvise" answers for the inquisitive outsiders. Therefore very many matters relating to the AH are still badly in need of much elucidation and verification.

<sup>1</sup> Works such as the texts edited in this volume seem to be a modern development. There is apparently much prejudice against committing the beliefs and tradition of the AH to writing. Therefore such works are apparently rarely copied, and have very limited circulation. The real extent of such literature remains entirely unknown.

This explains why so little is actually known. Not only the unhelpful attitude of its members, but complexity of its origins defied the efforts of various travellers to form a reliable idea about it. A detailed bibliography (mentioned below),<sup>2</sup> has been published by V. Minority in his work (in the course of the whole of the X<sup>th</sup> D<sup>th</sup>),<sup>3</sup> a fairly accurate account, based on oral (probably from the section relating to the subject in "Asie" by A. de Gobineau (d. 1882) published in

The first written genuine materials emanating from the sectarians themselves were found in 1902 by V. F. published a Russian translation of these in 1911 (in the title "Materials for the Study of the Persian S<sup>ect</sup> of the Truth" or Ahl-i-Haqq." Later on, in 1920 published in French, *Revue du Monde Musulman* 18-97 and XLV, pp. 205-302) his "Notes sur le Haqq." Still later, in the Supplement to the "E Islam," pp. 9-13, he has given a note, "Ahl-i Haqq" the available information. As in the course of the his works will often be referred to, I will introduce the three publications mentioned above as and Minil. It is to be regretted that Minority's still remains unedited.

An analysis of the sectarian writings, in view of the scarcity of reliable information and great complexity of their beliefs, is an extremely difficult task. And a grave mistake to wait and do nothing. In the astro changes which are at present taking place all over the East, destroying with catastrophic speed relics of antiquity

<sup>2</sup> Very few of the works referred to by him are libraries of Bombay. In this study, therefore, I could not. Besides, the information contained in them, mostly based on questioning, has very little substance in it.

<sup>3</sup> V. Minority's "Notes sur le Sect des Ahle-Haqq" printed separately with continuous pagination. As such references are available, I am giving here, for the convenience of students, the pages in the original magazine.

of the sect. So the great travellers to the East, up to about 1859, (mentioned below) c. the only reliable information, is, 1859.

from the sectarians, who were discovered under the name of "the People of the Truth" in 1921, he also, in the Supplement to the "E Islam," pp. 9-13, he has given a note, "Ahl-i Haqq" the available information. As in the course of the his works will often be referred to, I will introduce the three publications mentioned above as and Minil. It is to be regretted that Minority's still remains unedited.

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also been references to

Middle Ages, oriental students must act promptly, thereby saving for the treasury of human knowledge what is still available. In a study such as this errors are inevitable, but they may be corrected later by other students attracted by the subject, whereas fear to commit an error and therefore the desire to postpone the matter, may result in complete loss. The position may be easily created similar to that in the case of the study of Sufism, on which we still know next to nothing for certain, although much has been written during the last hundred and fifty years.

## 2. Subdivision of the *Ahl-i Haqq* Community.

The AH community is subdivided into a number of branches. Foreign students usually treat these as sub-sects. This is, however, erroneous, and is based on a misunderstanding. The sub-sect usually is a group in religious community which differs from the main body or other similar groups on certain important points of dogma or practice. What the AH themselves understand as *fiqqa*, is something quite different.

In fact, certain petty differences in beliefs, tradition, and (probably) practice really do exist in the AH community as a whole. But in the absence of an organisation and of codification of their beliefs they do not form the basis of subdivisions which depend on the connection with the different *şejâh*, the families of the Sayyids officiating at the initiation ceremony.

As we shall see presently, the symbolism in the rites of initiation, which corresponds with the *ahd*, oath of allegiance, in traditional Islamism, and is often renewed, is the "handing over of one's head," *sar supardan*, or *sar dâdan*. In such a ceremony the novice apparently expresses his readiness to sacrifice his life for Lord and religion, offering his head symbolized by a nutmeg. The acceptance of the offer, with its implications, is symbolized by the Sayyid, as a representative of the Incarnation, cutting the nutmeg into pieces which are distributed among the persons who attend the ceremony. The sectarians attach an extraordinary importance to this custom. Those who can officiate at the "breaking the nut"

(*şarâ şikâriân*) must be Sayyids from a few special lines, believe to be directly descended from the incarnate Deity.

The idea which underlies this is undoubtedly the same as in Islamism, one of coming in contact, in the relation of *pir* and *murîd* with the Deity not only spiritually, but also physically, in the same way as that developed in the theory of Imamât. The best and most artistic expression of such a belief that I know is found in one of the poems of Nâsîr-i Khusraw, who narrates how he longed to "touch the same hand," i.e. the hand of the Prophet, which Salmân, Abû Dharr, Muqâd, and other early Shî'ite saints touched in the ceremony of swearing allegiance to the Apostle of God under a tree at Hudaibiyya, in the 6-th year A.H. (627-8). This his desire became fulfilled when he went to Egypt and saw the Fatimî Imam al-Mustashîr bi'l-lâh.<sup>1</sup>

The term *şejâh* (pronounced *ojâh*) is a Turkish word, "heart-fire-lace". The Yazîdîs apply it to their shrines and places of residence of their highest religious leaders. This use of the word is probably based on the ancient association of the hearth with the *âyân* which a stranger could take sitting near it in the tent of an important nomad, thus being entitled to protection in his capacity as guest.

The *şejâh* Sayyid is obviously a representative of the Incarnate Deity because only the Sayyids believed to be descendants of Sultân Şahâk are eligible for the office. An aetiological myth explaining this, is narrated on pp. 77-80 of the *Tekst*. In Mirowsky's text it is split into several anecdotes and mixed up with the story of Qabaltas pilgrims.

Sultân Şahâk is implored by his "angels" to marry and leave a successor. He agrees, and immediately after the marriage miraculously produces seven sons who in their likeness are undistinguishable from himself. However, further on some of them are called "the eldest." These were the *Hafîz Tavâna* (probably Pers. *tavâna*, mighty, powerful), the progenitors of the *şejâh* Sayyids. When questioned (T. 79) as to the attitude which the

<sup>1</sup> See W. Ivanow, "Nâsîr-i Khusraw and Islamism" (*Im. Soc. Ser. B.*, no. 5, 1948), p. 20.

faithful should adopt to them, Sultân Şahâk says that they, his sons, should be regarded as Sayyids and Sayyid-*ahdaz* only so long as they strictly adhere to the *shari'* of *Bansudân*, i.e. the religion of the sect. Otherwise they should be neither Sayyids nor Barzanjî *shaykh*.<sup>2</sup>

This myth has obviously been created to circumvent the idea of the physical descent of the Sayyids from the Manifestation, although they themselves are expected to keep reliable genealogies which, perhaps, if collected and studied, may help us to reconstruct the history of the sect.

The story is interrupted (T 80) by a lacuna. The Manifestation asks, probably also in reply to the requests that he should appoint a successor: "What remains there on the spot after your tent has been struck when you move to another place?" They replied that nothing remained except for three stones which were used for the hearth, *âjâq*. Sultân Şahâk then replied: "Those stones we have also taken and have put upon the head of Muhammad," the latter name obviously referring to one of his sons. This passage undoubtedly aims at explaining the term *âjâq*, which in practice has also been given a wider sense of the group or sub-division of the sect which the Westerners accept for sub-sects, and which it would be more correct to treat as affiliations. *Sayyidan az âjâq-i Mirî*, for instance, means to be affiliated through the participation of one of the Sayyids belonging to the Mirî line, or family.<sup>3</sup> The Sayyids of one and the same line may be scattered

<sup>2</sup> According to the AH tradition, as narrated in our texts, Sultân Şahâk was born into the family of a poor peasant, Shaykh 'alî, who had to accompany the pilgrims as a servant. It is not apparent whether his title "Wayîl" is used as a honorific epithet, or he really belonged to a family of the Pamanjî *shaykhs*. It is noteworthy that names compounded with the root *Barr-* so often re-appear either as clan or geographical designations: Kûh-i Barzan, Barzanî, Barzanjî, and even Barzîkîni (as in the case of the early Kurdish dynasty of the Hasanîyîdî, Hasan-Gha b. Hussein al-Barmîkîni, 4369979).

<sup>3</sup> An interesting document, a certificate of the initiation into the Mirî *âjâq*, is given on p. 187 of the Texts. The Sayyid was the same Sayyid Ibrâhîm as mentioned further on. His profession of muleteer was considered by the local AH as a great advantage, because he, in his peregrinations, could make himself available to small AH communities which had no local Sayyid to officiate at their ceremonies.

in many places, affliating people of different tribes and thus become united around one hearth, spiritually forming a family, while often having no contact with the different branches of it. It is impossible to find out whether this implies unity or not, which should by no means be taken for granted.

What has been said here explains the reason why the *Âtishbegis* are usually looked down upon by the members of the *âjâq*: the *Âtishbegi* Sayyids descend from *Âtish Beg* brothers, and not from one of the miraculous sons of Sultân Şahâk.

Not all original lines of the Sayyids are continued, some having become extinct or extremely rare. The *âjâqs* are: Mirî, Khâmûshî, Shâh- (Ibrâhîmî and Bâbâ-) addition to *Âtishbegi*. When an inquisitive foreigner asks about the sub-divisions (*fiqar*) of the AH, the sectarians, or people unaccustomed to the "book" questions and formal mention one of those "reverted" numbers, such as seven balancing the number of the well-known names with ones. Therefore all the lists given by different travellers are quite wildly.

Sayyids are neither priests nor teachers. Some of them may be educated, even may incidentally attain an outstanding position, as the late Sayyid Rustam of Galwâra (near Karim) did. But by far the great majority of them are in private life ordinary people. I used to know in Nishapur in 1918 a certain Sayyid of the Mirî line, who was an illiterate and poor old man, but by profession, who, however, was held in high respect for his rare personal qualities.

### 3. Habitat, History, Chronology.

As has been mentioned above, the members of the AH sect live mostly in isolated pockets of varying size. V. Mirî collected a certain amount of information (see MinII 54-7) on the subject, but this is still far from being exhaustive and not reliable owing to the mania for secrecy on the part of the

Surely, no real history can exist in the case of a group of illiterate nomad and semi-nomad tribes which rarely

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contact with any centres of cultural life of the country. The rise of the new sect was apparently the result of a lengthy process. It was never accompanied by any extraordinary events which could attract the attention of the outside world. It is quite paradoxical that history had so little to say about this territory which, in fact, lies almost astride one of the most important arteries of Asia, the road from Mesopotamia to the East, the Khaniqin-Kerkanshab-Hamadán route. But we have its replica on the other side of the Iranian plateau, on the road from Kabul to the Indian plains. I mean Kafiristan which till recently remained an inaccessible and mysterious country, completely isolated from the rest of the world.

In their religious ideas concerning their history the AH begin with the "time before time *wás* created", and have an interesting cosmogony. After the creation, they directly pass to the period of the Prophet and 'Alī. Shi'ite legends which cluster around it do not appear to be original. Just as in the system of the Druses, 'Alī himself remains a shadowy figure. Then come five of his successive incarnations (*dās*, Turkish term, or *īstān*, Pers., both meaning dress): Shāh Khūshin, Sulṭān Šahāk, Ğirmid, Muḥammad Bek and Ātish Bek. Despite many inquiries I still have no definite and decisive information as to whether all AH communities accept this version, or have their own, differing from this. In any case, even many amongst the Ātish-begīs admit that this list is incomplete, and that there were also other *dās*s: two names are usually mentioned, one being a predecessor of Shāh Khūshin, a certain Sayyid Shūdhū'd-dīn, and the other an Incarnation between the former and Sulṭān Šahāk.—Bā'ūs, Bāhūs, sometimes changed into Nāhūs. At the same time some well-informed sectarians admit that "incarnations of the Deity were many, and we cannot remember the names of all of them." In our texts (T 73) this idea is expressed in the form of a prophecy: "They (i.e. Incarnations) have come and will be coming until the day when the Mahdī manifests himself". This may permit us with some degree of probability to accept the *Seven* Incarnations as a merely token or symbolical number.

It is noteworthy that "Šahāk" can only be an Armenian form

of the Islamic name Ishāq, Isaac. Similarly, Bāhū Armenian name Bobos, Paul. Benyamīn is also a form of Benjamin, and we may add Nūy, i.e. Nūb, Nū same origin. Thus we apparently have to do with comparatively fresh traces of an Armenian, perhaps generally Paulician phase in the evolution of the sect which the AH sect sprang<sup>1</sup>. We shall return to the chapter dealing with the Christian element in the tradition.

The latter sometimes offers allusions to what datable events permitting us to reconstruct the history. All these, however, are illusory. Such is the case in both versions, Minorosky's and in our texts, of the legend by Shāh Khūshin during his visit to Bāhā Tāh Minorosky (Min III, 13) comes to the conclusion that Khūshin belonged to the XIth c. A.D., because a popular saint of uncertain date (about whom Minorosky, is associated by some mediaeval authors with a period. But the biography of Bāhā Tāhīr is quite cannot serve as a basis for any historical identification. There is a great but entirely obscure saint in darvāsh Tāhīr, who may have been replaced by a more recent Bāhā Tāhīr. The verses which the story contains in language to be quite modern. The whole resembles a type of popular stories in mixed verse and prose.

<sup>1</sup> It seems doubtful whether the form Šahāk developed from Ishāq without Armenian influence. The fact, however, is that the "Sulṭān" was Ishāq. On some occasions it is written Šahāk (T 119) and Šahāq (T 163). There is apparently a Šah-k or s-h-k from which this name could have been derived any name such as Bā'ūs, Bāhūs, the "next best" means Essener (Christian holiday) and which is hardly suitable for a man's name. It may be noted that the Nestorian Christians of Assyria, as they are called) were apparently always in the Kurds. As E. R. Soane mentions ("Grammar of the Kurmanji Language", L. 1913, p. V), the Bālākī tribe in the district among the Kurds and Zaza, speak a language which is a mixture of Kurdish, Armenian and Arabic.

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ed from Ishāq official name n with its, as not in Arabic ated. Nor is g Bā'ūh which e to be used as u (Ayyozes or contact with inj) or Kurdish Darsim, living lecture of Kur-

('Arif?) and his beloved which is fairly ubiquitous in rural Persia. Although both, ours and Minoraky's texts come from the same locality, Warāmin, there are considerable differences in poetical portions.

In the present text there is yet another quasi-datable story (T 87-92) which is not found in Minoraky's text. In it Shaykh Šafi (i.e. Šafiyū'd-dīn) Ardabīlī (the saintly ancestor of the Safawids, d. 735/1334) is sent by his spiritual guide, Shaykh Zāhid Gūlīnī (d. ca. 700/1301) to Sultān Šahāh for investiture. The events should therefore have belonged to the end of the vi/xiii c., thus leaving a gap between Sultān Šahāh and the next Incarnation, Qirmīzī, of over four centuries, which is surely absurd.

We can only try to reconstruct at least the bare and approximate chronology of the latest Incarnations. A chance to do this is offered by the fact that sectarian tradition is quite positive in associating the period of Atīsh Bek with that of Nādir Shāh (reigned 1148-1160/1736-1747, but was the de facto ruler of Persia prior to that date), cf. MinII, 41-42. In 1948 I found some fragments relating to speeches and miracles of Atīsh Bek associated with definite dates: 1080/1669, 1082/1671, 1083/1672, and finally 1114/1702-3, apparently the date of Atīsh Bek's "disappearance".

Taking those dates as a rough guide, we may take it that Atīsh Bek's period covered the last forty years or so of the x/xvii c. and the beginning of the next. Thus that of his father, Muḥammad Bek, must have covered the decades in the middle of that century, and Qirmīzī's those at the beginning of it. We do not know how long was the "interregnum" between the death of Sultān Šahāh and Qirmīzī, but tradition treats it as a short one, "seven years". Thus most probably the period of Sultān Šahāh occupied the second half of the x/xvi c. This tallies excellently with MinIII, 13, which contains information cited from C. J. Edmonds, concerning Shaykh Mahmūd Barzani (who after the first world war claimed to be the king of Kurdistan) who traced his descent to the brother of Sultān Šahāh in the twelfth generation. Minoraky quotes this with an obvious feeling of incredulity which

seems to me perfectly unjustified. Allowing the usual forty years per generation, we get exactly the second half of the x c. setting of the stories connected with him, and other co-makers this highly acceptable.

The information in this text concerning the descent of Atīsh Bek (T 131) and that collected by Minoraky (41-42), from sources quite independent from those cited tallies perfectly. Atīsh Bek, in a "prophecy", mentions of his descendants up to the date of our manuscript and they are exactly the same as in Minoraky's material: Qulī, Sarīkhūsh, Sultān Mahmūd, Mirzā 'Abbās Bek (41: he was still living in 1831), Mirzā Nīqām, Aqā Sa'īd (he is the last in our list, as he was obviously still living in 1291/1874). MinII, 41-42, adds two more names: 'A'īn Mirzā (or Aqākhshī, d. 1917) and Muḥammad Īrānī who probably died in recent years.

#### 4. The Probable Origin of the Sect.

In the absence of historical information we have nothing but the AH tradition, as available in our texts, from which to form an idea concerning the origin of the sect, against the background of the general history of the period. There are certain elements which are so prominent in all the stories that we can find for treating them as merely incidental. The basic elements in the part played by the darwishes, obviously not pious a Sufis, but popular mendicant vagrants, the qalandars. The Incarnation remembered by the tradition, Shāh Khūshīn, himself (T 4):

*Avāz-e qalandar Mā būshū, ākhīr honā Mā'im  
Bālī, rāh-e qalandarū ba bā, mā-namā'īn*

This means: "I was the first qalandar, and I am the last; I shall not reveal the qalandars' path to any one." The implications of this quotation are not clear, but this is important in our case. The fact is that throughout the text the darwishes and qalandars form the leading group

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head, that is the Incarnation, invariably appears as a darwish pîr surrounded by qalandars.

Shâh Khûshin's story clearly falls into three independent parts, and is most probably the result of a synthesis of three different phases through which the early development of the sect had passed. The first aspect of the saint is that of a hero born by a virgin daughter of a tribal chieftain who miraculously conceived from the sun. The second phase shows him moving at the head of an immense multitude, called (T 45, 47) his troops (*qâshân*), not *murids*. It is his *nahjât-nahjada*, nine-hundred times nine-hundred (810,000), cf. T 115 and also MinI, 50. A strange term is applied to this multitude, *maqâm*, as in the expressions: *maqâm-i Shâh Khûshin hâdîs gardsî*,... *wa nahjât-nahjada maqâm-i yârî griftand*,... This multitude obviously has some religious significance. Possibly they represent saints of some kind and it is owing to this that the *maqâm* re-appears in the apotheoses of all Incarnations.

The third aspect of Shâh Khûshin appears in the stories of his wanderings over Laristan and Kurdistan in which he contests various (obviously local) pîrs who are summarily described as pretenders, *dâ'ud-lâs*. They are reduced to obedience by the display of extraordinary magical powers by the Incarnation. Such expeditions and contests seem to have nothing to do with any disputations over matters of dogma, but are simply acts of proof of Shâh Khûshin's superior authority. We may suspect that popular memory dressed them up in the form of magical contests chiefly because in Persian folklore the qalandar very often appears as a bearer of great magical powers which he uses for by no means philanthropical and religious purposes.

The next Incarnation, Suljân Şabâk, appears as the real founder of the sect, the reformer who revives the forgotten or neglected ancient laws, *dasîr-i sâbiq wa qadîm*. He is also a darwish pîr, but not of the qalandar, wandering, but of a "sedentary" type, the pîr of Shâbâ and Pardiwar, two villages on the Sirwân rivulet. All his associates are darwishes. But whereas under Shâh Khûshin little attention was paid to these, and even the





Map of the portion of the Tigris and Euphrates basins, constructed with the aid of the Army Geographical Institute from the surveys of 1865.

Scale: 1 inch = 10 miles (1:625,000)



The latest map of the "Cradle of the Ahl-i-Haqq Sect"  
 Persian Kurdistan.  
 From the "Farhang-i Jughrafiyya-i Iran", vol. I  
 Slightly enlarged.

names of these incarnate "angels" have not been preserved here receive great importance. What is unique, the reli the sect takes the name from one of the "angels", being *shar'ī Banyāmin*, the covenant of Banyāmin. His co Dāwūd, appears as endowed with almost divine Mythology describes Banyāmin as a re-incarnation of th Jabra'īl (Gabriel), with whom the Creator, before the c entered into the covenant of *fir-u murādī*, i.e., relations as l the teacher and disciple, the position of the latter being o by the Deity. Such paradoxical situation is based on the ic while the Deity as the *murād* can carry out any order of the r guide, the creature cannot carry out all the commands Deity. This is an interesting revival of the ancient specula Philo Judaeus, later on revived by Origen.

What all this in all probability implied is the postil that the darwishes, led by the pīr Banyāmin managed the show, while the Incarnation was merely a puppet in their Moreover, it seems that a serious struggle was going on b the Incarnation and the darwishes. On pp. 84-87 we re significant story (not found in Minorsky's text) of how pīr Banyāmin, a reincarnation of Jabra'īl and Salmān, the sy the ideal devotion and obedience to God, committed the Satanic sin of "thinking too much of his own importance was exiled, but later the dispute was settled.

Apparently the struggle continued throughout the pe of the next Incarnations, with the qalandars losing ground.

<sup>1</sup> In the stories of Shāh Khāshān his usual associate, who is re an "angel", although he is a re-incarnation of Salmān (Fānī) (Y Kakā Rūdā Rūdā means a clock, mantle, therefore it seems to be a rather than a name. His penname was Rūdā (T 36). Various schems of the "angels" during the periods of different Incarnations inclu names as Bābā Buzurg or Kure Faql. The former, probably a pīr c of Luristan, is merely mentioned as a *dar'wa-kār* who expressed sub The same applies to the "son of the lawyer", Kure Faql (i.e. Faqlh) gorge of Rīshāb. Their names were forced into the scheme simply no other contemporaries of note could have been remembered. The the "angels" of different Incarnations given in Minī, 64 and Minīll, pite "improvisations" of some resourceful members of the sect.



have seen, no "angels" were mentioned under Shâh Khūshin. Under Sultân Şahîk they acquire immense importance. They retain it at the beginning of the period of the next Incarnation, Qirmîzî, although "falling into another dress, *dûr*" (T 94). But apparently the Incarnations won, the next one being the ordinary son of Qirmîzî, who was succeeded, in his turn, by his own son. Under Qirmîzî their part becomes rather vague, under Muġammad Bek they are merely referred in a general way as *şâhân-i chahâr sulak*, and under Âtîsh Bek their offices become distributed in a simple family arrangement. But the end of the darvish influence meant the death of the religious legend, the miracle which they had worked. Although in our texts (p. 131) Âtîsh Bek apparently claimed the position of successive Incarnations for his descendants,—"they are we, and we are they"—his descendants were, in fact, not regarded as the equals of their forefather and his predecessors.

This at least is the impression produced by the sectarian tradition with regard to the course of events in the evolution of the community. This cannot be a total fiction, a combination of "wandering motives". Recent studies of Persian Ismailism, however, offer excellent clues to the strange course of the events in the development of the AĦ community. There is a striking similarity between this story and that of the Indian Nizari community, the Khojas, and also, to a lesser extent, of the original Ismaili communities in Persia of about that period to which the final foundation of the AĦ sect belongs. As the subject is new, it will be necessary to mention certain historical facts without which the matter cannot be made clear.

The Mongol invasion of Persia and adjacent countries attracted much attention, but till recent times little interest has been evoked by the material which various historians preserved as regards its effect on the rural population. The best informed and trustworthy historian of the period, Rashîd-ud-din, the author of the great *Jâmî'u't-tawârîkh*<sup>2</sup>, has left us in his book a vivid

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, all that is accessible to me here is the Russian translation of the Section on Hulegids of Persia, "Rashîd-ud-din. Collection of Annals". Transl. by A. C. Arseni. Vol. III. Moscow-Leningrad, 1946.

description of the catastrophic position into which Persia fell under the Mongol "peaceful administration". In the extortions of those contractors to whom official tax collection had been farmed out, no less than some ten thousand government messengers, *šakhs*, some genuine majority fraudulent, roamed all over the country, its population, and bringing the districts and even whole provinces into a state of complete ruin. Unable to bear this, the population fled from the country, and although special parties were often sent to turn the fugitives back, with horrible atrocities being committed, nothing could be done until, under C. 703(1295-1304), new laws were enacted to stop the ill-secure some degree of protection for the peasants.

The physical geography of Persia leaves very little choice to the fugitives of such kind as regards the direction of flight. North the best refuge was offered by the jungles of the Caspian provinces. In the East, the lands along Northern Sind towards India, and in the West there was the tribal territory of the inhabitants combined with their war qualities which did not encourage the invaders to insist on their usual peaceful administration. There is no doubt that the flight, not easily noticeable, continually, over a long period actually took place in these directions. This may be pointed out by the incidental references of contemporary authors, and various considerations. There is, for example, with regard to the Caspian provinces, the work called *Kāmil-i Bahâr*<sup>3</sup> composed about 1276 by Ĥasan b. 'Alî b. Muġammad Taharî, who writes a hundred years ago in Mâzandarân there could not be as many as 500 Shi'ites, now, in 675(1276, it would I find as many anti-'shî'ites (i.e. Sunnites).<sup>4</sup> Such a change can only be ascribed to the infiltration of Shi'ites from the interior, and the spread of their beliefs which they had brought

<sup>3</sup> *Kāmil-i Bahâr*, lith. Bombay, 1323, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> The author apparently forgets about the Zaydite persuasion of Mâzandarân. In any case, it is not only an obvious error the author himself in another place mentions (p. 45) that it there, although conceded their real persuasion.

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data, as shown by the dialects which are spoken in the Caspian belt, indicate a complex mixture of elements derived from several groups of dialects spoken in the interior much further South. Local conditions are such as to suggest that a similar intermixture would hardly have been possible in the normal course of events.

In the East the wave of the refugees was probably not so great, but the distribution of languages again indicates the spread of Persian from the interior. A quite considerable proportion of Persian speaking groups amongst the Hazara in Afghanistan, even amongst the Mongoloid Berberis, and the existence of such pockets as Parachi and Ormuri not so far from Kabul, may, perhaps, be traced to this upheaval.

In the much more thickly populated West, in its Northern section, as is well attested by history, not only did a great mass of Turkoman and other Turkish nomads pass on their way from Central Asia to Asia Minor, but also almost all the Persian population of Adharbayjan fled. In the South, as we know from Rashidu'd-din, the provinces of Yazd and partly that of Isfahan were almost completely depopulated.<sup>5</sup> These people most probably were exactly those who "flooded" the old Guram Kurdish tribe, entirely diluting and transforming their language which now shows so many affinities with the Central group of Persian dialects. Further NW a similar process, probably with the influx of the Adhari speaking Adharbayjānis, has produced the Zaza dialect. Its bearers call themselves Dimla which Prof. Minorsky identified as a derivative from Daylam.<sup>6</sup> It would be difficult, however, to believe that it was merely a small number of the inhabitants of Daylam, in the Elburz range who were the ancestors of the present Zaza. Perhaps it would be better to regard that *Dimla* comes from Daylam in the sense of a subject of the Daylaniite, i.e. of the Buyid state, or states. The term Daylam was under that dynasty, and even much later, used in the sense of "Persian," by nationality, and Shi'ite by religion, as opposed to *Atrak*, Turks, meaning the

<sup>5</sup> Rashidu'd-din, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-270.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., vol. V, art. Kurds.

Sunniite Saljuqs and their supporters.<sup>7</sup> It is quite possible that continuous infiltration of such agricultural labour was without much opposition in the tribal area, and gradually led to a large extent mixing with the Kurdish popula- tion, the mechanism of tribal economy could easily facilitate this.

Still further South, the Bakhtyaris and their communities still have a clear memory of their immigration from Fars to South.<sup>8</sup>

It is tempting to connect the beginnings of the Ahi sect with this cataclysm. On the Eastern side the picture is fairly clear. Simd Ismaili propaganda started during the mid-11th c., as a religion achieved great success, with the province torn by the Fatinid empire until the Ghurid invasion of 571. A Mongol catastrophe sent a wave of Ismaili refugees, partly by darwishes, into the area, and this revived the Ismaili which was living underground. This produced the *re* (*Tariqa's Hagg*) sect which later developed into the Khatuni under the guidance of some outstanding pirs.

As we have seen, the foundation of the Ahi sect is really the work of darwishes who appeared in Khorasan in unprecedented numbers as reflected in the Ahi myth.

<sup>7</sup> The term *Daylam*, plur. *Daylānīn*, with the implications of Shi'ite, as opposed to the Turk, *Atrak*, not by nationality, but by religion, of the pro-Saljuq party, and Sunniite by religion, is much used in Ismaili work, the autobiography of the outstanding Fatinid author, Seyyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad 'Izz-din Hibaru'd-dīn bin Mūsā ash-Shirki (d. 470/1077), his *Sinan al-Mu'ayyad 'Izz-din* (ed. by Hussayn, Cairo, 1949). He played a part in the Buyid political Saljuq invasion. These events belonged to the middle of the 11th c. term *Daylam* undoubtedly could remain in use centuries later in form, owing to the lack of a substitute. Its original implications have been completely forgotten. A striking illustration to this may be the fact that at present, 1953, in India, especially in Bombay side of the country, "Irani" means a Persian Zoroastrian, while Sians are still called "Moghul": masjid Moghul, qasbi Moghul (Shi'ite) mosque, Persian Consul. Such expression as masjid Irani would be meaningless, as "the mosque of the Jews".

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. Wilson, The "Bakhtyaris", *Journal of Central Asian Society*, 1926, July, p. 3.

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by 900 mosques of Shāh Khūshū. The reason for such an invasion is quite clear. The darwish was led by the population, and therefore had to cater for its spiritual demands. Surely, no one would expect the people to patronise a beggar belonging to an openly hostile community. As the Isma'ili, and Shi'ites in general, were more persecuted and oppressed than others, they probably fled earlier and in greater numbers. The darwishes had to follow them in order not to be left stranded. In this way Isma'illism "edited" by the darwishes came to the tribal area, and probably remodelled the local life as much as the Central Persian dialects spoken by the refugees reformed the original Kurdish of the Gurans.

But this is not the whole story. There are vague traces in some mediaeval sources, as e.g., 'Abdu'l-Qābir al-Baghdādī (wrote ca. 429/1038), who in his *al-Farq bayna'l-firāq*<sup>9</sup> alludes to the fact that Isma'illism (or, as he calls it, Qarmatianism) was accepted by the "wild Kurds" and *awāṭ Majās*, i.e. "descendants of the Zoroastrians." The reference is quite vague, as everything referring to the area with which we are here concerned, but it may be connected with another, about 150 years later, which is more definite in nature. This is the information given by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who visited these localities about 1173 A. D. He mentions some of the local inhabitants as being *mashket*, i.e. *mashūd*, "heretic," as the Isma'ili were then called by their enemies. According to him, they were the followers of the "Old Man of the Mountain," i.e. the Imam of Alamūt.<sup>10</sup> Although this is also in the nature of an allusion, it suggests that there *must probably* already were a number of Isma'ili in this area before the Mongol catastrophe. We do not know whether the wave of refugees in which the Isma'ili were *most probably* quite prominent, but I already found and contacted their co-religionists there. In any case, in the slow tempo of life in those localities, the process took quite a long time to develop.

<sup>9</sup> E. L. Muhammad Badr, Cairo, 1910, pp. 266, 285.

<sup>10</sup> A. Asher, "The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela," Berlin, 1840, as quoted in Minli, 83. Despite all efforts to get a copy, and see whether more information may be derived, I had to be content with only what has been quoted there.

Personally, I would visualize the conditions to that which took place in the Isma'ili Persia and in Sind. This is offered as a *tribe*, primitive in their development, we cheap and skilled "distress" agricultural refugees. In the course of time, probably converts were assimilated, together with the which they had brought. The pathos furnished the main "colouring" of the Islamisation, although the conservative Kurds amount of ancient and Christian elements apparently took over the part of the class

Although it would be quite hopeless to find in the AH writings, reflecting reformed community, it would be not quite religion of certain tribes was in fact a part. The figure of Shāh Khūshū and his assertions over the *da'ud-kāra*, i.e. petty local pirs who independent in their activities, may be a by-product of the Isma'ili Imams, who lived in struggle against insubordination.

The critical time, however, came towards the beginning of the x/xvi-th c., when, with the Nizari Imams who by that time settled greater opportunities to start the drive for over the community. The campaign started hereditary and independent local pirs. The stiff opposition on their part. But the darwishes were strong. It is quite possible that Shāh Khūshū family of leading tribal chieftains, enjoyed being an acknowledged representative of the tribe such a combination of a hereditary tribal dignity in one person was not unknown Fatimid government in Southern Arabia.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the short-lived domination of various Southern Arabia in the v-vi/xii cc., who played the role of the headquarters of the Fatimid *da'wa* to the

of the community in Eastern Arabia. Kurdish not averse to using the form of the new language and religion. Isma'illism probably beliefs of the population quite a good deal. The darwishes priests.

find explicitly mentioned in the AH writings, reflecting reformed community, it would be not quite religion of certain tribes was in fact a part. The figure of Shāh Khūshū and his assertions over the *da'ud-kāra*, i.e. petty local pirs who independent in their activities, may be a by-product of the Isma'ili Imams, who lived in struggle against insubordination.

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of Sulayḥīde in the part in the trans-Jaman.

darwishes revolted, just as in Gujrat, with the accession of Imānshāh who founded an independent sect. It is quite probable that the darwish-pirs embodied, setting up one of themselves as their headman, and claiming him to be miraculously born, etc., but retaining in their hands real authority by the constitution of the *shah-i-Banyānān*. Apparently the popularity of Shāh Khūshū is still too great to throw his name out, and he was also turned into a case of fatherless birth, while his predecessors have become forgotten.<sup>12</sup>

It is probably for this reason, as a manifestation of the reaction and protest, that the names of the new head, Ishāq, and some of his associates, the "angels", took the unmistakably *Armenian* form. This was possibly a sign of the revival of the memories, still not entirely lost, of the latest phase before conversion, connected with sectarian Christianity.

A struggle soon arose, however, between the Incarnation and the "angels," just as thousands of miles away, in Gujrat, where it was waged between the descendants of Imānshāh and the *kāhfs*, the representatives of the castes converted to the new religion.<sup>13</sup> The difference only is that in India it was the *kāhfs* who in fact won, while in Kurdistan it was originally the Incarnation who won. But the withdrawal of the co-operation of what in fact formed the priestly class left the family of Ātish Bek standing alone against

<sup>12</sup> While the period of Sulṭān Şahkḥ hardly evokes doubt, that of Shāh Khūshū appears to be entirely enigmatic. It would be perhaps not too fantastic to suggest that in reality his is a "collective name", in the sense that as the most outstanding hero amongst a series of the predecessors of Sulṭān Şahkḥ, he was singled by popular memory as a symbol, or ideal, of that kind of leaders, and was endowed with the features which historically did not belong to him. The simplifying tendencies of popular memory in the illiterate milieu would exactly take a course like this, in natural development.

<sup>13</sup> See W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imānshāh in Gujrat", in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1916, pp. 19-70. It is interesting to note that the *kāhfs*, whose original part was that of the intermediaries between the pirs and the congregation, clearly developed certain features of priesthood and even monasticism: the *kāhf* was expected to be a celibate, devote all his time to the religious work, etc.

the unruly and unorganised community. This compelled their high claims to supernatural character to them and descend to the position of provincial sectarian So

The tone, spirit, and even the problems which I sect in its early evolution, form a striking parallel with the Persian Ismā'īlī community of the same period, i.e. the tenth/sixteenth c. It is easy to see this when *Pandiyūt-i Jawānmardī*, probably compiled in the latter half of the ix/xv c., which is a collection of sermons of the Mustanṣir bī'l-lāh (I) of Anjūdān, in Western Persia. The difference between his admonitions, and the sayings is very slight, especially if we take into account the high level of a Persian of that period, and a Kurdish hillman from the centres of civilization. The two hundred elapsed between the origin of the *Pandiyūt*, and the Ātish Bek, indicate exactly the difference in cultural between the two communities.

The Nizari Imams also lived, in Anjūdān, as darwishes their followers were styled *āshiq*, they had darwish su which they were widely known, and even are still re day: Imam Mustanṣir bī'l-lāh (I) was known as Si while his grandson, also Mustanṣir bī'l-lāh (II), is re Shāh Ghārib. The prototypes of the AH "angels" as the Incarnations, are the *şujjāt*. The chief "angel," P entirely corresponds with the Chief Pir of the Ismā'īlī that period, appointed from amongst the close relat Imam<sup>14</sup>. We shall return to these matters in the se with doctrinal questions.

It would be hopeless to try to ascertain whether direct contact between the AH and Ismā'īlī communities our material is so deplorably meagre. There are, however, indications that such ties may have really existed. are still preserved by the tenacious memory of the dar

<sup>14</sup> The evolution of the *şujjāt* was apparently complex, ended in the practice of appointing a close relative of the chief pir. So it was already during the Anjūdān period. Cf. *Jawānmardī*, text, p. 71.

them to authority, ds.

The AH t the career f, i.e. the adding the few years tari Imām-sia. The Ātish Bek al cultural living far ars which nitions of velogment

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may not rarely find in their secret *risālah* lists of the successive lamāli lumās whom the Khilāfah darwishes treat as the Shaykh of a Sufic-like affiliation, *shūkh*, on the same footing as various well-known Sufic orders. Even at present in Persia the followers of H. H. the Agha Khan are invariably called *suwāid*, implying their being regarded as disciples of a spiritual guide in a Sufic sense.

### 5. Works edited in this volume.

The texts edited in this volume form the contents of an AH *majmū'ah* (pp. 1-175 of the edition), and extracts from several darwish *risālahs*. The principal AH manuscript is a volume of 228 pages (16.5 by 10 cms, the text 14 by 7.9 cms., 11-13 lines to a page), on handmade Persian paper. Practically the whole of it is written in a bold though coarse Persian handwriting of what may be called "epistolary" type, abounding in ligatures which are not always easily legible. Very often it shows great negligence, omitting diacritical dots or cramping the ends of lines. The main work is dated Thursday, the 12th of Shu'abān 1291[24-ix-1874 (the day of the week is correct). The name of the scribe is not mentioned. The volume contains:

1. *Tadhkirah-i A'la*, pp. 1-180 of the ms., or pp. 1-138 of the edition.
2. Additional *bāhs* to the preceding (ms. pp. 180-212), ed. 139-159. From the lower part of p. 207 (ms.) to the end of p. 212 the text is in Turkish (poetry). This portion is here reproduced photographically. Between p. 212 and 213 of the original ms. a blank leaf is left as if there was an intention to add more Turkish poetry.
3. *Qatr-i Haqiqat dar Jāma'i Sulṭān Shāh*, as it is called in the initial lines, pp. 213-228 (ms.) or pp. 161-175 of this edition.
4. The poem of the darwish poet Shaydā, ed. pp. 177-183.
5. *Ithbat-i Chihān-i Nūr*, ed. pp. 183-185, from the *risālah* of Nūr 'Alī Nishāpūrī.

6. *Ithbat-i Chihān-i Nūr*, ed. pp. 185-186, from the *risālah* of darwish Parwān 'Alī Sabzawārī.
7. Extracts from the *risālah* of Gulshir al-Shāmī, ed. pp. 187-196.
8. Extracts from the *risālah* of Nūr 'Alī Nishāpūrī, ed. pp. 196-202.

The general characteristics of these text-spelling. Sometimes even the most ordinary beyond recognition. In the *Tadhkirah* one often especially the frequent omission of the conjunctive particle, or unnecessary addition of the particle - should expect from the man who rarely put for whom writing is a very difficult task. It whether some errors are genuine or intentional quotations give much trouble because poets follow the rules of prosody, *'arāḍ*, while v dialect had to be left untranslated because the unreliable as apparently the copyist himself them.<sup>1</sup> The Turkish poetry in Adharba hopeless proposition even for copying, and been said above, photographically.

The *Tadhkirah-i A'la* is a complete work lacunas, possibly very short ones. The exact date of composition are not found in the

<sup>1</sup> Both in the *Tadhkirah* and Minonky's ms. which *'arāḍ* applications to various government offices by people of little education. They unhesitatingly believe to be more effective if more Arabic words are used, they stupidly replace with Arabic words even the Persian words, such as *nūr* (illumination) or *shāh* (king) worse in these AH texts is that apparently owing to their authors obviously "Persianized" Guranī poet the original words or forms with their Persian equivalents, written as *che*, with *ch*, *ch* with *hid*, etc., the metre of the verse, but often making it unintelligible.

are their atrocious errors are perverted into "Turkisms," tion *no*, and the All this is as common on paper, and not easy to decide at. The poetical poetry does not exist in the Guranī text is often quite did not understand the dialect was a reproduced, as has

except for a few of the author and y, and there is no

language is that in s, are usually written but such applications in them. Therefore and most ordinary : But what is still the same implies questions, replacing *ms* (as *in* with *on*, or only ruining the



oral tradition which could help us.<sup>2</sup> The work is well-planned, with well marked inner rhythm in it. If it had been in verse, it would have been an imposing mystical poem. The author shows signs of considerable talent and literary taste.

The beginning of the book contains much material which has been derived from Ithna-ahari sources, and presents nothing original, except for the passages embodying cosmogonical ideas, which were apparently combined from several independent versions. The stories of the five later Incarnations are built on one and the same plan, beginning with miraculous birth, and ending with the farewell apothosis and the final disappearance.

The text often comes very close to that of Minorsky's manuscript which was also found in Tehran, in 1902. \*It is dated 1259/1843, and also comes from the district of Warhūn, SE of Tehran.<sup>3</sup> Minorsky's manuscript is in the form of a *huyūf* ("album"), and contains fragments of a book of similar content to the *Tadhkira*. It is to be regretted that except for a few "specimen pages" and Turkish poems the text has not as yet been published.

V. Minorsky most uncompromisingly calls his text *Kitāb-i Sarawjān*, and regards it as something like an AH Bible. In the course of my long and searching inquiries I could never find any

<sup>2</sup> An interesting "prophecy" of Sulṭān Ṣahāḥ (T 31) predicts that twelve of Shaikh Ṣalī's descendants will be kings (*padshāhī hawād*), showing that the *Tadhkira* (or one of its sources) could not have been written before the end of the Safawid dynasty in 1148/1736. The actual date of its composition surely could be much later.

<sup>3</sup> The population of various villages in the Warhūn district belonging to the AH sect entirely consists of the descendants of the hostages which early Qajar government used to take from various Turkish nomad tribes to assure their allegiance. These hostages (*andāz*) were settled on land suitable for cultivation, and have become by now so much Persianised that many of them can no longer speak Turkish, although memory of their Turkish origin, and some connection with their original tribes are still preserved. Some class as the *Siyāh-āshūrā* ("Black-shielders"), although AH, keep aloof from their co-religionists, and do not allow them to participate in their jam.

trace of the existence of another copy of the or any trace of the existence of any "Bible" genre: a natural state of affairs among an almost entirety which only knows one book,—and even if the Goran. Inquiries about the existence of the *Kitāb-i Sarawjān*, invariably produce the e: "O, yes, of course, there are many such books, is in a hundred volumes. In the house of Sa late resident of Gahwāra, near Kerind) there a *qaṣṣa be-qaṣṣa*, rows and rows." But it is not out that the people are simply speaking about nothing. There is nothing improbable in tl educated religious leaders, with priestly turn: probably the case with the late Sayyid Rusti collections of religious works. But it seems d these are AH books. The leaders delight in and will be the last people to reveal the truth their supposed "treasures."

Comparing the text of the *Tadhkira* translation of his manuscript it is possible t portions coincide not only in the subject and even in some sentences. Various expressions ; for word, although such coincidence is never c the course of a few consecutive sentences. In tl however, although the subject is more or less t different, introduces new names, new details a narrative. Finally, there are in both manus are missing in the other. Quotations in Gur quite a proportion of them are different in both.

For these reasons it is impossible to sugges are either independent translations from a Tur independent reproduction of one and the same from memory. Or should we postulate circumstance that the author or compiler of access to Minorsky's text, and partly used it. The *Tadhkira* is dated, as we have seen, 1291|1

work, and even

This is quite illiterate comely by name,—ious books and alistic answer: f the *Sarawjān* f Rustan (the so many books, esary to point hat they know fact that some mind (as was really possess dol whether all ing mysterious, give access to

ith Minorsky's ee that certain ce of ideas, but the same, word dete, anyhow in ajority of cases, ame, the text is new tone of the s stories which rarely coincide;

it the two works ; original, or an ginal in Persian, not independent - *Tadhkira* had his composition? , and Minorsky's

text 1259/1843, while both come from one and the same locality. The author of the *Tadhkirah*, surely, had other sources in addition. Therefore he edited and amplified the text of his predecessor, excluding some stories which he for some reason did not trust, or regarded as superfluous.

It is interesting to note that the amount of information supplied by tradition is in inverse proportion to the proximity of time<sup>4</sup>. Tradition has much to say about Shāh Khūshin and Sulṭān Şahāk, less about Qirmizi, still less about Muḥammad Bek, and very little about Atişh Bek. But the additional anecdotes about the latter (T 139-159), and the fragments edited and translated separately, show that such brevity of the *Tadhkirah* and *Minl* does not depend on scarcity of material. Therefore perhaps it would be not untrue to suggest that there really was in existence an old written summary of the sectarian tradition, either in Persian or in Turkish, possibly compiled still in the XVIII c., the real and original "*Kitāb-i Sarraujm*", chiefly devoted to the stories about Shāh Khūshin, Sulṭān Şahāk and Qirmizi, to which brief notes on the last two Incarnations were added later on. It is impossible to find out whether such problematic book could occupy the position of the Bible in an illiterate community, but it seems probable that those few literary men who made attempts to record tradition in writing used it as a source of information, whenever copies of it were accessible to them.

The fragment or collection of fragments, which here appears under the title of *Qarā'i Ḥaqlqat dar Jāma'i Sulṭān Şahāk* (T 161-175) may be a portion of a larger work, a compilation of instructive stories brought together for the purpose of the elucidation

<sup>4</sup> The population of various villages in the Wāzīn district belonging to the AH sect entirely consists of the descendants of the hostages which early Qajar government used to take from various Turkish nomad tribes to assure their allegiance. These hostages (anāsh) were settled on land suitable for cultivation, and have become by now so much Persianised that many of them can no longer speak Turkish, although memory of their Turkish origin, and some connection with their original tribes are still preserved. Some clans as the *Syāh-sapār* ("Black-shielders"), although AH, keep aloof from their co-religionists, and do not allow them to participate in their pen.

For footnote see page 195.

of various points of belief and practice. It shows the collection of the anecdotes about Atişh *Tadhkirah* (T 139-159), and probably was compiled in the middle or end of the XVIIIth c.

A very valuable piece is the copy of replies (T 152-154) to some aspects elucidating certain points of religion. This Shi'ism when the scattered communities of wrote to their Imams for clarification.

The extracts and poems collected from va sometimes supplement what original AH texts known to every one. The Khāksār darwishes, rank of the independent *murshid* (i.e. to receive are bound by custom "to hand over their *he Ḥaqlqat*" (*jar dar Khāndān-i Ḥaqlqat supard* to the *jan*, and coming in contact with the A as much as they can concerning the ceremony various occasions, etc., all that the ordinary knows since his childhood. Those who can we what they hear in their *risālah*, in order not however, remember that the text of such par

Darwish Nūr-'Alī Shāh Amjadū'l-'urafā' 1920. I had long and interesting talks with received from him a complete copy of his *risā* original of that of his world, Parwān-'Alī, w before 1918. Darwish Gulshīr Sabzawā comparatively well-to-do family. He died for his relatives, on their own initiative, willingly *risālah* and *khozīn*<sup>5</sup> (which, as a great rarity

<sup>5</sup> In addition to this we may note that the AH may still preserve a certain amount of their *shu follow*, or pretend to follow, in their policy nor to (tahnā'shahi) supporters. It is probably for this reason this small collection two papers connected with fast

<sup>6</sup> The Khāksār *khazīn* is a kind of the *insūq* less than teacher (*murshid*) degree, and is given at the strictly secret from the uninitiated, and is a kind of

the same tendency Bek added to the d-not earlier than ah Bek's written correspondents, all the dawn of faithful similarly

as darwish *risālah* sit as superfluous, order to attain the *he ḥaqq-i irshād*), in the house of

When admitted they try to learn prayers recited on amber of the sect sometimes record or get. We may, is rarely fixed<sup>6</sup>. Nishāpūr died in im in 1918, and together with the lied several years belonged to a before 1918, and sented to me his presented to the

shes who join the practices which they ck their orthodox a that we find in (T 187, 198)

he darwishes of not vestiture. It is kept emulet of about an

British Museum). The reason for their generosity was the superstitious fear of those calamities which are promised to all uninitiated, and unauthorised persons who keep or peruse secret darwish insignia.

Perhaps it will not be out of place to add here a few words regarding other genuine AH works in existence (as known to me), the number of which,—alas!—still remains insignificant.

A few Turkish poems, the principal being the *Qlefb-nâme* ("The book of the centre", obviously the centre of the universe, the Incarnation), appended to Minorsky's manuscript, were edited and translated by him into Russian (MinI, 67-96). He also studied a Bahai controversial work quoting some Turkish *kelâms* (MinII, 269-302).

A modern work giving an exposition of the AH doctrine, under the title of *Furqân-ı Ahbâb*, by Hâjî Nîmâtullah of Jayhûnâbâd in the district of Dinawar (d. 1920), is in the possession of Prof. Minorsky, who gives a very short note on it in MinIII, 11-12. It appears to be a reformist or sectarian composition, promoting a new set of ideas. When I inquired about the book in 1948 of certain sectarians who were supposed to be well-informed, they knew nothing about it.

A fragment of an AH work of mystical content, with an incomplete version of their cosmogony, was found by me in Shiraz in 1914, and edited and translated in the "Collectanea" vol. I, 1948 (pp. 147-184),—"An Ali-Ilâhî Fragment". It belongs to a quite different tradition from that of the *Âtîsh-begs* of Wârdîn and Tehran. I submitted it to several informed members of the AH sect while on a visit to Persia in 1948, and they acknowledged its authenticity while admitting that they have never seen it before, and objecting to certain isolated expressions found in the text.

This, and the fragments of the stories of *Âtîsh Bek's* miracles,

egg's size, composed of various symbolical pieces, wrapped in paper and sealed at the top and bottom. The *khâta* has to be presented as a testimony or certificate of the rank to the senior *marhûb*. In case of misbehaviour the latter has the authority to take it away, or break it, which is an equivalent of the degradation of the owner, or even deprivation of the right of *ishâd*, spiritual instruction of others.

edited and translated in the Appendix I in this volume exhaust the known AH manuscripts. I may add my possession several old *juwârs* (albums) of poetry believed to be by AH poets. They appear to be of moral questions<sup>1</sup>. These *juwârs* come from the descendants of Karim Khân Zand in Shiraz, and possession in 1928. It is, unfortunately not easy to them because the Gurani orthography is not fixed remains illegible. The descendants of the Guran Karim Khân Zand's regime, and who at present are in Shiraz, have long since forgotten the mother-tongue of their ancestors, and although educated in Persian, they help with this poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Such are the poems by 'Alî's-î-Ilâ, Shâykh Ashrafîyân, Salim Qull, and others. It is a hopeless proposal the exact period to which they belong, but more probably the XIX-th c. may be suggested. There were two *Tâyfîs* (infamans), one is sometimes called *Buzurg*, "the elder", obviously the younger, *Tâyfî* Bâyezîdî, was executed in 1265/1852, see the *Nâshih-î-tawârîkh* (2042752), lib. 1115, p.

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## II. B. I. E. F. S.

## 1. S. authentic.

As mentioned above, the beliefs of the AH have apparently never been subjected to theological systematization and polish. They form a conglomerate rather than a synthetic body, consisting of rough and raw fragments of ideas belonging to different ethnical or cultural milieus, and incidentally cemented together by the patriarchal and primitive tribal conservatism of usage. The practically unsynthesized, "undigested" state of such inclusions presents an opportunity for the student to trace their probable origin, and perhaps form an idea of the chronology of their stratification.

This conglomerate-like structure of beliefs may chiefly depend on the peculiarities of the social system of tribal groups. Here we find smaller units, clans or minor tribes, continuously regrouping in various tribal coalitions with big tribes, combined by economic considerations. A prosperous and powerful tribe attracts to its protection many associates from amongst the impoverished minor tribes, thus rapidly growing into an important tribal group to which it gives its own name. But draught or other cause of loss of cattle may as quickly reduce its importance and cause a reshuffling in its members. It seems, however, that in all such coalitions no special attention is usually paid to the religion, race and language of the participants. As it was formerly in Fars, a large group as that of Bawayr-Ahmad could be composed of all four local nomad peoples,—Lurs, Arabs, Turks and Persians, some being Sunnites and others Shi'ites. In this way, both in friendly contact and also during the interminable tribal feuds, many opportunities are presented for borrowing of ideas, although patriarchal conservatism of the milieu does not permit rapid synthezation of the elements. Under conditions such as these the conglomerate-like structure of beliefs would be exactly as one might expect.

The only reliable written source at our disposal is what little

we have of the AH tradition recorded in the *low work* accessible to us. It consists of aetiological myths and synthetic legends which explain the origin and purpose of various practices, beliefs and injunctions. The symbolism of many is fairly plausible, but there are also many which appear to be mere miracle stories or religious anecdotes. It is possible that these were also originally intended as aetiological myths, but their purpose is either obscure to us, or, perhaps, has been forgotten by the sectarians owing to changes and reforms. It is also important never to forget the great extent of fluidity of the tradition and beliefs, and also the fact that the written work at our disposal probably offer us only a small proportion of the extent of it, not only as it exists at present amongst the local branches of the sect but also as it existed historically.

What strikes the outsider about the tradition of the first of all its remarkably archaic, primitive tone, with its miracles, its infantile logic, the type of reasoning and religious dogma in its instructive stories. Every one who has personal experience of the Kurds would testify to the fact that they are a bright people of many excellent qualities. Their archaic and infantile tone of their beliefs cannot be attributed to their particular backwardness. It must rather depend on illiteracy which can itself be traced to the hopeless unsuitability of the obsolete Arabic script for the rendering of the sounds of the languages.

The sectarians themselves cherish exaggerated ideas about the antiquity of their beliefs, seeing in this an equivalent of authority and power. They are well conscious of the infantility of their stories, but this does not detract from their value in their eyes. It is quite possible that we have to deal here with a psychological factor. Their tradition is conveyed by word of mouth, and they receive it from their parents as a kind of a secret and treasured heritage. It is practically the same case as with the families in which Biblical and Gospel stories are narrated to children "in simple language", i.e., without their deep implications and symbolism. The fresh and avid memory of the child

merely the empty shell of the religious story, the anecdote, and in such form retains it through the rest of his life, as dead weight, which has no educative or character building effect. The stories rarely evoke sufficient curiosity to warrant reconsideration in later life, from an adult standpoint (which in exceptional cases may lead to the "re-discovery" of Christ and Christianity). Such a process is undoubtedly responsible for the apparent archaism of the beliefs which AH tradition preserves. This is why the members of the community sometimes fall an easy prey to that cancrioid development of modern life in the East,—the Christian and Behai missionaries who badly upset the traditional outlook of the people without giving them anything of value instead, and turning them into outcasts from their own community.

Analysing the texts which are available to us now, we can make an attempt to classify such elements as can be identified. It is, however, a hopeless proposition to establish even an approximate chronology of the strata because many diverse influences could have been at work simultaneously, especially in the case of different Islamic persuasions and Christian sectarian movements. For this reason the list of such strata, offered here, does not necessarily represent a chronological sequence:

1. Relics of ancient animism, local or in the form of "wandering motifs" which may sometimes be identified. It is not easy to find out how far they form part of the still living folklore of the Kurdish, Luri and other tribes. It is quite possible that a considerable part belongs in the Kurdish folklore to the borrowings from the Turkish, and even indirectly Central Asian sources.
2. An indisputable strong imprint of a solar religion which may most probably be identified with popular Mazdaism which underlies Mithraism and Zoroastrianism.
3. Strong and comparatively recent traces of Christian beliefs which may perhaps be recognized as akin to the Paulician or Thonraki sectarianism in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia of the mediaeval period.
4. Islamic elements, apparently chiefly Shi'ite in nature.
5. Ismailism in a "darwishized" form which has given the final shape to these beliefs.

6. Late influences of Safawid and Qajar official Ithnashari urbanism, Shi'ite Sufism, and even the latest Persian nationalism, Behai moralism, etc.

As nothing has so far been done in the study of the folklore of the Kurdish, Luri or Adjarbayjani Turkish tribes, it would be useless to analyse the folklore stratum in this complex, and we will proceed to the question of the solar cult.

## 2. Traces of Ancient Solar Religion.

Even at a first glance one may notice an undeniable and strong element of belief connected with a solar religion in the folklore relics preserved by the AH tradition. Different Incarnations exercise as one of their attributes complete authority over the sun and moon, bringing the sun down (cf. T 27, 35, 93, 102-103), reversing its course (T 73, 83), placing the sun and moon under the knees and sitting on them (T 102-103), etc. A variety of animals usually associated with solar cults are mentioned: falcon (T 58, 62, 67, 137), ram, deer, goat, stag, elk, "mountain bull" *gûw-i kâhî*.<sup>1</sup> The colt is mentioned several times as the mount of the youthful Incarnation.

More traces of a "submerged" solar religion may be discerned in some ideas which have been slightly modified by the changed outlook of their bearers. Their nature suggests connection with the Iranian world, as one would expect in the case of a people such as the Kurds. The territory which at present forms their habitat, in a wider sense, was already dominated since 1400 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to say what is the *gûw-i kâhî*, "mountain bull", which so often reappears in the AH tradition, as there is apparently no animal of that kind at present. It is aurochs (*Bos bonasus*), now extinct in Europe except in certain wild game sanctuaries in Russia, in the Caucasus! Many zoological terms used here cannot be faithfully rendered into English without special study. Some of such terms are "descriptive", — as *gûw-i zard*, which does not mean simply "a yellow ram", but is the name of a species of a wild animal. The text in Mîrî often has *gûw-i bir* (it does not occur in our text) which is most probably a case of bad spelling for *kâhîr*, i.e. *lâhîr*, a two year old ram (or may be a cognate wild animal). Our texts (pp. 93 and 103) offer interesting material in a prophecy of Sulţîn Şahîk (which, surely, is bound to come true) it is said that the coming Incarnation will sacrifice

by the Mitanni or Mitanni empire with their religion of Mithra and Varuna (the latter subsequently developing into Ahura Mazda). Several centuries later the area became a part of the Median and Persian state, and the Iranian religion dominated not only Armenia to the North, but also a considerable portion of Asia Minor to the West. Things have considerably changed with the advent of Christianity, but there are ample proofs that in the conservative Kurdish milieu relics of antiquity lingered, or were still well remembered, as late as well into the Islamic period. 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Baghādī, who wrote ca. 429/1038 (*al-Farq bayna'l-firaq*, Cairo, 1910, pp. 266, 285), refers to the *awlad Majūs*, i.e. the descendants of fireworshippers. About the same period Armenian church authors distinguish between the Zoroastrians and the Arevordiq, "the Sun-worshippers...who openly proclaim themselves to be Christians", as Gregory Magistros (d. A. D. 1058) writes (*The Key of Truth*, 148). They were perhaps the same as *Solis Fidei* of Nerses Shnorhali (d. A. D. 1173), who, however, does not give any details (*ibid.*, 157 sqq.).

The term Majūs was always very loosely applied by mediaeval Muslim authors to pre-Islamic Iranian religion, not only to real Zoroastrianism which is out of the question in our case. In fact, certain tenets and religious observances of the AH suggest an incomparably greater affinity with Mithraism,—in so far as it is known at present. We may recall the fact that the latter began to spread Westwards about the time of the appearance of Christianity, the "carriers" being almost exclusively Roman soldiers. They spread it to Italy, Middle Europe, and even as far as Scotland where relics of *mithraea*, Mithraic praying halls, were found. It is to be deplored that no genuine literature of Mithraism has been preserved, and what little is known about its belief, mythology and

a *gawm* which will come down from the hills, and on p. 103, in the fulfilment of that prophecy, it is said that a *gaw-i kihl* and *qich* came down from the hills. Qimriti, as is said here, *kābir qubāy kard*. Which was the *kābir*, — the *gaw-i kihl* or the *qich*? We may note that in these texts, for some reason, *gaw-i kihl* (or as in Mini, *gaw-i bir*) is invariably accompanied by a *qich* (or, as in Mini, *qich-i kard*). The impression thus may be created that *gawm*, *gaw-i kihl*, *gaw-i bir* and *kābir* are one and the same animal, — *sk* or *stg*.

rites can only with difficulty be partially restored from the study of the numerous sculptures and inscriptions which the adepts have left. There is, however, no doubt as to the close connection of Mithraism with what may be called the unreformed, Devayassian, version of the Iranian religion which, judging from the part played by Zervanite beliefs, perhaps served as the basis of Mithraism as it later on contributed to Manichaeism.

Unfortunately, the text of the Avesta as it is at present, has been so badly manipulated and adulterated that a direct reference to it is rather a hopeless proposition, for those who do not make it the special subject of their studies. I therefore had to refer to the latest work in which the material supplied by the Avesta has been systematized, namely E. Herzfeld's "Zoroaster and his World" (Princeton, 1947; hereafter abbreviated in references as "Z"). This work has been attacked on all sides for the alleged unsoundness of the author's theories. But here we need have nothing to do with them, merely using the materials on which it is based.

Unfortunately, there is nothing for summing up the information on Mithraism except for F. Cumont's "The Mysteries of Mithra" (Engl. translation, London 1903), referred to here under "C". It is based on ideas about the ancient Iranian religion which were current still in the last century. The author does not distinguish between the ancient period, Zoroastrianism and (modern Indian) Parsism.

Mithraism, in the form of the religion of Sol Invictus, the Invincible Sun, of Roman soldiers, was probably much contaminated with non-Iranian elements. The text of the Avesta, especially relating to Mithra, as the tenth (Mihir) *Yasht*, has been badly distorted and falsified, so that it is not easy to arrive at reliable conclusions.

Mithra, the highest deity (*haga*) of the ancient Iranian religion, is a god in human form, the ideal and most valiant hero. He is the Lord of light, of the luminous skies, and is the precursor and prototype of the Manichaean Primal Man, Khormusta of the Central Asian Manichaean texts. In mythology he is described as riding out at dawn in his quadrigue, the chariot driven by four

white horses. He is accompanied by his two wives, Rēsh (or Ash, or Ashi) and Pārāndi, his most trusted servant Srosho or Srosh, another servant Rashm, and the driver Damoish Upamano, whose countenance is likened to that of the wild bear. Each of these persons is a personified attribute of the deity in the form of an "extension," or specialisation, of his nature.

Mithra himself is the principle of light, clarity, righteousness, orderliness, protection, the King of the World (*visponam dahyunam dahyapatih*, i.e. "the ruling head of all the provinces"), the lord of "wide pastures." His main function is to protect humanity, to be an intermediary between man and god, to be the "protector of the farmer," "keeper of the village," "one who sustains the pillars of the house" (cf. in our texts the miracles connected with the pillars of the mosque of Kufa). Very few obsolescent details need to be deleted from this picture in order to bring it in full agreement with the Shi'ite ideal of the Imam.

The reformatory activities of both Zoroaster and Xerxes have reduced Mithra's position to that of a minor deity, *yazata*. His principal servant was taken away and associated with Ahuramazda, one of his wives, Rēsh, was made the daughter of the latter, and the other, Pārāndi, one of Ahuramazda's nine wives. It seems, however, that in the AH traditional ideas of the Incarnation and the "angels" accompanying it, we may find a parallel to Mithra with his associates.

The principal associate, Srosho, whose name is derived from the verb meaning "to hear," is traditionally explained as a personification of absolute obedience: *gāsh-ash shinnē bāshod*, as the modern Persian would say, which implies not only obedience as such, but also sincere, warm readiness and willingness to observe any sign of his lord's will. Some German specialists (as Hertel, *opud* Z. 465) had a better idea. They identified Srosh as chief of the police, or head *spn* "Mithra's car." This may serve as a good specimen of learned wisdom. But on whom did Srosho have to *spn* in Mithra's "wide pastures"? Moreover, Mithra's standing epithet is "undecivable" (*adabyamna*), implying (as in the case of the AH incarnations) omniscience. We may recall the fact



Tauroctonus Mithra.

Bas-relief in Hedderheim, Germany.

Note the scene of Mithra's Covenant with the Sun-god at the top.  
(From F. C. Anson, "The Mysteries of Mithra", Eng. transl. London, 1902, p. 117.)



Mithraic Communion.  
Fragment of a bas-relief in Komlos, Bosnia. Note the participant wearing mask.  
Orrin C. Carmost. "The Mysteries of Mithras", Engl. transl., London, 1923, p. 133.



that ears can be used for other purposes than spying or eavesdropping, and the epithet "Mithra's ear" may in religion mean the intermediary who conveys to his lord the prayers of suffering humanity, just as a trusted servant in a patriarchal household is used to convey matters to his master. It is in this sense that Jabra'il-Banyāmīn is in our texts (T 13) called *mukhbīr-i amīn*, "trusted reporter."

The fact that parallelism between Srosho and Jabra'il-Salmān-Banyāmīn is not entirely fortuitous may be seen from an interesting coincidence: in Y. 57, 23, Srosho is called *deno-dīsh* (or *doeno-dīsh*), i.e. "instructor in religion," *dañū*. This is strikingly reminiscent of Banyāmīn after whom the AH religion is called *shar'ī Banyāmīn*, and who appears as *pir-i shar'*, spiritual master of the covenant.

The next associate of Mithra in his chariot is Rashnu. Hertel (ap. Z 465) traces his name to the verb in Vedic Sanskrit conveying the idea of protection, and in a typically German way makes him the "chief of the criminal and protective police". We may with much justification reverse the standpoint, and believe Rashnu, traditionally regarded as a personification of justice, to be a parallel of Dāvōd of the AH in the sense that he protects not Mithra, but suffering humanity, from injustice, thus specializing in that attribute of Mithra, *mediation*, in the sense of offering a helping hand to those in difficulties (*manūshīl-gushā*). It is interesting to note that in the AH community of Shiraz, the expression *Dāwūd-i Dīnōd*, i.e. "the Dāvōd of (just) judgment", is often used.

A rather enigmatical figure in Mithra's chariot is the driver, called Damaoish Upamano, who had the appearance of a wild boar, who in the orderly minds of German scholars is made Mithra's executioner. His chief function is to punish, and this makes him a parallel of Maštāfā-y-i Dāvōdān of the AH, who sometimes assumes the form of terrifying animals.

One of the AH angels is Pir-i Mūsi, often pronounced as Mūst, with a *u* as in English *mule*. His secretarial functions would be rather too anachronistic to the antiquity of Mithra's myth. But, as noted by Herzfeld (Z 832), the Avesta already knew court-like

proceedings which in its eschatology are promised for the Day of Judgment when *books* will be produced for reference. This recalls the AH *daftar-i bâjin*.

In addition to the three male figures there are in the chariot of Mithra his two wives, Rtish (according to "scientific" reconstructed pronunciation, or Arti, Urti, Ashi, according to the "priestly" traditional form) and Pârandi, or Pârendi. The former, the personification of righteousness and orderliness, was in her evolution (cf. Z 516) more and more associated with Ardivisura Anahita, the deity of fertilising waters, while Pârendi, who is also retained in Indian mythology, is the deity of prosperity and wealth. They are often mentioned together in the 10th *Yasht*, Rtish with the epithet *sabê*, good, and Pârendi with the epithet *ruvarathâ*, "with a fast chariot" (cf. Z 460, 461, 462).

It occurred to me that perhaps the enigmatic name of the female angel of the AH, Razbâr, might have something to do with these two deities, the name being a worn out and phonetically reduced combination (of the *dvandva* type), of Rti-Pârandi, through such stages as Rati-Pârandi||Radh-Pâr||Raz-bâr. What suggested this idea to me was the fact that just as in the AH texts only two names are connected with the term *sharf* (which entirely corresponds to the ordinary term 'ahd'): Banyânin-i (or *pâr-i*) *sharf* and Razbâr-i *sharf*, so in the Avesta only two names have the standing epithet *rthyojashyo*, i.e. righteous, namely Srosho and Rtish. In our texts the connection with the *sharf* is even preserved in the re-incarnations of Razbâr. Thus the sister of Atish Bek, Pari-Khân, is called *Pari-Khân-i sharf*. We know what the *sharf*, or 'ahd, of Banyânin was, but the *sharf* of Razbâr remains enigmatic. It would be tempting to believe that *sharf* in this case is used as an equivalent of 'ahd, which in many respects forms a synonyme with 'ahd, being used in the sense of wedlock in the case of Razbâr. It would not be unreasonable to surmise that the vague memory of the conjugal connection was preserved, but was obliterated at a later stage by the Marcionite mentality of Christian sectarianism which influenced the idea of the Incarnation.

Razbâr is sometimes styled the Lady of the Resurrection,

*Khân-i Qiyamat*. This is most probably yet another imprint of Christian ideas, but again is almost certainly based on a vague underlying memory of the close connection between her and the Deity.

Perhaps it would be going rather too far to question the origin of the *qadophari*, torchbearers, the two youthful and feminine looking figures invariably appearing on the icons of the Turoctonous Mithra. They are usually interpreted as the "extensions" or revelation of Mithra's nature, the rising and the setting sun. But we must remember that originally Mithra is not the sun, but eternal and indestructible Light, which neither rises nor sets. These figures "bore the enigmatic epithets of *Caosî* and *Caospai*" (C 129). Were not these two supposed beardless young men really two young women, Mithra's wives, in that warlike and manly dress, suited for driving in a chariot, and turned by Greek sculptors into youths?

Another detail deserving of note is the myth, often depicted in the sculptures of Mithraism, of the deity's covenant with the sun-god, whom Mithra subdues. The word *mithra* by itself has the meaning of agreement, P. *mîhr*. He is the mediator, the principle of appeasement, his idea was associated with the middle way, the avoidance of extremes. In Mandäism the sixteenth of each month was dedicated to him, and in the AH religion we find that their main yearly festival, the 'id-i *Shahî*, explained in a cumbersome way as commemorating the revival of the Qabalâs pilgrims, falls upon the 16th, 17th and the 18th of the month of Isfand (about the 6th of March).

Another interesting feature is the extraordinary part played by sacrifice (to which we shall return further on). This may be reminiscent of the enormous slaughter of cattle by Xerxes, and recalls the Zoroastrian accusations of the wastefulness of this custom. It is interesting to note that we never find any mention of the purpose of such sacrifices. They are neither intended as atonement for sins, nor as a propitiation for the Deity, but always appear as if simply a matter of ritual.

One of the most interesting features of the AH religion is

what is called *iqār*, used in the special sense of a confraternity group of two men and one woman, the purpose and meaning of which so often offers scope for various obscene allegations on the part of the enemies of the sect. It appears to be a development of the ancient idea, discussed by Herzfeld (Z 289-291) in connection with the "Ordeal Yashit", and other cognate passages in the Avesta, to prove that the term *rastāh*, "amicitia", had as its purpose a covenant of mutual help on the Judgment Day, when one had to produce a witness who would testify *one's* words.

This is exactly what underlies the strange demands of the covenant of Banyāmīn in which every appointed "angel" demands a "witness", who in his turn also demands a witness of his appointment. And this equally refers to the *iqār*, in the technical sense, i.e. covenants of confraternity of the AH. As in everything, there is some fluidity or uncertainty in this custom. In our texts (T 84) the number of participants in the group should be four persons (*chahār tan bā ham iqār shawand bi dar rūz-i ākhir bā gunāh wa bā parōb ham-shorik bāhand*), i.e. "four persons should make amongst them a covenant that at the Last Day they will share each other's good and evil actions". But on p. 168, also on the authority of the same Sultān Shāhik, it appears that there should be three members in the group: "*iqār-i shū-i haqiqat dā burādar yak khawāh, dār bāhand az ham*", i.e. "the covenant amongst the AH (should be made between) two brothers and one sister. (They must be living) in different places".

V. Minorsky who in his works takes much interest in the matter (although in actual life the custom is hardly of importance, and is rarely heard of amongst the AH), says (MinII, 230) that "Union a des buts pratiques de perfectionnement moral",—the idea which would be hardly intelligible to the ordinary AH rank and file. But at the same time he completely disregards the most important statement of his best informant, the Sayyid of Kalārdāsh, that such groups are formed for the Day of the Resurrection. He finds the origin of this practice in the "Union Rezbar-Mostafa", and its being placed under "special patronage of Razbār", on the basis of the story in MinI, 3-4, 115, which is here translated in the

Appendix II, in which the fact of such "union" is incidentally mentioned between a certain Mustafā and a certain Razbār.

As far as I can see, there is no aetiological myth for such *iqār* in the AH tradition so far known. Perhaps the AH did not invent any because they had taken the practice over from their ancestors. It seems that the same idea re-appears in Persian Ismailism (cf. the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī*, text p. 57, transl. p. 35). MinII, 231 also refers to an interesting document discovered by M. A. Danon which indicates that similar "unions" existed in the beginning of the XVIIth c. amongst the supporters of the Safawid shahs, the participants calling themselves *Haqq-garandāsh*, "brother-in-God". It would be interesting to find out whether the idea is a Persian national belief, a relic of great antiquity.

In conclusion, we may refer to the frequent references in the AH tradition to what were probably ancient places of worship connected with a solar cult, identified with isolated rocks or peaks, called *song*, *khār*, *mīl*, Turk. *idāh*, and also caves (reminding of the Mithraic *spelae*). The part of the cave was apparently prominent in Mithraism, although they are never much used in Muslim Persia at present, except as shelter for the cattle.

### 3. Cosmogony.

Cosmogonical ideas play an important part in the tradition of the AH because they are fond of tracing the origin of their various religious institutions to the "time before time was created". This applies particularly to their principal rites and dogmas, such as the sacrifice, *jam*, i.e. *jam'*, religious assembly, the *sharīf* of Banyāmīn, etc. As with everything in the tradition of the AH, their cosmogony shows a great degree of fluidity, in details, in the sequence of events, and their interpretation. It seems obvious that as far as it is accessible to us, it is a chaotic collection of elements derived from various sources which cannot always be reliably identified. The *Tadhkira's A'la*, in our texts, apparently contains the most detailed, although confused account (T 5-17). Next comes the Shirāzi fragment ("Collectanea" I, pp. 147-184), then the *Risāla* of Gulshīr Sabzwāri (T 190-194). MinI, 63 and 78 also contains some references to cosmogony.

The version of the *Tashkīn* is apparently the result of the compiler's efforts to make the story as imposing as possible, and this is why he includes everything in it,—the usual Biblico-Coranic legends as well as the symbolical adventures of Jabra'īl of the Sufis and even the popular idea of the earth being supported by an angel who stands on a bull, the latter on a fish, and so on. As to the genuine AH ideas, it appears that they have been collected from different versions of the story combined without any special order.

Strange as it may be for a people who lived hundreds of miles away from the nearest sea, in their idea of creation the AH regarded water, sea, as the basic element.—perhaps a relic of Mesopotamian mythology. The Deity first manifests itself in a pearl (*darr*), "from amongst five *ḡārat*" (i.e. forms, persons) bringing to mind the Holy Family, *Panj Tān-i Pāk*. Such manifestations are repeated with an ever increasing number of *ḡārats* every time,—7, 17, 47, 72, etc.—the purpose of which is not clear. They are, however, the prototypes of various details of the apotheoses which conclude the stories of every earthly Incarnation.

The choice of the pearl as the abode of the manifestation is obviously a naive attempt at the reconciliation of the principle of strict monotheism (*ta'wīd*) with the undeniable plurality of the visible world, created by One God. The pearl, though of one colour, appears to the human eye as of many varied and changing colours, which is merely an illusion, the fact at which this symbolism drives.

The Creator (here *Khalīq* instead of *Khāliq*)<sup>1</sup> then creates from his own Pure Light a pearl "in the form of a lamp (*qandīl*)", and the latter becomes water. All this is obscure, and the obscurity is intensified by a strange expression in the text (T 8): *ān qandīl-rā āb shud*. There must be either a lacuna, or the particle *-rā* is superfluous, a kind of "Tehranism", "*-rā*" of the colloquial slackness", as it may be called. The Creator then creates the *Sāji-Nār* (explained below) for the purpose of heating the water of the

<sup>1</sup> It seems doubtful that the compiler used this form being conscious of its special implications.

sea, which turns into foam (*hājj*), which, in turn, is solidified into earth. The heating process also produces air and vapours from the water. Clouds are constructed as sieves, and their purpose is to carry water to various parts of the world. Land formed from solidified foam, floats on the surface of the sea. To make it more rigid, *langars* (anchors, apparently in the sense of beams) are created in the form of ranges of mountains.

This apparently happened before the sky was created. "The King of the World (T 9-10) was with the four highest angels (Jabra'īl, Mikā'īl, Isrā'īl, and 'Azrā'īl, whom he had created from drops of his Pure Light) sitting on the surface of the water. Suddenly they saw the holy substance (*dhāt-i pāk*) of Razbār, the Lady of the Resurrection (*Khātūn-i Qiyāmat*) who came bringing out of the sea (*az miyān-i bahr*, obviously for *bahr*) a *kalūcha* loaf of bread to offer to the King. The latter ordered the four angels to form a *jam* at which the bread was distributed, while he himself offered prayers. Then the earth and the skies became steady, and the *kalūcha* became the skies'.

This combination of symbols of cosmic importance is an obvious relic from remote antiquity. The *kalūcha* bread, as it is known in Persia now, is the ordinary leavened bread (the same as is called in Bombay *vān*, the name indicating its being introduced by the Persians), which is baked in a round pan, about 10-12 inches in diameter. In Persia it is made only in the towns. Its surface is flat, usually browned with a mixture of yolk, water and sugar. Thus in nothing but its round shape can it be compared to the skies<sup>2</sup>.

As already mentioned, Rtīsh, the wife of Mithra, was gradually associated with Ardvīsurā Anahītā, the deity of the fertilising water, and this here refers to Razbār. She originally formed part of the

<sup>2</sup> The photograph of a bas-relief depicting a Mithraic religious assembly, no. 36, p. 159 of F. Cumont's "Mysteries of Mithras", shows loaves of bread in the familiar shape of "buns", flat at the bottom and semi-spherical at the top. This would better recall the cupola of the sky over flat land. Terms used to describe the forms of bread surely change often and very rapidly, and we cannot be positive that the form of the *kalūcha* was the same in bygone times as it is at present.

mape being as 'Azrā'īl (T 15) whom the Creator split, and "from between these two a light dripped out which became a *kušācha*". That the person of 'Azrā'īl should be divided into man and woman, seems to me to be an indubitable reminiscence of Zoroastrianism: Zrvan or Zurvan was bisexual, man-woman (cf. A. Christensen, "Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse antique", Det Kgl. Danske Videnskaberne Seelskab, XV, 2, 1928, p. 52). Zrvan-Kronos was a great deity in Mithraism, and was recognized in Manichaeism.

Razbār, in her "aspect" approximating that of Ardivisura Anahita, appears (it is not stated from where), and produces from the sea a round loaf of bread which is at once distributed (as a sacrament?) in the *jam*. The force of this act is so immense that it stabilizes the floating earth, while the (sacramental) bread itself becomes the skies. Combined with the epithet "Lady of the Resurrection", this story suggests Christian connections, which, if accepted, also explain why the *kušācha* was taken out of the sea. In early Christianity one of the favourite symbols of Christ was fish. Its original and genuine Adoptionist tendency regarded Christ as the Adopted Son of God who was "born" in the ceremony of baptism. Thus Christ, as fish, was "born in water". The production of the sacramental loaf from the sea, i.e. water, is obviously in tune with these beliefs. Here we meet them in a fossilized form, cut from all living religious context, and retained by that blind and obstinate conservatism which is peculiar to illiterate peoples.

The story of the creation of the luminaries, day and night, of seasons, man, Eve, of Paradise being taken to heaven, the symbolism of man's face and body, the prostration of the angels to Adam, are all of syncretic origin, and probably a result of long oral "rolling" of well-known Corano-Biblical motifs. The Sufic motif is represented by the story of Jabra'īl whose wings are burnt by the Creator as a punishment for his uncouth straightforwardness. There are, however, in these stories genuine AH elements: one of them is the absence of any mention of the "fall of Adam", and thus the introduction of "original sin" with which orthodox Christianity and also Manichaeism were so much obsessed. Another significant matter is what appears to be deliberate avoidance of

any reference to Satan, who is only alluded to in the story of the prostration of the angels under the name *rāndō'ī rajsh*, i.e. "(that) expelled and stoned one" (T 17). The most interesting allusions to Adam are contained in the Shirazi fragment ("Collectanea" I, p. 173 of the translation) in which it appears that Adam was a name given to an endless series of Adams, suggesting the eternity of man<sup>2</sup>.

With regard to Satan, so cautiously alluded to here, we may again suspect sectarian Christian influences. The AH doctrine is strictly monotheistic, and the Creator is the only God whom they know, the same substance which manifests itself in human form to mankind. But the basic theme, which most probably is entirely derived from the Ismaili phase in the evolution of the sect, as are many things in this conglomerate of ideas, contains heterogeneous "inclusions". Although the compiler of the *Tadhkira* apparently avoided such mystical stories, they are to be found in other texts. The version of the AH cosmogony found in the *riāda* which belonged to darwish Gulshīr Sabzawāri (T 190-194) narrates how the four handfuls of earth brought for the creation of Adam did not mix well together in kneading. Then the Deity's command comes: "Bring that deposit (or security, *amānat*) which was deposited 30,000 years ago". It is not clear to whom the order is addressed, with whom the *amānat* was deposited, for what purpose, or what it was. "Then the *amānat* was brought, added to the dust, and the four handfuls could be kneaded well and shaped into the body of Adam". The latter, on coming to life, sneezes and pronounces: *al-ḥamdu li'l-lāh*, Glory be to God. "This *al-ḥamd* together with the sneezing was taken by the King of the World and again (*hāz*) made into a deposit (*amānat*). We shall explain what it symbolizes (*ba ramz-ash bi-rā'im*) later". It is sad that the promise remains unfulfilled, and no further reference to the *amānat* is made in the text.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting, yet quite obscure allusion is found in the same Shirazi fragment which presents so many peculiarities. It mentions that the Creator *shād-ō balāsh* (Adam *qarā dād* ("Collect." I, 181), i. e. "made Himself to remain in the form of Adam". "He is the First Adam and the Last Adam" (642, 179).

It is difficult to find out whether this *amānat* is the same thing, or has something to do with that which is mentioned in the Shirazi fragment ("Collectanea" I, pp. 177, 184). Here, strangely enough, a Resurrection is mentioned (*yawnu'l-haṣṣe*), although the story refers to the pre-creational period. This reminds us of the *Ummu'l-Kitāb* ("Der Islam", xxiii, 1938), in which the Deity has to suppress repeatedly the insurrection of the disobedient spirits led by 'Azāzī'l (cf. "seven wars of Adam and Iblis", *ḥaṣṣe muḥaddala'i Iblis wa Adam*, 6, 11). Perhaps the same is implied in the story of the "inconclusive manifestations of the Deity", mentioned above, before that one under which the creation took place. The *Ummu'l-Kitāb* also mentions an *amānat*,—*amānat wa amānat-dār-i Malūk-i Tā'ālā*, the latter being Salmān, 172.

In the Shirazi fragment the rebel spirit appears under the Yazidi name of Malak Tā'ūs (which, I was authoritatively informed by some eminent Ātīsh-Begīs, is unknown to them). The rebel sees signs of the approaching *yawnu'l-haṣṣe*, i.e. cataclysm. To make sure he looks into the "box of the deposit" (*quduq-i amānat*), and finds there that his apprehensions are correct. The "box" in this case may, of course, be merely a figurative expression, because a deposit is usually associated with something valuable given as a security.

We may perhaps thus surmise that the *amānat* is the creative and vitalising principle, as is the *nūr ba-'triyat* of the *Ummu'l-Kitāb* (124), i.e., the Divine creative light lent to angels by the Creator, with the help of which 'Azāzī'l and his associates created (74, 82), and of which they were deprived by Salmān after he had defeated them.

All this may perhaps suggest that either the Paulicians had in their doctrine an element of gnostic ideas concerning the creation being accomplished by the Demiourge, the "evil God,"<sup>4</sup> or that in addition to the Paulician influences the ancestors of the AH were

<sup>4</sup> As F. C. Conybeare emphasises in his Introduction, many pages have been cut from the original manuscript of the "Key of Truth", most probably because they contained passages which would look particularly heretical to the orthodox theologians. They perhaps could have contained gnostic theories.

also in contact with real gnostics. In the doctrine of the "spirited descendants" of the Paulicians, the Bogomils of Bulgaria, the name of that Demiourge was Satana'il.<sup>5</sup> This name vividly resembles the Druze Siatul (probably contracted from Shatan'il), whose name in Islamic sects is replaced by that of 'Azāzī'l. It is quite possible that the sentiment of religious awe, however faint and vague, is still lingering in the memory of the sect preventing its members from taking a similar attitude to that of the orthodox Muslim.

A really genuine item in the AH cosmogony, which seems to have no parallel in the beliefs of peoples who are in contact with them, is that of the *Sāji-nār*, the "frying pan of fire." All my questioning of well-informed sectarians has failed to bring forth any clarification, and it is only from stories offered by the tradition that one may infer something about it. The *sāj* is an ordinary term for frying pan, and *nār* is an Arabic word for fire, also used in the sense of Hell. It is noteworthy that in this expression this Arabic *nār* is apparently never replaced with its Persian equivalent. *Sāji-nār* is often abbreviated into *Sāj*. Sometimes it is written *Sāji-anār*.

It appears that in this case the term *sāj*, pan, is not so much intended to convey the idea of the pan placed on a fire, for frying something, as to suggest a pan filled with fire, presumably burning charcoal, like a primitive charcoal burner (Persian *manqal*, pron. *manghal*). I have been unable to find out the nature of the fuel burning on the pan, or where and how it is placed under the

<sup>5</sup> S. Runciman, in "The Medieval Manichee" (Cambridge, 1947), p. 73, refers to Cosmas the Bulgar priest (Slovo Kosmō, 28, 37) who says that according to the Bogomils "the Devil created the world". Euthymius Zigabenus in his "Dogmatic Panoply" (ibid., 75) says that Satan, whose real name was Satauel, was the elder son of God, and the Steward in Heaven. "Satan was deprived by God of his divine form and apparel and his power to create". The same Zigabenus mentions, whether true or not, that the Bogomils, just as had the Messalians, regarded it necessary to honour demons... lest they should harm one. The Synodicon of 1143 A. D. anathematized the Bogomils because they declared the Creator to be the Prince of Evil. This may give enough grounds to suspect the Paulicians of entertaining similar gnostic ideas.

bottoms of the cosmic ocean, on the surface of which the earth floats. It apparently is not considered to be the limit of the universe, as various events are remembered by the tradition which took place under the *Sāj*. From one of its sparks (*shardra*, T 10) Hell is created. In the story of Pir-'Alī it is said that he found the King of the World (T 56) *dar tah-i Sāj-i Nār... bi bā bahriyān ba-yāf māshghāl būd*. Should we infer that this was also in the sea? It is said in the Shirazi fragment ("Collectanea" I, p. 183 and transl. 177) that the first *jam* was held in *nār*: *dar nār basta shud*. My Ātīsh-Begī friends insist that the statement is absurd, and suggest an error for *wa in jam dar (zlr-i Sāj-i) nār basta shud*, i.e., "and this *jam* was held under the *Sāj*."

In a darwish *risāla*, which, unfortunately, is not accessible to me now, a drawing of the *Sāj* is included, but it offers little help. The picture shows something like a discus, crossed by lines resembling layers of masonry. At the top and bottom of the page there were rectangular additions, the lower one red, with the inscription *nār*, fire. There were also other inscriptions which, unfortunately, I cannot recall now. The general impression conveyed by the drawing can perhaps be compared to a child's attempt to make a picture of a Russian *zomogor*, of an old-fashioned spherical form, which is still not rarely met with in Persia.

#### 4. Christian Influences.

Many Christian ideas and motifs can be easily recognized in the AH tradition, and more of them can be detected by penetrating their disguise which they have assumed in the lengthy process of the adjustment to Islamic outlook. Christianity apparently reached the confines of the Kurdish tribal area still in the second c. A. D. By the end of that century it had penetrated far North, into Armenia, long before her official conversion by the exertions of St. Gregory "the Illuminator." As is well-known, Upper Mesopotamia, i.e. the country along the upper reaches of the Euphrates and Tigris, for a long time remained the chief territory on which East met West in either peaceful or violent contact. It was here, in Edessa (Urfā), that Bar Daysan, or Bardesanes (d. ca 222

A. D.), one of the precursors of Manichaeism, flourished and composed his works. Here later on rose the Paulician sect apparently so named after the bishop of Antioch, Paul of Samosata, who was relieved from his post in 269, and finally deposed in 272 when the emperor Aurelian (who was a heathen) defeated Queen Zenobia of Palmyra who supported the movement. Through subsequent centuries it was this area which formed the stronghold of the iconoclastic movement. Nestorianism continues to exist here until our own time. Under Islam it was probably here that the enigmatic *Umum'l-kitaib*, with its strong Manichaean element, came into existence in the viii-th c. A. D. It knows Antioch, Armenia, Malāṭīya, Nišābīn, etc., but never refers to the great cities of Persia or Arabia. The style of many parts of the *K. al-'Alīm wa'l-Ghulam*, an Ismaili book of probably pre-Fatimid origin, resembles very much that of ancient Armenian Christian works. The famous Ismaili *dā'i* and author, Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, of the beginning of the iv/x c., refers in his works to Armenia and its church authorities. The sect of the Druzes (in some respects precursors of the AH), whose founder was connected with Zawzan, also exhibits traces of Paulician influences.

One of the most potent sources of error in historical research has always been the influence of that mediaeval theological outlook which treated popular forms of religion as something undeserving of serious attention, mere perversions of the "true doctrine" at the hands of the illiterate mob. It is unfortunate that this attitude has been fully inherited and continued by modern Western scholars. Early Christian authors take little interest in indigenous Eastern Christianity, merely referring in vague terms to some heretical sects as, e.g., the Ebionites. We learn little beyond the fact that the Ebionites formed a Judaizing gnostic sect which was spread "beyond the Jordan river". Such lack of information is of much consequence in the study of Islam, which, because it rose in an almost entirely illiterate milieu, could only incorporate those Christian elements which were available in the form of common knowledge with the masses, forming their popular religion. Much has been written to stress the presence of Jewish elements in Islam

which were supposed to have been derived by direct borrowing from the Jewish colonies scattered in Arabia. But the fact which has been well attested everywhere, of the Biblical motifs being spread with the help of their "carrier", early Christianity, has never been properly assessed.

Apparently the only serious attempt to take up this question and to study the obscure problem was made by the late Tor Andrae in his works, "Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum"<sup>1</sup> and "Mohammed the Man and his Faith"<sup>2</sup>. In the former work the author analyses certain ideas of the original Islam with the help of Christian theological doctrines developed in the various Eastern churches,—not the popular beliefs. In the second work (pp. 137 sqq.) he refers to sectarianism only in general terms. In our case, the case of the Kurdish milieu in which the AH doctrine arose, an incomparably more valuable work is "The Key of Truth" by F. C. Conybeare<sup>3</sup>. It is an edition of an early mediaeval Armenian sectarian text accompanied by an English translation and most valuable commentaries. Working with concrete material, with the help of old Armenian and Byzantine literature, the author reveals valuable information which is important not only for the immediate purpose of our study, but also for Islamology in general.

He reveals an instructive picture. However imperfect and incomplete our material, it is possible to see that the original and indigenous form of Christianity, spreading Eastwards through illiterate masses, had in its simple doctrine enormous hold on the people owing to the great conservatism typical of popular religions in general. In the Greco-Roman world, on the contrary, Christianity appeared as an imported exotic product, and was not properly understood nor accepted in right spirit. Moreover, almost

<sup>1</sup> In the "Kyrikohistorisk Arkiv", 1923-1925, pp. 149-291 and 45-112. A separate reprint with continuous pagination, 1-266, Uppsala, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Engl. translation, London, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> Fred. C. Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", a manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia. The Armenian Text, edited and translated with illustrative documents and introduction. Oxford, 1876. (Here the title is abbreviated in references as "Key").

from the start, it became the subject of learned theorising, and was adulterated with all kinds of alien philosophical ideas, doctrines, usages, heathen practices and ceremonies, symbolical theatricality, and so forth. By the end of the fourth c. A.D., by the exertions of the great and saintly Church Fathers and others, endorsed by numerous Synodes, it had already become perverted beyond recognition. But brutal coercion by the governments which patronised it served as a powerful argument to prove that it was the only true, genuine, authentic and orthodox doctrine, "original Christianity". Those communities which obstinately followed the unadulterated version of the religion, the "old believers" such as the Paulicians, Thourakis and others, were declared dangerous heretics, and were subjected to merciless persecution. Even regular wars were waged against them, as in the viii and ix cc. A substantial proportion of the sectarians was compelled to seek refuge on Muslim territory. Many of them ultimately embraced Islam; and, being scattered amongst other Muslim groups, could spread the influence of their ideas. If we can detect these in the localities such as Awraman or Shahrizur, some 400 miles from their original home, we may remember that the same ideas travelled thousands of miles in the Western direction, producing powerful movements such as those of the Bogomils, Patarenes, Cathars, Albigenses, Waldenses, etc., as far as Oxford (1160)<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, Bogomil ideas apparently spread ahead of the orthodox Byzantine Christianity to Northern Russia where they coalesced with the heathen beliefs of local Finnish tribes.

With regard to Christian elements in the original Islam and its early sectarian developments, it would be an error to look for their origin in the theologies of Eastern churches, and not in popular religion as preserved in sectarian communities. Very few of these had any genuine literatures, and even that little perished at the hands of their persecutors. The "Key of Truth" may be regarded as an exceptional case of the survival of such sectarian writings. It reveals many facts of great importance for the student of early Islam. And, in any case, we have little or nothing more to help

<sup>4</sup> S. Runciman, "The Medieval Manichee", Cambridge, 1947, p. 122.



us, especially in the case of the communities like the AH.

This particularly applies to the central doctrine of the AH, the theory of the Incarnations of God in human form. As F. Conybeare has shown, the archaic forms of Eastern Christianity were, in the main, *Adoptionist* in their outlook. They regarded Christ as an ordinary man who, however, by his struggle with his own human nature, attained the state of perfect sinlessness. This theory is identical with that of the Prophet in early Islam, *subsequent*, with the pure (*Muṣṭafā*) person of Muḥammad being chosen (*mukhtār*) for the mission of the Apostle of God (*risālat*). The difference comes only in the form of the "call". An angel appeared to the Prophet, ordering him "to recite", while Jesus received baptism at the hands of St. John, and was filled with the Holy Spirit, thus becoming the *adopted* Son of God. In the Gospel of Luke (iii, 22), as preserved in the quotations found in early Christian works, there were the words, later on thrown out in the process of falsification at the hands of Western orthodox authorities: "This day have I begotten thee" (*Key dīā*)<sup>6</sup>. In fact, the same Adoptionist idea underlies the Ismailī doctrine of Imamāt: the future Imam is born as an ordinary man, but the *Nūr*, Light of Imamāt, descends upon him the moment his father dies.

Such formally simple ideas were greatly complicated in the beliefs of the AH, and we may easily recognize in their complication influences of sectarian,—probably Paulician,—Christianity. One of the most salient features of their religious mentality is the abhorrence of every allusion to procreation in connection with the Incarnated Deity. This at once brings to mind the gnostics and those schools, like the Manichaeans, who were under their influence. Marcion (end ii c.A.D.) taught that Jesus, freshly formed of dust,

<sup>6</sup> F. Conybeare (*Key scvii-c*) points out a paradoxical situation in the *Acta Archelai* of Hegemonius, which has been so extensively used in the studies of Manichaeism. He stresses the fact that in his dialogue with the representative of Manichaeism, Archelaus the bishop of Karkhar, and thus the official speaker for the orthodox church of Eastern Armenia and N. Mesopotamia, speaks as the adept of the archaic Christianity which lies at the bottom of Paulicianism, while his opponent and heretic, the Manichee, tries to convince him by the arguments derived from high Byzantine theology. The implications of this are of importance in the study of early Islam.

was like the first Adam, and was born of his mother as if were water passing through a tube (*Key chxxxvii*). This idea was common amongst the Paulicians who, probably under what may be called "the pressure of widely spread ideas", exhibited syncretic tendencies, admitting the belief in miraculous birds. "Under this aspect the Paulician faith cannot be regarded as being so pure an example of its kind as was the Ebionism of Justin's age, which held that Jesus was a man born from men" (*Key chxxxvi*).

The dogma of miraculous conception in the case of Jesus was insisted upon in the orthodox theology in order to make him free from the hereditary or "original" sin with the theory of which orthodox Christianity was so much obsessed. In order to make it impossible for Jesus to inherit it from his mother, fantastic theories were invented ascribing miraculous conception to the Virgin Mary also. Early Christianity, and the sects such as the Paulicians, rejected all this, and called the Virgin Mary the mother of the man Jesus, not the "mother of God" (*theotocos*), denying all claims to her deification, belief in her intercession for sinners, etc.

It is therefore interesting to note that the motif of the "supernatural mother", probably at a late date, and from orthodox Christian sources, penetrated the AH beliefs. In our texts such supernatural mothers are given to 'Alī (Fāṭima bint Asad), and Sūna Khātūn to Ātīsh Bek, probably because of the impossibility to deny their ordinary birth.

We therefore find no consistency in the beliefs concerning the birth of the different Incarnations. The further we go back, the more miraculous the event becomes. Ātīsh Bek and his father Muḥammad Bek are born in the ordinary way, but his grandfather, Qirmizī, was created from a piece of mutton. It is not so clear about Sultān Şāhāk in whose case the Divine Falcon apparently took the form of a child at the moment of his birth. And Shāh Khūshīn was conceived by a virgin who inhaled a particle which separated from the sun. He was in due course vomited by her in the form of a luminous object like a ball of shining quicksilver.

In the section dealing with the forms of worship we shall discuss the question of the connection between the *jam* and the

agapé, communal meal, of the Paulicians and cognate sects.<sup>8</sup> Here we may note some possible traces of the ancient veneration to the Eucharist. The AH cosmogony includes strange symbols, as that of (T 10) the holy substance of Razhâr bringing out of the sea a loaf of bread of which the sky is created, or (T 94-97) the story of a poor woman who distributes her only loaf of bread to the darwishes begging in the name of 'Ali, instead of feeding her famished children. This may be an echo of the ancient and Paulician Christianity which insisted that the Eucharist should be a single loaf (as in these two legends) of ordinary unleavened bread, distributed to the congregation of any size, together with a drink of wine. The latter, most probably, with the advent of Islam was given up, though a faint trace of the practice is preserved in the symbolism of the darwish initiation *piyâda*, i.e. sweetened water in which a single raisin is crumbled<sup>9</sup>.

"Every common meal had among the Paulicians a sacred character" (Key cxiii). The Eucharist was invariably preceded by the agapé, "the common meal of Christian love". (The Thonrakis) interpreted their sacrament (i.e. Eucharist) as a meal symbolic of the unity of the faithful" (Key cxiii). All this vividly recalls the AH ideas about their *jam*, as in the expressions *jam-i yûri*, *yûristân*, etc.

Just as the AH, the Paulicians, and even early orthodox Armenian Christians in general, had no special buildings consecrated to worship. Church authorities of various periods complained on their showing great aversion to churches, altars, and any kind of religious buildings: John of Otsun in the viii-th c., Sahak Catholikos and Nerses of Lamhson in the xii-th c., together with others, who speak about the "ingrained prejudice" of their countrymen to these matters (Key cxii). They always preferred to hold their religious gatherings, and partake of the Eucharist, in their private homes.

<sup>8</sup> I have never seen in the AH texts any reference to wine. In any case it is possible to take for certain that it is not subject to a strict taboo, as is, e.g., tobacco. Some of the members of sect whom I met were enthusiastic for it. As is known, wine is much used in the Bektaşî ritual (although this is flatly denied if the *şerpe* is questioned on the subject in the presence of the Sunnites).

The agapé preceding the Eucharist always included a great meal for which only the flesh of sheep and pigeon was allowed. In the practice of the AH we find the sheep and the cock. It is quite possible that the latter replaced the pigeon in the practice of the clan converted to Paulicianism on account of the scarcity of doves in Persia, except in large cities (as Isfahan). Besides, in ordinary village life the cock is the cheapest form of meat which is available (see also the Chapter on Sacrifice).

There is some resemblance between the Paulicians and the AH in the matters referring to priesthood. The Paulicians, as was probably also the case with early Christians in general, had no ordination. This is also the case in Islam. All priests were of equal standing, although they had different titles (Key lxxix). The Paulicians and Thonrakis had, however, a special institution of the "elect" (which should not be confused with the Manichaean *electi*). They were those "in whom God made His spirit dwell". Thus they were of the same nature as Christ himself, the difference being probably only in degree. It is not clear how much this had in common with the ancient Montanists or later Russian *Khlysti*, what was that "dwelling of the spirit of God", how it was attained or manifested. But it was the elect who had the power "to bind and loose" (Key xxxvii, cxxiv), and only they had the right to perform the ceremony of baptism, which was regarded as one of the three sacraments, with the Eucharist and confession of sins.

This vividly resembles the institution of *oşaq* Sayyids among the AH, who are the only persons empowered to "break the nut", the ceremony which corresponds to baptism in Christianity (see further, the section on Initiation). The idea of the elect being spiritually different from the ordinary mortal entirely corresponds to that of the Sayyids being by nature *dâst-i qurş*, i.e. of "hard", strong, permanent, i.e. divine substance, quite different from the *dâst-i mehânâ*, the "guest-like", fleeting, passing nature of the ordinary men. This may be simply a case of the replacement of the old idea with the Ismaili principle of the contact with the Imam not only in spirit, but also as the flesh from flesh of 'Ali (cf. above, p. 5). It would be useful to note in connection with this the

ness by the AH of the term *'ālī* or *dhī*, obviously in the sense of the "saint". Both these words do not differ in the pronunciation of the Kurds and Aḫarbayjāni Turks, and usually alternate in writing. The first, *'ālī*, in Arabic, means "high", while the second, in Arabic, is derived from *dhāt*, tool, and would be meaningless in the context. However, the Kurds derive it from the Arabic word *dhī*, family (especially with regard to the holy family of the Prophet). A. Jahn's "Dictionnaire Kurde-français", p. 19, gives *dhī*—'ceux qui habitent dans la même maison'. Thus it is possible that the term *dhī*, as it should be read, means not only "saint", but also "Sayyid", i.e. relative of the Incarnation.

An interesting passage (Key 176) is found in the letter of Paul of Taron (d. 1123 A.D.) who condemns the Thonrakis for permitting women to "baptize and mount the Bema". This may be compared with Sulṭān Şāhik's prohibition of the practice of the "daughter of a Sayyid" acting as the *şjāq* at the ceremony of initiation (T 168-169). Most probably the cause of such practice was the same as in the case of the AH,—scarcity of the "elect".

A question may arise whether the term *kākhā*, abbreviated as *kāka*, *kaka*, or *kā*, which forms part of the names of some "angels" and shaykhs (of the earlier periods), as *Kāka Ridā*, or *Kā Rahmān*, etc., is a relic of Christianity. We may note that it neither appears in the names of ordinary people, nor is found in darwish names. In Persian it is apparently used only in Fars, where it means "brother". It is neither used elsewhere in Persian nor in Kurdish. It would be interesting to find out whether it is really connected with the Christian practice of calling monks by the name of "brother" *so-and-so*, "friar"? The texts at our disposal give no indication as to whether the "angels" were celibates. In the story of Muşfā-y-i Dāwūdān turning into a cat (T 83-84) in which his family is mentioned (*khāna*) with "seven mattresses" (i.e. seven members who were sleeping in their beds), it is not clear whether these were his wife and children, or other relatives. In the story of the rascally son of Pir-i Mūsī (T 80-83) some doubt arises from the fact that on p. 82 (p. 106 of the original ms.) he is called *pusar-i shaykh 'ālī*. Thus there are equally no reliable indications as to their being

married men. The general impression would be rather that of their being celibates.

The name of Dāwūd, David, borne by the second "angel", has apparently no Biblical connotations. It is not clear to me whether it had special importance among the Paulicians and Thonrakis. But it may be noted that David was one of the great saints of the Russian *Khlisti* (Neo-Montanists of the XIX c. and later). His icons in which he appeared dancing, with a harp and a scroll of his Psalms in hands, were common. It was in his capacity of the "sanctifier" of dancing, mentioned in the Bible, that he was specially revered. Dancing, as amongst the Sufis, was one of the means which the *Khlisti* used for the attainment of ecstasy, those moments at which they were "seized by the Holy Spirit".

### 5. Darwishes.

The AH tradition places so much emphasis upon the important part played by the darwishes in the evolution of the sect that it should be a cardinal aim in our analysis of its beliefs and practices to assess the exact nature and extent of the contribution made by those worthies. Unfortunately, however, to do this is out of the question. Although an enormous amount has been written on Sufism during the last 150 years or so, it must be sadly acknowledged that there are but a few worthwhile works, of no high standard in themselves, and the rest is simply useless. Nothing has been done towards the real study of the movement, the study of facts, not words. This, however, is obviously not the proper place in which to take the matter up from the very beginning. As, however, the darwish occupies a pivotal position in our material, we must offer some notes here, just a bare outline, on darwishes, and certain aspects of their lore.

*Darwish*, a Persian word meaning a "poor man" or mendicant, as Ar. *faqir*, *miskin*, may be regarded as the generic term for religious beggars. This meaning is preserved even now in Persia. *Qalandar*, a term of unknown extraction, is the name given to the vagrant darwish. *Qalandars* mostly used to roam about in armed bands, and were sometimes quite akin to what during the earlier

part of the Islamic mediæval period was known under the name of the 'ayyār (later known as *ghāzī*). These were brigands operating on the outskirts of the Muslim world, and under the pretext of *jihād*, war for religious cause, living by plundering raids upon the peaceful population of the "infidel" country. Very often, however, they proved more ruinous to their own mother country than to the enemy. They were not only a permanent nuisance, but often a source of grave danger, and each government had to work hard to stamp out this evil.

The term *Ṣūfī* is often used in old literature as synonymous with *darwish*, but has gradually come to mean an orthodox educated devotee, belonging to one of the recognized Sufic organisations. At present in Persia the term is applied to any theologically educated person with philosophical, ascetic, mystical, or moralistic tendencies, who in fact may not be a *darwish* at all.

For the sake of simplification we may, having regard to what has been said above, use the term *darwish* to mean the representative of popular Sufism, and reserve the term *Sufi* for the representatives of the orthodox, organised, and theologically educated bodies of devotees.

Sufism as an ascetic and mystical school of Islam makes its appearance when the new religion has become an integral part in the life of every stratum of society. It was born in the atmosphere of the struggle of the multitude of sectarian movements against the government sponsored orthodoxy which was developing Islamic dogma. Originally Sufism was a kind of an amateurish pietistic movement devoted to study of tradition, *hadīth*, and exuberant devotional practice. At first it was chiefly confined to the lower middle class in the towns,—the petty shopkeepers, artisans, etc., who produced enough introverts, escapists, mystics, and so forth. As the movement gained in popularity, and found supporters not only in certain circles of the public, but also in the government, it began to attract more and more of qualified full-time exponents, and soon nests of piety appeared all over the Islamic world.

It is no longer disputed that Christianity was the chief source from which Sufic tendencies and practices originated. The

question, however, arises, although it is still bound to remain without a solution, as to what the connection was between early Sufism in the sense of a theological-pietistic "fad", and what are regarded as its popular forms. The usual theological attitude which dominates the Sufic literature is that the popular forms were mere perversions of the high standards and ideals of the learned Sufis at the hands of the illiterate and ignorant beggars. As with so many theological theories, this does not in the least accord with historical evidence.

Islam, spreading rapidly over the countries which it had conquered, found Persia to a great extent Christian, in addition to Manichee, Zoroastrian, Buddhist and some minorities. Monasticism was well developed in both Christianity and Manichæism, and we may assume that in all the religions current in Persia before Islam there were in addition to official priests and monks many unofficial, underqualified, popular devotees, men of God, religious beggars, who lived on the population by dispensing their pious, magical and religious services to the lower classes.

Strict conservatism is the basic feature of the religious beggar's profession. He has to cater for that most backward milieu which itself changes very slowly. Competition compels him to observe very strictly various standards, established in the course of a long evolution, which become practically unchangeable in themselves. He has to conform to certain universal notions for fear of disgracing himself in the eyes of his customers and thereby losing his market. Everything, from his manners down to the last detail of dress and equipment, becomes standardised and in fact unalterable. Dynasties, governments and religions may change, but the religious beggar remains the same.

We may ask therefore: what became of these worthies on the advent of Islam? Did they disappear or had to change their profession with the acceptance of the new religion? There can only be one answer: no, they remained much the same even after the change in their religion. Their ways remained the same because they were not directly connected with the profession of the new faith.

Thus we can believe that the "popular forms of Sufism" are in fact incomparably older than Sufism which they were supposed to "popularise". The question arises as to the nature of the relations between these two in the beginning. Surely, early Sufis were inspired by the example of genuine Christian ascetics, not of mere religious beggars. It is unfortunate that Sufic hagiology dealing with that early period, which it depicts as the "Golden Age" of Sufism, consists of only bombastic fiction. All Sufic works, without exception, invariably regard the Sufic movement of their own time as a degeneration of the supposed "pure and genuine" Sufism of the past, and as therefore entirely unworthy of their attention and of being recorded. Therefore only very careful scrutiny may discover and collect genuine features of it in the works of its "contemporaries," and even these may be merely of secondary importance.

The problem of the qalandars is one of the most difficult in this already very complex matter. The term most probably comes from the pre-Islamic world<sup>1</sup>, and in any case seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> During the last forty years I tried my best to find any clue to the origin of the term, consulting specialists in various languages which may be concerned in the case. All was in vain: there is in Persian the word *kalandar*, "bigger", used in the sense of bullif, foreman, but this would not explain the initial *q* and the contraction of *a* in *kalān*. Nothing can be suggested from Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit, Armenian or Georgian, and so forth. I thought of the Greek *kalēor*, from *calēo*, to summon, which perhaps could be used in the sense of Arabic *da'ā*. This idea was suggested by the existence in Russian of the early mediæval term *kalika* (discussed below), which seems to be derived from the same root. But the painstaking inquiries, so obligingly made by J. A. B. Palmer, brought to light the fact that the term *calēor* was only very rarely used in remote antiquity, and is not found in more recent texts. Theoretically it may be possible perhaps that the word ceased to be used in literature while it was preserved in the colloquial of low class people from which we must expect our term to originate. *Calēor* in the sense of *da'ā* would not require much strain if we suppose that *h* was "summoning" people to join in the pilgrimage to some kind of specified sanctuary, or to contribute towards the cost of a pilgrimage in order to earn religious advantages, if the person was unable to go personally. (In Islam pilgrimage by proxy is not such a rare practice). Unfortunately, in this as in every matter connected with the evolution of illiterate masses precise historical testimonies are extremely scarce.

in common use in Persia for centuries before the 10<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>2</sup> It may be worth noting that with the introduction of Christianity in far-off Russia (xi-xii c. A.D.) an analogous variety of vagrant Christian devotees appeared under the name of *kaliki perekhoshnye*. Their description in mediæval literature strikingly coincides with that of the Muslim qalandars. While the latter were normally on their way for the pilgrimage to Mecca, the *kaliki* were similarly on their way to Jerusalem. They roamed about in bands (even the classic figure *forty* is preserved), had the same "terrifying" appearance (*zabardast* is the standing epithet of the qalandar). Even their legends, partly incorporated in popular poetry, sometimes preserve the familiar motifs from qalandar lore<sup>3</sup>.

The story of the qalandars may be briefly outlined as follows. Whether they were indigenous to Persia, or were originally connected with Asia Minor and Upper Mesopotamia, the economic ruin caused by the Saljuq invasion of the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. pressed them out of the country. Probably for the first time they extended their wanderings to Syria and even as far as Spain. In their distress they were reduced to the status of jugglers, snake charmers, etc. (like the Madaris in India). Apparently their bands never had any central organisation. With the introduction of various Sufic organised "orders" or affiliations (*nisāla*), for the purpose of legalising themselves, they sought official amalgamation with one of the more widely spread organisations particularly the more "democratic", such as the Qādiris, Rūfā'is or Naqshbandis. In Persia, which was steadily changing to Shi'ism, they completely disappeared by the time the latter had triumphed, i.e. the x/xvi c.

<sup>2</sup> The word *qalandar* appears in early Persian poetry as already quite an ordinary term. For instance, it is found in the quatrain attributed by the author of the *Amānī-nāma* (*Amānī-nāma* *shaykh* *AM* 5044 (beg. vi) c.) to the authorship of Abū Sa'īd-i Abī'l-Khayr of Mervāna (born in 357/968, d. 440/1049), as on p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Min*, 18, one of those misplaced anecdotes which are associated with various Incarnations by misunderstanding. This is the "perennial" motif of a woman's attempt to seduce a pious man who vicariously resists temptation. It is also familiar to Russian mediæval religious poetry connected with the *kalika*.

and the term *qalandar* was only preserved in poetry as a synonym for free-as-the-wind religious wanderer.

The section of the *qalandars* which was closely connected with Shī'ism then became known as the *Ḥaydaris*, or *Jalālis*, or *Khāksār*<sup>4</sup>. The official use of the term *qalandar* was probably given up on account of its old Sunnite connotations. Degenerate remnants of the *qalandars* are still found in India, the chief representatives being those in Sind who flock to the shrine of Lal Shāhbāz *Qalandar* in Sehwan, and the snake charmer *Madrīs* on the Eastern side of the country.

The *Ḥaydaris* of Persia, although they apparently never formed an organised "order", and their different branches in fact remained autonomous, have absorbed all the popular *darwish* elements in the country. Their close connection with the AH is undeniable, and, as mentioned above, the question may be raised as to whether they originally formed the *darwish* or "monastic" wing of the community, in the same way as the "*darwishes*" in the *Bektashi* order. The Sufic elements in the country came under the influence of the *Ni'matu'l-lāhi* order which until some decades ago exercised a considerable influence in the country, often being joined by the aristocracy and nobility who thereby created a fashion for the intellectual elite. Its offshoot, the *Mullā-Sultānī* or *Gunābādī* organisation, which has grown in popularity since about the beginning of this century, has become something like a religious trade union of middle class working people, chiefly the lower ranks of government officials.

<sup>4</sup> The eponym of this *darwish* organisation, *Sayyid Jalālu'd-dīn Ḥaydar*, is one of those mysterious saints of popular *darwishism* whose names, as that of Lal Shāhbāz *Qalandar* of Sehwan in Sind, are widely famed, and yet it is impossible to find any trace of them in Sufic hagiology. The difference between the two is only that while the shrine of Lal Shāhbāz is well-known (it was rebuilt in a magnificent style by Shāhshāhān), and is still visited by tens of thousands, the grave of *Jalālu'd-dīn Ḥaydar* is unknown. Clever people, as may be seen from many *darwish* *riālas*, try to identify him with *Jalālu'd-dīn Bukhārī* (d. 785/1384), buried in Uchchh. But his name was *Muṣṣayn b. Ahmad*, he was a strict Sunnite, and had nothing to do with the *qalandars*. In Uchchh his shrine does not attract the *qalandars*, and his disciples were probably never called either *Ḥaydarī* or *Khāksār*.

This is the background against which we have to consider the *qalandar* and *darwish* of the Safawid period and later. In our texts we find that the terms *qalandar* and *darwish* are used practically synonymously, and that the former has already lost its essential implication of a *vagrant darwish*. Our *qalandars* move about singly, and appear to be settled. Begging is mentioned only on a few occasions, as that on which a pious woman distributes to them the only loaf of bread which she had to feed her famished children (T 95-97).

The beliefs of the *Khāksār darwishes* are not systematised, and consist of the elementary religious injunctions of Shī'ite Islam, the traditional ideas about *farisht*, special *darwish* rules and ceremonies, and, in the higher degrees of initiation, a certain amount of information about and rules of the AH sect which they have to follow. They are completely ignorant of Sufic literature, Sufic theosophy and hagiology. The rest of their mental baggage is composed of a considerable amount of memorized poetry, chiefly Shī'ite odes, and what may be classed as "general useful knowledge". Their professional mentality which sees the *darwish* as the centre of a universe which only exists to feed him, reveals a strange world of inverted values, expressed in a peculiar jargonised language. On the whole the *darwish* cannot be described as a complete parasite. His arrival in the village is very often welcomed because he brings news and gossip from the outer world, sings good poetry, and renders various services, especially with the aid of his supposed magical and medicinal knowledge. On the whole he provides ample entertainment at a very low cost, thus breaking the monotony of rural life and stimulating interest and artistic taste. It is not therefore a matter for congratulation that *darwishism* has everywhere been practically suppressed.

In no book, be it Sufic or of other branches of literature, can one find an account of the practices of the mendicant *darwishes* that does not smack of scoffing or wholesale condemnation. As it is at present, the *Khāksār darwish* usually carries a notebook in which he himself, his *murshid*, the spiritual instructor, or any one, writes down the rules which he should learn by heart, various

pieces of religious information, poetry, etc., which he keeps secret from the uninitiated. They even insistently spread the belief that the unauthorised person who peruses or even keeps such a *rišda*, will be inevitably affected by great misfortunes. On the sudden death of its owner it should be handed to his *maršid*, and, failing this, to any darwish, or simply buried with him. To obtain such a *rišda*, especially an original one, is a very difficult achievement, costing quite a lot, for it necessitates long and generous propitiation of its owner.

An examination of the contents of such a *rišda* may sometimes bring to light instructive examples of what may be called "darwish memory". For instance (T 198) amongst the "*sulṭāns* of the four *qāḫs*" (*qāḫ*, Turk., means door or gate), the *sulṭān* of the *qāḫ* of *farqat* is a certain Shaykh Faḍl. From what follows, it is obvious that the person referred to here is the founder of the Hurūfī sect, Faḍl-ū-lāh of Astarāhād, executed by Tamerlane's son Mirānshāh about 800/1396. His disciple, the Turkish poet Nesimī (slayed alive in Aleppo in 820/1417), is mentioned further on. Thus the almost illiterate darwish has memorised these names, and kept them in his memory for over 500 years, having no idea as to who the saints really were.

But in darwish practice one may find relics of a far more distant past. According to custom, a darwish, entering the presence of his *maršid*, or any darwish senior to him in rank, must take off his shoes and stand in a special devotional pose called *qāḫ* or *gulbāg*. He has to place the big toe of his right foot upon the big toe of his left foot, and, crossing his arms on his breast, must touch the lobes of his ears with the ends of his index and middle fingers<sup>5</sup>. It is surprising to note that the position of the feet, described above, is not only the same as that adopted by the *dadophori*, torchbearers, on the icons of Tauroctonus Mithra, but also of the Zoroastrian priest officiating at the *yasna* (sacrifice)

<sup>5</sup> The Bektsabis also use a similar posture, this is for certain. Unfortunately, I could not find out the term with which it is designated. The *dale* of the famous Kaygusur tekke in Cairo impudently denied its existence. The difference is only that the Bektsabis do not touch the lobes of their ears, but lay the palms of their hands on the shoulders.

ceremony<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, it may be perhaps possible to recognise this devotional posture in that passage in the Avesta which has given so much trouble to the specialists in Avestic studies, i.e. Yt. xviii, 3-4 (cf. Z. 114), in which it is said of Rtiash (or Artī, Ashī, etc., one of the wives of Mithra) that she *ava-paitham niθhathahi*, "stands one-footed", i.e. on one foot. It may be noted that technically this posture is called, in Gujrati, amongst Parsi priests, "*ek pā*". A clever German scholar concludes that Rtiash was a dancer, but it in reality may mean that exactly the same devotional posture is aimed at<sup>7</sup>.

There are other interesting contacts with Mazdaism in darwish lore. In the ceremony known in darwish jargon as *dih-jāsh* (i.e. "boiling of a cauldron"), which is the same sacrifice as that offered at the AH *jam*, the cooking of the sacrificial meat (carefully screened from the eyes of the uninitiated) is accompanied by the recitation of a *khujba*, litany, a lengthy prayer for the welfare of everything and everybody in the world, which should continue throughout the whole time that the meat is on the fire. This, surely, is a complete parallel to the recitation of Vispered at the Zoroastrian sacrificial ceremony.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. J. M. Unvala, himself a Parsi priest of Bombay, who several times visited Persia and took great interest in Persian Zoroastrians, told me that, however amazing it may be, that posture is no longer used there in religious ceremonies, - it has been forgotten there while still in use in India.

<sup>7</sup> The position of the feet apparently varies. There is nothing surprising in the fact that one often sees on the photographs of various bas-reliefs of the Tauroctonus Mithra that one foot of the *dadophori* does not touch the other. This may be an error of the artist who, as a rule, probably never belonged to the initiated. There is another obvious error in many of such bas-reliefs: the *dadophori* appear to be indolently leaning on something behind them. It seems to me that from the religious standpoint it must be a grave offence, to show the sign of neglect or indifference to the religious ceremony in which one participates. As to the position of the priest's feet in the Zoroastrian *yasna*, I had to rely on the testimony of the initiated, which often differs: some say that only the big toe of the right foot touches the big toe of the left, while the right sole does not touch the floor, contrary to the others who say that the sole of the right foot rests on the ground, as in the case of the darwishes.

The bones of the sacrificed sheep are carefully separated from the meat before it is served to the assembly, and are buried later on accompanied by the recitation of the same prayers as used at the burial of men. We shall return to the matter in the section dealing with the AH sacrifice rites, but here we may suggest some connection with the old Mazdaic ideas which underlie the use of the ossuaria (*ostadans*) in Central Asia<sup>8</sup>.

When the *dik-jash* meat is distributed at the assembly, the first share (*bakkih*) is placed ceremonially before the candle or lamp in the middle of the *safo*, table cloth, and is called *haqq-i pir*, or *haqq-i Pir Bonyadn*. When entering a room after darkness, where a candle or lamp is lit, the darwish salutes the light, saying: "*saldmun 'alay-ka, yâ shâh-i chârâgh!*" i.e. "blessing be upon thee, O King of Lights". When a darwish wishes to attain something by his prayers, he makes a vow "*dar chilla sâshatan*", i.e. to carry out a forty day vigil, during which he keeps a fire alive on a *dâda*, a kind of a portable hearth, which may well be a reminiscence of fire altar<sup>9</sup>. All such relics of the worship of fire could not be either Christian or Islamic origin.

At the initiation ceremony the darwish is branded on the upper part of his right arm by burning cotton, with the *marshid* applying his thumb over the blister<sup>10</sup>. It is usually mentioned as a substitute for an ancient practice of branding the initiates on

<sup>8</sup> The ossuaria were never found outside Central Asia. Prof. S.P. Tolstov, in his "On the Traces of the Ancient Khorsumian Civilization" (Moscow-Leningrad, 1946), summing up his most interesting excavations in Kharizm (Khiva), mentions that almost every ancient city or village had a special house which served as a repository of the ossuaria. Thus the idea of the preservation of bones may have Central Asia as the place of its origin.

<sup>9</sup> The *dâda* is only used in that particular rite, *dar chilla* (or *dar salab*) *sâshatan*. The darwish who goes through this has to pitch a tent in an open place for this. Usually cemeteries near large cities serve as an appropriate location. In many of them one could see light structures of four brick pillars supporting a roof, *châh-âhâna* or *châr-gâp*, as they are called, which were specially erected for the purpose.

<sup>10</sup> The thumb is applied instead of the seal.

the forehead, and this recalls the custom which was observed in Mithraism.

These relics of the ancient Iranian religion apparently exceed the traces of Christianity which are also found in the darwish lore, as the *fiyda* at the initiation, referred to above, with its traces of former use of wine, or the great importance attached to bathing (*ghusl*) at the same ceremony, and various other practices.

Hardly any work on Sufism fails to allude to some obscure Buddhist, or entirely vague "Indian influences". The former are probably quite imaginary, while Indian contacts of the Khâksâr darwishes are genuine, but appear to be of no ancient origin. They are most probably due not to any "spiritual fluids" emanating from India, but the most prosaic wanderings of beggars which even a few decades ago, before the great progress of civilization which has found its expression in the barbed wire fencing in the shape of passports, visas and an unbelievable amount of all kinds of restrictions, sometimes were amazingly extensive<sup>11</sup>. The secret of such contacts having lasting effect must be sought in the well-known passion of the Indian for all kinds of exotic eminence. This permitted many Persian darwishes, posing as great ascetics and saints, to find lengthy spells of comfortable living before their pretence could be finally exposed; meanwhile gathering knowledge of things as they are in India and even becoming accustomed to them.

All this, however, has never produced any genuine "philosophy" in the sense of a balanced doctrine. The darwish was rarely a teacher of the masses. Even what little he could collect and synthesize from various sources he invariably treated as secret wisdom to be revealed only to those willing to go through a lengthy novitiate. His role, however, was important in a different sphere,

<sup>11</sup> In 1928 I met in Shiraz a comparatively young darwish who travelled all the distance between Constantinople and Rangoon, in Burma. I have never visited the latter, but, knowing well Calcutta, Bombay and Cairo, could gain an impression from questioning him that he really saw those places with his own eyes. It is worth noting that all this travelling was made on begging.



in what may be called cross-fertilisation of sectarian outlook. In order to secure steady financial support in the country with sharp differences between the religious groups into which the population was divided, the darwishes had to specialise in catering to the needs of a certain definite circle of kindred communities. By moving among these, these "bees of God", perhaps unconsciously, served much the same purpose as the insects helping in the breeding process of plants, facilitating the contact, mutual understanding, and perhaps borrowing of ideas.

This particularly applies to the all-important process of what we may call "Sufi-fication" not only of the form in which many sectarian doctrines found their expression, but even of Islam itself, as a whole, in the masses. Here also the part of the darwish is that of the popularization. By trying to show himself more educated than he is, he would with the air of revealing "unutterable mysteries", confide various points of Sufic theosophy, which he himself hardly understands, and this, though too little for instruction, would be enough for stimulating interest.

This has great importance for those concerned. It is generally regarded that Sufic form and phraseology, with their well-known ambiguity, were often used by various sects for the purpose of camouflaging the heterodoxy of their belief. It is quite possible that on many occasions the device was consciously used. But it appears beyond doubt that often Sufic interpretations either depended on genuine effort to develop with their help the original rudimentary sectarian theories, or still more often, the necessity of borrowing ready forms of expression. It is necessary to realise that the devotee of little education, however brilliant and talented, finds immense difficulties in the struggle for the form in which to express his thoughts. And the ample wealth of Sufic literature, even in the shape of crumbs conveyed second hand by the uneducated darwish, comes as the most welcome help.

Thus the darwishes to a considerable extent served as advanced guards of the process of the coalescence of sectarianism and even orthodox forms of Islam with Sufism. At present it is sometimes not easy to decide whether a certain Sufico-sectarian text should

be classed as Sufic with sectarian leanings, or as sectarian much influenced by Sufism, and written in a Sufic manner. Prof. H. A. R. Gibb, in a letter, has emphasised the fact that the term *jawānmarāz* in the Ismaili ethical work *Fandiyat-i Jawānmarāz* literally corresponds with the Arabic *jabarut*, the idea on which so much has been written in Sufic literature.

### 6. Islam and Ismailism.

Even now, after five centuries of Shi'ite domination in Persia, we find a substantial proportion of Sunnites among the Kurdish tribes in Persian Kurdistan. It seems likely therefore that originally Sunnite Islam was the predominating school here, although Shi'ism had also been strong since the earliest period. In view of the illiteracy of the people, however, it would be difficult to believe that such differences were sharp and clear. Most probably, as elsewhere in similar conditions, such popular, "illiterate" Islam, much diluted with relics of old beliefs, local custom and superstition, was fairly flexible, adopting either pro-Shi'ite or anti-Shi'ite attitude under the influence of various political and other factors. In the localities with which we are here concerned we find even a Shi'ite dynasty during the earlier mediaeval period, namely the Hamdānids of Mosul (317-394/929-1003). Their Aleppo branch was subject to the Fatimids.

It is impossible to imagine that the local Shi'ism was of the same variety as the Ithna-'ashariem revived later by the Safawids. Most probably it was to a great extent sectarian. As we have seen above (see p. 18), by the beginning of the vi<sup>th</sup> c. certain Kurdish groups were already converted to Ismailism ("Qarmatianism", as 'Abdu'l-Qāhir al-Baghdādī writes, applying to them the abusive term which implies their identity with the Qarmatians), and during the vi<sup>th</sup> c. the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, found there followers of the Imams of Alamūt.

If we take Kurdistan as a whole, and the conservatism of tribal outlook, we may see that during the mediaeval period some tribes could have been Christian,—in fact some still were Paulician

in the six-th c.<sup>3</sup>. Some perhaps even remained faithful to the ancient Devasyanian Mazdaism. We may suspect this in the case of the *amān Majās* of 'Abū'l-Qāṣir al-Baḡhdādī, and of Arevordiq Gregory Magistros, who flourished about the same time and died in 1058 A.D. (perhaps they were the same as the "Solis Fili" of Nerses Shnorhali, d. 1173 A.D.), as quoted above.

It is difficult to find out to which persuasion the immediate ancestors of the AH belonged. Tradition (T 60-61) preserves a story concerning Shaykh 'Isā, the official father of Sultān Şahāk (a figure somewhat similar to that of St. Joseph of the Gospels). In any case the milieu in which he moves is Islamic, although it is impossible to see whether it is Sunnite or Shi'ite. He goes on a pilgrimage to Mecca, recites the *namāz*, and thus could neither have been a Christian, or AH, who do not recite *Şar'fat* prayers.

As we are still very far from knowing the AH tradition in its entirety, it is impossible to offer any suggestion about the sequence of religious strata, whether or not it was really Christianity-Sunnism-Isma'ilism, in its darwishized form, and ultimately the "reformed" beliefs of the AH. A point which is beyond doubt, however, is that the general basis of the AH religion, despite various heterogeneous relics of antiquity and Christianity found in it, is Islamic, more precisely—Shi'ite. As is reflected in its tradition, in its spirit and general outlook, it could only have come from one school of Islam, namely that of Nizari Isma'ilism, and only after its having been reformed at the "Great Resurrection", the *Qiyāmat-i Buzurg*, or *Qiyāmat-i Qiyāmat*, which was proclaimed in Alamūt in 559/1164. This reform abrogated the Fatimid policy of insistence upon the obligatory nature of both the *şāhir* and *bāḡin*, i.e. adherence to both the letter and spirit of religion, permitting "worship in spirit only", and thus ushering the community into the world of *ḥaqīqat*, i.e. fully revealed Perfect, Ultimate, the Highest and all-comprising Divine Truth, which was partly revealed through the Final Apostle of God, and

was completed by the Imam whose mission was that of the *Mutimim*<sup>3</sup>. It was for this reason that the Nizari Isma'ilis assumed the name of the *Ahl-i Haqq* or *Ahl-i Haqqat*, i.e. followers of that Truth. The injunctions of the *şar'fat* were not cancelled or rejected, but had to be observed only in their inner, original and spiritual meaning of which they formed external symbols. Under pressure of necessity, for the sake of self-protection against persecution, the Isma'ilis were permitted to practice the *taqiyya*, externally conforming with the prescriptions of the *şar'fat*.

With Isma'ili rigidity the AH insisted on pure monotheism, *tanohā*, and used various methods to explain the antithesis between the idea of the Oneness of God and the plurality of the visible world. In their somewhat primitive and straightforward way of the illiterate people they thought that the Deity, in order to reveal Itself to human beings, had to manifest Itself in human form. Thus comes the doctrine of Incarnation.

It was probably this doctrine which formed the central point of the "reform" of Sultān Şahāk, which was prepared both by the old reminiscences of Christian ideas, and the post-Alamūt Isma'ili theory of the Divinity of the Imam. Both these, however, implied an element of certain ambiguity: there was always the idea of God as being something distinct both from the Divine Christ and Divine Imam. The primitive Kurds entirely removed such ambiguity, making their Incarnation the human form ("dress") of the Creator (*Khāḡiq* or *Khollāḡ*) Himself.

It is quite possible that the Isma'ili theory of the deified Imam came into the Kurdish milieu at the time when the old Christian ideas still remained fresh in the memory of the people, even under the superficial Sunnite outlook. The theory of the continuous Imamāt, based on the principle that the earth cannot remain without an Imam for even a moment, probably evoked much enthusiasm.

<sup>3</sup> The term *mutimim*, "completer", is applied to the Imam because their mission is to "complete" the revealed part of the Prophet's message by the gradual release of the portion which was only revealed to 'Alī the Abī Ṭālib and his successors. See W. Ivanow, "Brief Survey of the Evolution of Isma'ilism", 1952, p. 57 and note 1.

<sup>1</sup> "Writing as late as 1820, Injīšan notes that in the modern pashalik of Bayand there was a tribe of Kurds called Manicheans, by which his informant no doubt meant Thonraki or Paulicians" (Key ix).

Despite the "reform", the AH tradition simply reveals the spirit, or mentality, which was the basis of such beliefs.

Probably, however, the active policy of centralisation taken up by the Nizari Imams of Anjūdān, as has been suggested above (p. 19) and the curtailment of the powers of the local *pirs*, led to the secession of Sulṭān Ṣāḥāḳ with his supporters. In their opposition to the hereditary Imams, handing their Divine authority from father to son, they made a clever bid to substitute the principle of the hereditary continuity with the theory of periodical Incarnation, modelling it on the Christian beliefs in the fatherless birth of Christ, under the vague plea of a return to the *dastūr-i sābiq wa qadīm*, i.e. ancient and eternal rules (or laws). Those concerned could certainly manage to produce "fatherless Incarnations", without much difficulty.

The same applies to the institution of "angels". Although we have the precedents in Mithra's servants who ride with him in his gadrigue (cf. Chapter on relics of solar religion), the Apostles of Jesus, etc., the details of the doctrine of the AH "angels" appear to be of Nizari Ismaili origin. In the Fatimid philosophy the hierarchy of the *da'wat*, the *ḥudūd-i d-dīn*, are plainly designed as the "extension" of the functions of the Imam, namely of his preaching and instructing (*ta'lim*) activities. There was no hint of such dignitaries being personally concerned with anything supernatural. The post or position of every one of them was a part, or detail, of a Divine institution, but the persons who filled these posts were ordinary mortals.

Quite a different position came about in the Nizari post-Alamūt practice. Now, with the Imams living in strict disguise, control of the community had to be carried through their trusted representatives or agents who received the general Sufic designation of the *pirs*. The principle of the *da'wat* hierarchy was not given up, but the system was greatly simplified. Probably for enhancing the prestige of these dignitaries, of the highest rank, theories were introduced about certain spiritual ties between the *hujjat* and the Imam. In further development it was a kind of consubstantiality with the Imam which was claimed for the chief *hujjat*, who was

believed to possess no individuality or personal will of his own, thus becoming an extension of the Imam, acting by his will only. He thus became the real "gate", *bab*, to the Imam, who could only be approached through him.<sup>3</sup>

This is exactly what we see in the institution of "angels" in the AH doctrine, whose consubstantiality is expressed in various crude symbols in mythology. Thus Khāwandgār, the Creator, "evokes" Banyāmin, takes out Dāwūd from His sleeve, makes Pir-i Mūsā from His hair (*mā*), and so forth,—folklore motifs which have parallels in many nations.

Just as the Incarnation is one and the same Eternal Divine Substance, again and again manifesting Itself each time in a different "dress" of a different human being, so the original substances (*dhāt*) of the "angels" become re-incarnated with every Manifestation in a new *dān*.

It is a pity that the AH tradition (as far as it is accessible to us) gives us not a single allusion concerning the origin of the "angels", whether they are also expected to come in a supernatural way. Generally speaking, there are almost no references to their personal and family affairs.

This brings us to the interesting, but difficult subject of metempsychosis, belief in re-birth. Although, as is well-known, allusions to this are found in the Coran, orthodox Islamic theology categorically rejects it as sheer heresy. Apparently the AH belief distinguishes between the Divine Substance, with Its consubstantial extensions, *not* created from nothing, and what they call *dhāt-i qurṭ*, "hard, permanent or lasting" substance, *zard-gīl*, "yellow clay", on the one hand, and the rest on the other,—*dhāt-i mihmān*, passing, not lasting, incidental substance of ordinary men. While apparently the re-birth of the persons of the former category, together with the Incarnation, is essential for mankind and the universe, the re-birth of the ordinary mortals has apparently only

<sup>3</sup> Such ideas appear as already developed in the work of the *vīlāhī* c., the *Rawḍat-taḥrīr* or (*Tajawwuz*) by Nāṣir-i d-dīn Ṭūlī (Ism. Soc. Series A no. 4, 1950), text, p. 100. They attain their greatest development by the end of the *ṣijvīsh* c.

positive purpose: the sinners will be reborn as filthy animals (probably used instead of the word "pig"). Nothing is apparently said about the re-birth of the good and pious and their reward. This matter does not appear to have been properly elaborated or clarified, as compared with the theory propounded in the *Ummu'l-kitab*<sup>4</sup>, or, on the Indian basis, in the doctrine of Satpanth<sup>5</sup>. In any case, Resurrection and Judgment Day, with the advent of the Mahdi, are very often referred to here, although this may be a later imprint of the Ithna-'ashari influences.

To sum up, it would be difficult to prove whether the AH doctrine originated from any school of Islam other than that of the Persian Nizari Ismailism of the post-Alamüt period, whether it was introduced in its pure form by missionaries, or whether it reached Kurdistan already modified and adulterated by the darwishes. Its basic tenets stand clearly out, and their modification can be easily explained if we accept that the theory of the "reform" by Sulţān Şahk was in reality a secession from Ismailism prompted by the selfish considerations of the sectarian leaders.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ummu'l-kitab*, the XIV-*th* question (pp. 51-53) in which re-birth is not connected with reward or punishment but with the age at the time of death. Cf. also my "Notes sur l'*Ummu'l-kitab*", in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1933, pp. 466-467 and 474-475.

<sup>5</sup> The Satpanth doctrine (cf. "Collectanea I", pp. 34-35) is essentially based on the Hinduistic outlook. Paradise and Hell are superimposed on it, and produce the impression of the duplication of the *Idea*.

### III. WORSHIP.

#### 1. Religious Assembly.

The expression "forms of worship" would not suit the AH because they have neither rigid rules as found in orthodox Islam, nor elaborate programmes for religious ceremonies as have the Christian priests. As one may expect from an almost illiterate community without any priestly class, there is much fluidity in the practices which conform with the basic customs more in spirit and outline rather than with the letter,—even if in this case we take "letter" to mean firmly established tradition.

The same element of illiteracy has an important development. In great Christian churches, the members of every congregation are fully conscious of their membership to one "church" which is understood as the totality of all individual congregations which in their religious affairs are ruled over by a hierarchy of the recognized religious authority. In Islam the sense of membership to the world brotherhood of Muslims is perhaps stronger than the sense of one's belonging to his congregation. But, as far as we may judge from outside, in the case of the AH it is the *jam*, i.e. the religious assembly consisting of admitted members which is the basis, the church. The individual members, surely, are fully conscious of their unity with their co-religionists elsewhere. But the sense of priority of their own *jam*, apparently still closely tied to the hereditary connection and allegiance to the clan or tribe, dominates everything. The *jam*, "here and now", is understood oecumenically. It cannot alter anything in the doctrine, remaining loyal to the "covenant of Banyāmin", but also cannot accept any changes from outside, because no such thing as religious hierarchy and even religious authority,—except the Incarnation,—is accepted.

The *jam* under ordinary conditions prevailing with the rural AH seems to be thoroughly permeated with the spirit of a large patriarchal family. Quarrels and dissensions do of course exist, but the old tradition does not permit them to penetrate the atmosphere of the *jam*, from which petty mundane affairs are

excluded. The tradition preserves a halo of sanctity around it. It is often compared with Ka'ba,—*jam-i bātin Ka'ba'i haqiqat ast* (T 147). This comparison does not literally imply the Ka'ba as a sacred building, but refers to it as a symbol of the highest sanctity in Islam. It fully coincides with St. Paul's words (I Cor. iii, 16-17): "Know ye not that ye are the temple of the living God and the spirit of God is in you? . . . For the temple of God is holy, the which ye are". The Deity is invisibly present at each *jam*, as Sultān Ṣaḥāk (T 167) says: . . . *panj nafar to har chand bāshad bakhsh kunand mā anjā karim*, i.e. "wherever from five people up to any number.. (ritually, as in *jam*) distribute (any edibles). We are present there". This entirely corresponds with Matthew, xviii, 20: "Wheresoever two or three persons shall be met together in my name, I am there in the midst of them". This idea is particularly emphasised in the symbolism of various apotheoses in which an enormous multitude of saints who are present is split into a large number of separate *jams*, each at one and the same time presided over by the Incarnation in person.

Such exalted ideas about the sanctity of the *jam*, coupled together with tribal mentality, make any offence against it, or what may be called "contempt of the *jam*", a very serious matter, punishable with barbarian severity. Apparently the lightest punishment is excommunication which implies social death, as in the case of violation of any taboo. Thoughts stimulated by sexual lust during the ceremony are punished with death (as illustrated by the story of Sayyid Iskandar in *Miri*, 3-4, 115; cf. Appendix II here). This is because events in the *jam* have cosmic significance, as can be seen from the story (T 82) in which Sultān Ṣaḥāk prohibits a member from assaulting an offender in the *jam*.

Such great sanctity apparently also endows the *jam* with enormous magical power. Pebbles collected from the *jam* room, and thrown at the enemy with an appropriate incantation, can destroy armies and whole districts (cf. T 71-72, 151).

Historically there is little doubt that even if the roots of the *jam* go back to that remote period which preceded Mithraism, its features, as fixed in the texts so far available to us, at least bear

strong imprint of sectarian Christian, probably Paulician, ideas. Mithraism also had its "mysteries" which included "communion",—a bas-relief gives a picture of it (C 159). But, probably as with everything in Mithraism, this ceremony was greatly adulterated with alien elements: the participants, divided into different ranks, wearing masks and theatrical dress, crowing and roaring, etc,— "behaved as madmen". All this, surely, has nothing in common with the spirit and ideas of propriety in ancient Iranian religion.

In the section on Christian influences in the AH beliefs we have already discussed many possible contacts of the sect with the ideas of the Paulicians whose *agapē* comes so strikingly close to the *jam*. The difference, probably entirely related to the varying proportion of literacy, is that while the *agapē* was not the only form of religious meeting with the Paulicians, in the AH practice such meetings have become valid only if some estates, however little are ritually distributed (*bakhsh kunand*, T 167) as the basic feature. This communal meal has become accepted as a general introduction to every religious ceremony; sacrifice, initiation, marriage, *dhikr*. It is noteworthy that the Druzes, whose teaching seems to be equally connected with Paulician ideas, have in the course of time entirely given up the *agapē* element, and developed that of the *dhikr*. At their religious meetings, *khanwa*, no food is served, and the proceedings are solely devoted to the reading of sacred books.

Just as with the Druzes, the AH do not admit the uninitiated to the *jam*. This includes the nearest relatives of members, their wives, who have not been initiated. Desiring the honour of being the first foreigner to witness the proceedings at the *jam*, I have always done my best to persuade the elders of communities with which I have come into contact to permit me to watch the proceedings, even from an adjacent room, or from the roof of the house. My request has often met with sympathy and a broad-minded attitude, and many a time I have been close to realising my dream, but always at the last moment opposition has overpowered the more liberal devotees.

The AH have no special places of worship and meet in private houses, by mutual agreement. The entrance and even approaches

to the meeting places are guarded by volunteers. Meetings are held more or less regularly in cold seasons, especially on the nights from Thursday to Friday (*shab-i jam'a*) and on the first night of the lunar month (what in India is called *chand-rat*). In summer, however, the programme is upset because it is trying for a large number of people to sit in a room closed to assure privacy. The *jam* is attended both by men and women. The stories that women are not admitted are merely white lies told by the AH to combat the usual vile allegations of the enemies. The quorum at which the *jam* becomes valid is five members (T 167). The *jam* may be called at any time of the day or night, but in practice it ordinarily takes place at night,—*shab-i jam*.

In the meeting place (*maydān*) the members (*shā'ifa*) sit in a circle, if there are few people, or, more usually, in two parallel rows (*qafār*), men and women separately. At the end opposite to the entrance (*sar-i jam*) sit the office bearers, while the people of lesser importance are placed at the "lower" end, *pa'in-i jam*. The expression *kānār-i* or *bārān-i jam* refers to members who for some reason are unable to attend the meeting. The members sit squatted, on carpets, around the *sufrā*, "table cloth" (although there is no table). One or several lamps, or candles, or *ph-sār* (a copper stand with several wicks burning sheep's fat) are placed in the middle of it. Participants in the ceremony must take a bath and don clean dress before coming (T 167). No talking is permitted, all must sit in a dignified way.

The proceedings at the *jam*, chiefly in connection with the sacrifice (*qurbānī*) are described in our texts. All such passages have been literally translated, unless forming repetition, and the reader is advised to refer to Part IV, the summary of the contents of the texts.

*Office bearers.* There are two office bearers in the *jam*, both elected, i.e. appointed by mutual agreement, the *khalīfa* and the *kāshim*. The *khalīfa*, which means "lieutenant" (i.e. of Pir Banyāmin?), acts as a parish president. He presides over the *jam* meetings, and recites necessary prayers. It is not quite certain whether in earlier periods he was called *pir* or *pir-i dallū*. The

archetypal *pir-i dallū* is Dāwūd (T 79). In many passages we read about the "72 *pirs*", while in context they may be parish presidents on a deputiation to the King of the World (cf. T 169). In any case the expression *pir* as a technical term is not used now.

The *kāshim's* duties are those of manager and administrator. He distributes the meal, with the help of volunteers. It seems, however, that there is much overlapping in the duties of these two.

In private life, outside the *jam*, these office bearers have no authority. The *khalīfa* apparently does not act as an honorary magistrate in settling personal disputes in the community. (This is the competence of the council of the elders). In fact, it often happens that in ordinary life the office bearers occupy a humble position and are entirely dominated by the more wealthy and influential members.

Quite a different position is that of the Sayyid or *ajāq* (pronounced *ajāq*) whose participation in the ceremony of initiation is obligatory. He must belong to one of those recognized lines (already discussed above, pp. 4-7). In fact, there is much in his position which approaches the Paulician idea of the "elect", with the "dwelling of the spirit of God" in him being legitimately replaced by the Shi'ite sectarian idea of his direct descent from the Incarnation. By no means every community can afford to have a Sayyid of their own,—they seem to be not numerous. Already 250 years ago (T 153) provision had to be made, should a Sayyid not be available, for the *khalīfa* to act in his place. A ruling which is attributed to Sultān Şahāik himself (T 168)—although of course, it belongs to a much later period,—says the Sayyid must always be a man, and not a woman, even of Sayyid parentage. This may prove that the rarity of genuine Sayyids suggested the employment of women-Sayyids. This, however, was rejected on religious grounds. We also find (T 153) that the Sayyid is not a salaried servant of the *jam*, but receives *ḥajyd*, donations. This term generally applies in Persia to the alms given to Sayyids.

*The Funds of the Jam.* Although it is not easy to collect direct information because on nothing are the AH so uncommunicative as on financial questions, it is probable that the management

of the community's funds forms one of the duties of the *khalifa* (formerly *pir*). He receives (apparently as his private share) the skin of the sacrificed sheep (T 153). "It does not matter whether the sacrifice is offered by an individual (*qurbān-i khāna*) or by the congregation (*qurbān-i B*)."

Our texts (T 153, 158) mention two different funds, *māl-i Dāwūd* and *māl-i jam* which are used to purchase the sheep for sacrifice (*qurbān-i Dāwūd* and *qurbān-i jam*), although for some reason not explained, it is prohibited to mix the funds together. We find (T 158) the story of a certain shaykh Rasūl, a wealthy man, who every year payed from the produce of his fields (as *maḥ'et-i khāḥ*) a hundred tumans (worth) as *māl-i Dāwūd* in addition to the *māl-i jam* (*bā māl-i Dāwūd... bā ghayr-i māl-i jam*).

The *māl-i Dāwūd* at the time when these rules were introduced was fixed at a hundred *dīnārs* per head. The original *dīnār* during the early period of Islam was a golden coin. But by gradual depreciation, it was reduced before the first world war to the value of about one fiftieth of a farthing. A hundred *dīnārs* ("yah *sanzār*") was at that time a nickel coin which had a purchasing power approximately equal to one pound of bread. Over the last fifty years, with still further devaluation, even the hundred *dīnār* coin has become worth only a small fraction of a farthing.

This microscopic tax was apparently paid monthly, together with the obligatory *khidmat* contributions in kind (rice, butter, bread and meat). Cash payments in lieu were apparently everywhere allowed, and they probably formed what is here called *māl-i jam*. Why these funds were kept separately is not clear, but perhaps it made control easier. The *khalifas* were, apparently, not always men of integrity, as can be seen from our texts. There are many stories of their stealing from sacrifices, or showing favouritism in the distribution of food.

There are two aetiological myths explaining the origin of the *māl-i Dāwūd*, both of them apparently of recent origin, judging from their absurdity. Our texts (T 151) narrate that the people of Hawramān intended to apostatise *en masse*, and were therefore

meted out a terrible punishment. Anyhow (although their village was destroyed) they managed to collect 100 *dīnārs* from each house, and offered the total sum to Dāwūd as commission for his intervention on their behalf. He did his job so well that the people simply did not believe that the catastrophe had really taken place. As with many things in the AH tradition, this Dāwūd's commission has become a regular tax "in commemoration".

The other version, Minī, 1-3, is that a man on board a ship in a stormy sea was about to be thrown overboard as a human sacrifice. He appealed to the King of the World who responded by sending Dāwūd, and the latter saved the ship. The grateful travellers threw money to him which he refused to accept and only a "*sanzār*" piece remained overlooked in the folds of his turban. This, also in commemoration, has become the origin of the tax of Dāwūd. It is merely a fairy tale with a didactic tendency, probably invented at the later Qajar period when there was already a coin of a hundred *dīnārs*, and was regarded as of very little value.

## 2. Sacrifice.

Before we proceed we must completely forget the loose application of the expressions "sacrifice", "to sacrifice", commonly used in various Western languages, in the sense of giving something out cheaply, waste, etc. In the AH beliefs the idea of the sacrifice is strictly defined, and has no implication of this kind.

Of the three religions with which the ancestors of the AH have had connection, namely, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Islam, only Islam preserves the practice of blood sacrifice, and this only in one particular case, as a relic of the ancient rites of pilgrimage to Mekka, made obligatory to all Muslims. It is offered on the 10th of the month of Dhū'l-hijja, which is regarded as a great festival, *'id-i Qurbān*, and signifies the end of the yearly pilgrimage.

The AH sacrifice has nothing to do with the pilgrimage, and can be offered on any day, in connection with different religious occasions. It therefore cannot be regarded as having been taken over from Islam. We have to go centuries back, long before the

advent of Islam, to find the practice of blood sacrifice much developed in the ancient, unformed Iranian religion, Devayānium Māndāism. We may at once remember the immense slaughter of cattle in the "beatombs" of Darius and Xerxes. Mithraic taurobolia, etc. Even the central cosmogonic myth of Mithraism is connected with the slaughter of the cosmic bull.

As we have seen, by various details which long since have become parts of folklore rather than living religion, the AH beliefs have preserved many relics from that remote time. And yet we see that sacrifice is still surrounded with great veneration, so much so that it may even be treated as a sacrament. All this would be strange and inexplicable, but for the interesting suggestions offered by the Paulician contacts,—or, generally speaking, the contact with any other sect of that type, the "old believers". Immolation of animals as part of the routine worship was a prominent local feature of ancient Christianity in Armenia and adjacent countries. Church authorities had to fight a great deal in order to exterminate such barbarous usage.

The matter, however, is not as clear as would be desired, because testimonies are only forthcoming from the enemy camp, religious purists, for whom the custom was merely a relic of heathenism. What was mostly attacked by them was the idea that a sacrifice should be offered for ancestor for the purpose of vicariously Christianizing him, and thus improving his chance of well-being in the hereafter. This was called *masal*, but it is not clear whether there were sacrifices for different purposes. There, surely, must have been, however, and the sacrifice for the vicarious Christianizing must have been adapted from the old practice to suit the new purposes introduced with the advent of Christianity.

"The Paulicians evidently had the common meal of flesh preliminary to the sacred rite of the Eucharist" (*Key* clxiv). They did not imply that the purpose of killing the animal was for the expiation of their ancestors' sins (*Key*, *ibid.*), but what is important for us to note is the connection of the killing of the animal with the *agapē* which preceded the Eucharist. When we study the AH sacrifice, what stands out is not only the absence of the indication

of a definite purpose, but also the presence of certain details which surely, originally, had quite clear and sensible implications.

The sacrifice always and everywhere had a definite purpose,—perhaps to bribe the deity in order to obtain a desired object, or to pay a debt for favours shown. In Islam the sacrifice is now often interpreted as an offering of thanksgiving for the opportunity granted to visit the holy places. We may well understand the *masal* of the ancient Armenian Christians, but the AH sacrifice has no defined purpose, it is simply an act of courtesy which stresses the devotion either of the individual or of the congregation. This fact may well suggest that some detail was omitted, forgotten, or concealed, although the rite itself was retained by the tradition.

We have discussed the stories of the first sacrifice in the chapter on cosmogony. At the first intention to create the world (T 6) the Creator manifested himself in a pearl in which He appeared from the midst of five *pūrats* (the quorum of a jaw), and they at once engaged themselves in the sacrifice of an animal. Unfortunately, its kind is not mentioned, and also there is not a word indicating the purpose of the ceremony. When it was over, a *javz* (nutmeg) appeared from the drop of perspiration on the One's forehead. The purpose of the nut is also not explained unless we take it as part of the ceremony of the "declaration over the nut". The Creator then announced his decision to create 18,000 worlds.

We can clearly see that the person who conceived this myth took the sacrifice to be simply an ordinary part of a solemn religious ceremony, with no independent symbolical purpose. The animal was killed simply to be eaten, and the eating was an inseparable function of the religious assembly.

Very important is the detail appearing in all stories of the sacrifice,—the position given to the foreleg of the animal to be slaughtered. It is that of the posture of the *gāpi* or *gābāng*, described in the chapter on darwishism. It must be taken together

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T 131 where Muhammad Bek over the nut (*su-jawz*) solemnly enters a promise, — or perhaps makes a covenant (*qāw bāshā*), — that the AH on Judgment Day will be the first to see the manifestation of the Deity (*Shāh-kaw*).



with the separation of the flesh from the bones (which latter are usually given burial according to the rites afforded to human beings). This may to an extent contain allusions to the vicarious christening discussed earlier. The animal is thus arranged in the posture of a devotee; its flesh is consumed with prayers, and the bones thus sanctified, are buried to rest till the Resurrection Day when the substitute for the ancestor thus mystically created will rise to be animated with his master's spirit. Not, of course, in the form of a sheep, but as a new man into whom the animal has been transformed by prayers. With the ancestors already being Christians the question may be simply one of expiation of their sins, by magical substitution of the resurrected flesh of the dead sinner with that of a new sinless being.

Such belief in religious magic could hardly have endured at the time when the AH came onto the stage in the XVI-th c. It was perhaps quite genuine in the case of primitive Armenians during the first centuries of Christianity, but its real implication had long since been forgotten. What did linger was the custom in which the agapé connected with the killing of a sheep preceded the Eucharist. With the change to Islam the killing of the sheep could have easily been identified with the Islamic *qurbân*, while its ancient association with the Eucharist probably endowed it with an air of special sanctity. The tradition (T 168) attributes the words urging the community to treat the sacrificial meal with special veneration, "as the blessing of the pure and righteous" (*mihl-i tabarruk-i pâkân nu pâkân*) to Sulţân Şahâk. It should be noted that the Arabic-speaking Christians use the same word, *qurbân*, for the Eucharist. Thus the ancient Iranian blood sacrifice most probably assumed the appearance of the sectarian Christian pre-sacrificial meal, and later was given an Islamic interpretation. This is possibly how its original and definite purpose became completely forgotten, and it became simply a custom surrounded with special sanctity, and for all practical purposes taking the place of the Eucharist.

It appears that the AH took quite in earnest the association of the Islamic *qurbân* with their killing of the sheep for the religious

meal. They applied to it all the injunctions of *shar'at*, and in addition retained some old customs. In *shar'at* the species of animals allowed for sacrifice are few: sheep, or goat, bullock and camel. There is a question of whether wild animals of the same genus may be used, and the AH emphatically prefer them. On all important occasions we find references to wild animals which come "from nowhere", "from the hidden world", etc., to give themselves in immolation. Kurdistan is not a camel-breeding area, and the Iranians never had much taste for the flesh of camel. In addition, a camel is an expensive proposition, not easy to afford for the poor peasant or nomad. There is therefore no mention of camel in connection with sacrifice in our texts.

Much nonsense has been written about the AH sacrifice. Even cocks and fishes have been mentioned as victims. The fact is that *not* every animal, even of the sacrificeable variety, killed for consumption at the *jam*, is a sacrifice. The ceremony of immolation requires the *niyyat*, definite intention, clearly declared, and special prayers to be recited. In the AH practice the animal should be made standing in the devotional posture of the *qâpl*, described above, before being slaughtered. In the *Khâkâr* practice the place in which the animal is killed, and its flesh cooked, is carefully screened from the eyes of the uninitiated (just as in the slaughter of animals by the Sikhs in India).

For the actual sacrifice only young, full-grown males, without defect or blemish, and if legitimately purchased from their legitimate owners, whosoever they may be, are allowed (T 168).

It is important to avoid confusion in the terms used by the AH in connection with these matters. The meals with which the *jam* is inseparably tied are supplied by the members. The contribution may be either in cash or in kind, in the latter either in a form to be directly consumed (sweets, fruit, etc.) or requiring cooking.

Offerings are of two kinds: *niyât*, which is a generic name for offering, of whatever form it may be, donated by an individual or individuals voluntarily, and *Ehîdat*, which is a regular donation, associated with specific periods of time or fixed dates. It is also

voluntary in principle, but by custom made obligatory and uniform to all. Sacrifice, *qurbān*, may be either offered by a private individual (*khāssa*) in connection with an important event in his life, such as initiation, marriage, etc., or it may be purchased, as we have seen, either from the *mal-i Dōvād* or *mal-i jam* funds, by common agreement.

Meat, of course, is not eaten alone; at least bread, vegetables, butter for cooking, etc., are also required at the ceremony. All this does not constitute the *qurbān*, and is either donated as *niyāz*, or purchased from the *jam* funds. Thus when speaking about the sacrifice, one unavoidably has to touch on the question of other forms of offering.

*Niyāz* means donation, present, and so forth, and is often combined with the expression *nadh*, vow, or donation *ex voto*, into *nadh-u niyāz*, which is just the same. *Niyāz-i shukrāna*, or simply *shukrāna*, is also the same. Sometimes we have to read this as *shakarāna*, sweets, which are often donated and distributed at the *jam*.

*Khidmat* originally means "service", and here is used in the sense of "obligation", someone's "benefit". It never means with the AH anything like the Christian "divine service",—such an idea does not exist. The basic *khidmats* are, monthly: a cock, 10 *strs* (less than a pound) rice, 10 *strs* butter, towards the entertainment of *jam*, from every house. Yearly: a sacrifice (of a sheep), male, without defects (*nush-u sar*); *khidmat-i sh rāsa*, i.e. entertainment during the three days' yearly festival (amount unspecified). Also *khidmat-i ahl-i qubūr* (I could not get any details, —but apparently it is an entertainment held on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of a relative). There are apparently local customary *khidmats* in addition which may vary from place to place.

The term *khidmat*, usually in combination *khayr-i khidmat* or *khayr-u khidmat*, is also employed in the sense of righteous actions, *karḍr*. Such expression as *sar-i khayr-u khidmat būdan* means "to lead a strictly righteous life." This has nothing to do with *khidmat* used in the sense of the form of the meal served at the

*jam*, as in expressions: *khidmat pubhā shad* (T 139); *khidmat zah* *shad* (T 115—was consumed), or (T 148) *khidmat an qurbān baksh kardand* (they distributed the offering and sacrificial meat), or: *khidmat, shakarāna, niyāz, qurbān baksh ānsād* (T 167).

In the text we find several descriptions of the sacrifice (T 6, 25, 51, 73, 102, 119, 133), and in some of them (T 6, 73, 165) an interesting detail is found: *az sir-i gilow-i qurbān naqdās birān āvardand* (T 6) meaning: "from below the neck (or throat) of the sacrificial animal they took out the *naqdās*" (which was cooked, served, and distributed in the *jam*). The expression *naqdās* is not to be found in dictionaries, and inquiries made with highly educated Persians have proved that it is quite unfamiliar to them. It is not easy to see from the context what it can mean. It cannot be blood because it is clear from some other passages (as T 128, 133) that blood was allowed to run as is practiced by orthodox Muslims. It is probable that the term refers to edible intestines. But if this is so, what is here meant by the phrase *az sir-i gilow*, "from below the neck?" Does it imply that only the intestines enclosed in the chest are referred to?

One of the most interesting features of the AH sacrifice is the astonishing tenacity of the idea of the immolation of human beings. Strangely enough, the cases of human sacrifice in the tradition are associated with the latest Incarnations, Muḥammad Bek and Khān Atiḥ, and with the Turkish milica. On p. 128 it is narrated how the followers of Muḥammad Bek, seized with religious enthusiasm, insisted on his "taking off the veil from his mission", and expressed their readiness to sacrifice their lives for what probably was intended as a warlike adventure (*sar dar rāh-i Mowlā mi-dāim*,—willing to lay down our heads for the sake of 'Alī).<sup>2</sup> But Muḥammad Bek stages the human sacrifice in earnest.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *sar dar rāh-i ... dāim*, as in this case, obviously implies the sacrificing of one's life while fighting for... But in the case of the demand for volunteers to be sacrificed, as in T 128, and of Sayyid Iskandar in Minl, 3-4, the implication must be different. Perhaps it is based on a widespread superstition in many Islamic countries that solemn welcome to an important person must be accompanied with the killing of a sheep, or even a bull, and its blood being poured across the road, and the visitor

Three volunteers enter his tent ready to submit to the operation, only to find at the last moment that it is merely a test of their devotion.<sup>2</sup>

In a story narrated in MinI, 3-4, 115 a certain Sayyid Iskandar offers his life to expiate for another's sin, and it is to be concluded from the context that he was really slaughtered. The story obviously belongs to Atiah Bek's time.

Strange though it may be, in view of the undoubted devotion of the AH, cases of stealing by piths from the offerings and the sacrifice, or favouritism, seem to be no rarity. It is therefore enjoined (T 167) that the sacrifice and all other offerings should be presented to the *jam* intact (*mukr*), i.e. without anything being previously withdrawn from them, "because (T 168) even if an atom from them is left out, it will not be credited in the "hidden book" (*daftar-i bāḥin*) to those who offer it, and will not be accepted". In the *jam* everything must be divided equally amongst those present, however numerous they are (T 167). First those

being invited to step over it. The idea is to ward off evil spirits, because they are believed to be unable to cross the line of blood. Thus the fact of volunteering to be sacrificed "on the path" of a person is an expression of the most intense devotion.

<sup>2</sup> Human sacrifice, and even volunteers for it, is by no means such extraordinary, legendary matter even in our times. In India rarely a few months pass without a case of this kind being reported in newspapers. The latest accounts reported (in the "Free Press Journal" of 27-5-1933) when these lines were being written, reads as follows: "Kohikode, May 26. (Reported from the Chitrakal taluka, near Calicut, Southern India)... At the recent annual festival of the temple (of Kāl, at Cheruthuzham) a human hand was cut off and the blood was given as an offering to the deity. The victim gets Rs. 20 (i.e. one and a half pound sterling) and some cereals for allowing his hand to be cut off. This has been a common practice here". More comes only two months later, in the same newspaper, of 21-7-33: "Jabalpur, July 20. Chandu, a Dhimar youth of Garha, a ward of Jabalpur, and an ardent devotee of Goddess Kāl, who tried to appease the deity by sacrificing his own daughter at the temple altar, has been sentenced and ordered to be consigned to the gallows by Shri G. A. Phadke, District and Sessions Judge, Jabalpur". Strangely, it should be added that cases do occur from time to time of Muslims offering human sacrifices to Kāl. Not so long ago a Muslim fisherman in Bengal immolated to her his own son in the hope of increasing the catch of fish.

who are present receive their "shares"; then a prayer is recited, and only then "shares" are given for those who could not attend the *jam*. This is probably mentioned to prevent disproportionate "shares" given to relatives of those who distribute the food.

Meals served at the *jam* should not be regarded as merely an opportunity for satisfying one's hunger. This vividly reminds us of St. Paul (I Cor. xi, 21) who deprecated the practice of coming hungry to the Eucharist, no less than that of coming drunk (Key lxxix).

All unedible parts of the carcass of the sacrificed animal (bones, hoofs, and so on, except for the skin) are buried together with the bones which are carefully separated from the meat. The skin becomes the property of the *khālfa* (T 153). The burial of the bones, etc., has no connection with the "resuscitation" (cf. MinII, 209-210, where much confusion has been introduced from the late V. Zhoukovsky's fantasies). The idea that the sacrificed animal was revived by God really existed, but in Hinduistic milieu (cf. "Collectanea I", p. 38). The story of the revival of the fish from which only bones were left (MinII, 210, footnote 3) has nothing whatever to do with sacrifice or offerings at the *jam*. It appears in full in the texts, 164-5, and is probably of Turkish or Asia Minor origin.

### 3. Initiation.

It is a great pity that while our texts give much information concerning the *jam* and sacrifice, very few details of the ceremony of initiation are mentioned. This ceremony, "handing over one's head" (*sar supardan* or *sar dādan*), roughly corresponds with baptism in Christianity and is the symbol of admission to the community. The head of the person to be initiated is symbolically handed to the *ājjāq* Sayyid in the form of a nutmeg. The Sayyid cuts it into pieces and distributes these amongst those present who eat the crumbs. Sultān Şahāik (T 166) explains: "This *maydān* (i.e. the room in which *jam* takes place) is the *maydān* of Murtaḍā 'Alī... this knife (*tiğh*, which also means sword) is a substitute

(i.e. symbol) of *Dha'l-fiqar* ('Alfa's famous sword'); this nut is the substitute for the head.<sup>1</sup>

The symbolism of the ceremony is probably based on the ideas of primitive magic, just as in blood pacts in which drops of blood of those present are mixed with water. By drinking the mixture they become blood relations. Here crumbs of the nutmeg (which really should be the head of the neophyte) apparently play the same part as the drops of blood. The participants of the *jam*, by eating these crumbs, probably show their irrevocable acceptance of the new member. Unfortunately, the text does not offer any authentic explanation.

The only description of the main points of the ceremony of initiation, or its renewal, is to be found on p. 165 of the text. The person to be initiated enters and stands "at the bottom" (*pa'dm-i*) of the *jam*, and bows to it. *Dawūd*, i.e. ordinarily the *ajiq* Sayyid, accepts the nutmeg (from the applicant?—this is not clear), and cuts it into pieces (which are probably distributed to the participants by some volunteers), while *Banyānīn* (i.e. ordinarily the *khalfā*) recites the prayers (unfortunately, we have not yet acquired their text). The symbolical gesture of the applicant, in seizing the folds of *Dawūd's* dress, probably symbolizes the neophyte's determination to hold fast to his preceptor's guidance. Unfortunately, this is, all. To ask the sectarians themselves is a hopeless proposition. They do not understand the purpose of the questions, become suspicious, and either flatly refuse to reveal their mysteries, or lie unashamedly and deliberately.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MinII, 225-226, where it is said that the nut is cut in two (I) and one of the halves is taken by the person who is officiating at the ceremony (*ajiq* Sayyid), while another is given to the neophyte. It is encased in silver and used as a kind of a charm, by the initiated person. I have never heard anything resembling this story. Sectarians with whom I have discussed the matter have invariably mentioned that the nut is first cut crosswise into four parts, which are later divided again into smaller parts to provide the necessary number of pieces for the number of participants in the ceremony. It is amusing, how fond of telling lies are the "followers of the Truth".

An interesting detail incidentally is given in the story. *Kāzār*, being a woman, was apparently unable to go through the ceremony personally (T 166), and was represented by *Muṣṭafā* (*y-i* *Dāvūdīn*) as her *wakīl*, as is usually done by male relatives at a marriage ceremony in ordinary Islamic practice. As is stated in the text (T 15), she together with *Muṣṭafā* originally formed one person, 'Azrā'il. It would be interesting to find out for certain whether women members really must be represented by *wakīls* at the initiation.

In the same utterances of *Sulṭān Ṣāḥāḥ* (T 166) a reference is made to the neophyte offering (apparently to the Sayyid) a coin with the (Shi'ite version of the) *kalīma*, i.e. formula of the profession of Islam, *shahādāt*. These coins (usually silver) from the Safawid times are rare, and therefore are manufactured to supply the demand.<sup>2</sup> Similar coins also figure in the darwish initiation.<sup>3</sup> Their symbolism is most probably that of the token tax-payment implying recognition of the spiritual master possessing secular authority in addition to religious.

The question of age at which initiation is allowed requires additional elucidation. The impression gained is that generally it is possible only with the attainment of majority, which approximately conforms to the all-Islamic ideas of it. There is apparently no initiation of children, either directly or through *wakīls*. It is possible that, just as with so many other customs, the matter is subject to considerable fluidity from place to place.

<sup>2</sup> MinII, 226, mentions the coins specially manufactured in Northern Khuziṣṭān, in *Hūwayza*, and called *hawāḥ*. Such imitations of old silver coins are manufactured not only for use by the AH. Much bigger market for them is offered by the moonads whose custom is to use them for women's ornaments.

<sup>3</sup> In his interesting account of the AH initiation, *Gobineau* also mentions a handkerchief as one of the objects which the initiate must hand over to the Sayyid. This, as far as I have been able to collect information, is the practice amongst the darwishes, not the AH themselves. The *pir* (Sayyid) places the handkerchief on the neck of the catechumen and pulls the ends in opposite direction, as if trying to strangle him. The symbolism of this act is obscure.

The members have to go through repeated ceremonies of initiation probably for the same reason that applies in Islamism where the *'ahd*, or oath of allegiance to the Imam, is renewed, even officially required to be renewed every month (as in the Mustā'ian branch). It is treated probably as a simple and useful means of strengthening religious discipline.

Although the AH are a proselytising community, one rarely hears of any converts (except for the darwishes in the higher degrees). I have been unable to find out the nature of the novitiate, or the type of tuition and spiritual exercises to be undertaken by the catechumen. There would be nothing impossible in the suggestion that no such rules are in existence, and that conversion, if it happens, mostly depends on an outburst of emotion. Sulṭān Ṣāḥāḥ (T 171) warned the community against the hasty acceptance of the neophyte who shows great enthusiasm in expectation of some extraordinary knowledge being revealed to him upon his initiation. The convert, however, begins to feel disappointed on entering the routine existence of the sect, loses interest, and becomes a dead weight in the community.

Terminology of the "nut" is not developed very much. Apparently the *jawz* of the original initiation is called *jawz-i Shāhī* (T 75, 80, 84, 166), and that of the renewal initiation *jawz-i shukrāna* (T 131, 153). In places where there is no Sayyid, the *shukrāna* nut is allowed to be distributed by the *khalīfa* (T 153). Finally, *jawz-i yāri*, "the nut of friendship (or companionship)" (T 156) is used in the marriage ceremony.

We have already referred to interesting though obscure passages in connection with the *jawz-i shukrāna* (T 6, 131). Muḥammad Bek before his disappearance "placed a *jawz-i shukrāna*, and over it (*sar-i jawz*) uttered" a solemn promise concerning the Resurrection.

#### 4. Festival.

There are only two real festivals in orthodox Islam: that of the sacrifice (on the 10-th of Dhū'l-hijja), the 'Id-i Qurbān, and

the end of the month of Ramaḍān. The AH have a single festival of their own, *jawz-i Shāhī*, or *'Id-i Jāzīyat*, which lasts three days, the 16th, 17th and 18th of the solar month Isfand, the 6th of March, and the next two days. There are many strange things about this yearly festival. Contrary to the usual claims of immense antiquity for all their institutions, the foundations to which were laid at "the time before time was created", this one was instituted as late as the period of Qirmizī (probably about the first half of the xix<sup>th</sup> c.), and was intended to commemorate a rather trivial event. The story as it is narrated (with minor variants), is that at the time of Qirmizī seven members of the tribe Qabālās, or Qawartās, or Qūrtās, etc.—great variety of spellings,—had doubts about the divinity of the King of the World, and therefore decided to test him. They went to visit him, but before reaching their destination, they put up in a certain cave expecting that he in his omniscience would know of their arrival and would come to meet them. As a punishment for such insolence they were marooned by a heavy snow storm, and died of cold and hunger. Thereafter, on the intervention of the "angels", they were forgiven and resuscitated. The festival was instituted to commemorate this event.

The details of the story and the date of the festival, —the beginning of March, clearly indicate that here we have to deal with an ancient festival of spring, the resuscitation of the vegetation after being snowbound during the winter, and the legend of the Qabālās pilgrims is a rather artificial pretext to give it place in the AH tradition. The late date of its official origin apparently conceals many important circumstances. The AH tradition itself apparently felt this. The name of Sulṭān Ṣāḥāḥ is referred to in this connection (T 112): "The four angels implored him to institute a festival, and he promised to do this in the *ḍaw* of Qirmizī". Although there is not a single word about this, it would be easy to surmise that probably originally it was a spring festival connected with the ancient forms of Mazdaism. Later it was banned, and, under Christianity, probably combined with the Easter. Later, under the Islamic phase, it was banned as a Christian holiday, together with fasting and many other relics of Christianity. And

only under Qirmîsi, when its heathen and Christian associations had become forgotten while the conservative sentiment still insisted on its being celebrated, it was found desirable to restore it under the pretext of the commemoration of an event which hardly had any deeper significance than scores of other similar events.

The description of the three days' celebration of the festival (T 114-118) is given at some length. It includes much imagery and recurring signs of the growing inner disension in the community and the loss of the former grip of myth and miracle. The non-sectarian "authorities" (cf. *apud* MinI, 213-223) believe that it is spent in strict fasting. Both oral and written sectarian materials agree in the idea that fasting does not exist in the AH community except as a form of punishment.

What the outsider takes to be strict fasting, is in reality pre-occupation with religious matters for three days during which the AH avoid coming out of their houses and mixing with the public,—an idea which is obviously quite contrary to the usual holiday activities practiced everywhere. Enough food is collected for the three days of celebration, either by customary contributions (*khidmat*) or by the individual voluntary offering (*niyâz*), and the faithful have their hands and mouths full, either eating or singing religious poems.

Whether there are members of the AH community who do fast for three days,—I could not ascertain. But in the fluidity of the AH beliefs and customs it would not be extraordinary if such people really did exist.

### 5. Various Religious Observances.

(a) *Confession*. Both personal and public confession of one's sins as a religious act are apparently unknown not only in the official forms of Muslim worship, but also in the Sufic and darwish practices. In the latter much importance is attached to *tawba*, repentance, which is understood in the sense of abandoning completely the way of life by which the repentant was hitherto travelling, and taking the righteous mystical or ascetic path to salvation. It is what may be called "inner conversion".

The AH, contrary to this, have a very archaic form of confession probably conforming to that which existed amongst the earliest Christians, and was preserved by various "old believers" communities such as the Paulicians and cognate sects. Our texts (T 81-83), narrating the events of the period of Sulţan Şahîk, offer interesting illustrations to this. The expression used is *gundâ-i gadhashtârî khâd ba gardan girîştan*, i.e. "to take upon one's neck his past sin", i.e. to acknowledge (*publicly*) responsibility for one's evil act. This is done only at the *jam*, which, however, is considered not to be a people's court of law, but religious body which forgives the crime merely by reason of its being confessed. "Any one who comes before us to confess his sin cannot expect any objection from us. From whom would the Lord of the Worlds claim deserts on Judgment Day if retribution should be meted out here?" (T 82-83). Thus it appears that the act of confession automatically leads to forgiveness on the part of the *jam*, which only listens to the confession and postpones punishment till Judgment Day. An interesting formula of remission of sins is repeated several times: *gundâ-kâr hârtas, bi gundâ bi-niâhtas*. Here the word *hârtas* probably stands for *kâ-rîzha* (from Kurd. *rihtin*, to pour, scatter), thus: "let the sinner disappear, sit aimless".

It is, however, not quite clear whether this practice is common to-day or whether action is not now taken in cases of serious offence.

(b) *Dhikr*. At the end of the communal meal, when the official part of the assembly as it were is over (*khatm-i jam*), and while there is leisure and inclination, some of the participants continue the meeting with singing religious poetry, *kalâm*, which they call by the Sufic term *dhikr*. The latter, in fact, implies something different, consisting of the repetition of a certain word or phrase, to the rhythmic movements of the body. This brings the devotee into a state of temporary stupefaction or even idioecy in which merely a sense of excitement remains, mistaken for the bliss of ecstasy. The AH *dhikr*, as far as one can judge on the sectarians' testimony, has nothing in common with this, and consists of "saying" (i.e. singing) of *kalâm*, i.e. versified sayings attributed to different saints uttered on various memorable occasions. Those

members who are capable of improvisation (*ghaynda, marā-i-ghaf*) may offer their own creations. This vividly recalls the early phase of Persian Sufism, the *majlises* held by various *pirs* or *shaykhs*, technically called *amā*, at which professional singers (*qawwāl*) gave performances, apparently singing ordinary love poetry. Old hagiological works are full of stories of how a certain line in a song could suddenly affect a devotee by the supposed deep mystical implications dawned on him, sending him into a mystical swoon, or ecstatic dancing.

Such experiences, however, seem not to happen in the AH practice. No music, even the use of the hand drum (*tumbak*) or tambourine (*dāira*) to beat the time, are allowed at the *jam*, and also no dancing, contrary to the well-known custom of the Bektashis.

In the singing of such tritichs, it is apparently the rhythm, and not the varied contents of the poems which brings the participants in the *jam* into a state of such great excitement that they may grab live charcoal and hand handfuls of it one to another, or perhaps walk on it. It is claimed that on such occasions burns or blisters are not received, which is probably not true. The darwishes, who also give similar performances, use special ointments composed of sheep fat, camphor, etc. It is interesting to note that if such ointment is applied to the teeth, the performer is able to take a piece of live charcoal between them, and, by breathing, fan it till it bursts into flame, without, they assure, feeling pain. This I have personally seen accomplished on several occasions.

(c) *Marriage and Burial*. It is the practice with many secret and heterodox sects to observe the majority community's rites at these two important events in one's life, for the most valid economic and social reasons. Both marriage and burial are certainly connected with the vital questions of the legitimacy of children, legality of inheritance and with other matters which need official recognition. Therefore we should not be surprised when we learn that at least in the later phase, Atish-Begi, of the sectarian evolution, unequivocal injunctions existed with regard to burial which followed the rites of *shar'at* (T 153), while in another passage (T 154) it is implied that marriage apparently was not always accompanied by the "breaking of the nut" ceremony (*jaws shikastan*). Therefore,

we may infer, that although the ordinary ceremony of 'ajd *hastan* according to *shar'at* rules was recognized and thought to be quite sufficient for the legality of marriage, those weddings which were accompanied by the "nut" ceremony were regarded as more blessed, with divorce being undesirable (T 154).

Our texts do not refer to various other prescriptions of *shar'at* or recognized custom ('*adat*), except—significantly—blood money (*khānbūsh*), i.e. compensation for injury or murder (T 152). It is vaguely stated that it is "higher than that fixed by *shar'at*", but the amount is apparently decided after bargaining between the parties concerned.

(d) *Taboos*. A strict food taboo concerns eating the flesh of the pig. Prof. Minorsky apparently attached some special religious significance to this matter, and in his work (MinII) pays much attention to the question of whether this or that tribe or community regarded the eating of pig's flesh to be permissible or not. In our texts it is said to be a great offence punishable by excommunication (although in the degree of punishment there are traces of fluidity and flexibility usual in the AH rules). Even under the latest Incarnations the custom persisted and the taboo was ignored by some tribes; while the Shāhū's did not eat pork, the Kūpāsā'is (who nevertheless were not excommunicated, but merely punished in another way) had no objection to the flesh of wild pig. It would appear that there is no religious basis in this matter, it must be entirely connected with tribal custom. Under Mardaitism and Christianity pork was allowed, but with the introduction of Islam some tribes probably stopped eating it while others whose conservatism proved to be stronger, obstinately stuck to ancestral ideas.

Quite extraordinary importance is attached to another taboo which prohibits interference with one's moustache (though not the beard. Vague references (as T 171) are made to an obscure "covenant" of the time of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (probably quite imaginary) which not only prohibits the cutting or pulling of a single hair, but even suggests that if one unwittingly bites off a part of it he is guilty of a great offence which automatically leads to excommunication. It is difficult to see what was really the basis

of this taboo. As is known, many primitive peoples regarded it as a great dishonour to lose the moustache. But our case may be a relic of much more recent events. The orthodox Islamic practice is to clip the moustache over the upper lip in accordance with the supposed custom followed by the Prophet himself. Perhaps it was a sign of sectarian protest against the orthodoxy which later on became a "banner" of the community.

Another taboo refers to tobacco,—just as with various branches of the Ismailis. To smoke a water pipe, *qalyān*, is the same as to eat *ḥarām*, i.e. pig's flesh, which leads to excommunication. This taboo, however, has been much less enforced in modern times.

The conception of *ḥarām*, i.e. something unclean and defiling the believer, is also extended to the sphere of ethics, especially to offences against the principle of ownership. Unwitting possession of stolen property, of however negligible a value, is not only *ḥarām*, but makes *ḥarām* everything with which it comes into touch. Our texts give many examples of this idea in application to real life.

In contrast with this, the attitude towards murder, even to so vile an act as the murder of a small child, is rather remarkably "liberal". Here, as apparently also in the question of adultery, the conception of crime is entirely connected with the principle of the violation of ownership rights. A killed person is primarily considered as the *property* of a family, a clan, a tribe. In the case of a member of the AH community being murdered it is the community itself whose rights are violated. It therefore can claim compensation or punish the offender.

All this, however, does not form a characteristic and exclusive feature of the AH mentality, and was probably common to mediaeval rural Persia as a whole, which lived more by the customary law rather than by *shari'at* principles. The instructive admonitions of the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* (referred to above) show exactly the same mentality, the difference being only in the fact that while the warlike Kurds concentrate their attention on murder and injury, the *Pandiyāt* lays emphasis on adultery or attempts to commit it.

#### IV. THE CONTENTS OF THE TEXTS.

The Persian texts which are here edited, may be classed into four categories: 1. Miracle stories; 2. Instructive anecdotes illustrating various principles and religious or ethical rules; 3. Prayers and ritual formulas; and 4. Darwish lists of rules, names of saints, sometimes with biographical additions.

All this material is rather chaotically distributed, and an attempt has been made in the preceding chapters to systematize the utilisable information which they contain. The original text, as it is, cannot be perused without careful and detailed study; therefore its full translation would hardly be of much use, it should be scrutinized in the original. Perhaps the only purpose a full translation would serve would be that of assisting the student of folklore and comparative mythology. But such studies pay no attention to detail.

For these reasons, and for the sake of economy of space which is so badly needed at a time such as ours, it has been decided to offer here full translation only of those portions of the text, or separate passages in it, which deal with important matters, or present something original or noteworthy. The remainder has been summarized to give an adequate idea of the contents, without rendering into English all the trivial details. All translated passages have been inserted in quotation marks.

References to earlier available texts have been given wherever required. As mentioned above (p. 25), certain portions of our principal text, the *Tadhkirā-i A'w*, come very close to Minorsky's text. But many either substantially differ, or sometimes present an entirely different story. All such cases have been noted, and references given to his Russian translation (MinI). In cases of actual difference in versions such variations have been noted.

As has already been mentioned in the chapter devoted to the description of our texts, considerable difficulty is presented by poetical quotations in Guranī and Adharbayjānī Turkish because of the utter unsuitability of the Arabic script for Iranian dialects.



Minoresky's text offers no help as Gurani quotations coincide only in a few cases. They usually either differ essentially in part, or, as in many cases, are entirely different. Moreover, there is so far no dictionary of Gurani, and material scattered in various works on dialectology are meagre and unreliable. For these reasons it has been next to impossible to translate them. This, however, does not constitute any great omission because such quotations usually either sum up the context, or their meaning is made fairly plausible in the body of the story to which they are appended.

A few portions of the text of extracts from darwish *risālas* have been left without translation because their reproduction here is merely in order to preserve the context of certain important sentences in which they appear at source.

All through this section references in heavy figures are given to the pages of the Persian text which thus may be easily perused in parallel with the summary.

### 1. *Tadhkira's* *ʿAlā*.

After a brief doxology the author proceeds: "It is necessary for the abstinent ones to realize and know for what purpose has God brought them into being from the state on non-existence. Has He not created them in order that they may know themselves? The fact is that unless one realises what one is oneself, one cannot hope to acquire the knowledge of the Truth". /2/ Quoting Ḥāfiḡ, the author adds that until people acquire knowledge of themselves, they remain in helpless confusion, straying from the right path, or remaining in some unsuitable place in the desert of their ignorance until the time comes when the Lord of Light (*Ṣāhibu'n-Nūr*) manifests Himself.

"At the beginning of time (lit. : on the first day) when the All-High conceived the intention to create the world, he filled His glorifiers (*ḥawṣmid*, pl. from *ḥāmid*) with the ardent desire to praise Him. And when He turned His perfect vision upon His own beauty, He perceived that the glory, the glorified, and being glorified were all in Himself. Thus it was He who was, He who

looked, He who was speaking, and He who listened to Himself. It would surely have been proper that there should be some one else to witness, and testify that Allah is Glorious (*maḥmūd*), the Maker of All, Himself the seeker and the sought, the lover and the beloved, because there was nothing to be seen except for Himself, as is said in the Coran (XL, 54): "Verily, Allah encompasses all". Therefore all things are composed of the light of the Truth, and there is no place where anything that is not that light can take refuge".

After more of such speculations, all purporting to emphasise the absolute Oneness of God, the author says that such knowledge is the aim of the pure (*ṣāḥūn*), and it leads to repentance. /3/ Its purpose is the acquisition of laudable qualities, and these imply cognition (*mārifat*, of truth), in other words, of being a "gnostic" (*'arif*). "Until thou knowest thyself, thou wilt not know thy God". . . .

The author quotes four lines from "*Salmān*", perhaps the wellknown poet Salmān Sāwajī (d. 778/1376), bearing on the same subject, i.e. the necessity of acquiring (spiritual) knowledge. /4/ This is supported by a brief reference to the nature of the spirit (*rūḥ*), and the different kinds of *nafs*, and the theosophic speculations on Divine love, the Sufic '*āshiq na ma'shūq*'. /5/

"We may now return to . . . what has been said above that He was alone, looked alone, talked alone, and listened alone. There was no sky, no earth, no angel, no *pari*, no human being, for so many thousand years, while He was alone talking to Himself and moving about. Then He conceived a desire to manifest Himself to all beings.

*Yār*<sup>2</sup> is the First and the Last! O, He<sup>3</sup> Whoever reads this book must never divulge its contents to all manner of ignorant people, because it contains unutterable mysteries (*ḡayb-i ma'gūb*)."

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the author meant *ḥāmid* *shay'n fa'āl*.

<sup>2</sup> *Yār*, the same as *Dust*, friend, beloved, is as amongst the Sufis, used as a symbolical name of God.

<sup>3</sup> *Hū* (Arab. *huwa*, he) is used as an abbreviation for *Ḥuwa'l-lāh*, or *Ḥuwa' Haqq*.

The Creator /8/ first created a pearl (*šarr*) in which were manifested five images (*šarat*) in His likeness. "By His mercy from (the world of) Divine Might a sacrificial animal arose, and by His mercy water appeared. One of those five persons rose and lifted one of the forelegs (of the animal)<sup>4</sup>. He uttered: "Yā is the First and the Last, O, Truth!" Then he recited the prayer, and (all) exclaimed Yā Hū (*Hū kashidand*). They<sup>5</sup> cut the animal's throat. By (His) order fire was created. They brought the *naqlu*<sup>6</sup> from below the throat, cooked it, and, serving it to the assembly, *jam*<sup>7</sup>, distributed it, while He (Himself) recited the prayer, and they exclaimed "Hāi".

Thereafter 1001 persons (*šarat*) manifested themselves, and formed an assembly (*jam*). They cooked the sacrificial meat (*qurbān*). By His mercy water appeared, and was passed round, for the washing of hands (*charh gardsānidand*). From (the world of) Might a table cloth (*asfar*) appeared. They spread it, and brought the sacrificial meal to the assembly. One of them separated the bones (from the meat), which was distributed with a prayer. Then from (the world of) Might an offering (*niyāt*)<sup>8</sup> came forth and was distributed, with prayers. Thereafter the table cloth was removed, also with prayers, water was passed round the assembly, and He recited the prayer. After this He offered the prayer recited on the removal (*qabā*) of the table cloth.

After this a drop of Light came out on the forehead of one of them, turned into a nut (*javz*, usually nutmeg)<sup>7</sup> and came into the assembly. He explained in His mercy that such was (His) decision (*qarār*) that 18,000 worlds should be created. He gave an order and from (the world of) Might a Charter of the Unutterable Mystery (*qabāla'i sirr-i mo-gā*) with 1001 seals in the name of the Lord of the World, and indications of its being issued by

<sup>4</sup> This is the position of *qāp* or *qubān*, see pp. 64-65.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to be the name for edible entrails, as explained in the section on sacrifice see p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> *Niyāt*, offering (cf. section on sacrifice, p. 86), here means vegetables or other additions to the sacrificial meat.

<sup>7</sup> Another version of the nut was a drop of perspiration of Khāwandgīr. The idea implied is that of its not being "created from nothing".

the Lord of that nut at its head (*min hū-i šarr-i ta jam ās sar-i qabāla*)<sup>8</sup> came into existence. /7/ Thereafter, in His Perfect Might, He turned again into a single person (*šarr*), and that pearl (*šarr*) also disappeared, so that the Eternal Deity remained One and Alone.

70,000 years passed, and the Lord of the World created a (second) pearl, in which He saw Himself in the form of seven persons (*šarat*). After this twelve persons appeared, after this fourteen. Then the pearl also disappeared, and the Lord of the World saw Himself as One (*adbi*) in the Spiritual World (*'ālam-i bātin*).

Again 70,000 years passed, He again created a pearl, from the Spiritual World (*'ālam-i bātin*). He saw in it Himself in the form of 17 persons, after this of 37, later 47, and still later of 72. Then this pearl also disappeared, and He became One and alone.

70,000 years more passed, and he issued an order. A pearl was created, in which He saw Himself among 360 persons, then 444, and then it also disappeared by His order, and He saw Himself One and alone.

Again 70,000 years passed, and by the order of the Lord of the World another pearl was created in which He saw Himself in the form of 70,000 persons /8/ and then by His order it disappeared.

70,000 years more passed, and the Lord of the World again created a pearl in which He saw Himself among 999 persons and subsequently 124,000, etc. . . . After this He talked to Himself for so many thousands of years, moving about in order to show Himself to all the creations, producing from His own pure light a pearl in the form of a lamp (*qawāf*). He by His pure substance in the course of 60,000 years contemplated<sup>9</sup> that which no creation

<sup>8</sup> In *qabāla*, title deed, and any other legal documents, usually in the form of a scroll, the seal of the authority on which it is issued is placed at the top, as in modern printed forms, and the seals of witnesses or the endorsing authorities are applied below, or in the margins, or even on the back. 1001 seals with the names of God (surely an *litha-sāhā* idea) refers to the dogmas of God's having 1,001 holy names, referring to different attributes of the Deity.

<sup>9</sup> *Saym*, walk or ride for pleasure, may also be read as *saym* on which gives a better meaning: was contemplating that which...

possesses the power to comprehend and which could not be (generally) understood.

At last, in His perfect generosity, He let fall four drops of His pure light, (and they were) Jabra'îl, Mikâ'îl, Isrâ'îl and 'Azrâ'îl, while that lump became water (؟)<sup>10</sup>. From that light (؟) He created four drops of light in the form of unperfected (i.e. perfect) jewels, one of them being water. All that is now the world was then water. For 60,000 years more the whole world was water, and He moved on that water.

After this He created Sâj-i nûr<sup>11</sup>, with the help of which He began to boil water, so that it turned into foam (kuf). He then calmed the foam, vapours rose from the water and became clouds, floating in the air, awaiting His orders.

From the air of that water He created wind which would drive the clouds /9/, so that the movement and resting of the clouds depended on it. The wind has the same functions as the spirit (rûh) in the human body. The surface of the clouds was in the shape of a sieve for the purpose of carrying (i.e. distributing) water<sup>12</sup>.

Then ordering the foam to remain steady, He created from it the earth. From three substances (jamdhîr) He created mountains to serve as the langar, anchor, (i.e. backbone) of the earth, and hillocks for collecting water used for irrigation. The earth was still not quiescent and was ultimately appeased by the promise that it should become the place of residence of saints (awliyâ nûr awliyâ), so that no part of it should remain unused for the offering of prostration in worship. And in addition, it was to become covered with flowers.

The King of the World was sitting on the water with His four associate angels (chahâr malâk-i maqarrab) /10/ when they suddenly saw the Pure Substance of haqrat-i Razbâr, the K'adûn-i Qiyâmat (Lady of Resurrection). "She brought out from the sea<sup>13</sup> a round loaf of bread (kulûcha), and offered it to the King

of the World. By His order they formed a devotional assembly (jewe), distributed the bread, offered prayers and exclaimed "Hâ!" Then the earth and the skies became fixed, the skies being that kulûcha."

The author then mentions the creation of the common cosmogonical scheme: the angel, holding the earth, who stands on a bull, etc.

"From a spark of that Sâj, mentioned above, He created fire, /11/ giving it also a place on the earth, so big that it cannot be described, and naming it Hell. From other substances (jamdhîr) He created the heavens, i.e. the Higher World whose beauty is greater than that of the earthly world<sup>14</sup>. From a particle (dherrâ) of His pure light He created the stars, sun and moon, adorning each of these with beauty." He appointed day and night in order to introduce variety, as also hours, and seasons.

Then follows the well-known myth which tells of the Deity questioning Jabra'îl as to who he is in relation to God, of his errors, and his punishment which takes the /12/ form of roaming the Universe. He comes to a sea and sees some one sitting on a carpet (sajjâda) spread on the water, conversing with the inmates of the sea (bahriyân). In a boorish unceremonious way he asks who this person is and the latter, looking angrily at him, burns his wings, or feathers, and leaves him to float helplessly, until he is pardoned<sup>14</sup>. /13/ When he next has the opportunity of being questioned by the Deity, he gives the right and humble reply, and is re-instated in his high position, of mukhbîr-i amîn, i.e. "reliable informer".

The Deity then creates /14/ 70,000 associate angels, out of His light, together with hours and ghûlânâ, and also many thousands of angels of a lower order, firîshâ (not malâ'ikâ).

Jabra'îl then asks yet another gnostic question, about the purpose of the creation of the angels and their intended task. The Deity then orders them to go to the earth and bring Paradise (B'îshât) up to the heavens. Their efforts are in vain, for Paradise

<sup>10</sup> This passage has already been discussed, see p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> Already discussed in the section on Cosmogony, see pp. 47-8.

<sup>12</sup> Also discussed in the section on Cosmogony (p. 43) and also on Christian Influences (p. 54). Minâll, 25-26 offers a different version.

<sup>13</sup> This implies the celestial bodies with their regular movement.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Minâll, 25, where the story slightly differs.

refuses to be moved and asks the Creator the same question, about the purpose of its creation. God explains His intention to create man, with Mikā'il as his spiritual guide (*raḥbar*), Isrā'īl as record-keeper (*daftar-dār-i khayr wa sharr*), and 'Azrā'il to seize his spirit. Jabra'il (who has not been mentioned in this programme) begins to pray for the cancellation of this plan, expressing his view that the proposed creations would not behave well (*iḥṣān nu-kāzand*). He therefore suggested the appointment of four *pirs* who would protect them, /15/ by their ability to be righteous and solve difficulties (*mashkāl-garā'ī*).

"After this the Holder of the World and Creator of Man looked upon 'Azrā'il with the eye of benefaction (*ḡayd*)<sup>15</sup>, and 'Azrā'il became split into two parts, one exactly like the other, and from between these parts a drop of light emerged in the form of a loaf of *kalūcha* bread. The Creator then said: I appoint that person (*ḡarāt*) who became separated from 'Azrā'il to be the Lady of the Resurrection (*Khāltān-i Qiyāmat*), who will on the Resurrection Day be the helper of human beings. I appoint 'Azrā'il to be seizer of the souls of men, and Razbār to offer them mercy (*raḥmat*). And this *kalūcha* will be for their benefit (*iḥṣān*)<sup>16</sup>. This is why the substance (*ma'ya*, lit. ferment) of the earth and skies comes from that loaf; it is the source (mine) of souls (*ma'dīn-i jān-hā*)<sup>17</sup>. As thou hast prayed to Me in such a humble way, I swear by the truth of My own Oneness and by My heard (*jamāl-i mardān*), that I will grant to thee position and standing (*manzil wa ma'nū*) due to those who search for the Truth (*ahl-i taḥqiq*) and are invariably sincere (*yakrang-i ikhṭāf*), as will also be granted to the 124,000 complete seeds of prophethood and chosenness."

Then the *'Arsh* (i.e. Throne of God, apparently a slip instead of Paradise, mentioned above) takes the place appointed to it. The Deity then orders Jabra'il to bring a handful of dust from the earth;

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps *ḡabī*, setting, which would be more in tune with the nature of the angel intended for the *ḡabī-i su'ūd*.

<sup>16</sup> The word *ḡaym*, doing good, conferring an obligation, benefiting, is here apparently used in a passive sense, of being benefited (*!*).

<sup>17</sup> The sentence is not quite sound, and the last two words seem to be unattached.

he is about to take it, but the earth implores him not to do it, so he returns to the Deity empty handed, and explains the reason. /16/ Mikā'il and Isrā'īl are then sent, with the same result, and ultimately 'Azrā'il who ruthlessly discharges his duty, and brings the dust into the presence of *Šāḡab-hār*. The latter confirms his appointment of 'Azrā'il as the Angel of Death on account of this proof of his mercilessness. The dust is handed to Jabra'il who kneads the clay, and makes Adam's figure in "the image of God", i.e. in the likeness of the Five *Āl-i 'Abd*. The symbolism of limbs and features of the face of man is explained in the Shi'ite manner.

Jabra'il fixed the light of Muḥammad the Prophet in Adam's forehead and ordered the soul (*rūḥ*) to enter his body which it refused to do until it noticed /17/ the light of that Saint. The Deity orders that Adam's spouse shall be made before he begins to move. This is apparently done in the most orthodox Biblical way, from the left side.

Ultimately, Adam awakens, and the story turns to that Coranic myth which recounts the prostration of the angels, and the refusal of Iblīs. The latter is not called by name here, which is quite significant<sup>18</sup>, and is vaguely designated as *Rāndā'i rajīm*, the "Expelled and stoned one". It is probable that the hurried narration of the myth here is not unintentional. The story at once switches to the period of the Manifestation of 'Alī.

#### (Manifestation II)<sup>19</sup>

At the time of his creation Adam received a prophecy from Jabra'il to the effect that a guest would come to him, a princely horseman, with narcissus-like eyes and his beard divided into two halves<sup>20</sup>. He was to be accompanied by a darwish on foot, carrying

<sup>18</sup> The name Iblīs does not appear in this text, and the word *Shayṭān* appears only once (p. 156), "colloquially", as the cause of temptation.

<sup>19</sup> There is no division in the text and no heading here.

<sup>20</sup> "Narcissus-like" simply means large. The beard, divided into two parts, is attributed to Rostam, and has become an invariable accessory of the figure of a popular hero. Cf. the portraits of the first Aga Khan, Hasan-'Alī Shāh, or of Sayyid-i Kalīdāshī in Minill, plate facing p. 246 (although the partition here is not quite clear).

a darwish axe (*toharzin*) on his shoulder. (When this took place), Adam met his guest, took the reins of the horse, and helped him to alight. The guest announced: "Sometimes a slave, sometimes the Creator, it is We, it is We!" He stayed the night, and left in the morning. Adam asked: "Where are you going?" The answer was: "Let it be our arrangement (*iqār*; perhaps *qār* would be better): I shall go, and shall also come again" (or: I shall also come to Rām, Asia Minor). Then he went.

During the period of Adam, the time when Salmān (Fārsī) was a Christian (*Khāch-parast*), the donor of the Gospel (*Injil*) was manifested. Adam told Seth (*Shīth*) /18/ that a guest of such description was coming. And Seth, told his successors, who told one another, until ultimately this prophecy reached Muḥammad the Prophet. Salmān, impatiently awaiting its fulfilment, went wandering in the desert, until he really saw the Horseman in the *Dašt-i Arzhan*<sup>21</sup>. The Horseman promised to meet him in the period of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, in the house of Abū Ṭālib, and this was fulfilled after three hundred years. This was preceded by a significant event: once when the Prophet went to hunt, a lion came out of a grove, and, paying no attention to any one, laid near the Prophet a baby girl, who received the name Fāṭima *bint* Asad (i.e. daughter of the lion). This was the future mother of 'Alī. The Prophet revealed this mystery to his apparent cousin, but kept it from the people in order to avoid unrest. /19/

Then follows the story of Salmān and 'Alī, who, while still a boy, eats dates and spits the kernels upon Salmān who is wounded by them and protests. He is ultimately made to recognize the Horseman whom he met 300 years before in *Dašt-i Arzhan*. Many Shī'ite poets have rendered this story in verse<sup>22</sup>.

Then /21/ follows the detailed story of the *Mirāj*, the Prophet's ascension to heaven, which also forms the favourite subject of many Shī'ite and darwish poems. The Prophet sees 'Alī everywhere in the most different forms. On pp. 24-25 there

<sup>21</sup> *Dašt-i Arzhan*, as it is usually called, is a thinly wooded valley between Shirāz and Kāzin.

<sup>22</sup> In a darwish *risāla* a version by a certain Ḍiān has been found. Unfortunately, no information can be found about him.

appears the usual darwish myth of his visit to *Combol-i Khodā*, a door-less and window-less cupola (sky) into which the Prophet is admitted merely as the humble servant of the poor (*khāllān-i fuqār*). He offers the *Chihil-Tau*, "forty bodies", a cup of water which he sweetens with the help of a single piece of raisin, which he finds by chance in his pocket, a kind of darwish Eucharist, *sharbat-i tatehā*<sup>23</sup>. Here again the symbolism of numbers enters. There were "forty bodies", but the Prophet looks and sees 1001 of them.

Then /25/ the story of sacrifice (*qurban*) is again repeated. From the hidden world (*'alam-i ghayb*) a sacrificial sheep came up. They sacrificed it according to the previous ancient law (*qānūn-i qudim* too *zābiq*) which has already been mentioned above, and distributed it, with prayers, and the final "Hū!". The Prophet looked and saw that those persons (*sharāt*) disappeared, and only one remained. The Prophet took leave of him, saying (as a darwish): *Haqq dāst!* The person answered: *Yār dāst!*

On his return (p. 26) the Prophet heard the story of his *Mirāj* from 'Alī, from the beginning to the end, "as also a description of the *Rūz-i Saranjām*, i.e. the Resurrection (?), which is an unutterable mystery. And this *Saranjām*, i.e. Completion, *Mawūd* and the Prophet instituted (*qārār farmādaud*) for the "People of the Truth" (*Ahl-i haqiqat*). I shall explain this for other people who aspire to the degree of the *haqiqat*."

"Once *Ḥadrat-i Amir*, i.e. 'Alī, was sitting in the mosque of Kūfa, and his associates (*Yārān*)<sup>24</sup> were all in attendance. It was the wish (*rāy*) of the King of Saintliness that he should make clear and open the unutterable mystery of His Substance and Oneness to all the followers of the Truth (*ahl-i Haqq*) and to those who were in search of the degree of it (*maṣūm-i haqiqat*). This was in order that the *ahl-i haqiqat* should know the path, practice,

<sup>23</sup> This story is most popular in darwish lore, in the etiological myths concerning the origin of imitation rice (*shāhri* people's *far*). Such details as the crushing of a piece of raisin in a cup of water plainly indicates that originally wine was used. Cf. above, p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> The expression *yār*, friend, is used in these texts in the sense of member of the AH community, particularly when speaking of the associates of an Incarnation.

and custom (*rāh too rāz̄m too ošab*) of their religion, and should never stray from them. Therefore the King of Saintliness stretched out his blessed hand towards the sky, and after some time the scroll of a charter, luminous as the sun, came into his blessed palm. He took with his blessed hand a *qalam* (reed pen), and wrote down on the scroll what was an unutterable mystery (*širr-i ma-šū*). An old woman, belonging to the AH community, who always had a bowl of fresh curd (*mašt-i nare-bar*), which she used to bring /27/ to the King of Saintliness, again brought it to him then. He rolled the scroll, and, pressing with his right shoulder against one of the pillars of the mosque, he raised the pillar with his left hand, and placed under it the bowl and the scroll, which he laid over the curd, thus making both hidden. In addition he said: "After the lapse of sixty-six years a person will come from the country of the Fayli (Lurs). He will thrice bring down the sun from the sky upon the earth. This person will in the same way bring out my "sign" (i.e. the bowl and the charter). We are he, and he is we (i.e. I and he are one and the same person). Obey all his commands."

Having said this, he rose and walked out from the mosque, intending to "change his dress" (*may-ash be jāma'i āšgar ušād*), i.e. to disappear; and later come in another manifestation.

The author then proceeds with the story of the death of 'Alī who bids his sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, to hand over his corpse to an Arab who will come the next day for it, and not to follow him. Ḥasan disobeys these orders /28/ and pursues the Arab, only to find that the person who rides the camel and the person who leads it are one and the same. Therefore the famous sword *Dhū'l-ḥiḡār* was left to Ḥusayn and his posterity. All this has also been made subject of Shi'ite poetry./29/

(Manifestation III).

SHĀH KHŪSHĪN.

"The events of the manifestation (*jāma*) of Shāh Khūshīn, i.e. the third *jāma*, which the King of Saintliness was pleased to grant, under the name of Shāh Khūshīn".

The narrative opens with the event of the miraculous birth of Shāh Khūshīn by Dā Jalāla, a daughter of a tribal chieftain, here called Mirzā Amānā (i.e. Amānū'l-lāh), and in Minī — Mirzā M-'nā, probably to be read Mu'nā, because *ma'nā* does not make sense. Mu'nu'd-din was not a very rare name during the Safawid period. The -ā at the end is the suffix of the vocative case. The use of such "vocative" surnames, especially as pen-names for poets, came into great fashion under the Safawids.

Dā Jalāla, a young girl, a virgin, conceives from a particle of the sun which has penetrated her nose. Her father orders her brothers to destroy her, but this is miraculously prevented, and ultimately a son is vomited by her, like a ball of shining quick-silver, Shāh Khūshīn. All this is narrated with many details, and accords very closely with Minī, 19-23, but is never identical with it. The poetical quotations are different.

Kākā Ridā<sup>22</sup> sees the sun brought down three times, and rushes to the scene, to find the luminous baby playing with it. All this occupies pp. 29-37 of the text. The dialogue, in Guranī verse, and occasionally in Persian, varies considerably in both texts, is full of mistakes, and therefore very difficult to translate.

(P. 37, cf. Minī, 23-24). Rōm, i.e. Ottoman Turks, invade the tribal territory, causing panic. Shāh Khūshīn, while still a boy of five, mounts a seven-days-old colt and utterly defeats the invaders.

(P. 38). Now begins a series of Shāh Khūshīn's contests with various *dā'ud-kārs*, which may be translated as "pretender", a bogus religious leader. He first visits a certain Kākā Aḥmad

<sup>22</sup> Ridā' is an Arabic word meaning a mantle or cloak. It is obvious that the name is an abbreviation of Ridā'i, "one wearing a mantle", as may be seen from a poetical quotation on p. 36, *top*, where it is used as a pen-name. It is the same as that in Minī, 23, and consists of a popular quatrāin (*chāh-bayt*), 14 syllables to a line: "A Princely Horseman has appeared from behind the mountain pass. — A good horseman came from Balūān to Awr (Awriānān?). — He sweetly said to Ridā'i: 360 years, — I was an expert hunter. (Now) I have seen my game, and fulfilled my desire".

who challenges him to be weighed. The one who is heavier is to be the winner. Shāh Khūshīn makes Kaka sit on the scales, laying his own shoe on the other side, and it out-weighs the Kaka. In this way Kaka is reduced to obedience. Shāh Khūshīn pronounces several *belams*, in mixed Persian, some of them having identical beginnings. It is not impossible that these represent the fragments of a long religious poem. In MinI, 25-26 the story is the same, but the text differs greatly.

(P. 39). Shāh Khūshīn visits another "pretender", Bābā Buzurg<sup>24</sup> who carries out an advanced feat of magic by turning himself into a wild ass (*gūr*) in a herd, but he is recognized, and reduced to obedience. Cf. MinI, 26-28, which has an interesting addition: Bābā Buzurg presents Shāh Khūshīn with two Chinese children who become the progenitors of the tribe of the Delfs (Delfān).

(P. 40). They now set out on a visit to a certain Ḥasan-i *gūr-dār*, i.e. "the owner of oxen",<sup>25</sup> who is expecting this favour. This Ḥasan is represented as a plain farmer who never tells a lie. The expert magician, Kaka Ahmad, turns into a stag (*marāl*), and, under the pretence of being pursued, asks Ḥasan to save him. The latter unties one of his two "mountain bulls" (*gūr-i kāhī*),<sup>26</sup> and harnesses the stag. When the pursuers arrive, and ask him where the stag is, he points out the game, being unable to tell a lie. He invites the party to his home and serves them, at the bidding of Shāh Khūshīn, with fruits from his garden, although it is past the season.

(P. 41). The King of the World comes to the Wāmarz pass, and there distributes some *nišāyats*, i.e. districts, so that each (of his subordinates) will know his place. Many people cherished

<sup>24</sup> Bābā Buzurg was apparently a darwish saint in Luristan, not far from Borujird where his grave is still visited by devotees.

<sup>25</sup> V. Minorsky translates *gūr* with "cow". But no one uses cows for ploughing, and the AH never sacrifice females. Besides, all over Persia *gūr* means an ox, or bull. The cow is *māghūn*.

<sup>26</sup> What kind of an animal is this *gūr-i kāhī*? It appears very often in these texts, but I never heard of it in any part of Persia. See above, p. 33.

high hopes as to these (of deriving much income) to spend. (This obscure passage apparently means that Shāh Khūshīn replaced the unworthy leaders (probably religious) with new ones). Then /42/ he goes to call on Bābā Faql (i.e. *faqlh*, lawyer; he is more often called *Kare-Faql*, "the son of a lawyer") who resides in the gorge of Rīzhāb (not far from the Tāq-i Girra on the Khanigīn-Kerman-shah road). He first sends Kaka Redā, and the latter exchanges some *belams* in Guranī with the "son of the lawyer", and (later on) Shāh Khūshīn himself participates. The text of these poems seems to be very much corrupted in the copying. It is at this juncture that Shāh Khūshīn pronounces the quatrain, a part of which has been quoted above<sup>27</sup>. Its first half is also very interesting:

*Faqlh, xūd Khudā nistim, bāl, Khudā'im.*

*Af-i-mān khur-en, zho khure zō'im.*

i.e.: "Faqlh, we are not God,— yes, we are God. Our origin is the sun, we are born from the sun." The next quatrain is often quoted by the AH:

*Mā'im, mā'im, mi-namā'im ki mā'im!*

*Qadd busta, miyda-tūht chūn nāy-im.*

*Dar ān khayra ki Hawwā bē Adam būdand*

*Mā būdim ān-jā, abhīr ham mā'im.*

i.e.: "This is we, this is we, we shall prove that this is we! Girded, but empty inside as a reed<sup>28</sup>. That tent in which Adam and Eve resided, we visited, but even at the end (of the world) we shall be."

(Pp. 44-49). The next comes the story of Shāh Khūshīn's visit to Bābā Tāhir whose grave is still shown in Hamadan, as has been discussed above<sup>29</sup>. Cf. also MinI, 29-33, where the text differs not only in its prose, but often in the (popular) quatrains in which the dialogue is composed. The whole spirit and tone of this story is in sharp contrast to the preceding episodes. A strange element is that of "temptation by hidden treasures" (T 46, cf. MinI, 31).

<sup>27</sup> See the section on the Origin of the Sect, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> This means: although the exterior of the reed is divided into sections, it is one in its emptiness inside. The idea is of one and the same Substance assuming different forms, "īness", *jamān*.

<sup>29</sup> See pp. 9-11.

This is not of the same origin as the preceding miracle tales, but smells of that artificial imagery which one finds in Persian fantastic romances. On the whole one is left with the impression that it is of late origin, and the production of an amateurish author.

(P. 49, cf. MinI, 33 and cont. 37-38, the two versions differ on many points). Shāh Khūshin returns from Hamdan. Having descended from the main road, through "the pass of the *Pir*", he arrives at the "hill of the nine-hundred". He orders Kāka Redā to (revive and) bring forth the dead man who had passed away 666 years before. Kāka Redā does this, after reciting a number of Gurani quatrains, apparently composed from the original tristiche. The *pir* replies in the usual Persian village *chār-baytir*, beginning so typically with "*agar dāh kašan...*" the opening of hundreds of similar poems. The resuscitated old man, however, requests permission to remain in his grave, and is dismissed. It is difficult to say what the point of this story of such an aimless miracle is, unless we suppose that it formed a part of another story with more obvious theme.

(P. 50). After the re-burial of the resuscitated old man the text abruptly announces: "and he (i.e. Shāh Khūshin) promised (to appear) to Pirālī, (bidding him) to remain in the district (*malk*) of Mawrdīn<sup>22</sup>, watching for the men (*mardān*) who would be coming to him". In MinI, 40, some other events precede this (omitted in this text). Pirālī is qualified as *shāh dāst*, i.e., most probably, a minor re-incarnation of some cosmogonical symbol. About the term *alt*, which in Arabic means high, see above, p. 56. As we shall see, this Pirālī is a rival of Banyāmin, and his adventures are on a grand cosmic scale. Perhaps there are in this some crumbs of a parallel mythology, developed by a rival but defeated party. This is why Pirālī's story abruptly intrudes, and is as abruptly discontinued, being left unfinished.

(P. 50. Cf. MinI, 40, which gives a different version). The King of the World goes to Kūfa, and enters the mosque. Just as was promised by the *Shāh-i mardān*, i.e. "All he lifts the pillar and

takes out that bowl of curd surmounted by the charter of the inscrutable mystery. He unfolds it and shows it to his associates (*dāda-dāda*)<sup>23</sup>. It has at the foot twelve seals of Imam<sup>24</sup>. He says: "I am Shāh Khūshin, the Lord of Heaven and Earth". There is (on the charter) the signature and seal of the King of Salmānān ('AH), *khāst (wa) sahr*.

(P. 51). Here begins the first in the series of apothecae which conclude the narrative of each Manifestation (they are not found in Minorsky's text). All of them are based on the same programme, and even the same words are used to describe the different parts of the performance.

"The King of the world gave an order, and a ram appeared from nowhere (the hidden world). They sacrificed it according to the previous ancient rules. The King of the world was sitting alone in a tent. Then men looked and saw that there were 1001 persons (*shifot*) in the tent, all in the likeness and shape of one another. (Shāh Khūshin) stretched out (his) hand of Divine might in the direction of the sun, and brought down the charter of 18,000 worlds<sup>25</sup>, which was of the colour of the sun and of the light of Divine Might. At its head stood 1001 seals with the name of the Creator. He exhibited this charter to the men, thus revealing to them his Pure Substance. Thereafter they again saw that the King of the sea and land was sitting alone in the tent."

(P. 52). Then follows an interesting story (not in Min I). A *dāhinā*<sup>26</sup>, a Christian (in this case), a white-bearded man, with

<sup>22</sup> The term *dāda-dar*, the "owner of the eyes" is apparently a Persian equivalent of the Arabic *shāh-i-bag*, *shāh-i-hayr*, i.e. the wise person who sees beyond the mere appearance of things.

<sup>24</sup> As has been mentioned above, the seals under an official document are those of witnesses, serving as endorsement. The inconsistency implied by the mention of the seals of the Twelve Imams can obviously be explained as colloquial usage, under modern Persian influence.

<sup>25</sup> The charters, *shāhā*, which are so often referred to here are obviously conceived as the documents certifying the rights of the possession, landed property title deeds.

<sup>26</sup> The term *dāhinā*, meaning a Christian or Jewish subject of a Muslim state, who pays a special tax, is a purely legal one which is rarely used colloquially now. The story is very interesting in its implications: does it mean that Christians could also be present at the AH gatherings?

<sup>27</sup> Or: in his estate in Mawrdīn or Mondīn, which is situated near the present Pesho-Iraq frontier, not far NW of Fardīwar.



two sons, came out on seeing Jesus in Shāh Khūshīn's suite. He (Jesus) had a star on his forehead, and this is how they recognized him. They turned to Jesus, but he ordered them to apply to Shāh Khushin, imploring him to admit them to *haqiqat*. He refused, saying that they had eaten prohibited (*haram*) flesh. As they insisted, he ordered firewood, a big fire was lit, and he invited the three of them to step into it in order to enter *haqiqat*. They entered and were burnt. Their ashes were collected and covered by a bedsheet. Then the King of the World summoned: "O, Abū Nūy (the name of the *dhimmi*), get up!" And the three men rose, safe and sound, thus joining the *haqiqat*.

(P. 53. Cf. Minī, 40-41, which has slight variations). (It seems as if this story is a continuation of the miracle in the mosque of Kūfa). "Thereafter the King of the World said: Someone, accompanied by seven others, will come and sit on the peak (*mūl*) of Dizāwar<sup>36a</sup>. He will read for you what had been written in the charter, and will ritually distribute to his associates the bowl of curd, putting into it his fingers also<sup>36b</sup>. He will reveal the names of the men (i.e. appoint *pirs* in various districts). Obey whatever he commands because he is I, and I am he".

Banyāmin, Dāwūd, Mūsā, and others wept profusely on hearing this. The King of the World settled everything (*iqār farmūd*) with Banyāmin. (This is the first time that the "angels" are mentioned in the text. There is no mention of Kāka Reḥā here. Perhaps this is nothing but a stereotyped passage, with the usual disregard to anachronisms).

Pir 'Alī (as his name is written here), who was *Ṣāhib dhāt* (see above), and who was a resident of the Mawrūn district, was

<sup>36a</sup> Dizāwar or Dīzāwar is a village not far from Shaykhān, near the Iraq-Persian frontier which now belongs to the district of Āwermān-i Lashūn, a subdistrict of Pāvā. It has 659 inhabitants, Sunnis, speaking Persian and Kurdish (Farhang-i Āwermān-i Lashūn, vol. V, 181). The place is very hilly, and the *mūl*, *sang* or *stāh*, (cf. *khān-i Hūrīn*, p. 73) of Dizāwar which is so often mentioned in AH tradition, is most probably a local rock which in antiquity was connected with some religious customs.

<sup>36b</sup> While the Persians eat curd (*nān*) with the help of pieces of bread, the Kurds simply use their fingers profusely licking them after every dip.

permitted to return to his home. Thereafter the King placed the bowl of curd, with the charter of the unutterable mystery, upon the rock of Hūrīn (Tāsh-i Hūrīn or *Īūrī*)<sup>37</sup>, which is a hundred thousand yards high. Then the King of the World conceived the desire to ride over the river. His associates stood while he himself rode upon the (surface of the) river (*bayr*)<sup>38</sup> and began to play *chaygān* (*pōlo*). When he whirled round on his mount, dust rose from under its hoofs. Then he ultimately disappeared from the sight of the followers.

These impatient people jumped to the conclusion that the King had been drowned in the water. They then dispersed.

Note: It will be useful to add a few words on the stories which belong to the manifestation of Shāh Khūshīn in Mīnorsky's text, but are not found here:

Minī, 18-19. The temptation by a woman of a Guran, Rastam by name, who safely withstands it, and receives the rank of *pir* as a reward. It is a well-known motif in Sufic hagiology, and may have nothing to do with Shāh Khūshīn, being associated quite incidentally with him. Cf. p. 61.

Minī, 33-34. A condensed version of a miracle with a certain tribal chieftain, Khusraw. It is narrated in detail in this text under Sulṭān Ṣāḥāḥ, pp. 77-78 (Khusraw Khān Barzanja, who becomes brother in law of the Incarnation).

Minī, 34-37. The story of a certain enemy of the King of the World who was turned into a pig. The general style of this story is not in keeping with the other tradition about Shāh Khūshīn, and it may be misplaced.

Another story, more in tune with Shāh Khūshīn's exploits, tells of him turning into a white falcon (Minī, 35), flying in the

<sup>37</sup> This is yet another sacred rock, often mentioned here. There is a village Hūrīn in Iraq territory, lower down on the left bank of the same Sirwan (or Diāla) river, about 30 miles South of Dizāwar. The only Hūrīn mentioned in Persian territory is a small village North of Kermanshah, in the district of Bīllwār (Farhang, V, 143). Minī, 38, regards it as the same as Seng-e-Dīzēdr (i.e. Dizāwar), as he writes.

<sup>38</sup> Here *bayr*, apparently a "learned" Arabic word for the usual Persian *dayz*, which can mean either the sea or the river. Obviously here the same Sirwan river is intended.

direction of Yāfta-Kūh<sup>59</sup>. Then he again appears amongst the 900, testing the firmness of their faith. He behaves like a madman (acting as Shams-i Tabriz in the well-known legend). The whole crowd goes to Hamra Bara-Shāh. Then the King of the World rides away on a horse (this sounds like a version of the story, narrated further on about Muhammad Bek).

The King of the World visits Bābā Yādgar Sarānāna (?). The story of a madman (also narrated in connection with Muhammad-Bek further on in this text).

The King of the World (Minī, 36) orders Kāka Redā to bring a certain unnamed unruly man who is feared by the whole district. When the Kāka goes to him, he comes to meet him with mace in hand. The Kāka catches him by the belt, puts him into his sling, and throws him high. He disappears for a time, and Peter falls down. What is significant, is the end of the story: the AH of that district saw this, "understood that it was a Divine mystery", and buried the body, raising over it a mausoleum, and giving to it the name (of the tomb of the) Falakī, i.e. Celestial one. All this accords well with the idea of Shāh Khūshin's exploits which generally constituted a campaign against local independent darwish and other petty religious leaders.

Minī, 37 and 38-40. A strange story in which Shāh Khūshin goes with his 900 to Shīr-Shāh (it is not clear, whether this is the name of a rival). He pitches his tent amongst musicians (?). Their instruments cannot be tuned. On being sent to bring some one who can do this, Kāka Redā finds a dead man, a dumb-mute, Balashit,<sup>60</sup> who is revived, and does the work. Shīr-Shāh expresses his submission. The rest (of his following?) remain obstinate, and the King of the World sends Muštāfā-y-i Dāwūdān to punish them.

<sup>59</sup> Yāfta-Kūh is also in Luristan, not far from the mausoleum of Bābā Bunarg. This story therefore belongs to the cycle of Shāh Khūshin's exploits in that locality.

<sup>60</sup> In 1945 I asked an eminent member of the AH, who was a mine of information, about this Balashit and his story, and he was unable to recollect anything, admitting (a rare thing with the AH) that his mind was a complete blank on the subject.

(Manifestation IV).

#### SULTAN SAHAK.

(The coming of the King of the World in the *jāma* of Sulṭān Saḥāk which is the Fourth *Jāma*).<sup>61</sup>

(P. 54. Minī, 41). Seventy-two (*pirā*) with Banyāmin, Dāwūd and Mūsā, watched on the seashore (or, really, the bank of the Sirwān?) for seven years, living by begging from nomads (*daryūzā'i vāt*), and ultimately decided to go to Pirāli, in the Mulḱ-i Mawrdīn. /55/ They ask him to go and bring the King of the World. He agrees on the condition that if he succeeds, he will be accepted by all as "*amīl-i kārkhāna*", or "the manager of the show", second in command of the world.

Pirāli who was "a strong substance", *dhāt-i purzār*, assumed the form of a swallow (*abābil*), and searched the heavens, and the whole of the earth, with no success. He then turned into a terrier (or badger?) (*kāhd-rā ba qudā-y-i sarāni andābbi, yū'āl tālā'i bāy-dān*), and began to follow the traces of the Shāh's horse. On reaching a clod of earth (a strange word: *balak*, in Minī, 42--*kolākā*, the usual word for a big piece of dried clay), he moved it aside. He then put his paws upon the earth, and with each scoop took off a layer, until he reached water. Then he plunged into the sea and began to swim (or dive?) /56/ until he found the King of the World engaged in conversation with the inmates of the sea under the Sāj. He wanted to come nearer but the *parshang-i Sāj-i Nā*<sup>62</sup> interfered when he was a mile (*mīl*) away, and would not permit him to come nearer. He returned and

<sup>61</sup> It is interesting to note that while at the beginning of the first two manifestations no heading is given, here, in the section dealing with Sulṭān Saḥāk, the same heading re-appears several times: on pp. 55 and 66.

<sup>62</sup> I consulted some of the most learned Persians, and they were unable to tell me the meaning of the word *parshang*. Judging from the context, it must be the name of an aquatic animal, probably a fish. Dictionaries mention *shang-nāh* in the sense of a "seal or dolphin". Possibly therefore this may be a kind of spiky fish, sea urchin, etc. Note that it is connected with the Sāj-i Nā.

reported this to his friends. They then began to implore Banyāmīn to try. He also met with the *parshang* who vexed the saint as much as he could. Yet Banyāmīn ultimately got through and politely stood aside until the conversation had come to an end (*mahr gardā*). He conveyed his message to the King of the World who said /57/ that he was dissatisfied with human beings who were treacherous, and preferred the society of the ifmates of the sea. Banyāmīn insistently implored him to come, and the King of the World agreed on the condition that he, Banyāmīn, would be a *pīr*, and he, the King of the World, his disciple (*ṭālib*). The reason was that while a *ṭālib* must carry out every order of his *pīr*, Banyāmīn obviously could not carry out every order, while the Deity could. Banyāmīn was unable to oppose such excellent logic, and the King of the World decided to return. He ordered the seventy two *pīrs* to disperse to their homes, while Pīrālī was to remain at a certain place in Mulke-i Mawrdīn, watching for his arrival. When the "aroma" of the King of the World came as a breeze of dawn, he was to take with him Dāwūd and Mūsī and go to the house of Shaykh 'Isā Bābālī (i.e. Bābā-'Alī?) /58/ Banyāmīn returned and conveyed these orders. The 72 *pīrs* returned to their homes, and the three, i.e. Banyāmīn, Dāwūd and Mūsī, went to the house of Shaykh 'Isā.

Pīrālī kept watch in Mawrdīn, but was once tempted to take a bath, leaving his son 'Alīā in his place. His son, however, fell asleep, and Pīrālī, returning, noticed that the King of the World has passed, in the form of a falcon. Seeing his son asleep, in a fit of anger, he severed his head, and started to follow running the track of that "aroma", without success.

A strange story follows, /59/ the point of which is not obvious: Pīrālī reaches a watermill (apparently belonging to himself), and settles down there, working with an assistant during the day and alone at night. Two *štur* (devils) try to play a trick on him, he nearly catches them, but they disappear. Then he turns into a *qūch-i zard*, wild goat, runs towards the hills, where he for seven years in that form keeps watch at Māshūkh (?).<sup>42</sup> "The rest of

the story of Pīrālī will be narrated in connection with the coming of the King of religion to the Shāhīna paza (*ba-Gardān-gāh-i Shāhāna*). The students should note this here, so that (his story) will not remain meaningless."

In conformity with the promise which the King of the World gave to Banyāmīn under the *Sāj-i Nār*, he comes to the meeting place with Pīrālī, and (not seeing him there) passes on to that of Shaykh 'Isā. /60/

Now the narrative goes a little back. First comes a story of two brothers, one rich and wicked, and the other poor but really pious, Shaykh 'Isā. His brother frequently goes on pilgrimages, and acts as the head of the party of *ḥājir*, and 'Isā implores him to take him. The elder brother agrees, but treacherously abandons him in the desert. Shaykh 'Isā spreads his *sajjada*, and becomes busy with his *namāz*. Suddenly he sees a stranger sitting on his carpet and recognizes the King of the World who bids him to return home and instruct a certain Ayūt or Aywat, a gardener, to watch for a royal falcon to alight on a dried mulberry tree which will at once become covered with green leaves.

The most interesting points in this story (pp. 60-62, cf. Minī, 45-46, where it is much abbreviated) are the details depicting the purely orthodox milieu, as has been discussed above.

On returning home (p. 62), 'Isā meets the three darwishes, and conveys the message to them. They begin to persuade him to marry; the daughter of a certain Ḥasan Bek is chosen as his bride, and the darwishes come to the latter to arrange the marriage. To get rid of them in a polite way, Ḥasan Bek asked for immense gifts, and these are miraculously produced. 'Isā marries, and his wife becomes pregnant, thereby giving ample food for gossip to the neighbours. To reduce this, the darwishes settle in a cove opposite to his house.

At last (p. 66) Aywat hears the sound of the falcon's wings, and sees that the dry mulberry tree has become green. He informs the darwishes, and they all rush to the house of 'Isā, where Sulṭān Ṣahāk is then born. It is a pity that the numerous Gurani poems cannot be translated.

<sup>42</sup> The *Fahang* does not give anything like this.

Now begins the series of Sultān Ṣaḥāḥ's miracles. The first (pp. 69-71. Cf. MinI, 48-50) deals with the dispute over the inheritance left by 'Iai to him and a son by another wife, Qādir-i Nā-pāk. The property consists of a farm and garden. Sultān Ṣaḥāḥ calls them, and they move after him.

His half-brother seeks help from a certain Chichāk,<sup>44</sup> also styled Nā-pāk, unclean, who brings his tribe, 60,000 strong (pp. 71-73, MinI, 51-52, abbreviated). The King apparently hides in a cave with his associates, and sends Dāwūd to throw a handful of dust upon the enemy, who disperse in confusion. It is here (p. 72) that the magic formula appears for the first time: *ba ishārat-i Shāh, ba sharf-i Bonyādān*, etc., i.e. "By the will of the King, by the covenant of Banyāmīn, by the consent of Dāwūd, and the golden pen of Pīr-i Mūsā" (sometimes is added: by the pure service of Razbār).

We cannot mistake these fantastic tales for anything but folklore versions of faint remembrances of intense opposition which the new sect met with in the tribal milieu, and the complex process of its struggle for survival.

This apparently brings to an end the portion of the story of Sultān Ṣaḥāḥ which has a parallel version in Minorsky's text, in which there are only a few fragments relating to the later events.

(P. 73). After this Sultān Ṣaḥāḥ turned the sun from its course, and taking up from the Hūrīn rock (*khār*) the charter (*qabāla*) which Shāh Khūshīn threw there without having read it to his followers, he read it to his associates. It was to the effect that the Creator of the World himself, Sultān Ishāq, has become manifested (*ba-zahāt rasīd*) revealing various miracles, and this is as it should be. They (manifestations) have come, and are coming, until the time when Mahdī Ṣāliḥa'z-zamān manifests himself, and fulfils the wishes of humanity".

He then ascended that rock (*saug*) of Dīzāwar which he had pointed out to Pīr-'Alī, and sat on it. By his order a sacrificial

<sup>44</sup> Villages with the name Chichāq, Chichāqū, etc., are found in the vicinity of the Urumiya lake (Förberg, IV, 157).

animal was produced from the moon (*shau-i hāfā*). Pīr Banyāmīn rose, took the right foreleg of the animal and put it behind the right ear, saying: *Ancestral-abbār Yār*, while the King of the World (also) recited the prayer. After this they took *saḥfina* from below its throat, cooked it, and distributed it. Ṣaḥāḥ-kār also offered a prayer. After this they cooked the meat of the sacrificed animal, formed the *jam*, passed round /74/ ablution water, spread the table-cloth (*saḥfa*), brought the meal and put it before Pīr Banyāmīn. Dāwūd was the *khādim*. They brought to him bread and vegetable sauce (*āsh*), placing it in the middle of the assembly, and the food was distributed (i.e. portioned in the form of separate shares, *baksh*, on loaf of bread, to be handed ceremonially to each participant). The *khādim* exclaimed: "By the assembly of the King!" (*ba jam-i Shāh*). The King of the World replied: "Verily, of the King!" (*haqqan Shāh*), such was his prayer. They then handed out the shares (*baksh*, of the ceremonial meal), and the King also offered prayer. (After this was consumed?) they brought (a dish of) *girda-past* (a kind of pancakes?)<sup>45</sup> distributed them, and the King offered prayer. After this they removed the *saḥfa*, while the King again offered prayer, passed round ablution water, also with his prayer. Thereafter Banyāmīn rose to his feet and offered the prayer of the *qabā*, i.e. the closing of the ceremony."

This is very valuable as a perfectly authentic and detailed account of the *jam* ritual. Ordinarily, the place of Banyāmīn is taken by the *khālija* although Pīr Banyāmīn is invisibly present at every *jam*, perhaps not so much symbolised as marked by the position of the candle or lamp before which a share (*baksh*) is always laid. The *jam* is almost always held at night.

"Then (apparently not at the same *jam*, but on another occasion) he, i.e. the King of the World, stretched out his hand of Divine Might towards the sun, and brought down the charter of the unutterable mystery, which was of the colour of sunlight. It had at the top 1001 seals with the name of the Creator.

<sup>45</sup> I originally overlooked the vocalisation given by the author as the scribe: *girda*, and read *girdā*, kidney. But we must read *girda-past*, probably the name of a dish, perhaps something like pancakes.

He exhibited it to the followers, and they saw their Creator in the form of 1001 persons, each one like the other. Thereafter that charter disappeared, and those persons vanished, and the Sulṭān of the World was seen sitting alone, with seventy two *pirs* ceremonially (*dar jam*) sitting before him.

The King of the World then said to them: I have revealed to you the principles (*qawā*) and rules (*qawā*) of *ḥaḡḡat*, and you must accept them. It is decreed (*ba-qarār art*) that Banyāmīn is appointed as *Pir-i sharī* (i.e. receiving the oath), Dāwūd as *rahbār*, i.e. instructor, and *Pir-i Mūsī* as the *roostar va daftar-dār*, i.e. administrator and keeper of accounts. /75/ Do not disobey their orders and the rules laid by them (*qawā va qarār-i in-hā*). /75/ They also gave names to some persons (*ba-marāḡān ism...* *mihādand*), and the ceremony of the *Jowā-i Shāht* (breaking the nut of the King) was also founded at that time<sup>46</sup>.

It is not clear what kind of "names" (appointments?) were given to those persons, and by whom—by the King, or by the *jam*?<sup>46</sup>

When the ceremonial part of this meeting was over, an altercation arose in which *Pirāli* (here: *Pir 'Alī*) claimed to have been recognized as the *waḡīl-i kār-khāna*, i.e. the deputy of the King of the World. He recalled the condition on which he went in search of the King of the World, which was accepted by the community. The exchange of argument in Gurani trisichs was animated, and some people are here named of whom no mention appears elsewhere, as *Mīr Sayyid*, *Malik Tayyār*, *Ḥamza Bare-Shāhī*.<sup>47</sup> It is possible that they were some of the "seventy-two *pirs*", or, perhaps, some of the *gīyānda*, i.e. persons gifted with the ability of poetical improvisation. The majority was entirely on the side of Banyāmīn who thus, implicitly, was recognized as the

<sup>46</sup> *Darwishes*, as is known, on their initiation change their ordinary, *sharīf* name to *ism-i ḥaḡḡat*, under which they become generally known. But at their being initiated into *ḥaḡḡat*, they receive a new name, which, however, is revealed only to the *darwishes* of the higher degrees. I could not ascertain whether the *AH* have such secret *ḥaḡḡat* names.

<sup>47</sup> In *Mīnī*, 35, *Ḥamza Bare-Shāhī* belongs to the *ḡama* of *Shāh Khūshīn*.

*waḡīl-i kār-khāna*. The *Sāhabār* expressed his assent (p. 76) by a symbolical miracle, asking the flowers which stood in front of him whether the rank should belong to Banyāmīn, and they all acclaimed him.

*Pir 'Alī* (p. 77), indignantly, left the assembly. What happened to him afterwards remains uncertain because there seems to be no mention of him again in the *Tadhkīra*.

Now begins an important story to which only a brief allusion is made in *Minor'sky's* text (*Mīnī*, 33-34, and also, 52-53, which obviously refers to this).

The associates of the *Pir-i Shāhū*,<sup>48</sup> i.e. Sulṭān Ṣaḡīk, insistently advise him to marry and thus lay the foundation of a potential dynasty. An incidental circumstance provides a suitable opportunity. A certain *Khusraw Khān Barzanja*, apparently a petty tribal chieftain, having committed some "error", is imprisoned by the *shāh* in Isfahan, apparently at his court, which shows that the person must have been of some importance. This little detail may or may not be accurate, but the association with Isfahan, and further details, may suggest that to some extent its indications of the Safawid period may be accepted.

"The (official) divines (*mashā'ih*) took much money (*nadh* *wa niyde*) from him saying they would free him from this slavery, but without result. Some people then advised him: "Try to give something to *Pir-i Shāhū*, then perhaps you may be released". *Khusraw Khān* proposed as a *nadh*, offering, his own sister and a black horse.

<sup>48</sup> Here *Shāhū* is referred to for the first time. In *Mīnī* (14, 15) only "Shāhū" is mentioned. The name is forgotten now, and Sulṭān Ṣaḡīk's grave is shown near the village *Shaykhān*, near the Perso-Iraq frontier (*Mīnī*, 38). At present (*Farhang*, V, 279) it belongs to *Awrahmān-i Lahūn*, *dār*, *Pāva*, and has about 50 *Sunnite* Kurds as inhabitants. Near it there is an old fort (*qal'a-i Pādāvi*). It is not improbable that *Shaykhān* is the old *Shāhū* of 400 years ago, or a settlement which arose on or near its ruins. It is also possible that the mediaeval *Fardwār* is the same as the present village *Herawī* (*Farhang*, V, 476), near the bridge over *Sirwān* (with 120 *Sunnite* Kurds as inhabitants). Neither our texts, nor *Minor'sky's* mention the name of the village *Shaykhān* which may be perhaps of comparatively recent origin.

This worked well. The King of the World who miraculously knew of the proceedings, sent word by Dāwūd, and the prisoner (acting boldly) miraculously rode through the crowds, reached his home, and sent his sister to the *Pir*. (There is no word about the horse).

At this place in our text the narrative is badly curtailed, but can to some extent be reconstructed with the help of *Mīnī*, 52-53. The bride (p. 78) is for some reason taken to a *raze* (*moghāra*), to which the King of the World retires with her, and remains there for seven days. His associates, waiting outside, become restless, and ultimately ask Banyāmīn to bring the bridegroom out. He does so with striking effect: Eight young men, each a perfect copy of the other, emerge out from behind the curtain. In response to the earnest request of his associates the King of the World makes a sign by which he is recognized.

Strangely enough, the author omits to give their names, which according to *Mīnī*, 52-53, were Mir Ḥabīb-Shāh, Sayyid Bā'wafā, Shaykh Shāh-i dīn,<sup>49</sup> Mir Muṣṭafā, Sayyid Muḥammad Gawre-sawār,<sup>50</sup> Hāji Bāhā Ḥusayn, and Khāmūsh Pur-chīn.

(P. 79). These, as has already been mentioned (cf. p. 5), were the *heft taawna*, the progenitors of the different *ajāqs*.<sup>51</sup> The associates then request the King of the World to tell them, how should they treat the newcomers, and he answers: "If they conform to the *shari* of Banyāmīn, the meekness (here *riidā* for *riid*) of Dāwūd, the *qalam* of *Pir-i Mūsī*, and the service (*khidmat*) of Razlār, call them *Sayyid* and *Sayyid-ālda*. Otherwise you need neither pay attention to their rank (*shamā'il*), nor regard them as the *Shaykhs of the Barzanja*" (clan)."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Apparently for *Shihābo'd-dīn*.

<sup>50</sup> This surname does not apparently mean: "riding a wild ass (*gūr*)" but *gawr* (or *gawr*), a light brown, white, or grey (horse), with the *e* developed to ease pronunciation. This is an exact parallel with such surnames as *lahūd-āwūr*, "riding a blue (dark grey) horse", etc.

<sup>51</sup> This myth was obviously created in order to vindicate the dogma of the Incarnation being above procreation, but the author betrays himself sometimes by referring to one of them as "the eldest".

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the same idea in the *Pañjīst-i Jowāmardī*, text, p. 49 (or p. 30 of the Translation).

(P. 79). Thereafter he summoned his sons, and questioned each one separately: "Who am I? and who are you?" He asked the *eldest* of them, Amīr Muṣṭafā and Mir, and both answered that he was their parent, and they were his sons. Muḥammad Gawre-sawār asked for permission to consult "the *pir* and *dāld* whom his father had given him". He therefore consults Banyāmīn, the latter sends him to Dāwūd, who sends him to Mūsī, and ultimately they all come to Banyāmīn again. Then he teaches his charge to say: "Thou art the Creator, and we are thy creations".

(P. 80). Here, most unfortunately, is a lacuna. The story is resumed with what is apparently a conversation of the King with his associates who ask him about his successor. The King of the World asks them in return: "What remains of the house (tent) when the people move to another camp?" They answer that it is the three stones of the fireplace (*ajāq*). The King says: "Those stones we have also taken away, and placed upon the head of Muḥammad". (Apparently the clever Muḥammad Gawre-sawār).

This is not much, but it gives us a glimpse of the mentality concerned with the *ajāq* question, and it is worth noting that in this, Ātīsh-begī tradition, priority is given to the person whose line has apparently become extinct in the past.

Here apparently the aetiological myths end, and the text now consists of didactic stories, of which so many are associated with the name of Sulṭān Ṣahāk.

*Pir-i Mūsī* (on p. 82 it is Shaykh 'Isī), as we see now, had a son, 'Alī by name, who once accosted with amorous intentions a woman who was bringing curd (*ušt*) to the King of the World. Despite her earnest protests, he embraced her and kissed her face on which a pimple (*laba*) at once appeared. The King saw it, and found no fault with the woman, but when the offender came to the *jam*, he announced that one of those present was a sinner, who had committed such an offence that it could be hidden neither in the skies nor on the earth. After a while the offender confessed, and was forgiven in a peculiar sentence: "*Gunāh hārtza, bi gunāh bi-nīstin*".

This looks like the foundation (*ihbat*) of the practice of confession before the *jam*. The scale of offences, however, seems to be rather paradoxical, as may be seen from the several following stories.

(Pp. 81-83). The same man approached the same woman when she was washing clothes in the river, having laid her baby on the bank. He started his indecent demands and threatened to throw the child into the stream; when no amount of reasoning and entreaty availed, the woman flatly refused, and the villain threw the child into the water. The *Şahab-kâr*, in his omniscience, knew what was going, and sent Dâwûd to save the child. The offender again came to the *jam*, again confessed, and was again pardoned, with the same formula. Then one of those present, Narimân by name, drew his knife to stab the rogue who has so scandalised the community. He was, however, restrained by the others, and the *Şahab-kâr* said: "By the holy rank (*ba-hadd-i pak*) of Banyâmin, and by the holy Ka'ba, if he had stabbed the man, it would have been a crime of cosmic magnitude. This is because it is the commandment of the Truth that if a man confesses his sin (*gunah-i khûd-ê ba-garday bi-girad*), we should pardon him: If punishment is demanded here, then from whom will the Lord of humanity demand the fine (*ujr*) on the Judgment Day?"

(Pp. 83-84). The same rascally son of *Pir-i Mûsi* stole some cattle from a tribe, and *Şahab-kâr* was accused. He ordered the offender to be brought in order to punish him, but he fled to Darra Shîsh (?), a village in which there were 40-50 thousand houses (!) of followers of the King of the World, and they refused to hand him over. *Şahab-kâr* then commanded *Mustafâ-y-i Dâwûdân* to assume the form of a cat,<sup>22</sup> and go to the village at night, and howl from every roof. The worthy, however, had his own house there, which he passed over and came upon the house of an old woman. She, however, had penetrating sight (*ravshan chashm*), She recognized him, and said: "Hey, man-cat (*gurbâ'i mardân*), was it the order of the Truth that thou shouldst pass thine own

house, and come-over mine?" He returned to his own house, and started to howl,—his family of seven immediately died. In this way he caused the death of everyone.<sup>24</sup> /84/

When the people came together again, they complained to *Şahab-kâr*, saying that the inhabitants of Darra-Shîsh had not committed any great crime. Being respectable people, they by custom could not surrender the son of *Pir-i Mûsi* who sought asylum with them. *Şahab-kâr* again gave a priestly answer to the effect that their case would be postponed till the Judgment Day. If the Truth defended them, then they, with their families and servants (*halfat*), would go directly to Paradise.

(P. 84). The author now returns to the question of the *jam-i Shâhî*, to which he referred (see p. 80 of the Text) in connection with the stones of *âjâq*. "When he established the *jam-i Shâhî* and the institution of *pir wa dâll*, he said that four people could make an agreement amongst themselves (*bâ ham iqrâr shawand*) that on the Day of the Resurrection (*Rûz-i ahîr*) they would share each other's sins and virtues, and live in this world in full accord (*ridâ*) with each other. (Cf. p. 40).

An extraordinary story follows (pp. 84-87) which inspires one to question its authenticity, for it exhibits various details which usually belong to fairy tale literature.

Once, while supervising the work of building a house for *Şahab-kâr*, in which every one participated, the idea crossed Banyâmin's mind that he was superior to the others. /85/ When all of them gathered before *Şahab-kâr*, he ordered Banyâmin to stand away (*yâk qadam pas-tar bi-nih*), and the latter did not understand the reason for this. After some time the same thing happened again, and thus he was practically expelled. He then asked for permission, which was granted, to go to his *iqrâr*, i.e. Zar-bânû, the daughter of the King of Balkh (indispensable name in every fairy tale). He walked there, and was reported to Zar-bânû by her maids who saw him near the spring, "with light

<sup>22</sup> The idea of a were-cat, with such deadly functions, seems to belong to the Central Asian Turkish folklore.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Minil, 219, where a different version of the story is alluded to (Dr. Sa'id): the inhabitants of Darra' Shîsh killed 'Âl because they suspected him of adultery with one of their women.

forming a nimbus around his face" (*nār az rāy-i ā iustaq bastā*). /86/ The lady already knew everything, and wanted to accompany him back to *Šāhsh-kār*. The latter, however, when knowing that they had reached a place not far away, sent his executioner, *Mustafā-y-i Dāwūdān*, to make *Zar-bānū* die, because (strangely) *Mustafā-y-i Dāwūdān*, to make *Zar-bānū* die, because (strangely) "if she comes, *Šāhsh-kār* (Mahdī) will have to manifest himself, and the time for this is still distant". *Banyāmīn*, however, was pardoned and permitted to come back. *Šāhsh-kār's* associates did not understand the reason for this, but he /87/ merely said in answer to their inquiries: "friends are numerous; all of them must come and make this world satisfied (*in duwayd-rā āt kunand*)". *Mustafā-y-i Dāwūdān* was also dismissed. *Banyāmīn* returned and apparently resumed his former position, without any loss of status.

It is difficult to discover the didactic implications which this story was supposed to convey. It seems therefore probable that it is a reminiscence of a real fact as has been suggested above.<sup>55</sup>

Then follows (pp. 87-92) the lengthy didactic story, referred to above<sup>56</sup>, obviously concocted under the Safawids, about a contact between *Sulṭān Šāhāk* and the ancestor of the Safawids, *Safīyyū'd-dīn Ardabīlī* (d. 735/1334), a disciple of *Zahid Gilānī* (d. ca. 700/1301). *Shaykh Zāhid* sends his disciple, *Šafī*, to *Sulṭān Ishaq of Pardīwar*, i.e. *Sulṭān Šāhāk*, whom he regards as senior to himself, for investiture (*kaṣar bastān*), i.e. obviously to receive the rank of an independent *murshid*. He sends with *Šafī* a fried fish in a basket. /88/ *Šāhsh-kār* receives this present, orders a ring to be put through the lips of the fish, throws it into his water tank, whereupon it revives, and miraculously re-appears in *Gilān*, in the tank of *Shaykh Zāhid*.

*Shaykh Šafī* is admitted to the *jam* of the AH, at which, as was customary, women are also present. Seeing this, he condemns the practice: *Jam-i haqq ast wa dam-i haqq ast*, but men and women sitting together is indecent (*bi-šarāf*).<sup>57</sup> The King of the World

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the similar discussions in the *Panāyat-i Jawānmardī*, text, pp. 80-81 (pp. 50-51 of the Translation), in the story of "Asīkī".

<sup>56</sup> See p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> This has a parallel in Central-Asian *darwish* lore; one of the commentaries on the famous *Dīvān* of *Īsmā'īl*, attributed to *Aḥmad*

knew of this, and, therefore, sent him back without investing him, with a return present to *Shaykh Zāhid*, which contained water, fire and a piece of cotton in a bottle, all of which had no effect on one another, thus proving that such mixed meetings can be held without prejudice to morality.<sup>58</sup>

*Shaykh Zāhid* sends (p. 91) *Shaykh Šafī* again to *Pardīwar*, and he is met by *Banyāmīn*, who works a miracle. *Sulṭān Šāhāk* then invests *Shaykh Šafī*.

Now comes what may be called the farewell apotheosis (pp. 92-94). *Sulṭān Šāhāk* comes up and sits on the *Sang-i Dizāwar*, addressing his followers, and bidding them farewell: "Laws (*arshn*) are eternal (*qadīm*), so treat them as (my) lieutenants (*qā'im-maqāim*), and, observing them, proceed all together. So long as you help each other, we shall also help you everywhere. Look after your sheep well. A person is coming, with narcissus-like eyes...<sup>59</sup> and a beard divided into two parts. He will be accompanied by seven men. He will sit on the *Sang-i Dizāwar*, and will be so big that when he comes upon the rock with five men, four will be seated, and one will have to remain standing. Then he will go to *Shāhū* and turn the sun back from the (course of) stars. He will place the sun under his knees (while sitting), so that for seven days and nights there will be darkness in the world. Thereafter he will release the sun. A stag or elk (*panuzn*) will descend from the hills and surrender itself, and will be sacrificed by his order while he will recite ritual prayers.... Obey whatever he commands because I am he, and he is I".

*Yasawi*, the great Turkish *Ṭū* of the end of the XII-th c. A.D., refers to a similar situation. A certain *murshid*, *Bābā Maḥmūd*, also condemns the practice of allowing people of both sexes to participate in *dhikr* assemblies, held by *Yasawi*, but he later recognises his superiority and becomes his *murshid*. See A.C. Borovkov, "Studies in the History of the Uzbek Language", *Soviet Vostokovedenie*, V (1948), p. 232 (in Russian).

<sup>58</sup> This is yet another borrowing from *Türkisch darwish* lore. A similar miracle is ascribed to a saint, *Abdāl Mūsā*, who sends a similar present to *Ghenghū* (or *Gheyyikū*) *Bābā*, see F.W. Hasluck, "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans", vol. I, p. 290.

<sup>59</sup> I could not ascertain the meaning of *mīrā'ī qā'qā'na* (met with several times in the text). Perhaps it refers to the form of the moustache.



Then the apotheosis is staged, with all the usual details, including the charter of the unutterable mystery. It repeats almost literally the wording used in previous accounts. Sultān Šāhūk then tells the "four bodies" (*chahār jasad*): "Go to the house of Qanbar Shāhū'ī who has no children. You will see him there". He added a few more words to them concerning the arrangement. After this he appeared to die (*parda kashid*).

What follows really belongs to the story of the next Incarnation. It is noteworthy that the "four bodies" change their "dress" (*har yakī be dān-i digar ūftāda and, and further be dān-i qalandar gardīdān, when coming back*). But further on it appears that it was not the question of disguise because their "substances" re-appear under different names, apparently as quite different persons. Why did they disperse from Shāhū'ī and travel to places hundreds of miles away? The AH tradition apparently is not interested in such matters.

## (Manifestation V).

## QIRMIZI

"The coming of the King of the World in the person (*jāma*) of Qirmizi who is the fifth *jāma*."

As has been said before, the story of Qirmizi begins on p. 94. (Cf. MinI, 5-8). The four associates change their dress and disperse: Banyāmin went to Ardabil, Dāwūd to the country of the Cherkesses, Pīr-i Mūsī to Damascus, and Muṣṭafā-y-i Dāwūdān to Dawlān. Seven years later, dressed as qalandars, they began to move towards Chashma'ī Sultān, the appointed meeting place. On their way they all passed by a poor woman who had only one loaf of bread for the whole family. She piously gave a piece to each of them as alms. As can be seen further on, this was in fact the whole loaf. There is no clue as to whether this woman was a re-incarnation of somebody.

The darwishes met at the Chashma'ī Sultān, each recited a *kalām*, i.e. a tristic in Gerani, and was recognized. Banyāmin was then known by the name Kāka Pīra, Dāwūd—Kāka 'Arab, Mūsī—Kāka Rāhmān, and Muṣṭafā-y-i Dāwūdān—Khātūn Razhār or Razhānā.

(P. 97, cf. MinI, 7-8). The four angels, in the guise of qalandars came to Qanbar Shāhū'ī, who was a very pious person (*qāhīb kardār*), as was his wife also. During conversation they inquired whether he had any children, and in reply to his negative answer, Banyāmin produced an apple from his pocket (as any darwish would probably do under similar circumstances. The apple, the fruit of Venus, plays a big part in superstition connected with love in Persia), and gave it to them, saying: "The King of the World gives you a son. Do not name him, however, until I come, and personally give him a name". A year later they all came again, but Qanbar's wife was not even pregnant. In order not to disappoint them, she took a piece of mutton, wrapped it in cloth, and laid it into the cradle. Banyāmin insisted on seeing the child who, she said, had been born, and went personally and took out a



laby boy, noticing that he had a good colour of face, — *qirmizi* means red. He named the child Shāh Ways-Qulī<sup>60</sup>.

(P. 99, cf. MinI, 9). Once forty mounted raiders drove away a herd of cattle belonging to the Shīshū'i nomads (*hai*), and Shāh Ways-Qulī began to demand an attack upon them to regain the property. As he was in appearance but the son of a poor peasant, the people began to laugh, advising him to go alone, on foot. He went, intending to reveal himself to the people, /100/ he uttered a darwish cry (*na'ra'i Haylari*) when he saw the robbers, and they tied each other up. He then cut off their ears and nostrils, tied these in a handkerchief, and went home. His friends were astonished, and those who had "spiritual sight" began to worship him.

Another miracle in a similar rural setting (pp. 100-101, cf. MinI, 9-10, which differs considerably) refers to a cattle raiding adventure, in which Qirmizi himself was the stealer. There was a great famine in their locality, and one night when Shāh Ways-Qulī went out, he saw a woman with starving children boiling a stone in a kettle in order to deceive them and thus allay their pangs of hunger. He went back, and saw a friend, Yār-Qulī. He suggested a raid on the nomads' flocks on the other side of the Sirwān river, they crossed the bridge and he seized two sheep, one under each arm. But an alarm was raised and their retreat to the bridge was cut off. He then made Yār-Qulī sit on his shoulders, and, with the two sheep in addition, jumped over the river, "a mile wide". They gave one sheep to the poor woman.

The next story (pp. 102-103, much dif. from MinI, 10-11) deals with a miracle which very often appears in Persian fairy tales: For some reason which is not clear, Qirmizi cuts a man into two halves. The man has been bitten by a rabid dog. He takes the body to Shāhū, where he is going. On arriving there, he utters a command in the *'Amardai* language, and the sun descends,

<sup>60</sup> In some darwish *na'ras* a similar story is narrated about Bektab, obviously based on popular etymology of the name, Bek — prince and tab — stone. In similar circumstances his mother wraps up a stone and brings out to the darwishes who miraculously turn it into a child.

he puts both, the sun and the moon, under his knees, and for seven days there is darkness, until he dismisses them. He then orders Kā 'Arab to bring the halves of the corpse, and brings back the man to life. By his orders a mountain bull and a wild goat (*gāsi-kāhi* not *gāch*) come out, and lift their forelegs to touch their ears. They are sacrificed and eaten. He then orders the Sirwān to flow upstream, and later turns it again. He orders some of his followers to go to the hills and collect *binā* grass for his horse, promising to send them seven mountain bulls as game to feed on.

After this follows a story (pp. 103-105, cf. MinI, 14-15, some few lines, which do not make sense) of the pious Shāhū'is and the silly Kūpā-sā'is, who were sent to collect hay, as mentioned above. They went just before the miracle of, sitting on the sun, and as a single day became as long as seven days, they were terribly hungry. They saw seven boars, but did not kill them, lying flat till they had passed. But the Kūpā-sā'is thought that these were the promised mountain bulls, so they killed them and ate their flesh. The King of the World knew this and exposed them.<sup>61</sup>

"After this *Sāhab-karam* worked many miracles. It would take much space to describe them all."

(P. 105, cf. MinI, 13-14). We come to one of the most enigmatic ideas in AH tradition, the myth about the origin of the AH festival, 'Id-i Shāhī. It is connected with *yārū-i Qabāl-tās*,<sup>62</sup> or Quwār-Tās, Qūrtās (p. 106), or Qawartās, etc. The story runs: 'Seven men of Quwār-Tās (perhaps the name of a tribe or a village)<sup>63</sup> went to the King of the World for the purpose of testing his genuineness. Within half a farsakh (just under two miles) there was a *cave* (*maghāra*), in which they put up, saying:

<sup>61</sup> The purpose of these stories is not obvious. Most probably they are reminiscences of some petty local rivalries. As will be seen, the rivalry between the Shāhū'is and Kūpā'is persists throughout the tradition connected with the later Incarnations.

<sup>62</sup> This form seems to be preferable as that which appears most frequently, and is also used in poems.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. MinI, 218, who mentions that the Sayyid of Kalāfāsh pronounced the name Qabartās, explaining that it was derived from the name of a village "near Karind". The Furlong contains no mention of such a village.

"We have come such a long distance. He should meet us here, so that we may talk to him". /106/ The King of the World (in his omniscience) knew this, he called the "catcher" (of souls, *qābiḡ*, i.e. *Mustafā-y-i Dāwūdān*) and said: "The Qawarṭās people want a ceremonial reception (*istiqbāl*). Go, and find a certain cloud over the chain of the Qāf mountains which has given no rain for exactly seven years to-day. Take this and bring it as a reception party." The *Qābiḡ*, who was a *dān*, re-incarnation, of *Mustafā* (*y-i Dāwūdān*), went and took that cloud and came to the place where those men were, and for three days and nights he made it rain (and snow) violently. They all died there from hunger and cold." (There are several *Gurani* tristichs, containing nothing important). /107/ "Kā Pira, who was a *dān* of *Banyāmin-i Sharḡ*, approached the King of the World, saying: "This is unlike the King's generosity. Any one whose name is *yār* (friend, i.e. a member of the AH community), and who comes to this palace for religious considerations (*rāy-i niyāt*), should not be turned away disappointed (*nā mahṛām*). We therefore hope that the Pure Substance will look (mercifully) upon these adepts (in *ḡīfa*), and resuscitate them, in order that people will not say that the pilgrims who went to *Qirmizī* were buried under the snow. This would be a source of condemnation of this *khūdān*. May the Merciful show his generosity."<sup>64</sup>

When *Pir-i Sharḡ* said this, the King of the World felt more generous and said: "O, *Pir-i Sharḡ*, I swear by the Substance of the First and the Last, that if it had not been for your intercession, the punishment of these people would have continued until the advent of the Resurrection. As we have sworn in the world of atoms (*'ālam-i dharr*) that you shall be a *pir* and that I will do everything which you wish, (I shall do this). According to this, Kāka 'Arab may go and bring them into my presence.

Kā Pira remonstrated: "May I be sacrificed for thy sake! There are only corpses, how can he bring them?"

The King of the World said: "O, *Pir-i Sharḡ*, I have issued an order. Kā 'Arab will go there, and before he arrives there, they will be alive."

Kā Pira appealed: "I pray to the King of the World that Kā 'Arab may go and bring them here dead, /108/ so that they may be revived in the presence of *Šahab-kār*". The King of the World replied: "Very well".

The bodies were brought into the presence of the King of the World, washed, and covered with white sheets, and *Qirmizī* struck each of them with his walking stick, ordering: "*Qum bi-iddat!*" (Ar.: rise by my order). By his Substance (as *hāḡin-i Šahā-i 'Alam*) all seven rose and prostrated themselves before him, while Kā Pira said (mixed *Gurani* tristic): /109/

*Pādshāh-y-i Alast hār-sā-i kārān,*

*Lutf karam karu shāy karam-dārān.*

*Ū rū'zh zinda kart Qirmizī yārān.*

(i.e. "The King of (the day when it was said) *A lastu* (*bi-Rabbi-kum*), i.e. "Am I not your Lord? (Cor. vii, 171), does (great) deeds: He was gracious and generous, as the king of the generous,—on that day *Qirmizī* resuscitated (these) people".

The *Qawar-tās* men implored him to forgive their sin, and the King of the World ordered them to fast an equal number of days every month. They remonstrated: "We are *Ahl-i Haqq*, why should we fast"? The answer was: "You must observe the fast. If you had (really) been AH, you would not have entertained doubts". They departed but Kā-Pira began to plead their case, and the King of the World said: "I forgive them on condition that they remain faithful to the *sharḡ-i Banyāmin*, i.e. commandments of religion, and never again do anything just as they fancy. Every member of the community (*har ḡīfa'i*) who commits *bi-arkān*, i.e. violates the laws, will be deprived of the right to participate in the communal assemblies (*aḡ jam-i yārī bi bahro bāshand*). But those who requested thee to intercede on their behalf on condition that they remain firm in observing thy covenant, (must know that) I declare fasting (generally) unlawful (*harām*) either for themselves or for other members of the AH community.

<sup>64</sup> In *Minorsky's* ms. the story is narrated with different details, and the adventures of the *Qabāḡiās* pilgrims are mixed up with the story of *Hafī* *suḡna*.

Whoever regards himself as belonging to the *jam* of the AH, will be excommunicated if he fasts. He becomes /110/ a member of any other community: he will never join the rows (*qafār*) of Banyāmīn. And then, O *Pir-i Sharf*, every member of the AH community must observe "*Jashn-i Shāhī*", the King's Festival."

Kā Pīra then asked a question which may appear strange to us: "Should this festival be celebrated by the Delfs (*Delfān*), or by the Kūpāsā'īs?" As we have seen above, the Kūpāsā'īs were accused of eating the flesh of wild pig. The answer is no more sensible: The Delfs should celebrate it, and the Kūpāsā'īs should fast three days". Does it mean that the Qabal-Tās men were also Kūpāsā'īs? In any case it is clear that the three day fast was intended as an expiatory act: the offenders having violated their oath (*az iqrār-i khād bāz gusht namāndān*) and (basic) laws (*khilāf-i arkān*), thus brought themselves into a condition of unlawfulness (*dākhil-i harām shudān*). "In any case I know that they will neither honour myself, nor remain faithful to the *Sharf-i Banyāmīn*". /111/

In view of the protests of the *Pir*, fasting is declared to be unlawful (*harām*) for any member of the AH community, and this is expressed in a tristich:

*Shāh karām berden rāza bā'īl-en,*  
*Har kas rāza'ih kart zahar-i qā'il-en.*  
*Ze Sharf Banyāmīn ham ā'ā'īl-en.*

i.e. "The King is pleased to make fasting void. Every one who has fasted (is as if he has eaten) deadly poison, and is suspended from the *Sharf* of Banyāmīn". (More poetry is added). /112/

Banyāmīn (*ā'et*) asks: in whose honour (*dar 'ishq-i kī*) the Festival should be? The answer: in honour of the Sultān of the World. This is because the 'four angels' (*chahār ja'ed*) under Sultān Shāhūk implored him to establish a festival (*qarār-i 'id angarrar farma'id*), and he promised to do this during the time of the *jam* of Qirmizī. And the latter ordered the people of Shāhū to have three days of *khidmat* (we have explained this term above, see the section on sacrifice).

Some Shāhū'īs asked Qirmizī about the reasons (*sabab*) for

this institution, and also about the procedure (*dāb*) to be adopted at such celebrations, /113/ He said that the community should offer *khayr-i khidmat* (at any time of) every year, but in any case this should be done during the month of the 'Id, Festival (*māh-i 'Id bāyad muhr bāhad*). In the Garani tracts which Qirmizī recites further on it is stated that the Festival should take place on the 13-th of the month of Isfand,<sup>35</sup> or *māh-i chilla*, according to the popular calendar. Those who did not observe this Festival (everywhere it is written *jashn for jashn*), were to be expelled from the *jam*, /114/.

Then, apparently to show in practice how the Festival should be celebrated, Qirmizī staged his farewell apotheosis which deserves to be translated in almost its entirety.

He ordered everyone to bathe their bodies and don clean dress, arriving on the night of the seventeenth of the *Chilla* month (i.e. the evening of the sixteenth). The entertainment (*khidmat*) was arranged in the house of Qirmizī himself. He himself was to sit in one of his rooms alone, with 72 Shāhū'īs in attendance.

It was evening (*vaqt-i Dāwad*), Qirmizī entered the room and invited others to enter. "They entered, and saw that it was a garden, in the middle of which there was a building, and that a throne was set up there by the Divine might, on which Qirmizī was sitting, and that Qirmizī was at the same time amongst them. They turned to him, asking who it was sitting on the throne? Qirmizī replied with a quatrain (cf. also Text, p. 44):

*Mā'im, mā'im mī-namā'im (ki mā'im),*  
*Qadd basta miydu tuhī chu ndy-im.*  
*Amādīm khād-rā bo-khalq bi-namā'im:*  
*Khalqān kār az, nā chu āftāb paydā'im.*

(i.e.) "This is we, this is we, we are showing (that it is we), girdled, but empty inside, as a reed. We came to manifest our-

<sup>35</sup> The month of Isfand, the last in the year, ends on the 20th of March. The *Chilla*'s *hazar* of the popular calendar is a rather indefinite period, beginning about the end of January, and lasting about seven weeks. Mināli, 221-222, tries to ascertain the date, quoting various travellers, but the only correct statement seems to be that of Col. E.I. Chirkov, 282, "13 days before Nawrūz".

selves to the people. The people are blind, but we are as apparent as the sun".

Thereafter they looked and saw that 1,000 persons (*nifāt*) sat on the throne, and Qirmizi had also joined them, and that they were alike, while 124,000 prophets were standing before him.

Kāka Pira and Khātūn Zarhānū (or Raehānū) brought entertainment (*khidmat*) to the *jam* /115/ and Kāka 'Arab began to act as a *khidmān* while Kāka Rahmān acted as the recorder of confidential matters (*daftar-dār-i bāḥiā*). By the order of Qirmizi the four angels (*yārān-i chahār jazād*) sat in the *jam*, and Kāka Pira distributed the offerings (*khidmat*). Thereafter the *jam* was concluded, Qirmizi offered a prayer (of conclusion), and the others exclaimed "Hā".

After this they distributed shares to the absent members (*ba ḥaḍr-i jam bakshid dādand*), offering the prayer of gratitude. They saw that Qirmizi was sitting alone when (suddenly) the *Maqām* of Shāh Khūshn appeared, and Qirmizi said: "This is the Festival of Truth" (*jazān-i haqiqat*). Then 900 and (by?) 900 took the *maqām* of participation (*yārī*), and they were busy till morning with the recitation of the *dhikr* of *haqiqat* (*dhikr-i yārī*).

The King then was pleased to get up, he descended from the throne, walked to the garden which had a door, entered it, and the 72 walked after him. This was another garden, with a throne set in it by the Divine might. On the throne Qirmizi was sitting, and houries and *ghilmān* were standing before him, and 124,000 prophets formed 1001 *jam*s, while at every *jam*, in the place of honour there sat Qirmizi himself. At every *jam*, instead of a candle, the sun was placed. This *jam* was held on the night of the 18-th (i.e. from the 17-th to the 18-th). They had finished with offerings (*khidmat aba shud*), and Qirmizi ordered the *Nuhād-mahqada* to come in. By his order they formed the assembly of the faithful (*maqām-i yārī*), and till morning occupied themselves with *dhikr*, distributing sweets (*shakarāna*). /116/ Shāh Qirmizi offered prayers on the termination of the *jam*, and every one exclaimed "Hā". Then they saw Qirmizi sitting alone on the platform, when all the rest had vanished.

On the night of the 19-th, the third night, again in the same sequence, the ceremony took place, as described above. Then Qirmizi got up and walked out of the building, followed by the seventy two, and they saw that it was the door of the same room, it was morning, the sun having just risen.

(Other) inhabitants of Shāhū also came to pay their respects to Qirmizi. Kāka Pira offered to Qirmizi presents for the festival. He also instructed the people, and they also brought with them presents, which were accepted with a prayer by him. He addressed the four angels and others saying that it was the festival of Truth (*'Id-i haqiqat*), and that it should be blessed for them. All of them prostrated themselves and thanked him.

Such visionary and fantastic celebrations, however, had a bitter sequence. When the participants, the 72 Shāhū's, dispersed and went to their homes, they told others about their experiences, and were met with utter incredulity, /117/ The seventy two then suggested that they should refer to the four angels, and the latter advised them to refer to Qirmizi himself.

Qirmizi said: "It is the Festival to-day, and what they have seen will also be seen by you. Go, mount your horses, and come back". So they did, and Qirmizi rode out with them. Then they saw that his horse rose over the earth, and that he was turning it in the air, until he became invisible. After this he re-appeared in the skies followed by the 900 by 900, who formed an assembly (*maqām-i yārī*), riding in circles. Then a great multitude of horsemen appeared, and the seventy two recognized in them /118/ those whom they had seen the night before at the *jam-i bāḥiā*. Then these all vanished and Qirmizi descended. It was explained to them that the multitude had consisted of 124,000 prophets.

While the Shāhū's felt satisfied about the reality of this performance, several Kāpū's, who were present, denied it, saying that Qirmizi had been galloping with them on the earth, not in the air. It was reported to him, and he said that these people were Sunnis, not the AH, that before coming there they had held a fast, which was unlawful, and that the Shāhū's should not mix with them.

Then comes the real ceremonial apotheosis: the King of the World sat on the rock (Sang) of Dizâwar, repeating /119/ the prophecy of the coming of the "one with narcissus-like eyes and a beard divided into two parts, "who will sit (here) with four people, one being left standing." Then, by his order, a sacrificial sheep appeared from nowhere, and was immolated, etc., this was accompanied by visions, the charter (of 18,000 worlds), almost exactly word for word as in the previous accounts.

The deputy governor (*hâkim*) of the district, Khân Ahmad Khân, /120/ having heard much about Qirmizî's miracles, became his *murîd*, but the spiritually blind ones were in doubt, saying: "The substance (*dhât*) is Divine, but the aerial horsemen were not genuine".

An anecdote is inserted here: 'Isâ, a servant, approached Qirmizî, asking him to give him sustenance ("bread", *nân*), i.e., a pension, until the coming of the Mahdî (*Şâhibu'l-zamân*). Qirmizî gives his seal to 'Isâ's wife, predicting that a son will be born to her, to whose arm this seal should be bound. This will make them safe for seven generations.

This was probably a part of Qirmizî's will. Another of his acts was to address his followers, /121/ to whom he said: Dhûlâl (or Zulâl), his wife, was pregnant, while he wanted "to fly" (*mi-khâsham êi parawê kunam*, an expression from the darwish jargon). "After me a son will be born to whom the name Muḥammad must be given, because he will be the Mahdî. He will come secretly (*maḥfî*), and will go secretly until the time comes for his manifestation (*zahâr*). Ask him for whatever you wish".

Next morning he rode away with his associates, and on his road he met a local chief, Hûlû Khân, the enemy of his religion. They met on the bridge over the Sirwân river. Hûlû Khân challenged Qirmizî to show him a miracle. A line of cranes was flying high. Qirmizî pointed to them with his finger, and they fell on the bridge. His adversary called this the feat of a magician. Qirmizî then pointed to him with his finger, and he became split into two parts. /122/

The Nânakalis (a Kurdish Sunnite tribe) decided to kill

Qirmizî. The King of the World, knowing of this, said to his faithful followers: "To-morrow, or perhaps the day after, the Nânakalis will attack me to kill me. If I don a white coat (*qabâ*), call me 'Âli Qalandar'".<sup>68</sup>

The next morning, when he appeared as 'Âli Qalandar, (the Nânakalis) attacked and shot him, and dismembered his body. He had a ring on his finger, and failing to get this off, they put his hand upon a piece of wood, and hit the finger with swords and axes, without success. Thereafter they buried a portion of his body, throwing the rest into the waters of the Sirwân river.

A girl, belonging to the Jâf tribe, happened to be near the river filling her vessels with water. She saw some one swimming towards her, Approaching her, he said: "Do not be afraid. Take this ring for good luck, I make a present of it to thee". And she saw /123/ and recognised 'Ali Murtaḍâ himself, and also realised her own previous incarnations. That girl was a reincarnation, *âwa*, of the old woman who at the time of Murtaḍâ 'Ali used to bring for him a bowl of curd (*mâst*). And he said her: "Go to the Delf tribe, and say that the Nânakalis have killed 'Ali Qalandar. But that if they try to avenge my blood, I shall not accept it because I myself willed this, being Living, Eternal".

(But before his death) the Shâhû's (once) asked him what they should do after his disappearance. He gave them a knife and a whet-stone (*ḥard*) which a certain Shahr-amir was to keep in his house. "If some one should come in the dress of a young darwish (*'abdal*), and the knife and whet-stone come out of the saddlebag by themselves, and lie on his knees, and if a two year old goat should come from its herd, and stop opposite the darwish,—then know that that darwish is myself, and I am he. Obey (his orders)". /124/

<sup>68</sup> Apparently something has been omitted here in the story, because it is not clear why such instructions "to call" him are given here.

(Manifestation VI).

## MUHAMMAD BEK

"The Friend is the First and the Last! The Manifestation of  
Muhammad Bek".

The four angels were waiting, and at last Khātūn Dhūlāl came out from her house, bringing a son, before whom they prostrated themselves. He was named Muhammad Bek, in order not to "lift the screen" (*parda*) from him. Apparently many years later this Muhammad Bek, of whose childhood no miracles are reported, bids his community to remain faithful, and goes to Rūm, i.e. Turkey, "Āla Qāsi", the "High Porte", a name hardly known in Persia then, and probably introduced by the compiler. This journey was undertaken because Qirmīzi, in his *dān*, promised to go there. While in Turkey, *Sahab-nār* assumes the name of Hājī Bektašāh (!) He remains there for seven years. /125/

Then, in the guise of a darwish, he goes to Luristan, to the house of Shahr-amīr, a village bailiff. He works a miracle by curing a paralytic boy. /126/ He then makes a sign, and the knife and whet-stone come out, he is recognized, and worshipped.

Muhammad Bek then rides an untamed horse on his way to the Deff tribe, from Sikawand<sup>67</sup> to the Burgir hills, /127/ where he plants his walking stick, and it at once becomes full-grown plane tree. Then, instead of a horse, he rides a robust man. Thence he goes to Balūrān. /128/ The people begin to ask him to come into the open and relieve the people from the condemnation of their religion (i.e. from persecution).

(P. 128. Cf. Minī, 58, which gives a different version.) When his followers insist on coming into the open (*parda az rāy-i kār bar-dāshān*) he advises them not to make haste, and then asks them to sacrifice to Mawlā seven men, after which he will fulfil

their wish. They promise to do this. His qalandar's tent is pitched, and he invites the volunteers to enter one by one, to be immolated. Three men, Jashni, Shāh-Qullī and Salmān, enter, one by one, prepared to be sacrificed. In the tent they see wild goats which appeared from nowhere to be sacrificed instead of them. Each sacrifices one animal. These people are those whose substance has been pure from pre-eternity, and who have firm faith.

The spectators outside the tent begin to murmur, /129/ asking, "Why has he killed these men?" The King of the World knows this, and addresses them: "O, you, impatient, blind ones, come and see!"

The animals are served and distributed, the people partake of the meat, and take away shares with them for their families. And the King of the World appoints there seven *khālīfās* (deputies).

Here begins his apotheosis, using exactly the same expressions as in the similar accounts concerning his predecessors.

/130/ He prophesies that a fire (or a fiery one), Ātīsh, will come into the world. He will settle in the village of Qāsim-Qullī, and will become the fire of the world.

He settles in Ājuri,<sup>68</sup> and begins to preach (?) there,—*sūfiq* *zhud*.

Once four *khālīfās* come from Luristan to see Muhammad Bek. On reaching the banks of the stream of Ājuri, they see a strange bird which fell near the water, and is such as no one has ever seen the like of it before: it has feathers of a thousand colours, and its eyes are like those of a human being. They come nearer, and see that it does not fly away. They catch it and bring it to Muhammad Bek, laying it before him. He takes it, and places it under his cloak. They distribute sweets and suddenly see an eight-year old girl coming out from beneath his cloak. Muhammad Bek says kindly three times: "my Sāna, very welcome!" (Later on)

<sup>68</sup> In the *Furhāng* this is called Ājuri, while Minorovsky writes Ājeri. It is a small village now, in the Marāgha district, with only 65 Sunnite Kurds in population. The Ātīsh Bek district, *dān*, an ancient term, lies near Tabriz itself, and consists of 176 hamlets, with a total population of about 15 thousands, mostly Shī'ites. See *Furhāng*, IV, 4-5.

<sup>67</sup> This is a place in the Deff area in Luristan, on the main road from Khurramābād to Kermansāh, nine kilometers from Nūrābd. See the *Furhāng*, VI, 227.

he, in appearance, married her, /131/ and Khān Ātish was born by her.

His brothers implore Muḥammad Bek to tell them which of them will be "*dān-i quḥūr*", i.e. the Incarnation, and he says: "after myself five (*ātish*) is coming. After him Inām-Qulī, then Sarkhūsh, then Sulṭān Mahmūd, then Mirzā 'Abbās Bek, then Mirzā Niğām, and Aqā Mirzā. We are they, and they are we" (cf. above, the section on history).

He puts down the thanks-offering nut (*javāri shukrāna*), and said over it: "It is promised (covenanted) that at that-time (Resurrection?) you will know the manifestation of the *Ṣāḥab-kār* before the followers of all other religions. He who has no faith in this word of unutterable mystery, is alien to the *sharīf* of Banyāmīn (i.e. the AH community)".

The four *jasad* are satisfied and happy, and after this the King of the World disappears from their vision.

Mīnī, 59, mentions a "miracle" which is often remembered by the AH: Muḥammad Bek once took a stick, and began to strike off the tops of those flowers (in the garden) which were rising taller than the others. This is the familiar motive of the sinfulness of self-assertion and attaching to one self too much importance (for which even Banyāmīn had suffered, as has already been narrated). Its appearance here is obviously an introduction to the further stories of the rivalry which arose amongst the brothers.

(Manifestation VII).

### KHAN ĀTISH.

"The Seventh *Jāna*. The Advent of the King of the World in the *Dān* of Ātish".

"Some time had passed since a promise (*avāda*) had been given to the people of Rūm (Turkey)". Some people, obviously Turks, were searching for the King of the World, and ultimately found him in Ājuri, prostrated themselves before him, and returned

home, carrying the glad tidings. A certain man, whose only son had died, exhumed the corpse, and brought it to Ājuri, to ask the King of the World to revive the boy. They found him sitting on a rock (*bālā-y-i saqīf*). He said that they should slaughter the sheep which they had brought for sacrifice, and that if water came from nowhere and washed off the blood, the boy would revive. /133/ The animals were sacrificed, cooked, and heavy rain fell, washing off all traces of blood, and the boy came to life. Several unbelievers (*ahd-i kuḥār*) who were present became Muslims, and confirmed adepts (*ṭalīb*) of *haqīqat*.

The four *jasad*, who were the brothers of Ātish Bek, *mulḥāq na-shudand*, i.e. failed to reconcile at once themselves with the situation, each claiming the headship for himself.

One day (cf. Mīnī, 59) the Bilbāsīs drove away the brothers' drove of horses, and the latter rode out to recapture it. Khān Ātish mounted a two year old colt. His brothers ridiculed him, but /134/ he made a sign with his hand and the drove returned to him while the Bilbāsīs started to fight amongst themselves.

This miracle, however, did not settle the dispute. Then Khān Ātish performed another miracle: at his sign a title deed of the possession of Ādharbāyjan (cf. Mīnī, 60) was produced from a rock (*qabāla'i mulkiyyat-i Adharbāyjan*), and yet the attitude of his brothers remained hostile.

Then they came to Sūna *khānum*, the mother of Ātish Bek, and asked her who should be the successor of their father (*dār sar-i mammad*). Sūna *khānum* asked for time in which to consult Muḥammad Bek in a dream, and then made a peculiar arrangement. A room was emptied and its door locked. In the evening (*waqt-i Dāwūd*) each brother in turn had to come to the door, but each found it locked until Ātish came /135/ and found that the door was open, carpets had been brought from nowhere and spread, and the stove (*būkhārī*, a modern expression) was full of burning fuel. They all sat near it, with their clever mother, Sūna *khānum*, and sister, *Khatūn Pari-Khān*. They looked, and lo! a man in red dress (*shakht girmīz-pāsh*) appeared from the midst of the fire, attired in red fire, with a darwish axe (*tabarzin*) with



a jewelled handle on his shoulder. With this he touched the shoulder of Khān Jaušid, appointing him as Banyānīn, then he touched Khān Almiā, making him Pir-i Mūsī tuzīr, then placing it on the shoulder of Khātūn Parfidūn, he said: "Thou art Razbār-i Sharī". Then he placed the *tabarāt* upon the shoulder of Khān Ātīsh, and said: "The Giver of whatsoever you ask (*muṣṭāḍ-dihanda har chi bi-khūdī*)". The fiery man disappeared, and when the brothers looked, they saw that Muhammad Bek was sitting /136/ amongst them. They rose in respect, looked again, and saw that it was Khān Ātīsh, so they sat down, and the same thing happened again. They therefore announced Khān Ātīsh as the pure Substance of Muhammad Bek to the Delf tribe, and these came to pay their respects to him.

Then comes the apotheosis of Ātīsh Khān, along the traditional lines, described in the usual expressions. /137/

Once Khān Ātīsh went game shooting, accompanied by his angel-brothers. Suddenly they saw that he had assumed the form of a falcon and risen skywards. Then taking the direction to the Şahand mountain, he disappeared into the cloud which was hanging there. So, mysteriously, ended his career.

He had two sons, the elder being Farāmūz Khān, and, the younger, Imām-Qull, who began to quarrel over the headship. With the four *jaṣūd*, i.e. their uncles, they went on one occasion to the top of the Şahand mountains, and saw some cranes flying. They wanted to shoot them, but Imām-Qull intending to demonstrate his Divine Substance, sat on a stone, and turned it into a horse, then went up, and killed some cranes with his sword. Thus they saw that the prophecy of Muhammad Bek had come true. /138/

Thus ended the seventh manifestation (*dūn*), the matter being completed until the time of the manifestation of *Şahiba's-camīn* (Mahdī).

The end (of the copying) of the book. Thursday, the 12-th of the month of Şahbān, 1291 (i.e. Sept. 24, 1874).

## 2. Additional Chapters to the *Tadhkirā'ī Ātīsh*.

*Bāb*. Once, during the period of Khān Ātīsh, there was a communal meal (*rūz-i khidmat*). They brought cooked food (*khidmat*), and poured it into a basin from the cauldron (*qāzān*), but Khān Ātīsh rejected it, explaining that there was a sin in connecting with it, and that therefore he could not pronounce over it the prayer belonging to the *Sharī-i Banyānīn*. /140/ They ultimately found that the cauldron had originally been stolen. The man who had sold it was so impressed by this that he and his family (*qabīla*) were converted. /141/

*Bāb*. Two friends, both AH, picked a quarrel over a trivial matter, in which one of them was killed, and the offender threw his body under a rock. /142/ At night he went to the *jam*, but Khān Ātīsh, who knew everything, ordered them to prevent his coming, thus excommunicating him. /143/

*Bāb*. A member of the AH community who had no fear of God in his heart, once visited a *khārijī* (i.e. not a member of the AH) who was smoking a *qalyan*, water-type. The member also smoked it, and in the process (unwittingly) bit off a hair from his moustache. At night he intended to go to the *jam*, but Khān Ātīsh, from whom nothing was hidden, excommunicated him and ordered that he should not be allowed in. He explained that a hair from one's moustache is as sacred as the Coran, and that to drop it is the same as to tread upon the holy book. There are one and a half pages of Turkish verse. (144-145).

*Bāb*. A case from the time of *Sultān-i Ālam*, i.e. obviously Sultān Şahāk. Two AH men went to collect firewood, quarrelled, and one hit the other on the head, causing a wound. Then, realising his crime, he bandaged the other's wound, brought him to his senses, and apologised, they made peace, kissed each other's hands, and went home. /146/ The offender wanted to come to the *jam*, but Sultān Şahāk ordered Dāvūd not to let him in. In reply to Banyānīn's pleading he explains that the offender must confess his error publicly, whereupon he may be forgiven, even in the case of a great crime,—*jam-i haqiqat Ka'ba'i būtin att*. /147/

*Bâb.* Two AH men asked Sulţân Şahâk to forgive them a sin of which they were too ashamed to confess. Three more came in the same way. /148/ They were all charged with eating *harâm*, i.e. appropriating what was unlawful to them, and had in fact stolen from the sacrificial meals at the *jam*. One of them was also guilty of accepting a piece of bread from a stranger who was in fact a thief. /149/

*Bâb.* A certain man suffered from a curious but unpleasant sensation: whenever he sat in the *jam*, he felt as if he had turned his back on the assembly, so that his face was looking outwards. He never told anyone about this, but came to Sulţân Şahâk. The latter explained that this was the punishment for his behaviour when he had abetted a thief. He repented and all was well.

*Bâb.* At the time of Sulţân Şahâk once a year at a *jam* held in his presence, Pir-î Mûsî would read out the records of good and bad actions of every member. There was at that time a place called *Hawrâmân*<sup>10</sup> which had a population of twelve thousand families, all of whom were followers of the Sulţân of the World. /150/ He strictly prohibited them from stealing. On one occasion several of these men attended the *jam* at which the *daftar-î bâşîa*, the confidential book, was read, in the presence of *Şahab-kâr*. The Hawrâmânîs were surprised to find that not a single good action had been credited to them, anyone among a population of 12,000 families. Sulţân Şahâk explained that one of them had picked up a piece of wood which belonged to a non-sectarian, and had used it for the yoke of his oxen. The unlawful (*harâm*) possession of that wood had made the bread from the wheat raised with the help of that plough *harâm*, and thus they "had eaten *harâm*." /151/ No wonder that such fastidious precision in the assessment of good actions made the unsophisticated Hawrâmânîs indignant, and they decided to leave the religion *en masse*. Sulţân Şahâk then ordered Dâwûd to take a few pebbles from the room used for the *jam*, and to throw them into Hawrâmân so as to wipe it out completely. He did this, destroying all their houses.

<sup>10</sup> Usually written without the initial H. Here it must be either *Harâmân-î Lahûn* or *A. 4 Takht*.

However, knowing the rules of the *sharʿ-î Bonyâdin*, they collected a hundred *dinars* from each person, and offered it to Dâwûd for intercession with the Sulţân of the World. Then the latter sent Dâwûd back, and in a minute he restored all the ruins to their former state, so that nothing whatever was destroyed or missing. The people, finding themselves safe, wondered at the purpose of this senseless fury. /152/ They discarded the crops of that year, and repented to the Sulţân of the World, who explained that *haqlqat* was as narrow a path as a hair. They then asked: "What is the real substance of Dâwûd?" He explained that in pre-eternity Dâwûd was appointed to intercede, to help people in distress. When at the manifestation of the Mahdî (*Şahîb-u-zamân*) the world is ruined from East to West, every one will be (by that time) *ahl-i Haqq*, and all should appeal to Dâwûd.

This is the aetiological myth explaining the reasons and circumstances of the introduction of the impost of *mâl-î Dâwûd*, discussed in the section of "Religious Assembly". As has been mentioned there, Minl, 1-3 gives a different story in which Dâwûd saves the passengers of a ship in answer of the prayer of a certain poor man, called *Galtm-kul* (i.e. "One with a piece of rough hand-woven rag on his shoulders") whom the passengers intended to throw overboard as a sacrifice to appease the angry sea. When relieved from danger, they showered moneys on the poor man, and although he refused to accept them, a piece of 100 *dinars* (*yak sanâir*, colloquially) remained unnoticed in the folds of his turban. (The next *bâb*, T 152-154, is dealt with separately below).

*Bâb* (p. 154). At the time of Sulţân Şahâk there was in Hawrâmân a certain pious man, Ahmad, who gave seven hundred tumans to the King of the World as an offering (*nadhîr*). Once it so happened that having washed his beard, he incidentally bit off a hair from his moustache. As he was coming to the *jam* at which the *daftar-î bâşîa* (mentioned just above) was to be read, he hurt his foot, and reached Pardiwar in an almost dying condition. The Sulţân of the World told Dâwûd that Ahmad /155/ had been excommunicated. The four angels became alarmed, and Sulţân Şahâk explained that he had bitten off a hair from his moustache,

and that that was an unforgivable offence, because according to the covenant and condition (*shart' wa qarâr*) entered upon in the Sâj-i Nâr with Banyâmin, whoever destroys (*qasd kusunad*) so much as a hair from this moustache, becomes automatically excommunicated.

The angels implored him to settle this offence now, instead of postponing it to the Judgment Day. At this moment Shaykh Ahmad arrived. A spark of fire came out of Sulţân Şahâk's foot, fell upon Ahmad's head, and he was at once burnt up completely.

*Rob.* At the same period there was an AH man, Râhmân. Once it so happened that as he was going hunting, he met a certain woman who was carrying a bowl of curd (*kâsâ'i madî*) to the Sulţân of the World. /156/ By force, despite her resistance, he kissed her. When she came into the presence of Sulţân Şahâk, the latter, knowing what had passed, promised to punish the culprit. He added an important statement: "In the *shart-i Banyâmin* such things are allowed only after the distribution of the *jam-i yâri* in a wedding ceremony. To cast covetous eyes on anyone is a sin, but to commit an act of treachery in respect of a co-religionist, is especially so, and is punishable by excommunication. If one takes unlawfully, without permission, from some one else's property even as little as a grain of millet, his sin is equal to that of eating the meat of a sacrificed animal without a prayer. The property of an AH co-religionist is as sacred as a religious offering (*nadhru-ni sayâz*). /157/

Just as in the previous story (about the son of Piri Mûstâ, cf. T 80-84) the offender took asylum with a tribe, this time in a certain village called Dûsha,<sup>70</sup> which had seven thousand families, and occupied a territory of seven farsakhs (ab. 28 miles) in width and length. His surrender was demanded, but the people refused. Then Dâwûd was instructed to throw a stone from the "middle of *jam*", which he did, destroying everything and everyone. In the place where the offender had stood a pit was formed, and the whole *yâristân* territory was burnt.

<sup>70</sup> Apparently the same as Dusha, sub-dist. Āwstîmân-i Lahûc, dist. Pîva, a village of 575 Sunni Kurds. See Fathang, V, 153.

*Bâb.* At the same period there was an AH man, Rasûl, who tried to /158/ smoke a qalyan offered by his non-sectarian neighbour. He wished to visit Sulţân Şahâk, with the help of one of the 72 *ptâ*, but the former refused to admit him to the *jam* because he had been excommunicated. The participants of the *jam* protested saying that he donated every year 100 tumans worth of produce of his fields towards the *mâl-i Dâwûd*, in addition to the *mâl-i jam*. The answer to their pleading was that in the *shart-i Banyâmin* it is all one whether a man smokes a qalyan or eats the flesh of the pig,—in either case he becomes excommunicated. Later on, however, the decision was altered, and the offender had to confess his sin, make a donation (*nadhru-ni sayâz*), bring a nut (i.e. renew his initiation), and implore for forgiveness.

Some interesting details are given: Pîr Banyâmin ordered him to produce five oxen, five *mans* (about 35 lbs.) of rice, a single sheep and one nutmeg. /159/ The sheep was sacrificed (ceremonially) and cooked, and the nutmeg was used (for its purpose). Shaykh Rasûl held the skirt of Banyâmin's dress, bowed to the *jam*, was forgiven (and re-admitted to the AH community). The story, just as the preceding one, most probably belongs to the time of Ātîsh Bek, as it is connected with smoking.

#### An Additional Chapter.

(Pp. 152-154). Some answers. An incident took place among the AH belonging to the Qara-Qoyunlu tribe.<sup>71</sup> They sent an application to the Head of the Community (*Sarkâr-i Âqd*), and he wrote to them as follows: /153/

Blood-money for a man in *bağyat* is now somewhat higher than prescribed by the laws of *shartat*, and the actual amount depends on the generosity of the applicants.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the interesting remark by Minorsky (MinII, 40). The AH inhabitants of the khanat of Makû, on the Russo-Persian frontier in Adharbayjan, bear the same name, Qaraqoyunlu. Personally I do not see any reason why this name should not be just an ordinary tribal name, resembling quite incidentally that of the Turkoman dynasty (780-874/1378-1469).

In *haqiqat* it is wrong and invalid to marry a woman without passing through the ceremony of the "breaking of the nut" (*januz*), *januz* is necessary. (Added on the margin: to marry some one's daughter without the consent of her parents is absolutely wrong).

The (utilisation of the) skin of a sacrificed animal (*qurbān*) has been clarified: it also goes to the *khalfā* (minister at the *jam*), regardless of whether the sacrifice is offered by a private person (*khāna*), or by the whole tribe (*ḥ*)—there is no difference.

With regard to burial the rules of *shartat* should be observed, as is the practice (? *shart*), it must be done in this way.

It is wrong to mix up sacrifices made from the funds of the *mal-i Dāwūd* with those from the funds of *mal-i jam*.

Whether the participants in the *jam* are many or few, the *Dāwūd's* sacrifice (i.e. apparently from the funds of *mal-i Dāwūd* mentioned above) must be distributed in such a way that each receives a share. This also applies to the *mal-i jam* sacrifice. It would be wrong if one should get a share while another did not.

It is wrong to save from the money donated as an offering (*naḥr*) and (?) keep (accumulate?) these. Also to pay money to the Sayyid instead of giving him a present (*jayd*—in kind?).

Where no Sayyid is available, the *khalfā* may distribute the *januz* of thanksgiving (*januz-i shukrāna*) in his place, this is permitted. 154/ Concerning women (*qara-pāst*). The followers must act according to the ancient and eternal rules (*qadūn-i sābiq-i qadīm*) as applicable among the AH community. In addition, in the case of every woman at whose wedding the ceremony of *januz shikastan* is gone through for her sake, the divorce is wrong. It is better not to divorce her.

I have here given correct instructions concerning the lawful way in which to act. This is correct."

### 3. The Principles of *Haqiqat* (explained) at the Time of Sultān Ṣāḥāle.

"At the time of the *jam* of Sultān Ṣāḥāle, Chīchak's falcon became mad (or: was killed, *maḡhlū*).<sup>73</sup>

... "Afterwards in Shahrizūr (Shahr-i Zūr), on the rock of Dizāwar, Sultān Ṣāḥāle said to his followers: "O, friends (*yārān*), we must lay down the principles (*qadā*)<sup>72</sup> of *haqiqat*." Pir Banyāmīn said: "O, Lord of the Worlds, let us know, on what they are based". The Sultān of the World said: "The (basic) principle of *haqiqat* is that one must know that the Truth (i.e. God) is (omni) present and exists. In *haqiqat* the behaviour (*adab*) and rules of living (*arkān*) are based on the sense of fear (of God), c/ being ashamed (to do wrong before Him). A sin committed by a member of the AH community will be<sup>74</sup> a betrayal of the 72 religions.<sup>75</sup> He must always keep his eye, ear and tongue under control. Those who can perceive this will know that the Truth is continually present (as a witness of?) the actions of those who follow it (*dā'im dar guḥar-i kasr ki ahl-i Ḥaqq bāshad*).<sup>76</sup> The follower must see the Lord of the World as omnipresent. He must distinguish (correctly) between what is lawful, and what is unlawful (*halāl wa ḥarām*). Never do what does not appear to thee to be right, for to do it is a real sin. It is thy wish that no one should act wrongly against thee, then see that thou also doest no wrong to anybody. (As has already been mentioned concerning

<sup>73</sup> Possibly the Chīchak mentioned here is the same person as the one referred to on pp. 69, 71, 72 of the text (Chīchak-i ḥāḡuk or mandīd).

<sup>74</sup> It would be rather presumptuous to speak of a "terminology" in these texts. The author continually confuses *iqār* and *qadr*. He uses such words as *ahān* and *qasān*, but not *ḥāḡal*, or *qāḡā*, or *'aḡlā*, apparently out of the militant sectarian spirit. I therefore abstain from rendering *qadr* or *iqār* by such terms as dogma or belief.

<sup>75</sup> In the text: "will not be" (*na-bāshad*), which is an obvious slip.

<sup>76</sup> The expression "72 faiths", *ha'ad-u dū millat*, here means the totality of all religions, for which *haqiqat* is the ideal.

<sup>77</sup> *Dar guḥar-i ...* is a colloquial expression which is difficult to fit a philosophical theory. It means "lurks, moves about".

the seven (varieties of) nafs).<sup>17</sup> Whatever is prohibited (in *haqiqat*)—regard it as prohibited, and whatever is commanded,—do it, in order to become one of those contented ones (*ahī-i qand'ol*). And be contented with whatever God has given thee. /162/ One must never stretch one's hand to take from another's plate. And one must not take up from the earth a stick, cut on both sides because it surely has an owner. One should never annoy other people. This world is a workshop of God, what is right is His (?). . . .<sup>18</sup> Never cause vexation to any one, do not harm any one,—then do whatever thou wantst. For this reason is a gentle (*lofti*) man the follower of the Truth (AH). He is not worried, and does not cause worry to others. A man who does what has been commanded, avoids by this very act what has been prohibited. The Truth, the All-High, issues commandments, and he (who obeys these) is called *ahī-i Haqq*, while We are called "Abū Tālib," i.e. "the father of the disciple". Whoever becomes our follower (*tālib*), he becomes our son, and We become his father, by God! Whoever has realised his own position has recognised God, as the Truth, the All-High, has said. Such is the stage attained by the pure and righteous ones.

The *Pir* of the covenant (Banyāmīn) said to the "Centre": "Let a covenant be concluded meanwhile to the effect that whoever follows these rules which have been explained above, and follows them in a manly way, in full sincerity, will be triumphant at the end. But that whoever follows them in blind imitation of others, will be for ever rejected". /163/

In reply Sultān Şahāk referred to the *Mīraj* of the Prophet, and to the 30,000 words which were revealed to him (emphasising these to be an unutterable mystery, not to be revealed to the ignorant). Ultimately Banyāmīn asked where the laws of *haqiqat* should be laid, and the answer was: in Pardiwar. So they went there, and Dāwūd was ordered to build a wall. In Dawdān there lived a *pir* called Mīkā'il. On hearing that Sultān Şahāk (*sic*)

<sup>17</sup> This obviously refers to that lost portion of the work from which the present extract was made.

<sup>18</sup> There is obviously a lacuna here, although the text is continuous in appearance.

had arrived in Pardiwar, he mounted a lion and with a snake in hand instead of a whip, he arrived at the bank of the Sirwān river, to have an interview with him. Sultān Şahāk ordered Dāwūd to meet him, arriving mounted on a wall instead of a horse, and this duly created an impression.<sup>19</sup> Then Dāwūd was ordered to spread a carpet on the surface of the Sirwān river. /164/ They sat on this, and the Sultān of the World instead of his interviewer that he shouted to order the Sirwān to stop noise. He then caught a fish by hand and offered it to his guest, and ultimately revived it.<sup>20</sup> /165/

Pir Mīkā'il was converted, and the initiation ceremony was staged, with the inevitable sacrifice and distribution of meat to the *jam*.

Then *Şahab-kār* said to Banyāmīn: "thou be the *pir*, and I shall be *tālib*, handing over my head to thee in *haqiqat*." (A very interesting ceremony is described): "*Şahab-kār* rose and stood at the bottom of the *jam* (*pā'in-i jam*). Dāwūd distributed the *javāz* (nutmeg) of the head of the King, and Banyāmīn recited the prayer. Then *Şahab-kār* touched the folds of Dāwūd's dress, and bowed to the *jam*. Thereafter he returned to his seat, and ordered that Banyāmīn be given ten more nuts. By his order first Banyāmīn handed his head to the King, while Dāwūd distributed (his) nut. Banyāmīn touched the folds of Dāwūd's dress and bowed to the *jam*. After him Pir-i Māsi handed his head to the King. /166/ then Muşafā and Razhār-i Sharf. Instead of her Muşafā acted as a *wakil*. After this the others also did the same, including Pirālī (who suddenly re-emerges here). Thereafter the King said: "This *maysūn* is the *maysūn* of Murtafā 'Alī. The institution (*qarār*) of the unutterable mystery is this: this sword is a substitute for *Dhāl-i-şiqār*; this nut is a substitute for the head; this coin with the inscription "There is no Deity except God,

<sup>19</sup> The same miracle is ascribed in Asia Minor to Bekraş who goes to meet Ahmad Rufā'i. See Hasluck, "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans", vol. I, 84, and 289, who refers to Degrand, "Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie" (Paris, 1901), p. 229.

<sup>20</sup> This is a universally popular folklore theme. Cf. Hasluck, op. cit., I, 248. Cf. fragments in Mīnāl, 210-11.

Muhammad is His Apostle, 'Alī is the Associate of God', is the *shahīdat* of the Five Members of the Family (*āli-i 'abā*), who are (present?) in the *jam*.<sup>81</sup> Whoever fails to observe this covenant (*shart*) will, on the day of the Resurrection remain at the back and be humiliated before the Green Banner on which will be written: "Help from God and Early Victory". But whoever steps on (this) *maydān* with sincerity, we shall belong to him, and he will belong to us, and we will give him protection in the hereafter, on the condition that he does not violate the basic principles (*arbdn*).

Whoever has the desire to step on this *maydān*, thereby becoming a seeker after this bargain, must become a member of the body of the *tālib*s, bring a *javā-i Shāhī*, and hand himself over. If he is righteous he will find peace, if he is not, he will receive punishment."

A few words are added on the subject of the persecutions which are experienced by the followers /167/ and which add to their spiritual capital; various moral virtues are advocated.

Banyāmin asks about the difference between the principles (*qardr*) of *haqiqat* and *shartat*. "How did they conduct the (first) *jam*, and how did they kill the (first) sacrificial animal?"

*Sāhab-kār* replies: "We have established (*qardr dādīm*) a Ka'ba for the followers of *haqiqat*. If they follow the ritual (*sāz*) of *haqiqat*, it will be the same as if they visit (Ka'ba?). Whether it be morning or evening, if five or more people, regardless of their number, join in the acceptance (*iqdr*,— of *haqiqat*) and (the following of) the *shart-i Banyāmin*, and bring sweets, or any offering, food, or sacrifice (*shahrāna, niyāz, khidmat, qurbān*), then we are with them. The *jam* is the Ka'ba of *haqiqat*. The followers, either men or women, should visit that Ka'ba, whether it be in the morning or evening. Thursday evening (*shab-i jam'a*) must not pass without a *jam* being held, and neither must the beginning of a new (*thamar*) month. You should make a complete ablution (*ghusl*) and don clean dress before coming to the *jam*.

<sup>81</sup> Such coins (also used in the darwish initiation rites) are mediseva silver coins bearing the Shāh's initials. Cf. above, p. 91.

No one should participate in the *jam* who does not carry out his duties (*kast ki hadd-i taklif na-bāshad dar qatār-i jam na-nishtad*). The sweets (*shakarāna*, or should it be *shukrāna*, offerings of thanksgiving?) of *jam* should be distributed to the participants first, then prayers should be offered, and only then should sweets be distributed to the absent members (*ba dīlān-i jam*). Even if a thousand persons participate in the *jam*, the sacrificial meat, *shakarāna, nadhr-u niyāz* (various offerings) should be distributed in such a way that each participant should receive a share. The uninitiated persons (*ki sar ba-rāh-i haqiqat na-dāda*) must not receive a share. The (meat of the) sacrificed animal, and the various offerings (*nadhr-u niyāz*) should be brought to the *jam* intact (*mahr*), /168/ for even if so much as a crumb has been withdrawn and is not served to the *jam*, (the whole) will never be entered into the secret-record (*dafṭar-i bāṭin*), and will not be accepted. "Group-unions" (*iqdr*) in *haqiqat* (should consist of) two brothers and one sister, living far away from each other."

Pir Banyāmin asked: "When is the (reward for) good actions (*khayr-i khidmat*) done by (*plāh-i*) members of the AH coming?" —*Sāhab-kār* replied: "(At) this stage (*manzil*) of *haqiqat* (the reward for) good actions is continually passed on from one *dān* (incarnation) to the next with the view of (becoming final in) the hereafter. (In the latter) one will become a thousand (i.e. the reward will be thousand-fold)".

Pir Banyāmin again asked: "What should be the *qurbān* (i.e. the animal suitable for sacrifice)?" *Sāhab-kār* replied: "A male sheep, without defects bought from any (genuine) owner with the funds provided by the members of the AH congregation (*javā-i khidmat-i yāristān*). If the *pir* (?) cheats, stealing from the offerings (*dākhil*, obviously for *dākhil-i khidmat bi-kunad*), the offering will not be accepted.

The participants of the *jam* must sit in silence. The sacrifice should be made on Fridays only, in small quantities so that the community does not eat too much (*ki yāristān āt na-khārand*). It should be treated as the blessing tokens (*tabarruk*) of the saints

and the righteous. Man (or they, *insān* or *Insān?*)<sup>52</sup> will be reborn in human form (so that they may) know their truth (?). Whoever acts wrongly, is excommunicated from the AH, and will be reborn in the form of a dirty animal; he will ultimately go to Hell.

The Sayyids who do not comply with rules prescribed (*ḥadd-i taklīf*) to them, are not genuine.<sup>53</sup> The daughter of, a Sayyid cannot offer prayers (officiating at the *jam*), this is wrong. /169/ A Sayyid must always be a man, not a woman.

When a member of the AH community marries a woman, *janz-i shukrāna* and "... (lacuna).

Pir Banyāmīn asked: "Are the seventy-two *pirs* coming?" *Şāḥab-kār* replied: "They are coming". (In fact) they arrived the same night, each from a different place. *Şāḥab-kār* kindly gave each one a *fanj*, and they handed over their heads (*sar supurānd*) in accordance with the rules (*qādr*) of *ḥaḳīqat*. Then *Şāḥab-kār* said: "*Pir-i sharf*, take them round the supernatural (*lā-makdūn*) world." Banyāmīn took them to the heavens, where they saw all sorts of extraordinary things, including Sulṭān Şāḥāk himself, sitting on a throne of ruby, etc., also the Panj Tan, and so forth. They returned much impressed.

"Wherever something is mentioned here about the customs (*ādāb*) of *ḥaḳīqat*, it must be treated as an unutterable mystery." /170/

Banyāmīn explained to the members of the *jam* to whom the *pirs* narrated their exciting experience, that every one who wished to see the Shāh, had only to turn his head, for the Generous Shāh, the Mystery of Might, was present everywhere. And He was also in *Lā-makdūn*.

(An important passage comes next). *Şāḥab-kār* said: "A man turns up and is taken from the first day into the community

(*qādr*) of the *sharf-i Banyāmīn* (i.e. is made a fully-fledged member of the *jam*), and hands over his head (i.e. receives initiation). A week later it becomes a source of humiliation (*rā-ziyāhī*) for him to sit according to the rules of the *jam*, from beginning to end. On account of what he has known and heard of the fancies of the orthodox and their teachings, he becomes mute and worthless (*mahr gardad*).<sup>54</sup> One should be absorbed in the thought of *ḥaḳīqat*. The AH must close their eyes and preoccupy themselves with the *dhikr* of the profession of the Oneness of God (*tawḥīd*) in complete silence (*sukūt*): Come to the *jam* (with) good actions (*khayr-i khidmat*). After the prayer do not think only of eating yourselves full of bread and water. To eat oneself full in the *jam* is a sin". (Five tristichs follow). /171/

Pir Banyāmīn asked: "What is the sign by which the AH may be distinguished from the followers of other religions?" *Şāḥab-kār* said: "At the time (*dān*) of Murtaḍā 'Alī it was agreed (*qādr chūnīn hād*) that whoever loved us would not clip his moustache... (and also would not) fast (i.e. not take bread or water).<sup>55</sup> The AH must not smoke the *qāyan* (water pipe). Both in *ḥaḳīqat* and *ḥaḳīqat* the rules were the same at that time.<sup>56</sup> We have entered into an agreement (*iqrār dādīm*) with Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā whereby we shall have nothing to do with whoever does not observe these three rules. These are the signs of belonging to the AH community (*atafāna'ī yāst*). (Three tristichs are added). /172/

Once<sup>57</sup> late on the evening (*sawq-i Dāwūd*) Khān Aṭīsh kindly told the four angels (*javād*) and the twelve *khālīf* from the Delf tribe who were in his presence: "Come with me, let us walk into the garden". They all followed him. The story repeats

<sup>54</sup> This clearly shows that the AH were a proselytizing community.

<sup>55</sup> Here is obviously a lacuna, although in appearance the text is not interrupted.

<sup>56</sup> Tobacco was apparently introduced in the East from Europe not before the XVII-th c. Therefore it is doubtful whether Sulṭān Şāḥāk could have discussed such matters.

<sup>57</sup> The next story may be an incidental addition having nothing to do with the preceding extracts on the *ḥaḳīqat* dogma.

<sup>52</sup> This rather difficult sentence apparently means that man (or human being generally, *insān*) is again re-incarnated in human form in order to know the truth. But it is also possible to read the first word *insān* as *ishān*, they, referring to the preceding sentence, i.e. to the *pāshān wa rīstān*, the pure and righteous.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the text, p. 79, and comments on this passage, p. 126

a part of the usual apotheosis narrative, connected with the celebration of the Festival. The four *janat* (angels) and the *khaliḡas* /173/ were very much impressed, and stood overwued (?), —*dar sar-u pā'ū-i jam zar-i pā'ū'ānd*.

The vision vanished. Again, as in the preceding versions, some people did not believe the story. Shāh Atāsh therefore created /174/ an additional vision for the seventy-two incredulous Delfs. They were also very much impressed. After this comes the usual end: the vision vanished, Khān Atāsh was seen sitting alone, etc. /175/ Then all of them partook of a *siyāz*, i.e. an ordinary (not sacrificial) communal meal, after which the participants left for their various districts in Luristan. But even there their narrative did not find much credence. This was reported to Khān Atāsh who said that everything depended on the souls of the followers. "Those who accepted me in pre-eternity will always remain faithful (*dar sar-i iqāḡe*), and we are with them. They will remain in this condition until the advent of the Mahdī".

#### 4. Extracts From Darwish Risāles.

##### Poems of Shayḡā.

The poems of the darwish poet Shayḡā,<sup>1</sup> which were formerly so often sung by darwishes in the bazars all over Persia, appear in practically all *risāles*. In the refrain of the poem edited here, the *bayt*, verse, which is repeated after every two *bayts*, the *Ṣāhib sharḡ-u rāḡ-namā*, i.e. the one with whom the *sharḡ*, covenant, was made, the spiritual guide-in-chief, i.e. Banyāmīn who is Salmān, is mentioned under the "darwish name", Jānī, while *Mard-i Haqqānī*, or *Haqqānī Pādshāh*, or *Mard-i Haqq*, is the Substance of 'Alī, *Dādā-i Haqqānī*, the *Ṣāhib-dādā*, the Lord of the world. *Dādā* is the Persian equivalent of *ūjag*, mentioned above. Banyāmīn kneaded the dust from which Adam was made in the image of Shāh Khūshīn. /180/ Banyāmīn also instituted the *sharḡ-i bay'at*, i.e. the covenant of allegiance. It was recorded (witnessed) by Pīr-i Mūsā. "When Dāwūd dived into Fire (Hell)<sup>2</sup>, the King called him Shāh Riqā", i.e. the great saint of Khorasan, 'Alī ar-Riqā, the 8-th Imam of the Twelvers.<sup>3</sup>

"The "Seven" are, beginning with Mīr Shāh, Ḥabīb, Ḥusayn (here called *pir-i Hindustān*), Ibrāhīm Shāh, Bū'l-Wafā, Muḡam-

<sup>1</sup> Judging from the fact that these poems are already found in some *ḡunjs* dated about 1210/1803, it is possible that this poet, Shayḡā, flourished probably not later than the closing of the Safawid period, or beginning of the Qajar times. In the *Majma'ul-Fuḡā'ā'* (as obligingly copied for me by Prof. M. Mashkūr, of the Tabriz University) two poems with the name Shayḡā are mentioned: Shayḡā-yi Ifshānī, Muḡammad-'Alī, d. 1214/1807 (p. 249) and Shayḡā-yi Yasfī, Abū'l-Ḥasan, apparently a later contemporary of the preceding poet (p. 250). It is impossible to say whether the poems belong to one of these, and on the whole this seems doubtful because they are classed as "mashhūr", "popular". The *Majma'ul-Fuḡā'ā'* or *Riḡā'at-angīn* would have been no place for our author.

<sup>2</sup> I have never been able to ascertain the details of the story to which this is an allusion.

<sup>3</sup> 'Alī ibn Mūsā b. Ja'far, surnamed ar-Riqā, has become such a national saint and martyr in Persia that his original position is often overlooked by the less educated members of such sects as stand in opposition to the *ḡhna'*-*sharī* dogma, e.g. the Ismā'īlīs.



mad, and Shihāb (u'd-dīn).<sup>4</sup> "Serve (God) as Raḍwār (i.e. Razbār) served, in order to become safe from calamity and trouble."<sup>5</sup> "Know that the "cups", i.e. the initiations, associated with the *Chil Tan* (Forty Men, the symbol of darwishism) are fifteen, and that there are 18 *dūdās* of *faqr*, poverty, i.e. 18 recognized affiliations of darwishes. Nūr-i Nihāl or Niqāb-dār is the same as (Salmān) Fārsī. /181/ "The disciple of the King is Pīr Banyāmin, and the one whom he followed was Shāh Khūshin. The first of the *Chil Tan* is Shihāb-u'd-dīn, (the last being) Maḥmūd-i Pātīlī".<sup>6</sup>

Another poem by the same Shayḍā gives the origin (*iḥbāl*, or establishment) of the 18 *dūdās*, referred to above: /182/ Jāni (Salmān), Zinda 'Alī, Jāni-makān (Banyāmin?), Nūr-Sulṭān, Musā-y-i Dāniyāl, Jalāl-u'd-dīn (Ḥaydar, the eponym of the Khāksār or Jalālī darwishes), Jalaw-Khān, *Dawlat-shikasta-mard-i Haqq*, Shāh Nūr, Miyā (Miyān) Karyāl, Ibrāhīm Shāh, Zinda-Āli (cf. the second name above), Maḥsūd Khān, Nūrānī, Balū Tāhīr, Husayn, Tāk-Sulṭān, Bihrūz, Jāni (again). Another version, begins with the 4-th name: Hūrā'i, Karyāl, Nūrā'i, Jalaw-Khān, Tāk-Sulṭān, Sarmast, Shāh-Nihāl, Bihrūz-Khān, /183/ Balū Tāhīr, Maḥsūd-Khān, Jamāl-u'd-dīn Musā-y-i Dāniyāl, Shāh Husayn, Pūr-i Sulṭān. (All these are the *haqiqat* names which obviously belong to important *ajāq* Sayyids, probably descendants of Sulṭān Ṣāḥūk).<sup>7</sup>

#### The Origin of the "Forty Men" of Light (*Chil-tan-i Nūr*).

The *Chil-Tan*, proto-darwishes, form the symbol of darwishism generally, and the focus of the myths dealing with the origin of all their customs, practices, paraphernalia, etc. The "forty" constitute

<sup>4</sup> These are obviously the *Haft Taūba*, the miraculous sons of Sulṭān Ṣāḥūk. Their names not infrequently vary in different laes.

<sup>5</sup> *Qawid* is a typically darwish word.

<sup>6</sup> The implications of these names are explained later.

<sup>7</sup> The indubitable traces of contact with India apparently belong to fairly modern times, as has been explained above, cf. p. 67.

a supernatural and cosmic category, the "Forty of Light", and have their counterpart in the "earthly" *Chil-tan-i Khāḥī* (cf. further on). This myth has a great number of variants. Here it is taken from the *risāla* which belonged to a learned darwish of Nishapur, Nūr-'Alī, who died in 1920.

"The *Chil-tan-i Nūr* were of the Light of Mawlā-nā 'Alī. Their *ḥafīd* was Sulṭān Maḥmūd (Pātīlī), and their last, "seal", was Jāni (Salmān)". These holy Forty have become manifested in a great many places, and are still being manifested. Their light is that of the Sainthood of Mawlā."

On the night of the *Mī'rāj* the Prophet arrives at a domed building from one piece of emerald. . . /184/ He knocks at the door, and on being asked who he is, says that he is the Prophet, whereupon he is refused admittance. Jabra'īl appears and instructs him. He explains that "the *murād* (the cupola) of the cupola is Dede Rawshan-'Alī; that the *murād* of its door is La'ī Shāhbāz Qalandar; that the *murād* of the handle of the door is Jāni, and that that of its custodian (*shahāna*) is Nūr-i Nihāl, while the owner of the house is Mīr Shīr Shāh Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārā'i".<sup>8</sup>

The Prophet humbly calls himself "the servant of the poor", (*khādimu'l-faqarā*) and is admitted. He sees the inmates (who were all naked), and in answer to his question is told that they are mendicants, *faqirs*. The Prophet takes off his turban, tears it into pieces, and gives each one a piece to tie round his loins. (In another version: a piece of home made cotton cloth, *karbās*, appears from nowhere, and is similarly distributed to make *lungs*); /185/ the first piece was given to Shāh Maḥmūd-i Pātīlī. The names of the Forty (incomplete series) are given below in the text. It should be added that such lists always vary. Their constant elements are: the saints of *haqiqat*, some famous popular darwish saints, and the rest made up of symbolical names representing cosmic ideas or forces of nature, etc., such as *ushtur-'abdāl*—earth, *surkh-'abdāl*—fire, *qāthir-'abdāl*—wind, etc. (Sometimes instead of *'abdāl* or *abdāl* the word 'Alī is used: Surkh-'Alī, Qāthir-'Alī, etc.).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, p. 62.

*The Origin of the "Earthly Forty"* (from the *risāla* of darwish Parwāna-'Alī Sabzawāri, d. ca. 1900, an almost illiterate man; the entries in his *risāla* were made by different people).

At the time of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad the Jews read in their religious books a prophecy regarding his impending birth, and decided to kill him (this is simply a variant of the Christian legend of the "Massacre of Innocents"). His nurse, however, had a child herself, called Sulṭān Mahmūd. She laid him in the Prophet's cradle, so that he was cut into pieces which were then put into a cauldron (*pānī*), and thrown behind a mosque (*sic*). By the miracle of God each of these pieces became a child in itself. These were hidden and brought up in a cave being fed by a gazel (*shā*). (When they grew up they began to wander about living on people's charitable donations, thus founding the darwish association).

*Additions:* The same legend is narrated amongst the AH about the saint whom they call Nuṣayr (who has nothing to do with the saint of that name amongst the Nuṣayris of Syria). Here is another variant of their origin: a woman at the time of the Prophet came to him, asking for a medicine against sterility. The Prophet (acting in the same way, as a darwish or village mulla), wrote a charm on a piece of paper, instructing her to wash it in water, and drink it. The woman did not trust this method, and put the paper aside. She then came again, asking for another medicine, and again a paper with the efficacious text was dispensed. So it happened for forty times. At last the woman decided to try the treatment, and swallowed all forty doses at once. As a punishment for her incredulity, she gave birth to forty children, and fearing publicity, she took them out of the village, and abandoned them. But, being the result of the prayer of the Prophet, the children were under Divine protection, and were brought up by the *shā*. (In some versions instead of slips of paper dates are given one by one).

This myth sometimes has a valuable addition: When these children grew up, still wild, they became a real nuisance to the neighbourhood, and the people decided to exterminate them. But

God sent a plague upon these unkind people, and only in response to the prayer of a holy man the plague turned into a black cat. The Forty, being hungry, rushed upon the cat, tore it to pieces and devoured it. This is why the darwishes, *fuṣūṣ*, are known as *bulā-khār*, i.e. "devourers of calamity". They were left in peace and remained thereafter.

The *Risāla* of darwish Gulshīr Sabzawāri, a member of a respectable local family, who died before 1900, contains the text of several AH prayers (pp. 187-190). Another very interesting document is the certificate of initiation of a darwish of a higher degree into the AH doctrine.

*"About the Creation.* Know that in those days (*riṣṣ*) when there was still no earth and no sky, the King of the World was a pearl (or: Substance *janchar* in the middle of a shell. Thereafter, He threw with His hand of Divine might a drop of His own substance (*janchar*) into the *ganchar*, non-Divine substance (?),<sup>9</sup> and the *janchar* settled in the interior of the *ganchar* (*dar baḥn-i ganchar*). He uttered a cry, and water appeared, producing skies from its vapours and earth from its foam. Later He created Banyāmīn from *ba-nay* (*baḥn*, *ba-n-i?*)<sup>10</sup>. The King then said: "Come, let us lay the foundation of the institution of the *pir-i murīd*", i.e. of spiritual guidance and its acceptance. *Pir Banyāmīn* said: "You are the King and the *pir*, while I am a *murīd*." The King of the World replied: "If I become the *pir*, thou wilt not be able (to carry out my orders), thou hast not the power which is with Me. Therefore I shall be thy *murīd*, acting as thy slave, and thou wilt be My *pir*. Therefore thou art a *pir*, and I

<sup>9</sup> The play on the difference between *janchar* and *ganchar*, which are in reality one and the same word, is a substitute for "deep philosophy" It already appears in the *Ummal-Kutub*.

<sup>10</sup> Should we read: *ba-nay*, *noyīd*? In all such stories the tendency is to make the "angels" uncreated and consubstantial with the Deity, as in the case of Dāwūd being created from the perspiration of the Creator, Mūsā from mā, hair, etc. Or is it here simply an "etymological" explanation, from *Baḥn*, the first part of the name, which is often written *Baḥnāmīn*?

am a *murid*, a slave and an obedient servant. /191/ I shall act according to thy wishes".

The King of the World created Dāwūd from one of His sleeves,<sup>11</sup> instructing him to be a witness of His having appointed Pir-i Amin (i.e. Banyāmin) the spiritual guide and king of "My people" (*qawm-i bhūd*), and having accepted him (as His *pir*).

Dāwūd asked: "What shall be my position as a witness?" The King said: "I make thee the guide and helper in adversity of every one on land and sea". Dāwūd asked for a witness and the Deity created Pir-i Mūsī from one of the hairs (*mā*) of His head, instructing him to be the witness of His having appointed Dāwūd as helper to every one in difficulties on land or sea.

Pir-i Mūsī also asked what his position was to be, and was appointed the scribe (*qalam-zan*). He also wanted a witness, and the King created from His seal ring (*muhr*) Mir Mustafā, instructing him to be a witness of the preceding appointments. Mir Mustafā also wanted to know his functions, and was appointed the catcher (*qābid*) of souls (*arwāh*). He also asked for a witness, and the King created a thousand slaves with golden belts, who /192/ became the witnesses. Some more then were created to serve as witnesses for the first thousand.

They then formed a *javā*, the King of the World (from His own sweat) created a *javā*, nutmeg, which was broken before Pir Banyāmin, and thus the King handed over His head to His Pir, i.e. Banyāmin. Thus all of them were made in the world of ideas (*'ālam-i ma'ūd*) from one substance (*qawm*) the name of which was *Zarī Gil*, i.e. "Yellow clay".

The King ultimately decided to create Adam, and ordered Mir (sic) Mustafā to pick up 4 handfuls of dust from all the four corners of the world. He brought it, but despite all his efforts the clay would not mix well. Then the King of the World ordered: "Bring that deposit (*amānat*) which I entrusted to you thirty thousand years ago". . . .

<sup>11</sup> Usually instead of "created" the expression "brought out of his sleeve" is used.

Unfortunately, here, as in other known texts<sup>12</sup>, there is a lacuna. It is possible that it is not long and, perhaps, has something to do with Satan.

"... a thousand years before I entrusted to thee, bring it". Thereafter they brought the *amānat*, or deposited thing, mixed it with the dust, and made a figure, i.e. Adam. Four years later Adam sweated, and rose. The King of the World then gave him that *amānat*. "We shall return to its meaning (*ba-rūm-ash bi-rāim*)"<sup>13</sup>.

30,000 years more (the Deity) was saying "*subhāna-hu*". For some time He was also in the dress (*libās*) of Adam. /193/ Then He wished "to set" (*gharīb... farmāyod?*), i.e. to disappear. His associates (*yārān*) asked Him where they should find Him, and He replied: "In the middle of seven princes". They asked Him the names, and He answered: "One of them, the greatest one, is named Hāji Sulṭān Bā'ūs. The others are: Sayyid Mahmūd Gawre-Sawār, Sayyid Ḥabīb, Shāh Sayyid Bū'l-Wafā, Sayyid Shihābū'd-dīn, Pir Mustafā, Bāhā Yādgār. Although the last one is the smallest in appearance, he is the greatest in reality (*dar bāfir*), the most important of all these princes". Here banners were made, seven in number, before the entrance porch of Mahmūd Dīnshiqī<sup>14</sup>. Each prince received a banner, and went to a different place or province. Hāji Bā'ūs went to Kūhistan<sup>15</sup>, Sayyid Ḥabīb to Kurdistan, Sayyid Mahmūd to Ardabil. Mir to Turkestan, Sayyid Shihābū'd-dīn to Rūm (Asia Minor), Mustafā to Luristan.<sup>16</sup> Mir, who went to Turkestan, was a *mīr* there, but elsewhere he was a king (*shāh*). In India he was in human form, in Afghanistan he was Shāh Shīr. In some places he was an *amīr*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. W. Ivanow, "An All-Ilahi Fragment", *Collectanea*, vol. I, 1948, pp. 177 and 184 (text), in which a *padshah amānat* is referred to, in the hands of Malak Ṭā'ā.

<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, this intention remained unfulfilled. Cf. pp. 45-6.

<sup>14</sup> It is not clear who this saint was. A banner is usually fixed near the entrance of a saint's mausoleum.

<sup>15</sup> In the text, - *Qūristān*, i.e. cemetery, probably a slip for Gurjistan, Georgia.

<sup>16</sup> All this is merely talk which has no historical meaning.

His *shar'at* name was Husayn, /194/ his *farisat* name was Shāh Sayyid Jalāl, his *haqiqat* name was Mīr, and his *ma'rifat* name was Pīr.

Thus the King of the World intended to set (in the same way as the sun sets, *gharab khand*), and the associates, *yāda*, asked him where they should expect to meet him, and what his sign would be? The King of the World answered: "You should expect me on the Festival of the New Year (*Nawrāz*) in the land of Sultāniyya. A place will appear on the Jayhūn<sup>17</sup>, from the East to the West. All will come together there, all the sultans, and I shall manifest myself there". They asked: "What shall be the sign of your (impending) manifestation?" He said: "Three days I shall rise (as the sun (?)<sup>18</sup>, and on the thirteenth day after the Festival of Nawrāz I shall manifest myself in the *lāh* of "Tāṭā-kiyya" (Antākiyya, Antioch?). Twelve occupants of thrones will come together at that place, one Khāwandgār, another Shāh Pīr Banyāmīn, the third Dāwūd, the fourth Pīr-i Mūsā-y-i Qalam-Zarrīn, Muṣṭafā-y-i Dāwūdān, Qirāzi-Pūsh, Khān-Ānsh, Nūr Sulṭān, Sarmast, Shāh Nī'matullāh Walī, Shāh Sayyid Jalālud-dīn Ḥaydar, and the twelfth Sulṭān...."

/195/ "Sayyid Shihābū'd-dīn is buried in Qaradagh, in Āhar<sup>19</sup>. He was the grandfather of Sayyid Jabrū'il, of Shaykhī Sayyidū'd-dīn and Shāh Ismā'il<sup>20</sup> who was the substance of 'Alī Qalandar. The first (?) is the spring of *haqiqat* which is called Ardābil."

<sup>17</sup> Jayhūn usually means the Amū-Daryā (Oxus) river.

<sup>18</sup> Apparently the sentence is mutilated.

<sup>19</sup> In Āhar, a town near the Russo-Persian frontier in Adharbayjan, there really is a tomb of Shihābū'd-dīn, although the building has no date on it. Forhang, IV, 61-62, suggests that it was built under the Safawids.

<sup>20</sup> Persian *jādū*, "grand-father", is very often used vaguely in the sense of forefather, ancestor. No Shihābū'd-dīn is mentioned in the *Sikāh-n-nasab-i Safawīyya* (Berlin, 1943), pp. 11-11, amongst the ancestors of Sayyidū'd-dīn. The latter's father was really Jabrū'il (Amīnū'd-dīn). For his grand-father was Shāhī M. Muḥammad. It looks as if the saint's association with the Safawids was of the same nature as that of Sulṭān Ṣhāhā, i.e. it was based on the desire to associate the Safawids with the AH sect.

Sarmast appeared amongst the Jews of Kāshān. He was converted to Islam in the middle of his life. He spent fourteen years travelling naked in the guise of a qalandar. His journey brought him to Delhi in India during the reign of Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh (who was the substance of Ibrāhīm Adham). After the death of that Sultan, the *qāfi* of the town, together with the brother of the deceased, decided to execute Sarmast, charging him (with misbehaving by) walking naked, and with never reciting the formula "There is no Deity except Allah" to its end. He answered: (Mine) is the life which is an echo of the old Mansūr, I shall re-appear (*jāwāz dīham*) from thy head.... His head was struck off".

"Sulṭān Maḥmūd-i Ghaznavī and Ayūz, the pure-natured. Sulṭān Maḥmūd was a manifestation of *Ṣāḥab-karam* (Manoḥ) and Ayūz was the manifestation (*dūa*) of Pīr Banyāmīn. When he wanted to disappear from Rūm (Asia Minor), he (Maḥmūd) said to Pīr Banyāmīn: "go /196/ to India, and I shall go to Khwārizm. I shall re-appear in a baker's shop (*nānawān*) and rise to sultaniship. I shall move troops for the conquest of India, and will conquer it. There we shall meet again. And so it has happened".

The first *jaw* belonged to Banyāmīn, /199/ the second to Sayyid Muṣṭafā, the third belonged to the King (*māl-i Pādshāh*).

The *Dast-gīr*, helper, is Shāh Ibrāhīm<sup>21</sup>. The head (*aw-halqa*) of the *Haft-tān* (Seven saints) is Sayyid Muḥammad Gawre-Sawār. It is his banner (*'alam*) which will be unfurled (in the world). The mystery of *Haqqānī* is (hidden) in Dālāhū<sup>22</sup>. Sulṭān-i *ma'rifat* or Sulṭān-i *haqq* is Shāh Khūshīn. He came (?) from a boat on the sea (*az marḥab-i daryā hūd*). These words of

<sup>21</sup> This passage is obviously written by someone belonging to the Shāh Ibrāhīmī sect.

<sup>22</sup> According to Minorōky's informers (Minlī, 49), Shāh Ibrāhīm was a grandson of Sulṭān Ṣhāhā, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad. The Dālāhū hills are not far from Fardīwar, according to Minorōky's map.

the Pir (*Kalâm-i Pir*) which have been mentioned (?) were the words of Shâh Ibrâhîm, and this matter will be mentioned (only) in the place in which the *jam'* of Shâh Ibrâhîm will be held. They are the words of the Pir (uttered) in order that the mystery should not be divulged. And we also pray that this (mystery) will not be disclosed, except amongst the initiated (*magar ba-yâk-rangî*).

#### Appendix I. *Miracles of Khân Âtîsh.*

In 1948, in Tehran, an AH friend lent to me a book which, he said, belonged to the literature of his community. On examination it proved to be a lithographed edition of a well-known work on astrology, *Jâmari-nâmâ*, which presented no interest whatever. While looking through the volume, however, I found some notes scribbled on the fly-leaves which referred to certain miracles of Khân Âtîsh and also to what appeared to be his farewell address to his followers. The most important feature, however, was that the notes contained the dates of the events. How unfortunate it was then that the notes, probably written before being bound together with the book, came to be used simply as binding material. They were scribbled in faded ink on sheets of thin coloured paper. The text was often rendered illegible by greasy stains. The sheets were bound without any order, much appeared to be lost, and portions of them had been cut off in the process of binding.

It would appear that the bulk of them had at one time contained the well-known prophecies of Ni'matu'l-lâh Wall of Kirmân, to which the sermons of Khân Âtîsh obviously imitating them, had been added. Finally, some witness records were included of the miracles of the saint.

The copyist (perhaps also the compiler or compilers) wrote in childish handwriting, committing atrocious errors in spelling (which have here been corrected as far as possible). It is obviously impossible to find out whether or not the notes are genuine. But it is difficult to believe that anyone capable of counterfeiting the tone, spirit and language here presented would not have been able to aim higher had he tried.

All that was possible to offer here as presenting some interest consisted of five fragments: 1 and 2, which obviously refer to one and the same event (on the 7th of Rajab 1082/9-xi-1671), two versions of a witness record; 3, two fragments apparently from one and the same address of Khân Âtîsh; and 4 and 5, fragments obviously from his farewell address, probably in 1114/1702-3. Geographical names mentioned in the text are badly mis-spelt, so that it has not been easy to reconstruct them even with the help of the official Persian publication, *Farhang-i Inghrâfiyâ-yi Irân* (vol. IV, Adharbayjan), to which references are here given. It is, of course, quite possible that many names have changed or disappeared over the course of the last 250 years.

#### Translation.

1. *Khân Âtîsh walks into the (burning) field of reeds.* He ordered us to set fire to the field overgrown with reeds (*nayâr*). We were assembled there to the number of 150 and three. By the order of (our) Lord we set fire to the reeds. It was in the evening, in the month of Rajab, on the seventh (day) of the month, in 1082 (i.e. 9-xi-1671). (When he went into the fire) all of us who were present felt that all hope was lost, as for the holy one. We spent the night near the fire. Towards afternoon on the next day we gave up all hope, and decided to return home. (Some)<sup>1</sup> said: "We shall pitch our tents (here) and stay". Thus two parties were formed, one in favour of returning home, and the other of staying. As we were discussing thus the Lord stepped out of the fire. He was dressed in red, holding a bunch of flowers in seven colours in his blessed hand, and smiling. We all prostrated ourselves before him. (Later) we applied our seals and wrote an (eye-witness) testimony, unanimously testifying (to the genuineness of the miracle of) the Lord. We immolated sacrificial animals, and stayed at the place for seven days.

<sup>1</sup> A strange expression, apparently referring to the pious and patient followers, which in a slightly different form re-appears in the next fragment. Here it is something like *shâh us nu zâ wafât* (i), and in the next paragraph: *shâh us shâh wafât*.

2. (*Another version*). In the year 1082. In the place called Dādarra in the gorge of Dāshlīja (Dāshlīja?)<sup>2</sup> there was a large field overgrown with reeds (*maynār*). We, the men of Bādīlānī tribe, 500 families in all,<sup>3</sup> we, the men of the Kānānī tribe, four families in all, we, the men of the tribe of Khūzaymaq (here: Khūza-i-māq or Khurda'i-māq)<sup>4</sup>, thirty families in all, and we, the men of the Bālikānī tribe, fifty families in all, were there.<sup>5</sup> A place within the gorge was overgrown with (dry) reeds. Our Lord ordered us to gather fire wood. We obeyed and collected and unloaded it in the *maynār*. He then ordered us to set fire to it, which we did. The Lord walked into the fire. Evening fell, and he had not yet come out. We lost all hope. At night much talk arose amongst the tribesmen who wanted to return. (Some)<sup>6</sup> said: "We shall not leave". We remained near the fire in the reed-field through the whole night, till morning. In the afternoon of the next day the Lord emerged from the midst of the fire, dressed in red, carrying several bunches of flowers in his blessed hands. We remained there for seven days. We have written (this testimony) and applied our seals to it.

3. .... "I told you in 1080 (1669-1670), and I am telling you now: Listen you, people who are with me, keep your ears open!"— And about 4000 (who were present there) appealed: "O, our Lord! O, healer of our ailments! Know (that) our ears and eyes are at thy service! Whatever thou wilt order, we shall obey thee sincerely and wholeheartedly." Then he said: "As oppression

<sup>2</sup> No Dāshlīja is mentioned in the *Fahang*, although there are two Dāshlījas. They, however, ask out of the question because one is near Āhar and the other near Ardabil (vol. IV, p. 235).

<sup>3</sup> This obviously does not mean that whole families were present, men, women and children, but rather men representing so many families.

<sup>4</sup> The *Fahang* does not mention anything like this. Perhaps the name should be read Khūz-i-Aymāq?

<sup>5</sup> The *Fahang* (IV, 79) only mentions Bālikān, a small Kurdish village in the district of Khūy, which would hardly be correct here. It should be noted that tribal names, even those of large tribal groups, are frequently changed.

<sup>6</sup> See above, footnote 1.

and violence have gone beyond all limits, no one will have the strength to endure it. And when still more oppression comes, a person will appear from the East, and will fight them .....

.... "I, Khān Atish, said to you in 1083/1672-1673, in Qarāchāy, of the Marāgha district Jān-Jān-lar (?)<sup>8</sup> "I am going, and will return according to (a given) sign. Formerly I came in the person (*dān*) of Jān... (?)<sup>9</sup> I said (this) and went, and returned, and I shall return again at the time when Irān becomes the most pleasant of all the countries (*shahr-shāh*) on earth. It will be the time when I become the owner of the "village of Ātish Bek."<sup>10</sup> This is one of the signs (of my advent). The other sign is that I shall return with those people who are with me (now). When justice and equity will be established (?), when men will have no religion (?)<sup>11</sup> I shall introduce a rule for their comfort"....

<sup>7</sup> The fragmentary passage added in parentheses at the end of fragment 5 may follow here. It is difficult to find where it really belongs.

<sup>8</sup> The *Fahang* (IV, 260) mentions two places with the name of Qarāchāy, both in the district of Ātish Bek, not far from Tabriz. What the last word is, — is difficult to say, as the text at this point is not clearly legible.

<sup>9</sup> In the text: apparently Jān and Māz (not clearly legible). This could be a mis-spelling of the name Jīmāp, after whom the lithographed book I have mentioned was called. It is of further note that in the last fragment Khān Atish mentions a book in which he predicts the destinies of the world. There are several different works with a similar title (cf. *Jāmsā-šāma* on astrology, Rieu, *Pers. Cat.*, 461), but it would not be impossible for a person like Khān Atish to have composed a book of Apocalyptic and astrological content, and for it to have been lithographed for use by the general superstitious public. I do so much regret my error in having rejected the book outright when it was in my hands, and in not having carefully examined it. It should be added that Jīmā or Jīmāp is the name of a legendary sage of antiquity.

<sup>10</sup> Dīhā Ātish Bek is the name of a district near Tabriz (*Fahang*, IV, 4) with a total population of about 15000, living in 176 villages and hamlets. Here the word Dīh still retains its ancient implications of a domain, and does not mean as in the ordinary Persian of today a "village".

<sup>11</sup> It is implied here apparently that humanity will lose hold of the true religion. — an idea which is common in all eschatological schemas and pictures of the coming of the "end of the world", before the advent of the Mahdi or Messiah.

4. *The departure of Khān Atish.* In 1114/1702-3, in Sahand, near the spring<sup>11</sup> of Pāyindūrūd,<sup>12</sup> which is in the (district of) Shāh-yūrd,<sup>13</sup> Khān Atish arrived with all his Mirs (heads) of *ajāqs* (*Mfr-ajāqa*): Mir Jahāngir Bek, Mir Sarkhūsh Bek, Mir Inām-'Alī (Inām-Qul?) Khān, Mir Muḥammad Bek, Mir Farajū'l-lāh Bek, Šādiq Khān the head (*sar-karda*) of the Shakkāki tribe, Muḥammad-'Alī (another) assistant to the manager of the blessed stables, and Muḥammad Khān, the head (*jālar-dār*) of the same, also all the Shakkākis settled (*maḥān raftān*) in the district of Qūri-chāy<sup>14</sup> and the hamlets of what is called the "village (dih) of Atish Bek",.....

5. ....know now, O, all who are with me here, men and women, witness to each other and say to all the worlds and testify to each other what I am doing. Now you are standing in the land of the (great) tidings, near the range of Sahand. And this land is the holy land of Shāh-yūrd. Say and testify that I intend to go, disappearing from your sight on this blue (*kabūd*) horse which I am riding. This horse, and the red riding boots will remain as souvenirs with you. I am Adam, I am Noah, and also I am Moses, I am Jesus, I am 'Alī. I shall return when the whole (*shūd*) "village of Atish Bek" becomes my property,—I shall put in order your affairs. I have put my hand into the water of this spring here, on the top of Sahand, which will remain as my souvenir to you. I am leaving *this book* with you, so that my advent may be known to you. I have foretold the (destinies of the world) with (all the) sultans, to its end, as I have also told you before. It (the book?) is with my sons. But you must understand; the wise (already) know, but the rest of you must also know this. You

<sup>11</sup> Not in the *Fahang*.

<sup>12</sup> From what follows it is possible to gather that the locality called Shāh-yūrd was situated near the Sahand range. The *Fahang* (IV, 294) mentions Shāh-wird-kandī in the district of Marāgha which might possibly be the place.

<sup>13</sup> It is the name of a district East of Marāgha, with a population of about 23,000 (*Fahang*, IV, 295).

will know how the page (*souraq*) will be(?)<sup>15</sup> I have told you from the beginning what(?) was four thousand years ago, and till the time when all peoples become united. No one will feel hostility against any one, and all people will be united, the king and the beggar. Note this, so that your descendants may not act adversely, one generation after another. O, Incarnations, you that are coming soon and later!<sup>16</sup> I am going,.....thou art and wilt come before myself<sup>17</sup>.....And, note this date: I went in 1114/1702-3. I am telling you: there will come a sultan with a long beard, after him a sultan who has no beard, then will come a sultan with a drooping (*dar-raftā*) moustache. This is the sign of the new slaves and of the new earth. Regard those of the Qalā'ihān (?) tribe as your enemies. The time will come when people will wish to be dead, but will be unable to achieve death. And there will be horses which are....(beautifully?) caparisoned, with crowns on their heads.... and their faces like the faces of men, and their hair long as the hair of women, their teeth like the teeth of lions, and the sound of their steps like the sound of many vehicles when they gallop into battle.<sup>18</sup> Their tails will be like the tails of scorpions, ending in something like a spear.....

.....I am going but will return according to the signs and the word (as I have said). The time will be neither longer nor shorter till my return..... (....I shall come with new laws and a new religion, and...till the time when I come, filling the world with justice and equity, and....)<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> One meaning could be: you will know what card will turn out.

<sup>16</sup> Beginning with this passage the text is fragmentary as the ends of lines were cut off. It is strange that the word *shāh* is written without a *sh*, and it is not clear whether divine Incarnations are meant, or those of ordinary mortals.

<sup>17</sup> It is not clear who is "thou".

<sup>18</sup> Surely in medieval warfare there were no chariots to gallop into battle. This, and the following phrase "tails as those of scorpions" bring to mind ancient Persian *bas-reliefs*. It is quite possible that such Apocalyptic visions are of book origin.

<sup>19</sup> The words in parentheses, see footnote 7, may be misplaced, and have belonged originally to fragment 3.

Appendix II. *The Story of Sayyid Iskandar.*

An interesting story, not to be found in our texts, is contained in Minī, 3-4. Its purpose is obviously to stress the severity of punishment meted out for the violation of the sanctity of *jam*, and also to commend the exemplary devotion of a certain Sayyid Iskandar who volunteered to suffer capital punishment which the offence, committed by his friend, deserved. The story is instructive in many respects, and it is fortunate that Prof. V. Minorsky has published the original text (Minī, 115) as one of the specimen extracts in his book. He himself attaches great importance to it and as the text is available, it would be useful to offer a translation here.

There are, however, many points in connection with this story which evoke serious doubt, not of its genuineness, but of the spirit in which it should be accepted.

1. Since 1918 I have made inquiries about it and its real purpose of all the sectarians I have met in the different parts of Persia. Their answers to my questions have been the same, to the effect that the name of Sayyid Iskandar is unknown, and his story not heard before. This may indicate that the story has strictly local currency, limited to the particular community from which it originates.

2. In Minī, 3-4 it appears to refer to Sultān Şahāk's time. Its general tone, however, the use of the Turkish language, the motif of the human sacrifice implied,—all point rather to Khān Atīsh's time. This finds support to an extent in the fact that the Incarnation, whose name does not appear in the text, is styled *Shāh* or *Pādshāh-i 'Alam*, while the usual title of Sultān Şahāk is *Sultān-i 'Alam*.

3. It is difficult to become reconciled to the idea that *hadrat-i Muṣṭafā*, the offender here, is also Muṣṭafā-y-i Dāwūdān, because twice in the course of the story the "four angels" (thus including Muṣṭafā-y-i Dāwūdān) are mentioned independently. It would be strange if the offender himself should be amongst those who intercede on his behalf. Muṣṭafā-y-i Dāwūdān could not have

Razbār as his *iqrār* sister because (T 15) they originally formed one person, 'Azrā'il. In another place (T 166) it is said he acts as a *wakīl* for her in the ceremony of "breaking the nut", obviously in the same way that a male relative acts for a woman in the Muslim marriage ceremony. Under Qirinal the re-incarnated Muṣṭafā himself bears the name of Razbār or Razbān (T 96). The custom of confraternity groups (*iqrār*),—an obscure matter demanding much elucidation,—was apparently not intended for blood relations. Moreover, although there is vague talk of Razbār's re-incarnation under Sultān Şahāk, her name does not figure much in stories preserved by tradition, and there is an indication that even if she was incarnated, she never came in personal contact with the Sultān of the World. In the story of the sin of Baniyāmin, Sultān Şahāk sends Muṣṭafā-y-i Dāwūdān to murder her (to take her soul), when he hears of her coming, "because it is suitable with God (*nazd-i haqq ramud it*) that when she comes, the *Şāhib-i 'Amr* (Mahdī) must manifest himself. But the date is still remote and much remains till that day" (T 86).

To sum up, it is quite possible that the episode should be associated with the period of Khān Atīsh, and that *hadrat-i Muṣṭafā* was simply a local *pir*,—a reason for his moving about in the *jam*. But the name of Muṣṭafā might have misled the compiler into the belief that it was that of the "seizer of spirits", and as it was further mentioned that he went to his (probably unnamed) *iqrār*, the name of Razbār was assumed and added.

The story is really instructive with regard to the mentality of the world in which the sect originated and developed, the ethical outlook of the milieu. If we take what is written at face value, the wishful thinking of the woman was not immoral, just as the response on the part of Muṣṭafā. But it is astonishing that the senseless murder of a young and absolutely innocent man for the purpose of satisfying abstract Divine "justice", uncompromisingly insisted upon by the Incarnate Deity, did not in the least apparently shock the participants of the holy *jam*.



## Translation.

Praise to the King of the World.

Chapter.

Known way a *khidmat* (communal meal) was ordered for (the commemoration of) Sayyid Iskandar. The four angels with the wise ones (*shāh-dār*) and the (ordinary) followers of the Divine Truth (*shī-i Haqq*) sat in the assembly (*majlis*) presided over by the King of the World. They sung tristicūs (*balad mī-gufand*), and *ḥadrat-i Muṣṭafā* was moving amongst them (while serving the *jam*). The participants were absorbed in listening to the recitation and partaking of the meal of friendship (*khidmat-i yārī*). It so happened by the will of the Šāhābkār that a woman who was present had a thought: "How nice it would be if *ḥadrat-i Muṣṭafā* was my husband,—I would like that!" *Muṣṭafā* understood her thought, and, placing his hand over his eye (a gesture of consent and obedience), said: "Why not?"

This was noticed by the King of the World, and his blessed decision was that someone would give up his life for (*dar rāh-i*) the King of the World. When the *jam* was completed and the participants had dispersed, the King of the World ordered water to be brought, and when it was made ready, said: "Muṣṭafā, wash thy head (*jamāl*)".<sup>1</sup> Obeying the order of the King of the World, *Muṣṭafā* washed. By the perfect might of the Creator he at once heard a rustling sound (*nāstī*)<sup>2</sup>, as all his *mohārin*, i.e. beard and moustache, fell down. He became (therefore) excommunicated. He went to his *īqrār* sister, who was *ḥadrat-i Razbār*, and they made...<sup>3</sup> However much they implored the King of the World,

<sup>1</sup> The real "hagpat beards", especially in Luristan, often attain awe-inspiring size, and invariably badly need washing after a copious meal, although the owner may not be aware of this. The word *jamāl* here obviously stands for *jamāl-i manān* (often used in the *Tadhkira*). The loss of moustache automatically leads to excommunication.

<sup>2</sup> Not *amī*, as in the printed text. It was left without diacritical dots probably because the copyist did not understand it. *Nāstī*, whisper, rustling, is rarely used in ordinary Persian.

<sup>3</sup> An unintelligible expression.

the sin was not forgiven. The four angels also came to implore him, praying for mercy, but nothing could help. They appealed insistently but forgiveness was not granted.

The King of the World said that the sin could not be remitted unless someone (*yārī*)<sup>4</sup> offered to give up his life in place of that of *Muṣṭafā*. (There was) a young man, Sayyid Iskandar by name, who was arranging a (wedding) feast (*da'wat*) on the occasion of his own marriage. He submitted himself to the King of the World, saying: "I, of my own accord, offer my life in this matter for the sake of (*be-rāh-i*) the King of the World". The offer was accepted and the sin of *ḥadrat-i Muṣṭafā* remitted. The pious (*sūb-ḥādār*) Sayyid Iskandar proved his devotion in the highest way, and the King of the World granted to *Muṣṭafā* his former position.

Sayyid Iskandar's mother came to (implore) the King of the World, who said to her (in Turkish): "Let the boy be killed". He said to his associates: "As Sayyid Iskandar's wedding<sup>5</sup> was in preparation when he offered his life, you should yearly commemorate the event by arranging an elaborate and abundant communal meal (*khidmat-i rangīn wa saugīn*). He was an outstanding ('*asta*) man". He granted to *ḥadrat-i Muṣṭafā* his former (position). Thanksgiving offerings (*shukrāna*) were served and consumed (*sūb namūdan*).<sup>6</sup>

Appendix III. *Vispered*.

We have noted on p. 65 the striking parallelism between the *khusha* recited by the Khāksār darwishes while the sacrificial meal in the *dik-jāsh* ceremony is being cooked, and the recitation of the *Vispered* during the Zoroastrian sacrifice, *yazna*. After that portion of the book had been printed, I received a copy of an

<sup>4</sup> Not *last*.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'arūst for 'arīs.

<sup>6</sup> *Sūb shādan*, *sūb namūdan*, are old darwish "jargonical" expressions, already to be found in some works of the XI-th c. A.D. They are based on the idea of the sprouting seed. The meaning is "becoming completed, attained, done with, realised", etc. Here *sūb namūdan* implies: did with it what should have been done.

interesting article, by N. Arseniev, "Eucharist Sacrament in the Church Practice" ("Problems of the Russian Religious Outlook", Berlin, 1924, pp. 346-389, in Russian). In it certain aspects of the early history of the Eucharist are discussed which may be of value in the present study. It is to be deplored that none of the learned works quoted by the author, on the history of early Christian churches, are available in the libraries of Bombay for direct reference.

The strange story (T 9-10), already discussed on pp. 43-44, of the sudden appearance of the "pure substance of Razbâr", and her offering a loaf of *kulûcha* bread (produced by her from the sea) to the Creator who sat with his four associate angels on the surface of the primaevial ocean, is a cluster of half obliterated myths of mixed origin. The Creator orders a *jow* to be formed at which the loaf is ritually distributed, and this act is of such immense cosmic significance that the earth, which was floating on the waters, is stabilized and the loaf itself becomes the sky. It has been already suggested that the part attributed to the *kulûcha* loaf in the story can only be traced to Christian beliefs connected with the Eucharist. This finds complete confirmation in the fact that the earliest Christian liturgical texts preserved emphasise the cosmic role of the events symbolised in the Sacrament. This is prominent in the *Didachê* (or "Instruction of the 12 Apostles", a work of the first c. A.D.), the liturgy of Clement, Anaphora Serapionis, etc.

The complex of the myths which form the idea of the Eucharist includes the Jewish motif of Christ as a scapegoat for the sins of humanity. But there is also another, predominating the rest, of his being a sacrifice, a sheep or lamb, Agnus Dei, immolated for the expiation of the world's imperfection generally. This also contains a certain element introduced by the early controversies against the doctrines of various gnostic sects in their speculations about the material world being evil because it was created by the Demiurge, the Evil God. Therefore orthodox church authors, especially Irenaeus of Lyon (d. ca. 200 A. D.) in his "Adversus Haereses", emphasised that the matter was not essentially evil. This is reflected in the prayers recited at the climax of the Eucharist

ceremony, the *anaphora* (as in the liturgies of Clement, of the churches of Egypt, Ethiopia, Syrian of St. Jacob, of Basil the Great, etc.). Prayers were offered not only for the welfare of different categories of human beings, but also various aspects of the material world. In the ancient *anaphora* used in the early Persian church it is prayed that the whole of the created world may be filled with the aroma of Divine benevolence.<sup>1</sup>

The possibility of the independent origin of similar prayers being recited at similar ceremonies in both religions, surely, cannot be excluded. But there is obviously more chance of such coincidence being the result of incidental borrowing or imitation. The question of precedence is difficult to determine. Traditional Zoroastrianism shows much the same mentality as the AH in claiming fantastic antiquity, which cannot stand historical criticism, for its saints, scriptures and institutions. Although the *Vispered* contains ancient elements, in the version in which we see it now, it may have been modified under the later Sasanian patrons of Zoroastrianism.<sup>2</sup> We must remember that certain portions of the Avesta are not older than the tenth c. A.D. The usual pretences to "eternity and inchangeability" are mere talk, the priestly stock in trade.

If it could be proved that the Jewish *knafke* goes back not to the Mazdaic, but Christian practice, this would match well with the "single raisin", incidentally found in the pocket of the Prophet on the night of *Mirâj*, to sweeten a cup of water to make it the *sharbat-i tanqûd* which was offered by him as a kind of communion to the mystical "Forty".

<sup>1</sup> The author refers to Beighman, "Liturgies Eastern and Western", vol. I, 1896, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. F. Grilzer, "Awestalimatur" in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, vol. II, p. 5.

## V. CRITICISMS, EMENDATIONS AND CORRECTIONS OF THE TEXT.

The methodology of the critical edition of Oriental texts is, as is well known, entirely based on meticulous comparative analysis of variants offered by several copies of one and the same work, and careful consideration of their merits. When the copy of the work intended to be edited is unique, the whole technique is completely upset. But the worst is the situation with works belonging to popular literature, products of the literary activities of uneducated authors, as is the case with the texts edited in this volume. They present almost unsurmountable difficulties as compared with the normal procedure.

With the works by highly qualified authors, the editor familiar with the outlines of the subject would not find much difficulty in ascertaining the prototypes or models followed by the compiler, the origin of his general manner, characteristics of the language, and so forth. The uneducated author, especially of a secret sectarian work, rarely continues any established tradition. He has to struggle with the form of his work as much as with the planning and systematising of the contents. The lack of literary experience makes him to seek help in the standardised phraseology of a kind familiar to him, but having no connection with the subject of his work. In our case it is the language of the official or business correspondence of a low order which so often entirely perverts the tone and spirit of the narrative, sometimes making it sound ridiculous. We may admire the efforts and adventurous spirit of these unknown but talented authors, but their numerous errors and technical faults often create great difficulty to the understanding of their works.

Sectarian works which are kept secret from the uninitiated are rarely copied, and if this is done, it is mostly treated as a meritorious religious act rather than an attempt at getting a correct and reliable copy for information. Copying is going slowly, being very often interrupted, errors are rarely corrected. But it not rarely happens that even if corrections are made they are not taken into account. The idea that a word or passage crossed

in the original should be omitted in copying still has no universal recognition. Very often a pious copyist would write both the wrong crossed word and the correct one side by side. Being unaccustomed to concentrating his attention for a long stretch of time such copyists can omit words, even whole lines or paragraphs, or write them twice. This is in addition to the inevitable errors in spelling, ungrammatical sentences, irruption of local dialect or "slang", and so forth.

The editor of such texts often finds himself confronted with problems which are not easy to solve, as to the limit to which such obvious errors should be tacitly corrected, or included into the final text on the plea of their possible value from the philological standpoint.

The present absurdly high cost of printing often compels the publishers to use lithography, and this is a great source of errors. When the text is "laid" upon the lithographical stone, it usually happens that portions of the page, even isolated lines or words, remain too faint, and have to be "strengthened" by the application of ink by hand. The worker who does this has no idea of the subject, or even language of the text. He mechanically adds ink to the faint traces, and in the process may add new dots or lines or disregard those which have to be strengthened. The worst part of this is the habit to continue such "correction" even after the final proof. The students who would like to analyse the texts edited here would do well if they take note of the emendations suggested here before they proceed with their study.

1. 8. *Khād-rā ba-wajh ba-šarat-i Abū'l-Baḥār*. It looks as if *ba-wajh* was the original intention of the author, which he replaced with *ba-šarat*, absentmindedly forgetting to cancel the preceding.
1. 9. After *wayyid* it would be better to add *-rā*.
1. 17. *Har kas* is a colloquialism, should be *har kas ki*.
2. 5. If the *bayt* quoted just above is explained here, one would expect *na* after *agāh az khād*.
2. 11. Should it be *shāhid-u mashhād*, or *shāhid-i mashhād*?
2. 12. Should be *li-kullī (shay'in) ja'āl*.

- 2, 16. Note that archaic form *mar-ghālib-rā*, quite out of tune with the low class colloquial style of the text.
- 1, 17. *Shinākhī ba-haqq*, instead of *shinākhī-i haqq*, as one would expect, is probably a colloquial way of giving *shinākhī* a passive meaning: (condition of) being informed of the Truth.
- 3, 3. Instead of *wa qad* read *faqad*. In the original: \**wa man*, due to absentmindedness.
- 3, 5. *Wa* after *na-shināxi*, as in the original, is superfluous.
- 3, 14 and 3, 15. *Ham-chi* is a colloquialism for *ham-chā*.
- 3, 17-4, 1. The sentence bears traces of absentmindedness. On 4, 1 *rā* is obviously superfluous, and it is necessary to read further: *bar na-khizad wa...*
- 4, 2. There is no interruption in the text. All these speculations obviously were beyond the author's means of expressing himself.
- 5, 1. For *zabān*, as in the original, read *zabān*. For *hand* better read *nā't*.
- 5, 6. For *ki* read *chā*. Perhaps the author wanted to write *chāmbi*, but in his absentmindedness left only *ki*.
- 5, 8. Apparently *lāzim* should be inserted after *hujjat*.
- 5, 10. In the text there is no indication of the lacuna.
- 5, 15. Again the same colloquialism, *bar kas* for *bar kasī ki*.
- 6, 2; 6, 9; 6, 11 and 6, 16. Instead of *qudrat* it apparently should be '*alam-i qudrat*, as is often found in the text.
- 6, 16. For *hichdah* read *hijdah*.
- 7, 1. Read *qabāla* for *qabbāla*.
- 7, 10. After *chihil* add *wa*. The author usually omits *wa* in numerals.
- 7, 11. After *hastad* add *wa*.
- 7, 15. After *chahār zād* add *wa*.
- 8, 2. After *nahpaq* add *wa*.
- 8, 9. Remove the dot over *r* in *khūd az nūr...*
- 8, 10-11. *Qandil-rā āb shud*. See above, p. 42.
- 8, 12. Perhaps it would be better to insert *ki* after '*alam*.
- 9, 1. Strike the comma after *tahdān*.
- 9, 3. Insert *wa* after *qarār*.

- 9, 5. In the orig. *dhā'i-Jalāl*.
- 9, 13. Add one dot under *ateyyā*.
- 9, 17. For *talātum* read *talāfūm*.
- 10, 16. So it is in the text. Perhaps *harzo-rā pāyad*: (will vainly) search for nonsense. (The dot was probably omitted).
- 11, 7. Read: *kār-hā'i*.
- 11, 10. Read: *ba-jā'i*.
- 12, 5. For *diyāri* and *diyār*, as in the original, one must obviously read *daryā'i* and *daryā-y-i*.
- 13, 8. Insert a comma after *bāhi*.
- 13, 10. The author, or the scribe, with his absentmindedness writes: (*Adam*) *amad wa nidd amād ba'd az nidd ra'id...*
- 13, 11. In the original in both cases *lah* for *Allāh*.
- 13, 13. In the original *anzaf* is followed by *Jabra'ū*, probably by mistake.
- 13, 16. After *jānānī* insert *namūdan ki*.
- 15, 3. On re-examination of the passage, it appears that the word, as has been suggested, *jayf*, should be better read *qarf* (cutting).
- 15, 11. In the original *bar-quzāda'i*, obviously for *bar-quzādagi*.
- 16, 7. So it is written in the original, better *tayyār*.
- 16, 15. For *bi-rawād* read *rawād*.
- 17, 11. In *hamān* one of the dots under *f* has not come out.
- 18, 3. Strike (*Arzhang*).
- 18, 9. For *fijl* read *fijl*.
- 18, 16. After *wa lakūn* in the original follows *mardān*. If it is not superfluous, it should be either *ba-mardān* or *mardān-rā*.
- 19, 6. For '*uqūc* (as in the original) read '*uqūc*.
- 19, 7. For *shud* read *ni-shud*.
- 19, 15. For *Arzhang* read *Arzhana*.
- 21, 14 and 17. Strike one of the *zaff*, in each case.
- 22, 15. After *barā-y-i man* read *bi-quzār man...*
- 23, 9. So it is in the original: *nūr-i qadr*. Should it be *nūr-i qudrat*?

- 25, 1. *Dar rāhī gushādand.* The author apparently first wrote *dar* and then changed it for *rāhī*, forgetting to cancel the first.
- 25, 4. For *ḥāṭī* read *ḥāḍī*.
- 25, 10. For *alastā* read *alast*. In the original; *masṭ wa alast*.
- 25, 11. *As qarār-i qurbān-i qāḍin.* Here *qāḍin* obviously should be read instead of *qurbān*, as in many other singular passages.
- 25, 15. For *fir Banī Āmin* read *bā-nā'in*.
- 26, 2. For *tayyār* read *tayyār*.
- 26, 7. *Miyān* in the original obviously should be read *boytān*.
- 26, 9. For *bāshād* better read *bāshand*.
- 26, 13. Strike *wa* after *khāḍrā*.
- 26, 14. After *būd* it would be better to insert *ki*.
- 26, 17. *Pirā zānī* often appears in not very high class texts. Read *pir zānī*.
- 27, 5. After *shast* read *wa*.
- 27, 10. '*Arābī bā nāqa.* In the original *bā* is omitted.
- 27, 16. In the original: *naw' nawādi*.
- 29, 5. Restore two dots in the last word, *mī-dāht*.
- 30, 8. For *qadr* read *qadr*.
- 30, 15. In the original after *wa ān* there is *barādar*.
- 31, 12. After *qiyām* insert *wa*.
- 31, 17. For *sarrīshṭagī*, as in the original, a friend suggests an emendation; *sar-shikastagī*. I would prefer (*dar*) *in* (*kār*) *sar-rīshṭagī* (*as kuḗā*) *rū dāda ast*.
- 32, 4. Read *mashām* for *masām*.
- 32, 5. Read *al-bāl* for *al-mahāl*.
- 32, 15. *Honāgī Ishān-rā.* Here *rā* is superfluous, another "Tehranism".
- 33, 1. Insert *wa* after *qawm*.
- 33, 2. In the original it is not clear whether it is *ba-bād* or *ba-bār*, or something else. Probably the latter is better, in the sense *ba* (*yak*) *bār*, suddenly. *Shigōfa* is here a metaphor, for "mouth".
- 33, 7. Probably to be read *sharmanda wa* (*pur*) *khajālat*.
- 37, 13. In the original *Rām-Ishkār*.

- 37, 13. *Mutaparraf bardand.* Better *taparraf bardand*.
- 38, 1. For *mustafād* read *manqād*.
- 38, 4. For '*arḡ kard* read *arḡ namād*.
- 38, 10. *Sangin-tar-and.* Metrically better *sangin-tar*.
- 38, 16. *Iqrār* is here probably a mistake for *qarār*.
- 39, 8. *Piyālo mān dāda bi chā.* Probably *che* (i.e. Kurdish *she*, Pers. *zi* or *az*) would be better.
- 40, 3. Strike *bā* before *angusht*.
- 41, 4. Instead of *chashm* read *khāsh* (*yoke*).
- 41, 11. Read *bāgh wa būstān*.
- 41, 16. Strike *ki* after *wādyat*.
- 42, 4. The text is not interrupted, despite an obvious lacuna.
- 44, 2. Read the end of the line: *5ā rīzq-ash na-y-āya*.
- 44, 4. In the first half of the *bayt* strike *bā* (of the original), in the second half for *khād* and *khāwa* read *khār* in both cases.
- 45, 10. The text is not interrupted in appearance.
- 45, 16. Instead of *sārdāna* (?) it is perhaps better to read *shādān-a*,—*shāb-i shādān a* (*ast*), "it is a night of joy".
- 47, 5. In the original *bi-ghrād*, which seems meaningless.
- 47, 8. The last word on p. 64 of the original and the first word on p. 65, are difficult to read: *kar* and the next *n-a-ān* or *t-a-ān*.
- 47, 15. For *waqt*, as in the original, read *waqtī*.
- 48, 3. For *jahān* (end of the line) read *jahān-rā*.
- 48, 9. The last word has been apparently corrected as *kufaylāna*.
- 49, 3. Correct (second half of the line) *dar har waḥḥat*.
- 49, 7. For the original *khawāfir* it would be better *khāfir*. Add *rā* after *marān*.
- 50, 2. For *karānā* read *kara nā*.
- 52, 8. Restore two dots under *id* (end of the line).
- 52, 10. For *hizum* read *hizum*.
- 53, 12. *Bar sīh ml-i dirāz ml-nīshnād*,—obviously an error for *bar sar-i Mū-i Dirāzcar ml-nīshnād*.
- 53, 6. Probably *waqtī*, or some other similar expression should be put before *ki*.
- 53, 7. *Bā garya'i dirāzi*, probably for *bā garya wa zāri*.

- 53, 10. *Ān maṣūf-rā*. Here *-rā* is superfluous,—a "Tehranism".
- 53, 15. Strike *ān* before *āb*. At the end of the line before the heading of the next chapter it is written: '*ānaṣṣ-i zurkh ast*, i.e. "instead of (the heading in) red".
- 55, 13-14. Perhaps *k-l-k* is to be read *gilak*, dim. from *gil*, clay?
- 56, 2 & 7. In the text: *āḡ-i anār*.
- 56, 14. Text: before *chī* there is apparently *az*.
- 57, 12. Instead of *na-mī-tarādmam* read *mī-tarādmam*.
- 58, 2. Text. At the end of the line there is also: '*ānaṣṣ-i zurkh*, as on p. 53.
- 58, 10. For *shā'id* read *bi-shā'id*.
- 58, 14. After *shāhāde* read *ā-makhdn*.
- 59, 5. For *yakt* read *kamt*.
- 59, 16. Here again *Sāfi-anār*.
- 60, 5. In *barūdar-rā* the particle *rā* is superfluous (Tehranism).
- 62, 1. Here *īma* perhaps may be read as *īlma*. *Wājān*, in the text *wājān*.
- 62, 7. For *pāyo'i* it is also possible to read *pāu'i*.
- 63, 7. *Ba-ān-rā qabāl ānaṣṣ*,—another Tehranism.
- 63, 15. Better *khidmat-guzār-īm*.
- 63, 16-17. *Shumā-rā ān*. . . *dukhtar dārid*, another Tehranism.
- 65, 7. *Mā'awwaj* (?) is written as *mā'bāh*, which is meaningless.
- 65, 16. Restore a missing dot in the word *khāstn*.
- 66, 7. Here also before the heading: *īm 'ānaṣṣ-i zurkh ast*.
- 68, 15. After *chī* insert *bā*.
- 70, 10. In the text clearly: *hamī*. Obviously to be read: *na-mī*.
- 71, 10. *Ba-ḥadrat-i Pir-i Māst-rā*, another "Tehranism".
- 71, 14. Apparently *bi-gīraṣ-at* would be better.
- 72, 4. *Zamān-rā*. The text is obviously corrupt.
- 72, 7. *Ham-nafasān* is conjectural,—the word is illegible.
- 72, 14. *Ba-ḥadrat-i Dāwūd-rā*, another Tehranism.
- 74, 5. Examining carefully the passage I notice that I have overlooked the fact that the word *g-r-d-a*, which I read as *girda*, kidney, is here vocalized as *girda*. Thus here *girda pūst* obviously means a kind of round cakes

- perhaps something like pancakes), which were served after the sacrificial meat.
- 74, 8. For *shud* read *shuda*. The final word in the line was apparently changed from *kard* to *dād*.
- 74, 10. For *Banyādmān* read *bā-pā'īn*.
- 75, 14. The word which here appears as *qalamī* apparently should be read *qalam*. The tail of *y* belongs to the word in the line below.
- 74, 15. The last word in the line is illegible.
- 76, 4. Apparently *mī* (or *-ī'*) is superfluous. Other Guranī verses are badly corrupt on this page.
- 77, 8. *Shaykh mashā'ikh*. It is apparently one of the cases, numerous in this text, in which the author, or scribe, having written a wrong word, forgot to cancel it. We must simply strike the first word.
- 78, 1. *Murtakāb*. One would expect *tarkīb*.
- 78, 4. For *ḡayyār* read *tayyār*.
- 79, 7. *Manzār* is conjectural; illegible in the original.
- 79, 15. After *ki* insert *man*.
- 80, 6. '*Arḡ-dāshī* is obviously colloquial, and should be '*arḡ-dāshī*.
- 80, 9. There is no interruption in the text.
- 80, 11. *Mā* is conjectural. In the text it is written something like *māl* or *mān*.
- 81, 2-3. *Dīl az man-rā ba-dast āwari*,—a good specimen of a Tehranism.
- 81, 6. *Ḥaqq az tā-rā (ba?) man bāshad*,—another one.
- 82, 10. Text: *bā-pā*.
- 83, 17. Insert *ki* after *yak da'fa*.
- 84, 2. Text: *mī-gardīdand*.
- 84, 6. Text: *bi-dihand*.
- 84, 10. For *guhāshī* better read *guhāshī*.
- 84, 13. For *rā* read *mī-* (*mī-andākhī*).
- 85, 7. For *namūd* read *farṣūd*.
- 86, 10. After *namūda* insert *wa āwarda*. Apparently this is again a case of correction with wrong words left un-cancelled.

- 141, 13. The last word, *mā'n* may also be read *sā'n*.
- 147, 8. *Mi-rafi*. In the text *mi-rafi*.
- 150, 5. Most probably should be: *ba'd az (du-ki) muddati gushasta bād*.
- 150, 12. Apparently *yakt* or *kast* should be inserted after *chāb*.
- 152, 14. *Tā'ifa-ān* should be read *tā'ifa-shān*, the suffix *shān* referring to Khān Atish.
- 152, 15. It is not clear why it should be *Sarkār-i Āqā*, and not simply *Sarkār-i Āqā*, without *-i*.
- 154, 2. Text: *tā'ifa ān*. Should it be *tā'ifa-shān*?
- 154, 11, 12 and 13. For *āl*, as in the text, read *ālī* in all cases.
- 154, 15. *Zanjīrī*. So it is clearly written in the text. It must be obviously *ranjī* or *ranjārī* unless *zanjīrī* is used as the name of a kind of illness.
- 159, 3. *Shaykh Rasāl AZ dāman-i pīr Banyānīn qirift*. Here *az* is obviously one of those mistakes which the author or scribe forgot to cancel.
- 161, 2. It is also possible to read *maqāl* for *maftān*.
- 161, 5. For *bi-gushārtū* read *bi-guzārtū*.
- 162, 4. After *birān* there is a blot.
- 162, 10. For *har kas* read *har ki*.
- 163, 6. For *gushāst* read *guzāst*.
- 168, 10. *Dakhīl-i khidmat bi-khūd*. Obviously *dakhīl-i khidmat*.
- 168-169. In the original text the whole page, 220, has been badly placed in binding, so that the ends of many lines are not clearly legible, or parts of words disappeared.
- 169, 13. *Rasādan*, i.e. *rasādan*.
- 169, 15. Cancel *haqq* which has been obviously left by mistake.
- 170, 9. Instead of the suggested *malakūt* read better *ba-sukūt*.
- 170, 10. After *fīr* one may expect *li*.
- 170, 16. *Banofsha*, or *ba-noqsha*? Or Arab. *bi-nafsi-li*?
- 171, 1. There is *idrāk* (؟) for *idrāk*!
- 172, 4. Apparently *wa* should be inserted after *jasā*.
- 173, 1. *Dar sar wa pā'n sar wa pā* *lātādān*. The sentence appears meaningless. It apparently should be: *dar sar wa pā'n-i I'AM sar-i pā* *lātādān*, i.e. "they remained

standing at the higher and lower ends of the assembly", i.e. served it.

- 173, 2. For *hasham* read *khatm*.
- 173, 15. After *yaqūn* one would expect *wa*.
- 175, 6. *Hishdah* (sic) for *hijdah*.
- 180, 11. At the beginning *ba* has not come out in print. Similarly, in the second half, read *rah* after *bi-yabz*.
- 193, 9. At the beginning of the line read *ā* for *wa*.
- 201, Second half of the second *bayt*: correct the *fatḥa* into *ḍamma* in the word *Duldul*.

## AFTERTHOUGHTS:

*Naqdina*. It is discussed on p. 87. Most probably it should be translated: tongue. *Gulaw* means not only "neck", but also "gullet". Therefore *az sir-i gulaw* means: (the tongue cut) below the gullet (i.e. at its base).

*Mulk-i Mawrdīn*. This name appears in the story of Pirālī. It sounds strange, but, unfortunately, I translated it with "district of Mawrdīn". *Mulk* really means "kingdom", which is hardly suitable to a place in the tribal area. It should be therefore read *milk*, i.e. estate, landed property, which belonged to Pirālī in Mawrdīn, the name of a locality.

## ERRATA.

By a mistake of printers the footnote (4) on p. 26 simply repeats the text of the footnote (3) on p. 24. It should be:

4. Such "inverted perspective", which makes the narrative about the creation and time before it, or the period of Adam and other early legendary heroes, full of details, is one of the basic features of religious mentality. Legend gives freedom to imagination which is stimulated by religious sentiment.

آورد بجهت سلامت مسلم هفتاد و سه چاه حبابان کشیدند  
 و در مسلم اذن داد و در برابر او کشیدند و همه نرسیدند  
 بنزد خودند که از سلام بنزد خودند و شیخ زوی از دست بر نماندند  
 گرفت و هم را بیاوردند و در ملاء عالم بر برگم آمدند  
 گمانان غور زانو چنانکه حضرت عیسی ع آید کوهن ع از راه  
 حق بولند بجز و بران ع آید بحدن بین عیسی  
 حضرت عیسی آری ع در کلاس آری  
 ساله زیان بود بود ع ساحل ایمان من آری  
 حضرت آری یانه ع در کلاس آری ع یانه  
 یانه روشن دامیده ع حاشی که آری یانه  
 حضرت کزن آری ع کوهن باغ کزن آری  
 حقدن آخست ایسا ع حیانه کزن آری





صبر علی اولاد	ببارده بانج خان آتش
ایمیر علی محمد اولاد	خانہ بانجدر علی اولاد
قد آغا علی قند آئینہ	حاکم کورب باغمار و دینار
بیل علی قند آئینہ	ایکلی قند آئینہ
عمر والی مخ	الف قدر دال اتند
یا رعنا ردا الم	بمراه اولدم دالم مخ

منہ کلام تو کلامی  
 سلطان رحمت خاوند کار  
 صاحب بلادن سن حلیہ بار  
 وزیر بیدار کلمه خلق خدایہ  
 دیوان اول باش کتور عقاب  
 سلطان رحمت خاوند کار  
 صاحب بلادن سن حلیہ بار  
 شہنشاہ قلم خلق مخلوق  
 سندن فانی بار اول عقاب  
 سلطان رحمت خاوند کار  
 صاحب بلادن سن حلیہ بار







اولاً من جامعاً من جامع  
 درین کلمه هر دو یک بیان  
 از این ایزد ان که در این  
 کلام هر دو از این کار  
 لفظ بداران تن قبل از  
 کلام هر دو در تحقیق می بود  
 آدم که منزه از هر دو است  
 انظار را احوال را با این  
 سلطان هر دو از اذن است  
 ما خلق بداران تن قبل از  
 سلطان هر دو از اذن است  
 لفظ بداران تن قبل از  
 سلطان هر دو از اذن است



## SUPPLEMENT.

### *Turkish poetry.*

On pp. 207-212 in the original ms., as a continuation to the *Tadhkira-yi A'la* (which should have followed p. 159 in our edition), there is given a collection of Adharbayjani Turkish poetry. As has been mentioned on p. 23, for technical reasons it was found impossible to edit the collection lithographically. These pages are therefore reproduced here photographically. They also serve as a specimen of the handwriting in the copy.

It was extremely kind of Prof. V. F. Minorsky to translate this poetry for us, and to provide an accompanying explanatory note published here. As is mentioned in it, the 18 tristichs by a certain Hasan (of whom no information is available) are followed by a poem of the AH poet, Qasbchi-oghli (probably the middle of the XVII-th c.)

The tristichs of Hasan are purely lyrical, and offer nothing of interest to the student of the AH beliefs. Only one tristich (no. 16) contains a reference of Khān Atash:

I said: his grief has turned (him?) to ashes.

See, in springtime Khan Atash

Looked upon the thorn, and it had become a rose.

With the consent of Prof. Minorsky we publish only the translation of the poem of Qasbchi-oghli which, although substantially lyrical, nevertheless contains some allusions to the AH ideas.



## VERSES IN TURKISH

By V. Minorsky.

The verses in Azarbayjan-Turkish found in the manuscript are of two classes: the 18 *bayât* of a certain Hasan, and the long poem by the sectarian poet Qushchi-oghli ("Falconer's son") of whose poems a number are extant.

1. The *bayât* is a typical Azarbayjan-Turkish form of song, named after the Turkman (Oghuz) tribe Bayât, now scattered throughout Persia and Transcaucasia. These short ditties are certainly intended to be sung, and are therefore particularly exposed to mutilation when committed to writing. As usual in Turkish popular poetry, their versification is syllabic and not, as in classical Persian poetry, quantitative. The poems are written in four lines but the first line (except in nos. 15 and 17) acts only as a kind of title, naming the author and indicating the principal rhyme (cf. no. 10: *Hasan... o jindân*). As in the popular poems in the Gûrânî dialect, these introductory lines are probably meant to be recited while the introduction is being played. The lines consist of 7 syllables and the rhymes run in the order of *a-a-b-a*. The lines are divided by the caesura into groups of mostly 3 *plus* 4 syllables (occasionally 4 *plus* 3). The text is in a very poor state: several words could not be deciphered. The dialect to which some words belong is unknown, and here and there the copyist has added some words and syllables which disturb the rhythm.

The contents of the poems are characterized by the usual mixture of sanctity, erotic lyrics and special terminology. The 18 pieces contain many obscure allusions to matters well understood only by a special circle. They seem to be disconnected, but at times the sequence suggests a variant, or further play on words, of the preceding piece.

2. The *Kalâm* of Qushchi-oghli is a more conventional poem consisting of 16 stanzas of three lines (the first two stanzas being of two lines) which have the same rhyme, *a-a-a, b-b-b*. Each stanza is followed by the same refrain which contains a pious invocation.



Neither does the poem make distinction between long and short syllables. It is purely syllabic and, in the better preserved verses, clearly consists of ten syllables divided in the middle by a caesura (i.e. forms a group of five syllables plus another group of five syllables): *sakha balādan || sām jāmlā yārī*.

The following translation can only be tentative in view of the obscurity of the vocabulary and the imagery.

### THE KALAM OF QUSHCHI-OGHLI

*O Sultan, o Lord of the mystery of the assembly,  
Preserve all the friends (yār) from misfortunes!*

1. To the smallest creature of God  
Be a guide, o Shah, in the trouble of the other world.
2. Do not mix to the class of ill-wishers those friends  
(Who) in pre-eternity surrendered their heads to that king  
of kings.
3. O ancient king of kings, creator of the creatures,  
There is no friend ignorant of you in the other world.  
In imitation of thy name (i.e. Haydar) we are (like) one  
hundred lions, opposed as Truth to Negation.
4. Be not unfamiliar with the mystery of Praise,  
O friend of the religion, be not ignorant of the faith and belief.  
Be an expert continuously (?) of the entanglements of the  
world.
5. You are hopeful of all the friends,  
(But) if, o Shah, you wish to (condemn someone) to fetters,  
Pardon him, as his (?) friend, for one who accomplishes the  
rites.
6. "The friends of Baghdad" will become manifest (before) the  
Creator.  
Who will certainly hold a review of "those with rent breasts".  
Recompense will come from his nine heavens.

7. You are his last hope in difficulties.  
Save him from Hell, if you are a helper (*tas*) to a friend,  
And remove it (Hell) altogether (*for*) you are (the possessor  
of) a thousand arts.
8. Be friends, be on duty!  
Constantly (keep) your hands and arms (in your?) pockets.  
Non-existence is a flower, catch it rapidly.
9. Let him who is a friend constantly keep *dhikr*.  
Without *dhikr* one is a blacked-faced beast.  
With *dhikr*, surrender your head, and take, o friend, my  
portion.
10. (A friend) keeps always his tongue from slander.  
Having surrendered your soul, do not transgress the pact of  
*igdar*.  
Know for certain that he who has surrendered (his soul) has  
received an elephant from the Shah.
11. For sure (*ta'ala*) recognize Khāvandigār for 'All'.  
Think that the whole world is worth only half-a-grain.  
Do not lose the Shah, take your ration from him.
12. Know that Shāh-Khosbīn is certainly 'All-the-Truth'.  
Khosbīn is the Sultan of the mystery of assemblies, wholly  
(*kuhlī*)!  
Believe that your breast is mad (with rapture) inside the  
Truth.
13. That King of the World did not appeal to the "thorns".  
When he came out of the Pearl the friends said *hā*.  
Do not stray from the path (foot-prints), you who keep rites.
14. The Sultan is the universal *pb*, surely he does not wither away.  
He is never far away from the garment (i.e. incarnation) in a  
man.  
Those who pretend (?) to deny do not recognize that All.



15. Certainly, after the Sultan the Truth will not die.  
Be conscious of him who does not know himself, discriminate  
between (what is) his and that of another.  
Wander day and night, coming from one "garment" to the  
other.
16. O friends, do not make one moment (lost?).  
Do not let your ears be ignorant of the voice of the Truth.  
Know that Qushchi is the smallest of all "friends".

The First and the Last: 607

The End.

## INDEX

### IMPORTANT NOTICE:

Great difficulties with printing have compelled the Iqbal Society to make use, in the printing of this Index, of the system of transcription different from that employed in the body of the book. However unattractive, it is still in use for the last hundred years or more, and is no innovation. In this system all "accented" letters are placed with their corresponding un-accented letters in ITALICS:

ā, ī, ū, ǎ, ḡ, ḡ, ḡ, ḡ—ā, ī, ū, ǎ, ḡ, ḡ, ḡ, ḡ, ḡ

It is emphasised that Persian and Arabic words are given in the book and in the Index in TRANSLITERATION, and NOT in a phonetical transcription. The latter has been allowed only in the words of Turkish, Kurdish, etc., origin for which no fixed orthography exists. The letters *z*, and some other signs, are only met with in such words.

This Index is primarily intended to serve the student of the TEXTS. Therefore not only names and terms, but also important phrases have been included, as characteristic to the sectarian jargon.

PLAIN figures show the pages of the ENGLISH portion of the book, and those preceded by T, either one or several, refer to the pages of the PERSIAN TEXTS. They may also help reference to the pages of the Synopsis in which corresponding pages of the original Text are shown in heavy type.

It looks odd that in this Index many consecutive entries begin with one and the same word, which is not replaced with a hyphen. This, however, had to be done for technical reasons. While it would be easy in setting by hand, the introduction of hyphens creates many difficulties in setting by linotype which had to be used.

Abbreviations, used in the body of the book, have been included in this Index instead of being mentioned separately.

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SOME MISPRINTS.

- P. 97, line 6 from bottom. Insert a bracket after "beard".  
 P. 103, line 2 fr. bottom. For *asyr* read *asyr*-*ā*.  
 P. 109, line 13 fr. bottom. For *Yāḥyā* read *yāḥyā*.  
 P. 158, line 2 fr. bottom. Add *l* in the word "medieval".





