

The sources for early Bábí doctrine and history

A survey

by

Denis MacEoin



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To the memory of Alex Shields

Preface

About fifteen years ago, the first and second drafts of the present survey were written during the early stages of my doctoral research at Cambridge. A great deal has changed since then: my personal beliefs, my approach to and knowledge of the subject, the wider context of Bábí and Shí'í scholarship, my own role within that context, even my style as a writer. For these and other reasons, I was at first reluctant to consider its publication without at least extensive revision—a task that numerous other commitments made it hard to contemplate.

Against this, however, I was forced to set the numerous requests I had received for copies of the original text—an indication that, whatever its failings, it must still have some merit. There is, after all, nothing comparable to it in the existing literature on the subject; it clearly fills a gap that has long needed plugging. And if the academic study of Babism is ever to develop seriously along non-partisan lines, a publication of this kind will obviously prove an indispensable preliminary to further work, if only because it may set scholars looking in the right direction for primary material on which to base their research.

When, therefore, Kalimát Press—a Los Angeles-based publishing house under Bahá'í management—approached me with a request for permission to publish the survey, I agreed to let them do so, even though I lacked the time, energy, and motivation to undertake a radical revision of the text. Nevertheless, I did correct numerous errors, added a great deal of information based on fresh research, and rewrote several passages in order to reflect more accurately my current thinking.

Publication was scheduled for 1987, then 1988, the book was listed as forthcoming, and I believe an ISBN was even issued, when I heard from the publishers that the Bahá'í authorities in the United States had banned its publication. This was sad enough, but it is even more to be regretted that Kalimát Press—a house which in its time issued several valuable works of original scholarship under conditions of severe restriction—was some months later forced to close because of pressure brought to bear by those same authorities and the blacklisting of several of its titles.

I am grateful to E.J. Brill for having made it possible, after such a long delay, for this work to see the light of day at last. But I put on record here the circumstances of its initial non-publication for reasons that will, I believe, be apparent to any academic reading these pages.

Obviously, a work like this will remain sterile if not used. Real scholarship begins when sources are utilized, not when they are being identified. The task of identification calls for its own skills, of course; it is indispensable if

further work is to be carried out, and it can be enjoyable for those engaged in it. But it calls for little or no analysis.

Now, it seems to me that the study of Babism, particularly that of Bábí history, has entered a critical phase, and one in which questions of analysis must play a vital role. After a lengthy period of neglect, Babism has reemerged as a subject interesting in its own right and as an important aspect of the study of modern Islam and nineteenth-century Iranian history. Its significance can, of course, be exaggerated, especially by those working in the field: Babism was, after all, little more than a brief series of incidents overshadowed by events of much greater moment in the wider world. But it is equally true that the Bábí movement can be—and has been—much underestimated by historians. If we consider its original political potential, its radical departure from Islamic norms, and the intrinsic interest of the religious doctrines preached by its leaders, it should be clear that it merits much deeper study than has so far been accorded it.

But if Bábí studies are to develop at all meaningfully, it is, I firmly believe, essential that they be freed as soon as possible from the controversies that have dogged the subject since the days of E. G. Browne. The emergence of Baha'ism as a separate movement derived from Babism and possessed of definite doctrinal attitudes towards it, has meant that the latter cannot now be studied as a purely historical phenomenon without contemporary religious significance for many people. One result of this has been a sometimes sharp division between Bahá'í and non-Bahá'í writers, a division much complicated by the work of Muslim and Christian controversialists or by attempts to suppress publications, such as that described above.

I have elsewhere made clear my own feelings about this controversy and its baneful influence on scholarship, and have no wish to reiterate those views here.¹ Suffice it to say that I think much is to be gained if future scholars in this area come to rely increasingly on an intelligent and scientific use of primary source materials. If Bahá'í writers have shown excessive and often unthinking devotion to 'official' histories such as *Nabíl's Narrative* or *God Passes By*, non-Bahá'ís have frequently depended heavily on outdated secondary works, official Iranian state chronicles, or Muslim polemic.

I have noted elsewhere my belief that 'although studies of the overall Bábí to Bahá'í development are both possible and desirable, the main thrust

1 D. MacEoin, 'Bahá'í Fundamentalism and the Academic Study of the Bábí Movement', *Religion* 16 (1986): 57–84; 'Afnán, Hatcher and an Old Bone', *ibid.*, 16 (1986): 193–95; 'The Crisis in Bábí and Bahá'í Studies: Part of a Wider Crisis in Academic Freedom?', *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 17: (1990): 55–61.

of future research is likely to be in two directions, one towards Babism and its Shí'í roots, the other towards Baha'ism and its move away from Islam, particularly in the West'.² If this prediction should be borne out even in part, such a development may of itself greatly defuse the controversy surrounding Babism and its relationship with the later Bahá'í movement. To the extent that Bahá'ís trace their own origins to the Bábí sect, such a controversy is, I suppose, inevitable. But in a very real sense, it is also something of a red herring that serves only to distract from the real task of historical analysis. The significance of Babism for modern Bahá'ís is the concern of theologians, not historians. The texts, like any texts, are capable of almost infinite interpretation. My aim in the present work has been to facilitate access to the raw materials: it will be up to future researchers to decide to what use they wish to put them.

I must offer my thanks to several individuals and institutions for their assistance at different stages of this research. My gratitude is due to the Northern Ireland Department of Education for having financed my trips to Haifa and Tehran in 1976 and 1977 respectively; to the managers of the E. G. Browne Memorial Fund for making monies available for the purchase of materials in connection with my research; to the trustees of the Spalding Trusts for their kindness in providing a further sum for the purchase of books and manuscripts; to the Universal House of Justice for giving me permission to visit their archives in Israel and to consult materials held there; to the Bahá'í Research Department in Haifa for having given up valuable space and time in order to facilitate my work there; to the former Bahá'í Archives Committee of Iran for allowing me to work in their library and to make use of precious manuscript materials in their possession; to the late Hasan Balyuzi for constant help and advice in spite of illness and the pressure of work; to the Ashraf-Saysání family of Tehran, who so kindly provided me with accommodation during my stay there in 1977; to Mr 'Abd Alláh Mişbáh, Dr Abbas Amanat, and Mr Abu'l-Qásim Afnán for their advice, information, and encouragement; to Fakhr Táj Dawlatábádí and other Azalí Bábís in Tehran who supplied me with books and information; to Mr Stephen Lambden for assistance in obtaining materials and his many valuable comments on texts; and to Anthony Lee of Kalimát Press, who encouraged me to revise the text and who shared my disappointment at his inability to publish it as he had wished. The errors and misinterpretations are, needless to say, entirely my own.

2 Idem, 'Baha'ism', in J. R. Hinnels (ed.), *A Handbook of Living Religions* (New York, 1984), p. 485.

I am immensely grateful to the Centre for Middle East and Islamic Studies in the University of Durham for having so graciously granted me the status of Honorary Fellow, thereby providing me with access to library and other facilities. Likewise to Michael Thompson and Carlton Reid for their help with computer layout and associated problems.

A special word of thanks must, as always, go to my wife Beth; without her assistance, patience, and constant attention during the weeks when this survey was being written, there is no doubt that it would never have been finished.

Denis MacEoin
Newcastle Upon Tyne
July 1991

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Introduction

If future studies of Bábí doctrine and history are to be based on firm academic foundations, it is essential that detailed attention be paid now to the preliminary tasks of establishing sound texts of the major works, and cataloguing, identifying, and assessing the mass of scattered materials at present known to exist in numerous locations. It is unfortunate that the invaluable pioneering work of two men, Edward Browne in Cambridge and Victor Rosen in St. Petersburg was not continued after their deaths by other scholars. Their attempts to assemble and classify the Bábí materials available to them had already resulted in the publication of a number of small but valuable catalogues,³ but, apart from a few short bibliographies,⁴ nothing substantial has been published on this topic since 1932.

The main reason for such lack of attention to a subject of some importance has been that, until recently, the principal collections of Bábí manuscripts have been inaccessible to Western scholars. They have been kept either in some of the major national libraries in Iran or in the archives or private collections of the Azalís and Bahá'ís, the present-day heirs of the first Bábís. In the main libraries, Bábí texts are often kept under lock and key—the more so since the revolution of 1979. On the other hand, access to the Azalí Bábís has never been easy, and the Bahá'ís have tended to discourage serious work on Bábí materials in favour of their own scriptural and historical works. This situation is gradually changing, however, and we may hope for renewed interest in the cataloguing and perhaps even the publication of Bábí texts.

As the most successful group to emerge out of Babism, the Bahá'ís have in general allowed their own interests to override all others, and have

- 3 E. G. Browne, 'A Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1892) 24:433–99 and 637–710; idem, 'Some Remarks on the Bábí Texts edited by Baron Victor Rosen in vols I and VI of the 'Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales de Saint-Petersbourg', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1892) 24:259–332; idem, 'Further Notes on Bábí, Azalí and Bahá'í Literature, Oriental and Occidental, printed, lithographed and manuscript' in *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 173–243; idem and R. A. Nicholson, 'Shaykhí and Bábí Mss' in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Mss belonging to the late E. G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1932), Section F, pp. 53–87; Victor Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, Vol. 1 *Manuscrits Arabes*, St. Petersburg, 1877, pp. 179–212; Vol. 3 *Manuscrits Persans*, St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 1–51; Vol. 6 *Manuscrits Arabes*, St. Petersburg, 1891, pp. 141–255.
- 4 A. L. M. Nicolas, *Séyyéd Ali Mohammed dit le Báb*, (Paris, 1905), pp. 22–53; M. Malik-Khusraví, 'Manábi'-i táríkh-i amr-i Bahá'í, *Áhang-i badí'* 326 (BE 131/1974–75):11–34; H. Nuqabá'í, *Manábi'-i táríkh-i amr-i Bahá'í*, (Tehran, BE 133/1976–77); 'A. F. (Ali Frahvashí?), *Á'in-i Báb*, (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 10–12; A.[Ahmad] Munzaví, *Fihrist-i nuskhahá-yi khaṭṭi-yi Fārsí*, 6 vols, (Tehran, Sh. 1348–53/1969–74), Vol. 2, Part 2, Section 16 ('Bábí, Azalí, and Bahá'í manuscripts), pp. 1732–62.

presented a picture of Babism more in keeping with their own retrospective view of it than with strict academic honesty. Nevertheless, they have continued to show a genuine interest in Bábí history (though not doctrine) and have done excellent work in collecting materials from a wide variety of sources. Unfortunately, the lack of any form of catalogue for the documents held in their archives in Haifa, as well as the confusion (and now the complete closure) of their other main archives in Tehran prevent full use being made of the bulk of this material at present.

Although the Azalí Bábís in Iran are more immediately concerned than are the Bahá'ís with the preservation and publication of early Bábí texts, and undoubtedly possess large numbers of manuscripts (as seems apparent from references in their printed books), these latter are, I am told, scattered among private individuals and families in an effort to prevent them falling into the wrong hands. As a result, it is at present next to impossible for any use to be made of this valuable material. No one individual appears to be in possession of adequate information as to the location of the manuscripts, and there would seem to be no plans either for the formation of a central archives or the publication of a handlist of manuscripts in Azalí possession. Current conditions in Iran make this even less likely than it was fourteen years ago.

Fortunately, Azalí-produced manuscripts do exist in large numbers in Paris, London, and Cambridge, but it is possible that the original texts from which these were later transcribed are still in existence in Tehran or elsewhere.

It is also unfortunate that so little has been done to edit and publish important Bábí materials in the original. The Azalís in Tehran have printed several volumes of works of the Báb,⁵ but these are poorly edited and extremely difficult to obtain. The Iranian Bahá'ís have published a mere three volumes exclusively devoted to writings of the Báb. These are: a short collection of prayers entitled *Majmú'a-yi munáját-i Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡṭa-yi Úlá* (Tehran, BE 126/1969–70); a tendentiously-arranged compilation of passages from the Persian *Bayán* edited by the Bahá'í poet Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karím Iṣfahání Na'ím, entitled *Natíjat al-Bayán* (Tehran, BE 105/1947–48); and an anthology with the title *Muntakhabát-i áyát az áthár-i Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡṭa-yi Úlá* (Tehran, BE 134/1977), which is simply an edition of the original texts used

5 *Bayán-i Fársí; al-Bayán al-Arabí with Haykal al-dín and Tafsír Haykal al-dín; Qismatí az alwáh-i khaṭṭ-i Nuḡṭa-yi Úlá wa Áqá Sayyid Ḥusayn-i Kátib; Dalá'il-i sab'a; Majmú'a'í az áthár-i Nuḡṭa-yi Úlá wa Šubḥ-i Azal; Panj sha'n; Panj sha'n: qismat-i Fársí; Šahfa-yi 'adliyya; Mukhtašarí az dastúrát-i Bayán*—all Tehran?, n.d.

as the basis for a rather selective English-language compilation, *Selections from the Writings of the Báb* (Haifa, 1976).⁶

On the whole, the texts published by the Azalís are of much greater value than the Bahá'í productions, in that they represent complete works rather than selections made to present the Báb's teachings from a partisan viewpoint. To the extent that the Bahá'í compilations are designed to show the identity of the Bábí and Bahá'í religions, or the prophetic function of the Báb in respect to Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh, they tend to be less representative of the Báb's wider thought, whatever their value in demonstrating relationships which may be of interest in a different context.

The Iraqi scholar 'Abd ar-Razzáq al-Ḥasaní, published in 1957 the full text of the Arabic *Bayán* in his book *al-Bábíyún wa'l-Bahá'íyún fí ḥáḍirihim wa máḍihim*, but this is the only instance known to me where a Muslim writer has published a work of the Báb's as a serious contribution to scholarship, and not merely as an excuse for polemical comment. Despite the fact that suitable materials are readily available, no Western scholar since E. G. Browne (d. 1926) has shown any interest in editing and publishing Bábí works in the original. Browne planned at one time to publish an edited text of the Persian *Bayán*, and did considerable work on the collation of six manuscripts, but other interests intervened, and the task was never brought to completion. The manuscript of his collation, far from completed, still exists in the Cambridge University Library (classmark Or. 1331-7 [11]), awaiting the attention of some future scholar.⁷

- 6 The evident reluctance of the Bahá'ís to publish complete texts of works by the Báb may be due to instructions given by 'Abbás Effendi 'Abd al-Bahá': 'As regards the translation and publication of the *Bayán*, there are laws in the *Bayán* which have been abrogated by the *Kitáb-i aqdas* (sic), and the Bahá'ís are bound by the laws of the *Kitáb-i aqdas*. Were the *Bayán* to be published and translated, the peoples of other countries—and, indeed, even the Iranians—would think that the basis of the religion of the Bahá'ís was those severe laws which are found in the *Bayán* Therefore, the *Bayán* must be published in all parts and corners of the world after the publication of the *Kitáb-i aqdas*, so that readers may know that those severe laws have been abrogated and cancelled. Before the publication of the *Kitáb-i aqdas* and its translation, and before its laws become well known, the publication of the *Bayán* is not permissible' (in 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ishráq Khávári [ed.], *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 2, [Tehran, 129B/1972-73], pp. 16-17). I understand that the Bahá'í authorities do intend to publish a translation of the *Kitáb al-aqdas* [1992] soon, but I remain sceptical as to whether this will lead to the publication of complete texts of the Báb's works.
- 7 The six manuscripts used by Browne were: 1. His own MS, BBC.3 (now F.13), which served as the basis of the collation; 2. his own MS, BBP. 8 (now F.12); 3. British Museum MS, Or. 2819; 4. St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences MS; 5. St. Petersburg Institut des Langues Orientales MS; 6. Bibliothèque Nationale MS, Suppl. Pers. 1070. An 'Abstract and Index of the Persian *Bayán*' prepared by Browne was published recently by Momen (Moojan Momen [ed.] *Selections from the Writings of E. G. Browne on the Bábí and Bahá'í Religions*, [Oxford, 1987], pp. 316-406).

Much the same holds true for translations of Bábí texts. The first rendering of any work by the Báb into a European language was the Comte de Gobineau's inaccurate and incomplete version of the Arabic *Bayán*, published as an appendix to his *Religions et philosophies dans l'Asie centrale* which appeared in Paris in 1865. The translation was given the misleading title of *Ketab-è-Hukkam* or *Livre des préceptes*, which—coupled with the errors it contained and the fact that Gobineau had tacked a separate letter on to its beginning—later gave rise to much unnecessary speculation as to its identity.

In 1865 also, a Russian work entitled *Bab i Babidy* by Mirza Kazem Beg contained a translation of a short but unidentified Arabic work ascribed to the Báb, the original of which had been given to the author by M. Melnikov, secretary to the Russian Mission in Tehran. A French translation of Kazem Beg's book appeared in the following year as a series of articles in the *Journal Asiatique*. We shall later discuss E. G. Browne's attempt to identify this short piece.

Many years later, Browne himself included portions from the Persian *Bayán* and other works of the Báb in his studies and notes on the subject of Babism, but these were scattered and brief, and they gave European readers little direct acquaintance with the Báb's writings. Browne's index of the Persian *Bayán*, published in 1910 as part of his edition of the *Kitáb-i nuqţat al-káf*, was a helpful summary of the book's contents, but in the absence of a translation or even an edition in the original, the index was about as useful to the average reader as a map of Moscow in the centre of Detroit.

Fortunately, a translation was soon provided by another French diplomat, A. L. M. Nicolas, who produced a complete French version of the Persian *Bayán* in four volumes between 1911 and 1914. Nicolas had already (1902) published *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, a translation of the Persian *Dalá'il-i sab'a*—and in 1905 a translation of the Arabic *Bayán*. Not without their faults, these translations were nevertheless accurate and readable versions of complete works from the Báb's later period, and they remain of value today, not least for the frequent subtlety of Nicolas' interpretation of difficult passages.

This serious attempt by Nicolas did not, however, find any imitators, and we still await further translations of complete Bábí texts. In 1976, the Bahá'í authorities in Haifa published a compilation entitled *Selections from the Writings of the Báb*, 'compiled by the Research Department of the Universal House of Justice and translated by Habib Taherzadeh with the assistance of a Committee'. This is an anthology of over two hundred pages consisting of passages taken from the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, the Persian *Bayán*,

the *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, the *Kitáb al-asmá'* and other works, and it is of obvious value as an introduction to the Báb's works as a whole.

However, the tendentiousness of the selection is apparent from the preface, where it is described as 'a precious addition to the volume of Bahá'í (sic) literature in the English language'. More serious flaws are the lack of an introduction, the virtual absence of notes, and the failure to indicate identity, provenance, condition, and location of manuscripts used or the reasons for their choice. Likewise, there is no indication as to whether a given passage was translated on the basis of one or more manuscripts; and, in several cases, the original is only vaguely identified as a 'prayer' or 'tablet'.⁸

An important group of sources for Bábí doctrine, but one to be treated with caution for obvious reasons, consists of the numerous refutations of Babism by Muslim writers. Several of these have been printed, and will be referred to in greater detail in the course of this survey.

The situation with regard to contemporary and near-contemporary historical works resembles that of doctrinal texts. With the exception of a reprint of Browne's edition of the *Kitáb-i nuqṭat al-káf*, and editions of the *Hasht bihišt* and the *Risála-yi 'amma* (neither very early), no historical works have been edited or published by the Azalí Bábís. The only secondary historical work known to me to have been written by an Azalí is a short biography of the Bábí heroine Qurrat al-'Ayn.⁹ The Azalís have, however, printed Persian translations of Gobineau's *Religions et philosophies dans l'Asie centrale* and Nicolas' *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed dit le Bâb* as well as a reprint of Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal's short historical piece, *Mujmal-i badí' dar waqáyi-i zuhúr-i maní'*, first published by E. G. Browne as an appendix to his translation of the *Tárikh-i jadíd*.

Bahá'í publishers have, for the most part, concentrated on secondary materials,¹⁰ of which a wealth have been produced. Even where primary sources are concerned, there has been a tendency, especially in Iran, simply to 'correct' what are regarded as errors, rather than to add editorial comment as to why the reader should exercise caution about particular statements or narratives. The result, of course, is that the scholar is often unable wholly to rely on published texts of this kind. The publication in 1932 of Shoghi

8 Such defects are common in Bahá'í-produced translations. A compilation of passages by Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh, entitled *Gleanings from the Writings of Bahá'u'lláh*, translated by Shoghi Effendi (London, 1949), contains 165 selections from a wide range of books and letters, not one of which is identified, nor is there an introduction, notes, or a satisfactory index.

9 Anon, *Qurrat al-'Ayn: bi-yád-i şadumín sál-i shahádat*, (Tehran?, 1949).

10 The more important secondary works on Bábí history produced by Bahá'ís are examined briefly in Part Two, Chapter Three.

Effendi's English translation of the *Tárikh-i Nabil*¹¹ was a useful addition to the literature; but it is to be regretted that, as yet, no effort has been made to publish a full edition of the original text, in order to allow the history to be used properly within an academic context.

Reasonably full historical accounts of the Bábís may, of course, be found in the two Iranian court histories, *Násikh at-tawárikh* and *Rawḍat aṣ-ṣafá-yi Náṣiri*, both of which are available in modern editions. Many other published contemporary or near-contemporary historical narratives contain brief references to the movement, the more important of these being the *Tárikh-i naw* of Prince Jahángír Mírzá¹² and the *Ḥaqá'iq al-akhbár-i Náṣiri* of Muḥammad Ja'far Khurmújí.¹³ In Sh. 1333/1953–54, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navá'í published the portion of I'tiḍád as-Saḷṭana's *Mutanabbiyún* which relates to the Bábís, adding extensive notes and three articles of his own, the whole appearing under the title *Fitna-yi Báb*. As further historical works and state documents from the Qájár period are gradually published, the amount of materials relating to Babism is sure to increase, in bulk if not in quality.

The only Western scholar to pay serious attention to the task of publishing original texts and translations of Bábí histories was, once again, E. G. Browne. Apart from a number of original articles on Bábí history and literature, during his lifetime Browne published the following works on the subject:

- The original text and a translation of the *Maqála-yi shakhṣi sayyáḥ* of 'Abbas Effendi.¹⁴
- A translation, with notes and appendices, of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* of Mírzá Ḥusayn Hamadání.¹⁵

11 *The Dawn-Breakers*, trans. and ed. Shoghi Effendi, (Wilmette, Ill., 1932).

12 Ed. 'Abbas Iqbál, (Tehran, Sh. 1327/1948–49); see pp. 297ff, 321–22, 331ff.

13 Ed. Ḥusayn Khadiv-jám, (Tehran, Sh. 1344/1965–66); see pp. 32, 35, 54, 56–58, 60–64, 70–74, 75–77, 85–88, 111–17.

14 *A Traveller's Narrative written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb*, 2 vols (vol. 1, Persian text; vol. 2, English translation and notes), (Cambridge, 1891). Browne's original MS of this work is item F.56 in the Browne Collection in the Cambridge University Library.

15 *The Tárikh-i-Jadíd or New History of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb*, (Cambridge, 1893). Browne's original MS is item F.55 in the Browne collection in the Cambridge University Library. For a full description of the MS, see E. G. Browne, 'Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24 (1892): 440–444. (A copy of this MS in Browne's hand, containing variant readings based on the British Library MS Or. 2942 may also be found in the Browne Collection under the classmark Sup. 7.

- The text and translation of Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal's historical narrative, *Mujmal-i badí' dar waqáyi'-i zuhúr-i maní'* published as an appendix to the preceding.¹⁶
- 'Personal Reminiscences of the Bábí Insurrection at Zanján in 1850, written in Persian by Áqá 'Abdu'l-Aḥad-i-Zanjání, and translated into English.'¹⁷
- The Persian text of what Browne entitled the *Kitáb-i nuḩṩat al-káf*, attributed by him to Ḥájí Mírzá Jání Káshání; this is said to be the earliest general history of the Báb and his followers.¹⁸
- 'An Epitome of Bábí and Bahá'í history to AD 1898, translated from the original Arabic of Mírzá Muḩammad Jawád of Qazwín.'¹⁹

The work of Browne, Rosen, and Nicolas was left unfinished. Many of the obscurities and confusions that remained at their deaths are still, in some measure, present today. But if the doctrines and history of Babism are to be studied seriously and in depth, some attempt must be made to clarify, as far as is possible, the state of present knowledge with regard to the sources on which scholars must rely for their information. It is the purpose of the present study to fill this gap, albeit in a partial and often tentative form. If the result is something that may serve as a starting-point for more exhaustive studies, it will have served some purpose.

16 The original MS is item 13 in F.66* in the Browne Collection in the Cambridge University Library.

17 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1897): 761–827. The original MS is item F.25 in the Browne Collection in Cambridge.

18 *Kitáb-i-Nuḩṩatu'l-Káf*, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XV, (Leyden and London, 1910).

19 In *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion*, (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 1–112.

Part 1
Writings of the Báb and the Bábí hierarchy.
Works of anti-Bábí polemic

Part 1

Introduction

Apart from passing references in a number of contemporary historical works, and more detailed information in early polemical writing, the bulk of our knowledge of Bábí doctrine must necessarily come from Bábí sources, above all from the writings of the Báb himself.

Nevertheless, a word of warning must be uttered about the dangers of relying exclusively on these for information about early Bábí ideology in general. In the *Maqála-yi shakhṣi sayyáh*, ‘Abbás Effendi makes the remark that the early Bábís ‘had not yet acquired such knowledge as was right and needful of the fundamental principles and hidden doctrines of the Báb’s teachings, and did not recognize their duties’;²⁰ and again: ‘... since the Báb was but beginning to lay the foundations when he was slain, therefore was this community ignorant concerning its proper conduct, action, behaviour, and duty, their sole guiding principle being love for the Báb.’²¹ Nicolas is even more direct: ‘... les babis du début—je parle du vulgaire—ne connaissaient aucun des détails de la nouvelle doctrine.’²²

What may have been the motives, beliefs, and daily religious practices of the majority of Bábís—and, indeed, much of the leadership—at Shaykh Ṭabarsí, Nayríz, Zanján, and other centres is largely a matter for conjecture. Even the details of what doctrines may have been preached at the important ‘conference’ at Badasht in 1848 will probably always remain unclear. We have simply no direct evidence for the beliefs of the Bábís as a whole, and are forced instead to study those of the Báb and his chief disciples. How far these latter doctrines were communicated to the body of the faithful, particularly to less educated followers, and how far there may have been significant divergences of opinion between the Bábís in different regions under the leadership of different individuals are both matters difficult to determine.

That divisions existed is certain, even if later sources play them down. The author of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* records that Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú’í and his companions did not put into practice any of the ideas formulated at Badasht, and that Bushrú’í even said ‘I shall punish the people of Badasht’.²³ The gathering at Badasht itself was characterized by the divergence of views among the Bábís assembled there. Even Zarandí (who is normally keen to

20 *A Traveller’s Narrative*, vol. 1, p. 170.

21 *ibid.*, p. 65.

22 *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, p. 209.

23 *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, p. 15.

impose a sense of unity on all Bábí thought and action) speaks of a group of Bábís who 'sought to abuse the liberty which the repudiation of the laws and sanctions of an outgrown Faith [Islam] had conferred upon them.'²⁴

Also at Badasht, opposition to the controversial female leader, Qurrat al-'Ayn, appears to have been particularly fierce²⁵—confirmation of the contentious role she played in the early development of the movement. Her prolonged dispute with Mullá Aḥmad Mu'allim-i Ḥisárí in Karbalá' around 1846 has, as we shall see, been well documented; and there is evidence of serious complaints laid against her by an assembly of over seventy Bábís in Kázimayn. The dispute between her cousin Mullá Jawád 'Khuwár' Vilyání and the Báb (c. 1845) sheds yet more light on the nature and extent of dissension within the Bábí community from the earliest period. The *Nuḡṭat al-káf* similarly provides us with a vivid picture of conflicting claims and novel doctrinal theories in the confused period following the Báb's execution in 1850.²⁶

24 *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 298.

25 *ibid.*, pp. 295–97.

26 *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, pp. 252–61; cf. Mírzá Yahyá Şubḥ-i Azal, *Kitáb al-mustayqiz* (Tehran?, n.d.), p. 28.

I

The fate of the works of the Báb

Caution must be exercised in discussing what befell the original writings of the Báb—whether in his own hand or that of one of his secretaries—as well as the various works known to have been written by early Bábí leaders such as Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí Bárfurúshí or Qurrat al-‘Ayn. The allegations and counter-allegations of Azalís and Bahá’ís on this subject make it hard to arrive at the truth, but with a little caution we can form an overall idea of what seems to have taken place. Before embarking on a discussion of the problems surrounding their ultimate fate, however, it may be useful to start with a discussion of the precise nature of the documents that may be termed ‘original’ within this context.

Autograph compositions

It is well known that the Báb himself frequently wrote down his compositions in his own hand. Zarandí says that this occurred in the case of each of the following texts: the *Qayyúm al-asmá’*;²⁷ the *Tafsír of the Súrat al-kawthar*;²⁸ the *Tafsír of the Súra wa’l-‘aşr*;²⁹ and the *Risála fi ‘l-nubuwwa al-kháṣṣa*.³⁰ The author of the *Nuḡtat al-káf* refers to autograph replies to three questions posed to the Báb by Sayyid Yaḥyá Dárábí Vaḥíd;³¹ elsewhere, he speaks simply of the Báb writing, in a context that usually suggests that composition is taking place without the mediation of an amanuensis.

Apart from references to the topic in most histories,³² the Báb himself frequently cites his ability to write with extreme rapidity as a proof of his divine mission.³³ Extant examples of the Báb’s handwriting⁸ show that he did

27 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 61.

28 *ibid.*, p. 175.

29 *ibid.*, p. 201.

30 *ibid.*, p. 202.

31 *Nuḡtat al-káf*, p. 121. This may be a reference to the *tafsír* of the *Súrat al-kawthar*.

32 See, for example, Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 61, 202; Hamadání, *New History*, p. 209; Káshání, *Nuḡtat al-káf*, pp. 108, 121.

33 See Shírází, *Bayán-i Fársí*, 2:1 (p. 13); *ibid.*, p. 17 (where he states that in five hours he can write down one thousand verses). In his *tafsír* on the *Súrat al-kawthar*, he gives the figure as one thousand verses in six hours (see f.5a in MS F.10, Browne Collection, CUL). This is also the figure given in a letter written in Iṣfahán for the governor, Manúchihr Khán (see MS F.21, p. 91, Browne Collection, CUL). In his *Risála-yi dhahabiyya II*, the Báb challenges Jawád Vilyání by maintaining that he can write a complete *ṣahífa* in one hour (INBMC 53, p. 164). Muḥammad ‘Alí Fayḏí relates the circumstances of the conversion of Badí’ Áfarín, a famous Tabrizí calligrapher, who regarded the Báb’s ability to write rapidly, yet in an elegant hand, as a sign of divine afflatus (see *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡta-yi Úlá*, p. 384).

indeed possess a fine hand, although elegance is achieved at the expense of³⁴ legibility. The almost total absence of pointing, though it lends much to the grace of the finished product, makes the task of establishing unambiguous readings of these texts extremely difficult. And this difficulty is, in turn, accentuated by the perplexing, idiosyncratic, and often ungrammatical style of the author's Arabic and Persian.³⁵

The Báb's secretaries

Although the Báb continued to write in his own hand until the last days of his life,³⁶ much of his writing during the period of his imprisonments in Mákú and Chihríq seems to have been dictated to a secretary. In most cases, this was Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí,³⁷ one of the eighteen *Ḥurúf al-Ḥayy* (Letters of the Living), the original disciples of the Báb. Yazdí had also been, like other members of the Letters group, a pupil of the Shaykhí leader Sayyid Kázim Rashtí. The author of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* states that Yazdí ('Áqá Sayyid

34 Reproductions may be found in: *Qismatí az alwáḥ-i khaṭṭ*, passim; Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, between pages xxii and xxiii; Balyuzi, *The Báb*, frontispiece; Hamadání, *New History*, facing p. 424; Faydí, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuqṭa-yi Úlá*, frontispieces.

35 Much ink has flowed on the subject of the Báb's grammar. That his style is difficult and frequently incomprehensible is beyond question, but until the task of textual analysis and correction has been carried out adequately, it is probably premature to venture more than superficial comment on the matter. Gobineau's magisterial remarks that '... le style d'Aly-Mohammed est terse et sans éclat, d'une raideur fatigante, d'une richesse douteuse, d'une correction suspecte' and that 'les obscurités qu'on y relève en foule ne viennent pas toutes de sa volonté, mais plusieurs ont pour raison d'être une inhabilité manifeste' (*Religions et philosophies*, p. 136) have generally been accepted without demur and even been quoted by Iranian writers as authoritative statements. In fact, the Frenchman's own competence in these languages was never such as to render him a fit judge. Nicolas (*Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, pp. 56–57) attributes the Báb's errors to the mistakes of copyists, while Gulpáygání (*Majmú'a-yi rasá'il-i Abi'l-Faḍá'il* [Cairo, 1920], pp. 146–47) lays them at the door of interpolations by Şubḥ-i Azal or non-Bábís. Neither of these explanations comes remotely near the mark. Even the best-preserved and most consistent texts contain as many oddities of grammar and syntax as the rest, and it is clear that the Báb himself was responsible for the vast majority of them.

36 Evidence for this is to be found in the Tehran lithograph edition of the Arabic *Bayán*, which also contains the text of a *ḥaykal* or talisman entitled *Ḥaykal al-dín*, written in the very last period of the Báb's life. The editor of this text identifies it with a *ḥaykal* referred to by Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí, the Báb's amanuensis, in a letter to Mullá 'Abd al-Karim Qazvini. According to Yazdí, the *ḥaykal* was written in two copies, one in the Báb's hand, the other in his own. (Yazdí's letter would seem to be the one reproduced at the very end of the collection, *Qismatí az alwáḥ*.) Similarly, a number of the sections of the *Kitáb-i panj sha'n* were written in the Báb's hand only a few months before his execution (see the index to the Tehran edition).

37 See appendix 1.

Muḥammad Ḥusayn ‘Azíz’) ‘was continually in the presence of the Báb, and whenever the verses were sent down from the heaven of glory and bounty, he would write them down.’³⁸ The entire text of the Persian *Bayán* was dictated to Yazdí, and his original manuscript is now kept in the Bahá’í International Archives in Israel.³⁹

The task of transcribing the sacred texts seems to have been carried out largely under the supervision of the Báb himself. Two individuals in particular were responsible for preparing copies of the Báb’s writings: a former Shaykhí *mujtahid*, Mullá ‘Abd al-Karím Qazvíní,⁴⁰ and Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí.⁴¹ Both men had, like Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí, been pupils of Rashtí. According to Zarandí, at one point in the course of the Báb’s fifteen-month stay in Shíráz (July 1845–September 1846), following his pilgrimage to Mecca, opposition to him became extremely fierce. As a result, he sent his followers from Shíráz to Iṣfahán, retaining only ‘Abd al-Karím Qazvíní for the purpose of transcribing his writings.⁴² The same source cites Sayyid Yaḥyá Dárábí to the effect that, after the Báb had written the *Tafsír* of the *Súrat al-kawthar*, he instructed him to transcribe it in collaboration with Qazvíní.⁴³

Zarandí relates further that, during the later period of the Báb’s stay in Iṣfahán (September 1846—March 1847), Qazvíní was instructed by him to transcribe his writings along with Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí and Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí; only these three individuals were permitted access to the prophet at this period.⁴⁴

38 *Nuḡtat al-káf*, p. 245.

39 See Balyuzi, *The Báb*, p. 132 fn. A photocopy of this MS is in the possession of the present writer.

40 See appendix 2.

41 Zunúzí was the author of a work entitled *Riyáḍ al-janna*. He met the Báb in Karbalá’ in the company of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí. Later, after becoming a Bábí, he associated with the leader of the sect after his return from the pilgrimage. He travelled with him to Mákú, where he transcribed passages taken down from the Báb’s dictation by Yazdí. At the time of the Shaykh Ṭabarsí conflict, he went on the Báb’s advice to Karbalá, where he married and earned his living as a scribe. For further details, see: Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 25, 30, 212, 245, 249, 307, 593–94; Mázandarání, *Ṣuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 37–38.

42 *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 170.

43 *ibid.*, p. 176: ‘Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Karím and I devoted three days and three nights to this work. We would in turn read aloud to each other a portion of the commentary until the whole of it had been transcribed. We verified all the traditions in the text and found them to be entirely accurate.’

44 *ibid.*, p. 212.

The transcription of the sacred text

Apart from these three, numerous other individuals transcribed writings of the Báb during his lifetime, although none had such regular or direct access to him. In the Persian *Bayán*, it is made obligatory for every believer to possess a book (*ṣahīfa*) of at least one thousand verses, to be read as and when the bearer wishes. It is explained that a verse consists of thirty letters (*ḥurúf*), or forty with vocalization (*i'ráb*).⁴⁵ Even if only a few individuals actually carried them out, such instructions must have encouraged the production of substantial numbers of transcriptions. Indeed, the Báb himself writes in the *Bayán*: 'How many books have been written down from the beginning of the revelation until today.'⁴⁶ The *Bayán* itself is to be preserved; poor quality paper may not be used unless the entire work is subsequently bound; the more effort made to produce beautiful copies, the more pleasing will this prove to God; and, indeed, everyone should strive to have his own copy of the text, distinct from any other copy (presumably in terms of script, layout, and so on).⁴⁷

According to the Bahá'í writer Abu'l-Qásim Fayḍí, an early Bábí convert called Mullá 'Alí Akbar Ardistání transcribed three volumes of the Báb's writings in the course of the first year after the commencement of the movement.⁴⁸ Fayḍí says that these volumes are extant in the Bahá'í archives in Haifa, but I could locate only one of them during my visit there in 1976.⁴⁹ A manuscript of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* discovered several years ago was transcribed in 1261/1845 by a certain Muḥammad Mahdí ibn Karbalá'í Sháh-Karam.⁵⁰

An important collection of early works by the Báb is held in the Iran National Bahá'í Archives (INBA) under the classmark 5006.C. This volume was written during the years 1262/1846 and 1263/1847. Another volume in the same library (4011.C) seems to have been transcribed in 1261/1845. The

45 *Bayán-i Fársí* 6:1 (p. 187).

46 *ibid.*, 7:1 (p. 240).

47 *ibid.*, 3:14 (pp. 97–98).

48 *Explanation of the Emblem of the Greatest Name* (Wilmette, Ill., 1974), p. 8. Ardistání was one of three Bábís expelled from Shíráz in June 1845, shortly before the Báb's return there from his hajj journey. For details of the incident and reports of it in Western publications, see Robert Cadwalader, "Persia': An Early Mention of the Báb", *World Order* 11:2 (winter 1976–77).

49 The MS I saw was a copy of the *Ṣahīfa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*, written in Shíráz in 1261/1845.

50 I have been unable to locate this MS, but refer to it here on the basis of a photocopy in the possession of the late Hasan Balyuzi. He in turn received this copy from the National Bahá'í Archives Committee in Iran. I never saw this MS in the INBA collection and conjecture that it may still be in private hands.

Leiden manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*, at one time thought to be the oldest in existence, was penned in 1263/1847. The existence of these and several other manuscripts from the earliest period is convincing evidence that works of the Báb were indeed being transcribed and circulated during his lifetime.

The extent of the Bábí canon

We could arrive at a correct estimate of what percentage of the Báb's writings have survived in some form only if we possessed a reasonably accurate figure for the sum total of what he wrote. This is difficult, though not, I think, impossible.

In two places in the Persian *Bayán*, the Báb himself refers to the quantity of his output. In *wáḥid* 2, *báb* 1, he states that 'one hundred thousand verses have been spread abroad among the people', these not including his treatises (*ṣuḥuf*) and prayers (*munáját*), nor his 'scientific and philosophical' works.⁵¹ There is a similar statement in the *Nuḩtat al-káf*, referring to the period of the young prophet's confinement in Máku, when the Persian *Bayán* was begun: 'A vast quantity of writings issued forth from the pen of that scribe of power and destiny, to the number of more than one hundred thousand verses.'⁵²

In *wáḥid* 6, *báb* 11 of the Persian *Bayán*, however, a higher figure is given: 'Since his manifestation ... to this day, five hundred thousand verses have been sent down on a variety of topics.'⁵³ A likely explanation for this self-contradiction in the *Bayán* text may be that, although the Báb computed his written works at five hundred thousand verses, only one fifth of these had actually been disseminated. If we take for our basis the Báb's own statement (quoted above) that one verse equals thirty or forty letters—about ten words—we may estimate that something like fifty volumes, each of one hundred pages (with ten words to the line and twenty lines to the page) may have been made available. This is a very approximate figure, but a survey of extant works suggests that it may be in the right area.⁵⁴

51 *Bayán* 2:1 (p. 17).

52 *Nuḩtat al-káf*, p. 131. The *Tārīkh-i jadīd* (p. 239) refers to 'a million verses'.

53 *ibid.*, p. 218.

54 As a basis for comparison, it should be noted that the Qur'án is reckoned (in the standard Egyptian text) to contain a total of 6,236 verses.

Dissemination of the canon in Iran and Iraq

It would seem that copies of most, if not all, of the Báb's writings were made and disseminated among his followers, even during the period of his successive confinements in Mákú and Chihríq. The *Nuq̄tat al-káf* records the following instructions of the Prime Minister, Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí, regarding the Báb's custody: 'You must exercise such surveillance over him that no one may associate with him or write to him or carry away answers from him'.⁵⁵ There is, however, ample evidence that these orders were never carried out. Zarandí relates that, during the Báb's stay in Mákú, Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí lived in a mosque outside the town gate. According to Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí, 'he [Zunúzí] acted as an intermediary between those of the followers of the Báb who occasionally visited Má Kú and Siyyid [sic] Ḥasan, my brother, who would in turn submit the petitions of the believers to their Master and would acquaint Shaykh Hasan with His reply'.⁵⁶

According to Mírzá Ḥusayn Hamadání, Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí eventually wrote to 'Alí Khán, urging him to keep a stricter watch over the prophet and prevent his sending out any more of his writings.⁵⁷ Unable to comply with this request, 'Alí Khán wrote to Áqásí rejecting the proposal, whereupon instructions were issued from the capital, calling for the Báb's removal to Chihríq.⁵⁸ The real reason for the Báb's transfer was, in fact, Russian pressure to have him removed from a place so near the border; but dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Mákú may well have played its part in convincing Áqásí to take action.⁵⁹

Things seem to have continued much as before in Chihríq. The *Nuq̄tat al-káf* records that, when the Báb announced his claim to be the Qá'im there, he wrote to Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí 'Azím,⁶⁰ instructing him to send copies of the letter to 'all the lands of Islam'.⁶¹ Copies were, accordingly, sent 'to all corners of the earth' (meaning, presumably, Iran and the 'atabát region

55 *Nuq̄tat al-káf*, p. 131.

56 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 245.

57 *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 239.

58 *Nuq̄tat al-káf*, p. 132.

59 For details of Russian documents indicating concern about the Báb's presence in Mákú, see M. S. Ivanov, *Bábidskie vosstaniia v Inane (1848–1852)* (Moscow, 1939), Appendix 1; Kazem Kazemzadeh, 'Two Incidents in the Life of the Báb', *World Order* 5:3 (Spring, 1971), pp. 21–24; Momen, *Bábí and Bahá'í Religions*, pp. 72–73.

60 Originally a leading Shaykhí cleric of Khurásán, he later played a major role in the development of Babism. He was responsible for organizing the attempt on the life of Náṣir ad-Dín Sháh in 1852, following which he was arrested and executed.

61 *Nuq̄tat al-káf*, p. 209. Mázandarání published the text of a letter from the Báb to Turshízí, in which he claims to be the Qá'im (*Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 164–66); a facsimile of the original letter may be found in Qismatí az alwáh, p. 14.

of Iraq), including seventeen or eighteen copies to Tehran. These latter copies were subsequently forwarded to the Imám Jum'a of the city, Áqá Maḥmúd, other 'ulamá, and dignitaries. A somewhat different version of what must be the same series of events is given by Mázandarání. According to this account, Turshízí brought eighteen copies of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, the *Tafsír* on the *Ḥadīth al-járiyya*, and other sermons and prayers from Shíráz to Tehran in order to convert Muḥammad Sháh and Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí, his Prime Minister. Áqásí, it is said, gave these works to Mírzá Maḥmúd Mujtahid, other 'ulamá, and government officials.⁶²

There is evidence of wide distribution of the Báb's writings during his lifetime. The first of his disciples to leave Shíráz in order to spread word of his claims was Mullá 'Alí Baṣṭámí.⁶³ Baṣṭámí is known to have headed for Karbalá' by way of 'Arabistán, where he visited an uncle of the Báb's in Búshihir, Najaf, and Kúfa. On this journey he carried with him a copy of the newly-composed *Qayyúm al-asmá'* (or part of it, at least), as well as copies of a pilgrimage prayer (*ziyáratnáma*) for the Imam 'Alí and the devotional collection known as the *Ṣaḥífa makhzúna*.⁶⁴ These all seem to have been copied and distributed in the 'atabát. According to Tunukábuní, the governor of Baghdad, Najíb Páshá, took a 'false Qur'án' from Baṣṭámí.⁶⁵ In a letter to Stratford Canning, Rawlinson, the British agent in Baghdad at that period, wrote about the examination of the book which Baṣṭámí had brought with him.⁶⁶ Rawlinson also mentioned to Justin Sheil that the book had been produced in court as evidence in the course of Baṣṭámí's heresy trial.⁶⁷ As Momen has shown at length in his study of that trial,⁶⁸ the text of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* proved central to the charges laid against the Báb's agent and, by proxy, the Báb himself, by the ulama of Baghdad. Even if the text was only superficially considered, it is a matter of some importance that this

62 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 163. The works named in this version suggest a much earlier date for these events.

63 For details, see D. MacEoin, 'Mollá 'Alí Beṣṭámí', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 860; idem, 'The Fate of Mullá 'Alí Baṣṭámí', *Bahá'í Studies Bulletin*, 2:1(1983), p. 77; Moojan Momen, 'The Trial of Mullá 'Alí Baṣṭámí: A Combined Sunni-Shí'í Fatwá against the Báb', *Iran* 20 (1982): 113-43; idem, *Bábí and Bahá'í Religions*, pp. 83-90; Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Bábí Movement in Iran, 1844-1850* (Ithaca and London, 1989), pp. 211-38; Balyuzi, *The Báb*, ch. 4, pp. 58-68; Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 66-69; Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 105-108; Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Baghdádí, *Risála amriyya* (Cairo, 1338/1919-20), pp. 106-107.

64 Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 106, 187.

65 Muḥammad ibn Sulaymán Tunukábuní, *Qiṣaṣ al-'ulamá'*, new ed. (Tehran, n.d.), p. 185.

66 F.O. 248/114 dated 8 Jan. 1845 (quoted in Momen, *Bábí and Bahá'í Religions*, pp. 83-85).

67 F.O. 248/114 dated 16 Jan. 1845 (quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 86-87).

68 'The Trial of Mullá 'Alí Baṣṭámí'.

initial reaction to the Báb's claims was based on his actual words, rather than on reported evidence.

According to Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Baghdádí, Baṣṭámí 'distributed the books, letters, and tablets among the 'ulamá in Kúfa'.⁶⁹ He then says that, when Najíb Páshá imprisoned the Báb's emissary, he also 'placed the books and epistles before the assembly (*majlis*); meaning, presumably, the court set up to try the case.⁷⁰ When Baṣṭámí was sent from Baghdad to Istanbul in April 1845, his books were sent with him.⁷¹ Copies seem to have been made available before this, however, possibly through the mediation of Shaykh Muḥammad Shibl al-Baghdádí, father of the above-mentioned Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, and formerly the agent in Baghdad of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí. Muḥammad Shibl visited Baṣṭámí each day during the six months he remained in prison, and it appears that he obtained some of the Báb's writings during this period.⁷² In Karbalá' in 1262/1846, Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Shahmírzádí and his son Áqá Sayyid 'Alí were given copies of the *Ṣaḥífa makhzúna*, with other sermons and prayers of the Báb by Mullá Walí Alláh Ámulí, who had himself obtained them somehow from Baṣṭámí.⁷³

Government circles in Iran

When Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í left Shíráz shortly after Baṣṭámí, heading for Tehran, he too carried a copy of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* and another of the *Ṣaḥífa makhzúna*,⁷⁴ together with a copy of the *ziyaratnáma* for 'Alí⁷⁵ and what is described as 'the Báb's first Tablet to Muḥammad Sháh'.⁷⁶ 'Alí Qulí Mírzá I'tiḏád as-Salṭana, a government official of the period, writes that, when Bushrú'í arrived in Tehran, 'he had brought a letter from the Báb to Muḥammad Sháh and Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí, stating: "If you pledge allegiance to me and regard obedience to my person as an obligation, I will make great your sovereignty and bring the foreign powers under your command". Mullá Ḥusayn revealed this letter and announced his claim, but the state officials expelled him'.⁷⁷

69 *Risála amriyya*, p. 106.

70 *ibid.*

71 *ibid.*, p. 107.

72 *ibid.*, p. 106.

73 Mázandarání, *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 187.

74 *ibid.*, p. 121.

75 Thus Lisán al-Mulk, *Násikh al-tawárikh*, vol. 3, p. 234. The same source confirms that Bushrú'í was carrying a copy of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*. The identity of the *ziyaratnáma* will be discussed later.

76 Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 24.

77 *Kitáb al-mutanabbiyún*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn. Navá'í as *Fitna-yi Báb* (Tehran, 1351/1972), p. 35.

Although the letter referred to seems no longer to be extant, there is confirmation that I'tiḏád as-Salṭana's account of it may not be far from the truth. There is a passage at the beginning of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* (a copy of which, we have noted, Bushrú'í carried with him to the capital), in which the Shírází prophet thus addresses Muḥammad Sháh: 'God has ordained that you should submit to the Remembrance [*adh-Dhikr*, i.e. the Báb] and to his command, and that you should conquer the countries (of the earth) for the sake of the truth, by his permission.'⁷⁸ It is possible that the 'letter' spoken of by I'tiḏád as-Salṭana was, in fact, nothing more than part of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* containing the opening sections. The copy of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* brought to Tehran by Bushrú'í may have been identified: a manuscript found about fifteen years ago in Iran and now kept in the Bahá'í archives in Haifa bears the inscription 'given to the Vazír by Mullá Ḥusayn'.

Other copies of the Báb's writings found their way into the hands of other government officials from an early date. Zarandí records that he was once informed by Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní that the latter had succeeded in 'teaching the Cause' to Ildirim Mírzá,⁷⁹ then governor of Khurramábád in Lúristan. On Qazvíní's instructions, Zarandí travelled to visit the prince in order to present him with a copy of the *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, presumably one of the copies transcribed by Qazvíní.⁸⁰

In fact, the latter seems to have made a point of presenting copies of this work to eminent people: on another occasion, he entrusted Zarandí with two copies, one for Mustawfí'l-Mamálík Áshtiyání,⁸¹ the other for 'Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí Tafarshí Majdu'l-Ashráf.⁸² Zarandí goes so far as to state that Mustawfí'l-Mamálík 'was so much affected that he was completely won over to the Faith'.⁸³ This seems unlikely, to say the least: following the Bábí attempt on the life of Náṣir ad-Dín Sháh, Mustawfí'l-Mamálík was

78 *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, sūra 1 (Cambridge U.L., Browne Collection, F.11) f. 2b.

79 A younger brother of Khánlar Mírzá Iḥtishám al-Dawla. See Mírzá Ḥusayn Khurmuji, *Ḥaqá'iq-i akhbár-i Náṣirí* (Tehran, 1344/1965-66), pp. 109-10.

80 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 587-88.

81 Mírzá Yúsuf Áshtiyání Mustawfí'l-Mamálík (1227/1812-1303/1886) was, in Bámdád's words, 'the most respected individual of the reign of Náṣir al-Dín Sháh'. He was appointed Prime Minister some two years before his death. See Mahdí Bámdád, *Tárikh-i rijál-i Írán*, vol. 4 (Tehran, Sh. 1347/1968), pp. 478-490.

82 Almost certainly in error for Mír Sayyid 'Alí Akbar Tafarshí (d. 1322/1905), a pupil of Shaykh Murtaḏá al-Anṣári. Tafarshí lived in Tehran, where he became known as one of the 'ulamá opposed to the Tobacco Régie. See Bámdád, *Rijál*, vol. 2, pp. 426-27; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khán I'timád al-Salṭana, *Kitáb al-ma'áthir wa'l-áthár* (Tehran, 1306/1888-89), p. 154; Murtaḏá al-Anṣári, *Zindigáni wa shakhṣiyyat-i Shaykh-i Anṣári* (Iran, Sh. 1339/1960-61), p. 298.

83 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 592.

responsible, in the company of other *mustawfís*, for the execution of Mullá Zayn al-‘Ábidín Yazdí.⁸⁴

Prince Jahángír Mírzá, a son of ‘Abbás Mírzá Ná‘ib as-Saltána, writes in his *Tárikh-i naw* of an opportunity he was given to study two works of the Báb. The first of these was a book of over four hundred *súras* in a form similar to those of the Qur‘án.⁸⁵ The second was, he says, divided into sections with headings such as: *al-wáhid ar-rábi‘ min khámis al-‘áshir*.⁸⁶ ‘Alí Qulí Mírzá I‘tiqád as-Saltána describes how he attended a majlis organized by the Prime Minister, Mírzá Áqá Khán Núrí, at which the latter gave him a work of the Báb; he provides a summary of this in order to demonstrate the absurdity of the Báb’s thinking.⁸⁷ It is claimed that the Báb’s *Khuṭba-yi qahriyya*, written from Chihriq in denunciation of Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, was delivered to the latter by the Bábí Münzer, Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí Hujjat-i Zanjání.⁸⁸ In view of Zanjání’s close contacts with court circles, this is not impossible.

Iraq

There is evidence that writings of the Báb were being distributed as far afield as Karbalá’ from a very early date. It has already been noted that Mullá ‘Alí Basṭámí brought certain works of the prophet with him to Iraq. That other writings soon followed is clear from the contents of an early manuscript collection, the bulk of which was transcribed in 1262/1846 by a certain Muḥammad ‘Alí in the madrasa of Mírzá Ja‘far in Karbalá’. The rest of the

84 Lisán al-Mulk, *Násikh al-tawárikh*, vol. 4, p. 40. I‘tiqád al-Saltána states that Mustawfí‘l-Mamálik was the first to shoot him (Fitna-yi Báb, p. 83).

85 *Tárikh-i naw*, ed. ‘Abbás Iqbál (Tehran, Sh. 1327/1949), pp. 29–303. The book referred to was almost certainly not a distinct work, but rather a collection of prayers, homilies, etc. Jahángír Mírzá quotes one of these *súras*. It begins: *bismi‘lláh al-raḥmán al-raḥím. Al-ḥamdu li ‘lláhi ‘l-ladhí qad nazzala‘l-áyat bi‘l-ḥaqq ilá ‘abdihi la‘ala‘l-nás bi-áyat rabbika yu‘minúna ...* and ends: *fa ‘dhkur wa ‘lláhi rabbikum fa ‘inna dhálika la-huwa‘l-fawz al-‘azím*. This prayer occurs in two manuscripts in the INBA, numbers 5006C (pp. 2–3) and 2007C (ff. 66a–69a). These MSS have otherwise little else in common. 5006C contains several prayers, a complete text of the *Qayyúm al-asmá‘*, the *Kitáb a‘mál al-sana*, the *ziyaratnáma* for ‘Alí the *Ṣaḥífa makhzúna*, several *khuṭbas*, *risálas*, and *tafsírs*. 2007C is a smaller MS containing the Arabic *Dalá‘il al-sab‘a*, three letters, and this prayer. This suggests that Jahángír Mírzá’s book was just another compilation in which this prayer appeared—perhaps a collection of four hundred prayers.

86 This heading appears corrupt. It may originally have read: *al-báb al-khámis ‘áshir min al-wáhid al-rábi‘*. That and the description of the contents suggest that it was simply a copy of the Persian or Arabic *Bayán*.

87 *Fitna-yi Báb*, p. 10. Núrí had connections with the family of Mírzá Ḥusayn ‘Alí Bahá’ Alláh and his brother Mírzá Yaḥyá Ṣubḥ-i Azal; he may have obtained the book in question from them or one of their relatives.

88 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 323.

collection was transcribed by the same individual during the same year and the first half of 1263/1847 in Mashhad and Tehran.

Apart from a number of prayers, this collection contains the *Ziyára jámi'a ṣaghíra* (which equals *báb* 1 of the *Risála furú' al-'adliyya*), the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, the *Kitáb a'mál as-sana*, the *ziyára* for 'Alí, the *Ṣaḥífa makhzúna*, twelve *khuṭbas* (most of which seem to have been written in the course of the Báb's pilgrimage journey to Mecca), several letters, a number of *risálas*, and several *tafsírs*.⁸⁹

In a letter dated 1263/1847, from Shaykh Sulṭán al-Karbalá'í to Bábís in Iran, the Báb's commentary on the *Ḥadíth al-járiyya*, the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, a *khuṭba*, and several *risálas* are quoted in a context suggesting that they were familiar to the Bábís of Karbalá', where the letter was written.⁹⁰ Mírzá Muṣṭafá al-Baghdádí states that Qurrat al-'Ayn read portions of the Báb's *tafsír* on the *Súrat al-kawthar* to the ulama of Karbala'.⁹¹ Finally, Mírzá Muḥiṭ Kirmání, a leading Shaykhí 'álim from Karbalá', met the Báb in Mecca; on returning to Iraq, he received a copy of the *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*, written by the Báb in reply to questions Muḥiṭ had put to him during their meeting.⁹²

Kerman, Qazvín, and elsewhere in Iran

Of course, Karbalá' was an important centre of Bábí activity throughout this early period, and numerous Báb's—including several Letters of the Living—travelled between there and Shíráz.⁹³ Works of the Báb reached other centres as well, among them Kerman, where Hájj Mullá Muḥammad Karím Khán Kirmání was making a separate bid for leadership of the Shaykhí sect. After his return from Mecca, the Báb wrote to Karím Khán. This letter was probably delivered by Mullá Ṣádiq Khurásání in the course of a visit to that city.⁹⁴ Karím Khán himself writes that 'he [the Báb] sent a certain Mullá

89 The MS is no. 5006C in the INBA.

90 Letter quoted Mázandarání, *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 245–59.

91 *Risála amriyya*, p. 108.

92 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 137.

93 Among these were: Mírzá Hádí Nahri and his brother Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí (see 'Abbás Effendi 'Abd al-Bahá', *Tadhkirat al-wafá'* [Haifa, 1924], pp. 269–70); Shaykh Ṣáliḥ Karímí (see Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 271); Shaykh Sulṭán al-Karbalá'í and Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí (see Mázandarání, *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 38); Sayyid Jawád al-Karbalá'í (see *ibid.*, p. 244); Áqá Sayyid 'Abd al-Hádí Qazvíní (see *ibid.*, p. 383), Samandar, *Tárikh*, pp. 135–36, 173); Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan Bushrú'í (a brother of Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í, also a Letter of the Living; see Mázandarání, *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 143); and Mullá Khudá-Bakhsh Qúchání, another Letter of the Living (see *ibid.*, p. 171).

94 *ibid.*, pp. 151, 289; Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 100–101, 183–87; Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, pp. 200–201. See also letter from the Báb to Mullá Ṣádiq, quoted in Mázandarání, *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 149 and *idem*, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 4 (Tehran, BE 129/1972–73), pp. 236–37.

Şádiq to Kerman bearing a number of *súras* in the style of the Qur'án, a number of books in the style of the *Şahífa Sajjádiyya* and a number of *khuṭbas* in the style of the *Nahj al-balágha*.⁹⁵

Mullá Şádiq was preceded to Kerman (if only by a short margin) by Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús, who also brought with him at least one work by the Báb. According to Karím Khán, the Báb 'had written that *Súra* for me, and sent it with a certain Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Mázandarání, having written it in his own hand.'⁹⁶ Kirmání quotes from or gives the gist of several works of the Báb in the course of his treatises written to refute him and his doctrines.⁹⁷

Mullá Ja'far Qazvíní mentions that the first person to send writings of the Báb to Qazvín was Mírzá Muḥammad Mahdí, a son of Hájí 'Abd al-Karím Bághbánbáshí.⁹⁸ If this was indeed the case, the writings referred to must have reached Qazvín in late 1846 to early 1847, while the Báb was residing in Işfahán. Mírzá Muḥammad Mahdí is known to have met the Báb there, while en route to Bombay with an uncle. The Báb did not permit him to continue his journey, and the uncle was later drowned at sea.⁹⁹ According to Mullá Ja'far, the transcripts of the Báb's writings were accompanied by a description of the shipwreck and Muḥammad Mahdí's uncle's death. Later, he says that other writings were subsequently forwarded to Qazvín by Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Qazvíní (the husband of Qurrat al-'Ayn's sister, Marđíyya, and a Letter of the Living). These were directed to Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí's father, Hájí Mullá 'Abd al-Wahháb, one of the city's leading 'ulamá.¹⁰⁰

After the Báb's transfer to prison in Azerbaijan, Qazvín became a sort of clearing house for devotees travelling to and from their prophet, many of whom carried petitions (*'ará'id*) to him and returned with replies.

The Báb sent a great many private letters to his followers and to other individuals who wrote to him; this alone accounted for a wide distribution of texts from the very start of his career. When we come to deal with his earliest

95 *Risála dar radd-i Báb-i murtád* (Kerman, 1385/1965–66), pp. 27–28; see also p. 58. For a further description of the meeting between Mullá Şádiq and Karím Khán, see Nicolas, *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, pp. 228–29. The books mentioned by Kirmání are two well-known Shi'ite sacred texts, attributed to the Imáms Zayn al-'Ábidín and 'Alí respectively.

96 Kirmání, *Risála dar radd-i Báb*, p. 27; cf. pp. 21, 58–59. See also *ash-Shiháb ath-tháqib fi rajm an-nawásib* (Kerman, Sh. 1353/1974–75), p. 25.

97 See *Izháq al-báṭil* (Kerman, Sh. 1351/1972–73), pp. 80–82; *ash-Shiháb ath-tháqib*, pp. 25–27; *Tír-i shiháb* (in *Majma' al-rasá'il Fársi I* [Kerman, 1386/1966–671], p. 206.

98 *Tárikh-i Mullá Ja'far Qazvíní*, in Samandar, *Tárikh*, p. 473.

99 Samandar, *Tárikh*, p. 86. Mírzá Muḥammad Mahdí was among the Bábis killed at Shaykh Ṭabarsí in Mázandarán.

100 *Tárikh-i Mullá Ja'far*, in Samandar, *Tárikh*, pp. 494–95.

works, these letters will be examined in greater detail. Where the recipients of such letters were Bábís, copies were made and passed on to fellow-believers.

There is, therefore, no reason to doubt that reasonably large numbers of copies were made of works of the Báb and circulated within Iran and Iraq. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the disturbed conditions under which many early Bábís lived made it difficult to preserve many of these manuscripts. We can only guess how many examples of early Bábí writing perished in the course of the sieges of Shaykh Ṭabarsí, Zanján, and Nayríz, or during the pogrom of 1852.

The preservation of the canon

In his *Lawḥ-i warqá'*, the Bahá'í exilarch Bahá' Alláh refers to the plundering of Bábí texts: 'There is one matter which has, to be honest, caused me great regret. That is that, whenever one of the believers came to be arrested, [the authorities] would lay their hands first and foremost on his books and tablets, and only after that the owner of the house himself In the incident of Tehran [i.e. the 1852 pogrom], a large quantity of books and tablets fell into the hands of the oppressors. This is especially regrettable, for they do not preserve them, and it is quite likely that they will all perish.'¹⁰¹

The Báb himself seems to have made some attempt to preserve his writings. Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí stated that 'at about the time that the Báb dismissed 'Aẓím from his presence [during the Báb's confinement in Chihriq], I was instructed by Him to collect all the available Tablets that He had revealed during His incarceration in the castles of Máh-Kú [Mákú] and Chihriq, and to deliver them into the hands of Siyyid [sic] Ibráhím-i-Khalíl, who was then living in Tabríz, and urge him to conceal and preserve them with the utmost care.'¹⁰²

The same authority states that the texts of nine commentaries on the entire Qur'án were entrusted to this same Sayyid Ibráhím, presumably at the same time as the other writings.¹⁰³ Zarandí, who is our source for the above

101 In 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ishráq Khávárí (ed.), *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 4 (Tehran, BE 129/1972-73), p. 150. The Bahá'í leader Shoghi Effendi speaks of the disorder in which this left the manuscripts of the Báb's writings: 'The voluminous writings of the Founder of the Faith [i.e. the Báb]—in manuscript, dispersed, unclassified, poorly transcribed and ill-preserved—were in part, owing to the fever and tumult of the times, either deliberately destroyed, confiscated, or hurriedly dispatched to places of safety beyond the confines of the land in which they were revealed' (*God Passes By*, pp. 90-91).

102 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 307.

103 *ibid.*, p. 31. The ultimate fate of the Qur'anic commentaries was, however, unknown to Zunúzí. Sayyid Ibráhím Khalíl later became a follower of Mírzá Asad Alláh Khú'í Dayyán (on whom, see D. MacEoin, 'Divisions and Authority Claims in Babism (1850-1866)', *Studia Iranica* 18 (1989), pp. 111-13). Following Dayyán's assassination in Baghdad in 1856, however, Khalíl took fright and ceased his association with other Bábís (who were responsible for Dayyán's murder). He may have destroyed his Bábí manuscripts at around this time. Mázandarání notes that he had a non-Bábí son and that, as a result, any manuscripts in his family's possession were destroyed (*Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 39). Khalíl later converted to Baháism, however, so he may have passed some materials into Bahá'í hands (Samandar, *Tárikh*, p. 219; letter from Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh to Sayyid Ibráhím Khalíl, in Ishráq Khávárí, *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 8, pp. 171-76).

statements, also notes that ‘forty days before the arrival of that officer [the official deputed to bring the Báb to Tabríz] at Chihríq, the Báb collected all the documents and Tablets in His possession, and, placing them, with His pen-case, His seals and agate rings, in a coffer, entrusted them to the care of Mullá Báqir, one of the Letters of the Living. To him He also delivered a letter addressed to Mírzá Aḥmad [i.e., Mullá ‘Abd al-Karím Qazvíní], His amanuensis, in which He enclosed the key to that coffer.’¹⁰⁴

The Bahá’í version of these events, as given by Zarandí, continues with an account of how these documents were directed to be given to Mírzá Ḥusayn ‘Alí Bahá’ Alláh. In the *Nuqṭat al-káf*, however, it is stated that the pencase, papers, writings, clothes, and seal of the Báb were sent to Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal.¹⁰⁵ Both versions do, at least, agree that such articles were dispatched by the Báb from Chihríq.

There is evidence, however, that by no means all of the writings of the Báb kept at Chihríq were safely transferred into the hands of his followers. A letter is still extant from Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí to Mullá ‘Abd al-Karím Qazvíní, written after the execution of the Báb. Following an account of which pieces of sacred writing were in the hands of which believers, the author continues: ‘Of those which God willed should reach the hands of His enemies, one hundred and forty-two pieces are in the possession of one whose name is well known, who is governor over the Land of the Sun [Azerbaijan];¹⁰⁶ yet others fell into the hands of the Christians [*ḥurúf-i Injíl*—‘Letters of the Gospel’] Among the writings which came into the hands of the Christians were some *dawá’ir* and *hayákil* [two species of talisman—see later], among them being a copy of the ordinances, other than the copy which was sent. This they forwarded to their king.’¹⁰⁷

The ‘Christians’ referred to would seem to have been Russians. This is corroborated in a number of places. In a letter to E. G. Browne (received 11

104 *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 504–05.

105 *Nuqṭat al-káf*, p. 244. The section in question (from p. 238, line 16 to p. 245, line 1) does not appear in the Tehran or Haifa MSS, but contains the majority of references in the history to Şubḥ-i Azal. For a full discussion of this problem, see part 2.

106 Presumably Prince Ḥamza Mírzá.

107 *Qismatí az alwáḥ*, p. 40.

October, 1889), Şubḥ-i Azal states that ‘at the time of the martyrdom [of the Báb] at Tabríz, as they wrote from thence, many of the original writings passed into the hands of persons belonging to the country of your Excellency or to Russia, amongst these being autograph writings of His Highness the Point [i.e., the Báb].’¹⁰⁸

Towards the end of the *Nuḡtat al-káf*, the following passage sheds further light on this issue: ‘The king of Russia [Nicholas I] sent a message to his consul at Tabríz [N. V. Khanykov] to investigate the condition of his Holiness [i.e., the Báb] and to send a report to him. When this message arrived, they [the Iranian authorities] had already put his Holiness to death. They [the Russians] summoned Áqá Sayyid Muḡammad Ḥusayn, his Holiness’s secretary, to come to their assembly, where they made enquiries concerning the condition and tokens of the Báb. Áqá Sayyid Muḡammad Ḥusayn did not dare to speak openly concerning the Báb, on account of [the presence of] Muslims; but he did refer to a number of matters obliquely and presented them with some writings.’¹⁰⁹

Finally, the German orientalist Dorn states that a copy of what he called the ‘Koran der Baby’ (in fact, a volume of the *Kitáb al-asmá’*) had been placed in European hands by the Báb’s secretary while the latter was in prison at Tabríz.¹¹⁰ The volume was one of several obtained in Iran by N. V. Khanykov, the Russian Consul in Tabríz. The ‘secretary’ must, of course, have been none other than Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí.

Text transmission after 1850

During the period between the Báb’s death in July 1850 and the purge of 1852, followed by the expulsion of many leading Bábís to Baghdad at the beginning of 1853 and the gradual growth there of a community of Iranian Bábí exiles, further attempts were made to collect and transcribe the Báb’s writings. Zarandí attributes part, at least, of this enterprise to the initiative of the future hierophant, Mírzá Ḥusayn ‘Alí Bahá’ Alláh. Speaking of early Sha’bán 1267/June 1851, he says that he was then ‘dwelling in Kirmánsháh in the company of Mírzá Aḡmad, the Báb’s amanuensis, who had been ordered by Bahá’u’lláh to collect and transcribe all the sacred writings, the originals of which were, for the most part, in his possession.’¹¹¹

108 *Traveller’s Narrative*, p. 342.

109 *Nuḡtat al-káf*, p. 267.

110 Bernhard Dorn, ‘Die vordem Chnykov’sche, jetzt der Kaiserl. Öffentlichen Bibliothek zugehörige Sammlung von morgenländischen Handschriften’, *Bulletin de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. 8 (1865), p. 248.

111 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 587.

When some Bábís left Iran for Baghdad in January, 1853, they took with them a number of volumes of original scriptural texts. Şubḥ-i Azal sent Edward Browne a list of books which had been collected in Iran and brought to Iraq. In total, these amount to some thirty-two volumes, together with sundry bundles of fragmentary texts, as follows:

1. *Commentary on the Qur'án* (1 vol.)
2. *Ajwiba wa tafásir* ('answers and commentaries'; 1 vol.)
3. *Commentary on the Qur'án* (1 vol.)
4. *Shu'ún khamsa* (*Panj sha'n*; 1 vol.)
5. *Áyát* ('verses'; 2 vols.)
6. *Kitáb-i jazá'* (2 vols.)
7. *Munáját wa ziyárát* ('prayers and pilgrimage devotions'; 1 vol.)
8. *Da'wát* ('prayers'; 1 vol.)
9. *Shu'ún-i mukhtalifa* ('various grades'; 1 vol.)¹¹²
10. Writings of the scribe (Sayyid Husayn Yazdí?), comprising what was sent down at Shíráz and Işfahán, and during the pilgrimage journey (3 vols.)
11. *Aḥsan al-qišaş* (i.e., *Qayyúm al-asmá'*; 1 vol.)
12. *Kitáb al-asmá'* (2 vols., incomplete)
13. Writings of the late Áqá Sayyid Ḥusayn [Yazdí] (2 vols.)
14. *Shu'ún-i mukhtalifa* ('various grades'; 1 vol.)
15. *Kitáb-i hayákil* (1 vol.)
16. *Mutafarriqa* (sundries; 1 vol. 1)
17. Things appertaining to Jinab-i Shaykh 'Azím [Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí] (3 vols.)
18. Copies and originals of writings (4 bundles)
19. *Bayán* (1 vol.)
20. *Da'wát* (prayers; 1 vol.)
21. *Da'wát wa ziyárát* (prayers and pilgrimage devotions; 1 vol.)
22. *Aḥsan al-qišaş* (i.e., *Qayyúm al-asmá'*; 1 vol.)
23. *Bayán* (1 vol.)
24. *Shu'ún-i khamsa* (*Panj sha'n*; 1 vol.)
25. *Mutafarriqa* (sundries)
26. Another book (1 vol.)

¹¹²These 'grades' are the five categories into which the Báb divided his writings, namely: verses (*áyát*) like those of the Qur'án; prayers (*munáját*); commentaries (*tafásir*); scientific treatises (*Şuwar-i 'ilmiyya*; *shu'ún-i 'ilmiyya*); and Persian writings (see Persian *Bayán* 3:17 [p. 102], 6:1 [p. 1841, and 9:2 [p. 313]. The *Kitáb-i panj sha'n* substitutes sermons (*khuṭba*) for scientific treatises.

Speaking of the Báb's writings in the *Kitáb-i íqán*, written in 1862, Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh declared that: 'Twenty volumes [*mujalladát*] are currently available; but what a proportion have not yet been obtained. And how many have been looted and fallen into the hands of unbelievers to meet an unknown fate.'¹¹³ Although the precise meaning of the word 'volume' is hard to determine, it is possible to see a large measure of agreement with the above reckoning by Şubḥ-i Azal, which comes to around twenty titles if we ignore repetitions and works not by the Báb.

In the course of the Baghdad period (1853–63), yet another attempt was made to collect and transcribe whatever writings of the Báb remained accessible in Iran. Both Azalí and Bahá'í sources agree that this task was carried out on the instructions of Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh, and that the actual transcription was largely the work of his brother Yaḥyá. In the *Risála-yi 'amma*,¹¹⁴ Sulṭán Khánúm, an Azalí half-sister of Bahá' Alláh, states that he arranged for the collection of sacred texts in Iran. He wrote on behalf of Şubḥ-i Azal to believers in every province, telling anyone with writings in his possession that it was the latter's wish that these texts should be assembled. Sulṭán Khánúm also says that Ḥusayn 'Alí sent his second wife, Maḥd-i Ulyá, to Tehran in order to collect writings which had been left in the nearby village of Tákur;¹¹⁵ these were brought, via Sulṭán Khánúm, to Tehran, from whence they were taken on to Baghdad.¹¹⁶

That some such collection was indeed made is borne out by a statement in a late work of Ḥusayn 'Alí himself: 'We specifically appointed a number of individuals to gather together the works of the Point [i.e. the Báb]. After the work of collection had been completed, we brought together Mírzá Yaḥyá [Şubḥ-i Azal] and Mírzá Wahháb Khurásání (known as Mírzá Jawád)¹¹⁷ in a single place, where they transcribed and completed two sets of

113 *Kitáb-i íqán* (Cairo, 1352/1933), pp. 168–69.

114 Collected and later published as part of a compilation known as *Tanbíh al-ná'imín*, in three parts: 1) a letter from 'Abbás Effendi 'Abd al-Bahá' to his Azalí aunt, Sulṭán Khánúm (or 'Izziyya Khánúm); 2) her reply, the *Risála-yi 'amma* ('Aunt's Epistle'); and 3) a homily by the Azalí writer Shaykh Aḥmad Rúḥí Kirmání. There are three copies of this work in the Browne Collection in the CUL (F.60, F.61, and F.62). The compilation was published in Tehran without date. The first portion ('Abbás Effendi's letter) is also printed in *Makátib-i 'Abd al-Bahá'*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1330/1912), pp. 162–86.

115 A village in Núr, Mázandarán, originally the personal fief of Ḥusayn 'Alí. In 1852, following the attempt on the Sháh's life, it was attacked by government troops, sacked, and burned to the ground. Ḥusayn 'Alí's own house was among those looted and burned (see Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 639–43; H. M. Balyuzi, *Bahá'u'lláh, the King of Glory* [Oxford, 1980], pp. 90–93). It seems doubtful that any manuscripts would have survived this attack.

116 *Tanbíh al-ná'imín* (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 16–18 (Browne MS F.60, pp. 50–51).

117 A native of Turshíz. While the Báb was imprisoned in Máku, Mírzá Wahháb was resident in Tabríz, where he was sent many of the prophet's writings (see M. A. Fayḍí, *Kitáb-i la'átí-yi dirakhshán* [Shiráz, BE 123/1966–67], pp. 302–03). It is quite likely that he acted as an intermediary in Tabríz for the dissemination of scriptural texts. Some of the copies made by him in Baghdad may have been based on manuscripts obtained by him then.

the Báb's works.'¹¹⁸ Bahá' Alláh adds that, owing to his other preoccupations, he himself never set eyes on these writings.

Additional confirmation is to be found in a letter from Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal to E. G. Browne (received 11 October, 1889). 'What I myself arranged and copied out while at Baghdad,' he writes, 'and what was commanded to be collected of previous and subsequent (writings) until the Day of Martyrdom [of the Báb], was nigh upon thirty volumes of bound books. I myself wrote them down with my own hand'¹¹⁹

The ultimate fate of these transcripts is, however, less clear. In the letter just quoted, Şubḥ-i Azal says that 'the originals and copies of these, together with what was in the writing of others, sundry other books written in proof of this religion by certain learned friends, and what I myself wrote and compiled, amounted to numerous volumes, as recorded in the list thereof which I have sent. For some years all of these were in a certain place in the hands of a friend as a trust. Afterwards they were deposited in another place. Eventually I entrusted them to my own relatives in whose keeping they were preserved for a while'¹²⁰ In the end, he says, these papers were carried off by those same relatives (meaning Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí and those of his family who followed him).

A similar version of these events is given by Ḥusayn 'Alí himself, containing, of course, significant differences: 'The above-mentioned writings were in the possession of those two individuals [Mírzá Yaḥyá and Mírzá Wahháb] at the time when the banishment [from Baghdad] took place. It was arranged that Mírzá Yaḥyá should take the writings and carry them to Iran, in order to distribute them there. This wronged one headed for [Istanbul] at the request of the ministers of the Exalted State [i.e. the Ottoman government]. When I reached Mosul, I discovered that Mírzá Yaḥyá had left before me and was waiting for me there. The books and writings had been left behind in Baghdad while he proceeded to the capital to join the rest of us For some time this wronged one was afflicted by unending sorrows, until, in accordance with a plan that God alone is aware of, we sent the texts to another place in another land. For in Iraq we had to examine all papers every month, otherwise they would rot and perish.'¹²¹

118 Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh, *Lawḥ-i Shaykh (Lawḥ-i ibn-i Dhi'b)* (Cairo, 1920), pp. 123–24.

119 Quoted Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 1, p. 342.

120 Quoted *ibid.*, pp. 342–43.

121 Bahá' Alláh, *Lawḥ-i Shaykh*, p. 124.

Whether abandoned by Şubḥ-i Azal or taken from him by his rivals, the fate of these documents must remain a mystery. They do not appear to be among the Bábí manuscripts in Haifa, which would suggest that they did not form part of the possessions of Bahá' Alláh and his followers in their travels to Istanbul, Edirne, and Acre. In his first letter to Edward Browne (despatched 29 July 1889, received 15 August), Şubḥ-i Azal stated that the only manuscript then available to him consisted of a small book of a mere twenty folios.¹²² By means unspecified, Şubḥ-i Azal succeeded in obtaining more of the Báb's writings, as well as some ascribed to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús, copies of which were sent to Browne.¹²³

Bábí manuscript collections

Manuscripts presented to/purchased by E. G. Browne

In July 1889, an Azalí scribe from Iran was in Famagusta with Mírzá Yaḥyá when Browne's first letter to the latter was received. This scribe was instructed to obtain, on his return to Iran, whatever copies of the Báb's writings he could. By June 1890, when he wrote directly to Browne from Tehran, he had succeeded in locating copies of five works: the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, the *Kitáb al-asmá'*, the *Tafsír of the Súrat al-baqara*, the *Tafsír of the Súra wa'l-'aşr*, and a work entitled *Taşbíḥ-i Haḍrat-i Fáṭima*. On Browne's recommendation, this scribe again travelled to Cyprus, bringing with him copies of the above manuscripts. In place of the *Taşbíḥ-i Fáṭima*, however, he brought a text of the *Tafsír on the Súrat al-kawthar*. These volumes were eventually sent to Browne from Cyprus.¹²⁴

Apart from these, Browne also received from Cyprus two further manuscripts of works by the Báb, these being the *Şahífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn* and what were described to him as 'extracts from the *Şhu'ún-i khamsa*' (in reality a collection of letters); both these manuscripts were in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal's son, Riḍván 'Alí,¹²⁵ who was also responsible for the transcription of large numbers of the Bábí texts in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

In his introduction to *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion*, Browne relates how, in 1912, Dr Sa'íd Khán Hamadání put him in touch

122 Browne and Nicholson, *Catalogue and Description*, pp. 451–52. A copy of this book in Şubḥ-i Azal's hand now constitutes item F.14 of the Browne Collection in the CUL.

123 Now items F.15, F.23, and F.24 of the Browne Collection, CUL.

124 See Browne and Nicholson, *Catalogue and Description*, pp. 493–95. These are now items F.8, F.9, F.10, F.16, and F.17 of the Browne Collection, CUL.

125 They are now items F.7 and F.25 (MS 3) in the Browne Collection, CUL.

with an old Azalí scribe then resident in Tehran. ‘This old scribe, a follower of Šubḥ-i Azal, seems to have been in close touch with many Bábís in all parts of Persia, and on several occasions when persecutions threatened or broke out, to have been entrusted by them with the custody of books which they feared to keep in their own houses, and which in some cases they failed to reclaim, so that he had access to a large number of rare Bábí works, any of which he was willing to copy for me at a very moderate charge.’¹²⁶

Although not here named, the scribe in question was known to Browne as ‘Mírzá Muṣṭafá’. His real name, however, was Ismá‘íl Sabbágh-i Sihdihí.¹²⁷ No fewer than eleven of Browne’s Bábí manuscripts¹²⁸ were transcribed for him by Mírzá Muṣṭafá. Four of these¹²⁹ represent works by the Báb.

No collection of Bábí literature in the West can compare in size or quality to that amassed by Browne. R. A. Nicholson surmised that the manuscripts brought together by his late colleague constituted ‘the fullest and richest assemblage of original documents relating to these sects [Babism, Azalí Babism, and Baháism] that exists in any public or private library in the world.’¹³⁰ While this is no longer strictly true—the Bahá’í collections in Haifa and Tehran are undeniably the largest and richest today, and are likely to remain so—the Browne Collection will continue to be one of the world’s best-provided sources for Bábí manuscripts.

The British Museum/British Library

The first Bábí manuscript obtained by the British Museum was a copy of the Persian *Bayán*,¹³¹ which was bought in Yazd in 1885 by the British diplomat, Sidney Churchill. This text was transcribed in 1299/1882 by the Bahá’í chronicler and poetaster, Mullá Muḥammad Zarandí. This is in itself a useful fact, in that Bahá’í transcriptions of this work are inevitably fewer in number than copies by Azalís. A comparison between Azalí versions of the *Bayán* and the British Museum copy would help settle the various disputes about interpolation of this text.

The majority of the Bábí texts in the British Library were obtained between 1897 and 1899. They include some fifty-three primitive Bábí and Azalí Bábí manuscripts from Cyprus, sent to the museum through Claude

126 Browne, *Materials*, p. xi.

127 Browne did not learn his true identity until 15 September 1922 (see Browne and Nicholson, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 81).

128 F.18, F.19, F.21, F.24, F.25 [parts 2 and 9], F.28, F.60, F.63, F.64, and F.65.

129 F.18, F.19, F.21, and F.25 (part 2).

130 Nicholson and Browne, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. xviii.

131 Or. 2819.

Delaval Cobham, the British Commissioner at Larnaca, who had obtained them from Riḍvân 'Alí. Of these, only twenty-one manuscripts¹³² represent works of the Báb, while one¹³³ is attributed to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús.

Among the British Library's later acquisitions (which include numerous Bahá'í and Azalí works), Or. 7784 contains what is said to be an example of *khaṭṭ-i nuzúlí* or revelation writing by the Báb, supposedly penned in 1265/1849 at Mákú (in error for Chihríq), along with another piece which seems to be in the Báb's hand; this item was received from Riḍvân 'Alí in 1913. Or. 6887 (presented by Cobham) is a folder containing only a very large *haykal*, apparently in the Báb's hand.

The Bibliothèque Nationale

Of the five Bábí manuscripts acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at the 1884 sale of the papers of Gobineau, only two need concern us here.¹³⁴ These are the copy of the Persian *Bayán* which forms the first section of Suppl. Persan 1070 and the small Suppl. Arabe 2511. The former is dated 1279/1862; the latter lacks a colophon.

In the introduction to his edition of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* (p. xviii), Browne correctly identifies Suppl. Arabe 2511 as the work translated by Gobineau at the end of *Religions et philosophies*. But, in correcting Gobineau's title of *Ketab-è Hukkam* to *Kitáb-i aḥkám*, the British author only helped confuse further the work's true identity. What Gobineau translated was, as we have already noted, the Arabic *Bayán* (minus the eleventh and final *wáḥid*), preceded by a short, unrelated piece.¹³⁵

The identity of Gobineau's so-called *Ketab-è Hukkam* has caused more confusion than was ever necessary. Gobineau started the problem, first by his statement that there were three Bayáns in all: an Arabic *Bayán*; a Persian

132 Or. 2819, 3539, 5080, 5109, 5112, 5276, 5277, 5325, 5378, 5487, 5488, 5489, 5490, 5612, 5629, 5631, 5760, 5869, 6255, 6681, and 6880.

133 Or. 5110.

134 Gobineau's manuscripts were sold at the Hôtel Drouot on May 6, 1884. The Persian MSS were listed in a catalogue entitled *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de manuscrits persans et ouvrages recueillis en Perse, provenant de la Bibliothèque de M. de Gobineau*. They consisted of two hundred and sixty-two items, of which the last five (nos 258–262) were listed under the heading 'Théologie Babi'. The BN bought thirty-one of these MSS and registered them on 20 May under acquisition numbers 7539 to 7569. However, in his introduction to the *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, Browne states (p. xiv) that Suppl. Arabe 2509 [Arabe 4667] was acquired on 21 October 1884, Suppl. Arabe 2510 and 2511 on 22 October, and Suppl. Persan 1070 and 1071 on November 25. Gobineau appears to have once possessed other Bábí MSS, on which see later.

135 According to Şubḥ-i Azal, this is a letter from the Báb to Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní (Browne, *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, pp. xviii–xix).

Bayán, which was a commentary on the first; and a third, briefer than the others, which was the text translated by him.¹³⁶ And second by referring to the work by an invented title. This, in turn, led Browne in the second of his two articles on the Bábís for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society¹³⁷ to speak of the existence of two Arabic *Bayáns*, the shorter of which had been translated into French by Gobineau.

A. L. M. Nicolas utterly confounded the issue by remarking ‘Voilà donc, suivant les affirmations même de M. Gobineau, un “Biyyan” qui n’est pas un “Biyyan” composé par le Báb, qui n’est pas l ‘auteur.’¹³⁸ A simple comparison between Gobineau’s *Ketab-è Hukkam* and the Arabic *Bayán* would have shown them to be one and the same work. The text used by Gobineau for his translation was in any event brought to France from Iran by him.¹³⁹

The other Bábí manuscripts acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at the Gobineau sale will be discussed in detail in the second half of this survey. Of the Bábí works later obtained by the library, fifteen¹⁴⁰ represent works of the Báb, all but three of them¹⁴¹ in the hand of Riḍván ‘Alí.

St. Petersburg collections

The small collection of Bábí manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Languages within the Russian Foreign Office at St. Petersburg, meticulously described by Rosen in volumes 1, 3, and 6 of the *Collections Scientifiques*, originated in the main from Bahá’í sources. Only two of them represent works of the Báb: a copy of the *Qayyúm al-asmá’* and a manuscript of the Persian *Bayán*. Both were obtained for the Institute of Oriental Languages within the Russian Foreign Office by V. Bezobrazov, a Russian Consul-General at Tabríz. Apart from these, a second copy of the Persian *Bayán* was given to the Académie Impériale des Sciences in 1874 by F. A. Bakulin, who had been consul at Astarábád. The academy already possessed a copy of the

136 *Religions et philosophies*, pp. 279–80.

137 ‘The Bábís of Persia II. Their Literature and Doctrines’, *JRAS* 21 (1889), p. 911.

138 *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, p. 19.

139 In a letter to the Comte de Circourt (17 May 1864), Gobineau refers to ‘... la publication de l’évangile arabe de la nouvelle secte des Bábys, qui va paraître dans le Journal Asiatique. J’ai envoyé texte, traductions et notes, à (Jules) Mohl’ (*Études Gobiniennes*, 1966, p.132). He had already mentioned the translation to Mohl earlier that month: ‘Je vais vous préparer le Diwân bâby’ (letter dated 1 May, quoted *Revue de littérature comparée*, July-Sept. 1966, p. 350; see also letter pp. 351–52). For some reason (possibly the inadequacy of the translation), this version was never published by Mohl.

140 4669, 5804, 5805, 5806, 5807, 5780, 6141, 6142, 6143, 6154, 6248, 6435, 6518, 6531, 6610.

141 4668, 4669, and 6518.

Kitáb al-asmá' which, as we have noted, had been placed in the hands of the Russian consul, Nicolai Khanykov, by the Báb's secretary.

Rosen himself owned another copy of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* based on a transcript in the library of 'Alí Qulí Mírzá I'tiḏád as-Saltāna and given to the orientalist by Jean Grigorovitch, first translator at the Russian legation in Tehran. According to Rosen, his manuscript contained important differences to that kept in the Institut des Langues Orientales.

Leiden University Library

A tiny collection of Bábí manuscripts, as yet poorly catalogued, may be found in the University Library in Leiden. It is interesting to note how they came to be there. In a letter to E. G. Browne (9 October 1896), a Mr H. Dunlop, agent for a trading company in Shíráz, wrote that he had a number of Bábí manuscripts for sale, all of which he had obtained from Bábís in the city.¹⁴² Browne thought the items of little value, and since Dunlop was asking a high price, he recommended that he offer them instead to the British Museum.

Not much later, however, Browne received several Bábí manuscripts from the University of Leiden, asking him for identifications. Although Browne does not say so, these were Dunlop's manuscripts, as a comparison of the latter's original lists with that subsequently made for Leiden by Browne will show. Further confirmation exists in a statement in the Leiden handlist to the effect that the texts had been 'received from Mr Dunlop, Tehran, in 1898'.¹⁴³

Most of these items are, in fact, Bahá'í texts. Three, however, are works of the Báb: a collection of prayers for the days of the week; part of the *Tafsír* of the *Súrat al-baqara* (verses 70–94 only); and a very early and important copy of the *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*, dated Jumádá II 1263/May 1847.

Collection of A. L. M. Nicolas

The private collection of Bábí manuscripts owned by A. L. M. Nicolas, although far from as fine or substantial as Browne's, was nonetheless sizeable and contained a number of valuable items. Most of these came from Azalí

142 This letter, with another and three lists of manuscripts, may be found in Folder 1 in the Browne Collection, CUL.

143 P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands (Codices Manuscripti VII)* (Leiden, 1957). The handlist does not identify several of these works. Copies of Browne's list may be found in Folder 1 of the Browne Collection, CUL, and accompanying a letter to Professor De Goeje (March 1899), in the files of the Oriental Department, Leiden University.

sources, mainly from the pen of the indefatigable Riḍvān 'Alí. Unfortunately, Nicolas never, to my knowledge, prepared a catalogue of his manuscripts, and after his death his library was auctioned (12 December 1969). The greater part of the Bábí collection was purchased on behalf of the Bahá'í authorities in Haifa (who now hold them in their archives), but others were bought by unknown bidders, and the unity of the collection has been permanently disrupted.

The Bábí manuscripts bought for the Bahá'í World Centre were the following (identified by the lot number from the sale catalogue): 101 (three manuscripts); 102 (two MSS); 103 (two MSS); 104 (2 MSS); 105 (1 MS); 106 (1 MS); 107 (2 MSS); 108 (3 MSS); 111 (1 MS); 112 (2 MSS); 113 (3 MSS); 114 (1 MS); 116 (1 MS). Since the sale catalogue is the only published list of manuscripts in Nicolas' possession, I have used it in this survey where reference is made to items originally owned by him. It should be pointed out, however, that this catalogue is far from reliable, especially in respect to identification of individual items.

Bahá'í archives in Tehran

When I visited them in 1977, the Iran National Bahá'í Archives (INBA) in Tehran presented difficulties to the scholar who wished to consult manuscript materials. The location of the actual archives was a closely-guarded secret known to only a few. Sadly, what might then have seemed a somewhat exaggerated fear of destruction has been shown to have been simple foresight, and it is my profound hope that the location of the archives has not been discovered.

To compensate for the need to allow the real archives to remain untouched, xerographic copies of all manuscripts held there had been made available at another location, where I was able to consult them. I was also permitted to examine the original manuscripts, which were brought to me from the real archives to enable me to make comparisons with the xerographic copies. Unfortunately, the quality of the latter was often poor, pages were regularly dropped or misplaced, and the classification of texts was unsystematic and unreliable. To make matters worse, no one had attempted to make even a provisional catalogue.

Until my arrival in Tehran in the summer of 1977, most of the Bábí manuscripts represented in the INBA had remained unidentified. Working

with the originals, I was able to identify virtually all of them, a total of twenty-eight volumes.¹⁴⁴

This collection seems to have reached these archives generally through Bahá'í families descended from early Bábís. A number (3006C, 5010C, 6001C, 6004C, 6013C, 6016C, 6018C) seem to have been in the possession of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alí Nabil ibn Nabil Qazvíní.¹⁴⁵ Volumes 1004C, 1006C, 4008C, 6002C, 6015C, 6016C, 6018C, 6019C, and 6021C represent single works such as the Persian *Bayán*, *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, or *Kitáb al-asmá'*, while the remainder are compilations, in some cases of considerable size and richness. The number of titles represented is unusually great, giving this obscure collection the distinction of being one of the most complete in the world.

The following manuscripts from the INBA are of particular interest: 1004C, a copy of the Persian *Bayán* in the hand of Mullá Aḥmad Mu'allim Ḥisári (a very early Bábí who was at one time involved in a serious dispute with Qurrat al-'Ayn); 4011C, containing twenty-six separate items, among them the *Nubuwwa kháṣṣa*, *Kitáb ar-rúḥ* (a very rare text), several early *risálas* and *tafsírs*, the *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*, numerous letters and prayers addressed to individuals, a letter to Muḥammad Sháh, another to Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí, his Prime Minister, several *khuṭbas* written at the time of the Báb's pilgrimage to Mecca, and a final *risála* by an unnamed Bábí, dated Dhú'l-Ḥijja 1266/October 1850 (part of this collection is dated Jumada II 1261/June 1845—a very early date indeed);¹⁴⁶ 5006C, which contains several prayers, the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, the *Kitáb a'mál as-sana*, the *ziyára* for 'Alí, the *Ṣaḥífa makhzúna*, a large number of *khuṭbas* written during the Báb's ḥajj journey, several *risálas* and *tafsírs*, and a number of letters to individuals. (This entire compilation was transcribed by a certain 'Muḥammad 'Alí' between Rajab 1262/June-July 1846 and Jumada II

144 These are: 1004C, 1006C, 2007C, 3006C, 4008C, 4011C, 4012C, 5006C, 5014C (with a Xerox copy misnumbered 6003C), 6001C, 6002C, [6003C = 5014C1, 6004C, 6005C, 6006C, 6007C, 6009C, 6010C, 6011C, 6012C, 6013C, 6014C, 6015C, 6016C, 6018C, 6019C, 6020C, 6021C, 7009C. I include in this number four volumes (6019C, 6020C, 6021C, and 7009C) which I have only seen in reproduction, but which I was assured are extant in MS form in the main archives.

145 A brother of Shaykh Kāzīm Samandar: see the history of Áqá Mírzá 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Samandarzáda in Samandar, *Tárikh*, pp. 371–445 and Samandar in *ibid.*, pp. 36–50.

146 This date appears on p. 179 after the *tafsír* on the *Ḥadīth al-járiyya*; the date after the *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn* (p. 252) is now illegible. The manuscript of these sections seems to be in the hand of one 'Ḥájí Muḥammad 'Alí'.

1263/May-June 1847, between Karbalá', Mashhad, and Tehran;¹⁴⁷ 5014C, containing an incomplete text of the *Tafsír* on the *Surat al-kawthar*, the complete *Tafsír* on the *Súrat al-ḥamd*, the *Ziyára Jám'a kabíra*, the *Ziyárat az-Zahrá*, a large number of prayers (many in reply to individuals), numerous *risálas* and letters to individuals, the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, a letter from Qurrat al-'Ayn in reply to Mullá Jawád Vilyání,¹⁴⁸ and a final *risála* by an unidentified Bábí; 6007C, a collection of manuscripts in different hands bound in one volume and containing several letters and prayers, no fewer than thirty-one *ziyáras*, the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, the *Ṣaḥífa baḡna'l-ḥaramayn*, the *Kitáb a'mál as-sana*, and part of the *Kitáb-i panj sha'n*; and 6010C, which contains a large number of *tafsírs*, the *Nubuwwa kháṣṣa*, and a considerable quantity of *risálas* and commentaries, most of which appear to have been written in Iṣfahán, several for the governor, Manúchihr Khán Mu'tamad ad-Dawla. It should be apparent from the foregoing that the chief value of the compilations in this archive is the number of early works they contain.

In view of the serious depredations made on Bahá'í properties in Iran since the Islamic revolution, the fate of the INBA and other Bahá'í libraries there gives cause for concern. Obviously, access to the original materials discussed above and elsewhere throughout the present study is out of the question, even for an unaffiliated academic like myself. I can only express the hope that, whatever the fate of these materials, they will at least be preserved for future research.

During the 1970s, the National Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Iran, concerned about the preservation of manuscript materials, permitted the production of a limited number of Xerox volumes reproduced from originals in the possession of various bodies and individuals. Bound in green (in at least two styles of binding) and numbered, these volumes contain numerous Bábí and Bahá'í materials of importance, but it is unfortunately extremely difficult to establish precise details about the provenance of the originals or the distribution of the copies. A sizeable (but incomplete) set of these volumes is kept at the Afnan Library in London, and I believe there are others in the Bahá'í International Archives in Haifa. Since these volumes constitute a category of materials distinct from those in the INBA, I propose

147 The importance of this compilation MS lies in the range of its contents and the early date of transcription. Otherwise, it is quite poor: the scribe was careless, and his work displays a limited knowledge of Arabic.

148 This important letter is printed in Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, (vol. 3, pp. 484–501), without any indication of its provenance. I assume that Mázandarání's source was this same manuscript copy.

to refer to them here by the clumsy title of the Iran National Bahá'í Manuscript Collection (INBMC).

Bahá'í archives in Haifa

The Bábí manuscripts held in the International Bahá'í Archives (IBA) at the Bahá'í international complex in Haifa, Israel originate from similar sources as those in the INBA and INBMC. Most appear to have been sent to Palestine during the lifetimes of Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh (1817–1892), his son 'Abbás (1844–1921), and his grandson Shoghi Effendi Rabbání (1897–1957). Since few records seem to have been kept, it is now often impossible to trace the exact provenance of a given text. No full inventory of manuscripts has been completed, and for this reason I have generally been unable to provide reference numbers for many important volumes known to me as being kept there. It should, however, be pointed out that excellent conservation work is currently being carried out at Haifa and that it is planned to make microfilm copies of all manuscripts in the archives.

Less positively, there are serious restrictions on the use of these materials by researchers, whether Bahá'í or non-Bahá'í. Problems of space and financing mean that direct access to manuscripts or facsimiles stored in the IBA is entirely barred, although there do seem to be plans to allow partial access in future. Theoretically, it is possible to obtain Xerox copies of documents held at the IBA, but this seems to be subject to restrictions on the type of material that may be released and the status of the individual researcher.¹⁴⁹

To give some idea of the range and richness of materials held in Haifa, let me indicate the numbers of copies of some important texts. There are six manuscripts of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, one of which is dated 1261/1845; four copies of the *Şahífa makhzúna*; two of the *Tafsír* of the *basmala*; one of the *Tafsír* of the *Súrat al-baqara* (from the Nicolas collection); two of the *Şahífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*; three of the *Kitáb ar-rúḥ*; four of the *Şahífa 'adliyya*; six of the *Tafsír* on the *Súrat al-kawthar*; three of the *Tafsír* of the *Súra wa'l-'aşr*; four of the *Nubuwwa kháşşa*; twelve of the Persian *Bayán*; two of the Arabic *Bayán*; six of the *Dalá'il-i sab'a*; eight of the *Kitáb al-asmá'*; and five of the *Kitáb-i panj sha'n*. As time passes and more manuscripts find their way to this international archive of the Bahá'í religion, the collection will undoubtedly become the largest and probably the most important in the world.

149 For details of arrangements at Haifa and plans for future development there, see William P. Collins, 'Library and Archival Resources at the Bahá'í World Centre', *Bahá'í Studies Bulletin* 3:4 (December, 1985), pp. 65–83.

Azalí manuscripts

The position of Azalí-owned manuscripts is, unfortunately, much murkier. I had originally assumed that the Azalí community in Iran would have some sort of library in which texts would be kept, but in the course of several meetings with individual Azalís in 1977, I was informed that there is no central library for the sect and that manuscripts are scattered among various families and individuals. Although it is quite possible that the Azalís, like their Bahá'í rivals, may wish to keep the existence of an archive secret, I think it more likely that there really is none. Unlike the Bahá'ís, who had a well-developed bureaucracy and a centralized administration, the Azalís have never been much organized. Despite many requests on my part, I was not shown any manuscripts during my stay in Tehran in 1977, nor have I seen any since.

That such manuscripts exist seems fairly certain: at the very least there are those which have been used as the bases of the various printed or offset editions of works by the Báb produced by the Azalís in Tehran. And there is, fortunately, no shortage of manuscripts of Azalí provenance in several European libraries.

I have been unable to determine what ultimately befell the manuscripts of writings by the Báb which were in the possession of Şubḥ-i Azal until his death in Famagusta on 29 April 1911. In *Materials* (pp. 314–15), Browne states that Harry Lukach,¹⁵⁰ the secretary to the High Commissioner of Cyprus, wrote to him on 23 January 1913, enclosing a letter from a Syrian named Mughabghab, a resident of Famagusta. In his letter, Mughabghab offered his help should Browne wish to enter into negotiations for the purchase of the late exilarch's manuscripts. An enclosed list of texts consisted of a mere nine items, all of them works by Azal himself. Browne considered the prices asked to be excessive and did not pursue the matter further.

What happened to these manuscripts is open to conjecture. Presumably any other Bábí manuscripts remained in the keeping of members of Şubḥ-i Azal's family in Cyprus. Some time ago, the two surviving daughters of Mírzá Hádí Dawlatábádí¹⁵¹ visited Cyprus, and from what one of them has told the present writer, they appear to have brought some manuscripts back to

150 He appears to have later changed his name to 'Luke'.

151 Hájí Mírzá Hádí was Şubḥ-i Azal's appointed successor. He died, however, in 1326/1908, three years before Azal (see Bámdád, *Rijál*, vol. 6, pp. 288–91; Fayḏí, *La'álí-yi dirakhshán*, pp. 220–24). After that, Şubḥ-i Azal appointed Hádí's son, Hájí Mírzá Yaḥyá Dawlatábádí (1279/1862–63—1359/1940) as future head of the sect. Yaḥyá, however, devoted his energies to education and literature and seems to have had little to do with Babism (see Bámdád, *Rijál*, vol. 4, pp. 437–38).

Iran. I have also been informed that a section of another Azalí family resident in Tehran, the members of which are descendants of Mírzá Yaḥyá, possesses (or at one time possessed) other papers brought from Cyprus. It will undoubtedly require a change in conditions in Iran, as well as great tact and patience to gain access to these manuscripts.

The Institute of History and Culture, Baghdad

A single manuscript collection exists in the Mu'assasa al-'Ámma li'l-Áthár wa'l-Turáth in Baghdad. This was originally in the possession of the late 'Abbás al-'Azzáwí and was subsequently registered with the Institute as number 10824 in its manuscript collection. It contains MSS of the *Tafsír Súrat al-baqara*, the *Tafsír ḥadīth al-járiyya*, and the *Tafsír Súrat al-kawthar*, as well as a collection of Islamic traditions concerning the Mahdí, and other materials as yet unidentified. The scribe was a certain Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Alláh, who was, according to al-'Azzáwí, a writer of the Báb's letters who became known in the course of the events concerning the sect in Iraq in the years 1260/1844 and 1261/1845. If this is so, this manuscript may be significantly early.¹⁵²

Authenticity

Before passing to a systematic survey of the individual compositions of the Báb, we had best pause to discuss the vexed question of just how authentic the extant manuscripts may be. This is difficult ground. Both Azalí and Bahá'í sources contain allegations that the opposite party has corrupted the writings of the Báb. The bitter animus that has existed from the beginning between the members of both sects has not helped create a climate favourable to rational discussion.

The Bahá'í view of the situation is summed up by Shoghi Effendi, who writes: 'The books of the Báb have not as yet been printed in the original. Except for the Bayán, the Seven Proofs [i.e. the *Dalá'il-i sab'a*] and the Commentary on the Súrih of Joseph [i.e. the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*], we cannot be sure of the authenticity of most of His other works as the text has been corrupted by the unfaithful.'¹⁵³

And the Azalí position? In the second of his letters to E. G. Browne (received 11 October 1889), Şubḥ-i Azal wrote: 'This book [i.e., the *Shu'ún-i*

152 See 'Abbás Kázim Murád, *al-Bábiyya wa'l-Bahá'íyya wa maşádir dirásatihimá*, Baghdad, 1982, pp. 173-74.

153 Shoghi Effendi, *Dawn of a New Day: Messages to India 1923-1957* (New Delhi, 1970), p. 95.

khamṣa/Panj sha'n, a copy of which was enclosed] is by His Holiness the Point [i.e., the Báb]. There has been no tampering with it on the part of certain persons, save in so far as may have resulted from slips of the pen But at least it has not been tampered with by outsiders, as certain persons have tampered with some passages, whereby textual corruptions have arisen.¹⁵⁴

In a letter to the Bahá'í scribe Zayn al-Muqarrribín, Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh speaks of the preparation of forgeries by his brother: 'At the time when I departed from Gog and Magog,¹⁵⁵ that is the twin unbelievers, I sent a box (*ja'ba*) containing sacred writings in the hands of the Báb and Áqá Sayyid Ḥusayn [Yazdí], along with the seal¹⁵⁶ of the Báb, to him [Ṣubḥ-i Azal] who had turned aside from God. In the first years of this wonderful cause, for a four-year period, we had given instructions for him to make copies from the originals in the Báb's hand;¹⁵⁷ manuscripts transcribed by that unbeliever in the style of the Báb's handwriting are still extant. In these days, he has once again begun to make copies, and whatsoever Satan inspires him to write, he writes and seals with the Báb's seal¹⁵⁸

This matter is made clearer in a letter written in Edirne by Ḥusayn 'Alí to an Azalí Bábí named 'Alí Siráj Iṣfahání, dated between 1866 and 1868: 'At the time when I separated myself from my brother [Mírzá Yahyá], I sent him a box containing writings, *dawá'ir* [a species of talisman—see later], and *hayákil* [the same] in the Báb's hand. This was accompanied by a message saying "since you want to pride yourself on having the writings of God, even though you have turned away from him, these are being sent to you. You may forward these *hayákil* to people in different parts and lay claim to a station for yourself; or you may give them to anyone who comes to visit you, as you are even now busy doing. Indeed, you have added certain forged words of your own to those words, in order to cause the feet of those who have known God to stumble.¹⁵⁹

Shoghi Effendi emphasizes these same accusations, speaking of Ṣubḥ-i Azal's 'corruption, in scores of instances, of the text of the Báb's writings ...

154 Quoted Browne, *Description and Catalogue*, pp. 462–63.

155 'Yájúj wa Májúj'. The reference is to Bahá' Alláh's separation from Ṣubḥ-i Azal and Sayyid Muḥammad Iṣfahání in Edirne on 22 Shawwál 1282/10 March 1866.

156 Shoghi Effendi refers to 'seals' (*God Passes By*, p. 167).

157 i.e., in Baghdad: see above.

158 In Ishráq Khávarí, *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 4, p. 99.

159 *Lawḥ-i siráj* in *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 92–93.

[and] his insertion of references in those writings to a succession in which he nominated himself and his descendants as heirs of the Báb.¹⁶⁰

In conversations with Azalís, I have frequently heard similar charges levelled against the Bahá'í leadership, although less has been written on the subject from the Azalí perspective. It would obviously be premature to attempt to reach a final verdict on this matter. Broadly speaking, however, it should be equally clear that little is to be gained from any debate conducted along partisan lines. To argue that a given text must be corrupt merely because it is an Azalí or a Bahá'í transcription is to cater to existing biases and will get us no further forward in the task of establishing the text's reliability. If a broad hypothesis about Azalí or Bahá'í corruption is ever to be developed, it must be on the basis of a thorough scientific study of the manuscripts themselves.

It is my own feeling, based on a wide reading of manuscripts from numerous sources, that very little corruption has taken place. Shoghi Effendi is certainly seriously wrong in suggesting that we can depend on the texts of only three works. Scribal errors abound, of course, and we do indeed possess very few manuscripts that have not originated with either the Bahá'ís or the Azalís. Nevertheless, both Azalí and Bahá'í texts of the Báb's writings show a high degree of consistency and general reliability. Even quotations in late works by Azalí and Bahá'í writers show relatively little divergence from standard texts. I have yet to see unmistakable evidence of textual interference that could not equally and more easily be explained by simple carelessness or the existence of alternative versions.

It is, I think, safe to conclude that the greater part of the Báb's writings, particularly those dating from the earliest period, remains almost wholly untouched. The Bahá'í/Azalí division was and is centred on the question of succession and not on any specific doctrinal issue; it is unlikely that passages illustrating the Báb's doctrine would have been interfered with. We can, therefore, feel confident in studying the development of that doctrine on the basis of the texts in our possession, even if corruption did occur in limited cases.

160 *God Passes By*, p. 165. I have not myself seen any instances of such interpolation. For a discussion of the issue of Şubḥ-i Azal's succession, see MacEoin, 'Divisions and Authority Claims', pp. 96–99.

II Early works

Works written before Jumádá 1260/May 1844

Although the Báb is generally reckoned to have made his claim to be the gate of the Hidden Imám on the evening of 22 May 1844,¹⁶¹ his own belief that he had been given a divine mission dates from slightly earlier.¹⁶² And he appears to have written one or two pieces prior to that date. It seems to have been a visionary experience, in which he dreamt that he drank blood from the severed head of the Imám Ḥusayn, that marks the beginning of his writings in the persona of the 'Báb'.

This dream is described in the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya*: 'Know that the appearance of these verses, prayers, and divine sciences is the result of a dream in which I saw the blessed head of the Prince of Martyrs [Imám Ḥusayn], severed from his sacred body, alongside the heads of his kindred. I drank seven drops of the blood of that martyred one, out of pure and consummate love. From the grace vouchsafed by the blood of the Imám, my breast was filled with convincing verses and mighty prayers. Praise be to God for having given me to drink of the blood of him who is his proof, and for having made of it the reality of my heart.'¹⁶³

The dating of this dream is not altogether easy. Zarandí cites a very similar passage from an unspecified work of the Báb, which he says was written in 1260/1844. In this passage, it says that the dream occurred 'in the year before the declaration of My Mission'.¹⁶⁴ Other evidence suggests either

161 See Shirázi, Persian *Bayán* 2:7 (p. 30); Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 61.

162 For fuller details of the circumstances leading up to the Báb's announcement of his claims, see D. MacEoin, 'From Shaykhism to Babism' (unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge, 1979), pp. 140–42; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 131–32, 146–52, 168.

163 Shirázi, *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya* (Tehran, n.d.), p. 14. cf. two dreams of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í narrated in Ḥusayn 'Alí Maḥfúz (ed.), *Sira Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í* (Baghdad, 1376/1957), pp. 17–18; Shaykh Abu'l-Qásim Khán Ibráhímí, *Fihrist-i kutub-i Shaykh Aḥmad-i Aḥsá'í wa sá'ir mashá'yikh-i 'izám*, 3rd. ed. (Kerman, n.d. [1977]), Part One, pp. 139–40; Shaykh 'Abd Alláh al-Aḥsá'í, *Risála ... sharḥ-i ḥálát-i Shaykh Aḥmad-i Aḥsá'í* (Bombay, 1309/1892–93), pp. 18–19.

164 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 253. Ishráq Khávarí is incorrect (*Muḥádirát*, 2 vols, Tehran, BE 120/1963–64, vol. 2, p. 700) in stating that the passage quoted from the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya* and that referred to by Zarandí are one and the same. The very fact that Zarandí gives the date of the passage he quotes as 1260/1844 should have been sufficient indication that he was not citing the *Ṣaḥīfa*, written later than that. In any case, the two passages are in other respects quite dissimilar.

that the passage quoted by Zarandí is corrupt (and may even be a rendering of the *Ṣaḥífa-yi 'adliyya* passage from memory) or that by the phrase 'the year before the declaration of My Mission' the Báb is referring to the period before the Persian New Year in March 1844, rather than to the Islamic year 1259/1843. (It is worth remembering that the Báb later made the Iranian New Year the first day of the Bábí year.)

In the *Kitáb al-fihrist* (Book of the Catalogue), written in Búshihir on his return from the ḥájj on 15 Jumádá II 1261/21 June 1845, the Báb clearly states that 'the first day on which the spirit descended into his heart was the middle [i.e., the fifteenth] of the month of Rabí' II.'¹⁶⁵ We are also told that fifteen months had passed since that experience, so this allows us to place it firmly in the year 1260/1844, about one month before the arrival of Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í in Shíráz. It would seem to be this same experience (or a development of it) to which the Báb refers in his later *Dalá'il-i sab'a*: 'In the year sixty my heart was filled with manifest verses, certain knowledge, and the testimony of God.'¹⁶⁶

Early compositions in Búshihir

Before this, however, Sayyid 'Alí Muḥammad had already begun to compose religious treatises. According to Nicolas (who does not, unfortunately, cite his authority), his first work was a treatise entitled the *Risála-yi fiqhíyya*. This was composed when he was nineteen and living in Búshihir.¹⁶⁷

Confirmation that the future prophet was already producing written works during his years as a merchant is provided in an account given by Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpaygání: 'I myself heard the late Ḥájí Siyyid Javád-i-Karbalá'í [a very early Bábí] say that when the Báb was pursuing the career of a merchant in Búshihir, he [i.e., Sayyid Jawad] ... because of his friendship with the uncles of the Báb used to stay with them whenever he visited either Shíráz or Búshihir. One day Ḥájí Mírzá Siyyid Muḥammad came to him with a request. "Give some good counsel to my nephew Tell him not to

165 See text in INBA MSS 6003C, p. 286, 4011C, p. 63. This passage is quoted by Nicolas (*Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, p. 206), who thought it was from the *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*. It would appear from a statement on page 47 of *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed* that Nicolas' copy of the *Ṣaḥífa* had been somehow interpolated with the completely separate *Kitáb al-fihrist* (a *risála* of only a few short pages).

166 Quoted Nicolas, *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*. This passage is not in my copy of the text.

167 *ibid.*, pp. 189–90.

write certain things which can only arouse the jealousy of some people: these people cannot bear to see a young merchant of little schooling show such erudition, they feel envious.”¹⁶⁸

The Iran National Bahá'í Archives contains a file of the Báb's commercial accounts, invoices, and bills in *siyáq* script, written between 1250/1834 and 1260/1840 (INBA 32). I have found nothing in these of any doctrinal importance, but a close study might shed light on the Báb's commercial dealings during this period. There are, for example, references to transactions with British ships, indicating possible direct contact with foreigners.

Early compositions after the return to Shíráz

'Alí Muḥammad continued to compose religious tracts after returning to Shíráz from Búshíhr in 1842, at the age of twenty-three. He married shortly after that, and his wife later related that 'in the evenings, as is the fashion with merchants, he would ask for a bundle of papers and his account book. But I noticed that these papers were not commercial records. I would sometimes ask him what they were, and he would reply with a smile that "this is the reckoning book of mankind (*daftar-i ḥisáb-i khalá'iq*)". If an outsider arrived suddenly, he would place the cloth (in which they had been wrapped) over the papers.'¹⁶⁹

Risála fī'l-sulúk

Several copies do exist of a short work which appears to have been written during the later years of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí's life (and thus before the commencement of the Báb's own career).¹⁷⁰ This is the *Risála fī'l-sulúk*, a treatise of roughly three pages on the theme of right behaviour (*sulúk*). Here, we are presented with a schema of four pillars supporting religion; these are divine oneness (*tawḥíd*), prophethood (*nubuwwa*), the imamate (*wiláya*), and the body of believers (*ash-shí'a*). Such an arrangement shows close parallels to the Shaykhí belief in a 'fourth pillar' in addition to the three basic pillars of religion.

Evidence that this treatise may be dated to the period suggested is to be found in a passage near the end, where the Báb refers to 'my lord and

168 From a narrative by Ḥájj Mírzá Ḥabíb Alláh Afnán, quoted in H. M. Balyuzi, *The Báb* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 39–40 (slightly altered).

169 From a narrative by Muníra Khánum, relating a conversation with Khadíja Khánum, quoted Muḥammad 'Alí Faydí, *Khándán-i Afnán* (Tehran, BE 127/1970–71), p. 163.

170 The period in question stretches roughly from 1256/1840 or 1247/1841, when the Báb spent a period of eight months in Karbalá', studying under Rashtí, to the latter's death at the end of 1260/beginning of 1844.

protector and teacher, Ḥájj Sayyid Kázim ar-Rashtí, may God prolong his life.'

At least five manuscripts of this *risála* are still in existence (see Appendix One).

Risála fi'l-tasdí

In each of the above collections, the text of the *Risála fi'l-sulúk* is preceded (or, in the case of INBMC 53, followed) by another short treatise, possibly from the same period. This is entitled *Risála fi'l-tasdí*, which deals with the question of 'right guidance on the path' (*tasdí*). In one instance, the *Risála fi'l-tasdí* occurs without the *Risála fi'l-sulúk*. Six manuscripts still exist (see Appendix One).

Ziyára jámi'a kabíra

A great deal of discussion has centred around an early work of the Báb's entitled the *Ziyára jámi'a kabíra* or 'The Large Prayer of Visitation for Muḥammad, Fátima, and all the Imáms'. As we shall see shortly, this long prayer has been confused, first with the Báb's pilgrimage prayer for 'Alí, then with the *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*. One confusion has led to another. First, Gobineau spoke of a 'Journal' (or Récit) du Pélerinage' as one of the first works of the Báb.¹⁷¹ Next, Browne identified this with a text he had obtained in Kerman, merely pausing to correct Gobineau's impression that the work in question was some sort of pilgrimage narrative.¹⁷² Since Browne had also read in the *Násikh at-tawárikh* that the Báb had written a *ziyára* for the Imám 'Alí, he leapt to the conclusion that his own text must be the same prayer—which it is not. However, this also led Browne to identify the prayer in his possession as 'the earliest composition of the Báb',¹⁷³ and as 'the sole record of this early period of his life, before he put forward any claim to divine inspiration.'¹⁷⁴

This, in turn, seems to have misled Amanat into declaring that the *ziyára jámi'a kabíra* (which he correctly identifies, but under the title *Ziyárat Námih-yi Ál Alláh*) was 'perhaps written during or immediately after his pilgrimage to the 'Atabát'.¹⁷⁵ Other than quoting Browne (who is, of course, relying on Gobineau for his dating), Amanat provides no evidence whatever

171 *Religions et philosophies*, p. 136.

172 'The Bábís of Persia II', p. 896.

173 *ibid.*, p. 897.

174 *ibid.*, p. 901.

175 *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 138. Amanat is incorrect in stating that Browne confused this work with the *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn* (fn. 152): it is, in fact, Nicolas who does that (*Le Livre des Sept Preuves* [Paris, 1902], p. ii–iii).

for assigning the *ziyāra* to this period. This is not to say that he is mistaken, just that, as things stand, the evidence for it seems shaky. I am sure the work is early, but probably not as early as this: it is, after all, a prayer for the entire holy family, not just Ḥusayn or any of the other Imāms buried at the ‘atabāt.

Tafsīr Súrat al-baqara

In the account of the conversion of Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú’í in the *Tárikh-i jadíd*,¹⁷⁶ it is related that, when he first visited the Báb’s house in Shíráz, he noticed several books on a shelf. He took one of these down and found it to be a commentary on the *Surat al-baqara*. The Báb indicated that he himself was its author.

As we will see, other accounts of Bushrú’í’s conversion speak of the Báb’s commentary on the *Súra Yúsuf* (known as the *Qayyúm al-asmá’* or the *Aḥsan al-qiṣaṣ*) and refer to it as the young prophet’s first work.¹⁷⁷ This has led to some confusion, confusion which seems to me unnecessary.

References to the *Qayyúm al-asmá’* must be taken as meaning the first work composed subsequent to the inception of Shírází’s prophetic career, some of the text having been written during his initial meetings with Bushrú’í. Alternatively, such statements may have been made in simple ignorance of earlier, less well-known works.

The text of the *tafsīr* on the *Súrat al-baqara* seems to confirm such a view. According to the opening passage,¹⁷⁸ the text was begun in the month of Dhú’l-Qa’da 1259/November to December 1843, when the Báb was in Shíráz. In this section he relates how he dreamt that the city of Karbalá’ (*al-arḍ al-muqadassa*) rose up in pieces (*dharrat^{an} dharrat^{an}*) and came to his house to stand before him, at which moment he was informed of the imminent death of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí, an event which took place in the early hours of 11 Dhú’l-Ḥijja 1259/2 January 1844.¹⁷⁹ The *tafsīr*, the Báb says, was begun on the day following this dream.

176 Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, pp. 34–39 (and see especially, p. 35). This account, related by Mirzá Wahháb Khurásání, is said by Hamadání to have been taken directly from the history by Mirzá Jání Káshání. Browne states (*ibid*, p. 344) that the version in the *Nuḡtat al-káf* ‘agrees substantially, and often word for word, with that given in the *New History*’, but simple comparison shows that they are, in fact, completely different.

177 See, for example, ‘Abbás Effendi, *A Traveller’s Narrative*, p. 3: ‘... the first book which he wrote, in explanation of the *Súra* of Joseph.’

178 This opening passage generally occurs before the *tafsīr* of the *Súrat al-fátihā*, which precedes that of the *Súrat al-baqara*; but it can be found in other positions or is entirely absent (as in the Cambridge MS). The MSS used by me for references to this passage are found in INBA 6004C, 6012C, and 6014C.

179 Al-Qatíl ibn al-Karbalá’í, ‘Risála’ in Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 509; Ibráhímí, *Fihrist*, p. 122. See also MacEoin, ‘From Shaykhism to Babism’, p. 115. In a letter written from prison to an uncle, the Báb says that Rashtí ‘died nineteen days before the revelation of the mystery’ and indicates that the beginning of that revelation was the start of the year 1260 (letter quoted Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 223). Zarandí gives the date of Rashtí’s death as the day of ‘Arafa 1259, which is 9 Dhú’l-Ḥijja/31 December 1843 (*Dawn-Breakers*, p. 45).

According to a majority of the manuscripts consulted by me, this work was completed up to the first *juz'* of the Qur'án (verse 141 of the *súra*) in Muḥarram 1260/January to February 1844.¹⁸⁰ INBMC 69, however, contains an additional thirty-eight pages, taking the commentary as far as verse 133.

This means that the first part of this *tafsír* was completed by the time Bushrú'í arrived in Shíráz in Jumádá I 1260/May 1844, in time for him to find a copy in the Báb's house as related. The second half was finished in the course of the same year and was among the works in the Báb's possession when he travelled to Mecca some months later. It was, as we shall see, one of several manuscripts stolen from him while en route.

Mázandarání states¹⁸¹ that several manuscripts of the first volume exist, although he does not reveal their location. It may be that he is referring to those copies held at the INBA. Thirteen complete and two partial manuscripts are known to me (see Appendix One).

Since this *tafsír* is the only extended work of the Báb's written before May 1844 and still extant, it is of unique importance as a source of concrete evidence for the development of his thought in the six months or so that led up to the initial announcement of a prophetic claim.¹⁸²

Works written between May 1844 and September 1846

This period stretches from the moment of Shírází's announcement of his claim to be the gate of the coming Imám (22 May 1844), through the long *hajj* journey and a brief stay in Búshihir (September 1844 to June 1845), to the fifteen months that elapsed between his return to Shíráz and his departure for Iṣfahán. Before looking at the works written over this period, it may be as well to try to clear up some confusion surrounding its chronology.

180 Thus INBA 6004C and 6012C, as well as a copy in Haifa (originally in the possession of Nicolas. INBA 6014C bears the date Dhú'l-Ḥijja 1260/December 1844 to January 1845. This is almost certainly corrupt, since there is evidence that the second part of the *tafsír* must have been completed before then.

181 *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 2, p. 61.

182 For a discussion of this work within the context of Islamic *tafsír* literature, see B. Todd Lawson, 'Interpretation as Revelation: The Qur'án Commentary of Sayyid 'Alí Muḥammad Shírází, the Báb (1819–1850)', in Andrew Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'án* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 233–42.

Until recently, it was widely assumed that the Báb had arrived back in Iran from Arabia either in Şafar 1261/February-March 1845¹⁸³ or Rajab/July.¹⁸⁴ In 1977, however, I discovered what seems to be the correct date for his arrival in Búshihir in a manuscript in the INBA.

In a copy of the *Kitáb a'mál as-sana* in manuscript 5006C (the section in question being dated 1262/1846), at the end of the first of two untitled prayers between súras five and six, the words ^ا وارد بوشهر ^{ج ۱} (8 J[umádá] I, arrived in Búshihir) have been written above the line. This gives the date 8 Jumádá I 1261/15 May 1845 as the day of his return to Iran.

That this date must be correct is confirmed by the text of a sermon (*khuṭba*) given by the Báb in Jidda and contained in the same manuscript collection (and in a photocopy of another manuscript kept elsewhere, 3036C). In this sermon, the Báb gives the dates of the major events which occurred in the course of his pilgrimage journey, up to and including his final departure from Jidda. According to this account, he left Shíráz on 26 Sha'bán 1260/10 September 1844; arrived at Búshihir on 6 Ramaḍán/19 September; left the port on 19 Ramaḍán/2 October; reached Mecca on 1 Dhú'l-Ḥijja/12 December; completed the ḥájj rites on 13 Dhú'l-Ḥijja/24 December; left Mecca on 27 Dhú'l-Ḥijja/7 January 1845; arrived in Medina on 7 Muḥarram 1261/16 January; stayed there twenty-seven days, leaving on 4 Şafar/12 February (which is conclusive evidence that he cannot have arrived there in that month); took twelve days to travel to Jidda, where he arrived on 16 Şafar/24 February; embarked on the ship for his homeward journey on 19 Şafar/27 February; and finally sailed for Iran on 24 Şafar/4 March.¹⁸⁵

The journey to Búshihir took about two and a half months, roughly the same time taken for the outward trip. The Báb remained in the port for just over a month. A letter discovered several years ago was written by the Báb to an uncle in Shíráz from Kunár-Takhta (on the Búshihir-Shíráz road) on 24 Jumádá II 1261/30 June 1845. This in turn gives us an indication of the date of the Báb's arrival in Shíráz, about one week's journey from Kunár-Takhta.¹⁸⁶

183 Thus Balyuzi, *The Báb*, p. 77.

184 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 142: 'He landed at Búshihir nine lunar months after He had embarked on His pilgrimage from that port.' A note on p. 129 (citing Mu'in as-Salṭana) states that the Báb left in Shawwál 1260/October 1844.

185 INBA 5006C, pp. 332–33; INBA 3036C, pp. 404–06. The passage giving this information (in extremely roundabout fashion, it should be noted) has been quoted, apparently from yet another MS, by Ishraq Khávári (*Muḥáḍirát*, 2 vols. [Tehran, BE 120/962–63], vol. 2, pp. 729–31).

186 For details of this letter, see Balyuzi, *The Báb*, p. 105, f.n.

It used to be thought that the Báb reached Shíráz as late as September 1845. The *Násikh at-tawárikh* states that horsemen sent by Husayn Khán Ájúdán-báshí, the governor of Fars, to arrest the Báb left Shíráz on 16 Sha'bán 1261/20 August 1845, and that they returned with him on 19 Ramaḍán/21 September.¹⁸⁷ The Báb's letter, just referred to, speaks clearly of his arrest at Dálakí, one stage before Kunár-Takhta, and provides clear evidence that the Báb actually arrived in Shíráz almost three months before he is thought to have done so.

Zarandí's statement¹⁸⁸ that the Báb celebrated the Naw Rúz of 1261 (19 March 1845) in Shíráz is also discredited by the information in that letter. Less excusable is the error made by Shoghi Effendi, the editor of Zarandí's history. In a note, he refers to the raid made on the house of the Báb's uncle by the chief *dárúgha* of Shíráz, Abd al-Ḥamid Khán, an event which immediately preceded the Báb's flight from the city and which took place at the time of a cholera epidemic. According to Shoghi Effendi, the date of this event was 23 September 1845.¹⁸⁹ This has obviously been lifted straight from the *Tárikh-i jadíd* (p. 204).

The correct date must certainly be 23 September 1846: Major Hennell, the British Resident in Búshihir, reported to Sir Justin Sheil that cholera appeared in Shíráz about 22 September of that year.¹⁹⁰ The Báb seems to have left the city on or about the following day. Thus, we can give more or less exact dates for the beginning and end of his stay in Shíráz after the ḥajj, while we have precise dates for all the main stages of the pilgrimage journey itself.

The earliest titles

There is, once again, disagreement as to which works were the earliest. In the introduction to his translation of the *Dalá'íl-i sab'a*, Nicolas states that the first writings of the Báb were:

1. *Risála-yi fiqhiyya*
2. *Qayyúm al-asmá'*
3. Some verses of the *Bayán* ('probably')
4. *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*
5. *Kitáb ar-rúḥ*¹⁹¹

The inclusion here of 'some verses of the *Bayán*' (assuming this means the Arabic or Persian *Bayán*) is certainly incorrect. The other books in Nicolas'

187 *Násikh at-tawárikh*, vol. 3, p. 42.

188 *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 155.

189 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 195, n. 1.

190 F.O. 268/113; cited Balyuzi, *The Báb*, p. 104 n.

191 *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, pp. ii–iii.

list do indeed appear in the order they were originally penned, but there are numerous gaps.

Mírzá Yahyá Şubḥ-i Azal gives a longer list of the early works. This differs in several respects from that of Nicolas and includes at least one work known to have been written in Işfahán. It consists of the following titles:¹⁹²

1. *Kitáb-i haft-şad súra* (i.e., the *Kitáb ar-rúḥ*)
2. *Şahífa-yi hujjatiyya* (probably the *Şahífa makhzúna*)
3. *Şahífa-yi ḥaramayn* (i.e., the *Şahífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*)
4. *'Adliyya* (i.e., the *Şahífa-yi 'adliyya*)
5. *Kitáb-i alfayn* (i.e., the *Tafsír al-há'*)
6. *Alwáh-i awwal-i amr* ('First Tablets of the Cause')
7. *Sharḥ-i bismi'lláh* (i.e., the *Tafsír al-basmala*)
8. *Sharḥ-i wa'l-'aşr* (i.e., the *Tafsír súra wa'l-'aşr*)

Of these, number 5 does not occur under that name in manuscripts, but is identical to the *Tafsír-i há'*; number 6 has too general a title to allow precise identification; and number 8 was, as we shall see, written in Işfahán.

Evidence of early titles in the *Kitáb al-fihrist*

Fortunately, the Báb himself listed his early writings in two separate works. The first of these is entitled the *Kitáb al-fihrist*. It is dated 15 Jumádá II 1261/21 June 1845 and was written in Búshihir after Shírání's return from the ḥajj. The other is a *risála* with the probable title of the *Risála-yi dhahabiyya* (see appendix 4). This work records a total of fourteen items written 'between the beginning of the year 1260 to the middle of the first month of the year 1262'¹⁹³ (i.e., from 1 Muḥarram 1260/22 January 1844 to 15 Muḥarram 1262/14 January 1846).

The first of these works, although of earlier date, actually contains a greater number of individual titles than the second. It also offers us the advantage that it provides actual titles and not—as is the case with the *Risála-yi dhahabiyya*—oblique references needing elucidation on the basis of information gleaned elsewhere.

These, then, are the early works listed in the *Kitáb al-fihrist*:¹⁹⁴

1. *Qayyún al-asmá'* (112 súras, each individually named)
2. *Du'á-yi şahífa* (14 prayers, each separately listed)

¹⁹² Text quoted in Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. 339–40.

¹⁹³ Shírání, *Risála-yi dhahabiyya*, Browne F.28 (item 6). As explained in Appendix 4, this treatise is catalogued under the title of *aş-Şahífa ar-Raḍawiyya*.

¹⁹⁴ This list has been prepared on the basis of two manuscripts of the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, those contained in INBA 6003C (pp. 285–93) and INBA 4011C (pp. 62–69). Since there are several small differences between these two texts, I have amalgamated the information they provide in order to form a clearer picture.

3. Letters:

- i 5 to Mullá Ḥusayn [Bushrú'í]
 - ii 3 to Mirza Sayyid Ḥasan
 - iii to the ulama [*Kitáb al-'ulamá'*]
 - iv to Mullá Ḥusayn Gawhar
 - v to Sulṭán 'Abd al-Majíd
 - vi 6 to his uncle [Ḥájj Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí]
 - vii 2 to Ḥájj Mullá Muḥammad
 - viii 2 to his wife
 - ix 3 to the Ḥanbalí, Maghribí, and Ḥanafí Imáms
 - x to Ḥájj Muḥammad Karím Khán [Kirmání]
 - xi to Ḥájj Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí [Bárfurúshí]
 - xii to Mírzá 'Abd al-Báqí Rashtí
 - xiii to Mírzá Sayyid Ḥusayn Khurásání
 - xiv to Shaykh Rafí'
 - xv 2 to Mullá Şádiq Khurásání
 - xvi to Muḥammad Kázim Khán
 - xvii to Shaykh Khalaf
 - xviii to Shaykh Sulaymán
 - xix to Sharíf Sulaymán of Mecca
 - xx to Sayyid Ibráhím [Mahállatí?]
 - xxi to Sayyid 'Alí Kirmání
 - xxii to Sulaymán Khán
- (Total: 38 letters)

4. *Kitáb al-fihrist* (i.e., the present work)5. *Şahífa a'mál as-sana* (14 bábs listed)6. *Khuṭbas*:

- i 2 [written] in Búshihr
 - ii [written] in Banakán
 - iii [written] in Kanakán
 - iv on the 'Íd al-Fiṭr
 - v [written] in Jidda
 - vi on the sufferings of Ḥusayn
 - vii 3 [written] on the way to Mecca
 - viii for Mullá Ḥusayn [Bushrú'í], written on board ship
 - ix on the '*ilm al-ḥurúf*
- (Total: 12 *khuṭbas*)

7. *aş-Şahífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn* (8 bábs listed)8. *Tafsír al-basmala* (about 157 verses)9. *Tafsír Súrat al-baqara*

10. *Kitáb ar-rúḥ* (700 súras, 7000 verses)

11. *Jawáb al-masá'il* (replies to 41 questions)

12. Prayers written in reply to questions:

- i in reply to twenty questions
- ii in reply to al-'Alawiyya
- iii in reply to Mullá 'Abd al-Kháliq [Yazdí]
- iv in reply to Karbalá'í 'Alí Aṣghar
- v on the *sijdat ash-shukr* ('thanksgiving prostration') in reply to Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl [Urúmi]
- vi in reply to Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Nahrí
- vii in reply to Mullá Aḥmad Khurásání [Mu'allim-i Ḥisári?], Di'bil, and the son of Mírzá 'Alí al-Akhhbári
- viii in reply to Mírzá Hádí and Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Qazvíní
- ix in reply to Mullá Ibráhím Maḥallátí
- x in reply to Sayyid Ja'far Shubbar

In addition to the above, the Báb here lists the titles of a number of works stolen from him by a Bedouin in the course of his pilgrimage journey. According to a statement in the *khuṭba* written in Jidda, this occurred on 11 Ṣafar 1261/19 February 1845, between Medina and Jidda.¹⁹⁵ The stolen titles are listed as follows:

1. A *ṣaḥífa* containing fifteen prayers (in 5 *bábs*)
2. A commentary on the *Miṣbáḥ*¹⁹⁶ (in 100 *ishráqs*)
3. A commentary on the *Qaṣída Ḥumayrá* (in 40 *súras*, each of 40 verses)
4. A commentary on the *Súrat al-baqara* in the manner of the commentary on the *Súra Yúsuf* (i.e., the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*)
5. A commentary on the *Súrat al-baqara* from the second half to the end
6. Twelve *khuṭbas*
7. *Ṣaḥífat al-ḥajj*
8. A commentary on the *Áyat al-kursí* (Throne Verse: i.e., Qur'an

195 The date given in the manuscript used by me (INBA 5006C) is 1 Ṣafar, which is obviously incorrect. However, Ishráq Khávarí cites another manuscript in which the date is clearly given as 11 Ṣafar (see idem, *Taqwím-i tárikh-i amr* [Tehran, BE 126/1969-70], p. 24).

196 There are numerous Shi'ite books with this abbreviated title, but the most likely in this context is the *Miṣbáḥ ash-sharí'a wa miftáḥ al-ḥaqíqa*, a work of one hundred chapters ascribed to the Imám Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq. Presumably, each *ishráq* of the Báb's commentary was devoted to one chapter of the original. The Báb refers to the *Miṣbáḥ* in his *Ṣaḥífa-yi 'adliyya* (p. 10).

2:255) in 200 *súras*, each of 12 verses

9. Six letters

The contents of the *Kitáb al-fihrist* are confirmed, albeit in a rather cryptic fashion, by the *Risála-yi dhahabiyya*. In this *risála*, the Báb enumerates fourteen works, four of which are described as books (*kitáb*) and ten as treatises (*ṣahífa*). The titles are given in accordance with a scheme based on the names of the 'Fourteen Immaculates' (*chahárda ma'šúm*: i.e., Muḥammad, Fátima, and the twelve Imáms). This symbolism recurs in the Báb's thought at this period, notably in numerous early works divided into fourteen sections. As a result, titles do not appear in this work as they would elsewhere. Fortunately, the Báb gives a brief description of each one, enabling the reader to identify most of them. The four books are:

1. *Kitáb al-Aḥmadiyya*. This is described as a work 'in explanation of the first *juz*' of the Qur'án'. It may, therefore, be readily identified as the *tafsír* on the *Súrat al-baqara*, a commentary which, as we have noted, is carried exactly to the end of the first *juz*' (v. 141 of the Egyptian text), and which includes a preliminary *tafsír* on the preceding chapter of the Qur'án, the *Súrat al-fātiḥa*.¹⁹⁷ It seems no coincidence that this work is listed first, since it was finished in Muḥarram 1260, the date at which this list commences. The implication is, of course, that the rest of the list is chronological. That is not the case, however.

2. *Kitáb al-'Alawiyya*. Described as a book 'in seven hundred *súras*, each consisting of seven verses', this is clearly the *Kitáb ar-rúḥ*, a work referred to by Şubḥ-i Azal as the *Kitáb-i haft-ṣad súra* or 'Book of Seven Hundred Suras'.¹⁹⁸

3. *Kitáb al-Ḥasaniyya*. I am uncertain as to the identity of this work. It is described as 'containing fifty letters (*kutub*)', and I would conjecture that it represents a collection of letters similar to if not identical with the group of thirty-eight letters listed in the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, together, perhaps, with the ten prayers written in reply to questions from different individuals also mentioned there.

4. *Kitáb al-Ḥusayniyya*. Described as a commentary on the *Súra Yusuf*, this is obviously the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*.

The ten *ṣuḥuf* are as follows:

¹⁹⁷ All texts of the *Baqara* commentary known to me contain this preliminary *tafsír*. However, this should not be confused with a separate commentary on the *Súrat al-fātiḥa* (under the title *Súrat al-ḥamd*) written about the same time.

¹⁹⁸ cf. Nicolas, *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, p. 44; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 24.

1. *Şahîfa al-Fâṭimiyya*. This is described as a treatise in fourteen chapters (*abwâb*) on the religious acts (*a'mâl*) for each of the twelve months. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it is the *Şahîfa a'mâl as-sana*, also listed in the *Kitâb al-fihrist*.¹⁹⁹

2. *Şahîfa al-'Alawiyya*. 'A collection of fourteen prayers in answer to ninety-two questions' posed on his return from the *ḥajj*. This could include the ten prayers listed at the end of the *Kitâb al-fihrist*, assuming they are not already counted in the '*Kitâb al-Ḥasaniyya*'.

3. *Şahîfa al-Bâqiriyya*. 'A treatise in fourteen chapters in explanation of the letters of the *basmala*': this would seem to be the *tafsîr* on the *basmala* listed in the *Kitâb al-fihrist*.

4. *Şahîfa al-Ja'fariyya*. This is described as 'a treatise in fourteen chapters in explanation of his prayer in the days of the occultation (*ghayba*)'. No *şahîfa* of this description is mentioned in the *Kitâb al-fihrist* or any of the standard sources; but a reference to a commentary in fourteen *abwâb* on the *Du'â al-ghayba* may be found in a letter in the hand of Sayyid Yaḥyâ Dârâbî, in which he writes about some of the writings of the Bâb seen by him.²⁰⁰ The Bâb himself refers to such a work in his *Şahîfa-yi 'adliyya*.²⁰¹ When we look at it in more detail later, it will be clear that, neglected though it has been, this commentary is actually a work of considerable importance.

5. *Şahîfa al-Musawiyya*. This is 'a treatise in fourteen chapters (*abwâb*) in reply to two individuals, sent down in the land of the two sanctuaries (*arḍ al-ḥaramayn*)'. It is possible that this may be the *Şahîfa bayna'l-ḥaramayn* even though it states in the opening passage of that work that it was written for only one individual (Mîrzâ Muḥîṭ Kirmânî). Strictly speaking, the *Şahîfa bayna'l-ḥaramayn* is not arranged in fourteen *abwâb*. The Cambridge copy has seven *âyât*, with one *bâb* each, rather oddly arranged as follows: *al-bâb al-awwal min al-âya al-ûlá; al-bâb ath-thání min al-âya ath-thániyya*, and so on.

However, in view of the facts that no other work of this description is mentioned in the *Kitâb al-fihrist* and that the *Şahîfa bayna'l-ḥaramayn* does not seem to meet the description of any other work in the *Risâla-yi dhahabiyya*, I think we are obliged to identify this *şahîfa* with it for the present.

6. *Şahîfa ar-Raḍawiyya*. This work in fourteen chapters 'on the books written by him' must be none other than the *Kitâb al-fihrist*. At another point

199 cf. Kâshânî, *Nuḡṭat al-kâf*, p. 179.

200 Letter quoted Mázandarânî, *Zuhûr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 472.

201 p. 34.

in the present work, mention is made of the above *ṣahīfa*, stating that it contains a detailed account of the books stolen from the Báb while on pilgrimage—and just such an account does occur in the *Kitáb al-fihrist*. For a discussion of how the *Ṣahīfa ar-Raḍawiyya* and the *Ṣahīfa-yi dhahabiyya* came to be confused, see Appendix Four.

7. *Ṣahīfa al-Jawádiyya*. This is described as ‘a treatise in fourteen chapters in reply to fourteen questions on the world of the divinity (*láhút*)’. I know of no work of the Báb’s that meets this description.

8. *Ṣahīfa al-Hádiyya*. This is referred to as having been written ‘in reply to fourteen questions on the realm of divine power (*jabarút*)’. There is no reference to such a work in the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, and I can think of no treatise to which it may correspond.

9. *Ṣahīfa al-‘Askariyya*. This work, ‘... in reply to fourteen questions on the realm of the angels (*malakút*)’ is also impossible to identify.

10. *Ṣahīfa al-Hujjatiyya*. This consists of ‘fourteen prayers revealed at the beginning of the manifestation’. It seems to be the *Ṣahīfa-yi makhzúna*, also known as the *Du‘á-yi ṣahīfa*.

Qayyúm al-asmá’

Let us now look in greater detail and in chronological order at the works of this period, supplementing the information supplied in the above two sources with material drawn from other sources.

The *Qayyúm al-asmá’* is generally agreed to have been the first work written by Shírázi after 22 May 1844. We have already quoted (Abbás Effendi, who mistakenly describes it as ‘the first book (*nakhustín kitáb*) ever written by the Báb. He may very well have taken the idea from a passage in his father’s *Kitáb-i íqán*, where the *Qayyúm al-asmá’* is described as ‘the first, greatest, and grandest of all books’ (*awwal wa a‘zam wa akbar-i jamí‘-i kutub*).²⁰²

According to Zarandí, the first chapter of the *Qayyúm al-asmá’*, known as the *Súrat al-mulúk*, was written in the presence of Mullá Husayn Bushrú‘í on the evening of 22 May.²⁰³ Ṣubḥ-i Azal confirmed to Browne that it had indeed been a perusal of that work which had convinced Bushrú‘í of the truth of the Báb’s original claims.²⁰⁴

202 Bahá’ Alláh, *Kitáb-i íqán*, p. 180.

203 *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 61. Hamadan’ (*Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 39) gives a different version, according to which Shírázi showed what may have been a completed copy of the text to Bushrú‘í some time after his arrival in Shíráz.

204 Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, p. 499.

The time taken to write the book (a work of several hundred pages) was relatively short: forty days, according to Mázandarání.²⁰⁵ Certainly, copies of at least a considerable portion of the text were available in time for Bushrú'í and his fellow-disciple Baṣṭámí to carry transcripts with them on their departure from Shíráz late that summer.²⁰⁶

This book was widely distributed in the first year of the sect's existence. In a reference to his pilgrimage in the Persian *Bayán*, the Báb states that 'in that year the blessed commentary on the *Súra Yúsuf* reached everyone.'²⁰⁷ According to Şubḥ-i Azal, the Báb at one stage instructed his followers to 'wash out' their copies of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*.²⁰⁸ The number of extant copies strongly suggests that this instruction was little obeyed. The Báb himself seems to have remained unhappy about the copies in circulation: in the Persian *Bayán*, he writes 'It has not yet been reported to us that the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* ... has been written as it ought to have been written.'²⁰⁹

It will be apparent from a glance at the list of seventeen manuscripts of this work in Appendix One, that we are singularly fortunate in having two early texts: one dated 1261/1845, the other 1262/1846.

In his account of this book, the Bahá'í writer Shoghi Effendi states that its 'entire text was translated into Persian by the brilliant and gifted Ṭáhirih [i.e., Qurrat al-'Ayn]'.²¹⁰ Since this author never provides any form of reference for his remarks, it is impossible to know on what grounds he makes the statement. But I am certainly unaware of any such translation, nor have I found any reference to Qurrat al-'Ayn having produced a translation of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* in any of the numerous documents I have consulted on her life.

Consisting of one hundred and eleven *súras*, corresponding to the number of verses in the *Súra Yúsuf*, this book is much more—and less—than a *tafsír* in any normal sense of the word. A great deal more of the text is taken up with doctrinal reflections of the Báb than with anything resembling Qur'anic commentary; if a verse is finally commented on, it is usually in an abstruse and allegorical fashion—*ta'wíl* rather than *tafsír*.²¹¹

205 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 285.

206 It is possible to date Bushrú'í's departure from the fact that the Báb did not, it seems, leave Shíráz himself until he received a letter from the former, sent from Mashhad via Ṭabas and Yazd. Since the Báb left for Búshíhr in September, Bushrú'í must have gone to Mashhad one or two months previously.

207 Persian *Bayán* 4:18, p. 148.

208 Browne, 'Bábís of Persia', II, p. 268.

209 7:1, p. 239.

210 *God Passes By*, p. 23. cf. p. 74.

211 For a discussion of the Báb's *tafsír* methodology in this work, see Lawson, 'Interpretation as Revelation', pp. 242–51.

The style of the entire book is consciously modelled on that of the Qur'án, something that is true of other early writings of the Báb. This is actually referred to in an early passage: 'We [the Hidden Imám] have sent this book down to our servant [i.e., the Báb] by God's permission, [in a manner] like it [i.e., the Qur'án].'²¹² The book has been 'sent forth' from the Hidden Imám to 'his servant' (i.e., the Báb).²¹³ In another passage, the Imám declares that 'we have revealed to you what God has revealed to us'.²¹⁴ Elsewhere, the Báb states that he has been taught by God or that God has inspired him,²¹⁵ that he is known through 'new verses from God',²¹⁶ and that this is 'a book from God'.²¹⁷ At one point, he even says that the words 'Truly, I am God, no god is there but me' come from 'the person of the Báb'.²¹⁸

The tension which is visible here between the Báb's claims to be merely the gate of the Hidden Imám, the Remembrance of God (*dhikr Alláh*), and Seal of the Gates (*khátim al-abwáb*)²¹⁹ on the one hand and more dramatic proclamations of quasi-prophethood or even divinity on the other undoubtedly form one of the most interesting and doctrinally important features of this work. The *Qayyúm al-asmá'* is, in any case, one of the lengthiest of the Báb's writings and, apart from the later *Kitáb al-asmá'*, his longest Arabic composition. Written in a terse, allusive, and often rambling style that is throughout a pastiche of the Qur'án, it is hardly the easiest of books to understand; but it does provide us with a clear picture of the young prophet's thought as it impressed itself on his earliest disciples and first opponents.

Tafsír Ḥadīth al-járiya

The *Nuḡṭat al-káf* refers to a commentary on a Shi'ite tradition known as the *Ḥadīth al-járiya*, stating that it was written by the Báb in the course of his first meeting with Bushrú'í.²²⁰ Hamadání, however, says only that Bushrú'í found a copy of this commentary in the course of a later visit to Shírází's house.²²¹

212 *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, *súra* 4:13. (Verse divisions in the text are indicated by the use of an *alif* with *tanwin*, a Qur'anic stylism used throughout.)

213 *ibid.*, 1:9.

214 **ibid.*, 1:28.

215 *ibid.*, 3:16, 14:31, 23:4.

216 *ibid.* 26:13.

217 *ibid.*, 59:6; cf. 51:7.

218 *ibid.*, 22:21; cf. 57:16.

219 *ibid.*, 24:24.

220 *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, p. 106.

221 *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 38.

In either case, this very short work has the distinction of being one of the earliest of the extant writings of the Báb, being at the latest contemporary with the first passages of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*. It is a commentary on a tradition related from Sadír about statements made by the Imám Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq concerning 'knowledge of the unseen' (*'ilm al-ghayb*) the original of which may be found in the *Uṣúl al-Káfi*.²²² For details of the six surviving manuscripts of this work, see Appendix One.

The *ziyaratnáma* for 'Alí

We have mentioned above that Bushrú'í was entrusted with a copy of a pilgrimage prayer (*ziyára, ziyaratnáma*) for the Imám 'Alí, and that he carried this with him from Shíráz to Tehran. It must be assumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that this document was written about the same time as the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* and *Tafsír Ḥadīth al-járiya*. Only two manuscripts of it are extant: for details, see Appendix One.

Letters to Muḥammad Sháh, Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí, and others

It has also been noted that, among the texts Bushrú'í carried to Tehran were letters for the king and his prime minister, Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí. The Báb himself refers to this in a later letter to the sháh, addressed from prison in Azerbaijan: 'In that same year (i.e., 1260/1844) I sent a messenger and a letter [or book: *kitáb*] to you ...'²²³ Copies of what appear to be the first letter to Muḥammad Sháh and the companion letter to Áqásí are to be found in the INBA (see Appendix One).

The Báb's other letters to Muḥammad Sháh all date from later periods and will be dealt with in their proper place. Speaking of the period immediately following the composition of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, Shoghi Effendi speaks of 'Tablets to Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-Majíd and to Najíb Páshá, the Váli of Baghdád.'²²⁴ We have already noted that the Báb himself refers to the first of these in his *Kitáb al-fihrist*. However, we possess no details of how these letters were transmitted to their recipients (if, indeed, they ever were), and I am unaware of the existence either of copies or of the original. Papers found in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul relating to the arrest and trial of

222 Abu Ja'far Muḥammad al-Kulayní, *al-Uṣúl min al-Káfi*, 4 vols (Tehran, 1392/1972–73), vol. 1, pp. 495–96. See also C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879–1883), vol. 1, p. 30; Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 62.

223 'Alí Muḥammad Shírází, *Muntakhabát-i áyát az áthár-i Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡta-yi Úlá* (Tehran, BE 131/1976–77), p. 14. cf. letter written in 1264/1848, in *ibid.*, p. 5.

224 *God Passes By*, p. 24.

Mullá 'Alí Baṣṭamí (who was the most likely bearer of such letters) do not include copies or even references.²²⁵

The *Du'á-yi ṣaḥīfa* or *Ṣaḥīfa makhzúna*

It is not clear when the *Du'á-yi ṣaḥīfa* was written, but the fact that it is included in the *Kitáb al-fihrist* immediately after the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* makes it reasonable that it should be dated before the ḥajj journey. There appears to be a reference to it in the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, where it is stated that it had been sent down along with that work so that the believers might know how to worship God.²²⁶ That it and the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzúna* are identical may be confirmed by a simple comparison of texts occurring under both titles.

This important early composition is a collection of fourteen prayers, mainly intended for recitation on specific days or festivals:

1. On *tahmíd* (praise of God)
2. On the 'Íd al-Ghadír [18 Dhú'l-Ḥijja],²²⁷ Fridays; 5 Jumádá I [the day of the Báb's announcement of his claims]
3. On the 'Íd al-Fiṭr [1 Shawwál]
4. On the 'Íd al-Aḍḥá [10 Dhú'l-Ḥijja]
5. On Fridays
6. On the day of 'Arafa [9 Dhú'l-Ḥijja]
7. On the 'Íd al-Akbar [i.e., 9 Rabí' I]²²⁸
8. On the day of 'moistening' [8 Dhú'l-Ḥijja]²²⁹
9. On each day of [the months of] Rajab, Sha'bán, and Ramaḍán
10. On the night of 'Ashúrá [10 Muḥarram] and the third part of every night
11. On the night of the 'declaration' and 5 Jumádá I
12. On the night of 15 Sha'bán [birth of the Imám Mahdí]
13. On the night of 23 Ramaḍán
14. On the completion of [reading] the Qur'án

225 Momen, *Bábí and Bahá'í Religions*, pp. 89–90.

226 *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, 41:32. The Cambridge text refers to it as *tilka'l-ṣaḥīfa al-maktúba*, possibly in error for *makhzúna* as a variant of *makhzúna*. The reference to *da'wát* (prayers) would seem to confirm the identity.

227 This festival celebrates the Prophet's nomination of 'Alí as his successor. It was instituted in Baghdád in 351/962, under the Búyid ruler Mu'izz ad-Dawla.

228 This date is not usually celebrated as a festival. It signifies the first day of the imamate of the Hidden Imám, following the death of his father, Ḥasan al-'Askarí, on 8 Rabí' I 260/873.

229 *Yawn' at-tarwiyya*, the day following that on which pilgrims leave Mecca during the ḥajj. It is given this name, it is said, because it is on this day that the pilgrims supply themselves with water sufficient for the next two days, spent on the plain of 'Arafat.

Several manuscripts of this work have survived, among them a small volume in Cambridge University Library (Add. 3704 [6]). This originally belonged to E. G. Browne, who bought it from J. J. Naaman's of London. It is not known where Naaman obtained it. In the *Supplementary Handlist of Muhammadan Manuscripts in Cambridge*, a description of this manuscript reads: 'A Bábí book of the earliest period, apparently by the Báb, resembling the style of the *Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'*, in which he speaks of himself as Baqiyyatu'lláh Şáhibu'z-Zamán.'

However, the opening passage of the *Şahífa*—admittedly severely damaged in the Cambridge copy—reveals precisely the opposite, that the Báb does not claim to be 'the Baqiyyatu'lláh Şáhibu'z-Zamán' (i.e., the Hidden Imám), but rather 'his gate, the Remembrance (*bábihi'l-dhikr*):'²³⁰

For details of manuscripts, see Appendix One. It will be noted that there are two very early copies, one dated 1261/1845 (Haifa), the other 1262/1846 (Tehran, INBA).

In a letter written by Hájj Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí Afnán, a younger cousin of the Báb, some general details are given of compositions in the period immediately before the latter's departure for Arabia towards the end of Sha'bán. 'On Sundays, I used to visit my aunt, the blessed mother of his holiness, and I would enter his blessed presence. In Rajab or Sha'bán, I visited him on a Sunday He was busy writing verses and prayers. He gave me a page containing a prayer, one of several he had revealed for the days of the week. He told me to read it. When I had done so, he asked, "What prayer is this?" I said, "It resembles the prayers in the *Şahífa-yi Sajjádiya*"²³¹ That week or the week after, he set off for Mecca.'²³²

Şahífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn

At least three major works were written in the course of the Báb's nine-month journey to and from Mecca. Of these, the most important is the *Şahífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*. According to Zarandí,²³³ it was written, as its title suggests, between Mecca and Medina, in reply to questions posed by Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥusayn Muḥiṭ-i Kirmání, an eminent Shaykhí 'álim who had

230 The passage in question reads: 'This mighty and hidden book has been sent down by God, praised be he, to his servant Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [i.e., the Hidden Imám], upon him and his father be peace. And the Remnant of God [*baqiyyat Alláh*], the Lord of the Age [*şáhib az-zamán*] has [in turn] sent it to his gate, the Remembrance [*adh-Dhikr*—one of the Báb's titles] that it may be God's proof for all men'

231 A well-known collection of prayers ascribed to the fourth Imám.

232 Faydí, *Khándán-i Afnán*, p. 111. A reproduction of the original letter is inset.

233 *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 137.

been the teacher of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí's two sons.²³⁴ Muḥiṭ later vacillated between allegiance to Karím Khán Kirmání and a weak personal claim to leadership of the Shaykhí community.²³⁵

Several manuscripts of this important work have survived (see Appendix One). The earliest are two dated 1261/1845, one of which is kept in the Bahá'í archives in Haifa, the other in the INBA. The next earliest is the copy obtained in Iran by Dunlop, dated 1263/1847.

Kitáb ar-rúḥ

The fate of the *Kitáb ar-rúḥ*, composed at sea on the way back from Iran,²³⁶ was less fortunate. The Báb, not given to undue modesty, regarded this composition as 'the greatest of books'²³⁷ and wanted to send copies to all the ulama.²³⁸ According to Nicolas, it was seized at the time of the Báb's arrest en route for Shíráz and thrown into a well there.²³⁹ That copy was subsequently rescued by what Nicolas calls 'pious hands', but was by then in a seriously damaged condition.²⁴⁰

Some sort of text seems to have been available a little later, when the Báb was in Iṣfahán, since he recommends its perusal in a letter to the governor, Manúchihr Khán.²⁴¹ Certainly, there are several extant copies today, and I have recorded no fewer than five in Appendix One. The complete book consisted originally of either seven hundred or nine hundred *súras*.²⁴² It is also known as the *Kitáb al-'adl*.²⁴³

Khaṣá'il-i sab'a

A third work of substance was composed during the ḥajj journey. According to Zarandí, when the Báb returned to Shíráz in 1845, he sent Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús (who had accompanied him to Mecca)

234 See Navá'í, *Fitna-yi Báb*, p. 232, note 6.

235 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 137.

236 There are problems about this dating. The Báb himself states that it was written 'at sea on the return journey of the Remembrance' (*Kitáb al-'ulamá'*, INBMC 67, p. 212). See also Mázandarání, *Žuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 288. Nicolas, however (*Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, p. 213) says it was written on the outward journey, probably basing this statement on the fact that the *Kitáb ar-rúḥ* is referred to by name in the *Şahífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*. I am, frankly, unable to resolve this contradiction.

237 *A'zam al-kutub*. See Mázandarání, *Žuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 44; Nicolas, *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, p. 68.

238 *ibid.* and *ibid.*

239 *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, p. 60.

240 *ibid.*

241 Letter in Browne F.21, p. 92.

242 'Seven hundred' according to the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, 'nine hundred' according to the *Kitáb al-'ulamá'* (INBMC 67, p. 212).

243 Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 4, p. 45.

ahead to Shíráz.²⁴⁴ Bárfurúshí was entrusted with a letter for the Báb's uncle, Hájj Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí²⁴⁵ and a copy of a book entitled the *Khaṣá'il-i sab'a*, 'a treatise in which He [i.e., the Báb] had set forth the essential requirements from those who had attained to the knowledge of the new Revelation and had recognized its claims.'²⁴⁶

On reaching Shíráz, Bárfurúshí gave his copy of this work to another convert, Mullá Şadíq Khurásání. In accordance with instructions contained in the text, Khurásání proceeded to make use of a modified form of the call to prayer in either the Masjid-i Naw or the Shamshírgarán mosque.²⁴⁷ The result was a riot, after which Bárfurúshí, Khurásání, and a third convert, 'Alí Akbar Ardistání, were expelled from the city. This took place shortly before the Báb's arrival.

Although I have never been able to trace a manuscript of this work, there seems to be at least one in existence. Both Ishráq Khávarí and Fayḍí refer to its contents in detail, implying that they had both had access to the text. Since they are of very real interest, I will list here the seven regulations that form the core of the *Khaṣá'il*, as provided by these two authors.²⁴⁸

1. To read the *Ziyára jámi'a kabíra* [presumably the version written by the Báb] on Fridays, festivals, and holy nights, after ablutions and the purification of one's body and clothes with great care and in a spirit of sanctity.
2. To perform the prostrations of the ritual prayer (*ṣalát*) on the grave of the Imám Ḥusayn, so that one's nose touches the grave.
3. To add to the *adhán* the formula: *ashhadu anna 'Alí^{un} qabla Muḥammad 'abd^u baqiyyat Alláh* ('I bear witness that 'Alí Muḥammad [i.e., the Báb] is the servant of the Remnant of God [i.e., the Hidden Imam]').
4. Each believer to hang round his neck, reaching to his chest, a talisman (*haykal*) in the Báb's hand, containing various names of God and other mysterious devices based on the divine names.
5. Each believer to wear a ring of white agate bearing the words: *lá iláha illá'lláh Muḥammad^{un} rasúl Alláh 'Alí^{un} walíyu'lláh 273* ('There is no god but God; Muḥammad is God's prophet; 'Alí is God's agent; 273' [a numerical equivalent of the words: 'Alí Muḥammad, Báb Alláh, 'Alí Muḥammad, God's gate']).

244 *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 142.

245 This letter is translated by Nicolas, *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, pp. 214–18.

246 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 143.

247 *ibid.*, p. 144. According to Fayḍí, the book was given, not to Mullá Şadíq, but to the Báb's uncle, Hájj Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí (see *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡta-yi Úlá*, p. 153).

248 Fayḍí, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡta-yi Úlá*, pp. 53–54; Ishráq Khávarí, *Muḥáḍírat*, vol. 2, pp. 785–86.

6. To drink tea with the greatest cleanliness and delicacy.
7. To refrain from smoking the water-pipe (*qalyán*) and suchlike.

Khuṭbas

Of no small interest is a series of homilies (*khuṭub*) written by the Báb (but almost certainly never delivered by him)²⁴⁹ at various stages of his pilgrimage journey. Several of these have already been referred to in the list of works from the *Kitáb al-fihrist*. The following points should be noted:

A piece listed as ‘a homily on the ‘Íd al-Fiṭr’ seems, on the evidence of the original index to INBA 4011C, to be identical with a *khuṭba* otherwise listed as ‘a homily written in Masqaṭ’. The ‘homily on the sufferings of the Imám Ḥusayn’ seems, from its contents, to be identical to a sermon entitled the *Khuṭba fi’l-safina* (‘homily on board ship’). A piece described as ‘a homily written for Mullá Ḥusayn on board ship’ would seem to be identical with a *khuṭba* written in Jidda ‘at the time of his embarkation on board the ship’. The *khuṭba* on the science of gematria also seems to have been written while on board ship.

Apart from those listed in the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, there are three other *khuṭbas* extant from this period. The first is a sermon written ‘one stage from Medina’ and surviving in a single copy. The other two were written ‘near the staging post of aṣ-Ṣafrá’ and are contained in the same manuscript collection as the first.

As regards their contents, the main interest of these *khuṭbas* lies in the fact that they, more than most other early works, deal with metaphysical subjects. There are vigorous attacks on the ideas of Christians, Aristotelian philosophers (Mashá’ún), and Islamic Platonists (*Ishráqiyún*). In a number of cases, there are references to dates and incidents from the Báb’s ḥájj journey, notably in the *khuṭba* written in Jidda. A full list of *khuṭbas*, with indications of surviving manuscripts may be found in Appendix One.

Tafsír al-basmala

We have already mentioned a commentary on the phrase *bismi’lláh*, listed in both the *Kitáb al-fihrist* and the *Ṣaḥífa-yi dhahabiyya*. This *tafsír* is also known as the *Tafsír ḥurúf al-basmala*. The text presents a number of curiosities, occurring in slightly different forms in different manuscripts (see Appendix One).

In the case of manuscripts 2, 3, 4, and 7 (INBA 6012C, 6013C, 6014C, and INBMC 64), the *tafsír* is preceded by a preliminary *khuṭba*

249 It is extremely unlikely that a non-cleric would have been permitted to deliver *khuṭbas* except to a very restricted group of persons.

and followed by a short prayer. These apparently form part of the commentary in its complete form. The *tafsír* in manuscript 1 (INBA 6010C) is preceded by a piece entitled the *Tafsír al-ḥamd*, which seems to be a separate work written at the same period. Altogether three manuscript copies of this *Tafsír al-ḥamd* have survived (see Appendix One).

Manuscript 1 is the same as manuscript 2 as far as p. 110 line 10, at which point a different *tafsír* on the *basmala* begins. Since this *tafsír* on the *basmala* appears to form part of the *Tafsír al-ḥamd*, I have not listed it as a separate work.

Second letters to Muḥammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí

On the Báb's return from pilgrimage, he wrote for a second time to Muḥammad Sháh and his vazír.²⁵⁰ The letter to the Sháh is headed with the words 'Written from Búshihir', and it may be assumed that Áqásí's was penned at the same time. It is evident from both letters that the prophet had not yet despaired of assistance from this quarter. He calls on the king to assemble 'the believers in God's oneness' (possibly a reference to the ulama) in his presence, to inform them that he has received a letter from the Remembrance of God, and to challenge them to produce a single verse like those in it. After explaining that he has heard of the imprisonment of Mullá 'Alí Baṣṭámí in Baghdad, he asks the Sháh to send 'the letter of your Lord' to the Ottoman Sultan and to all other monarchs.²⁵¹ In the letter to Áqásí, he again promises Muḥammad Sháh dominion over 'the realm of this world and the next' should he lend his assistance to the Báb's cause.²⁵² Manuscripts of these two letters are rare (see Appendix One).

Şahífa (*Kitáb*) *a'mál as-sana*

Another important work written in Búshihir after the pilgrimage is the *Şahífa* or *Kitáb a'mál as-sana*, which we have already noted as among those listed in the *Kitáb al-fihrist* and the *Şahífa-yi dhahabiyya*. It is also mentioned in the *Şahífa-yi 'adliyya*.

Evidence for the dating of this work may be found in manuscript 5006C in the INBA. The abbreviations ١٥ ٦١ ٢٥٢ هـ ج (i.e. 15 Jumádá II 1261/21 June 1845) are written above a line containing the phrase *min hádhá'l-shahr* ('of this month') in the first of two sections between chapters 5 and 6 (see contents list below). This suggests that the work was in progress at this

250 See Fayḍí, *Haḍrat-i Nuḡta-yi Úlá*, pp. 148–53. Fayḍí prints part texts of both letters.

251 *ibid.*, p. 150.

252 *ibid.*, p. 152.

date, only a few days before the Báb's departure from Búshíhr en route for Shíráz.

The book contains fourteen chapters, interspersed with other pieces, dealing broadly with religious observances for various important dates through the year. It bears a close resemblance to the *Şahífa makhzúna* (*Du'á-yi şahífa*). Its contents are as follows:

1. Chapter One, on the knowledge of the Book
2. Chapter Two, on the first month (i.e., Muḥarram)
3. Section to be read after two-thirds of the night, or in mention of its end
4. Chapter Three, on the first of the month of the ḥajj (Dhú'l-Ḥijja)
5. Section of unspecified use
6. Chapter Four, on the first of the month of Muḥarram
7. Section, presumably to be used on the last day of Muḥarram
8. Section, possibly for the same day
9. Chapter Five, on the month of the ḥajj (Dhú'l-Ḥijja)
10. Section to be read on the day of 'Arafa (9 Dhú'l-Ḥijja), the day preceding it, the day after it, the day of Ghadir (17 Dhú'l-Ḥijja) every Friday, the day of bid' (?), and 24 Jumádá II
11. Section of unspecified use
12. Chapter Six, on the month of Muḥarram
13. Section of unspecified use
14. Chapter Seven, on the month of Şafar
15. Chapter Eight, on the month of Rabí' I
16. Chapter Nine, on the month of Rabí' II
17. Chapter Ten, on the month of Jumádá I
18. Chapter Eleven, on the month of Jumádá II
19. Chapter Twelve, on the eleventh of Muḥarram
20. Section, to be read on every day of Jumádá II (?)
21. Chapter Thirteen, on the month of Şafar
22. Chapter Fourteen, on grace (*faḍl*)

Two manuscripts survive (see Appendix One).

Kitáb al-fihrist

On or about the same date (mid-Jumádá II 1261), the Báb completed his *Kitáb al-fihrist*. That the Shírází prophet should have taken such trouble, here and in the *Şahífa-yi dhahabiyya*, to record his writings to this date, coupled with the prodigious extent of his output in such a short time, provides a significant insight into his mental state at this period. The *Kitáb al-fihrist* survives in four copies (see Appendix One).

Şahîfa-yi Ja'fariyya

We have already noted that one of the works listed in the *Şahîfa-yi dhahabiyya* is a little-known piece entitled the *Şahîfa-yi Ja'fariyya*. For some reason, this interesting and important work has been neglected by scribes and later writers. Only one complete copy of the text is known to me, along with one manuscript lacking the first four chapters. About one hundred pages long, this treatise, written for an unnamed correspondent, contains important references to the Báb's early prophetic career and his early doctrinal positions.

The first chapter mentions Shírází's contact with his first disciples, his *hajj* journey, and his return to Shíráz. A brief passage²⁵³ refers obliquely to his denial of his claims at this period, in order that his soul 'might be safe from the accidents of destruction'. Chapter two contains references to his rejection by a part of the Shaykhí community, including some individuals who had previously believed in him—a point taken up later²⁵⁴ in an explicit reference to Mullá Jawád Vilyání 'Khuwár'. The fourth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters contain the commentary on the 'prayer in the days of the occultation', a Shi'ite devotional text ascribed to the Imám Ja'far aṣ-Şádiq.²⁵⁵

Of particular interest is an account of a dream experienced by the Báb on 12 Muḥarram 1261/21 January 1845. In this dream, he recalls reading a book in Persian, only four words of which he was able to remember on waking. (pp. 82–83). Also interesting is the writer's apparent rejection of the Shaykhí doctrine of four bodies (two *jasad* and two *jism*, one of which is in the intermediate world of *Hurqalyá*), and his testimony to a belief in simple physical resurrection—a doctrinal position which he later abandoned (p. 108).

Later, he refers to the gathering of his followers in Karbalá' and his own inability to join them as planned (pp. 116–17), the apostasy of Mullá Jawád Vilyání (pp. 117–18), his relationship to Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í and Sayyid Káẓim Rashtí (p. 122—see in particular a most intriguing section on pp. 123–26), and the works completed by him to the time of writing (pp. 119, 139, 144). The text proper is followed by a passage from Rashtí's *Sharḥ al-qaṣída* and quotations from statements written by Mullá 'Abd al-Kháliq Yazdí and Mullá 'Alí Qazvíní Baraghání.

Among the papers deposited in Princeton University Library by William McE. Miller (a former Protestant missionary who has written

253 INBMC 60, p. 60.

254 *ibid.*, p. 117.

255 The text of this prayer may be found in Abú Ja'far Muḥammad al-Kulaynî, *al-Uṣúl min al-Káfi*, 4th. ed., 4 vols (Tehran, 1392/1972), vol. 2, pp. 171–72 (in the 'Kitáb al-ḥujja' under 'báb fi'l-ghayba').

widely about Baha'ism) is a short typed document of two pages originally supplied to Miller by Jelal Azal, a grandson of Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal. In a covering note, Azal states that this is a copy of a work written by the Báb after an incident in the Vakíl mosque of Shíráz in 1845, when he publicly denied his claim to báb-hood. In fact, these two pages are merely the first chapter of the present work, containing the passage referred to above, in which the Báb does indeed speak of the denial of any claims he may have made.

The work as a whole could not have been written at the time suggested by Jelal Azal, since several passages are stated in the text to have been composed on various days in the month of Muḥarram, the year being given as 1261 (see pp. 82, 88, 110, 115, 116). As we have seen, the Báb was still in Arabia at this date. Nevertheless, it is clear that portions must have been penned at some point after his return to Iran: 'You [God],' he writes, 'caused me to return from your sacred House.'

It is also evident from the contents that the Báb had, as Azal states, already denied his earlier claims and is here justifying his action as *taqiyya*, in order to keep himself safe (*al-hamtaní kalimat an-naḥy ba'da'l-ithbát li-yu'mina* [sic] *naḥsí*—'you inspired me with the word of denial after that of affirmation, that I might be protected'). There is evidence that the Báb decided on his policy of outward dissimulation while in Búshíhr following the ḥajj,²⁵⁶ as a result of hearing about Baştámí's arrest and trial. And there are references in the text of this *şahífa* that suggest he had returned to Shíráz. For example, he speaks about having been taken by 'the Satans', says that he has been accused of claiming 'specific báb-hood' (*bábiyya kháşşa*), and writes that, after his return from the ḥajj, God has now conveyed him to 'the abode of tyrants'. These I take to be references to his arrest and arraignment. Whether these passages were composed after the Vakíl mosque incident is, however, less obvious.

Unfortunately, Azal does not make clear the provenance or whereabouts of the original from which he prepared his copy, so we can only assume that it was among papers in Şubḥ-i Azal's possession and that it now remains in the keeping of Jelal's family.

Du'á-yi alf

Another work of approximately the same period and of related interest is the short but highly significant *Du'á-yi alf*, in which the Báb speaks in much more specific terms about his denial of any station for himself. According to

256 See letter from the Báb's uncle, Ḥájj Mírzá Sayyid Muḥammad, to Ḥájj Sayyid 'Alí, quoted Fayḍí, *Khándán-i Afján*, pp. 27–31.

Mázandarání, who reproduces (with omissions) the text of this prayer,²⁵⁷ it was written in the second year of the Báb's career (1261–62/1845–46), during his period of dissimulation. Mázandarání does not indicate the provenance or whereabouts of the original used by him.

Taken together, the *Şahífa-yi Ja'fariyya* and *Du'á-yi alf* are critical to a proper understanding of the claims of the Shírází prophet at this stage of his burgeoning career. The latter is particularly categoric in its renunciation of those claims with which the ulama had charged him, claims which had also formed an important element in the *fatwá* issued after the trial of Basţámí. Not only does the Báb deny that there can be an 'appointed gate' (*báb manşúş*) for the Hidden Imám after the original four *abwáb*, but he tries to argue that the 'revelation' (*waḥy*) he has claimed is not to be compared with the prophetic revelation given Muḥammad, and denies that he has seen any visions. Since the precise nature of the Báb's early claims has been and is likely to remain a topic for heated debate, these two short pieces acquire an importance out of all proportion to their brevity and former obscurity.

Şahífa-yi 'adliyya and Risála furú' al-'adliyya

Also of considerable importance are two related treatises on Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), probably written in Shíráz after the pilgrimage. These are the *Şahífa-yi 'adliyya* and the *Risála furú' al-'adliyya*, which deal respectively with the foundations (*uşúl*) and branches (*furú'*) of jurisprudence.

The first consists of five sections (*abwáb*):

1. On the nature of God
2. In explanation of the Balance according to God's command
3. On the knowledge of God and his saints (*awliyá'*)
4. On the return to God (*ma'ád li'lláh*)
5. On the prayer of devotion to God (*ikhlás li'lláh*)

The *Şahífa-yi 'adliyya* is probably the Báb's first Persian-language work, as he himself makes clear: 'After our return from the ḥajj, when the proof had been completed before all the world through the revelation of knowledge in mighty books and in tablets of power, many letters arrived from all directions from men of learning and utterance who were drowning in the ocean of sadness and separation.

'In most sentences, they referred to the inability of those who lacked learning to understand our Arabic verses. Since it had not been decreed that we should reply to them in Persian, we referred them to him who was the first to know the primal Book [Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í?] Since to reply to one individual is to give life to the souls of all those who obey God, with

his permission we have given life to the depths of understanding of the roots and branches [of religion] in these Persian verses which are possessed of the reality of the Arabic.²⁵⁸ Apart from the reference above to the Báb's return from pilgrimage, a few lines later he refers to the year 1262/1846 as either the current one or the one that has just passed, giving us as rough idea of the date of composition.

The *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya* is particularly valuable in helping us form a clear picture of the Báb's thought as it had developed by this stage, not least because it seems to represent his first attempt to address a wide audience by writing in Persian. In the course of this fairly short treatise, he declares that the Islamic legal system (*sharī'a*) 'shall never be abrogated';²⁵⁹ speaks of his own verses as 'utter nothingness when compared to a single word of God's Book [i.e., the Qur'án] or the words of the people of the House of Purity [i.e., the imáms]';²⁶⁰ praises Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í, but condemns his followers;²⁶¹ refers to a vision of the head of the Imám Ḥusayn which he appears to have regarded as instrumental in giving him inspiration;²⁶² condemns the concept of the singleness of being (*waḥdat al-wujúd*) as unbelief (*shirk*);²⁶³ lists the seven bases of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) as *tawḥíd*, *ma'ání*, *abwáb*, *imáma*, *arkán*, *nuqabá'*, and *nujabá'*;²⁶⁴ states that prayer through the Imám or others is unbelief, and denies that either al-Aḥsá'í or Rashtí ever prayed through 'Alí or thought him the Creator (points on which they had been attacked);²⁶⁵ says that he regards the station of the imáms as being higher than that of the [pre-Islamic] prophets (*anbiyá'*);²⁶⁶ states that 'most of the men and women of the Ithná' 'Ashari sect will, because of their ignorance of this station [i.e., that of the *nuqabá'*], go to hell';²⁶⁷ declares the enemies of al-Aḥsá'í and Rashtí to be unbelievers like the Sunnis;²⁶⁸ speaks of al-Aḥsá'í as the 'perfect Shí'í' (*shí'a-yi kháliš*);²⁶⁹ speaks of the necessity

258 *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya*, pp. 3–4.

259 *ibid.*, p. 5.

260 *ibid.*, p. 7. cf. p. 10.

261 *ibid.*, p. 13.

262 *ibid.*, p. 14.

263 *ibid.*, p. 16.

264 *ibid.*, pp. 20–31. The technical terms listed here are difficult to translate adequately. *Tawḥíd* is the divine oneness, *ma'ání* the divine 'meanings' (normally identified with the imáms), *abwáb* the gates to God (again identified with the imáms), *imáma* the Imamate, *arkán* the pillars of divinity (identified with the imáms), *nuqabá'* the 'chiefs' and *nujabá'* the 'nobles' of the faith.

265 *ibid.*, pp. 20–22.

266 *ibid.*, p. 24.

267 *ibid.*, p. 31.

268 *ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

269 *ibid.*, p. 33.

of believing in a physical resurrection and physical ascension (*mi'raj*), condemns the notion of spiritual resurrection, and maintains that al-Aḥsá'í never spoke of it;²⁷⁰ and, finally, says that obedience to him as the servant of the twelfth Imám is obligatory.²⁷¹

This is a popular text, with at least thirteen manuscript copies available (see Appendix One).

The *Risála furú' al-'adliyya* is often found accompanying the foregoing in manuscripts, although it is less common. Evidence for its dating may be found in a compilation of early works contained in the INBA (5006C). The portion of this manuscript in which the *risála* occurs is clearly dated Rajab 1262/June-July 1846.

This work has the distinction of being the earliest work of the Báb's to be translated. While the prophet was staying at the home of Mír Sayyid Muḥammad, the Imám-Jum'a of Iṣfahán, Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Harawí translated the *risála* from Arabic into Persian.²⁷² The book consists of seven *abwáb*, as follows:

1. *Ziyára jámi'a (ṣaghíra)* (pilgrimage prayer for Muḥammad, Fáṭima, and all the imáms)
2. On the ritual prayer (*ṣalát*)
3. On the regulations of the ritual prayer (*aḥkám aṣ-ṣalát*)
4. On alms (*zakát*)
5. On the one-fifth tax (*khums*)
6. On holy war (*jihád*)
7. On debts (*dayn*)

All of these topics are dealt with in a traditional Islamic manner, often entering into minute details of observances, purifications, and suchlike. The *Risála furú' al-'adliyya* is, in other words, a fairly straightforward work of *fiqh*, lacking only the expertise of a trained 'álim.

It is difficult to determine from existing texts that the *Ziyára jámi'a* actually forms part of the *Risála furú' al-'adliyya*, but evidence that this is so may be found in the last chapter, where the Báb refers to the 'seven chapters (*abwáb*) of this book'. In the same place, he mentions that he had dealt with the laws of fasting in his *Ṣaḥífa Fáṭimiyya* (i.e., the *Kitáb a'mál as-sana*), those of the ḥajj in the *ṣaḥífa* 'which the thief stole in the land of the twin shrines [i.e., Arabia];²⁷³ and other laws in the *Kitáb al-'adl* (i.e., the *Kitáb ar-rúh*).

270 *ibid.*, p. 34. This was another of the charges levelled at al-Aḥsá'í and Rashtí.

271 *ibid.*, p. 41.

272 Zarandí *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 208.

273 Presumably the *Ṣaḥífat al-ḥajj* (see above).

Pages 166 to 175 of the *Risála furú' al-'adliyya* in MS INBA 5010C contain a piece entitled the *Kitáb aṭ-ṭahára*. This seems to be incomplete and has no apparent connection to the *Risála* other than that it is also concerned with a question of *fiqh*. It contains detailed discussions of the purification of earth and water, quoting works on *fiqh* such as Sharíf al-Murtaḍá's *Misbáḥ*, the important *ḥadīth* collection *Man lá yaḥḍuruhu'l-faqīh*, and the *Kitáb al-bayán* of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Makkí 'Ámilí (ash-Shahíd al-Awwal). It may very well not be a work of the Báb's at all.

Tafsír Súrat al-kawthar

The most important work which can be assigned to the period of the Báb's residence in Shíráz is, without doubt, the commentary on the *Súrat al-kawthar*, a *tafsír* of over two hundred pages written for Sayyid Yaḥyá Dárábí Vaḥíd in the course of his visit to Shíráz for the purpose of interviewing the Báb. An account of the book's composition is given by Zarandí.²⁷⁴ However, neither the author of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* nor Mírzá Ḥusayn Hamadání refer to it in their accounts of Dárábí's meetings with Shírází,²⁷⁵ although they do say elsewhere that such a commentary was written for him.²⁷⁶

This *tafsír* was widely circulated by Shírází's followers. Navá'í says copies were sent to Tehran, Kerman, and Iṣfahán,²⁷⁷ but there is no doubt that it went much further afield. In his *Risála amriyya*, al-Baghdádí describes Qurrat al-'Ayn's stay in Kirmánsháh in 1846. On the second day, the ulama and notables of the town paid a visit to the Bábís. Shaykh Ṣálih Karímí stood up, flanked by two other converts. He proceeded to read from the *Tafsír Súrat al-kawthar*, while one of his companions, Mullá Ibráhím Maḥallátí, translated the text into Persian, presumably for the benefit of the lay members of the audience.²⁷⁸

Sayyid Mahdí Gulpáygání has stated that copies of this work were entirely destroyed.²⁷⁹ That is incorrect: at least twelve good manuscripts have survived (see Appendix One). A *khuṭba* written as a preface to this *tafsír* exists in only two copies (see Appendix One under *Khuṭbas*).

274 *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 174–76.

275 *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, pp. 120–21; Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, pp. 111–13.

276 *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, p. 116; *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 209.

277 Navá'í, *Fitna-yi Báb*, p. 160.

278 al-Baghdádí, *Risála amriyya*, p. 112.

279 Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpáygání and Sayyid Mahdí Gulpáygání, *Kashf al-ghitá' 'an ḥiyal al-a'dá'* (Ashkhabad, n.d.), p. 190.

Other commentaries

Several other tafsírs appear to fall within this extremely rich period, although precise dating is impossible. Some are very short pieces of only three or four pages. The most important extant examples include:

1. The *Tafsír áyat an-núr*, a commentary on the 'Light Verse' (Qur'an 24:35)
2. The *Tafsír ḥadīth 'nahnu wajh Alláh'*, a commentary on a tradition of some importance in Shi'ite metaphysics, in which the Imám claims to represent 'the Face of God'²⁸⁰
3. The *Tafsír Súrat al-qadr*, commenting on the 97th *súra* of the Qur'an, in reply to a letter from an unnamed individual
4. The *Tafsír Súrat at-tawḥíd*, a commentary on Qur'an 121 (better known as the *Súrat al-ikhlás*), also in reply to a letter from an unnamed correspondent²⁸¹
5. The *Tafsír ḥadīth 'man 'arafa nafsahu fa-qad 'arafa rabbahu'*, in interpretation of the well-known tradition 'He who knows himself knows his Lord', also in reply to a questioner
6. The *Tafsír al-há I and Tafsír al-há II*, two commentaries on the letter *há* (h) of the word *huwa* (he)²⁸²
7. The *Tafsír ḥadīth al-ḥaqíqa*, a commentary on a tradition better known as 'the Tradition of Kumayl', narrated from the Imám 'Alí by his companion Kumayl ibn Ziyád an-Nakha'²⁸³
8. The *Bayán 'ílat' taḥrím al-maḥárim*, written to explain the 'reason for the prohibition of those things which are forbidden'. Mázandarání refers to this work as 'early'²⁸⁴

280 On this theme, see Henri Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, 4 vols (Paris, 1971–72), vol. 1, p. 54; vol. 2, p. 229; idem, 'Face de Dieu et Face d l'homme', *Ehranos-Jahrbuch XXXVI*, pp. 165–228; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris, 1964), pp. 75–76. See also Mullá Şadrá Shírází, *Kitáb al-mashá'ir*, Bibliothèque Iranienne, vol. 10 (Tehran and Paris, 1964), pp. 185, 188–89. For traditions on this topic, see Muḥammad Khán Kirmání, *al-Kitáb al-mubin*, 2nd. ed., 2 vols (Kerman, Sh. 1354/1975–76), vol. 1, p. 226.

281 As noted later, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús also composed a commentary on this *súra*.

282 I have numbered these pieces I and II according to the titles listed in the index inside the cover of INBA 4002C, where they are referred to as *Tafsír al-há awwal wa duwwum*. *Tafsír al-há II* is followed in all manuscripts by two short prayers.

283 This tradition is also cited in part by the Báb in the *Dalá'il-i sab'* (Tehran, n.d.), p. 58. On the *ḥadīth* itself, see Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. 1, pp. 110–18 (Corbin lists several important commentaries on p. 112, n. 84). On Kumayl ibn Ziyád, see note to Imám 'Alí, *Nahj al-balágha* (Tehran, Muḥammad 'Ilmí Press, n.d.), pp. 975–77; D. Donaldson, 'Al-Kumayl: A Companion of the Secret', *Muslim World* 28 (1938): 249–57.

284 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 288.

9. The *Bayán jabr wa tafwīḍ*, in explanation of the meaning of ‘predestination and free-will’
10. The *Bayán mas’lat al-qadar*, concerning ‘the question of fate’
11. The *Bayán taqárub wa tabá’ud*, on ‘proximity and separation’, a work described as ‘early’ by Mázandarání²⁸⁵
12. The *Bayán fī ‘ilm al-jawámid wa’l-mushtáqát*, a very short piece on ‘the science of underived (defective) and derived [parts of speech], also listed by Mázandarání as ‘early’²⁸⁶
13. The *Bayán fī’l-nahw wa’l-ṣarf*, a commentary on grammar and syntax, also included on Mázandarání’s list of ‘early’ works²⁸⁷
14. An elucidation of a statement made by Sayyid Kázim Rashtí in his commentary on the *Khuṭba aṭ-ṭutunjiyya* by the Imám ‘Alí; this is also one of the ‘early’ works listed by Mázandarání²⁸⁸
15. The *Tafsír ḥadīth ‘kullu yawm ‘Áshúrá’*, a short commentary on the ḥadīth ‘every day is ‘Áshúrá’. The Báb says he has never seen the ḥadīth in question nor heard it spoken by any of the ulama, but he acknowledges its popularity and embarks on his commentary on the hypothesis that it is genuine.

For details of manuscripts of the above fifteen texts, see Appendix One under individual titles.

The existence of so many commentaries, many of them written in answer to questions from individuals, is indicative of the Báb’s perceived and acted role at this period as a commentator on the Qur’án and traditions. That this was how he was widely regarded at this time, and how he saw himself, is clear from a treatise written by Mullá Muḥammad Zunúzi, an early follower. Zunúzi remarks that ‘at the beginning, people believed the Báb had been sent by the Hidden Imám’, that he himself regarded his words as occupying a lower station to those of the imáms (but one above those of al-Aḥsá’í and Rashtí), and that he gave himself out as an interpreter (*mufasssir*), commentator (*mubayyin*), and promoter (*murawwij*) of the Qur’án and Islám. Zunúzi refers specifically in this context to Shírází’s

285 *ibid.*

286 *ibid.*

287 *ibid.*

288 *ibid.* Rashtí’s *Sharḥ al-khuṭba aṭ-ṭutunjiyya* was published in a lithograph edition (Tabriz, 1270/1853–54). Only six hundred copies were printed, and the work is now extremely rare. A copy does exist in the British Library.

commentaries on the *súras* of *Yúsuf*, *al-Baqara*, *al-Kawthar*, *wa'l-'aṣr*, *al-Inshiráh*, *al-Fátiḥa*, 'and others'.²⁸⁹

Kitáb al-'ulamá'

The Báb's general letter to the ulama (*Kitáb al-'ulamá'*), referred to in the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, appears in at least four manuscripts, in three of them without a title. The copy in INBMC 67 has the alternative title of *Súrat al-'ulamá'*. The style of this work, a mere ten pages in length, resembles that of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'*, but it is not part of it. This letter may be dated roughly by references to the Báb's visit to Masqaṭ²⁹⁰ and to three earlier works: the *Kitáb ar-rúḥ*, the *Kitáb* [sc. *Ṣaḥífa*] *bayna'l-ḥaramayn* (referred to here as already 'plentiful in all lands', p. 212), and the *Ṣaḥífa makhzúna*.

In the course of this epistle, Shírází addresses 'the concourse of the ulama',²⁹¹ compares himself with the previous gates of the Hidden Imám,²⁹² refers to his sea journey,²⁹³ and denies the accusation that his writings are a pastiche of the Qur'án.²⁹⁴ Particularly interesting from a doctrinal perspective are several references to the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* and other writings of the Báb as revelations of the 'inner meaning' (*báṭin*) of the Qur'án.²⁹⁵

Four manuscripts are listed in Appendix One.

Other short works

As mentioned above, in reference to the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, a large number of letters and prayers for individuals were written around this time. Rather than deal with them individually, I have listed them in Appendix One, under 'Letters'. Since they are contained in a limited number of manuscripts, they will be found grouped as they occur in each collection in turn.

Not all works written in this period have survived. After the Báb's departure from Shíráz in September 1846, the governor, Ḥusayn Khán, embarked on a campaign of reprisals against members of his family still in the city. More generally, the people of Shíráz were threatened with punishment should they be found in possession of writings by the young prophet.²⁹⁶ Scores ran to

289 Mázandaráni, *Ṣuḥúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 31–32. No copy of a commentary on the *Súrat al-Inshiráh* (Qur'án 94) has ever come to light, nor have I seen any mention of it elsewhere.

290 *Kitáb al-'ulamá'*, INBMC 67, p. 215.

291 *ibid.*, p. 207.

292 *ibid.*, p. 211.

293 *ibid.*, p. 215.

294 *ibid.*

295 *ibid.*, pp. 206, 213, and *infra*.

296 This in itself suggests wide distribution of such writings.

the house of the Báb's brother-in-law, Ḥájí Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim, and threw quantities of writings into the portico of his house. One of the Báb's uncles, Ḥájí Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí, advised members of the household to wash off the ink and to bury the sodden paper.²⁹⁷ Presumably much of this material—again indicative of the sheer bulk of the Shírází prophet's output—consisted of letters to individuals.

Despite this, I think it is clear that ample material exists, however scattered or, at times, badly transcribed, which may serve as a firm basis for the study of the inception and early development of the Báb's thought. One of the most difficult things about following this development is its very speed. Several large-scale modifications of doctrine occurred in the short space of six years. Most of what has been written until now about the Báb's thought has concentrated on his later ideas, as expressed in the Persian *Bayán* and other late works. This will have to be balanced in future studies with detailed reference to his ideas in this critical early period.²⁹⁸ In the works we have listed above will be found answers to several important questions, such as: what Shírází's earliest claims were; what his attitude was towards Islam in general, and the Qur'án, *sharí'a*, prophet, and imáms in particular; what he thought about the advent of the Hidden Imám; and what his views were with respect to Shaykhism.

297 Balyuzi, *The Báb*, pp. 106–07. Balyuzi adds the following note: 'The present writer remembers hearing from his mother her recollections of her paternal grandmother, the wife of Ḥájí Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim, which included an account of the washing away of the writings of the Báb. Huge copper collanders were used for the purpose. The paper was either buried or thrown into wells.'

298 This process has already begun with my own study 'From Shaykhism to Babism' and Abbas Amanat's *Resurrection and Renewal*.

III

Later works

Works written between September 1846 and March 1847

The above period covers the Báb's stay in Işfahán, most of which was spent as a secret guest of the governor, Manúchihr Khán, Mu'tamad ad-Dawla. The need to keep the heresiarch's presence in the governor's residence a well-guarded secret must have led to some slackening in the volume of letters and questions reaching him, which fact alone may explain why there is a dramatic fall in his output over this six- to seven-month period.

Tafsír Súra wa'l-'aşr

Only two works of any importance were penned in Isfahan. The first of these was the commentary on the *Súra wa'l-'aşr*, written for the city's Imám-Jum'a, Mír Sayyid Muḥammad Sulṭán al-'Ulamá.²⁹⁹ According to Zarandí, this lengthy commentary was written early in the Báb's stay, while he was living at the Imám-Jum'a's home. The book was written spontaneously at the request of Mír Sayyid Muḥammad himself, its first section being completed one evening between the end of supper and midnight. As a result of witnessing this tour de force, Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Harawí (the translator of the *Risála furú' al-'adliyya*) was converted to the new prophet's cause.³⁰⁰ According to the version of this incident given in the *Nuḡtat al-káf*, a clock was actually set out in order to time the Báb's writing! On this basis, it was estimated that he had written one thousand verses every six hours.³⁰¹ (For details of manuscripts, see Appendix One.)

Nubuwwa kháşşa

Not long after completing the *Tafsír Súra wa'l-'aşr*, the Báb was asked by Manúchihr Khán to write a treatise on the subject of *nubuwwa kháşşa*, the

299 A leading rival of Żill as-Sulṭán. See Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran, 1785–1906* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 167, 180.

300 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 201–02.

301 *Nuḡtat al-káf*, p. 116.

specific prophethood of Muḥammad.³⁰² Zarándí gives a detailed account of the writing of this work. It was, apparently, completed in the space of only two hours, the final text running to some fifty pages. Zarándí states that Manúchihr Khán converted to Islam as a result of hearing it read, ignoring the fact that he had already become a Muslim a long time before this.³⁰³ Seven manuscripts of this important treatise are extant (see Appendix One).

Minor works

A number of minor works, some of considerable interest, may be assigned with either absolute or reasonable certainty to the Iṣfahán period. These are all contained in a small number of manuscript collections, notably INBA 6010C, INBMC 40,³⁰⁴ INBMC 53, INBMC 69, and Browne F.21. Details may be found in Appendix One under individual titles and the heading 'Minor Works'.

These are all short works, mainly letters written in reply to questions from specific individuals. The following are particularly interesting:

- i. A letter of some four pages addressed to the governor of Iṣfahán, Manúchihr Khán, in which the Báb responds to charges laid against him by setting out his beliefs concerning Islam. This text deserves to be studied in conjunction with those works from the Búshihir and Shiráz periods in which the Báb denies any extreme claims for himself. He begins by stating that 'there is no doubt that the faith of God [*ad-dín*] neither changes nor alters' and proceeds to testify to a conventional Shi'ite belief in God, Muḥammad, Fāṭima, and the imáms. After this, he says: 'I am a servant who has believed

302 For a succinct explanation of the difference between specific and general prophethood, see E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1924), p. 387–88. In general, see Ḥajj Muḥammad Khán Kirmání, *al-Kitáb al-mubín*, 2 vols (Kerman, Sh. 1354/1976), vol. 1, pp. 132–199 (*sifr* 1, *maqṣad* 2, *maṭlabs* 1 and 2).

303 Zarándí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 202–04. See also *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, p. 116 (and p. 199, where the governor's sincerity is called into question).

304 This MS, the original of which was once in the possession of Dr Muḥammad Afnán, is identical to one he describes in an article entitled 'Majmú'a'í az áthár-i Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡṭa-yi Úlá' (*Áhang-i badí'*, year 18 [Sh. 1342/1963], 11/12, pp. 412–16, 443). It is Afnán's opinion that this collection (whose provenance he does not give) was based on a compilation of texts made in Tehran in 1263/1847 by Sayyid Yaḥyá Dárábí Vaḥíd, and that all the materials in it were written in Iṣfahán. This seems plausible, although the grounds given by Afnán are far from firm.

Against this view is the fact that, in INBMC 67, those items represented by pieces 7 and 12 in Afnán's MS carry the dates 30 Ramaḍán 1264/31 August 1848 and 30 Rajab 1264/3 July 1848 respectively. Of course, these dates may represent scribal additions to copies made in 1848 and need not of themselves undermine Afnán's theory. Certainly, many of the other items in INBMC 40 contain internal references that allow us to identify them as works of the Iṣfahán period. According to Afnán (but not the photostat available as INBMC 40), the MS was transcribed for a certain Sayyid Yaḥyá al-Músawí by Ghulám-Riḍá' Ḥayrán at an unspecified date.

- in God and his verses and followed the decree of the Qur'án'. He then expands on what he maintains is the true nature of his claims: 'God has bestowed on me some of his knowledge'. This knowledge he declares to exist in four degrees or conditions [*shu'únát al-arba'a* (sic)]: the first is the type of knowledge demonstrated in his treatise on the *nubuwwa kháṣṣa*, the second is in the form of prayers (which 'flow' with extreme rapidity from his pen), the third *khuṭbas*, and the fourth the degree of 'the people of eloquence'. This division is clearly an early version of the 'five grades' to be encountered in the Báb's later works.
- ii. A letter to the governor of Shúshtar, in which the Báb interprets an obscure tradition attributed to the Imám 'Alí: '*allamaní akhí rasúl Alláh 'ima má kána wa 'allamtuhu 'ilma má yakúnu* ('My brother, the Apostle of God, taught me the knowledge of all that has been, and I taught him the knowledge of all that shall be'. Although the Báb says that he has never seen this tradition in any of the standard collections, he regards it as authentic. The interpretation deals in some detail with three of the seven active causes of creation or modes of the Divine Will: will (*mashí'a*), intention (*iráda*), and destiny (*qadar*).³⁰⁵
 - iii. A letter to Mírzá Sa'íd Ardistání or, according to INBMC 69, Mírzá Muḥammad Sa'íd Zavára'í. This letter is of interest as a source for the Báb's early views on certain philosophical topics. In it, he describes as 'baseless' the Ishráqí concept of a simple reality (*basīṭ al-ḥaqíqa*) which is ontologically equivalent to all things.³⁰⁶ He also examines the topics of destiny (*qadar*) and creation (*ḥudúth*), and the meaning of the phrase 'nothing issues from the single but the single' (*al-wáḥid la yaṣḍuru* [بصدر] *minhu illá'l-wáḥid*). According to a note at the end of the text in INBMC 67, this letter

305 The other four causes are: decree (*qaḍá'*), permission (*idhn*), time appointed (*ajal*), and book (*kitáb*). Cf. the Báb, *Ṣaḥífa-yi 'adliyya*, p. 16; idem, 'Risála fi tashkhiṣ al-ghiná', in INBMC 82, p. 105 (and other MSS); *aṣ-Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*, Browne F.7, p.35. See also Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í, *Sharḥ az-ziyára al-jámi'a al-kabira*, 4 vols (Kerman, 1355-56/1976-77), vol. 1, p. 242; Sayyid Kázim Rashtí, *Uṣūl al-'aqa'id*, INBMC 4, p. 114.

306 This concept is particularly derived from Mullá Ṣadrá Shírází's classic formulation: *kullu má huwa basīṭ al-ḥaqíqa fa-huwa bi-waḥdatihi kullu'l-ashyá'* ('all that which is Simple in Its essential Reality is, by virtue of Its [absolute] Unity, all things')—see Mullá Ṣadrá Shírází, *The Wisdom of the Throne*, trans. J. W. Morris (Princeton, 1981), p. 98. For a Shaykhí commentary on this formula, see Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í, *Sharḥ al-'Arshiyya*, vol. 1 (Kerman, Sh. 1361/1982), pp. 79ff. A Bahá'í view may be found in Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh, 'Lawḥ-i basīṭ al-ḥaqíqa', in Ishráq Khávarí, *Ma'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 7, pp. 140-47.

was completed on 30 Rajab 1264/3 July 1848; this may, however, be a scribal reference to the date of the copy.

- iv. A letter to Mírzá Muḥammad ‘Alí al-Mudhahhib, commenting on a morning prayer (*du‘á aṣ-ṣabáḥ*) by one of the imáms.³⁰⁷
- v. A letter commenting on a tradition of the Imám Riḍá’. The tradition in question reads: ‘There is no act performed by one of God’s servants, be it good or evil, but that God has already issued a decree concerning it’. The recipient is not named.
- vi. The first section of *al-Lawámi‘ al-badí‘* (sic). This is a *risála* of some twenty pages written in Iṣfahán³⁰⁸ in reply to Mullá ‘Alí Tabrízí, who wanted the Báb to compose something along the lines of Sayyid Káẓim Rashtí’s *al-Lawám‘ al-Ḥusayniyya*. In all likelihood, this ‘first *ishráq*’ (as it is called) is all that was ever written, since the Báb indicates in the text that his correspondent wanted him to compose ‘a single *ishráq* (*ishráq^{an}*) in this style.

Since the title appears only at the end of the text in INBA 7009C (one of only two extant copies), in the words *tamma‘l-ishráq al-awwal min al-lawámi‘ al-badí‘* it may be conjectured that this is really an untitled work to which a later scribe has given this name.³⁰⁹

- vii. A *tafsír* written in reply to Mírzá Ḥasan Waqá‘i‘-nigár (the ‘chronicler’). The recipient was, it may be assumed, an historian attached to the court of Manúchihr Khán. The commentary is an interpretation of two Qur’anic phrases: ‘We are closer to him [man] than his jugular vein’ (50:16) and ‘a single rival’ (112:4). A closing section deals with the subject of the movement of the heavens.
- viii. A letter to a theological student on the questions contained in the Qur’án (*istifhámát al-Qur’án*). The main interest of this short letter lies in a passage towards the beginning, where the Báb sets out his beliefs concerning

307 Not to be confused with the Báb’s later commentary on a morning prayer of the Imám ‘Alí written in Mákú.

308 INBA 7009C, p. 180.

309 There is, however, precedent for the use of *ishráq* as a term for a division in a work by the Báb. We have already quoted a statement in the *Kitáb al-fihrist* to the effect that, among the works stolen from the Báb on the ḥajj journey, was a commentary on the *Miṣbáḥ* in one hundred *ishráqs*.

God, Muhammad and the imams in a manner similar to that in his letter to Manachihr Khan above (i).

- ix. The *Sharḥ kayfīyyat al-mi'rāj*. This is a letter to Mírzá Ḥasan Núrí on the question of how the body of the prophet can be in all places and all times simultaneously. This short work (widely known as the *Sharḥ kayfīyyat al-mi'rāj*) refers briefly to the question of Muḥammad's ascension (*mi'rāj*), but offers insufficient detail to make any useful comparison between the Báb's views on this subject and those of al-Aḥsá'í. The work appears (according to a heading in Browne's copy and a reference in the text) to have been composed in the course of a public gathering, possibly one of those reported to have been held in the house of the Imám-Jum'a of Iṣfahán. In spite of being graced with an independent title, this piece consists of only two pages.
- x. A *risála* on the Islamic law regarding singing (*al-ghiná'*). This substantial piece was written in response to an unnamed questioner who met the Báb while visiting Iṣfahán. A reference towards the middle of the text reveals that the Báb's *Tafsír al-há* was written before it.
- xi. The *Risála-yi dhahabiyya II*. This work must, I think, be assigned to the latter part of this period, even though in style and content it seems more like a composition of the Shíráz period. It is an Arabic letter, quite distinct from the work of the same title referred to earlier (and which may not legitimately bear that name): I have, therefore, given it the title *Risála-yi dhahabiyya II* for the purposes of differentiation.

The text is a reply to criticisms levelled against the Báb by someone named Jawád. From the tone of the response, I am inclined to think this individual was Mullá Jawád Vilyání ('Khuwár'), a Shaykhí 'álim who had been the first to reject the Báb's claims (after embracing them briefly) in the early period after Shírází's return from pilgrimage.³¹⁰ However, a heading above the copy in INBMC 86 states that it was written 'in reply to criticisms of the Sayyid'; this suggests that a different Shaykhí convert, Sayyid Jawád al-Karbalá'í, may have been the recipient. More probably, this is just a guess on the part of the scribe: al-Karbalá'í was much better known to later Bábís than Vilyání, but we know of no overt disagreement between him and Shírází.

310 For details of Vilyání and his conflict with the Báb, see MacEoin, 'From Shaykhism to Babism', pp. 199–203.

In the course of this letter, the Báb states that three years have passed since God first inspired him³¹¹ and that he has now written thirty *ṣaḥīfas*,³¹² a figure which corresponds roughly to the number of major works penned to the end of the Iṣfahán period. The letter is more broadly concerned with affirming the Báb's claim to possess the ability to reveal inspired verses from his natural disposition (*fiṭra*) and challenging his critic (or anyone else, for that matter) to do the same. Of some interest is a statement towards the end: 'I have not wished to abrogate a *sharí'a* (sic) nor to add a word to it.'³¹³ In the final section, the Báb writes briefly in condemnation of the concepts of unicity of being (*wahdat al-wujúd*) and simple reality (*basīṭ al-ḥaqíqa*) found in Islamic mystical philosophy. He refers specifically to the famous work of Ibn al-'Arabí, *Fuṣúṣ al-ḥikam*.

- xii. A short letter in reply to three questions, written in Iṣfahán. The first question concerns the various meanings that may be assigned to the Day of Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyáma*), outlined by the Báb in relatively conventional terms. Of greater interest is what is almost certainly a response to a question about the female Bábí leader Qurrat al-'Ayn, who is described here as 'a women whose self has been effaced and concerning whom it has been revealed that affairs are to be entrusted to her'. In his reply, the Báb supports Qurrat al-'Ayn, but he points out that 'it is not incumbent on the people to follow her, since they are unable to comprehend the reality of her station'. Although Qurrat al-'Ayn is nowhere mentioned by name, this brief passage does parallel several others in letters of the Báb also penned in response to queries about her controversial activities in Karbalá' around this period.

The final section of this letter deals with the station of the recipient and with a refutation of statements in his original correspondence which seem to have extolled the Báb's position in an exaggerated fashion here described as 'heretical hyperbole' (*ghuluww*). Of interest here are the Báb's rejection of the idea that he possesses knowledge of the unseen world, and his assertion that 'I have not commanded anyone save [to obey] the decree of the Qur'án and the laws of the people of utterance [i.e., the imáms]':

- xiii. A letter on the significance of the letters of the alphabet. This follows the foregoing in INBMC 53, suggesting that it also was written in Iṣfahán.

311 INBMC 53, p. 166.

312 *ibid.*, p. 164.

313 *ibid.*, p. 172.

Works written between March 1847 and July 1850

This section covers the period from the Báb's departure from Işfahán to his execution in Tabríz on 9 July 1850. He left the former Safavid capital shortly after the death of his patron Manúchihir Khán in Rabí' I 1263/February-March 1847 and was taken under escort towards Tehran. It was his belief that a meeting would be arranged between himself and the king, something which never took place. His route took him through Káshán, past Qum, and on to the village of Kulayn, about twenty miles from the capital. He remained in this village for about twenty days, until orders were received from Ḥajj Mírzá Áqásí, instructing his escort to remove him to confinement in the town of Mákú near the Russian border.

The Báb and his guards left for Azerbaijan, passing near Qazvín en route to Tabríz, where he was kept for forty days until his final removal to Mákú. He reached his destination in the late summer of 1847 and remained there nine months, until Áqásí ordered his transfer, under Russian diplomatic pressure, to the castle of Chihríq, further from the border. Leaving Mákú on 9 April 1848, the Báb reached his new prison at the beginning of Jumádá II 1264/early May 1848. Three months later, at the end of Sha'bán/August, he was taken to be examined in Tabríz, then brought back to Chihríq, where he remained until his final removal to Tabríz and his execution there in July 1850.

This period saw the most developed expression of the Báb's doctrines. Toward the end of his stay in Mákú, he sent a letter to Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí ('Aẓím), in which he proclaimed himself to be the return of the Hidden Imám in person, and announced that the laws of the Islamic *sharí'a* were to be considered abrogated.³¹⁴ The circulation of copies of this letter by Turshízí—as instructed by the Báb himself—seems to have been a major factor leading to the convocation of a gathering of Bábí activists at the Mázandarán village of Badasht in the summer of 1848.

Here, it was determined—though not without much controversy—to abrogate the laws of Islam forthwith and to inaugurate the era of resurrection (*qá'imíyya*), much as happened at the Ismá'ílí stronghold of Alamút in 1164. This new and significant direction in the Báb's thinking is reflected in the writings produced by him at this time. This was not only the most prolific but also the most distinctive period of his brief career, during which the Islamic *mufasssir* manqué gives way at last to the elaborator of his own religious and philosophical system.

314 Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 164–66.

Works written en route to Mákú

A number of works were written on the Báb's way to Mákú. According to 'Abbás Effendi, he penned a third letter to Muḥammad Sháh at the end of his two-week stay at Kulayn, in which he again requested an audience.³¹⁵ The same source also refers to accounts that, in the course of the journey, several more messages were sent to the king, none of which actually reached him.³¹⁶

While at the village of Siyáh-Dihán, the Báb wrote letters to the ulama of nearby Qazvín. Copies of these were transmitted to the recipients by Mullá Aḥmad Ibdál Marágha'í, a Letter of the Living. Among the ulama addressed were Ḥájj Mullá 'Abd al-Wahháb Qazvíní,³¹⁷ Ḥájj Mullá Muḥammad Šálih Baraghání,³¹⁸ his brother Ḥájj Mullá Muḥammad Taqí,³¹⁹ and Ḥájj Sayyid Muḥammad Taqí Qazvíní.³²⁰ According to the account of this incident given by Shaykh Samandar Qazvíní, Muḥammad Taqí Baraghání tore up his letter, but Samandar was able to copy the letter sent to 'Abd al-Wahháb.³²¹

The same source states that the gist of these letters was the Báb's argument that reaching a decision about the truth or falsehood of his cause no longer lay with the state, but with the ulama. He was, accordingly, writing to ask them to meet with him in order to investigate his claims. No extant manuscript of any of these letters is known.

Samandar also states that the Báb wrote from Siyáh-Dihán to Ḥájj Mírzá Áqásí, and that this letter was sent by regular courier to the capital.³²² It is highly unlikely that a copy of this letter would have survived. But its value in telling us something of the Báb's attitude toward the state at this critical stage would make it a find of some importance.

The Persian *Bayán*

The most important work of this period—indeed, the central book of the entire Bábí canon—is the Persian *Bayán*, a lengthy but incomplete work of

315 *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 14.

316 *ibid.*, p. 16.

317 A former Imám-Jum'a and a rival of Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Baraghání (Qurrat al-'Ayn's uncle). Two of 'Abd al-Wahháb's sons became Bábís and Letters of the Living. One was married to a sister of Qurrat al-'Ayn and was later killed at Shaykh Ṭabarsí. The other eventually separated himself from his fellow-Bábís.

318 The father of Qurrat al-'Ayn. The author of several books, he was less well known than his brother Muḥammad Taqí.

319 For details of this important figure, murdered by Bábís in 1847, see D. MacEoin, 'Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Baraghání Qazvíní', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, and sources cited there.

320 Imám-Jum'a immediately prior to Muḥammad Taqí Baraghání.

321 Qazvíní, *Tárikh-i Samandar*, pp. 97–98.

322 *ibid.*, p. 99.

nine *wáḥids* ('unities'), each consisting of nineteen *abwáb*, except for the last, which has only ten. The Báb's original intention was to write a book of nineteen *wáḥids*, but he was unable to do this and, so it is reported, left the task of completion in the hands of *Man yuzhiruhu'lláh* ('He whom God shall manifest'), the Bábí messiah.³²³

Begun in Mákú,³²⁴ this book, more than any other, contains the mature doctrine of the prophet of Shíráz set out in as near an approximation to a system as could be hoped for. Each chapter is headed by an Arabic summary of its contents,³²⁵ and the Báb generally succeeds in sticking to the subject under discussion, even if his train of thought is seldom lucid or easy to follow.

Since this book has been discussed and summarized adequately elsewhere,³²⁶ I shall add nothing further here. There is a richness of manuscript material on the basis of which a sound printed edition may one day be prepared. Though we do not possess a copy in the Báb's hand, one does exist in that of his amanuensis, Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí, apparently written at the prophet's dictation. Bahá' Alláh remarks that 'the copy [of the *Bayán*] in the handwriting of Sayyid Ḥusayn has survived, as has that in the hand of Mírzá Aḥmad [i.e., Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní].'³²⁷ I have been able to track down no fewer than fifty manuscripts, but I have no doubt that this number could be more than doubled. For details, see Appendix One.

323 Azalí Bábís believe that this was actually carried out by Şubḥ-i Azal, whose continuation is entitled *Mutammim-i Bayán* (Tehran, n.d.). Bahá'ís, however, believe that the *Kitáb-i Íqán* (Cairo, 1352/1933) of Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí was the spiritual completion of the Báb's text (see Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 138).

324 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 248.

325 A fact which has led to the erroneous conclusion that the main text represents a Persian commentary on an Arabic work.

326 See Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. 3, pp. 1–32; Browne, 'The Bábís of Persia II', pp. 918–33; idem, 'A Summary of the Persian *Bayán*', in Momen, *Selections from the Writings of E. G. Browne*, pp. 316–406; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, pp. 24–25. Browne discusses the meaning of the term *bayán* in his 'Catalogue and Description', pp. 452–53 and *A Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. 343–46. He prepared and published a valuable index to the text in *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, pp. liv–xcv. A French translation was made by A. L. M. Nicolas: *Le Béyan Persan*, 4 vols (Paris, 1911–1914). In 1946, the Azalí Bábís in Tehran published a useful and well-edited lithograph edition of the text. Unfortunately, copies of this work have become extremely rare.

327 *Lawḥ-i Shaykh*, p. 128. According to Zarandí, 'Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím remained in the capital, where he devoted his time to transcribing the Persian *Bayán*' (*Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 168–69). Sayyid Mahdí Dahají refers to a defective copy of the *Bayán* in the hand of Hájí Mírzá Ismá'il Káshání 'Dhabíḥ' (the brother of Hájí Mírzá Jání), which he brought to Yazd from Káshán (*Risála-yi Sayyid Mahdí Dahají*, Cambridge, Browne F.57, p. 61).

The Arabic *Bayán*

The much shorter Arabic *Bayán* is, in fact, the only Arabic work of the Báb that bears that title. Gobineau's statement,³²⁸ echoed by Browne³²⁹ and others, to the effect that there are altogether three *Bayáns*, two in Arabic and one in Persian, the latter a commentary on the first Arabic *Bayán*, is foundationless.³³⁰ As we have shown, Gobineau's *Livre des Préceptes* is nothing more than the Arabic *Bayán* (minus one section) prefaced by a short letter from the Báb to Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní.

Like its Persian counterpart, this work was penned while the Báb was imprisoned in Máku. It too is incomplete, consisting of only eleven *wáḥids*. Each *wáḥid* has a full nineteen *abwáb*, but these consist of little more than a single verse in each instance. The overall effect is one of great verbal comprehension, with little logic in the sequence of ideas. Unlike the others, the first *wáḥid* is not divided into *abwáb*: it stands more as an introduction to the rest of the text. In spite of its brevity and frequent obscurity, this little book does provide us with the most succinct exposition of the laws and doctrines of the Báb in their final development.

Copies of the Arabic *Bayán* are much rarer than those of the Persian, but there are enough manuscripts in existence—including one in the Báb's own hand—to make a firm text easy to achieve. The text has been lithographed³³¹ and printed,³³² and twice translated into French.³³³

The Persian *Dalá'il-i sab'a*

While still in Máku, the Báb wrote yet another important Persian treatise, the *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, supported (like the Persian *Bayán*) by a much shorter Arabic version. Nicolas describes this work as '... la plus importante des oeuvres de polémique sorties de la plume de Seyyed Ali Mohammed.'³³⁴ Şubḥ-i Azal confirmed to Browne that this book was indeed the work of the Báb and stated that it had been written in Máku.³³⁵

328 *Religions et philosophies*, pp. 279–80.

329 'The Bábís of Persia I', p. 510.

330 Mázandarání does suggest, however, that the Persian *Bayán* was written after the Arabic, as an expansion of the ideas contained in the shorter book (*Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 2, p. 99).

331 Tehran, n.d. The text is based on a MS in the Báb's hand—reproduced in this volume—extending as far as *wáḥid* 9. The remaining two *wáḥids* are based on five other MSS. Unfortunately, the editor gives no details about the origins of these other copies.

332 In 'Abd ar-Razzáq al-Ḥasaní, *al-Bábiyún wa'l-Bahá'iyún fí máḍihim wa ḥaḍirihim* (Sidon, 1962), pp. 81–107.

333 First by Gobineau in *Religions et philosophies*, secondly by A. L. M. Nicolas: *Le Bèyan Arabe, le Livre Sacré de Bábysme de Séyyèd Ali Mohammed dit le Báb* (Paris, 1905).

334 *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, preface, p. i.

335 Letter to Browne, 1 October 1889.

There has, however, been uncertainty about the date of composition of this work. Nicolas writes that 'il est généralement admis qu'il fut composé pendant le voyage de la Mèkke pour répondre aux objections ou aux questions d'un olèmâ (sc. 'ulamâ, sic.) de Yezd. Que ce livre soil une réponse à un intérogateur, cela n'est pas douteux comme on pourra s'en rendre comte dès le début; qu'il ait été composé pour un des olèmâ de Yezd, cela n'a au fond, que peu d'importance; mais qu'il ait été écrit pendant le voyage de la Mèkke, cela ne se peut admettre.'³³⁶

In all likelihood, the error about this work having been composed on the *ḥajj* journey arose from a simple confusion with the *Khaṣā'il-i sab'a*. Nicolas, however, goes on to argue that, since Shírází appears to have abandoned the title 'Báb' and adopted that of 'Imám Mahdí', the *Dalá'il-i sab'a* must have been composed in Chihríq, where this change occurred.³³⁷

Browne, however, bases himself on a firmer internal argument. He refers to a passage in which part of the 'Tradition of Kumayl' is quoted and its phrases referred to different years of the Báb's career. Since it is said that the first four years of this prophecy have elapsed and that the remaining prophecies are due to be fulfilled in the fifth year, Browne argues that the *Dalá'il-i sab'a* must have been written in 1264 or early 1265, when the Báb was in Mákú.³³⁸

There is confirmation for this dating in a passage which occurs some pages after that cited by Browne, where the Báb says that 'in the space of four years' the number of his followers had come to exceed one hundred thousand.³³⁹ The matter remains uncertain, however, since the Báb left Mákú several months before the beginning of 1265 and could arguably have written this passage in Chihríq.³⁴⁰

Fortunately, the solution to the problem is not hard to find: it is only a matter for astonishment that neither Browne nor Nicolas noticed it. In a passage some pages after the one I have just quoted, the Báb actually states, in reference to a prophecy relating to the Hidden Imám: '... conceive and understand that the meaning [of these words] is this day, when he is seated on the mountain of Mákú.'³⁴¹

336 *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, preface, p. i.

337 *ibid.*, pp. iii–iv.

338 'The Bábís of Persia II', p. 913. The passage cited by Browne may be found on p. 58 of the published edition, pp. 52–53 of Browne's own copy (F.25).

339 *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, p. 64.

340 See Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 259. The Báb left Mákú twenty days after Naw-Rúz, that is, on 9 April. The year 1265 began on 27 November, 1848.

341 *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, p. 67. cf. p. 32: 'the mountain of Mákú prevents the meeting [of man with God].'

In the end, dating the *Dalá'il-i sab'a* is not very difficult. But who was it written for? We have noted above Nicolas' theory that it was addressed to a single individual who may have been a theologian from Yazd. Unfortunately, I know of no firm evidence to support this. Şubḥ-i Azal told Browne that the recipient was Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí,³⁴² and this, in turn, may have given rise to the Yazd connection. Mázandarání, however, is equally confident that it was written in reply to questions posed by Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Harawí,³⁴³ to whom we have referred already in the last chapter.

Harawí became a Bábí during the Báb's stay in Işfahán, but his faith was subsequently shaken when he heard of Shírází's claim to be the Qá'im. According to Mázandarání, it was then that he posed the questions that this had raised. If this is so, the *Dalá'il-i sab'a* failed in its purpose, for Harawí not only abandoned the Báb but later wrote a refutation of his claims. However, I am not convinced that Harawí was the recipient of this work: he is referred to by name in the text, in a context which implies that the person addressed is someone else.³⁴⁴

Other text indications as to the identity of the recipient offer little further help. For example, the addressee is clearly spoken of as having been a pupil of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí³⁴⁵—a description which would fit not only Harawí and Yazdí, but a large number of the early followers of the Báb. At one point, the Báb says: 'You yourself know the first of the believers [i.e., Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í]', but this also could refer either to Yazdí (himself a Letter of the Living) or Harawí (converted by Bushrú'í in Işfahán).³⁴⁶

In general, the tone and much of the substance of this work strongly suggest that the recipient was either not a believer or a believer with serious doubts. This would seem to rule out Yazdí. In the absence of further information, it will be best to avoid reaching any definite conclusion.

Mázandarání believes that 'there is no original or reliable copy' of this work,³⁴⁷ a view in marked contrast to that of Shoghi Effendi Rabbání, who thought the *Dalá'il-i sab'a* was one of only three works by the Báb which might be considered wholly authentic.

The Arabic *Dalá'il sab'a*

I have already noted that, apart from the Persian *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, the work most commonly referred to by that title, there is also a shorter Arabic work

342 Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, p. 448.

343 *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 4, p. 109.

344 Shírází, *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, p. 60.

345 *ibid.*, p. 59.

346 Gobineau, *Religions et philosophies*, p. 146.

347 *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 4, p. 108.

of the same name (or, more correctly, the *Dalá'il sab'a*). This includes, in summary form, the seven proofs advanced in the Persian work; and it almost certainly dates from the same period, though it is hard to say which was written first. It may be conjectured that it was this version which was addressed to Harawí, hence the independent reference to him in the Persian text. Only three manuscript copies are in existence.

Qur'án commentaries

The most voluminous work undertaken by the Báb during his confinement in Mákú was a series of commentaries on the entire Qur'án. The fate of these is, unfortunately, unknown. According to Zarandí, on the authority of Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí (who was himself at Mákú during this period), the Báb wrote a commentary on a one-thirtieth section (*juz'*) of the Qur'án each night for the nine months of his imprisonment. At the end of each month, therefore, a commentary on the entire book would be produced. The texts of these nine commentaries were entrusted to the keeping of Sayyid Ibráhím Khalíl Tabrízí.³⁴⁸

It is possibly to these commentaries that the Báb refers in the following passage from the Persian *Bayán*: 'Thus has the Point of the Bayán [i.e., himself] written three commentaries on the Qur'án.'³⁴⁹ Should this be so, it would provide us with an indication of the precise period when the *Bayán* itself was being written, since this suggests that the third *wáḥid* (from which this passage is taken) was being composed around the beginning of the fourth month of the confinement. Since the text of the Persian *Bayán* was carried only as far as *wáḥid* 9, *báb* 10, there are grounds for assuming that it too was written on a daily basis, a *wáḥid* being finished each month.

According to Şubḥ-i Azal, two commentaries on the Qur'án were among the writings of the Báb taken from Iran to Baghdad.³⁵⁰ Their present whereabouts are a mystery.

The Lawḥ-i ḥurúfát/Kitáb-i haykal/Kitáb-i hayákil

According to Zarandí, one of the works written by the Báb during his confinement in Chihríq was a 'tablet' for Mírzá Asad Alláh Khú'í Dayyán, entitled the *Lawḥ-i ḥurúfát* ('Tablet of the Letters').³⁵¹ The same author goes on to say that this work had been considered at first as an exposition of the 'science of *Jafr*' (i.e., gematria); but that when Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh was in Acre, he had written a letter in which he explained its true

³⁴⁸ Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 31.

³⁴⁹ *Bayán-i Fársí*, 3:16, p. 101.

³⁵⁰ Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, p. 335.

³⁵¹ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 304.

meaning, deriving from it the theory that the appearance of ‘him who God shall manifest’ (*man yuzhiruhu’lláh*) was predicted ‘no less than nineteen years after the Declaration of the Báb.’³⁵²

I have identified a manuscript belonging to the INBA, and catalogued (under the class-mark 3003C) as a work of the Báb, as in fact a copy of Bahá’ Alláh’s letter to Mírzá Ibráhím Shírání, referred to by Zarandí. In this letter, written in a mixture of Persian and Arabic, the work commented on is referred to, not as the *Lawh-i hurúfát*, but as the *Kitáb-i hayákil* (‘Book of talismans’) or, more loosely, *kitábí dar hayákil-i wáhid* (a book concerning the temples [talismans] of unity).³⁵³ The description given of the work in question on the following pages is adequate to permit a firm identification. But before coming to that, I would like to link this reference to descriptions in two other works of Bahá’ Alláh.

In a letter to Mullá ‘Alí Muḥammad Siráj Iṣfahání, there are several references to and quotations from a *Risála-yi Ja’fariyya* said to have been written by the Báb for Asad Alláh Khú’í.³⁵⁴ Among the passages quoted is the following: ‘O you who are named Dayyán! This is a concealed and treasured knowledge. We have entrusted it to you and given it to you as a token of honour on our part.’³⁵⁵ But when he quotes this same passage in another letter, Bahá’ Alláh refers to the source, not as the *Risála-yi Ja’fariyya*, but as the *Kitáb-i haykal*, once more observing that this was a work written by the Báb for Asad Alláh Khú’í. References in this second letter³⁵⁶ to the contents of the *Kitáb-i haykal* are very similar to those describing the *Kitáb-i hayákil* in the above-mentioned letter to Mírzá Ibráhím Shírání. It seems fair to assume that one and the same work is intended.

The descriptions and quotations given by Bahá’ Alláh serve to identify the work referred to by these varying titles as none other than the final five sections (representing a full series of ‘grades’) of the *Kitáb-i panj sha’n* (pp. 405–47 in the printed text). These sections deal with the construction of talismans along cabbalistic lines in order to demonstrate the unity of all things in a single person (i.e., the manifestation of the Universal Will). The ultimate purpose of this exercise is to enable the Báb’s followers to recognize *man yuzhiruhu’lláh* when he eventually appears.

352 *ibid.*

353 Bahá’ Alláh, Letter to Mírzá Ibráhím Shírání, INBA 3003C, p. 19.

354 Letter in Ishráq-Khávání, *Má’ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 7, p. 60.

355 *ibid.* This passage is also quoted in the *Lawh-i Shaykh* (p. 130) with the substitution of the words *min ‘inda’lláh* (‘on God’s part’) for *min ‘indaná* (‘on our part’).

356 Bahá’ Alláh, *Ishráqát*, p. 47.

This is clearly the *Kitáb-i hayákil-i wáhid* referred to by that name by the Báb himself.³⁵⁷ It would appear that, at some point, these last sections of the *Panj sha'n* were distributed among the Bábís as an independent work, giving rise to the confusion we have noted as to its title and identity.

In fact, two sections from the *Panj sha'n* in INBMC 64³⁵⁸ more or less equal what we may presume to have been the text of the *Lawḥ-i ḥurúfát*. This, in turn, would explain a passage reading: 'What was sent down for his excellency al-Asad, the single, the unique, illumined with the eternal light, the name of God, ad-Dayyán', quoted by Bahá' Alláh in the letters referred to above. This sentence does not appear in the *Panj sha'n* text, and it is my assumption that it represents a scribal addition placed at the head of the text as distributed independently. Bahá' Alláh, however, as is evident from his use of the preceding phrase *qawluhu ta'álá* ('His words, exalted be he'), must have mistaken these words as part of the Báb's original text. It is, of course, plausible that the address was added by the Báb himself when the text was prepared for despatch to Khú'í.³⁵⁹

The *Ṣaḥífa-yi Ja'fariyya* mentioned (and treated as a different work to the *Lawḥ-i ḥurúfát*) by Shoghi Effendi in his rather spurious list of the Báb's 'best-known works'³⁶⁰ is not, as might at first sight appear, this same work under yet another title, but the treatise of that name already discussed in chapter two. How this piece comes to be regarded as one of the Báb's best-known works must remain a mystery.

The *Haykal ad-dín*

A particularly rare work, written in the very last period of the Báb's life, is a piece entitled *Haykal ad-dín*. According to a letter from Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí, two copies were made of this work: one in the Báb's hand, the other in Yazdí's. The first copy fell into the hands of 'the letters of the Gospel' (i.e., Christians, meaning here Russians); the second was stolen from Yazdí in Daylmaqán by a certain Khanjar Khán.

357 *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, pp. 45–46. This provides us with useful evidence for the dating of the *Dalá'il-i sab'a*, since the *Kitáb-i panj sha'n* is precisely dated.

358 pp. 85–89, 89–94.

359 Ṣubḥ-i Azal also refers to a work of the Báb's entitled *Kitáb-i hayákil* (*Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, p. 339). It should be noted, however, that Azal himself wrote a work of the same name: a MS exists in the Browne Collection (F46). Neither the Báb's *Kitáb-i haykal/hayákil* or Azal's *Kitáb-i hayákil* should, of course, be confused further with a collection of Bahá' Alláh's entitled the *Súra-yi haykal*. A work entitled *Kitáb-i hayákil* may be found in Haifa. It is ascribed to the Báb, but seems to be yet another work to that under discussion; it consists of a very large collection of *hayákil* and is probably not a single text in the normal sense. For a discussion of the Báb's *hayákil* in general, see later in the text.

360 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 669.

A defective copy (possibly transcribed from the original in Yazdí's hand) was later discovered, though where or how has not been explained. Şubḥ-i Azal indicates that he once saw a copy in Tehran, but says it fell into the hands of the Bahá'ís, along with other works of the Báb. Some years ago, a copy by a Bahá'í scribe, made from a text found at the back of another book and dated 1268/1852, was acquired by the Azalís. Eventually, another copy, this time in the hand of an Azalí scribe, Áqá Sayyid Raḥím Işfahání,³⁶¹ was discovered. This manuscript also carries an early date: 1267/1851–52. On the basis of these manuscripts, a lithographed copy was produced several years ago by the Azalís; it is included in the same volume as the Arabic *Bayán*.³⁶²

The *Haykal ad-dín* bears a close resemblance to this last-named work. It is, in effect, a compendium in eight *wáḥids* of the laws of the Bábí faith. After the text in the edition just referred to, there appear copies of two short *tafsírs* on the first and second *wáḥids* of the *Haykal ad-dín* itself. According to a statement preceding these *tafsírs*, they were written by the Báb on 11 and 12 Sha'bán 1266/22–23 June 1850, a mere two weeks before his execution in Tabríz. The copy lithographed here is in the hand of Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí Işfahání.

The Kitáb al-asmá'

One of the most puzzling of the Báb's works is his lengthy and tortuous *Kitáb al-asmá'*, also known as the *Tafsír al-asmá'* or *Kitáb asmá' kull' shay'*. This huge book consists mainly of lengthy variations of invocations of the names of God. Its aim, according to Mazandarani, is to enumerate each divine name of which a specific believer is to be regarded as a manifestation.³⁶³ The same authority holds that the book was written during the last days spent by the Bab at Chihríq.³⁶⁴ This makes it roughly contemporary with the very similar *Kitáb-i panj sha'n*, and it is in fact sometimes referred to by the alternative title of *Chahár sha'n*.³⁶⁵

Normally found in two volumes, the entire work consists of nineteen *wáḥids*, each of nineteen *abwáb*, each *báb* containing four 'grades' or species of writing. Defective copies appear to be more or less standard.

361 He was the copyist of one of the Azalí copies of the Persian *Bayán* (see Appendix One).

362 The foregoing information is taken from the afterword to this edition.

363 *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 1, p. 126.

364 *ibid.*

365 A. F., *Á'in-i Báb* (n.p., n.d.), p. 12.

The *Kitáb al-asmá'* was originally thought by Clement Huart³⁶⁶ and Edward Browne³⁶⁷ to be one of the two 'Arabic *Bayáns*' referred to by Gobineau. Although its contents are, with the exception of some isolated passages, of little direct value to the student of Bábí doctrine (but perhaps much interest to the psychologist of religious inspiration), this work cannot be wholly discounted, if only because of its enormous popularity. I know of twenty-six manuscripts, and I am sure many more exist.

The Khuṭba-yi qahriyya

Two further works must be mentioned briefly in connection with the Báb's stay in the fortress of Chihríq. The first is the *Khuṭba-yi qahriyya* (Sermon of Wrath), written for Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí shortly after the Báb's return from his judicial examination in Tabríz. The author of the *Nuṣṣat al-káf* includes it among a number of letters said to have been penned at this time to the Sháh and his chief minister.³⁶⁸ According to Zarandí (whose authority is Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh), this letter was delivered to Áqásí by Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Zanjání.³⁶⁹ In view of the latter's close (if not always amicable) relations with court circles,³⁷⁰ this may well be true.

The dating of this work can be determined approximately, first by the statement that it was written after the return from Tabríz, and secondly from a statement in the text that forty months had passed since the Báb first wrote to Áqásí.³⁷¹

The text is taken up largely with an extended condemnation of Áqásí and his treatment of the Báb; but there are also references to the tyranny of the governor of Fárs, Ḥusayn Khán Ájúdán-báshí,³⁷² the kindly reception afforded Shírází by Manúchíhr Khán in Iṣfahán,³⁷³ the Báb's imprisonment in Mákú,³⁷⁴ and Áqásí's harmful influence on Muḥammad Sháh.³⁷⁵

A letter, separate from the *Khuṭba-yi qahriyya*, written from Chihríq to Áqásí, is quoted by Mázandarání.³⁷⁶

Amanat maintains that the first Chihríq letters of the Báb to the Sháh and Áqásí formed the beginning of a series of Arabic letters known as the

366 *Journal Asiatique*, 1887, viii série, vol. x.

367 'The Bábis of Persia II', pp. 885–86.

368 *Nuṣṣat al-káf*, p. 132.

369 *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 323.

370 See *ibid.*, pp. 531–32; *Nuṣṣat al-káf*, pp. 125–26.

371 INBMC 64, p. 140.

372 *ibid.*, p. 141.

373 *ibid.*, p. 142.

374 *ibid.*, p. 144.

375 *ibid.*, p. 147.

376 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 85–89.

'sermons of wrath' (*khuṭab-i qahriyya*).³⁷⁷ He refers to two later sermons quoted by Mu'ín as-Salṭana Tabrizí and Fayḏí, written after the Báb's trial in Tabriz.³⁷⁸

The Kitáb-i panj sha'n (Shu'ún-i khamsa)

The second of these works is the *Kitáb-i panj sha'n* (Book of Five Grades), 'one of his last works'.³⁷⁹ Munzawí correctly equates this with the *Shu'ún-i khamsa*,³⁸⁰ despite Browne's statement that the latter title has a wider use: 'Amongst Bábí MSS we do not infrequently come across volumes bearing this title and containing selections from each of these "Five Grades"'.³⁸¹ Şubḥ-i Azal confirms that there was at least one specific work of this title: there was, he says, a copy of the *Shu'ún-i khamsa* among the writings of the Báb brought from Tehran to Baghdad.³⁸²

That the *Panj sha'n* and the *Shu'ún-i khamsa* (in its specific application) are one and the same work is evidenced by the text entitled *Panj sha'n* published some years ago in Tehran by the Azalí Bábís. This edition, which is almost complete, contains sixty passages arranged in twelve groups of five, each group under the heading of a different name of God. The five passages which constitute each group are listed as: *áyát* (verses), *munáját* (prayers), *khuṭba* (homilies), *tafsír* (commentaries), and *fársí* (Persian-language pieces). These are the five grades (*shu'ún-i khamsa*) in which the Báb said his works were written.³⁸³ Browne's own copy of this work (F.15), moreover, is entitled *Shu'ún-i khamsa*.

This work was written over a period of seventeen days, a group of five passages being penned each day. Five groups are missing from the printed edition. These begin on 1 Bahá' in the year 7 of the Bábí calendar, corresponding to 5 Jumádá I 1266/19 March 1850 (only a few months before the Báb's execution), and they continue to 21 Jumádá 1/4 April. These groups seem to have been sent to several individuals, among them Sayyid Asad Alláh Khú'í Dayyán, Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal, Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní, Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Núrí Bahá' Alláh (or, possibly, Qurrat al-'Ayn), Ḥájí Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí (the Báb's uncle, still alive at this date),

377 *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 381.

378 *ibid.*, p. 383 n. 41. See also Tabrizí, *Tárikh-i Mu'ín as-Salṭana Tabrizí*, INBA, pp. 151–60; Fayḏí, *Nuṭa-yi Úlá*, pp. 304–06. Mázandarání states (*Żuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 82) that he has included several 'sermons of wrath' addressed to Áqásí in the previous (unpublished) volume of his history.

379 Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 51.

380 *Fihrist*, vol. 2, Part 2, p. 1736.

381 *Materials*, p. 207.

382 Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, p. 335.

383 See chapter 1.

Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí 'Aẓím, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Zanjání Ḥujjat (apparently), Ḥusayn Wahhábí, and Mullá Ibráhím Mahallátí (?).³⁸⁴

Details of what was written on each of these days are given by the Báb himself in a manuscript appended to the printed edition of the text (together with a facsimile of the original of the first page). The document in question (which continues right through to 18 Núr/9 Sha'bán/20 June) gives in terse form the amounts written on each divine name, the names of individuals for whom these were written, and, in some cases, references to the significance of the sections penned. There are also details of what seem to be letters sent to individuals on each day, but these are written in a sort of code and are virtually impossible to decipher (and certainly impossible to reconcile to specific materials).

This daily record has been described hyperbolically by Jelal Azal as 'the Báb's Personal Diary', and has been referred to as such by William McE. Miller.³⁸⁵ This is quite misleading, since the document in question provides almost no personal information and very little of a historical nature except for dates.³⁸⁶

The original copy of this record seems to be in the possession of the Azalís in Iran. A typed copy made from the original by Jelal Azal may be found among papers known as 'Azal's Notes' in the materials deposited by Miller in Princeton University Library.

Browne's description of the *Shu'ún-i khamasa*, one of the first manuscripts sent him by Şubḥ-i Azal, gives a good picture of its contents, resembling as they do those of the *Kitáb al-asmá'*.³⁸⁷ Although numerous sections of the book consist of nothing more than tedious iterations of the various names of God and the Báb's idiosyncratic plays on their Arabic roots, many other passages are devoted to the exposition of what must be

384 See lithograph ed. (Tehran, n.d.), especially front index and additional pages 1–13 at end.

385 *The Bahá'í Faith, its History and Teachings* (South Pasadena, 1974), p. 426.

386 The most interesting statement in the entire document is found in the third part of the first section, written on 5 Jumádá/19 March: 'God has made every year from this day (to be) nineteen months, and each month (to be) nineteen days. The reckoning commences from this day, inasmuch as it is the first year. This shall not be changed except through the command of him whom God shall manifest.' This seems to mean (as both Jelal Azal and Miller take it to) that the Bábí era commenced in 1850 rather than 1844 (as is normally assumed). The logic behind this may be that the fifth of Jumádá I (the date of the formal inception of the Báb's mission) corresponded in this year with Naw-Rúz, the first day of the solar year. At the same time, the Báb does describe the date a few lines higher as 'the first day of the month of Bahá' in the year Abad'. This is a clear (and correct) reference to the seventh year of the first nineteen-year Bábí sub-cycle (*wáḥíd*), which implies that the era began six years earlier. I can suggest no easy resolution for this conflict.

387 Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, pp. 462–70.

regarded as the final stage of Bábí doctrine. Many of the basic themes of the *Bayán* can be found here: the appearance of the Primal Will in successive loci (*maẓáhir*), the alternation of periods of revelation (*ẓuhúr*) and concealment (*buṭún*), the re-creation or 'resurrection' of all things in each period of revelation, the appearance of unlimited mirrors reflecting the light shining in the primary mirror of the theophany (*mazhar*), the future revelation of 'him whom God shall manifest', the role of Şubḥ-i Azal as the interpreter of the divine verses after the Báb's death, the centrality of divine oneness (*tawḥíd*) in all religions, and the division of mankind into the two categories of affirmation and denial. Of particular interest, however, are two sections: the last five portions of the book, discussed above under the heading of the *Lawḥ-i ḥurúfát*, and a brief section (pp. 336–56) on the occult sciences of alchemy and gematria, themes played down in the later Babism of Bahá' Alláh and his successors.

Letters and short pieces

A manuscript entitled *Shu'ún-i khamisa* (extracts) constitutes item 3 in a compilation of various pieces (F.25) in the Browne Collection. On examination, however, this manuscript (transcribed by Riḍván 'Alí in 1331/1913) turns out to be a collection of thirty-seven letters and other short pieces dating, from their appearance, from the latter part of the Báb's career, all of them bearing very strange headings. Their style suggests that they are indeed works of the Báb, although I have not seen copies of them elsewhere nor have I come across any reference to their titles in my sources. It is also unclear to me at present in what way, if any, they should be taken to represent the 'five grades' of the Báb's writing. The headings are listed in Appendix Five.

Six letters from this period are included in Browne F.21.³⁸⁸ These are items 9, 16, 18, 23, 24, and 25. Other letters in the same compilation may date from the same period, but there is no evidence to support this at present.

A number of letters from this period, many of them of considerable interest, are quoted at length or in full by Mázandarání in *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*. These include letters to Mullá Bâqir Tabrizí (pp. 20–22); Mullá Aḥmad Ibdál [Marágha'í] (pp. 53–54); Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Harawí, on the subject of *qá'imiyya* (pp. 70–72); the generality of Bábís, instructing them to follow Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í (pp. 122–24); an unnamed recipient, about Bushrú'í (p. 140); Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí, proclaiming *qá'imiyya* (pp. 164–66);

388 For a full list of the 32 letters in this compilation, see Browne and Nicholson, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 62.

Ḥájj Mírzá Sayyid ‘Alí, his uncle (pp. 223–25); an unnamed recipient, concerning Qurrat al-‘Ayn (pp. 332–33); Mullá Aḥmad Mu‘allim Ḥisári (p. 333); Qurrat al-‘Ayn (pp. 333–34); and Áqá Sayyid Aḥmad Yazdí, the father of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí (pp. 460–61).

Nine important letters from this period have been published (along with facsimiles of the originals) in an Azalí compilation entitled *Qismatí az alwáh-i khaṭṭ-i Nuqṭa-yi Úlá wa Áqá Sayyid Ḥusayn-i Kátib*. They are:

1. A short letter to Šubḥ-i Azal, in which the Báb instructs him to preserve the *Bayán* and to command men to follow it (p. 1; facsimile on preceding sheet).³⁸⁹
2. A very short letter to Mullá ‘Abd al-Karím Qazvíní, in which the Báb instructs him to send all his writings to Šubḥ-i Azal (p. 1; facsimile on preceding sheet).
3. An elaborately calligraphed letter to Šubḥ-i Azal, made up largely of invocations, in which the Báb assures his recipient of divine inspiration in interpreting the book of God (pp. 4–8; facsimile p. 3).
4. A letter to ‘Abd al-Karím Qazvíní, in which the Báb asks him to take care of Šubḥ-i Azal and to preserve his writings and those he himself (the Báb) has written (p. 9; facsimile p. 10)
5. A letter to Mírzá Asad Alláh Khú‘í Dayyán, in which the Báb tells him to relate to others whatever Šubḥ-i Azal reveals and to protect him (p. 9; facsimile p. 10)
6. A letter to Mullá Shaykh ‘Alí Turshízí, in which the Báb lays claim to the station of *qá‘imiyya* (see above). This is the critical letter referred to in the *Nuqṭat al-káf* (p. 209), which was copied and sent out to the Báb’s followers, making public for the first time his claim to that status (pp. 13–12 [sic]; facsimile p. 14).
7. A letter possibly written on 29 Dhú‘l-Ḥijja 1264/26 November 1848, in which the Báb testifies to the truth of Muḥammad and the Imáms (p. 16; facsimile p. 15).
8. A letter in which the Báb again lays claim to *qá‘imiyya*, states that the Day of Resurrection has arrived, and refers to the return to earth of Muḥammad and the imáms (p. 17; facsimile p. 18).
9. A letter addressed by the Báb to ‘him whom God shall manifest’, in which he suggests that he should wait for nineteen years before making his appearance (p. 20; facsimile same page).

³⁸⁹A copy of this letter in Azal’s own handwriting may be found in Browne F.66, item 1; facsimiles are published in Hamadání, *New History*, facing p. 426, and Browne, *Nuqṭat al-káf*, facing p. xxxiv of the Persian preface.

This compilation also contains several *dawá'ir* and invocatory pieces of little doctrinal interest.

Mírzá Muḥammad Mahdí Khán Za'ím ad-Dawla includes the texts of a number of letters from the Báb, all apparently from this period, in his polemical work, *Miftáh báb al-abwáb*. Although the whereabouts of the originals remain unknown, the printed texts appear authentic (if somewhat corrupt). The following are of some interest:³⁹⁰

1. A letter to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús, in which the Báb indicates that 50, 000 years of negation have passed and been succeeded by the day of affirmation (pp. 208–09).
2. A letter to Qurrat al-'Ayn in Arabic and Persian, containing unusually interesting references to the Báb's writings in the first five years of his career. The first year is related to Muḥammad and the province of Fárs, the second to 'Alí and Iraq, the third to Fátima and Azerbaijan, the fourth to Ḥasan and Khurásán, and the fifth to Ḥusayn and Mázandarán (pp. 209–11).
3. A letter written from Mákú to Shiháb ad-Dín Sayyid Maḥmúd al-Álúsí, the Muftí of Baghdad, in which the Báb claims to be the *Mahdí* and states that he has abolished the Islamic *sharí'a* (pp. 212–15).

Further letters to Muḥammad Sháh

After his arrival at Mákú, the Báb sent yet another appeal to Muḥammad Sháh, now nearing the end of his reign. Although I have not seen a manuscript of this letter, I assume that at least one copy must be extant in the Bahá'í Archives in Haifa, for an excerpt from it appears in the compilation of the Báb's writings produced there in 1976.³⁹¹ Two other letters to the Sháh, both apparently written from Chihríq in 1264/1848, are also included in that compilation.³⁹²

The 'Tawba-náma'

In *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion*,³⁹³ Browne published a facsimile of a letter in the Báb's handwriting, in which the prophet recants any claim to a divine mission or to specific deputyship (*niyába*) on behalf of the Hidden Imám. The reference in this letter to 'His Imperial Majesty' (*Ḥaḍrat-i Sháhansháhí*) suggests that it may be the signed recantation (*tawba*-

³⁹⁰Page references are to the Persian translation.

³⁹¹*Muntakhabát*, pp. 13–18; *Writings of the Báb*, pp. 11–17.

³⁹²*Muntakhabát*, pp. 5–8, 9–13; *Writings of the Báb*, pp. 18–23, 24–28. One of these letters (the second in the Persian compilation, the first in the English) is quoted by Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 82–85.

³⁹³pp. 256–57.

náma) referred to in a record of the Báb's interrogation in Tabríz, also published by Browne.³⁹⁴

Amanat argues that the text of this document 'merits the utmost reservation'.³⁹⁵ Nevertheless, its authenticity seems to me to be confirmed by the reference in it to 'specific viceregency' which, as we have seen, is an issue dealt with in each of the Báb's earlier recantations. The fact that it later became 'part and parcel of all anti-Bábí-Bahá'í polemics and an effective weapon in the growing arsenal of fictitious documentation'³⁹⁶ may be regrettable, but has no bearing on the question of authenticity. According to Sayyid Mahdí Gulpáygání, the original of this letter (together with the two documents published by Browne) was found in the Iranian state archives after the deposition of Muḥammad 'Alí Sháh in 1909, at which time a photograph was made of it.³⁹⁷ The present whereabouts of the letter are unknown to me.

The *Tafsír Du'á aṣ-ṣabáh*

According to Mázandarání,³⁹⁸ during his imprisonment in Mákú, the Báb wrote a commentary on a well-known Shi'ite morning prayer (*Du'á aṣ-ṣabáh*) at the request of Áqá Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan, the son of Áqá Sayyid 'Alí Zunúzí.

Letters to the ulama

The Bahá'í author, Shoghi Effendi Rabbání, says that a series of letters written by the Báb to the ulama in every city of Iran, as well as those at the '*atabát*, 'must probably belong' to the Mákú/Chihríq period.³⁹⁹ A reference to a letter to the ulama 'in every town' can also be found in Núrí's *Kitáb-i íqán* (which may have been Shoghi Effendi's source),⁴⁰⁰ but I have not yet been able to find any copies of such a letter or letters. It may be that Shoghi Effendi has confused the Báb's much earlier *Kitáb al-'ulamá*' (see chapter 2) with later letters such as those addressed to ulama in Qazvín and Zanján.⁴⁰¹

394 *ibid.*, pp. 248–55.

395 *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 392.

396 *ibid.*, n.82. I have encountered a reference to a lengthy Bahá'í work entitled *Bayán al-ḥaqá'iq*, which is, it appears, largely devoted to a refutation of the authenticity of the *tawba-náma*; but I have, regrettably, never been able to find a copy.

397 *Kashf al-ghiṭá'*, p. 205. See also, F. Ádamiyyat, *Amír-i Kabír wa Írán*. 4th. ed. Tehran, Sh. 1312/1973, p. 446n.6.

398 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 73.

399 *God Passes By*, p. 24.

400 *Kitáb-i Íqán*, p. 178.

401 On these, see Áqá 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Zanjání, 'Personal Reminiscences of the Bábí Insurrection at Zanján in 1850', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 29 (1897), pp. 771–72.

Ziyáratnámás

We have already discussed the *ziyáratnáma* for the Imam 'Alí which was one of the Bab's earliest works. He continued to write numerous prayers in this genre, among them *ziyáras* for the Bábí martyrs of Shaykh Ṭabarsí, which he penned at this period. There is no need for an exhaustive list of all such prayers. Instead, the reader is referred to the list in Appendix Six of contents of a single manuscript (INBA 6007C) devoted almost entirely to Bábí *ziyáras*, all of them seeming to date from the late period.

The compilation INBMC 53 contains a large number of *ṣalawát* addressed to the Prophet, Fátima, and each of the imáms (pp. 95–130). There is also a separate *ziyára* for Fátima, known as the *Ziyárat az-Zahrá*, which is extant in only one manuscript.

Amulets and talismans

A common species of Bábí scripture is that represented by amulets or talismanic devices, usually drawn in the form of stars (*hayákil*, sing. *haykal*, 'temples') and circles (*dawá'ir*, sing. *dá'ira*).⁴⁰² From the beginning of his career, the Báb 'fashioned amulets (*hayákil*), charms (*aḥráz*), and talismans (*ṭilismát*):'⁴⁰³ As noted above, he gave instructions in the *Khaṣá'íl-i sab'a* for each of his followers to wear about his neck a *haykal* in his (the Báb's) own hand, while the *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn* of the same period contains a section on talismans, with instructions for their construction.⁴⁰⁴

It is, however, in his later works that the Báb devotes most attention to this topic. As we have seen, the final section of the *Kitáb-i panj sha'n* (known as the *Kitáb-i haykal/hayákil*) deals at length with talismanic knowledge. In that work, the Báb indicates that children are to be taught the science of talismans at the age of eleven (the Bábí age of maturity). His followers are told to write out the 'talismans of unity' given in the book and to protect themselves with them.⁴⁰⁵ In one place, the Báb instructs them to read eleven *haykals* every day, so that one cycle of readings may be completed every Bábí month.⁴⁰⁶

The Persian *Bayán* contains several regulations relating to the writing and use of talismans. It is indicated that the *haykal* form is to be worn by

402 For a fuller discussion of this subject, see D. MacEoin, 'Nineteenth-century Bábí Talismans', *Studia Iranica*, 14:1 (1985), pp. 77–98.

403 Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Zunúzí, quoted Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 31–32.

404 See *Ṣaḥífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*, Browne F.7, pp. 27–37.

405 *Panj sha'n*, pp. 409, 413. For details on the construction of talismans given in this work, see MacEoin, 'Bábí Talismans', pp. 85–86.

406 *Panj sha'n*, p. 412.

The Persian *Bayán* contains several regulations relating to the writing and use of talismans. It is indicated that the *haykal* form is to be worn by men and the *dá'ira* by women.⁴⁰⁷ In one passage, the Báb speaks of a *haykal* which is to consist of 2,001 names of God (to the number of the name *al-mustagháth*), and which is to be worn from birth as an amulet and never left off.⁴⁰⁸ The Arabic *Bayán* and the *Haykal ad-dín* both contain a regulation instructing every individual to write or to have written for him, from the moment of his conception, the phrase *Alláh^u a'zam* nineteen times per month. If light enough, this is to be carried about as an amulet. Should anyone fail to complete his talisman up to the time of his death, his youngest heir must finish it for him. Such amulets are to be passed on to one's heirs.⁴⁰⁹

It is unclear what relationship (if any) exists between the *hayákil* described in the *Panj sha'n*, which are rectilinear in shape, and those in the shape of a pentagram, which are the commonest type of Bábí *haykal* encountered. These pentagrams generally consist of repetitious phrases, sometimes incorporating Qur'anic verses and the names of Muḥammad, Fáṭima, 'Alí, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (which suggests a fairly early date for their production). Several excellent examples of such *hayákil* in the Báb's hand may be found in the Azalí compilation, *Qismatí az alwaḥ-i khaṭṭ-i Nuqṭa-yi Úlá wa Áqá Sayyid Ḥusayn-i Kátib*. A number of manuscript *hayákil* are noted in Appendix One (under *Hayákil*).

There are several different types of *dá'ira*. In the Persian *Bayán*, the Báb states that these talismans must be divided into five unities (*wáḥids*), each subdivided into nineteen sections, within which the bearer may write whatever he wishes.⁴¹⁰ Elsewhere, however, he gives detailed instructions on the precise composition of *dawá'ir*, which are to be drawn up on a pattern resembling that of Islamic horoscopes. They are divided into 'houses' containing Qur'anic verses, divine names, a popular Shí'í symbol denoting the 'Greatest Name of God' (*ism Alláh al-a'zam*), and magical devices known to European writers as 'spectacle letters'.⁴¹¹ A particularly good example of a *dá'ira* drawn on this model is item B5 in Folder 3 in the Browne Collection.

Two other styles of *dá'ira* may be found. The first incorporates Qur'anic verses round a central magic square (*jadwal*) bearing the words *Alláh^u a'zam*

407 *Bayán-i Fársí*, 5:10, p. 166.

408 *ibid.*, 7:10, pp. 252–53.

409 *Al-Bayán al-Arabí*, 7:8, p. 30; *Haykal ad-dín*, 7:8, p. 29.

410 *Bayán-i Fársí*, 5:10, p. 166.

411 The Báb, treatise in Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 4, pp. 155–20.

under the heading of ‘for ‘Alí, on him be peace’; the second is made up of concentric circles of writing. The only examples of these known to me are those reproduced in *Qismatí az alwáh*.⁴¹²

Dawá’ir are also prescribed for use in the preparation of ringstones designed to be worn by believers. In the Persian *Bayán*, we read that ‘if anyone should wish to enter into the talismanic protection of God (*ḥirz Alláh*), he should order inscribed on a round cornelian a *dá’ira* of five circles. In the first circle, there should be written the Throne Verse, in the second the name of the circle, in the third the letters of the *basmala*, in the fourth the six names [i.e., *al-fard*, *al-ḥayy*, *al-qayyúm*, *al-ḥakam*, *al-‘adl*, and *al-quddús*), and in the fifth whatever is conformable to the individual’s condition and intention, but to no more than nineteen letters. Similarly, it is considered pleasing to God if no more than nineteen letters be inscribed in the first and second circles.’⁴¹³

The same work also makes it obligatory for all believers to have engraved for themselves and to wear in the form of a ring a stone of red cornelian or agate inscribed with the words, ‘Say: God is the Truth, and all save God is (his) creation, and all are his servants’.⁴¹⁴ In the *Haykal ad-dín*, the Báb prescribes the wearing of a ring on the right hand, bearing a stone inscribed with two verses: ‘Praise be to God, the mighty Power; praise be to God, the inaccessible Knowledge’.⁴¹⁵

In his commentary on the *Súrat al-qadr*, the Báb recommends the inscription of the seven seals of Solomon⁴¹⁶ on a ringstone of Yemeni ruby. Whoever carries out this instruction ‘shall gather together all good, and it shall be his protection (*ḥirz*, ‘charm’) from all evil’.⁴¹⁷ Several other inscriptions are recommended elsewhere for use on precious stones.⁴¹⁸

Devotional writings

Apart from the works dealt with in detail above, the Báb wrote a vast number of prayers of various kinds. These devotional works are generally of little interest to the scholar, and I will simply refer readers to the list of collections in Appendix One, under ‘Prayers’.

412 pp 11 and 22.

413 *Bayán-i Fársí*, 6:10, pp. 215–16.

414 *ibid.*, p. 215. cf. *al-Bayán al-‘Arabí*, 6:10, p. 25.

415 *Haykal ad-dín*, 6:10, p. 24.

416 On these, see H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin & Leipzig, 1930), chapter 2.

417 The Báb, *Sharḥ Súrat al-qadr*, quoted Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 5, p. 241.

418 See ‘A. F., *Á’in-i Báb* (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 69–70, quoting the *Kitáb-i chahár sha’n* (*Kitáb al-asmá’*) and an untitled *ṣahífa*.

For the sake of completeness, I will mention here one work attributed to the Báb which has puzzled me. This is a piece entitled *Kitáb al-jazá'*, listed in the Nicolas catalogue (item 90). Şubḥ-i Azal sent seven pages of this work to Browne.⁴¹⁹ A work of the same title is also described in *A Traveller's Narrative*.⁴²⁰

According to Mázandarání,⁴²¹ the title *Kitáb al-jazá'* is merely an alternative for the Arabic *Bayán*, but I have been assured by an Iranian Bahá'í writer, 'Azíz Alláh Sulaymání, that it is another, much larger work. In the absence of a complete text, identification can be tentative at most. The matter could be settled if Nicolas' copy could be located.

Conclusion

The compositions of Sayyid 'Alí Muḥammad Shírází, in his various guises as Qur'anic commentator, thaumaturge, numerologist, *báb al-imám*, messiah, and prophet represent the most important body of sectarian writing produced in Islam. Given the very short period within which they were written, their bulk alone is impressive and daunting. Their style is frequently grotesque, their content at times unintelligible. In quality, they vary immensely from the innovative and sublime to the downright eccentric and puerile. And yet it is hard to deny their passion or their creativity.

Shírází was a man obsessed: obsessed by all things religious and esoteric, by the untapped possibilities inherent in Shi'ite theology and philosophy, by words and concepts he had never fully understood, by his own personality and the parts he could play. He was an autodidact in a world that idolized a sometimes precious and affected learning. Words poured from him in an undammed torrent, scarcely controlled, frequently rambling and incoherent, sometimes poetic, original, and exciting. If he churned out endless reams of ill-digested Arabic phrases, he also played Dadaesque games with the rules and regulations of formal theological writing.

There is little in this immense canon to interest or inspire the modern reader. Bábí doctrine is of historical rather than human interest, and the forms in which it is cast now seem quaint and idiosyncratic. The Azalí Bábís failed to see this, continued in the same vein, and were relegated to history. Their Bahá'í rivals intuitively recognized the difficulty, produced a new scriptural canon of incomparably greater lucidity and social relevance,

419 Written in Azal's own hand, April 1890. The MS is in the Browne Collection, Folder 1 (item 25).

420 Vol. 2, pp. 336–37.

421 *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 3, p. 14.

and hurriedly consigned the writings of their forerunner to the archives, publishing only those few that had some coherence.

That said, the importance of the Báb's writings should not be over-looked by the scholar. As expressions of mid-nineteenth-century Shí'í millenarian speculation and extremist religious thinking, they merit much deeper study than they have hitherto received. They helped to inspire a far-flung social and religious revolution that nearly toppled the Qájár throne and led to a more creative religious experiment that continues to exercise a limited but growing influence in several countries.

'The Bábí phenomenon,' writes Amanat, 'sprang up at a time when Persian society was on the verge of a crucial transition. Tormented by its age-old dilemmas, the Persian mind was beginning to be exposed to a materially superior civilization. The emergence of the Bábí doctrine thus was perhaps the last chance for an indigenous reform movement before that society became truly affected by the consequences of Western predominance, first in material and then in ideological spheres. Notwithstanding its weaknesses, the Bábí doctrine attempted to address, rather than ignore, the issues that lay at the foundation of an esoteric legacy, one that sought redemptive regeneration in a break with the past without being essentially alien to the spirit of that past.'⁴²²

The doctrinal formulations of Bábí socio-religious aspirations deserve careful study as one of the last expressions of a religious style that has all but passed. The Báb's vision was medieval and highly personal, but it encapsulated a religious and philosophical sub-culture on the very eve of its destruction. In that, there is much fascination and much matter for reflection and comment.

IV

Writings of the Bábí hierarchy

The fate of the writings of the Báb's followers is even more difficult to determine than that of the prophet's himself. The same factors that led to the loss, corruption, or destruction of the Shírází corpus led even more directly to the large-scale spoliation of works known to have been written by such prominent exponents of the movement as Mullá 'Alí Muḥammad Zanjání Ḥujjat, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús, Qurrat al-'Ayn Ṭáhira Qazvíní, Sayyid Yaḥyá Dárábí Vaḥíd, Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í, and Mírzá Asad Alláh Khú'í Dayyán, as well as those of many lesser Bábí ulama.

In a letter to E. G. Browne,⁴²³ Şubḥ-i Azal referred to 'sundry other books written in proof of this religion by certain learned friends'.⁴²⁴ Browne says he asked Azal about these and was told that the Báb had declared it meritorious for those who could do so to compose treatises in defence of their faith.⁴²⁵ Many such treatises were written, including one by Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí 'Aẓím and another (entitled *Sab'-mi'a*, 'Seven hundred') by Qurrat al-'Ayn.

Şubḥ-i Azal's statement is confirmed by Zarandí, who says that, in 1264/1848, while the Báb was incarcerated in Chihríq, he expressed a wish that forty of his followers should write treatises on the validity of his prophetic claims. These treatises, Zarandí says, were written as requested and submitted to the Báb, who particularly liked the piece composed by Mírzá Asad Alláh Khú'í, for whom he then wrote the so-called *Lawḥ-i ḥurúfat* (see above).⁴²⁶

None of these treatises has survived, although it may be conjectured that copies were among the papers of the Báb sent away from Chihríq before his removal to Tabríz. It may be conjectured that the lengthy introduction to

423 Received 11 October 1889.

424 Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, p. 342.

425 *ibid.*, fn. Mázandarání quotes a prayer of the Báb's in which he states that several of the ulama sent questions on the Qur'án to Bushrú'í; the Báb says that he will send these verses to 'the one who was for a time my teacher (a reference to either Mullá Muḥammad Mu'allim Shírází [Shaykh 'Ábid] or Mullá Šádiq Khurásání), so that he and Bushrú'í could reply to these questions (*Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 4, pp. 369–70; cf. Shírází, *Şaḥífa-yi 'adliyya*, p. 3).

426 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 304.

the *Kitáb-i nuqṭat al-káf* was, in fact, one of these apologiae. Not only do the contents suggest this, but its date of composition was 1264/1848.

Before going on to the topic of general risálas written by Bábí ulama at a later date, let us deal in sequence with the works of the more important sect leaders.

Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús

Bárfurúshí is known to have written a great deal in the short time between his conversion in 1844 and his death in May 1849. Both the *Nuqṭat al-káf*⁴²⁷ and the *Tárikh-i jadíd*⁴²⁸ refer to a treatise sent by him to Bushrú‘í, entitled the *Khuṭba-yi shahádat-i azaliyya*. This same treatise may be the unnamed work which Bárfurúshí is said to have shown to Bushrú‘í when they met in Bárfurúsh.⁴²⁹ To my knowledge, no copy of this sermon is extant.

According to Zarandí, when Bárfurúshí was confined in Sárí in 1848, he was requested by Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí, the town’s leading cleric, to write a commentary on the *Súrat al-ikhhlás*.⁴³⁰ The same source alleges that the commentary on the letter *ṣád* of the word *aṣ-ṣamad* in the second verse ran to three times the length of the Qur’án.⁴³¹

The author of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* says that this commentary was written, not in Sárí, but some time before this, in the course of Bushrú‘í’s visit to Bárfurúsh. According to this account, the text consisted of twenty thousand verses (a little more than three times the size of the Qur’án).⁴³² Hamadání, however, although agreeing with the *Nuqṭat al-káf* as to the time and place of composition, estimates the commentary’s length at only three thousand verses.⁴³³ He goes on to say that ‘in a brief space of time, nearly thirty thousand verses of learned discourses (*shu‘únát-i ‘ilmiyya*), homilies (*khuṭub*), and supplications (*munáját*) proceeded from him.’⁴³⁴

427 p. 156.

428 p. 44.

429 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 262–63.

430 Súra 112, a Meccan *súra* of four verses. According to Şubḥ-i Azal, Bárfurúshí also wrote a commentary on the *Súrat al-fátiḥa* (Browne, *Materials*, p. 202), but I have seen no other references to this. The Báb, of course, also wrote a commentary on the *Súrat al-ikhhlás*.

431 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 357.

432 *Nuqṭat al-káf*, p. 139.

433 Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 44. The original text is unclear here. It could be read as Browne translates it: “... in a single night Jenáb-i Quddús wrote a sublime commentary of some three thousand verses on the words ‘God the Eternal’” or as: “three thousand verses of exalted explanation and a full commentary in interpretation of the words ‘God, the Eternal’”. The Cambridge text (F.55, p. 52) reads: *dar yakshab sih hizár bayt-i bayánát-i ‘adliyya wa sharḥ-i káfi dar tafsír-i lafẓ-i Alláh aṣ-ṣamad nivishta búdand*.

434 *ibid*.

According to Zarandí, Bárfurúshí continued to write his commentary on the *ṣád* of *aṣ-ṣamad* in the fort at Shaykh Ṭabarsí, where it is said he penned as many verses as he had done in Sári.⁴³⁵ The same author also records, on the authority of Mullá Muḥammad Furúghí, that, shortly after Bárfurúshí's arrival at Shaykh Ṭabarsí, he gave Bushrú'í a number of sermons to read aloud to the defenders of the fort. The first of these, Zarandí says, was devoted to the Báb, the second to Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Núrí Bahá' Alláh, and the third to Qurrat al-'Ayn.⁴³⁶ This is obviously highly controversial, in view of Núrí's relative unimportance at this period, not to mention the disagreement which had occurred not long before between Qurrat al-'Ayn and Bárfurúshí.

In a letter to Mullá 'Alí Muḥammad Siráj Iṣfahání, Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh writes that, while he was at the gathering of Bábí leaders in Badasht in 1848, Bárfurúshí 'wrote a number of tablets and sent them [to the Báb?].'⁴³⁷ Whether any of these 'tablets' still exists among the few surviving manuscripts of Bárfurúshí's writings is unclear, but if any could be identified, they would prove an invaluable source of information concerning the views of a central participant in the most critical single event in the development of Bábí doctrine.

Observing that most of Bárfurúshí's voluminous writings have been lost, Mázandarání gives in *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq* the texts of several letters and prayers ascribed to him. These comprise a number of Arabic and Persian letters to Mullá Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharí'atmadár Mázandarání (pp. 407–18) and three prayers given by the writer to his companions for use as talismans (pp. 426–27, 427–28, and 428–30).

Two manuscripts of writings by Bárfurúshí exist in Western libraries. Both originated in Cyprus. These are Or. 5110 in the British Library and F.43 in the Browne Collection.⁴³⁸ Describing the latter, Browne remarks that 'these specimens of the style of Ḥaẓrat-i-Ḳuddús, few though they be, sufficiently show that his Arabic is even more open to the grammarian's criticism than is usually the case with Bábí writings in that language.'⁴³⁹ There is contemporary evidence to this effect. Mullá Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharí'atmadár Mázandarání, with whom Bárfurúshí associated closely in his home town, writes in his *Asrár ash-shaháda* that, following his return from the pilgrimage, the young devotee 'went to his [the Báb's] house in Shíráz; he was with him there and [adopted] his manners, even in writing. I have seen

435 Zarandí, p. 357.

436 *ibid.* p. 353.

437 Letter in Ishráq-Khávarí, *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 7, p. 97.

438 See Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, pp. 483–87.

439 *ibid.*, p. 487.

an incomplete commentary on the *Súrat at-tawḥíd*, consisting of from five to six thousand verses. He [also] wrote homilies and prayers using strange and unfamiliar words, with immense speed, all of which I have seen. Their style and language were absolutely as one⁴⁴⁰ If his Arabic was bad, his handwriting was apparently worse: ‘Abbás Effendi says that it ‘could not be read’.⁴⁴¹

We are, perhaps, fortunate in not having much of Bárfurúshí’s unintelligible outpourings to read. Nevertheless, it would be useful to have at least a little more as a broader basis for comparison with the writings of the Báb. Even with the few materials we currently have at our disposal, it is possible to suggest that many of the eccentricities of the Bábí canon owe less to the idiosyncracies of one man and more to a style deliberately affected by certain individuals at the forefront of the new doctrine.

Qurrat al-‘Ayn Qazvíní (Ṭáhira)

The writings of Qurrat al-‘Ayn deserve close attention in view of her central role in the creation of a distinct Bábí doctrine, a role possibly more important than that of the Báb himself. Of particular interest are the controversies which focussed on her in Karbalá’, Baghdad, Qazvín, and Badasht. A study of these controversies, her role in generating them, and the reasons for the success of her views provide us with a singularly clear picture of the way in which Bábí doctrine developed in the earliest period outside the pronouncements and speculations of the Báb.⁴⁴²

References to these rifts within the Bábí community (if we may use so concrete a term) are to be found in a number of sources. Chief among these are two letters written by Shaykh Sulṭán al-Karbalá’í and Mullá Aḥmad Mu’allim Ḥisári respectively; three letters by the Báb printed in *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*;⁴⁴³ and several letters in Qurrat al-‘Ayn’s own hand.

Gobineau stated mistakenly that ‘Il ne parait pas que Gourret-oul-Ayn, la Consolation-des-Yeux, ait rien composé, du moins je n’en ai pas connaissance, ou, si elle a écrit, son œuvre est peu considérable.’⁴⁴⁴ The reason for this error appears a few lines later when he goes on to say “Mais une autre personne, aujourd’hui vivante, moins éminente sans doute que la

440 Quoted Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 438 n.

441 ‘Lawḥ-i javán-i rawḥání dirakhsh’, in Ishráq-Khávarí, *Má’ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 5, pp. 128–29.

442 A basic outline of these controversies and an analysis of their implications may be found in MacEoin, ‘From Shaykhism to Babism’, pp. 203–07. See also Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, chapter 7.

443 pp. 332–33, 333, 333–34.

444 *Religions et philosophies*, p. 280.

Consolation-des-Yeux, mais qui occupe pourtant, parmi les religionnaires, un rang très élevé et que l'on désigne par le titre de 'Son Excellence la Purifiée', Djenâb Moteherreh [Jináb-i Muṭahhara], a composé un ouvrage qui est lu avidement par tous les bâbys."⁴⁴⁵

It is evident that Gobineau was misled by the existence of two titles, Qurrat al-'Ayn and Jináb-i Muṭahhara (which I take to be a confusion or duplication for Jináb-i Ṭáhira). These do not, of course, refer to two individuals but one.⁴⁴⁶

Qurrat al-'Ayn is known to have written a large number of *risálas*, prayers, homilies, and, above all, poems, many of which are still extant. The earliest of her works of which any record exists is a treatise written in support of the doctrines of al-Aḥsá'í, in response to a general request by Sayyid Karím Rashtí for Shaykhí ulama to write in this vein.⁴⁴⁷ This seems to have been written and sent to Rashtí between her first visit to Karbalá' (at an unspecified date) and her second visit at the very beginning of 1844, a mere ten days after the Sayyid's death.

The fate of this treatise is now unknown; it may have been among the large number of papers lost after Rashtí's death, when his house in Karbalá' was sacked.⁴⁴⁸ If it could be discovered and identified, it might prove of particular value in providing us with a reliable picture of this women's beliefs prior to her conversion to Babism.

Shaykh Kázim Samandar has remarked that the earliest poetry composed by her consisted of elegies (*maráthi*) on the sufferings of the imáms (perhaps under the influence of her father, who wrote much on this subject).⁴⁴⁹ These too appear to have been lost.

We have already referred to a treatise entitled *Sab'-mi'a*, written by Qurrat al-'Ayn in defence of Babism. It appears that she wrote this in response to a request from the Báb himself that she compose "an account of 'the matter' (or 'the cause') in a book written according to seven hundred

445 *ibid.*

446 Gobineau repeats this mistake on pp. 293–94: '... ce n'est pas l'Unité tout entière, qui se compose encore de dix-huit autres individualités, parmi lesquelles doit de toute nécessité se trouver une femme. C'était, au début, la Consolation-des-Yeux; aujourd'hui, c'est Son Excellence la Purifiée.' It is not clear to me which work of Qurrat al-'Ayn's could have been so avidly read by the Báb in Gobineau's day.

447 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 83; Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 312. It was in approval of this *risála* that Rashtí first addressed her by the phrase that was to become the basis of her main sobriquet, Qurratu 'ayní.

448 See Kirmání, *Fihrist*, part 1, p. 625.

449 Samandar, *Tárikh*, p. 345.

(*sa'-mi'a*). This request was made in a letter written to her around the time of the schism among the Bábís of Karbalá' (about 1262–63/1846–47).⁴⁵⁰

This treatise has also been lost, nor do we possess any record of its precise contents. I would surmise that it was simply a collection of seven hundred Shi'ite *akhbár* touching on the appearance of the Qá'im, similar to the collections entitled *Arba'in*, containing forty traditions.⁴⁵¹ There is evidence that such compilations were made by Bábí clerics. Zarandí states that Mírzá Aḥmad Azghandí 'concentrated his energies upon the preparation of a learned and voluminous compilation of Islamic traditions and prophecies relating to the time and the character of the promised Dispensation.' 'He collected,' Zarandí continues, 'more than twelve thousand traditions of the most explicit character, the authenticity of which was universally recognized,'⁴⁵² and resolved to take whatever steps were required for the copying and the dissemination of that book.⁴⁵³

Some paragraphs later, Zarandí explains that a certain Mírzá Taqí, a *mujtahid* who visited Azghandí while the latter was staying in Yazd, borrowed his copy of the *Sab'-mi'a*. He was incensed by its 'mischievous character' (which seems curious if the book were no more than a collection of 'universally recognized' traditions) and threw it into a pond.⁴⁵⁴

One example of just such a compilation has survived, however. This is a *risála* by an unknown Bábí containing some seventy traditions (mostly from the *'Awálim of al-Baḥrání*)⁴⁵⁵ relating to the advent of the Imám Mahdí and the events of the day of resurrection. The text of the traditions is followed by a section of commentary. This *risála* forms the first and lengthiest part of a collection of works by early Bábís, now available in Xerox form as INBA 80.⁴⁵⁶

A number of treatises by Qurrat al-'Ayn have survived. The earliest of these seems to be the *risála* referred to by Hamadání, who says that she wrote

450 Letter quoted in Mázandarání, *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 333–34; this quotation appears on p. 334.

451 So named in response to a tradition attributed to Imám Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq: 'Whoever of our followers shall preserve forty traditions, God shall raise him up on the day of judgement as an *'álim* and a *faqíh*, nor shall he be punished (for his sins)'. Numerous such collections have been made. Among the best known are the *Arba'in* of Shaykh Bahá' ad-Dín al-'Ámilí and Muḥammad Báqir Majlisí.

452 That twelve thousand traditions on such a limited subject would be 'universally recognized' is stretching the truth, to say the least.

453 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 184.

454 *ibid.*

455 The *'Awálim al-'ulúm wa'l-ma'árif wa'l-aḥwál min al-áyat wa'l-akhbár wa'l-aqwál* is a vast work of one hundred volumes by Shaykh 'Abd Alláh ibn Núr Alláh al-Baḥrání. Only a few volumes have so far been published.

456 pp. 198–211.

some two to three thousand verses in reply to questions posed by two Shaykhí ulama, Mullá 'Abd al-'Alí and Mullá Jawád [Vilyání?].⁴⁵⁷ I discovered a copy of this treatise in the manuscript collection INBA 6003C, running from p. 332 to p. 379. The colophon at the end of the letter is dated 1262/1846, but the letter itself seems to have been written from Karbalá' as early as 1261/1845: this is indicated at the top of a printed copy of the major part of the *risála* contained in *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*.⁴⁵⁸ Mázandarání did not use the INBA 6003C manuscript as the basis for his text (there are minor variations between the two), so I assume his earlier date is taken from another manuscript.

The autograph manuscript of an important treatise by Qurrat al-'Ayn is in the possession of an Azalí Bábí living in Tehran. A Xerox copy is kept by the present writer. Forty-two pages in length, this letter is one of the longest of her extant writings and provides detailed discussions of several important doctrinal issues. It is particularly concerned with the theme of the cyclical appearance of the Divine Will in the prophets and the concept of an age of inner truth that has just begun. There is a useful discussion of the Shaykhí theory of the Fourth Pillar (*rukn-i rábí'*), suggestive of an early date of composition. The author also addresses herself to the issue of the Báb's claims, in particular the notion that his writings represented divine revelation (*waḥy*). She advances a moderate view that is of considerable value in helping us understand how these claims may have been regarded by leading Bábís (even radical ones like herself) in the early period.

Although he nowhere indicates the provenance, date, or current location of any of the manuscripts used by him, Mázandarání prints several other treatises by Qurrat al-'Ayn in *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*. These are:

1. A letter to Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í, pp. 334–38
2. A general letter written after her departure from Karbalá', pp. 338–52
3. A general letter addressed to non-Bábí Shi'ites, also written after her departure from Karbalá', pp. 352–56
4. A letter addressed to Sunní Muslims, replying to doubts expressed by the Muftí of Baghdad, Shaykh Maḥmúd al-Álúsí, pp. 356–59
5. A letter replying to slanders levelled by other Bábís, written partly in Persian, pp. 359–66.

Mázandarání also prints facsimiles of two letters written to her uncle Ḥájj Mullá Muḥammad Taqí, between pages 314 and 315.

An Arabic apology for Babism written by Qurrat al-'Ayn is published as an appendix to the Gulpáygánís' *Kashf al-ghīṭá' 'an ḥīyal al-a'dá'*. In the

457 *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 283.

458 Vol. 3, pp. 483–501.

text of the book itself, it is explained that two copies of this *risála* were sent to Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpáygání. One came from a merchant in Iskandarún whose father had lived in Baghdad, where he had copied it from the original. The other was sent by a Mírzá 'Abd Alláh 'Iráqí, who had copied it himself but forwarded a different transcript in the hand of a scribe called Ḥabíb Alláh.⁴⁵⁹

It is not clear what happened to the copies in Gulpáygání's possession. On his death, the Bahá'í leader 'Abbás Effendi ordered his papers to be collected. These were then taken by Áqá Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alí (a nephew and son-in-law of the Bahá'í cleric Nabil-i Akbar) to Ashkhabad, from whence they were removed to Tehran. It seems that they were then handed over to Gulpáygání's nephew, Sayyid Mahdí, who completed the writing of the *Kashf al-ghitá'*, which he had printed in Ashkhabad.⁴⁶⁰ After that, the trail goes cold. An alternative account states that some at least of these papers were delivered by 'Abbás Effendi to Nabil-i Qá'íní.⁴⁶¹ I would surmise that the papers, including at least one copy of this *risála*, are in the possession of Sayyid Mahdí's descendants, or in the Iran National Bahá'í archives in Tehran, or in Haifa.

Unfortunately, there is good reason to believe that most of Qurrat al-'Ayn's considerable output of apologetic writing has been destroyed or lost. Something of the extent of this output is indicated by Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Baghdádí. He says that, when she was in Kirmánsháh in 1263/1847, letters would arrive for her every day from ulama and other enquirers. She would write rapid replies to all of these.⁴⁶² The anonymous Azalí history, *Qurrat al-'Ayn: bi-yád-i ṣadumín sál-i shahádat*, states that, while under house arrest in Tehran, 'Izziyya Khánum, Şubḥ-i Azal's eldest sister, would send her younger sister Fáṭíma to visit her, Fáṭíma then being eight or nine years old. The little girl would bring letters for Qurrat al-'Ayn concealed in her pocket and would take replies away in the same manner.⁴⁶³ Many prayers, poems, homilies, and other pieces reached the Bábís in this way, and many of the originals are still extant.⁴⁶⁴ These copies may be in the possession of

459 Gulpáygání and Gulpáygání, *Kashf al-ghitá'*, p. 110.

460 *ibid.*, pp. 3–6.

461 Faḍl Alláh Şubḥí Muhtadí, *Khāṭirát-i Şubḥí dar bára-yi Bábigarí wa Bahá'igarí*, 5th. ed. Qum, Sh. 1354/1975), p. 85.

462 al-Baghdádí, *Risála amriyya*, p. 112.

463 Anon, *Qurrat al-'Ayn: bi-yád-i ṣadumín sál-i shahádat* (n.p. [Tehran?], 1368/1949), p. 12.

464 *ibid.*, p. 11.

'Izziyya Khánum's family,⁴⁶⁵ but it is possible that some are in Bahá'í hands as well.⁴⁶⁶

The above-mentioned Azalí publication contains some twenty-eight pages of poems and prayers by Qurrat al-'Ayn. Husám Nuqabá'í, the Bahá'í editor of a book entitled *Ṭáhira-Qurrat al-'Ayn*, claims that most of these are 'suspect' (*mashkúk*),⁴⁶⁷ although he does not provide any grounds for these suspicions. Indeed, in the present state of our knowledge of Qurrat al-'Ayn's writings, I cannot see on what basis such a claim could be reasonably founded. I think it quite possible that some of these pieces, particularly the poems, are works written during her Tehran confinement (about 1849 to 1852).

A number of these pieces are, in fact, found in a manuscript supplied to me in 1977 by a descendant of Hájj Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Baraghání, Qurrat al-'Ayn's paternal uncle. This manuscript, written in 1339/1921, consists of 150 pages and contains about thirteen pieces of prose and over eighty poems. Altogether, it is one of the largest extant manuscripts of works by Qurrat al-'Ayn, particularly in respect of her poetry. Its importance is underscored by the fact that pages 56 to the end were, according to a statement in the text, copied from a manuscript in the author's own hand. The scribe states that he has taken pains to change nothing, even where words have dropped out and so on.

Even more important is a manuscript in the Tehran Bahá'í Archives, INBA 5045E. This is a small manuscript of exactly 10×6 cm, consisting of one hundred and two folios. It is written in a very fine, minute *shikasta-nasta'liq* hand on variously-coloured paper. Clearly of some age, the manuscript has, unfortunately, lost its last pages, and contains little to indicate the actual date or to identify the scribe. The heading on the first page, however, uses the phrase '*alayhá'l-bahá*' ('upon her be the beauty') following the sobriquet *Ṭáhira*, a clear indication that the scribe was a Bahá'í. This collection contains some 46 prose pieces, many of them letters to individuals. If its authenticity could be assured, there is no doubt that it would provide an indispensable source for the views of Qurrat al-'Ayn as expressed to her fellow-converts.

The collection of early Bábí writings issued as INBMC 80 under the title *Nivishtiját wa áthár-i aṣḥáb-i awwaliyya-yi amr-i a'lá* contains (pp. 212–82) a reproduction of a manuscript which may be tentatively ascribed to Qurrat al-'Ayn. The style is certainly consistent with that of other materials

465 *ibid.*, p. 25.

466 Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 328, refers to letters from this period.

467 Husám Nuqabá'í, *Ṭáhira 'Qurrat al-'Ayn'* (Tehran, BE 128/1971–72), p. 73.

more definitely known to have been written by her, and the contents—which include detailed references to the controversies between her and other Bábís in Iraq, described here as ‘what took place between me and some of the brethren’⁴⁶⁸—lend support to the supposition of her authorship. In particular, there is a personal reference on page 278, where the writer says: *yá ikhwání ... lá thanú hádhihi’l-aqallata min adh-dharra* (‘O my brethren, ... do not praise this creature who is less than an atom’), using the feminine *hádhihi’l-aqalla* rather than the masculine *hádha’l-aqall*.

Apart from its references to the disputes between Qurrat al-‘Ayn and Mullá Aḥmad Mu‘allim Ḥisári, this letter is valuable for its brief account of the issue between the Báb and Mullá Jawád Vilyání, its defence of the role and position of the Letters of the Living (*as-sábiqún*), particularly Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú‘í, and its use of quotations from early writings of the Báb. It is particularly interesting for its rejection of rational proofs,⁴⁶⁹ its condemnation of traditional knowledge,⁴⁷⁰ its use of the concept of the organ of the heart in reaching true understanding,⁴⁷¹ and the emphasis it places on spiritual love as a prerequisite for gnosis (*ma‘rifa*).⁴⁷²

At present, only one other manuscript collection (in this case, exclusively poetry) is definitely known to contain work by Qurrat al-‘Ayn. This is a manuscript in the possession of the Bahá‘í writer, Ni‘mat Alláh Dhuká‘í Bayḡá‘í, who discovered it in Sh. 1319–20/1941–42, when living in Shíráz. Thanks to his generosity, I was provided with a copy of this manuscript in 1977. The collection contains 73 pages with 475 *bayts* in eight sections, two of which are clearly the work of Bihjat-i Qazvíní.⁴⁷³ The manuscript was transcribed by the Bahá‘í calligrapher Abu’l-Ḥasan Nayrízí in 1341/1922–23 from a copy dated 20 Sha‘bán 1267/20 June 1851 (when Qurrat al-‘Ayn was still alive). There is no name for the scribe responsible for the original manuscript.⁴⁷⁴

468 p. 225.

469 p. 217.

470 p. 244.

471 p. 246.

472 p. 293.

473 Karím Khán Máfí, a cousin of Ḥusayn Qulí Khán Nizám as-Saltána, was a poet who wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of Bihjat. He corresponded with Qurrat al-‘Ayn while she was confined in Tehran. See Mázandarání, *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 385; Ni‘mat Alláh Dhuká‘í Bayḡá‘í, *Tadhkíra-yi shu‘ará-yi qarn-i awwal-i Bahá‘í*, vol. 1 (Tehran, BE 127/1970–71), pp. 217–22.

474 The original colophon contains an interesting statement: ‘The day of the great martyrdom is near, after the martyrdom of the Point [i.e., the Báb], there shall be no further respite for anyone.’ This is an unusually eloquent comment on the mood of the Bábís at this critical juncture.

The present author has heard of the existence of a number of other manuscript collections of works by Qurrat al-'Ayn, all of them described as *díwáns* of her poetry in her own hand. Should these exist and should they prove to be genuine, their importance would be considerable. For the benefit of future scholars, let me place on record what I know of these supposed collections. They are: 1) a *díwán* said to be in the possession of a Mrs Tavángar, a descendant of Mírzá Muşţafá, Browne's Azalí scribe; 2) a *díwán* owned by Ḥajj Shaykh 'Abbúd aş-Şáliḥí, a Muslim descendant of one of Qurrat al-'Ayn's brothers, who has told me that it is among his family papers in Karbalá'; and 3) a *díwán* in the possession of a Muslim friend of Mr aş-Şáliḥí, Dr Qásimí.

A few manuscripts of Qurrat al-'Ayn's writings—mainly poems—have found their way to Europe. E. G. Browne possessed a small number, including a letter from Qurrat al-'Ayn to Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí, transcribed by Şubḥ-i Azal. This may be found in the Browne Collection, F.66* (item 12a). The original letter, in the hand of Qurrat al-'Ayn, was known to have been in Browne's possession at one time, since he reproduced it in facsimile in his editions of the *Tárikh jadíd* and the *Nuqţat al-káf*.⁴⁷⁵ It was lost for many years until identified by the present author in Folder 3 of the Browne Collection.

That same folder also contains the original of what is alleged to be an autograph *mathnaví* by Qurrat al-'Ayn. This was sent to Browne on 24 September 1892 by Shaykh Aḥmad Rúḥí Kirmání. It is reproduced in *Materials*.⁴⁷⁶ Comparison of the handwriting of this item with that in several other pieces known to be in Qurrat al-'Ayn's hand shows clearly that it is not an autograph. Although I would be reluctant to make a firm statement at this stage, my feeling is that the poem itself may be a forgery, since it is in a style rather different to that of other poems definitely known to be the work of Qurrat al-'Ayn.

Manuscript F.22 in the Browne Collection contains more poems, including a long *mathnaví*. Some of these are attributed to Qurrat al-'Ayn. Another poem ascribed to her may be found in Folder 2, of which it forms part of item 42.

The only other manuscripts in the West are two poems and a letter once in the possession of A. L. M. Nicolas (109), but now of unknown location. According to Momen, the Russian Consul-General in Beirut, Georgy Batyushkov, who at one time travelled in Iran, collected a

475 *Tárikh-i jadíd*, facing p. 434. The text is printed on pp. 434–37, and a translation of part one on pp. 437–41. *Nuqţat al-káf*, facing p. 140 of the Persian text.

476 Facing p. 344. The text is printed on pp. 343–47.

manuscript of Qurrat al-'Ayn's works for the Asiatic Museum in the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.⁴⁷⁷ Momen also refers to an article by the Russian orientalist V. A. Zhukovski, in which he mentions various papers collected by the Russian consul at Astarabad, F. A. Bakulin; these included some writings by Qurrat al-'Ayn.⁴⁷⁸ E. G. Browne refers to copies of several more Babi poems, possibly containing some by Qurrat al-'Ayn, which were contained in a manuscript with the class-mark P.92, lent him by the late Charles Schefer.⁴⁷⁹ Of the present whereabouts of Schefer's manuscript, I have, I regret, no idea.

In general, there is a serious problem of authenticity in the case of Qurrat al-'Ayn's writings, particularly her poetry. A number of poems have been attributed to her which are, in fact, by other poets, including the early nineteenth-century Šúfí poet of Shíráz, Mullá Muḥammad Báqir, better known as Šuḥbat-i Lári (1162–1251/1749–1835–6).⁴⁸⁰

A version of the well-known poem beginning: *lamahát^u wajhik^a 'shraqat wa shí'á^u ṭal'atik^a talá⁴⁸¹* appears in the *Díwán* of Šuḥbat-i Lári.⁴⁸² Šuḥbat himself seems to have been imitating a poem by Jámí, beginning: *nafahát^u wašlik^a awqadat jumarátⁱ shawqik^a fi'l-mashá'*

A *mukhammas* beginning: *ay bi-sar-i zulf-i tu súdá-yi man/ va'z gham-i hijrán-i tu ghúghá-yi man* which appears in Qurrat al-'Ayn,⁴⁸³ has also been attributed to the Bábí martyr Ḥájj Sulaymán Khán Tabrízí.⁴⁸⁴ A *ghazal* beginning: *khál bi-kunj-i lab yakí turra-yi mushkfám du* raises different problems. There is a very similar *ghazal* (identical in one line) by Sakína 'Ufat Shíráziyya, and Wafá-yi Qummí has at least two lines very close to its opening stanzas.⁴⁸⁵ Ḥájj Fath Alláh Maftún Yazdí, however, attributes this *ghazal* to Umm Hání (d. 1236/1820–21), a daughter of Ḥájj 'Abd ar-Raḥím Khán Yazdí.⁴⁸⁶

One of Qurrat al-'Ayn's best-known and most attractive poems is a *rubá'í* beginning: *gar bi-tu uftadam nazār chihra bi-chihra rú bi-rú*. According

477 Momen, *Bábí and Bahá'í Religions*, p. 41n.

478 *ibid.*, p. 43.

479 Browne, *Materials*, p. 352.

480 On Šuḥbat, see Bámdád, *Rijál*, vol. 6, pp. 211–212; introduction to *Díwán-i Šuḥbat-i Lári*, 4th. ed., (Shíráz, Sh.1354/1975–76), pp. ix–xix.

481 Published by Browne in *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. 314–16 and *Materials*, pp. 349–51.

482 4th. ed., Shíráz, Sh. 1354/1975–76, pp. 129–30. On this, see also Browne, 'Bábís of Persia II', pp. 240–41.

483 pp. 26–27.

484 Muḥammad 'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh-i shuhadá'*, vol. 3 (Tehran, BE 130/1973), p. 228.

485 Ma'šúm 'Alí Sháh Shírází, *Tará'iq al-ḥaqá'iq*, vol. 3 (Tehran, Sh. 1345/1968–69), p. 235.

486 *Báb wa Bahá-rá bishinásid* (Hyderabad, n.d.), p. 271.

to Yazdí, this piece appears in old collections and is variously attributed to Naẓírí⁴⁸⁷ or 'Aṭá'í. Bayḍá'í, however, attributes it to yet another poet of the Şafaví period, Ṭáhirí Kashfí, known in the Deccan as Sháh Ṭáhir Dakhaní.⁴⁸⁸ It is also worth comparing two lines in the version attributed to Qurrat al-'Ayn with two lines from a poem by Qásim al-Anwár quoted by Browne.⁴⁸⁹ The authenticity of several other poems has been challenged without firm attribution to other writers.⁴⁹⁰

Apart from those just mentioned, the texts of numerous poems attributed to Qurrat al-'Ayn have appeared in several publications.⁴⁹¹

Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Zanjání Ḥujjat

There are at least two manuscripts of a work by Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Zanjání written before his conversion. Entitled *Rayḥánat aṣ-ṣudúr*, this piece was composed for Muḥammad Sháh in 1259/1843; it deals with the question of the duration of the month of Ramaḍán. The two manuscripts are:

1. Tehran, Millí 898
2. Tehran, Sipahsálár 2536

Although the subject is not one of critical importance, this is still a significant text, not merely because it is a treatise written before 1844 by a radical cleric later to play a central role in the militant wing of the Bábí movement, but also because Zanjání, unlike other Bábí leaders,⁴⁹² was not a Shaykhí prior to his conversion.

Mázandarání publishes a facsimile of a letter from Zanjání to one of the ulama of his home town; the original is, apparently, in his own hand.⁴⁹³

487 Naẓírí of Nishápúr, d. 1021/1612–13 (see Browne, *Literary History*, vol. 4, p. 252, including references).

488 *Tadhkira-yi shu'ará'*, vol. 3, pp. 111–12. Bayḍá'í bases this attribution on a miscellany in his possession containing this poem. The collection is, he maintains, over one hundred and fifty years old.

489 *Literary History*, vol. 3, p. 480.

490 See Bayḍá'í, *Tadhkira-yi shu'ará'*, vol. 3, pp. 102, 109–10, 132.

491 Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 366–69; Nuqabá'í, *Ṭáhirá*, pp. 139–97; 'Alí Akbar Dihkhudá, *Lughatnáma* (Tehran, Sh. 1325-[58]/1946–79, under 'Ṭáhirá'; Mushír Salímí, *Zanán-i sukhanvar*, vol. 2, pp. 82–98; Isfandyár Bakhtiyári, *Tuḥfa-yi Ṭáhirá* (Delhi, 1933), pp. 28–47; Mírzá Mahdí Shírází, *Tadhkirat al-khawátín* (Bombay, 1306/1889), under 'Qurrat al-'Ayn'; Sa'id Maḥmúd Khayrí, *Farhangí az sukhanvarán va surúyandigán-i Qazvin*, vol. 1, pp. 131–36; Bayḍá'í, *Tadhkira*, vol. 3, pp. 121–30; Browne, *Materials*, pp. 347–48; idem, 'Bábís of Persia II', p. 297; Martha L. Root, *Ṭáhirih the Pure, Iran's Greatest Woman* (Karachi, 1938; reprinted Los Angeles, 1981), between pp. 94 and 95.

492 I here discount Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Núrí and his brother Yaḥyá, neither of whom played a significant role in early Babism, despite the claims of later Bahá'í and Azalí historians to the contrary.

493 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, between pp. 182 and 183.

This is the only work of Zanjání's from the Bábí period that has so far come to light.

Sayyid Yahyá Dárábí Vaḥíd

Two pages of a so-called *Risála-yi istidláliyya*, said to be in the hand of their author, Sayyid Yahyá Dárábí, the leader of the Bábí insurrection in Nayríz, are reproduced in *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*.⁴⁹⁴ Mázandarání also cites two Arabic *maqálas* by Dárábí, in which he describes his meeting with the Báb in Shíráz; the originals of both pieces are said to be extant and to be autograph copies.⁴⁹⁵ A copy of the second of these two *maqálas*⁴⁹⁶ forms the introduction (after a preceding *khuṭba* ascribed to the Báb)⁴⁹⁷ to the collection of the Báb's writings made by Dárábí in Tehran and now contained in INBMC 40 (pp. 3–5).

A manuscript in Haifa attributed to the Báb under the unique title of *Risála-yi ashtát* is said to be in Dárábí's hand. This may, in fact, be a work by Vaḥíd himself, since no work of that name has been recorded anywhere as a work of the Báb's. These apart, no other works by Dárábí seem to have survived.

Mullá Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bushrú'í Báb al-Báb

Very few works by Bushrú'í seem to have survived. The largest is a work dealing with the advent of the Qá'im and consisting mainly of traditions from Baḥrání's *Kitáb al-'awálim* and Naṣír ad-Dín Ṭúsi's *Kitáb al-ghayba*. Written in Qazvín about 1263/1847, not long before Bushrú'í's leadership of the Shaykh Ṭabarsí insurrection, this work emphasizes the role of the inhabitants of Khurásán as participants in the uprising (*khurúj*) of the Imám. We possess two manuscripts of this work. One is item 3 in the collection of early Bábí texts issued as INBMC 80 (pp. 198–211);⁴⁹⁸ the other is in INBA 3032C.

494 *ibid.*, p. 471.

495 *ibid.*, pp. 471–77.

496 The one on pp. 475–77.

497 Reproduced in *ibid.*, pp. 473–75.

498 The following words have been added to the top of p. 1, possibly by the original scribe: *al-akhbár allatí jama'ahá Sayyid al-Aqṭáb Mawláná Báb al-Báb rúḥí lahu'l-fidá' fí arḍi qáf*. The 'Land of Qáf' is, of course, Bábí-speak for Qazvín. According to Mullá Ja'far Qazvíní, Bushrú'í passed through the town twice: once en route to Iṣfahán and again on his way to visit the Báb in Chihriq. On the second occasion, he stayed for some days with Áqá Hádí Farhádí and was introduced to Qurrat al-'Ayn ('Tárikh-i Mullá Ja'far' in Samandar, *Tárikh*, p. 488).

Mázandarání reproduces part of the text of an Arabic treatise by Bushrú'í, the style of which is extremely similar to that of the Báb.⁴⁹⁹ According to this authority, other works by Bushrú'í have survived,⁵⁰⁰ but no details are given as to their whereabouts.

Other Bábís

We have already mentioned an important manuscript collection in private hands containing works by early Bábís and issued as INBMC 80 under the title *Nivishtiját wa áthár-i aṣḥáb-i awwaliyya-yi amr-i a'lá ki dar ithbát-i amr-i badí' nivishta-and*. This collection (which I have only seen in photocopy) consists of six separate pieces in different hands, the whole bound together and amounting to 332 pages.

The first item, an anonymous treatise citing traditions from the *Áwálim*, has already been referred to. It is followed by a fragment of only a few lines in Persian. The third piece is the collection of *akhbár* compiled by Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í while visiting Qazvín. Item four is the treatise attributed by me to Qurrat al-'Ayn and referred to above. The fifth piece is a *risála* of some thirty pages, possibly written by Mullá Jalíl Urúmí, a Letter of the Living who lived for some time in Qazvín.⁵⁰¹

The last item is an important letter from Shaykh Sulṭán al-Karbalá'í to some unidentified Bábís in Iran, in which he provides details of serious dissension within the Bábí community of Karbalá', in which the two sides were led by Qurrat al-'Ayn and Mullá Aḥmad Mu'allim Ḥisárí respectively.⁵⁰²

At least two of the above items may have been written in Qazvín, and almost all seem to be in some way connected with (or by) Qurrat al-'Ayn (both Urúmí and al-Karbalá'í were in her entourage on her return to Qazvín from Iraq in 1847). These facts suggest a Qazvíní provenance for the collection, but more than that cannot usefully be said at present.

With reference to the last item of this collection, I should note here that I have been shown a small group of letters written by Mullá Aḥmad Ḥisárí, also referring to this dissension. The originals are in the possession of Ḥájj Shaykh 'Abbád aṣ-Ṣálihí, the descendant of Qurrat al-'Ayn's brother

499 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 136–39.

500 *ibid.*, p. 136.

501 On whom see, Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 47; Samandar, *Tárikh*, pp. 351–52.

502 This letter has been published—apparently from a different MS—by Mázandarání in *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 245–59. Another printed version (based on a copy supplied by 'Abd ar-Razzáq al-'Abáyijí) appears in 'Alí al-Wardí, *Lamḥát ijtimá'iyya min ta'ríkh al-'Iráq al-ḥadíth*, vol. 2 (Baghdad, 1969), pp. 163–68.

mentioned above, and are among papers owned by his family in Karbalá'. The importance of this collection lies in the fact that they provide us with an alternative version of a vital early doctrinal conflict within Babism, in this case by the leader of the losing party. The collection, which has been given the title *'Aqá'id ash-Shaykhiyya*, was lent by Mr aṣ-Ṣálihí to the Iraqi scholar 'Alí al-Wardí, who reproduces part of it in his *Lamaḥát ijtimá'iyya*.⁵⁰³

Three further manuscripts of treatises by Bábís were discovered by the present writer in Tehran in 1977. These are all included in manuscripts in the NBA listed as 'collections of writings of the Báb', but examination of their style and contents makes it clear that authorship must, in these cases, be assigned to as yet unidentified disciples rather than to the prophet himself.

The first of these is a *risála* of sixty pages at the beginning of INBA 6006C (pp. 2–62). It is in a different hand to any of the other pieces in the collection (there being several hands altogether). This copy was produced two months after the original, which is dated Sha'bán 1264/July 1848. It may be one of the treatises referred to above, written at the Báb's request in that year.

The second piece is a work of almost forty pages at the end of INBA 6003C (pp. 380–416), constituting one of the most important single documents for the study of the transition from Shaykhí to Bábí thought. The writer seems to have been a Shaykhí originally, since he frequently refers to al-Aḥsá'í and Rashtí, whom he calls *al-bábayn al-akhírayn* ('the two previous bábs) and *nuḡṭay'l-i-tidál* ('the two points of balance'),⁵⁰⁴ or separately as *ash-shaykh al-báb* ('the Shaykh, the Báb')⁵⁰⁵ and *as-sayyid al-báb* ('the Sayyid, the Báb').⁵⁰⁶ Once, he refers to Rashtí as *báb Alláh al-muqaddim as-sayyid al-báb alladhí lá farq^a baynahu wa bayna shaykhihi* ('the previous Gate of God, the Sayyid, the Báb, between whom and his Shaykh there is no distinction') and to al-Aḥsá'í as *báb al-akram* (sic; 'the noblest Báb').⁵⁰⁷

The author gives a list of Rashtí's writings, and refers to the opposition the latter encountered from Shaykh Ja'far (an-Najafí?), Shaykh 'Alí (an-Najafí), and Mírzá Muḥammad Akhbárí.⁵⁰⁸ On one occasion, he quotes from al-Aḥsá'í's *Risála waṣá'il al-ḥammam al-'ulyá*.⁵⁰⁹ On page 392, he speaks of the split between the Shaykhís and the Bálásarís,⁵¹⁰ and later

503 Vol. 2, pp. 159–63.

504 INBA 6003C, p. 401.

505 *ibid.*, pp. 401, 402.

506 *ibid.*

507 *ibid.*, p. 384.

508 *ibid.*, pp. 401–02.

509 *ibid.*, p. 384.

510 On this division, see D. MacEoin, 'Bálásarí', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3, pp. 583–85.

refers to the beginning of some form of divine revelation at the end of 1,200 years of Islam in the person of al-Aḥsá'í.⁵¹¹ Some pages after this, he speaks of the two groups into which the followers of al-Aḥsá'í and Rashtí had become divided: the *'awámm* (masses) and the *khawáṣṣ* (elite).⁵¹² He goes on to write of the growth of the world, using the common analogy (still in use among modern Bahá'ís) of the stages in the development of the individual, and he anticipates the appearance of the Hidden Imám.⁵¹³

On page 413, he makes the first clear reference to the appearance of Shírází as the Báb, giving the date of his 'revelation' as the year '61'. This is not, I think, an error for '60', the year normally given for this event (referring to 1260 *hijrī*), but is more likely to be a reference to the open announcement of Shírází's claims and the revelation of his identity.

The third of these *risálas* is a short work of only two pages at the end of INBA 4011C (pp. 368–69). Dated Dhú'l-Ḥijja 1266/October–November 1850, its chief interest lies in a reference to the break with the laws of the Islamic *sharí'a* and the adoption of a new legal system.

Several other manuscripts of important works by early Bábís are referred to, quoted, or reproduced in facsimile by Mázandarání throughout the third volume of *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*. These include:

1. A treatise in the form of questions and answers exchanged between Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Zunúzí and an unidentified (possibly fictitious) Shaykhí 'álim (quoted, pp. 31–37).
2. A work entitled *Riyáḍ al-janna*, written by Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí (a relative of the above Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí), a Shaykhí 'álim and a close companion of Rashtí. This author later become an ardent disciple and secretary of the Báb (see chapter 1). This work may have been written while he was still a Shaykhí. (Referred to, p. 37.)
3. An incomplete manuscript by Mírza Husayn Dakhílí ibn Dakhíl (quoted, pp. 55–59).
4. The *Abwáb al-hudá* by Shaykh Muḥammad Taqí Hashtrúdí (d. 1270/1853–54), originally a Shaykhí. The book is an apologia for the claims of the Báb, using Shaykhí terminology. (Quoted, pp. 116–19; cf. pp. 73–74.)
5. A *risála* by Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í (quoted, pp. 136–39). According to Mázandarání, other works by Bushrú'í are extant, but no further details are given.⁵¹⁴

511 INBA 6003C, p. 399.

512 *ibid.*, p. 403.

513 *ibid.*, p. 408.

514 *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 136.

6. A book of *istidláliyya* (apologetics) by Mullá Aḥmad Mu'allim Ḥisári (referred to, p. 160). This work might prove invaluable as a source for the ideas of this unsuccessful opponent of the radicalism of Qurrat al-'Ayn and other Letters of the Living.
7. Two *risálas* from Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí 'Aẓím, written for leading Bábís (quoted, pp. 166–68, 168–69). Turshízí's importance as one of the most revolutionary Bábí leaders and as the mastermind behind the attempted murder of Naṣír ad-Dín Sháh in 1852 gives these short treatises considerable interest.
8. A letter from 'Abd al-Kháliq Yazdí (quoted, pp. 172–73). Since Yazdí later abandoned the movement, the existence of any works from his hand is of real interest; the present piece is, however, too slight to form a basis for any serious comment on his thinking.
9. A letter from the Báb's secretary, Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní, to Mullá Jalíl Urúmí, a Letter of the Living for a long time resident in Qazvín. (between pp. 370 and 371).
10. The *Asrár ash-shaháda* of Mullá Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharí'atmadár Mázandarání, an 'álim from Bárfurúsh who was, according to Mázandarání, a Bábí convert.⁵¹⁵ Mudarrísí Chahárdihí (who denies Sharí'atmadár's conversion) states that the original manuscript of this work was in the keeping of one of the author's descendants, Áqá Sharí'atzáda, then director of the magazine *Jilva*.⁵¹⁶

Whatever the truth of this, the manuscript seems to have fallen into Bahá'í hands. While working at the INBA in 1977, a number of manuscripts which had belonged to Sharí'atmadár and one of his brothers, and which had been in the keeping of a descendant who had become a Bahá'í, came into possession of the archive. On examining these briefly, I identified one massive volume of at least one thousand pages as a copy of the *Asrár ash-shaháda* in the author's own somewhat inelegant hand. This may have been an original draft. Unfortunately, these manuscripts were soon afterwards removed elsewhere and I was unable to make a close study of any of them.

Another manuscript dealing with Islamic themes by an author who was at one time a Bábí convert but later returned to a strict orthodox position deserves a brief mention. This is *al-insán al-kámil*, a work written in 1253/1837 by Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Baraghání, one of the two paternal uncles of Qurrat al-'Ayn. Unlike his brothers, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí was a

515 For contrasting views on Sharí'atmadár, see *ibid.*, pp. 434–45 and Chahárdihí, *Shaykhigari, Bábígarí*, pp. 140–174.

516 *Shaykhigari, Bábígarí*, p. 158.

Shaykhí at the time of this book's composition (although this is not immediately apparent from the text). Penned some seven years before the author's brief conversion to Babism, this work covers a wide range of traditional subjects, among them the following: the souls of believers, unbelievers, and prophets; the souls of Muḥammad and the imáms; reason; faith; the qualities of the Shí'a; formal prayer (very extensive); the creation of man; the days of the week; the *qibla*; clothing; the reality of the worshipper; important mosques; the call to prayer; reading of the Qur'án; various aspects of prayer; *zakát*; *khums*; fasting (in which section al-Aḥsá'í is quoted); meditative seclusion (*i'tikáf*); piety; and the ḥajj.

Since this man was a major influence on Qurrat al-'Ayn and, indeed, was in part responsible for her adoption of the Shaykhí position, this book (written at a time when that influence may have been at its height) should repay study, even though it can give us no information about Bábí doctrine as such. The manuscript referred to here is number 3433 in Tehran University Library. It appears to be an autograph.

Numerous letters known as '*ará'iq*' (petitions) were written by his followers to the Báb. The author of the *Nuḩtat al-káf* speaks of an '*ariḩa-yi taṣḩiq-náma*' written by 'Abd al-Kháliq Yazdí,⁵¹⁷ and it may be that it was customary for recent converts to write to their prophet as a token of allegiance. Could copies of such letters be traced, they would undoubtedly give valuable insights into the general attitude of the mass of converts towards their leader, possibly showing changes with the passing of time. At present, however, no examples of such works are known.

517 *Nuḩtat al-káf*, p. 203. Mázandarání also speaks of copies of '*ará'iq*' (*Asrar al-áthár*, vol. 3, p. 277). See also Balyuzi, *The Báb*, p. 75n.

V

Works of anti-Bábí polemic

Works of Karím Khán Kirmání

Refutations of Bábí doctrine are often valuable sources for the doctrine itself. The most accessible and earliest of Muslim polemics against the Báb are four works by Shírází's contemporary, Hájj Mullá Muḥammad Karím Khán Kirmání (1225–88/1809–70). Kirmání was the most successful candidate for leadership of the Shaykhí school after Rashtí's death. His own position was threatened by the claims of the Báb, who took away much of Kirmání's potential following and, by his extreme heterodoxy, tainted mainstream Shaykhism in the eyes of the orthodox majority. In response to this double threat, Kirmání became the first Shi'ite 'álim to launch an attack on the person and teachings of the Báb.⁵¹⁸

Kirmání's four books are: *Izháq al-báṭil* (Kerman, Sh. 1351/1973), written in 1261/1845; *Tír-i shiháb* (Kerman, 1386/1967);⁵¹⁹ *ash-Shiháb ath-tháqib* (Kerman, Sh. 1353/1974–75), written in 1265/1849; and the *Risála-yi radd-i Báb-i murtád* (Kerman 1385/1965–66),⁵²⁰ written in 1284/1867 for Náṣir ad-Dín Sháh.

There are, of course, brief references to the Báb and his doctrines in other works by Karím Khán, such as his lengthy *Irshád al-'awámm*,⁵²¹ written between 1262/1846 and 1267/1851; the *Risála-yi sultáníyya*,⁵²² written at the request of Náṣir ad-Dín Sháh in 1274/1858; and the *Risála-yi sí faṣl*,⁵²³ written in 1269/1853.⁵²⁴

518 For details, see D. MacEoin, 'Early Shaykhí Reactions to the Báb and His Claims', in M. Morten (ed.), *Studies in Bábí and Bahá'í History*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles, 1982), pp. 1–47.

519 Part of a compilation entitled *Majmú'a-yi rasá'il-i Fársi I*.

520 Published with *Risála-yi tazýil* by Hájj Zayn al-'Ábidín Khán.

521 4th. ed., 4 vols., Kerman, 1325/1907; see vol. 4, pp. 325–27.

522 Kerman, 1382/1962–63; see pp. 94, 283–84.

523 Kerman, 1368/1949; see sections 5 and 6.

524 According to Mázandarání, Kirmání attacked the Báb in no less than twelve works (*Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 400). He does not, unfortunately, enumerate these. His statement that one of Kirmání's complete works on Babism is the *Fitrat as-salíma* (sic) is incorrect; this three-volume work deals separately with the knowledge of God, *nubuwwa*, and *imáma*. In his *Risála-yi sí faṣl*, Kirmání says: 'I have written five or six books in refutation of him [the Báb] and have sent them to different parts of Azerbaijan, 'Iráq 'Ajam, 'Iráq 'Arab, Hijáz, Khurásán, and India. I have also written letters to the ulama and sent petitions to officials of the victorious government [of Iran]. At times in Yazd and Kerman, and once on a journey to Khurásán, I have made clear their unbelief from pulpits with proofs and evidences' (pp. 34–35).

Other Shaykhí polemics

Other Shaykhí polemics are rather later than those of Kirmání, but it is worth noting them here. They include a published book by Kirmání's son and successor, Hájj Muḥammad Khán (1263–1324/1846–1906), *Taqwím al-'awj*⁵²⁵ written in 1304/1887. The same writer also composed two earlier polemics, dated 1289/1873 and 1298/1881, but these remain in manuscript. Copies may be found in the Shaykhí archives in Kerman, in the manuscript collections classed as 'د-ع' and 'د-ص'.⁵²⁶ Hájj Zayn al-'Ábidín Khán, Muḥammad Khán's younger brother and successor, wrote two refutations of Babism: the *Şawá'iq al-burhán*,⁵²⁷ a lengthy work of almost nine hundred pages, and the *Şá'iqá*,⁵²⁸ an abridgement of the first, written in 1330/1912 for Áqá Mírzá 'Abd al-Karím Khán Mukhábir al-Mulk.⁵²⁹

Other Muslim polemics

Iḥqáq al-ḥaqq

Iḥqáq al-ḥaqq, a polemic by Áqá Muḥammad Taqí Hamadání, is described by Browne as 'on the whole the best refutation of Bábí and Bahá'í doctrine from the Muhammadan point of view' which he had read.⁵³⁰ Lithographed without place or date of publication, internal evidence shows that it was printed during or after 1908.⁵³¹ Its chief value consists in the fact that, as Browne states, 'it reveals ... an amount of knowledge of his opponent's case on the part of the writer rarely to be found in authors of such polemical works, and numerous Bábí and Bahá'í works are abundantly and correctly quoted'.⁵³² The section on Bábí history, however, is 'neither very

525 Bombay 1311/1893–94; reprinted Kerman, n.d.

526 The same author has a work entitled *Shams al-muḍi'a* (sic), (Tabríz, 1322/1904–05; reprinted Kerman, n.d.), written in 1320/1902–03 in refutation of the Bahá'í apologetic work *al-Fará'id* by Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpáygání.

527 Kerman, 1381/1962.

528 Kerman, Sh. 1252/1974.

529 The same author's *Mi'ráj as-sa'áda* (Kerman, 1351/1932–33) was written in 134/1930 in reply to a Bahá'í.

530 *Materials*, p. 190.

531 See the endorsements by mujtahids Hájj Muḥammad Kázim Khurásání and Hájj Shaykh 'Abd Alláh Mázandarání, both resident in Najaf.

532 *ibid.*, p. 189.

accurate nor very fair'.⁵³³ Browne supplies a summary of thirty doctrines ascribed to the Bábí by this author and condemned as heretical.⁵³⁴

Miftáh báb al-abwáb

Probably the best-known refutation of Babism is the *Ta'rikh al-Bábiyya aw miftáh báb al-abwáb*⁵³⁵ of Muḥammad Mahdí Khán Za'im ad-Dawla (d. 1333/1914–15), editor of the newspaper *Hikmat*, a Persian monthly published in Cairo. Bámdád exaggerates in calling this book 'one of the best and relatively unbiased works to have been written on this subject',⁵³⁶ but it has certain virtues, not least of which is its frequent citation of Bábí texts. A Persian translation by Hájí Shaykh Ḥasan Faríd Gulpáygání is available.⁵³⁷

Rajm ash-shayṭán

A curious polemical work is *Rajm ash-shayṭán fī raddi ahl al-Bayán*.⁵³⁸ The book is attributed to an otherwise unknown cleric, Hájí Shaykh 'Abd ar-Raḥím [Burújirdí]⁵³⁹, and is supposedly a refutation of a Bábí work entitled *Kitáb al-ímán fī izhárí nuqṭat al-Bayán*. However, no work of that title is known outside the pages of 'Abd ar-Raḥím's *Rajm ash-shayṭán*, where it is quoted in full and commented on. Browne expressed the view that 'the refutation is often so feeble that I am inclined to believe that the book really forms part of the Bábí propaganda, the essence of it being the original *Kitábu'l-Ímán*, and the weak reply being added merely to ensure its safe and open circulation amongst Muslims'.⁵⁴⁰ This is an opinion shared by the author of *Minháj aṭ-ṭalibín*, a genuine anti-Bábí polemic.⁵⁴¹ I am not myself entirely convinced that it is the case, but there is no question that the Bábí text is highly intelligent and displays a wide knowledge of religious literature, including the Bible and Sufi writing, and that the refutation sections of the *Rajm ash-shayṭán* in no way match it for style or content.

Numerous other published works of polemic exist, but these are all twentieth-century productions and, as such, fall somewhat outside the scope of the present study. Many of them do, of course, deal in some detail with

533 *ibid.*

534 *ibid.*, pp. 325–39.

535 Cairo, 1321/1903.

536 *Rijál*, vol. 4, p. 6.

537 Tehran, 1346/1968.

538 Thus on the actual title page. Browne (*Materials*, p. 192) mistakenly gives the title as *Rajm ash-shayṭán fī radh'íl al-Bayán*.

539 He is called Burújirdí by Áqá Buzurg aṭ-Ṭihrání (*adh-Dharí'a*, vol. 10:163).

540 *Materials*, p. 193.

541 Quoted *ibid.*

Bábí history and doctrine, but they rely for their information on earlier materials and seldom if ever present fresh material or make use of unpublished sources from the early period.⁵⁴²

Manuscript polemics

The most interesting and important anti-Bábí polemics in manuscript are several works written by Hájí Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim ibn Áqá Sayyid Kázim Zanjání (1224–92/1809–75). The author of a number of religious works of a general nature,⁵⁴³ Zanjání was a contemporary of the Báb and an eyewitness of the Bábí uprising in his home town. He wrote four *radiyyas* against the Báb: *Takhríb al-Báb*, *Sadd al-Báb*, *Qal' al-Báb*, and *Qum' al-Báb*.⁵⁴⁴ As far as the present writer is aware, the manuscripts of these works are still in the possession of the author's family.

According to Navá'í, Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí Mamaqání (a son of the Tabrízí Shaykhí leader, Mullá Muḥammad Mamaqání) was one of the first to write a refutation of the Báb and his claims.⁵⁴⁵ Bámdád adds that his father (who was one of the ulama who signed a warrant for the Báb's death) was also among the first to write such a polemic.⁵⁴⁶ Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí was, like his father, a leading Shaykhí cleric, as well as the author of several books of poetry under the sobriquet 'Nayyir'. His refutation of the Báb does not seem to have been published, and it is not now known where the original may be.

We have already mentioned in these pages a Bábí convert named Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Harawí, who later renounced the Báb and returned to Islam. Harawí met the Báb in Işfahán and later corresponded with him during his imprisonment; he may possibly have been the recipient of the *Dalá'il-i sab'a*. According to Ḥabíbábádí,⁵⁴⁷ he wrote a refutation of his former master, entitled *Tanbíh al-gháfilín*. Áqá Buzurg Tíhrání mentions

542 Áqá Buzurg Tíhrání lists a large number of what seem to be published *radiyyas* (see *Kitáb adh-dharí'a ilá taşánif ash-shí'a*, particularly vol. 10, pp. 188–89; see also *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 524 [*Arghám ash-shayţán*]; vol. 2, p. 52 [*Asrár al-'aqá'id*], p. 504 [*al-Íqáz*]; 1; vol. 3, p. 9 [*Báriqat al-ḥaqíqa*]; vol. 5, p. 264 [*al-Ḥujjaj ar-raḍawíyya*]). All these are late works, except for *al-Ibtál* by Hájí Sayyid Ismá'il ibn Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Ardakání, published in 1313/1895–96.)

543 See *ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 228, vol. 17, pp. 6, 70, 174–75.

544 See *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 3, vol. 12, p. 153, vol. 17, pp. 167, 171. Navá'í (*Fitna-yi Báb*, p. 156) also lists four refutations by Zanjání, but instead of *Qam' al-Báb* gives the title *Radd al-Báb*. Whether this is the same work or a fifth is not clear.

545 *Fitna-yi Báb*, notes, p. 239. On Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí, see Bámdád, *Rijál*, vol. 3, p. 325; Chahárdihí, *Shaykhigari, Bábigarí*, pp. 178–86.

546 *Rijál*, vol. 3, p. 325.

547 Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Ḥabíbábádí, *Makárim al-áthár*, 4 vols (Işfahán, Sh. 1337–52/1959–74), vol. 3, p. 627.

two works written in refutation of Babism by Harawí, one of which may well be the work named by Ḥabíbábádí. These are: *ar-Radd ‘alá’l-Bábiyya* (which begins *amá ba’d makhfi namánad bar ráh-raván-i lariq-i mustaqím ...*) and another entitled *ar-Radd ‘alá’l-Mírzá ‘Alí Muḥammad al-Báb*.⁵⁴⁸ These do not appear to be the real titles of the works in question, but at least they serve to identify them as separate pieces. The value of such documents, written by an outstanding ‘álim with extremely close connections to Babism, several leading Bábís, and even the Báb himself can scarcely be overrated.

Another important discovery would be a *risála* refuting the Báb by Mullá Jawád Vilyání (known to Bábís as ‘Khuwár’, ‘the Calf’, a maternal cousin of Qurrat al-‘Ayn who introduced her to Shaykhí ideas and later adopted Babism for a short time. Disillusionment with Shírází led him before long to join forces with Karím Khán Kirmání, who was, as we have seen, a prolific author of polemics against the Báb. Vilyání eventually returned to Qazvín, where, according to Mázandarání, he wrote at least one *risála* attacking the Báb.⁵⁴⁹

In his early article, ‘The Bábís of Persia II’, Browne wrote: ‘... I am convinced that a great difficulty in identifying Bábí MSS exists, and is one of the chief barriers to a study of them and the doctrines they embody.’⁵⁵⁰ I have tried in the foregoing pages to clarify some of the many obscurities that surround these manuscripts. I have answered some questions and found others to ask. I have identified and listed the principal manuscripts of the works of the Báb and, where possible, those of his leading followers. But it is abundantly clear to me that much work remains: scattered materials have to be assembled, many manuscripts have yet to be properly identified, some of the more important collections have to be suitably catalogued, and an untold number of hidden manuscripts must still be brought to light. That said, I can only hope that the foregoing chapters will provide enough information to stimulate a rapid and wide-ranging enterprise of direct research into Bábí doctrine based on original sources and free of the biases that have until now blighted this important area of Iranian Shi’ite studies.

548 *adh-Dhari’a*, vol. 10, pp. 188, 222.

549 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 388. For more information about Vilyání, see MacEoin, ‘From Shaykhism to Babism’, pp. 199–203 and sources cited there.

550 p. 899.

Part 2
Sources for Bábí history

Part 2

Introduction

In the modern period, religious controversy has centred largely around questions of historicity. Even the debate surrounding *The Satanic Verses* is, in some measure, to do with problems of historical understanding, at the very least the portrayal of historical sacred figures. This has been particularly true for religions within the Judaeo-Christian tradition, which place a very high premium on historical records and the veracity of the sacred or secular events narrated in them. Many of the most crucial Western sacred texts—parts of the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and parts of the extensive *ḥadīth* literature of Islam—are primarily historical narratives that purport to reveal the hand of God acting within human affairs.

The development of modern methods of historical and textual analysis has presented a major challenge to faiths rooted in texts of this kind. This has led in many cases to deep divisions between literalist fundamentalists determined to maintain the authority of the texts, on the one hand, and liberals eager to unharness their faith from what they perceive as the trammels of dogmatic historicism, on the other.

Within the Christian tradition, the growth of Biblical criticism has often resulted in radical rereadings of the Old and New Testaments. Even in the 1980s, the liberal views of the English bishop David Jenkins on the historicity of the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection precipitated a bitter crisis within the Church of England. The problems facing Western Jewish intellectuals who have come under the influence of modern historical methodology have been graphically and intelligently highlighted in the novels of Chaim Potok, notably *The Chosen* and *The Promise*. For Islam, the challenge of modernist thinking has been only part of a broader threat posed by Western ideas and influences on many fronts, from politics to postmodernist literature—what the fundamentalist writer ‘Ā’isha ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān calls the ‘intellectual crusade’.⁵⁵¹ As yet, traditionalism has held out against those few attempts there have been to re-evaluate the historical origins of the Islamic faith in the light of fresh textual and archaeological evidence, or even simple rationalist criticism of *ḥadīth* materials.

In spite of the relatively recent date of its origins, the Bahá’í religion has not been immune to controversy over historical issues. If anything, the problems facing Bahá’ís in this area may be even more serious than they are

551 *al-ghazw al-fikri*. See *Qará’a fi wathá’iq al-Bahá’iyya*, Cairo, 1306/1986, p. 154 and throughout.

for the followers of earlier faiths. On the one hand, Baha'ism is theoretically predisposed to favour a modern rationalist approach to the study of historical origins: the publicly-proclaimed principles of an unfettered search after truth and the harmony of science and religion (or faith and reason) commit adherents to a non-literalist, scientific methodology. In fact, the Bahá'í position with regard to earlier religious histories is avowedly anti-traditionalist, liberal, even iconoclastic. Bahá'ís would, for example, side more readily with Bishop Jenkins than with his opponents, and have been identified in the Islamic world as the bearers of a reprehensible modernism.

On the other hand, the peculiar way in which Bahá'í historiography has developed has invested the central historical texts with a degree of religious authority that may be considered extreme by any standards. Not only did Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh, the movement's founder, refer to historical events and personages in his own writings (which are believed by his followers to be a species of divine, infallible revelation), but he is recorded as having read and sanctioned part of the history of Mullá Muḥammad Nabíl Zarandí later published in English as *Nabíl's Narrative* (*The Dawn-Breakers*). He is also reported to have instructed the Bahá'í writer Fáḍil-i Qá'iní to produce a 'corrected' recension of Mírzá Ḥusayn Hamadání's *Tārīkh-i jadíd*.

Bahá' Alláh's son and successor, 'Abbás, also gave his approval to parts of Zarandí's history and to the text of a later work by Mírzá 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ávára, *al-Kawákib ad-durriyya*. More importantly, he himself penned the anonymous history entitled *Maqála-yi shakhṣí sayyáh* (later edited and translated by Browne as *A Traveller's Narrative*) and delivered a series of hagiographical discourses subsequently published under the title *Tadhkirat al-wafá'* (*Memorials of the Faithful*). Years later, 'Abbás' successor as head of the religion, his grandson Shoghi Effendi Rabbání, produced a heavily-edited translation of Zarandí's chronicle, as well as his own full-length English history of the Bábí and Bahá'í movements, under the title *God Passes By*.

Whatever the precise status of these works in terms of official doctrine, there can be no doubt that their very existence has exercised a profound influence on popular Bahá'í thinking about sacred history. For most Bahá'ís, there is a 'true', infallibly-sanctioned history of their faith and its predecessor, Babism (often conflated into a single movement). Whereas the history of earlier religions may, for Bahá'ís, have been distorted and clouded by myth and legend, that of God's latest revelation is deemed 'authentic' and unquestionable, even in what are often very minor particulars. One of the consequences of this is that alternative versions of Bábí or Bahá'í history, even where based on the kind of rational, scientific historical research Bahá'ís

readily commend when applied to the histories of earlier religions, are often confused with the polemical works of writers antagonistic to Baha'ism, and described indiscriminately as 'attacks' or 'distortions'.

This problem has been particularly acute in one area, that of Bábí history. As we shall see, E. G. Browne's criticism that the Bahá'ís had bowdlerized or suppressed major elements of the history of Babism was in turn rejected by Bahá'í writers as a wilful distortion of what they understood to be the unalloyed truth. The fact that many of Browne's conclusions have been extensively (and often indiscriminately) drawn on by opponents of the Bahá'í movement in both Iran and the West has not helped preserve a clear line of demarcation between fair academic comment (however pointed) and outright polemic. Nor has the situation been made any clearer by the development of a critique of orientalist writing about Islam.

There is no need to enter here into the details of the controversy surrounding Bábí and Bahá'í historical studies. It is enough to point out that a controversy exists, that it is still both sharp and complex, and that it is likely to continue unabated for an indefinite period.⁵⁵²

Although no visible division took place within Babism until about 1866, it is nevertheless true that, after 1850, attention focuses first on the Báb's successor, Mírzá Yaḥyá Núrí Şubḥ-i Azal, and then on Yaḥyá's half-brother, Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh. The history of Babism proper or 'early Babism' may be said to have ended with the Báb's death. A confused period of 'middle Babism' followed, lasting until the mid-1860s, after which the Bábí community split into rival Azalí (conservative) and Bahá'í (progressive) factions.⁵⁵³ This division between Azalí and Bahá'í Babism finally became absolute, with the former retaining its initial sense of identity and the latter developing with increasing self-consciousness into a distinct religion.

Since we are concerned here with Babism in its primitive form, I intend to concentrate largely on primary sources for the period up to about 1853. It should be pointed out, however, that, for the most part, this does

552 For examples of recent articles pursuing this debate, see: D. MacEoin, 'The Bábí Concept of Holy War', *Religion* (1982) 12:93-129; idem, 'From Babism to Baha'ism: Problems of Militancy, Quietism, and Conflation in the Construction of a Religion', *Religion* (1983) 13:219-55; Muḥammad Afnán and William S. Hatcher, 'Western Islamic Scholarship and Bahá'í Origins', *Religion* (1985) 15:29-51; D. MacEoin, 'Bahá'í Fundamentalism and the Academic Study of the Bábí Movement', *Religion* (1986) 16:57-84; M. Afnán and W. Hatcher, 'Notes on MacEoin's "Bahá'í Fundamentalism"', *Religion* (1986) 16; and D. MacEoin, 'Afnán, Hatcher and an Old Bone', *Religion* (1986) 16.

553 On this period, see D. MacEoin, 'Divisions and Authority Claims in Babism (1850-1866)', *Studia Iranica* 18:1 (1989), pp. 93-129.

not mean contemporary sources in the strict sense of the word. Several important histories exist which, although written after the Azalí/Bahá'í division, are either the work of eye-witnesses or contain eye-witness accounts.

In a *risála* written in reply to points in the Persian introduction to Browne's edition of the *Kitáb-i nuqṭat al-káf*,⁵⁵⁴ Sayyid Mahdí Dahají remarks that the early Bábí period was so confused that no-one had the leisure to sit down and write a narrative of events as they were occurring.⁵⁵⁵ He goes on to say that, after these events, not only had the majority of the main participants perished, but the survivors tended to be reluctant to set down their memoirs for fear of distorting the facts.⁵⁵⁶

Most of the histories in our possession were written after the Azalí/Bahá'í split, a fact which has led to repeated accusations of tendentiousness and outright falsification. That there are grounds for concern will be made evident. Fortunately, more and more early documents are coming to light, giving us a valuable means of checking the general or particular veracity of later works. There is still ample scope for serious research in Iranian libraries, in particular those, such as the libraries of the Majlis and Senate or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where official papers are stored. Current conditions make it unlikely that independent researchers will be granted access to these materials for some time to come.

During the 1970s, a Bahá'í scholar, Moojan Momen, carried out extensive research in the British Public Records Office and elsewhere. In the

554 It is widely recognized that the Persian introduction was not the work of Browne but of Mírzá Muḥammad Qazvíní. The latter told Muḥit-i Ṭabáṭabá'í that he wrote it on the basis of materials supplied by Browne ('*Kitábí bí nám bá námí táza*', *Gawhar*, year 2, nos 11 and 12, p. 961).

555 Some attempt was made to produce a record. According to Zarandí, Sayyid Yahyá Dárábí invested several of his fellow-insurgents in Nayríz with specific functions. Among these was Mírzá Muḥammad Ja'far, a cousin of the governor, who was made chronicler. A certain Mírzá Faḍl Alláh was appointed 'reader of these records'. The fate of this chronicle, if it was ever kept, is not known. (*Dawn-Breakers*, p. 483) Nicolas says that Mírzá Ja'far was the governor's nephew, that he merely wrote an ode in honour of the struggle, and that Mírzá Faḍl Alláh was charged with reading this to 'the troops', either the Bábís or their opponents (*Séyyéd Ali Mohammed*, p. 398). Muḥammad Shafi' Rawḥání confirms that he was the governor's nephew (and it should be said that Shoghi Effendi, Zarandí's translator, commonly confused the Persian for 'cousin' and 'nephew'); he also indicates that he was a son-in-law of Sayyid Yahyá. It seems that he was later given protection by his uncle and went on to produce a number of poetical works, included a published *mathnaví* entitled *Khusraw wa Shírín* and a manuscript history of the second Bábí struggle in Nayríz (in which he did not take part), entitled the *Jang-náma* (see Nayrízí, *Lama'át al-anwár*, vol. 1, pp. 258–63).

556 *Risála-yi Sayyid Mahdí Dahají*, Cambridge, Browne Collection, F57. This work was written about 1331/1913–14. It represents only the first half: part two never reached Browne and may not have been written before Dahají's death.

course of this work, he unearthed numerous documents containing references to early Bábí history. Many of these have been published in a large volume entitled *The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 1844–1944: Some Contemporary Western Accounts*, of which chapters one to nine contain materials relating to the Báb and his followers. The book also contains a detailed and informative introductory survey of Western accounts of the Bábí and Bahá'í movements. Although these materials are extremely limited in what they can tell us about Babism, there is no question that they do shed light on otherwise obscure points and occasionally provide a corrective balance to both Bábí and Muslim accounts.

The French Foreign Office Archives at the Quai d'Orsay are known to contain further material, but they have yet to be exhaustively researched; the same applies to the records of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Istanbul. References to the Bábís in Russian diplomatic despatches have been published by Ivanov,⁵⁵⁷ but it must be assumed that much more than this still awaits discovery.

If these diplomatic materials have any value other than the very occasional light they shed on shadowy corners of Bábí history, it is the mute witness they provide against the common slander that Babism and Baha'ism were subversive movements created by Western imperialists to destroy Islam in Iran from within. These accusations are still repeated in Iranian and Arab polemical literature and amount to something very like a blood libel used to justify arrests, confiscations, and even murder. None of the materials discovered in Western archives show anything but puzzlement or curiosity as to the origins, purposes, and ideas of the Bábís. That alone is an important contribution to our knowledge, since it lets us return with renewed confidence to the other materials at our disposal. If there are problems with these (and there are), they are of a very different order.

557 M. S. Ivanov, *Babidskie vosstaniia v Irane (1848–1852)* (Moscow, 1939), appendix.

VI

The *Kitáb-i Nuqţat al-Káf*

Let us begin our examination of the available sources by considering what is undoubtedly the most controversial set of issues raised by any document connected with the history of Babism: the questions of the identity, reliability, and authenticity of the book known as the *Kitáb-i nuqţat al-káf*.

Although the history of this book and its relationship to the later *Tárikh-i jadíd* have been discussed more than once,⁵⁵⁸ a fresh summary will not be out of place here. It is hard to separate discussion of the *Nuqţat al-káf* from treatment of the *Tárikh-i jadíd*, but I intend to deal as fully as possible with the earlier history before embarking on an examination of the ways in which these two works relate to one another.

The authorship of the *Nuqţat al-káf* has been attributed to Hájí Mírzá Jání Káshání, a Bábí merchant who entertained the Báb in the course of the latter's journey from Işfahán to Mákú in 1847.⁵⁵⁹ Káshání appears to have known personally several leaders of the movement, including Sayyid Husayn Yazdí,⁵⁶⁰ Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Núrí,⁵⁶¹ and Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal.⁵⁶² He was among those arrested and executed following the attempt on Náşir ad-Dín's life in 1852. At that time he was, it seems, living at Sháh 'Abd al-'Aẓím,

558 See, in particular, Browne, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, introduction, pp. vii–xliii; idem, *Kitáb-i-Nuqţatu'l-Káf*, introduction, pp. xii–xx, xxxiv–xlvi; H. M. Balyuzi, *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahá'í Faith* (London, 1970), chapter VII; Gulpáygání and Gulpáygání, *Kashf al-ghitá'*. The most recent discussion may be found in two articles by Sayyid Muḥiṭ Ṭabáṭabá'í, all in *Gawhar* magazine: 'Kitábí bí nám bá nání tázá, *Gawhar*, year 2, (Sh. 1353/1975), 11 and 12; 'Tárikh-i qadím wa jadíd', 2 parts, *Gawhar*, year 3 (Sh. 1354/1976), 5 and 6. See also idem, 'Az taḥqíq wa tatabbu' wa tabligh farq-i bisyár ast', *Gawhar*, year 4 (Sh. 1355/1977), 3. For a useful summary, see Sayyid Muḥammad Báqir Najafí, *Bahá'íán* (Tehran, 1399/1979), pp. 359–99. A short Azalí reply to these articles has been written by Aḥmad Khazán, entitled *Naẓarí bí-Nuqţat al-káf* (MS). A brief survey may be found in D. MacEoin, 'Nuqţat al-káf', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed. (forthcoming).

559 Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, pp. 213–14; Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 217–22.

560 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 219.

561 *ibid.*, p. 368; *Nuqţat al-káf*, p. 242.

562 *ibid* and *ibid*. The text of the *Nuqţat al-káf* indicates that the author met Sayyid Yaḥyá Dárábí (pp. 120, 223) and Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Zanjání (p. 125). Obviously, these references give us more information about Mírzá Jání if he is indeed the author of the *Nuqţat al-káf*.

where he is said to have been engaged in the composition of a history of the movement.⁵⁶³

In 1892, Edward Browne found what he believed to be a copy of Káshání's history among the Bábí manuscripts that had belonged to the Comte de Gobineau, by then located in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁵⁶⁴ It was a passage on folios 86b to 87a of this manuscript (Suppl. Persan 1071), corresponding to one quoted in the *Tárikh-i jadíd* and said to have been written by Mírzá Jání, which first led Browne to suspect that the Paris text might be a copy of the lost narrative.⁵⁶⁵

Browne sought to confirm his theory as to this work's identity by sending a description of the five Gobineau manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale to Şubḥ-i Azal. In his reply of 3 May 1892, Azal thus identified Suppl. Persan 1071: The history to which you allude must, by certain indications, be by the uplifted and martyred Hájí [Mírzá Jání], for none but he wrote (such) a history.⁵⁶⁶ The 'indications' which enabled Azal to identify this work are not, unfortunately, elaborated on.

Browne rapidly became convinced of the importance of his discovery. In his introduction to the *Tárikh-i jadíd*, he spoke of the history attributed to Mírzá Jání as 'interesting, profoundly and intensely interesting; the most interesting book, perhaps, in the whole range of Bábí literature'.⁵⁶⁷ He went on to assert that, had Gobineau not preserved this unique manuscript, 'it would have been impossible to reconstruct faithfully and in detail the early history of Babism'.⁵⁶⁸ Convinced that this book was of unique value, not only in portraying the history of Babism from a Bábí point of view, but in representing this history in a form untainted by later versions of those events as set down after the Azalí/Bahá'í division, Browne published an edition of the Persian text in 1910. Under the title *Kitáb-i-Nuqţatu'l-Káf*, this formed volume 15 of the Gibb Memorial Series; it was accompanied by English and Persian introductions (the latter actually written by Mírzá Muḥammad

563 Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpáygání, *Risála-yi Iskandariyya*, trans. as 'A Treatise for Alexander Tumansky', in *Letters and Essays 1886-1913*, trans. Juan R. I. Cole (Los Angeles, 1985) p. 79.

564 Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, introduction, p. xxx.

565 *ibid.*, p. 199, n. 1.

566 *Nuqţat al-káf*, introduction, p. xvi. Şubḥ-i Azal's original letter is in the Browne Collection as item 13 in a portfolio numbered F.66*.

567 *Tárikh-i jadíd*, introduction, p. xxviii.

568 *ibid.*, p. xxx.

Qazvíní, as we have noted), various facsimiles, indices, an index to the Persian *Bayán*, and textual footnotes.⁵⁶⁹

The *Kashf al-Ghiṭá'*

Bahá'í writers and, more recently, one Muslim author have been of the opinion that the book published by Browne was not, in fact, written by Mírzá Jání, although theories as to what it actually is and who its author really was differ considerably. The Bahá'í savant Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpáygání, who was himself involved to some extent in the composition of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* (a history supposedly based on an earlier work by Mírzá Jání) maintained that Browne's text was not identical with the work he had known.

Gulpáygání began to write a refutation of the published *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, but died in Cairo on 21 January 1914, when he had completed only 132 pages. His nephew, Áqá Sayyid Mahdí Gulpáygání, completed the refutation, using notes left by his uncle. The finished work was eventually published in Ashkhabad some years later under the title *Kashf al-ghīṭá' 'an ḥiyal al-a'dá'* (Removal of the Veil from the Schemes of the Enemies). It was, however, ill received by the Bahá'í patriarch 'Abbás Effendi, who ordered all copies burned.⁵⁷⁰ Surviving copies are few and far between.

One can understand 'Abbás' concern. The *Kashf al-ghīṭá'* is of considerable interest as one of the earliest examples of what is now a common genre of Islamic writing, the anti-orientalist polemic. It is for the most part an ugly attack on the integrity and academic honesty of Browne and, even in the early sections, contains numerous absurdities.

Gulpáygání the elder begins his attack on Browne by representing him as a man who, in his various works, has shown himself under different colours: now as a steadfast Bahá'í, now a steadfast Azalí, now a judicious historian, now an English Christian, and now an unbiased orientalist.⁵⁷¹ Anyone familiar with Browne's published work will know that this is entirely unfounded. On the next page, however, Gulpáygání reveals why he labours under such misapprehensions: he admits that he knows no English and that the versions of Browne's writings given him by different interpreters have varied.⁵⁷²

569 This title occurs on p. 5 of the published text. It must be stressed that it was Browne who actually made it the title of the entire work. The point will be discussed more fully later.

570 Ṭabáṭabá'í, 'Kitábí bí nám', p. 957.

571 Gulpáygání and Gulpáygání, *Kashf al-ghīṭá'*, p. 6.

572 *ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

He next attacks what he calls 'Brown's edition' of the *Chahár maqála* as 'profitless', 'incorrect', and so forth.⁵⁷³ This is surprising, in that Browne never produced an edition of the *Chahár maqála*, but a translation and a revised translation. The text of the *Chahár maqála* published in the Gibb Memorial Series (presumably the edition meant by Gulpáygání) was actually prepared by Mírzá Muḥammad Qazvíní.

We next learn that Browne gave himself out in Iran as a Bahá'í (an allegation for which I know of no foundation whatever), arguing that his motive in so doing was either because there were no hotels in the country and Browne wanted to make use of Bahá'í hospitality, or that he wished to bring a new history back to England.⁵⁷⁴ On the next page, Gulpáygání cites a statement by a friend in the employ of the Russian government to the effect that Browne and Aleksander Tumanskii were 'politicians' who had decided to pose as the defenders of the Azalís and the Bahá'ís respectively.⁵⁷⁵

After this, Gulpáygání indicates new sources obtained by him in Egypt for the life of Browne. He alleges that the latter's efforts to obtain his degrees and to carry out studies in different disciplines were all merely for the purpose of making his one visit to Iran.⁵⁷⁶ He remarks that no-one could possibly spend just one year in Iran and become knowledgeable about its history, people, and so forth, implying some dark secret in respect to Browne's learning.⁵⁷⁷

Finally, it is argued that, since Shí'ís would never associate with a foreigner or give him hospitality, Browne was forced to stay with Bahá'ís and Bábís (members of proscribed sects!) and pretend to be one of them.⁵⁷⁸ In any case, Gulpáygání argues, in spite of all he has written, Browne has never produced a work on anything but oriental studies, which shows how easily Easterners may be deceived.⁵⁷⁹ Let us not forget that these are remarks made by someone whose scholarship is 'a legend among the Bahá'ís of the West' and who is regarded as 'the greatest Bahá'í scholar'.⁵⁸⁰

After a discussion of Mírzá Jání's identity and one or two other incidental matters, Gulpáygání proceeds to the *Nuṣṣat al-káf* itself. 'No book like it,' he writes, 'has ever been written in calumny of the Báb'⁵⁸¹—a rather

573 *ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

574 *ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

575 *ibid.*, p. 15.

576 *ibid.*, p. 23.

577 *ibid.*, p. 25.

578 *ibid.*

579 *ibid.*

580 Cole, editor's note to Gulpáygání, *Letters and Essays*, pp. xi, xiv.

581 Gulpáygání and Gulpáygání, *Kashf al-ghitá'*, p. 54.

curious conclusion, bearing in mind the book's sympathies. After that, he alleges that the book has actually been tampered with,⁵⁸² but immediately leaves the subject in order to deal with other topics.

The next references to the *Nuqṭat al-káf* proper occur in the section by Sayyid Mahdí, beginning at page 165. Gulpáygání the younger contests Browne's statement to the effect that Gobineau brought back his copy of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* from Iran. In support of his argument, he adduces the date of a defective second copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Persan 1070)⁵⁸³ and the fact that Gobineau's *Religions et philosophies* was not corrected on the strength of Káshání's presumed history.⁵⁸⁴ From this not unreasonable (and probably correct) premise, however, the author goes on to claim that the Azalís actually added forged passages to Mírzá Jání's history and sold it to the Bibliothèque Nationale as one of Gobineau's books.⁵⁸⁵ Gulpáygání nowhere offers any clues as to how this remarkable feat was carried out (the book was, after all, bought at public auction), but he does at least have the courtesy to exonerate Browne from complicity in the alleged deception.

After a discussion of some minor points relating to the introductory portion of the *Nuqṭat al-káf*, Sayyid Mahdí asserts that the Azalís have corrupted the passage relating the conversion of Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í 'out of pure spite against the Bahá'ís'.⁵⁸⁶ (But it is hard to see what possible connection the incident in question could have with Bahá'ís that it does not have with Azalís, which is just about none at all.) The *Kashf al-ghīṭá'* then continues to its end as a discussion—often a valuable one—of detailed points connected with the text of the *Nuqṭat al-káf*, on which it serves as a useful, if biased, commentary.

I have devoted so much space to the *Kashf al-ghīṭá'* for no other reason than that it is the most extended Bahá'í polemic written against the *Nuqṭat al-káf* and the basis for almost all later Bahá'í discussion of the topic. The heavy element of religious animus so apparent throughout the book, coupled with its far from scholarly approach, make it of little actual value in any serious discussion of the text it purports to criticize. Nevertheless, it is responsible for having put into circulation a theme that has recurred in all

582 *ibid.*, p. 55.

583 This copy was acquired by the library on 25 November 1884, the same date as Suppl. Persan 1071. The first section consists of a text of the Persian *Bayán*, the second of roughly one third of the text of the published *Nuqṭat al-káf*. The date on the colophon of the *Bayán* is 1279/1862–63.

584 Gulpáygání and Gulpáygání, *Kashf al-ghīṭá'*, pp. 168–70.

585 *ibid.*, p. 171.

586 *ibid.*, pp. 187–88. The passage in question is on pages 105 to 106 of the *Nuqṭat al-káf*.

Bahá'í writing on the *Nuqṭat al-káf*, namely that the text has been tampered with by one or more Azalí forgers.

Theories of 'Abbás Effendi

The Bahá'í patriarch 'Abbás Effendi 'Abd al-Bahá' states in a number of places that the *Nuqṭat al-káf* has been interpolated by the Azalís. Indeed, he goes further than Gulpáygání when he suggests that they actually collaborated with Browne in producing the history.⁵⁸⁷ In a letter to the 'Hands of the Cause of God',⁵⁸⁸ he maintains that the Azalís had prepared a falsified history in the name of Mírzá Jání and sent it to the Bibliothèque Nationale; this they eventually encouraged Browne to publish, along with the English and Persian introductions inspired by them. The whole work is 'from beginning to end [written] according to the instructions of the Azalís [*Yaḥyá'ihá*].'⁵⁸⁹

In a talk recorded in the *Kitáb-i badáyi' al-áthár*, 'Abbas states that there is also a copy of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* in the British Museum.⁵⁹⁰ He modifies this opinion somewhat in a letter to Browne, where he says simply that he has heard of a copy being in London.⁵⁹¹ But it is certain that there has never been a manuscript of this work in the British Museum or, to public knowledge, elsewhere in England.

In his letter to the Hands of the Cause, 'Abbás Effendi also refers to the existence of a manuscript of an original history written by Mírzá Jání: Mírzá Jání the martyr wrote some sections of a history, but these were brief and incomplete. They were in the possession of the nephew (*barádar*-

587 Letter to Mírzá Ḥasan Adíb Ṭáliqání, quoted Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 1, pp. 80–81; also quoted Ishráq Khávarí, *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 2, p. 58.

588 A group of Bahá'í leaders in Iran. See D. MacEoin, 'Ayádí-yi amr Alláh', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

589 Letter quoted Ishráq Khávarí, *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 5, pp. 206–10. In a letter from the same writer to the Bahá'í poet Na'im (ibid., p. 220), the latter is asked to send his researches on the *Nuqṭat al-káf* to Gulpáygání the elder and to forward his own refutation of it to both Gulpáygání and 'Abbás Effendi. Whether this refutation was ever written is not known.

590 Presumably this is what is meant by *Kitáb-khána-yi Landan*. See passage quoted Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 1, p. 81. The phrase *Kitáb-khána-yi Landan* is used explicitly as a gloss for 'British Museum' elsewhere in the same work: Mírzá Maḥmúd Zarqání, *Kitáb-i badáyi' al-áthár*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1914, 1921; reprinted Hofheim-Langenheim, W. Germany, 1982), vol. 2, p. 135.

591 Letter quoted Ishráq Khávarí, *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 9, p. 106. It is possible that 'Abbás was misled in this matter by a report presented to him by Áqá Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Rafsanjání and other unidentified disciples, to the effect that the 'national libraries' of both Paris and London contained Azalí writings (Zarqání, *Badáyi'*, vol. 2, pp. 134–35).

záda) of Dhabíh,⁵⁹² Áqá Muḥammad Riḍá', and are said to have been in Mírzá Jání's own hand.⁵⁹³

'Abbás seems for some reason to have been particularly concerned to discredit the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* and Browne's role in its publication. He encouraged the elder Gulpáygání to work on his refutation of the text (which became the first part of the *Kashf al-ghitá'*)⁵⁹⁴ and wrote to Mírzá Na'ím Sidihí, asking him to assist Gulpáygání, possibly with the assistance of Shaykh Kázim Samandar.⁵⁹⁵

The Bahá'í apologist H. M. Balyuzi devoted an entire chapter of his study *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahá'í Faith* to a detailed discussion of the authorship of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf*. He concluded that 'there have been two books—one an incomplete history by a devout and courageous merchant who perished in the savage massacre of 1852, the second a distortion ascribed to the same devoted man whose voice had already been silenced when the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* had already been given the stamp of his name. Due to a preconceived idea Edward Browne did not make the right appraisal.'⁵⁹⁶

In the most recent study of this subject, published in the Iranian magazine *Gawhar* in 1974, Muḥiṭ-i Ṭabáṭabá'í makes several pertinent remarks about the book's identity. He points out first of all that the Paris text nowhere indicates that Káshání was the author, and then goes on to conjecture that the historical section may have been composed in Baghdad about 1270/1853–54. These and other points raised by Ṭabáṭabá'í will be examined more closely when we come to discuss the questions of authorship and dating.

The provenance of Suppl. Persan 1071

Are any of these claims true? Is the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* a forgery, a corruption, or a pristine text of early origin? It may help to begin by trying to clear up the problem of the provenance of the Paris manuscript of the complete work, Suppl. Persan 1071.

As yet, insufficient evidence exists to let us reach a firm conclusion as to how, when, and where this manuscript was obtained. There can be no doubt that it was one of the five Bábí manuscripts formerly belonging to the

592 Presumably Hájí Sayyid Ismá'il Káshání Dhabíh, one of Hájí Mírzá Jání's three brothers, to whom reference will be made later.

593 Letter quoted Ishráq Khávarí, *Má'ida-yi ásmání*, vol. 5, pp. 209–10.

594 Letter in Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 1, pp. 80–81.

595 Letter quoted Najafí, *Bahá'íán*, pp. 386–87.

596 *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahá'í Faith* (London, 1970), p. 88.

Comte de Gobineau, sold at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on 6 May 1884, some two years after the count's death. The catalogue of the Persian and Arabic manuscripts and books sold there was published by Leroux under the title *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de manuscrits persans et ouvrages recueillis en Perse, provenant de la Bibliothèque de M. de Gobineau*.

This catalogue contains a total of 262 items, the last five of which (numbers 258–62) were listed under the heading 'Théologie babi'. The Bibliothèque Nationale bought thirty-one of these items, including the five Bábí manuscripts, for a sum of over 3,000F. They were registered at the library on 20 May 1884, under numbers 7539 to 7569 of acquisitions. The five Bábí manuscripts are described in detail by Browne in his introduction to the *Nuḡtat al-káf*.⁵⁹⁷

They consist of the Arabic *Bayán* (Suppl. Arabe 2511); two works by Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal, the *Kitáb an-núr* (Suppl. Arabe 2509) and *Kitáb-i Aḥmadiyya* (Suppl. Arabe 2510); a copy of the Persian *Bayán* bound with part of what may be regarded as the introduction to the *Nuḡtat al-káf* (Suppl. Persan 1070); and a complete manuscript of the latter work (Suppl. Persan 1071).

It has, however, been queried whether Suppl. Persan 1071 was brought back from Iran by Gobineau or whether it was sent from there or elsewhere sometime between his return to France in 1864 and his death in 1882. As we have seen, the *Kashf al-ghitá 'an ḥiyal al-a'dá'* maintains that Gobineau did not bring the manuscript back from Iran. Is there evidence to corroborate that?

Gobineau certainly did possess at least four Bábí manuscripts in 1870. In that year, strapped for cash and eager to sell some of his manuscripts, he prepared a catalogue of those which he had collected in Iran. He entitled this *Collection d'ouvrages recueillis en Perse sur l'histoire, la poésie, la philosophie, les sciences occultes, etc.*⁵⁹⁸ At that time, Gobineau possessed a

⁵⁹⁷Pages xii to xix. There is an unexplained discrepancy between the dates given for the acquisition of these manuscripts by Browne and those given in *Études Gobiniennes*. According to Browne, Suppl. Arabe 2509 and 2511 (now Arabe 4668 and 4669) were acquired on 22 October, and Suppl. Persan 1070 and 1071 on 25 November. These latter dates may be, not those of actual acquisition, but of classification.

⁵⁹⁸Paris, 1870. This catalogue was reprinted by the German Gobineau scholar Ludwig Schemann in volume II of his *Quellen und Untersuchungen zum Leben Gobineaus* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1919), pp. 431–43. A brief resumé of the contents of the catalogue was earlier published by Dorn in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. 4 (1872), under the title 'Die Wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen des Grafen de Gobineau', pp. 401–08. There is confirmation here that Gobineau originally had six Bábí manuscripts, although he provides no details. In a letter to Wilfred Scawen Blunt (dated 1870), the count referred to his Bábí manuscripts as 'des ouvrages sur la religion bábý que l'on ne pourrait se procurer nulle part en Perse, la seule possession entraînant la peine de mort' (*Études Gobiniennes*, 1972, p. 34).

total of six Bábí manuscripts. These are listed as numbers 93 to 99 of the catalogue. Of these six, number 93 can be identified clearly as item 258 of the 1884 catalogue, namely the *Kitáb-i Aḥmadiyya*, which became Suppl. Arabe 2510, later Arabe 4668). 94 is described as having been translated in *Religions et philosophies*, which gives us a clear identification of it as the Arabic *Bayán*, item 259 of the later catalogue, Suppl. Arabe 2511. 95 appears to be item 261 of the later catalogue, namely the *Kitáb an-núr* (Suppl. Arabe 2509).⁵⁹⁹ Numbers 96 and 97⁶⁰⁰ do not appear to be listed at all in the 1884 catalogue; and 98 is almost certainly the same as item 262 in the later list (Suppl. Persan 1071, the complete text of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf*).⁶⁰¹

It therefore appears that two Bábí manuscripts which were in Gobineau's possession in 1870 passed out of his hands before his death in 1882 (or disappeared before the sale in 1884), while one manuscript (Suppl. Persan 1070) sold in 1884 must have reached the count between 1870 and 1882. But unless more detailed information comes to light which would prove otherwise, I can see no good reason to question that Gobineau had the full text of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* in his library by 1870 at the latest.

This fact is immensely important for any discussion of the 'Azalí forgery' theory advanced by Sayyid Mahdí Gulpáygání and 'Abbás Effendi.

⁵⁹⁹In the 1870 catalogue, item 95 is described as: 'Livre Bâby—Arabe—belle écriture. In-folio; maroquin rouge'. Item 260 of the 1884 catalogue (Suppl. Persan 1070) is thus described: 'Livre persan sur la doctrine des Babis, écrit en 1279 (1862). In-folio, maroquin rouge'. Item 261 (Suppl. Arabe 2509, the *Kitáb an-núr*) is described as 'Livre de théologie babi, en arabe. MS daté de 1270. [Browne and the later Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue give 1279.] Reliure maroquin rouge, format in-folio'.

These descriptions are quite similar, but there is no reason to doubt the description of item 95 of the 1870 catalogue as an Arabic work, whence my identification of it as item 261 of the 1884 list. Further confirmation that it (item 95) is *the Kitáb an-núr* may be found in Gobineau's reference to that work by name and his description of it as 'assez grand in-folio' (*Religions et philosophies*, p. 280). This provides, I think, reasonable grounds for supposing that he possessed this manuscript by the time he wrote his history. According to the colophon, the manuscript of the *Kitáb an-núr* was transcribed on 14 Rabí I 1279/9 September 1862. Gobineau must have obtained it by, at the latest, June of the following year, when he wrote to Prokesch-Osten from Tehran, saying that he had finished *Religions et philosophies* (see letter in Clement S. Gobineau (ed.), *Correspondence entre Comte de Gobineau et Prokesch-Osten* (Paris, 1933), p. 248.) (See also letters in *Études Gobiniennes*, 1966, p. 135 and *Revue de littérature comparée*, July-September 1966, pp. 351–52.)

⁶⁰⁰Described as 'Autre livre de théologie bâby—Petit in-4; maroquin vert—Arabe' and 'Ouvrage analogue—Grand in-8; maroquin vert—Arabe' respectively.

⁶⁰¹Item 98 of the 1870 catalogue is described as 'Ouvrage analogue [i.e., livre de théologie baby]—Persan—in-4; maroquin rouge'. Item 262 in the 1884 list is described as an 'Ouvrage dogmatique en persan (doctrine des babis), écriture neskhi [naskhí] très régulière; In-4, maroq. rouge'.

It does not disprove the theory as such, but it certainly discredits claims that the manuscript was somehow placed in the Bibliothèque Nationale by devious means (which is, in any case, inherently improbable).

Furthermore, since E. G. Browne did not know anything at all about the Bábí religion until 1884, the year of the Gobineau sale,⁶⁰² did not actually meet any Bábís until 1888,⁶⁰³ and did not come into contact with Azalís until the next year,⁶⁰⁴ it is impossible that any forgery should have been intended to deceive him personally.

It is perfectly clear that the Azalí Bábís can have had no hand in the purchase of the five Bábí manuscripts taken by the Bibliothèque Nationale. Indeed, the most that can be said with any certainty about Azalí involvement in the whole affair is that Ṣubḥ-i Azal identified Suppl. Persan 1071 as the work of Ḥájí Mírzá Jání. Since the text itself does not anywhere allude to this authorship and, indeed, positively suggests a different identity for the writer, the fantasy of a deliberate plot is hard to sustain. In the final analysis, it must be asked what the point of such a conspiracy would have been. No-one would have known where the book might have ended up, no-one would have guessed that Browne would later find and identify it as Káshání's history, and no-one would have imagined that it would have been published in Europe.

There is, however, every likelihood that Gobineau did not obtain his manuscript of the complete *Nuḡṭat al-káf* in Iran, as is generally believed. We have already observed that one of the five manuscripts sold in 1884 (i.e., Suppl. Persan 1070) must have been sent to him after 1870. This indicates that he must have been in communication with someone with access to such materials.

Certainly, he must have obtained his first Bábí manuscripts during his second stay in Iran, between 4 January 1862 and 16 September 1863, as is indicated in part by the colophons on two of them, the *Kitáb an-núr* and the *Kitáb-i Aḥmadiyya*.⁶⁰⁵ We may also assume that he obtained his manuscript of the Arabic *Bayán* around the same time, since he seems to have been working on his translation while still in Tehran. Browne was undoubtedly incorrect in his assumption that Gobineau obtained his manuscripts in the course of his first stay in Iran, from 1855 to 1858.⁶⁰⁶

602 See Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. ix–x.

603 See idem, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, p. 223; idem, 'The Bábís of Persia' I, p. 487.

604 See idem, 'Catalogue and Description', p. 434.

605 The former is dated 14 Rab' I 1279/9 September 1862, the latter 30 Dhú'l-Qa'da 1248/29 April 1862. See also note 43 above.

606 Introduction to Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. xxix.

In a footnote to his translation of the Arabic *Bayán*,⁶⁰⁷ Gobineau implies that he had at one time access to other Babi texts and to Bábí 'interpreters': 'J'ai eu dans les mains des copies où les interprètes bábys eux-mêmes ne pouvaient voir le texte à travers les lettres incorrectes et les fautes, que parce qu'ils le savaient par cœur'. In other footnotes, he refers to 'les interprètes' and 'certains docteurs' or 'les docteurs', as though he were in contact with Bábí scholars. Certainly, many of his footnotes demonstrate a surprisingly good understanding of points in the text, even though the translation as such is generally poor. It is likely, then, that one or more of these scholars supplied the Count with his Bábí manuscripts, either in Iran or later.

However, the *Nuq̄ṭat al-káf* manuscript does not seem to have been one of those brought back from Iran in 1863. No reference to such a work is to be found anywhere in *Religions et philosophies*. It must be assumed that, had he possessed a copy then, he would have at least mentioned the existence of a history of the Bábís by one of their own number. Since the *Nuq̄ṭat al-káf* provides an incomparably wider range of historical information about the sect than any of the state chronicles used by Gobineau, he could hardly have passed it over in silence.

Or could he? It may be that we are making too much of this lack of a reference in *Religions et philosophies*. Gobineau was not a professional orientalist and may simply have found the book too difficult to read. It should be borne in mind that the first portion is a long and highly involved doctrinal treatise which must have been beyond his relatively low level of expertise. Indeed, he may never have realized that what he had in his hands was a history at all.⁶⁰⁸

Other manuscripts

Until recently, it was assumed that the Paris text of the *Nuq̄ṭat al-káf* was the only manuscript in existence. This assumption has made it hard to discuss the question of its authenticity in a useful fashion. It has either been presumed that the Paris manuscript was corrupt, if not actually forged, or that it represented Mírzá Jání's pristine history. Little more could usefully be said on the subject. Fortunately, a number of other manuscripts have come to light recently, thus opening up the discussion to questions beyond those raised by the Paris text.

⁶⁰⁷ *Religions et philosophies*, p. 432, n. 2.

⁶⁰⁸ It is notable that, in the two catalogues referred to above, the *Nuq̄ṭat al-káf* is described as: (1870) 'Ouvrage analogue (i.e., 'livre de théologie baby')' and (1884) 'Ouvrage dogmatique (doctrine des babis)'.

It is, in fact, quite likely that Browne himself was aware of at least one other manuscript before publishing the text in 1910. In 1900 he had in his possession a copy of the Russian translation of Mírzá Ḥusayn ‘Alí Bahá’ Alláh’s *al-Kitáb al-aqdas*, which was published in 1899 by the Russian scholar Aleksander Tumanskii.⁶⁰⁹ In a footnote to his introduction, Tumanskii refers to a new manuscript of the history of Mírzá Jání given him in April 1894 by Mírzá Abu’l-Faḍl Gulpáygání in Tehran. The colophon of that manuscript was dated 18 Jumádá I 1291/3 July 1874.

Tumanskii wrote that there had been ‘deliberate corruption of the basic sources for this (early) period, namely the history of Mírzá Jání, by interested parties. Until there has been produced a textual collation of the Jání MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale with the one at my disposal, it is incautious to embark on any discussion. One may say that there are grounds for supposing that there was a very early falsification of the manuscripts of Jání’s history, possibly soon after the attempt on the life of Náṣir ad-Dín Sháh, that is to say, soon after the death of the author; and this source was exploited by interested parties. As regards the followers of Bahá’ Alláh, the falsification of my copy by them is beyond doubt.’⁶¹⁰

There is further evidence that Browne also knew of the existence of other manuscripts of this work by 1912. Again, he makes no mention of these in his *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion*, published in 1918, which includes a lengthy section on printed, lithographed, and manuscript Bábí literature. Thanks to sheer good luck, this fact came to light in the course of my researches in Cambridge University Library. In what was probably his first letter to Browne (dated 9 March 1912), the Bábí scribe Mírzá Muṣṭafá said he had recently received a copy of Browne’s published edition of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* and that his son Núr Alláh had read it to him half the night. Mírzá Muṣṭafá went on to say that Nicolas had given him a partial transcript of the Paris manuscript,⁶¹¹ and that he also possessed a

609 A. Tumanskii, *Kitabe Akdes* (St. Petersburg, 1899), in the *Mémoires de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, série viii, vol. viii, no. 6. Browne’s copy is in the library of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge. It contains the date of acquisition (1900) as well as extensive marginal notes in Browne’s own hand. The marginal notes (which I can only conjecture to have been made before 1918, and possibly before 1910) offer positive evidence that Browne must have been aware of the information referred to here. It is quite possible, however, that he forgot all about it at the time of his discovery of the Paris text.

610 *ibid.*, p. ix. It is, of course, quite possible that what Tumanskii possessed was none other than a MS of the Bahá’i-produced *Tárikh-i jadíd*.

611 It seems that Nicolas was busy transcribing the text of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* from the Bibliothèque Nationale copy when the library demanded it from him, seemingly to lend to Browne. Nicolas comments on this in the margin of his copy of the book (item 108 in the Nicolas catalogue).

defective manuscript of his own. He later obtained another (dated 1267/1850–51) from ‘the friends in Naráq’. From these he made two complete copies, one of which was bought by the American College⁶¹² and the other by Dr Sa’íd Khán Kurdistání (the original intermediary between Browne and Mírzá Muşţafá).

This letter was removed from Folder 2 in the Browne Collection, but was mentioned in the original handlist. Its disappearance was first noticed when the contents of the folders were checked in 1972. Fortunately, Browne had made an extract from all his letters from Mírzá Muşţafá, and this had been overlooked by whoever had removed the letter itself.

Ṭabáţabá’í refers to a manuscript of the *Nuqţat al-káf* which had been in the possession of Sa’íd Khán. The latter apparently thought it had been corrupted before it reached him and did not consider it any better than the Paris text. According to Ṭabáţabá’í, this copy was stolen from Sa’íd Khán in Sh. 1315/1946 by the doctor’s Assyrian servant.⁶¹³ What is probably the same manuscript has been placed, along with other materials belonging to Sa’íd Khán, in Princeton University Library.⁶¹⁴ Whether it was really stolen, how it came to arrive there, whether it was actually the copy written by Mírzá Muşţafá, or whether Sa’íd Khán in fact possessed more than one manuscript of this work, I cannot say.

The former Bahá’í historian ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Áyatí (Ávára) states that he saw a manuscript of the *Nuqţat al-káf* in Sa’íd Khán’s possession, that this copy had been written ‘one year before the death of Ḥájí Mírzá Jání, and that it corresponded exactly to the text published by Browne.’⁶¹⁵

Apart from the stolen Sa’íd Khán manuscript, Ṭabáţabá’í also refers to three other copies of this work. These consist of a manuscript from Naţanz, brought to Tehran in Sh. 1300/1921, where it was obtained by Ḥájí Muḥammad Fathí Işfahání; a manuscript seen by Ṭabáţabá’í in the collection of an unnamed individual in Kerman—this, says Ṭabáţabá’í, is less elaborate than the Paris manuscript; and a third manuscript shown to Ṭabáţabá’í by a man (again unnamed) from Naţanz. This last was copied from another manuscript at the beginning of the fourteenth century *hijrî* (about 1883), and begins at p. 87 of the printed text.

Unfortunately, Ṭabáţabá’í gives no further details of these manuscripts, a fact which will undoubtedly lead to future problems, if and when attempts

612 Jordan’s College in Teheran?

613 See Ṭabáţabá’í, ‘Kitábí bí nám’.

614 Miller, *Bahá’í Faith*, p. xix.

615 ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Áyatí, *Kashf al-ḥiyal*, 4th. ed. (Tehran, Sh. 1340/1961), p. 139. Áyatí’s last remark should probably be taken with a pinch of salt, since it is unlikely that he will have made a proper collation of the two texts.

are made to identify them. Nor is any attempt made to explain the significance of Naṭanz in this context, or to elaborate on what, if any, may be the relationship between the two manuscripts originating there.

At least three other manuscripts of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* are known to exist. Two of these have been made available to me, and I am in a position to place on record the main details of how they differ from the published text. The first of these is located in the INBA, the other at the Bahá'í centre in Haifa. They are fairly recent discoveries, but as yet I have been given no details as to their provenance.⁶¹⁶

The points at which the Tehran and Haifa manuscripts diverge from the Paris text are outlined in Appendix Seven. It will be immediately apparent that the Tehran and Haifa manuscripts represent the same basic text, one which lacks several passages that are found in the Paris manuscript. There are, however, numerous minor divergences and at least one major difference between the two recensions. For example, the version given of the fate of the Báb's remains in the Tehran MS (f. 127) and the Haifa MS (p. 161) differs radically from that in the Paris text (p. 250).

To summarize, we may say that some twelve manuscripts of the book generally known as the *Kitáb-i nuqṭat al-káf* are in existence. These are listed in Appendix Eight. Until detailed work can be done collating and comparing as many of these manuscripts as possible, any attempt to draw general conclusions from one or two texts would seem premature.

The prologue and the date

I have not included in my list the Paris Manuscript Suppl. Persan 1070, not merely because it represents only the first 85 pages of the published text, but because it would seem that this portion of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* as edited by Browne is, in fact, a separate work which, whether by accident or design, has been tacked on to the beginning of the actual history. It would seem that it is this separate work which, strictly speaking, bears the title *Nuqṭat al-káf*.

Muḥiṭ-i Ṭabāṭabá'í argues strongly in favour of this theory, laying much emphasis on the disparity between the dates given on pages 61 and 92 of the printed text. On page 61, it is stated that the date at the time of writing is 1,277 years after the prophetic summons (*ba'tha*) of Muḥammad. That is either 1267/1851 or, if we calculate that thirteen years elapsed between the *ba'tha* and the *hijra*, 1264/1848. I have noted above that, in

616 The Tehran MS may be the version discovered several years ago by a Bahá'í named Badí' Alláh Farid, referred to by Nuqabá'í in *Manábi'* (p. 31).

1264/1848, the Báb asked forty of his followers to write treatises in defence of the new revelation, and have suggested briefly that what is now regarded as the introduction to the history ascribed to Mírzá Jání may, in fact, be one of those apologia.

On page 92, the date is given as 1,270 years after the *hijra* (1853–54). This is a strong indication that, at some point between page 61 and page 92, one work ends and another begins. The most likely point for this seems to be about mid-way. The ‘defective’ Paris manuscript Suppl. Persan 1070 breaks off at p. 85 of the published text, while the two manuscripts in Tehran and Haifa which are outlined in Appendix Seven begin at page 88 and 87 of that text respectively. The second Naʿanz manuscript referred to by Ṭabāṭabá’í also starts at p. 87. Ṭabāṭabá’í actually conjectures that the work contained in Suppl. Persan 1070 is complete, and it is, in fact, true that it shows no signs of being internally defective.⁶¹⁷ Ṭabāṭabá’í also maintains that there are stylistic differences between the doctrinal continuation in Suppl. Persan 1071 and the previous section.

Of greater importance here is the fact that the second of these dates (i.e., 1270/1853–54: written in words and not figures), which occurs in all the texts I have been able to examine, provides strong evidence that the history cannot have been written, in its entirety at least, by Hájí Mírzá Jání, who died, as we have seen, in the wave of executions that followed the attempt on Náṣir ad-Dín’s life in 1268/1852.

Confirmation that this date may be taken as reliable is to be found in a passage near the end (p. 266), where it is stated that, in spite of persecution, the Bábís ‘have not been wiped out, but grow more every day; nor is it that this faith is only made manifest in Iran, for it has spread to every land, including Anatolia (Rum), India, and Turkistán.’ The writer then goes on to say: ‘I have heard that there is a large group (*jam’i kathir*) in Istanbul’. This indicates a date of writing later than the lifetime of Mírzá Jání.

Authorship

There is internal evidence which argues strongly against Mírzá Jání having been the author of this history. At no point in the text does the writer ever refer to himself in the first person by name. When speaking of himself, it is normally as ‘this wretched one’ (*in ḥaqir*). At one point, however, he thrice refers in the third person to ‘Hájí Káshání’, in his account of Şubḥ-i Azal’s journey to Mázandarán, when this ‘Hájí Káshání is said to have

⁶¹⁷ Ṭabāṭabá’í, ‘Kitábí bí nám’, p. 954.

accompanied him and his brother Mírzá Ḥusayn ‘Alí.⁶¹⁸ The text twice cites ‘Ḥájí Káshání’ as an authority: ‘Ḥájí Káshání has related that’; ‘Ḥájí Káshání says that’ And on one occasion he is referred to as a participant in the events of this journey.

It is confirmed by other sources⁶¹⁹ that Ḥájí Mírzá Jání did in fact accompany Şubḥ-i Azal and Bahá’ Alláh (among others) on the journey in question, and this makes it entirely reasonable to suppose that he is the ‘Ḥájí Káshání’ referred to in the *Nuqṭat al-káf* account.

Another curious point is that the account given in the *Nuqṭat al-káf*⁶²⁰ of the Báb’s stay in Káshán, when he was a guest in the home of Mírzá Jání consists of a mere two lines. These are a bare statement to the effect that the Báb stayed there, nothing more. According to the *Tárikh-i jadíd*,⁶²¹ Mírzá Jání had given ‘a full description’ of this event, as might, indeed, have been expected.

Ṭabáṭabá’í has conjectured that the *Nuqṭat al-káf* may have been written in the Baghdad period (roughly 1853–63) by a Bábí called Ḥájí Muḥammad Riḍá.⁶²² Şubḥ-i Azal says that someone of this name intended to write a history of the movement at this time.⁶²³ Ṭabáṭabá’í suggests that this man may have been the same individual spoken of by ‘Abbás Effendi as Áqá Muḥammad Riḍá, a nephew of Dhabíḥ Káshání—even though the man in question is called ‘Işfahání’ by Şubḥ-i Azal. I think that things may, in fact, be rather more complex.

If, as seems possible, the ‘Dhabíḥ’ referred to here was indeed Ḥájí Ismá’íl, one of the three brothers of Ḥájí Mírzá Jání, it is possible that he may have played some part, perhaps in conjunction with his nephew, in the writing of this history. He is certainly known to have been involved in the composition of the *Tárikh-i jadíd*, at least one or two passages of which were his.⁶²⁴ And he is now known to have written a lengthy *mathnaví* largely

618 *Nuqṭat al-káf*, p. 242.

619 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 368; Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, pp. 64–65.

620 pp. 123–24.

621 p. 214.

622 ‘Kitábí bí nám’, pp. 958, 960.

623 See *Nuqṭat al-káf*, introduction, pp. xv–xvi.

624 These passages are: 1. An account by Dhabíḥ of his meeting with Mírzá Muḥammad ‘Alí Ḥujjat-i Zanjání in Tehran. This begins: ‘One night I, by name ‘Árif, entitled Dhabíḥ ...’ (Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 139). According to Browne, this account includes the description of the Zanján uprising up to p. 168. And 2: An account, presumably by Dhabíḥ, of his meeting with Mír ‘Abd al-Báqí in Káshán at the time of the Báb’s stay there (ibid., pp. 214–16). These sections occur in the London, but not the Cambridge text.

Browne provisionally identified the ‘Dhabíḥ’ of these passages with our Ḥájí Mírzá Ismá’íl Káshání. That identification must stand, since we know that the poetic *takhalluş* of ‘Árif, used here, was used elsewhere by Káshání. He also used the nom-de-plume of ‘Fání’, and is referred to by Mírzá Ḥusayn ‘Alí Bahá’ Alláh as ‘Anís (see Bayḍá’í, *Tadhkira-yi shu‘ará’*, vol. 3, pp. 134–37).

largely devoted to the history of the Bábí and Bahá'í movements, a manuscript of which was discovered in 1975 in Oxford by Abbas Amanat.⁶²⁵

The Bahá'í apologist Hasan Balyuzi has advanced the hypothesis that Mírzá Jání's Azalí brother, Hájí Mírzá Aḥmad was responsible for the writing of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, although he admits that 'no documentary evidence exists' to prove it.⁶²⁶ While I see no reason to rule out the possibility of Mírzá Aḥmad's involvement, I can see no particular sense in Balyuzi's suggestion and, in the absence of documentary evidence in favour of it, can only suppose it motivated by determination that responsibility for the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* must ultimately be laid on an Azalí. The fact that Mírzá Jání had a brother who later became a follower of Şubḥ-i Azal must have proved too tempting.

But what we are dealing with here is almost certainly a work composed largely or entirely before the appearance of the Azalí and Bahá'í factions within Babism. It seems, therefore, much more reasonable to suggest that Hájí Mírzá Ismá'íl Dhabíḥ was the individual most likely to have penned or had a hand in the writing of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf*.

A significant pointer in this direction is a reference on p. 259 to an individual known simply as 'the Point of [the letter] Káf—*Nuḡṭa-yi káfi*, a Persianized form of the Arabic *Nuḡṭat al-káf*. The context is difficult to explain in a few words, but the gist of it is that a certain Dhabíḥ had laid claim, like many Bábís after the death of Shírází, to be some sort of divine manifestation.⁶²⁷ Sayyid Başır Hindí, a blind Şúfí from India, who had met the Báb, become a convert, and travelled to Gílán, Anzalí, Qazvín, and Tehran (where he met both Şubḥ-i Azal and his brother Bahá'), encountered this Dhabíḥ while still in the capital.⁶²⁸ The Indian seems to have been

625 This poem, in which Hájí Ismá'íl uses the two poetical sobriquets of 'Árif and Fání, is in seven sections (*daftar*) and contains 219 folios (part of the first section being missing). It has accounts of the Bábí and Bahá'í religions and their history, with digressions on '*irfán*, *qişaş*, prayer, and so on. The manuscript is number 787 in the Minasiyan Collection in Wadham College Library, Oxford. For further details, see Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 426–27.

626 Balyuzi, *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahá'í Faith*, pp. 64–65.

627 *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, pp. 252–55. On claims of this kind at this period, see MacEoin, 'Divisions and Authority Claims'.

628 *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, pp. 255–58.

captivated by Dhabíḥ and to have regarded himself as a reflection of his theophanic nature.

Sayyid Bašír subsequently travelled to Káshán, where he stayed with the ‘Point of Káf’ (‘Káf’ being, presumably, a reference to the initial letter of the town name). The reason for this is that he and this ‘Point of Káf’ had spent four months together in Núr ‘with Vaḥíd’ (presumably Şubḥ-i Azal, known as ‘the second Vaḥíd’) and Bahá’, and had been ‘inebriated with the wine of love for one another.’⁶²⁹ Everything points to the conclusion that this ‘Point of Káf’ and the Dhabíḥ whom Sayyid Bašír met in Tehran were one and the same person, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this Dhabíḥ was none other than Ḥájí Mírzá Ismá’íl.

Although it is probable that, as we have suggested, the introductory treatise entitled *Nuqṭat al-káf* was added to the historical portion of the Paris manuscript, it is not impossible that there is a closer connection between the two, even that they are, after all, the work of a single individual.

It may be worthwhile to put forward a fresh hypothesis as to the origin of the history. I would suggest that it was written, possibly in Baghdad, about 1270/1853–54, probably on the basis of notes made by Ḥájí Mírzá Jání Káshání. These notes may have been in the possession of Áqá Muḥammad Riḍá’, who was either the son or the nephew of Mírzá Jání.⁶³⁰ The actual writing may have been carried out by two or even three individuals: Ḥájí Mírzá Ismá’íl Káshání (Dhabíḥ); his nephew, Áqá Muḥammad Riḍá’; and possibly Ḥájí Mírzá Aḥmad, his brother. At a later stage, an earlier work by Ḥájí Mírzá Ismá’íl, written in 1264/1848 or 1267/1851, was added to the text of this history.

The question of whether the passages referring to Şubḥ-i Azal and his early role in the Bábí movement, which triggered off the extraordinary Bahá’í reaction against the *Nuqṭat al-káf* and which are missing from the Tehran and Haifa Bahá’í manuscripts, are later interpolations can only be discussed when all manuscripts have been collated, dated, and compared.

It must be said, however, that this issue has been given greater prominence than it deserves. That Şubḥ-i Azal did play an important role in early Babism and held a position of some eminence after the Báb’s death is not a matter for dispute. Even some Bahá’í sources confirm it. The inclusion of references to this role is not, by any stretch of the imagination, evidence that they are late additions, much less that the entire text is an Azalí forgery.

I am in no doubt whatever that the *Kitáb-i nuqṭat al-káf* deserves to retain its reputation as the earliest comprehensive internal history of Babism.

629 *ibid.*, p. 259.

630 We know positively only that he was the nephew of Mírzá Ismá’íl.

As such, its importance is very great indeed and its usefulness limited only by the precautions any historian would normally take when employing a narrative of this kind.

VII

The *Tárikh-i Jadíd* and other Bábí sources

The *Tárikh-i jadíd*

Now that we have examined the major questions raised by the *Nuqṭat al-káf*, let us turn in some detail to a later history purportedly based on it, the *Tárikh-i jadíd*.

Our information concerning the composition of this work is taken chiefly from a treatise by Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpáygání, the *Risála-yi Iskandariyya*,⁶³¹ a short treatise written in reply to questions sent by E. G. Browne and named in honour of the Russian diplomat Aleksander Tumanskii. The latter published part of it in the eighth volume of the *Zapiskii* of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society in 1893.⁶³² Additional information may, however, be found in a letter by Gulpáygání dated 9 Rabí' I 1330/27 February 1912, which is kept among his personal papers in the Bahá'í archives in Haifa (no. M 1083).

According to Gulpáygání, the author of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* was a certain Mírzá Ḥusayn Hamadání, who had originally been a secretary to an Iranian government minister, had accompanied Náṣir ad-Dín Sháh on his first European trip, had lived for some time in Istanbul, and was later imprisoned in Tehran for his adherence to Babism. In 1297/1880⁶³³ he was employed as a secretary to the then Zoroastrian agent in Tehran, Mánakjí Ṣaḥib.⁶³⁴ Mánakjí was a soi-disant man of letters who encouraged others to write books and

631 For details on the writing of this treatise, see Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, introduction, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi. It is translated in Gulpáygání, *Letters and Essays*, pp. 43–83.

632 'K voprosu ob avtorakh istorii babidov, izvestnoi pod imenem Tarikhe Manukchi, ... ili Tarikhe Dzhedid ...', *Zapiski*, vol. 8 (1893): 33–45. Tumanskii translated the Persian material included in the text into Russian, and added his own notes. Browne published an English version of the section concerning the *Tárikh-i jadíd* (Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, introduction, pp. xxxvii–xlii). See also Browne, 'Catalogue and Description', pp. 442–44.

633 Thus Browne, 'Catalogue and Description', p. 442. In Gulpáygání's letter, however, the date is given as 1296/1879.

634 This man came from India to Iran in 1854 and died in Tehran on 6 Jumádá II/7 January 1892. On his relations with the Bahá'ís in Iran, see Susan Stiles, 'Early Zoroastrian Conversions to the Bahá'í Faith in Yazd, Iran', in J. R. Cole and M. Momen (eds.), *From Iran, East and West: Studies in Bábí and Bahá'í History* 2 (Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 70–71.

treatises, and, according to Gulpáygání, defaced the finished products with his own emendations and interpolations. Learning of Hamadání's religious affiliation, he asked him to write a history of Babism.

Conscious of the difficulties he was likely to face in gathering reliable material for such an enterprise, Hamadání turned to Gulpáygání the elder for advice. The latter (who was himself also employed around this time as a secretary to Mánakjí) suggested that he obtain a copy of the history written by Mírzá Jání⁶³⁵ and supplement it with chronological data from the *Násikh at-tawárikh* and *Rawḍat aṣ-ṣafá-yi Náṣiri*. According to the *Risála-yi Iskandariyya*, Gulpáygání told Mírzá Ḥusayn that he would find a copy of Mírzá Jání's history 'in the hands of the friends [i.e. the Bahá'í Bábís]'. But in his letter of 1912, he says that Hamadání took a copy of Mírzá Jání's history with him on leaving him.

It is curious that Gulpáygání makes no reference, either in his letter or the *Risála-yi Iskandariyya*, to the copy of Mírzá Jání's history given by him to Tumanskii (see last chapter). Although the *Risála-yi Iskandariyya* was penned at the very end of 1892, we may assume that that copy (or an original from which it was transcribed) was already in Gulpáygání's possession. This would have been only about one year before he gave a copy to Tumanskii. One suspects that Gulpáygání was being economical with the truth.

Hamadání was further advised by Gulpáygání to read over whatever he wrote to Sayyid Jawád Karbalá'í. The latter was an old Bábí well acquainted with the history of the movement from its inception.⁶³⁶ He was then living in Tehran, in the house of a certain Mírzá Asad Alláh Iṣfahání, but Gulpáygání says in his 1912 letter that it proved difficult for Hamadání to visit him there. It therefore seems that Karbalá'í did not, as has been suggested,⁶³⁷ play a very large role in the drafting of the *Tárikh-i jadid*.

For one reason or another, Hamadání left Tehran in 1299/1881–82 and went to Rasht, where he died in the house of a relative. According to

635 According to Gulpáygání's 1912 letter, this history consisted of only 'one or two portions' (*yak du jusv*). This would correspond neither to the entire history attributed to Káshání in the form of the published *Nuḡḡat al-káf* nor to the bulk of the *Tárikh-i jadid*, which follows it fairly assiduously. But it might be a fair description of the sum total of pages in the *Tárikh-i jadid* said to be quotations from Káshání's history.

636 There has been controversy as to whether Karbalá'í was an Azalí or a Bahá'í (see Browne, 'Catalogue and Description', pp. 443–44; idem in Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadid*, introduction, pp. xlii–xliii; Tumanskii, *Zapiskii*, pp. 41, 43–45). On the whole, the latter seems more likely, although it is equally plausible that, as a Bábí of the old school, Karbalá'í did not recognize the firmness of the later divisions within the movement.

637 Gulpáygání, 'Risála-yi Iskandariyya', in *Letters and Essays*, p. 78; Browne, 'Catalogue and Description', p. 443.

Gulpáygání, the history he left on his death amounted to only the first volume of a projected two-volume work, the second volume of which would have dealt with the emergence and subsequent career of Bahá' Alláh.⁶³⁸ The same authority asserts that Mánakjí tampered with the text and that, in addition, 'ignorant transcribers and 'poor calligraphers' further distorted it. 'Today,' he says, 'every copy of the book is like an effaced painting, to the extent that a correct version cannot be found, unless the autograph manuscript of the author be located. Others are not dependable.'⁶³⁹

Ṭabáṭabá'í has suggested that the real author of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* was none other than Gulpáygání himself.⁶⁴⁰ Unfortunately, he adduces no evidence in substantiation of this claim, and I cannot see any immediate grounds for it myself. It is, certainly, quite plausible that Gulpáygání had a much larger hand in the composition of Hamadání's history than he admits.⁶⁴¹ He may originally have been reluctant to have his name attached to a work of this kind, following his arrest and lengthy imprisonment in 1882. But more than this cannot be said at present.

Browne viewed the *Tárikh-i jadíd* as a deliberate attempt to suppress Mírzá Jání's original history by superseding it: 'As the Biography of the Prophet Muḥammad composed by Ibn Is-ḥáḳ was superseded by the recension of Ibn Hishám, so should Mírzá Jání's old history of the Báb and his Apostles be superseded by a revised, expurgated, and emended "New History" (*Tárikh-i-Jadíd*), which, while carefully omitting every fact, doctrine, and expression calculated to injure the policy of Bahá', or to give offence to his followers, should preserve, and even supplement with new material derived from fresh sources, the substance of the earlier chronicle.'⁶⁴²

The *Tárikh-i jadíd* and *Nuḡṭat al-káf* compared

In some respects, Browne's accusation seems to be true, even though the production of a new history may have been less of a 'plan' and 'scheme' than he suggests.⁶⁴³ Nevertheless, there is evidence that Hamadání was engaged in more than simple bowdlerization. The close correlation between the Paris text of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* and all versions of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* strongly suggests that the former must be substantially the same as the text of Mírzá

638 Gulpáygání, 'Risála-yi Iskandariyya', in *Letters and Essays*, p. 78.

639 *ibid.*, p. 79.

640 'Kitábí bí nám', p. 953. Gulpáygání states that he composed no more than a couple of pages as a prelude: 'Risála-yi Iskandariyya', in *Letters and Essays*, p. 78.

641 He himself denies this (see his 1912 letter).

642 Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, introduction, p. xxix.

643 *ibid.*

Jání's history as used by Hamadání. There are, however, very major differences between the two accounts, particularly in several passages said by Hamadání to be quotations from the work of Mírzá Jání. Close examination of the two texts makes it clear that Hamadání must have made use of a text of the history ascribed to his predecessor that was frequently very different from any of the texts of the *Nuḡtat al-káf* now extant.

The comparison of the *Nuḡtat al-káf* and *Tárikh-i jadíd* texts given by Browne⁶⁴⁴ is misleading, particularly since it gives the reader no means for setting the original Persian texts side by side. I have made a close synoptic reading of the two original versions, using the Paris and Cambridge texts, and with interesting results. Since it would take up far more space than is at my disposal here to set out my findings in full, I shall limit myself to noting some of the major divergences, in illustration of my theory that a different recension of the earlier history was somehow embodied in the *Tárikh-i jadíd*.⁶⁴⁵

Tárikh-i jadíd

pp. 34–39 (41–47) Said to be a quotation from Mírzá Jání.
pp. 43–44 (51–52). Said to be a quotation from Mírzá Jání.

Nuḡtat al-káf

None of this passage occurs. Only 15 lines devoted to this topic.⁶⁴⁶
A similar passage occurs on pp. 138–39, but the wording is quite different and there are significant divergences.

⁶⁴⁴ *ibid.*, Appendix II.

⁶⁴⁵ Since there is no published text of the original, my page references to the *Tárikh-i jadíd* are taken from Browne's translation. I have, however, added in parentheses the equivalent references to the Cambridge manuscript used by Browne (F. 55). Where necessary, I have also used Browne's collation of the London and Cambridge texts (Sup. 7, Browne Collection). References to the *Nuḡtat al-káf* are to the published text.

⁶⁴⁶ Browne's remark (Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 344) that 'the account of his [Bushrú'í's] conversion given by Mírzá Jání agrees substantially, and often word for word, with that given in the *New History*' is quite inexplicable.

pp. 57–58 (65). Said to be an epitome of Mírzá Jání's account. Includes a statement that 'tradesmen and craftsmen were but few among them, for most belonged to the learned and scholarly classes and were from the ranks of the ulama and divines'.	Many differences. States that 'every trade was represented among them' (p. 161)
pp. 64–65 (76–77). A short passage including a 'quotation' from Mírzá Jání.	No such passage.
pp. 93 ff. (115 ff.). A long passage on Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan said to be a quotation from Mírzá Jání.	A similar passage occurs on pp. 178–80, but contains one-third more. Hamadání's statement about Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan's age does not appear.
pp. 106–109 (129–31). Said to be a quotation from Mírzá Jání.	No such passage
pp. 113–15 (134–35). Said to be taken from Mírzá Jání.	The passage occurs (pp. 120–22) with an additional 20 lines.
pp. 124–28 (148–150). Quoted from Mírzá Jání.	No such passage.
pp. 206–208. Quoted from Mírzá Jání.	The passage occurs (pp. 113–15) with numerous additions and divergences.
p. 124. Refers to Mírzá Jání's 'full description' of the Báb's stay in Kashan. Cites 'very words' of Mírzá Jání.	No such description. Sentence from Mírzá Jání does not occur.
pp. 217–24 (215–21). Long quotation from Mírzá Jání.	Passage occurs (pp. 124–30) with numerous divergences, several additions, and one omission.

pp. 241–44 (242–44). Account of the Indian believer, with reference to Mírzá Jání's version.	Account (pp. 212–14) follows quite closely, but continues well beyond Hamadání's version.
pp. 245–47. Account of Sayyid Baṣír Hindí.	Account (pp. 256 ff.) differs, is longer, and ends differently.
pp. 309–11. Quotation from Mírzá Jání.	No such passage.

It should be observed that, in general, those passages in which Hamadání states he is quoting from Mírzá Jání⁶⁴⁷ do not seem to follow the text of the *Nuqṭat al-káf* any more closely than the bulk of passages which are apparently based on it. In some cases, they follow it less closely.

Apart from those referred to above, there are numerous other differences between the two texts, only a few of which can be explained in terms of a tendentious recension by Hamadání. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the latter made use of a different version of the earlier history as the basis for his own.

More difficult is the problem raised by Gulpáygání's remark that he lent Hamadání a copy of Mírzá Jání's history, consisting of only one or two pieces. Whatever text was used as the basis for the *Tárikh-i jadíd*, it must have been at least as large as the Paris text of the *Nuqṭat al-káf*—which could scarcely be described as 'one or two pieces'. Hamadání himself states that he obtained his copy of Mírzá Jání's history 'through a distinguished and noble Sayyid'.⁶⁴⁸ We must, then, assume that Hamadání possessed at least two copies of a history by Mírzá Jání and that Gulpáygání's version was not the chief one used by him.

Recensions

To make matters more difficult, the *Tárikh-i jadíd* exists in more than a single recension, often occurring under wholly different titles. Apart from Hamadání himself, several other individuals are known to have contributed to the text, thus making difficult the task of establishing a relatively uncorrupt reading.

647 There are altogether twelve such passages: pp. 34–39; 43–44; 64–65; 89–90; 93–95; 106–109; 113–15; 124–28; 199–200; 206–08; 214; 217–24.

648 Hamadání, *Tárikh-i jadíd*, p. 57.

Muḥīṭ-i Ṭabāṭabá'í has postulated two hypothetical redactions of the history, as follows:⁶⁴⁹

1. An early version, written by one or more persons, based on an 'old history' (i.e., the *Nuqṭat al-káf*) and borrowing the device of writing under the persona of a foreign traveller in Iran from Ákhundzáda's fictitious correspondence between the imaginary princes Jamál ad-Dawla and Kámal ad-Dawla.
2. A later version, possibly written after the appointment, in 1288/1871, of Mírzá Ḥusayn Khán Sipahsálár as Ṣadr-i A'ẓam, in which large portions from the writings of Malkúm Khán are mixed together with sections by Gulpáygání.⁶⁵⁰

Ṭabāṭabá'í's hypothesis is based largely on the view that the Bábís, first in Baghdad and later in Edirne, had come into contact with reformers like Malkúm Khán and Ákhundzáda and wished to emulate their policy of reconciliation with the Sháh and the Iranian government. He maintains that the writing of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* represents a stage in the move away from earlier intransigence towards the later Bahá'í policy of rapprochement with the authorities.⁶⁵¹

This view deserves serious discussion, especially in view of the role of some Azalí Bábís in the Iranian reform movement. However, it may lead to errors in the study of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* recensions. Ṭabāṭabá'í operates on the basis of certain preconceived notions as to the trend of Bábí and Bahá'í writing, rather than from the texts themselves.

There certainly seems to be no evidence that any version of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* existed as early as 1288/1871, let alone earlier. At present, there is no good reason to reject Gulpáygání's statement that the history was begun in 1296 or 1297 and that its original author was Hamadání. Even if this is only a partial version of the true facts, it is at present the only position for which we possess anything approaching solid evidence.

Let me, therefore, conjecture the following recensions as representing the principal stages in the composition of the work generally known as the *Tárikh-i jadíd*:

1. An original draft based on several previous accounts, probably including a text of the history now known as the *Nuqṭat al-káf* and a collection of notes made by Mírzá Jání. This was written by Mírzá Ḥusayn

649 'Tárikh-i qadím wa jadíd', Part 2, p. 427.

650 These passages are not identified.

651 On this general trend, see D. MacEoin, 'From Babism to Baháism: problems of militancy, quietism and conflation in the construction of a religion', *Religion* 13 (1983): 219–55.

- Hamadání between 1296/1879 and 1298/1881, and certainly before his death in 1299/1882.
2. A conjectural second draft with emendations by Sayyid Jawád Karbalá'í, prepared by 1299/1882 (when he died), presumably before his final departure from Tehran.
 3. A recension, probably only stylistic, made by Mánakjí,⁶⁵² possibly made after Hamadání's death.
 4. The most common recension, a version made by Áqá Muḥammad Fáḍil-i Qá'iní (Nabíl-i Akbar)⁶⁵³ on the instructions of the Bahá'í prophet Bahá' Alláh. This version, which is commonly found under the title *Tárikh-i badí-i bayání*, was written between 1297/1880 and 1300/1883 (and most probably between 1299 and 1300).⁶⁵⁴ The main revisions introduced by Qá'iní may be found in Browne's translation at pages 131, 293, and 301.⁶⁵⁵

Manuscripts of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* are fairly common, and many more are known to me by reputation than I have actually seen. A list of the main manuscripts seen or read of by me is given in Appendix Eight.

According to Ṭabáṭabá'í,⁶⁵⁶ a copy seen by him in the Kama Library in Bombay was originally brought there from Tehran along with other books belonging to Mánakjí. This manuscript, which has since been stolen, bears

652 This recension may be identifiable with a manuscript in the possession of Abu'l-Qásim Afnán, under the title *Risála-yi Mánakjí*.

653 A converted 'álim, Fáḍil-i Qá'iní (1244–1309/1828–92) was widely regarded as the leading scholar among the early Bahá'ís of Iran. See Sulaymání, *Maṣábiḥ-i hidáyat*, vol. 1, pp. 275–350; Abbás Effendi, *Tadhkirat al-wafá'*, pp. 5–12; Ishráq Khávarí, *Ganj-i sháyiḡán* (Tehran, BE 124/1967–68), pp. 141–44; Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 5, pp. 21–15.

654 The exact date is a matter for dispute. At the end of several copies of this recension, there is a passage by Qá'iní explaining how he came to alter the history, together with the date of writing. In one MS in Haifa (MR 1792), the date is 1297. Another MS there (MD 47/2), however, gives Dhú'l-Qa'da 1298/September–October 1881 as the date of the revision, the copy itself having been made in 1304. Ṭabáṭabá'í refers to a MS containing Qá'iní's colophon with the date 17 Šafar 1300/28 December 1882, but with 1299 on page 51. He concludes that the work was begun in 1299 and finished in early 1300. This agrees with Mázandarání's statement that Qá'iní's revision was made in 1300 (see *Asrár*, vol. 5, p. 215). Malik Khusraví (*Áhang-i badí'* magazine, no. 326, item 9) refers to a *Tárikh-i badí'*, which he incorrectly refers to as a 'correction' of the *Nuḡṭat al-káf* by Qá'iní. It is, in fact, a copy of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* (cf. another MS with this title in Haifa, MR 1611). The MS referred to by Malik Khusraví is dated 25 Sha'bán 1299/12 July 1882. The date 1297 seems much too early, since this is assumed to be roughly when the history was begun. In all probability, 1299–1300 is correct.

655 The Cambridge text does not have the closing passage in which Qá'iní explains how he came to write his version.

656 'Kitábí bí nám', p. 953.

as its title *Tárikh-i Mírzá Husayn Tíhrání*⁶⁵⁷ and lacks the additions of Qá'íní. It is Ṭabáṭabá'í's opinion that this may be Hamadání's original text, but I am more inclined to think it represents a second, polished draft presented to Mánakjí. Gulpáygání states in his 1912 letter that Áqá Mírzá Asad Alláh Işfahání (with whom Sayyid Jawád Karbalá'í had been living)⁶⁵⁸ told him that the French consul (unnamed) bought Mírzá Husayn's original manuscript.

Faḍl Alláh Şubḥí speaks of having seen Qá'íní's autograph of his recension of Hamadání's history in Ashkhabad.⁶⁵⁹

Other Bábí sources

Accounts of the Shaykh Ṭabarsí uprising

Probably the earliest surviving Bábí history is the *Tárikh-i mímiyya* (also known as the *Waqáyi'-i mímiyya*) of Sayyid Muḥammad Husayn ibn Muḥammad Hádí Ṭabáṭabá'í Zavará'í (Maḥjúr). This work consists mainly of an account of the Bábí uprising in Mázandarán. It was written at the request of the mother and sister of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í, the joint leader of the uprising.⁶⁶⁰ According to a date occurring in the narrative itself, it would seem to have been written in 1265/1849, shortly after the events it describes.⁶⁶¹

The bulk of the narrative is taken up with an account related by Hájí 'Abd al-Majíd Níshápúrí, a survivor of the struggle. Shorter accounts are also recorded from two other survivors: Hájj Naşír Qazvíní and Ustád Ja'far Banná Işfahání. Edward Browne possessed a copy of this work, transcribed for him by Mírzá Muşţafá and sent to England in 1912. A brief description of the narrative may be found in Browne's *Materials* (pp. 238–39). Manuscripts are listed in Appendix Eight.

657 This has led Ṭabáṭabá'í to question Gulpayágání's statement that Mírzá Husayn was from Hamadán, but since he was living in Tehran at the time of writing his history, there sees nothing unusual in his being described as 'Tíhrání'.

658 Thus for the letter. But in the *Kashf al-ghíṭá'*, Gulpayágání says that Karbalá'í came to Tehran in 1293/1876, stayed for some months in the house of Áqá Mírzá Asad Alláh, and then found himself a separate place to live (p. 60).

659 Faḍl Alláh Şubḥí Muhtadí, *Kháṭírat-i Şubḥí dar bára-yi Bábigarí wa Bahá'igarí*, 5th. ed. (Qum, Sh. 1354/1975), p. 128.

660 It is not made clear which of Bushrú'í's sisters is meant. He had two, the elder being Bibí Kúchik, the younger Khadíja, later entitled Waraqat al-Firdaws and Waraqat ar-Riḍwán respectively.

661 The siege of Shaykh Ṭabarsí shrine ended in May 1849.

The above-mentioned Ḥájj Naṣír Qazvíní, who died in prison in Rasht in 1300/1883,⁶⁶² is said by Samandar to have written an autobiography with a full account of the Mázandarán uprising.⁶⁶³ One copy of this autobiography is extant in the INBA. A portion of it, fourteen pages in length, was printed in the first edition of the *Tárikh-i Samandar*, but was removed from later copies.

According to Malik Khusraví, Ḥájj Naṣír's son, Áqá 'Alí Arbáb Naṣíráf, also wrote memoirs, in which he gives details of his father's life based on information from the latter. These memoirs were, it seems, used by Samandar in his own history. A copy of Naṣíráf's original exists in Tehran.⁶⁶⁴

Another history by the author of the *Tárikh-i mímiyya* has survived. This is a brief prose and verse account of the death of Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í. A copy is to be found in the Browne collection (see Appendix 8).

The Mázandarán uprising has also been described in another early account by a survivor, Luṭf 'Alí Mírzá Shírází, a Ṣúfí descended from the Afshárid family.⁶⁶⁵ Since the author of this untitled narrative was killed in the 1852 executions in Tehran, his chronicle can be fairly reckoned to be one of the earliest we possess.⁶⁶⁶ Five manuscripts are extant (see Appendix 8).

Yet another account of the Shaykh Ṭabarsí siege by a survivor is the *Tárikh-i waqáyi'-i Mázandarán* by Áqá Abú Ṭálib Shahmírzádí.⁶⁶⁷ I have not yet been able to determine the date when this narrative was written, but it is known that the author died in 1310/1892–93. The history may not, therefore, be particularly early, but it does at least represent a sympathetic eye-witness account of the events in question. Shahmírzádí's account would seem to be Zarandí's source for his version of the Shaykh Ṭabarsí struggle.⁶⁶⁸ Some passages are quoted by Mázandarání.⁶⁶⁹ For manuscripts, see Appendix 8.

What appears to be a separate work by Shahmírzádí is kept in the INBA under the title *Tárikh-i qal'a (Shahmírzádí)* ('History of the Fort').

662 Malik Khusraví, *Tárikh-i shuhadá'*, vol. 2, p. 243. On Ḥájj Naṣír, see *ibid.*, pp. 233–44; Samandar, *Tárikh*, pp. 214–16.

663 *ibid.*

664 Muḥammad 'Alí Malik Khusraví, 'Manábi'-i tárikh-i amr', *Áhang-i badí'* magazine, 326, BE 131/1974–75, pp. 11–34.

665 The statement of Mírzá Muṣṭafá, who transcribed this work for Browne, that Luṭf 'Alí was a Qájár, is incorrect. On Luṭf 'Alí Mírzá, see Malik Khusraví, *Tárikh-i shuhadá'*, vol. 2, pp. 89–94.

666 *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 273–75. Malik Khusraví says (p. 274) that he wrote his history while living in Tehran.

667 On whom see Malik Khusraví, *Tárikh-i shuhadá'*, vol. 2, pp. 247–58.

668 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 580.

669 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 188n; 198n; 200–202n.

An undated biography of Shahmírzádí was written by Furúgh Alláh Ṭabíb Baṣṣárí and is kept in two separate manuscripts in the INBA. The compilation in which the first of these manuscripts occurs (INBA 2018E) also contains a history of Shaykh Ṭabarsí, Rasht, and Qazvín by Baṣṣárí. (See Appendix 8.)

There also exists an account of Shaykh Ṭabarsí written by Shahmírzádí's younger brother, Áqá Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍá'. The latter was not present at the siege, but we may presume that he based his narrative on information provided by his brother and, possibly, others. Parts of this account are quoted by Mázandarání.⁶⁷⁰ See Appendix 8.

I have been unable to check and identify three further histories kept in the INBA, with the titles *Tárikh-i qal'a*, *Waqáyi'-i qal'a-yi Shaykh Ṭabarsí*, and *Tárikh-i qal'a-yi Shaykh Ṭabarsí*. (See Appendix 8.)

Accounts of the Nayríz uprising

At least one record has survived by a participant in the Nayríz uprising of 1266/1850, together with details of the later troubles there in 1269/1852. This is an account by Áqá Mullá Muḥammad Shafí' Nayrízí. It was written in Baghdad sometime after the events described, and later served as Zarandí's principal source for his narrative of the same events.⁶⁷¹ Only one manuscript is known to me (see Appendix 8).

In 1345/1926–27, Muḥammad Shafí's son, Áqá Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan, wrote a separate account of both Nayríz struggles, based on his father's narrative. These appear to be the only manuscript histories of the Nayríz episodes, a gap in the general record for which I can find no ready explanation.

Nayrízí refers to a 'rare' manuscript history of the second Nayríz struggle, written by a survivor. This is the verse *Jang náma* of Mírzá Muḥammad Ja'far Nayrízí, appointed by Dárábí as his official chronicler. Unfortunately, it is not clear where manuscripts of this work are currently located.⁶⁷²

Accounts of the Zanján uprising

Histories of the Zanján upheaval of 1266/1850 to 1267/1851 are more common. Of these, the best known is a narrative written by Áqá 'Abd al-Aḥad Zanjání, a participant in the siege who later became an Azalí. His

670 *ibid.*, pp. 190–92n; 431–32n; 433–34n.

671 Zarandí *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 580–81, 644.

672 Nayrízí, *Lama'át al-anwár*, vol. 1, pp. 262–63.

account was translated and published by Browne in 1897 under the title 'Personal Reminiscences of the Bábí Insurrection at Zanján in 1850'.⁶⁷³ The original manuscript in 'Abd al-Aḥad's own hand forms item 6 of manuscript F.25 in the Browne collection. It is dated 1309/1892.

An earlier work is the *Tárikh-i waqáyi'-i Zanján*, by Áqá Mírzá Ḥusayn Zanjání. The author was a Bahá'í commissioned in 1297/1880 by Bahá' Alláh to write an unprejudiced account based on Bábí and Muslim sources. Zanjání's chronicle was used as the basis for the accounts of the Zanján struggle by both Zarandí⁶⁷⁴ and Nicolas.⁶⁷⁵ There are two manuscripts in the INBA.

Nicolas also made use of a *Tárikh-i Zanján* by Áqá Naqd 'Alí Zanjání.⁶⁷⁶ Unfortunately, no manuscript of a history by that title exists in any of the collections surveyed by me, nor does the copy used by Nicolas seem to have been among those sold at the auction of his library.

The history of al-Qatíl ibn al-Karbalá'í and other early accounts

Of particular importance for the reconstruction of events immediately following the death of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí is a document published as an appendix to the third volume of Mázandarání's *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*.⁶⁷⁷ The name of the author is given cryptically on p. 502 as 'al-Qatíl ibn al-Karbalá'í' ("the slain one, son of the man from Karbalá"), who is identified in the text only as a Bábí who had formerly been one of Rashtí's companions in Karbalá'. Mázandarání maintains that the letter was written there in 1263/1847, and I see no reason to dispute this.

Amanat has made the interesting suggestion that Qatíl was none other than Qurrat al-'Ayn.⁶⁷⁸ This theory is based on the lack of any direct reference in the text to Qurrat al-'Ayn and the many details concerning her close supporters. There are, unfortunately, a number of objections to this proposition. I would require some explanation for the use of the masculine 'al-Qatíl' and 'ibn' in the author's pen-name before taking it more seriously. Nor am I convinced that the account is in the style of Qurrat al-'Ayn's known writings. Most importantly, the author seems to have had eye-witness knowledge of events that Qurrat al-'Ayn would not have known at first hand.

673 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 29, pp. 761–827.

674 *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 580.

675 *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, pp. 50, 332n.

676 *ibid.*

677 pp. 502–32.

678 *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 429.

Leaving aside the question of authorship, this important text provides numerous details not available elsewhere regarding the discussions that took place within the Shaykhí community following the death of Rashtí, the departure for Iran of the men who were to be the first of Shírází's disciples, their return to Karbalá' and their reception there, and the beginnings of the Shaykhí polemic against the Báb and his followers. This is in many ways the primary document for any discussion of this period.

I have referred earlier to letters written by Shaykh Sulţán al-Karbalá'í and Mullá Aĥmad Ĥisári concerning the division that occurred within the Bábí community of Karbalá' in 1846. Although a large part of these documents is devoted to polemical issues, both contain invaluable references to the terms of the debate and the actual stages of its development, as well as to the personalities involved in it. There are also in existence several letters written by Qurrat al-'Ayn, providing details of her activities in the period between 1845 and 1847.

An account of the life of Mullá Muĥammad Ĥamza Sharí'atmadári, written by one of his descendants, 'Abd al-Karím Sharí'atmadárián, may be found in the INBA.

Late accounts by early Bábís

At least two other historical accounts by Babis from the early period have survived. One of these, the *mathnaví* by Ĥájí Mírzá Ismá'íl Dhabíĥ Káshání, has been referred to above. The other is a narrative of some fifty pages penned by Mullá Ja'far Qazvíní. The author was born between 1221/1806 and 1223/1808 in Qazvín, studied in Karbalá' under Rashtí, became a Bábí, and met the Báb en route to Mákú.⁶⁷⁹ His history, which remains incomplete, was written in 1293/1876. It contains references to al-Aĥsá'í, Rashtí, Shírází, Bushrú'í, Dárábí, the Shaykh Ṭabarsí insurrection, the attempt on Naşír ad-Dín's life, and details of sundry events at Qazvín. Like the narrative of Ĥájj Naşír Qazvíní, it was published in the first edition of the *Tárikh-i Samandar*, but it too was removed from subsequent printings.

Tárikh-i Samandar

The *Tárikh-i Samandar* itself is a useful though late source for Bábí history, despite the concentration of the narrative on people and events associated with the author's hometown of Qazvín. Shaykh Kázim Samandar was born in 1260/1844 to an early Qazvíní Bábí, Ĥájj Shaykh Muĥammad Nabíl. His father met the Báb and many early Bábís, such as Bushrú'í, Dárábí,

679 'Abd al-'Alí 'Alá'í, introduction to Samandar, *Tárikh*, pp. 8–9.

Mullá Jalíl Urúmí, Bárfurúshí, and, presumably, Qurrat al-'Ayn. The first part of Samandar's history (to p. 142 of the printed text) was written in 1303/1885–86, and the remainder (which contains a lengthy and useful account of Qurrat al-'Ayn) between 1332/1914 and 1333/1915. Although it is late and lacking in detail, this work does contain sometimes valuable biographies of a large number of early Bábís associated with (but by no means all belonging to) Qazvin.

Tárikh-i Nabíl

By far the most widely-used source for early Bábí history among modern Bahá'ís is the *Tárikh-i Nabíl*, often referred to in the preceding pages. Best known in English as *The Dawn-Breakers* or *Nabíl's Narrative*, this history of 650 pages represents approximately half of a longer chronicle which takes events up to around 1892, the year of the author's death. In its present form, the narrative deals with the lives of al-Aḥsá'í and Rashtí, the early life, prophetic career, and execution of Shírází, the activities of the earliest Bábís, the Bábí-state clashes of 1848–1850, and the attempt to murder Naṣír ad-Dín Sháh. It is by far the most comprehensive, detailed, and systematic account of Bábí history available to us. Perhaps its principal value lies in the facts that the author was a young man and already a Bábí convert at the time of many of the events he describes, that he had met and spoken with several leading Bábís of the early period (many of whom died in 1852), and that he had later made a point of seeking out and interviewing surviving members of the sect who had first-hand knowledge of important events or people.

Unfortunately, the undeniable merits of this history are greatly offset by certain problems it raises for the academic historian. The most serious of these difficulties is that arising from the nature of the edition in which the narrative is currently available. Zarandí's original text exists only in a unique autograph manuscript kept in the Bahá'í archives in Haifa, where I was allowed to consult it briefly in 1976. This manuscript, which represents Zarandí's complete history, consists of 1014 pages of 20.5 cm by 14 cm, and is filed under the class mark M 1557. Unhappily, no published version of this original text has ever been issued, with the result that the historian is forced to depend on the English translation made by Shoghi Effendi and first published by the Bahá'í Publishing Trust in the United States in 1932. The Persian edition of this history is actually a translation from 'Abd al-Jalíl

Sa'íd's Arabic version of Shoghi Effendi's English text, made without reference to the original Persian text!⁶⁸⁰

To make matters worse, it seems that Shoghi Effendi's version of Zarandí is not merely a translation but a much-edited re-write, shaped and tailored by him to make a coherent and readable narrative. The late 'Alí Murád Dáwúdí has written that 'although this blessed book [the *Tárikh-i Nabíl*] relies on Nabil Zarandí's work in its narrative of historical events ..., it cannot be regarded as a translation of that work in the usual sense of the word It is, rather, an authentic piece of writing penned by the Guardian of the Cause.'⁶⁸¹ Similarly, Rúḥiyyih Rabbání, Shoghi Effendi's Canadian widow, speaks of 'the text, based on the original of Nabil, but transfigured through the mind and vocabulary of Shoghi Effendi.'⁶⁸² She also states that 'although ostensibly a translation from the original Persian, Shoghi Effendi may be said to have recreated it [Zarandí's history] in English', comparing his version with Edward Fitzgerald's free rendering of the quatrains of Omar Khayyam.⁶⁸³

Reassuring as such statements may be for believers, they are unlikely to convince independent historians that they should place very much confidence in the English text, at least until they are allowed to compare it directly with an unexpurgated edition of the original. I have no doubt that Shoghi Effendi's version of Zarandí not only has its merits on literary and other grounds (including, I suspect, those of intelligibility and structure), and I would not wish to suggest that any very serious tampering has taken place with the basic narrative. Nevertheless, to the extent that a professional historian must often depend on nuances of language and context in his reading of primary sources, the lack of an original text over such a long period has placed and continues to place an awkward and unnecessary barrier between the researcher and his raw material.

A further difficulty with Zarandí's text lies in the rather late date of its composition. The author, originally known as Mullá Muḥammad and later as Nabil-i Zarandí or Nabil-i A'zam, was born in the village of Zarand on 18 Šafar 1247/29 July 1831. He himself states that he became a Bábí in

680 Mullá Muḥammad Nabil Zarandí, *Maṭáli' al-anwár*, trans. 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ishráq Khávári (Tehran, BE 129/1973). And see idem, *Maṭáli' al-anwár fi ta'ríkh awá'il ad-dawra al-bahá'iyya*, trans. 'Abd al-Jalíl Sa'd (Alexandria, 1940).

681 *Ma'árif-i amrī*, 11, pp. 12–13, quoted Najafí, *Bahá'ían*, p. 412, n. 107.

682 Rúḥiyyih Rabbání, *The Priceless Pearl* (London, 1969), p. 217.

683 *ibid.*, p. 215.

1265/1848–49.⁶⁸⁴ His history of the sect up to 1853 was begun in 1888 and finished in 1890; the sequel was written between then and his death in 1892. This means that there was a time-lag of something between thirty-five and thirty-seven years between the latest events described in the narrative and the time of writing, with as much as ninety-five between then and the earliest events recorded. If we bear in mind that Zarandí was not a professional historian working with a large range of reliable documents and that the normal distortions of hindsight were, in his case, much exacerbated by numerous shifts in doctrine and attitudes towards individuals, this time factor becomes extremely important. And it must not be forgotten that Zarandí's history, like those of Mírzá Jání and Hamadání before him, is partisan, hagiographic, and frequently mistaken about dates and other vital details.

I have felt it necessary to lay such emphasis on the drawbacks of this otherwise useful history simply in order to encourage a balanced view of the book in certain circles. Parts of Zarandí's manuscript were seen and approved by Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh, the whole work was carried out in consultation with the latter's brother, Mírzá Músá, and some sections were later reviewed and approved by Bahá's son and successor, 'Abbás Effendi.⁶⁸⁵ Not only that, of course, but the English version was, as we have seen, both edited and translated by the head of the Bahá'í movement, Shoghi Effendi, who went on to write his own history. It is not, therefore, surprising that, for many Bahá'ís, Zarandí's narrative has come to hold the status of a quasi-infallible document, whose chronicle of events between 1844 and 1853 is, to all intents and purposes, unchallengeable.

Zarandí has become for many Bahá'ís what two recent writers described it as: 'the basic text for Bábí history'.⁶⁸⁶ Shoghi Effendi himself described it as an 'unchallengeable textbook'.⁶⁸⁷ Another Bahá'í writer speaks of it as the 'authentic history of the early days of the Faith'.⁶⁸⁸ Most tellingly, George Townshend says that Zarandí's narrative 'has in the fullest degree the character of a Bábí Gospel', in that it is an 'authorized' and 'authentic'

684 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 434. An account of his life by the author may be found between pages 434 and 445.

685 *ibid.*, introduction, p. xxxvii.

686 M. Afnán and W. Hatcher, 'Western Islamic Scholarship and Bahá'í Origins,' *Religion* 15 (1985), p. 49, n. 47.

687 Shoghi Effendi, cable dated 21 June 1932, in *idem*, *Messages to America 1932–1946* (Wilmette, 1947), p. 1.

This Decisive Hour: Messages from Shoghi Effendi to the American Bahá'ís 1932–1946, p. 3.

688 Anon, *The Centenary of a World Faith* (London, 1944), p. 46.

account equivalent to a first-hand record of Christ by one of the twelve apostles.⁶⁸⁹

Needless to say, such attitudes create problems, not least for the historian who may disagree with Zarandí or present a version of events based on sources that contradict him.⁶⁹⁰ The future of scholarship on the Bábí movement within Bahá'í circles depends on a willingness to apply discretion in the use of Zarandí's history, an open-minded approach to alternative versions of Bábí history, and tolerance in reading the work of scholars not committed to approaching Zarandí with unqualified reverence. *The Dawn-Breakers* is a valuable work and, if it is far from being 'the basic source', it is at least one of the basic sources for anyone working in this field, and it would be a pity if its usefulness continued to be impaired by a tendency to exaggerate or misinterpret its real significance.

Since the sources used by Zarandí have not previously been identified and set out systematically, I have provided a full list of them in Appendix Nine. Even a cursory glance will show that, whatever its drawbacks in other respects, Zarandí's narrative does possess the virtue of using a wide range of informants, many of them directly interviewed by the author himself.

Maqála-yi shakhṣí sayyáh

Of less general interest or usefulness than Zarandí's history is the earlier Bahá'í account of Babism entitled *Maqála-yi shakhṣí sayyáh* (A Traveller's Narrative). Written by the son and successor of Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Núrí, 'Abbás Effendi 'Abd al-Bahá', in about 1886, this work was first published anonymously in Persian in Bombay in 1890. It was subsequently issued in a facsimile edition together with an English translation by E. G. Browne in 1891.⁶⁹¹ The manuscript copy on which Browne's facsimile edition is based is in the hand of the Bahá'í scribe Zayn al-Muqarribín,⁶⁹² and was presented

689 *The Mission of Bahá'u'lláh and Other Literary Pieces* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 40–41.

690 For a clear example of the unpleasantness to which this may give rise, see Afnán and Hatcher, 'Western Islamic Scholarship' and the response by D. MacEoin, 'Bahá'í Fundamentalism and the Academic Study of the Bábí Movement', *Religion* 16 (1986), pp. 57–84. A more moderate Bahá'í view is expressed by Stephen Camden, 'An Episode in the Childhood of the Báb', in Smith (ed.), *In Iran*, pp. 19–22, especially footnotes 37, 38 (pp. 29–311).

691 See bibliography under 'Abd al-Bahá', *A Traveller's Narrative*. This edition was reprinted in one volume by the Philo Press of Amsterdam in 1975; a new edition of the basic text without Browne's notes was issued by the Bahá'í Publishing Trust, Wilmette, in 1980.

692 Mullá Zayn al-'Ábidín Najafábádí. For details, see Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 4, pp. 88–93.

to Browne in the course of his visit to Acre in 1890. It now constitutes item F.56 (7) in the Browne Collection.

A *Traveller's Narrative* is, on the whole, of extremely limited value to the student of early Babism. A mere 69 pages out of 211 (in the Persian text) are devoted to the history of the Báb and his followers up to 1852. The rest of the book is given over to an account of the early career and teachings of the author's father, with the emphasis on doctrine rather than history. The style is, of course, hagiographic and rather loose, yielding little in the way of solid information and nothing that seems to be based directly on documentary or eye-witness evidence (as far as the Bábí section is concerned). Browne's translation is, in fact, more useful to the historian, since it contains numerous notes and reproductions of original materials.

Mujmal-i badí'

At the end of 1889, E. G. Browne received a copy of a short digest of Bábí history from Şubḥ-i Azal, then resident in Cyprus. Entitled *Mujmal-i badí' dar waqáyi'-i zuhúr-i maní'*, this work of twenty-five pages reflects both the author's largely inactive role within the movement during the period under discussion (down to the attempt on Náşir ad-Dín Sháh's life) and his preoccupation with other-worldly matters. There is nothing here that cannot be gleaned in greater detail elsewhere. The Persian text and an English translation were published by Browne in his edition of the *Tárikh-i jadíd* (pp. ٢٠٢٦, 397–419)

***I'tiráfát-i siyásí* (Alleged memoirs of Dolgorukov)**

In Sh. 1322/1943, a document entitled *I'tiráfát-i siyásí yá yád-dáshthá-yi Kinyáz Dolgorúkí* (Political Confessions or the Memoirs of Count Dolgorukov) was published in the historical section of the *Khurásán Yearbook*, printed in Mashhad. This work was reprinted in the following year at Tehran (15 Sha'bán 1323/15 October 1944), with a number of alterations, and subsequently went through several editions—in lithograph, jellygraph, etc.—in the next few years. For a long time, this document—purportedly the memoirs of the Russian diplomat, Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich Dolgorukov⁶⁹³—was regarded in Iran as probably the most important contemporary source for the 'true' history of the Bábís. It deals at considerable length with the Báb and his religion, with whom Dolgorukov is shown to have been very closely linked, to the extent of their having conspired together to bring the sect into being.

693 Russian minister in Tehran from 1845 to 1854.

In spite of excellent evidence that these ‘memoirs’ are nothing but a clumsy forgery, and statements by several Iranian scholars to that effect,⁶⁹⁴ belief in their authenticity is still widespread and the text has been reprinted in recent years.⁶⁹⁵ In no edition is any attempt made to indicate the source, date of writing, or even present location of the original document of which this is presumed to be a translation; however, the introduction to the second edition of the most recent version does indicate that the earliest published version (presumably in Russian) appeared in a magazine called *Sharq*, ‘the organ of the Soviet Foreign Ministry’, in 1924 and 1925.

There can be no question but that this work is a forgery. The many divergences between the Khurásán edition and the later Tehran edition are alone indicative of heavy rewriting. Not only that, but the text contains numerous internal contradictions and ‘historical’ statements that take us straight into the realms of make-believe. Even as a work of fiction, Dolgoraki’s memoirs lack conviction. As a source for history of any description, they are worse than useless. The tragedy is that they are still taken seriously in Iran and other parts of the Islamic world,⁶⁹⁶ where they have become a standard element in a vicious conspiracy fantasy combining Russian and British imperialism, world Zionism, and Baha’ism.

Polemical works directed against Babism, many of which contain valuable historical information, have been dealt with fully in chapter five.

694 See ‘Abbás Iqbál Áshtiyání, *Yádgár*, nos 8–9 (year 5), Sh. 1328/1949, p. 148 (‘... it [the tract] is absolutely fictitious, and is the work of imposters’). Mujtabá Mínaví, *Ráhnámá-yi kitáb*, nos 1–2 (year 6), Sh. 1342/1963, p. 22 (‘I have confirmed that these memoirs have been forged’). For a fuller discussion of the problems of the text, see Anonymous, *Baḥṯi dar radd-i yád-dáshthá-yi Maj’úl* (Tehran, BE 129/1973–74).

695 The most recent edition has appeared under the title *Gúsha-há-yi fāsh nashuda’i az tárikh: chand chashma az ‘amalíyát-i ḥayrat-angíz-i Kinýáz-i Dálgorúkí, jásús-i asrár-ámíz-i Rúsiya-yi tazári*, 3rd. ed. (Tehran, n.d.).

696 An Arabic version of Dolgorukov’s alleged memoirs was issued by Sayyid Aḥmad al-Músawí al-Ghálí: *Mudhakarát Dálkurúkí* (Beirut, n.d.) and reprinted in ‘Abd al-Mun’am Aḥmad an-Nimr, *an-Niḥla al-laqiṭa: al-Bábiyya wa’l-Bahá’iyya, ta’ríkh wa wathá’iq* (Cairo, n.d.), pp. 210–46. They are referred to in numerous Arabic publications: see, for example, ‘Áisha ‘Abd ar-Raḥmán (‘Bint ash-Sháṭi’), *Qará’a fī wathá’iq al-Bahá’iyyá*, (Cairo, 1306/1986), pp. 36–37 and ‘Abbás Kázim Murád, *al-Bábiyya wa’l-Bahá’iyya wa maṣádir dirásatihimá* (Baghdad, 1302/1982), pp. 55–60.

VIII Later histories

Works in European languages

Although my main concern in the second part of this study has been to examine the contemporary and immediately post-contemporary sources for Bábí history, it will be of some value to consider briefly the chief published and manuscript works on the subject produced in this century. My reason for doing so is that all of these later works provide references to and, in some cases, extensive quotations from primary materials. It will also prove useful to take the opportunity to make some general observations on the development of historical writing on Babism up to the present time.

E. G. Browne's editions of the *Maqála-yi shakhṣi sayyáh* and *Tárikh-i jadíd*, and his compilation entitled *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion*, all contain items of interest, including facsimiles and translations of important documents, several of which have already been referred to above. Useful bibliographical information is provided in his 'Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts', *Traveller's Narrative* (pp. 173–211), *Materials* (pp. 175–243), and the *Descriptive Catalogue* of his own manuscripts produced after his death by R. A. Nicholson.

A. L. M. Nicolas' *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed dit le Bâb* (1905) represents the first attempt at a systematic history of Babism by a Western writer, if we ignore Gobineau's much more limited effort in *Religions et philosophies*. Nicolas relied on the fairly large range of original texts in his possession, contacts with several Azalí Bábís and Bahá'ís, and materials in the archives of the French legation at Tehran and the Foreign Ministry in Paris. The text takes the history of the sect up to the executions that followed the attempted assassination of Náṣir ad-Dín Sháh in 1852. A list of sources is supplied on pages 48 to 53.

Reference has been made to M. S. Ivanov's *Babidskie vosstaniya v Irane* (1848–1852) (1939), which deals with the Bábí uprisings from a Marxist standpoint. This important study relies on and includes the texts of numerous documents from the Tsarist state records, among them the despatches of Count Dolgorukov, the Russian Minister in Tehran. If nothing

else, the latter do at least lay bare once for all the forgery entitled *I'tiráfāt-i siyásí*, which falsely claims to be Dolgorukov's memoirs.

H. M. Balyuzi's *The Báb* (1973) is based heavily on the English translation of the *Tárikh-i Nabíl*, from which it deviates almost not at all. The narrative is predominantly hagiographic in tone and content, owing more on the whole to the tradition of Iranian Bahá'í historiography than to Western scholarship. The author does, however, make use of a number of primary materials not previously described, including documents from the British Foreign Office, a narrative by Mírzá Ḥabíb Alláh Afnán, and a number of other early documents in the possession of the Afnán family.

The present writer's doctoral thesis, 'From Shaykhism to Babism: A Study in Charismatic Renewal in Shí'í Islam' (Cambridge University, 1979), still awaits re-writing for the purposes of publication. Apart from the early chapters on contemporary Shi'ism and early Shaykhism, it deals with the transition from Shaykhism to Babism, aspects of Bábí doctrine, the Bábí preaching mission among the Shaykhís (particularly that in Iraq), and the eventual break with the earlier school. Among the topics dealt with freshly here on the basis of previously unused sources are the early Shaykhí conversions to Babism, the role of Qurrat al-'Ayn, the first divisions within the Bábí community, and the Shaykhí reaction to the Bábí *da'wa*. There is also discussion of the Báb's earliest claims and the central ideas advanced by him and his followers in the first years of the movement. Several other short works by the present writer, most incorporating primary materials, are listed in the bibliography to the present work.

Abbas Amanat's major study, *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Bábí Movement in Iran, 1844-1850* (1989),⁶⁹⁷ based on his doctoral thesis, 'The Early Years of the Bábí Movement: Background and Development' (Oxford University, 1981) is a detailed, scholarly, and innovative re-writing of primitive Bábí history. Amanat's account of these early developments is intelligent, perceptive, analytical, and thoroughly based on primary materials. It represents the first serious attempt to locate these events within the general context of nineteenth-century Iranian social, political, and economic history.

Unfortunately, the entire study is badly marred by the author's often careless use of his source materials, involving, in numerous cases, references to data not in the texts cited, statements in direct contradiction to the sources given as their authority, and mistranslations of both Persian and Arabic passages. In almost all cases, the reader would be well advised to cross-check

⁶⁹⁷ See the review article by the present writer, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. pp. 409-10, vol. 1, No. 3, Nov. 1991.

Amanat's original sources before taking his information at face value. In spite of this, his study remains the best history of Babism written to date and is likely to dominate the field for a considerable time to come.

Persian histories

Numerous Persian histories, most of them by Bahá'ís, have been written in the twentieth century, some of them quite lengthy.⁶⁹⁸

Mírzá 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ávára (Áyatí) Taftí, who later apostatized from the Bahá'í movement, wrote a two-volume history of Babism and Baha'ism, published in Cairo in 1342/1924 under the title *al-Kawákib ad-durriyya fī ma'áthir al-Bahá'īyya*. Much approved by the then Bahá'í leader, Shoghi Effendi, the book was neglected after Ávára's defection and is now virtually unknown within the sect. The first part of volume one deals at length with Bábí history and includes a number of personal narratives and references to primary sources.⁶⁹⁹ Although the text is frequently inaccurate and must be used with caution, it does retain considerable value for its occasional insights and alternative versions of some events.

The *Kitáb-i Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*

Another Bahá'í writer, Mírzá Asad Alláh Fáḍil-i Mázandarání, was commissioned in the 1930s to write a general history of Babism and Baha'ism based on local histories that had been prepared in the Iranian provinces on the instructions of the central Bahá'í assembly in Tehran. He was also provided with a generous quantity of original documents as further sources. The history was completed in nine volumes under the general title of *Kitáb-i Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, and deals with events on a region-by-region basis up to 1943.

Volume 3 of the history, which covers the Bábí period, was published anonymously in Tehran in 1320/1941–42. Since then, only one other volume (vol. 8, parts 1 and 2) has been issued, and volume 3 has long been out of print. I have seen a typed document produced many years ago by a Bahá'í committee in Iran, in which numerous 'corrections' to volume 3 are detailed, their source being the text of the *Tárikh-i Nabil*. It would appear from the introduction to that document that, although his project was officially approved, Mázandarání's history nevertheless caused discomfort in certain

698 For a general survey of published and unpublished Persian-language histories, see Ḥusám Nuqabá'í, *Manábi-i tárikh-i amr-i Bahá'í* (Tehran, BE 123/1967–68). See also Muḥammad 'Alí Malik Khusraví, 'Manábi'.

699 See, for example, pp. 27, 28–29, 32, 35, 58, 62, 85, 86, 91–92, 105–06, 126, 127–31, 242–43, 252–53.

quarters because of its alternative readings of events and, presumably, the challenge it presented to the inherent correctness of Zarandí's narrative.

Both here and in his five-volume dictionary of Babism and Baha'ism, *Asrár al-áthár*, Mázandarání shows himself more willing than most Iranian Bahá'í writers to present an unbowdlerized and direct picture of Bábi history. *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq* is, therefore, something of a tour de force.

According to Nuqabá'í, the other volumes of Mázandarání's history are kept in the INBA,⁷⁰⁰ but in spite of repeated requests during my visit there in 1977, no-one was able (or perhaps willing) to trace any of them for me. It is also unclear where the original materials used by Mázandarání (and in many cases reproduced by him in the published text of volume 3) are now located. Amanat refers to 'miscellaneous notes' by Mázandarání, kept in the INBA as MS 1028D.

The third volume of *Ẓuhúr al-ḥaqq* is a work of immense value to the serious historian, containing as it does numerous transcripts, facsimiles, and quotations from original documents, albeit it in no very clear order. The text itself often refers to the primary sources used in its composition. A list of the twenty-eight most important documents quoted or reproduced there is given in Appendix 10.

Tárikh-i Mu'ín as-Salṭana

Comparable in scope but not in quality to Mázandarání's work is an earlier unpublished history by a Bahá'í government official, Ḥájí Mu'ín as-Salṭana Tabrízí, completed around 1340/1921–22. Originally planned as a three-part history covering the eras of the Báb, Bahá' Alláh, and 'Abbás Effendi, the finished work, generally known simply as the *Tárikh-i Mu'ín as-Salṭana* reaches only as far as the Shaykh Ṭabarsí episode of 1848/49. In its revised form, this account runs to 566 pages. The narrative is often prolix, given to digression, and uncritical in its assessment and presentation of historical material. The author writes as a pious amateur rather than a trained historian, and relies heavily on anecdotal material.

Amanat has assessed Mu'ín as-Salṭana's history in the following terms: 'Confusions and obvious errors ... make one particularly cautious about details which are outside the sphere of Mu'ín as-Salṭana's personal experience or given without specifying his source.'⁷⁰¹ Two copies of this work, both autographs, are to be found in the INBA. A separate account of the life of Qurrat al-'Ayn by Mu'ín as-Salṭana is also kept there. Running to just over fourteen foolscap pages, this short narrative contains some interesting

700 Nuqabá'í, *Manábi'*, p. 26.

701 *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 435.

items of information, but lacks source references, except for a couple of passages based on first-hand statements made to the author by one of the Letters of the Living, Mullá Báqir Tabrizí.

Two minor histories

I have been unable to see copies of two manuscript Bahá'í histories both containing references to Babism. These are the *Tárikh-i zuhúr-i ḥaḍrat-i Báb wa Bahá' Alláh* by Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl Gulpáygání and the *Tárikh-i baduww-i tulú'-i amr* by Mírzá Maḥmúd Zarqání, an amanuensis of 'Abd al-Bahá'. Details are given in Appendix 8. I do not think either work likely to contain more than minor information. The Zarqání history is described as 'very short'.

Tárikh-i shuhadá-yi amr

Three volumes of another proposed multi-volume work by Muḥammad 'Alí Malik Khusraví appeared in Tehran in BE 130/1974–75 under the title *Tárikh-i shuhadá-yi amr* ('History of the Martyrs of the Cause'). Volumes 1 and 2 are devoted to a history of the Shaykh Ṭabarsí siege and biographies of those participating in it. Volume 3 deals with martyrdoms in Tehran up to the year 1880; the first 334 pages concern themselves with individuals put to death up to 1853. Although these volumes are not well footnoted, the author does at least provide details of his sources, which include Bahá'í histories of Bahnamír (in Mázandarán) and Khurásán (by Ḥasan Fu'ádí). The third volume gives the sources for the biographies at the end of each section.

Histories of Nayríz

There are two modern Bahá'í histories of Nayríz. The longest of these is the *Lama'át al-anwár* of Muḥammad Shafí' Rawḥání Nayrízí, published in two volumes in Tehran in BE 130/1974–75. Volume 1 deals with the two major incidents which took place in Nayríz in 1266/1850 and 1269/1853. As in the case of Malik Khusraví's martyrologies, the mood is inevitably hagiographic and the method unscholarly. The author does, however, make use of a number of primary sources, among them the following:

1. A statement written on the wall of the small Masjid-i Jámi' of Nayríz by Áqá Sayyid Ḥusayn ibn Ibráhím Nayrízí (text in vol. 1, pp. 305–18)
2. A history by Mullá Muḥammad Shafí' Nayrízí (original in the possession of the Bahá'í assembly of Nayríz)
3. Oral accounts by survivors of the first and second episodes (listed vol. 2, p. 456)

The shorter history is *Nayríz-i mushkbíz* by Muḥammad ‘Alí Fayḏí, published in Tehran in BE 129/1973–74. This is similarly hagiographic and unscholarly in its presentation of references and contains little of real interest to the historian.

Two histories by Muḥammad ‘Alí Fayḏí

Two other works by the same author are of greater interest. *Khándán-i Afnán*, a history of the Afnán family, a Bahá’í sacred lineage traced back to relatives of the Báb, includes a number of early letters from the prophet’s uncle, Hájj Mírzá Sayyid Muḥammad (pp. 25–27, 27–31). These contain several points of historical importance. There are also two letters from Hájj Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí Afnán Wakíl al-Ḥaqq (1246/1830–31–1327/1909), in which he refers to his personal memories of the Báb (pp. 110–13, 113–17, with facsimiles of the originals). Otherwise, this work deals almost exclusively with the Bahá’í period.

Fayḏí’s *Ḥaḏrat-i Nuḡṭa-yi Úlá* (Tehran, BE 132/1976–77) is a work similar in scope to Balyuzi’s *The Báb*, on which it seems to have been modelled. Although the sourcing is poor and there is, as usual, no bibliography, some useful quotations and texts are given, and the originals of some documents are reproduced, including the following:

1. A letter from Sayyid Kázim Rashtí to Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú’í (facing p. 52)
2. A letter from Mullá Ḥusayn Dakhíl Marágha’í to the Báb (between pp. 280 and 281)
3. A letter from the Báb to Mullá Ḥusayn Dakhíl Marágha’í (between pp. 280 and 281)

This work contains an interesting account of the single portrait of the Báb painted by Áqá Bálá Big Shíshvání Naqshbandí during Shírání’s stay in Urúmiyya in 1848 (pp. 367–74). This painting is now kept in the Bahá’í archives in Haifa, where it may not be viewed by unbelievers. It is never reproduced in any form.

Qurrat al-‘Ayn and Ṭáhira

The anonymous Azalí publication entitled *Qurrat al-‘Ayn* (1368/1949) contains several verse and prose works by her, as described earlier. The Bahá’í work *Ṭáhira: Qurrat al-‘Ayn* by Ḥusám Nuqabá’í contains selections from a number of published historical works (regardless of quality) and several poems and letters by Qurrat al-‘Ayn, some of historical interest.

Regional histories

We have already mentioned the regional histories used by Fáḍil-i Mázandarání in the compilation of the *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*. Since Bahá'í historians tend to conflate the Bábí movement with their own, such materials often contain detailed references to Bábí history. Although these histories are extremely numerous, I have selected the following as being the most valuable in the present context. Details of manuscripts are provided in Appendix Eight.

1. *Tárikh-i Nayríz* by Áqá Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nayrízí. This work contains accounts of the first and second Nayríz upheavals, based on eye-witness reports by the author's father, Áqá Mullá Muḥammad Shafí' Nayrízí. It was composed in 1345/1927 and runs to about 255 pages.
2. *Mukhtaṣar-i waqáyi'-i Zanján* by Áqá 'Abd al-Wahháb Záhíd az-Zamán. This very short work was written at the request of the Bahá'í assembly of Zanján in Sh. 1302/1923.
3. *Waqáyi'-i Zanján* by Háshim Fathí Khalkhálí, dealing with the Zanján upheaval of 1850. This work contains a narrative by Áqá Muḥammad Qulí Zanjání, whose father was killed in the fighting. The present history was composed in 1345/1926.
4. *Manázir-i tárikhí-yi nahḍat-i amr-i Bahá'í dar Khurásán* by Ḥasan Fu'ádí Bushrú'í. This is the first part of a history of 460 pages, written in 1351/1932–33. It contains accounts of all the principal towns of Khurásán from the Bábí period. Amanat considers it as 'of great value for the study of the Bábís in that province'.⁷⁰²
5. *Tárikh-i amr-í-Ádharbáyján* by Áqá Ḥaydar 'Alí Usktú'í. This history of 141 pages (which seems to have been written in the 1920s) provides biographies of several early Bábís, including Mullá Yúsuf Ardabílí, Dakhíl-i Marágha'í, Mullá Aḥmad Ibdál Marágha'í, Mírzá Asad Alláh Khú'í Dayyán, and Ḥájí Sulaymán Khán Tabrizí. The author also describes his own friendship with A. L. M. Nicolas and indicates the information the latter obtained from him. Another history exists under the title *Tárikh-i Jináb-i Mírzá Ḥaydar 'Alí Uskú'í*. It differs from the present work, but I have no further information about it.

702 *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 436.

6. *Tárikh-i amrī-yi Núr* by Nizám al-Mamálik Tákurí. This is a history in three parts, of which the first is relevant to Babism. It was written in or just after 1344/1925–26 at the request of Mírzá Athar Khán Yazdání. Among the author's sources were two maternal uncles, his grandmother and mother, all of whom were relations of Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh and Mírzá Yaḥyá Ṣubḥ-i Azal. This short history of 40 pages is particularly useful for the light it sheds on Bábí theophanic theory and practice in the early 1850s.
7. *Tárikh-i amrī-yi Hamadán* by 'Abd al-Ḥamíd Ishráq Khávarí. This history, written in Sh. 1309/1930, relates details of Qurrat al-'Ayn's stay in Hamadán and incidents there in 1263/1847, 1268/1852, and 1269/1853.
8. *Tárikh-i amrī-yi Shíráz* by Áqá Sayyid Ḥabíb Alláh Afnán. The first part of this work, written after Sh. 1321/1942–43, deals with the family and early life of the Báb, his earliest followers, his ḥajj journey and return to Shíráz, and the fighting in Nayríz.
9. *Tárikh-i amrī-yi Káshán* by Mírzá Muḥammad Náṭiq Iṣfahání, written in Sh. 1309/1930. This work of 69 pages includes references to the visits to Káshán by the Báb and Bushrú'í, Ḥájí Mírzá Jání, and the names of believers and opponents in 1265/1849.
10. *Tárikh-i Jadhdháb* by Mírzá 'Azíz Alláh Jadhdháb. This undated history of 190 pages deals with individuals up to the early twentieth century. It begins with accounts of early Babism in Khurasan, particularly Mashhad.
11. *Tárikh-i mukhtaṣar-i Zanján* by Rúḥá 'Aṭá'í. This is based on accounts by the author's aunt, Raqá'iyya Khánúm. Undated and 86 pages in length, it contains references to the Zanján uprising.
12. *Sharḥ-i ḥál-i Mullá 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Qazvíní* by Badí'a Khánúm Lámi' Qazvíní. This work deals with incidents in Qazvín around the time of the murder of Qurrat al-'Ayn's uncle, Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Baraghání.
13. *Tárikh-i Sangsar*. This is an anonymous history of 35 pages written in Sh. 1311/1932 (?). It gives details of four individuals from Sangsar who 'foretold' the appearance of the Báb during the 1830s, as well as information on Sangsari Bábis who fought at Shaykh Ṭabarsí.

14. *Tárikh-i amrī-yi Bihnamír* by R. Mihrábkhání, containing details relating to Shaykh Ṭabarsí.
15. *Iqlím-i Núr* by Muḥammad ‘Alí Malik Khusraví. This work was first published in Tehran in BE 118/1962–63. A revised version exists in manuscript.
16. *Kháṭirát* (Memoirs) of Áqá Sayyid ‘Abd ar-Raḥím Iṣfahání. Part of a collection of narratives on the Bábi-Bahá’í history of Iṣfahán. I have not seen this document, but Amanat states that it contains new information.⁷⁰³
17. *Kháṭirát* of Sayyid Jawád Muḥarrir. Similar to the above, this is also said by Amanat to contain new material.⁷⁰⁴
18. *Tárikh-i amrī-yi Ádharbáyján* by Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mílání. A study in two parts, the first a general survey of Bábi history in Azerbaijan, the second notes on Ḥaydar ‘Alí Uskú’i’s account (item 5 above).
19. *Waqáyi’-i Ṭihrán* by Mírzá Maḥmúd Zarqání.

Numerous other short local histories exist in the INBA. For rather sparse details of some of them, see Nuqabá’í, *Manábi’-i tárikh-i amr*.

703 *ibid.*, p. 427.

704 *ibid.*

Appendix I

Manuscripts of the Báb's writings and their locations

*al-Bayán al-'Arabi*⁷⁰⁵

1. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Arabe 2511⁷⁰⁶
2. Paris, B.N. 4669 (dated late 19th. C.)
3. Iraq, (in possession of 'Abd ar-Razzáq al-Ḥasaní)⁷⁰⁷
4. Iraq, (also in possession of al-Ḥasaní)⁷⁰⁸
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 101; dated c. 1900)
6. Haifa, IBA (ii)⁷⁰⁹
7. Iran, Azalí possession (in the hand of the Báb)⁷¹⁰
8. Iran, Azalí possession
9. Iran, Azalí possession
10. Iran, Azalí possession
11. Iran, Azalí possession
12. Iran, Azalí possession
13. Tehran, INBA 4002C
14. Iran, INBMC 43 (pp. 1-68)
15. Iran, INBMC 86 (pp. 1-64)

Bayán-i Fársí

1. Cambridge, Browne F.13⁷¹¹
2. Cambridge, Browne F.12 (dated before 1282/1865)⁷¹²

705 In the Cambridge Browne Collection, part of MS Y.9 is stated to consist of two chapters of the Arabic *Bayán*, but these are part of another, unidentified work.

706 This is the text used by Gobineau in preparing his translation.

707 The first of two MSS used by al-Ḥasaní for his printed text. It was obtained for him in 1933 through Ḥájj Maḥmúd al-Qaṣṣábchí, chairman of the National Bahá'í Assembly of Iraq.

708 The second of al-Ḥasaní's two MSS. It was obtained in 1956 through Kámil 'Abbás, secretary of the National Bahá'í Assembly of Iraq.

709 Although not listed by the Bahá'í Research Department in Haifa, a MS of this work is referred to in the bibliography of Zarandí's *Dawn-Breakers* (p. 671); since this is indicated as having been used by Shoghi Effendi, I presume that it remains in Haifa, possibly among his papers.

710 This MS extends only to wáḥid 9. This and the next five MSS (8 to 12) are those used in the preparation of the Azalí lithographed ed. As with the MSS of the Persian *Bayán* used by the Azalís, I must presume that they are still in their possession.

711 Sent by the Azalí writer Shaykh Aḥmad Rúḥí Kirmání, 1891.

712 Given to Browne in Rafsanján, 22 August 1888. It seems to have been transcribed before 22 Muḥarram 1282/17 June 1865.

3. Cambridge, U.L., Or. 34 (8)⁷¹³
4. St. Petersburg, Institut des Langues Orientales⁷¹⁴
5. St. Petersburg, Academie Impériale des Sciences⁷¹⁵
6. London, B.L., Or. 2819⁷¹⁶
7. London, B.L., Or. 5760
8. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Persan 1070 (ff. 1–284)⁷¹⁷
9. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Persan 1279⁷¹⁸
10. Unknown (originally Nicolas 115; in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal)⁷¹⁹
11. Unknown (originally Nicolas 103:1)
12. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 103:2; in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal)⁷²⁰
13. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī; defective)⁷²¹
14. Haifa, IBA (iii) (in the hand of ‘Abd al-Ḥamad ibn Muḥammad ‘Alī)
15. Haifa, IBA (iv) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)
16. Haifa, IBA (v) (in the hand of Mírzá Báqir Khán Shírázī)
17. Haifa, IBA (vi) (in the hand of Mírzá Abu’l-Qásim Sá‘at-sáz Shírázī)
18. Haifa, IBA (vii) (dated 1293/1876)
19. Haifa, IBA (viii)
20. Haifa, IBA (ix)
21. Haifa, IBA (x)
22. Haifa, IBA (xi)
23. Haifa, IBA (xii)
24. Tehran, ‘NBA 1004C (from a copy in the hand of Mullá Aḥmad Mu‘allim Ḥisári)⁷²²

713 Bought by Browne from Naaman’s, London, 5 February 1901; no colophon.

714 See Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. 3, no. 1. Donated by Bezabrazov.

715 Donated by Bakulin, 1874.

716 ‘... a very good MS’, Browne, *Materials*, p. 205, n. Transcribed by the Bahá’í chronicler Muḥammad Nabíl Zarandí. Obtained in Yazd by Sidney Churchill, 1885.

717 From Gobineau’s library.

718 Sent from Nicosia (probably by Riḍván ‘Alí), October 1897.

719 This was the text used by Nicolas as the basis for his translation.

720 Bound with Azal’s *Taḍrib fi ḥaddi naḥsihi*

721 Between the last line of p. 41 and the first line of p. 42, a section corresponding to p. 47, line 3 to p. 69, line 7 of the Tehran lithograph edition has dropped out.

722 This is described as the *waqf* copy of Aḥmad ibn Ismá‘il Khurásání, the *mutawallí* of the *waqf* being Mullá ‘Alí Bajastání. According to Mázandarání (*Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 171), Ḥisári brought to Mashhad a copy of the *Bayán* which had been corrected by the Báb in person. Bajastání made several copies from this manuscript. A letter in Persian from the Secretariat of the Universal House of Justice (the chief international Bahá’í authority, based in Israel) is bound with my photocopy of the *Bayán* MS in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī kept in Haifa. This letter (dated 5 September 1976) refers to ‘the well-known book written in the hand of Mu‘allim-i Ḥisári and corrected by the Báb’, but no indication is given as to the whereabouts of this ‘well-known book’.

25. Tehran, INBA 1006C (apparently late 19th. C.; an elegant copy)
26. Tehran, INBA 4008C (dated 1320/1903)
27. Tehran, INBA 6015C (dated 1309/1892; in the hand of *ḥarf al-fá' wa 'l-khá'* ('the letter "f" and "kh") from Iṣfahán; an excellent copy)⁷²³
28. Tehran, INBA 6018C (dated 1297/1880; in the hand of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alí Nabíl ibn Nabíl Qazvíní?)⁷²⁴
29. Tehran, NBA 6019C (dated 1316/1899)
30. Tehran, INBA 6021C (undated)
31. Tehran, Adabiyát 482 Jawádí (dated 1270/1853–54)
32. Tehran, PákHzád (dated 1305/1888; in the hand of Muḥammad Šádiq Iṣfahání)⁷²⁵
33. Tehran, PákHzád (dated 1346/1927–28)
34. Tehran, Malik 6117 (dated 13th. C.)
35. Tehran, University 3414 (dated 1311/1893)
36. Tehran, University 5169 (dated 13th. C.)
37. Tehran, Dánish-sará-yi 'Alí (dated 14th. C.)
38. Tehran, Majlis 5710 (dated 14th. C.)⁷²⁶
39. Iran, Azalí possession (dated 1273/1857; in the hand of Sayyid Yúsuf Iṣfahání)⁷²⁷
40. Iran, Azalí possession (dated 1288/1871; written in Tehran in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal's son, Núr Alláh)
41. Iran, Azalí possession (in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal's son, Mírzá Hádi Abqá)
42. Iran, Azalí possession (dated 1292/1875; in the hand of Mírzá Maḥmúd)⁷²⁸
43. Iran, Azalí possession (in the hand of Mírzá Taqí Iṣfahání)
44. Iran, Azalí possession (in the hand of Mírzá Muşṭafá')⁷²⁹
45. Iran, Azalí possession (in the hand of Hájí Mírzá Mahdí Amin)
46. Iran, Azalí possession (in the hand of Sayyid Raḥím)
47. Iran, Azalí possession ('other manuscripts')⁷³⁰
48. Hamadán, I'timád ad-Dawla Library 96 (dated 1320/1902–03)

723 According to a note in the hand of Muḥammad 'Alí Fayḍí kept at the front of this copy, the scribe was a Mírzá Faḍl Alláh Núrí. This does not, however, appear to account for the second letter in the name, 'kh'. The most likely place-name beginning with this letter is, of course, 'Khurásání', but the number of proper names beginning with 'f' is too great to make a firm identification easy.

724 A note in the hand of Dr Muḥammad Afnán, kept in the cover of the photocopy of this MS, suggests this identification for the scribe.

725 See Munzawí, *Fihrist*, 17192.

726 Incorrectly catalogued as 'Íqán'.

727 This and the following eight MSS (40–47) are those used in the preparation of the 1946 Azalí lithographed edition. I possess no information as to the exact whereabouts of any of them.

728 Mírzá Maḥmúd was a son of Mírzá Karím and Fátima Khánum, a young sister of Şubḥ-i Azal who acted as intermediary between Qurrat al-'Ayn and other Bábis during her term of house-arrest in the residence of Maḥmúd Khán Kalántar in Tehran.

729 Browne's scribe.

730 *Bayán-i Fársí*, lith, ed., afterword, p. 1.

49. Yazd, Muḥammad ‘Alí Farhumand (in the hand of Ghulám ‘Alí Ra’ís)

Bayán fī ‘ilm al-jawámid wa’l-mushtáqát

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 145–49
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 350–52
3. Tehran, NBA 6006C, pp. 81–83
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 130–34

Bayán ‘illat¹ tahrím al-mahárim

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 159–63
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 352–54
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 87–89
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 493–96
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 165–69

Bayán jabr wa tafwíḍ

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 375–77
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 473–77
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 53–56

Bayán mas‘ilat al-qadar

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 110–15
2. Tehran, NBA 6004C, pp. 192–95
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 67–69
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 134–38

Bayán taqárub wa tabá‘ud

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 141–45
2. Tehran, NBA 5006C, pp. 348–50
3. Tehran, NBA 6004C, pp. 187–89
4. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 80–81
5. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 455–58
6. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 77–79
7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 179–81

***Dalá'il sab'a* (Arabic)**

1. Tehran, INBA 2007C (ff. 1a–13b)
2. Tehran, Azalí possession⁷³¹
3. Haifa, IBA (originally Nicolas 106, with Persian text)

***Dalá'il-i sab'a* (Persian)**

1. Cambridge, Browne F.22
2. Cambridge, Browne F.25⁷³²
3. London, B.L. Or. 5109 (in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)
4. Paris, B.N. 6154 (in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)⁷³³
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 116; dated 1313/1895; in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)⁷³⁴
6. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 106)⁷³⁵
7. Haifa, IBA (iii)⁷³⁶
8. Haifa, IBA (iv) (incomplete)
9. Haifa, IBA (v) (in the hand of 'Andalíb)⁷³⁷
10. Haifa, IBA (vi)
11. Tehran, INBA 2007C (ff. 13b–64b)
12. Tehran, Malik 6110 (dated 1288/1871–72)
13. Tehran, in private hands (in the hand of 'Alí Tavánqar)

Du'á-yi alf

1. Iran (used as basis for citation by Mázandarání, *Asrár al-áthár*, vol. 1, pp. 179–82)

731 This MS is the basis for the printed text published with the Persian *Dalá'il-i sab'a*.

732 In the course of his visit to Şubḥ-i Azal in Cyprus, from March to April 1890, Browne brought with him a copy of this work previously transcribed by himself; this copy he lent to Azal, who kept it for a few days, transcribed it, and returned it with a few minor emendations, declaring it to be genuine. (Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, p. 447.). This MS represents Browne's transcription with Azal's emendations.

733 With works by Şubḥ-i Azal.

734 This MS includes annotations written by Şubḥ-i Azal and by Riḍván 'Alí at the former's dictation.

735 With other works.

736 There is a reference to a MS of this work in the bibliography of Zarandí (p. 671). Although I have listed it separately here, assuming that it is among the papers of Shoghi Effendi, it may very well be included among other MSS at Haifa.

737 With other works. 'Andalíb is the well-known Bahá'í poet Áqá Mírzá 'Alí Ashraf Láhijání (c. 1270/1853–54 to 1335/1916–17).

Du‘á-yi ṣaḥīfa: see Ṣaḥīfa makhzúna***Hayákil (various)***

1. Cambridge, Browne, Folder 4 (item 10) (several *hayákil* mounted on card, sent by Mírzá Muṣṭafá)
2. Cambridge, Browne, Folder 3 (item 6) (*haykal* in the Báb’s hand; reproduced as frontispiece to *Nuḡṭat al-káf*)
3. London, B.L., Or. 6887 (a large *haykal* said to be in the Báb’s hand; presented by Claude Cobham)
4. Tehran, Azalí possession (?)⁷³⁸

Haykal ad-dín

1. Iran, Azalí possession (defective; possibly made from original in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí)
2. Iran, Azalí possession (dated 1268/1852; in the hand of ‘a Bahá’í scribe’)
3. Iran, Azalí possession (dated 1267/1851–52; in the hand of Áqá Sayyid Raḥím Iṣfahání)

Khaṣá’il-i sab‘a

No surviving MS is known to the present author; however, both Fayḍí and Ishráq Khávarí refer to the contents, from which we may infer the existence of at least one copy in Iran.

Khuṭba-yi qahriyya

1. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 1–13
2. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 127–50

Khuṭbas

- i) ‘Two *khuṭbas* [written] in Búshihir’
 1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 341–48
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 359–63
- ii) ‘A *khuṭba* [written] in Banakán’. No surviving MS known.
- iii) ‘A *khuṭba* [written] in Kanakán’
 1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 351–58
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 355–59

⁷³⁸The originals of the *haykals* reproduced in *Qismattí az alwáḥ-i khaṭṭ*.

- iv) 'A *khuṭba* on the 'Īd al-Filr' (= *khuṭba* written in Masqat)
1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 359–96
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 326–30
- v) 'A *khuṭba* [written] in Jidda
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 330–35
 2. Tehran, INBA 3036C, pp. 404ff, (This is a Xerox copy of a MS in private possession elsewhere in Iran.)
- vi) 'A *khuṭba* on the sufferings of the Imám Ḥusayn' (= *Khuṭba fi'l saḥāna*)
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 317–20
- vii) 'Three *khuṭbas* [written] on the way to Mecca None of these seem to have survived.
- viii) 'A *khuṭba* for Mullá Ḥusayn [written] on board ship' (?= 'a *khuṭba* [written] in Jidda at the time of his embarkation on the ship')
1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 348–51
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 339–40
- ix) 'A *khuṭba* on gematria'
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 315–17
 2. Tehran, NBA 6004C, pp. 209–213
 3. Tehran, INBMC 67, pp. 228–33
- x) 'A *khuṭba* [written] one stage from Medina'
1. Tehran, NBA 5006C, pp. 322–24
- xi) 'Two *khuṭbas* [written] near the staging-post of aṣ-Ṣafrá'
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 320–22 and 324–26
- xii) A *khuṭba* written as a preface to the *Tafsír Súrāt al-kawthar* (see under that title)

Kitáb al-asmá' (Kitáb asmá'í Kullí shay'/Tafsír al-asmá')⁷³⁹

1. Cambridge, Browne F.17 (Vol. 1; defective)
2. Cambridge, Browne F.16 (Vol. 2; defective)
3. Cambridge, Browne F.19 (Vol. 1; defective)
4. Cambridge, Browne F.18 (Vol. 2; defective)
5. Cambridge, Browne F.20
6. London, B.L. Or. 5278
7. London, B.L. Or. 5487
8. London, B.L. Or. 5488
9. London, B.L. Or. 5489
10. London, B.L. Or. 5490
11. London, B.L. Or. 5869
12. London, B.L. Or. 6255 (ff. 1–265)⁷⁴⁰
13. Paris, B.N. 5806 (in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)
14. Paris, B.N. 5807 (in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)
15. Paris, B.N. 6141 (in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)
16. Paris, B.N. 6142 (in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)
17. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 104; dated 1323/1905; from 2:10 to 7:19)
18. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 104; dated 1321/1903; from 8:1 to 19:18)
19. Haifa, IBA (iii) (in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí; 27 sheets)
20. Haifa, IBA (iv)
21. Haifa, IBA (v)
22. Haifa, IBA (vi)
23. Haifa, IBA (vii)
24. Haifa, IBA (viii)
25. Tehran, INBA 6002C (82 sections, most of four grades)
26. Tehran, Millí 584/5

Kitáb al-fihrist

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 62–69
2. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 285–93
3. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 339–48
4. Unknown (originally belonging to Nicolas, as chapter six of his copy of the *Ṣahífa bayna'l-ḥaramayn*)

⁷³⁹ The B.L. MS Or. 5481 listed by Browne (*Materials*, p. 206) as a MS of the *Kitáb al-asmá'* is not a Bábí work at all. Another MS there (Or. 6255) contains, apart from a copy of the *Kitáb al-asmá'* (ff. 1–265), twenty prayers (several of them titled), written mostly for the days of the week or for recitation after noon or morning devotions.

⁷⁴⁰ Bought from E. Hindamian, 15 October 1901.

Kitáb ar-rúḥ

1. Haifa, IBA (i)
2. Haifa, IBA (ii)
3. Haifa, IBA (iii)
4. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 69–100 and 61–173 (dated 1261/1845; 98 *súras* only)⁷⁴¹
5. Tehran, INBA 7005C (undated; 415 *súras* only)

Kitáb aṭ-ṭahára

1. Tehran, INBA 5010C, pp. 166–75 (apparently incomplete)

Kitáb al-‘ulamá

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 318–28 (carries title)
2. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 83–92
3. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 452–63
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 206–16

Kitáb a‘mál as-sana: see Şahīfa a‘mál as-sana**Kitáb-i haykal/Kitáb-i haykíl (= last five sections of the Kitáb-i panj sha‘n)****Kitáb-i panj sha‘n/Shu‘ún-i khamṣa⁷⁴²**

1. Cambridge, Browne F.15 (in the hand of Azal) (*Shu‘ún-i khamṣa*)⁷⁴³
2. London, B.L. Or. 5612 (*dar bayan-i shu‘ún-i da‘wát*)
3. London, B.L. Or. 6680 (*Kitáb al-Bayán fī ‘l-shu‘ún al-khamṣa*)
4. Paris, B.N. 6143 (in the hand of Riḍván ‘Alí) (*Shu‘ún-i khamṣa*)
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 106; with other works) (*Panj sha‘n*)

741 Sections 1 to 64 are on pages 69 to 100; sections 64 to 69 are on page 61; sections 69 to 98 are in the margins of pages 62 to 73.

742 Works of either title are listed here; a few other alternative titles are also given.

743 This MS contains eight sections, each with five grades, as follows: 1. *al-ilāh al-ilāh*; 2. *al-awḥad al-awḥad*; 3. *al-abhá al-abhá*; 4. *al-ajmal al-ajmal*; 5. *al-aqwam al-aqwam*; 6. *al-aḥad al-aḥad*; 7. *al-ajlal al-ajlal*; 8. *al-anwar al-anwar*. These sections correspond to those of the same name in the lithographed edition, though they do not always occur in the same order. They are followed (pp. 394–95) by a short closing section, beginning: *shahada ‘llāh annahu lá iláha illá huwa al-‘aziz al-maḥbúb*.

6. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 112; in the hand of Mírzá Muṣṭafá) (*Shu'ún-i khamṣa*)
7. Haifa, IBA (iii) (*Shu'ún-i khamṣa*)
8. Haifa, IBA (iv) (*Shu'ún-i khamṣa*)
9. Haifa, IBA (v) (*Panj sha'n*)
10. Tehran, Azalí possession (*Panj sha'n*)⁷⁴⁴
11. Tehran, Pákhzád (in the hand of Azal; two of five grades only) (*Panj sha'n*)

Lawḥ-i ḥurúfát (= Kitáb-i ḥaykal/Kitáb-i ḥayákil)

Letters

Items marked with an asterisk are either referred to by name in the list of letters and prayers in the *Kitáb al-fihrist* or are assumed to be identical with pieces mentioned there.

1. Iran, INBMC 98 (i) On the apostasy of Mullá Jawád Vilyání, pp. 111–22
2. Iran, INBMC 67
 - i) On the words 'the Essence of 'Alí is in contact with the Essence of God', pp. 100–104
 - ii) On alteration of the divine Will and the 'preserved tablet', pp. 172–76
 - iii) On illness, p. 176
 - iv) On the ḥajj, pp. 176–77
 - v) On gematria and alchemy, pp. 203–04
 - vi) To a certain Sayyid Ḥasan, in which the Báb refers to the trial of Baṣṭámí, instructs the Letters of the Living to travel to Karbalá', and indicates that one of them should teach his verses in the house of Rashtí there. This letter seems to have been written on the return journey from Mecca.
3. Tehran, INBA 5014C
 - i) In reply to six questions from Mírzá Sulaymán, pp. 159–63
 - ii) On the imams, to an unknown recipient, pp. 163–66
 - iii) In reply to four questions, to an unknown recipient, pp. 170–71
 - iv) A prayer and a reply to a question from an unknown correspondent, pp. 173–88
 - v) A prayer for Sayyid Ja'far Shubbar, pp. 216–18* (cf. xxii)

⁷⁴⁴This MS is the basis of the lithograph text.

- vi) To 'Abd al-Wahháb, pp. 257–64
 - vii) On *istiftáh* (asking the explanation of texts), pp. 264–69
 - viii) To Áqá Sayyid Jawád [Karbalá'í?], pp. 269–70
 - ix) To Mullá Mahdí Khú'í, pp. 270–71
 - x) To Mullá Ḥasan Bajastání, 271–75
 - xi) To Mullá Aḥmad Mu'allim Ḥisárí, pp. 275–79
 - xii) In reply to a question from an unknown correspondent, pp. 279–84
 - xiii) Prayer in reply to Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl, to be read during the 'thanksgiving prostration' (*sijdat ash-shukr*), p. 294*
 - xiv) Prayer in reply to Mullá Aḥmad Khurásání, Di'bil, and the son of Mírzá 'Alí al-Akhhbárá, pp. 295–98*
 - xv) Prayer written at the request of Karbalá'í 'Alí Aṣghar Khurásání, p. 298*
 - xvi) Prayer written in Medina in reply to Ḥájj Sayyid 'Alí Kirmání, pp. 198–99*
 - xvii) To Ḥájj Sulaymán Khán, written in Medina*
 - xviii) Prayer in reply to several believers, on twenty questions, pp. 300–04*
 - xix) Prayer in reply to Mírzá Muḥammad Hádí and Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Qazvíní, pp. 305–08*
 - xx) Prayer in reply to Mullá Ibráhím Maḥallátí, pp. 308–11*
 - xxi) Prayer in reply to Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Nahrí, Mullá Maḥmúd, and other believers, pp. 311–15*
 - xxii) Prayer in reply to Sayyid Ja'far Shubbar, pp. 315–18* (cf. v)
 - xxiii) Prayer (copied from the hand of) Mullá Ḥusayn Bushrú'í, pp. 318–19
 - xxiv) To Ḥájj Mírzá Ḥasan Khurásání, pp. 319–21
 - xxv) To an unknown recipient, pp. 322–24
 - xxvi) To his wife (*li'l-bayt*), p. 330*
 - xxvii) To Karím Khán Kirmání (?), p. 331
4. Tehran, INBA 6012C
- i) To the people of Mecca, pp. 257–260 (identical to his letter to Sharif-Sulaymán of Mecca)*
 - ii) Prayer in reply to Ḥájj Sayyid 'Alí Kirmání, pp. 260–61*
 - iii) To Ḥájj Sulaymán Khán, pp. 261–62*
 - iv) To an unknown recipient, pp. 262–64
5. Tehran, INBA 5006C

- i) On two questions, in reply to an unknown correspondent, pp. 347–48
 - ii) On seven questions raised by Mírzá Muḥammad Yazdí, pp. 363–65
 - iii) In reply to Mullá ‘Abd al-Jalíl, pp. 365–67
 - iv) To Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí, pp. 365–71
6. Tehran, INBA 4011C
- i) On three questions, pp. 137–41
 - ii) To Mírzá Muḥammad Yazdí, pp. 149–56
 - iii) To ‘Abd al-Jalíl, pp. 156–59
 - iv) To ‘Jalíl’s brother’ (akh al-Jalíl, pp. 163–64
 - v) To ‘Ḥabíb’, pp. 164–65
7. Tehran, INBA 6004C
- i) To ‘Abd al-Jalíl, in reply to five questions, pp. 198–200
 - ii) In reply to three questions, pp. 200–04
 - iii) To an unknown recipient, pp. 207–09
 - iv) In reply to questions on gematria, pp. 213–15
8. Cambridge, Browne F.28 (item 7)
- 1) To Sharíf Sulaymán and the people of Mecca*
 - ii) To Ḥájí Sulaymán Khán*
9. Cambridge, Browne F.25 (item 3) For a list of contents, see Appendix Five.

Letter to Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí I

- 1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 332–36 (undated, but early)
- 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 369–71 (dated 1262/1846)

Letter to Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí II

- 1. Iran (basis for published text in Fayḍí, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡta*, pp. 151–53)

Letter to Ḥájí Mírzá Áqásí III

- 1. Iran (basis for published text in Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 85–89)

Letter to Muḥammad Sháh I

- 1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 328–32 (undated, but early)
- 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 367–69 (dated 1262/1846)

Letter to Muḥammad Sháh II

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28 (item 7)
2. Iran (basis for published text in *Fayḍí, Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡta*, pp. 149–51)

Letter to Muḥammad Sháh III

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabát*, pp. 13–18)

Letter to Muḥammad Sháh IV

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabát*, pp. 5–8)

Letter to Muḥammad Sháh V

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabát*, pp. 9–13)
2. Iran, private possession (basis for published text in *Mázandarání, Ṣuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 82–85)

Minor Works (Iṣfahán)

1. Letter to Manúchihir Khán
 - i) Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 383–88
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 133–36 (entitled *fadhlaka*)
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 411–416
 - iv) Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 11
2. Letter to the governor of Shústar
 - i) Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 408–15
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 137–43
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 68–75
 - iv) Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 194–203
 - v) Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 12
3. Letter to Mírzá Sa'íd Ardistání
 - i) Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 416–30
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 144–54
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 419–31
 - iv) Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 259–73]
 - v) Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 419–34
 - vi) Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 10
4. Letter to Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí al-Mudhahhib
 - i) Tehran, NBA 6010C, pp. 398–407
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 155–62
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 406–11

- iv) Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 219–28
- 5. Letter commenting on a tradition of the Imám Riḍá'
 - i) Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 390–92
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 162–64
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 404–06
 - iv) Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 15
- 6. The first *ishráq* of al-Lawámi' al-badí'
 - i) Tehran, INBA 7009C, pp. 175–202
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 164–80
- 7. Tafsír written in reply to Mírzá Ḥasan Waqáyi'-nigár
 - i) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 180–192
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 385–98
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 85–100
 - iv) Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 7:4
- 8. Letter to a theological student on the questions in the Qur'án
 - i) Tehran, NBA 6010C, pp. 393–98
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 192–96
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 406–11
 - iv) Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 273–79 (dated 30 Ramaḍán 1264/31 August 1848 [?])
 - v) Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 13
- 9. Sharḥ; kayfiyyat al-mi'ráj
 - i) Tehran, NBA 6010C, pp. 388–90
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 197–98
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 402–04
 - iv) Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 416–18
 - v) Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 14
- 10. *Risála* on singing
 - i) Tehran, NBA 6010C, pp. 430–50
 - ii) Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 202–20
 - iii) Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 233–59
 - iv) Iran, INBMC 82, pp. 96–133

11. *Risála-yi dhahabiyya II*

- i) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 157–80
- ii) Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 70–98

12. Letter in reply to three questions

- i) Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 398–400

13. Letter on the significance of the letters of the alphabet

- 1. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 400–02

Nubuwwa kháṣṣa: see *ar-Risála fī'l-nubuwwa al-kháṣṣa*

Prayers

The following manuscripts contain substantial numbers of prayers and other unclassified works by the Báb:

- 1. Cambridge, Browne F.14 (Min áthár al-Bayán)
- 2. Cambridge, Browne F.25 (Min áthár al-Bayán)
- 3. Cambridge, Browne Folder 4 (item 10) (29 letters, hayákil, etc., mounted on card; received from Mírzá Mírzá Muṣṭafá, 3 June 1913)
- 4. London, B.L. Or. 5629 (Áthár-i mutafarriqa-yi Bayán; prayers, etc.)
- 5. London, B.L. Or. 6255 (20 prayers, following *Kitáb al-asmá'*)
- 6. Tehran, INBA 6001C (prayers)
- 7. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 173–227, 294–319, 324–30 (prayers)
- 8. Tehran, INBA 6005C (prayers)

Qayyúm al-asmá'

- 1. Cambridge, Browne F.11 (dated 1891)
- 2. Leningrad (see Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. 1, pp. 179–91)
- 3. Leningrad (formerly in the Rosen collection)
- 4. London, BL Or. 3539
- 5. London, BL Or. 6681
- 6. Paris, BN 6435 (dated 1909, in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)
- 7. Paris, BN 5780 (dated 1897, in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí; this MS is bound with a copy of the *tafsír* on the *Súrat al-baqara*)
- 8. Tehran, INBA 6020C (dated 1275/1858–59, apparently in the hand of Sayyid Mahdí Dahají, transcribed in Baghdad)
- 9. Tehran, INBA 6016C (dated 1281/1864)
- 10. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 5–262 (dated 1262/1846, in the hand of 'Muḥammad 'Alí', transcribed in Karbalá')
- 11. Haifa, IBA (formerly Nicolas 107; the MS seems incomplete) (i)
- 12. Haifa, IBA (ii)
- 13. Haifa, IBA (iii)

14. Haifa, IBA (iv)
15. Haifa, IBA (v) (defective)
16. Haifa, IBA (vi) (dated 1261/1845, in the hand of Muḥammad Mahdí Sháh Karam: the oldest MS)
17. Princeton, University Library, Bábí Collection' 55.

Risála fi'l-nubuwwa al-kháṣṣa

1. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 101)
2. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribín)⁷⁴⁵
3. Haifa, IBA (iii)⁷⁴⁶
4. Haifa, IBA (iv)
5. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 1–60
6. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 13–76
7. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 311–82

Risála fi'l-tasdí

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 121–23
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 207–09 (without *Risála fi'l-sulúk*)
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 72–73
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 477–80
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 61–63
6. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 143–45

Risála furú' al-'adliyya

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 148–82 (Persian translation only)
2. Tehran, INBA 5010C, pp. 82–166 (Arabic text with Persian translation)⁷⁴⁷
3. Tehran, INBA 6011C, pp. 81–120 (Persian translation only)⁷⁴⁸

745 With other works.

746 With other works.

747 This MS seems at first confused: pages 1 to 11 are blank; pages 12 to 82 contain the five *abwáb* which constitute the *Ṣaḥífa-yi 'adliyya*; pages 82 to 86 contain *the Ziyára jámi'a* in Arabic, erroneously numbered 'báb six'; pages 86 to 119 contain the six remaining *abwáb* of the *Risála furú' al-'adliyya*, numbered as *abwáb* 7 to 12; pages 119 to 130 contain the Persian translation of *báb* 7 (i.e., *báb* 2 of the *risála*), numbered as 'báb 13'; pages 130 to 141 contain the Persian translation of *báb* 8 (*báb* 3 of the *risála*), without a chapter number; pages 141 to 153 contain the Persian translation of *báb* 9 (*báb* 4 of the *risála*), numbered as 'báb 14'; pages 153 to 160 contain the Persian translation of *báb* 10 (*báb* 5 of the *risála*), without a chapter number; pages 160 to 163 contain the Persian translation of *báb* 11 (*báb* 6 of the *risála*), without a chapter number; pages 163 to 166 contain the Persian translation of *báb* 12 (*báb* 7 of the *risála*), without a chapter number. Pages 166 to 175 contain the piece entitled *Kitáb aṭ-ṭahára*.

748 6011C contains only the Persian translation of the *Risála*, following a copy of the *Ṣaḥífa-yi 'adliyya*. Several pages have dropped out between what are now numbered pages 113 and 114: the last line of p. 113 corresponds to line 12, p. 149 in MS INBA 5010C, and the first line of p. 114 to line 14, p. 160.

Şahîfa-yi 'adliyya

1. Tehran, INBA 6011C (pp. 1–77)
2. Tehran, INBA 5010C (pp. 12–82)
3. Tehran, INBA 3006C
4. Tehran, 6012C, pp. 265–99 (contains *bâbs* three and four only)
5. Tehran (used as basis for Azalí printed text)
6. Tehran, Malik Library 5677 (dated 1263/1846–47)
7. Tehran, Tehran University Library 1350/2 (dated 13th. C)
8. Tehran, Millî library 586/1 (dated 13th. C)
9. Haifa, IBA (i)
10. Haifa, IBA (ii)
11. Haifa, IBA (iii) (dated 1322/1904)
12. Haifa, IBA (iv) (originally Nicolas 106)
13. Iran, INBMC 82, pp. 134–205

Şahîfa a'mâl as-sana

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 262–78
2. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 413–52

aş-Şahîfa bayna'l-ḥaramayn

1. Cambridge, CUL, Or. 943 (8) (dated 1894, in the hand of Riḍvân 'Alí)⁷⁴⁹
2. Cambridge, Browne F.7 (dated 1905, in the hand of Riḍvân 'Alí)⁷⁵⁰
3. London, BL, Or. 5325 (in the hand of Riḍvân 'Alí)
4. Paris, BN 5804 (dated 1898, in the hand of Riḍvân 'Alí)
5. Paris, BN 6248 (dated 1904, in the hand of Riḍvân 'Alí)⁷⁵¹
6. Leiden, UL, 2414 (dated 1263/1847, Shíráz)⁷⁵²
7. Haifa, IBA (i) (dated 1261/1845, Shíráz)
8. Haifa, IBA (ii)
9. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 179–252 (dated 1261/1845, in the hand of 'Muḥammad 'Alí')

749 This forms part of a collection containing works of Mírzá Yaḥyá Şubḥ-i Azal. It was given by Azal himself to Cobham on 26 January 1897, and by the latter to Guy Le Strange, who donated it to Cambridge University Library in February 1916. There is a note of the date written in English on the last page: February 4, 1898; this, however, does not seem to correspond to the Bábí date in the colophon.

750 Given to Browne by Cobham in May 1906.

751 Bound with Şubḥ-i Azal's *Mustayqiz* and *La'álí wa majáli*.

752 'The best and oldest manuscript' (Browne, *Materials*, p. 200). This is no longer true in respect of the age of the MS.

10. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 348–413 (undated)

11. Unknown, originally owned by Nicolas⁷⁵³

Şahîfa-yi Ja'fariyya

1. Iran, INBMC 60, pp. 57–154

2. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 48–108 (chapters 1 to 4 missing)

3. Unknown (copy used by Jelal Azal to prepare pages for presentation to William Miller)

Şahîfa makhzúna/Du'á-yi şahîfa

1. Haifa, IBA (i)

2. Haifa, IBA (ii)

3. Haifa, IBA (iii)

4. Haifa, IBA (iv) (originally in possession of Nicolas; dated 1261/1845, in the hand of Muḥammad 'Alí Khurásání Níshápúrí)

5. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 284–314 (dated 1262/1846)

6. Tehran, INBA 6009C, pp. 1–171 (undated, but early; possibly in the hand of Taqí Músawí)⁷⁵⁴

7. Cambridge, CUL, Add. 3704 (6) (undated)

Sharḥ on a statement of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí in his commentary on the Khuṭba aṭ-ṭutunjiyya of 'Alí

1. Tehran, NBA 4011C, pp. 171–76

2. Tehran, NBA 5006C, pp. 343–45

3. Tehran, NBA 6004C, pp. 204–07

4. Iran, INBMC 67, p. 125–29

Tafsír áyat an-núr

1. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 27

2. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 134–37

3. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 345–57

4. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 77–78

5. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 485–88

6. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 75–77

7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 155–57

753 In *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed*, he refers to the 'manuscrit de ma bibliothèque' more than one. I am, however, unaware of the present whereabouts of this copy.

754 This is a confused copy. Its contents are arranged as follows: pp. 1–2, Introduction; 3–18, Prayer 1; 18–42 (line 2), Prayer 2; 42 (lines 2–9), last section of Prayer 5, beginning after the heading *wa qul ba'da şalát al-'aşr*; 42 (line 10)–48, Prayer 10; 48–56, Prayer 3; 56–124, Prayers 4 to 9; 125–32, Prayer 11; 132–71, Prayers 12 to 14.

Tafsír Du'á aṣ-ṣabáḥ

1. Cambridge, Browne F.21 (item 26)
2. Tehran, 4012C (pp. 96–109)

Tafsír al-há' I

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 2–58
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 221–74
3. Iran, private possession (copy in Tehran, INBA 4002C)
4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 81–125
5. Iran, INBMC 67, p. 4–52
6. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 99–154

Tafsír al-há' H

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 58–96
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 274–310
3. Iran, private possession (copy in Tehran, INBA 4002C)
4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 125–56
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 52–85
6. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 154–81

Tafsír al-ḥamd

1. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 84–129
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 5–41
3. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 120–55

Tafsír ḥadīth al-ḥaqīqa

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 127–34
2. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 74–77
3. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 458–64
4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 63–68
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 148–55

Tafsír ḥadīth al-járiyya

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 176–79 (dated 1261/1845)
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 373–75 (dated 1262/1846)
3. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 189–92 (undated)
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 490–93 (undated)
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 157–60

6. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-Ámma li'l-Áthár wa'l-Turáth, 10824, item 2 [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Alláh]⁷⁵⁵

Tafsír ḥadīth 'kullu yawm Áshúra'

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 118–21
2. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 70–72
3. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 488–90
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 141–43

Tafsír ḥadīth 'man 'arafa nařsahu fa-qad 'arafa rabbahu'

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 101–110
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 180–87
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 63–67
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 464–73
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 46–53
6. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 82–84 (incomplete)
7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 181–90

Tafsír ḥadīth naḥnu wajh Alláh

1. Tehran, NBA 4011C, pp. 115–18
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 195–97
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 69–70
4. Iran, INBMC 53 (pp. 56–58)
5. Iran, INBMC 67 (pp. 138–40)

Tafsír Haykal ad-dín (sections 1 and 2)

1. Iran, Azalí possession (in the hand of Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí Iřfahání)

Tafsír (ḥurúf) al-basmala

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 41–94
2. Tehran, INBA 6012C, pp. 300–93
3. Tehran, INBA 6013C, pp. 2–109
4. Tehran, INBA 6014C, pp. 299–370
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 1–45
6. Iran, INBMC 60, pp. 1–56
7. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 33–80
8. Haifa, IBA (I)
9. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally in the possession of Nicolas)

Tafsír Súrat al-baqara

1. Cambridge, Browne F.8
2. London, BL Or. 5277
3. Paris, BN 5780 (hand of Riḍván 'Alí; dated 1897)
4. Paris, BN 5805 (hand of Riḍván 'Alí)
5. Paris, BN 6610 (hand of Riḍván 'Alí)
6. Haifa, IBA (originally Nicolas 102)
7. Princeton, University Library, 'Bábí Collection'
8. Princeton, University Library, 'Bábí Collection'
9. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-'Ámma li'l-Áthár wa'l-turáth 10824, item 1 [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Alláh]⁷⁵⁶
10. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 2–178
11. Tehran, INBA 6012C, pp. 60–257
12. Tehran, INBA 6014C, pp. 1–296
13. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 156–410 (pp. 372 to the end contain an extension of the commentary to verse 133)
14. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 65–69 (introductory section only)
15. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 23–27 (introductory section only)

Tafsír Súrat al-kawthar

1. Cambridge, Browne F.10 (dated 1296/1879)⁷⁵⁷
2. London, British Library, Or. 5080
3. Yazd, Muḥammad 'Alí Farhumand collection⁷⁵⁸ (in the hand of Ghulám 'Alí Ra'ís; 14th./19th-20th C)
4. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally in the possession of Nicolas, no. 101; dated 1322/1904)
5. Haifa, IBA (ii) (dated 1323/1905)
6. Haifa, IBA (iii) (possibly in the hand of Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní)⁷⁵⁹
7. Haifa, IBA (iv) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribín)
8. Haifa, IBA (v) (probably in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribín)⁷⁶⁰
9. Haifa, IBA (vi)⁷⁶¹
10. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 1–83 (incomplete)⁷⁶²

⁷⁵⁶ Part of *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁷ This copy was sent to Browne from Iran via Cyprus.

⁷⁵⁸ See A. Munzawí, *Fihrist-i nuskhá'há-yi khaṭṭí-yi Fársí*, 6 vols (Tehran, Sh. 1348–53/1969–74), item 17216.

⁷⁵⁹ From line 15, folio 116b, corresponding to line 12, folio 1156 in Browne F.10; this and the Cambridge MS diverge to the end.

⁷⁶⁰ With other works.

⁷⁶¹ With other works.

⁷⁶² The text ends at a point corresponding to line 2, folio 62b of Browne F.10.

11. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 181–383

12. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-'Ámma li'l-Áthár wa'l-Turáth, 10824, item 3 [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Alláh]⁷⁶³

Tafsír Súrat al-qadr

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 211–19

2. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 14–21

3. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 158–65

Tafsír Súrat at-tawḥíd

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 199–211

2. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 2–13

3. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 165–74

*Tafsír Súra wa'l-'aṣr*⁷⁶⁴

1. Cambridge, Browne F.9

2. London, BL, Or. 5112

3. Paris, BN 6531 (dated 1911, in the hand of Riḍván 'Alí)⁷⁶⁵

4. Haifa, IBA (i) (possibly in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribín)

5. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribín)⁷⁶⁶

6. Haifa, IBA (iii)⁷⁶⁷

7. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 95–198

8. Tehran, INBA 7009C, pp. 5–130

9. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 6–80

10. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 21–119

Ziyára jámi'a kabíra

1. Cambridge, Browne F.22 (item 1)

2. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 132–45 (incomplete)

3. Tehran, INBA 6009C, pp. 173–219 (incomplete; dated 1267/1851)

4. Iran, INBMC 50, pp. 1–72

5. Russia (?), Kazem Beg copy

763 Part of the collection entitled *Majmú' fi'l-'aqa'id al-Bábiyya wa'l-Bahá'iyya* [sic].

764 In the Cambridge and British Library texts, the *tafsír* is followed by a doxology on Fátima, entitled the *Taṣbīḥ-i Fátima*. It is unclear whether or not this short work is directly connected to the *tafsír*. Such a *taṣbīḥ* is not mentioned elsewhere, but a short piece entitled *Taṣbīḥ-i 'Alí* may be found in INBA 5014C, pp. 253–57.

765 Together with the *Kalimát-i mutafarriqa* of Ṣubḥ-i Azal.

766 With other works.

767 With other works.

Ziyára jám'a şaghíra = Chapter 1 of *Risála furú' al-'adliyya*

There is one separate MS:

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, p. 2, line 20 to top left corner

Ziyárat az-Zahrá

1. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 148–59

Appendix II

Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí

Yazdí belonged to a Shaykhí family, most of whom appear to have converted to Babism. He remained with the Báb constantly after the latter's return from pilgrimage in 1845, and was often accompanied by his brother, Sayyid Ḥasan. Instructed by the Báb to practise *taqiyya* at the time of the former's execution, he was later killed in Tehran in 1852, following the Bábí attempt on the life of Náṣir ad-Dín Sháh. The Báb refers to him as "Azíz" (Qayyúm al-asmá', súra 79, last verse). For further details, see Zarandí, *passim*; 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ishráq Khávarí, *Raḥíq-i makhtúm*, 2 vols, (Tehran, BE 130/1973-74), vol. 1, pp. 757-60; Muḥammad 'Alí Malik Khusraví, *Tárikh-i shuhadá-yi amr*, vol.3 (Tehran, BE 130/1973-74), pp. 276-83; Mírzá Asad Alláh Fáḍíl-i Mázandarání, *Kitáb-i zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3 (Tehran, n.d. [Sh. 1323/1944?]), pp. 459-60, 460-61 (two letters from the Báb about and to Yazdí). Six examples of letters in Yazdí's hand are reproduced in the compilation volume, *Qismatí az alwáḥ*. A facsimile of a letter from him to 'Ism Alláh al-'Alí' (probably Ḥájj Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alí, an uncle of the Bab) may be found in Browne's edition of the *New History* (facing p.427; transcript on pp.427-30; translation pp.430-34; also reproduced in the *Nuḡṭat al-káf*, facing p.245; original in Folder 3 in the Browne cabinet, CUL).

Appendix III

Mírzá ‘Abd al-Karím Qazvíní

Better known as ‘Mírzá Aḥmad’. Mírzá Ḥusayn ‘Alí Bahá’ Alláh refers to him in his *Lawḥ-i Naṣír* as one of two individuals well informed of the origins of Babism: ‘The origins of this cause have been concealed from all, nor has anyone been aware of them, with the exception of two individuals, one of whom was known as Aḥmad.’⁷⁶⁸ (The other individual referred to was Mírzá Músá Núrí, an elder brother of Bahá Alláh.)

‘Abd al-Karím first studied in Qazvín under Mullá ‘Abd al-Karím Íravání.⁷⁶⁹ Íravání granted Qazvíní an *ijáza*—Mázandarání maintains implausibly that he was the only pupil to whom he ever gave one.⁷⁷⁰

Qazvíní later travelled to Karbalá’, where he studied under Sayyid Kázim Rashtí, and later returned to his home town of Qazvín on Rashtí’s instructions, sometime before 1255/1839–40. During the period when the Báb was living in Shíráz after his return from pilgrimage in 1845, Qazvíní (who had already become a Bábí and had been among those who set off for Karbalá’ in the expectation of an uprising) arrived in the city and was introduced to the young prophet. The Báb retained him to act as a secretary and, after his removal to Iṣfahán, Qazvíní, Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí, and Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí were the only individuals normally able to visit him. All three engaged in the task of transcribing the new scriptures. Qazvíní later accompanied the Báb from Káshán to Tabríz. Afterwards he lived in Tehran, where he earned a living as a scribe and also transcribed further copies of works by the Báb. Zarandí, who associated closely with Qazvíní in Tehran, refers to his transcriptions of the Persian *Bayán* and the *Dalá’il-i sab’a*.⁷⁷¹ Shaykh Kázim Samandar mentions his having seen several copies of the Persian and Arabic *Bayáns* in Qazvíní’s hand.⁷⁷² Qazvíní was imprisoned in the Siyáh Chál prison in Tehran and executed during the 1852 pogrom.

The *Nuṣṣat al-káf* speaks (p. 245) of a certain Áqá Sayyid Aḥmad Tabrízí, known as the ‘Kátib’ (amanuensis). Browne, in a note to *A Traveller’s Narrative* (vol. 2, p. 320, fn. 1), has pointed out that this is the result of a confusion between Mullá ‘Abd al-Karím Qazvíní (generally

768 Bahá’ Alláh, *Majmú’a-yi alwáḥ-i mubáraka* [Cairo, 1920], p. 174.

769 On whom see Muḥammad ibn Sulaymán Tanakábuní, *Qišaṣ al-‘ulamá’* (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 94–100; Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí Kashmírí, *Nujúm as-samá’* (Lucknow, 1303/1885–86), pp. 412–14; Muḥammad Maḥḍi Kázimí, *Aḥsan al-wadí’a*, vol. 1, (Baghdad, 1347/1928–29), pp. 20–21.

770 *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 370, fn.

771 Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 592.

772 *Tárikh-i Samandar* [Tehran, BE 131/1974–75], p. 156.

known as Mírzá Aḥmad) and another individual, Áqá Sayyid Aḥmad Tabrízí, who was never one of the Báb's secretaries.

For further details, see Zarandí, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 159, 162–69, 170, 176, 212, 227, 439–44, 592; Samandar, *Tárikh-i Samandar*, pp. 156–57; Mázandarání, *Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 369–71; Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh-i shuhadá'*, vol. 3, pp. 295–310; Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. 41 and n. 1, 42, 62, 320, fn. 1, 331, 338, 341, 356.

Appendix IV

The *Risála-Yi Dhahabiyya*

There is some confusion as to the identity of this work. The MS used by me forms part of a compilation transcribed for Browne by Mírzá Muşţafá; the whole volume is F.28 in the Browne Collection. According to Mírzá Muşţafá (in a note at the head of the text), this is the sixth *şahífa* mentioned in the work itself. That turns out to have the title *aş-Şahífa ar-Rađawiyya*, and it is under this name that Browne catalogued it.

From the text, however, it is clear that *aş-Şahífa ar-Rađawiyya* must, in fact, be another work: towards the end of this manuscript, after enumerating the fourteen major works written by him in the first two years of his career, the Báb writes: ‘... but as for the books which passed out of my hands and were stolen on the *hajj* journey, a detailed account of them has been written in the *Şahífa ar-Rađawiyya* ...: It seems highly likely that this is a reference to the *Kitáb al-fihrist*, which contains just such an account.

The wording of the passage in the Browne MS which deals with books written between the start of 1260 and the middle of the first month of 1262 is, however, identical with a passage quoted by Nicolas in *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed* (p. 59 n), as is the later reference to the *Şahífa ar-Rađawiyya* just quoted. Nicolas (who says he owned a copy) states that he is quoting from a work known as the *Risála-yi dhahabiyya*. I am willing to take this as a provisional title, on the assumption that Nicolas’ copy carried it. Unfortunately, no work of this name appears to have been among the books sold after Nicolas’ death. Mázandarání quotes the same passage (*Zuhúr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp. 189–90), but does not give the name of the work from which it is taken.

It should be noted that another work exists, also carrying the title *Risála-yi dhahabiyya*. This seems to have been written by the Báb to Mullá Jawád Vilyání about 1847.

Appendix V

Contents of Browne F.25, Item 3: ‘*Shu’ún-i Khamsa*’ (Extracts)

1. *ath-Thamara* (‘The Fruit’, i.e., Şubḥ-i Azal)
2. *ath-Thamara*
3. *Li-Ukht ath-Thamara* (‘To the sister of ath-Thamara’)
4. *Kitáb as-sín li’l-rukṅ at-taṣbīḥ* (sic; ‘Epistle of the letter S to the Pillar of Praise’)
5. *Kitáb al-mím li’l-rukṅ at-taḥmíd* (sic; ‘Epistle of the letter M to the Pillar of Glorification’)
6. *Kitáb al-alif li’l-rukṅ at-tawḥíd* (sic; ‘Epistle of the letter A to the Pillar of Unification’)
7. *Kitáb al-lám li’l-rukṅ at-takbír* (sic; ‘Epistle of the letter L to the Pillar of Magnification’)
8. *Kitáb al-lám li-Muḥammad ‘alayhi’ş-şalát* (Epistle of the letter L to Muḥammad, upon whom be praise’)
9. *Kitáb al-há’ li-‘Alí ‘alayhi’s-salám* (Epistle of the Letter H to [Imám] ‘Alí, upon whom be peace’)
10. *Kitáb al-alif li-Fátima* (Epistle of the letter A to Fátima’)
11. *Kitáb al-lám li’l-Ḥasan* (Epistle of the letter L to [Imám] Ḥasan’)
12. *Kitáb ar-rá’ li’l-Ḥusayn* (Epistle of the letter R to [Imám] Ḥusayn)
13. *Kitáb al-há’ li-‘Alí ibn al-Ḥusayn* (Epistle of the letter Ḥ to [Imám] ‘Alí ibn al-Ḥusayn)
14. *Kitáb al-mím li-Muḥammad ibn ‘Alí* (Epistle of the letter M to [Imám] Muḥammad ibn ‘Alí’)
15. *Kitáb an-nún li-Ja’far ibn Muḥammad* (Epistle of the letter N to [Imám] Ja’far ibn Muḥammad’)
16. *Kitáb al-alif li-Músá ibn Ja’far* (Epistle of the Letter A to [Imám] Músá ibn Ja’far)
17. *Kitáb al-lám li-‘Alí ibn Músá* (Epistle of the letter L to [Imám] ‘Alí ibn Músá’)
18. *Kitáb ar-rá’ li-Muḥammad ibn ‘Alí* (Epistle of the letter R to [Imám] Muḥammad ibn ‘Alí’)
19. *Kitáb al-ḥá’ li-‘Alí ibn Muḥammad* (Epistle of the letter Ḥ to [Imám] ‘Alí ibn Muḥammad’)
20. *Kitáb al-bá’ li’l-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alí* (Epistle of the letter B to [Imám] Ḥasan ibn ‘Alí’)
21. *Kitáb dá’ira ath-thálitha* (sic; ‘Epistle of the Third Circle’)
22. *Bismi’lláh al-‘alí al-mutakabbar ar-rafi’* (In the Name of God, the Exalted, the Praised, the Elevated’)
23. *Ziyárat-i Ḥujjat* (‘Pilgrimage Prayer for the Proof’ [i.e., the Hidden Imám or, possibly, Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí Zanjání])
24. *Bismi’lláh ar-raḥman ar-raḥím* (‘In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate’)
25. *Yá ‘Azím* (‘O Mighty One’ [possibly addressed to Mullá Shaykh ‘Alí Turshízí])
26. *Mirzá Aḥmad*

27. *Ism-i awwal* ('The First Name': Bushrú'í?)
28. Sayyid-i Shírázî
29. *Bismi'lláh al-'alí al-'azím* ('In the Name of God, the Exalted, the Mighty')
30. *Huwa'l-mutakabbar al-badí'* ('He is the Praised, the Creative')
31. *ath-Thamara*
32. *An yá Karím* ('O Generous One' [possibly addressed to 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní])
33. *Jináb-i 'Azím* (to Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízî)
34. *120 Huwa'lláh al-'alí al-'alá* ('120, He is God, the Exalted, the Most Exalted')
35. *Ism Alláh al-'Azím* ('The Name of God, the Mighty'; addressed to Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízî)
36. *Huwa'l-akbar* ('He is the Greatest')
37. *Huwa'l-'azíz* ('He is the Powerful')

Appendix VI
Contents of INBA 6007C
Ziyáratnámas

Prayers for:

1. Friday and Thursday nights (pp. 30–40)
2. ‘The ten letters’ (pp. 40–41)
3. ‘The first to believe’ (i.e. Bushrú’i) on Thursday night (pp. 46–52)
4. Thursday night (*Ziyára jámi’a*; pp. 52–61)
5. ‘The first [to believe]’ (pp. 61–65)
6. ‘The first [to believe]’ (pp. 65–71)
7. ‘The two hidden names’ (pp. 71–72)
8. ‘The martyrs, on Thursday night’ (pp. 72–79)
9. ‘The letters of the unity’, on Friday (pp. 78–82)
10. Friday (pp. 97–101)
11. ‘The first’ and ‘the last’ [to believe], on Friday (pp. 106–13)
12. ‘The first to be martyred of the Letters of the Living’ (pp. 114–18)
13. ‘The second [etc.]’ (pp. 118–21)
14. ‘The third [etc.]’ (pp. 121–23)
15. ‘The fourth [etc.]’ (pp. 123–26)
16. ‘The fifth [etc.]’ (pp. 126–28)
17. ‘The sixth [etc.]’ (pp. 128–31)
18. ‘The martyrs’ (pp. 132–39)
19. ‘The letter M’ (pp. 139–45)
20. ‘The first to believe’, on the night of the ‘Íd al-Fiṭr (pp. 145–47)
21. ‘The middle night of the month of God’ (pp. 160–64)
22. ‘The first [to believe]’, on the Day of ‘Arafa (pp. 164–75)
23. ‘The last [to believe]’ (pp. 175–76)
24. ‘The first [to believe]’ (pp. 187A–89)
25. ‘The eight letters’ (pp. 189–201)
26. ‘The Point [i.e., the Báb] and his Letters of the Living’ (pp. 201–11)
27. ‘The first [to believe]’ (pp. 255–62)
28. ‘The last’ [to believe]’ (pp. 262–66)
29. ‘The last’ [to believe]’ (pp. 266–68)
30. ‘The last’ [to believe]’ (pp. 268–72)
31. ‘The twenty-nine letters’ (pp. 541–47)

Appendix VII

The Tehran and Haifa manuscripts of the *Kitáb-i nuqṭat al-káf* and their divergence from the Paris text

1. The INBA manuscript

Since this manuscript is defective in parts, I have numbered the folios in a straight sequence as a means of indicating more easily the correspondence between the two manuscripts. The numbering of the Paris MS follows the pagination of the printed edition. The three places where pages have actually been lost from the Tehran MS are: f. 9b (p. 19) to f. 10a (p. 22); f. 61b (p. 125) to f. 62a (p. 128); and f. 123b (p. 261) to f. 124a (p. 264).⁷⁷³

The manuscript begins at p. 88, line 14 of the Paris text. They then diverge as follows:

Tehran		Paris
f. 9b, last line	breaks off at	p. 96, line 20
f. 10a, line 1	resumes at	p. 97, line 21
f. 19a, line 2	breaks off at	p. 106, line 14
f. 19a, line 3	resumes at	p. 125, line 18
f. 61b, last line	breaks off at	p. 160, line 11
f. 62a, line 1	resumes at	p. 171, line 18
f. 76b, last line	breaks off at	p. 185, line 21
f. 76b, last line	resumes at	p. 200, line 10

⁷⁷³It has been pointed out by 'Alí Murád Dá'udí (*Muṭáli'a-yi ma'árif-i Bahá'í*, Tehran, BE 132/1975, part 11, p. 7) that the Tehran MS does not include the sections between pages 238 and 245 and between pages 252 and 261 of the printed text, both of which contain extensive references to Šubḥ-i Azal. Dá'udí concludes from this that these passages must be later insertions, an argument that is scarcely convincing. In fact, the Tehran MS does contain one favourable reference to Azal (which appears on p. 208 of the published text) and includes what seems to be another reference to him, except that, where the Paris MS reads *Jináb-i Azal* (p. 238), the Tehran text has *Jináb-i Íshán*, a common term of address for Bahá' Alláh, derived from Šúfí usage.

Tehran		Paris
f. 86b, line 10	breaks off at	p. 208, line 2
f. 86b, line 11	resumes at	p. 208, line 12
f. 86b, line 14	breaks off at	p. 208, line 14
f. 86b, line 14	resumes at	p. 208, line 14
f. 87a, line 12	breaks off at	p. 208, line 12
f. 87a, line 12	resumes at	p. 208, line 14
f. 122b, line 2	breaks off at	p. 238, line 16
f. 122b, line 3	resumes at	p. 245, line 1
f. 123b, last line	breaks off at	p. 246, line 14
f. 124a, line 1	resumes at	p. 247, line 13
f. 129b, line 6	breaks off at	p. 252, line 2
f. 129b, line 6	resumes at	p. 261, line 2
	breaks off at	
	resumes at	
	breaks off at	
	resumes at	
	breaks off at	
	resumes at	

The Haifa manuscript, which seems to have originated in Tehran and bears the identification number M 1548 corresponds to the Paris text as follows:⁷⁷⁴

Haifa		Paris
p. 1, line 1	breaks off at	p. 87, line 16
p. 26, line 6	breaks off at	p. 106, line 14
p. 26, line 6	resumes at	p. 125, line 18
p. 103, line 12	breaks off at	p. 185, line 21
p. 103, line 12	resumes at	p. 200, line 10

⁷⁷⁴This manuscript, which is undated, has numbered pages from 1 to 179. Two pages are numbered 62 and another two 152. There is no page 129.

Haifa

p. 114, line 1
 p. 114, line 1
 p. 114, line 3
 p. 114, line 3
 p. 114, line 9
 p. 114, line 9
 p. 154, line 7
 p. 154, line 7
 p. 163, line 13
 p. 163, line 13

breaks off at
 resumes at
 breaks off at
 resumes at

Paris

p. 208, line 2
 p. 208, line 12
 p. 208, line 14
 p. 208, line 4
 p. 208, line 12
 p. 208, line 14⁷⁷⁵
 p. 238, line 16
 p. 245, line 1
 p. 252, line 2
 p. 261, line 2

⁷⁷⁵The reference to *Ṣubḥ-i Azal* in the Paris text at this point not only occurs in the Haifa MS, but has been encircled and embellished. This seems to be evidence that the scribe was not a Bahá'í.

Appendix VIII

Historical manuscripts

Kitáb-i nuqţat al-káf

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Persan 1071⁷⁷⁶
2. Princeton, University Library (originally in the possession of Dr Sa'íd Khán)
3. Tehran (the 'American College' copy)
4. Tehran, INBA 2012D
5. Tehran, INBA 2009E
6. Tehran, library of Hájí Muḥammad Ḥusayn Fathí (originally from Naţanz)
7. Tehran, another copy from Naţanz seen by Muḥit-i Ṭabáţabá'í
8. Tehran (?), a copy obtained by Mírzá Muşţafá from Naráq
9. Tehran (?), a defective copy originally owned by Mírzá Muşţafá
10. Kerman (owner known to Muḥit-i Ṭabáţabá'í)
11. Haifa, IBA M 1548
12. Leningrad (?), originally in the possession of A. Tumanskii

*Tárikh-i jadíd/Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*⁷⁷⁷ (*Hamadání/Qá'íní*)

1. Cambridge, Browne F.55
2. London, British Library, Or. 2942
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale⁷⁷⁸
4. Leningrad, Institute of Oriental Languages⁷⁷⁹
5. London, Afnan Library
6. Haifa, IBA, MD 47/2⁷⁸⁰ (Qazvín 1304/1887)
7. Haifa, IBA, MR 1611 (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*)⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁶ The basis for the published text.

⁷⁷⁷ There are numerous other copies. Ṭabáţabá'í mentions several, but too imprecisely to be listed here. He also refers to copies in the possession of the Azalí Bábis in Tehran, but I have not been shown any of these.

⁷⁷⁸ With emendations by Muḥammad Riđá Işfahání. Is this the same as the Hájí Muḥammad Riđá of Işfahán referred to by Şubḥ-i Azal in connection with the *Nuqţat al-káf*?

⁷⁷⁹ See *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. 6, p. 244.

⁷⁸⁰ Without pagination. It contains the revisions and final passage by Qá'íní and seems to have been copied in Qazvín on 23 Dhú'l-Qa'da 1304/13 August 1887 by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynî Farahání.

⁷⁸¹ Contains 104 pages and incorporates Qá'íní's corrections and closing passage, without dates or colophon. On page 1, the name *Kunt du Gubinú Faránsawí* (Comte de Gobineau of France) has been written in what appears to be a Persian hand, without explanation.

8. Haifa, IBA, M 1549⁷⁸² (1318/1901)
9. Haifa, IBA, MR 1792⁷⁸³ (Qazvín, 1299/1882)
10. Tehran, library of M. A. Malik Khusraví (1299/1882)⁷⁸⁴
11. Tehran, Majlis Library
12. Tehran, INBA 1010D (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*)
13. Tehran, INBA 1022D (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*)
14. Tehran, INBA 1047D (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*)
15. Tehran, INBA 1052D (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*; 1297/1880)
16. Tehran, INBA 2017D (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*; 1299/1882; in the hand of Qá'íní)
17. Tehran, INBA 2019D (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*; incomplete)
18. Tehran, INBA 2016E (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*; incomplete)
19. Tehran, INBA 2029E (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*)
20. Tehran, INBA 2034E (*Tárikh-i badí'-i bayání*)
21. Shíráz (?), library of A. Q. Afnán
22. Bombay, Kama Library (currently missing)⁷⁸⁵

Tárikh-i mímiyya/Waqáyi'-i mímiyya (Zavára'í)

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 1
2. Tehran, INBA 1020D
3. Tehran, INBA 1058D
4. Tehran, INBA 2014D, item 1
5. Tehran, library of M. A. Malik Khusraví

Autobiography of Hájj Naşír Qazvín

1. Tehran, INBA 2014D, item 4

Account of the Death of Bushrú'í (Zavára'í)

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 2

History of Lutf 'Alí Mirzá Shírází

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 3
2. Tehran, library of M. A. Malik Khusraví⁷⁸⁶
3. Shíráz, library of A. Q. Afnán⁷⁸⁷
4. Tehran, INBA 1019D⁷⁸⁸

782 458 pages, dated 25 Dhú'l-Qa'da 1318/16 March 1901. Contains the revisions of Qá'íní. In the hand of Muḥammad 'Alí ibn Áqá Mirzá Ghulám Riḍá'.

783 Contains Qá'íní's corrections.

784 May be identical with MS 16. Dated 25 Sha'bán 1299/12 July 1882.

785 This MS seems to have been stolen.

786 See Malik Khusraví, 'Manábi', item 1.

787 This MS was copied by Áqá Muḥammad Báqir Tíhrání in 1319/1901-02 from a MS in Bárfurúsh. See Balyuzi, *The Báb*, pp. 239-40.

788 This may be identical with MS 2.

5. Tehran, INBA 2013

Tārīkh-i waqáyi'-i Mázandarán (Shahmírzadí)

1. Tehran, INBA 2014D, item 2
2. Tehran, library of M. A. Malik Khusraví (= 1?)

Tārīkh-i qal'a (Shahmírzadí)

1. Tehran, INBA 2014D, item 3⁷⁸⁹
2. Tehran, INBA 3032

Biography of Áqá Abú Ṭálib Shahmírzadí (Başşárí)

1. Tehran, INBA 2018E, item 2
2. Tehran, INBA 2030E, item 6

History of Shaykh Ṭabarsí, Rasht, and Qazvín (Başşárí)

1. Tehran, INBA 2018E, item 1

History of Shaykh Ṭabarsí (Áqá Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍá' Shahmírzadí)

1. Tehran, INBA 2025E

Waqáyi'-i qal'a-yi Shaykh Ṭabarsí

1. Tehran, INBA 2022E

Tārīkh-i qal'a-yi Shaykh Ṭabarsí

1. Tehran, INBA 2038E

Account of the Nayríz Uprising by Áqá Mullá Muḥammad Shaḫí' Nayrízí

1. Tehran, INBA 1051D

Tārīkh-i waqáyi'-i Zanján (Zanjání)

1. Tehran, INBA 2046E
2. Tehran, INBA 3037 (items 1, 2)

Biography of Mullá Muḥammad Ḥamza Shari'atmadár (Shari'atmadárián) 1. Tehran, INBA 1009D

Mathnaví of Ḥájí Mírzá Ismá'íl Dhabīḥ Káshání

1. Oxford, Wadham College, Minasiyan Collection, 787

789 Not to be confused with a work of the same title also in the INBA: INBA 2014E.

Tárikh- Nabil (Zarandi)

1. Haifa, IBA M1557

Maqála-yi shakhshí sayyáh (Abbás Effendi)

1. Cambridge, Browne Collection, F.56 (7)

Tárikh-i zuhúr-i haḍrat-i Báḅ wa Bahá' Alláh (Gulpáygání)

1. Tehran, INBA 1015D
2. Tehran, INBA 2010D

Tárikh-i baduww-i tuhú'-i amr (Zarqání)

1. Tehran, INBA 1015D

Tárikh-i Mu'ín as-Salṭana

1. Tehran, INBA (autograph)
2. Tehran, INBA (autograph; revised version, 1340/1921–22)

Tárikh-i Nayríz (Nayrízí)

1. Tehran, INBA 2009D
2. Tehran, library of M. A. Malik-Khusraví (= 1?)

Mukhtaṣar-i waqáyi'-i Zanján (Záhid az-Zamán)

1. Tehran, INBA 2012E
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1?)

Waqáyi'-i Zanján (Khalkhálí)

1. Tehran, INBA 2007E
2. Tehran, INBA 2012E
3. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1 or 2?)

Tárikh-i amrî-yi Khurásán (Bushrú'í)

1. Tehran, INBA 2028D (typescript)
2. Tehran, INBA 2038D (MS)
3. Tehran, library of Malik-Khusraví (= 2?)

Tárikh-i amrî-yi Ádharbáyján (Uskú'í)

1. Tehran, INBA 2007D
2. Tehran, INBA 2026D
3. Tehran, INBA 2010E
4. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1, 2, or 3?)

Tārīkh-i Jináb-i Mírzá Ḥaydar 'Alí Uskú'í (Uskú'í)

1. Tehran, INBA 2004D

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Núr (Tákuri)

1. Tehran, INBA 2027D
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Hamadán (Ishráq Khávári)

1. Tehran, INBA 1007D
2. Tehran, INBA 1015D
3. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1 or 2?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Shíráz (Afnán)

1. Tehran, INBA 1027D
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1?)
3. Shíráz, library of A. Q. Afnán (?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Káshán (Işfahání)

1. Tehran, INBA 1017D
2. Tehran, INBA 1028D
3. Tehran, INBA 2016D
4. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1, 2 or 3?)

Tārīkh-i Jadhhdháb (Jadhhdháb)

1. Tehran, INBA (?)
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví

Tārīkh-i mukhtaşar-i Zanján ('Aţá'í)

1. Tehran, INBA 1004D
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1?)

Sharḥ-i ḥál-i Mullá 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Qazvíní (Qazvíní)

1. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví

Tārīkh-i Sangsar (Anon.)

1. Tehran, INBA 2007E
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusraví (= 1?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Bihnamír (Mihrábkhání)

1. Tehran, INBA (?)

Iqlím-i Núr (Malik Khusraví)

1. Tehran, INBA 2041E

Kháṭirát (Iṣfaháni)

1. Tehran, INBA 1028D/6

Kháṭirát (Muharrir)

1. Tehran, INBA 1928D/1

Tárikh-i amrî-yi Ádharbáyján (Miláni)

1. Tehran, INBA 3030B

Waqáyi'-i Ṭihrán (Zarqání)

1. Tehran, INBA 3047

Appendix IX

The sources for the *Tárikh-i Nabil*

The following list is arranged simply 'in order of appearance', with page references to the citations given by Zarandí. The text used is the US edition of *The Dawn-Breakers*.

1. Mírzá Maḥmúd Qamsári (p. 8)
2. Shaykh Ḥasan Zunúzí (pp. 24–33; 249; 307–08; 316–19)
3. Shaykh Abú Turáb (pp. 39–40; 293–96)
4. Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní (Mírzá Aḥmad; pp. 52–68; 159–60; 168–69; 228–29; 331; 505)
5. Ḥájí Sayyid Jawad Karbalá'í (pp. 79–80)
6. Ḥájí 'Abd al-Majíd (pp. 88–90)
7. Ḥájí Ḥashim 'Aṭṭár (p. 91)
8. Mullá Šadiq Khurásání (pp. 100–01; 148; 381–82; 580)
9. Mírzá Músá Núrí (pp. 104; 286–87; 397–98; 432; 599; 616–21)
10. Mírzá Aḥmad Azghandí (pp. 126–28)
11. Ḥájí Abu'l-Ḥasan Shírází (p. 130)
12. Unnamed Muslim eye-witnesses (pp. 147–48)
13. Sayyid Ismá'íl Zavára'í (p. 168)
14. Mírzá 'Abd Alláh Ghawghá (p. 182)
15. Shaykh Sulṭán Karbalá'í (pp. 190; 270)
16. Ḥájí 'Alí 'Askar (pp. 240–41)
17. Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdí (pp. 243; 430; 507–08)
18. Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Núrí Bahá' Alláh (pp. 298–99; 323; 375; 459–62; 582–86; 591; 631–34)
19. Mírzá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí 'Aẓím (pp. 313; 505)
20. Mírzá Muḥammad Furúghí (pp. 331–336; 348–49; 353–54; 381–82; 390; 580)
21. Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakamí Kirmání (p. 331)
22. Ḥájí Mullá Ismá'íl Farahání (p. 331)
23. Mírzá Ḥabíb Alláh Iṣfahání (p. 331)
24. Sayyid Muḥammad Iṣfahání (p. 331)
25. Nabil-i Akbar (Faḍil-i Qá'iní; p. 332)
26. 'Abd al-Majíd Nishápúrí (pp. 332; 580)
27. Ism Alláh al-Mím (Sayyid Maḥdí Dahají; pp. 413–14)⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁹⁰Dahají was the author of a commentary on the *Nuḡtat al-káf*, the *Risála-yi Sayyid Maḥdí Dahají*, Cambridge, Browne Collection, F.57.

28. Ism Alláh al-Jawád (Áqá Muḥammad Jawád Qazvíní;⁷⁹¹ pp. 413–14)
29. Ism Alláh al-Mad (Mírzá Asad Alláh Iṣfahání; pp. 413–14)
30. Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Sangsari (pp. 426–27)⁷⁹²
31. Mullá Ádí Guzal Marágha'í (Shaykh Sayyáh; pp. 432–33)
32. Şubḥ-i Azal (pp. 441; 591–92)
33. Hájí Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí Shírání (the Báb's uncle; pp. 432–33)
34. Mírzá Qurbán 'Alí Darvish (p. 450)
35. Mullá Muḥammad Riḍá' Manshádí (Raḍí ar-Rúḥ; pp. 473; 580)
36. Mullá Báqir Tabrizí (Letter of the Living; p. 505)
37. Mírzá Sayyid Muḥsin (p. 514)
38. Hájí 'Alí 'Askar (p. 518)
39. Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Ṭabíb (pp. 536–37; 580)
40. 'Several eye-witnesses' of the Zanján uprising (p. 553)
41. Ustád Mihr 'Alí Ḥaddád (pp. 565–67)
42. Abú Başír Zanjání (p. 580)
43. Sayyid Ashraf Zanjání (p. 580)
44. Mullá Ḥusayn Zanjání (from his narrative; p. 580)
45. Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Shahmírzádí (from his narrative; p. 580)
46. Mírzá Ḥaydar 'Alí Ardístání (from personal acquaintance and a narrative; p. 590)
47. Mullá Muḥammad Shafí' Nayrízí (from his narrative; pp. 581; 644)
48. Shaykh Shahíd Mazkán (pp. 589–90)
49. Mullá Ibráhím Mullábáshí (p. 590)
50. 'Abbás Effendi 'Abd al-Bahá' (p. 590)
51. 'Persons' with whom the wife of the Kalantar (i.e. Mírzá Maḥmúd Khán, Kalantar of Tehran) was intimately connected (pp. 622–28)

Numbers 21 to 26 above are all recorded as having been present in gatherings where Zarandí heard others recount narratives.

791 Author of a short history, published by Browne as 'An Epitome of Bábí and Bahá'í History to A.D. 1898'; *Materials*, pp. 1–112. See *ibid.*, pp. viii–x. The MS forms part of F.26 in the Browne collection.

792 A survivor of Shaykh Ṭabarsí. He wrote an account of several incidents in a letter to Bahá' Alláh, part of which is quoted by Zarandí.

Appendix X

Sources reproduced in the *Kitáb-i Żuhúr al-Ĥaqq*

1. A Bábí account of the Báb's trial in Tabríz (p. 16)
2. Text of questions and answers exchanged between Mírzá Muĥammad 'Alí Zunúzí and a Shaykhí 'álim (pp. 13–37)
3. Part of an incomplete MS by Mírzá Ĥusayn Khán Dakhíl ibn Dakhíl (pp. 55–59)
4. Facsimile of a letter giving details of the death of Mullá 'Alí Basṭámí, dated 1262/1846 (facing p. 108)
5. Letter from Sayyid Kázim Rashtí to Mullá Ĥusayn Bushrú'í (pp. 115–16)
6. Passage from the *Abwáb al-hudá* of Shaykh Muĥammad Taqí Hashtrúdí, with an account of Bushrú'í's conversion (pp. 116–19)
7. Account of the death of Khusraw Qádí-Kalá'í by Áqá Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Shahmírzádí (pp. 126–29)
8. Account of the death of Mullá Ĥusayn Bushrú'í by Shahmírzádí (pp. 133–39)
9. Part of a risála by Mullá Ĥusayn Bushrú'í (pp. 136–39)
10. Facsimile of the *ijáza* of Muqaddas-i Khurásání from Sayyid Kázim Rashtí (between p. 144 and 145)
11. Two letters from Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí 'Aẓím to leading Bábís (pp. 166–68, 168–69)
12. Letter from Ĥájj Mullá 'Abd al-Kháliq Yazdí testifying to his conversion (pp. 172–73)
13. Facsimile of a letter from Ĥujjat-i Zanjání to one of the '*ulamá*' of Zanján (between pp. 182 and 183)
14. Various accounts relating to Áqá Mírzá Muĥammad 'Alí Shahmírzádí (pp. 188–204, text and footnotes)
15. Letter from Shaykh Sulṭán al-Karbalá'í to the Bábís of Iran, dated 1262/1845 (pp. 245–59)
16. Text of the sermon given by the Báb in the Masĵid-i Vakíl in Shiráz in 1845 (pp. 275–79)
17. Statement of Mullá 'Alí Baraghání testifying to his conversion (pp. 309–10)
18. Account of Badasht by Mullá Aĥmad 'Alláqa-band Iṣfahání (pp. 325–26)
19. Statement by Mullá 'Abd al-Ĥusayn Qazvíní concerning Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní (p. 370n)
20. Facsimile of a letter from 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní to Jalíl Urúmí (between pp. 370 and 371)

21. Statement by Áqá Muḥammad Jawád ‘Amú-Ján on companions of the Báb on the ḥajj journey (p. 372n)
22. Statement by the same ‘Amú-Ján on the Farhádí family of Qazvín (p. 373n)
23. Arabic and Persian letters and other works by Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí Bárfurúshí Quddús (pp. 407–18, 426–30)
24. Statement by Áqá Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍá’ Shahmírzádí on the fates of Quddús and Sa’íd al-‘Ulamá’ Bárfurúshí (pp. 431–32n)
25. Statement by Shahmírzádí on the fate of Ḥájj Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí Mujtahid Saraví (pp. 433–34n)
26. Passage from the *Asrár ash-shuhadá’* by Ḥájj Mullá Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharí’atmadar Bárfurúshí (pp. 437–41n)
27. The gist of an account by Áqá Muḥammad Jawád Farhádí Qazvíní on Vaḥíd-i Dárábí’s visit to Qazvín (p. 468n)
28. Facsimile of an *istidláliyya* by Vaḥíd-i Dárábí (between pp. 470 and 471)

Appendix XI

Index of first lines to the writings of the Báb

The present index gives the first lines in Persian and/or Arabic for sixty-four titled works of the Báb. The order is strictly alphabetical, but the reader will often have to read for a line or so until differences between texts reveal themselves. These readings are necessarily arbitrary and are based on either printed texts or the most convenient manuscripts: variants should be expected and care exercised in the attribution of titles. In a number of cases, I have included opening sections found in certain manuscripts but not in others: these are bracketed within square parentheses before the commencement of the text proper.

[Fársí text, pp. 224-237]

Appendix XII

Index of the titles of the writings of the Báb

The present index reverses the contents of Appendix Eleven, listing sixty-four works of the Báb in alphabetical order of title. For the purposes of alphabetization, the Arabic article 'al-' has been ignored. Each title is followed by the first lines based on printed texts or standard manuscripts. Variants are not given.

[Farsi text pp. 238–249]

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This is not intended to be a comprehensive list of all works relating to Babism. For a more detailed survey, see my *Bibliographical Guide to Babism and Baháism* (Greenwood Press, in preparation).

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