

Witness to Shaykh Tabarsí
*The Narrative of
Hájí Nasír Qazvíní*



Introduced and Translated by
Ahang Rabbani

Volume 10
Witnesses to Bábí and Bahá'í History

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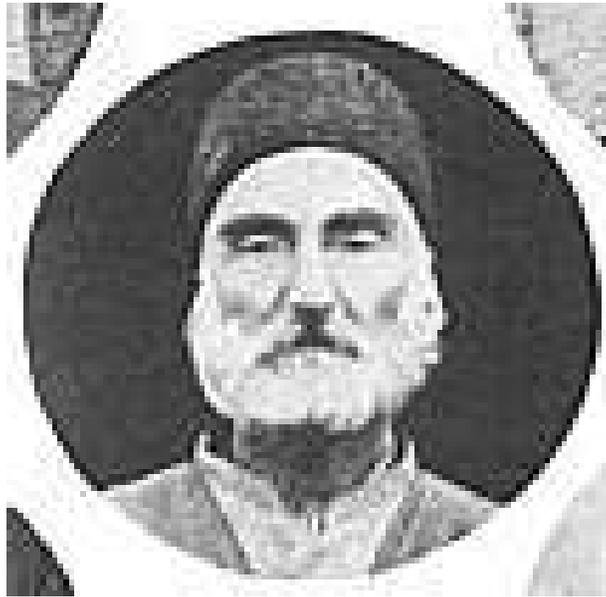
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Translator's Dedication



As a humble token of thanks
for preserving the narrative of Hájí Nasír Qazvíní
and writing his own valuable *Tárikh Samandar*,
this monograph is dedicated to
Shaykh Kázim Samandar,
an Apostle of Bahá'u'lláh.

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Translator's Foreword

One of the most severely tried and steadfast figures of Bábí and Bahá'í early history is a merchant from Qazvin by the name of Hájí Nasír. This unassuming champion of the Cause of the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh led a most remarkable life, which will be briefly outlined in this monograph, and his fascinating account of the events of Shaykh Tabarsí offered in translation will occupy the main part of this monograph. The original text of the same account will also be given in an appendix to facilitate the study of this important and rare manuscript. In addition, a section is offered outlining the primary source documents on the battle of Shaykh Tabarsí, and an appendix is added that provides a non-Bábí account of the event, translated by Habib Borjian.

I wish to thank Ivan Lloyd for granting permission to use his drawing on the cover page, Dr. Moojan Momen for bringing to my attention several important sources for biography of Hájí Nasír and Steve Cooney for sharing a copy of Prof Borjian's paper. My most heartfelt gratitude goes to my dear collaborator Phillip Tussing, who, as in so many previous projects, read through the entire manuscript and offered many critical suggestions for its improvement. A truer friend is hard to imagine.

As always, I remain solely responsible for any errors or shortcomings in the present monograph.

*Abang Rabbani
Houston, Texas
May 2007*

Hájí Nasír Qazvíní: A Short Biography

Hájí Nasír, or more fully, Hájí Muhammad-Nasír Táb-Tharáh¹, was born and raised in Qazvin, in the north-western part of Iran. He was an affluent merchant of good repute. He embraced the Bábí movement in the early years of the religion through fervent discussions and the teaching of Akhúnd Mullá Jalíl Urúmí, one of the Letters of the Living. Fádíl Mázandarání reports that when Hájí Nasír had acknowledged the claims of the Báb, Mullá Jalíl warned him that a mere acknowledgement was not sufficient:

O Hájí! Beware that in this wondrous Cause testimony is not sufficient through speech and belief is not entrusted to the tongue. The sign of faith is the willingness to be sacrificed and radiant acquiescence in martyrdom in God's path. You cannot claim to be a Bábí unless you reach the ultimate stage of detachment from personal welfare, material comforts and family life.

Now return to your home and in solitude reflect on this for a while: When the hour has come to arise and render victorious the Beloved of the World, and a large multitude have arisen to confiscate your possessions, take your wife, slay your children and offer you the choice between recantation and freedom, or confession of faith and suffering, under such a condition, if you have the resolve to endure all of these afflictions and remain constant in the Cause, only then you are worthy to be considered a Bábí. Otherwise, all is lost.²

¹ Often the title of a person who becomes affluent through a goodly character and positive business practices.

² Fádíl Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 380-81. The same passage is quoted in Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*,

Hájí Nasír responded to the stern counsel of Mullá Jalíl by devoting that entire night to meditation and reflection. At the hour of dawn, he felt overcome with such detachment and certitude as to be ready to sacrifice his life in the path of God and his new-found Faith. With utmost joy and resignation, that morning he went to Mullá Jalíl and was enrolled as one of the Bábí believers.

As a new devotee, his singular desire was to attain the presence of the Báb. The following recollection of such a visit is reported:

When His Holiness the Most Great Remembrance [the Báb] was being conveyed to Adharbayjan, I left Qazvin after Him in order to attain His blessed presence. At every station I reached, the governmental soldiers had taken that Wronged One to the next station. Therefore, I increased the pace of my search and eagerly reached my goal. I gave some gratuity to the soldiers who allowed me to enter the room where His Holiness was staying.

I greeted Him and expressed my respect. He granted me permission to sit. I sat. He was drinking tea, and because of the consideration of wisdom and the soldiers' attitude, He was cautious and did not utter a word. I was lost in the wonder of His beauty and His majestic splendor.

I was gazing at His half-finished cup of tea and entertained the wish to have the bounty of drinking from that cup. At that instant, He motioned me to drink from the same cup. He also gestured to me to return to Qazvin.

Therefore, with a heart filled with sadness and a mind agitated by the deeds of the wrong-doers, I returned to Qazvin.³

Soon persecutions engulfed Hájí Nasír and proved the wisdom of Mullá Jalíl's consul. The first incident was in relation to the murder of Mullá Taqí Baraghání in Qazvin in October 1847 by a young Shaykhí, most likely assisted by two others. Since the powerful Baraghání was known for his anti-Shaykhí and anti-Bábí stance, soon, the Bábís were falsely accused of this crime. Several Babis were martyred, the first recorded instance of the killing of Bábís in Iran. Hájí Nasír also became the target of attacks by an incited mob that plundered his possessions, forced him to go into hiding in Qazvin, and eventually to leave his native town for a period of time in favor of Gilanat in the province of Gilan. When the situation had calmed he returned to his residence.

It must have been about this time that a Tablet was revealed by the Báb in Hájí Nasír's honor which began with the words, *Huwa al-Nasr al-Nasr*.⁴

In 1847, in obedience to the call of the Báb, Who urged all the Bábís to hasten to Khurasan in support of the teaching activities of Quddús and Mullá Husayn in Mashhad, he proceeded to that town. It was then that Hájí Nasír came to understand the spiritual station of Quddús, the "hidden treasure" that the Báb had promised.⁵ It is recorded on his behalf:

Early in the Cause, I had deep devotion and a profound belief in the honored Bábu'l-Báb⁶, as he was the courier

³ Fádíl Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 381. Also quoted in Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusravi, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, pp. 234-35, where it is attributed to an account by Nasiroff.

⁴ Fádíl Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 383. The present translator has been unable to locate this Tablet or learn any more about it.

⁵ Nabil Zarandí, *The Dawn-Breakers*, p. 260.

⁶ Lit. the Gate of the Gate, a title of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í.

of divine knowledge, the first to believe [in the Báb], the first Letter of the Living and the gate to His Holiness the Báb [the Gate].

After a few days, however, I noticed that in a gathering of the companions, it was His Holiness Quddús who was seated at the place of honor while all others stood reverently in his presence. That honored personage [Mullá Husayn] was also standing in his presence with the utmost respect with hands folded over chest while waves of divine verses and wondrous utterances poured forth from the pearl-dispensing lips of Quddús.

It was then that I understood that another mighty power and resplendent effulgence had appeared.⁷

Hájí Nasír was present in Mashhad when a fight took place between a young Bábí and an attendant of one of the local *mujtahids*. According to Hasan Fú'ádí's narrative, the Bábí involved was beaten and dragged through the town by a rope through his nose. On hearing this, seventy Bábís gathered in the house of Bábíyyih, attempted to rescue him with their ready swords, and in the ensuing clash that occurred a few Mashhadís and Bábís were injured.⁸ This incident led to Mullá Husayn's expulsion from Mashhad and his journey to Mazandaran. Instead of traveling with Mullá Husayn, it appears that Hájí Nasír journeyed with Quddús, since we find him attending the conference of Badasht in late June 1848, where he acted as a gatekeeper at the entrance to one of the gardens.⁹

⁷ Fádíl Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 382.

⁸ Hasan Fú'ádí, *Tárikh Amrí Khurásán*, translated by Ahang Rabbani, *The Voices of the Heroes: The Genesis of the Bábí and Bahá'í Faiths in Khurasan*, eBook (forthcoming), 2007, <http://ahang.rabbani.googlepages.com/khurasan>; see also Nabíl Zarandí, *The Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 288–89.

⁹ Fádíl Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 381, suggests Hájí Nasír was a guard at the garden reserved for Bahá'u'lláh. Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shubadáy Amr*, vol. 2, pp. 235–36, indicates that he served by the building used by Quddús.

At the conclusion of this gathering, he accompanied Bahá'u'lláh as far as Niyala, a village in Mazandaran. The villagers, however, attacked the Bábís, killed and injured some, and plundered their belongings.

After rejoining Mullá Husayn's march, when they reached the village of Arim, near Savád-Kúh, Hájí Nasír became gravely ill. A traveling companion, Lutf-'Alí Mírzá Shírází, looked after him and nursed him back to health. After regaining his strength, he continued with the journey, and in Mazandaran he was one of the ablest defenders at the fortress of Shaykh Tabarsí.

Hájí Nasír rendered remarkable services during the battles of Shaykh Tabarsí, which commenced in September 1848 and concluded in May 1849, and as we will see later in these pages, has recorded a poignant account of that incident. During a portion of these events, his attendant, Hájí Ismá'íl served as well.¹⁰

Towards the concluding days of the confrontations at Shaykh Tabarsí, the supply of provisions that the Bábís had stored was completely depleted. The following is recorded in Hájí Nasír's recollections as a token of his devotion to his master, Quddús:

During the extreme days of the encirclement of the Fort in Mazandaran when the companions were suffering bitterly from the absence of food, one day I looked through my bag and travel sack and found a single almond. Even though I had been suffering from starvation for some time to the point that all strength had abandoned me, instantly I knew that I should take that almond to the illustrious Quddús. Therefore, I wrapped that single almond in a piece of silk and presented it before him.¹¹

¹⁰ Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, p. 244, suggests Hájí Ismá'íl was sent to Tehran to purchase certain items and nothing was ever heard of him again. Either he suffered martyrdom or disappeared for some other reason.

¹¹ Fádíl Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 382.

According to Fádil Mazandarání, who must have had access to Nabil's narrative¹², the following is recorded in Nabíl Zarandí's account pertaining to the same period of acute food shortage at the Fort:

During the time that no food was left in the Fort, a cow had remained. The honored Hájí Nasír, who was a brilliant star of the Faith over the horizon of Qazvin, would prepare her milk for the Countenance of the Friend¹³, who would partake of a few small spoonfuls and send the rest to the companions, who each would drink a spoonful.¹⁴



The main building of Shaykh Tabarsi

The following is also recorded by Shaykh Kázim Samandar in his fascinating and important (and unfortunately as yet untranslated) *Tárikh Samandar*:

¹² Regarding the relationship between Fádil Mazandarání's *Tárikh Zuburu'l-Haqq* and Nabíl's original narrative, see Ahang Rabbani, *The Bábís of Nayriz: History and Documents*; Foreword, eBook: 2007, <http://ahang.rabbani.googlepages.com/>

¹³ *Tal'at Habíb*, a title of Quddús.

¹⁴ Fádil Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 382.

The late Hájí Nasír Táb-Tharáh knew a great many episodes [of Bábí or Bahá'í history] and had many recollections, as he had observed uncountable events. He had recorded most of them in his own hand. So far I have not been successful in locating a copy, but, by the Divine grace, I cherish the hope that they will be located. The most trustworthy details of Mazandaran have all been recorded in that narrative.

A story was heard from the late Hájí Nasír Táb-Tharáh himself, of which there is no doubt, since many others heard the same details and they are currently available.

The detail is that when a wound had come to the mouth of His Holiness Quddús – upon whom rest the Glory of God, the Most Glorious, and may his remembrance be exalted above all others – then Hájí Nasír presented him with a silk handkerchief to either wipe away [the blood] or to close the wound.

When presenting this, uncontrollably, he made a sigh. His Holiness inquired, “For what reason do you sigh?” The Hájí was embarrassed and did not respond. His Holiness insisted, to which it was responded, “When I was a merchant, among the items that I traded were such silk handkerchiefs. When I saw it again, without wanting to, I was reminded of that time and had that [sad] condition.” The honored Quddús responded, “You will once again trade in them.”

The esteemed Hájí Nasír used to say, “I was most puzzled by this utterance since our Fort was encircled by the enemy and we were engulfed in the most hopeless and grave situation.”

Nevertheless, truly because of the influence of Quddús' blessed utterance, for many years [after this] Hájí [Nasír] worked as a merchant.¹⁵



As recorded in various narratives by both the Bábí and Muslim chroniclers, in order to bring a conclusion to the standoff at Shaykh Tabarsí, the commanding officer, Mihdí-Qulí Mírzá, pledged a truce on the Qur'án, and the Bábís, by reason of their respect for the Holy Book, came out of the Fort. The besiegers were housed in a field known as Dazvá Maydán, which apparently was next to the military camp.¹⁶ Hájí Nasír continued in the company of Quddús, and the next morning, 17 Jamádíu'th-Thání 1265 AH [10 May 1849], when all the Bábís went from Dazvá to the military camp and were summarily arrested, he was imprisoned as well.

Soon a majority of the Bábís were executed, but Mírzá Báqir Qazvíní, who was the Prince Governor's Farrash-Báshí, recognized

¹⁵ Cited in Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, pp. 236-37.

¹⁶ Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, p. 237.

Hájí Nasír and Hájí ‘Abdu’l-Majíd Nayshabúrí¹⁷ from previous associations, and perhaps based on the fact that Mírzá Báqir and Hájí Nasír were from the same town. He pulled them aside and suggested that through the payment of a ransom, they could be freed. They agreed, and the Farrash-Bashí asked the Prince Mihdí-Qulí Mírzá for the pardon of these two men, which was granted.¹⁸

When the Fort was demolished, Hájí Nasír and a few others, together with Quddús, were conducted with tied hands to Babul, a small town known at that time as Barfurush. After Quddús and others were martyred most savagely, and Mihdí-Qulí Mírzá had departed for Sari, the seat of his government, Mírzá Báqir brought Hájí Nasír and Hájí ‘Abdu’l-Majíd Nayshabúrí to Tehran in order to exact from them the promised sum. They were first imprisoned pending the payment of their ransom. While in prison, Hájí ‘Abdu’l-Majíd arranged with someone, most likely one of the jailers, to let them escape for 100 tumans each. Once the deal was finalized, Hájí Nasír thought the sum was too extravagant and refused to pay. Hájí ‘Abdu’l-Majíd paid and escaped at night.

Since Hájí Nasír had no one in Tehran to lend him the required ransom or vouch for him, Mírzá Báqir took him to Qazvin

¹⁷ He is better known as the father of the celebrated Badí‘, who carried Bahá’u’lláh’s Tablet to the Sultan of Iran and suffered martyrdom as result of it. The father, too, was martyred at an advanced age, and the story is told in the forthcoming *The Voice of the Heroes*, translation of Hasan Fú’ádí’s *Tárikh Amr-i Khurasan*.

¹⁸ Muhammad-‘Alí Malik-Khusravi, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, pp. 237-38. Malik-Khusravi notes that his statement is in slight conflict with Nabíl’s, which is as follows: “As soon as these atrocities hath been perpetrated, the prince ordered those who had been retained as captives to be ushered, one after another, into his presence. Those among them who were men of recognized standing, such as the father of Badí‘, Mullá Mírzá Muhammad-i-Furughi, and Hájí Nasír-i-Qazvini, he charged his attendants to conduct to Tihran and obtain in return for their deliverance a ransom from each one of them in direct proportion to their capacity and wealth. As to the rest, he gave orders to his executioners that they be immediately put to death.” (*The Dawn-Breakers*, p. 404)

and incarcerated him in the governmental prison. Eventually, Hájí Nasír paid a sum of 500 tumans and regained his freedom.¹⁹

He soon gathered sufficient funds to resume his profession, continuing to focus on trading silk in Qazvin and Lahijan. It is reported that he was peerless in trustworthiness, equity and reliability as a merchant, and these qualities served him well in his occupation and in the conduct of business. Samandar reports that he heard one of the antagonists say, “People say Hájí Nasír is an infidel. However, no one accuses him of being untrustworthy or irreligious.”²⁰

Shortly after that, however, another upheaval engulfed the Bábís. The ill-conceived attempt on the life of Násiri’-d-Dín Sháh in 1852 unleashed a wave of pogroms against the Bábí community. Recognized as a leading figure of the reform movement, Hájí Nasír was arrested in Qazvin by its governor, Khusraw Khán, and put in prison. The news of his imprisonment made the national news organ known as *Waqáyi’i Ittifáqiyya*²¹, number 82, Thursday, 29 Dhí’l-Hajjih 1268 AH [14 October 1852]:

According to reports appearing in Qazvin’s newspaper, a certain Hájí Nasír, is a native of that town and at the beginning of the appearance of the Bábí claim considered himself the leader of that faction. From what has been heard, he had traveled to Shiraz to meet the Báb and participated in the Bábí battles in Mazandaran, and is well-known as such [i.e. being a Bábí]. After the attempt on the life and insult to the person of the Monarch by this wayward sect, Hájí Nasír has been

¹⁹ Muhammad-‘Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, p. 238

²⁰ Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh Samandar va Mulhaqát*, p. 55.

²¹ Journal of Current Events, first established on 7 February 1851, by Mírzá Taqí Khán Amír-Kabír, the Prime Minister, as a weekly organ of national news. For further information, consult E.G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, pp. 98-99.

seized and imprisoned by Khusraw Khán, the governor of Qazvin.²²

It was only through expenditure of a sum of money that he was able to obtain his release. This incident, though, robbed him of most of his capital.²³

When Bahá'u'lláh was in Adrianople, the news of the opposition of Mírzá Yahyá Azal, the nominal head of the Bábí community, reached Hájí Nasír. For some time he tried to unravel this complicated situation and to discover the station of Bahá'u'lláh and the role of Azal in the post-Báb period. Unsuccessful in obtaining much insight, he wrote Bahá'u'lláh requesting clarification on Mírzá Yahyá Azal's status.

The response by Bahá'u'lláh is a significant and long Tablet known as the Lawh Nasír.²⁴ Most of this Tablet is in exquisite Persian, and a small portion of this text was translated by Shoghi Effendi and included in *Gleanings from the Writings of Bahá'u'lláh*, sections LIII and LXXV.

It is in this Tablet that Bahá'u'lláh throws light on the historical circumstances that led to the appointment of Mírzá Yahyá Azal by the Báb as the leader of the Bábí community, and mentions that only two individuals, Mírzá Músá, known as Áqá Kalím, and Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím Qazvíní, were informed of the details of this appointment. He condemns Azal's treacherous deeds, his attempt to assassinate Bahá'u'lláh, and his shameful accusations attributing his own crimes to Him.

A considerable portion of this Tablet is addressed to the Bábís of Iran who had not yet come to recognize Bahá'u'lláh, who are referred to as "the people of the Bayán." Bahá'u'lláh reminds them

²² Cited in Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, p. 239.

²³ Fádil Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 382.

²⁴ See, *Majmu'ih Matbu'ih* [Collected Tablets of Bahá'u'lláh], Ed. Muhyi'd-Dín Sabri Kurdi Sanandaji, Cairo: Matb'at as-Sa'adah, 1920; pp 166-202.

of various statements of the Báb concerning the exalted station of the One who was to appear after Him.

Tear asunder, in My Name, the veils that have grievously blinded your vision, and, through the power born of your belief in the unity of God, scatter the idols of vain imitation. Enter, then, the holy paradise of the good-pleasure of the All-Merciful. Sanctify your souls from whatsoever is not of God, and taste ye the sweetness of rest within the pale of His vast and mighty Revelation, and beneath the shadow of His supreme and infallible authority. Suffer not yourselves to be wrapt in the dense veils of your selfish desires, inasmuch as I have perfected in every one of you My creation, so that the excellence of My handiwork may be fully revealed unto men. It follows, therefore, that every man hath been, and will continue to be, able of himself to appreciate the Beauty of God, the Glorified. Had he not been endowed with such a capacity, how could he be called to account for his failure? If, in the Day when all the peoples of the earth will be gathered together, any man should, whilst standing in the presence of God, be asked: 'Wherefore hast thou disbelieved in My Beauty and turned away from My Self,' and if such a man should reply and say: 'Inasmuch as all men have erred, and none hath been found willing to turn his face to the Truth, I too, following their example, have grievously failed to recognize the Beauty of the Eternal,' such a plea will, assuredly, be rejected. For the faith of no man can be conditioned by any one except himself.

This is one of the verities that lie enshrined in My Revelation — a verity which I have revealed in all the heavenly Books, which I have caused the Tongue of Grandeur to utter, and the Pen of Power to inscribe. Ponder a while thereon, that with both your inner and outer eye, ye may perceive the subtleties of Divine wisdom and discover the gems of heavenly knowledge which, in clear and weighty language, I have revealed in this exalted and incorruptible Tablet, and that ye may not stray far from the All-Highest Throne, from the Tree beyond which there is no passing, from the Habitation of everlasting might and glory.

*The signs of God shine as manifest and resplendent as the sun amidst the works of His creatures. Whatsoever proceedeth from Him is apart, and will always remain distinguished, from the inventions of men. From the Source of His knowledge countless Luminaries of learning and wisdom have risen, and out of the Paradise of His Pen the breath of the All-Merciful hath continually been wafted to the hearts and souls of men. Happy are they that have recognized this truth.*²⁵

Bahá'u'lláh then states the following words in the same Tablet to Hájí Nasír, regarding the station of those who have recognized Him:

O Nasír, O My Servant! God, the Eternal Truth, beareth Me witness. The Celestial Youth hath, in this Day, raised above the heads of men the glorious Chalice of Immortality, and is standing expectant upon His seat, wondering what eye will recognize His glory, and what arm will, unhesitatingly, be stretched forth to seize the Cup from His snow-white Hand and drain it. Only a few have as yet quaffed from this peerless, this soft-flowing grace of the Ancient King. These occupy the loftiest mansions of Paradise, and are firmly established upon the seats of authority. By the righteousness of God! Neither the mirrors of His glory, nor the revealers of His names, nor any created thing, that hath been or will ever be, can ever excel them, if ye be of them that comprehend this truth.

O Nasír! The excellence of this Day is immensely exalted above the comprehension of men, however extensive their knowledge, however profound their understanding. How much more must it transcend the imaginations of them that have strayed from its light, and been shut out from its glory! Shouldst thou rend asunder the grievous veil that blindeth thy vision, thou wouldst behold such a bounty as naught, from the beginning that hath no beginning till the end that hath no end, can either resemble or

²⁵ Baha'u'llah, *Gleanings from the Writings of Baha'u'llah*, p. 143-44.

*equal. What language should He Who is the Mouthpiece of God choose to speak, so that they who are shut out as by a veil from Him can recognize His glory? The righteous, inmates of the Kingdom on high, shall drink deep from the Wine of Holiness, in My name, the all-glorious. None other besides them will share such benefits.*²⁶

On studying this Tablet, Hájí Nasír and his entire family became believers in Bahá'u'lláh.²⁷

Hájí Nasír was imprisoned yet another time, under peculiar circumstances that he describes himself – see the concluding section of his narrative. As described by his lifelong friend, Shaykh Kázim Samandar, he had left for Gilan when he was seized only one station out of Qazvin, and conducted to Tehran, where he was put in chains and fetters.²⁸ When released from his ordeal, he found that all his considerable possessions were confiscated yet again.²⁹

It was through the assistance of Shaykh Kázim Samandar, a renowned early follower of Bahá'u'lláh, that Hájí Nasír was able to resume his profession of trading in silk moth cocoons and silk. In the process, he moved his residence to the city of Rasht, and established the nucleus of the first Bahá'í community there – perhaps one of the earliest instances of “pioneering” in the recorded history of the young religion. Though several of this family were Bahá'ís and known in the city as such, no one from Rasht embraced the Faith.³⁰

Some time later, due to an epidemic, the caterpillars did not produce sufficient cocoons, the silk trade collapsed, and soon the local economy in the province of Gilan was impacted. His business

²⁶ Bahá'u'lláh, *Gleanings from the Writings of Bahá'u'lláh*, p. 108.

²⁷ This Tablet attracted the attention of E. G. Browne who outlined it in “The Babis of Persia II. Their Literature and Doctrines”, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 949-953

²⁸ Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh Samandar va Mulhaqát*, p. 55.

²⁹ Muhammad-‘Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, p. 242.

³⁰ Fádil Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zubúru'l-Haqq*, vol. 6, p. 928.

partners refused payments on various drafts and Hájí Nasír was bankrupt, lost his plantations and other properties in Qazvin, and even his main residence. All that was left to him was 100 tumans. Once more, Samandar came to his aid and placed him at the head of his trading office in Rasht.³¹

About that time, in 1874, an opportunity presented itself for him to journey to ‘Akká and to attain the presence of Bahá’u’lláh. On this pilgrimage he was accompanied by Shaykh Kázim Samandar. Bahá’u’lláh welcomed this old friend of Badasht days with great affection and showered upon him immense kindness. Samandar reports that one day Bahá’u’lláh, Who was staying in the house of Áqá Kalím at the Khán Jurayni,³² addressed Hájí Nasír:

Jináb Hájí! You have toiled much and suffered much in the path of God. If you yourself have forgotten what you have done and endured, God has not. But the worlds of God are not confined to this world. Were it so the Exalted Prophets would not have consented to bear such adversities wrought by men; the Manifestation who preceded Me would not have consented to be suspended and martyred with volleys of malice and malignity; and I would not have consented to be dragged, bare-headed and barefooted, in utmost degradation, from Niyávarán to Tehran to bear untold blows.

Samandar states further, “In brief, He expounded this theme in most excellent words. He was telling the Hájí that he will be recompensed in the worlds to come.”³³

Moreover, Shaykh Kázim reports that Bahá’u’lláh confidentially hinted to him to be sure to look after Hájí Nasír.³⁴

³¹ Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh Samandar va Mulhaqát*, p. 56.

³² Also known as Khán ‘Avamíd.

³³ Quoted in Azízu’lláh Sulaymání, *Masábíh Hidáyat*, vol. 7, pp. 33-34, previously translated by Hasan Balyuzi, *Eminent Bahá’ís in the Time of Bahá’u’lláh*, p. 201.

On his return, he continued to live in Rasht with his family, and spent the latter part of his life in that city engaged in propagating the Bahá'í Faith to those who were interested. He was assisted in his trading business by his two sons.

In 1882, another intense persecution was unleashed, this time by Kamrán Mírzá, the governor of Tehran. A number of Bahá'ís in various towns, particularly Tehran, were imprisoned and some tortured. Soon this spread to Rasht also. According to Ustád 'Abdu'l-Karím Yazdí, the following believers were imprisoned in Rasht:³⁵

1. Hájí Nasír Qazvíní
2. Áqá 'Alí Arbáb, eldest son of Hájí Nasír Qazvíní
3. Áqá Mírzá Mihdí Ja'farzadih Rashtí
4. Mullá Yúsuf-'Alí Rashtí
5. Áqá Mírzá Báqir Bassár Rashtí
6. Áqá 'Alí-Asghar 'Attár, brother of Bassár
7. Mashhadí 'Alí, another brother of Bassár
8. Áqá Javád 'Attár Rashtí
9. Áqá Rasul Tájir ["merchant"] Rashtí
10. Ustád Ismá'íl Kalúchih-paz
11. Áqá Muhammad-Ismá'íl Sabbágh Qazvíní
12. Ustád Ibrahim Kalúchih-paz
13. Áqá Muhammad-Ibráhím Sabbágh Qazvíní

After these Bahá'ís were incarcerated, a remarkable act, unheard of in Qajar Iran, took place: Three more Bahá'ís went to the authorities demanding, "Either release these men or place us in chains too." The governor arrested and imprisoned them as well. These three brave believers were:

14. Áqá Mírzá Husayn Hudá

³⁴ Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh Samandar va Mulhaqát*, p. 56. Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, p. 243.

³⁵ Cited by 'Abdu'l-Hamid Ishráq-Khávarí, *Kitáb Muhádirát*, pp. 213-16.

15. Áqá Siyyid Mihdí Dervish
16. The honored Dervish

The situation for the Bahá'ís worsened when three days later arrests were made in Lahijan as well. Three more well-known Bahá'ís were seized and imprisoned:

17. Áqá Muhammad-Sádiq Kuláh-Dúz Qazvíní
18. Mírzá 'Alí Ashraf, known as the poet 'Andalíb
19. Karbalá'í Bábá Vakíl Láhijání

Some of the above-mentioned believers were released after some time – numbers 10, 11, 12, 13 and 19 on the above list.³⁶ Others remained in prison for a long and difficult time.

Hájí Nasír could not endure the rigors of prison life and, after so many years of toil and suffering, died a martyr's death after forty days in the prison.³⁷ Several porters carried his body to his residence.

When the news of Hájí Nasír's death reached the incited mob, a number of ruffians forced their way into his house and attempted to dismember his remains. With horror and consternation, his family stood helplessly watching the cruel atrocities perpetrated by heartless fanatics. They had Hájí Nasír's nose and ears cut off, his eyes gouged out, pulled out his beard and were about to set the house on fire when they were stopped by the landlord, who was a Russian citizen and had appealed to the Russian Consulate for protection.

Several farrashes carried the remains of Hájí Nasír outside the town, threw them into a disused brick furnace by a river known as

³⁶ 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Ishráq-Khavarí, *Kitáb Mubádirát*, p. 215, emphasizes that the remaining prisoners insisted on being Bahá'ís, and as such remained in prison. This appears to suggest that that five released believers were coerced into recantation, which would have resulted in their release.

³⁷ Muhammad-'Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 2, p. 243. 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Ishráq-Khavarí, *Kitáb Mubádirát*, p. 215, states that he was in prison for nine days before expiring.

Kuláhsih Rúdbár and covered them with earth. Some time later, his son, Áqá ‘Alí Arbáb purchased that parcel of land and built a structure over it that serves as Háji Nasír’s monument.

Several years after his martyrdom, in 1891, Bahá’u’lláh paid a glowing tribute to Háji Nasír for his steadfastness in the Cause of God in *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf* in these words:

Previous to these forty years controversies and conflicts continually prevailed and agitated the servants of God. But since then, aided by the hosts of wisdom, of utterance, of exhortations and understanding, they have all seized and taken fast hold of the firm cord of patience and of the shining hem of fortitude, in such wise that this wronged people endured steadfastly whatever befell them, and committed everything unto God, and this notwithstanding that in Mazīndaran and at Rasht a great many have been most hideously tormented. Among them was his honor, Háji Nasír, who, unquestionably, was a brilliant light that shone forth above the horizon of resignation. After he had suffered martyrdom, they plucked out his eyes and cut off his nose, and inflicted on him such indignities that strangers wept and lamented, and secretly raised funds to support his wife and children.³⁸

As a sign of remembrance of Háji Nasír, ‘Abdu’l-Bahá composed a Tablet of Visitation for him, and for another believer, Karbalá’í Háshim, whose remains had been exhumed and set on fire. The opening portion of this Visitation Tablet is quoted by Ishraq-Khavari in *Kitáb Muhádirát*, page 216.

³⁸ Bahá’u’lláh, *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf*, p. 71.

An Overview of Sources for the Study of Shaykh Tabarsí

During the five-year period of 1848-53, on at least seven separate occasions, the Bábís of Iran were forced to take up arms against the Qajar state, often resulting in battles with the combined military and militia forces of the government. These events, coupled with the martyrdom of the Báb and most of the Letters of the Living, left that community almost completely destroyed, with only a small band of remnant believers left either in isolation, or in exile or in small disjointed groups. While these occurrences have been explored to some extent in well-known histories of the Bábís in English language, such as, *The Dawn-Breakers*, or *Tárikh Jadíd*, or *Resurrection and Renewal*, it is only recently that the various eyewitness accounts of these events are gradually coming to the notice of students of this period.

The first of these events occurred in Shaykh Tabarsí in 1848-49. The second and the third incident were led by Siyyid Yahyá [Vahid] Dárábí, and took place in Yazd and Nayriz during the first half of 1850. The fourth armed clash was in Zanzan, and led by Mullá Muhammad-‘Alí [Hujjat] Zanzání. The fifth episode was in Tehran in 1852, resulting in Bahá’u’lláh’s imprisonment and the slaughter of many Babis of that town. The sixth uprising was orchestrated by Mirza Yahya Azal in Mazandaran in 1853, and the seventh known uprising against the authorities was undertaken by the Babis of Nayriz in 1853 as well.

The key documents pertaining to the first event will be discussed below, while the various accounts pertaining to the Yazd and the two Nayriz events are translated and analyzed by the present

writer in a separate volume.³⁹ Narratives regarding Zanjan have been analyzed by John Walbridge.⁴⁰ No eyewitness evidences have so far been made available in English pertaining to Tehran or Azal's uprisings.

The present monograph introduces and offers in translation (and also the original Persian) an eyewitness account of a Shaykh Tabarsí survivor. It is hoped that this volume will shortly be followed by monographs on two other remaining Bábí eyewitness accounts of the same event.

Sources for Study of Shaykh Tabarsí Conflict

Of the seven major incidents in Bábí history in which armed clashes occurred between the Bábís and governmental forces, there are more documentary materials available for Shaykh Tabarsí than others. These include eyewitness accounts and secondary sources, by both Bábí-Bahá'í and Muslim writers. In addition, there are western diplomatic sources which shed considerable light on this episode, though discussion of them is beyond the scope of the present study.⁴¹

The more important sources in the Persian language for Shaykh Tabarsí can be divided into the following groups:⁴²

³⁹ Ahang Rabbani, *The Bábís of Nayríz: History and Documents*, eBook: 2007, Witnesses to the Bábí and Bahá'í History, Vol. 2, at: <http://ahang.rabbani.googlepages.com/nayriz>

⁴⁰ John Walbridge, "Document and Narrative Sources for the History of the Battle of Zanjan", Occasional Papers in Shaykhi, Babi and Baha'i Studies, Vol. 2, No. 4 (May, 1998), e-published at: <http://www.h-net.org/~bahai/bhpapers/vol2/nabilz.htm>

⁴¹ See Moojan Momen, *The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 1844-1944: Some Contemporary Western Accounts*, Oxford: George Ronald, 1981.

⁴² See analysis of events leading to Shaykh Tabarsí and afterwards see, Siyamak Zabihi-Moghaddam, "The Babi-State Conflict at Shaykh Tabarsi," *Iranian Studies* 35 (2002): 87-112; and Mohammad Ali Kazembeyki, *Society, Politics and Economics in Máẓandarán, Iran, 1848-1914* (London, 2003), pp. 116-125.

Eyewitness Bábí Narratives

Among the most important documents for this event are the eyewitness accounts written by three Bábí participants, who wrote their recollections independently of one another and at different times. Each of these chronicles has its own characteristics and offers a slightly different perspective. These accounts not only provide considerable firsthand details about the event, but also outline the general Bábí outlook and perceptions. They are briefly introduced below in their chronological order:

Narrative of Lutf-‘Alí Mírzá Shírází: The author was related to the Qajar royal family through the children of Husayn-‘Alí Farmán-Farmá, the governor of Fars.⁴³ It is not known when he became a Bábí, though according to his account, he joined Mullá Husayn and his march on 12 Ramadan 1264 AH [12 August 1848] near the boarder of Mazandaran in the village of Dih-Mullá. He was present throughout the Shaykh Tabarsí episode, survived the ordeal and eventually died a martyr’s death in August 1852 in Tehran, during the pogrom unleashed after the Bábí attempt on the life of Nasirí’-Din Shah.

His account covers in considerable detail events from the time that he joined the march until early April 1849, when the besiegers were suffering intense famine at the Fort about a month before the conclusion of the episode on 9 May 1849. According to a well-informed historian, Lutf-‘Alí Mírzá was composing his account in Tehran when his martyrdom prevented completion of this task.⁴⁴

This untitled narrative is almost certainly the earliest and the most extensive of the Bábí accounts, and even though the text itself does not bear the author’s name, another early account, known as *Tárikh Mímíyyih*, identifies the author and occasionally cites this

⁴³ Abú’l-Qásim Afnán, *‘Abd-‘Alá*, p. 475. Earlier Bahá’í historians (such as, Fadil Mázandarání, *Tárikh Zuburu’l-Haqq*, vol. 3, p. 267) have incorrectly identified him as an Afshar Prince.

⁴⁴ Muhammad-‘Alí Malik-Khusraví, *Tárikh Shuhadáy Amr*, vol. 3, p. 274.

narrative, which indicates that the text was in limited circulation among the surviving Bábís and early Bahá'ís.⁴⁵

Three copies of this narrative are in possession of the present translator, who will shortly make his translation available:

- a. A copy transcribed by Muhammad-Báqir Tihrání in 1319 AH [1901-02]. At the beginning of this manuscript, Tihrání emphasizes that he copied the text from the original in the hand of the author and ensured that it was without any additions or deletions. This version is in 111 pages.
- b. Cambridge collection: Browne Manuscripts, Oriental Folios (Or. F) 28, item 3. This version has been published at: <http://www2.hnet.msu.edu/~bahai/arabic/vol5/lutfali/lutfali.htm>.
- c. An undated copy made by 'Atiyih Rúhí, a daughter of Ahmad Thamaríh, the Misbahu'l-Hukamá, and a younger sister of 'Inayatu'lláh Thamaríh in Kirman.⁴⁶

Narrative of Hájí Nasír Qazvíní: The eyewitness account of Hájí Nasír is shorter than the other two eyewitness accounts. From internal evidences it appears to have been written well after the events and as part of a larger autobiography, which is no longer extant. This text was published in the first printing of *Tárikh*

⁴⁵ Siyamak Zabíhi-Mughaddam, *Váq'ih Qal'ih Shaykh Tabarsí*, Germany: 'Asr-i-Jadíd, 2002, p. 57.

⁴⁶ This scribed lived in Tehran and indicates that she made a copy for the use of her brother in Kirman. Moojan Momen provides further identification on her (private communication, May 2007): "... this lady is the great-granddaughter of Azal. My information is as follows: Azal > Mírzá Núru'lláh (a physician living in Rasht) > Mírzá Ahmad Amínu'l-Atibbá, who had two children, 'Inayatu'lláh and 'Atiyih who married 'Ali Ruhi (who was a member of Shaykh Ahmad Ruhi's family in Kirman). 'Atiyih Ruhi was, incidentally the person who traveled to Cyprus and organized and paid for a shrine over the grave of Azal."

Samandar va Mulhaqát, under the title, “Tárikh Jináb Hájí Nasír Shahíd”.⁴⁷ For unexplained reasons it was removed from the subsequent printing of that book in 131BE [1974], though reference to it remained in the book’s introduction. The following comment by the original publisher of *Tárikh Samandar* appears on page 500 of that monograph:

This history was written in the hand of the illustrious martyred Hájí Nasír Qazvíní, may my spirit be a sacrifice unto his dust. He was present at the fort of Shaykh Tabarsí, ranked among the companions [there], and the Invisible Host protected [and saved] him. He devoted his entire life to the service [of the Cause], attained the presence of the Countenance of God⁴⁸ in ‘Akká, and eventually achieved martyrdom in 1300 A.H. [1881] in Rasht.

The original of this narrative was a book which was destroyed. This portion was discovered recently, and the late Samandar, upon him rest the Glory of God, has established its authenticity.

Of the original text, 14 pages were discovered by Shaykh Kázim Samandar and transcribed on 10 April 1927 by ‘Abdu’s-Samad Samadání. The accuracy of this transcription was confirmed by Tarazu’lláh Samandarí (later appointed as a Hand of Cause), as the secretary of the Spiritual Assembly approving the publication of *Tárikh Samandar*.⁴⁹

Narrative of Mír Abú-Tálib Shahmírzadí: Mír Abú-Tálib’s father was among the Sádát of Samnán and was entrusted with the

⁴⁷ Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh Samandar va Mulhaqát*, Tehran, n.d., pp. 501-520.

⁴⁸ Arabic *Laqá’u’lláh*, a reference to the Manifestation of God; Bahá’u’lláh for Bahá’ís.

⁴⁹ Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh Samandar va Mulhaqát*, p. 520.

guardianship of Imám-Zádih Qásim, northeast of Sangar on the way to Shahmirzad. He was influential and respected in his native town, and while on a journey to Karbala came upon some of the Báb's Writings, the perusal of which convinced him of the truth of the Báb's claim. Before his passing, he declared, "Whoever can assist this Cause must arise to its triumph."⁵⁰

It must have been this advice that propelled his son, Mír Abú-Tálib, though not a Bábí at that time, to serve as a guide for three Bábís who were on their way to Shaykh Tabarsí. Upon encountering Mullá Husayn and other companions at the Fort, he declared his allegiance to the new Faith. He then returned to his native town of Shahmirzad to inform the population of the events and the Qá'im's appearance. A number of people converted, and soon some of them joined Mír Abú-Tálib and his two brothers at Shaykh Tabarsí. The author indicates that inasmuch as his mother was old, she wrote a letter for Quddús stating that even though all believers were enjoined to hasten to the Fort to aid the defenders, she would keep the youngest of the four sons, Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá, for her needs.

Shortly after the arrival of these believers from Shahmirzad the battles with the Mazandarani forces commenced. The three brothers participated in the clashes and two of them were killed during those encounters. Mír Abú-Tálib states that miraculously he survived. That is, when he returned from their last battle, his garment was full of bullet holes, but on opening his belt, bullets fell to the ground, none of them having harmed him in the least.

In the final days of the siege, Quddús summoned Mír Abú-Tálib and gave him a sealed envelope for his mother. When all the Bábís were arrested, Mír Abú-Tálib found his way home without the least objection from the opposing soldiers. He gave the letter to his mother in which Quddús had stated, "She had acted generously by giving up her three sons in God's path. But God was just and had taken two and allowed her to keep two," namely, Mír Abú-Tálib and Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá.

⁵⁰ Mír Abú-Tálib Shahmírzádí, untitled manuscript, p. 5.

The narrative of Mír Abú-Tálib must have been commissioned by Bahá'u'lláh, Who instructed several individuals (such as Mullá Muhammad Shafí‘ Nayrízí) to write their recollections. This account starts with the meeting of the Sa‘ídu’l-‘Ulamá with the Bábís, and concludes with the massacre of the besiegers in May 1849. Along the way, the author takes various detours from the main story, which in some ways enriches the narrative. Later this account was the basis of Nabíl Zarandí’s section on Shaykh Tabarsí. Since this account includes various “miracle stories”, they must have been removed at the time of the composition of *The Dawn-Breakers*.

In addition to Nabíl’s account, Fádil Mázandarání has used this narrative in his *Tárikh Zubúru’l-Haqq*, but his copy must have had some divergences with Nabíl’s (and also with the copies available to the present translator), as he cites passages unavailable in other copies.

Two copies of Mír Abú-Tálib’s narrative are known to the present translator:

- a. A copy in the author’s hand in 63 pages
- b. A transcribed copy in the hand of Muhammad-‘Alí Malik-Khusraví completed in March 1964.

It is hoped that the present translator’s annotated rendering of this narrative (a project sanctioned by the Bahá’í World Centre) will be published shortly.

Eyewitness Muslim Narratives

One of the earliest accounts of this incident, which has been largely overlooked by Bahá’í historians, appeared in the Mazandarani dialect.⁵¹ While one cannot be certain that the author was indeed an eyewitness, it appears that this account was collected in Babul (former Barfurush) in 1860 by an informed Muslim contemporary.

⁵¹ No reference to this manuscript in Bahá’í published books is known to the present translator, including Denis MacEoin, *The Sources for Early Bábí Doctrine and History: A Survey*; Leiden, 1992.

More recently, this narrative has been translated and published by Habib Borjian,⁵² who remarks that it

was among Nikolai Khanykov's manuscripts and notes kept in the Imperial Public Library at Saint Petersburg. Dorn, who provides also a German translation, published the text in 1865 in Perso-Arabic characters.⁵³ He states two reasons for publishing the text: (1) so that one can see the details recounted by a witness whose truth I do not advocate; (2) (the main reason) that the Manẓandarani text be shown as a language." For the sake of comparison, Dorn also provides a summary of the incident based on materials that had hitherto been published by Mirza (Aleksandr) Kazem Beg and Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Lisan-al-Mulk Sipihri in *Násikh al-Tavárikh*. Moreover, the text in Dorn's edition carries the title *min kalám Shaykh al-'Ajam Máẓandarání* (*From the words of Shaykh al-'Ajam Máẓandarani*). The latter is the epithet of Amir Pazvari, the semi-legendary Mazandarani poet so much adored by Dorn, who seems to have used the title symbolically to allude to the Mazandarani language in general. The author of the text remains anonymous.⁵⁴

⁵² Habib Borjian, "A Mazandarani Account of the Babi Incident at Shaikh Tabarsi", *Iranian Studies*, 39:3, 381-400.

⁵³ Boris Andreevich Dorn, *Morgenlandische handschriften der kaiserlichen öffentlichen bibliothek zu St. Petersburg. Nachträge zu dem Verzeichniss dr in Jahre 1861 erworbenen Chanykove'schen Sammlung* (St. Petersburg, 1865). Reprinted as "Nachträge zu dem Verzeichniss der von der Kaiserlichen Offenlichen Bibliothek erworbene Chanykov'schen Handschriften und den da mitgetheilten Nachrichten über die Baby und deren Koran," in *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de L'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg V. 1864-1868* (St. Petersburg, 1968), 377-419. [Habib Borjian]

⁵⁴ Habib Borjian, "A Mazandarani Account of the Babi Incident at Shaikh Tabarsi" p. 382.

A close study of Borjian's translation indicates that it is not without shortcomings and a more accurate rendering is being prepared by Adel Shafipour.

Other Important Bábí Accounts

Two Bábí accounts are particularly important as related to Shaykh Tabarsí and are briefly mentioned below:

Kitáb Nuqtatu'l-Káf: Based either mostly or in part on an account by Háji Mírzá Jání of Kashan, this book is without doubt one of the earliest Bábí accounts, and enjoys a significant importance in any discussion of the Bábí histories. The section on Shaykh Tabarsí provides a few additional nuggets of information not otherwise available through eyewitness accounts. This book was published by Prof E. G. Browne and in collaboration with Muhammad Qazvíní⁵⁵: *Kitáb-i Nuqtatu'l-Káf*, Leiden and London, 1910.⁵⁶

Vaqá'ih Mímiyyih [Events in the Land of Mím⁵⁷]: This manuscript was commissioned by the mother and sister of Mullá Husayn who asked Siyyid Muhammad-Hasan Zavárih'í, titled Mahjúr, to compose a narrative of the episode at Shaykh Tabarsí. To a notable degree this account reflects the oral history of the Bábí survivors (known as Baqíyatu'l-Sayf) who are variously mentioned throughout the text. It also cites information from Lutf-'Alí Mírzá's account, without identifying its author (most likely unknown to Mahjúr). There is some controversy regarding the date of composition of this narrative, and Zabihi-Mughaddam is of the opinion that it was

⁵⁵ On Muhammad Qazvíní's own admission to being a party in this book see, Ahang Rabbani, "Abdu'l-Bahá's Meetings with Two Prominent Iranians", *World Order*, Fall 1998, Vol. 30, No. 1, 35-46 (available at: http://ahang.rabbani.googlepages.com/Rabbani_AbdulBaha_Meeting_Two_Promin.pdf).

⁵⁶ For a more detailed discussion, see Ahang Rabbani, *The Bábís of Nayríz: History and Documents*, Chapter 6.

⁵⁷ *Mím* is an abbreviation for Mazandaran.

written around 1278 AH [1861]. The present translator is of the same mind.

Two copies of this manuscript are known to the present translator, which offer slight differences:

- a. Browne, Oriental Manuscript Folio 28(1), in the author's hand, published at: <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~bahai/arabic/vol5/mimiyyih/mimiyyih.htm>
- b. A copy in the hand of Muhammad-‘Alí Malik-Khusraví in 146 pages.

Early Bahá’í Accounts

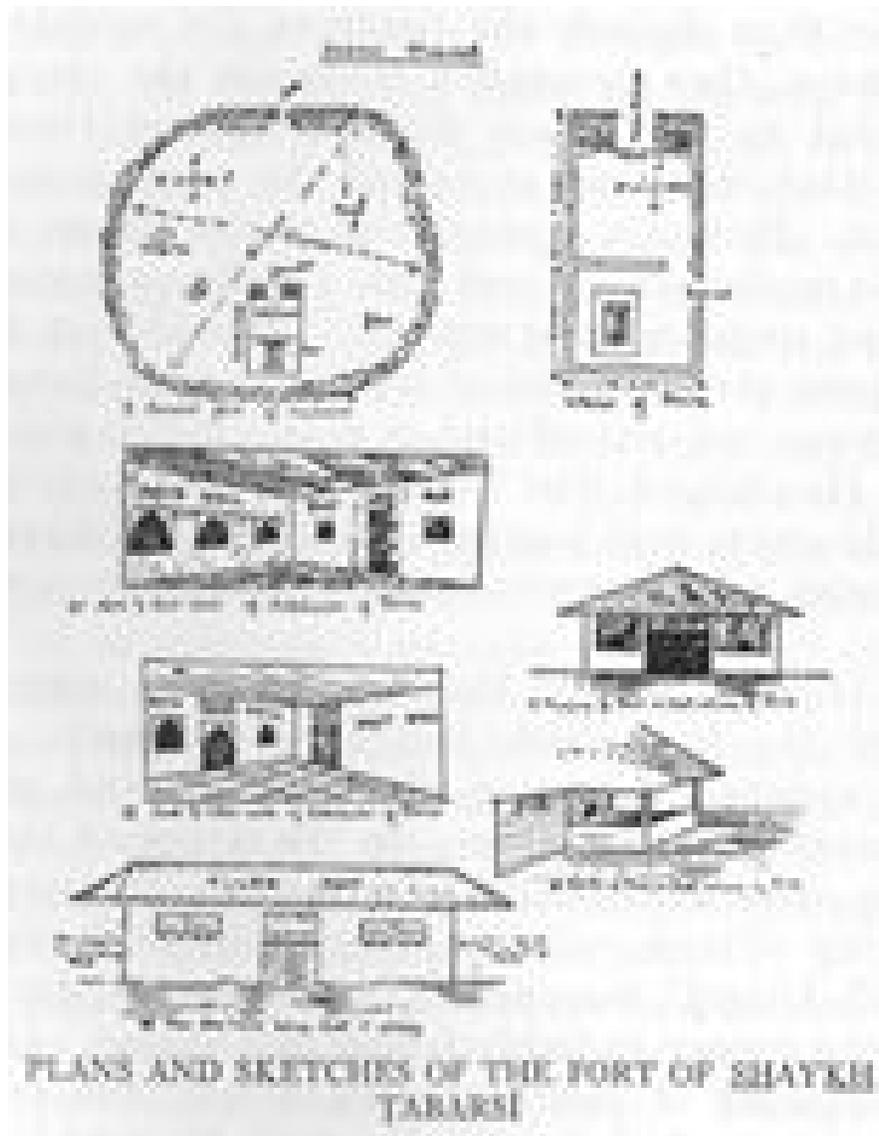
Narrative of Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá Shahrízádí: Being nineteen years old at the time of his brothers’ departure for Shaykh Tabarsí, he did not participate in the events, but his account (which appears to have been composed rather late in life) contains various references to Shaykh Tabarsí and the condition and sufferings of the Bábís in various towns concurrent with the events at the Fort. A text of this narrative in the author’s hand was the basis of a translation completed by the present writer, which will be published shortly.

Narrative of Nabíl Zarandí: This is an extensive history of over 1000 pages, which was completed in 1891. The portion detailing the Bábí history has been published in an edited and abridged English translation under the title *The Dawn-Breakers: Nabíl’s Narrative of the Early Days of the Bahá’í Revelation*, translated and edited by Shoghi Effendi, Wilmette, 1932.

Narrative of Siyyid Husayn Hamadání: Composed in collaboration with Mírzá Abu’l-Fadl Gulpáygání, this account adds only slightly to the information on the Shaykh Tabarsí conflict available in the *Kitáb Nuqtatu’l-Kaf*. This narrative was translated and annotated by Prof E. G. Browne, *The Táríkh-i-Jadíd or New History of Mírzá ‘Alí-Muhammad the Báb* (Cambridge, 1893).

Accounts by Qajar Historians

Two official Qajar histories, *Násikhu't-Tavárikh* by Mírzá Muhammad-Taquí the Lisánu'l-Mulk Sipíhr, and *Raudatu's-Safá Násiri*, vol. 10, by Ridá-Qulí Khán Hidáyat, contain very valuable details about Shaykh Tabarsí, often based on military dispatches and other governmental communications. They suffer, however, from certain limitations discussed elsewhere by the present translator.⁵⁸



⁵⁸ Ahang Rabbani, *The Bábís of Nayríz: History and Documents*, Chapter 8.

Narrative of Hájí Nasír Qazvíní

Translated by Ahang Rabbani

[The fragment of Hájí Nasír's narrative which follows is printed in its original Persian on pages 501-520 of Táríkh Samandar. It starts at the point when the Bábís led by Mullá Husayn met Khusraw Qádí-Kalá'i, "a notorious scoundrel who often rebelled against the government."⁵⁹ Translator.]

[Khusraw remarked,] "Apparently there is no need for me and my two hundred men to remain in your service. Praise God that roads are safe and with the utmost tranquility you can continue on your journey. However, I have a request to present to you: As a source of blessing and felicity, kindly grant me your steed and sword, so I may have them as signs of divine bounties." In response, [Mullá Husayn] stated, "You have asked for two things that both are necessary unto us. Ask for other objects since we are at the beginning of our journey. Moreover, you have observed that most people have been stirred up in entrenched opposition towards us. Therefore, these two things are both critical and essential to us."

In response, Khusraw Bayk said, "Since I am a servant of the Sultan, with the duty to serve as a cavalry soldier and to fight in battles, I asked for these as a token of blessing so that through this confirmation would attain victory over the enemy. Otherwise, I have no need for a horse and a sword. Nay, they are readily available. [In fact,] I will present you with another horse and saber to serve you."

⁵⁹ *The Dawn-Breakers*, p. 339, n 2.

At that moment, the honored Báb⁶⁰, upon him rest God's peace, through a divine glance, motioned the esteemed Mírzá Muhammad-Taqí Khurásání, and he stabbed that wicked scoundrel [Khusraw] from behind with his knife. He cried loudly when cut, but Mullá Muhammad-Báqir and some others killed him [instantly] with their ready swords and sabers. When his men, who had been standing some distance away, heard the cry of that evildoer, they immediately ran away, and no trace of his comrades remained.

In short, the mutilated remains of that accursed one were thrown into a ditch.

At that time, the honored personage [Mullá Husayn] instructed the companions "Let us leave so we can reach an inhabited spot." It so happened that the night was so dark that we could not even see one another.

Arrival of the Companions at Fort Shaykh Tabarsí

After their departure and proceeding [with their journey], no matter how hard they tried to find a frequented path, it was not possible. At this point a traveler appeared and was asked, "Is there a place or a village in this vicinity that would be inhabited, where we could spend the night?" "There are no villages in this area;" he responded, "however, there is a shrine nearby known as Shaykh Tabarsí, though it has no dwelling."

The honored Bábu'l-Báb [Mullá Husayn] exclaimed, "That location is good!" All the companions were unaware that this utterance was by means of spiritual insight, and that his and others' rendezvous with destiny lay in that very location. At all events, outwardly that passerby was the reason that the personage [Mullá Husayn] and his companions were led to that blessed spot.

⁶⁰ Towards the latter part of His ministry, the Báb had given His own various titles to some of His chief disciples. Mullá Husayn had received the title of *The Bábu'l- Báb* [the Gate to the Báb], Quddús was known as *Hadrat A'lá* [His Holiness the Exalted One] and Mullá Muhammad-'Alí Zanjání received the title of *Hujjat*.

It was some three hours into the night when they reached that holy land and spent the night at that place.

Chapter Eleven

Upon settling into the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsí, at dawn, when the sun broke over the horizon, the muezzins [prayer-callers] raised the [Islamic] Call to Prayer, and the companions performed their obligatory prayer and engaged in supplications to the Prayer-Answerer. After these [prayers] were concluded, they looked around and considered their surroundings. They saw that with utmost refinement, attraction and beauty, the shrine was situated in the midst of that location, with a large courtyard enclosing it. Stretching around the property was a small fence-wall, two meters in height.

Every manner of profession and worldly occupation could be found among the exalted companions. For instance, there were master-carpenters, builders, tailors, masseurs, engravers and cobblers, as well as many learned men of letters. In short, every profession was at hand.

[On their first morning] they inspected [the property]. First, several turrets were built in the vicinity and around the shrine where sharpshooters were placed for protection and security. Some other companions also arrayed themselves [in a defensive posture], believing that with Khusraw's killing, the town people would arise against them [i.e. the Bábís]. For several days, they were anticipating such an attack, thinking that surely a mob [of the enemy] would assail them. The honored Báb [Mullá Husayn], upon him rest God's peace, constantly assured everyone to rely upon God, saying, "Out of divine bounties and might, they will not be able to overcome us!"

Gradually, the fear and trepidation of these people [i.e. the Bábís] penetrated the hearts of the people in that region, in such wise that they trembled in fear from dawn till dusk, thinking that we would suddenly attack, slay and plunder them.

However, they saw no evidence nor movement from us. Gradually, they developed a deep confidence in us. In fact, the

inhabitants of villages in that region began visiting and engaging in conversations [with us]. There was a certain Nazar Khán who lived a distance of three kilometers from the Fort, who was the head of a tribe and the village chieftain. He too began to associate with us. He and others who met us observed that we were rational and dignified men, whose speech was all based on discernment and insight, and that our arguments were based on Qur'anic verses and traditions. They broadly spread the word that "These people are all driven by spiritual sagacity, law and citizenship. You have said about them: 'They are a band of thugs and vagabonds who have gathered after Muhammad Shah's passing for the purpose of gathering worldly treasures.' This is all false. Their words and deeds are consistent with the religion of Muhammad, and not for one instant are they negligent of God."

After the news of the goodly character of these distinguished men [the Bábís] had penetrated most hearts, the townsfolk began to visit us as well. They would come in multitudes and ask various questions, and his honored person [Mullá Husayn] would give answers suitable to each question.

For a while time passed like this.

Arrival of the Illustrious Quddús to the Fort

The illustrious Quddús, upon him be God's peace, who was staying in Sari, came to the Fort with the utmost grandeur and majesty. The seats of His Holiness Quddús and of the honored Bábu'l-Báb, upon both be God's peace, were in the midst of the mosque and shrine of Shaykh Tabarsí. Group by group, the rest of the companions would gather for their meals in the courtyard.

Other people who also numbered as our companions [i.e. were Bábís], who had heard the Word of the Source of Splendor [i.e. the Báb's teachings], came from every town. For instance, from Mazandaran itself came about one hundred men. And from other regions, such as, Qazvin, Adharbayjan, Isfahan, Qum, Yazd,

Khurasan and its various districts, and Tehran, came others. Approximately five hundred people were assembled there.⁶¹

A while later, the illustrious Quddús composed a prayer and gave it to one of the companions, commanding, “Take this prayer to a certain river which flows towards the city. Throw the prayer in the middle of the river and return.” The believer carried out the specified instructions.

The illustrious Quddús also wrote a letter to the city-dwellers which was delivered to its destination. Briefly, its essence was, “Whoever considers us believers and Muslims and does not come to our aid is an infidel. And whoever considers us unbelievers and non-Muslims and does not come to battle us is likewise an infidel.”

They asked His Holiness [Quddús] regarding the secret enshrined in the prayer. He responded, “The people drink from the river into which the prayer was thrown. From that, they will grow in turmoil and clamor.”

As soon as that prayer was composed and thrown into the river, and the letter was dispatched containing the described message, the townspeople grew in agitation, raised an army and soldiers, and marched towards us, settling in a village belonging to Nazar Khán, near the shrine [of Shaykh Tabarsí].

The next day, a battle ensued. However, our masters [Quddús and Mullá Husayn] were not present, or maybe the honored Báb, upon him be God’s peace, was present – at this point, I no longer recall.

First Battle of the Fort’s Companions

In short, the opposing soldiers were two thousand in number when the battle commenced. Through divine sovereignty, the companions rushed in and thoroughly destroyed them. Many of the enemy were killed, and the rest took to flight. Not one breathing person

⁶¹ The original text is rather ambiguous, and can be read indicating that either 500 Bábís came from the mentioned provinces, or that a total of 500 Bábís had gathered altogether.

remained in the village. Therefore, the command was issued that whatever belongings were left in the village could be seized as spoils. The companions hurried and appropriated many possessions and much food, including, rice, wheat, grains and clothing. Whatever there was, they brought.

Then command was given that whatever doors or windows were on homes should be removed and brought – even the bricks and the lime. In sum, that village was demolished so thoroughly that no trace remained of it. Nazar Khán escaped as well, and took residence elsewhere.

Eventually, the news was spread to all surrounding regions and districts that our exalted men had been victorious [over their foes].

The thought came to some people that since these men [i.e. the Bábís] had been triumphant and conquering, therefore it proved that they possessed the truth, and that God was with them. For this reason, they began to associate and converse with our people. Some time passed in this fashion.

Second Battle of the Companions

By Nasiri'd-Dín Shah's order, the evil Mihdí-Qulí Mírzá was commissioned [for war against us], and brought a large army with him. He settled a distance of twelve kilometers away, in a village which apparently was called Afrád or Afrát. As he remarked, he wanted to show his presence, and render a notable service to the Sultan.

The illustrious Quddús stated, “We must attack these gathered soldiers unexpectedly and at night.” The companions prepared forthwith and that very night about two hundred of the ablest were selected. They were led by His Holiness Quddús and the honored Báb – upon both be God's peace – who rode on horses while others walked quietly, so no one heard their approach until they entered the village. All of a sudden, they attacked and killed a great many [of

the soldiers]. Confounded, Mihdí-Qulí Mírzá fled on a bare-back horse, while many of his men were slain or took to flight.

In midst of these, an accursed one fired a shot at the honored Quddús – upon him be God’s peace – which struck his wonder-dispensing mouth. When the companions witnessed this occurrence, they took His Holiness and returned. They were deeply saddened and despondent because of the injury sustained to the mouth of his holiness, and their victory and triumph turned to sorrow and sadness.

In short, after his return [to the Fort], His Holiness remained indoors, and commenced treating the wound to his blessed mouth.

Time passed thus for a while. The news of the injury to his blessed mouth spread among the people - they even wrote about it to Tehran, and added, “With so few soldiers, we will not be able to dislodge these people [i.e. the Bábís]. There is no other way, except to prepare a large army in the capital and send them here for this purpose.”

It was then that ministers consulted [in Tehran] and decided to array an army five thousand soldiers strong, plus several mounted cannons and several more large guns, and all the necessary lead, powder and shells and to dispatch them.

They came and camped at a distance of three kilometers from the shrine. From all surrounding districts, whoever of the inhabitants had military experience was added to the camp as well. In overall command was ‘Abbás-Qulí Khán, the Sardár Larjání, who placed rank upon rank of men around us, circling and surrounding us like a ring on a finger.

During the time that we were at that location [fort Tabarsí], all provisions were available in copious quantities. However, when company after company of the troops came, they completely blockaded all provisions from us.

At this time, the illustrious Quddús instructed that the companions prepare to make a sudden attack at night. However, since the honored Quddús – upon him be God’s peace – was injured in his blessed mouth and was busy with recovery and general

infirmity had overtaken his sanctified being, he could not participate [in this campaign].

Third Battle of the Fort's Companions

The honored Báb – upon him be God's peace – led the companions. Two hours before dawn we exited the Fort. Silently, we approached [the military camp] and entered with cries of “Yá Sáhibu'z-Zamán⁶²”. With unsheathed sabers, we set upon that wretched band. Since the enemy was many and we [i.e. the Bábís] were few, the battle was lost. It was a particularly dark night which resulted in both sides being unable to distinguish [friend from foe]. When sabers were brought down, one could not tell if it stuck one's own men or the enemy's. For this reason, a great many were killed – often by the hand of their own side.

Injury of the Honored Bábu'l-Báb

In the midst of the battle, the companions learned that the honored Báb – upon him be God's peace – was struck by a bullet. That news completely robbed them of their strength and caused them to lose heart. They could no longer remain in the battlefield. Therefore, they took the honored Bábu'l-Báb and withdrew [to the Fort]. The companions were scattered. On realizing that his friends and comrades had returned [to the Fort], whoever was left behind, one by one made his way back as well.

There were many of our companions who had received bullet wounds, and had fallen with no strength left in them. After the companions who had not been injured returned, the foes saw and recognized them as not being of their own, and killed them.

At any rate, after the return of the companions who carried with them the honored [Mullá Husayn] – upon him rest God's

⁶² Lit. The Lord of the Age, one of the titles of the promised Qá'im.

peace – it was only a short moment before the sanctified spirit of that noble person winged its flight to the Sacred Realm.

Of the friends, about fifty had suffered martyrdom. The opponents took their own fallen men and withdrew a distance. The esteemed friends, upon seeing their departure, went to the battlefield and carried back with them the bodies and the remains of the martyrs, among them the honored Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Jalíl and Áqá Mírzá Muhammad-‘Alí,⁶³ who were martyred in that battle.

That day witnessed a great cataclysm in the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsí. On one side was the honored Báb – upon him be God’s peace – who died as a martyr. On the other side were about fifty of our dearly-cherished companions who in the battlefield had each hastened to the Abode of the Merciful, Almighty God. The sacred remains of some of the martyrs were left in the opposing camp, while the enemy had severed some of their heads and carried these away with them as gifts and prizes.

In short, first the honored Quddús instructed that a burial shroud be prepared for the honored Báb and that he be buried in the corner of the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsí while still wearing his own garments. He then ordered that the martyrs who had fallen in the enemy’s camp be collected one by one, and brought to the courtyard of Shaykh Tabarsí. He further commanded that on the side of the door that entered the mosque of Shaykh Tabarsí, situated on the eastern flank of the courtyard, a ditch be dug about five or six meters (in length and depth) and that collectively the sanctified remains of the martyrs be placed in that grave, in the same clothes that they had worn [in the battle]. They were placed next to each other and earth was poured over them, thereby hiding their remains.

After the burial of the martyrs, everyone was profoundly sad and despondent, wondering how his own end would come about. Some hearts wavered, since what their frail minds had imagined had

⁶³ The two mentioned Bábí martyrs were from Qazvin – the author’s native town. According to *The Dawn-Breakers*, p. 423, Mírzá Muhammad-‘Alí had attained the presence of the Báb in Shiraz and was one of the Letters of the Living.

not come to pass. The honored Báb, who was their champion, and in the field of battle had shown the greatest valor and peerless leadership, was now gone. Gone were also some of the friends who had fallen in the battle just concluded. In addition to this, food provisions were essentially depleted as well.

Several people left. Included among those was Áqá Rasúlí, a native of Mazandaran who lived in a district known as Bahnamiri. He left together with his people, who numbered about fifty. It so happened that when they departed, the enemy seized them all collectively and each was killed in a different district in that region, thereby spreading the news of their victory, or as they believed, signs of blessings and divine favors for their deeds.

In sum, a mighty clamor and upheaval occurred in that realm. When the enemy saw that the situation was most difficult for us, they attacked en masse. That is, the soldiers who had come from Tehran were situated at a distance of three kilometers and had not come near the shrine [of Shaykh Tabarsí]. They were waiting to see what would befall the Mazandarani soldiers who had been assembled from the region, who were led by ‘Abbás-Qulí Khán Larjání. It became evident that while some of their soldiers had been killed, much vital strength had left us as well.

Therefore, they began to advance from their locations, and established a new camp for themselves near the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsí, at a distance of approximately five hundred steps.

Until that time, the opposing army had not completely surrounded the shrine, because their number was no more than two or three thousand, and they were insufficient to completely encircle [the Fort]. Subsequently, they had stayed [only] on one side.

One last time, they assembled and further summoned men from all regions of Mazandaran. Together with soldiers from Tehran, they gradually came together and thoroughly encircled us.

The esteemed companions were housed in the courtyard of the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsí. That is, before any hostilities had occurred, day and night all the companions had dug a trench around Shaykh Tabarsí, which had been a fort in previous times. The trench was three meters wide and three meters deep. The [excavated] earth

was thrown behind the trenches and wooden, fortified fences built over it. Turrets were built in six locations and, on rotation, from the rank of companions sharpshooters were selected to man them day and night. The rest of the companions, in groups of five or ten men, had built huts in the shrine's courtyard. These were made of wood, and the roof was covered by hay to protect them from snow and rain. These makeshifts served as their dwellings. Food and provisions for each person was provided from what had been purchased and from the [war] spoils, and stored in each hut.

After a while, the food ran out. There were some [provisions] in the kitchen of the dwelling occupied by the illustrious Quddus, who instructed that each day one or two *sír*⁶⁴ [of ration] be given to each person. It went like this until no trace of rice or wheat remained.

All that was then left were several horses belonging to the companions. Each day, two or three of the horses were slaughtered and the meat distributed among the companions.

Before these incidents, the horse used by the honored Báb, upon him rest God's peace, was tied in the shrine's courtyard when shot [by the enemy]. Instantly, that horse had become a sacrifice for that distinguished and exalted personage [Mullá Husayn]. Instructions were given for the horse to be buried in the same courtyard. When all the horses had been killed and consumed, [Quddús] ordered that the honored Báb's horse be exhumed and its flesh distributed. Therefore, the grave of that horse, which outwardly was an animal but in essence had acquired human virtues, were opened and its flesh divided among everyone. The companions ate that meat with the utmost delight and gratitude even though it was spoiled.

After the horse flesh was finished, our ration was limited to the horse skins. The skin of each horse was torn into pieces, divided among all, and then fried over the fire and consumed like kabob – chewed and eaten.

⁶⁴ A measure of weight in Iran, corresponding to 75 grams.

After the horse skins were finished, all that was left were the bones from the horses. These too were divided among everyone and each bone was fried over the fire, smashed and consumed with some warm water. In such wise, the pangs of hunger were dealt with.

The enemy now numbered ten or twelve thousand strong, and had gathered from all districts and locations in that region. They camped nearby. The governor⁶⁵ at that time was Mihdí-Qulí Mírzá, and he left the town and settled in nearby. The soldiers were divided and situated on all four sides of the companions. For each division of soldiers a commander was appointed, and one each prepared a fortification for his soldiers. Moreover, they raised what they called bastions⁶⁶ and placed the cannons on top of them.

Of the condition and the situation of the companions in the shrine, they had gathered and shared detailed information. They knew especially that our food provisions had been completely depleted, saying, “To the point that even desert weeds, to wet their mouths, are not available and are denied to them.” They [i.e. the military] had also cut off the flow of water that filled the trenches [around the Fort].

No one was able to go out [of the Fort] and even wild vegetation was unattainable. The situation had become most difficult.

In short, after the troops were in place, they began firing guns from all directions and bombardment by cannons and artilleries which they had trained [towards the Fort]. The shells would ascend high and land in the Fort’s courtyard, and upon contact would go into the ground about a half meter, then explode and kill several men in its range.

At any rate, a long while passed in this fashion, while the companions were thoroughly robbed of their vitality to even step outside the aforementioned shrine. Their principle injury occurred

⁶⁵ The original term may mean the commanding officer.

⁶⁶ The Persian word is actually a term borrowed from English, which is why it appears somewhat unfamiliar to the author.

with the martyrdom of the honored Báb, upon him be God's peace, who was the heart of the contingent world. With his death, the heart of the companions collapsed and withered completely as well.

[It appears that a section of the narrative is missing at this point. This section must have covered the final stage of the Bábí struggle at Shaykh Tabarsí, the deceit of the military leaders in drawing out the besieged, and the ensuing massacre of the remaining defenders of the Fort. The section that follows, however, appears to be the concluding segment of the aftermath of the conflict at Shaykh Tabarsí, where a list of various martyrs is provided. Translator.]

... [From Qazvin, there were:] Áqá Mírzá Muhammad-‘Alí, who was the esteemed son of the late Hájí Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Vahhab; Áqá Muhammad-Mihdí Bághbán-Báshí, who was among those individuals who was alive until the end, and who, when the companions’ food was reduced to horse meat and the skin and bones of the horses, this humble youth did not touch a morsel of food for seventeen days, and would only satisfy himself by drinking some warm water, until he finally drank the draught of martyrdom; Áqá Siyyid Ahmad Zargar; Hájí Mullá Muhammad-‘Alí Lahardí; Karbalá’í Hájí Muhammad; Karbalá’í Muhammad-‘Alí; and this lowly Hájí Nasír.

And from Zanjan: Áqá Núr-Muhammad; Karbalá’í Ibráhím; Karbalá’í Ismá’íl; and Karbalá’í Muhammad-‘Alí.

And from Adharbayjan: Mullá Muhammad Khú’í; Mullá Mihdí Khú’í; Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Jalíl Urúmiyih, and these three were among the most devoted, constant and firm believers; Mullá Ahmad, surnamed Abdál; Mullá Yúsuf Ardabílí; Karbalá’í Hasan Mílání; and Karbalá’í Hájí Muhammad Mílání.

And from Ardistan: Áqá Muhammad-Husayn; Mírzá Muhammad-‘Alí Khayyát [the tailor]; Mírzá ‘Abdu’l-Vása‘; and Áqá Mírzá Mihdí.

And from Tehran: Mullá Muhammad Mihdí Kandí; Mullá Báqir Kandí; Ridá Khan; and Mullá Hasan Bajistání.

Other martyrs: Hájí Muhammad ‘Arab; and Shaykh Muhammad ‘Arab.

I had recorded the names of the martyrs at that time, and I have now listed one hundred and forty-two of them for the friends. If more names come to mind after this [writing], I will record them in the margins as well. Otherwise, the most exalted cohorts, whose names are inscribed on the Preserved Tablet, will be made known and manifest to the contingent world at His own time.

The Almighty God willing, many of those, high or low, who have risen from the beginning of this Manifestation until now, which is only a short period, to extinguish the Light of Oneness, have been sent to the lowest abasement of hell and have tasted the greatest disgrace. I cherish the hope that the remaining adversaries who have been left on the pages of days would soon discard their pharaoh's garment for a new garment of poverty and destitution. Nay, may this pure earth be cleansed from the filth of these evil men, and may celestial trees and evidences appear in their place.

[The surviving portion of Hájí Násí's narrative on the events at Shaykh Tabarsí concludes at this point. What follows is a section pertaining to the author's ordeals in Qazvin and the machinations that led to his arrest.⁶⁷ Therefore, it may be reasonable to conclude that a large segment of the narrative outlining the intervening events has been lost as well. Translator.]

Chapter Seventeen

Regarding the circumstance and time that this lowly one planned to set out for Gilan in order to collect the promissory notes⁶⁸ that I had with various people: when I decided on this journey to Gilan, I

⁶⁷ While the present translator is uncertain how this incident in the life of Hájí Nasír unfolded, it may well be reasonable to conclude that the events described in this section are a prelude to his imprisonment in Tehran.

⁶⁸ Like many other financial communities, the merchants in Iran often traded their goods for promissory notes, which drew a certain amount of interest in addition to the original capital. In the absence of modern day regulatory agencies, often collection against such financial instruments for minorities, particularly Bahá'ís, posed a considerable challenge to the merchants.

prepared ten loads of silk goods⁶⁹ to take with me, so I would have them as necessary means towards the collection of drafts.

At any event, after the goods were prepared, I contacted a muleteer and entrusted the loads to him, and from the same muleteer rented steeds for myself and my attendant. However, I was thoroughly unaware of the schemes that satanic men were concocting behind the veils.

Before all of this, a certain group had gone from Yazd to Tehran to complain to the Sultan about the suppression and persecutions brought about by their governor. At that time, the Sultan's Prime Minister was the Sadr-A'zam – may he be cursed – and this vicious man swayed the mind of that infidel [i.e. Yazd's governor]. He had wanted to disperse that band of men and prevent them from informing the Sultan of the oppression and tyranny of the governor, since the governor's deeds had been at the Sadr-A'zam's request.

Therefore, the Sadr-A'zam had remarked to the Sultan, "A band of these Bábís have gathered in the capital, and it is absolutely against the interests of the victorious government for them to be here, as they may cause injuries." Subsequently, the Sultan instructed for that group to be dispersed, and his order was carried out. In fact, as soon as they were labeled as such [i.e. were called Bábí or Bahá'í], they dispersed of their own accord. The reason was that in those days as soon as someone was labeled as such, even if he was not [a Bábí], he would be subjected to the Shah's reprimand and punishment.

After that group was dispersed, the governor of Qazvin, who was named Hájí Hasan-'Alí Khán Khú'í,⁷⁰ and was tarrying in the

⁶⁹ It is known that the author was a silk merchant. However, the original term *pilahvarí* can be either a reference to silk or to general hucksters of interest to the haberdashers.

⁷⁰ According to Mihdi Bamdad, *Sharh Hál Rijál Iran*, vol. 1, p. 354, Hájí Hasan-'Alí Khán Khú'í Ájúdán-Báshí was dismissed from office in 1264 AH [1848] and died in 1277 AH [1860]. It does not seem likely, however, that the same person is intended, yet the present translator has been unable to locate any reference to another governor with the same name.

government-house in Tehran at that time, was summoned for a private conversation with the Sadr-A‘zam. He had described the essence of the situation, adding, “From such a town [Yazd], several people had come with complains and protests against the governor, who was charged with a certain mission. Therefore, to protect my own interests, I accused them of being Bábí, and, with the Shah’s consent, dispersed them. However, it is now necessary that outwardly my claim about these belligerent people should appear to be true before the Shah. Since in Qazvin there are some of these Bábís, you should tell your men to seize one or two of them and to send them here, so that I may present them to the Shah in support of my contention that these people are hostile.”

At this, Háji Hasan-‘Alí Khan wrote to his son, Naqí Khán. At that time, there was great camaraderie and unity between Háji Mírzá Mufíd, the Shaykhu’l-Islam, and Háji Hasan-‘Alí. Therefore, the governor wrote him also, “Kindly join hands with Naqí Khán and locate one or two natives of that town who are accused of this appellation [i.e. being Bábí]. Seize and dispatch them to Tehran.”

These two men, namely, Háji Mírzá Mufíd the Shaykhu’l-Islam and Naqí Khán, son of Háji Hasan-‘Alí, inquired of some of the town’s mischief-makers, and in turn, those individuals, out of their innately base character, named this unworthy dust [Háji Nasír]. They said to Háji Hasan-‘Alí Khán’s men, who were Háji Mírzá Mufíd and Naqí Khán, “This person belongs to that group [i.e. the Bábís].” In short, they manifested whatever enmity and hostility they harbored in their hearts. However, they also were told from outside [of Qazvin], “This person has prepared and left for a journey to Gilan.”

[The narrative of Háji Nasír ends abruptly at this point. Translator.]

Appendix

The following is the original text of Hájí Nasír's narrative as presented in *Tárikh Samandar*, pages 501-520:

(۵۰۱)

گه در خدمت پرورده جناب شما با
دو بست نفر از تابعین خود باشم ظاهر احتیاج نباشد
الحمد لله راه ها امن است بفرانت تمام تشریف ببرید
ولی استدعا از خدمت شما دارم که من باب تیغ و تبرك
اسب سواری شما را با شمشیری که دارید به بنده التفات
فرمائید که بجهت میضت با خود داشته باشم در جواب
بایشان فرمودند چیزی از ما خواهش نموده اید که هر دو
بر ما لازم است اشیا دیگر بخواهید زیرا که در سر سفر
میباشیم وانگهی خود مشاهده نموده اید که اکثری از خلق
عداوت باطن با ما بهم رسانیده اند لهذا این دو چیز
بر ما واجب و لازم است خسرو بیک در جواب عرض کرد از اینکه
بنده نوکر سلطان هستم و شغل ما در سواری و کارزار است
(که) بجهت میضت از جناب شما تقاضا مینمایم که بآن واسطه
ظفر یافتن بردشمن با خود داشته باشم والا محتاج بـ
اسب و شمشیر نیستم سهل است بجهت لوازم بر شما اسب
دیگر و شمشیر دیگر بخدمت شما بندگی مینمایم در آنوقت
جناب باب سلام الله علیه نظرة الله حقیقی اشاره فرمودند
جناب میرزا محمد تقی خراسانی از عقب خنجری به پشت آن

طعمون حرامزاده فرود آورد همینکه فرود آورد بصدای بلند ناله او بلند شد و ملا محمد باقر و کسان دیگر باقیه و شمشیر از پا در انداختند همینکه صدای ناله آن خبیث را ملازمان او که در دور ایستاده بودند شنیدند فی الفور فرار نمودند اثری از آنها نماند باری جسد پاره پاره آن طعمون را بگور^{لی} انداختند همان آن جناب امر فرمودند باصحاب کعبه حرکت نمائید تا خود را به جای آبادانی برسانیم از قضا شب بسیار تاری بود که همه مگر را مشاهده نمیگردند .

عزیزت اصحاب به تلمعه شیخ طبرسی

بعد از اینکه حرکت نمودند و عازم شدند هر قدر سعی نمودند که بتوانند راهی که عبور خلق در او شده باشد ممکن نبود در این بین شخصی نمودار شد از او سؤال نمودند در این حوالی جایی و قریه هست که آبادانی در او بوده باشد که اقلاً امشب را در آنجا توقف نمائیم در جواب عرض کرد قریه که نزدیک واقع باشد نیست مگر در اینجا بقعه ای هست که او را شیخ طبرسی مینامند ولی آبادی ندارد جناب باب الباب فرمودند همانجا خوبست کل اصحاب غافل از آن بودند که فرمایش ایشان از روی بصیرتست شما و میثاقگاه خوردشان و اصحابشان در همان مکان باید ظاهر

بشود . باری بحسب ظاهر آن شخص دلیل ایشان شده
ایشان را و اصحاب ایشان را بآن ارض طیب رسانید و از
شب مزبور تخمیناً سه ساعت گذشته بود که وارد ارض مقدس
شدند آن شب را در آن مکان بسر بردند .

فصل یازدهم

در دخول بقعه شیخ طبرسی علی الصباح که از افق
شرق دید مؤذنان شروع باآغاز اذان نمودند و بعد
اصحاب نواز فریضه گذارده و بذکر مناجات باقاضی الحاجات
گردیدند پس از فارغ شدن ملاحظه باطراف وجوانب
نموده که بقعه در نهایت صفا با روح و ریحان در وسط
آن مکان و صحنی در اطراف و حصار کوچکی باندازه دوزخ
بدور او کشیده شده مهیا است از اینکه در اصحاب والا مقام
از عمر جور و شغل امور دنیوی مهیا بود من جمله از استا و
نجار و بتا و خیاط و دلاک و حداد و پیله و جماعت
فضلا و اکابر و گروه از عمر جور مرتب بود لهذا بازدید نموده
اول در دور بو آن قلعه چند برج ترتیب دادند که تغذیه آن
در آنجا مسکن نمودند در محافظت و محارست و سایر
اصحاب هم جمع آوری خود نموده باعتقاد آنکه در کشتن
خسرو اهل شهر بر ما خواهند شورید تا چند روز بهمین

سیاق منتظر آن بودند که البته خواهند باجماع بر سر ما آمدن جناب باب سلام الله علیه با اطمینان قلب متوکلا علی الله ایشان را تسلی میداد که بفضل و قدرت حضرت ذوالجلال بر ما غلبه نمیتوانند نمود تا اینکه رعب و خوف این سلسله بقلوب کل آن بلاد افتاد که از اعلا و ادنا برخود میلرزیدند و چنان تصور نموده بودند که ماها بخت بر سر ایشان خواهیم ریخت و قتل و غارت از ایشان خواهیم نمود آن بود که اثری از ما و از حرکت ما مشاهده نکردند فی الجمله خاطر جمعی بهم رسانیده قریه نائی که در آن حوالی واقع بود اهل آنها شروع کردند به آمد و شد نمودن و مکالمه نمودن من جمله نظر خانن بود در نیم فرسخی آن تله صاحب ایل و سرکرده بود اوهم بنا نمود برآورده نمودن او و سایر اشخاصیکه برآورده مینمودند دیدند مردمان صدقول و با متانتی که سخن های ما همه از روی بصیرت و بینش ذلائل ما از روی قرآن و احادیث انتشار دادند که این اشخاص کل از روی معرفت و آئین و ملت حرکت مینمایند اینکه شما رواج داده بودید که اینها جماعت اراذل و اوباش اند که در فرت محمد شاه جمع شده اند بجهت جمع آوری زخارف دنیوی بخلاف است بلکه قولشان و فعلشان مطابقست بشریعت محمدی (ص) آنی از ذکر خدا غافل نیستند . بعد از اینکه

آوازهٔ خصال حمیده این بزرگواران در ثلوب اکثر خلق تجلی نمود اهل شهر هم بنای مراوده گذارده دسته بدسته میآمد استفسار بمضی مطالب میشدند وجناب ایشان فرانسور هریک جواب میفرمودند تا اینکه چندی براین گذشت .

تشریف فرمائی حضرت قدوس به قلعه

حضرت قدوس سلام الله علیه که در ساری تشریف داشتند تشریف آورده بقلعه در نهایت عزّ و جلال و مقام نشستند حضرت قدوس وجناب باب الباب سلام الله علیهم در میان مسجد و بقعه شیخ طبرسی بود و سایر اصحاب در میان صحن دسته بدسته در اکل و شرب باهم بودند و مردم هم که داخل اصحاب بودند و کله از صدر جلال را استماع نموده بودند از هر بلاد آمدند منجمله از خود مازندران بقدر یکصد نفر آمدند و از سایر بلاد از قزوین و آذربایجان و اصفهان و قم و یزد و از خراسان و محالات او و طهران بقدر پانصد نفر تخمیناً اجتماع خلق شد و چندی که گذشت ^{حضرت} قدوس دعائی مرقوم فرموده بیکی از اصحاب دادند که میبری بغلان مکان که رودخانه هست که آب آن رو سمت شهر میرفته در میان آن رود انداخته مراجعت مینمائی بفرموده ایشان معمول

(۵۰۶)

داشته و نامذای هم با اهل شهر نوشتند و ارسال کردند که
مضمون آن این بود بر سبیل اختصار که هر که ما را مؤمن و
مسلمان میدانند و با ما میآید کافر و هر که ما را غیر
مؤمن و غیر مسلم میدانند و به جنگ ما نمیآید کافر . از سر آن
دعا از حضرت سؤال کردند فرمودند آن دعا که داخل
رودخانه شد از آب آن رود اهل شهر میخورند بتلاطم و
خروش میآیند بحذر نوشتن آن دعا و انداختن برودخانه
و مرقوم فرمودن نامه بآن مشایخ بسوی ایشان که اهل شهر
خروش بر آورده لشکر و عسکری فراهم آورده آمدند بسوی ما و
در قریه حوالگی بقعه که قریه نزارخان بود فرود آمدند در
فردای او جنگ واقع شد بدون آنکه خرد آقایان تشریف
بیاورند یا اینکه جناب باب سلام الله علیه تشریف داشت
الحال درست در نظر نیست .

جنگ اول اصحاب قلعه

الحاصل عسکر همانندین بقدر دوهزار نفر بودند که
جنگ واقع شد بقدرت یزدانی که اصحاب ریختند بر سر
آنها تار و پوت همه را دریده و بسیاری از آنها را بقتل
رسانیدند مابقی دیگر قرار بر فرار نموده بکنفر متنفسی در آن

(۵۰۷)

قریه نماند لهذا امر شد که هرگونه اموال در آن قریه هست
بغنیمت بیاورند که اصحاب ریختند اموال بسیاری و آن وقت
کثیری از برنج و گندم و سایر حبوبات و طیوسات هر چه بود
آوردند بعد امر شد که آنچه از درب و پنجره که متعلقات
بیخانه ها بود کلاً را کنده آوردند حتی آجر و آشک .
الغرض ، آن قریه را بقتل منهدم نمودند که آثاری از آن
قریه نماند و نذر خان هم فرار نموده در جای دیگر منزل
نمودند تا اینکه خبر این واقعه با اطراف و جوانب رسید که
این سلسله علیه غالب آمدند بعضی از اشخاص بنیال او
در افتادند که این سلسله فتح و ظفر یافتند پس معلوم میشود
که بر حقیقت و حق با ایشانست تا اینکه شروع نمودند به آمد
و شد و مراوده نمودند مدت متعادلی بر این گذشت .

جنگ دوم اصحاب

مهدیقلی میرزای خبیث با حکومت از جانب سلطان
که ناصرالدینشاه بر قرار شده بود مأمور شد و جمع کثیری
با خود آورده در دو فرسخی فرود آمد که اسم آن قریه
را ظاهراً افراد یا اغراط مینامدند بقول خودش خواست
اظهار حیاتی نماید و خدمت نمایانی بسطان نموده باشد

که حضرت قدّوس فرمودند باید باین جماعت شبیخون زد تا آنکه اصحاب تهیّه خود را دیده در همان شب بقدر ویست نفر از اصحاب زنده ومنتخب نموده با خود حضرت قدّوس و جناب باب سلام الله علیهم هم سوار شدند مابقی دیگر مجموع پیاده به آهستگی رفتند که احدی نفهمید در عبورشان تا آنکه وارد آن قریه شدند بفته برسرایشان ریختند و قتل بسیاری بشم در آن دفعه نمودند که مهدی پلّی میرزا اینقدر نمود که با سبب جلدار سوار شد و فرار کرد و عطه جات او هم چه کشته شدند و بجه اکثری فرار کردند در آن بین طمّونسی تیرانداخته بسوی جناب قدّوس سلام الله علیه و آن تیسر بدهان معجز بیان حضرت رسیده اصحاب مشاهده آن حالت نمودند حضرت را برداشته مراجعت نمودند بواسطه تیر خوردن حضرت بدهان مبارکشان بسیار غمناک و طول شدند فتوح و ظفر یافتن شان بدل بنام و اندوه گردید . خلاصه بعد از مراجعت در منزل قرار گرفتند شروع نمودند در مصالحه دهان مبارک حضرت تا چندینکاه بهمین منوال گذشت و آوازه تیر خوردن دهان مبارک حضرت را انتشار دادند بهمه خلق حتی بطهران نوشتند و نوشتند که با این قلت عساکر چه چاره این قوم را نتوان نمود جز اینکه لشکر کثیری از دارالخلافت مهیا و ارسال فرمائید چاره نیست آن بود که وزیرانشسته

صلحت را در

— ۸ —

مصلحت را در این داده که بقدر پنج هزار عسکر تهیه بهینند
 و چند عمده توپ و چندین بار قورخانه از سرب و بساروت
 و قونباره فراهم آورده روانه نمودند تا اینکه آمدند در نیم فرسخی
 آن بقعه فرود آمدند و اهل آن بلد هم آنچه از عساکر غلصی
 داشت از کل معاملات جمع نموده ابواب الجمعی عباسقلیخان
 سردار لارجانی شده ایشان هم فوج فوج آمده اطراف
 واکتاف مارا مثل نگین انگشتر احاطه نمودند و در عرض آن
 آن مدت که در آن مکان توقف بود ما بحتاج بقدر وسع از سر
 اشیا ممکن بود ولی این عساکر که فوج فوج آمدند سبب
 کل ما بحتاج از ما نمودند در این بین حضرت قدوس امر
 فرمودند که اصحاب تمیبه خود را به بینند که شبیهشون
 بایشان وارد بیارند از اینکه جناب قدوس سلام الله علیه
 تیر بدمان مبارکشان خورده بود و مشغول بممالجه او
 بودند و ضعف بدنی در جسد مبارکشان عارض بود نتوانستند
 خود تشریف بیارند .

جنگ سوم اصحاب قلعه

جناب باب سلام الله علیه اصحاب را برداشته دو ساعت
 بصبح مانده از بقعه درآمده با همستگی روانه گردیدند همچنین
 وارد اردوی ایشان شدند آغاز بذکر یا صاحب الزمان بلند

(۵۱۰)

نموده شمشیرها را کشیده رو بآن گروه اشقیا نمودند از اینکه
جمعیت آنان کثیر و از ایشان قلیل جنگ مفلوکه شد
من باب آنکه شب تار بود بنوعی که طرفین تمیزند از شمشیر
که فرود میآوردند بر سر کسان خودشان فرود میآید یا بطرف
مدعی وارد میآوردند نظر باین جهت چه بسیار مقتول واقع
گردیدند از خودشان بخودشان ..

تیر خوردن جناب باب الباب

در این بین اصحاب مطلع شدند که جناب باب سلام الله
علیه تیر بایشان رسیده قوت ایشان بالمره قطع و ^{پند} بدل
بضمف گردیده دیگر نتوانستند در میدان کارزار زیست نما
و جناب باب الباب علیه السلام را برداشته مراجعت نمودند
و اصحاب هم چون پراکنده بودند هریک که باز مانده بود
مشاهده کردند که یاران و رفیقان خود مراجعت نموده اند
ایشان هم يك يك مراجعت نمودند چه بسا بود از اصحاب
که تیر خورده بود رمقی در تنشان باقی بود ولی افتاده بود
از ضمف قادر بر مراجعت نبود بعد از مراجعت اصحاب
صحيح البدن معاندین ایشان را دیدند و شناختند که از
کسان خودشان نیست بقتل رسانیدند .

باری

باری بعد از ورود اصحاب و منزل رسانیدن جناب سلام الله عليه لحظه نکشید که روح مطهر جناب باب (۴) بحال مقدس پرواز نموده و از احباب هم بقدر پنجاه نفر شهید شده اند و معاندین کسان خود را برداشته قدری از آن مکان عقب نشستند که احباب گرام مشاهده رفتن اوشان را نمودند رفتند بدن و اجساد شهیدا را بدوش گرفته آوردند منجمله جناب ملا عبد الدلیل و آقا میرزا محمد علی در آن جنگ شهید شدند و آن روز را محشری در بقعه شیخ طبرسی بود يك طرف جناب باب سلام الله عليه شهید شده از طرفی بقدر پنجاه نفر از احباب گرام در میدان کارزار بريك بجوار رحمت ذوالجلال پیوسته اند و تنهای صاهر ایشان در میان اردوی مخالفین افتاده و سردهای بعضی شهدا را بجهت تحفه و هدایا مخالفین از تنشان جدا نموده اند و با خود برده اند .

باری در اول جناب قدوس (۴) امر فرمود که جناب باب (۴) را با همان لباس که در تن مبارکشان بود کفنی برایشان ترتیب داده در زاویه بقعه شیخ طبرسی دفن نمودند و بعد امر فرمود که شهدای مزبور را که در اردوی مخالفین در ارض اوشان افتاده بودند يك يك جمع نموده بصحن شیخ طبرسی آورده جمع نمودند و امر فرموده

که در طرف دربی که داخل مسجد شیخ طبرسی میشوند سمت شرقی در صحن شیخ طبرسی سرزمین را تخمیناً بقدر پنج شش ذرع (عرضاً و طولاً) حفر نموده اجساد طیب شهید را مجموع در آن مکان با همان لباس در پهلوی شهدیگر چیده و خاک بر سر ایشان ریخته پنهان نمودند و بعد از فراغ دفن شهدا مجموع مهموم و غفناک بودند که عاقبت امر ایشان بکجا منتهی میشود و قلوب بعضی منزلزل گردیده بواسطه اینکه آنچه را که بمقل ناقص خودشان تخلیل نموده بودند بممل نیامد و جناب باب که رئیس خودشان بود در میدان کارزار کارسازی تام و تمام از آنجناب دالاهر میشد از میان رفته و بعضی اصحاب هم در جنگ اواخر شهید شدند و از طرفی آنوقت غزراکی بالمره تمام شده چند نفری بیرون رفتند منجمله آثار سرلی بود از اهل مازندران که در حال آن سکنی داشت که سعی به بهنمیری بود با کسان خود بقدر پنجاه نفر بودند بیرون رفتند از قضا همینکه بیرون رفتند ساندین ایشان را مجموعاً گرفتند و هر یک را در محلی از محلهای آن بلاد بقتل رسانیدند که آوازه ایشان من باب غلبه شدن و باعتقاد خود تیناً و تیرکاً برخود میمون دانسته بممل آوردند خلاصه غلغله و آشوب عظیم در آن بلاد واقع شد معاندین دیدند که کار بر ما بسیار

تنگ شده هجوم عام نمودند باین معنی عساکری که از طهران آمده بود در نیم فرسخی واقع بودند هنوز بنزدیکی بقعه نیامده بودند منتظر آن بودند که به بینند این عساکری که از مازندران مجتمع شده بودند و سرگروهشان عباسعلیخان لارجانی میباشد چه قسم خواهند شد معلوم نموده ایشان گردید اگرچه جمعی از عساکرشان تلف شده ولی قوتی رزمی دیگر در ما باقی نمانده بناکردند از مکانهای خود حرکت نمودن و در نزدیکی بقعه شیخ طبرسی که بقدر پانصد قدم تخمیناً مسافت داشت رحل اقامت نمودند تا آنزمان سپاه مخالفین کل اطراف بقعه را احاطه نموده بودند زیرا که عدد ایشان از دویسه هزار نفر زیاد نبود که بتوانند در کل اطراف بایستند در یک طرف واقع بودند در دفعه آخر اجماع نمودند از کل بلاد مازندران و عساکری که از طهران آمده بود بتدریج جمع شدند در کل اطراف ما قرار گرفتند و اصحاب گرام هم که در بقعه مزبور در صحرا شیخ طبرسی مسکن داشتند باین معنی قبل از وقوع جنگها واقع شود امر شده بود کل اصحاب روزها و شبها دور تا دور شیخ طبرسی را که قدمه از سابق بود از مبرون آن خندق حفر نمودند در عرض سه ذرع و در عمق هم بقدر سه ذرع و خاکریزی در پشت قلعه و بالای او چپر نموده بودند و درشش موضوع

برجهای ترتیب داده بودند که تیراندازان اصحاب در آن
 برجها شب و روز بترتیب نوبه کشیک میکشیدند و سایر
 اصحاب در میان صحن بقعه هر پنج نفر و ده نفر باصطلاح
 که گالشی ساخته و ترتیب داده بودند از چوب و بالای او را
 بجهت حفظ برف و باران از علف اندوه نموده بودند مسکن
 داشتند و آذوقه خوراکی هم هریک که از اتبیاع و غنیمت
 آورده بودند داشتند در آن (عرض) مدت بالمره تمام شد
 تا اینکه در مطبخ خانه حضرت قدوس قدری بود فرمودند
 یوماً فیوماً * یک سیر و سیر بهر یک قسمت میدادند تا اینکه
 زره از برنج و گندم نمائد منحصر گردید بپند رأس اسب که
 در میان اصحاب بود هر روز دو سه رأس از آنها ذبح کرده
 در میان اصحاب قسمت میدادند و قبل از این حکایات اسب
 جناب باب سلام الله علیه از تیر مساندین در صحن بقعه
 بسته بودند زخم خورده فی الفور بندای آن بزرگوار عالیقدر را
 گردیده بود و امر فرموده بودند که آن حیوان را در همان
 صحن بقعه دفن نموده تا آنزمان اسبها را کشته و تمام
 شده بود فرمودند که اسب جناب باب (۴) را که دهن
 نموده اید بگشائید گوشت او را تقسیم نمائید لهذا قبر آن
 حیوان ظاهری را که در باطن صفت انسانی از او هویدا
 گشت گشوده و گوشت او را تقسیم نموده اصحاب تناول نمودند

و حال آنکه تمفن برداشته بود بکمال حب و لطافت خوردند
 باری بعد از اتمام گوشت اسبها منحصر شد به پوست^ت
 اسبها پوست اسبها را پاره پاره کردند قسمت کردند و در
 روی آتش برشته کرده بر مثال کباب بدند ان کشیدند جائیده
 و خوردند بعد از اتمام پوست اسبها منحصر شد باستخوان
 اسبها آنها را هم تقسیم کرده در روی آتش سرخ
 کرده و کوبیده خوردند در روی او تدری آب گرم میخوردند
 و همین قسم ما خود داری می نمودند و همانندین هم بقدر ده
 روز از ده دواز از اطراف و اکناف جمع شده در آن حوالی مقر
 گزیدند و حکام آن زمان که مهدی قلی میرزا بود از شهر بیرون
 آمد در آن وادی منزل نمود و عساکر را تقسیم نموده در چهار
 دایره اصحاب فرود آوردند و در هر طرف از عساکر سرداری تعیین
 نموده گذاشتند و هر یک سنگری از برای عسکر خود ترتیب
 نمودند و با اصطلاح خودشان باستانی مرتفع نموده و توپها
 در بالای اونصب کردند و از اوضاع و احوال اصحاب بقمه
 هم کما عودتہ اطلاع بهمرسانیده بودند که آنوقت ماکولات از
 هر قبیل از ایشان قطع شده بددی که غلف صحرا من باب گلوتر
 از برای ایشان ممکن نمیشود که قطع نموده بودند و آب که
 از بیرون بمیان خندق حفر شده ترتیب داده بودند جاری
 میشد انداختند و یکنفر قادر بر رفتن بیرون از جهت تحصیل

نمودن گیاهی ممکن نبود باین قسم امر را برایشان تنگی گرفتند خلاصه بعد از انجام دادن سپاه از جوانب بنا کردند بشلیک نمودن از تفنگ و توپ و تونباره که ترتیب داده بودند صعود مینمود بطرف آسمان و نزول میکرد بصحن بقمه همینکه بزمین میخورد و بقدر نیم ذرع هم بزمین فرو میرفت بعد شکانته میشد چند نفری که در آن مکان واقع بود بهلاکت میرساند الخرض مدت صفای بهمین اقسام رخ داد و اصحاب هم بالکلیه از رفق حسی افتاده تادر برآن نبودند که قدم از بقمه مذکور به بیرون گذارند عده ضعیف آنها در شهید شدن جناب باب سلام اللهد الطک الضان بود که قلب عالم امکان بود از میان رنت قلب اصحاب هم بالکلیه منتقل بضعف گردید .

جناب آقا زاده گرام آقا میرزا محمد علی ولد مرحوم حاجی ملا عبد الوهاب و آقا محمد مهدی باغبانباشی که از جبطه اشخاصی بودند که تا اواخر بود زمانی که خوراک اصحاب ضعیف گردید بگوشب اسب ریوست اسب واستخوان اسب آن جزان خاضع در عرض ۱۷ روز لقمه و ذره از این طعم میل ننمود مگر بآب گرم خود داری نمود تا شهرت شهادت چشید و آقا سید احمد زرگر و حاجی ملا محمد علی انبهاردی و کربلائی حاجی محمد

و کربلائی
۱۶۶۰

و کربلائی محمد علی و اقل الحاج نصیر و از اهل زنجبان
آقا نور محمد و کربلائی ابراهیم و کربلائی اسمعیل و کربلائی
محمد علی و از اهل آذربایجان ملا محمد خروئی و ملا مهدی
خروئی و ملا عبد الجلیل ارومیه که این هرسه از جمله کلمین
و اصحاب یقین و سابقین اند و ملا احمد ملقب به ابدال و
ملا یوسف اردبیلی و کربلائی حسن میلانی و کربلائی حاجی
محمد میلانی و از اهل اردستان آقا محمد حسین و میرزا محمد
علی خیاط و میرزا عبد الواسع و آقا میرزا مهدی و از اهمل
طهران ملا محمد مهدی کندی و ملا باقر کندی و رزخاغان
و ملا حسن بجستانی خاتمه اسامی شهدا حاجی محمد عرب
و شیخ محمد عرب که یکصد و چهل و دو نفر اسامی شهدا که
در آن زمان ثبت داشتیم انال بمرکز دوستان رسانیدم
اگر بعد از اینها هر قدر بخاطر مرسید درخواستی عرض
خواهم کرد و الا در مقام خود شن اولیای عدلام که در لوح
محفوظ نموده اند در عالم شهود بمعرض ظهور خواهند
آورد انشاء الله تعالی و از بدو ظهور الی الان اشخاصیکه
کمر همت بستند در اطفای نور احدیت الی الان که قلبی
گذشته اکثری از اعلی و ادنا باسفل نیران واصل شده اند
و از حمیت حجیم متذلل گردیده اند امیدوارم که باقی
دیگر از مخالفین که در صفحه روزگار هستند بزودی از این

(۵۱۸)

لباس فرعونیت درآمده و لباس فقر و فاقه درپوشند بلکه این اراضی طیبه از خباثت این ملاعین پاک گردند و اشجار و اشعار معنوی که عرس نموده اند ظاهر شود .

فصل هفدهم

در کیفیت ارضاع زمانی که حقیر عزیمت گیلان نموده بودم به جهت جمع آوری تنخواهی که نزد بعضی از اشراف بود بعد از اینکه اراده گیلان خواستم نمایم بقدر سه بار متاع بیلک وری جمع آوری نمودم که بهمراه خود ببرم و در گیلان با خود داشته باشم به جهت مصالح جمع آوری تنخواه لازم بود الخرن بعد از فراهم آوردن مکاری دیده تحویل او نمودم و از برای خود و ملازم خود مال سواری از آن مکاری اجاره نمودم ولی از پس پرده بهیچ وجه اطلاع ندارم که شیاطین انی در پنه خیالند قبل از اجتماعتی از اهل یزد از بابت جبر و تعدی حکام بلدشان آمده بودند بطهران که بمرض سلطان برسانند و آن زمان وزیر اعظم سلیمان صدراعظم علیه اللیننه واقع شده بود و کلید بخزاین کفر در دست آن شقی بود ^{خرا} بود که آن جماعت را دور نماید که بمرض سلطان نرسانند از جبر و تعدی نمودن آن حاکم زیرا که تصب حکام بخواهش صدراعظم بوده در آن بلد . لا جرم خود صدراعظم بمرض

سلطان

سلطان رسانیده که يك دسته از سلسله بابیه در این بلد
 مجتمعند صلاح دولت قاهره در بودن ایشان بهیچوجه نیست
 باد آسیمی برسانند امرا از سلطان در رسید که آن جماعت
 را پراکنده نمایند و نمودند بعضی گذاردن این اسم آن اشخاص
 خود بخود عم پراکنده شدند به علت آنکه آن زمان بعضی اشاره
 این اسم در روی مرکب اگر چه نبوده باشد میگذاردند مورد
 سیاست و غضب پادشاهی بودند . الفرش بعد از اینکه آن
 جماعت پراکنده شدند از این طرف بحاکم قزوین که حاجی
 حسنعلی خان غوثی مأموریت داشت در حکومت در طهران ^{تف}
 داشت در خلوت صدر اعظم ایشان را بحضور خواست و سر مطلب
 را با ایشان ابراز نمود که از فلان بلد جماعتی آمده بودند شکوه و
 شکایت فلان حاکم که مأموریت داشت لهذا من از بابت صلاح
 کار خود تهمت بر ایشان زده با اسم بابیت باذن سلطان
 پراکنده نمودم ولی در ضمن این اسبابی ضرورت است که عرض من
 بسطان درباره حضرات عارضین بحسب ظاهر صادق آید
 لا جرم در قزوین هم از این سلسله بابیه هستند تو ما^{نا} نوشته
 که يك د و نفر از آن اشخاص بگیرند و فرستند که در این ولا بدم
 چاک پادشاه بدهم و بدهن پادشاه زده بشود که عرض من
 بسطان درباره عارضین عبث نبوده لهذا حاجی حسنعلی خان
 بولد خود نقی خان نوشت و در آن زمان ما بین حاجی میرزا غفیر

شیخ الاسلام هم با حاجی حسنعلی خان خصوصیت تام و تمام بود باو هم نامه نوشت که شما بانقی خان دست بدست داده یک دونفر از اهل آن بلد که متهم باین اسم هستند گرفته و روانه دارالخلافه نمائید و آن دونفر که حاجی میرزا فیضی شیخ الاسلام و نقی خان ولد حاجی حسنعلی خان بوده باشند از بعضی اشخاص مفسدین بلد استفسار نمودند و ایشانهم از شئون جنس خودشان مستفسر نمودند که از این اشخاص که را تلمذ اد نمائیم بالاخره بنام این زره بی مقدار زدند و بسمع اضاء حاجی حسنعلی خان که حاجی میرزا فیضی و نقی خان بوده باشند زدند که فلانکس از این سلسله است . باری هر غرضی و مرضی که در نظرشان انبات نموده بودند ظاهر نمودند ولی از خارج استفسار نموده بودند که فلانکس کار بار خود را دیده و عزیزت گیلان نموده .

موفق و موید بر تحریر و تسویه گردید این عبد فانی عبد الصمد
صدانی اول شهر الجلال سنه ۱۲۸۴ / ۲۰ فروردین ۱۳۰۶
تاریخ متصاعد الی الله آقا میرزا عبدالحسین سمندر زاده
متصاعد الی الله آخوند ملا جعفر علیه الرحمة الله و حاجی
نصیر شهید روحی لترتبه الفداء^۱ مقابله و مطابقت شده .

منشی محفل

طراز الله سمندری
* * * * *