

A Prophet In Modern Times

A.L.M. Nicolas

Peter Terry, translator and editor

Volume I of the Babi Studies Series

First English translation of the first biography of Hají Siyyid ‘Alí-Muhammad Shírází, called “the Báb”. The original was published in French by A.L.M. Nicolas in 1905 as *Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Bab*. This edition features the detailed annotations compiled and verified by the translator.

Passages from the Writings of the Báb are in some cases presented in the compiler’s rendering of their French translation by A.L.M. Nicolas, originally published circa 1900-1911.

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Acknowledgements

It is common practice for authors to thank those who have assisted (and tolerated) them during their long labors, and to take credit for all the faults that may be found in their works. I wish to begin this preface by stating without prevarication or exaggeration that this annotated translation could not have been published without the generous encouragement of many individuals.

First of all, I am deeply grateful to the Universal House of Justice, the Supreme Institution of the Bahá'í Administrative Order, which graciously permitted me to proceed with this publication, notwithstanding the many errors that are found in Nicolas' historical narrative and to which Shoghi Effendi, the Guardian of the Bahá'í Faith alluded in several of his letters. I hope that my copious annotations have corrected all of these errors, and laid to rest other falsehoods that have hitherto lingered in the vicinity of the person of Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad Shírází, known as the Báb.

Inasmuch as the sheer volume of these annotations have extended the length of this translation, only selected chapters have been featured from "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Bab" by A.L.M. Nicolas. A second volume will be prepared, which will include all of the chapters missing here. While these chapters treat the life of the Báb, the second volume will feature those chapters that treat the lives of his followers.

Second, Dr. Richard Hollinger lent me his copy of Nicolas' book, and since it is hard to find in libraries and even harder to locate in bookstores, he made it possible for me to select this particular book for translation.

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Fifth, to Mr. Kurt Asplund I owe a great debt of gratitude for giving me open access to his private library with its rich collection of books related to this project, including many photographs which we hope to include in a later edition of this volume.

Sixth, as my readers will no doubt notice, I have relied to a considerable extent upon the published works of Professor Abbas Amanat, Professor Edward Granville Browne, Dr. Denis MacEoin, and Dr. Ahang Rabbani. In subsequent volumes related to the subject, the published

works of Dr. Armin Eschraghi, Dr. Stephen Lambden, Professor Todd Lawson, Dr. Vahid Ra'fati, Professor Nader Saiedi and other leading experts on the Báb will be consulted and referenced.

Seventh, it would be remiss of me not to thank Professor Anthony Lee, editor of Kalimat Press, for his encouragement of my translation of Nicolas' seminal work, and for his offer to publish it in the United States.

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Finally, I could not have dedicated the innumerable hours to research and writing that have resulted in this volume without the hospitality, the forbearance and the steadfast support of my parents and friends. It is to those loved ones that I dedicate the book.

As for the errors in this book, there are no doubt many. Please inform me of any such errors and I will do our best to correct them in time for the next edition. While books about the Báb aren't usually best sellers, I have hopes that this particular volume will reach a wide readership. So, if you like the book, please help me out, and tell people about it. The most trustworthy advertising is what you hear about from your friends.

It is my hope that many will read this book, and that it will inspire all of its readers with a profound and incurable desire to immerse themselves in the writings of the Báb. For as extraordinary as is the story of his life, his writings are the remnant of that life, a remnant that is as fresh today as it was over a century ago. The Báb claimed to be a Prophet for our Times. Let us see what Modern Times think of him.

Introduction

Alphonse Louis Marie (A.L.M.) Nicolas, the author of "*Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Bab*", was born in the city of Rasht, the province of Gilán, in the land of Írán on the 27th of March 1864⁽¹⁾. Born in Persia and living most of his life there, it is only appropriate that we also give the hijri date for his birth, 18 Shawwal 1280. His father, Louis Jean Baptiste (J.B.) Nicolas (1814-1875) had been born in Hyeres, France, and served as French consular official from 1846 to the time of his death. J.B. Nicolas served in Tihrán from 1854 until 1863, when he was assigned to Rasht. Ten years later he was recalled to Tihrán, where he died in 1875.⁽²⁾ J.B. Nicolas was the compiler of a French-Persian dictionary, the author of some articles on Persian literary subjects, and the translator of a Persian article on the 1852 failed assassination attempt on Násiri'd-Dín Sháh.⁽³⁾ Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810–95), the English Orientalist and diplomat who served for some time in the Persian Army, described J.B. in 1855 as "quite illiterate" but nevertheless affirmed that "his natural shrewdness and knowledge of Persians, render of some value his report of facts and the inferences he draws from them."⁽⁴⁾ Another notable, the author, diplomat and infamous racist Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) described J.B. as "un drole" in a letter to his sister.⁽⁵⁾

His son consequently spent his first nine years in Rasht, and the balance of his childhood in Tihrán. A.L.M. studied at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris and entered the foreign service in 1877, and was for the most part assigned to posts in Írán. Our principal source for A.L.M. Nicolas' life story and in particular his motivation for studying and writing about the life of the Bab is to be derived from an interview he gave to Miss Edith Sanderson, an American Bahá'í living in Paris, shortly before his demise.⁽⁶⁾ This interview, conducted and reported in French (except for the introductory paragraph), is here translated into English in its entirety for the first time:

(1) "*The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 1844-1944, Some Contemporary Western Accounts*", Dr. Moojan Momen, editor; George Ronald Publisher, 1981, p. 36.

(2) Ibid., p. 516.

(3) Ibid., p. 516 on the French-Persian dictionary; pp. 138-139 on the translation by J.B. Nicolas of an article from *Rúznámiy-i-Vaqáyi'-i-Ittifáqíyyih*, an official government publication, reported to the French Foreign Office in a dispatch dated 25 October 1852 by the French Ambassador at Istanbul, the Marquis de la Valette, which was published in "*Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb*" by A.L.M. Nicolas, and, in English, in "*Queer Things about Persia*" , by Eustache de Lorey and Douglas Sladen.

(4) Foreign Office 78 1115; cited in Ibid., p. 516.

(5) Hytier, "*Les Dépêches Diplomatiques*", p. 148n; cited in Ibid., p. 37.

(6) *The Bahá'í World*, volume VIII (1938-1940), pp. 885-887; portions translated into English and published in Ibid., pp. 37-38). Mrs. Laura Clifford Dreyfus-Barney, in an unpublished article she wrote for 'The Bahá'í World' referred to meeting "Mrs. Sanderson and her daughters, Sybil of opera fame and Edith who became later a leading Bahá'í in France. It was through May Bolles that both Edith and Hippolyte [Dreyfus] entered the Faith a short time after she had given me the Message." This article is available in its entirety at <http://bahai-library.org/essays/barney.html>

"A.L.M. Nicolas, after having passed the greater part of his life in Persia, now lives in a pleasant corner of Paris in the rue George Sand, surrounded by his books and his souvenirs of the Orient. For some years the Bahá'ís of Paris have entertained the most cordial relations with him and to them is do our gratitude and appreciation for the courtesy of arranging the following interview, which was sought by Miss Edith Sanderson [ES] expressly for publication in The Bahá'í World. The interview took place on February 7, 1939, as follows:

ES: "What were your beginnings in Persia?"

ALM: "I was born in Rasht Gilán, a province on the West bank of the Caspian [Sea]. I spoke only Persian and Russian. When I went to France [in 1875-76?] I was dressed like a Cossack.

"My beginnings in Írán (Persia) have nothing extraordinary about them: those of an ardent young man, desirous of learning.

"My father was the first interpreter of the French Legation in Persia, a position I myself later filled.⁽⁷⁾"

ES: "In what way did you find yourself in contact with the Babis?"

ALM: "Gobineau, arriving at the Legation, greatly imbued with diplomatic prejudices, distrusting his colleagues, entered into a conflict with my father on the subject of a manuscript purchased by him from a courtier. My father addressed remarks pertaining to this matter which oriented me towards the idea of verifying for myself the substance of these things. In his papers he left a critique of this book of Gobineau, **"Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale"**⁽⁸⁾, which incited me to search out and refute the errors therein, this book having been written without sufficient knowledge [of the subject and] with the assistance of an Israelite⁽⁹⁾ whom Gobineau had as [his] professor of Persian and who could only teach his student the little he knew of the sect.⁽¹⁰⁾ I collected documents widely, thanks to the indigenous secretary, Mírzá Ebrahim, of Tíhrán, whom I discovered to be Bahá'í and who put me in touch with the believers."

ES: "How did you become interested in the Cause of the Báb, in the Báb Himself? What brought you to translate His works? To write your book **"Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb"**?"

ALM: "I had resolved to translate the **"Persian Bayán"**.⁽¹¹⁾ I admit that during the two or three years of my study [of that book] I was often dazzled by the explanations that the Báb gives

⁽⁷⁾ A.L.M.Nicolas served as First Interpreter in Tíhrán from 1904-1907; see op.cit., p. 516.

⁽⁸⁾ First published by Didier & Cie, in Paris, 1865; reprinted many times since then and currently in print.

⁽⁹⁾ Persian Jew.

⁽¹⁰⁾ A major portion of **"Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale"** is devoted to a survey of the life and teachings of the Báb and the fate of his followers, and includes an Appendix with the earliest translation of one of the books of the Báb.

⁽¹¹⁾ **"Bayán-i-fársí"**

us for certain mysteries such as death, the resurrection, the Sirát — this bridge that passes over hell, narrow as a hair, sharp as a razor, and which the believer traverses with the rapidity of lightning. These explanations pleased me and I exerted myself more and more in my work. I only regret having neglected the translation of the majority of the Writings that issued forth from the pen of the Prophet.

"Also, in reading the **"Book of the Seven Proofs"**⁽¹²⁾, which I translated, I was seduced by the clarity of reasoning of the Báb. I was aided in my work by a young Persian and every day in the afternoon we went walking outside the town⁽¹³⁾ leaving through the gate of Shimran.⁽¹⁴⁾ The purity of the air, the serenity, the softness of the temperature and, in certain seasons, the perfume of the acacias predisposed my soul to peace and to tenderness. The meditations that I had upon the strange book I was translating filled me with a kind of intoxication and I became bit by bit profoundly and uniquely a Bábí. The more I plunged into these meditations the more I admired the exalted genius of the one who, born in Shíráz, dreamed of uplifting the Muslim world; and [his] explanation of the meaning of the language of Shí'í belief impelled me gradually to write **"Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb"**.

"Naturally I wished to perfect my work and this brought me to [carry out] research and [engage in] conversations with the Bábís — in fact Azalís and Bahá'ís.⁽¹⁵⁾ I found before me an abundant mine and [one] which I did not exhaust for there are works of the Báb that I did not peruse."

ES: "How were your publications first received?"

ALM: "I could not figure this out."

"A young Persian told me that the Bahá'ís approved of my efforts, but that I was mistaken to have translated the **Bayán**, already abrogated⁽¹⁶⁾, rather than the **Íqán**.⁽¹⁷⁾

(12) **"Dalá'il-i-Sab'ih"**

(13) Tihrán, capitol city of Iran.

(14) Shimírán, the location of summer resorts located on the outskirts of Tihrán according to *"An Epitome of Bábí and Bahá'í History to A.D. 1898"*, by Mírzá Muhammad Jawád-i-Qazvíní, translated by E.G. Browne in **"Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion"**, Cambridge University Press, 1918, p. 5.

(15) Beginning in the 1850s, while Mírzá Yahyá Subh-i-Azal and Bahá'u'lláh were both residents of Baghdád, these half-brothers attracted separate circles of admirers and followers. Around 1867, about seventeen years after the martyrdom of the Báb, when both lived in Adrianople, the half-brothers separated households and from that time until the present the votaries of Mírzá Yahyá have been denominated Azalís, while the adherents of Bahá'u'lláh have been called Bahá'ís. There were very few true Bábís or 'people of the Bayán' in existence while Nicolas was living in Írán, and this is even moreso the case today.

(16) The Báb indicated in Bayán-i-fársí that the laws and ordinances he revealed would be subject to the approval of "Him Whom God shall make manifest". Bahá'u'lláh, who claimed to be "Him Whom God shall make manifest" indicated in various of his writings, including the **"Kitáb-i-Aqdas"**, that certain of the laws and ordinances of the Báb were reaffirmed and that others were abrogated.

(17) **"Kitáb-i-Íqán"** is the principal doctrinal work of Bahá'u'lláh, written circa 1861 in Baghdád.

"This same remark was made by M[onsieur] Hippolyte Dreyfus⁽¹⁸⁾ in one of his works.

"During the summer of 1906 I met M[onsieur] Dreyfus at the same time as Madame Lacheney and Miss Laura Barney: They were the first French and American Bahá'ís to travel in Írán.⁽¹⁹⁾

"I also knew Professor Browne of the University of Cambridge⁽²⁰⁾ and dined with him at the French Legation⁽²¹⁾. This was before his visit to Bahá'u'lláh at Bahjí, near Saint-Jean d'Acre ('Akká).⁽²²⁾ I could have put him in contact with the Bahá'ís if he had not remained silent on this subject.

"I presented a Siyyid to the Swede Christiansen, which permitted him to write his *'Persian Tales'*.⁽²³⁾

"My labors on the work of the Báb brought me into contradiction with the Baron Rosen⁽²⁴⁾ who had published selections from the works of the Báb. Baron Rosen believed that if one lightly altered the meaning of the words of the Báb in translating them one would make him more readily understood. My complete knowledge of the Persian language permitted me to discover strikingly real meaning in the faithful translation of the words of the Báb."

ES: "Do you think that the teachings of the Báb can be adapted to modern times?"

⁽¹⁸⁾Hippolyte Dreyfus (1873-1928), the first native Frenchman to become a Bahá'í, circa 1900, the translator of four volumes of writings of Bahá'u'lláh into French, of one volume of the collected talks [called "*Some Answered Questions*" in its English translation by Laura Clifford Barney, his wife] of 'Abdu'l-Bahá into French, and the author of two books and several articles on the Bahá'í Faith.

⁽¹⁹⁾According to Madame Yvonne Meyer-May, the sister of Hippolyte Dreyfus, in a short biographical sketch she sent to Shoghi Effendi shortly after the demise of her brother, "in 1906, he visited Persia where, due to his knowledge of the language, which he spoke and wrote fluently, he established ties of friendship that were to remain always faithful to him." This sketch is found in Thomas Linard's compilation of biographical materials on Hippolyte Dreyfus, at <http://bahai-library.org/essays/barney.html>

⁽²⁰⁾Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926), a British orientalist who published many books and articles on the Bábí and Bahá'í religions, and served as professor of Arabic and Persian literature at Cambridge University for many years.

⁽²¹⁾Tíhrán.

⁽²²⁾E.G. Browne visited Bahá'u'lláh at Bahjí, near 'Akká (Acco in present-day Israel) in 1890). His visit lasted one week, and during that time he met with Bahá'u'lláh four times. For the original source of these details and much more information please see Moojan Momen's article on Browne at: <http://www.northill.demon.co.uk/relstud/browne.htm>

⁽²³⁾Arthur Christensen (1875-1945), the eminent Danish Orientalist, who made important contributions to linguistic, religious, and historical studies, and excelled in Persian folk narrative studies (published in 1918, 1923, 1936, 1958).

⁽²⁴⁾Baron Victor Rosen (1849-1908) in the course of cataloguing the collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in St. Petersburg, took a close interest in the Bábí and Bahá'í movements and wrote a number of papers on the subject as well as arranging for a collection of the writings of the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh to be published.

ALM: "Perfectly, on condition however that Modern Times adapt themselves to the decisions of the Báb."

ES: "Do you believe in the global applicability of the Revelation of the Báb?"

ALM: "I see no reason for the world not to submit to the Revelation of the Báb. 'It is difficult,' says the French proverb, 'to satisfy all the world and one's father.' But reason always ends by being reasonable."

"Miss Sanderson adds that 'The Bahá'ís owe much to the work of M[onsieur] A.L.M. Nicolas, for this erudite one translated into French the following writings of the Báb, which permit a deeper study of this remarkable person and of his life-giving revelation:

"Beyan Persan, four volumes (Paul Geuthner, Paris)

"Beyan Arabe (Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris)

"Les Sept Preuves du Báb (Maisonneuve Frères, Paris)

"M[onsieur] Nicolas is also known to Orientalists for his **'Essais sur le Chéikhisme'**, in four installments (Paul Geuthner, Paris)"

Seven years prior to this interview, in 1932, Shoghi Effendi's annotated translation of Nabíl's Narrative, entitled **"The Dawn-breakers"** was first published. The footnotes to this massive tome of Bábí history contained many quotations from the translations and historical writings of A.L.M. Nicolas in French. Two years after this, on February 8, 1934, Shoghi Effendi addressed the Bahá'ís of the world with a series of pen portraits of the Báb, Bahá'u'lláh, 'Abdu'l-Bahá and the Administrative Order of the Bahá'í Faith, entitled **"The Dispensation of Bahá'u'lláh"**. In her biography of Shoghi Effendi entitled **"The Priceless Pearl"** ⁽²⁵⁾, his wife, denominated Ruhíyyih Khánum Rabbaní wrote: "Another highly important aspect of the divinely conferred position Shoghi Effendi held of interpreter of the [Bahá'í] Teachings was that he not only protected the Sacred Word from being misconstrued but that he also carefully preserved the relationships and importance of different aspects of the Teachings to each other and safeguarded the rightful station of each of the three Central Figures⁽²⁶⁾ of the Faith. An interesting example of this is reflected in a letter of A.L.M. Nicolas, the French scholar who translated the Bayán of the Báb into French and who might correctly be described as a Bábí. For many years he was under the impression that the Bahá'ís had ignored the greatness and belittled the station of the Báb. When he discovered that Shoghi Effendi in his writings exalted the Bab, perpetuated His memory through a book such as Nabíl's Narrative, and repeatedly translated His words into English, his attitude completely changed. In a letter to one of the old believers in France he wrote..." ⁽²⁷⁾ and she then gives an English translation of a portion of Nicolas' letter which was originally composed in French. Moojan Momen elaborates on the

⁽²⁵⁾London: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1969, p. 204.

⁽²⁶⁾The Báb, Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

⁽²⁷⁾**"The Priceless Pearl"**, p. 204.

⁽²⁸⁾**"The Babi and Baha'i Religions, 1844-1944 : Some Contemporary Western Accounts"**, collected and edited by Moojan Momen; George Ronald, 1981, pp. 36-40.

context in which this letter was written⁽²⁸⁾: "Towards the end of Nicolas' life, however, he was sent copies of two important works by Shoghi Effendi: a translation of "***Nabíl's Narrative***" of the life of the Báb, and "***The Dispensation of Bahá'u'lláh***", in which the Báb's station as an independent Messenger of God equal in essence to Bahá'u'lláh is stated emphatically. Nicolas was, of course, overjoyed. To the lady who sent him these books, Miss Edith Sanderson, he wrote..." and he then gives an English translation of the entirety of this letter as it was published in French in The Bahá'í World.⁽²⁹⁾ A revised translation of this letter is attempted here:

"I do not know how to thank you nor how to express to you the joy that inundates my heart. Thus, one must not only admit but love and admire the Báb. Poor great Prophet born at the very heart of Persia without any means of instruction and who alone in the world, encircled with enemies, by the force of his genius was able to create a universal and wise religion. That Bahá'u'lláh has, since then, succeeded him, may be, but I wish that the sublimity of the Báb be admired, who besides paid with his life, with his blood for the reform he preached. Cite me another comparable example. Finally, I can die in peace. Glory to Shoghi Effendi who calmed my torment and my anxieties, glory to him who recognizes the value of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad called the Báb. I am so happy that I kiss your hands which have traced my address upon the envelop that brought me the message of Shoghi. Thank you, Mademoiselle. Thank you from the bottom of my heart."

Of the two works that elicited such a joyful response from Nicolas, "***Nabíl's Narrative***" (called ZARANDI throughout this present study) is cited copiously in the annotations to this volume, while the chapter of "***The Dispensation of Bahá'u'lláh***" which is devoted to the Báb is quoted in its entirety in Appendix I.

A.L.M. Nicolas' publications related to the Báb and the Bábís span a period of 34 years, from 1902 to 1936. They are listed here in chronological order:

"***Le Livre des Sept Preuves***" [Dalá'il-i-Sab'ih translated from Persian into French], Paris, 1902, 68 pp.

"*A propos de deux manuscrits 'Bábís' de la Bibliothèque Nationale,*" Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris, volume 47, 1903, pp. 58-73

"***Le Béyan Arabe***" [Bayán al-'arabiyya translated from Arabic into French], Paris, 1905, 235 pp.

"***Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb***" [biography of the Báb, selections translated into English in this volume], Paris, 1905, 458 pp.

"*En Perse: Constitution*" [translation by A.L.M. Nicolas], Revue du Monde Musulman, Paris, volume 1, 1907 (décembre 1906), p. 86-100

"*Sur la Volonté Primitive et l'Essence Divine d'après le Báb,*" Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris, volume 55, 1907, pp. 208-212

⁽²⁹⁾Op. cit., p. 38; the French original was first published in The Bahá'í World, volume VI (1934-1936), and subsequently reprinted in each volume of that publication inclusive of volume XIII (1954-1963).

"**Essais sur le Chéïkhisme**", 4 volumes:

"**Cheïkh Ahmed Lahçahi**", Paris, volume 1, 1910

"**Séyyèd Kazem Reçti**", Paris, volume 2, 1914

"**Le Chéïkhisme. La Doctine**", Paris, volume 3, 1911 [extract from Revue du Monde Musulman]

"**La Science de Dieu**", Paris, volume 4, 1911

"*Le Club de la fraternité*" [translation of an article by Atrpet by A.L.M. Nicolas], Revue du Monde Musulman, Paris, volume 13, 1911, pp. 180-184

"*Le Dossier russo-anglais de Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb*," Revue du Monde Musulman, Paris, volume 14, 1911, pp. 357-363

"**Le Béyan Persan**" [Bayán-i-fársí translated from Persian into French], four volumes, 1911-1914

"*Abdoul-Béha et la situation*," Revue du Monde Musulman, Paris, volume 21, 1912, pp. 261-267

"*Le Béhahis et le Báb*," Journal Asiatique, Paris, volume 222, 1933, pp. 257-264

"**Qui est le successeur du Báb?**" Paris, 1933, 16 pp.

"*Quelques Documents relatifs au Babisme*," Journal Asiatique, Paris, volume 224, 1934, pp. 107-142

"*Le Báb astronome*," Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris, volume 114, 1936, pp. 99-101

"**Massacre de Babis en Perse**," Paris, 1936, 42 pp.

Chapter One

From Birth to Declaration

Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad was born in the city of Shíráz on the first day of Muharram in the year 1236 A.H.⁽¹⁾ His father, Siyyid Muhammad Ridá — the son of Siyyid Ibráhím, and paternal grandson of Siyyid Fath'u'lláh⁽²⁾ — was a merchant in that town⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾Nicolas cites as evidence of his subject's birth date, a passage which he found in "Kitáb al-haramayn," a work which he attributes to Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad (the Báb). The title of this work suggests that it was written during the Báb's pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina (al-haramayn: the two holy places), circa 1845. Nicolas gives a French translation of this passage (p. 206) as well as the original Arabic text (Note A, p. 453). He quotes one more passage from "Kitáb al-haramayn" (Note B, p. 453) in his biography of the Báb. Oddly enough, Nicolas does not cite "Kitáb al-haramayn" among the Writings of the Báb, nor does he list it among the sources he consulted in writing this biography. Throughout the biography, Nicolas refers to and quotes from a book entitled "Kitáb bayn al-haramayn," and he cites a passage in Arabic from this work (Note E, p. 454). It seems likely that these two titles represent in fact one book. This book is generally known as "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" (and is referred to as "Sahífatu'l-haramayn" by Shoghi Effendi in an Appendix to "The Dawn-breakers," pp. 669, 671), and at least ten manuscripts are known to exist, two of which are dated 1261 A.H. (1845 A.D.) — for more information please see Denis MacEoin [MacEoin], "The Sources for Early Bábí Doctrine and History: a Survey" (E. J. Brill, 1992, pp. 60-61, 197-198). The location of Nicolas' copy of "Kitáb bayn al-haramayn" is not known presently (MacEoin, p. 198, n. 49). Inasmuch as this copy of "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" is not extant, it is doubtful that it can be acceptable to historians as proof of the Báb's date of birth. While it is unlikely that Nicolas would have misread and mis-cited this text, it is entirely possible that this reading was peculiar to his manuscript, and that it was the result of a copyist's error. In any case, according to the manuscript of "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" located in the Browne collection of Cambridge University Library, designated Browne Or. MSS F.7(9), the year of the Báb's birth was 1235 A.H. rather than a year later, as cited by Nicolas. Two eminent scholars, Dr. Abbas Amanat [Amanat] ("Resurrection and Renewal," Cornell University Press, 1989, p. 110, n.2) and Dr. Ahang Rabbani (e-mail, 30 October 1997) have independently attested to this date occurring in the text of Browne's manuscript of "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn". Rabbani also stated that Browne compared this manuscript with another found in the University Library of Leiden, the Netherlands (Or. 5325). Both manuscripts are in the hand of Ridván 'Alí, one of the sons of Mírzá Yahyá and an Azalí scribe, and Browne's manuscript is dated 1905; it was given to Professor Browne by Mr. C.D. Cobham, British Commissioner at Larnaca, Cyprus sometime during the month of May 1906 (MacEoin, p. 197). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, in his biography of the Báb ("Ahd-i-A'lá Zindigání-i-Hadrat-i-Báb" ["The Bábí Dispensation: The Life of the Báb"], Oneworld Publishers, 2000, p. 50), does not cite "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" as a source for the birthdate of the Báb, but he quotes a paragraph from the preface to another early work of the Báb, "Kitáb al-fihrist", which indicates that the Báb was born on 1 Muharram 1235 A.H.

Nicolas stated (p. 189) that 1 Muharram 1236 corresponds to 26 March 1821. We will now consider his calculation of equivalent dates, that is, his rendering of Muslim Hijra (A.H.) into Christian Gregorian (A.D.) equivalents. To begin with, the reader is no doubt familiar with the twelve months of the solar Gregorian calendar: January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December. The twelve months of the Islamic Hijra calendar are reckoned in Arabic as: 1) Muharram; 2) Safar; 3) Rabí' al-Awwal [or Rabí'ul-Avval or Rabí'ul-Úlál]; 4) Rabí-al-Thání [or Rabí'ul-Ukhrá]; 5) Jumáda al-Awwal [or Jamádiyu'l-Avval or Jamádiyu'l-Úlál]; 6) Jumáda al-Thání [or Jumádiyu'th-Thání or Jumádiyu'l-Ukhrá]; 7) Rajab [or Rijib]; 8) Sha'bán; 9) Ramadán; 10) Shawwál; 11) Dhu al-Qi'dah [or Dhi'l-Qa'dih]; 12) Dhu al-Hijjah [or Dhi'l-Hijjih]. In Persian pronunciation, Thání is pronounced like Sání, Shawwál like Shavvál, Dhu like Zu, Qi'dah like Ghi'dah, and Qa'dih like Gha'dih. According to G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, ("The Muslim and Christian Calendars," 1963), the Hijra date 1 Muharram 1236 is equivalent to the Gregorian date 9 October 1820 — confirmed by:

<http://www.cs.pitt.edu/~tawfig/convert/convert.cgi> and <http://www.unizh.ch/ori/hegira.html>

It is not clear what system Nicolas used to render Gregorian from Hijra dates, but we can state with assurance that he miscalculated the Gregorian date of the Báb's birth. Browne calculated 1 Muharram 1236 as equivalent to 9 October 1820, in his second article for the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" [JRAS] (vol. XXI, 1889), entitled "The Bábís of Persia. II. Their Literature and Doctrines" (p. 993), and in Note C to his English translation of "A Traveller's Narrative" (Cambridge University Press, 1891, two volumes; reprinted by Philo Press, 1975, in one volume, pp. 219, 221).

In Appendix II of his first article for JRAS (vol. XXI, July 1889), entitled "The Bábís of Persia. I. Sketch of their History, and Personal Experiences amongst them" (pp. 516-517), E. G. Browne cited 1236 A.H. as the year in which the Báb was born. In this Appendix and in a note appended to his translation of "A Traveller's Narrative" (Note C, pp. 218-220), Browne referred to two passages from "Bayán-i-fársí" as evidence of the Báb's date of birth. According to Muhammad (Nabíl-i-A'zam) Zarandí (ZARANDÍ), "Bayán-i fársí" (Persian Exposition), the repository of most of the laws revealed by the Báb, was begun during his imprisonment in Máh-Kú (in "The Dawn-Breakers," Bahá'í Publishing Trust, USA, 1932, p. 248) and apparently completed in Chihríq (sometime between late summer 1847 and July 1850). There are at least fifty manuscripts of "Bayán-i-fársí" extant, including one in the hand of the Báb's amanuensis, Siyyid Husayn Yazdí, in the International Bahá'í Library, and another copied by the Bábí and later Bahá'í chronicler and poet Muhammad (Nabíl-i-A'zam) Zarandí, in the British Library (Or. 2819). The first text cited by Browne is from "Bayán-i-fársí", váhid II: báb 1, in which the Báb affirms that 24 years of his life had passed; and Browne interprets this to mean that the Báb was twenty-four years old when he declared his mission. We will digress a moment to consider Browne's (and Nicolas') acquaintance with "Bayán-i fársí." While in the process of collating six manuscripts of "Bayán-i fársí" (Cambridge Or. 1331-7[11]; BBC.3 [now F.13], and BBP.8 [now F.12], both at Cambridge University Library; Or. 2819 at the British Museum; a manuscript in the St. Petersburg Institut des Langues Orientales; and a manuscript in the St. Petersburg Academie Imperiale des Sciences), Browne drew up a summary of that work, which was left incomplete upon his death. This summary was completed by Dr. Moojan Momen based on Browne's notes, and published as 'Summary of the Persian Bayán' in "Selections from the Writings of E.G. Browne" (George Ronald Publisher, 1987, pp. 316-406). Nicolas translated "Bayán-i fársí" into French in a series of four volumes (published in 1911-1914). He based his translation of this work on three manuscripts, listed after his death in the auction catalogue for his collection as Nicolas 115, 103:1 and 103:2. Of these, the location of the first two manuscripts is not presently known, and the third manuscript is preserved in the International Bahá'í Archives in Haifa, Israel (see MacEoin, p. 182). Nicolas 103:1 and 103:2 were both written in the hand of Mírzá Yahyá Subh-i-Azal (Ibid., p. 182).

In Browne's English summary ("Selections," p. 325) and Nicolas' French translation ("Le Beyan Persan," Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911-1914, tome I, p. 36) of "Bayán-i fársí" (váhid II: báb 1) the Báb indeed states that just twenty-four years of his life had passed by. However, the context of this statement may indicate that he is referring to the revelation of verses and not to the date of his declaration. When did the Báb begin to reveal verses? According to a reference found in most manuscripts of the Báb's "Tafsír súrat al-baqara" (Commentary on the Chapter of the Cow), this work was begun in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa'dih* 1259, which corresponds to November/December 1843 (MacEoin, p. 47). MacEoin writes ("Sources," p. 47), "Since this Tafsír is the only extended work of the Báb's written before May 1844 and still extant, it is of unique importance as a source of concrete evidence for the development of his thought in the six months or so that led up to the initial announcement of a prophetic claim."

All sources agree that the Báb was born on the first day of the Muslim year, 1 Muharram. If he had been born on 1 Muharram 1236, he would have been twenty-three years old when he began to write "Tafsír súrat al-baqara". If, on the other hand, he was born on 1 Muharram 1235, then he would have been twenty-four years old when the first verses of this work were written. It is possible then that the Báb was referring to the revelation of verses and not to his declaration (some six months later) in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhid II: báb 1), and hence Browne seems to have been mistaken in basing his calculation of the Báb's birth on this reference.

Browne cites a second passage from "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd VI: báb 11) in support of this birth-date. According to his summary (SWEGB, p. 381) and Nicolas' translation ("Le Beyan persan," tome III, p. 113) of "Bayán-i-fársí", the Báb states that no one recognized his prophetic station for twenty-five years. If the Báb had been born on 1 Muharram 1236 A.H., as alleged by Browne (and Nicolas), he would have turned twenty-four years of age on 1 Muharram 1260 A.H., and would therefore have been only twenty-four years (and 4 months) of age when he declared his mission, on 5 Jumáda al-Awwal/Jumádíyu'l-Úlá 1260. On the other hand, if the Báb was born on 1 Muharram 1235 (20 October 1819), he would have turned twenty-five on 1 Muharram 1260 (22 January 1844), exactly four (solar) months prior to his declaration, on Jumáda al-Awwal/Jumádíyu'l-Úlá 1260 (22-23 May 1844). It seems then that Browne has actually cited evidence in support of a 1235 birth-date rather than the 1236 date he apparently preferred.

Likewise, Browne cites the Báb's work entitled "Dalá'il-i sab'ih" (Seven Proofs) in support of this birth-date. The Báb authored two works by this name in Máh-Kú (Summer 1847-April 1848) — a very short work in Arabic and a longer one in Persian — and it is the Persian work to which Browne is referring. There are at least thirteen manuscripts of this book extant, including two copies which belonged to Browne (F.22, F.25), and two formerly in the possession of Nicolas (now both in the International Bahá'í Archives). According to Browne ("A Traveller's Narrative," Note C, p. 221), the Báb states in this book that he had not exceeded twenty-five years of age at the time of his declaration. In Nicolas' French translation of this work ("Le livre des sept preuves de la mission du Báb," Paris, 1902, p. 26), we find confirmation of Browne's citation. As has already been demonstrated, if the Báb was born on 1 Muharram 1235, he reached his twenty-fifth birthday on 1 Muharram 1260, only four months prior to his declaration. While Browne cites this reference as evidence of 1236 as the date of birth, it is at least as likely that 1235 more closely fits that description. If born in 1235 he would have been twenty-five for four months when he declared, and if born in 1236 he would have been twenty-four for four months when he declared. Either way, he was not more than twenty-five years of age when he declared.

Amanat has noted (p. 202 and footnote 274) that "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'," the first Súrah (Chapter) of which was revealed on the evening of the Báb's declaration (5 Jumáda al-Úlá 1260), and which was completed during the year 1260 A.H., according to the Báb himself, in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd IV, báb 18; in "Selections from the Writings of the Báb" [SWB], Bahá'í World Centre, 1978, p. 90), contains a verse in which the Báb calls himself a youth of twenty-five (Súrah IX, fol. 13b). Once more, the Báb could only have been twenty-five years old at the time of the revelation of this book if he had reached his twenty-fifth birthday on 1 Muharram 1260, in which case he was born on 1 Muharram 1235. The manuscript of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" which Amanat cites in this regard was in Browne's possession (Or. MSS. F.11[9]), and dated 1891 A.D. The manuscripts of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" which are found in the Bahá'í International Archives, in Haifa, Israel (cited by MacEoin, pp. 195-196 as six in number) were employed in the translation of excerpts from this work for "Selections from the Writings of the Báb" ([SWB], pp. 41-74). In one translated excerpt (Ibid., p. 47), the Báb speaks of himself as being "no more than twenty-five" and this is identified as taken from Chapter [Súrah] IX of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'".

Ahang Rabbani cited another source, the Báb's personal diary, which was published by Azalís in Tihrán, appended to his "Kitáb-i-Panj Sha'n" (Book of Five Grades): "the same date can also be computed precisely from His age given in His personal diary" (e-mail, 30 October 1997). Furthermore, in a prayer revealed in Chihriq (SWB, pp. 180-182), the Báb specifically writes "at the age of twenty-five I proceeded to Thy sacred House, and by the time I returned to the place where I was born, a year had elapsed" (p. 181), undoubtedly a reference to his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, begun in 1844 and completed in 1845. Hence, according to a prayer revealed in Chihriq, the Báb's personal diary, the text of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" (Súrah IX, fol. 13b), "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" (Nicolas translation, p. 26), and "Bayán-i-fársí" (IV:11), the Báb was twenty-five years old when he declared his mission. It seems most likely then that he was born on 1 Muharram 1235, which would make him twenty-five years old (and four months) at his declaration on 5 Jumáda al-Awwal/Jumádíyu'l-Úlá 1260. These are the autobiographical testimonies of the Báb himself, as recorded in his own Writings.

Next we will consider the evidence of historical records, the testimonies of eye-witnesses and other followers and associates of the Báb. Muhammad (Nabíl-i-A'zam) Zarandí became a Bábí in 1265 A.H./1848-49 A.D. (ZARANDI, p. 434), and compiled a history of the Báb and his followers, known in Persian as "Tárikh-i-Nabíl," between 1887 and 1892. This narrative was prepared with the assistance of many eye-witnesses and other well-informed sources, and is preserved in a single manuscript copy, in the International Bahá'í Archives. The first portion of the text (to 1853) was translated into English by Shoghi Effendi, and published in 1932 as "The Dawn-breakers." According to ZARANDI (PP. 14, 72), the Báb was born on 1 Muharram 1235 A.H. ZARANDI also states that twenty-five years, four (lunar) months and four days had elapsed between the birth of the Báb and his declaration on 5 Jumáda al-Awwal/Jumádíyu'l-Úlá 1260 (p. 72). This corresponds exactly to twenty-five years and four solar months, inasmuch as 1 Muharram 1260 fell on 22 January 1844, while 5 Jumáda al-Awwal/Jumádíyu'l-Úlá 1260 began at sunset on 22 May 1844. Other early histories of the Báb and Bábís include "Kitáb-i-Nuqtatu'l-Káf" (Book of the Point of "K"), "Tárikh-i-Jadíd" (New History) and "Maqála-yi Shaykhsí Sayyáh" (A Traveller's Narrative), all of which were edited for publication by Browne. One manuscript of "Kitáb-i-Nuqtatu'l-Káf" [KAF] (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. Persan 1071) was published by Brill Press of Leiden, the Netherlands in 1910. Another eleven manuscripts of this history are known to exist (MacEoin, p. 214). One manuscript of "Tárikh-i-Jadíd" [JADID] (Cambridge, Browne F.55) was published by Cambridge University Press in 1893, along with an English translation and copious notes by Browne. Eleven other manuscripts of this work have been discovered (MacEoin, pp. 214-215). "Maqála-yi Shaykhsí Sayyáh" was first published in Persian in Bombay, India, in 1890, and a facsimile edition was issued by Cambridge University Press in 1891 ['ABDU'L-BAHA], along with an English translation by Browne. MacEoin reports (pp. 169-170) that the manuscript copy of "Maqála-yi Shaykhsí Sayyáh" which was published in facsimile by Cambridge University was in the hand of the Bahá'í scribe Zaynu'l-Muqarrabín, and was presented to Browne during his visit to 'Akká in 1890. That manuscript is now located in the Cambridge University Library (Browne F.56[7]).

There is no mention of the date of the Báb's birth in KAF or JADID but in Browne's translation of 'ABDU'L-BAHA we read the following testimony: "He was born in the year one thousand two hundred and thirty-five on the first day of Muharram" (p. 2 (Persian)/p. 4 (English), to which Browne added a footnote explaining that this is equivalent to 20 October 1819. Two years prior to the publication of 'ABDU'L-BAHA, Browne referred, in Appendix II of his first article about the Bábís for the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" (vol. XXI, July 1889, pp. 516-517), to a conversation which bears upon this matter. He cites the reminiscences of Mr. C.D. Cobham, British Commissioner at Larnaca, regarding a conversation he had with Mishkín Qalam in Cyprus, to which the latter had been exiled, in 1868. Mishkín Qalam was a famous calligrapher, and a close associate of many of the early Bábís and Bahá'ís. Mishkín Qalam stated that the Báb was born in the year 1235 Hijra, 1819 Gregorian.

What, then, is the evidence in support of the year 1236 A.H. as the date of the Báb's birth? Nicolas cites one manuscript of "Kitáb al-haramayn," which is either a lost work of the Báb, or the same as "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn," generally known as "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn." In any case, Nicolas' copy of this work is lost. Two surviving manuscripts of "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" have been read by competent experts as pointing to the year 1235 rather than 1236.

In a note to his translation of "A Traveller's Narrative" (Note C, p. 221), Browne cited passages in "Bayán-i-fársí" and "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" which do not positively identify the Báb's birth date as occurring in the year 1236. In the same note Browne cites two oral sources for this later date. He states that Mírzá Yahyá (Subh-i-Azal) reported that the Báb was twenty-four years old at the time of his declaration; this would place his birth in the year 1236 A.H. It should be noted, however, that Browne did not entirely trust Mírzá Yahyá's dating of events. In a footnote (p. 373, n. 2) to "A Traveller's Narrative," Browne states that Mírzá Yahyá misrepresented his own age, and Browne expressed his reservations about relying on this witness and regarding him as a reliable source. In Note C (p. 222), Browne also cited the testimony of an unidentified individual associated with the Afnán family, the maternal relations of the Báb, who apparently affirmed that he was twenty-four years old at the time he declared.

If, as alleged by Browne, by Nicolas, by Mírzá Yahyá and an unidentified member of the Báb's family, the Báb was born on 1 Muharram 1236, then he did not reach his twenty-fifth birthday until seven months after his declaration. This would seem to contradict his own statements in the two early-cited works from his pen, as well as the considered testimonies of ZARANDI and 'ABDU'L-BAHA. It would appear that the writings of the Báb which are extant and which we are able to consult point to the year 1235 A.H. as the time of his birth. Also, the accounts left to us by Bábís who accepted Bahá'u'lláh as "Him Whom God shall manifest", the prophetic figure promised by the Báb, consistently cite the year 1235 A.H. as that of the birth of the Báb. As Nicolas and Browne seem to have had more extensive contacts with the followers of Mírzá Yahyá (the Azalís) than with the Bahá'ís, and inasmuch as both of these scholars often trusted these Azalí sources over their Bahá'í informants, it seems possible that the 1236 A.H. date is an Azalí tradition. However, it is worth noting that the manuscript of "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" which Browne had in his possession, and which gives the Báb's birth year as 1235, was copied by Ridván 'Alí, an Azalí scribe, and one of the sons of Mírzá Yahyá (MacEoin, p. 197); that one manuscript of "Bayán-i-fársí" in Browne's possession was sent him by the Azalí writer Shaykh Ahmad Rúhí Kirmání in 1891 (Ibid., p. 181); that two of the copies of "Bayán-i-fársí" in Nicolas' library were in the hand of Mírzá Yahyá (Ibid., p. 182); that one of Browne's two copies of "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" was corrected by Mírzá Yahyá (Ibid., p. 185); and one of the two copies of "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" which Nicolas owned, and which he used in his French translation of that work, contained annotations written by Mírzá Yahyá and others written at his direction by Ridván 'Alí (Ibid., p. 185). Inasmuch as all of these specific manuscripts contain verses which seem to point to 1235 rather than 1236 as the year of the Báb's birth, and they were transcribed by Mírzá Yahyá or one of his sons, it seems unlikely that the later date was a firmly established Azalí tradition. In summation, the evidence at our disposal clearly establishes the year 1235 as that of the Báb's birth.

⁽²⁾Nicolas quotes a passage from "Kitáb al-haramayn" (Note B, p. 453), in Arabic, in which the Báb states that his father's name is "Muhammad Kalímát al-Ridá" and his paternal grandfather's name is "Ibráhím" and his paternal great-grandfather's name is "Nasru'lláh." ZARANDI (p. 14, 72) affirms that his father's name was Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá, and that both his father and mother were descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 2/4) simply gives the Báb's father's name — Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá. As for more recent histories, Shoghi Effendi prepared a hand-written genealogy of the Báb's family, which was published, with a key, in "The Dawn-breakers" (ZARANDI, pp. lviii, lix). According to this chart, the Báb's father was Mírzá Muhammad-Ridá, his paternal grandfather was Mírzá Abu'l-Fath, his paternal great-grandfather was Mírzá Ibráhím, and his paternal great-great grandfather was Mírzá Nasru'lláh. This same chart also gives the name of the Báb's mother as Fátimih Bagum, his maternal grandfather as Mírzá Muhammad-Husayn, and his maternal great-grandfather as Mírzá 'Abid. The key to this chart explains that both Mírzá Nasru'lláh and Mírzá 'Ábid were descendants of the Imám Husayn. Inasmuch as the Imám Husayn was one of the sons of the Imám 'Alí, and the Imám 'Alí was Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law (husband of his daughter Fátimih), this would indicate that the Báb was related to the Prophet Muhammad through both sides of his family. It should be noted that most of the recognized descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (who, in the singular form, are commonly denominated "siyyid") derive this inheritance through his daughter Fátimih, and are the offspring of her marriage with 'Alí, the Prophet's cousin. Balyuzi [Balyuzi] ("The Báb: The Herald of the Day of Days," George Ronald Publisher, 1973, p. 32) writes that the Báb was descended through his mother and her family from the Imám Husayn, and in a note to Chapter 2 (#1, p. 230) gives the Báb's father's name as Mír Muhammad-Ridá, his paternal grandfather as Mír Nasru'lláh, his paternal great-grandfather as Mír Fathu'lláh, and his paternal great-great grandfather as Mír Ibráhím. Balyuzi also states that the Báb's mother was named Fátimih Bagum, and that she was the daughter of Mírzá Muhammad-Husayn (p. 33). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan gives the name of the Báb's mother as Fátimih Bagum (p. 30), and his maternal grandfather as Hájí Mírzá Muhammad-Husayn (Ibid.). He quotes the Báb in "Kitáb al-fihrist" as calling his father Muhammad Ridá, his paternal grandfather Ibráhím, and his great-grandfather Fathu'lláh (p. 50).

Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 50) cites a passage from Súratu'l-qaraba (verses 13-15) in "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'", in which the Báb states that his family is descended from Fátimih, the daughter of Muhammad. Amanat likewise states (p. 110) that the Báb was descended from two families of Shírází siyyids, and he refers to genealogies of the Báb based upon the Báb's autobiographical statements in "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn"; in

Hájí Mírzá Habíbu'lláh Afnán's "Tárikh-i Amrí-yi Shíráz" [henceforth AFNAN], published in Persian online:

<http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~bahai/arabic/vol4/shiraz/shiraz.htm> — and published in English translation by Dr. Ahang Rabbani online: <http://ahang.rabbani.googlepages.com/shiraz2>

— in Muhammad 'Alí Faydí's published "Khándán-i-Afnán" (Tihrán, 1971) [henceforth KHANDAN]; and another genealogy, which traces the Báb's ancestry back to the Imám Husayn and which is allegedly preserved by the Afnán family, according to three sources cited by Amanat (p. 110, n. 5). The first of these three sources is entered under the name Mírzá Hasan Shírází, in "Tabaqát A'lám al-Shí'a," part I: "Nuqabá' al-Bashar fi al-Qarn al-Rábi'a 'Ashar" (p. 443), authored by Áqá Buzurg [Muhammad Muhsin] Tihráni; the second source is "Fárs Námih-yi Násirí," by Hájí Mírzá Hasan Fasá'í (vol. II, n.p.); and the third source is "Tárikh-i Mu'in al-Saltana" (p. 28), by Hájí Muhammad Ibn 'Abdu'l-Báqí Mu'in al-Saltana Tabrízí [henceforth MU'IN]. There are two autograph manuscripts of this last-named history extant (MacEoin, p. 175), but Amanat was not able to locate this genealogy (op. cit., 110). He stated that the genealogies found in AFNAN and ZARANDI appear to be confused (p. 110, n. 5). In the case of ZARANDI it seems that Amanat is referring to Shoghi Effendi's genealogy, inasmuch as ZARANDI does not offer a genealogy of his own; furthermore, Amanat cites a genealogy on p. ix of "The Dawn-breakers" and there is no genealogy found on p. ix of this work — Shoghi Effendi's genealogy is on p. lviii (perhaps Amanat is citing another edition of this book?). A comparison of the genealogical chart published by Amanat (p. 112) with that compiled by Shoghi Effendi yields the following characteristics: Amanat lists the name of the Báb's father without change; the name of the Báb's paternal grandfather as Mír Ibráhím rather than Mírzá Abu'l-Fath; the name of his paternal great-grandfather as Mír Fathu'lláh rather than Mírzá Ibráhím; and his paternal great-great grandfather as Mír Zaynu'l-'Ábidín rather than Mírzá Nasru'lláh. Amanat also cites the father of Mír Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, as Mír Lutfullah, and his father as Mír Muhammad Mu'min Husayn Shírází Najafí (Ibid.). Amanat also gives the name of the Báb's maternal grandfather as Mír Siyyid Muhammad Husayn, and his maternal great-grandfather as Mír Zaynu'l-'Ábidín ('Ábid), which corresponds exactly to the names found in Shoghi Effendi's genealogy. Amanat also gives the name of the Báb's maternal great-great grandfather, Siyyid Muhammad (Ibid.). The matter of the Báb's genealogy is not, by any means, a closed book.

³In a note, Nicolas states that the Báb's father was engaged in haberdashery, the selling of small articles, such as ribbons, thread, needles, and perhaps, men's garments. ZARANDI and 'ABDU'L-BAHA are both silent regarding the profession of the Báb's father. Munírih Khánum, 'Abdu'l-Bahá's wife reported that Khadjijh Khánum, the Báb's wife described her father-in-law — the Báb's father — as engaged in retail trade; this report is in KHANDAN (p. 162). Mírzá Ahmad Sharíf Shírází Íshík-Áqásí (Amanat, p. 110), also called Mírzá Ahmad ibn Abu'l-Hasan Sharíf Shírází Díván Bagí (Amanat, p. xv), a close associate of the Afnán family (Amanat, p. 110), wrote a history in which stated that the Báb's father carried on a clothier's business in the bazaar of Shíráz (Amanat, p. 111, n. 8). This history [hitherto referred to as AHMAD] was translated in part by Áqá Mírzá Muhammad Khán Bahadur and published as 'Some New Notes on Babiism' in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" (n.v., July 1927, pp. 443-469; cited Amanat, pp. xv, 449). Mírzá Alexander Kazem-Beg [KAZEM-BEG] stated the same in one of his articles on the Bábís, published in "Journal Asiatique" (vol. VII, 1866, p. 334). Mírzá Muhammad Taqí Sipíhr, Lisán al-Mulk [henceforth SIPIHR], in his "Násikhu't-Tavárikh" (vol. III, p. 39) states the same (cited in Amanat, op. cit.). Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl Gulpáygání confirmed these three accounts in his unpublished "Tárikh-i Zhuhúr-i Diyánat-i Hadrat-i Báb va Hadrat-i Bahá'u'lláh" (p. 3; cited Amanat, p. 111, n. 8) [henceforth FADL]. There are two manuscripts of Abu'l-Fadl's history extant (MacEoin, p. 217). Balyuzi states that Siyyid (Mír) Muhammad-Ridá worked as a mercer, in the city of Shíráz (p. 32). Mercery is the commerce in textiles, in dry goods. Amanat affirms that the two families, the one related to the Báb's mother, Fátimih Bagum, and the one related to his father, Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá, were both engaged in long-distance trade. However, he indicates that Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá was a local trader (p. 111). Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá seems to have been a moderately prosperous merchant, having inherited a house and a shop in the Bázár-i-Vakíl, according to AFNAN as cited in KHANDAN (pp. 204-210). When he died, he left enough savings to support his wife Fátimih Bagum and his only son, Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad, the Báb (Amanat, p. 111).

He became a fatherless orphan very early in his childhood⁽⁴⁾, and was placed under the tutelage of his maternal uncle, Siyyid 'Alí⁽⁵⁾. Under the direction of that uncle, he was occupied with the same commercial enterprise as his father⁽⁶⁾.

⁽⁴⁾ZARANDI states that the Báb lost his father in early childhood (p. 72); 'ABDU'L-BAHA states the same (p. 2/4). AFNAN (pp. 4,9; cited Amanat, p. 111, n. 11) reports that Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá died when the Báb was nine years old (Balyuzi, p. 32). MU'IN indicates that the Báb's father died when he was an unweaned infant (p. 30; referred to by Amanat, p. 111, n. 11). FADL (p. 3) makes the same statement, as referred to by Amanat (p. 111, n. 11), and cited by Balyuzi (p. 32). Amanat flatly states that this report is inaccurate, favoring the account found in AFNAN, and Balyuzi also seems to favor this account (p. 32), suggesting that it agrees more nearly to that found in 'ABDU'L-BAHA. Amanat affirms that the Báb mentions neither the date of his father's death, nor the age of his father at time of death in any of his writings (p. 111, n. 11). One indication that Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá's death occurred when the Báb had reached the age of nine is the report, found in SIPIHR (vol. III, p. 39; cited Amanat, p. 114, n. 21), that he began to assist his father in Siyyid Muhammad-Ridá's shop at about eight or nine years of age. Amanat alleges (p. 114) that this would be normal behavior at this time and for boys of this age in the merchant class and Persian culture.

⁽⁵⁾According to the genealogies compiled by Shoghi Effendi (p. lviii, "The Dawn-breakers") and Amanat (p. 112), the Báb's mother, Fátimih Bagum, had three brothers — Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí ("Khál-i-A'zam"), Hájí Mírzá Siyyid Muhammad ("Khál-i-Asghar"), and Hájí Mírzá Hasan-'Alí. For readers unfamiliar with the title, "Hájí", it should be noted that "Hájí" prefixed to a name traditionally indicates that the man in question has made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, incumbent upon all Muslim males, according to their means. Sepehr Manuchehri has pointed out that there are exceptions to this rule, at least in some areas of Írán. If a Muslim boy is born on a particular day of the month of Dhil-Hijjih, to his given name is automatically prefixed "Hájí". Manuchehri's father and grandmother were said to recall many traditional (Shí'í) Muslims living in the city of Yazd who never set foot outside of that city. But because they were born on particular days during the month of Dhil-Hijjih, they were referred to as Hájí-Hasan or Hájí-Husayn from one or two years of age.

ZARANDI (p. 73) reported that the Báb was reared by Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí upon the death of his father. AFNAN and AHMAD reported that, of the three brothers of Fátimih Bagum, Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí was the most willing to care for the young Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad, his sister's only son (cited Amanat, p. 114, n. 26). According to the genealogy published in "The Dawn-breakers," Fátimih Bagum's brother named Hájí Mírzá Siyyid Muhammad had three sons and two daughters, while her brother named Hájí Mírzá Hasan-'Alí had four sons and one daughter. Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí had one son, Mírzá Jawad, and according to Amanat (p. 112), this son died in childhood. It is not surprising therefore, that Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí should have been the most inclined among these three brothers of Fátimih Begum to assume the fatherly duties of his deceased brother-in-law, as in the Báb he had found a second son. More details regarding Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí are found in ZARANDI (pp. 143, 151, 153-155, 160-161, 173, 175-176, 188, 192-193, 195, 197, 442, 446-449, 452-455, 458). ZUHUR (pp. 223-225) reproduces a letter from the Báb to his uncle Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (cited MacEoin, pp. 95-96). The relationship between Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí and the Báb in many ways recalls that between Hájí Mírzá Tálib and his nephew, the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet Muhammad's father died when he was a child, and he was raised by his father's brother, Hájí Mírzá Tálib, whose son, 'Alí ibn Abí Tálib, Muhammad's cousin, became thereby in effect his adoptive brother. The very special link between Muhammad and 'Alí thus dates from their childhood.

⁽⁶⁾ZARANDI (p. 76) reports that the Báb did not engage in commerce until Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí was induced by his nephew's unmistakable and extraordinary intellectual brilliance to withdraw him from the tutelage of his teacher, Shaykh 'Ábid ("Shaykhuná"). 'ABDU'L-BAHA does not state that the Báb engaged in commerce in Shíráz. Muhammad 'Alí Faydí, in "Hadrat-i Nuqtah-i Úlá" [His Holiness the Primal Point] (Tíhrán, 1973) [henceforth FAYDI] reported (p. 82) that the Báb spent many hours in the bazaar learning the family trade in the company of his maternal uncles (cited in Amanat, p. 114, n. 28). FAYDI also wrote

Already at a young age, he was a contemplative and preferred silence, so much so that his beautiful countenance, the flash of his eyes and his modest and tranquil demeanor attracted from this time onward the attention of his fellow citizens⁽⁷⁾. From [his childhood] religious questions had

that the Báb was not employed by Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, but that he was a partner and independent in his commercial transactions (p. 85). MU'IN affirmed that when the Báb was taken out of school in order to work full-time in the bazaar, Shaykh 'Ábid, his teacher indicated his disapproval of this measure (cited Amanat, p. 115, n. 30). MU'IN also reported ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 76, n. 1; Amanat, p. 121, n. 67) that the Báb did not assume the independent exercise of his business affairs until he reached twenty years of age. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 38) indicates that the Báb moved to Bushíhr when he was fifteen years old and stayed there for five years engaging in commerce, with his uncle for the first two of those years and on his own thereafter. It seems then that he arrived in Bushíhr just after the passing of Hájí Mírzá Muhammad Husayn, the Báb's maternal grandfather, at which time his sons gathered and resolved to do business in concert with one another (Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, pp. 37-38). He cites a prayer of the Báb (Ibid., p. 53) in which he states that he lived in Shíráz for the first fifteen years of his life, then in Bushíhr for five years, and then traveled to the 'Atabát. Thus it seems that the Báb, according to these testimonies, left Bushíhr at the age of twenty.

⁽⁷⁾The unusually attractive appearance and demeanor of the youthful Báb were described by his schoolmaster some years after his declaration, in a conversation with Hájí Siyyid Javád-i-Karbilá'í (cited by Balyuzi, pp. 35-36). Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl Gulpáygání reports a meeting between Shaykh 'Ábid and Siyyid Javád in his "Kashf al-Ghitá'" (p. 82), an historical work which was completed by his nephew Siyyid Mahdí Gulpáygání [henceforth KASHF], and published in Tashkent (cited in Amanat, p. 113, n. 18). Balyuzi (p. 231) and FAYDI (pp. 178-179) indicate that Shaykh 'Ábid wrote an account of the Báb's school days prior to his decease in 1263/1847 (Amanat, p. 113, n. 18), and Balyuzi (Ibid.) indicates that access to this account is impossible at this time because those who have possession of it are not friends of the Bábí and Bahá'í religions. Other reports, dating from Karbilá, when the Báb was around twenty-one years of age, describe his distinctive attributes. The author of one of these reports, Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmání was widely recognized as the leader of the Shaykhí school after the death of Siyyid Kázim Rashí and the conversion of numerous Shaykhís to the Cause of the Báb. He was a vociferous enemy of the Báb and his followers. In 1845, he wrote the following description of the Báb's character, in "Izháq al-Bátíl" (pp. 105): "As it is reported, he possessed [qualities] of peacefulness, gravity, and dignity..." (translated in Amanat, p. 140). Amanat (p. 147-148, n. 203; citing his English translation of KAZEM-BEG, "Journal Asiatique," vol. VII, p. 339) cites another account: "If Kazem Beg's reference can be relied on, even during his stay in Karbilá, owing to his "singularity" and his "austerity" he acquired the epithet "majdhúb" (ecstatic)." Amanat continues with KAZEM-BEG:

"Even before [the Báb's] departure from the holy land [the 'Atabát], where devotion attracts Muslims from all over Írán, everybody talked about him as an extraordinary young man. People thought of him as possessing a mystical consciousness. When it came to his peculiarity and his incomprehensible utterances, they attributed them to his profound wisdom. It was especially through the Shírází pilgrims, the ordinary people who returned from Karbilá, that his fame spread in his homeland." (Amanat, p. 148, n. 204)

Amanat comments: "The chief reason for his growing reputation, Kazem Beg adds, was that 'on the threshold [of the shrine] of Husayn, he acquired the name of God's elect.' His name was on everyone's lips. 'He is no longer like us sinners,' said Shírázís to each other. 'He has become famous...and can perform miracles.' Kazem Beg even believes that the family of the Báb were congratulated for such an auspicious development." (p. 148, n. 205) KAZEM-BEG's source is not known, but Amanat considers it unlikely that this account would have no basis in fact. AHMAD (p. 447) also attested to the reputation of the Báb for "piety and honesty" (cited Amanat, p. 148). The Báb himself seems to have referred to these impressions of his person prior to his declaration, as in this passage from "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhid VI: báb 11, p. 218):

an over-powering interest for him⁽⁸⁾. At nineteen years of age⁽⁹⁾, he wrote his first work, entitled "Risáliy-i-fiqhíyyih" (Treatise on Law), in which he demonstrated true piety and a knowledge of things Islamic which seemed to point towards a brilliant future in the ranks of Shí'í orthodoxy⁽¹⁰⁾.

"Prior to the descent of the divine command, [people] testified to the godliness, nobility, and excellence of the Prophet of God [Muhammad]...In the same manner look at the Point of Bayán; prior to his revelation his merits were obvious to all those who knew him." (translated by Amanat, p. 148)

⁽⁸⁾Like other boys from the urban middle class, whose families could not afford private instructors, Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad was sent to a "maktab" (Qur'anic school), located in a structure called "Qahviy-i-Awliya" which was situated in the quarter called Bázár-i-Murgh (Poultry Market), near to the house of Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, the Báb's uncle (Balyuzi, p. 213). His schoolmaster seems to have borne several titles. Balyuzi states that he was known as Shaykh 'Ábid, Shaykhuná, and Shaykh-i-Anám, but that his given name was Muhammad, as attested in the Báb's "Bayán al-'arabíyya" (Balyuzi, pp. 230-231). The verse cited by Balyuzi is found in váhid VI: báb 11, as rendered into French by A.L.M. Nicolas as follows:

"Le resume de la onzieme porte: Dis: "O Mahommed, mon professeur, ne me tourmente pas, ne me frappe pas avant que je ne sois arrive a l'age de cinq ans: d'aucune facon ne me chatie, pas meme avec un de tes regards, car mon coeur est tres debile! Et apres que j'aurai eu mes cinq ans, quand tu veux me frapper, ne me fais pas sortir de la decence.

"Quand tu veux me frapper, ne me frappe pas de plus de cinq coups. Ne frappe pas avec le baton sur ma chair: mets quelque chose entre elle et lui.

"Si tu outrepasses cet ordre, ta femme t'est interdite dix-neuf jours, meme si tu as oublie cet ordre en agissant comme tu l'as fait.

"Si tu n'as pas de femme, pour punition, tu dois donner dix-neuf miscals d'or a celui qu tu as frappe, si tu es des croyants. Et quand tu frappes, ne frappe que legerement.

"Quand tu fais asseoir les enfants, fais-les asseoir sur des sieges ou des chaises ou des canapes: car le temps qu'ils sont assis sur leurs chaises, ne compte pas dans leur vie.

"Permetts aux enfants, ce qui leur est agreable (les jeux, etc.), et apprends-moi le chikeste, car cette ecriture est celle qui est aimee de Dieu..." ("Le Beyan Arabe," Paris:1905, pp. 162-163)

Balyuzi (p. 231) translated the first verse of this passage into English:

"Say O Muhammad , My teacher, do not beat me ere my years have gone beyond five."

A translation of the entire passage from the French of Nicolas is attempted here:

"The summary of the eleventh door [báb]: Say: 'O Muhammad, my teacher, do not torment me, do not strike me before I reach the age of five years; do not chastise me in any way, even with one of your glances, for my heart is very tender! And after I will have reached five years of age, when you wish to strike me, do not do so beyond the bounds of decency.

"When you wish to strike me, do not strike me with more than five blows. Do not strike my flesh with the rod: place something between the two.

"If you should exceed this ordinance, your wife is forbidden to you for nineteen days, even if you forgot about this commandment in acting that way.

"If you do not have a wife, your punishment is to give nineteen misqals of gold to the one you have struck, if you are among the believers. And when you strike, do not strike except lightly.

"When you make children sit, have them sit upon benches or chairs or couches: for the time that they are seated upon their chairs does not count as part of their lives.

"Permit children what is enjoyable to them (games, etc.), and teach me shikaste, for this script is beloved of God..." ("Le Beyan Arabe," Paris:1905, pp. 162-163)

Amanat gives the Báb's teacher these titles: Shaykh 'Ábid, Shaykh-i Anám, Shaykh-i Mu'allim and Shaykh Zaynu'l-'Abidín (Amanat, p.113, n.13). Amanat (p. 113, n. 17) also cites AFNAN (p. 4) to the effect that

Shaykh 'Ábid was a follower of the Shaykhí school, a sympathy he seems to have had in common with the Báb's family (Amanat, pp. 113). At Shaykh 'Ábid's maktab (Qur'anic primary school) the Báb received an elementary education in the fundamentals of the Persian and Arabic languages (Amanat, p. 113). The Muslim chronicler 'Alí Qulí Mírzá I'tidád al-Saltanih, in "Kitáb al-Mutanabbi'ín" ("Book of False Prophets" henceforth referred to as I'TIDAD) — a manuscript history often cited by Nicolas, part of which was incorporated into "Fitna-yi Báb" by 'Abdu'l-Husayn Navá'í (published in Tíhrán, 1972; cited by Amanat, p. 446; MacEoin, p. 253) — states that the Báb learned the "Persian sciences" but "only the elements of Arabic" (translated by Nicolas, p. 199, n. 144). SIPIHR (vol. III, p. 39) also states, "in his youth, he was occupied with learning Persian and the elements of Arabic" (translated by Nicolas, p. 201, n. 147; cited Amanat, p. 114, n. 21). The schooling and childhood of the Báb are described by ZARANDI (pp. 75-76), by AFNAN (pp. 6-10), and by KASHF (pp. 83-84). All of these sources and the witnesses they cite report that the Báb was gifted with a rare, remarkable and precocious understanding of religious matters, as well as an extraordinary piety. Amanat (pp.113-121), and Balyuzi (pp.34-39) have described the childhood of the Báb in considerable detail, and Stephen Lambden refers to the schooling of the Báb in an article entitled 'An Episode in the Childhood of the Báb' (published in "Studies in Bábí and Bahá'í History, Volume Three, In Írán," edited by Peter Smith, Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1986, pp. 1-31).

Mullá 'Abd al-Rahím Qazvíní, cited in Fádíl-i-Mázindarán's "Zuhúr al-haqq" (vol. III, p. 172) [henceforth, ZUHUR], reported that when the Báb was about fifteen years old (circa 1250/1834), his uncle arranged for him to study under Mullá 'Abdu'l-Kháliq Yazdí (cited Amanat, p. 116, n. 38). Amanat (Ibid.) states that the Báb alluded to his study with this teacher, however he does not cite any source for this statement. Mullá Muhammad Hamzih Sharí'atmadár Bárfurúshí (Amanat, pp. 116, 182), also called . Mullá Muhammad Hamzih Sharí'atmadár Mázindarán (Amanat, p. 459) was a Shaykhí teacher with whom Hájí Mullá Muhammad-'Alí Bárfurúshí (Quddús) studied prior to becoming the student of Siyyid Kázim (Amanat, pp. 100-101), and he was ultimately to be pro-Bábí (Amanat, p. 328). He alleged that the Báb did not study Arabic grammar beyond two rudimentary texts: 1)"al-Bahjat al-Mardíya fi Sharh al-Alfíya," by Jalál al-Dín Suyútí, a much-read commentary on the Arabic grammatical treatise by Ibn Málík called "al-Alfíya"; and 2)Háshiya of Mullá 'Abdu'lláh Yazdí, a marginal gloss on "Tahdhíb al-Mantiq wa'l-Kalám," by Sa'd al-Dín Taftázání, a standard work on logic — both of which were part of the elementary curriculum in Írán during the nineteenth century. Amanat cites Sharí'atmadár's "Asrár al-Shaháda" quoted in 'Abdu'l-Karím Sharí'atmadáriyán's "Sharh-i Zindigí" (manuscript, p. 15) [henceforth, HAMZIH] as his source for this information (Amanat, p. 116, n. 39). One manuscript of this history is known to exist (MacEoin, pp. 165, 216). ZUHUR (p. 437) independently confirms these details (Amanat, p. 116, n. 39).

⁹Nicolas is the only account of the Báb's life which mentions his authoring "Risála al-fiqhíyyih" (or any other book) at the age of nineteen. He does not cite his source for this information, as has been noted by MacEoin (p. 43). However, Nicolas does allege that Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání (whom he assumed to be the author of KAF), reported that the Báb was eighteen when he authored "Risála al-fiqhíyyih" (Nicolas, p. 189, n. 131). While AFNAN does not refer to this treatise by name, he does report Hájí Siyyid Javád Karbilá'í's visit to Bushíhr during this period (Balyuzi, pp. 39-40). He states that when the Báb's uncle asked his friend to advise his nephew to stop writing, arguing that it was in danger of provoking difficulties, Karbilá'í declined to do so (Ibid.). As to the accuracy of KAF, an extensive discussion of the authorship of this book in its various versions is found in "Kashf al-Ghitá Hiyal al-A'dá," left incomplete upon his death by Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl Gulpáygání and prepared for publication by his nephew Siyyid Mahdí Gulpáygání (earlier cited as KASHF). A condensed study of the manuscripts of this book is found in MacEoin's "Sources for Early Bábí Doctrine and History" (pp. 131-161, 211-215). Brief remarks on the subject are also found in Amanat (pp. 423-424) and H.M. Balyuzi, "Edward Granville Browne and the Bahá'í Faith" (London:1970, passim.).

¹⁰The Shí'í orthodoxy to which Nicolas refers here is more specifically the clerical community associated with the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í denomination, then (and still) the predominant variant of Islam in all Persian-speaking realms. This denomination recognizes a series of twelve men as the spiritual successors (called Imáms) to the Prophet Muhammad . This denomination generally rejects the leadership of the caliphs (from Arabic "khalíf"), whose authority is attested by all Sunní Muslims. The twelve Imáms are as follows ("The Dawn-breakers," pp. lii-liii): 1)'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb, the first cousin, son-in-law and first disciple of

It is probable that this work was written in Búshíhr, inasmuch as beginning at age eighteen or nineteen he was employed in that city, by his [guardian] uncle, to meet the needs of the latter's commercial enterprise⁽¹¹⁾.

The Muslim and Bábí historians are in agreement concerning the sojourn of our hero in the great port of the Persian Gulf. They both insist upon the religious ardor which animated the young Siyyid, impelling him to inflict austerities⁽¹²⁾ upon himself, such as are required by certain mystical

Muhammad, assassinated 40/661; 2) Hasan, eldest son of 'Alí and Fátimih, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, poisoned 50/670; 3) Husayn, second son of 'Alí and Fátimih, killed in battle 61/680; 4) 'Alí, called Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, son of Husayn and Shahribánú, poisoned; 5) Muhammad Báqir, son of Zaynu'l-'Ábidín and Umm-i-'Abdu'lláh, daughter of the Imám Hasan (2), poisoned; 6) Ja'far as-Sádiq, son of Muhammad Báqir, poisoned; 7) Músá Kázim, son of Ja'far as-Sádiq, poisoned 183 A.H.; 8) 'Alí ibn-Músa'r-Ridá, called Imám Ridá, poisoned 203 A.H.; 9) Muhammad Taqí, son of Imám Ridá, poisoned 220 A.H.; 10) 'Alí Naqí, son of Muhammad Taqí, poisoned 254 A.H.; 11) Hasan 'Askarí, son of 'Alí Naqí, poisoned 260 A.H.; 12) Muhammad, son of Hasan 'Askarí and Nargis Khátún, called Imám Mahdí, Hujjatu'lláh (Proof of God), Baqíyyatu'lláh (Remnant of God) and Qá'im-i-Ahl-i-Muhammad (He Who shall arise from the family of Muhammad), disappeared 260 A.H. It should be noted that the Imáms represented the family of Muhammad, inasmuch as 'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb was his first cousin, his son-in-law, his de facto brother (when Muhammad was informally adopted by his uncle Hájí Abú Tálíb), in loco parentis for many years, as Muhammad took care of 'Alí from the age of ten, in order to assist his aging uncle. Muhammad had four daughters and no sons, and only one of his daughters survived into maturity. Fátimih was her name, and she and 'Alí had two sons, Hasan and Husayn, the only male descendants of Muhammad. This is why the twelfth Imám, and hence the Imám Mahdí is called Qá'im-i-Ahl-i-Muhammad (he who shall arise from the family of Muhammad).

(11) "The Dawn-Breakers" (p. 77, n.1) cites "Mírzá Jání's History" from Appendix II of JADID (pp. 343-344), which states that the Báb left Shíráz for Bushíhr at seventeen years of age, remaining there for five years engaged in commerce. "The Dawn-breakers" (p. 76, n.1), Amanat (p. 121, n. 67) and Balyuzi (p. 41) cite MUI'N to the effect that the Báb did not establish himself independently as a merchant until he turned twenty. This is confirmed by the notes of Abu'l-Qasim ibn Habibu'llah Afnan Ala'i [NOTES] (cited Amanat, p. 121, n. 67; published version, p. 38). AFNAN reported that the Báb joined Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, his uncle, in business when he reached fifteen years of age, the Islamic age of maturity, and that soon thereafter he moved to Bushíhr (cited Balyuzi, p. 39). Balyuzi (p. 39) affirmed that extant commercial accounts written in the hand of the Báb prove that he left Shíráz for Bushíhr when he was nearly sixteen years old. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 37-38) indicated that subsequent to the passing of the Báb's maternal grandfather, Hájí Mírzá Muhammad Husayn, in 1250 A.H., his sons gathered and resolved to do business in concert with one another. In 1250 A.H. the Báb was fifteen years old, inasmuch as it has been established (see note (1) this Chapter) that he was born in 1235 A.H., and declared his prophethood at the age of twenty-five years, in 1260 A.H. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 38) writes that the Báb moved to Bushíhr when he was fifteen years old and stayed there for five years doing business, and cites a prayer revealed in Chihriq by the Báb (p. 53) in which these very facts are stated. The same author (p. 43) alike affirms that the Báb left Bushíhr and traveled for the first time to the 'Atabát, in 1257 A.H. It is possible that the Báb may have departed for Bushíhr at age fifteen, but returned to Shíráz for a time, and then departed again when he was closer to seventeen. It is also possible that he may have been calculating his five years in Bushíhr from the time he arrived for the second time in that city, perhaps at the age of seventeen. In this case, he would have been twenty-two when he returned to Shíráz (the second time) and this would seem to agree with the date of his marriage certificate [see note (30)]. The age of the Báb when he left for Bushíhr and when he returned to Shíráz are therefore still under investigation by historians. For further discussion of these dates, please see note (15).

Nicolas cites here the text of I'TIDAD: "Under the inspiration of the demon, and without much sense, he precipitated himself, contrary to the laws of Muhammad and of religion, into severe mortifications so as to

orders. The Muslims affirm that he exposed himself for long hours with uncovered head to the brilliant rays of the sun of these regions⁽¹³⁾ — which, according to certain **Súfis**, will convey to one the knowledge of the secrets of God — so much so that finally his mind degenerated⁽¹⁴⁾.

Tradition reports that his sojourn there was short⁽¹⁵⁾, for he could not bear the climate: he remained there but one year, and returned to Shíráz, always preoccupied with religious meditations.

After some repose, he wished, as every good Shí'í must, to take part in the famous pilgrimage to Karbilá, and to accomplish there the numerous and complicated rituals which accompanied visits to the tombs of the holy Imáms⁽¹⁶⁾.

acquire a little glory. It is said that he lived in Bushíhr, where it is excessively hot, and that in order to perfect himself, he ascended the roof terrace of his house, exposing his bare head to the sun and reciting there certain prayers, which resulted in his health and his intelligence being altered." See *Amanat* (p. 133) for an alternative translation of the same passage from *I'TIDAD*. *Sepehr Manuchehri* points out that this allegation was made by the 'ulamá' during the trial of the Báb in Tabríz, and that it was in order to claim that the Báb had gone "mad" and that this had been the cause of him advancing prophetic claims. He further notes that is highly unlikely that the Báb would have behaved in this fashion, inasmuch as the exposure of one's head was considered to be indecent, shameful and inexcusable.

⁽¹³⁾Nicolas and Balyuzi (p. 40) note that this assertion was contradicted by Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání's history. The only version of this history with which Nicolas was familiar was *KAF*. Balyuzi does not indicate which version of this history he is citing in this regard. *ZARANDI* reports the very same phenomenon, but does not give it the same interpretation as *I'TIDAD*; he in particular notes the Báb's meditation and worship from dawn until sunrise and from midday until late in the afternoon on Fridays, the Muslim day of rest (pp. 77-79). These reports of the Báb's spiritual exercises in Bushíhr are cited in Balyuzi (p. 40) and *Amanat* (pp. 133-135).

⁽¹⁴⁾Nicolas notes: "It is not remarkable that this accusation of madness was directed against him by Muslims, who were inflexible because of the respect that his title of Siyyid inspired in them. A descendant of the Prophet can be mad — deeply mysteriously and perhaps divinely so — but it is inadmissible that he would willingly engage in imposture or blasphemy. It is unnecessary to say here that the Báb was not mad: his work demonstrates this super-abundantly."

⁽¹⁵⁾Nicolas cited the statement of Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání (actually *KAF*) that the Báb sojourned in Bushíhr for five years. Shoghi Effendi (p.77,n.1) likewise cited "Mírzá Jání's History" from Appendix II of *JADID* (pp.343-344), which states that the Báb left Shíráz for Bushíhr at seventeen years of age, remaining there for five years engaged in commerce. The Báb, in a letter written in Chihríq (1265/1849), cited in Murtadá Mudarrísí Chahárdihí [henceforth, *MURTADA*], "Shaykhígari va Bábígari az Nazhar-i Falsafa, Táríkh, Ijtimá'" (Tíhrán:1972, pp. 305-307), confirms that he spent five years in Bushíhr (cited *Amanat*, p. 136, n. 141). Balyuzi (p. 39) and *Amanat* (pp. 121,123) cite commercial accounts in the hand of the Báb which indicate that he resided in Bushíhr during the period 1250/1835-1256/1840, a period of six years. *AFNAN* stated that the Báb's sojourn in Bushíhr lasted for six years (Balyuzi, p. 41). *Abu'l-Qasim Afnan* (p. 38) states that the Báb resided in Bushíhr for five years, and cites a prayer of the Báb revealed in Chihríq (p. 53) in which the Báb himself testifies to this. Balyuzi relates a few events of the Báb's life in Bushíhr (pp. 39-41), while *Amanat* describes his residence there in some detail (pp. 121-135).

⁽¹⁶⁾The holy cities of 'Iráq, called the 'Atabát, to which Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Muslims make pilgrimages, are, as cited by Balyuzi (p. 41): 1)Najaf, site of the tomb of the first Imám, 'Alí ibn Abí Tálib, cousin of the Prophet Muhammad and husband of his daughter Fátimih; 2)Karbilá, site of the tomb of the third Imám, Husayn ibn 'Alí; 3)Kázimayn, near to Baghdád, site of the tombs of the seventh Imám, Músá al-Kázim, and the ninth Imám, Muhammad al-Taquí; and 4)Samarra, where the tombs of the tenth Imám, 'Alí al-Naqí, and

Mullá Sádiq, who was later to receive the title Muqaddas Khurásání⁽¹⁷⁾ was found at this time frequenting the holy places—and this is how he describes his [earliest] meetings with the young Siyyid:

"One day I entered into the mosque of the confessor of the Faith and I saw there a young man absorbed in profound meditation. His attitude was such, his piety so evident and so manifest, the tears which flowed from his eyes so sincere, that I felt myself invincibly attracted to him. Not wishing to interrupt him in his devotions, I seated myself in a corner and awaited the conclusion of his prayers. The more I looked at him, the more I was conquered by his noble air, his modest countenance and something I cannot describe that seemed to be emitted from his entire person.

the eleventh Imám, Hasan al-'Askarí are situated. Thus, by visiting these four cities, the Shí'í pilgrim could pray near the holy shrines of six of the twelve Imáms.

⁽¹⁷⁾Mullá Sádiq, whose full name was Ákhúnd Mullá Sádiq Muqaddas Khurásání, an associate of the Báb in Shíráz and Karbilá who became a Bábí, preached the arrival of the Qá'im from the pulpit of more than one mosque, and then fought at and survived the debacle at Shaykh Tabarsí. He recognized Bahá'u'lláh as "He Whom God will manifest" promised by the Báb, and Bahá'u'lláh named him "Ismu'lláhu'l-Asdaq" (the Most Holy Name of God). Mullá Sádiq convinced Hakím Masíh, a doctor residing in Hamadan, and the first Bábí and later Bahá'í of Jewish heritage, to become a believer. These particulars are found in Balyuzi (pp. 51, 78, 165, 239) and Amanat (pp. 136-139, 146, 151, 236n, 255, 260, 262-264, 286, 288-289, 311n, 315n). Mullá Sádiq is listed as among the teachers of the Bábí Cause, and as having endured tortures for his new Faith, in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 5, 6). Other references to his life are found in ZARANDI (pp. 100-101, 142-150, 179-180, 183-187); in Muhammad 'Alí Malik Khusraví, "Tárikh-i Shuhadá-yi Amr" (Tíhrán, 1972, vol. II, p. 50)[henceforth, KHUSRAVI]; in AFNAN (pp. 17-19,34-36); in AHMAD (pp. 451-452; cited Amanat, p. 255, n. 282); in MU'IN (pp. 67-69); in JADID (pp. 40-42,201-202); in Shaykh Kázim Samandar, "Tárikh-i Samandar" (Tíhrán, 1974-1975, pp. 163-164, 176) [henceforth, SAMANDAR]; in al-Qatíl ibn al-Karbilá'í (published as appendix to vol. III, ZUHUR, pp. 521) [henceforth, QATIL]; in Hasan Fu'ádí Bushrú'í, "Manázhir-i Tárikhi-yi nahdat-i amr-i Bahá'í dar Khurásán" (pp. 86-99) [henceforth, FU'ADI], using notes written by Mullá Sádiq's son, Ibn Asdaq; in MU'IN (p. 66-67); in ZUHUR (vol. III, p. 151,398-405); and in Mírzá Yahyá, "Mujmal-i badi' dar waqayi-i zuhur-i mani'," translated by Browne as "A Succinct Account of the Bábí Movement Written by Mírzá Yahyá Subh-i-Azel" [henceforth, YAHYA], and published as Appendix III (pp. 2-26,397-419) to his edition of JADID. This last-named source is cited by Amanat (p. 236, n. 184), because it is the only historical account which claims that Mullá 'Alí Bastámí, rather than Mullá Sádiq Khurásání, was known as Muqaddas Khurásání. MacEoin ("Sources") does not cite any extant writings of Mullá Sádiq Khurásání. However, Mullá Sádiq's autobiography was preserved by his son, Ibn Asdaq (Amanat, p. 136, n. 134), and his eye-witness account of his meeting with the Báb is also found in KHUSRAVI (vol. II, p. 50), quoting Ibn Asdaq. It appears that Nicolas had access to Mullá Sádiq's autobiography. Finally, there is the short biography of Mullá Sádiq, written by 'Abdu'l-Baha, and included in his "Tadhkirat al-Wafá' fi Tarjamat Hayát Qudamá' al-Ahibbá'" (Haifa:1924), translated into English by Marzieh Gail, the daughter of 'Alí Qulí-Khán, and published with the title "Memorials of the Faithful" (Wilmette:1971). In that biography "Memorials of the Faithful," pp. 5-8), this leading Bábí was called "Mullá Sádiq" (p. 5) and "Jináb-i-Ismu'lláhu'l-Asdaq" (p. 5). In it 'Abdu'l-Bahá, after having reported details of Mullá Sádiq's services to the Bábí Cause, writes that Ismu'lláh'ul-Asdaq visited Bahá'u'lláh in Baghdád and again in Akká, implying that he recognized Bahá'u'lláh as "He Whom God shall make manifest" promised by the Báb (pp. 7-8). He and Táhírih are the only eminent Bábís who are included in "Memorials of the Faithful".

"He exited finally, and I followed him; a domestic servant, whom I found out later was called Mubárah⁽¹⁸⁾, put on his shoes and together they departed without my being able — restrained by some unaccountable bashfulness — to question them.

"But I had noticed the hour, and I resolved to return the following day at the same hour in order to prepare myself for another meeting.

"I found him again, just as I had hoped, immersed in his pious meditation, and the impression which he produced in me was even stronger than that which I had felt the previous day.

"When he had finished, I approached and asked him, 'I wish to speak with you.' But he did not reply to me except with a sign which I interpreted as a refusal.⁽¹⁹⁾

"Ashamed at such a reception, I exited the sacred confines at the same time as he; but as soon as we were outside its limits, he summoned me and asked me to excuse him for having not responded to my request, inasmuch as he considered the mosque as a place too sacred for one to even think [let alone speak] about anything other than God.

"He said this in a manner so affable and so courteous that I was once more altogether conquered, and forgetting the slight resentment which had, for one instant, entered into my heart, I asked him, as my fellow countryman and pilgrim, to grant me the honor of visiting my home one Friday. 'On that day,' I said to him, 'our saintly professor, Siyyid Kázim Rashtí⁽²⁰⁾, honors my house with his presence and I will be very happy for you to hear him.'

⁽¹⁸⁾Mubárah (Balyuzi, p. 49, 57, 71; Amanat, p. 241), was the Ethiopian (ZARANDI, pp. 53, 62, 66, 68, 96, 129, 133; Balyuzi, pp. 17, 49, 57, 84) or Abyssinian (Amanat, pp. 166-167, 241) servant of the Báb. He is mentioned in ZARANDI (p. 53), in connection with welcoming Mullá Husayn into the home of the Báb in Shíráz, just prior to sunset on 4 Jumáda al-Úlá 1260; serving food to the Báb and Mullá Husayn at the third hour after sunset, on 5 Jumáda al-Úlá (p. 62); on several occasions summoning Mullá Husayn from the mosque [masjid] where he was staying to the Báb's house where he would spend the night as the Báb revealed verses (p. 66); greeting Mullá Husayn and Mullá 'Alí-i-Bastámí after the latter's vision enables him to recognize the Báb (p. 68); accompanying the Báb and his amanuensis, Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí (Quddús) (p. 96, 129) on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, during which pilgrimage the Báb sacrificed three lambs in his name (p. 133). AHMAD (p. 448n) gives a different account of Mullá Husayn's meeting with the Báb, in which his Abyssinian servant (unnamed) approaches the traveler, and guides him to the Gumruk caravanserai, where he meets the Báb and begins their conversation, thereafter moving to his house (Amanat, pp. 166-167, n. 93). AFNAN (p. 37) also reported that Quddús and Mubárah accompanied the Báb on pilgrimage (cited Amanat, p. 241, n. 210).

⁽¹⁹⁾It should be noted that in FAYDI's version of Mullá Sádiq's second encounter with the Báb (p. 87), Mullá Sádiq is not shown a sign to depart, but rather he leaves entirely of his own accord and out of respect for the Báb, in order not to disturb his meditations. According to FAYDI, Mullá Sádiq described his state, in Persian, "natavanestam harf-i bi-zanam," which might be rendered "I was unable to utter any words."

⁽²⁰⁾Siyyid Kázim Rashtí (1211/1795-1259/1844) was the leading disciple of Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í [see footnote (25)], and his chosen successor as head of the Shaykhí school of theology. He assumed leadership of the school from 1241/1825 until his death in 1259/1844. There is a vast bibliography associated with Siyyid Kázim Rashtí. To understand the association of the Siyyid with the Báb and his followers, the reader may consult ZARANDI (pp. 9, 11-19, 22, 24-39, 41-48, 50, 52, 56-57, 59, 70-72, 75, 83, 84, 97, 100, 102-104, 125, 134, 156, 163-167, 177-178, 189, 235, 263-264, 269-270, 316, 383, 405, 414-415, 423, 426, 437-

"What greater happiness and joy is his who takes his place at a gathering than to hear mentioned the most exalted light of God!"⁽²¹⁾ He replied.

"This encounter took place on a Tuesday. The following Friday, Siyyid Kázim came to my house, as was his practice, accompanied by all of his students. Prayers had already begun, and we had heard a sermon spoken from the height of the pulpit by Mullá Muhammad Báqir⁽²²⁾. Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í⁽²³⁾ had followed him; he elaborated from the same exalted

438, 453, 614); Balyuzi (pp. 2-6); and Amanat (pp. 56-62, 65-69, 102, 138n, 139, 141, 146, 154-155, 157-162, 180-181, 212, 217-218, 222, 226-227, 245, 306, 430). An excellent overview of his life and teachings is found in A.L.M. Nicolas, "Essay sur le *Shaykhisme*," tome II: "Seyyed Kazem Rehti," Paris: 1911. For the date of his death, please see footnote (57).

⁽²¹⁾Nicolas directs his reader to see Note C (pp. 453-454), in which he cites a Persian text of unidentified origin that is transliterated as follows: "zahí sa'ádat va-zahí *sharáfát* kih insán va-rúd kand dar majlís kih dar án majlís dhikr núr alláh al-a'zam *bishúd*" and which Nicolas explains in these words: "'This highest light of God is Husayn' — these then are the insights of *Rashú* on the martyr of Karbilá, who is called the 'musibete.'" Apparently, Nicolas had reason to believe that Siyyid Kázim *Rashú* referred to the Imám Husayn in this manner. Fariba Ghayebi (email 2/12/02) noted that the Báb often referred to the Imám Husayn as "núr alláh al-a'zam", and that *Ithná 'Ashari Shí'í* Muslims, that is, most Persian Muslims, usually use the term "Musibat" for the martyrdom of the Imám Husayn in Karbilá. Steingass (p. 1255, Manshiram Manoharlal Publishers edition, New Delhi, 2000) translates as "misfortune, disaster, calamity, affliction") She translates the Persian text cited in Note C with the following: "It is a great honor and an ebullient joy to arrive in a gathering wherein mention of the highest light of God [Husayn] is being made."

⁽²²⁾Mullá Muhammad Báqir, also called Mírzá Muhammad-Báqir (ZARANDI, pp. 381-396, 398, 400-401, 403; Balyuzi, p. 26), was a nephew of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í (Balyuzi, p. 26). He must be distinguished from Mullá Báqir-i-Tabrízí [see (53)], who is also called Mullá Báqir (ZARANDI, pp. 504-505). He is listed by ZARANDI (p. 80), as Muhammad-Báqir, among the "Hurúf-i-Hayy" (Letters of the Living), the first eighteen disciples appointed by the Báb, along with Mullá Báqir-i-Tabrízí (p. 80). Amanat calls this Letter of the Living by his city of origin, Muhammad-Báqir Bushrú'í (p. 179) and Mullá Muhammad Báqir Bushrú'í (p. 176). Not mentioned by Nicolas, but also listed among the Letters of the Living (ZARANDI, p. 80; Balyuzi, p. 26; Amanat, pp. 176, 179) is the brother of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í and the uncle of Mullá Muhammad Báqir Bushrú'í, named Muhammad-Hasan (ZARANDI, p. 80), Mírzá Muhammad-Hasan-i-Bushrú'í (Balyuzi, p. 26), Mullá Hasan Bushrú'í (Amanat, p. 163), Mullá Muhammad Hasan (Amanat, p. 176), and Hasan Bushrú'í (Amanat, p. 179). MacEoin does not cite any extant writings authored by either the nephew or the brother of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í.

⁽²³⁾Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í, called "Bábu'l-Báb" (Gate of the Gate) by the Báb himself (ZARANDI, pp. 63; Balyuzi, p. 21, 26; Amanat, p. 156, 172, 256; Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 66), and appointed first Letter of the Living (ZARANDI, p. 80; Balyuzi, p. 26; Amanat, p. 175), was the first one to believe in the Báb's divine mission (ZARANDI, p. 63; Balyuzi, p. 21-22; Amanat, p. 172), and subsequently one of the most active teachers of his Cause. His discipleship in the *Shaykhí* school, under the tutelage of Siyyid Kázim *Rashú* is described in ZARANDI (pp. 20-24); in Balyuzi (pp. 4, 7, 13, 15-16); and in Amanat (136n, 155-166). 'ABDU'L-BAHA listed Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í as the first in a list of Bábí teachers who spread the Bábí Cause throughout Persia; as humble before Quddús (p. 19); and as courageously defending the Bábís at *Shaykh* Tabarsí until he was mortally wounded (pp. 22-24). There is much information about Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í in these sources (ZARANDI, pp. 19-22, 24, 47-49, 51-52, 85, 55-57, 59, 61-63, 66-71, 80-82, 85, 87, 92-94, 96-100, 103-108, 123, 125-129, 157-162, 170, 183, 240, 253-267, 288-291, 324-345, 347-349, 351-359, 361, 363, 365-368, 377-387, 390, 397, 400, 405, 407, 413, 415, 430-432, 437-439, 449); Balyuzi, pp. 12-26, 48-57, 102, 131, 149, 150, 166, 168, 170-175; and Amanat, pp. 157, 160-161, 163-182, 200, 248, 255-256, 260-286, 325, 361, 365, 379, 393). Also, in "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb," A.L.M. Nicolas refers to Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í in Chapter V, and the entirety of Chapter II is devoted to "Molla

pulpit a commentary on the martyrdom of the Imám Husayn. Just then Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad entered.

"I was very surprised to see Siyyid Kázim Rashtí rise as soon as he perceived the one who had entered. All of his students naturally imitated him. This is a rather common sign of politeness in Persia, but one must pay close attention to the fact that this usage was contrary to the habits of the master, who, during sermons, paid not the least attention to new arrivals, even if they were among the most highly placed and the most powerful of persons.

"Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í himself was troubled, and interrupted his sermon." He who inspired such a strange emotion did not seem to have noticed it, and seated himself modestly near the door of the room⁽²⁴⁾.

"Siyyid Kázim invited him to seat himself in a more elevated place, but the young man refused and remained seated in the location he had chosen.

"Once the disturbance was calmed, Siyyid Kázim Rashtí directed Mullá Husayn to recite certain verses of Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í⁽²⁵⁾. He obeyed, and these verses caused Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad to weep. His emotion affected the entire room, and all were moved to tears.

Houssein Bouchrouyehi le Báb-el-Báb". Furthermore, Ruhullah Mehrabkhani has written a full-length biography of this Letter of the Living, entitled "Mullá Husayn: Disciple at Dawn" (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1987). Amanat (pp. 156, 429) and MacEoin (pp. 117-118) mention that some writings by Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í have survived, including an Arabic treatise (partially reproduced in ZUHUR, pp. 136-139) and a collection of traditions (hadíth) related to the appearance of the Qá'im, of which there are two manuscripts known to exist.

⁽²⁴⁾Nicolas notes: "Áqá Jání, whose zeal sometimes carries him away, states that Siyyid Kázim sensed in Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad the awaited Master. Also, according to him, the sojourn of our hero in Karbilá was intended to be three months in length, but he remained for a year to visit all the pilgrimage sites." Nicolas is of course referring to Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání, whom he supposes to be the author of KAF. ZARANDI (pp. 25-28) reproduces Shaykh Hasan-i-Zúnúzí's eye-witness account of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí's paying a visit to the Báb, apparently shortly after the latter arrived in Karbilá. This account is reproduced verbatim in Balyuzi (pp. 42-44) but not mentioned by Amanat. If Siyyid Kázim visited the Báb shortly after his arrival, then it seems likely that the Báb visited Siyyid Kázim's class, at the invitation of Mullá Sádiq, sometime thereafter, as indicated in his autobiography (see Nicolas' text). Hence, if Siyyid Kázim was already predisposed to consider the Báb a person of high merit (and particularly if he sensed in the Báb the unmanifested Qá'im, as Shaykh Hasan-i-Zúnúzí and Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání have independently reported), it is not surprising that he should have interrupted his lecture and stood up to honor the arrival of the Báb at one of his lectures. Indeed, Mullá Sádiq remarks that Siyyid Kázim did not, prior to this event, interrupt his lectures or stand for anyone, including the most powerful and exalted of persons. He found this act therefore to be most unusual, but he did not suspect at that time that his professor sensed the divine mission of the Báb, nor does he indicate that he himself suspected any such mission at that time. If, as seems most likely, the Báb discontinued his commercial operations in Bushíhr towards the end of 1256/1840 or at the beginning of 1257/1841 (Amanat, p. 136), then he must have arrived in the 'Atabát early in 1257/1841. FADL reported that the Báb arrived there in spring 1841 (Balyuzi, p. 41). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan writes that the Báb went to the 'Atabát in 1257 A.H. (p. 43). According to a letter written by the Báb in Chihríq (1265/1849), reproduced in MURTADA, he spent a year in the 'Atabát, eight months in Karbilá and three months in various other places (cited in Amanat, p. 136, n. 141). AFNAN (p. 15) asserted that the Báb's sojourn in the 'Atabát (holy places) lasted eleven months (cited Balyuzi, p. 41; Amanat, p. 136). This account also agrees with KAF (cited by Nicolas in this note).

"The devotional exercises having ended, tea and sherbet⁽²⁶⁾ were brought for the assembled students, but Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad declined to take anything at all.

"Finally Siyyid Kázim left to return to his home, followed by the whole assembly. We remained alone, the young Shírázi and I. I asked him then to seat himself in a place more worthy of his rank; he arose, and without hesitation, went to sit in the place which Siyyid Kázim had occupied. I then talked with him for a long time. Wishing to make of him a Shaykhí recruit, I spoke to him of the doctrine of our two Masters⁽²⁷⁾: I endeavored to

⁽²⁵⁾Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í, the founder of the Shaykhí school, is stated by ZARANDI (p. 18) to have died in the year 1242 A.H. (which is equivalent to 1826 A.D.) at the age of eighty-one (therefore positing a birth-date in 1161/1745. Shaykh Ahmad's dates are given by Amanat (p. 48) as 1166/1756-1241/1825 and by Balyuzi (p. 1) as 1743-1826. Shaykh Ahmad, his teachings and writings are discussed briefly in Balyuzi (pp. 1-2), and more extensively in ZARANDI (pp. 1-22, 50, 59, 65, 70, 75, 83, 84, 97, 101-104, 134, 140-141, 156, 177, 201, 264, 276-278, 405, 438), and Amanat (pp. 44, 45, 48-60, 62-64, 79, 97n, 103, 116, 132, 145, 160, 163, 275-276, 282, 285). For a detailed consideration of Shaykh Ahmad, the reader is referred to "Essai sur le Cheikhisme," by A.L.M. Nicolas, tome I: "Cheikh Ahmad Lahcahi" (Paris:1910). Also, tome III: "La Doctrine" (Paris:1911) and tome IV: "La Science de Dieu" (Paris:1911) may contribute to this subject. Also, the doctoral dissertations of Vahid Ra'fati (U.C.L.A.), Shaykh Harawi (S.U.N.Y. Purchase) and Aflatun Jalali (University of Manchester) contain important contributions to Western academic knowledge about this movement.

⁽²⁶⁾According to Sepehr Manuchehri, Persian "sherbet" is defined in a standard Persian dictionary and encyclopedia ('Alí-Akbar Dehkhoda, "Loghat-námeh," Tihrán:1333 Shamsí) as a light, cool and mildly sweet refreshment available in a range of flavors that is served by Persian families to their visitors on hot summer days. Usually the visitor is given a choice — to cool down with a sherbet or to unwind with a dark tea.

⁽²⁷⁾The "two Masters" referred to are Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í and Siyyid Kázim Rashtí. The translator has moved Nicolas' original footnote, in order to provide in its place a short biographical note for Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í at the first appearance of his name. With regard to the question of whether and if so to what degree the Báb may have joined the scholars of the Shaykhí school in Karbilá, Nicolas quotes SIPIHR: "The Báb understood little of the lessons of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí, and enrolled himself among the disciples of Shaykh Ahmad." Amanat translates the same passage in SIPIHR (vol. III, p. 39) somewhat differently: "he attended the teaching circle of Sayyid Kázim Rashtí...and benefitted from his words, and followed the path of Shaykh Ahmad..." (Amanat, p. 139, n. 160). Nicolas then cites TUNKABUNI: "And every day he took part in the classes of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí; he spent two years in this way." Amanat (p. 140) cites Browne's translation ("Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. XXII, July 1889, p. 894) of this passage from TUNKABUNI (p. 59): "Mír 'Alí Muhammad also used to come to his lectures, and had with him pen and ink-stand, and whatever Sayyid Kázim said, of moist and dry, he used to write down in the same lecture." Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmání, wrote in 1845, in "Izháq al-Bátíl" (p. 104): "For a while he remained in the service of Sayyid [Rashtí], but due to the immense glory and loftiness of our center of faith and the protector of the splendid sharí'a, he was not then able to reveal what he had in his heart..." (translated in Amanat, p. 140). KAF indicates that the Báb occasionally attended the lectures of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí (cited Amanat, p. 140). QATIL (p. 529), who was himself a student of Siyyid Kázim for ten years before becoming a Bábí, wrote in reply to Kirmání's attacks, that the Báb attended Siyyid Kázim's lectures three times — once at the beginning, once in the middle and once towards the end of his period in Karbilá (cited Amanat, pp. 140-141). QATIL (p. 529) likewise reported that he never heard the Báb mention any of the religious sciences while in Karbilá (Amanat, p. 141, n. 167). Mullá Ja'far Qazvíní, in his historical account published in "Tárikh-i Samandar va Mulhaqqát" (Tihrán:1975, pp. 446-500) [henceforth, QASVINI], a student of Siyyid Kázim and later a Bábí, also stated that he met the Báb three times in Siyyid Kázim's lectures

convince him and to attract him to our sect, but he did not reply. Finally, he got up, took leave, and departed.

"Three days passed at the end of which I encountered the young Siyyid once more at the tomb of the Imám Husayn. This time, it was he who addressed me. 'My uncle⁽²⁸⁾ has just arrived,' he said to me, 'will you not come to see him?'

"I went there near evening, I found there many people, all of our countrymen having come, following the custom, to visit a new arrival.

"His Honor Siyyid 'Alí had me sit next to him while his nephew, seated by the samovar⁽²⁹⁾, distributed tea to his uncle's guests.

"I learned then that His Honor Siyyid 'Alí had come to Karbilá as much to make the pilgrimage as to bring his nephew back with him to Shíráz.

"I gave him the most comprehensive elegy concerning the young man and said to him, what I had been thinking, that I had never seen anyone unite in himself such brilliant and such solid qualities of spirit and of heart. 'It is true,' the elderly one replied, 'my nephew is remarkable from many points of view, but that which is a disgrace for us, is that he refuses to follow lessons and classes; he does not wish to learn, and as he does nothing here, I do not wish to leave him here any longer.'

"Still wishing to make of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad a Shaykhí, I conversed at length with his uncle and finished by promising that I would employ all my influence in order to make him attend and follow classes in a regular fashion.

"Yielding to my insistence and my promises, His Honor Siyyid 'Alí willingly consented to attempt the experience, and when his pilgrimage was ended, he returned to Shíráz, leaving his nephew in Karbilá.

"In spite of the promises which I had made, I could not resolve to watch over the young man, who reappeared but once more in Siyyid Kázim's class. Against my will, I felt intimidated by him, and even though I energetically reproached my own speechlessness, I could not, arrested by an inexplicable timidity, fulfill the role which I had brought upon myself.

(cited Amanat, p. 141, n. 167). AHMAD (p. 447) likewise stated that the Báb heard discourses of Siyyid Kázim once or twice during his visit to Karbilá (cited Amanat, p. 141).

⁽²⁸⁾Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (denominated "Khál-i-A'zam" by the Báb), one of three maternal uncles of the Báb, and his guardian after the decease of his father and until his maturity.

⁽²⁹⁾"Samovar", a Russian word meaning literally "self-boiler" refers to a metal urn with a spigot and internal tube for heating the water, used in making tea (and keeping it hot). This Russian word was adopted into the Persian language, and from thence into various European languages. In no other source does there appear to be a similar account of this private encounter between Mullá Sádiq and the Báb, subsequent to Siyyid Kázim's departure. However, we cannot assume that it is fictitious just because it is not corroborated. After all, who could have attested to such a private meeting, other than Mullá Sádiq and the Báb himself?

"One day I learned that he had left for Shíráz and bit by bit I stopped thinking about him⁽³⁰⁾."

⁽³⁰⁾Nicolas has just cited his translation of Mullá Sádiq Khurásání's account. Mullá Sádiq's autobiography was preserved by his son, Ibn Asdaq. In this version it was quoted by AFNAN (pp. 17-19; cited Amanat, p. 139, n. 155). Mullá Sádiq stated that the Báb returned to Shíráz. AFNAN (cited Balyuzi, pp. 45-46) reported that the Báb's mother, Fátimih Bagum, was anxious to have her son at home again in Shíráz, and that she sent her brother Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí to the 'Atabát to persuade the Báb to return. When the Báb did not immediately agree to return, his uncle appealed to Hájí Siyyid Javád-i-Karbilá'í to intervene. At last the Báb complied with this request and returned to Shíráz. AFNAN (pp. 19-20; cited Amanat, p. 146, n. 190) also reported that when the Báb did not leave, his uncle asked Siyyid Kázim to give his consent to the Báb's departure; and that when this consent was forthcoming, the Báb consented to depart for Shíráz. Inasmuch as it has been calculated that the Báb arrived in the 'Atabát in spring of 1257/1841, and that he remained there for eleven months or about a year, he must have departed for Shíráz in early 1258/1842. This is the date cited by Amanat (p. 146) and MacEoin (p. 44) for the Báb's return. It will be established in footnote (59) that the date of Siyyid Kázim Rashí's death was on 11 Dhu al-Hijja 1250, corresponding to 2 January 1844, just twenty days before the beginning of the year 1260. If the Báb left the 'Atabát in early 1258/1842, he could not have been in that city when Siyyid Kázim died or after his passing. None of the Bábí sources report that the Báb returned to the 'Atabát during this period. However, some Muslim sources claim that the Báb did not leave the 'Atabát for Shíráz in 1258/1842, that he remained in that location until after the passing of Siyyid Kázim, in 1260/1844. Nicolas cites SIPIHR: "When Siyyid Kázim died, his disciples went with the Báb to Kúfa', where they prayed for forty days at the mosque. There the young Siyyid suddenly became seemingly mad, and little by little he began to attract these men and to attach them to himself as disciples. When he spoke with people from whom he feared nothing, he said: 'I am the lieutenant of God. Enter into the house by the door...' And as the tradition says that the Sáhíb al-Zamán must appear at Mecca, he formed the project of going there." Nicolas alleged that TUNKABUNI has a similar account.

These accounts, from unsympathetic Muslim historians do not seem to be based upon documentary evidence. The marriage certificate of the Báb (reproduced in Balyuzi, facing p. 80 and mentioned p. 46), which is dated 18 Rajab 1258, corresponding to Friday (see Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 48), 26 August 1842 (according to Iskandar Hai, e-mail on 2 November 1997; and Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 48), clearly establishes that the Báb left the 'Atabát and arrived in Shíráz in the year 1258/1842. MU'IN (p. 37) attested that the Báb was twenty-two years old when he married (cited by Shoghi Effendi, p. 76, n. 2). Munírih Khánúm, 'Abdu'l-Bahá's wife recalled that the Báb married when he was twenty-three, as reported in KHANDAN (pp. 160-162; cited Amanat, p. 146, n. 191). Given the date of the marriage certificate, it appears that the latter report was the more accurate of the two. His wife, named Khadíjih Sultán Bagum (Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 48) and Khadíjih Bagum (Balyuzi, p. 46; Amanat, p. 147), was the daughter of Hájí Mírzá 'Alí, the Báb's paternal uncle (Shoghi Effendi, p. 76, n. 3; Balyuzi, p. 46; Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 48), whose sons were named Mírzá Siyyid Hasan and Mírzá Abu'l-Qasim (ZARANDI, p. 76; Balyuzi, p. 46). To reiterate, the father of the Báb's mother, his maternal grandfather, was named Mírzá Muhammad-Husayn (see genealogical chart in "The Dawn-breakers," p. lviii). His maternal grandfather had a brother named Mírzá 'Alí (Ibid.), and this brother had two sons, Mírzá Siyyid Hasan and Mírzá Abu'l-Qasim, and two daughters, Zahrá Khánúm and Khadíjih Khánúm (Ibid.) The Bab married one of these daughters of his maternal uncle, Khadíjih Khánúm, who was thus his first cousin (Ibid.). Mírzá Siyyid Hasan, one of the two brothers in law and male cousins of the Bab had a son named Mírzá Muhsin, who married one of the four daughters of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, son of Bahá'u'lláh, named Túbá Khánúm, and their family name was Afnán (Ibid., p. 76, n. 3; Adib Taherzadeh, "The Child of the Covenant," George Ronald Publisher, 2000, p. 305). The Báb's other male cousin and brother in law, Mírzá Abu'l-Qasim had a son named Siyyid Muhammad-Husayn, one of whose two sons, Mírzá Hádí, married Díyá'íyyih Khánúm, the eldest daughter of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and their family name was Rabbaní (see Ibid.). In these two marriages, the families of the Bab and Baha'u'llah were joined. One of the three sons of Mírzá Hádí and Díyá'íyyih Khánúm was named Shoghi Rabbaní, and he was appointed Guardian of the Bahá'í Faith by 'Abdu'l-Bahá ("The Child of the Covenant," p. 305).

The Báb's two brothers in law, who were also his cousins, Mírzá Siyyid Hasan and Mírzá Abu'l-Qasím, and their descendants are known as the "Afnán" (twigs). Likewise, the two maternal uncles of the Báb, Hájí Mírzá Siyyid Muhammad (called Khál-i-Asghar in "The Dawn-breakers," p. lix; called Khál-i-Akbar by Jonah Winters in <http://bahai-library.org/histories/iqan.questions.html>), and Hájí Mírzá Hasan-'Alí (called Afnán-i-Kabír by Adib Taherzadeh in "The Child of the Covenant," p. 305), and their descendants are regarded as members of the "Afnán" family. Only one of his maternal uncles, Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (Khál-i-A'zam) recognized the Báb during his lifetime, soon after his declaration in 1844. Hájí Mírzá Muhammad-Husayn did not recognize the prophetic station of his nephew during the Báb's life-time, according to a letter written by the Báb reproduced in ZUHUR (pp. 223-225) and letters addressed to his brother Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí reproduced in KHANDAN (pp. 25-31). It appears that the third brother, Hájí Mírzá Hasan-'Alí also reserved judgment during his nephew's lifetime. Both of the Báb's uncles reportedly recognized the Báb's station after a visit to Bahá'u'lláh in Baghdád (Amanat, p. 212, n. 6) in 1861. The "Kitáb-i-Íqán" of Bahá'u'lláh was written during that visit in response to the questions posed by Hájí Mírzá Muhammad-Husayn. These questions are found in Persian in KHANDAN and are translated into English by Denis MacEoin at <http://bahai-library.org/histories/iqan.questions.html>

AFNAN (pp. 20-21) reports that Khál-i-A'zam Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí arranged the marriage of the Báb with his cousin Khadjíh Khánum on the urging of his sister and the Báb's mother, Fátimih Bagum in order to keep her son in Shíráz (cited Amanat, pp. 146-147, n. 192; Balyuzi, p. 46). A son was born to Khadjíh Bagum and the Báb, presumably in early summer 1259/1843, and they gave their son the name Ahmad. The Báb refers to Khadjíh Bagum (as Sara) and to their son Ahmad in "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" (Commentary on the Súrah of Joseph), in two passages translated by Nicolas:

"En verite! Je me suis fiance sur le trone de Dieu avec Sara, c'est a dire avec la bien aimee. Car bien aimee vient de Bien Aime (Le Bien Aime est Muhammad. Cela veut dire que Sara etait une Siyyid.). En verite, j'ai fixe les anges des cieux et les habitants du Paradis, temoins de ces fiancailles. Sache que la bienveillance du Dhikr Sublime est grande, oh Bien Aimee! Car c'est une bienveillance qui vient de Dieu! l'Aime! Tu n'es pas, toi comme une femme ordinaire, si tu obeis a Dieu, au sujet du Dhikr Sublime! Connais l'immense verite du Verbe Sublime et glorifie toi de t'asseoir avec l'ami qui est le Cheri de Dieu tres haut! Certes la gloire te vient a toi de la part de Dieu, le Sage. Patiente dans l'ordre qui vient de Dieu sur le Báb et sa famille. Et, en verite, ton fils Ahmad a un asile dans le Paradis beni, aupres de la grande Fátimih." (Súratu'l-Qarabat, translated in Preface, "Le Beyan Persan," tome II, pp. 10-11)

"Gloire a Dieu, qui, en verite, a donne a la Fraicheur des Yeux dans sa jeunesse un enfant nomme Ahmad. Et en verite, cet enfant, nous l'avons eleve vers Dieu!" (Súratu'l-'Abd, translated in Preface, "Le Beyan Persan," tome II, p. 11)

The present translator offers this provisional rendering of Nicolas' French:

"In truth! I am engaged upon the throne of God with Sara, that is to say with the well-beloved. For the well-beloved comes from the Well-Beloved (the Well-Beloved is Muhammad. This means that Sara was a Siyyid.). In truth, I chose the angels of the heavens and the inhabitants of Paradise as witnesses to this engagement. Know that the benevolence of the sublime Dhikr is great, O well-beloved! For it is a benevolence that comes from God! You are not an ordinary woman, if you obey God, regarding the sublime Dhikr! Know the immense Truth of the sublime Verb and rejoice that you sit with the friend who is the Beloved of God the Most High! Of a certainty, glory comes to you from God, the Wise. Be patient with the command that comes from God for the Báb and his family. And, in truth, your son Ahmad has assylum in the blessed Paradise, close to the great Fátimih." (Súratu'l-Qarabat, translated in Preface, "Le Beyan Persan," tome II, pp. 10-11)

We know that the young Siyyid became a Shaykhí. Muslim eye-witnesses indignantly report having seen him break, in his visits to the tombs, with the traditional ritual, to follow the rite imposed by the two Shaykhs⁽³¹⁾. Thereafter, he himself elevated Shaykh Ahmad and Siyyid Kázim to the rank of precursors of the new Manifestation. Also, he called himself, repeatedly and in all of his works, the most humble student of the Rashtí⁽³²⁾.

"Glory to be God, Who, in truth, gave to the Delight of the Eyes [Qurratu'l-'Ayn] in his youth a child named Ahmad. And in truth, this child, we have raised him to God!" (Súratu'l-'Abd, translated in Preface, "Le Beyan Persan," tome II, p. 11)

Balyuzi (pp. 46-47) translated portions of these two passages from Arabic into English, here cited for the convenience of the reader:

"O well-beloved! Value highly the grace of Dhikr [the Báb], the Greatest, for it comes from God, the Loved One. Thou shalt not be a woman, like other women, if thou obeyest God in the Cause of Truth...and take pride in being the consort of the Well-Beloved, who is loved by God the Greatest. Sufficient unto thee is this glory which cometh unto thee from God, the All-Wise, the All-Praised. Be patient in all that God hath ordained concerning the Báb and His Family. Verily, thy son, Ahmad, is with Fátimih, the Sublime, in the sanctified Paradise."

"All praise be to God Who bestowed upon the Solace of the Eyes, in His youth, Ahmad. We did verily raise him up unto God."

In ZARANDI (p. 76) it is reported that Ahmad died in 1259 A.H. AFNAN reported that the child was still-born (cited Amanat, p. 46). In either case, given the widely reported character of the Báb, it is most unlikely that he would have deserted his wife during her pregnancy, or failed to be present in Shíráz at the time of the birth of their son. AHMAD (p. 448) and AFNAN (pp. 20-21) indeed affirm that the Báb settled in Shíráz with his wife Khadíjih Bagum and his mother Fátimih Bagum, taking a house of his own, and resuming his profession, with greater independence from his uncles. KAF (p. 10), AFNAN (pp. 22-23) and KHANDAN (p. 163) describe this period of the Báb's life as tranquil and increasingly preoccupied with spiritual matters (cited Amanat, p. 147, n. 196,197,198). While in captivity in Máh-Kú (1847), the Báb referred to the happy days he spent during this period in Shíráz ("Bayán-i-fársí," váhid VI: báb 11, p. 218).

⁽³¹⁾Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í and Siyyid Kázim Rashtí.

⁽³²⁾With regard to the Báb being a student and a follower of Shaykh Kázim Rashtí, Nicolas translates the following passage from TUNKABUNI (p. 59): "I met him, because one day I was seated above the tomb (on the side of the head) of [the Imám] Husayn with a very holy person. I saw this Siyyid come and stop at the threshold of the door to say his prayers there. These finished, he retired without having entered further therein. I asked of the person who was with me: "Who is this young man?" "It is," he replied to me, "Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, a student of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí." I asked then: "Why is it in this fashion that he carried out a visit to the tombs?" — "It is because he considers this as more respectful." — "He is mistaken," I replied, "and he sins, for these visits are regulated by the Imáms themselves, who decided that we must get close to the tombs and embrace them." Nicolas continues with his translation: "Someone told me that he was one day seated at the tomb of Kázim ayn with a person who had accomplished the mortifications, when Mírzá 'Alí entered. "May God kill this Siyyid," cried my pious companion. And as I questioned him for the reason of this malediction, he said to me: "Soon this man will give credance to beliefs which will ruin the respect due to the heritage of Islam and which will make floods of blood flow." Amanat translated the first of these passages, and identified the Báb's ritual practices as reflecting "his Shaykhí leanings" (Amanat, p. 137, n. 147), and he also stated (Ibid.) that the same passage was translated by Browne ("Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. VII, July 1889, pp. 894-895).

He [the Báb] returned then to Shíráz where he lived with his family. Who will tell us the anguish he had to endure, the moral agony which preceded the cry of his conscience in its revolt against the iniquities and the blasphemies of which he had been and was every day the witness?

Be that as it may and while he prepared himself for his apostleship⁽³³⁾, Siyyid Kázim Raṣhtí announced to his disciples the immanence of his own death and the subsequent appearance of the Truth⁽³⁴⁾.

"Siyyid Kázim," reports Muqaddas Khurásání and with him the Muslim and other Bábí historians, "had, every year, the custom of making a pilgrimage to Surre menreha⁽³⁵⁾. That year, he made his usual preparations, but one day he announced to his disciples that this was to be his last voyage, his farewell pilgrimage. And as all, struck with shock, began to weep, Karím Khán⁽³⁶⁾ more

While the Báb was clearly sympathetic to the teachings of Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í and Siyyid Kázim Raṣhtí, there simply is no evidence whatsoever that he was ever a student or a follower of this school. Bahá'u'lláh, expounding the Bábí perspective in "Kitáb -i-Íqán" (p. 65), states that Shaykh Ahmad and Siyyid Kázim were the twin heralds of the Báb. It seems to be in this context that the Báb's reference to Siyyid Kázim Raṣhtí in "Tafsír Súratu'l-Baqara" should be understood: "the revered scholar and my intimate teacher" (published in MURTADA, p. 319; cited Amanat, p. 141, n. 171).

⁽³³⁾"Apostleship" in this case refers to his Messengership. This term is found in the Qur'án. In Súratu'l-baqara, Muhammad is addressed as [rasúlan] "an apostle" (2:152); in Súratu'l-'imrán, Muhammad is called [al-rasúla] "the apostle" ((3:133), [rasúlun] "an apostle" (3:145), [al-rasúlu] "the apostle" (3:154), [rasúlan] "an apostle" (3:165), [al-rasúli] "the apostle" (3:173), as well as referring to the generic "apostle" [li-rasúlin] (3:184) and "apostles" [al-rusulu] (3:145) and [rusulun] (3:183,184); and in Súratu'l-ma'idah, the Prophet Muhammad is called "apostle" [al-rasúlu] (5:42,68), "the apostle" [al-rasúla] (5:93) and [al-rasúli] (5:100,105), "Our apostle" [rasúluná] (5:16,20) and [rasúliná] (5:93), "this apostle" [al-rasúli] (5:84), and "His apostle" [rasúlah] (5:34,57) and [rasúluh] (5:56); and also reference is made to "an apostle" [rasúlun] (5:71) sent to the children of Israel; to Jesus as "My apostle" [rasúli] (5:112); and to "My apostles" [rusuli] (5:13, "Our apostles" [rusuluná] (5:33), "the apostles" [al-rusula] (5:110), "apostles" [al-rusuli] (5:20) and [rusulan] (5:71). The Arabic [rasúl] could be translated "messenger" as well as "apostle," but in either case, the use of this term to refer to a series of divine representatives sent to the children of Israel, including Jesus and Muhammad, is entirely consistent with the claims of the Báb. As Nicolas has demonstrated in a number of his works pertaining to the Báb, the Báb claimed to be an "apostle" or "messenger" of God, not only equal to but exceeding Muhammad and Jesus in the fullness of his divine Revelation.

⁽³⁴⁾"Truth" in this case refers to the appearance or manifestation of God [al-haq] on earth.

⁽³⁵⁾"Surre menreha" seems to be a reference to a Shí'í shrine in the 'Atabát. See footnote (16) on 'Atabát.

⁽³⁶⁾Hájí Mírzá Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmání (1225/1809-1288-1870), a follower of Siyyid Kázim Raṣhtí who assumed leadership of the Shaykhí school after the death of his teacher and the conversion of many of his fellow students to the Cause of the Báb, is briefly mentioned in ZARANDI (p. 39), quoting Shaykh Abú-Turáb, as "one-eyed and sparsely-bearded" and Shaykh Abú-Turáb in turn cites the remark of Siyyid Kázim Raṣhtí (Ibid., p. 40) about the "heretical and atheistic doctrines...he [Karím Khán] now wishes me to endorse." Fariba Ghayebi (email dated 2/12/02) affirmed that Hájí Mírzá Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmání was called "Haft Káf" (Seven K's) by Bahá'u'lláh, indicating that he had seven attributes which start with the letter "K", including: Karím, Khán, Kirmání, Kúr (blind, because he had defective sight), Kachal (bald). He is also discussed in Balyuzi (pp. 52, 102, 134) and is more elaborately treated by Amanat (pp. 58, 60, 62, 63, 102, 117n, 140, 155-156, 165, 177, 216, 228, 247, 253-254, 279, 286-294, 430). MacEoin (p. 123) cites four works by this author, the purpose of which were to attack the Báb and his teachings: "Izháq al-Bátíl"; "Tír-i shiháb"; "al-Shiháb al-tháqib"; and "Risála-yi radd-i Báb-i

murtád." The last-named of these works was composed for Násri'd-Dín Sháh. There are also references to the Báb and his teachings in his "Irshád al-'awámm," "Risála-yi Sultániyya," and "Risála-yi sí fasl." ZUHUR (p. 400) states that Kirmání attacked the Báb in no less than twelve works, but he does not list them by title (cited MacEoin, p. 123, n. 7). According to Kirmání himself, writing in "Risála-yi sí fasl" (pp. 34-35; translated by MacEoin, pp. 123-124, n. 7): "I have written five or six books in refutation of him [the Báb] and have sent them to different parts of Ádhirbáyján, 'Iráq 'Ajam, 'Iráq 'Arab, Hijáz, Khurásán, and India. I have also written letters to the 'ulamá' and sent petitions to officials of the victorious government [of Írán]. At times in Yazd and Kirmán, and once on a journey to Khurásán, I have made clear their unbelief from pulpits with proofs and evidences." Bahá'u'lláh devotes a few pages in "Kitáb-i-Íqán" to this arch-enemy of the Báb and the Bábí movement:

"Inasmuch as they have not apprehended the meaning of Knowledge, and have called by that name those images fashioned by their own fancy and which have sprung from the embodiments of ignorance, they therefore have inflicted upon the Source of Knowledge [the Báb] that which thou hast heard and witnessed.

"For instance, a certain man [Hájí Mírzá Muhammad Karím Khán-i Kirmání], reputed for his learning and attainments, and accounting himself as one of the pre-eminent leaders of his people [the Shaykhís], hath in his book [Irshád al-'awwám] denounced and vilified all the exponents of true learning. This is made abundantly clear by his explicit statements as well as by his allusions throughout his book. As We had frequently heard about him, We purposed to read some of his works. Although We never felt disposed to peruse other people's writings, yet as some had questioned Us concerning him, We felt it necessary to refer to his books, in order that We might answer Our questioners with knowledge and understanding. His works, in the Arabic tongue, were, however, not available, until one day a certain man informed Us that one of his compositions, entitled Irshádu'l-'Avám [Guidance unto the Ignorant], could be found in this city [Baghdád]. From this title We perceived the odour of conceit and vainglory, inasmuch as he hath imagined himself a learned man and regarded the rest of the people ignorant. His worth was in fact made known by the very title he had chosen for his book. It became evident that its author was following the path of self and desire, and was lost in the wilderness of ignorance and folly. Methinks, he had forgotten the well-known traditions which sayeth: 'Knowledge is all that is knowable; and might and power, all creation.' Notwithstanding, We sent for the book, and kept it with Us a few days. It was probably referred to twice. The second time, We accidentally came upon the story of the 'Mi'ráj' [Ascent] of Muhammad, of Whom was spoken: 'But for Thee, I would not have created the spheres.' We noticed that he had enumerated some twenty or more sciences, the knowledge of which he considered to be essential for the comprehension of the mystery of the 'Mi'ráj'. We gathered from his statements that unless a man be deeply versed in them all, he can never attain to a proper understanding of this transcendent and exalted theme. Among the specified sciences were the science of metaphysical abstractions, of alchemy, and natural magic. Such vain and discarded learnings, this man hath regarded as the pre-requisites of the understanding of the sacred and abiding mysteries of divine Knowledge.

"Gracious God! Such is the measure of his understanding. And yet, behold what cavils and calumnies he hath heaped upon those Embodiments of God's infinite knowledge! How well and true is the saying: 'Flingest thou thy calumnies unto the face of Them Who the one true God hath made the Trustees of the treasures of His seventh sphere?' Not one understanding heart or mind, not one among the wise and learned, hath taken notice of these preposterous statements. And yet, how clear and evident it is to every discerning heart that this so-called learning is and hath ever been, rejected by Him Who is the one true God. How can the knowledge of these sciences, which are so contemptible in the eyes of the truly learned, be regarded as essential to the apprehension of the mysteries of the 'Mi'ráj,' whilst the Lord of the 'Mi'ráj' Himself was never burdened with a single letter of these limited and obscure learnings, and never defiled His radiant heart with any of these fanciful illusions? How truly hath he said: 'All human attainment moveth upon a lame ass, whilst Truth, riding upon the wind, darteth across space.' By the righteousness of God! Whoso desireth to fathom the mystery of this 'Mi'ráj,' and craveth a drop from this ocean, if the mirror of his heart be

violently than the others, the aged Siyyid turned toward him, crying, 'Dog⁽³⁷⁾! You do not wish that I go when after me will be manifested the absolute Truth?'"

It was not the first time that the aged Master had made a direct allusion to the next manifestation of the *Sáhib al-Zamán*⁽³⁸⁾. On the contrary, he was much preoccupied with this, according to *Mírzá Jání*, and explained the signs which must accompany his appearance⁽³⁹⁾. "It must be a young

already obscured by the dust of these learnings, he must needs cleanse and purify it ere the light of this mystery can be reflected therein." ("Kitáb-i-Íqán," pp. 184-187)

Bahá'u'lláh also mentions Hájí Mullá Karím *Khán* Kirmání in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" (#170):

"Call ye to mind Karím, and how, when We summoned him unto God, he waxed disdainful, prompted by his own desires; yet We had sent him that which was the solace to the eye of proof in the world of being and the fulfilment of God's testimony to all the denizens of earth and heaven. As a token of the grace of Him Who is the All-Possessing, the Most High, We bade him embrace the Truth. But he turned away until, as an act of justice from God, angels of wrath laid hold upon him. Unto this We truly were a witness."

ZARANDI (pp. 39-40) cites the eye-witness account of *Shaykh* Abú-Turáb, to the effect that Hájí *Mírzá Karím Khán* spent many years studying with Siyyid Kázim, but then obtained leave to leave his master's presence and return to Kirmán. If the account of Mullá Sádiq is to be trusted, it would appear that the encounter, which he claims to have witnessed, between Siyyid Kázim and Hájí *Mírzá Karím Khán* in Karbilá occurred considerably prior to the Siyyid's demise. While this very sharp rebuke may appear to be an unlikely occurrence, *Shaykh* Abú-Turáb also recalled words of Siyyid Kázim which were severely condemnatory of the arrogance and ignorance of *Karím Khán*, as well as prophetic of the latter's opposition to the promised *Qá'im*. Sepehr Manuchehri has pointed out that *Karím Khán* was related to the *Qájár* clan, and that he combined leadership in the *Shaykhí* community with important ties to the government of *Írán*.

⁽³⁷⁾In Arab culture and in many other communities, the dog is regarded with disdain, with disgust, with disapproval, as the symbol of all that is lustful, unbridled, filthy and...well, you get the picture. There is no mention of dogs in the *Qur'án*, but this did not inhibit Muslims from developing on the whole anti-canine attitudes. *Shaykh* Kázim *Rashdí's* meaning is clear enough — Hájí *Mírzá Muhammad Karím Khán-i Kirmání*, later to assume leadership of the *Shaykhí* school is being insulted in front of his peers, and, more than that, he is being told that he — who esteems himself as among the wisest of men — is without vision, without judgment, without spirit. Siyyid Kázim's rebuke appears to have been confirmed by *Shaykh* Abú-Turáb's account (in ZARANDI), and reiterated by Bahá'u'lláh (see the foregoing footnote).

⁽³⁸⁾"*Sáhib al-Zamán*" (Lord of the Age) is one of the names employed by *Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í* Muslims to characterize the *Imám Mahdí*, the return of the twelfth *Imám*, which was expected by many to occur in the year 1260 A.H., in fulfillment of thousands of Islamic traditions, and in harmony with a particular interpretation of certain verses in the *Qur'án*. He was also called the "*Qá'im*" (He Who will arise) in literature.

⁽³⁹⁾The signs of the appearance of the "*Sáhib al-Zamán*" were collected by many *Shí'í* scholars, including *Mírzá Ahmad-i Azghandí*, the "first to embrace the Faith in *Khurásán*...the most learned, the wisest, and the most eminent" among the "*ulamá*" (Muslim clergy) of that province (ZARANDI, p. 125). After his acceptance of the *Báb* as the promised "*Sáhib al-Zamán*," *Mírzá Ahmad-i Azghandí* "secluded himself for a considerable period of time in his own home, and there concentrated his energies upon the preparation of a learned and voluminous compilation of Islamic traditions and prophecies relating to the time and character of the promised Dispensation. He collected more than twelve thousand traditions of the most explicit character, the authenticity of which was universally recognized; and resolved to take whatever steps were required for the copying and the dissemination of that book. By encouraging his fellow-disciples to quote

man, a Hashimite, and not instructed in the sciences which one acquires in the schools." Sometimes he had even said, "I see him like a sun which arises."

Hájí 'Abdu'l-Muttalib Isfáhání⁽⁴⁰⁾ and Sulaymán Khán Afshár Sá'in Qal'a⁽⁴¹⁾ reported this, and this is perhaps the means whereby the second of these two became so convinced [by the Báb] that [his

publicly from its contents, in all congregations and gatherings, he hoped he would be able to remove such hindrances as might impede the progress of the Cause he had at heart." (ZARANDI, p. 184). Shoghi Effendi, in "God Passes By" (Wilmette: 1970, pp. 12-13) paraphrases ZARANDI's account of Mírzá Ahmad-i-Azghandí's collection of hadith, affirming that Mírzá Ahmad was successful in circulating his collection of traditions and prophecies to his fellow-disciples, which is not evident to the reader of ZARANDI. In the Index to "The Dawn-breakers" (p. 679), Mírzá Ahmad-i Azghandí — who was also called simply Mírzá Ahmad (ZARANDI, p. 125-127, 184-185) — has been confused with Mírzá Ahmad-i-Kátib, one of the amanuenses of the Báb (ZARANDI, pp. 504-506, 521, 586-588, 591-592). 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 5) lists Mírzá Ahmad of Azghand as one of the teachers of the Bábí Cause. ZARANDI (pp. 179-180, 183-186) also mentions the maternal uncle of Mírzá Ahmad Azghandí, the leading mujtahid of Yazd and called Siyyid Husayn Azghandí. As Balyuzi has clarified (pp. 92, 151), the given name of Mírzá Ahmad-i-Kátib, also known as Mírzá Ahmad (Balyuzi, pp. 151-152, citing ZARANDI, pp. 504-506), was Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím-i-Qazvíní (Balyuzi, pp. 102, 104, 115, 120, 151). Balyuzi makes only passing reference to Mírzá Ahmad-i Azghandí (p. 56), while Amanat mentions him twice (pp. 279, 281). Amanat (p. 279) interprets ZARANDI (p. 184) to mean that the original and only copy of Azghandí's compilation was destroyed before it could be duplicated.

⁽⁴⁰⁾Hájí 'Abdu'l-Muttalib Isfáhání is not mentioned in ZARANDI, 'ABDU'L-BAHA, Balyuzi, Amanat or MacEoin.

⁽⁴¹⁾Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár (ZARANDI, p. 235, 391, 402; Amanat, p. 398, n. 98, 101; 399), was also called Sulaymán Khán (ZARANDI, pp. 235, 402; Amanat, pp. 247, n. 251, n. 253, 367); Mírzá Sulaymán (letter of the Báb, listed in MacEoin, p. 190; QATIL, p. 509); Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár (Balyuzi, p. 125); Hájí Sulaymán Khán (The Bab, cited in ZUHUR, p. 271, see Amanat, p. 246, n. 240; ZARANDI, pp. 611, 613-619; Balyuzi, pp. 125, 134); Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshar Sá'in Qaliy (Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 610); Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i Afshár Sá'in Qal'a (Amanat, pp. 247, 398n, 399, 460); and Amír al-Umará' (Ibid., pp. 247, 460). He began as a Shaykhí related by marriage to Siyyid Kázim Rashí and son-in-law of Fath 'Alí Sháh (Amanat, p. 247), and visited his Master in Karbilá shortly before the latter's death to ask him when the Qá'im was expected to appear (ZUHUR, pp. 74-77; QATIL, p. 509 referring to Mírzá Sulaymán). He met the Báb on pilgrimage in Mecca, after his declaration (ZUHUR, p. 271); while still in the course of his pilgrimage, the Báb wrote Sulaymán Khán a letter from Medina, which is listed (letter #22) in his catalogue of writings, entitled "Kitáb al-fihrist," dated 15 Jumáda al-Akhir 1261/21 June 1845 (MacEoin, p. 50). Two copies of this letter are extant (Amanat, p. 247, n. 253). MacEoin (pp. 190-192) actually lists four letters to Hájí Sulaymán Khán. The first letter, written in reply to six questions from Mírzá Sulaymán (Ibid., p. 190), may be the same text as the treatise referred to in "Fihrist-i Kutub-i Shaykh-i Ajall-i Auhad Marhúm-i Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í va Sá'ir-i Mashá'yikh-i 'Izham," by Abu'l-Qásim ibn Zayn al-'Abidín Ibráhímí Kirmání, Sarkár Áqá [henceforth, FIHRIST] (Kirmán: undated; vol. II, pp. 311-312, no. 197; cited Amanat, p. 444), which was allegedly written by the Báb in reply to Sulaymán Khán's questions (Amanat, p. 247, n. 251). By the time of this pilgrimage, Sulaymán Khán had already shown sympathy for if not complete allegiance to Hájí Mírzá Karím Khán-i Kirmání (Amanat, p. 247; Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 610), and henceforth he became entirely opposed to the Báb and his followers (Amanat, pp. 247-248). Sulaymán Khán served the Qajar dynasty as commander of the government troops which engaged the Bábís at Shaykh Tabarsí and Zanjan, as well as being appointed the special court envoy to Tabríz on the occasion of the Báb's execution (Amanat, p. 248, n. 254). This opposition to the Báb and his followers must have been bittersweet. Ridá Qulí Khán, Sulaymán Khán's son, whom he arranged to be married to the daughter of Siyyid Kázim, converted to the Bábí Cause (Amanat, p. 248). Contemporary sources for the life of Sulaymán Khán (cited Amanat, p. 248, n. 254) include KAF (p. 191), JADID (pp. 150-162), SIPIHR (vol.

faith] was sustained up to the last moment of his horrible death. He had the habit of saying, "The Siyyid⁽⁴²⁾ promised me, that I would see the manifestation of the Sáhíb al-Zamán. 'You will be there,' he said to me, 'and you will give him your faith.'"

Ákhúnd⁽⁴³⁾ Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í, who was intimate with Kázim [Rashú'tí], insistently questioned him regarding how this manifestation would take place. The master replied to him with this verse from the "Mathnaví"⁽⁴⁴⁾: "I can not say more, but the Sun of Truth, from whatever Orient he arises, will illumine all the horizons, and the mirrors of the hearts of those who love good, he will prepare them in such fashion that they will receive the emanations of the light of knowledge."

Mírzá Jání, let us not forget, was one of the martyrs who succumbed after the attempt upon the life of His Majesty⁽⁴⁵⁾, and therefore could not have been informed of the attestations which the official court history received thereafter. He reported that most of the students of the deceased Siyyid lived in the mosque of Kúfa⁽⁴⁶⁾. "There were," he said, "Bushrú'í, Mullá 'Alí Bastámí⁽⁴⁷⁾, Hájí Mullá

III, pp. 257-258) and "Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násirí" (Tihrán:1959-1960, third edition, volume X, p. 445), by Ridá Qulí Khán Hidáyat, Lálá-báshí [henceforth HIDAYAT].

⁽⁴²⁾Siyyid Kázim Rashú'tí.

⁽⁴³⁾"Ákhúnd" is, according to Sepehr Manuchehri, the slang pronunciation of "Áqá Dars Khunde" meaning "the gentleman who has studied." It appears to be related to "akhvánd" meaning "tutor, master, preacher" (Steingass:26). Fariba Ghayebi (email 2/12/02) stated that "Akúnd" is "preacher", and is similar to Mullá and Shaykh in meaning.

⁽⁴⁴⁾"Mathnaví" is a Persian term for a poetical form composed of couplets corresponding in measure, with each consisting of a pair of rhymes. Fariba Ghayebi (email 2/12/02) attested that in the "Mathnaví," while every couplet rhymes differently, all couplets follow the same intonation. In this case, Nicolas is referring to the famous mystical poem of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí.

⁽⁴⁵⁾An attempt was made by a follower of the Báb upon the life of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh, the ruling monarch of the Persian kingdom, on 28 August 1852. One of the Bábís who was rounded up and murdered in the wake of this failed assassination was Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání, according to various sources cited by Amanat (pp. 347-348, n. 70). Jání Kashání is alleged to have compiled the earliest history of the Bábís, which is, according to some historians, preserved unedited in KAF and in an edited version in JADID. According to ZARANDI (pp. 217-222, 368, 436), Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání — surnamed Parpá — entertained the Báb at his house in Kashán for three nights, when the Báb was being escorted from Isfáhán to Ádhirbáyján. ZARANDI (pp. 368-372) describes the journey which Jání Kashání undertook, accompanying Bahá'u'lláh and a company of other Bábís from Núr towards Shaykh Tabarsí in December of 1848, and Bahá'u'lláh's intercession on his behalf when this group of Bábís was apprehended by the acting governor of the town of Ámul. ZARANDI (pp. 435-437) reports being told by a fellow Bábí named Siyyid Husayn-i-Zavári'í, how this one spent a winter in Kashán and met Jání Kashání, but just missed meeting the Báb himself, when he was residing in his home. Other sources for the life of Jání Kashání are found in the footnotes to Amanat (pp. 134, 167, 271, 344-348, 356).

⁽⁴⁶⁾Kúfa' is an ancient city in 'Iráq which is the location of the now-ruined "maşjid" (mosque) where, in 39 A.H./656 A.D., the Imám 'Alí was killed with a poisoned sword (Amanat, pp. 163-164). According to a tradition related by Muhammad Báqir, the fifth Imám, cited in "al-Amalí" and recorded by Muhammad Báqir ibn Muhammad Taqí Majlisí in his enormous compilation of traditions entitled "Bihár al-Anwár" (vol. XXIII, pp. 19, 25), the Imám 'Alí walked the streets of Kúfa' admonishing the merchants thereof to be honest, patient and merciful in their commerce (cited Amanat, p. 125, n. 87). A well-known hadíth attributed to the sixth Imám, Ja'far as-Sádiq, stated that the Qá'im would first appear in Mecca, then in Medina, and finally repair to Kúfa', where he would be joined by his ancestors, the Prophet Muhammad,

the Imáms, the prophets and saints, and together they would wage "jihád" (holy war) against the infidels (Amanat, pp. 195-196). SIPIHR (vol. III, po, 39-40), TUNKABUNI, KAZEM-BEG (vol. VII, p. 388) and Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, in "Religions et philosophies dans l'Asie centrale" (Paris:1865, p. 146) affirmed that the Báb and his followers, after the death of Siyyid Kázim Rašhú, spent forty days praying and meditating at this mosque in Kúfa', and that afterwards they made a collective pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, so that the Báb could announce himself there as the Qá'im. According to the Bábí chroniclers, some of the followers of Siyyid Kázim did spend forty days in the mosque at Kúfa' after his death [please see notes (57) and (60)]. Amanat (p. 163, n. 80) cites Sajjádí, "Farrhang-i Ma'árif" (pp. 238-240), who states that this forty-day retreat, called "i'tikáf" could take place in four places only: the "mašjid al-harám" in Mecca; the "mašjid al-nabí" in Medina; the "mašjid" of Kúfa'; or the "mašjid" of Basra (cited Amanat, p. 163, n. 80). It was apparently the Báb's intention, following his pilgrimage in 1844, to meet Mullá Husayn Bušhrú'í in Kúfa', as indicated in his parting speech to the "Bábu'l-Báb" (ZARANDI, p. 96; quoted Balyuzi, pp. 49-50). He sent Mullá Husayn on a mission to Tihrán, and Mullá 'Alí Bastámí to the 'Atabát, with a group of disciples. BAGHDADI (translated in Balyuzi, pp. 60-61) states that Mullá 'Alí Bastámí appeared in Kúfa', distributing copies of the Báb's Writings among the Muslim clergy. Due to the state of uproar in which the 'Atabát had fallen as a result of Bastámí's intrepid proclamation and the clerical attacks it engendered, the Báb decided not to go to Kúfa' after the completion of his pilgrimage. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 158) indicates that the day on which the Báb made his decision not to go to Kúfa' was 15 Jamádi al-Thání 1261, and that this day is called Yam al-Bada' by Bábí historians, as it was the day on which the Báb seemingly abrogated the promise of divine revelation. The Báb wrote a long Tablet to Mullá 'Abdu'l-Kháliq Yazdí (see *Ibid.*), and explained therein that because of the rejection of his prophetic call and the jealousy of the religious leaders in the 'Atabát, and because the general population might rise up in opposition to the Bábís, he elected to forego this prophesied visit to Kúfa', in order to spare the believers. The Báb states (in *Ibid.*) that, contrary to his counsel, some of his followers proclaimed his advent openly in the 'Atabát, and that consequently his visit would surely cause problems for the Bábís. The announcement of the Qá'im had taken place, as predicted, but not in the manner predicted.

⁽⁴⁷⁾Mullá 'Alí Bastámí, is mentioned in ZARANDI (pp. 69, 80), in Balyuzi (p. 27), and in Amanat (p. 175-176) as a Letter of the Living. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 5) lists Mullá 'Alí Bastámí among the teachers who proclaimed the advent of the Báb throughout Persia. Prior to his conversion, he was a student of Siyyid Kázim Rašhú residing in Karbilá, and upon the death of his Master, Mullá 'Alí Bastámí and others from their circle joined Mullá Husayn Bušhrú'í and his brother Mullá Hasan Bušhrú'í in Kúfa' for forty days of prayer and contemplation (Amanat, p. 163). He was the second believer in the Báb, following Mullá Husayn Bušhrú'í (ZARANDI, pp. 66-69; QATIL, p. 524; Amanat, p. 175, 212). The Báb sent him to the 'Atabát, along with some of the other converts to his Cause, to proclaim the manifestation of the Báb to their fellow Shaykhís and to the leading Shí'í mujtahidún (ZARANDI, p. 87). ZARANDI (pp. 87-92) reports a few anecdotes related to Bastámí's mission to the 'Atabát. Áqá Muhammad Mustafá ibn Shaykh Muhammad Shibl al-Baghdádi [henceforth, BAGHDADI], wrote a short biography of the Báb and his followers upon the urging of Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl Gulpáygání (Balyuzi, p. 60), entitled "Risála amríyya" (MacEoin, p. 18, 21, 71, 111). Balyuzi (p. 232) reports that BAGHDADI was published in Cairo, along with another booklet, and that no date is attached thereto. Balyuzi (pp. 60-61) translates selected passages from BAGHDADI to describe Mullá 'Alí Bastámí's mission to the 'Atabát, which resulted in his arrest, confinement, trial in Baghdád and transportation to Istanbul. Shoghi Effendi cited BAGHDADI in a footnote to ZARANDI (pp. 91-92, n. 1). Balyuzi has given a detailed account of Bastámí's imprisonment and trial, based on documentary records, including the dispatches which Major Henry Rawlinson, the British Political Agent in Baghdád, addressed to Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador in Istanbul, and to Lt.-Col. Sheil, the British Ambassador in Tihrán (Balyuzi, pp. 61-68). These events are described in great detail and with careful documentation of sources by Amanat (pp. 211-238). Amanat also depicts the consequences of Bastámí's failure to convert many in the 'Atabát (pp. 251-254). ZARANDI (p. 91) gives divers reports of Bastámí's death; and YAHYA (p. 401) states that he was poisoned and died in Badra'í, on his way to Istanbul. However, these accounts seem to be unreliable. Amanat (pp. 236-237), citing various documents and the research of Fádil Mázindarání (p. 237, n. 192-194), MacEoin (p. 236, n. 188) and Momen (p. 237, n. 190-191), report that Mullá 'Alí Bastámí was sentenced to forced labor in the Ottoman imperial naval yard in Istanbul, and that he died in confinement (Amanat, p. 237).

Muhammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí⁽⁴⁸⁾, Ákhúnd Mullá 'Abdu'l-Jalíl Turk⁽⁴⁹⁾, Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Hádí⁽⁵⁰⁾, Mírzá Muhammad Hádí⁽⁵¹⁾, His Honor Siyyid Husayn Yazdí⁽⁵²⁾, Mullá Hasan Bajistání⁽⁵³⁾, Mullá

⁽⁴⁸⁾Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí, was a Shaykhí student in Karbilá who was named the eighteenth Letter of the Living by the Báb (ZARANDI, p. 80). JADID (p. 92) stated that his name was Hájí Muhammad 'Alí-yi-Hamzih (cited Shoghi Effendi, "The Dawn-breakers," p. 413, n. 1). Shoghi Effendi stated that the Báb bestowed the title "Ismu'lláhu'l-Ákhar" (Last Name of God) upon his eighteenth and last Letter (Shoghi Effendi, "The Dawn-breakers," p. 684), while Balyuzi (p. 24) affirmed that the Báb honored him with the title "Quddús" (Most Holy). A prayer (Visitation Tablet) revealed by the Báb for Bárfurúshí and other martyrs of Shaykh Tabarsí (preserved in a single manuscript in INBA no. 64, pp. 1-53; cited in Amanat, p. 184, n. 176) contains both of these titles. This prayer, if it is authentic, was revealed after the martyrdom of Bárfurúshí, which took place in 1849. ZARANDI (p. 293) reported that the appellation "Quddús" was conferred upon Bárfurúshí in a Tablet revealed by Bahá'u'lláh during the conference of Badasht, in summer 1848. ZARANDI reports Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í's account of the Báb's words to him just prior to his departure for Mecca and Medina, in late summer 1844, in which the Báb refers to his chosen companion on the pilgrimage as "Quddús" (pp. 86, 96). Either Mullá Husayn (or his chronicler, ZARANDI) has substituted the later appellation "Quddús" for the Báb's actual naming of his companion on pilgrimage (and in this case the citation of the Báb's words is a paraphrase rather than a literal rendering), or the Báb designated Bárfurúshí as "Quddús" from 1844, in which case Bahá'u'lláh reaffirmed the Báb's title of "Quddús" in his Tablet written at Badasht in 1848. In any event, both the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh referred to the eighteenth Letter of the Living by this title "Quddús" from the time of Badasht onwards (if not earlier). Details pertaining to his birth, his education and conversion to the Bábí Cause; his accompaniment of the Báb during his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in 1845, his participation in the conference of Badasht in 1848; his arrest and release from prison in Barfurush; his participation in the defense of Shaykh Tabarsí from the onslaught of government forces in 1849; and his subsequent martyrdom are found in ZARANDI (pp. 72, 130-143, 145, 179-183, 261, 265, 290, 292, 351-355, 367, 381, 410-413); in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 18-19); in ZUHUR (pp. 406, 413, 408); KAF (p. 208); in SIPIHR (vol. III, pp. 238); and in FU'ADI (p. 74). A number of sources attest to the special devotion which apparently characterized the relationship between the Báb and Quddús, and his spiritual primacy among the disciples of the Báb (ZARANDI, pp. 430-431; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 19; MU'IN, p. 63; ZUHUR, p. 418; SIPIHR, vol. III, p. 238; KAZEM-BEG, vol. VII, p. 344n; Balyuzi, p. 150; Amanat, p. 241, n. 211). In the Báb's "Kitáb al-fihrist" (dated 21 June 1845, see MacEoin, p. 50), a letter to Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí (# xi) is listed (MacEoin, p. 51). While MacEoin did not indicate that this listed letter has been discovered extant, Mírzá Muhammad Mahdí Khán Za'im al-Dawlih, in "Tá'ríkh al-Bábíyya wa miftáh báb al-abwáb" (Cairo:1903) reproduced a letter from the Báb to Quddús (pp. 208-209) in the Persian translation of this work, by Hájí Shaykh Hasan Faríd Gulpáygání (published in Tihrán:1968; cited MacEoin, p. 97). Quddús is reported to have written prolifically after his conversion to the Bábí Cause in 1844, according to the testimony of Bahá'u'lláh (Letter to Mullá 'Alí Muhammad Siráj Isfáhání, published in Ishraq-Khavarí, "Má'idih-yi Ásmání", vol. VII, p. 97); ZARANDI (pp. 353, 357); KAF (p. 139); JADID (p. 44); and ZUHUR (p. 407). All of these sources are cited in MacEoin (pp. 105-106). Most of the writings of Quddús seem to have been lost or destroyed. Those which have escaped destruction are listed by MacEoin (pp. 106-107), and consist of several letters preserved in ZUHUR (pp. 407-418), most of which are apparently addressed to Mullá Muhammad Hamzih Sharí'atmadár Mázindarání (MacEoin, p. 106). Also included are three letters to Mullá Sa'id Bárfurúshí, known as Sa'id al-'Ulamá' (Amanat, p. 181, n. 163; p. 182, n. 169; p. 184, n. 178, 179); three prayers composed for his companions (ZUHUR, pp. 426-430); and two manuscripts sent by Mírzá Yahyá (Subh-i-Azal) to Browne (currently British Library Or. 5110 and Cambridge Browne Collection F.43), and described by him in 'A Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts,' ("Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. XXIV, 1892, pp. 483-487). ZARANDI (pp. 31, 70-72, 81, 86, 93-94, 96, 125-127, 129-147, 179-183, 261-266, 288, 292-299, 348-349, 351-359, 361, 363, 365-368, 377-412, 430-432, 437-439) gives many details of Quddús' life. Some descriptive passages are also found in Balyuzi (pp. 48-49, 69-75, 165-177), and in Amanat (pp. 176-188, 211, 241, 244-250, 255, 325-327, 353, 395, 429).

⁽⁴⁹⁾Ahmad Mullá 'Abdu'l-Jalíl Turk is not found in ZARANDI, in Balyuzi or in Amanat. However, an adherent of the Báb with a similar name is found — one of the Letters of the Living is listed as Mullá Jalíl-i-Urúmi (ZARANDI, p. 80; Balyuzi, p. 27), and as Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl Urúmi (Urdúbádí) in Amanat (p. 176) — and this may be the individual who is referred to here. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 5) cites Mullá Jalíl-i-Urúmi as one of the teachers of the Bábí Cause who traveled throughout Persia. Sepehr Manuchehri reported that the full name and place of birth of Mullá Jalíl-i-Urúmi is found in ZUHUR (volume III). Amanat (pp. 167, 170, 176-180, 211-213, 250, 320, 349-350) gives some details regarding this Bábí. QASVINI (pp. 472) cites Jalíl-i-Urúmi's account of the declaration of the Báb (Amanat, pp. 167, 170). Prior to becoming a student of Siyyid Kázim, Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl-i-Urúmi had belonged to an Ahl-i Haqq community in Ádhirbáyján (Amanat, p. 180). Urúmi was among the Bábís assigned, apparently under the leadership of Mullá 'Alí Bastámí, to announce the appearance of the Qá'im in the 'Atabát (Amanat, p. 211). QATIL (p. 511) reported that Urúmi took an indirect approach, preferring to prepare his listeners for the announcement, rather than making the announcement itself (Amanat, pp. 213-214). QATIL (p. 519) also stated that Urúmi won over Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání, who served as Siyyid Kázim Rashtí's scribe, to the Cause of the Báb (Amanat, p. 250). Urúmi also travelled to Qazvín, where it is reported that he recruited a number of new adherents to the Báb, according to Áqá Muhammad Jawád's notes, reproduced in ZUHUR (p. 372; cited Amanat, p. 349, n. 81). Sepehr Manuchehri has indicated that 'Urúmi' is a foreshortened Persian word for 'Urúmiyyih' meaning, 'from Urúmiyyih', a major city in western Ádhirbáyján. MacEoin reports (p. 191) the existence of a letter written by the Báb to Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl, and it seems likely that this letter was in fact addressed to Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl Urúmi, as no other Bábí with a similar name has been identified.

⁽⁵⁰⁾Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Hádí appears to be one of the names of Mírzá Hádí-i Qazvíní, son of Hájí Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Vahháb (Balyuzi, p. 27); Mírzá Hádí, son of Mullá 'Abdu'l-Vahháb-i-Qazvíní (ZARANDI, p. 80); and Muhammad Hádí, son of 'Abd al-Wahháb Qazvíní (Amanat, p. 320). He is denominated one of the Letters of the Living by ZARANDI (p. 80) and Balyuzi (p. 27), but not by Amanat. Balyuzi (p. 27) and Amanat (p. 320) also report that he was a brother of Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí Qazvíní. Balyuzi (p. 27) and Amanat (p. 176, 179, 298, 320) identify Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí Qazvíní as a Letter of the Living. Balyuzi (p. 26) stated that Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí Qazvíní was the brother-in-law of Táhiriḥ. ZARANDI (p. 273) refers to Siyyid 'Abdu'l-Hádí as betrothed to Táhiriḥ's daughter, and as one of her companions, as she traveled from Karbilá to Qazvín. He also reports that Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí, one of the Letters of the Living was another one of those companions (Ibid.). Amanat (p. 298) reported that Marziya [Mardíya], the second daughter of Táhiriḥ married the son of Mullá 'Abd al-Wahháb, a prominent Shaykhí leader in Qazvín. He indicated that the two sons of 'Abd al-Wahháb Qazvíní — Muhammad 'Alí and Muhammad Hádí — became Bábís (Amanat, p. 320). Inasmuch as Siyyid 'Abdu'l-Hádí has been identified in ZARANDI as betrothed to Táhiriḥ's daughter, and Mírzá Hádí has been identified in ZARANDI as the son of Mullá 'Abdu'l-Vahháb Qazvíní; and as the husband of Mardíya, the second daughter of Táhiriḥ is described as the son of Mullá 'Abd al-Wahháb of Qazvín (in Amanat); and the sons of 'Abd al-Wahháb Qazvíní are called Muhammad 'Alí and Muhammad Hádí (in Amanat); and Mírzá Hádí-i-Qazvíní is called the son of Hájí Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Vahháb, and brother of Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí (in Balyuzi and Amanat) — it seems most likely that this is the same person who is identified as a Letter of the Living. Balyuzi states that Mírzá Hádí-i Qazvíní, although a Letter of the Living, did not take an active part in the Bábí community, that he "taught the Faith with caution" (Balyuzi, p. 27). ZARANDI (p. 162) states that Mírzá Hádí was summoned along with Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí Nahri and Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím Qazvíní to meet with the Báb at the home of Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí — his former guardian — shortly before the Báb was forced to leave Shíráz for Isfáhán. According to Sepehr Manuchehri, ZUHUR (volume III) reports Mírzá Hádí Qazvíní refused to take part in the campaign at Shaykh Tabarsí, and this source gives a clear explanation of the exact relationship of Mírzá Hádí Qazvíní and Táhiriḥ, and the names of others with whom he associated. According to Adib Taherzadeh ("The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh," volume II, p. 145; and "The Covenant of Bahá'u'lláh," p. 5), Mírzá Hádí Qazvíní ultimately followed Mírzá Yahyá rather than Bahá'u'lláh. Sepehr Manuchehri indicates that he made this choice in Adrianople (Edirne). MacEoin (p. 52) cites a prayer written in reply to questions from Mírzá Hádí Qazvíní and Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Qazvíní, listed in the Báb's "Kitáb al-fihrist." He also lists a letter of the Báb to 'Abdu'l-Wahháb (MacEoin, p. 191), and this may be addressed to Mullá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb Qazvíní.

Bashír⁽⁵⁴⁾, Mullá Báqir Turk⁽⁵⁵⁾, Mullá Ahmad Abdál⁽⁵⁶⁾, with some others⁽⁵⁷⁾. There [in the mosque of Kúfa'] they occupied themselves with strange and surprising austerities.⁽⁵⁸⁾"

⁽⁵¹⁾Mírzá Muhammad Hádí seems to have been the brother of Mírzá Hádí-y-i Qazvíní (Balyuzi, p. 27), the son of Hájí Mullá 'Abdu'l-Vahháb (SAMANDAR, p. 15; cited by Shoghi Effendi, "The Dawn-breakers," p. 81, n. 1; Amanat, p. 298); also named Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Qazvíní (ZARANDI, p. 81; Balyuzi, p. 26), Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Qazvíní (Amanat, p. 176), Muhammad 'Alí Qazvíní (Amanat, p. 179), and apparently also Muhammad Hádí (Amanat, p. 326). He should not be confused with Muhammad Hádí-y-i Farhádí (ZARANDI, p. 284), who is also referred to as Muhammad-Hádí (Ibid., pp. 284-285). All sources agree that he was a Letter of the Living (ZARANDI, p. 81, 290-291; Balyuzi, p. 27; Amanat, p. 176, 179, 298). MacEoin (p. 52) cites a prayer written in reply to questions from Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Qazvíní and his brother Mírzá Hádí, listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist," an early work of the Báb which gives a list of his writings up to 21 June 1845 (MacEoin, p. 50). Amanat reports that Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Qazvíní was one of the group of Bábís who was sent to the 'Atabát in 1844 (Amanat, pp. 211-212). ZARANDI (pp. 291-293) and Balyuzi (p. 168) write that Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Qazvíní participated in the Badasht conference in 1848. Amanat (p. 326) states that Muhammad Hádí took part in this conference, and apparently he is referring to the same person.

⁽⁵²⁾Siyid Husayn Yazdí, was appointed one of the Letters of the Living (ZARANDI, p. 80; Balyuzi, p. 27; Amanat, p. 176); and was also known as "Azíz" (venerable) (Balyuzi, p. 27; MacEoin, p. 13), and "Kátib" (amanuensis, scribe) [Balyuzi, p. 27]. Like so many of his fellow Letters, Siyyid Husayn Yazdí had been a Shaykhí student prior to his conversion to the Bábí Cause (MacEoin, p. 12). ZARANDI refers to Siyyid Husayn Yazdí in a number of passages (pp. 192-193, 212, 219, 227, 243-250, 252, 257, 507-509, 513-517, 629-631), most of which relate directly to his services as one of the Báb's scribes, which enabled him to be a constant companion to the Báb in his journeys and his imprisonments. ZARANDI (pp. 513-514) recounts that Siyyid Husayn Yazdí was with the Báb until he was executed, and that it was his wish to be martyred along with his Master (Ibid., p. 630). Such was Siyyid Husayn's knowledge of the Bábí teachings that the Báb addressed a Tablet to Mírzá Yahyá (Ibid., p. 629) urging him to seek enlightenment from this amanuensis. He was confined in the same prison, the Siyáh-Chál, as Bahá'u'lláh, until his death (Ibid., p. 631). 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 27) mentions Áqá Siyyid Husayn, the Báb's amanuensis but once, stating that he was found seated beside the Báb after the latter's disappearance following the first attempt at his execution. He was the principal amanuensis of the Báb (MacEoin, p. 12), and transcribed the "Bayán-i-fársí," the original manuscript of which is preserved in the International Bahá'í Archives (Balyuzi, p. 132; MacEoin, pp. 13, 182). Only one other manuscript in the handwriting of this scribe has been located, twenty-seven pages of the "Kitáb al-asmá" (MacEoin, p. 188). Balyuzi (pp. 27, 115, 118, 124, 129, 132, 146, 156) and Amanat (pp. 176, 178-180, 216n, 374, 381, 401, 405, 434) have referred to this noble figure in the early history of the Bábí Cause.

⁽⁵³⁾Mullá Hasan Bajistání was appointed one of the Letters of the Living (ZARANDI, p. 80; Balyuzi, p. 27; Amanat, p. 176). Amanat (p. 179) lists Mullá Bajistání as one of those Letters — along with Mírzá Muhammad Rawdih Khán Yazdí (ZARANDI, p. 80; Balyuzi, p. 27; Amanat, p. 176); Mullá Khudá-Bakhsh Qúchání, later named Mullá 'Alí (ZARANDI, p. 80; Balyuzi, p. 27; Amanat, p. 176); and Sa'íd Hindí (ZARANDI, p. 80; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 5; Balyuzi, p. 27; Amanat, p. 176) — who were inactive Bábís or who defected from the Bábí Cause. Balyuzi (p. 27) reports that Mullá Hasan Bajistání became estranged from the Bábí Cause after the martyrdom of the Báb until he attained the presence of Bahá'u'lláh in Baghdád; thereafter he was confirmed in his faith, and ultimately became a Bahá'í. MacEoin (p. 191) notes the existence of a letter written by the Báb addressed to Mullá Hasan Bajistání.

⁽⁵⁴⁾Mullá Bashír is not mentioned by this name in ZARANDI, 'ABDU'L-BAHA, Balyuzi, Amanat or MacEoin. Bashír is a proper name and means "messenger of good news" in Arabic (Steingass, p. 190). In ZARANDI (p. 590) we find Mullá Báshí, also known as Mullá Ibráhím, who was martyred in Sultán-Ábád. Báshí is a Persian word derived from báshá, meaning "governor of a province, counsellor of state, great lord; also sometimes the gradn vazir; a kind of falcon, a hawk" (Steingass, p. 147). The Bábí named Mullá Báshí related to Nabíl Zarandí his memories of Siyyid Basír-i-Hindí (ZARANDI, pp. 588-590).

While no other references to Mullá Báshí have been found in the sources consulted, there are a few more to Siyyid Basír-i-Hindí in ZARANDI (pp. 588-590). ZARANDI (p. 589) states that Siyyid Basír-i-Hindí learned of the Bábí Cause in the city of Mooltan (at that time a city in India, now in Pakistan), from Shaykh Sa'íd-i-Hindí, one of the Letters of the Living. JADID (pp. 245-246) reported that Siyyid Basír-i-Hindí was from India, blind from the age of seven, and that he first heard of the Báb in Bombay (cited "The Dawn-breakers," pp. 588-589, n. 1). KAF (pp. 255-258) refers to a blind Súfí from India named Siyyid Basír-i-Hindí who became a Bábí, and who subsequently traveled to Gílán, Anzálí, Qazvín, Tihrán, Kashán, and Núr, in which last-named location he spent four months in the company of Bahá'u'lláh, of Vahíd (whom MacEoin supposes to be Mírzá Yahyá), and of an individual denominated "Nuqtatu'l-Káf" and who is allegedly the author of this history of the Bábí Cause (cited MacEoin, pp. 150-151). All three of these sources (ZARANDI, JADID and KAF) report that Siyyid Basír-i-Hindí was blind and of Indian origin. According to ZARANDI, there were three distinct followers of the Báb who were of Indian birth — Shaykh Sa'íd-i-Hindí, one of the Letters of the Living; Siyyid Basír-i-Hindí; and the Súfí "darvish" (renunciate) named "Qahru'lláh" (Force of God), who is described in ZARANDI (pp. 305-306), ZUHUR (volume III), and Balyuzi (p. 137).

(55)Mullá Báqir Turk seems to be the individual called Mullá Báqir-i-Tabrízí (ZARANDI, p. 368; Balyuzi, pp. 27, 151, 168, 174; Amanat, p. 212, n. 7, p. 284, p. 383); Mullá Báqir (ZARANDI, pp. 504-505; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 25); Mullá Muhammad Báqir Tabrízí (Amanat, pp. 176, 178, 306); and Muhammad Báqir Tabrízí (Amanat, p. 179). Balyuzi has explained that the individual referred to as Mullá Báqir in the story related by these two sources is Mullá Báqir-i-Tabrízí (p. 151). One of the participants in the Badasht conference was Mullá Báqir-i-Tabrízí (Balyuzi, p. 168). This Letter of the Living traveled with Bahá'u'lláh, with Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání and Mírzá Yahyá, intending to join the other Bábís at Shaykh Tabarsí; that they were detained and imprisoned, and eventually permitted to return to Tihrán but not to proceed to Shaykh Tabarsí (ZARANDI, pp. 368-376; Balyuzi, p. 174). A couple of passages in MU'IN are based on first-hand statements by Mullá Báqir Tabrízí (cited in MacEoin, p. 176). ZUHUR (pp. 20-22) published a letter from the Báb to Mullá Báqir Tabrízí (cited MacEoin, p. 95). According to Sepehr Manuchehri, this letter was published in KASHF ("Kashf al-Ghitá'," the history begun by Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl Gulpáygání and completed by Siyyid Mahdí Gulpáygání) rather than in ZUHUR. ZARANDI (p. 504-505) relates that forty days before the Báb was summoned to Tabríz, he entrusted all his Tablets and other documents, his pen-case, seals and agate rings, gathered together in a coffer, to Mullá Báqir, who was instructed to take these to Mírzá Ahmad, the Báb's amanuensis, along with a letter instructing him to convey them to Bahá'u'lláh in Tihrán. KAF (pp. 238-245) alleges — in a passage which has only been found in the manuscript version of this history that once belonged to A.L.M. Nicolas and is now in the Biblioteque Natonale de Paris — that all of these items were sent to Mírzá Yahyá Subh-i-Azal (cited by MacEoin, p. 24, n. 79). This report in KAF is in conflict with the account in "God Passes By" (p. 167) in which Shoghi Effendi states that on 22 Shavvál 1282 A.H. Bahá'u'lláh instructed his brother, Mírzá Músá, known as Áqáy-i-Kalím ("The Dawn-breakers," lxiii) while they were residing in Adrianople and shortly after a permanent separation was effected between the household of Bahá'u'lláh and that of his half-brother Mírzá Yahyá, to deliver to Mírzá Yahyá "certain relics he had long coveted, such as the seals, rings, and manuscripts in the handwriting of the Báb..." Muhammad Báqir was also the name of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'ís nephew, as found in ZARANDI (pp. 50-55, 69). Other Bábís with similar names were: 1) Mírzá Muhammad Báqir-i-Qá'íní (Balyuzi, pp. 56, 175) who is also called Mullá Muhammad Báqir Qá'íní (Amanat, pp. 273-275, 279) and Harati (Ibid., p. 279, 458); and 2) Mullá Muhammad Qá'íní, known as Nabil Qá'íní, Mullá Muhammad Báqir Qá'íní's nephew (Amanat, p. 279, n. 160), also called Fádíl-i Qá'íní (MacEoin, p. 130), Áqá Muhammad Fádíl-i Qá'íní and Nabil-i-Akbar (MacEoin, pp. 160, 268). 'Abdu'l-Baha includes a biography of Nabil-Qá'íní (Nabil-i-Akbar) in "Tadhkirat al-Wafá'" (pp. 49-54 of the English translation entitled "Memorials of the Faithful"). Other sources for his life are listed by MacEoin (p. 160, n. 23), including: Ishráq Khávarí, "Ganj-i sháyigán" (Tihrán:1967-1968, pp. 141-144); Fádíl-i Mázindarání, "Asrár al-athár" (Tihrán:1972-1973, vol. 5, pp. 12-15); and 'Azízu'lláh Sulaymání, "Masábíh-i hidáyat" (Tihrán:1947, vol. 1, pp. 275-350). 3) Áqá Muhammad Báqir-i-Tihráni, a merchant, brother of Mushiru't-Tujjar (a Bábí martyr) and the transcriber of a chronicle composed by Mírzá Luft-'Alí Shírání on the Bábís at Shaykh Tabarsí (Balyuzi, pp. 239-240; MacEoin, p. 215, n. 12).

Indeed, after the death of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí, which took place in 1259⁽⁵⁹⁾, his disciples, after spending forty days⁽⁶⁰⁾ at Kúfa', set out throughout the Muslim world to find his successor. Hence

⁽⁵⁶⁾Mullá Ahmad Abdál (Amanat, p. 99), was also known as Mullá Ahmad-i-Ibdál-i-Marághí'í (ZARANDI, p. 80; Balyuzi, p. 26; MacEoin, pp. 83, 95, 178); Ahmad Abdál Marághíhí (Amanat, p. 179); and Mullá Ahmad Abdál Marághíhí (Amanat, pp. 176, 178, 181 n. 161, 285). He is identified as a Letter of the Living by ZARANDI (p. 80), Balyuzi (p. 26), Amanat (pp. 99, 176), and MacEoin (p. 83). Balyuzi (pp. 131-132) cites a letter written by Mullá Ahmad-i-Ibdál, probably to one of the uncles of the Báb, which asserts that the Russian government, like the Persian government, was afraid of the immense popularity of the Bábí Cause. MacEoin (p. 95) cites a letter of the Báb addressed to Mullá Ahmad Ibdál [Marághí'í], published in ZUHUR (pp. 53-54). "Tárikh-i amrí-yi Ádhirbáyján," by Áqá Haydar 'Alí Uskú'í (cited by MacEoin, p. 178) is a manuscript history of the Bábís in Ádhirbáyján which contains a biography of Mullá Ahmad Ibdál Marágha'í.

⁽⁵⁷⁾Nicolas speaks of other Shaykhís who accompanied the ones he listed to their "i'tikáf" (retreat) in the mosque of Kúfa'. Amanat reports (p. 163, n. 75) that there is no complete list, but that more than sixteen have been identified by compiling names from varied sources. ZUHUR and SIPIHR list new names, and MU'IN cites more than forty individuals, women among them, notably including Qurratu'l-'Ayn Táhirih (cited in Amanat, p. 163, n. 75). However, no historian to date has identified all of the participants in this spiritual exercise.

⁽⁵⁸⁾The austerities practiced during the "i'tikáf" are described generally as "prayers and contemplation" (Amanat, p. 163), while Qurratu'l-'Ayn speaks of "prayers and asceticism" in a "Risála" (cited Amanat, p. 164, n. 85). While Amanat does not detail these practices, it is evident that the Shaykhís engaged in certain exercises in order to prepare themselves, both spiritually and physically, for the journey ahead, a journey which they all believed would ultimately lead to the discovery and recognition of the One promised by their deceased master, Siyyid Kázim Rashtí. For many if not all of these Shaykhís, this new master was the "Sáhib al-Zamán," the Imám Mahdí, the Qá'im. A journey of more momentous import could scarcely be imagined. They were preparing themselves to leave the valley of search (to employ a metaphor from Farídu'd-Dín 'Attar's "Mantíq ut-Tayr"), to enter the valley of passionate love for they could not imagine a more intense passion than to be united with the Promised One of God. And the "hudhud" (hoopoe) who led them to this valley of love was Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í.

⁽⁵⁹⁾Siyyid Kázim Rashtí passed away, according to ZARANDI (p. 45) "on the day of 'Arafih, in the year 1259 A.H." MacEoin states (p. 47, n. 19) that 'Arafih 1259 is 9 Dhu'l-Hijja 1259 (31 December 1843). Amanat (p. 153, n. 2; p. 168, n. 97) and MacEoin (pp. 46-47, n. 19) have reported that his death took place on 11 Dhu'l-Hijja 1259 (2 January 1844), based on QATIL (cited in ZUHUR, p. 509); FIHRIST (vol. I, pp. 122, 159); chronograms reproduced in "Makárim al-Áthár dar Ahvál-i Rijál-i Daurih-yi Qájár," by Muhammad 'Alí Mu'allim Habíbábádí (Isfáhán:1958, vol. I, p. 220); a letter of the Báb from Máh-Kú to his uncle Háji Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, Khál-i-A'zam (reproduced in ZUHUR, p. 223-225, 264; also INBA, n. 58, pp. 160-162), in which he states that Siyyid Rashtí died nineteen days before the commencement of revelation — which began at the start of the year 1260 — and 1 Muharram 1260 corresponds to 22 January 1844 according to Shoghi Effendi in "The Dawn-breakers" (p. 47, n. 2), twenty days after 2 January; and a "tawqí'" (ordinance) authored by the Báb (cited in Háji Husayn Qulí Jadíd al-Islám, "Minháji al-Tálibín fí al-Radd 'alá al-Firqa al-Hálíka al-Bábíya" (Bombay:1902, pp. 101-104; cited Amanat, p. 168, n. 97).

⁽⁶⁰⁾The "i'tikáf" (retreat) of forty days mentioned here is a traditional observance in Islam which may owe its origin to Jewish and Christian mysticism. In the "Tanakh" (Hebrew Bible), there are forty day cycles recorded in connection with the flood (Genesis 7:17); the days of embalming of the patriarch Jacob by his son Joseph (Genesis 50:3); the falling of the manna and wandering in the wilderness of the children of Israel (Exodus 16:35, Numbers 14:34); the giving of the law to Moses on Mount Sinai (Exodus 24:18); Elijah's period of fasting (First Book of Kings 19:8); the grace period given the city of Nineveh (Jonah

they sought a person superior, or at least an equal to their deceased master. Before separating, many of them promised to inform each other of the happy success of their investigations, in the event that any one succeeded in finding the one whom the Qur'an and Siyyid Kázim had promised to them. Among these seekers, three were united by an indissoluble friendship: these were Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í, Muqaddas Khurásání and Mullá 'Alí Gawhar⁽⁶¹⁾.

Bábí tradition indicates that two years passed between the day on which Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad left Karbilá and the day on which he announced to the world the mission with which he had been invested; that would bring us to the year 1258, and before the death of Kázim. But if we reckon that he arrived at the holy places at the end of his nineteenth year or perhaps in the midst of his twentieth year, then we are obliged to recognize that he must have sojourned in Karbilá for two

3:4); and a prophetic period (found in Ezekiel 4:6 and 29:11). In the Gospels, the fasting and retreat of Jesus in the wilderness is forty days in length (Matthew 4:2). The employment of this spiritual exercise in Islamic mystical practice, in the Súfí "taríqa" (order) has been fully detailed in many publications, and need not be repeated here. That this retreat was not restricted to Súfís is evident from its employment by the Shaykhís, inasmuch as Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í and Siyyid Kázim Rashtí were actually hostile to many Súfí practices and beliefs. Nor was this adopted by the Shaykhís merely as an extraordinary measure, because of the passing of their leader, Siyyid Kázim Rashtí. Based on various sources (p. 163, n. 77), Amanat notes that the Shaykhís used "i'tikáf...as a means for exploring the truth by abstinence from all desires and destruction of falsehood" including "devotion, nightly vigilance, and fasting" (p. 163). He likewise asserts that Shaykh Ahmad, Siyyid Kázim and Mullá Husayn are reported to have undertaken such retreats (Ibid.). Quddús also practiced "i'tikáf" once he became a student of Siyyid Kázim (Amanat, p. 182). Mullá Muhammad Hamzih Shari'atmadár (d. 1281/1864), a student of Shaykh Ahmad (Amanat, p. 97), undertook the "i'tikáf" in the "masjid" of Kúfa' on the advice of Shaykh Ahmad (according to sources cited in Amanat, p. 98, n. 130 and p. 100, n. 145: ZUHUR, pp. 134-135; MURTADA, pp. 140-175; 'Abd al-Karím Shari'atmadáriyán, "Sharh-i Zindigí-yi Mullá Muhammad Hamzih' Shari'atmadár," citing "Asrár al-Shaháda" by Muhammad Hamzih' Shari'atmadár," manuscript in INBA 1009D). The forty day sojourn of a group of Siyyid Kázim's disciples in Kúfa', immediately following his funeral, is mentioned by Balyuzi in a single sentence (pp. 15-16). Amanat, as we have seen, devotes a few pages to this "i'tikáf" (pp. 163-166, 177, 344). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 59-60) mentions only one "i'tikáf", that of Mullá Husayn in a mosque in Kúfa' prior to his traveling to Shíráz, right after the passing of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí.

⁽⁶¹⁾Mullá 'Alí Gawhar is probably Mírzá Hasan-i-Gawhar, who is described as one of the students of Siyyid Kázim and "exceptionally corpulent" in ZARANDI (p. 39). Mírzá Hasan-i-Gawhar receives considerable attention in Amanat (pp. 62, 69, 154-155, 160, 165n, 219, 228-231, 247n, 263, 299-300, 306, 309). According to Amanat's findings, Mírzá Hasan-i-Gawhar, a long-time student of Siyyid Rashtí, and appointed by him as caretaker of his disciples for the first forty-five days after his passing, attempted unsuccessfully to attract the Shaykhís to his own leadership, and opposed the Báb and his followers. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 77) refers to this individual as Shaykh Hasan-i-Gawhar. Sepehr Manuchehri has pointed out that the friendship reported by Nicolas between Mírzá Hasan-i-Gawhar and Mullá Husayn-i-Bushrú'í is highly debatable. Certainly, the sources consulted for this study do not confirm such a friendship. Manuchehri indicated that Gawhar may have become preoccupied with setting up his own leadership and come to view Mullá Husayn as a threat to his position among the Shaykhís, refusing to travel to Írán with him. On the other hand, Manuchehri states that a friendship between Mullá Sádiq Khurásání and Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í is confirmed by a multitude of sources. The Báb listed a letter to Mullá Hasan Gawhar in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (cited MacEoin, p. 51); however, this letter does not seem to have survived.

and a half or three years⁽⁶²⁾, because he was not yet twenty-five years of age on the 5th of Jamádi al-Ákhar of the year 1260⁽⁶³⁾.

⁽⁶²⁾Nicolas translates I'TIDAD: "He spent in this way two years (in Karbilá)." And SIPIHR: "He remained there for two years." Please see footnotes (23) and (27) for other reports regarding the duration of the Báb's sojourn in Karbilá.

⁽⁶³⁾Please see footnote (1) this Chapter for the birth-date of the Báb, and his age at the time of his declaration. The date of that declaration was apparently established by the Báb himself in "Bayán-i-fársí," váhid II: báb 7, verse 30, which is translated by Shoghi Effendi, based on the manuscript in the hand of Siyyid Husayn Yazdí, the principal amanuensis and companion of the Báb ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 61, n.1):

"The beginning thereof was when two hours and eleven minutes [had passed] from the evening preceding the [day of the] fifth of Jamádiyu'l-Úlá, 1260 [A.H.], which is the year 1270 of the mission [of Muhammad]."

This verse was translated by Habib Taherzadeh, with the assistance of a committee at the Bahá'í World Centre ("Selections from the Writings of the Báb," Haifa:1978, p. 107) as follows:

"the beginning of which was when two hours and eleven minutes had passed on the even of the fifth of Jumádiyu'l-Avval, 1260 A.H., which is the year 1270 of the Declaration of the Mission of Muhammad ."

The same passage is translated by A.L.M. Nicolas ("Le Beyan Persan," tome I:1911, p. 69):

"C'est cela ce que Dieu a promis dans le Qoran et le commencement (de ce jugement dernier) est a deux heures onze minutes de la nuit du 5 Djemadi el ewel de l'annee 1260 qui est l'annee 1270 a dater du jour ou fut suscite Mohammed. C'est a cet instant meme que commence le jugement dernier du Qoran qui aura lieu jusqu'au coucher de l'arbre de la Verite."

An English translation of this passage reads as follows:

"This is that which God promised in the Qur'án and the beginning (of this final judgment) is at two hours and eleven minutes [after the setting of the sun] in the night of the 5th of Jamádi al-Awal in the year 1260 which is the year 1270 dated from the spiritual awakening of Muhammad . It is at this very instant that the final judgment of the Qur'án begins, which will take place until the setting of the Tree of Reality."

In his "Summary of the Persian Bayán" ("Selections from the Writings of E.G. Browne," p. 330), Browne states, in his summary of the contents of váhid II: báb 7 of "Bayán-i-fársí," "the beginning of this Manifestation of the Bayán was when two hours and fifteen minutes had passed from the even of Friday the fifth of Jumáda'l-Úlá A.H. 1260...which is the year 1270 of the Call". It is apparent that the manuscripts of "Bayán-i-fársí" consulted by Browne contained an alternate number of minutes after sunset from the number cited in translations of other manuscripts by Shoghi Effendi, Habib Taherzadeh and Nicolas. MacEoin (p. 42), Amanat (p. 170, n. 107) and Browne (in Note C, pp. 222-226, to 'ABDU'L-BAHA) base their dating of the Báb's declaration on this verse alone. Balyuzi does not cite any authority for this date (pp. 17, 22).

Browne also cites "Bayán-i-fársí," váhid VI: báb 13 (in Note C, pp. 222-226), and his summary reference to this verse reads ("Selections," p. 383): "Had its maturity been at two hours of the night of Thursday the fifth of Jamádi'ul-Awwal it would not have appeared five minutes later." Nicolas' translation of this passage follows (tome 3:1913, p. 128):

"Et si cette perfection eut été atteinte à deux heures de la nuit du cinq Djemadi el ewel, la manifestation n'aurait pas eu lieu cinq minutes plus tard."

An English translation of this verse indicates that the text is identical to that cited by Browne:

"And if this perfection had been attained at 2 hours of the night on the 5th Jamádi al-Awwal, the manifestation would not have taken place five minutes later."

Nicolas states (Chapter II) that the day and time of the Báb's declaration was 5 Jamádi al-Ákhar 1260 at 2 hours and 5 minutes of the night (after sunset), which he calculates as 11 June 1844, without citing any evidence in support of this specific timing. According to the authorities earlier cited for calculating Gregorian from Hijra dates, 5 Jamádi al-Ákhar 1260 actually corresponds to 2 June 1844. It seems very peculiar that Nicolas would have reported the Báb's declaration for this date and time, when his translation of "Bayán-i-fársí" contains a specific verse wherein the Báb establishes his declaration for an altogether date and time ("Le Beyan Persan," tome I:1911, p. 69). We might suppose that Nicolas may not have been apprized of this verse at the time that "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb" was published (1905), six years before the publication of the first volume of his translation of the "Bayán-i-fársí" (1911). However, Nicolas attests that his translation of "Bayán-i-fársí" was first effected in 1889 ("Le Beyan Persan," tome I, p. i, n. 1), six years before the publication of "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb." Furthermore, when he essayed a rendering of 5 Jamádi al-Awwal 1260 from "Bayán-i-fársí" (vâhid II: báb 7), in his rendering of this Hijra date to its Gregorian equivalent, he made a faulty calculation — he makes it out to be 12 May 1844 rather than 22/23 May 1844 ("Le Beyan Persan," tome I, p. 69, n. 2).

As for the copy of "Bayán-i-fársí" used by Nicolas in preparing his translation of that work, according to MacEoin (p. 182), it has not been located. Only one of the three manuscripts of "Bayán-i-fársí" that Nicolas is known to have possessed has been located, and this copy is in the International Bahá'í Archives. Two of the three manuscripts, including the one he used to prepare his translation, were written in the hand of Mírzá Yahyá (MacEoin, p. 182). As in the case of the Báb's date of birth [please see note (1)], it appears that Nicolas' calculations are not trustworthy. As we have noted, all of the extant manuscripts of "Bayán-i-fársí" which have thus far been studied, including one of those used by Nicolas in his translation, yield the date cited by Shoghi Effendi, Browne, Amanat, and MacEoin as that of the declaration of the Báb. Inasmuch as all of the manuscript copies of "Bayán-i-fársí" have yet to be compared, this date might be regarded by some as tentative, if based exclusively on the text of "Bayán-i-fársí."

Of the early chronicles, the only one which gives a date for the Báb's declaration is ZARANDI (p. 61), and herein it is stated that this event took place on "the eve preceeding the sixty-fifth day after Naw-Rúz, which was also the eve of the sixth day of Khurdád, of the year Nahang." If Naw-Rúz fell on 20 March in the year 1844, then 23 May would have corresponded to the sixty-fifth day after Naw-Rúz, and the eve preceding that day would have fallen on 5 Jamádi al-Úlá. SIPIHR stated that Naw-Rúz 1260 fell on the 29th day of Safar of the Hijra calendar, and this corresponds to 20 March 1844 (www.unizh.ch/ori/hegira.html).

It should be noted that the declaration of the Báb was by no means the beginning of his revelation of verses. As has been noted earlier, the Báb, according to his own statement, prefixed to "Tafsír Súratu'l-Baqara," began this work in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da 1259 (November-December 1843), some six months prior to his declaration (MacEoin, p. 46, 47). In a letter written from Máh-Kú to his uncle Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (manuscript in INBA, n. 58, pp. 160-162; reproduced in ZUHUR, pp. 223-225, 264), the Báb stated that his revelation of verses began with the commencement of the year 1260 (1 Muharram 1260 corresponds to 22 January 1844 according to "The Dawn-breakers," p. 47, n. 2). A similar statement is found in a "tawqí'" (ordinance) by the Báb cited in Hájí Husayn Qulí Jadíd al-Islám, "Minháj al-Tálibín fi al-Radd 'alá al-Firqa al-Hálíka al-Bábíya" (Bombay:1902, pp. 101-104). Both of these sources are cited in Amanat (p. 168, n. 97). Another date is associated with the onset of this revelation, found in "Kitáb al-fihrist", which is internally dated as written on 21 June 1845 (INBA 6003C, p. 286 and INBA 4011C, p. 63; cited in MacEoin, p. 43): "the first day on which the spirit descended into his heart was the middle [i.e., the fifteenth] of the month of Rabí' al-Ákhar."

This calculation agrees perfectly with Bábí tradition and invalidates the Muslim legend⁽⁶⁴⁾ which alleged that Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad was present in Karbilá at the time of the death of Raṣḥtí, that he was seen there with a number of the disciples of the deceased master, and that after certain portentous events — destined to appeal to the imagination of the vulgar — they all went together to Mecca to fulfill there the prophecies announcing that the Imám Mahdí must come forth from the holy city, raising the bared saber and calling the people to the one true God. This comic tale does not tally with what we positively know about the history of the various persons who were entangled in this tragedy.

Another question must also be examined here — the lack of instruction of the Báb. All the authors, whether Muslim or Bábí affirm that Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad did not learn Arabic⁽⁶⁵⁾. Alone, the author⁽⁶⁶⁾ of "Qisas al-'Ulamá'" writes: "When I was in Karbilá I went to the class of Siyyid Kázim. Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad came there with everything needed for writing, and wrote down all that the professor said." I am willing to believe this; but if our hero were capable of following such a class, of being interested in it and of taking notes, why does he represent him to us afterwards, in the famous gatherings of Isfáhán⁽⁶⁷⁾ and Tabríz⁽⁶⁸⁾, more ignorant than a child, more fearful than a

Nicolas (in Chapter Two), states that this verse is found in "Kitáb al-haramayn" but MacEoin explains that Nicolas' copies of "Kitáb al-fihrist" and "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" ("Kitáb al-haramayn") were intermixed. Nicolas writes of the interpolation of the two in his bibliography for "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb" (pp. 47-48). Amanat (p. 168, n. 98) seems to confuse the issue, by supposing that "Kitáb al-haramayn" was a separate book, written later than "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn." MacEoin's explanation appears to be the most sensible based on the available evidence. "The Dawn-breakers" (p. 62, n. 1) reproduces Nicolas' reference, but seems to tie it to the date of the Báb's declaration. Furthermore, it should be noted that Nicolas calculated 15 Rabí al-Awwal 1260 to correspond to 24 March 1844, and according to our date conversion website (www.unizh.ch/ori/hegira.html), this Hijra date would fall on 4 April 1844, as attested also by Amanat (p. 168). It appears that, once more, Nicolas was confused in his rendering of dates.

⁽⁶⁴⁾Nicolas writes, with regard to the Muslim chroniclers, like SIPIHR and I'TIDAD: "Certain Muslim traditions claim however that Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad was found in Karbilá at the time of the death of Siyyid Kázim Raṣḥtí. According to them he there and then claimed to his [teacher's] succession and went to Kúfa' with the principal students of the deceased. There, after forty days of fasting and prayer, he was recognized in this quality [of successor]. It was in this way that he claimed to be the intermediary between men and the Imám Mahdí. I must say that the book "Nuqtatu'l-Káf," which I persist in attributing to Mírzá Jání, seems to confirm this tradition because he also claims that his Master would have declared himself at Kúfa', if the population had been prepared to recognize him, and that it is because of the lack of readiness of the Muslims, that the order of God underwent a delay; the Báb declared himself later, at Mecca. But for many reasons, I consider the "Nuqtatu'l-Káf," as lightly suspect in certain of its parts." Please see footnotes (23) and (27) for the sources pertaining to the Báb's sojourn in the 'Atabát.

⁽⁶⁵⁾Nicolas translates I'TIDAD: "At the start of his life, he occupied himself with acquiring the Persian sciences, but he learned only the elements of Arabic." Please see footnote (8) for more details regarding the education of the Báb.

⁽⁶⁶⁾The author of "Qisas al-'ulamá'" is Mírzá Muhammad ibn Sulaymán Tunkábuní, and we have designated this source as TUNKABUNI.

⁽⁶⁷⁾Here reference is made to the examination of the Báb's claims in the city of Isfáhán (see Chapter Two).

⁽⁶⁸⁾Here reference is made to the interrogation of the Báb by a group of Muslim clergy in the city of Tabríz (see Chapter Four).

sheep, and finally, incapable of conjugating even the most simple Arabic verb? He who wishes to prove too much, proves nothing at all; all these contradictions show nothing...but the bad faith of the Muslim authors⁽⁶⁹⁾.

We are therefore in the presence of an almost general affirmation of a virtually universal agreement, that the Báb did not even study the rudiments of Arabic grammar; furthermore, he says so himself⁽⁷⁰⁾:

"Learn from me my order on the subject of my Remembrance.

"In truth, the spirit has aided it in every thing with the permission of God, and in truth there is no other god but God, the Powerful, the Beloved.

"Hence, when the age of this young man arrived at the moment in which it is obligatory to study the sciences, in truth We made him succeed in the "Jaziratu'l-Bahr" according to the tradition of Muhammad, Prophet of God in the past. And he learned nothing of your sciences from any of you. In truth! His relationship to this science was as if he had just been born of his mother; he was a stranger on this path. He was Ahmad, from the atoms of the Prophet of God, which were the science of God."

How then to explain his prodigious literary production? The answer to this is of the greatest simplicity. For the Bábis, the Báb being a Prophet, what happened to him is what took place to Muhammad, which we⁽⁷²⁾ admit for the apostles: the descent of the Holy Spirit taught all languages to them; it was God Who spoke by the mouth of the Arabian Prophet — the three cases are identical, and with him who has faith no discussion is possible.

The Muslims, for their part, simply say that the Báb had collaborators, and I regret to have found Europeans expressing the same opinion. First of all, this affirmation is contrary to historical truth, which is a grave error. We see, during the course of this story, the Báb beaten, pursued,

⁽⁶⁹⁾Nicolas writes: "I am very well aware that Mr. de Gobineau (Joseph Arthur, le Comte de Gobineau, author of "Les Religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale," Paris:1865) is, himself also, of the opinion that the Arabic of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad is a faulty Arabic, but I question the judgment of our [French] former minister at Tihrán, who did not know a word of this language, nor of Persian, which does not restrain the practice of attaching the title of "scholar" to his name. Scholar at a good price, for his book, "Religions and philosophies in Central Asia" — which is mistakenly taken as an original work — is nothing other than a very eloquent translation, but sometimes faulty, of the "Násikhū't-Tavárikh" [SIPIHR] made not by the author, but by a [Persian] Jew who knew a little French named Lalezar, and who was the professor of Mr. de Gobineau. As for the translation of the Arabic book of the "Precepts" (the Bayán, so says Mr. de Gobineau, which should suffice to denote his ignorance), I forewarn the reader that it is two-thirds incomprehensible and that the last third says exactly the opposite of the [original Arabic] text itself." Suffice it to say that Nicolas was not fond of M. de Gobineau! Please see the Introduction to this volume for more details. While the reference is not so very obvious, it appears that Nicolas thought it ironic that Gobineau should have employed a Jew to make his translations for him, inasmuch as Gobineau was a vociferous exponent of the racist doctrine which would consign the Jewish people, among many others, to the wastebin of history.

⁽⁷⁰⁾Nicolas does not give the source for this quotation from the Báb's Writings.

⁽⁷²⁾Nicolas here assumes that his readers are Christians, and inasmuch as most were fellow francophones, French men and women, his assumption would have been bonified.

imprisoned in solitary confinement, and his pen does not stop. Secondly, which one of his disciples would have pandered their works under his name, and why would he do so? To flee a terrible responsibility, for there could be no other reason. But when do we see in the course of this story a single one of his followers who hesitated — for even one second — before facing the consequences of his actions? And what consequences! Death by torture. To hide from death, in order to throw oneself in its direction through another door would be to singularly resemble the one who jumps into the river to avoid being moistened by the rain.

There are therefore but two hypotheses to advance: either Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad learned Arabic during his sojourn of two or three years in Karbilá, but then this would have been known, and the Muslims would not affirm that he did not learn it⁽⁷³⁾; or one must admit the reality of a phenomenon the causes of which escape our comprehension.

Finally, and to finish with this question, being myself incapable of appreciating the Arabic of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad, and to relate it — to his advantage or to his detriment — to that of the "Qur'an", I solicited the opinion of an Arabist of the highest standing, His Excellency Shams al-Dín Bey, the Ambassador of the Sublime Porte⁽⁷⁴⁾ in Tíhrán, asking him to please tell me, leaving aside all question of religion, what he thought of the language of the Báb. He declared to me with much warmth and sincerity that he found it very beautiful, very elevated, sometimes faulty, but of a great poetry and of a perfect eloquence.

This was exactly the view of Mr. Houdas, the professor of colloquial Arabic at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes⁽⁷⁵⁾.

⁽⁷³⁾Nicolas once more translates I'TIDAD: "At the start of his life, he occupied himself with acquiring the Persian sciences, but he did not learn the elements of Arabic"; and SIPIHR: "In his childhood, he occupied himself with learning Persian and the elements of Arabic." The reader is urged to consult footnote (8), this Chapter.

⁽⁷⁴⁾The "Sublime Porte" denotes the government of the Ottoman Empire, the capital of that Empire, and the seat of the Sultán (Emperor), in Istanbul (Constantinople).

Chapter Two

The Declaration — The Pilgrimage — His Name

Meanwhile in Shíráz, Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad reflected for a long time upon the teaching which he had received in Karbílá and upon the corruption there, in the midst of which those mulláhá⁽¹⁾ and mujtahidún⁽²⁾ made religion a springboard from which to achieve wealth and honors.

The spectacle of these turpitudes, these disgraces, vices and lies of the clerical order disgusted his pure and sincere soul. He felt the need of bringing about a profound reform in the public morals, but hesitated, more than once, before the prospect of the revolution that must needs be unleashed in order to deliver the bodies and the intellects of his countrymen from the bondage of brutalization and violence that weighed upon all of Persia for the greatest profit of an elite of pleasure seekers and for the greatest shame of the true religion of the Prophet⁽³⁾. His perplexity must have been profound, his anguish terrible, and he needed the threefold support of which Horace speaks⁽⁴⁾ so that he could precipitate himself with lowered head into that ocean of superstitions and hatreds that must finally engulf him. This is one of the most magnificent examples of courage that has been given to humanity to contemplate, and it is also an admirable proof of the love that our hero felt for his fellow men. He sacrificed himself for humanity — for it he gave his body and his soul; for it he submitted to privations, affronts, injuries, torture and martyrdom. He sealed with his blood the pact of universal fraternity, and like Jesus, he paid with his life for announcing a reign of concord, of equity and of the love of fellow being. More than any other, he knew what formidable dangers he was accumulating to his own risk, and he could judge for himself the exasperation to which fanaticism, cleverly excited, could attain. But all of the reflections which he entertained on this subject were not strong enough to turn him away from the

⁽¹⁾"mulláhá" is the plural form of the Persian word "mullá." The Steingass Persian-English Dictionary (New Delhi, India: 1981) defines "mullá" as "a schoolmaster, doctor, learned man, a judge, a priest" (p. 1303); in this context, the meaning Nicolas refers to is that which most closely approximates "clergyman" — which, in the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í tradition, has somewhat different connotations than the Protestant "minister," the Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox "priest" and the Jewish "rabbi." The reader is referred to the entry for "mullá" in the "Encyclopaedia of Islám."

⁽²⁾"mujtahidún" is the plural form of the Arabic word "mujtahid." The Wehr Arabic-English Dictionary edited by Cowan (Ithaca, New York: 1994) defines "mujtahid" as "a legist formulating independent decisions in legal or theological matters, based on the interpretation and application of the four 'usúl'" (p. 169); the four 'usúl' — usually called "usúl al-fiqh" or "principles of the law" — are listed by Wehr/Cowan (p. 23) as 1) Qur'án; 2) "sunna" (the "tradition" also called "hadíth" composed of recorded sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad and, in Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Islám, those associated with his descendants, the twelve Imáms); 3) "qiyás" meaning "analogy"; and 4) "ijmá" translated as "consensus." This term is derived from "ijtihád" which Wehr/Cowan (p. 169) as "effort, exertion, endeavor, pains, trouble; application, industry, diligence; (Islámic law) independent judgment in a legal or theological question, based on the interpretation and application of the four usúl, as opposed to taqlíd, q.v.; individual judgment." For further information on "ijtihád," "mujtahidún" and the four "usúl," the reader is referred to the entries for these terms in the "Encyclopaedia of Islám." For definitions of "taqlíd" the reader is referred to the same reference work, and to note (91) in Chapter Three.

⁽³⁾Muhammad, the Messenger of God, the Prophet of Islám.

⁽⁴⁾THIS CITATION HAS NOT YET BEEN LOCATED.

path upon which he had already resolved to venture — fear had no hold on his soul, and tranquil, without deigning to glance in arrears, calm, in full possession of himself, he stepped into the furnace.

It was on the night of 5 Jumáda al-Ákhar⁽⁵⁾ of the year 1260, at two hours and five minutes⁽⁶⁾ of the evening⁽⁷⁾, that having for a last time supplicated the Most Exalted⁽⁸⁾ to indicate to him what he must do, he cried out⁽⁹⁾:

"God has created me to instruct these ignorant ones, and to save them from the estrangement into which they have plunged!"⁽¹⁰⁾

From that moment, he burned his boats⁽¹¹⁾. He proclaimed himself to be the Door⁽¹²⁾ that conducts to the knowledge of divine Truths. Thereby he referred to that affirmation of official theology⁽¹³⁾

⁽⁵⁾According to most sources, the Báb's declaration took place on 5 Jumáda al-Awwal rather than, as Nicolas states, on 5 Jumáda al-Ákhar. Please see note (61) of Chapter One for details.

⁽⁶⁾According to Nicolas, the declaration of the Báb took place at 2 hours and 5 minutes in the evening (that is, after sunset); other sources cite 2 hours and 11 minutes, or 2 hours and 15 minutes. Please see note (61) of Chapter One for details.

⁽⁷⁾"Evening" in this case refers to the period that begins at sunset. One day ends and another begins, according to the Islámic calendar, at sunset. While unfamiliar to many other religionists and nationalities, this reckoning of the day is common to Jews, Muslims and Bahá'ís. Nicolas provides at this point in the text his calculation of 5 Jumáda al-Ákhar 1260 according to the Gregorian calendar, and arrives at 11 June 1844. As reported in note (63) of Chapter One, more recent scholars have indicated that 5 Jumáda al-Ákhar 1260 corresponds to 2 June 1844. Please see this note (63) for more details.

⁽⁸⁾"al'íy" is an adjectival form of the Arabic word "aluw" meaning in this form "high, tall, elevated; exalted, sublime, lofty, august, excellent" according to Wehr/Cowan (p. 749). When preceded by a definite article, "al-'Alíy" refers to God, meaning "the Most High, the Supreme." This is one of the names and attributes of God. It is also especially associated with the person and revelation of the Báb, by himself and by Bahá'u'lláh as well. One reason for this association is that it refers to the given name of the Báb — 'Alíy' — which, until the time of the Báb's ministry, was associated for a thousand years with the Imám 'Alí, the first of the twelve Imáms of Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Islám. The Báb and Bahá'u'lláh indicate that this name of God is incomparably exalted above its prior connotations through the appearance and revelation of the Most Exalted [Alíy], the Báb.

⁽⁹⁾Nicolas may be quoting the Báb, in which case he has not identified the provenance of this citation; or, he may be voicing what he considers to be the Báb's sentiments on this occasion.

⁽¹⁰⁾Nicolas does not cite words of the Báb, except when they have been recorded in writing by the Báb himself. It appears then that these words are from the Súrat al-Muluk, the first chapter of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'", which was, according to various accounts, revealed during the night of 5 Jumáda al-Awwal 1260/22-23 May 1844. Please see note (43) this Chapter, and note (16) Chapter Three for more details related to "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'".

⁽¹¹⁾This is a French expression which means the same as the English idiom: "he burned his bridges."

⁽¹²⁾The Arabic word translated here as "Door" is "Báb." Wehr/Cowan indicates (p. 98) that the root of this word is the verb "b-w-b" which has the connotation "to divide into chapters or sections; to arrange in groups, arrange systematically, class, classify"; while the same source defines the noun "Báb" as "door, gate, opening, gateway, entrance, chapter, section, column, rubric, group, class, category, field." The Báb

according to which, with the passing of Muhammad and the twelve Imáms, the door of divine science had been closed; and humanity, having nobody left to consult in order to attain certitude regarding the mysteries of God, was thereafter obliged to content itself with probabilities. He summarily declared that this Door was open once again, that he was himself this Door; and that they who wished to attain to certainties regarding the divine nature had but to address themselves to him.

He wrote to the principal 'ulamá'⁽¹⁴⁾, those whom he considered to be sincere in their faith and honest — for they can be found, "rari nantes in gurgite vasto"⁽¹⁵⁾:

"Come to me, you who search, for the Door of divine knowledge is open in my person."⁽¹⁶⁾

While awaiting their replies, in the mosque of the blacksmiths⁽¹⁷⁾, adjoining his house, he commenced his preaching, which included attacks upon the degeneracy of the established clergy. This was, for him, the cause of an unmitigated wrath, for he had a vigorous hatred of vice, which, in turn, released against him the fury of those who felt themselves touched by his blows.

It was at this moment that Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í arrived at Shíráz, having left Karbilá, as we have said, seeking him whose advent Siyyid Kázim Rashtí had announced. He rapidly attained certitude that he had found this one in the person of the young Siyyid, and thereafter showed towards him such respect, obedience, and devotion as was ultimately to bring about his own death.

indicated for himself the latter meaning, "door" or "gate", when he spoke of himself as "al-Báb"; he used the same word "Báb" to denominate the subdivisions of each chapter (called "wáhid" in Arabic and pronounced "váhid" in Persian) of certain of his works (including "Haykal al-dín," "Kitáb al-asmá'," "Bayán al-'arabíyya" and "Bayán-i-fársi"). This latter use of "Báb" is very common in Arabic literature.

⁽¹³⁾Nicolas makes reference here to the official theology of the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Muslims.

⁽¹⁴⁾"ulamá'" is the plural form of an Arabic word, "Alím" meaning "learned, erudite; scholar, savant, scientist; (in Islám) theologian and expert in canonical law" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 745). It is this latter Islámí meaning which Nicolas is employing in this biography. As we have seen, the term "mullá" is more inclusive than "Alím" and even more specific is the term "mujtahid".

⁽¹⁵⁾An English translation of this Latin phrase of undetermined origin: YET TO BE IDENTIFIED.

⁽¹⁶⁾The original of this text has yet to be identified as to origin. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 107) mentions four different letters written by the Báb to the principal 'ulamá': 1) to the principal 'ulamá' of Isfáhán; 2) to the principal 'ulamá' of Tabríz written in Chihríq; 3) to the principal 'ulamá' of Tabríz from an unknown location; 4) to the principal 'ulamá' of Írán. The last of these four, called "Kitáb al-'ulamá'" is cited in Abu'l-Qasim Afnan's book (pp. 107-111), and is stated by this author to have been revealed shortly after the Báb's return from pilgrimage. Fariba Ghayebi (email dated 26 February 2002) could not find the phrase cited here by Nicolas, so apparently it was penned in one of the other letters to the 'ulamá'. See note (56) in Chapter Four for details regarding the Tablet to the 'ulamá' revealed by the Báb in Máh-Kú.

⁽¹⁷⁾Nicolas refines his own translation as follows: "Or rather, the fabricants of sabers." We may observe that the fashioning of swords was a useful occupation in a country that had much need of defensive (and apparently also of offensive) weapons, and which was still more likely to use the sword, in the mid-19th century, than to wield the firearm.

He was thus the first believer, "Awwal min amín"⁽¹⁸⁾, a title by which he was as often designated as by that of "Báb al-báb"⁽¹⁹⁾, given him afterwards by his Master.

We will report elsewhere the story of his conversion, in order not to delay our narrative, but we are nevertheless obliged to stop here for a moment in order to explain the modalities of the "Declaration" — a subject which we will develop in the second volume⁽²⁰⁾.

The 5th of Jumáda al-Ákhar 1260 is not as it has been believed up to now the day upon which the Báb, suddenly illumined by the Spirit of God, understood and announced the mission with which he had been charged. This descent of the prophetic spirit took place some time before then, but the Báb concealed it so to speak within himself, and, its gestation having come to an end [at this time], he [openly] proclaimed to the world his summons to peace and fraternity. The date of this descent is given to us with precision in the "Kitáb al-haramayn":

"Say, O company, hear the order of the Eternity of God coming from his slave. In truth, this slave is a slave who was born the 1st Muharram of the year 1236.

"And in truth, today is the day of the month which is the month before Rajab of the year 1261. This was written in the Book of God."⁽²¹⁾

⁽¹⁸⁾"Awwal min amín" which means the "first of the faithful" is a title which the Báb bestowed upon Mullá Husayn. Previous to the Báb's declaration, this title was associated exclusively with the Imám 'Alí, who was, according to Islámic tradition, the first man to believe in Muhammad's divine mission. It is recorded that the first woman to recognize his mission was Muhammad's wife Khadíjih. Nicolas cites an unidentified passage from the writings of the Báb, as evidence of this identity, name and station for Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í. An English translation of Nicolas' French text:

"Say: 'In truth I have fixed from now, until the day to which God will permit me, the first who has believed in me as a witness and aid for you.'"

For more details concerning Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í, please see note (22) of Chapter One.

⁽¹⁹⁾"Báb al-báb" means "Door of the door" (see note (12) for more details regarding the meaning of "Báb"). In reference to this title of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í, Nicolas cites and critiques the comments of le Comte de Gobineau, in his book entitled "Les Religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale" (Paris:1865): "Mr. Comte de Gobineau writes that the Báb, abandoning this title, adopted that of Point. 'The title of Báb, thus at liberty, was given to Bushrú'í.' Bushrú'í never had the two titles which are given to him here [by Gobineau], and as for that [title] of the Báb, we will see what it signified, and the impossibility that he who possessed it should cast off no matter which one of his titles."

⁽²⁰⁾Nicolas refers here, as elsewhere in this biography, to a second volume. Inasmuch as a second volume with the title of this work was not published at any time in subsequent years, it appears that Nicolas may have further developed these themes in other contexts. Also published in 1905 was his translation of the Báb's "Bayán al-'arabíyya" as "Le Beyan Arabe" (Paris:Leroux). Nicolas' "Avant-Propos" to this translation, which is 101 pages in length, comprising the first half of the entire volume, may well comprise that continuation and development of "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb" of which he spoke here as a second volume. In any case, subsequent to the publication of this present volume, the "Avant-Propos" in question will be made available in English with appropriate annotations.

⁽²¹⁾Nicolas writes: "The half of the month which is before Rijib is 15 Jumáda al-Ákhar."

"In truth, the first day on which the spirit descended into the heart of this slave was the 15th of the month of Rabí al-Awwal. And until today, in which God forbids you my verses, fifteen months have been written in the Book of God."⁽²²⁾

The sermons of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad, while vociferous, were not numerous — he had little time [to make them], for he departed⁽²³⁾ in the month of Sha'bán⁽²⁴⁾ to make his pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving behind him a stupified Shíráz.

Tradition would have it that he was accompanied on his voyage by various persons. I am unaware of the number and will limit myself to mentioning the name of his uncle, that of Bushrú'í and of Bárfurúshí⁽²⁵⁾. They went to Búshíhr, where they took their places on a sailboat which was to

⁽²²⁾Nicolas writes: "The 15th of the month of Rabí al-Awwal of the preceeding year, which is to say 1260, which is equivalent to the 21 March 1844."

Fariba Ghayebi (25 February 2002) pointed out that from 15 Rabí al-Awwal 1260 to 5 Jamádíyu'l-Úlá (the date of the declaration of the Báb) are forty-nine days, and hence that the former date corresponds to 5 April 1844 in the Gregorian calendar, not 21 March 1844, as alleged by Nicolas. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 59) quotes a paragraph from a Tablet of the Báb addressed to Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Quddús, which states that the first descent of the spirit upon the innermost heart [fu'ad] of the Báb took place during the month of Rabí al-Awwal, but without specifying the day of this descent. This same author mentions that at this very time Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í was engaged in a forty-day "i'tikáf" in Kufa. Fariba Ghayebi (email dated 26 February 2002) notes that between Rabí al-Awwal and Muharram 1261 there are nine months, not fifteen months as stated in Nicolas' copy of "Kitáb al-haramayn". See note (28) for more details related to the revelation of this book.

⁽²³⁾The Báb left the city of Shíráz to undertake his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina on 26 Sha'bán 1260 (10 September 1844) according to the Báb's "Khutba al-Jidda" (cited Amanat, p. 239, n. 198; Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 86); or during the month of Shawvál 1260 according to MU'IN (cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 129, n. 1). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 86) quotes the text of "Khutba al-Jidda" as establishing the date of the Báb's arrival in Medina on 7 Muharram 1261.

⁽²⁴⁾Nicolas, who did not cite the "Khutba al-Jidda", nevertheless regarded Sha'bán as the month in which the Báb departed Shíráz on pilgrimage.

⁽²⁵⁾Amanat (p. 221, n. 210) cites "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd IV: báb 18), stating that the Báb described his only companions on pilgrimage to be Quddús and Mubáarak. Nicolas translates this passage from the "Bayán" as follows (tome II:1913, p. 164):

"Celui qui le connut et qui fit le pelerinage avec lui est celui-la meme sur lequel huit unites ont passees et Dieu l'honora aupres de ses anges au plus haut des cieux a cause de la facon dont il s'etait separe de tous, et son acte d'etre sans reproche dans le contentement de Dieu. Ce n'est pas qu'une grace speciale lui ait ete accordee car cette grace a ete accordee a tous. Mais tous sont dans l'ignorance de cette grace, car dans cette annee meme la manifestation du Livre du commentaire de la Sourate de Joseph parvint a tous⁽⁴²⁾."

An English rendering of this passage reveals the following traits:

"He who recognized him and who took the pilgrimage with him is the same one upon whom eight unities have passed and God will honor him before His angels in the highest heavens because of the fashion in which he separated himself from all things, and his action is being without reproach in the contentment of God. It is not that a special grace was accorded to him, for this grace was accorded to all. But all are ignorant of this grace, for in this same year the Book of the Commentary on the Súrah of Joseph became manifest to all⁽⁴²⁾."

conduct them to Mascat. The winds were contrary, the voyage dragged on and lasted twelve days; the heat was oppressive, and soon the lack of water afflicted the passengers with the torments of thirst⁽²⁶⁾. Happily the boat was charged with a cargo of little lemons cultivated in Shíráz, which permitted our hero to sustain himself.

He retained from his voyage the very worst impression⁽²⁷⁾ —

"Know that the ways of the sea are painful — we do not wish them for our faithful ones. Voyage upon routes by land."

While this passage does identify only one person as the companion of the Báb on pilgrimage, it does not name that person, and Nicolas ("Le Beyan Persan," tome 3, p. 164, n. 1) thought that this companion of the Báb was Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í. ZARANDI (pp. 86, 129) states that the Báb was accompanied by two persons only on his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina — his Ethiopian servant (please see Chapter One, note (18) for more detail) and Quddús, the eighteenth Letter of the Living. AFNAN (p. 37) likewise identified the pilgrimage party in this manner (cited Amanat, p. 241, n. 210). Amanat (Ibid.) cites the reports of Nicolas and MU'IN (p. 73) which name other companions, and indicates that these reports are erroneous. SIPIHR (vol. III, p. 238) and KAZEM-BEG (vol. VII, pp. 344n, 477-478n) claim that Quddús joined the Báb in the midst of the hájj, but this is not substantiated by other sources (Amanat, Ibid.).

⁽²⁶⁾Nicolas cites a passage from "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhid IV: báb 16) in the original Persian (p. 454, Note D), which he translated into French as follows ("Le Beyan Persan," tome II:1913, p. 154):

"C'est ainsi que moi-meme, j'ai vu dans le voyage de la Meqqe, un personnage qui depensait des sommes considerables, mais hesitait devant la depense d'un verre d'eau pour son compagnon de route qui habitait avec lui. Cela se passait sur le bateau, et l'eau y etait rare, de telle sorte que moi-meme, dans le voyage de Bouchir a Mascat, qui dura quinze jours pendant lesquels on ne put faire d'eau, je dus me contenter de citrons doux.."

An English translation of this passage reads as follows:

"It is thus that I myself saw during the pilgrimage, a person who spent considerable sums of money, but who hesitated to share a glass of water with the fellow traveler who lived with him. This happened on the ship, and water was very rare there, so much so that I had to content myself with sweet lemons, during the voyage from Búshihr to Mascat, which lasted for fifteen days during which one could not find water."

ZARANDI (p. 131) cites the same passage from "Bayán-i-fársí" in an abbreviated fashion, and Amanat (p. 241) and Balyuzi (p. 71) likewise refer to this verse. It is curious that Nicolas states that this sea voyage lasted twelve days, while the Báb writes in "Bayán-i-fársí" that the voyage from Búshihr to Mascat was fifteen days in length. Amanat (p. 240), basing his account on "Khutba al-Jidda" (p. 239, n. 198) indicates that the Báb and his companions arrived in Búshihr on 6 Ramadán/20 September, boarding a ship for Jidda two weeks later. He also states, citing various sources (p. 241, n. 214) that the sea voyage lasted seventy-one days altogether, stopping in Kangan, Muscat and Mocha before arriving at Jidda. Hájí Abu'l-Hasan Shírází, one of the fellow passengers of the Báb, who later became a Bábí, told ZARANDI (p. 130) that this voyage lasted in total approximately two months.

⁽²⁷⁾Tore Kjeilen, writes in an article on Babism in his "Encyclopaedia of the Orient" (<http://icias.com/e.o/babism.htm>) that among contemporary Bábís in Uzbekistan "travelling is restricted, especially sea travels."

— he wrote in the "Kitáb bayn al-haramayn"⁽²⁸⁾, addressing his uncle⁽²⁹⁾, as we shall see later on. He returned in lengthy fashion to this subject in the "Bayán"⁽³⁰⁾. We must not believe that this is childishness; the sentiment which guided the Báb in his horror of the sea was more noble and more elevated. Struck by the egoism of the pilgrims, the exasperated egoism of stress, and by the dangers attending a voyage upon the sea, as well as generally by the state of filth in which the voyagers were obliged to live on deck, he wished to avoid giving men such occasions whereby they might give vent to their bad instincts and might ill-treat each other. We know that the Apostle expressly recommends politeness, indeed, the most refined courtesy in social relations⁽³¹⁾:

"Do not sadden whoever it may be for whatever reason."

⁽²⁸⁾"Kitáb bayn al-haramayn" is best known as "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" (ZARANDI, p. 137; MacEoin, pp. 60-61; Amanat, pp. 137, 246-249; Balyuzi, p. 73; Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 450). It was written between the cities of Mecca and Medina, as indicated by the title — "Epistle between the two holy places" — and is listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin, p. 51), which latter book is dated 21 June 1845 (MacEoin, p. 50). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 450) writes that "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" was revealed during the first night of Muharram 1261. Inasmuch as the Báb journeyed to Mecca for the pilgrimage, it is certain that he was there during Dhi'l-Hijj 1260, the month prior to Muharram (the first month of the Islamic year, hence 1261 A.H.), and thus it is entirely credible that he would have written a Tablet between Mecca and Medina [bayna'l-haramayn] on 1 Muharram 1261. Ten manuscripts of this work have been located, two of which are dated 1845 (MacEoin, pp. 61, 197-198). This book was addressed to a fellow pilgrim, Mírzá Muhammad Husayn Muhít-i Kirmání, in reply to his questions according to various sources (ZARQANI, pp. 134-138; MacEoin, pp. 60-61; Amanat, pp. 246-247; Balyuzi, pp. 72-74). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 577) reports that Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání and Mírzá Muhít were the two recipients of this work. He indicates that Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání visited the Báb in Mecca and asked him some questions, which were answered in a long Tablet (most of which is now lost) received by this interlocutor in Medina, a short paragraph from which is cited (p. 609).

⁽²⁹⁾Nicolas may have confused the Báb's uncle, Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (Khál-i-A'zam) with Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání, who is mentioned by name in "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" (Amanat, p. 241, n. 210). The circumstances of the writing of this work are regarded as well established by historians, and due to the nature of this work, it was certainly not written for the Báb's uncle. While it is possible that the Báb wrote another work, perhaps entitled "Kitáb bayn al-haramayn" or "Kitáb al-haramayn" and addressed to his uncle, Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, no copy of such a work has been preserved to the present. There is no mention of this title in "Kitáb al-fihrist" in any case, making it very unlikely that the Báb could have composed such a work during his pilgrimage. "Kitáb al-fihrist" contains a list of the works written by the Báb "between the beginning of the year 1260 to the middle of the first month of the year 1262" which MacEoin reckons from 22 January 1844 to 14 January 1846 (MacEoin, p. 50). Inasmuch as the Báb departed from Medina, his pilgrimage completed, on 6 February 1845 (Amanat, p. 243, citing "Khutbat al-Jidda"), everything he wrote during the pilgrimage should be found listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist." It seems likely that pages from a letter addressed to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, Khál-i-A'zam, were interspersed with the pages of Nicolas' copy of "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn". Indeed, Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 131) informs us that the Báb wrote a letter to his uncle from the city of Burazján, which is between Búshihr and Shíráz, on his way back from pilgrimage, which is dated 24 Jamádi al-Thání 1261.

⁽³⁰⁾The Báb indeed dwells on the subject of pilgrimage journeys in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd IV: báb 16) and refers to other kinds of voyages in the same book (váhíd VI: báb 17).

⁽³¹⁾Nicolas once more cites an unidentified passage from the writings of the Báb.

Fariba Ghayebi (email 26/2/02) pointed out that this verse is found in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd IV: báb 16), with the Persian wording: "dar hích hál bar hích nafsí huzn várid nayá várid". In the very next verse it states that the reason for not saddening anyone is that the hearts of the believers are close to God.

He was able, during this voyage, to himself attest to the nastiness of man and his brutality when he finds himself faced with difficult circumstances⁽³²⁾:

"For the saddest thing that I saw during my pilgrimage to Mecca were the constant disputes of the pilgrims amongst themselves, disputes which removed from them the general blessings of their pilgrimage."

He arrived at Mascat where he rested a few days, during which he sought to convert the people of the land — without success. He addressed himself to one among them, probably a clergyman and of elevated rank, through whose conversion might be brought about that of his fellow citizens — this I suppose, for he does not refer to this subject in any detail. It is certain that he would not have sought to convert the first comer, one who would not have had any influence over the other inhabitants of the town. That he attempted a conversion and that he did not succeed therein, is indisputable, because he affirms this himself⁽³³⁾:

⁽³²⁾Nicolas translates another unidentified passage regarding the conduct of his fellow pilgrims.

This same passage is found translated by Amanat (p. 242), and derives from "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd IV: báb 16). This passage seems to have been re-translated by Nicolas prior to the publication of "Le Beyan Persan" (tome II:1913, pp. 154-155), as there it is found with this wording:

"Rien n'est plus important dans la route du pelerinage que d'acquérir des qualites, de facon que celui qui fait le pelerinage avec quelqu'un ne voit (ni n'occasionne) de tourment, ainsi que je l'ai vu dans la route de la Meqqe. J'y ai vu des actes plus vils qu'aucun acte aux yeux de Dieu, et qui etaient cause que la bonne action qu'ils faisaient (en allant en pelerinage) etait vaine. C'etaient des disputes entre pelerins! En tout etat de cause des disputes de ce genre sont interdites."

This may be translated into English as follows:

"Nothing is more important in the path of pilgrimage than to acquire qualities, in such fashion that he who undertakes the pilgrimage with anyone does not see (nor bring upon himself) any torment, even as I saw on the way to Mecca. On that way I saw acts more vile than any act imaginable in the eyes of God, and which were the cause whereby the good actions that they carried out (in going on the pilgrimage) were nullified. It was the disputes among pilgrims! In all circumstances disputes of this kind are forbidden."

⁽³³⁾Nicolas does not identify the provenance of this passage either, but it will be identified in note (35).

Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 79) wrote that the Báb declared his prophetic mission to the people of Mecca, and also on board the ship from Jidda to Mascat. Most of his fellow passengers were Persians, and upon their return to their hometowns, they spread the news that one calling himself the Qá'im had appeared. The Báb (cited in *Ibid.*), addressed his fellow passengers in this manner: "wa-kalika qad kán hakim alláh láhal safinsah illá nafámínham annah qad ámín báyátaná wa-kán min al-mantaqín". A provisional translation of these verses by Fariba Ghayebi (email 6 March 2002): "It was God's judgment (hukm) upon all those on board, save one. In truth he believed in our verses and was one of the pure souls (taghwá)." One of the reasons for the Báb's sojourn in Mascat, according to Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 80), was to proclaim his prophetic station to Shaykh Sulaymán, a famous and powerful Sunní mujtahid. He did not become a Bábí. According to Afnan (pp. 80, 110), these lines in "Kitáb al-'ulamá'" apply to Shaykh Sulaymán: "walaqád nazal dhikr alláh ard masqat wa-balagh hakim alláh ilá rajal manhim la'llah yatadhikr báyátaná wa-kán min al-mahatidín qul anba' huwáh ba'd qad tall ayátaná wánah rí hakim al-kitáb lan al-mu'atidín".

"The mention of God, in truth, descended upon the land of Masqat, and caused the order of God to arrive to one of the inhabitants of the land. It was proven that he understood our verses and he became one of those who are guided."

"Say: This man obeys his passions after having read our verses. And in truth, this man is, according to the order of the Book, among the number of the Transgressors."⁽³⁴⁾

"Say: At Mascat we have not seen people of the Book who have aided him, for they are lost ignorant ones. And it was the same for all⁽³⁵⁾ those who were found on the boat, if there is not one among them who believed in our verses and became of those who fear God."

He continued on his way and arrived at Mecca, where he devoted himself to those practices prescribed for the visit to the house of God⁽³⁶⁾. The Muslim reports, and also the Bábí ones — but these latter with a certain hesitation, depict him one day with his back to the wall of the Ka'bih, drawing his sword and proclaiming the arrival of the Imám Mahdí who must conquer all upon the surface of the globe.

One must not hesitate to believe in this. The Muslims, convinced that our hero is nothing but a false prophet and a pretender, accuse him at every moment of conforming his conduct to the fulfillment of those prophecies which regulate almost all of the movements of the "Sáhib

⁽³⁴⁾Nicolas indicates that this passage is related to a verse from Súrat al-Qalam in the Qur'án (68:11-14):

"And yield not to any mean swearer,
 "Backbiter, one who goes about slandering,
 "Forbidder of good, transgressor, sinful,
 "Ill-mannered and, in addition to that, of doubtful birth."
 (Maulawi Sher Ali, translator)

The word found in the Qur'án to which the Báb refers in this passage is "mu'tadin" (transgressor).

⁽³⁵⁾Nicolas directs his reader to Note E (p. 454) which he identifies as the original Arabic text of a passage found in "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn." Note E is here cited in its entirety, in transliteration:

walaqád nazal dhikr alláh ard masqat wa-balagh hakím
 alláh ilá rajal manhim la'llah yatadhikr báyátaná wa-kán
 min al-mahatidín
 qul anba' huwáh ba'd qad talí ayátaná wánah rí hakím
 al-kitáb lan al-mu'atidín [the transgressors]
 qul má narí ahal al-kitáb fihá ráfiqah ilá qúm núr
 jáhalín wa-kathalika qad kán hakím alláh láhal safínsah
 illá nafámínham annah qad ámin báyátaná wa-kán min
 al-mantaqín

A close comparison of this text with that translated by Nicolas and then rendered into English in (33) indicates that this is indeed the Arabic original. Fariba Ghayebi (26/2/02) pointed out that this passage is cited by Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 80, 110), and that it is part of "Kitáb al-'ulamá'" (cited in full by Afnan, pp. 107-111), rather than from "Sahífa bayn al-haramayn". It seems that, in some cases, the manuscripts available to Nicolas may have intermixed texts from diverse works.

⁽³⁶⁾The "house of God" is usually called "baytu'l-harám" (the sacred house), and refers to Ka'bih, the black stone which is the central shrine associated with the holy city of Mecca.

al-Zamán"⁽³⁷⁾. In acting thus, the Báb gave himself at least the exterior appearance of being the Prophet of the end of times⁽³⁸⁾, and could, by this very fact, attract the attention of the commoners. From this point of view, the question is very simple. Amidst the mass of the hadíth⁽³⁹⁾ which announce the conquest of the globe by Islám, Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad would have chosen the easiest ones to realize, and would thus have made himself a "guide to the perfect Mahdí" to which he would have conformed his conduct.

Truly, the Muslims make light of their adversary. In looking over the books of Mr. Browne⁽⁴⁰⁾, one could become convinced, particularly in reading the transcripts of the meetings in Isfahán and in

⁽³⁷⁾"Sáhib al-Zamán" is explained in Chapter One, note (36) and the prophecies related to "Sáhib al-Zamán" are noted briefly in note (37). A more detailed account of these prophecies is found in Nicolas, "L'Islám Chiíte ou Islám Persan," Chapitre III: "L'Imám Mehdi — Le Chiisme Actuel" (pp. 145-188) in "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb"; and Amanat (pp. 89-102, 193-201 passim.). Sáhib al-Zamán is also called Imám Mahdí — please see note (43).

⁽³⁸⁾The Báb refers to his fulfillment of prophecies, and to his prophetic station in innumerable passages found throughout his Writings. In one of his books, the Persian "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" (Seven Proofs), he goes into this matter in considerable detail. There is a much shorter work in Arabic which goes by the title "Dalá'il al-sab'a" and this seems to be comprise an invocation and a summary of the Persian "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih." There are three known manuscripts of this Arabic work (MacEoin, pp. 87-87, 185), one of which was used in producing a lithographed edition of "Dalá'il al-sab'ah" and its Persian counterpart "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" (MacEoin, p. 185; Amanat, p. 443). The Báb himself indicated that the Persian "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" was written in Máh-Kú (cited MacEoin, p. 86, n. 43), but its intended recipient has not been reliably identified (MacEoin, p. 87). There are thirteen manuscripts of "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" known to be extant (MacEoin, p. 185), and one of these was the basis for the publication of this work with "Dalá'il al-sab'ah" mentioned earlier. Passages from "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" have been rendered into English by Shoghi Effendi ("Selections from the Writings of the Báb," Haifa:1976, pp. 117, 123; identified on p. 223); by Habib Taherzadeh with the assistance of a committee at the Bahá'í World Centre (in *Ibid.*, pp. 117-126); and by Edward Granville Browne ("A Traveller's Narrative," Note C, p. 221). A.L.M. Nicolas translated the entirety of "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" into French, and this translation was published in Paris in 1902. Excerpts from Nicolas' translation were cited as footnotes by Shoghi Effendi in "The Dawn-breakers" (pp. 17-18, n. 2; p. 23, n. 5; p. 24, n. 1; p. 196, n. 2; p. 249, n. 1; p. 252, n. 2; p. 259, n. 1; p. 495, n. 2). A provisional translation of Nicolas' rendering of the entire book from French into English, with annotations, will be published in a subsequent volume of this series of Babi Studies.

⁽³⁹⁾"hadíth" is defined by Wehr/Cowan (p. 190) as "prophetic tradition, narrative relating deeds and utterances of the Prophet [Muhammad] and his Companions" and, in the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í context, it also includes the traditions associated with the twelve Imáms. Another term used to identify these traditions is "sunna" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 505), which more frequently identifies the law based upon "hadíth" than the "hadíth" itself.

⁽⁴⁰⁾Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926), Fellow at Pembroke College, Cambridge University (1887-1902), and Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University (1902-1926), amassed one of the most extensive collections of Bábí, Azalí and Bahá'í literature in existence (see E.G. Browne and R.A. Nicholson, "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. belonging to the late E.G. Browne," Cambridge, 1932). Professor Browne dedicated a number of years to the study of the Báb and his followers. His publications on this subject include:

"The Bábís of Persia. I. Sketch of their History, and Personal Experiences amongst them. II. Their Literature and Doctrines," in "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" (JRAS), volume 21, 1889, pp. 485-526, 881-1009 (reprinted with annotations in Momen, editor, "Selections from the Writings of E.G. Browne" (SWEGB), pp. 145-315).

Tabríz⁽⁴¹⁾, that the greatest argument of the mulláhá against the mission of the Báb, consists in their criticism of the names of his father and his mother...and the Báb does not know what to answer. These are child's play, unworthy of those who invented and wrote them.

"A Traveller's Narrative Written to Illustrate the Episode of the Báb," edited and translated from the Persian text of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, two volumes (vol. I, Persian text; vol. II, English translation and notes), Cambridge, 1891 (reprinted in one volume, Amsterdam, 1975).

"Some Remarks on the Bábí Texts edited by Baron Victor Rosen," in *JRAS*, volume 24, 1892, pp. 259-332.

"A Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts," in *JRAS*, volume 24, 1892, pp. 433-499, 637-710.

'Bábism,' in "Religious Systems of the World," 1892 (reprinted in Momen, editor, *SWEGB*, pp. 407-427).

"A Year Amongst the Persians," London, 1893 (reprinted 1926; new edition, 1984).

"The *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* or New History of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb," edited and translated from the Persian text of Mírzá Husayn-i-Hamadání, Cambridge, 1893 (reprinted Amsterdam, 1975).

"Personal Reminiscences of the Bábí Insurrection at Zanján in 1850, edited and translated from the Persian text of Áqá 'Abdu'l-Ahad-i-Zanjání," translated, in *JRAS*, volume 29, 1897, pp. 761-827.

"A Literary History of Persia," four volumes, Cambridge and London, 1902-1924.

"Báb, Bábís," in "Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics," volume II, 1909, pp. 299-308.

"Nuqtatu'l-Káf," editor of text alleged to be written by Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání, London and Leiden, 1910.

"Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion," Cambridge, 1918.

"A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. Belonging to the Late E.G. Browne," completed by R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1932.

For more information about E.G. Browne's life and work, please see the following link: <http://bahai-library.org/encyclopedia/browne.html>

⁽⁴¹⁾There seem to have been three occasions on which the Báb was summoned to account for the public reports of his claims to be the "Gate" to the Imám Mahdí, or the Imám Mahdí and the Qá'im himself. The first is reported to have taken place in *Shíráz*, after the Báb's return from pilgrimage, and is reported by ZARANDI (pp. 142-143), AHMAD (pp. 452-453), KAF (p. 112), SIPIHR (pp. 42-44), MU'IN (pp. 69-93), and GOBINEAU (pp. 151-155). Amanat makes brief reference to this *Shírází* tribunal and cites the sources noted here (p. 255, n. 283). In *Isfáhán* in 1847, the Báb took part in a second debate with a number of the mujtahidún, which was reported, according to Amanat (p. 258, n. 291): in ZARANDI (pp. 207-208); KAF (pp. 116-118); SIPIHR (volume III, pp. 44-47); ZUHUR (pp. 93-94); 'Abdu'l-Husayn Ayatú Taftú Áváríh (henceforth AVARIH), "al-Kawákib al-Durríyya fí Ma'áthir al-Bahá'íyya" (Cairo:1327/1948, two volumes; volume I, pp. 73-105); and in the recollections of Áqá Siyyid 'Abd al-Rahím Isfáhání (INBA Lib. MS. No. 1028D; also cited Amanat, p. 427), called "*Khátírát*" by MacEoin (p. 180). Áqá Siyyid 'Abd al-Rahím Isfáhání, also called Áqá Siyyid Rahím Isfáhání (MacEoin, p. 91) and Siyyid Rahím (MacEoin, p. 183), seems to have been first a Bábí and subsequently an Azalí scribe, and is reported by the Azalís to have transcribed at least one copy of "*Bayán-i-fársí*" (MacEoin, pp. 91, 183). Balyuzi also describes this meeting in *Isfáhán* (pp. 112-113). Amanat does not mention any transcript of the debate, but Nicolas claims that Browne published such a transcript; it is evident though that the transcript published by Browne was of a tribunal in *Tabríz* (please see below), not *Isfáhán*. The outcome of this gathering was that the Muslim clergy gathered and issued a verdict calling for the Báb to be executed as a heretic (Balyuzi, p. 113; Amanat, p. 258). There does not seem to be a record of this latter meeting of the mujtahidún. Siyyid Muhammad

While the Bábís generally admit this account of the Báb at Mecca, it does not follow that it is authentic. The history of the Apostle [the Báb] is very little known, and I astonished many Bábís, and among the greatest, in reading to them the names of the grandfather and the grandmother of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad, or in furnishing for them one of the details which I picked up from the "Kitáb bayn al-haramayn," a book of extreme rarity and which they had not read. The surviving followers are not knowledgeable except for that which concerns the acts of their fathers; and from

Imám Jum'ih Khátúnábádí, the chief religious dignitary of the city of Isfáhán, and the Báb's host for much of his sojourn in that city, followed up this meeting by issuing a countervailing verdict of insanity (Amanat, pp. 257-58; Balyuzi, p. 113), which averted the Báb being condemned to death in Isfáhán. The text (or a portion) of the Imám Jum'ih's "fatwá" (order) is found in ZARANDI (p. 209). The third tribunal convened to examine the claims of the Báb was that of Tabríz, in July 1848 (Amanat, p. 387; Balyuzi, p. 139). Edward Granville Browne published what was allegedly the official transcript of this meeting in Tabríz ("Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion" (pp. 248-55), along with the Báb's "tawba-namih" [recantation text] (Ibid., pp. 256-258). Balyuzi (p. 141) states that Browne derived this transcript from the accounts found in SIPIHR, TUNKABUNI, and in the Supplement authored by Ridá-Qulí Khán-i-Hidáyat (henceforth HIDAYAT) and appended to "Rawdatu'l-Safá'-yi Nasíri," by Mirkhúnd (edition cited Amanat, p. 444: volumes VIII-X, Tihrán, 1959-60;). Balyuzi (pp. 142-143) affirms that these three Muslim authors derived their information from a tract written by Hájí Mírzá Mahmúd (Balyuzi, p. 140), also called Mullá Mahmúd (Amanat, p. 387), the Nizámu'l-'ulamá', chief tutor of the Crown Prince, Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá (Ibid., p. 140), who presided over that tribunal (Ibid., p. 143). Amanat (p. 389, n. 67) states that Browne's transcript was based on a document supplied to him by Hippolyte Dreyfus, the first French Bahá'í, and of unidentified source. This is confirmed by a perusal of Browne's "Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion" (pp. 247-48). Amanat (Ibid.) furthermore alleges that HIDAYAT (volume X, pp. 423-430) based his account on the Nizám'ul-'ulamá's report, and that SIPIHR (pp. 277-290) published a shorter and abridged version, along with additional material from TUNKABUNI (pp. 126-130). Amanat (p. 387, 388) also asserts that the Nizámu'l-'ulamá' was a Shaykhí, and that the other two chief clerical participants in this trial, Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání and Mullá Murtaadá Harandí ('Alam al-Hudá) were also acclaimed votaries of the Shaykhí school. Balyuzi notes (p. 143) that Shaykh Muhammad Taqí, the son of Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání, and himself present at this tribunal, wrote, in a book intended to refute the claims of the Báb, that the account written by the Nizámu'l-'ulamá' was full of misrepresentations, which he criticized and corrected. He further alleges that the Nizámu'l-'ulamá' "collected as many copies as he could of his own tract and destroyed them" (Ibid.). Amanat (p. 388, n. 64; p. 389, n. 67) also refers to Mullá Muhammad Taqí Mámáqání's account, excerpts of which were published in MURTADA (pp. 308-315). Amanat (Ibid.) cites other sources for this tribunal, including ZARANDI (pp. 314-322); and the "Abwáb al-hudá" of Shaykh Muhammad Taqí Hashtrúdí, which is cited in MU'IN (pp. 201-207), KAF (pp. 135-138), and ZUHUR (pp. 73-74, 116-119). He also affirms that the alleged "tauba-namih" (recantation) of the Báb which was sent to Browne by Hippolyte Dreyfus and published by Browne in "Materials" was "apparently traced to the Majlis Library in Tehran", was subsequently published by F. Ádamíyat, in "Amír Kabír va Írán" (Tihrán:1969, p. 441) and has henceforth "become part and parcel of all anti-Bábí-Bahá'í polemics and an effective weapon in the growing arsenal of fictitious documentation" (Amanat, p. 392, n. 82). Understating his case, Amanat (p. 392) affirms that both the transcript of the trial and the written recantation are documents of doubtful authenticity and veracity. Sepehr Manuchehri reports that the text of the authentic "tawba-namih" of the Báb is found in "Kashf al-Ghitá." He furthermore describes the manner in which this document came to be published. His great grandfather was a member of the first National Spiritual Assembly of Írán, appointed by 'Abdu'l-Bahá. He made contact with a member of the Iranian "Majlis" (Parliament), a Zoroastrian, who showed him the original text of what has been alleged to be the Báb's "tawba-namih", which was in the Parlimentary Library in Tihrán. His great-grandfather immediately wrote to 'Abdu'l-Bahá, who instructed that a copy of this document be made in the event that the original document could not be secured. A copy of the "tauba-namih" was sent to Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl Gulpaygání, and this was printed in "Kashf al-Ghitá".

this point of view I was served principally (and one cannot imagine better), by the son of Muqaddas Khurásání⁽⁴²⁾.

Thus, in that which concerns the question that occupies us, we must not forget that from the start the Bábís — I speak of the common folk — did not know the details of the new doctrine⁽⁴³⁾. They

⁽⁴²⁾Ibn Asdaq, the son of Mullá Sádiq Muqaddas-i-Khurásání ("Ismu'lláhu'l-Asdaq"), wrote a biography of his father (Amanat, p. 136, n. 143) based on Mullá Sádiq's recollections. This biography is not listed by MacEoin, nor is a manuscript of this work referred to by Amanat or Balyuzi. However, Amanat (Ibid.) states that this biography is quoted by Nicolas and by KHUSRAVI (volume II, p. 50).

⁽⁴³⁾Nicolas writes: "The Báb says so himself. In the beginning he spoke the language of the Qur'án (see the "Seven Proofs") then bit by bit he unveiled his thought, but with what precautions! We may judge this by a passage taken from the prayer for the festival of Qadir, on Friday, and on the 5th of the month of Jamádi al-Awwal:

"O mon Dieu! je te prends a temoin Toi et celui qui est aupres de Toi parmi les Temoins que, en verite Mohammed a rempli la mission que tu lui avais donnee...Donne O mon Dieu sa recompense a Mohammed pour avoir repandu ton ordre, recompense dont tu as le secret..
"O mon Dieu! c'est toi-meme qui m'as fait connaitre ce degre, et si tu ne te faisais pas connaitre, je ne t'eusse pas connu...Tu m'as garde pour faire lever tes saints du milieu de leur ignorance. Aujourd'hui ta religion est parfaite, et celui en qui l'on peut voir ton etre meme s'est manifeste."
(Sahife-Makhzoumie)

An English translation of this citation from the Báb's "Sahífa makhzúna" (also called "Du'a-yi Sahífa"), of which there are seven manuscripts still extant (MacEoin, pp. 59-60, 198) is here essayed:

"O my God! I take Thee as a witness, Thou and he who is before Thee among the Witnesses that, verily, Muhammad fulfilled the mission which Thou gavest to him...Give, O my God his due reward to Muhammad for having propagated Thy order, the reward of which Thou hast the secret..
"O my God! It is Thou Thyself Who has made me know this degree and if Thou did not make Thyself known, I would not have known Thee...Thou hast retained me to make Thy saints arise from the midst of their ignorance. Today Thy religion is perfect, and he in whom one can see Thy very being has been manifested."

Writers have described this progressive unfoldment of his mission in two ways: either as indicating a development of the Báb's own self-conceptions, or as a gradual revelation of the full nature of his prophetic station. The latter explanation is adhered to by Nicolas, as well as by all Bábí and non-academic Bahá'í historians. They argue that while the Báb may have been cautious in revealing his station as a Prophet of God, whose laws superceded those of the Qur'án and the "hadíth," this does not imply that he was unaware of his own prophetic calling at an early stage in his ministry. Nor, they assert, does this indicate that his claims were unknown to his followers, or that they were unable to understand his teachings.

The Báb himself claims, in the course of describing his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina (in 1844-1845) in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhid IV: báb 18), that his "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" was widely circulated during the first year of his ministry. This passage has been translated by Nicolas as follows ("Le Beyan Persan," tome II:1913, p. 164):

"Mais tous sont dans l'ignorance de cette grace, car dans cette annee meme la manifestation du Livre du commentaire de la Sourate de Joseph parvint a tous. Or quand ils regarderent ils Le virent sans compagnon et ils reculerent."

An English translation of these verses:

were purely and simply convinced that the Imám Mahdí⁽⁴⁴⁾ had appeared, who, with his sword in one hand, and the Qur'án in the other, was going to bend all the peoples of the earth to the law of

"But all are ignorant of this grace, for in this same year the Book of the Commentary on the Súrah of Joseph ["Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'"] became manifest to all. And when they looked upon it, they saw him to be without companion and they retreated."

Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 445) writes that the first Chapter, entitled Súrat al-Mulúk, of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" (also known as "Tafsír Súrat Yúsuf", and "Ahsan al-Qisas") was revealed during the night of 5 Jamádíyu'l-Úlá 1260. The whole book, which is comprised of 111 chapters (each one of which is called Súrah, like the Qur'án), was, according to Afnan (Ibid.) revealed in forty days from that initial date. Please see note (9) this Chapter and note (16) Chapter Three for more details on "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'".

The wide dissemination of this book is attested by various accounts associated with individual Bábís, including Mullá Alíy-i-Bastámí and Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í (MacEoin, p. 56; Amanat pp. 211-219, 269, 272-273, 299, 357). The "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" of the Báb, while not the repository of most of his laws or distinctive teachings, contains many indications of the author's claims to a divine mission and station. In 1862, the two unconverted uncles of the Báb, Hájí Mírzá Siyyid Muhammad and Hájí Mírzá Hasan-'Alí visited Baghdád, apparently en route to Karbilá. While in Baghdad, Hájí Mírzá Siyyid Muhammad addressed certain questions to Bahá'u'lláh, who was then acknowledged as one of the leading Bábís. Bahá'u'lláh wrote a reply to these questions in "Kitáb-i-Íqán" (Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," p. 138), and therein he referred to the "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" of the Báb as "the first, the greatest and mightiest of all books" (p. 231). Shoghi Effendi has translated passages from "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" which attest to the prophetic station of the Báb, as well as his role as the herald of a subsequent Revelation:

"I am the Mystic Fane," the Báb thus proclaims His station in the Qayyúmu'l-Asmá', 'which the Hand of Omnipotence hath reared. I am the Lamp which the Finger of God hath lit within its niche and caused to shine with deathless splendor. I am the Flame of that supernal Light that glowed upon Sinai in the gladsome Spot, and lay concealed in the midst of the Burning Bush.' 'O Qurratu'l-'Ayn! He addressing Himself in that same commentary, exclaims, 'I recognize in Thee none other except the "Great Announcement" — the Announcement voiced by the Concourse on high. By this name, I bear witness, they that circle the Throne of Glory have ever known Thee.' 'With each and every Prophet, Whom We have sent down in the past,' He further adds, 'We have established a separate Covenant concerning the "Remembrance of God" and His Day. Manifest, in the realm of glory and through the power of truth, are the "Remembrance of God" and His Day before the eyes of the angels that circle His mercy-seat.' 'Should it be Our wish,' He again affirms, 'it is in Our power to compel, through the agency of but one letter of Our Revelation, the world and all that is therein to recognize, in less than the twinkling of an eye, the truth of Our Cause.'" (Shoghi Effendi, "The World Order of Bahá'u'lláh," p. 126)

⁽⁴⁴⁾Nicolas writes regarding the Bábís: "They believed this [that the Báb was the Imám Mahdí] from the time of the council of Badashūt. There their eyes were opened, only to close once again afterwards. The Bábís still have the same opinion, but no longer the knowledgeable ones." Inasmuch as Nicolas does not explain himself further, one must conclude that he is referring to the Azalí Bábís, without specifying the nature of their views. The "Imám Mahdí" is the title given to the twelfth Imám, Muhammad ibn Hasan-i-'Askarí, who is also called "Hujjatulláh" (the Proof of God), "Baqíyatu'lláh" (the Remnant of God), and "Qá'im-i-Ahl-i-Muhammad" (Shoghi Effendi, Introduction, "The Dawn-breakers," p. xxx; Edward Granville Browne, Note O, p. 297, cited in Ibid., p. lii). He succeeded his father as Imám in 260 A.H. and promptly disappeared (Ibid., p. xxx; Edward Granville Browne, Note O, p. 298, "A Traveller's Narrative," cited in Ibid., p. liii). Many prophecies preserved by the Ithnā 'Asharí Shí'í sect of Islám indicate that the Imám Mahdí will reappear in the future. It is to those prophecies that Nicolas makes reference here. The Imám Mahdí is hence the Promised One of this branch of Shí'í Islám. The

Islám. Therefore, and through a mental operation identical to that which the Muslims followed, but this time in a reverse sense, they naively believed that the new apostle accomplished, because they were predicted, all the acts incumbent upon the Imám Mahdí. It was exactly the same for Christ⁽⁴⁵⁾. The rabbis opposed to him showed the sacred texts to demonstrate that he did not fulfill the conditions required of the Messiah. Jesus answered them — consult the spirit, not the letter; and his followers — understanding also as little of this teaching as his adversaries — created for him a genealogy, and invented an infinity of episodes to prove that he was, within the narrow bounds of the letter, the promised and awaited Messiah. Thus, neither the adversaries, nor the followers understood the teaching of the Master. Alone, at the start of the Bábí Faith, the beautiful Qurratu'l-'Ayn⁽⁴⁶⁾ responded to Hájí Mullá Mírzá Muhammad Andarmání⁽⁴⁷⁾ and to Hájí Mullá

Promised One expected by Sunní Muslims has the title "Mahdí" and there are innumerable prophecies associated with this One. However, inasmuch as the Muslims to which the Báb addressed himself were of the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í sect, the Sunní prophecies do not concern us here. ZARANDI (p. 184) cites the compilation of Mírzá Ahmad Azghandí, comprising 12,000 traditions related to the coming of the Imám Mahdí. This compilation seems to have been destroyed, and regarding this the reader is referred to note (37), Chapter One. An anonymous compilation of 70 traditions, mostly from the "Awálimal-'ulúm wa'l-ma'árif wa'l-ahwál min al-áyát wa'l-akhbár wa'l-aqwál" of Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh ibn Núru'lláh al-Bahrání, with commentary, is found in a "Risála" by a Bábí apologist (cited MacEoin, p. 109). For sources regarding the Imám Mahdí, who is also called "Sáhib al-Zamán," please see note (37).

⁽⁴⁵⁾Nicolas makes a statement here that seems to go beyond the purview of the dispassionate historian and venture into the realm of apologetics. Perhaps it will be useful for the reader to take into consideration Nicolas' statement, in an interview on 7 February 1939 with Miss Edith Sanderson, published in "The Bahá'í World" (volume VIII, 1938-1940, pp. 885-887), that he is a Bábí. Also, in response to an unidentified Bahá'í female writer, possibly the same Miss Sanderson, Nicolas expressed his joy when informed that Shoghi Effendi, and the followers of Bahá'u'lláh as a whole recognized the Báb as an independent Manifestation of God, and not just as the forerunner of Bahá'u'lláh ("The Bahá'í World," volume VI, 1934-1936, pp. 481-482; reprinted in seven subsequent volumes of this publication). The full texts of the interview and the letter in question as found in "The Bahá'í World" are to be found in the Introduction to this biography. While Nicolas does not seem to have distorted any of the historical evidence which he encountered in favor of the Báb, it is nevertheless important that he be understood as a sympathetic student of the Bábí Faith, and one who was inclined neither to underrate its importance nor to take sides in the Azalí-Bahá'í controversy.

⁽⁴⁶⁾Qurratu'l-'Ayn, the most prominent female adherent of the Báb, and the only female Letter of the Living, was born Fátimih Zarrín Táj Baraghání, surnamed Umm Salma (Amanat, p. 295). ZARANDI (p. 628) gives her name as Fátmih and Umm-i-Salmih, as well as Zakíyyih. She received her appellation "Qurratu'l-'Ayn" (Solace of the Eye) from Siyyid Kázim Raṣṣhú, her teacher in Karbilá and the successor to Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í as leader and guide of the Shaykhí school, not, as is commonly supposed, because of her great physical beauty, but rather in all likelihood because of her outstanding achievements as a public speaker, essayist and poetess. According to ZARANDI (p. 83), Siyyid Kázim praised her understanding of Shaykhí tenets with the words "ya qurrat al-'ayn wa rúh al-fu'adí" which Shoghi Effendi translated as "the delight of my eye and the soul of my heart." The expression is derived from two Qur'anic verses, one from Súrat al-furqán (25:75), and the other from Súrat al-sajdah (32:18), reproduced as follows:

wa-alládhína yaqúlúna rabbanáhab laná min azwájiná wa-dhurriyyatiná qurrata a'yunin

"And those who say, 'Our Lord, grant us of our wives and children the delight of our eyes...'"
(Qur'án 25:75, Maulana Sher Ali translation)

falá ta'lamu nafsun má ukhfiya lahum min qurrati a'yunin jazá'an

"And no soul knows what joy of the eyes is kept hidden for them..." (Qur'án 32:18, Maulana Sher Ali translation)

Amanat (p. 298, n. 17) points out that the appellation "Qurratu'l-'Ayn is a common Arabic term of endearment sometimes given by the religious teachers to their favorite students." It is in this religious context that this name should be understood. The only female Letter of the Living was given the title "Táhirih" (the pure) by the Báb (Amanat, pp. 295, 307), in a letter from Máh-Kú in mid-1847, cited by Áqá Muhammad Mustafá ibn Shaykh Muhammad Shibl al-Baghdádí (henceforth BAGHDADI), in "Risála amríyya" (along with Ahmad Sohrab, "Risála"; Cairo:1338, pp. 109-110). The Báb apparently wrote another epistle, published in ZUHUR (pp. 331-334), in which this disciple is called "hujjat alá al-kull," translated by Amanat as "the proof for all" (p. 307, n. 78). ZARANDI (p. 293) indicates that Bahá'u'lláh conferred new names upon the participants of the conference of Badasht, and upon Qurratu'l-'Ayn the title of Táhirih, and that, subsequent to this conference, "to each of those who had convened at Badasht a special Tablet was revealed by the Báb, each of whom He addressed by the name recently conferred upon him." Inasmuch as Badasht represented the occasion in which the Bábí leadership made a formal break with the old Dispensation of the Qur'án and proclaimed the new Dispensation of the Bayán, it may be that it was at this time that Qurratu'l-'Ayn assumed this new title formally and exclusively, that is, what may have been an optional mode of reference in the past became her newly-established name for the new Bábí Dispensation. ZARANDI (pp. 80-84, 269-273, 275, 278-280, 283-286, 288, 291-300, 459-461, 621-629) makes copious mention of Táhirih. Amanat (pp. 295-296, n. 2) lists the sources for Táhirih's life with which he is acquainted, including the "Maktúb" of Shaykh Sultán-i-Karbilá'í (in ZUHUR, pp. 245-259); KAF; SIPIHR; HIDAYAT; KAZEM-BEG (volume VII, pp. 473-476); GOBINEAU (pp. 167-169, 293-294, etc.); SAMANDAR; BAGHDADI; JADID; Wafa (pp. 291-330 in the original Persian; pp. 190-203 in the English translation); KASHF (pp. 92-111); MU'IN; AVARIH; ZUHUR; KHUSRAVI (volume III); 'Alí al-Wardí, "Lamahát Ijtumá'íya min Tárikh al-'Iráq al-Hadith" (Baghdád, 1971, volume II, pp. 152-190); 'Abbúd Sálihi, "Qurrat al-'Ayn, 'alá Haqíqatihá wa Wáqi'ihá"; and Mullá Ahmad Hisári Khurásání, "Aqá'id al-Shaykhíya". Amanat devotes Chapter VII (pp. 295-331) in "Resurrection and Renewal" to Táhirih, along with references in other chapters (pp. 164, 163n, 176-180, 215-216, 234, 282, 350-351, 429-430). Balyuzi (pp. 24-27, 58, 124, 162-171, 176, 230) contains comparatively few references to Táhirih. MacEoin (p. 107; Amanat, p. 296, n. 2) touches upon her role in the early history of the Bábí movement in his doctoral dissertation for Cambridge University ("From Shaykhism to Babism," pp. 194-196, 203-207). Nicolas, in "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb," devotes Chapitre IV (pp. 263-287) and Chapitre XII (pp. 446-452) to Táhirih. His account, which "seems to be based on oral reports (sometimes very similar to SAMANDAR), is the fullest in a European language" (Amanat, p. 296, n. 2). It is translated into English and published as "*Qurrèt-oul-Aïne*" in "Táhirih in History: Perspectives on Qurratu'l-'Ayn from East and West" (Los Angeles:2004), along with several other essays written by 'Abdu'l-Bahá, Shoghi Effendi, Sabir Afaqi, Muhammad Iqbal, M. Hidayat Hosain, Mohammed Ishaque, Mohammad Ali Saddiqui, Masudu'l-Hasan, Khwaja Masud, Suleyman Nazif, E. G. Browne, Abbas Amanat, Farzaneh Milani, Susan Stiles Maneck, Negar Mottahedeh, Jan Teofil Jasion, and Denis MacEoin. Amanat (p. 301, n. 41) lists some of the sources of Táhirih's extant writings, and MacEoin (pp. 107-116) discusses her writings in considerable detail. Two collections of her poetry in English translations have been published in recent years: "The Poetry of Táhirih" translated and edited by John Hatcher and Amrollah Hemmat (Oxford:2002); "Táhirih: A Portrait in Poetry" translated and edited by Amin Banani, with Jascha Kessler and Anthony A. Lee (Los Angeles:2004). Essays about Táhirih have been published in a great variety of venues, including, most recently, in Negar Mottahedeh's book entitled "Representing the Unrepresentable: Historical Images of National Reform from the Qajars to the Islamic Republic of Iran" (Syracuse:2008). There are two popular accounts of Táhirih's life written by Bahá'í women. The first of these is "Táhirih, the Pure" by Martha Root (Karachi:1938; reprint in Los Angeles:1981), based on written and oral sources accessible to its author. The second is "Táhirih" by Clara Edge (Michigan:1964), a fictionalized account of the Bábí heroine.

⁽⁴⁷⁾Hájí Mullá Mírzá Muhammad Andarmání is mentioned again by Nicolas (Chapitre XII, p. 449), in which he is described as one of the two clerics who passed a death sentence upon Táhirih, a sentence which was upheld by Násiri'd-Dín Shah. The only account of her interrogation by Mullá Muhammad Andarmání and of his death sentence is that found in Nicolas (Ibid.; cited by Amanat, p. 329, n. 199).

'Alí Kání⁽⁴⁸⁾, who were charged with winning her back to Islám, and who confronted her with texts announcing the coming of the Mahdí from the towns of Jábulqá and Jábulsá⁽⁴⁹⁾, with: "Leave then to children these insanities unworthy of you and of me — the question is more lofty"⁽⁵⁰⁾.

Furthermore, the Báb claimed to be the interpreter not only of the inner meaning, but of the innermost of the inner meaning of the Qur'án. He explained not only the letter, not only the spirit, but the very soul of the Book of God; and it is from Him that one must await the realization of such prophecies as are based upon nothing, of which the basis is nothing but ignorance, fanaticism or the bad faith of those who have collected them⁽⁵¹⁾. If one opens the "Bayán," if one reads

⁽⁴⁸⁾Hájí Mullá 'Alí Kání is mentioned also in Nicolas (Chapitre XII, p. 449), as the other cleric who interrogated Táhirih and then passed a death sentence upon her. Amanat has noted (p. 329, n. 200) that it is unlikely that the Grand Vazír of the Shah, Mírzá Áqá Khán Núrí would have been in favor of this death sentence, inasmuch as his wife, his sister and others among the women of his household were allegedly sympathetic to Táhirih (MUN, p. 10; KHUSRAVI, volume III, p. 191; J.E. Polak, "Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner," Leipzig:1865, volume I, p. 353).

⁽⁴⁹⁾These two cities are stated in some traditions to be the locations from which the Imám Mahdí would appear. According to Edward Granville Browne (Note O, p. 298, "A Traveller's Narrative," cited in Introduction, "The Dawn-breakers," p. liii), the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'ís believe that the Imám Mahdí lives in Jábulqá or Jábulsá. Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í interpreted these realms, apparently identified as "Jábalqá" and "Jábarsá" in his writings, to be lower regions in the intermediate world ('alám al-miḥál), the first in the East and the second in the West (Amanat, p. 53). This intermediate world is a visionary world experienced by mystics in meditation, visions and dreams, rather than a physical world of material locations. Hence these two cities are described in Shaykhí literature as places in the mystical landscape without specific physical equivalents. Siyyid Kázim Rashṭí warned his followers not to expect that the Qá'im would appear from either of these cities (ZARANDI, p. 25). In making this statement, Siyyid Kázim, like Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í before him, gave an allegorical interpretation to those hadíth which referred to the place of residence of the Imám Mahdí. 'Abdu'l-Bahá (pp. 16-17) refers to the complaints of the Muslim clergy throughout Persia, that the literal fulfilment of prophecies associated with the Imám Mahdí, including those pertaining to Jábulqá and Jábulsá had not accompanied the declaration and subsequent ministry of the Báb. He also briefly discusses (pp. 17-18) the treatises authored by the leading Bábí teachers in response to these complaints, explaining the true meaning of these terms as revealed by the Báb.

⁽⁵⁰⁾Nicolas does not cite the source of these words, but we must suppose that they are derived from the same oral source which supplied him with the names of the two mujtahidún, Mullá Muhammad Andarmání and Mullá 'Alí Kání, who interrogated Táhirih and sentenced her to death.

⁽⁵¹⁾Nicolas writes: "I allude especially to Majlísí here, whose voluminous work is bereft of all critical spirit — a monument of hypocrisy and of prevarication." The work to which Nicolas refers here is "Bihár al-Anwár," of Muhammad Baqír ibn Muhammad Taqí Majlísí (25 volumes, published in Tihran:1885-1897). Bahá'u'lláh quotes one hadíth from "Bihár al-Anwár" in "Kitáb-i-Íqán" (p. 243), not because he considers it to provide an authoritative proof of the prophetic claims of the Báb, but in the following spirit (pp. 237, 256):

"Although We did not intend to make mention of the traditions of a bygone age, yet, because of Our love for thee, We will cite a few which are applicable to Our argument..."

"These things We mention only that the people may not be dismayed because of certain traditions and utterances, which have not yet been literally fulfilled, that they may rather attribute their perplexity to their own lack of understanding, and not to the non-fulfilment of the promises in the traditions, inasmuch as the meaning intended by the Imáms of the Faith is not known by this people, as evidenced by the traditions themselves."

through it — what does one see there? Nothing throughout but a new explanation of the terms used in all the religions: the Fire of Hell, Paradise, the Balance of God, Death, the Final Judgment, etc. And the man who interprets in such a magisterial manner the superstitions of another age would not have wasted his time in responding to pretenses of this kind!⁽⁵²⁾

I refuse on my own part to believe in them⁽⁵³⁾ and besides, we do not have a single authority which affirms them. We do not find in all the dialectic of the Báb and the Bábís anything but a profound contempt for these hadíth which are false and forged at will; whereas they strive to explain those which are authentic, but these only, citing the actual facts of the new religion⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Besides, Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad would have spoken of this incident; there is no trace thereof in the "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn"⁽⁵⁵⁾.

If we search this work for an allusion to the acts of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad, we stop at these passages⁽⁵⁶⁾:

"O my God! I implore Thy witness for that which I said in the Masjíd al-Haram, near the Ka'bih, Thy sacred sanctuary, to him who questioned me on the subject of the verses, in

⁽⁵²⁾Nicolas is referring particularly to "Bayán-i-fársí" which contains allegorical interpretations of many Quranic verses (and by implication many verses in other Scriptures) that refer to these various topics:

- 1)Fire of Hell, in váhid II: báb 1, báb 2, báb 4, báb 5, báb 6, báb 9, báb 10, báb 12, báb 13, báb 16, báb 17; váhid III: báb 3, báb 17; váhid V: báb 4; váhid VI: báb 7; váhid VII: báb 18, báb 19; váhid VIII: báb 11
- 2)Paradise, in váhid II: báb 1, báb 2, báb 4, báb 6, báb 8, báb 9, báb 10, báb 13, báb 16; váhid III: báb 8, báb 13, báb 17; váhid IV: báb 4, báb 11; váhid V: báb 4; váhid VI: báb 1, báb 15, báb 16; váhid VII: báb 19; váhid VIII: báb 11
- 3)Balance of God, in váhid II: báb 13.
- 4)Death, in váhid II, báb 8; váhid V: báb 3
- 5)Final Judgment, called Day of the Resurrection, in váhid II: báb 14; váhid VIII: báb 3; váhid VII: báb 19

Bah'ú'lláh continued with this principle of allegorical interpretation of certain Scriptural verses in "Kitáb-i-Íqán" and in other Writings.

⁽⁵³⁾Nicolas states that he personally does not believe in the veracity of the traditions, which are fantastic and which could not possibly be fulfilled literally except through a miraculous manifestation of the divine, one which is contradictory to the record of both religious and natural history.

⁽⁵⁴⁾This the Báb does, especially in "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" (Seven Proofs).

⁽⁵⁵⁾In other words, "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn" makes no mention of the fanciful and false hadíth to which Nicolas is referring here.

⁽⁵⁶⁾Nicolas cites these passages, without identifying their provenance, but just after mentioning "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn".

Amanat (p. 246) translates verses from "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" (Browne Or. MSS. F.7(9), pp. 14-16) which correspond exactly to the first paragraph cited above by Nicolas. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 112) cites the Arabic original of these verses in his biography of the Báb.

answering by these verses relative to what Thou caused to descend upon Thy friend Muhammad in the Qur'án of the past.

"If one argues with thee on this subject, since thou hast received the perfect knowledge, respond: 'Come let us call our children and yours, my wives and yours, let us come and you and then let us call upon the Lord each one from his side and call His malediction upon the liars.'"⁽⁵⁷⁾

"I swear by Thy truth, and Thou art God, and there is no other God but Thee, that men did not even reap this saying, but the testimony of God suffices in this question."

"Thus, O instructed questioner, did I not say to you in the Masjid al-Haram⁽⁵⁸⁾, opposite the Ka'bih, and we were at the western side, at the place where you were found, before the

⁽⁵⁷⁾Nicolas finds in this verse a reference to Súrat al-'imrán, and apparently to this verse:

"When Alláh said, 'O Jesus, I will cause thee to die a natural death and will exalt thee to Myself, and will clear thee from the charges of those who disbelieve, and will place those who follow thee above those who disbelieve, until the Day of Resurrection; then to Me shall be your return, and I will judge between you concerning that wherein you differ.'" (Qur'án III:56, English translation by Maulawi Sher Ali)

Nicolas writes in reference to this citation: "This kind of judgment of God is called 'mubáhala.' The reasoning of the Báb is the most simple: As Muhammad, I am a Man. (Qur'án XIV:12; XVIII:111; XLI:7) Like him [Muhammad] bereft of the power to do what you call miracles. The only miracle that I can accomplish is the only one which he [Muhammad] himself carried out — the [revelation of] verses. You have believed in yours [verses], which prepared the way for me, for you have seen that according to the promise of the Qur'án, during 1270 years nobody was capable of causing them [verses] to descend from heaven. And now I say to you, as Muhammad said to you: Either you believe in these verses, and then you are saved, or you do not believe and then you are liars, for you deny the absolute truth — unless I am myself a liar, pretending falsely to receive divine revelation, which is impossible for my verses are my proof, as they were for Muhammad. But furthermore, because this is your belief, come, come all, and pray to God to decide between us as He did for the preceding prophets. (This is an allusion to the discussions of Moses with the magicians, and of those of all the prophets with the unbelievers of their times: Abraham and the fire furnace, Lot transported into another country, Noah saved from the deluge, etc.)"

Amanat (p. 246, n. 241) points out that the Báb has quoted a verse from the Qur'án at the close of this paragraph, which he identifies as from Súrat al-'imrán, verse 61:

"Now whoso disputes with thee concerning him, after what has come to thee of knowledge, say to him, 'Come, let us call our sons and your sons, and our women and your women, and our people and your people; then let us pray fervently and invoke the curse of Allah on those who lie.'" (Qur'án 3:61, English translation by Maulawi Sher Ali)

⁽⁵⁸⁾Masjid al-Haram is the "holy mosque" in Mecca, which is frequented by all Muslim pilgrims. It is located adjacent to the Ka'bih — "Hajar al-Aswád" (the Black Stone), which is also called "Bayt al-haram" (Sacred House). The Báb is here referring to his two conversations with Mullá Muhammad Husayn Muhít Kirmání, in which he challenged this sceptic to "mubáhala." However, this individual was not the only one addressed by the Báb on that occasion. In a Tablet cited in ZUHUR (p. 271), the Báb stated: "I accomplished the proof of mubáhala in Masjid al-Haram in the presence of eye-witnesses, and the one who was addressed...was Muhít" and he continues: "Those who heard such a call, I believe, were Hájj Sayyid 'Alí Kirmání, Hájj Sayyid Muhammad Khurásání, Hájj Sulaymán Khán, and Hájj Muhammad 'Alí Mázandarání, and there were others as well" (cited Amanat, pp. 245-246, and p. 246, n. 240).

minbar, during the night of the 15th day of the month of Dhu al-Hijja al-Haram⁽⁵⁹⁾, three hours after the setting of the sun, did I not say to you: 'Accept my request, come, make "mubáhala"⁽⁶⁰⁾ near the Black Stone, for, in the name of all men, you charge yourself with the mandate of denying me, so that God may decide the truth between us — and God knows what I say.'

"Did I not make at another time this same proposition to you in the Masjíd al-Haram between the minbar and the maqám⁽⁶¹⁾, opposite the Ka'bih?

"Did I not, in the very house of Mecca itself, which is the dwelling place of the Truth⁽⁶²⁾, renew three times this offer to you?"

The terms here are very clear, and very distinct; the details are precise, and there is no question either of a sword, or of the Imám Mahdí, which the Báb would not have failed to mention if it had any utility whatsoever, or any importance in his eyes.

The very fact that he proposes "Mubáhala" to one of his contradictors reveals to us that throughout his pilgrimage he continued a proclamation which seems not to have been heeded.

Whatever may have been, the Báb, his pilgrimage having come to a close, prepared himself to return to Persia. It was perhaps at this moment, or perhaps, upon his regaining Búshihir, after having revealed mid-sea the "Kitáb-i-Rúh"⁽⁶³⁾, that he dreamed of organizing the events which were henceforth to take place.

⁽⁵⁹⁾Besides specifying the exact time and place at which the Báb declared "mubáhala," this passage recalls the "mubáhala" of Muhammad, which took place on 23 Dhu al-Hijja in the year 10 A.H., called thenceforth "yawm al-mubáhala" (the day of mubáhala), when the Prophet challenged the Christians of Najrán to this ultimate test of divine truth. Amanat (p. 245, n. 237) points out this similarity, and also that the verse quoted by the Báb (Qur'án III:62) refers to this "mubáhala" in particular. While Amanat (Ibid.) indicates that "mubáhala" was practiced between rivals in the Muslim community, in the case of the Báb in Mecca it is evident that he regarded himself as reviving the "mubáhala" of the new Prophet in contest with the followers of the previous Prophet.

⁽⁶⁰⁾"Mubáhala" is defined by Amanat (p. 245, n. 237) as a "direct appeal to irrevocable divine arbitration" which is effected through "mutual execration by means of humble and sincere prayer (bahala: to curse and ibtihál: lamentation and prayer), in hope of divine arbitration between good and evil." The prophet Elijah seems to be the first to have practiced "mubáhala," as is described in the First Book of Kings (18:20-39).

⁽⁶¹⁾"Minbar" means "pulpit" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 1102), and refers here to the Masjíd al-Haram. "Maqám" means "sacred place" and here the Báb is indicating the Ka'bih.

⁽⁶²⁾"Al-Haqq" (Truth, Reality) is an attribute of God (Wehr/Cowan, p. 224), and here indicates the presence of God, which is believed by Muslims to be indwelling in the Ka'bih. The Súrat al-hijr (Qur'án 15:86), Súrat al-zumár (Qur'án 39:6), and Súrat al-ahqáf (Qur'án 46:4) state that God created the universe, the heavens and the earth with "al-haqq" (the truth). This has been interpreted by some commentators to indicate that the medium whereby God has brought into being all creation is the Truth. This seems to be the meaning of the Báb, for it is most unlikely, given his uncompromising monotheism, that he would have claimed that God Himself dwells in the Ka'bih.

⁽⁶³⁾Nicolas cites these verses regarding "Kitáb-i-Rúh":

Here are the terms in which he invites his uncle⁽⁶⁴⁾ to preach the new doctrine⁽⁶⁵⁾:

"In the name of God, the Clement, the Merciful.

"Read the book⁽⁶⁶⁾ of the 'Mention of the Name of your Lord' [Dhikr al-Ism al-Rabbuka]. There is no God but Him, Who is Exalted and Wise. And this book is a book which descended from the Baqíyyat'u'lláh⁽⁶⁷⁾, the Imám of the evident Truth.

"In truth this book is an order which contains no doubt: it descends from God, the Very Exalted, the Wise. And, in truth, He is the Truth in the heavens and upon the earth.

"He recites for you the Book of your Lord which contains an order of the inflexible Balance, and in truth this is the voice of your Lord in the heavens and upon the earth. He calls men to the way of God, the Glorious, the Praised.

"So read the "Kitáb-i-Rúh," this book which I caused to descend mid-sea, during the return of the Mention of God, in seven hundred solid verses."
("Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn")

The Báb lists "Kitáb al-Rúh" in "Kitáb al-fihrist" and indicates that it is composed of 700 Súras, and 7000 verses (MacEoin, p. 52). This work, which is also called "Kitáb al-'adl" (Mazandarani, "Asrár al-athár," volume IV, p. 45; cited MacEoin, p. 61, n. 83), was 900 suras in length according to the Báb's "Kitáb al-'ulamá'" (cited MacEoin, p. 61, n. 82). There are at least five manuscripts of this work extant at this time (MacEoin, pp. 61, 189), but one of these manuscripts contains only 98 suras, while another contains 415 suras (p. 189). There is a reference to "Kitáb al-Rúh" in Kitáb al-'ulamá'" (cited by Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 107).

⁽⁶⁴⁾Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (Khál-i-A'zam), the Báb's uncle who was a Bábí by this time.

⁽⁶⁵⁾Nicolas alleged that "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn" was addressed to the Báb's uncle, Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí. Other authorities (ZARANDI, p. 137; MacEoin, p. 21, 54, 60; Amanat, p. 246, n. 241) assure us that "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" was written in answer to certain questions posed by Mullá Muhammad Husayn Muhít Kirmání. Amanat (p. 241, n. 210) also indicates that Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání is referred to in "Sahífa bayna'l-haramayn" and suggests that Nicolas' claim that this work was addressed to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (Shírází) is based on a misattribution due to the similarity between two names. However, this does not explain the direct reference, referred to in note (80), to the Báb's maternal uncle. Nicolas asserts ("Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb," p. 221) that the first Súrah of "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn" was addressed to the uncle of the Báb. He also attests (*Ibid.*, p. 222) that the fourth Súrah of this Book was addressed to Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání. Amanat (p. 249, n. 263) indicates that the former portion of this work was addressed to Mírzá Muhít Kirmání, while the second portion is a direct address to Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání. It is entirely possible then, that one portion of this work was addressed to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, another portion to Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání, with a third intended for Mírzá Muhít Kirmání.

⁽⁶⁶⁾Nicolas comments on this verse: "I translate 'Kitáb' by the word 'Book,' because that has become the habitual practice, but this word Book must be taken here to mean 'writing.'"

⁽⁶⁷⁾"Baqíyyatu'lláh" (the Remnant of God) is one of the names of the Imám Mahdí. Hence, it can apply to the historical twelfth Imám, and also to the Promised One of Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Islám. For more information, please see notes (37) and (44).

"Know that whosoever hears one of these new verses, his works will not be accepted unless he declares his faith in the verses of his Lord and if he becomes of those who prostrate themselves...

"And in truth a single verse of the verses which We now cause to descend upon you is equal to the verses of (all the prophets) of the past and to all the verses which afterwards all men will ask of the Baqíyyat'u'lláh.

"This book suffices to prove the the quality of the Hujjat [proof] of the Dhikr⁽⁶⁸⁾ for all who are upon the earth.

"If God makes a verse descend, nobody has the right to say anything at all about it.

"And, in truth, I do not establish a single difference in the order of the Book. All are under His orders and adore God.

"We have tested men by the truth, as We have tested those who were before them: all have thus taken their place from the Book and all will return to God.

"In truth, those who obey the verses of God and leave in the direction of the blessed land⁽⁶⁹⁾, these are those who were [rightly] guided.

"In truth, those who have treated Our verses as lies and have obeyed their passions, those ones are worthy of the word of chastisement, and they do not know it.

"Know, O you who have truly obeyed Me, and give the good news of the spirit which comes from Me, and in truth, this spirit is a great blessing.

"God, your merciful Lord has written your names in the leaf of the 'Arsh⁽⁷⁰⁾, and, in truth, this inscription is a great blessing.

⁽⁶⁸⁾"Hujjat al-Dhikr" (the Proof of the Remembrance) is a reference to a name of the Imám Mahdí, "Hujjatu'lláh" and also a reference to the Báb, who often characterized himself as "Dhikr" (the Remembrance) or "Dhikru'lláh" (the Remembrance of God). Fariba Ghayebi (26/2/02) writes that "Hujjat" is found in "Kitáb al-'ulamá'" and "Bayán-i-fársi'", while both "Hujjat" and "Dhikru'lláh" are used in a Tablet of the Báb addressed to Mullá Nurúz 'Alí (cited Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 286). There is also a reference to "Dhikr al-Akbar" from "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" of the Báb (Súrat Rad, verse 7, cited Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 66).

⁽⁶⁹⁾Nicolas notes that the "holy land" in the Báb's Dispensation is the city of Shíráz. "Bayán-i-fársi'" (váhid IV: Báb 16, Báb 17, Báb 18, Báb 19) and "Bayán al-'arabíyya" (váhid IV: báb 16, báb 17, báb 18, báb 19) discuss various aspects of pilgrimage to the house of the Báb which was ordained to supercede pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Bahá'u'lláh reaffirms this law in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" (#32, Q25, Q29, Q32), calling for pilgrimage to the house of the Báb in Shíráz, and supplementing this locus of sacred visitation with his own residence in Baghdád. Neither location is presently a place of pilgrimage because of circumstances beyond the control of the believers.

⁽⁷⁰⁾Nicolas may have translated an Arabic word with "Arch" in French, the equivalent of Ark in English, in which case the Arabic original, if derived from the Qur'án, may be found in Súrat al-húd (Qur'án XI:38-39), and Súrat al-mu'mínún (Qur'án XXIII:28) in reference to the Prophet Noah, and called "fulka"; or in Súrat tá-há (Qur'án XX:40) in reference to the infant Moses, and called "tábúti." Neither of these meanings seem to make any sense in this passage. There is another possibility, which is that Nicolas was transliterating

"Say: O troops! Come close to Him Who is seated upon the 'Arsh in the sublime haram⁽⁷¹⁾. Then all of you go out following the order of God (from your homes?) and enter the land of refuge⁽⁷²⁾ — so that all of you may be inscribed in the ranks of those who have received the blessing.

"Know, O pure and good Siyyid⁽⁷³⁾, who fears God! Invite men to justice; cause the order of this Book to come to those who are upon this land (there), and to those who are in the vicinity of this land, so that he who must die will die⁽⁷⁴⁾ at the new Hujjat⁽⁷⁵⁾; so that he may be saved who had been saved by the previous verses [Qur'án]. And God, your Lord, is He Who hears, the Wise.

"To those who accuse God of lying in saying that the Mention of the Name of Your Lord [Dhikr al-Ism al-Rabbuka] pilfers what was in the Qur'án, say: 'God is pure and free (of that which you accuse Him) and His rank is exalted. When God permits it to His slave, He causes to descend in every word the equivalent of a Qur'án.' And God Who is your Lord, is the Powerful and the Glorious.

a Persian or an Arabic word. In this case, the word is "arsh" which means "throne" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 704) in Arabic, and "the throne of God" (among other meanings found in Steingass, pp. 842-843). The translator has used this term in this context inasmuch as it fits the passage much more conveniently. While "arsh" is not found in the Qur'án, it was commonly used among Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Muslims to denote the presence of the divine, as indicated for example by the title of Mullá Sadra's "Hikmatu'l-'Arshíyyah" which Balyuzi (pp. 113, 236) translates as "Celestial or Divine Philosophy." Another Arabic word which has the same meaning as "arsh" is found in the Qur'án and in a famous passage, in Súrat al-baqara (II:255/256):

wasi'a kursíyyuhu as-samamúti wa'l-árda

"His throne is as vast as the heavens and the earth..."
(Qur'án II:255/256, English translation by N.J.Dawood)

"Kursíy" means "chair; throne; seat" (Wehr/Cowan) and may be related to the Hebrew word "kise" ("seat" in Ben-Yehudah). Further research into this question is needed before the meaning intended by the Báb can be fully grasped.

⁽⁷¹⁾The sublime "haram" (holy place) referred to seems to be the spiritual world rather than any particular physical location. In one of his Tablets, the Báb referred to Quddús as the throne from which he made his night voyage to heaven. It seems likely that the person seated on the "Arsh" is the Báb himself.

⁽⁷²⁾The land of refuge is the city of Shíráz.

⁽⁷³⁾While it is not evident here that the Báb is addressing Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, please see note (64) for clarification.

⁽⁷⁴⁾Nicolas explains this verse: "He who dies in the new testimony, is he who does not believe in the new prophet; he who is saved by the antecedent [abrogated] verses is he who, having understood the true meaning of the Qur'án, has given his faith to Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad."

⁽⁷⁵⁾The new "Hujjat" (proof) is the new Prophet of God and his Book. Please see notes (44) and (68) this Chapter for more detailed references to "Hujjat".

"In truth, [O Siyyid] obey the order of the revelation and bring such [verses] as this Book to those who, in truth, inhabit the ways⁽⁷⁶⁾; that thereby they may understand the verses of God and become among those who are [rightly] guided.

"Know that, in truth, the ways of the sea are difficult: we do not wish them for our followers. Go by the ways of land⁽⁷⁷⁾ and say: 'That which God wishes (will be). There is no power but in God, this God who holds in His hand all the orders. There is no God, except Him, the Loving, He Who has need of nobody.'

"And if you are not afraid of the order of Baghdád⁽⁷⁸⁾, make efforts in the ways of your Lord, with wisdom and with solid verses for those who inhabit Baghdad among the 'ulamá' who reject. Thereby they may comprehend the order of God and become Muslims⁽⁷⁹⁾.

"O troops, pay attention! How can you say on the subject of My slave: 'all that is vain'? In truth, this slave has come to you with verses, which, like those of the Qur'án, are clear and evident, and this, after you yourselves had been convinced of the order of God.

"Be patient! In truth, the day of the separation (between the good and the bad) is real. And I ordain in the midst of men with the permission of your Lord. And this day is not a day of violence, God is the All-Powerful, the Wise.

"Fear God, O men! Then present yourselves between the two hands of God — if you can do so, bring (verses) equal to (those) of this Book. In this case your religion will be for you, and, for me, the religion of God, the Glorious, the Praised.

"And if you cannot do so, and of a certainty, you will not be able to do so, even if you all helped each the other, then turn away from the falsehood in which you find yourselves.

"Enter by the door of God, in prostrating yourselves, and perhaps you will be saved. And if you do not enter therein, then hold yourselves according to the order of God in the

⁽⁷⁶⁾Nicolas interprets the Báb's meaning: "'As this book' means the verses which you are carrying, my writings. Those who live along the way are those, inhabiting the towns or the villages, whom the messenger will meet upon his way."

⁽⁷⁷⁾Nicolas explains: "This passage places the redaction of this Súrah between Mecca and Medina. Would the Báb, at this moment, have sent his uncle ahead of him, by land routes which come to an end in Baghdád?"

⁽⁷⁸⁾Nicolas does not explain this reference to an order in Baghdad. It seems likely that the Báb was acknowledging the arrest, trial and conviction of Mullá 'Alí-i-Bastámí, one of the Letters of the Living, which occurred in Baghdád between late October 1844 (Amanat, p. 219) and 13 January 1845 (Ibid., p. 230), while the Báb was on pilgrimage. Accounts of this first arrest of a Bábí missionary are found in ZARANDI (pp. 87-92), Balyuzi (Chapter IV, pp. 58-68), and Amanat (pp. 211-238).

⁽⁷⁹⁾Nicolas states: "I think that this means: 'If truly you are not afraid that the Sunnı́ 'ulamá' will rise up against you, go to Baghdád, and as you go, preach my doctrine, but do so with wisdom.' It is also possible that it means that the Sunnı́ 'ulamá' were — according to the understanding of the Báb — even more intransigently fanatical than their colleagues in Persia, because of their proximity to the holy places, Najaf and Karbilá. Perhaps it refers to an incident about which I am not acquainted."

Qur'án, and call for the justice of God, that it may rain down chastisement upon those who lie and who have become evil ones.

"Basing yourself on this order, bring this order on your way and do not fear anyone in the days of your Lord. In truth, this is the blessing of God upon him.

"And, in truth, if you die or if you are killed, you will return to God.

"Cause fear to that one who, in truth, has treated as lies the verses of his Lord, who has obeyed his passions and who has thus become among the transgressors.

"Bring the greeting of the Mention [Dhikr] to those who have already believed and tell them: 'Leave (your homes, directing yourselves) towards the blessed land (Shíráz) so that you will be among the pious.'

"And send such as this book to those who have obeyed Our religion and who are earnest.

"In truth, for one among you it is necessary that he teach in the house of the Báb of God [the house of the Báb in Shíráz] from our earlier verses, and, in truth, this is an important matter...

"O my maternal uncle⁽⁸⁰⁾, read this book and wait in this town⁽⁸¹⁾ as long as you wish — then leave for your town (Shíráz). In truth you are of those who have proven their faith in following this Book. Say: 'Praise be to God, the Ordainer of the worlds.'"

As we can see, from this point onwards the Báb prepares his [prophetic] announcement — he ordains a messenger to distribute his works, to preach to the population at large; at the same time he makes it a strict duty incumbent upon all those who have thenceforth believed in him to meet in Shíráz. Also he gives the order to recommence the giving of sermons in his house and I think that this refers to the mosque of the makers of swords⁽⁸²⁾.

Mr. de Gobineau, Mr. Browne, all the Muslim authors, and the generality of the Bábís think that during the course of his life the Báb presented himself under diverse aspects, first under that of the Door⁽⁸³⁾, then under that of the Point⁽⁸⁴⁾.

⁽⁸⁰⁾Only one of the maternal uncles of the Báb was a Bábí at this time, and this was Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (Khál-i-A'zam).

⁽⁸¹⁾It is not known to which city the Báb refers; however, inasmuch as Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí may have been attending to his commercial interests in Búshihir, this may have been the location in question.

⁽⁸²⁾Nicolas states that this was the Mosque of the makers of swords in Shíráz, what he denominates "Shemshirgueran." MacEoin (p. 62) refers to the Shamshírgarán mosque. Sepehr Manuchehri identified Shamshírgarán as the name of the neighborhood in the city of Shíráz in which the house of Báb was located. He also indicated that there was a mosque with this name in the vicinity of the Báb's house.

⁽⁸³⁾Edward Granville Browne (Note O, pp. 296-299, "A Traveller's Narrative", cited in Introduction, "The Dawn-breakers," p. liii) indicates that following the disappearance of the twelfth Imám in 260 A.H. a series of four "Abwáb" (Gates) were appointed who served for over sixty-nine years as the human channels to the hidden Imám, Muhammad ibn Hasan al-'Askarí. These four "Abwáb" were named Abú-'Umar-'Uthmán ibn-i-Sa'íd 'Umarí; Abú-Ja'far Muhammad-ibn-i-'Uthmán; Husayn-ibn-i-Rúh Naw-bakhtí; and Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí-ibn-i-Muhammad Símarí. George Townshend explained that the assumption of the title "Báb"

I shared this opinion myself, not in a very clear and precise fashion, but nevertheless with sufficient explicitness to have written, on page four (iv) of the Preface to the "Book of the Seven Proofs"⁽⁸⁵⁾,

by Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad was misunderstood by some of the Muslims of his time. In the Introduction to "The Dawn-breakers" (pp. xxx-xxxii) he writes:

"They imagined His meaning to be that He was a fifth Gate in succession to Abu'l-Hasan-'Alí. His true meaning, however, as He Himself clearly announced, was very different. He was the Qá'im; but the Qá'im, though a High Prophet, stood in relation to a succeeding and greater Manifestation as did John the Baptist to the Christ. He was the Forerunner of One yet more mighty than Himself. He was to decrease; that Mighty One was to increase. And as John the Baptist had been the Herald or Gate of the Christ, so was the Báb the Herald or Gate of Bahá'u'lláh."

'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 4, 6-7) confirms this interpretation of this title of the Báb:

"Now what He intended by the term Báb [Gate] was this, that He was the channel of grace from some great Person still behind the veil of glory, Who was the possessor of countless and boundless perfections, by Whose will He moved, and to the bond of Whose love He clung..."

"It was then supposed that He claimed to be the medium of grace from His Highness the Lord of the Age [Sáhib al-Zamán] (upon Him be peace); but afterwards it became known and evident that His meaning was the Gatehood [Bábíyyat] of another city and the mediumship of the graces of another Person Whose qualities and attributes were contained in His books and treatises."

The Báb himself describes his gradual disclosure of his prophetic station in this passage:

"Consider the manifold favours vouchsafed by the Promised One, and the effusions of His bounty which have pervaded the concourse of the followers of Islám to enable them to attain unto salvation. Indeed observe how He Who representeth the origin of creation, He Who is the exponent of the verse, 'I, in very truth, am God', identified Himself as the Gate [Bab] for the advent of the promised Qá'im, a descendant of Muhammad, and in His first Book enjoined the observance of the laws of the Qur'án, so that the people might not be seized with perturbation by reason of a new Book and a new Revelation and might regard His Faith as similar to their own, perchance they would not turn away from the Truth and ignore the thing for which they had been called into being." ("Selections from the Writings of the Báb," p. 119)

⁽⁸⁴⁾The Point, or "Nuqta" in Arabic and "Nuqtih" in Persian, is one of the titles which the Báb assumed, particularly during the latter half of his short ministry. In fact, he generally called himself "Nuqtih-i-Bayán" (Point of the Exposition), as found in many verses of "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd I: báb 15; váhíd II: báb 4, báb 7, báb 9, báb 12, báb 15, báb 17; váhíd III: báb 13, báb 17; váhíd IV: báb 12, báb 18; váhíd V: báb 16; váhíd VI: báb 1, báb 13, báb 18; váhíd VII: báb 15; váhíd VIII: báb 2, báb 4, báb 17; váhíd IX: báb 2, báb 3). There is only one reference to "Nuqtih-i-Úlá" (Primal Point) in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd VI: báb 15), but this is the title which seems to have been most commonly used by Bábís in speaking of the Báb. Shoghi Effendi has translated a passage from the Báb's letter to Muhammad Sháh from the fortress of Máh-Kú, in which the author declares: "I am the Primal Point" ("The World Order of Bahá'u'lláh," p. 126). The widespread use of this title among Persian Bahá'ís may be derived from Bahá'u'lláh's copious usage of this title, as can be witnessed in Shoghi Effendi's translations of his words in "The World Order of Bahá'u'lláh" (pp. 107, 125, 138, 139). In "Bayán-i-fársí," the term "Nuqtih" has a more universal significance, referring in most passages of this Book to the station of Prophethood in every Dispensation rather than exclusively to the báb (váhíd I: báb 15; váhíd II: báb 11, báb 16; váhíd III: báb 1, báb 7, báb 8, báb 10, báb 12; váhíd IV: báb 12; váhíd V: báb 3; váhíd VIII: báb 5). Another title, "Nuqtih-i-Furqán" is applied to the Prophet Muhammad in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd I: báb 15; váhíd VIII: báb 2).

the following phrase: "The Báb qualifies himself here as Imám Mahdí and rejects the title of Báb with which he had invested himself."

I must admit here that I was mistaken and my only excuse is to have been mistaken in numerous company.

What does this title of "Door" signify? We have seen, without having had the need to search very far, the Prophet say⁽⁸⁶⁾:

⁽⁸⁵⁾Nicolas refers to his translation of "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" — "Les Sept Preuves de la Mission du Báb" — which was published in 1902, three years before the publication of "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb" (1905).

⁽⁸⁶⁾I am the City of knowledge and 'Alí is the Door' is a hadíth (a tradition, an oral statement) attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. The original wording in Arabic is "Ana al-madinatu'l-'ilm wa 'Alí al-Báb". Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir (email 17/1/02) indicated that Sunní references to this hadíth are numerous:

"Sahih al-Tirmidhi, volume 5: pp. 201,637; al-Mustadrak, by al-Hakim, volume 3: pp. 126-127, 226; Chapter of the Virtues of 'Alí, narrated on the authority of two reliable reporters: first Ibn 'Abbás, whose report has been transmitted through two different chains of authorities, and second Jabir Ibn 'Abdu'lláh al-Ansari; Fadha'il al-Sahaba, by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, volume 2: p. 635, Tradition #1081; Jami' al-Saghir, by Jalalu'd-Dín al-Suyuti, volume 1: pp. 107,374; Jami' al-Jawami'; Táríkh al-Khulafá, p. 171; al-Kabír, by al-Tabarani (d. 360); al-Awsat Ma'rifah al-Sahaba, by al-Hafidh Abu Nu'aym al-Isfáhání; Ihyá al-'Ulúm, by al-Ghazzali; History of Ibn Kathir, volume 7: p. 358; History of Ibn Asakir; Tarikh, by al-Khatib al-Baghdádí, volume 2: p. 337, volume 4: p. 348, volume 7: p. 173, volume 11: pp. 48-50, volume 13: p. 204; al-Isti'ab, by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, volume 3: p. 38, volume 2: p. 461; Usdul Ghabah, by Ibn al-Athir, volume 4: p. 22; Tahdhib al-Athár, by Ibn Jarir al-Tabari; Majma' al-Zawa'id, by al-Haythami, volume 9; p. 114; Bahr al-Asatid, by al-Hafidh Abu Muhammad Hasan Samarghandi (d. 491); Siraj al-Munir, by al-Hafidh 'Alí Ibn Ahmad Azizi Shafi'i (d.1070), volume 2: p. 63; Manaqib, by 'Alí Ibn Muhammad Ibn Tayyib al-Jalábi Ibn Magházi (d. 483); Firdaws al-Akhbar, by Abu Shuja'a Shirwayh Hamadani al-Daylami (d. 509); Maqal al-Husayn, by Khatib Kharazmi (d. 568), volume 1: p. 43; Manaqib, by Khatib Kharazmi (d. 568), p. 49; Alif Ba'a, by Abul Hajjáj Yúsun Ibn Muhammad Andulisi (d.605), volume 1: p. 222; Matalib al-Su'ul, by Abu Salim Muhammad Ibn Talhah Shafi'i (d. 652), p. 22; Jawahi al-Aghdi'in, by Núr al-Dín al-Shafi'i (d. 911); Yanabi' al-Mawaddah, by al-Qundúzi al-Hanafi, in Chapter 14; Tadhkirat al-Khawass al-Ummah, by Sibte Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 654), p. 29; Kanz al-Barahin, by Shaykh Khathiri; Kifayat al-Talib, by Yúsun al-Ganji al-Shafi'i (d. 658), Chapter 58; Kanz al-Ummal, by al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, part 15, p13, Traditions #348-379 in al-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqah, by Ibn Hajar al-Haythami, Chapter 9, section 2, p. 189; Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Siddiq al-Hasani al-Maghribi, in Fat'h al-Mulk al-'Alí bi Sihah Hadíth-i-Báb-i-Madinat al-'Ilm" (Matba' al-Islámiyyah, Egypt, 1354 AH.); Ibn Adi on the authority of Ibn Umar; al-Bazzar on the authority of Jabir Ibn 'Abdullah al-Ansari."

Dr. Fananapazir pointed out that this "tradition also supports the infallibility of Imám 'Alí (beside what is conveyed by Qur'án 33:33 on the issue of infallibility of Ahlu'l-Bayt). The [cause] of non-intentional mistakes is lack of knowledge, i.e., not to know what is right to do at the time. Therefore, if Imám 'Alí contained all the knowledge of the Prophet, it [stands to] reason that if the Prophet was infallible, so is Imám 'Alí."

Dr. Fananapazir also reports that al-Tirmidhi ("Sahih al-Tirmidhi," volume 5: pp 201,637) recorded a similar hadíth:

"The Messenger of Allah said: 'I am the House of Wisdom and Ali is its door.'"

"Al-Tirmidhi cites Ibn Jarir al-Tabari [as] recorder [of] this tradition and wrote: 'We believe this tradition to be genuine and authentic.' Sources for this hadíth are al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, in Kanz al-

"I am the City of knowledge and 'Alí is the Door."

The doctrine of the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í has taken possession of this saying, has embroidered thereupon complicated designs and this has resulted, in the final analysis, in the twelve Imáms being perceived as successive Doors, partaking of a direct and divine heritage of inspiration. The twelfth Imám having disappeared, the Door of the divine science was closed, and men had nothing more upon which to base themselves except the "reasoning" of their religious leaders, the mujtahidún. All this is clear and precise, and even the terms which I employ are of common usage in Persia.

Then the Báb arrives who declares himself to be the Door of divine knowledge, and by this very fact he claimed to be renewing the interrupted chain, of ascending once more, according to the Shí'í beliefs, to the earliest epoch of Islám, retrieving all the traditions, and continuing, across the centuries, the work commenced by Muhammad .

The Báb invents nothing here, because the prophecies announce the reappearance of an Imám known under the name of Imám Mahdí, Imám Qá'im, Qá'im of the family of Muhammad, Sáhíb al-Zamán, etc.

And, to claim for oneself the title "Door," is to claim also the title of Sáhíb al-Zamán.

Unfortunately, here as well as in many other cases, the chaos of the superstitions of Persia intervened. First of all, the universally admitted idea is that the Imám Mahdí must make Islám reign, and thus make the Qur'án supreme over all the surface of the earth.

Islám and the Qur'án, for the Persians, purely and simply connote the religion which they already have in hand, the Book which they already possess. Therefore Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad, who presents a new religion and a new book, cannot be other than an impostor.

But if one takes the words Islám and Qur'án in their true meaning, the picture changes. "Islám" is resignation to God, to the religion of God, and it is in this sense that the Persians are justified in saying that Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were Muslims. Qur'án means "the reading", "the Book" — would one claim that the immense knowledge of God is enclosed altogether in the narrow confines of the Book to which this name has been given? No, for if it were the recourse to mujtahidún would be needless.

I do not believe it indispensable for me to dwell upon this subject. The explanation which I have given here shall suffice I think to make it understood how to interpret and to translate for oneself all the Persian beliefs on the subject of the Imám Mahdí.

Thus, and by the very fact of his claim to be the Báb, Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad claims the title of Sáhíb al-Zamán.

Ummal (volume 6: p. 401); Jami' al-Saghir, by Jalalu'd-Dín al-Suyuti (volume 1: p. 170); and Jami' al-Jawami' al-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqah, by Ibn Hajar Haythami (Chapter 9, section 2, p. 189)."

In allegedly referring to this hadíth, the Báb seems to be claiming to have a station similar to that of the Imám 'Alí, and hence identical with that of the Imám Mahdí, the Qá'im expected by Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Muslims. Nicolas cites this hadíth a second time, in Chapter Four, note (38).

But, what does he do from that moment on?⁽⁸⁷⁾ Without hesitation, without fear he descends verses. And, if we go back through the story of the ages, we will meet but a single person gifted with this power, and this is Muhammad!

Further, in the "Kitáb al-haramayn" itself our hero declares that the diverse testimonies — read "prophets" — of God which have succeeded one another have done so in an ascending fashion; that is to say that the predecessor — already more elevated than the one he succeeds — is inferior to his successor. If we translate this principle into names, we have Muhammad as the predecessor, Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad as successor.

Having thus — from the beginning, and I insist upon this point — proclaimed his mission, there is nothing left to claim and he will claim nothing more thereafter; his history is there to affirm this.

We see him, in his first works, giving himself the names of Báb, of Mention, of the Name of your Lord, of the Speech of God, etc. These other titles do not come from anything other than the normal development of his doctrine, such as the title of Nuqat'u'lláh for example⁽⁸⁸⁾.

Moreover, let us examine the different Surahs which compose the collection entitled "Kitáb bayn al-haramayn."

The first Súrah of this work, which was previously cited in its entirety, is addressed to the uncle of the Siyyid.

The second Súrah, which I have called "The Interdiction" contains the following passage:

"Do all of the verses of all of the prophets equal one of the verses which We send to you? No, I swear by your God! In truth! We testify that the greater part of men do not understand and do not invest their faith. They are without intelligence — may God kill them! !⁽⁹⁰⁾

⁽⁸⁷⁾From 5 Jamádi al-Awwal 1260 A.H., corresponding to 22/23 May 1844 A.D.

⁽⁸⁸⁾Nicolas explains the various titles of the Báb, and cites the Báb himself as a witness to the truth of his claim: "So that one will not go about believing that there is a contradiction between what I say and what the Báb himself affirms in the above-mentioned passage of the Book of Seven Proofs" (Nicolas' translation):

"See how the awaited Exalted One manifested His truth before the eyes of the Muslims in order to open before them the way of salvation. She, the first radiation of creation, She, the mirror of good, condescended to present Herself under the appearance of the Door which conducts to the knowledge of the hidden descendent of Muhammad. In His first book He spoke in the name of the laws of the Qur'án so that men would not be troubled by the new text and the new law..."

Nicolas continues with his explanation: "This is exactly the reasoning that Jesus used with the Jews when he said to them: 'I did not come to abolish the Law but to fulfill it.' [Gospel of Matthew 5:17] What this is, in the two cases [alike] is not the law as it exists among men, defiled by the discussions of the doctors [clergy], and burdened with a mass of accessory superstitions, but of the law of God that was given to the preceding prophet and which men did not know how to observe."

⁽⁹⁰⁾This may strike many a reader as reminiscent of certain Biblical and Qur'anic verses which call for the death of unbelievers. However, the Báb has explained in his Writings that by "death" is meant spiritual non-existence, that is, a state of being in which the human being is deprived of the blessings of the spiritual

"One would say that these people are further astray than any donkey and, in truth, the donkey understands how he eats barley and they do not comprehend anything, and will not be guided!

"I attest by Him who created you and who made me His testimony over you, a verse of my verses proves the order of God for all those who are upon the surface of the earth."

The third Súrah is a compilation of hadíth, which does not interest us for the moment.

The fourth is that which is addressed to Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání⁽⁹¹⁾.

And finally, the fifth, which is the object of the present study, and from which we have cited large portions, contains the following words:

"So I have accepted your order, O my God! Because you instructed me regarding the word of creation, so that the believers might know, by the order of your verses of acceptance, the word which separates the true from the false⁽⁹³⁾."

"God embraces all things — perhaps this book is a sublime Qur'án of the knowledge of God, so that the Unitarians might testify, in the verses of your slave, to the word of the Book. And we have counted all things in the evident book so that the faithful may enter

realms, which can only be reached by the believers. In this context, the Báb's statement recalls the words attributed to Jesus in the Gospel of Luke (9:60):

"Let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God."

⁽⁹¹⁾Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání is mentioned only once in MacEoin (p. 50), where he is listed as having received a letter from the Báb which its author listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist." Amanat (pp. 155, 165n, 241n, 246n, 249n, 250-251) gives a little more detail regarding this individual. Amanat asserts that Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání was Siyyid Kázim Rašhtí's secretary, and he cites QATIL (p. 518) who states that Siyyid Kirmání forged a tract in Rašhtí's name in order to justify the leadership claims of Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmání (Amanat, p. 155). Amanat (p. 165, n. 89) affirms that Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání (whom he calls here Mullá 'Alí Kirmání) later admitted to this forgery and was forced to flee to Mecca for refuge. The Báb stated (ZUHUR, P. 271) that Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání was among those who witnessed his "mubáhala" with Mullá Muhammad Husayn Muhít Kirmání in the Masjid al-Haram (cited Amanat, p. 246, n. 240).

⁽⁹³⁾Nicolas comments on these verses: "The word which separates the true from the false — that is the title given to the Qur'án when it is called the 'furqán.'" Wehr/Cowan defines "furqán" as a verb (p. 829) "to separate, part, divide, sever, sunder" and also as a noun (p. 830) meaning "proof evidence" and, with the definite article "al-furqán" denoting the Qur'án — the proof of God, the proof of the prophethood of Muhammad, the proof of God's covenant with humankind. One of the chapters of the Qur'án is named Súrat al-furqán (#25), probably after the opening verse which identifies the Qur'án as "al-furqán":

tabraka al-laḥḥiy najjala al-furqána 'alá 'abdihi liyakúna lil'alamiyna naḥḥiyrá
 "Blessed be He Who has revealed al-furqán to His servant, that he may warn the nations..."
 (Qur'án 25:1, English translation by N.J. Dawood)

In "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd I: báb 15; váhíd VIII: báb 2), the Báb identifies Muhammad as "Nuqtih-i-Furqán" — the Point of the Furqán.

into the door of the house of your haram⁽⁹⁴⁾, because of the order which you caused to descend in the preceding Qur'án⁽⁹⁵⁾: 'Enter by the Door in prostrating yourselves and say: 'Indulgence, O my Lord' and He will pardon you your sins. Verily, we heap up the benefits of our favors.'

"In truth! The people of the Qur'án have said when the (My) book of the Mention of the name of your Lord descended that which was said in truth by the associates of the past (at the moment of the descent of the Qur'án).

"And I do not find any difference upon the way of God. And you will see no change in any of the words of God!

"Return to me, as did those who turned towards the Prophets of God, and do not fear anything, in truth, God does not destroy the recompense of those who do what is right.

"In truth, the word of your Lord, (the Báb) does not call men by himself, but he calls humanity towards that which the envoys and prophets before him have invited them.

"And when God wishes, He will explain by the mediation of His Dhikr (the Báb) what was decreed for him in the Book.

"In truth, if God wishes it, He can manifest from his slave all that he wishes, as much as He wishes: and I, I do not want anything other than what God, your Lord, wanted in the past.

"Before the presence of the Mention of the name of your Lord, there is no Testimony, if it is not a Testimony which comes from me (God), greater than the testimony of the past.

"Remove, without any sign that descends in your heart, from the Door of God the veils of proofs and arguments."

As we can see, the Báb is the Door, but he is also a Prophet, greater⁽⁹⁶⁾ than Muhammad, and God will explain afterwards, through the mediation of the Báb, what was decreed for the Báb in His knowledge. There is then no contradiction in the curriculum vitae of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad and certainly it is a grave error on the part of the Muslims to wish to destroy him with this accusation.

⁽⁹⁴⁾The "gate/door of the house of his haram" means the "gate/door of the house of his household/holy place" and seems to refer to the Báb as descendant of the holy house (family) of Muhammad .

⁽⁹⁵⁾The Báb is citing Súrat al-baqara of the Qur'án:

wádkhulúá'l-bába sujjadán wa-qúlúá hittatun naghfi lakum khatayakum wa-sanazidu'l-muhsinína

"and enter the gate submissively and say: 'God! Forgive us our sins.' We shall forgive you your sins and We shall give increase to those who do good."

(Qur'án 2:59, English translation by Maulawi Sher Ali)

⁽⁹⁶⁾Nicolas cites I'TIDAD regarding the station which the Báb claimed: "In appearance, this Siyyid [the Báb] was a Shaykhí, but he believed himself to be more elevated [in station] than Siyyid Kázim, than Shaykh Ahmad, and even than the [twelve] Imáms and the Prophet [Muhammad]." In this regard at least, the Muslim historians seem to have gotten their facts straight.

Chapter Three

The Return to Shíráz — The Imprisonment — The Cholera — Flight to Isfáhán

Now our hero returned to Búshihr. It was Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í whom he [the Báb] chose to send to Isfáhán to search for Muqaddas Khurásání⁽¹⁾. He confided to his messenger the text of the

⁽¹⁾Muqaddas Khurásání: please see note (17) in Chapter One. ZARANDI (p. 96) reports that Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í was sent to Isfáhán, and also to Káshán, Tihrán, Khurásán and thence to 'Iráq by the Báb prior to his pilgrimage. ZARANDI (pp. 97-101) also reports that during Mullá Husayn's sojourn in Isfáhán, he introduced a number of individuals to the new movement, including Muqaddas Khurásání, also called Mullá Sádiq-i-Khurásání and Ismu'lláhu'l-Asdaq. Furthermore, according to ZARANDI (p. 101), Mullá Husayn directed Muqaddas Khurásání to proceed to Kirmán to announce to Hájí Mírzá Karím Khán (see note (34) in Chapter One) the appearance of the Qá'im; and to travel thereafter to Shíráz, where Mullá Husayn would join him, and where they would both be reunited with the Báb. Also according to ZARANDI (pp.143-144), after completing his pilgrimage and arriving in Búshihr, the Báb sent Quddús to Shíráz, and there Quddús met Mullá Sádiq-i-Khurásání, "to whom he entrusted a copy of the 'Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih'" (Seven Qualifications). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 82) and FAYZI (p. 153; cited MacEoin, p. 62) state that the Báb authored "Risálih Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih" (cited in full by Afnan, p. 99) for Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí rather than Muqaddas Khurásání when the Báb returned to Búshihr from the 'Atabát. Afnan (p. 82-83) indicates that the Báb wrote other letters at this time, one addressed to Mullá Sádiq-i-Khurásání and another addressed to Muhammad Sháh. ZARANDI (p. 143) reports that Quddús delivered a letter from the Báb to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, as well as acquainting him with the declaration of his nephew. According to MacEoin (p. 62, n. 85), it is this letter which Nicolas has translated in Chapter Two and which is found in English in note (64). If this is the letter in question then it appears that at least one letter had become amalgamated with Nicolas' manuscript of "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn." MacEoin notes (pp. 61-62) that "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih" was composed by the Báb during his pilgrimage, and ZARANDI indicates that in "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih" the Báb "set forth the essential requirements from those who had attained to the knowledge of the new Revelation and had recognized its claim" (p. 143), and prescribes the following addition to the traditional "adhán"(p. 144):

"I bear witness that He whose name is 'Alí-Qabl-i-Muhammad is the servant of the Baqíyyatu'lláh."

Shoghi Effendi has written a footnote (in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 144, n. 2) indicating that "Alí Qabl-i-Muhammad" (literally, "Alí before Muhammad") is a reference to the name of the Báb ('Alí Muhammad). He has also pointed the reader to his Glossary ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 674), in which he translates "Baqíyyatu'lláh" as "Remnant of God" and indicates that it is a title which referred sometimes to the Báb and sometimes to "Him Whom God shall manifest" (that is, to Bahá'u'lláh). For further information on "Baqíyyatu'lláh" please see note (43) in Chapter Two. MacEoin (p. 62) was not able to locate a manuscript of "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih", but noted that FAYZI (pp. 53-54) and 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Ishráq-Khávarí ("Muhádírat," volume II, pp. 785-786) refer to its contents in detail, and he presumed that therefore they must have had access at some time to the text. The addition to the "adhán" reported by both of these authors, allegedly derived from the text of this work, is as follows — citing the Arabic transliteration of MacEoin (MacEoin, p. 62), and my own translation into English:

ashhadu anna 'Alí-an qabla Muhammad 'abdu Baqíyyat Alláh

"I bear witness that 'Alí before Muhammad is the servant of the Remnant of God."

Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 99) actually cites this "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih" in full, and, as described by Fariba Ghayebi (email 5/3/02), this letter of the Báb refers to seven [sab'ih] qualifications [khasá'il] of the true believer at that time:

beginning of his Commentary on the Súrah of Joseph⁽²⁾, and some prayers⁽³⁾, and said to him, "As soon as Muqaddas Khurásání reads these, he will declare his faith in their author, but I do not

First: having the prayer for protection of the Báb, which is in the form of a circle [dá'ira], in one's possession

Second: abstention from smoking [qalyán], including anything that can be smoked [dukhán] and hashish [ghilyán]

Third: drinking tea

Fourth: addition to the adhán

Fifth: prostrating in prayer on dust from the tomb of the Imám Husayn

Sixth: saying of "Ziyárat Jami'í" on Fridays and Holy Days

Seventh: wearing a ring, engraved with the following verse:

"There is no God but God, Muhammad is His Prophet, and 'Alí is the Guardian 273"

⁽²⁾Nicolas translates from ITIDAD: "And he gave to his disciple the product of his madness, so as to propagate it in place of the Qur'án and of the 'Sahífa al-sajjádiyya.'" Wehr/Cowan (p. 589) defines "Sahífa" as "page; surface" and (p. 463) "sajjád" as "worshipper" and related to "masjid" which is "mosque" and therefore the place of worship. Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir (email 18/1/02) attributes the "Sahífa al-Kamílah al-Sajjádiyya" to the 4th Imám, named 'Alí Zayn al-'Abidín ibn al-Husayn, and indicates that it can be found at www.al-Islám.org/sahifa/kamila.html. Dr. J.R.I. Cole (email 21/1/02) indicates that it is attributed to the 4th Imám, named Zayn al-'Abidín and he points to the website cited above and also www.geocities.com/ahlulbayt14/s-s.html. Professor J.R.I. Cole (email 25/1/02) also recommended an English translation, published with Arabic text facing the English, by W.C. Chittick, entitled "The Psalms of Islám: Al-Sahifat al-Kamilat al-Sajjadiyya" (London: Muhammadi Trust, 1988).

Nicolas does not clearly indicate the source of his identification of the Writings given by Quddús to Muqaddas Khurásání. It is entirely probable that he would have given Mullá Sádiq a copy of the Commentary on the Súrah of Joseph, inasmuch as this Book had been completed by the Báb forty days after his declaration (ZUHUR, p. 285; cited MacEoin, p. 56), and was copied and disseminated widely by the time of his pilgrimage (please see note (42) in Chapter Two). The "Tafsír Súratu Yúsun" (Commentary on the Súrah of Joseph) is the "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" ("The Self-Subsisting of Names"), and the first chapter of this work, entitled "Súrat al-Mulúk," was written by the Báb in the presence of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í on 5 Jamádi al-Awal 1260 (ZARANDI, pp. 61-63), at the time of his prophetic declaration. JADID (p. 39) reports that this chapter was already completed when Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í perused it, and Mírzá Yahyá (Subh-i-Azal) told Edward Granville Browne that Mullá Husayn became convinced of the Báb's claim by perusing this work (Browne, "A Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts," JRAS, vol. 24, 1892, p. 699). "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" is composed of 111 chapters, corresponding to the number of verses in the Qur'anic "Súratu Yúsun" and is several hundred pages in length (MacEoin, p. 56).

⁽³⁾In various of his writings, the Báb mentions that he has revealed five different grades or kinds of divine words. In "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd III: báb 17; váhíd VI: báb 1; váhíd IX: báb 2), the Báb cites these five grades as follows (with the French equivalents of Nicolas, and in the order found in his translation of this Book): 1)"áyát" (versets: verses); 2)"munáját" (oraisons or oraisons jaculatoires: prayers); 3)"tafsír" (commentaries: commentaries); 4)"khutba" (sermons) or "suwar 'ilmíyya" (questions scientifiques: technical treatises); 5)"fársí" (paroles en persan: words in Persian). In Browne's "A Summary of the Persian Bayán" (completed and edited by Moojan Momen, in "Selections from the Writings of E.G.Browne," pp. 349, 374-375, 403), we find the same five grades and in the same order as indicated by Nicolas. Edward Granville Browne wrote: "Amongst Bábí manuscripts we do not infrequently come across volumes bearing this title [Five Grades] and containing selections from each of these 'Five Grades'" ("Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion," p. 207). One of the collections of all five grades, which bears the title "Kitáb-i panj sha'n" (Book of Five Grades), and is also called "Shu'ún-i khamsa" (Five Grades), is regarded by Shoghi Effendi as "one of His last works" ("God Passes By," p. 51). There are at least eleven manuscripts of this work that are known to exist, and on the basis of one manuscript it was lithographed by the Azalí Bábís (MacEoin, pp. 93-95, 189-190). In this book (see MacEoin, p. 93), the Báb organized seventeen groups each composed of five

want you to tell him my name — so that he will discover this for himself. You will tell him to go to Shíráz where he will receive my orders."

It was as the Báb had pronounced⁽⁴⁾, and the very day following his conversion, Muqaddas left Isfáhán on foot with his friend Habíb⁽⁵⁾, setting out in the direction of Shíráz. Three days after their arrival, Muqaddas received a letter from the apostle⁽⁶⁾ in which was contained the following order:

"Pray in the Mosque in which the verses descended from thy Lord and teach Our verses in that same Mosque⁽⁷⁾...and pronounce in a loud voice My name in the adhán⁽⁸⁾, after the three confessions [of faith] in the following manner...'And I confess that 'Alí before Nabíl is the Mirror of the breath of God⁽⁹⁾.'"

He [the Báb] ordained that he also incline himself, in the midst of his prayers, towards his [the Báb's] house which thereby became the new Qiblih⁽¹⁰⁾.

passages according to these five grades of divine words: 1)"áyát" (verses); 2)"munáját" (prayers); 3)"khutba" (homilies); 4)"tafsír" (commentaries); and 5)"fársí" (Persian-language writings).

⁽⁴⁾Nicolas notes: "See later on the story of this conversion."

⁽⁵⁾The friend of Muqaddas Khurásání named "Habíb" (friend) is identified later in the text as Quddús, and this Letter of the Living is described in note (46) of Chapter One.

⁽⁶⁾For an explanation of the term "apostle" please see note (31) in Chapter One. That the Báb wrote a letter to Muqaddas Khurásání at this time is nowhere else mentioned by any of the historians of the Bábí movement. There is no reference to such a letter in MacEoin, Amanat, Balyuzi, Shoghi Effendi or even in Nicolas' own bibliography of sources for "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb." Nevertheless, it seems that Nicolas either had a copy of this letter — from which he was quoting the addition to the "adhán" — or that he received an oral report to this effect from a source he regarded as reliable.

⁽⁷⁾Nicolas reminds the reader that this is the "Mosque of the fashioners of swords." This Mosque is called "Masjid-i-Shamshírgarán" by MacEoin (p. 62). ZARANDI (p. 144) reports with certainty and MacEoin (p. 62) affirms as possible that the first introduction of the altered "adhán" occurred at "Masjid-i-Naw" (New Mosque) rather than at "Masjid-i-Shamshírgarán".

⁽⁸⁾"adhán" is defined by Wehr/Cowan (p. 14) as "call to prayer" and represents the opening formula which is recited by all Muslims as they begin their prayers — five times daily. This formula differs between the Shí'í and Sunní sects, as the Shí'ís include one or more of their Imáms in the "adhán" whereas the Sunní do not include any of their "khulafá'" (caliphs), let alone the Shí'í Imáms.

⁽⁹⁾Nicolas notes: "Ibn Asdaq, according to his memoirs, the original [manuscript] of which was without doubt in Mashhad." Muqaddas was born and bred in Mashhad according to Kázim Qazvíní in SAMANDAR (p. 162-171). FU'ADI (pp. 86-99), like Nicolas, uses Ibn Asdaq as a source. ZARANDI (pp. 100-101) and JADID (pp. 40-42) apparently learned about events in Muqaddas' life directly from the man himself (cited Amanat, p. 262, n. 10) rather than from his son. It seems then that Nicolas' transcription of Ibn Asdaq's recollections, or Ibn Asdaq's memory of his father's words was slightly faulty, inasmuch as this account of the altered formula is not entirely similiar to that found in ZARANDI, which is confirmed by the descriptions of "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih" by FAYZI and Ishráq-Khávarí.

⁽¹⁰⁾The "Qiblih" rendered "qibla" in Arabic, is defined by Wehr/Cowan (p. 868) as "direction to which Muslims turn in praying" and here refers to a change of direction that seems to have been ordained by the Báb. ZARANDI (pp. 144-145) does not indicate that Muqaddas Khurásání turned to the new Qiblih at the same time as altering the "adhán"; nor does MacEoin (pp. 62-63) report that "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih" required

The Mosque was small, but Muqaddas had mats placed there, in the sanctuary itself as well as in the exterior court, so as to receive all the people who had been attracted by the announcement of his arrival⁽¹¹⁾.

He thus commenced the sacred service, before the gathered faithful, following the traditional practice, then suddenly faced the direction of the house of the Báb, at the very same time that three muezzins⁽¹²⁾ whom he had previously instructed, caused the air to ring with these words from the height of the minarets⁽¹³⁾:

such a radical change. In the "Bayán-i-fársí" the Báb refers to the "Ka'bih" of Islám (váhíd IV: báb 12), indicating that it has been annulled in his Dispensation, along with all other Muslim shrines, with the appearance of a new Manifestation of God. The Báb affirms that the true "Ka'bih" is the Manifestation of God Himself. In the same vein, the Báb states (váhíd IV: báb 16) that the "House of God" in each Dispensation is that location which is designated as such by the Prophet of God. In the Bábí Dispensation (váhíd IV: báb 14), the holy shrines are to be the houses associated with the Báb and the eighteen Letters of the Living. It is not permitted (váhíd IV: báb 17) to sell lands adjacent to the House of God (apparently in this instance the Báb is referring to his own house, in Shíráz), and these lands may be seized by eminent domain in order to build beautiful dependencies required by the House of God. Pilgrimage to the House of God is ordained after the Manifestation of God leaves this plane of existence and repairs to the spiritual worlds; and such pilgrimage is declared to be a changeless ordinance, eternal in the past and likewise in the future (váhíd V: báb 2). Furthermore, the Báb associates the "Ka'bih" with the "House of God" and "Him Whom God shall manifest" with God Himself (váhíd IV: báb 2). This teaching is specifically confirmed by Bahá'u'lláh in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" (K137) in these words:

"O people of the Bayán! Fear ye the Most Merciful and consider what He hath revealed in another passage. He said: "The Qiblih is indeed He Whom God will make manifest; whenever He moveth, it moveth, until He shall come to rest." Thus was it set down by the Supreme Ordainer when He desired to make mention of this Most Great Beauty."

⁽¹¹⁾The arrival of Muqaddas Khurásání in Shíráz apparently attracted many people. Nicolas does not explain the reason for this. ZARANDI (pp. 144-145) reports that Muqaddas was the Imám Jum'ih of Masjid-i Naw in Shíráz, and that he scandalized his congregation by sounding the "adhán" prescribed by the Báb. This may help to explain the attraction of Shírázís to him upon his return. If one considers that Muqaddas apparently traveled from Isfáhán to Kirmán and that he endeavored to convert many persons during this journey, including Hájí Mullá Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmáni — who was already at that time an influential Shaykhí leader — and that he then journeyed from Kirmán to Shíráz, announcing the "good news" along his way, it is not surprising to find many Shírázís who would have heard of his exploits nor that some would wish to see him in person and hear him speak. Another reason why his arrival may have attracted a large number of people was because the Shaykhí movement was well represented in Shíráz, and Muqaddas was regarded as one of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí's senior students (Amanat, p. 263).

⁽¹²⁾Usually transliterated as "muezzin," the Arabic word "mu'adh^hdhin" ("mu'adh^hdhún" in plural form) is defined by Wehr/Cowan (p. 14) as "announcer of the hour of prayer." As such, this word is derived from "adhán," the "call to prayer."

⁽¹³⁾Universally transliterated as "minaret," the Arabic word "ma'dh^hana" ("ma'ád^hhin" in plural form) has but one meaning in Wehr/Cowan (p. 14), namely "minaret."

"I confess that there is no other god but God, that Muhammad is the prophet of God, that 'Alí is the Valí of God⁽¹⁴⁾, and that 'Alí before Nabíl is the Mirror of the breath of God!"

This done, Muqaddas quickly ascended the minbar⁽¹⁵⁾, read some of the verses of the Báb's Commentary on the Súrah of Joseph, and proceeded then to explicate the famous words⁽¹⁶⁾:

"O Kings, O sons of Kings, do not take possession, any of you, of whatsoever belongs to God."

War was declared and the official clergy did not delay in responding to these provocations. After three days of cries, of tumult, of threats and of injuries during which the Bábí missionary continued the task he had assumed, the theology students⁽¹⁷⁾, the 'ulamá'⁽¹⁸⁾, and the common folk of a general populace which had been deceitfully excited, went forth and voiced their grievances at the feet of Mírzá Husayn Khán⁽¹⁹⁾, the adjudant báshí, Governor of the town.

⁽¹⁴⁾This is an integral part of the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í "adhán" which declares the Imám 'Alí to be the "walí" — literally the "friend; helper; protector" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 1289) — in that sense the caretaker of Islám after the Prophet Muhammad.

⁽¹⁵⁾"Minbar" is an Arabic term denoting a "pulpit; rostrum" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 1102) and is always applied in this text to that feature in a mosque. In "Bayán-i-fársí" the Báb forbade the use of pulpits, and this ordinance is confirmed by Bahá'u'lláh in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" (#154), and elucidated by 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Shoghi Effendi (KA:n168).

⁽¹⁶⁾Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 127) says that Muqaddas Khurásání recited this verse in the mosque in Shíráz. Nicolas does not indicate the source of these "famous words": "O Kings, O sons of Kings, do not take possession, any of you, of whatsoever belongs to God." Sepehr Manuchehri (email 21/2/02) identified these words as comprising the opening verse of the Súrah of Kings in the "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" of the Báb. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 127, 153) gives a different source for this verse — Súrat al-Mulk, verse 20. Afnan (p. 445) identifies Súrat al-Mulk as the first Chapter of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'". This same verse was translated into English by Habíb Taherzadeh and a Committee appointed by the Universal House of Justice. When it was published, it was identified as from Chapter 1, "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'": "O concourse of kings and of the sons of kings! Lay aside, one and all, your dominion which belongeth unto God...Let not thy sovereignty deceive thee, O Sháh, for 'every soul shall taste of death,' and this, in very truth, hath been written down as a decree of God." ("Selections from the Writings of the Báb," Bahá'í World Centre, 1982, Excerpts from the Qayyúmu'l-Asmá', p. 41) For more information on "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" please see notes (9) and (43) in Chapter Two.

⁽¹⁷⁾In this context "theology students" refers to Muslims who were studying in the Islámí "madrassa" which is defined (Wehr/Cowan, p. 321) as "a religious boarding school associated with a mosque" and the purpose of which is to prepare young men for positions in the Shí'í clergy.

⁽¹⁸⁾For a definition of 'ulamá' please see note (14) in Chapter Two.

⁽¹⁹⁾Husayn Khán Nizám al-Dawlih Ájúdán-Báshí, the Governor of the province of Fárs and city of Shíráz its capital city) is described by the Báb in what Amanat (p. 255, n. 283) calls a "letter to Muhammad Sháh" but which does not seem to correspond to any of the letters to Muhammad Sháh discussed by MacEoin (pp. 58-59, 64, 97, 192-193). The Báb calls this individual "vicious and sinister" and indicates that due to his frequent alcoholic intoxication, the Governor "was never able to pass sound judgment" (INBA no. 64, 115; cited Amanat, p. 255, n. 283). ZARANDI (p. 145) states that Husayn Khán-i-Íravání was surnamed Ájúdán-Báshí, and affirms, along with AFNAN (cited Balyuzi, p. 98), that he was generally designated as Sáhib-Ikhtiyár. According to JADID (p. 204), Husayn Khán was also designated Nizám al-Dawlih. This is reported by Amanat (p. 255); MacEoin (p. 49); and Balyuzi (pp. 68, 79, 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 97, 98,

On the night of that very same day, Husayn Khán gathered together the principal doctors of Islám and caused this Areopagite⁽²⁰⁾ Muqaddas and Habíb — better known under the name of Quddús — to be brought before this court⁽²¹⁾:

"I have learned," he said to them, "that you have changed the Qiblih?"

104, 105, 123). It appears that Husayn Khán was born in the same town, Íraván, as Hájí Mírzá Áqásí — please see note (64) of this Chapter.

⁽²⁰⁾Nicolas notes: "This gathering took place on 6 August 1845." Shoghi Effendi cites Nicolas' date in a footnote to his translation of ZARANDI ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 146, n. 2). It has been earlier noted that Nicolas' dates cannot be relied upon. Amanat, MacEoin and Balyuzi do not assign a date to this event. However, ZARANDI (pp. 143-148) states that this trial took place prior to the return of the Báb to Shíráz from pilgrimage. SIPIHR (p. 42) reported that the Báb returned to Shíráz on 21 September 1845, and until recently it was thought that this dating was accurate. But a letter dated 30 June 1845 and written by the Báb to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (Khál-i-A'zam) in Shíráz from Kunar-Takhta, about one week's journey from Shíráz on the road from Búshihir was discovered (Balyuzi, p. 105), and this seems to indicate that the Báb arrived in Shíráz by early July, over two months earlier than earlier supposed. Amanat indicates that the Báb arrived in Shíráz in late June 1845, without giving any source for this statement (Amanat, p. 255). ZARANDI (p. 155) reports that some time after the Báb returned from pilgrimage he celebrated Naw-Rúz, the first since he had declared his mission, on 10 Rabí al-Awal 1261/19 March 1845. This is plainly impossible, for, according to "Khutba al-Jiddah" (cited MacEoin, p. 48; also in Ishráq-Khávárí, vol. II, pp. 729-731), the Báb sailed for Írán on 24 Safar 1261/4 March 1845, and the voyage to Búshihir took around two and a half months, with the Báb remaining in Búshihir for just over one month before setting out for Shíráz. This schedule would have given Quddús around a month and a half to travel from Búshihir to Isfáhán and thence to Shíráz. During this short time span, Muqaddas and Quddús preached, were arrested, tried, punished and expelled from Shíráz. For neither one was left in Shíráz when the Báb returned, mostly likely in early July 1845. It seems much more likely that Muqaddas was converted by Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í in Isfáhán in summer or autumn of 1844, and that he proceeded to Kirmán thereafter, rather the scenario described here — in which Muqaddas was converted in Isfáhán by Quddús in June 1845 and managed somehow to travel to Shíráz and get into alot of trouble and get kicked out by the beginning of July. It would have been impossible for Muqaddas to have been converted by Quddús in June 1845, then to have visited Kirmán, and arrived in Shíráz and taken part in the events that history chronicles, all in the course of a single month! It seems most likely, given this schedule of dates, that Quddús went directly to Shíráz, giving a copy of "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih" to Muqaddas shortly after his arrival, resulting in the events which have been reported, between early June and early July. The trial in question probably took place sometime in mid-to-late June 1845. There is a report of this trial and subsequent punishment which was printed in the "Literary Gazette" (15 November 1845) and reprinted in the London "Times" (19 November 1845) — the dispatch is dated 23 June 1845 (Balyuzi, p. 76), and indicates that the punishment of the Bábís took place over the course of two days.

Just an aside, with regard to Nicolas' characterization of Muqaddas as an "Areopagite" — this is any member of the high court of Athens, and by implication any supreme court. Muqaddas was not a mujtahid, but he had received his "ijáza" from Siyyid Kázim Rashtú in April 1843 (Amanat, p. 263), and this entitled him to certain special prerogatives as a Muslim cleric. As has been earlier noted (11), Muqaddas was the Imám Jum'ih of the Masjid-i-Naw in Shíráz.

⁽²¹⁾This transcript is not included among those discussed in note (40) of Chapter Two, inasmuch as it pertains to the trial of Muqaddas and Quddús rather than to the trial of the Báb. Nicolas does not indicate the source of the transcript he translates in this text. No other historian has apparently discovered such a transcript. ZARANDI (pp. 145-147) reproduces a very differently worded exchange, but covers essentially the same points.

"Yes."

"You have also modified the formula of the adhán?"

"Yes."

"You have recited and explained new verses?"

"Yes."

"What significance do you give to these words: 'O kings, O sons of kings...'^{(22)?}"

"They mean: 'O Sultán⁽²³⁾, do not possess the good things of this earth without the permission of the true proprietor who has manifested himself today.'"

"This young Shírázi?"

"Yes."

"So Muhammad Sháh must not reign without asking him for permission to do so? And when this will be, the terrestrial globe will it fall in ashes? So I am no longer the governor of this town, unless I ask him for this government?"

"You have said so."

Husayn Khán became furious, and the 'ulamá' profited from this in order to render a fatwá⁽²⁴⁾ condemning the two blasphemers to death. However, the governor not wishing to consent to this⁽²⁵⁾, contented himself with stripping Muqaddas of his vestments, conducting him to a garden

⁽²²⁾Nicolas identifies the source of this verse: "Citation from the Commentary on the Súrah of Joseph." Indeed, in ZARANDI (p. 146), a verse with similar import is cited. According to this latter account, the Governor of Shíráz addressed Muqaddas Khurásání in these words:

"Tell me, if you are aware of the opening passage of the Qayyúmu'l-Asmá' wherein the Siyyid-i Báb addresses the rulers and kings of the earth in these terms: 'Divest yourselves of the robe of sovereignty, for He Who is the King in truth, hath been made manifest! The Kingdom is God's, the Most Exalted. Thus hath the Pen of the Most High decreed!'"

⁽²³⁾"Sultán" is an Arabic word meaning "power; reign; authority; mandate; (absolute) ruler" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 493), and in this context it refers to the Sháh (king) of Írán, specifically Muhammad Sháh of the Qájár dynasty.

⁽²⁴⁾"fatwá" is Arabic for "formal legal opinion" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 815), and inasmuch as orthodoxy and heresy are determined according to religious law, this was a legal decision made by Muslim clerics and based upon the "canon law of Islám," called "al-sharí'a" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 544).

⁽²⁵⁾The events leading up to and resulting in the trial of Muqaddas, and Quddús, and which resulted in their punishment and expulsion from Shíráz are described in the following sources(cited in Amanat, p. 255, n. 282): ZARANDI (pp. 143-148), AHMAD (pp. 451-452), MU'IN (pp. 67-69), JADID (pp. 201-202), and an article published in the "Literary Gazette" and reprinted in the London "Times" (Balyuzi, pp. 77-78).

and making certain he was given, in his presence, five hundred blows of a rod⁽²⁶⁾. This done, his beard was burnt⁽²⁷⁾ and he was imprisoned with Quddús who, himself, received twelve blows⁽²⁸⁾.

The next day their noses were pierced, a string was passed through the punctures and they were promenaded for three days through the bazaars⁽²⁹⁾, in the midst of the laughter, the gibes, the insults and the blows of the populace. Finally they were expelled from the town and sought refuge in Saadieh⁽³⁰⁾, where the Báb went to find them⁽³¹⁾.

ZARANDI (p. 146) makes no mention of the 'ulamá' but reports that the punishment inflicted upon Muqaddas and Quddús was decreed by Husayn Khán-i-Íravání, the Governor of the province of Fárs.

⁽²⁶⁾ZARANDI (p. 146) states that the "fatwá" required that Muqaddas be scourged with 1000 lashes, and one witness (p. 147) expressed astonishment that so aged and frail a person as this could have withstood "fifty such savage strokes" let alone a thousand! The details of the punishment were relayed to Nabíl by Muqaddas himself.

⁽²⁷⁾ZARANDI (p. 146) alike states that the beards of Muqaddas and Quddús were burnt, that their noses were pierced and threaded with cords, and that they were led through the city of Shíráz. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 6) affirms that these two Bábís were joined in these injuries by a third convert, Mullá 'Alí-Akbar Ardistání (cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 146, n. 3). The newspaper article printed in the "Literary Gazette" and reprinted in the "London Times" asserted that there were four who were arrested, tried, found guilty and punished by having their beards burned on one day; that their faces were blackened and noses were pierced and that they were led by cords throughout the city of Shíráz on the second day. This was followed, in the evening of that second day, with their expulsion from the city (Balyuzi, pp. 76-77).

⁽²⁸⁾These are not lashings but boxing of the ears. There is no other account of Quddús receiving blows on this occasion.

⁽²⁹⁾Nicolas and the newspaper article separately report the duration of this punishment as two days, and ZARANDI is silent on this question — it would appear from his accounts that he was more impressed with the burning of their beards, the puncture of their noses, and particularly with the blows inflicted upon Muqaddas than on the number of days the Bábís spent being paraded about Shíráz.

⁽³⁰⁾Saadieh is not mentioned by any of the other historians, or by any of the sources cited here. Perhaps none of them considered this sojourn to be of any significance. Sepehr Manuchehri has pointed out that Saadieh is one of the gateways leading into and out of the walled city of Shíráz. It is located near the tomb of the great Persian poet Sa'adí (1184-1291), a native of Shíráz, and the tomb itself was located on the outskirts of the city. That gateway is now located well within the city limits, as this urban community has greatly expanded in the intervening century and a half.

⁽³¹⁾Surely the other historians or chroniclers would have noted this event if the Báb had indeed visited a group of Bábí missionaries in that place. There does not seem to be a record of such a visit, except in this book. It seems to have been based on an oral tradition, which no other author has mentioned. Nicolas affirms: "The Bábí tradition energetically denies that Husayn Khán sent cavalry to Búshihir to bring back the apostle; or, when it is admitted that he did so, it is said that these [cavaliers] did not encounter the Báb, and that he returned voluntarily to Shíráz. In any case the sending of the cavalry took place, according to the Muslims, fourteen days after the gathering which we have just described and it was three days later that the Báb returned to Shíráz. See Note F at the end of the volume." Note F (p. 455) cites a short text in Arabic, which is reproduced here for the edification of the informed reader:

If the trial of Muqaddas, Quddús and the other Bábís took place on 23 June, fourteen days following this would arrive at 7 July. Around this date the cavalry would have been sent to locate the Báb, and about 10 July he would have arrived in Shíráz. This fits very comfortably into the time scheme we have adopted.

He prevailed upon them to enter the town with him under the cover of night, and brought them secretly into his own house. Once they were secure, he threw himself upon their necks weeping, trembling and crying out⁽³²⁾:

"Alas! I do not know how to look upon you, O you who have suffered for me!"

He wept in this way for some time, and verses were descended in their honor.

In the extant writings of the Báb we find an echo of the suffering he felt from these violent actions [towards his followers]⁽³³⁾:

"O people of the Qur'án, you have accomplished, in the days of God, acts which nobody ever accomplished before you.

"In truth it is for you that the envoys of the Mention of God have come, coming from Our part, with testimonial verses, and carriers of the inner meaning of the "Qur'án"; they had pages written in the way of the people of the "Bayán" and, in truth, you openly turned away from the verses of God, and you have, in spite of all that is right, tormented the envoys of the Mention of God⁽³⁴⁾, at the same time that you declare yourselves to be sincere in the religion of Alláh⁽³⁵⁾! You have acquired evil by your acts, your hands have become full of sin during the days of God⁽³⁶⁾."

Muqaddas and Quddús remained hidden for three days in the house of the Báb, receiving their instructions for the voyage that they were to make to Yazd and to Khurásán⁽³⁷⁾.

⁽³²⁾While this event has not been reported by any other historian or chronicler, it nevertheless resonates with another story which is familiar to students of religion — the reunion of Joseph with his brothers, after he subjects them to hardship in order to assure that he will be reunited with his father Jacob and younger brother Benjamin.

⁽³³⁾Once more Nicolas cites from "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn".

⁽³⁴⁾"Mention of God" is one of the "prophetic" names of the Báb — "Dhikru'lláh."

⁽³⁵⁾"Alláh" means "God (as the One and Only)" in Arabic (Wehr/Cowan, p. 30). The word for a "(pagan) god" (Ibid.) is "Alih" and for "goddess" (Ibid.) is "Alihat." The adjective derived from "Alláh" is "illáhí" (Ibid.), meaning "divine."

⁽³⁶⁾Nicolas notes: "The days of God are the days in which the Testimony of God [Prophet] — in this instance the Báb — is living." In "Bayán-i-fársí" this concept is found under a different name — the Resurrection Day (váhíd II: báb 7; váhíd VIII: báb 3; váhíd IX: báb 3). The Báb also calls the Resurrection Day the "Most Great Day" (váhíd VII: báb 19). He assures his followers that there will be other Resurrection Days after the Manifestation of Him Whom God shall make manifest (váhíd VIII: báb 3). Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir wrote an article (published electronically at bahai-library.org/articles/day.god.html, and in an edited version in "Scripture and Revelation," George Ronald Publisher, 1997), entitled "The Day of God (Yawmu'lláh) and the Days of God (Ayyámu'lláh)", in which he reviews and correlates the many verses in the Bible, the Qur'án and the Bábí and Bahá'í Writings that touch upon this theme.

⁽³⁷⁾It appears that after having been expelled from Shíráz in mid-June 1845, Muqaddas and Quddús repaired to the village of Saadieh outside of the city for an interval to heal their wounds and await orders from the Báb. Once they received instructions from their Master, they journeyed for a few days in one another's company and then parted, Quddús departing for Kirmán and Muqaddas setting out for Yazd

They went then to Yazd where they remained for the duration of forty days, restricting themselves to discussions with prominent persons, civic as well as religious and military. Without doubt they believed the terrain favorable, for they planned a large gathering. They caused it to be announced throughout the town — at full voice⁽³⁸⁾, and by circulating written notices — that whosoever wished to see the envoy of the Imám Qá'im had but to go the following Friday to the Mosque of Musulla: "There will be said what must be said, there will be revealed what must be revealed."

Everything had been prepared for this circumstance — a platform had been set up, and upon this platform a chair had been placed for Muqaddas. The crowd was enormous and ardent — its over-excited religious passions caused it to vibrate like a single man. Scarcely had the Bábí missionary begun to make known the appearance of the new apostle than all precipitated themselves upon him with an immense cry: "To death! To death!" He was struck, he was trampled under foot. Among his assailants, a Siyyid, Siyyid Azghandí⁽³⁹⁾, made himself noticed by his violence. He seemed to envelope his victim, bending over him as if to devour him, while in reality he covered him with his body and sheltered him from the fanaticized crowd. He did this so well that he succeeded in pushing Muqaddas into his house, where he kept him some days, and made him depart in secret.

Violence of this kind did not calm the enthusiasm of our two missionaries. Having failed in Yazd, they went to Kirmán⁽⁴⁰⁾, where they recommenced their discussions. There took place an ardent contest between Muqaddas and Karím Khán⁽⁴¹⁾, who, as we know, had assumed the rank of head of the Shaykhi sect after the death of Kázim. The discussion took place in the presence of a

(ZARANDI, p. 180). Quddús arrived in mid-1845 according to "Iqádh al-Gháfil va Ibtal al-Bátíl dar radd-i Báb-i Khusrán-ma'áb," by Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmáni (written in 1866 by order of Násiri'd-Dín Sháh, published in Bombay, 1896). If he departed Shíráz in mid-July, he would have arrived in Kirmán by early August at the latest. Quddús sought to convince Karím Khán and the other Shaykhís in Kirmán of the truth of the Báb's claims. His attempts are described in ZARANDI (pp. 180-182), and by Amanat (pp. 287-288). Muqaddas went first to Yazd, and his activities in that city are described in ZARANDI (pp. 183-187). See note (40) for the continuation of Muqaddas's journeying.

⁽³⁸⁾The spreading of the news would have been effected by individuals who functioned as town criers or by persons hired for this purpose by the Bábí missionaries.

⁽³⁹⁾Siyyid Azghandí is not to be confused with the prominent Bábí named Mírzá Ahmad-i-Azghandí — see note (37) in First Chapter. Siyyid Husayn-i-Azghandí was the foremost mujtahid of Yazd, and the maternal uncle of Mírzá Ahmad-i-Azghandí, and both the protector of the Bábís and opponent of Karím Khán (ZARANDI, pp. 184-187). ZARANDI (p. 186) tells the same story as found in Nicolas, but with a few differences in the details.

⁽⁴⁰⁾It seems that Muqaddas was travelling with Mullá Yúsof-i-Ardibílí, and together they journeyed from Yazd to Kirmán (ZARANDI, p. 187), arriving shortly after the departure of Quddús (SAMANDAR, p. 167; Amanat, p. 288, n. 228). Muqaddas, as ever, was a fearless exponent of the new Faith, and his challenge to Karím Khán was fierce and uncompromising. Quddús left Yazd for Ardikan, Nayin, Ardistan, Isfáhán, Káshán, Qum and Tihrán (ZARANDI, p. 182). Muqaddas eventually departed Kirmán and proceeded, according to plan, to Khurásán. Quddús died in the battle of Shaykh Tabarsí, in the province of Mázindarán, but Muqaddas survived this debacle (WAFÁ, p. 7; Balyuzi, p. 239), to die, many years later, in Hamadán (WAFÁ, p. 8).

⁽⁴¹⁾Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmáni (1810-1871) — Amanat, p. 287 — is described in note (34) of Chapter One.

numerous audience and Karím challenged his adversary to prove the truth of the mission of the Báb.

"If you do so," he told him, "I will myself convert, and my students along with me; but, if you do not succeed, I will cause it to be proclaimed in the bazaars: 'Here is he who treads under foot the holy law of Islám.'"

"I know who you are, Karím," Muqaddas replied to him. "Do you not remember your master Siyyid Kázim and what he said to you⁽⁴²⁾: 'Dog! Do you not want me to die so that after me should appear the absolute truth?'" And here today, impelled by your passion for wealth and glory, you lie to yourself."

Begun in this tone, the discussion was destined to be brief. Indeed, the students of Kirmán drew their knives and rushed upon the one who had insulted their leader. Most fortunately the Governor of the town himself interceded, had Muqaddas arrested and conducted to his palace. He kept him there for a certain time, and, when passions were a little calmed, he sent him off by night, accompanied for some distance by ten cavaliers.

Thence he left with Quddús, and took the road for Khurásán. At Bushrú'í they met up with Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í, with whom they continued their voyage.

We have seen⁽⁴³⁾ that as soon as the Báb arrived in Búshihir, Mullá Husayn left his master to go to Isfáhán, where he was to meet Muqaddas and send him to Shíráz. From there he was to stop in at Tihrán where he was to attempt to see the King, and finally he arrived in Khurásán to preach the new doctrine in that place. We will leave him here for a moment, where we will find him after having retraced the story of what was meanwhile happening in Shíráz. This town had become the theater of passionate discussions that profoundly troubled the general peace. The curious, pilgrims, and lovers of scandal gathered here, discussed the news, approving or blaming, praising the young Siyyid or covering him with maledictions or insults. Everyone was excited, nervous, maddened. The Mulláhá⁽⁴⁴⁾ saw with a bitter disquiet an augmentation in the number of those following the new doctrine — their clientele — and perceived therefore that their own resources were being diminished to that degree. It seemed evident to them that a prolonged tolerance could well empty the mosques of their faithful who were convinced that if Islám would not defend itself it thereby admitted itself vanquished. On the other hand, Husayn Khán, Nizám al-Dawlih⁽⁴⁵⁾, Governor of Shíráz, feared that if he let things go, the scandal would become such, that after some time it

⁽⁴²⁾Muqaddas reminded Karím Khán of the words addressed by Siyyid Kázim Rashí to his fellow Shaykhí in Karbilá, which are found translated in note (35) of Chapter One.

⁽⁴³⁾The sources seem to be confused on this question. Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í was in Isfáhán for some time, and there he met and converted Muqaddas according to ZARANDI (p. 100). Quddús was traveling with the Báb on pilgrimage, and parted from him at Búshihir in order to proceed to Shíráz, where he met Muqaddas, according to ZARANDI (p. 144), there entrusting him with a copy of "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih" which altered the "adhán" (Ibid.) Hence, this sentence from Nicolas appears to be confused, mixing up two of the principal disciples of the Báb. See note (1) this Chapter for a more detailed reference to "Khasá'il-i-Sab'ih".

⁽⁴⁴⁾"Mulláhá": for a definition please see note (1) in Chapter Two.

⁽⁴⁵⁾"Nizám al-Dawlih" is a title of Husayn Khán, the Governor of Fárs. Please see note (19), this Chapter.

would become impossible to contain. This would be no less than to risk personal disgrace⁽⁴⁶⁾. And furthermore, the Báb did not content himself with preaching; he called to him all men of good will⁽⁴⁷⁾:

"And he who knows the Word of God and who does not come to His aid at the moment of violence is exactly like him who has turned away from the testimony of His Holiness Husayn, son of 'Alí at Karbilá. Those ones are impious⁽⁴⁸⁾."

The civic interests hence being in accord with the "heavenly" interests, Nizám al-Dawlih and Shaykh Abú-Turáb⁽⁴⁹⁾, the Imám Jum'ih, were of the opinion that an affront must be inflicted

⁽⁴⁶⁾Disgrace, that is, losing face in public is a calamity for the men of many cultures, including in traditional Persian society. It is particularly onerous for one who is in a position of power and privilege, and subject to the pleasure of higher-ups who will not suffer the disgrace of their subordinates with good humor.

⁽⁴⁷⁾Nicolas does not identify the source of these verses. It is evident that the Báb is calling upon mankind to defend him and his Cause, to take up arms if necessary, but not to conquer but rather to defend the holy religion of God. Many historians have misunderstood the intentions of the Báb and the Bábís, and have mistakenly regarded the Báb as favoring "jihád" (holy war) against all infidels, and thought the Bábí upheavals to be revolutionary or subversive in nature. The Báb was certainly in favor of "jihád" but only in principle — he never sanctioned a "holy war" during his short ministry, and not for lack of opportunity either. The kind of "jihád" he seems to have looked favorably upon would be waged by believing (Bábí) monarchs in the course of extending the realms that would fall under the sway of the current law of God. Nor is it likely that any of the Bábí upheavals would have occurred if the citizenry, clergy and government had not been implacably opposed to the Bábí movement, and intent upon eliminating as many Bábís as possible. The Bábís did not respond to religious genocide with non-violence — the Báb did not order them to do so, nor had the Prophet Muhammad, for whom many Bábís continued to have a reverence that most Westerners seem to be incapable of understanding. Bahá'u'lláh, on the other hand, insisted upon the rule of non-violence among his followers, but nevertheless he favored the use of violence by nation states acting in concert in order to stop aggressors from attacking their neighbors.

⁽⁴⁸⁾Nicolas indicates that these verses are cited from "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn." He could not have employed a more potent symbol in the context of Persian society. The popular adoration for the Imám Husayn far exceeds their feeling for the Prophet Muhammad, let alone any of the other Imáms. The message therefore is powerfully conceived — if they do not heed the Báb and come to his defense then it is as if they were responsible for what happened to their best-beloved of saints, the Imám Husayn.

⁽⁴⁹⁾Either there is a typographical error in the printed text of Nicolas' book, or its author has mis-transcribed the name of this individual. He has written Shaykh Abú Tarab rather than Shaykh Abú-Turáb. This error is corrected in Shoghi Effendi's citation of this passage from Nicolas ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 148, n. 1). Shaykh Abú-Turáb, the Imám Jum'ih of Shíráz, was a friend of the uncles of the Báb (Amanat, p. 255). Amanat (p. 255) and Balyuzi (p. 69, 89, 94-96, 99) both report that Shaykh Abú-Turáb repeatedly shielded the Báb from the attacks of his enemies, mostly Muslim clerics, in Shíráz. A fellow Shírází and pilgrim, Shaykh Abú-Háshim, the brother of Shaykh Abú-Turáb, traveled with the Báb on the boat from Búshíhr to Jiddah (Balyuzi, p. 69; Amanat, p. 242, n. 221), and he was so insulting to the Báb that the captain of that vessel would have thrown him overboard had the Báb not interceded on his behalf (MU'IN, p. 73; cited Amanat, p. 242, n. 222). AFNAN (pp. 38-39) stated that Shaykh Abú-Háshim made more trouble for the Báb upon his return to Shíráz by reporting his actions to the 'ulamá' (cited Amanat, p. 242, n. 223). Balyuzi (p. 103) reports that one of the early converts to the Bábí Cause in Shíráz was a youthful nephew of Shaykh Abú-Turáb, named Shaykh 'Alí -Mírzá, and that another early convert, Hájí Muhammad-Bisat, was a close friend of the Imám-Jum'ih. Balyuzi (p. 233) also noted that Hájí Shaykh Yahyá , the son of Shaykh Abú-Turáb, succeeded him as Imám-Jum'ih of Shíráz, and that he shielded the Bahá'ís as his father had protected the Báb. There is another Shaykh Abú-Turáb who is not to be confused with the Imám-Jum'ih. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 5) identifies the latter Shaykh Abú-Turáb as a native of Ishtúhárd. SAMANDAR (p. 32)

upon the innovator⁽⁵⁰⁾ which would discredit him in the eyes of the populace. Perhaps in this way they might succeed in calming things.

likewise fixes his place of origin as Ishtihárd, and further indicates that he was one of the leading disciples of Siyyid Kázim Rashí, that he married the sister of Mullá Husayn Bushrúí, and ultimately died a martyr to the Bábí Cause in the Tihrán prison (cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 39, n. 1). ZARANDI (pp. 39-40) reproduces one of Shaykh Abú-Turáb Ishtihárdi's memoirs regarding Siyyid Kázim Rashí and Hájí Mírzá Karím Khán Kirmáni. ZARANDI (p. 40) also confirms that Shaykh Abú-Turáb converted to the Bábí Faith, and was imprisoned in the same prison (the "Siyáh-Chál") as Bahá'u'lláh in 1852, where he ultimately perished, a martyr to the Cause of God. ZARANDI (pp. 293-296) quotes Shaykh Abú-Turáb concerning the events of the conference of Badasht, and he states that Shaykh Abú-Turáb was "one of the best-informed as to the nature of the developments in Badasht" (Ibid., p. 293). ZARANDI (p. 299) also reports that Bahá'u'lláh appointed Shaykh Abú-Turáb to watch over Táhirih and "ensure her protection and safety" in Núr, ostensibly at his family property in the village of Tákur, to which they repaired following the conclusion of the Badasht conference. ZARANDI (pp. 347-349) states that Shaykh Abú-Turáb arrived in Shaykh Tabarsí where he reported that Bahá'u'lláh had entered the village from whence hailed another Bábí named Nazar Khán. He follows this with Mullá Mírzá Muhammad-i-Furughí's account of Shaykh Abú-Turáb's meeting at Shaykh Tabarsí with Mullá Husayn Bushrúí. He next reports (p. 348-349) that Bahá'u'lláh came to Shaykh Tabarsí, and that after a short visit he returned to the village of Nazar Khán with this believer and with Shaykh Abú-Turáb. It appears that Shaykh Abú-Turáb was a companion to Bahá'u'lláh on certain of his journeys, although there is no further mention of him in ZARANDI, and he is entirely ignored by the historians. If Shaykh Abú-Turáb was not engaged at the time of this particular journey with looking after Táhirih, we may surmise that Táhirih was by then either out of danger or that she had already been captured by her enemies. Wafa (p. 202) reports that Táhirih was captured after the breakup of the Badasht conference and sent under guard to Tihrán. This being the case, it seems that Shaykh Abú-Turáb somehow escaped confinement, for we find him, some time after Badasht, traveling with Bahá'u'lláh to Shaykh Tabarsí. For a definition of the title "Imám-Jum'ih," please see note (80) of this Chapter.

⁽⁵⁰⁾The innovator in question is the Báb. The events related to the trial of the Báb and those which precipitated and ensued from it (cited in Amanat, p. 255, n. 283) are found in ZARANDI (pp. 143-148, 151-154), AHMAD (pp. 452-453), SIPIHR (vol. III, pp. 42-44), MU'IN (pp. 69-93), KAF (p. 112) and GOBINEAU (pp. 151-155). Balyuzi draws from three sources for his account of this trial of the Báb in Shíráz: ZARANDI (pp. 153-154; cited Balyuzi, pp. 94-96), 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 6-7; cited Balyuzi, p. 96) and AFNAN (cited Balyuzi, pp. 96-99). The Báb was apparently obliged to make a public recantation, at the Masjid-i-Vakil, of his alleged claim to be the representative or deputy of the Imám Mahdí, as reported by ZARANDI (p. 154), AFNAN (pp. 50-54), SIPIHR (p. 44), AHMAD (p. 453) and cited by Amanat (p. 255, n. 284). It seems likely that the Báb was also required to pen a written recantation of such claims, which has been found in one manuscript (INBA no. 91,169-170; cited Amanat, p. 255, n. 285). It has been noted that the Báb denied being the representative and the Báb of the Imám Mahdí, but that he was not apparently required to renounce his claim to being the Qá'im — perhaps the 'ulamá' were not informed of this claim at that time? In any case, both ZARANDI (pp. 155-156) and AFNAN (cited Balyuzi, p. 97-98) indicate that the Báb's sermon in the Mosque of Vakil served to strengthen the faith of his followers in the audience, as well as to attract new believers to his Cause. ZARANDI (pp. 155-157) notes the attraction of Shaykh 'Alí-Mírzá, the youthful nephew of the Imám-Jum'ih, of Muhammad-Karím, of Mírzá Áqáy-i-Rikab-Saz, of Mírzá Rahim-i-Khabbaz, Hájí Abú'l-Hasan -i-Bazzaz, and of Hájí Muhammad-Bisat. Balyuzi (p. 103) lists Shaykh 'Alí -Mírzá, Mírzá-Áqáy-i-Rikab-Saz, Luft-'Alí Mírzá, Áqá Muhammad-Karím, Mírzá Rahim, Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Karím, Mashhadi Abú'l-Qasim-i-Labbaf, Mírzá Mihdi and his son Mírzá 'Alí-Akbar, and affirms that "most of these native Bábís of Shíráz embraced the Faith after hearing the Báb from the pulpit of the Mosque of Vakil." Hence, it seems that what the 'ulamá' and Governor wished to turn into a public defeat and humiliation for the Báb and a discouragement to his followers was transformed into a public demonstration of his profound influence upon selected souls and a confirmation of his truthfulness and integrity for his previous adherents.

This was convened a great gathering of the 'ulamá' and the principal merchants of the town. The Báb was brought before this court. Shaykh Abú-Turáb could not master the anger which the sight of the Siyyid inspired in him, and he began the meeting with invectives. He ended by asking him⁽⁵¹⁾:

"Who then are you and why do you excite so much disorder?"

"I am," answered the apostle, "delegated by God to conduct men to truth and to salvation. What do you upbraid Me for? And what have I taught that is bad for the creatures of God?"

Shaykh Abú-Turáb, furious with the extent of his⁽⁵²⁾ calm and audacity, struck him with his staff. He became very excited and particularly beat him on the head. The other participants, full of disgust at this scandalous scene, put it to an end by declaring that such violence was indecent and that they must insist upon its termination out of respect for their own selves. The Báb was sent home⁽⁵³⁾, advised to keep quiet and to preach no longer. Furthermore it was declared that his uncle would be held personally responsible for his [nephew's] upsetting actions. So Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí took his nephew into his house, where he shut him in so that nobody saw him. The religious authorities⁽⁵⁴⁾, little experienced in this sort of thing, hoped that they had thus succeeded in stopping the movement which had manifested itself in such a menacing manner.

⁽⁵¹⁾Nicolas does not cite his source for this exchange, and it is not found in these words in ZARANDI, 'ABDU'L-BAHA, AFNAN — it probably represents an oral tradition.

⁽⁵²⁾According to AFNAN (cited Balyuzi, p. 98), the person who struck the Báb was not Shaykh Abú-Turáb, the Imám-Jum'ih, but rather an individual he calls Shaykh Husayn; also, the blow did not fall upon the Báb but rather upon the shoulder of Mírzá Abú'l-Hasan Khán, the Mushiru'l-Mulk, the Vizier of Fárs (after his father, Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí, according to Balyuzi, p. 98n), who interposed himself between the assailant and his intended victim. Shaykh Husayn is called the "Tyrant" by AFNAN (cited Balyuzi, p. 97). It seems likely that the assailant was none other than Husayn Khán, the Governor of Fárs, inasmuch as ZARANDI (p. 150), 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 6), and other sources — please see note (50) — and the historian Balyuzi (p. 89) report that during his first meeting with the Báb after the latter's return to Shíráz from pilgrimage, Husayn Khán ordered his attendant to strike the Báb a blow in the face, which was so severe that it knocked the turban off his head. Hence, this kind of behavior seems to have been in character for Husayn Khán, while it would most certainly not have been characteristic of Shaykh Abú-Turáb.

⁽⁵³⁾Nicolas recalls: "I do not remember in which European work I read that after the arrest of the Báb, his sister ascended the terrace of his house and laughed so hard that she was asked the cause of her joy. 'It is,' she said, 'that these mad ones want to kill him, and that they do not doubt that he will revive after forty days.' This anecdote is taken from "Qisas al-'ulamá" [TUNKABÚNI] but does not apply at all to the Báb of whom we speak here. The author in question says, in fact, "This religion of the Báb is furthermore not so new since Siyyid Ni'amat'u'llah Jazairi states in his 'Envar Numanieh'..." — and this Siyyid lived two hundred years before the manifestation of 1260 [A.H.]; he indeed writes that he was born in 1050 [A.H.] and that he was the student of A. Jamal Khonnsari, of Mullá Muhin Feiz — the celebrated student of Mullá Sadrá, of Shaykh Hasan — son of Shaykh Zayn al-Din, and especially of Mullá Muhammad Báqir Majlisi — the compiler of the hadíth, of whom he was the favorite."

⁽⁵⁴⁾Nicolas affirms: "However, this occurred after Hájí Mírzá Nasir — whom we will meet again in the events of Nayríz — tried in several instances and violently to require that he kiss the hand of Shaykh Abú-Turáb — which the Báb refused to do." Bahá'u'lláh forbade the practice of kissing hands in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" (#34), and in his Tablets he also prohibited other practices which abase one person in relation to another, including prostration (see "Kitáb-i-Aqdas," n57).

The contrary resulted, and this sacrifice served but to extend the progress of the sect. Hereafter public attention was attracted in an imperative fashion to the events that were going on in Shíráz. Everyone wished to know what this was about and everybody was interested in the affair, one way or another — disorder reached its summit.

It is then that it was decided to strike a great blow. The Mulláhá thought of forcing the Báb to make a public retraction of his doctrine. He was thus sought in his house, and after the imposition of the most horrible torments, he was conducted to the great mosque.

The Báb mounted the pulpit and there proclaimed his mission in a discourse so full of conviction, of force, of energy and of eloquence that all the spectators were stunned⁽⁵⁵⁾.

⁽⁵⁵⁾Nicolas writes: "It was thus,' says "A Traveler's Narrative," 'that he declared that he was not the Imám al-Zamán, the hidden Mahdí, as it had been believed until then. He said that he was the intermediary or more exactly the precursor of another.' This represents a play on words — the author of the narrative, a zealous Bahá'í, wishes by this to affirm the mission of Bahá [Bahá'u'lláh]. Certainly the Báb, as we will see, announces the coming of Him Whom God shall make manifest, declares himself to be his slave, but only because the prophets which succeed each other follow an ascending progression. Jesus is greater than Moses, Muhammad than Jesus, the Báb than Muhammad, and Him Whom God shall make manifest will be greater than the Báb. If Moses is the precursor of Jesus, this one [Jesus] of Muhammad, the Báb is the precursor of Him Whom God shall make manifest. But it is not this meaning that we give to the word precursor, and we assign this [other] role to Saint John the Baptist towards Christ. It is to singularly diminish the rank that the Báb has assigned himself to reduce him to the role of the Baptist. Those who have studied the second divine manifestation, that of Bahá [Bahá'u'lláh], easily realize that the Bahá'ís have followed the way that was indicated to them and have finished by identifying the Báb with Elijah, and Bahá [Bahá'u'lláh] with Christ. It seems to forget this fundamental principle of the New Religion magnificently formulated by the Báb in the 'Seven Proofs':

'...dans le passe, toutes les fois que la necessite s'en est fait sentir Dieu a envoye en ce bas monde un prophete, porteur d'un Livre contenant des revelations celestes; il en agita de meme dans l'avenir, toutes les fois qu'il en sera besoin.'

An English translation of these verses from "Dala'il-i-Sab'ih":

"in the past, every time that the necessity was felt, God sent into this lower world a Prophet, carrying a Book containing celestial revelations; He will do so also in the future, every time that it will be needed."

Edward Granville Browne translated the passage cited by Nicolas from 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 6-7), as follows:

"It was then supposed that he claimed to be the medium of grace from His Highness the Lord of the Age (upon Him be peace); but afterwards it became known and evident that His meaning was the Gatehood (Bábíyyat) of another city and the mediumship of the graces of another Person Whose qualities and attributes were contained in His books and treatises."

In "God Passes By" (p. 242), Shoghi Effendi affirms that 'Abdu'l-Bahá was the author of "A Traveler's Narrative" ('ABDU'L-BAHA), which he characterized as "the ablest and most valuable presentation of the early history of the Faith and of its tenets". This appreciation found expression in a letter written on the behalf of Shoghi Effendi (26 March 1930, to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Canada and the United States, in which he writes of Professor E.G. Browne's translation of this work from the original Persian to elegant English): "the most authentic history of the early days we have — being the Master's words — and also because it has a good and scholarly rendering and far superior to many of the other

translations of the Master's words we have" (cited in a Memorandum addressed to the author by the Research Department of the Bahá'í World Centre and dated 15 December 1994).

With regard to the substance of Nicolas' footnote, in "Some Answered Questions," which was first published in Persian and simultaneously in English and French translations in 1908, hence shortly after the publication of this biography (1905), 'Abdu'l-Bahá consecrated many pages to "prove to the thoughtful by reasonable arguments the prophethood of Moses, of Christ, and of the other Divine Manifestations" (p. 13). One chapter (VIII) of that volume is devoted to the "proofs" of the Báb, in which he is described as imparting "divine education to an unenlightened multitude" and producing "marvelous results on the thoughts, morals, customs, and conditions of the Persians". In this same chapter 'Abdu'l-Bahá also affirms that the Báb "announced the glad tidings of the manifestation of the Sun of Bahá' to His followers, and prepared them to believe" (p. 31).

The great-grandson of Bahá'u'lláh, grandson of 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Guardian of the Bahá'í Faith, Shoghi Effendi has explained the Bahá'í conception of the twofold station of the Báb in "The World Order of Bahá'u'lláh" (p. 123), an excerpt of which is cited here, while the full text is reproduced in Appendix I:

"That the Báb, the inaugurator of the Bábí Dispensation, is fully entitled to rank as one of the self-sufficient Manifestations of God, that He has been invested with sovereign power and authority, and exercises all the rights and prerogatives of independent Prophethood, is yet another fundamental verity which the Message of Bahá'u'lláh insistently proclaims and which its followers must uncompromisingly uphold. That He is not to be regarded merely as an inspired Precursor of the Bahá'í Revelation, that in His person, as He Himself bears witness in the Persian Bayán, the object of all the Prophets gone before Him has been fulfilled, is a truth which I feel it my duty to demonstrate and emphasize...

"There can be no doubt that the claim to the twofold station ordained for the Báb by the Almighty, a claim which He Himself has so boldly advanced, which Bahá'u'lláh has repeatedly affirmed, and to which the Will and Testament of 'Abdu'l-Bahá has finally given the sanction of its testimony, constitutes the most distinctive feature of the Bahá'í Dispensation. It is further evidence of its uniqueness, a tremendous accession to the strength, to the mysterious power and authority with which this holy cycle has been invested. Indeed the greatness of the Báb consists primarily, not in His being the divinely-appointed Forerunner of so transcendent a Revelation, but rather in His having been invested with the powers inherent in the inaugurator of a separate religious Dispensation, and in His wielding, to a degree unrivalled by the Messengers gone before Him, the scepter of independent Prophethood."

Shoghi Effendi elaborates on this theme in the continuation of this essay (*Ibid.*, pp. 123-128), and returns to it in "God Passes By" (pp. 29-31, 97-99). That Nicolas did not understand the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá with regard to this twofold station of the Báb is evident from this footnote and other comments scattered throughout his many publications on the Bábí Faith. That many of the Bahá'ís with whom he came into contact may also have been confused is also possible. However, as he had much more extensive contact with Mírzá Yahyá Azal and his followers than with the Bahá'ís, it is very possible that his incomplete understanding of this twofold station was derived from their influence. It was clearly beneficial to the aims of the Azalis to create dissonance and discontinuity between the teachings of the Báb and those of Bahá'u'lláh.

While Nicolas was for many years under the impression that the Bahá'ís did not appreciate the prophetic station of the Báb, at some point in the 1930s Edith Sanderson, one of the Bahá'ís resident in France, sent Nicolas a copy of some of Shoghi Effendi's writings on the Báb, which elicited this response, a portion of which was cited in the Introduction to this volume, and which was reproduced in its original French in "Appreciations of the Bahá'í Faith" (p. 61). It is cited in full in the Introduction to this volume, and excerpted here for the convenience of the reader:

"I do not know how to thank you nor how to express the joy that inundates my heart. Thus it is that we must not only admit the existence but also love and admire the Báb. Poor great Prophet born

After this public meeting, provoked by the stupidity of the Mulláhá, and which attracted numerous partisans to him, trouble was brewing deeply in all the provinces of Persia, and the battle assumed such a grave character that Muhammad Sháh⁽⁵⁶⁾ sent to Shíráz a man in whom he had complete

deep within Persia without any education and who, alone in the world, surrounded by enemies, succeeded by the force of his genius to create a universal and wise religion. That Bahá'u'lláh has, subsequently, succeeded him, so be it, but I wish for the sublimity of the Báb to be admired, who besides paid with his life, with his blood for the reform he preached. Cite me another example, comparable. Finally, I can die tranquil. Glory to Shoghi Effendi who has calmed my torment and my anxieties, glory to him who recognizes the worth of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad called the Báb.

"I am so happy that I kiss your hands which have written my address on the envelope which brings the message from Shoghi. Thank you, Mademoiselle. Thank you from the bottom of my heart."

This extraordinary letter is referred to by Ruhyyih Rabbani, the wife of Shoghi Effendi, in her biography of the Guardian:

"An interesting example of this is reflected in a letter of A.L.M. Nicolas, the French scholar who translated the Bayán of the Báb into French and who might correctly be described as a Bábí. For many years he was under the impression that the Bahá'ís had ignored the greatness and belittled the station of the Báb. When he discovered that Shoghi Effendi in his writings exalted the Báb, perpetuated His memory through a book such as Nabíl's Narrative, and repeatedly translated His words into English, his attitude completely changed. In a letter to one of the old believers in France he wrote: 'Now I can die quietly...Glory to Shoghi Effendi who has calmed my torment and my anxiety, glory to him who recognizes the worth of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad called the Báb. I am so content that I kiss your hands which traced my address on the envelope which brought me the message of Shoghi. Thank you Mademoiselle, thank you from the bottom of my heart.'" ("The Priceless Pearl," p. 204)

⁽⁵⁶⁾Muhammad Sháh was the reigning monarch of Persia from the death of his father, Fath 'Alí Sháh, in 1834, until his own passing on 4 September 1848 ('ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 7, n. 5). Hence, the first fifteen years of the Báb's life were spent under Fath 'Alí Sháh, and fourteen years including the first four years of the ministry of the Báb were under the rule of Muhammad Sháh and his Grand Vizier, Hájí Mírzá Áqásí. Muhammad Sháh was addressed for the first time by the Báb in "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" (Sura 1, f.2b of the Cambridge Browne Collection F.11 manuscript — cited MacEoin, p. 19; Sura 1, f.3b of *Ibid.* — cited Amanat, p. 203, n. 281). The Báb wrote several letters to Muhammad Sháh, as discussed by MacEoin (pp. 58, 83, 92, 192-193), and Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 102, 262, 299, 354). The first letter was written, according to Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 102), in Búshíhr. See note (1) this Chapter for more information regarding this Tablet. Sometime in Rabí ' al-Awal 1263/February-March 1847 (MacEoin, p. 82), after the decease of Manúchíhr Khán, Gurgin Khán, his successor informed Muhammad Sháh of the continued presence of the Báb in Isfáhán and Muhammad Sháh issued a decree summoning the Báb to Tíhrán (ZARANDI, p. 215). According to 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11), Gurgin Khán informed Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, the Grand Vizier of Muhammad Sháh rather than the His Majesty, and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí gave the order of summons. Once the Báb was en route to Tíhrán and had arrived at the fortress of Kinar-Gird, Hájí Mírzá Áqásí sent the Báb a message instructing him to proceed to the village of Kulayn (ZARANDI, p. 226; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 11; Balyuzi, p. 119). Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was himself the owner of Kulayn, and the tent that was pitched outside the village to accommodate the Báb was also his (ZARANDI, p. 227; Balyuzi, p. 119). ZARANDI (p. 227) reports that the Báb arrived in Kulayn on 11 Rabí 'al-Thání 1263, which corresponds to 29 March 1847 ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 227, n. 2). The Báb tarried in the village of Kulayn for twenty days ('ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 11; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 229, n. 1) or a fortnight (ZARANDI, p. 229). According to 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 230, n. 1), FAYZI (p. 213) and GOBINEAU (p. 124; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 230, n. 1), the Báb wrote a letter to Muhammad Sháh requesting a private audience with His Majesty, a circumstance which is not reported by ZARANDI. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 262) indicates that the Báb wrote this letter from Siyah Duhn, in a mix of Arabic and Persian. If he wrote this petition in Kulayn, it was probably sometime soon after his

confidence, in order to prepare for him a report of what he would see and understand. This envoy was Siyyid Yahyá Dárábí⁽⁵⁷⁾.

This person was, as his name indicates, born in Dáráb, near Shíráz. His Father, Siyyid Ja'far⁽⁵⁸⁾, surnamed Kashfí⁽⁵⁹⁾, was one of the greatest and the most celebrated 'ulamá' of the epoch. His high

arrival in that town, inasmuch as Muhammad Sháh wrote a second decree, apparently in reply to the Báb's letter ('ABDU'L-BAHA, pp. 11-12; SAMANDAR, pp. 101-102 — cited Amanat, pp. 258-259), dated in that same month, Rabí ' al-Thání 1263/April 1847 (SAMANDAR, pp. 101-102 — cited Amanat, pp. 258-259; "The Dawn-breakers," p. 231, n. 1). Balyuzi (p. 121) states that nearly three weeks had passed since the Báb's arrival in Kulayn before he wrote to Muhammad Sháh, but this is very unlikely because of the dating of Muhammad Sháh's response to his petition. The imperial decree was issued in His Majesty's own handwriting ('ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 12), and in this letter He stated that due to His imminent departure from the capital, a private audience would not be possible at that time, and that the Báb was to proceed to Máh-Kú and await the opportune moment for such a meeting (ZARANDI, pp. 229-231; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 12; SAMANDAR, pp. 101-102 — cited Amanat, pp. 258-259). Three versions of the text of this decree are extant: one is found in SAMANDAR (Ibid.), another in ZARANDI (pp. 230-231), and a third (which does not claim to be other than a paraphrase) is cited in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12). It seems that Muhammad Sháh was amenable to a meeting with the Báb, but that Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, who, as his Súfí "pir" (master) had great influence over the Sovereign, feeling his position potentially threatened by the charismatic personality of the Báb, convinced Muhammad Sháh to transfer the Báb to that remote location in Ádhirbáyján (ZARANDI, pp. 231-232; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, pp. 11-12; MU'IN, p. 129 — cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 232n). ZARANDI (pp. 121-122, 171, 177, 214-215, 229-232, 253-254, 525, 531-532, 537-539) makes copious reference to Muhammad Sháh, and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 7-9, 11-12, 15-16, 20) also refers to His Majesty. Likewise, we find references to Muhammad Sháh in Amanat (pp. 20-24, 28-29, 78-79, 92, 122, 203-204, 258-259, 262, 273, 338-339, 382, 394), MacEoin (pp. 17-19, 58, 83, 92, 116, 192-193), and Balyuzi (pp. 10, 12, 80, 81, 83, 90, 93, 99, 100, 102, 109, 112, 113, 115, 117, 121-123, 135, 137, 139, 147-149, 165, 170, 175, 178, 185, 211, 221, 230, 233).

⁽⁵⁷⁾Siyyid Yahyá Dárábí, entitled Vahíd by the Báb (Balyuzi, p. 94), was born the son of Siyyid Ja'far-i-Kashfí (Balyuzi, p. 70 and is described by ZARANDI (p. 171) as "the most learned, the most eloquent, and the most influential" of the subjects of Muhammad Sháh, and by 'Abdu'l-Bahá (in an untitled manuscript related to the martyrdoms in Persia) as having "committed to memory no less than thirty thousand traditions" and as "highly esteemed and admired by all classes of people" (cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 171, n. 2). Dárábí was sent by Muhammad Sháh to examine the claims of the Báb, and, in the process of doing so, he became convinced of the truth of those claims (ZARANDI, pp. 171-176; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 7). From Shíráz he went first to Burújird to inform his Father of the Bábí Cause (ZARANDI, p. 177; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 7). Dárábí spread the teachings in Burújird and in Kurdistan (ZARANDI, p. 465), and afterwards he went to Tihrán (JADID, p. 115; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 465, n. 1), where he frequently visited Bahá'u'lláh (ZARANDI, p. 465). Thereafter he proceeded to Qazvin, to Qum, Káshán, Isfáhán, Ardistan, Ardikan, and Yazd, and finally to Nayríz to announce the presence and explain the teachings of the Báb (ZARANDI, pp. 465-466). In Nayríz he served as the leader of the Bábís in the heroic struggle with their genocidal opponents which ended with his martyrdom (ZARANDI, pp. 478-495; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, pp. 24-25), just ten days before that of the Báb (ZARANDI, p. 499). MacEoin (p. 117) has identified some writings which most likely came from the hand of Dárábí, including "Risala-yi istidlaliyya" (ZUHUR, p. 471), two Arabic "máqálas" (ZUHUR, pp. 471-477), and possibly "Risala-yi ashtat" (unpublished manuscript in Bahá'í International Archives). Balyuzi (p. 94n) states that a letter survives in the handwriting of Dárábí, addressed to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid Muhammad, one of the uncles of the Báb who did not become a Bábí until his questions were answered by Bahá'u'lláh in "Kitáb-i-Íqán" (p. 138). Many other details pertaining to Dárábí's life are found in ZARANDI (pp. 171-177, 465-486, 488-491, 493-501, 527, 580, 596, 643, 653); 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 7, 24-25); MacEoin (pp. 11, 13, 54, 71, 104, 117); Amanat (pp. 256, 278, 286, 315, 350, 369); and Balyuzi (pp. 70, 90-94, 99, 101, 103, 178-182, 205, 215, 240).

moral values, his character, his pure manners had attracted to him universal esteem and consideration. His knowledge had earned him the glorious surname of "Kashfī" which means "he who discovers," and, in this case, "he who discovers and explains the divine secrets." Brought up by him, his son did not delay in equaling him in all respects. He shared henceforth the favor that his Father enjoyed, and he went to Tihrán, preceded by his name and his reputation. There he became the table-companion of the prince Tahmasp Mírzá, Mu'ayyad al-Dawlih⁽⁶⁰⁾, the grandson of Fath 'Alí Sháh⁽⁶¹⁾ by his father Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá⁽⁶²⁾. The government⁽⁶³⁾ rendered homage to his knowledge and his merit and he was consulted more than once in difficult circumstances.

It was of him that Muhammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí⁽⁶⁴⁾ thought when they wished to find an honest emissary whose faithfulness was not in doubt.

⁽⁵⁸⁾Siyyid Ja'far (d. 1267/1851), the father of Siyyid Yahyá Dárábí, was a distinguished and highly respected Muslim cleric in his town of Burújird. Balyuzi (p. 70, 90) noted that Siyyid Ja'far-i-Kashfī went on pilgrimage in the same year as the Báb, and indeed, Abú'l-Hasan reported in AFNAN (p. 40; cited Amanat, p. 247, n. 248) that Siyyid Ja'far saw and heard the declaration of the Báb in Mecca and did not become a believer. His son went to Burújird to inform Siyyid Ja'far of the stupendous announcement of the Báb, and he later reported that Kashfī "was unwilling to repudiate the truth of the Message I had brought him" but "preferred, however, to be left alone and to be allowed to pursue his own way" (ZARANDI, p. 177). His son met his death in 1850 and the following year his Father passed away.

⁽⁵⁹⁾Siyyid Ja'far was called "Kashfī" (the Discloser) "because of his skill in the interpretation of the Qur'án and the visions which he claimed to have" ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 177, n. 2), and "because of the powers of divination attributed to him" (Balyuzi, p. 94n), and is also described as an "intuitionist" (Amanat, p. 47). ZUHUR (volume III) contains information on the Kashfī family.

⁽⁶⁰⁾Prince Tahmasp Mírzá, Mu'ayyad al-Dawlih, is not mentioned in any of the historical sources.

⁽⁶¹⁾Fath-'Alí Sháh, the second monarch of the Qájár dynasty, reigned as Sháh of Persia from 1797-1834 (Amanat, p. 18, 20), or from 1798-1834 ("The Dawn-breakers," p. lxi).

⁽⁶²⁾Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá, known as Áqá Muhammad Sháh, the first monarch of the Qájár dynasty, reigned 1795-1797, and was assassinated in 1797 ("The Dawn-breakers," p. lxi).

⁽⁶³⁾The government in this case is the Sháh (king).

⁽⁶⁴⁾Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, also called Mullá 'Abbás Íravání (Amanat, p. 79, n. 42; p. 451), served as the Grand Vizier of Muhammad Sháh from 1835 until the monarch's passing in 1848 (Amanat, p. 20). In a long footnote to "The Dawn-breakers" (p. 231, n. 2), Shoghi Effendi cites FADL (n.p.), MU'IN (p. 120), GOBINEAU (pp. 132-133), Fadl-Qulí Khán Hidayát's "Majma'u'l-Fusahá" (n.p.), and Clements R. Markham's "A General Sketch of the History of Persia" (London:1874, p. 473) on the subject of Hájí Mírzá Áqásí. According to Hidayát, cited above, Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was born 'Abbás-'Alí in the town of Íraván, the son of Mírzá Muslim, one of the well-known Muslim clergymen of that town; and he studied in Karbilá with Fakhru'd-Dín 'Abdu's-Samad-i-Hamadání, returning to Ádhirbáyján, whence he began to climb the ladder of favor which ultimately resulted in his being appointed Grand Vizier of Muhammad Sháh. FAYZI (p. 216) indicates that Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was born in Baku. He does not seem to have been an effective administrator, as attested by the Báb (ZUHUR, p. 88; cited Amanat, pp. 382-383, n. 40), and confirmed in a number of other sources cited by Amanat (pp. 20-21, n. 46). Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was a Súfí, and so was Muhammad Sháh, both of them members of the Ni'matulláhi taríqa (order) (Amanat, p. 79). It was state policy during his administration to award provincial posts for a year or two solely to those who were prepared to pay the most for the privilege (Amanat, p. 20) and to appease the Shí'í clergy with money as well as deferential words (Amanat, p. 101). Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was Muhammad Sháh's Súfí "pír" (teacher), and therefore wielded great influence over the monarch, according to Amanat (p. 204, n. 285). The Báb ordered Áqásí in "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá" (Súra 1, fol. 3a; cited Amanat, p. 204, n. 283) to withdraw his influence from the Sháh, and, in the same Book (Ibid.), he

The Sháh made him the gift of a horse and advanced him the cost of the voyage.

Arriving in Shíráz, the royal messenger went to see the Báb several times. Desiring to study his host well, Siyyid Yahyá spoke with him, the first two times that he saw him, of different things. On the third visit he posed him some difficult questions regarding dogma and ritual. His questioner answered them in a satisfactory fashion. He then asked him to write a commentary upon the 108th Súrah of the Qur'án⁽⁶⁵⁾ which carries the title of "Kawthar"⁽⁶⁶⁾.

warns the Sháh of the idolatrous ideology of his Grand Vizier. Áqásí was on very hostile terms with Manúchíhr Khán (Amanat, p. 257), the Governor of Isfáhán. Amanat asserts (p. 258) that Manúchíhr Khán wished to remove Áqásí from power, to bring about a face-to-face meeting between the Báb and Muhammad Sháh, to arrange for the Báb's marriage to the Sháh's sister, and to facilitate the promulgation of the Bábí Cause in Persia and in lands beyond its borders. For more details, please see note (79). Amanat reports (p. 261-262; p. 273, n. 118-119 — citing SIPIHR, p. 235) that in late Rajab 1260/August 1844, Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í arrived in Tihrán and delivered a copy of the first Súra (Súrat al-Malik) of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" to Muhammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí. The same source indicates that Mullá Husayn requested an audience with the monarch in order to personally deliver the Báb's message, but that this offer was rebuffed. ZUHUR (p. 163; cited MacEoin, p. 17, n. 36) reports that Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí 'Azím brought "eighteen copies of Qayyúmu'l-Asmá', the Tafsír on the Hadíth al-jariyya, and other sermons and prayers from Shíráz to Tihrán in order to convert Muhammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, his Prime Minister. Áqásí, it is said, gave these works to Mírzá Mahmúd Mujtahid, other 'ulamá', and government officials." It was Áqásí who postponed and ultimately blocked any meeting between the Báb and Muhammad Sháh; who persuaded the Sháh to order the Báb's confinement to Máh-Kú, and his transfer to Chihríq; and who engineering the trial of the Báb in Tabríz, which resulted in his execution on the charge of heresy (Amanat, pp. 387-391). According to Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 37), shortly after the death of Muhammad Sháh, Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was "stripped of the treasures he had amassed, fell into disgrace, was expelled from the capital, and sought refuge in Karbilá" where he fell "prey to disease, poverty and gnawing sorrow" (Ibid., p. 82). MacEoin (pp. 58, 64, 83, 92, 192) describes a "khutba" and a number of letters written by the Báb and addressed to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, some of which are still extant. There are many sources which report the details of Áqásí's life and influence he wielded upon the Báb and his followers. Primary sources include ZARANDI (pp. 120, 121, 204, 226, 231, 244, 254, 259, 280, 301, 323, 525, 531), KAF (pp. 131-132; cited MacEoin, p. 16, n. 29, 32; p. 92, n. 70), JADID (p. 239; cited MacEoin, p. 16, n. 31), SAMANDAR (p. 99 — cited MacEoin, p. 83, n. 24; pp. 101-102 — cited Amanat, p. 259, n. 293), and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 11-12, 14, 15-17); and secondary historical studies, including the works of Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," pp. 6, 13, 15, 37, 82), Fádíl-i-Mázindarání (ZUHUR, p. 163), Amanat (pp. 20-23, 27, 79, 101, 204, 223, 234, 257-259, 262, 273, 319, 363, 378, 380, 382-383n, 387, 411), Balyuzi (pp. 11-13, 93, 111-112, 114, 117, 119, 121-123, 128, 131-132, 136-137, 139-140, 147-148, 199), and MacEoin (pp. 16-17, 58, 64, 82-83, 92, 192).

⁽⁶⁵⁾"Súrat al-Kawthar" is the 108th chapter of the Qur'án and is three verses in length. In the English translation by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, it is as follows ("The Meaning of the Glorious Koran," Meridian, 1997, p. 452):

In the Name of Alláh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

Lo! We have given thee Abundance [kawthar]; So pray unto thy Lord, and sacrifice.

Lo! It is thy insulter (and not thou) who is without posterity.

⁽⁶⁶⁾The Báb's "Tafsír Súrat al-Kawthar," a work of over two hundred pages in length, was apparently written for Siyyid Yahyá Dárábí (Vahíd) and the perusal of which reportedly convinced this Siyyid of the truth of the Báb's claims (ZARANDI, pp. 174-176). MacEoin notes (p. 71, n. 115-116) that neither KAF nor JADID refer to this work in connection with Dárábí's meetings with the Báb, but that they do indicate that this work was composed for him. MacEoin (pp. 71, 201-202) quotes various sources to the effect that this Book was

Without objection, without a moment of delay, the Báb, in his presence, took his pen and, without any sort of hesitation, wrote a Commentary of such nature that the royal envoy felt bewilderment overwhelm him.

Certainly the fact of writing "currente calamo"⁽⁶⁷⁾ a new commentary upon a Súra, the meaning of which is so obscure, must have struck Siyyid Yahyá with astonishment; but what surprised him as being even more peculiar was to find, in this commentary, the explanation that he himself had discovered in his meditations upon these three verses. Thus he met in the Reformer an interpretation of which he had believed himself to be the only one to imagine and which he had communicated to no one.

This fact troubled him and he retired to his lodgings. He reflected for a long time about what he had seen and heard, weighed the pros and the cons, and, finding them to be the same in weight, the good Persian that he was, he referred the matter to God. He thus decided that the next day he would go to the Báb, that he would knock softly at the door. If, out of the ordinary, it was the Báb himself who came to open for him, and if, contrary to the usages ruling in Persia, this one took him by the hand to invite him to enter and conducted him to the reception room, then the Báb was truly the Prophet of God. If things did not pass as he had fixed them in his imagination, then Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad was nothing but a charlatan. It was thus for God to regulate things in such fashion so as not to leave a person as considerable as Siyyid Yahyá in uncertainty.

Thus, the next day, he went to the home of the apostle, knocked and could not restrain a shudder of surprise when, as the door opened, he found himself face to face with the Báb, who had himself come to greet him. This latter one took him by the hand, conducted him to the room and did not release him until he had seated himself. Siyyid Yahyá prostrated himself and recognized the Prophet, to whom he declared himself the slave.

His master ordered him to go forth and preach in Burújird⁽⁶⁸⁾, then at Tíhrán⁽⁶⁹⁾ and at Yazd⁽⁷⁰⁾, after which he was to return to Shíráz⁽⁷¹⁾.

widely circulated during the ministry of the Báb, and asserts that at least twelve manuscripts of "Tafsír Súrat al-Kawthar" have survived.

⁽⁶⁷⁾The expression "currente calamo" is Italian and translates into English as "the moving pen". It is a reference to the unchangeable decree of God, as distinct from the impending decree, called "ajal-i-mu'allaq" (this information was provided by Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir in an email dated 24 January 2002). The circumstances of Siyyid Yahyá Dárábí's conversion to the Bábí Cause are found described by Hájí Siyyid Javád-i-Karbilá'í in Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl-i-Gulpaygání's "Kashf al-Ghitá.

⁽⁶⁸⁾Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir (email 24/1/02) reports that Burújird is a city located in central Írán, near Malayer (in the vicinity of Isfáhán), a celebrated epicenter of Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Islám. The sojourn of Siyyid Yahyá Dárábí in Burújird is described in note (57).

⁽⁶⁹⁾Tíhrán is the capital city of Persia, the residence of the Sháh and of his court. It was also the principal residence of Bahá'u'lláh at this time. The sojourn of Dárábí in Tíhrán is described in note (57).

⁽⁷⁰⁾Yazd is a city located almost in the center of Persia, from all four directions. The sojourn of Dárábí in Yazd is described in note (57).

⁽⁷¹⁾This return to Shíráz is not reported in ZARANDI, 'ABDU'L-BAHA or in any of the other sources studied.

He obeyed and went to Burújird where he informed his father Siyyid Ja'far of what had happened. He wrote a description of his conversion to Muhammad Sháh to whom he communicated his letter through the intermediation of Mírzá Luft 'Alí⁽⁷²⁾, a gentleman of the chamber of His Majesty. From then on, free of all official attachment, he fulfilled the program which had been assigned to him [by the Báb] and began his preaching. Some 'ulamá' considered him mad, others thought that he had been bewitched. We will see later that he paid for his conversion with his life⁽⁷³⁾.

Meanwhile the troubles, the passionate discussions, the scandal continued in Shíráz, so much that, bothered by all this uproar, and anxious about the effects it might have, Hájí Mírzá Áqásí gave an order to Husayn Khán Nizám al-Dawlih to finish with this Reformer, to have him secretly killed.

Nizám al-Dawlih ordered the Chief of police to come and talk with him. They were in agreement that one could not dream of effecting a public act of violence, which would be, first of all, disobedient to the orders from Tihrán and which would thereafter precipitate great dangers, in view of this trouble-maker's rank of Siyyid⁽⁷⁴⁾. The Prefect of police proposed then to address himself to the thieves and assassins with whom his profession brought him daily into contact, and to propose to them this murder with assurance of financial reward⁽⁷⁵⁾. This project was agreed to

(72)Mírzá Luft 'Alí Pishkidmat Salmasi (Amanat, p. 456) also called Mírzá Luft 'Alí Salmasi (Amanat, p. 367), was a steward in the court of Muhammad Sháh and a convert to the Bábí Cause from the province of Ádhirbáyján (Ibid.). ZUHUR (p. 66; cited Amanat, p. 367, n. 195) states that following his conversion through the influence of Vahíd, he was instructed to deliver the Báb's letters to Muhammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, and that as a result of his attempt to do so, he was dismissed from service and removed to Salmas, where he hosted the Báb in 1266/1850. Salmas, near Chihríq, was the location of his estate, and he hosted the Báb twice, when the Báb was en route to Tabríz (Amanat, p. 384). MU'IN (pp. 175, 223; cited Amanat, p. 384, n. 47) confirms that Mírzá Luft 'Alí was dismissed because of his propagation of the Bábí Cause, and states that this occurred in early 1847, while the Báb was residing just outside of Tihrán. Amanat (p. 367) indicates that prior to his conversion to the Bábí Cause, Mírzá Luft 'Alí Salmasi may have been an adherent of the Ahl-i-Haqq community, which was powerfully represented in his home province of Ádhirbáyján. This Bábí seems to be distinct from Luft 'Alí Mírzá Shírází, whom MacEoin (p. 162, n. 35) identifies as a Súfí descended from the Afsharid family, citing KHUSRAVI (vol. II, pp. 89-94) as his source. KHUSRAVI (vol. III, pp. 273-275; cited MacEoin, p. 162, n. 36) also asserts that Luft 'Alí Mírzá Shírází wrote a chronicle of the Shaykh Tabarsí debacle, in which he was both a participant and a survivor. MacEoin (p. 162, 215-216) lists five manuscripts of this chronicle. Balyuzi (pp. 239-240) likewise reports the existence of a history of the debacle at Shaykh Tabarsí, which he identifies as having been written by Mírzá Luft 'Alí or Luft 'Alí Mírzá of Shíráz, a descendant of the Afsharid monarchs; he calls him one of the survivors of the Shaykh Tabarsí conflict, indicates that he escaped in the company of Muqaddas Khurásání, but was martyred in August 1852. While the two Bábís have similar names, one is from Salmas in Ádhirbáyján and possibly from the Ahl-i-Haqq community there, while the other is from Shíráz in Fárs and allegedly a Súfí.

(73)Nicolas notes that this took place during the clash in the city of Nayríz.

(74)A "Siyyid" as a descendant of the holy family of Muhammad was greatly respected and indeed revered by all Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Muslims. It was practically unthinkable that a "Siyyid" should be accused, let alone executed for heresy.

(75)While the circumstances are entirely different, one is invariably reminded of the sale of Joseph to the Ishmaelites which was effected by his brother Judah (Yehudah), as noted in the Book of Genesis (37:26-28);

and it was decided to gather together a certain number of these people who would precipitate themselves together, at night, upon the house of the Báb to kill him.

"In this eventuality," said the Governor, "we will deplore the accident for which we will not seem to be responsible in any way."

The Chief of police gathered without difficulty the brigands necessary for the operation and after thoroughly explaining what he expected from them and the measures of prudence that the situation required, he left them free to take the necessary dispositions. These ones deferred the date of the assassination for eight days so as to find a favorable moment.

In the meantime, cholera had broken out in the town and it quickly made a progress so terrible that all the inhabitants fled and dispersed. The Governor and the Chief of police had been among the first to take cover from the scourge by abandoning those whom they administered.

Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad⁽⁷⁶⁾ also left the town, accompanied by his secretary Siyyid Kázim Zanjání⁽⁷⁷⁾, and took the road for Isfáhán, in March 1846⁽⁷⁸⁾. Having arrived at the last station before this town, he had the wisdom to write to its Governor, the Georgian, Manúchihir Khán

and the monetary transaction which effected the betrayal of Jesus to the authorities, carried out by Judas (Yehudah), which is described in the Gospels of Matthew (26:14-16), of Mark (14:10-11), and Luke (22:3-6).

⁽⁷⁶⁾Nicolas affirms: "All the Muslim authors are in agreement that it was Manúchihir Khán, the Governor of Isfáhán whom he [the Báb] sought [in Isfáhán]."

⁽⁷⁷⁾Siyyid Kázim Zanjání is noted here as the secretary of the Báb. ZARANDI (p. 195) reported that Siyyid Kázim-i-Zanjání was together with the Báb and His uncle in the home of Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí in Shíráz when the chief constable of that city, named 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Khán broke into the house and arrested all of its occupants with the exception of its owner. Balyuzi (p. 104) repeats ZARANDI's report without attribution. ZARANDI (pp. 197-198) attested that the Báb having been transferred to the home of 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Khán, sent Siyyid Kázim to his uncle's home to request that the latter visit him. This is not reported by Balyuzi. ZARANDI (p. 199) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 9) stated that Siyyid Kázim-i-Zanjání accompanied the Báb as he departed Shíráz for Isfáhán; ZARANDI (p. 199) also reported that the Báb wrote a letter to Manúchihir Khán, the Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih when he and his companion had arrived outside of Isfáhán, and that Siyyid Kázim delivered that letter to the Governor. Balyuzi (p. 106, 109) repeats these details, but without attribution. Finally, Balyuzi (p. 185) affirms that Siyyid Kázim-i-Zanjání died a martyr in the battle of Shaykh Tabarsí. MacEoin (p. 126) notes that the "most interesting and important anti-Bábí polemics in manuscript are several works written by Hájí Mírzá Abú'l-Qasim ibn Áqá Siyyid Kázim Zanjání (1224-92/1809-75)." Is it possible that this was the son of Siyyid Kázim Zanjání, the Bábí who was with the Báb in Shíráz upon his return from pilgrimage, and who was martyred at Shaykh Tabarsí? Stranger things have happened.

⁽⁷⁸⁾The date of the Báb's departure for Isfáhán from Shíráz is cited by ZARANDI (p. 199) as the summer of 1262/1846; by Balyuzi as autumn of 1846 (p. 106), probably shortly after 22 September 1846 (p. 104n); JADID (p. 204; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 195, n. 1; MacEoin, p. 49) indicates that this voyage took place shortly after 23 September 1845. It seems likely that JADID is a year removed from the true date, that the Báb must have left shortly after the onset of cholera, and probably then by 30 September 1846. There are more details regarding the circumstances of the departure of the Báb from Shíráz, to be found in ZARANDI, FAIZI and Amanat.

Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih⁽⁷⁹⁾, informing him in advance of his arrival and asking him to fix his place of residence.

⁽⁷⁹⁾Manúchihr Khán, the Mu'tamid al-Dawlih, Governor of Isfáhán, Luristán and Khuzistán (Amanat, p. 336) was a Georgian eunuch of Christian background (Amanat, p. 257; Balyuzi, p. 108). Amanat (p. 257, n. 290) recommends a number of sources for Manúchihr Khán's life — court chronicles including HIDAYÁT (volume X), SIPIHR (volumes II, III), Ahmad Mírzá 'Azud al-Dawla's "Tárikh-i-'Azudi" (Tirhan:1949), and Ridá Qulí Mírzá's "Safar Namih" (Tihrán:1967, pp. 9-170); European accounts including Sir A. Henry Layard, "Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia" (London:1887, pp. 114-117), H.A. Stern's "Dawning of Light in the East" (London:1854, pp. 149-161); and Bábí chronicles including KAF (p. 116), MU'IN (pp. 102-107), JADID (pp. 208-216), and ZUHUR (pp. 90-94). For a Muslim account which indicates Manúchihr Khán's general interest in religious debates, see AHMAD (p. 455). Shoghi Effendi ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 199, n. 2) cites Clements R. Markham's "A General Sketch of the History of Persia" (London:1874, p. 487). According to the Báb's "Khutba al-Jidda" (cited MacEoin, p. 48), he and his associates left Shíráz on 26 Sha'bán 1260/10 September 1844 for "Hijáz " (that is, Mecca and Medina). ZARANDI (p. 96) indicates that Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í was sent, and it can be implied from the text that this occurred shortly before his own departure or at the same time, on a journey which was to pass through Isfáhán, Káshán, Tihrán and Khurásán, and terminate in 'Íraq, where the Báb intended to reunite with his first disciple. Amanat (p. 260) dates Mullá Husayn's departure to late Jumáda al-Thání 1260/July 1844. AHMAD (pp. 499-500) indicated that Mullá Husayn had been proclaiming the appearance of the Imám Mahdí in Shíráz prior to his departure on this journey, but without indicating the person in whom this appearance was manifest, i.e., without naming the Báb. According to the words of the Báb cited by ZARANDI (p. 96), Mullá Husayn was, "by the aid of God" to "remove the veils from the eyes of the wayward and to cleanse the minds of the malevolent" and not, at this point, to proclaim openly the identity of the Promised One. ZARANDI (pp. 97-98) indicates that Mullá Husayn proclaimed the Bábí Cause in Isfáhán, and that he was opposed by the students of the recently deceased mujtahid, Hájí Siyyid Muhammad-Báqir, and that they sought the support of their late master's son, Hájí Siyyid Asadu'lláh, and, failing this, the approval of another eminent divine, Hájí Muhammad-Ibráhím-i-Kalbásí, who also refused to censure Mullá Husayn. They then appealed to Manúchihr Khán, and he refused to interfere in these matters and "warned them to abstain from mischief and to cease disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the messenger" (Ibid., p. 98). This seems to have been Manúchihr Khán's first contact with a Bábí and the claims of the Báb; however, we cannot know whether Manúchihr Khán and Mullá Husayn ever met, or the extent to which Manúchihr Khán was informed regarding the claims of the Báb at this time. Balyuzi (p. 50) makes passing reference to this incident, and Amanat (pp. 266-268) writes about it in more detail. SIPIHR (volume III, p. 234; cited and translated Amanat, p. 268, n. 76) reported that in responding to the complaint of the theological students, Manúchihr Khán "acknowledged that the Báb is a pious man and maintained that it could be that he is the deputy of the Hidden Imám." Ahmad Sohrab, in "al-Risála al-Tis' 'Ashríyya, fi Tárikh Hadrat al-A'lá" (Cairo:1919, p. 26; cited Amanat, p. 97, n. 128) reports that Manúchihr Khán employed an astrologer, by the name of Mírzá Áqá Munajjim Isfáhání, who predicted that incredible events would take place during the year 1260 A.H.; this prediction may have had some bearing on Manúchihr Khán's response to the theological students. Accounts of Manúchihr Khán's contact with the Báb himself are found in ZARANDI (pp. 199-200, 202-214), and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 9-11), and are discussed in Balyuzi (pp. 109-116), MacEoin (pp. 76-81), Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 301-303), and Amanat (pp. 254-258). To Manúchihr Khán, the Báb wrote a letter (ZARANDI, p. 199; Balyuzi, p. 109; MacEoin, p. 193) and an extended work, entitled "Risála fi'l-nubuwwa al-khássa", on the specific mission of the Prophet Muhammad — please see note (83). In his Tablet addressed to Muhammad Sháh from Máh-Kú (cited by Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 299), dated circa 1264 (by Armin Eschraghi on 24/1/02), the Báb "speaks about Manúchihr Khán favorably and says [that] he realized...the truth of the Cause — "bar haqíqat-i-amr muttali' shudih" — and served the friends of God well: "ánchih lázimih-yi 'ubúdiyyat wa khulús bi-nisbat-i-awliyá alláh búd bi-jámí áward..." (Ibid.). In this same Tablet, the Báb also indicates that Manúchihr Khán was severely criticised because of his Bábí leanings by the ignorant ("juhhál"). Eschraghi (Ibid.) cited his source for this Tablet as INBA 64 (p. 115 for this passage; the whole Tablet occupies pp. 103-126). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 301, 303) stated that one night Manúchihr Khán visited the Báb in private and asked the Báb to accept all of his possessions after his passing, including his rings. The Báb referred to this and indicated that he

This Governor was an intelligent and liberal man; perhaps he was also curious to see one about whom all of Persia spoke. He replied to the Báb by acknowledging receipt of his letter and in recommending that he go to the house of Mír Siyyid Muhammad⁽⁸⁰⁾. At the same time he directed this latter one in advance to welcome the guest whom he had bestowed upon him.

The Prophet⁽⁸¹⁾ obeyed and went directly to the house that was assigned to him.

One day, upon the request of his host, he wrote a Commentary⁽⁸²⁾ — in the same manner as that written in the presence of Siyyid Yahyá — on the Súrah al-'Asr, the 103rd of the Qur'án⁽⁸³⁾.

refused to accept Manúchihir Khán's possessions at that time and had no desire for them at any time. Eschraghi (op.cit.) recommended biographical sources for Manúchihir Khán in Bámdád's "Rijál-i-Írán" (volume IV, pp. 159-163); Fádil-i-Mázindarání, ZUHUR (volume III, pp. 90-94); and Abbas Amanat, "Resurrection and Renewal" (passim.).

⁽⁸⁰⁾Mír Siyyid Muhammad was the name of the Imám-Jum'ih of Isfáhán, who was also entitled "Sultánu'l-'ulamá' (King of the 'ulamá'), according to Nicolas, and to FADL (p. 66; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 199, n. 3). Neither ZARANDI nor 'ABDU'L-BAHA name the Imám-Jum'ih. Balyuzi (p. 109) refers to Siyyid Muhammad as the Imám-Jum'ih of Isfáhán, while MacEoin (p. 76, n. 1) gives his name as Mír Siyyid Muhammad (and cites Hamíd Algar's "Religion and State in Írán, 1785-1906," Berkeley, 1969, pp. 167, 180), and Amanat gives his name and title as Siyyid Muhammad Imám Jum'ih Khatunabádí (p. 257), as Mír Muhammad Khatunabádí (p. 265) and Muhammad Husayn Imám-Jum'ih (p. 341). None of these historians explain the titles given to the Imám-Jum'ih, such as "Mír," "Sultánu'l-'ulamá'" and "Khatunabádí." Dr. J.R.I. Cole (email 25/1/02) wrote: "Mír actually means Sayyid, being a contraction of Amír, both indicating descent from the Prophet [Muhammad]...He or his family were from Khatunabád. A name based on such place-name affiliation is called a nisbah. And, in premodern times, one often had a title, whether a court title (Sayf al-Dawlah) or, among the clergy, a religious one. Sultán al-'Ulamá' means 'Emperor of the Clergy,' and indicates that he was very well respected. Siyyid Muhammad Nasirabádí in Lucknow, his contemporary, was also called Sultán al-'Ulamá'." Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir (email 24/1/02) wrote regarding this name: "Khatunabádí is the family name of all of that particular Mullá clan in Isfáhán. They achieved standing from the Safavi period...Sultán al-'Ulamá' was an honorific title in that family from the Safavids onwards...The Khatunabádís were related to Majlísí ancestrally." Dr. Fananapazir also pointed out that Bahá'u'lláh referred to a relative of Mír Siyyid Muhammad, who, at a later date, was appointed the Imám-Jum'ih of Isfáhán, and whom he called the "She Serpent" in the "Epistle to the Son of the Wolf" (p. 100): "O My Supreme Pen! Call Thou to remembrance the She Serpent (Imám-Jum'ih of Isfáhán) whose cruelty hath caused all created things to groan, and the limbs of the holy ones to quake."

The sojourn of the Báb in the home of the Imám-Jum'ih of Isfáhán is described in some detail by ZARANDI (pp. 199-208). That sojourn lasted for forty days (ZARANDI, p. 208), and during that time the Báb wrote his "Tafsír Súrat al-'Asr" — please see note (82) — and his "Risálá fil-Nubuwwa al-Khassa" — please see note (83). Mír Siyyid Muhammad seems to have been a tolerant and sympathetic personality, and the Báb apparently transferred his residence to the palace of the Governor at Manúchihir Khán's request, after the Imám-Jum'ih and other members of the 'ulamá' of Isfáhán had received letters from the Grand Vizier, in which he expressed his profound disapproval of the Báb and of any kindness and sympathy which had been shown him (ZARANDI, pp. 204-205). During this epoch, the "Imám-Jum'ih" was the principal Muslim cleric in each Persian city or province. As reported by Clements R. Markham ("A General Sketch of the History of Persia," London:1974, p. 465; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 199, n. 3), the office of Sadru's-Sudur, the chief priest of the Safavid dynasty, was abolished by Nadír Sháh and replaced by the office of Imám-Jum'ih. The same source identified the Imám-Jum'ih of Isfáhán as the "principal ecclesiastical dignity of Persia" (Ibid.).

⁽⁸¹⁾"The Prophet" here refers to the Báb.

Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih was informed and he himself went to see the Báb, with whom he spoke on diverse points of religion and especially on the Nubuwwat-i-Khassih⁽⁸⁴⁾. The Governor of Isfáhán

⁽⁸²⁾The Báb's "Tafsír Súrat al-'Asr" was written after dinner one night at the residence of the Imám-Jum'ih, in the presence of Mír Siyyid Muhammad and his companions, including Mullá Muhammad-Taqíy-i-Harátí, and it was apparently equal in length to one third of the Qur'án (ZARANDI, pp. 201-202), which is comprised of 6246 verses (MacEoin, p. 15, n. 28). According to KAF (p. 116), a clock was set to time the speed of the Báb's writing, and on this basis it was estimated that he had written 1000 verses every 6 hours. Inasmuch as the Báb is alleged by ZARANDI to have written the whole commentary, which, according to his calculation, numbered some 2000 verses altogether, in the course of one evening, according to this account the Báb actually wrote down these verses at double (or perhaps even triple) the miraculous speed reported by KAF. It should be noted that the Báb claimed in the "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhid II: báb 1) that he had revealed 2000 verses in 5 hours (Nicolas translation, tome I, p. 43). It seems likely that it was at this tempo that he wrote "Tafsír Súrat al-'Asr" — if it was indeed completed in the course of that night. MacEoin (p. 202) lists ten manuscripts of this work, including one in the hand of the Bahá'í scribe Zayn al-Muqarrabín.

⁽⁸³⁾"Súrat al-'Asr" (Chapter of the Declining Day) is the 103rd Chapter of the Qur'án and is composed of three verses:

"In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!
 "By the declining day,
 "Perdition shall be the lot of man,
 "Save those who have faith and do good works, and exhort one another to steadfastness."

⁽⁸⁴⁾"Risálá fíl-Nubuwwa al-Khassa" was written at the request of Manúchihir Khán according to ZARANDI, p. 202-204; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 10); Balyuzi, p. 111; Amanat, p. 257; MacEoin, pp. 76-77, 196). It pertains to the specific mission of Muhammad, including his station as "khátama'n-nabiyyina" (Seal of the Prophets), referred to in "Súrat al-ahzab" (Qur'án XXXIII:40). This treatise was fifty pages in length and written in less than two hours (ZARANDI, p. 202), and a manuscript copy in the Raqí' style is fifty-one pages in length (Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, p. 448). Armin Eschraghi (email dated 24/1/02) wrote that manuscripts of this work vary considerably in length, with part of the surviving draft in the Báb's "revelation writing" comprising 13-14 pages, and copies ranging from 30 to 80 pages long. This work is here described by ZARANDI (pp. 202-203):

"The originality of His dissertation, the vigour and vividness of its style, the accuracy of its minutest details, invested His treatment of that noble theme with an excellence which no one among those who were present on that occasion could have failed to perceive."

While Manúchihir Khán was already a Muslim, having been converted from Christianity as a child according to some reports (Sir A. Henry Layard, "Early Adventures in Persia, etc." (London:1887, vol. I, pp. 311-312 — cited Balyuzi, p. 108; Amanat, p. 257), nevertheless, his acceptance of Islám does not seem to have been altogether wholehearted (Armin Eschraghi in email 24/1/02). ZARANDI (p. 204) states that Manúchihir Khán spoke these words after reading "Risálá fíl-Nubuwwa al-Khassa":

"Hear me!' he exclaimed. 'Members of this revered assembly, I take you as my witnesses. Never until this day have I in my heart been firmly convinced of the truth of Islám. I can henceforth, thanks to this exposition penned by this Youth, declare myself a firm believer in the Faith proclaimed by the Apostle of God [Muhammad]. I solemnly testify to my belief in the reality of the superhuman power with which this Youth is endowed, a power which no amount of learning can ever impart.' With these words he brought the meeting to an end."

was very surprised at the superiority of his interlocutor and ordered the convening of a council of 'ulamá' who would be charged with examining the Reformer; he wanted the transcript of this meeting to be written down so that this could be sent to His Majesty. But the 'ulamá' declined this invitation, remarking that a discussion upon such a matter was contrary to religion.

"In effect," they said, "if we could imagine for an instant that Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad could possibly be right in his affirmations, we would call forth a council to examine any doubtful particular; but, as all the evidence indicates that the pretensions of our adversary are in flagrant contradiction to the Qur'a'n and the laws of God, we do not have any reason to gather in order to render justice to an impostor who merits death alone."

They insisted upon this point and declared to the Governor that the Báb was impious, and that he must either banish him from the town or have him executed.

Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih remarked that this was a religious affair that was not within his competence.

"You must discourse with him yourselves: if he is an impostor, prove it; if on the contrary what he says is true, believe in him." But the clergy refused again.

The Muslim historians claim that at this point the theologian 'Alí Muhammad Mahdí⁽⁸⁵⁾, the philosopher Mírzá Muhammad Hasan Núrí⁽⁸⁶⁾, and Mírzá Siyyid Muhammad⁽⁸⁷⁾ consented to try this adventure. A meeting was fixed at night in the presence of Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih.

This twin declaration on his part — to the truth of Muhammad 's prophetic station and mission and to the divine gifts which were manifested in the Báb — was subsequently to mature into a wholehearted embrace of the Bábí Cause (ZARANDI, pp. 212-214).

⁽⁸⁵⁾'Alí Muhammad Mahdí is called Muhammad Mihdí by ZARANDI (p. 207), and Áqá Muhammad-Mihdí by 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 10) and Balyuzi (p. 111); the son of Hájí Muhammad Kalbási by Nicolas (here, in a footnote), the son of Hájí Muhammad-Ibráhím-i-Kalbási and known as "Safihu'l-'ulamá'" (Foolish One of the Learned) according to Balyuzi (p. 111, 113). He was apparently one of the most vociferous opponents of the Báb in Isfáhán, who insulted and criticized the Báb from his pulpit. That his father, also known as Muhammad Ibráhím Karbási [Kalbásí] (Amanat, pp. 267-268) would have refused to condone such behavior has already been indicated, in note (79). However, his illustrious father passed away on 8 Jamádi al-Úlá 1261/15 May 1845 (Áqá Buzurg Muhammad Muhsin Tihrání, "Tabáqát A'lám al-Shí'a," Tihrán:1966, volume II: part I, p. 14; cited Amanat, p. 267, n. 60), over four months prior to the Báb's arrival in Isfáhán, and hence he was unable to influence his son's actions. Muhammad-Mahdí took part in the examination of the Báb at the home of the Imám-Jum'ih (ZARANDI, p. 207; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 10; Balyuzi, p. 113), and presumably also in the subsequent issue of a death sentence upon the Báb on the charge of heresy. The Imám-Jum'ih did not believe that this charge was warranted, and he felt himself constrained to overturn the death sentence by a declaring that the Báb was insane (ZARANDI, p. 209; ZUHUR, p. 95; Balyuzi, p. 113; Amanat, pp. 258-259, n. 292). However, this was not a matter decided in Isfáhán alone. Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was contacted by the 'ulamá' of Isfáhán with regard to the claims of the Báb and their sentence of heresy, and the Grand Vizier wrote to them, assuring his support, and requesting that the Governor send the Báb to Tihrán. The text of this letter, dated Muharram 1263/January 1847, is reproduced in I'TIDAD (pp. 121-122; cited Amanat, pp. 258-259, n. 292), and paraphrased in SAMANDAR (pp. 101-102; cited Amanat, p. 259, n. 293).

⁽⁸⁶⁾Mírzá Muhammad Hasan Núrí was, according to Nicolas's footnote here, the "son of Mullá 'Alí Núrí." ZARANDI (p. 207) calls him Mírzá Hasan-i-Núrí, and identifies him as a noted [Neo-]Platonist

philosopher, who asked the Báb to elucidate the meaning of certain passages in "Hikmat al-'Arshíyya" of Sadru'd-Dín Muhammad Shirází (d. 1050/1640), generally known as Mullá Sadrá. This work has been translated into English by J.W. Morris and published as "The Wisdom of the Throne" (Princeton:1981). Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í wrote a commentary on this work of Mullá Sadrá, and on another of his works entitled "Maṣḥa'ir" (Balyuzi, p. 236). The commentary by Shaykh Ahmad is entitled "Sharh al-'Arshíyya" and there is a recently published edition available (Tíhrán:1982, pp. 79ff) although no English translation as yet (MacEoin, p. 78, n. 8). According to ZARANDI (p. 207), the Báb replied to each of the questions posed him by this philosopher, and he informs his readers that Mírzá Hasan-i-Núrí was unable to understand the meaning of the answers that he received. Balyuzi (pp. 112-113) relates the same story as ZARANDI, while Amanat (p. 257) does not give a detailed account of this meeting. However, Amanat (p. 258, n. 291) does give other sources for the religious debates in which the Báb participated in Isfáhán, including KAF (pp. 116-118), SIPIHR (volume III, pp. 44-47), AVARIH (pp. 73-105), ZUHUR (pp. 93-94) and the "Khátirát" (Memoirs) of Áqá Siyyid 'Abd al-Rahím Isfáhání (cited Amanat, p. 258, 427). Mírzá Muhammad Hasan Núrí is to be distinguished from Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan, described as "one of the most celebrated ecclesiastics of Shí'ih Islám" (ZARANDI, p. 90), who pronounced Mullá 'Alíy-i-Bastámí a heretic after hearing him proclaim the mission of the Báb in the city of Najaf (Ibid.) Bahá'u'lláh refers to Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" (#166), calling him "among the most learned divines of his day" and recalls the spiritual blindness of most of the Muslim clergy at the appearance of the Báb:

"When the True One was made manifest, this shaykh, along with others of his calling, rejected Him, while a sifter of wheat and barley accepted Him and turned unto the Lord. Though he was occupied both night and day in setting down what he conceived to be the laws and ordinances of God, yet when he Who is the Unconstrained appeared, not one letter thereof availed him, or he would not have turned away from a Countenance that hath illumined the faces of the well-favoured of the Lord."

The "sifter of wheat and barley" to whom Bahá'u'lláh referred, is mentioned in the Báb's "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd VIII: báb 14), and his conversion is described in ZARANDI (p. 99), MU'IN (p. 98) and AVARIH (volume I, p. 71), as cited in Amanat (p. 357, n. 143-147). Amanat (p. 357) translates the passage in "Bayán-i-fársí" as follows:

"Look at the Land of Sád [Isfáhán] which in appearance is the greatest of lands where in each corner of its schools numerous students are found under the name of knowledge and itjihád, yet, at the time of refining Gandum Pakkun will put on the garb of primacy. This is the secret of the word of the People of the House [the twelve Imáms] regarding the time of the Manifestation when they say: 'The lowest of the people shall become the most exalted and the most exalted shall become the lowest.'"

Nicolas translates this passage in "Le Beyan Persan" (tome IV:1914, p. 113), and ZARANDI (p. 99) gives a paraphrase of this passage from "Bayán-i-fársí". The name of this Bábí is noted by Amanat (pp. 356-357) as Ja'far Gandum Pakkun (Ja'far the sifter of wheat). He died a martyr to the Bábí Cause in Shaykh Tabarsí according to ZARANDI (p. 99) and KAF (p. 202, cited Amanat, p. 357, n. 146).

⁽⁸⁷⁾Mírzá Siyyid Muhammad, referred to here seems to be the Imám-Jum'ih, whom Nicolas earlier — please see note (80) — named Mír Siyyid Muhammad. This we know because present at this gathering were a number of the 'ulamá' of Isfáhán, and, according to ZARANDI (pp. 207-208), subsequent to the departure of Muhammad Mihdí, Manúchihr Khán spoke with the Imám-Jum'ih, and arranged the transfer of the Báb to the Governor's residence in order to assure his safety. After this conversation, ZARANDI (p. 208) reports that the Imám-Jum'ih, Mír Siyyid Muhammad, "returned alone to his house."

A transcript, or at least a description of this meeting was preserved for us in the "Násikh al-Tawárikh"⁽⁸⁸⁾ and Mr. Browne has included it in one of his works⁽⁸⁹⁾.

I will remark that Bábí tradition absolutely denies the authenticity of this meeting; it affirms that the clergy persisted in refusing any official interview with the Báb. On the other hand, the questions⁽⁹⁰⁾ which were posed to the Reformer verge upon absurdity. It is strange that, face to face with a man who claims himself to be, they say, the Imám al-Zamán, a theologian like Muhammad Mahdí thinks of asking him:

"The men who are ornamented with Faith in Muhammad are encompassed in the two following ways: either they derive their conviction from the very hadíth to which they conform their acts, and those are mujtahidún⁽⁹¹⁾; or they follow the precepts of a religious leader, and those are the muqallidún⁽⁹²⁾. Among which must one count you?"

And the Báb allegedly replied: "I do not have any need of the opinions of anyone in order to regulate my actions, but I regard it as wicked for a man to act in any way except through reliance upon his own reasonings."

⁽⁸⁸⁾According to Nicolas, "Násikh al-Tawárikh" — which source is identified throughout this history by its author's name, SIPIHR — reproduces a transcript of this informal tribunal convened at the home of Manúchíhr Khán. Amanat (p. 258, n. 291) notes the location of this alleged transcript in SIPIHR (volume III, pp. 44-47).

⁽⁸⁹⁾Here and in an earlier location — Chapter Two, note (41) — Nicolas refers to E.G. Browne's publication of the transcript made of this meeting. It is evident however from an examination of the transcript published by Browne, in "Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion" (pp. 255-258), that it pertains to a tribunal convened in Tabríz, and not to this gathering in Isfáhán. Shoghi Effendi (The Dawn-breakers," p. 207, n. 1) points the reader who would wish for more information regarding this later examination to Note M appended to Browne's translation of "A Traveller's Narrative" (volume II, pp. 277-290), and to GOBINEAU (pp. 65-73). Both sources provide translations of SIPIHR, and Browne also translates JADID, QISAS and RAWDAT. In Browne's "Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion" (pp. 248-260) we find other documents related to the Tabríz trial, including an account by Amír Aslán, the maternal uncle of Násiru'd-Dín Mírzá, the Crown Prince (pp. 248-256); a purported recantation of the Báb at that trial (pp. 256-258); and the alleged verdict (fatwá) of the 'ulamá' (pp. 258-260).

⁽⁹⁰⁾It is interesting to note Nicolas' insistence that Bábí tradition, in his experience, denied the very existence of this meeting. Not only did ZARANDI report this meeting, but, as cited in note (85), KAF, AVARIH, ZUHUR and Áqá 'Abd al-Rahím Isfáhání also gave Bábí accounts of this event.

⁽⁹¹⁾Please see note (2) in Chapter One.

⁽⁹²⁾"muqallidún" is the plural form of "muqallid" which Wehr/Cowan (p. 920) defines as "blind follower; believer in authority; adherent of taqlíd." "Taqlíd" is defined (Ibid.) as "imitation; copying; blind, unquestioning adoption (of concepts or ideas); uncritical faith (e.g., in a source's authoritativeness)." The nature of the Báb's response to this query is such as to identify him as disapproving of the "muqallidún" and of "taqlíd" and approving of the spirit of "ijtihád" although not necessarily of the specific methods and standards of the Shí'í mujtahidún. Throughout the writings of Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá are found copious references to this theme, and "taqlíd" and the "muqallid" are consistently censured as representing the darkness of superstition and the blindness of imitation which prevent individuals from discovering the truth for themselves. Please see note (2) in Chapter Two for definitions of "ijtihád" and "mujtahid."

"Be that as it may," Muhammad Mahdí allegedly replied, "but you know that the door of divine knowledge is closed⁽⁹³⁾ and that the proof of God is hidden⁽⁹⁴⁾. Therefore, without having seen the Imám Mahdí, without having heard his explanations, how can you act with certitude? Tell me, what is the source of that certitude?"

Surely a bizarre question and which well merits the disdainful reply of the Báb: "You are but a child whose knowledge is borrowed from others. How can you interrogate me and discuss with me things about which you are ignorant⁽⁹⁵⁾?"

It is thus that, Muhammad having fallen silent, Mírzá Muhammad Hasan, who followed the philosophical doctrine of Mullá Sadrá⁽⁹⁶⁾, questioned the Báb in order to incite him to explain three Miracles⁽⁹⁷⁾, which explanation would be sufficient to convince him, the questioner.

⁽⁹³⁾Nicolas notes: "Muhammad Mahdí does not seem to doubt for an instant that his respondent claims to be precisely this "Báb" (Gate)."

⁽⁹⁴⁾The proof of God, "Hujjatu'lláh," is one of the names of the Imám Mahdí. Please see note (44) in Chapter Two.

⁽⁹⁵⁾Nicolas writes: "Whatever may be the case, the response of the Báb is well within the range of his doctrine. In effect, the door of divine knowledge was closed after the disappearance of the twelfth Imám; since then certain portions of the Book of God have remained obscure and certain matters have not been foreseen by the Apostle [Muhammad] or his twelve Imáms. One then must seek, be it the explanation of these obscure passages, or be it the rule of conduct which must be followed in the case of matters which were not foreseen. Men, deprived from that time of the divine lights, have not been able up to now to find a solution except through reasoning. This reasoning is based upon their complete knowledge of the hadíth [traditions associated with the Prophet Muhammad and the twelve Imáms], upon their exact interpretation, and upon the analogy which one can find between a particular new matter and a particular word of the Prophet or of the Imáms. The solution — necessarily uncertain — hereby arrived at assumes the force of law; that is the doctrine of the "mujtahidún," that is to say, the official doctrine of Persia. The Báb rises up against this pretension: First, because he who follows this course may do so without knowing all the hadíth; Secondly, because he may be mistaken regarding their interpretation; Thirdly, he may find a theological position therein no trace of which is to be found in actuality; Fourthly, he may accept as authentic a hadíth, the authenticity of which is questionable or illusory. Finally, in these matters the reasoning of man is nothing other than human reasoning, that is to say, it is defective." Hence, while the Báb approves of the spirit of "ijtihád", of independent enquiry, he does not approve of the methods adopted by the "mujtahidún" in order to arrive at the truth. They are human methods, and they are liable to human error. Bahá'u'lláh refers to this theme in many of his Tablets, including "Kitáb-i-Íqán" (pp. 3-4, 255-256) and "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" (#99). 'Abdu'l-Bahá speaks on the criteria and standards of investigating divine reality in a number of his talks, as recorded in "Some Answered Questions" (Chapter LXXXIII: pp. 341-343) in "The Promulgation of Universal Peace" (pp. 20-22, 253-257, 355-361), and in his Tablet of the Innermost Heart ("Mín Makátíb-i-'Abdu'l-Bahá," 83-86).

⁽⁹⁶⁾Mullá Sadrá, whose full name was Sadru'd-Dín Muhammad Shírází (d. 1050/1640), was the founder of the Isfáhání school of spiritual philosophy or theosophy, known as "hikmat ilahí" and derived principally from the interpretations of Pythagoras and Plato (as well as various Persian theosophists) by Shiháb al-Dín Yahyá Suhrawardí, known as Shaykh Ishráq (d. 1191). Most scholars agree that Mullá Sadrá's line of theosophical thought was continued, with important innovations, by Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í and Siyyid Kázim Rashtí. MacEoin (p. 78) notes that the Báb, in a letter to Mírzá Sa'íd Ardistání or Mírzá Muhammad Sa'íd Zavára'í, contradicts the Ishráqí monist conception of reality, called "basít al-haqíqa" — which was formulated by Mullá Sadrá in his "Hikmat al-'Arshíyya" cited earlier. There are six manuscripts of this letter of the Báb extant (MacEoin, p. 193). The Báb also refuted this doctrine in a letter that MacEoin has named "Risála-yi dhabíyya II" (pp. 80-81). In this latter letter, and in "Sahífa-yi 'adliyya" (MacEoin, p. 69), the Báb also refutes the monist doctrine of "wahdat al-wujúd" (unicity of being), which is closely

The first [Miracle] is the "Tayu'l-Arz," or, if one prefers, the immediate transportation of any person from one place in the world to another place very far away — the Shí'í are convinced that the third Imám, Imám Jawad⁽⁹⁸⁾, adopted this easy and economical mode of travel; that, for example, he transported himself in the blink of an eye from Medina in Arabia, to Tús in Khurásán⁽⁹⁹⁾.

The second Miracle is the multiple and simultaneous presence of the same person in many different places. 'Alí, among others, was at the same minute seen by sixty different persons.

Finally, the third is a problem of cosmography which I will submit to our astronomers who will certainly appreciate its flavor. It is said in a hadíth⁽¹⁰⁰⁾, that during the reign of a tyrant the sky turns rapidly, while during that of an Imám it turns slowly. First, how can the sky have two movements? And then, what was it doing during the reign of the Umayyads⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and of the Abbasids⁽¹⁰²⁾?

associated with the famous Súfí author Ibn al-'Arabí , and his "Fusús al-hikam" (MacEoin, p. 81). Bahá'u'lláh wrote "Lawh-i-basít al-haqqáq" (found in Ishráq-Khávárí, "Má'ida-yi Ásmání," volume VII, pp. 140-147; cited MacEoin, p. 78, n. 8) to explain such metaphysical matters.

⁽⁹⁷⁾Nicolas' discussion of the three Miracles is probably based on SIPIHR (pp. 44-47, volume III, published in Tíhrán, 1344 A.H.), according to Armin Eschraghi (email 24/1/02). Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir (email 24/1/02) reported that the subject of teleportation, the first Miracle cited, was current amongst both Shí'í and Sunní Muslims. This Miracle is based on a verse from the Qur'án (27:40), and many traditions of the Prophet Muhammad and the twelve Imáms, as was confirmed in both the learned understanding and popular imagination by the accounts of eminent Súfís and other mystically inclined Muslims. For further study he recommended home.attgi.net/~nungan/Súfism/27warp.htm.

⁽⁹⁸⁾According to a standard list of the twelve Imáms found in E.G. Browne ("A Traveler's Narrative," note O, pp. 296-297; cited "The Dawn-breakers," pp. lii-liii), the third Imám was Husayn ibn 'Alí, and none of the twelve Imáms was named Jawad. Hence, it is not known to whom Nicolas was referring in this citation.

⁽⁹⁹⁾From the city of Medina in the Hijáz (the Western coast of Arabia) to the city of Tús in Khurásán represents a journey of well over one thousand miles.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾The hadíth referred to has not been identified as yet: "that during the reign of a tyrant, the sky turns rapidly, while during that of an Imám it turns slowly."

⁽¹⁰¹⁾The Umayyad dynasty ruled from 661 to 750 A.D. They were the descendants of Abú Sufyan, a leader of the Quraysh who was forced into becoming a Muslim. His descendants are generally regarded as half-hearted if not altogether disbelieving adherents of Islám, and as tyrannical rulers. In 656 A.D., 'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, and his chosen successor (and first Imám) according to the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'ís, was elected the fourth "khalifa" (Wehr/Cowan, p. 298: "deputy; successor") by the Muslim elders. Mu'awiya, the son of Abú Sufyan of the clan of Abí Shams — the bitterest enemies of Islám and of the family of Muhammad — then Governor of Syria, refused to recognize 'Alí as the leader of the community of Muslims. In 661 A.D., 'Alí was assassinated, apparently at the instigation of Mu'awiya, and this latter one usurped the position of "khalifa" — which was assumed by himself and his descendants, known to history as the Umayyads, for the following 89 years. The Umayyads were also responsible for the assassination of the Imám Hasan, eldest son of the Imám 'Alí, in 670 A.D.; and the Imám Husayn, second son of the Imám 'Alí, in 680 A.D. (see "The Dawn-breakers," p. liii). Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir (24/1/02) reported that "the Umayyads ruled for precisely 1000 lunar months (and this was prophesied in the Qur'án: "laylatu'l-qadr kharun min alfa shahrin"). All the Shí'í commentaries point out [that] "laylatu'l-qadr" is symbolically the chaste Fátimih [daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, wife of the Imám 'Alí, and mother of

It was allegedly the solution of these inanities that was proposed to the Báb. I will not delay on this subject any longer, but I must make a remark here about the mentality of the Muslim learned of Persia. If one wishes to reflect that for about a thousand years, the science of Írán consists only of such nonsense, that men exhaust themselves upon continuous research into such matters, one will easily understand the emptiness and arrogance of all of these brains.

Whatever may be the case⁽¹⁰³⁾, the gathering was interrupted by the announcement of dinner, and each one participated, returning homewards thereafter.

Then Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih believed that he must announce to his guests that from thenceforth he was not at all convinced of the imposture of the Reformer, and that furthermore, in order to silence all arguments and for his soul to be at peace, he intended to send him immediately and under escort to Tíhrán.

Tradition reports that when he had been relieved of his guests, Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih approached the Báb and said to him, "I believe in you because you are the truth; what I did, I was obliged to do in order to extract you from the talons of the 'ulamá'. Dispose of me as you desire. I am rich and powerful, I have a considerable number of clients: if you wish, I will arm my people and will kill all those who oppose you⁽¹⁰⁴⁾."

The Báb declined his offer and replied that his work must be accomplished by the force of persuasion and not by that of arms.

The next day, that is to say forty days after the arrival of the Báb in the house of the Imám Jum'ih, Mír Siyyid Muhammad, Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih summoned some cavaliers, gave a mount to the Prophet and ordered this company to leave the town, passing through the most populated roads and the most frequented bazaars, and then to take the road to Tíhrán.

The crowd would then see the procession, follow it through the streets to the gate which opens onto the road towards the Capital, and accompany him with their blessings or their maledictions. The 'ulamá' were informed of what was happening, and, in their triumph, they heaped up praises upon the Governor, who had finally rid them of a sacra-religious and dangerous guest.

the second and third Imáms, Hasan and Husayn] and the Immaculate Imáms and the thousand months [are] the thousand months of Umayyad rule."

⁽¹⁰²⁾The 'Abbásid dynasty ruled from 750 to 1258 A.D. This dynasty claimed connection with the family of the Prophet Muhammad, but not through the Imám 'Alí and his descendants, the other eleven Imáms. Nicolas states the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í view of the Umayyad and 'Abbásid caliphs: "These were usurpers who ruled only in appearance, while in reality sovereignty belonged to the Imáms who lived during that era."

⁽¹⁰³⁾Nicolas indicates that this examination of the claims of the Báb was interrupted by dinner, followed by the dispersal of the clerical participants. ZARANDI (p. 207) states that it was cut short by Manúchíhr Khán when Muhammad Mahdí became abusive of the Báb, and was immediately escorted from the Governor's residence and to his home.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾Nicolas notes: "This conversion of Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih is affirmed by the author of "Mutanabbi'in" (I'TIDAD), and by the Báb himself." He does not indicate precisely where I'TIDAD or the Báb refer to this conversion. Please see notes (79) and (83) this Chapter for more details related to Manúchíhr Khán, Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih.

But Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih secretly sent one of his confidants to the head of the group of cavaliers [accompanying the Báb] instructing him to join the voyagers. He gave him a letter for the leader of the escort, in which he told him that he must give over the prisoner into the hands of the new envoy. This one must take possession of the person of the Báb, and bring him back, in the greatest secrecy, to Isfáhán, where he would arrive by night.

The confidant left, rejoined the Báb at Murchih-Khár⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, gave the letter of which he was the carrier to the leader of the escort, and, taking the Báb, conducted him by out of the way paths to the town he had just left. He awaited nightfall in order to enter the town and, through the deserted streets, he conducted him to one of the palaces which belonged to the Government.

The secret was well-guarded and nobody suspected the ruse. The Báb lived thus a little more than four months in the most complete tranquility, frequently receiving visits from the Governor, whom he instructed in the new religion.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾Murchih-Khár is cited in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) as the location where the Báb's escort received the message which induced them to return the Báb to Isfáhán. Shoghi Effendi ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 211, n. 1) indicates that Murchih-Khár is located about 35 miles from Isfáhán, the second stage from that city on the north road towards Tihrán. ZARANDI (p. 211) relates that according to Manúchih Khán's instructions, the Báb should arrive at Isfáhán before dawn. These instructions were carried out, the Báb was escorted to the private residence of Manúchih Khán, called 'Imárat-i-Khurshíd, and therein the Governor waited in person on the Báb, until the Governor passed away (ZARANDI, pp. 211, 213-214). 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) indicates that the Báb spent four months in the private residence of the Governor without disturbance. ZARANDI (pp. 211-214) describes some of the events that transpired during that period.

Chapter Four

Death of Manúchihir Khán — Exiled from Isfáhán — Tabríz — The Prison of Máh-Kú

Unfortunately, Mu'tamidu'd Dawlih died.¹ Mírzá Gurgin Khán his nephew and his only heir,² came to Isfáhán to collect his inheritance. He learned with surprise about the guest his uncle had hidden in one of his residences, and, much embarrassed, not knowing what to do, he referred this matter to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí.

¹Nicolas reports: "On 4 March 1847, Monsieur de Bonniere wrote the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France: "Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih, the Governor of Isfáhán, has just died, leaving a fortune which is valued at 40,000,000 francs." This report is cited in "The Dawn-breakers" (p. 212, n. 1) and in Balyuzi (p. 115n). E.G. Browne stated ("A Traveller's Narrative," Note L, p. 277; cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 214, n. 2) that Manúchihir Khán died in the month of Rabí al-Awal 1263, corresponding to February-March 1847. Balyuzi (p. 116) and MacEoin (p. 82) confirm the Islamic (Hijra calendar) month of the Governor's death. ZARANDI (p. 213) indicates that the Báb predicted the Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih's death three months and nine days prior to its occurrence and hence shortly after He took up His secret residence in the Governor's private residence. As the life of Manúchihir Khán was approaching its end, the Báb acquainted two of his companions, Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí and Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím, with his prediction of the Governor's imminent death, and told them to share this news with the Bábís in Isfáhán, and to advise that they scatter throughout Kashán, Qum and Tihiran and await the will of God (ZARANDI, p. 214). Balyuzi (p. 116) states that in his Tablet to Muhammad Sháh, the Báb indicates that, in a letter addressed to two divines in Yazd, he foretold the passing of Manúchihir Khán eighty-seven days before it occurred. Given the exactitude of these statements, it is curious that the precise date of Manúchihir Khán's death has not been preserved in Bábí sources. ZARANDI (p. 215), 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) and Balyuzi (p. 116; p. 236 citing 'ABDU'L-BAHA) indicate that this death occurred four months after the Báb was publicly escorted out of Isfáhán only to be secreted back into the city under the cover of night, probably a day after his departure.

²Nicolas notes: "We will see by a letter which the Báb wrote from Máh-Kú to His Majesty [Muhammad Sháh], that he holds himself to be the inheritor of these goods." According to ZARANDI (pp. 212-213), Manúchihir Khán declared his intent to dedicate his efforts and his vast fortune to the Cause of the Báb. On the very same day, the Báb informed the Governor that his earthly days were limited to three months and nine days. The Báb accepted this bequeathal of the Governor's property, which was noted in Manúchihir Khán's will and testament (ZARANDI, p. 213). Balyuzi (p. 116) echoes this report. In his Tablet to Muhammad Sháh, the Báb acknowledges that Manúchihir Khán offered him all of his property, and states that he accepted this act of renunciation but returned the Governor's property to him for the duration of his life (Balyuzi, p. 116; Amanat, pp. 381-382, n. 37). Amanat (p. 382, n. 37) reports that in this Tablet the Báb did not claim the property of Manúchihir Khán for himself, writing:

"Now I do not desire to have a trifle of that. All his wealth belongs to the Proof. Whatever that Holiness would see fit, he would ordain."

While the Báb often refers to himself as "Hujjat" (the Proof), in this case he seems to be referring to "Him Whom God shall make manifest," the prophetic figure whose appearance he anticipated following his own manifestation. Dr. Fananapazir pointed out (email 18/1/02) that in váhid II: báb 1 and váhid III: báb 1 of "Bayán-i-fársí", the Báb indicates that all things are the property of "Him Whom God shall make manifest" when He appears. ZARANDI (p. 213; cited by Balyuzi, p. 116) indicates that following the death of Manúchihir Khán, his nephew and successor, Gurgin Khán destroyed his will, seized his property and ignored the wishes of his uncle. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11; cited by "The Dawn-breakers," p. 214, n. 3; repeated by Balyuzi, p. 116) also indicates that Gurgin Khán was Manúchihir Khán's nephew.

This one, changeable and capricious, having forgotten that he had, only a little earlier, decreed the death of the Reformer, felt in himself the birth of a desire finally to see the man who had inspired so many to talk of him. He ordered Gurgin Khán to send him [the Báb] to Tihrán.³

He obeyed and sent the Báb on his way under escort, without even leaving him time to say goodbye to his wife,⁴ before setting out on the road to Tihrán. When they arrived at the last

³ZARANDI (pp. 214-215) reports that, a few days after the death of Manúchihir Khán, Gurgin Khán was informed of the residence of the Báb in 'Imárat-i-Khurshíd, and that Gurgin Khán sent a message to Muhammad Sháh informing His Majesty of this situation, and awaiting his decree. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) states that Gurgin Khán informed Hájí Mírzá Áqásí of the same. ZARANDI (p. 215) states that the Sháh issued an imperial mandate summoning the Báb to Tihiran, commanding Gurgin Khán to send him secretly and in disguise and in the company of a mounted escort led by Muhammad Big-i-Chápárchí, of the 'Alíyu'lláhí sect. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) indicated that it was Hájí Mírzá Áqásí who issued this command, and that he instructed that the Báb be sent secretly and in disguise and escorted by Nusayri horsemen. Balyuzi (p. 117) favors ZARANDI, and Amanat and MacEoin are silent on this matter. Balyuzi (p. 236) indicates that the 'Alíyu'lláhí sect were a party of Shí'í Muslims founded by 'Abdu'lláh Ibn-Saba, a Jewish convert to Islám, who was put to death by the Imám 'Alí, apparently because he identified 'Alí with God Himself. If Manúchihir Khán died on 4 March 1847, and Gurgin Khán did not discover the presence of the Báb in his custody until a few days after that death; and allowing time for Gurgin Khán's message to be carried to Tihiran and for Hájí Mírzá Áqásí's reply to travel to Isfáhán, we may assume that the Báb did not leave Isfáhán until mid-March 1847.

⁴Nicolas refers here to the second wife of the Báb, a marriage contracted while he was in Isfáhán. There is no mention of the Báb's second wife in "The Dawn-breakers," or by Balyuzi, Amanat or MacEoin. Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir indicates (18/1/02) that her name was Fátimih Khánum, and was the sister of Mullá Rajab 'Alí Qahir. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 218) indicates that Fátimih was the daughter of Mullá Hasan, Rúzi Khán, an Isfáhání Bábí, and the sister of Mullá 'Alí Muhammad (ibid. p. 220). He also indicates (ibid. p. 218) that Manúchihir Khán wished the Báb to take a house-servant while he was in concealment in Amárat Sadr, the Governor's residence in Isfáhán, and that since Islám requires a woman to be related to the ones she serves, a "síghih" was contracted between her and the Báb. While most "síghih" are temporary, this marriage apparently was never terminated. Sepehr Manuchehri (email 21/1/02) indicates that Fátimih, the "mut'áh" of the Báb in Isfáhán, was "the sister of Mullá Rajab 'Alí Isfáhání (Qahir). Mullá Rajab-'Alí became one of the early believers in Isfáhán during the Báb's stay at the residence of Manúchihir Khán. There are many Tablets issued by the Báb in later years, in which he showers praise on Qahir and consoles Fátimih. After the martyrdom of the Báb, both became devoted Azalís. Fátimih was a confident and charismatic lady and used her charms in maintaining a nucleus of Azalí followers in and around Isfáhán."

In "God Passes By" (p. 125), Shoghi Effendi refers to "an act so odious that Bahá'u'lláh characterized it as 'a most grievous betrayal,' inflicting dishonor upon the Báb, and which 'overwhelmed all lands with sorrow'" which was carried out by Mírzá Yahya and repeated by Siyyid Muhammad Isfáhání, while Bahá'u'lláh was residing in Kurdistan (1854-1856). Shoghi Effendi is referring to the marriage of Fátimih, the second wife of the Báb, first with Mírzá Yahya and then shortly thereafter with Siyyid Muhammad. Anthony Lee (email 18/1/02) indicated that the Báb "left instructions on how she should be cared for by the believers, and had specifically commanded that no one should marry her after he did." He goes on to affirm that "Mírzá Yahya ignored the Báb's instructions and married her anyway while he was living in Baghdád. But, only for a few days. After that, he passed her on to one of his followers. And after that, she was passed around a bit more. Bahá'u'lláh laments all this grossness at length in the Epistle to the Son of the Wolf." He continues: "Apparently, she was quite a ferocious woman and was able to hold her own through all of this 'dishonor'. She was able to intimidate the Bábí men, probably because of her direct connection to the Báb's charisma, and get them to do what she

wanted." Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 220) reports that it was while Bahá'u'lláh was in Sulaymáníyyih, in 1272-1274 A.H. (1856-1858 A.D.) that Fátimih and her brother Mullá 'Alí Muhammad journeyed to Baghdád from Isfáhán, and that was trapped by Mírzá Yahya into a temporary marriage, lasting a month, but as his other wives insulted and offended her, he then terminated this marriage and gave her to Siyyid Muhammad 'Alí Isfáháni.

Adib Taherzadeh reports this undignified treatment of the Báb's second wife, in "The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh" (volume II, p. 262) and in "The Child of the Covenant" (p. 110). Taherzadeh points out that Bahá'u'lláh referred to this in "Epistle to the Son of the Wolf" (1891):

"Reflect a while upon the dishonour inflicted upon the Primal Point. Consider what hath happened. When this Wronged One, after a retirement of two years during which He wandered through the deserts and mountains, returned to Baghdád, as a result of the intervention of a few, who for a long time had sought Him in the wilderness, a certain Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí of Rasht came to see Him, and related, before a large gathering of people, that which had been done, affecting the honour of the Báb, which hath truly overwhelmed all lands with sorrow. Great God! How could they have countenanced this most grievous betrayal? Briefly, We beseech God to aid the perpetrator of this deed to repent, and return unto Him. He, verily, is the Helper, the All-Wise." (pp. 176-177)

The Báb's second wife was a temporary wife, and temporary marriages of convenience, called "mut'áh" in Arabic and "síghih" in Persian, were permitted by Shí'í law. Dr. Fananapazir (18/1/02) recommended the following websites for information on "mut'áh":

<http://www.al-islam.org/al-serat/muta>
<http://www.mutah.i12.com/2BeWithDaTruthful.html>
<http://www.islam.org.au/articles/12/TMPMRIG.HTM>
http://www.aol40.com/muta_yes.htm
<http://www.al-islam.org/organizations/dilp/>
<http://www.aliasoft.com/islamboard/messages/509.html>
http://www.alhuda.or.id/temporary_marriage.htm
http://www.shia-nj.org/_disc1/00000042.htm
<http://www.islam.org.au/articles/index.htm>
<http://www.isis.aust.com/domviolence/discussion/messages/74.html>
<http://www.isis.aust.com/domviolence/discussion/messages/96.html>
<http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/3879972303/avsearch-bkasin-20>
<http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0815624832/inktomi-bkasin-20>
<http://www.kuwait.net/~akar/html/shiah/faqs/mutah.html>
<http://patriot.net/~crouch/quotes.html>
<http://www.al-shia.com/html/eng/books/temperory-of-marrige/index.htm>
<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/04/world/04IRAN.html>
<http://netiran.com/Frame-Html/Clippings/books-index.html>
<http://www.answering-christianity.com/muta.htm>
<http://www.ansar.org/>
<http://www.naree.com/Law/muta.htm>
<http://www.ummah.com/nida/articles/12/TMPMRIG.HTM>
<http://muslimmarriagenetwork.com/>
http://www.maldivesculture.com/maldives_divorce.html

Dr. Fananapazir also cited a Ph.D. dissertation on the subject, by Dr. Paula I. Nielson (University of Utah, 1995), which can be found at www.iuu.edu.my/rescentre/dip/hist.html

In "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhid VIII: báb 15), the Báb describes only one kind of marriage, indicating that it is to be monogamous, that one is permitted to remarry if one's partner is incapable of procreation, and

station before this town, that is to say Kinár-Gird,⁵ the versatile mood of Hájí Mírzá Áqásí changed once again. He sent a cavalier to inform the Báb that he was to await new orders at Kulayn,⁶ a village situated a little off the highway. It was there for the first time⁷ that the

that one is only permitted to marry a fellow Bábí or one who becomes a Bábí after marriage. Bahá'u'lláh substantially confirms these laws of marriage in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas", indicating that it is to be monogamous (K63, n89), permitting remarriage (K67, K68, Q4, Q27, Q31), but also allowing marriage between believers and unbelievers (K139, Q84). Neither the Báb nor Bahá'u'lláh have indicated that temporary marriage is an option for their followers.

ZARANDI (pp. 190-191) states that upon his return from pilgrimage, the Báb bequeathed to his mother, Fátimih Baygum, and wife, Khadíjih Khánum, all of his possessions and transferred title to all of his property. Shortly before his departure from Shíráz, the Báb divulged his future sufferings and the significance of his mission to his wife and entrusted her with a special prayer (ZARANDI, pp. 191-192). Then he transferred his residence to his uncle's house (ZARANDI, p. 192), from there he was taken to the home of 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Khán (ZARANDI, p. 196), and it was from this location that he effected his departure (ZARANDI, pp. 197-198). Hence, it was sometime in the summer of 1262/1846 that the Báb saw his mother and wife for the last time. His wife did not follow him to Isfáhán, but was left in the care of the loyal Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí (Khál-i-A'zam) according to ZARANDI (p. 198).

⁵ZARANDI (pp. 217-222) reports that the Báb proceeded from Isfáhán to Kashán, arriving there on the eve before the third Naw-Rúz after the declaration of his mission, on 2 Rabí al-Thání 1263, and that he remained there for three nights as the guest of Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání. Balyuzi (pp. 118-119) reports the same events found in ZARANDI, as does Amanat (p. 271) with some additional sources. It is during this visit that Muhammad Big, the captain of the Báb's escort, seems to have met Hájí Mírzá Jání for the first time, as implied by Balyuzi (p. 126). The Báb then continued on his journey towards Qum, staying for a night in the village of Qumrúd (ZARANDI, pp. 223-225; Balyuzi, p. 119). After this the party journeyed for two days, arriving at the fortress of Kinár-Gird on the afternoon of the eighth day after Naw-Rúz (ZARANDI, p. 225; Balyuzi, p. 119), which Balyuzi (p. 119) calculated as 28 March 1847. If this is accurate then Naw-Rúz fell on 20 March in the year 1847, and the Báb arrived in Kashán on the eve of that Naw-Rúz and hence on 19 March. Inasmuch as Kashán is around 100 miles north of Isfáhán, it is likely that the Báb departed Isfáhán around the middle of March in order to arrive on the 19th of the month. According to ZARANDI (p. 225), Kinár-Gird is located six farsangs (each "farsang" or "farsakh" being equivalent to three or four miles according to "The Dawn-breakers," p. 674) to the south of Tihrán, while E.G. Browne calculated this distance as approximately 28 miles ("A Traveller's Narrative," volume II, p. 14, n. 2; cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 225, n. 1; cited in Balyuzi, p. 119). Then, according to ZARANDI (pp. 226-227) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11), an order was received from Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, requiring that the Báb proceed immediately to the village of Kulayn (also cited in Balyuzi, p. 119).

⁶The Báb arrived in Kulayn on the ninth day after Naw-Rúz, the eleventh day of Rabí al-Thání 1263 (ZARANDI, p. 227). This village was owned by Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, as was the tent in which the Báb was accommodated during his sojourn (ZARANDI, p. 227; Balyuzi, p. 119). 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) indicated that the Báb remained in Kulayn for twenty days (cited in MacEoin, p. 82), after which he wrote a letter to Muhammad Sháh requesting an audience with His Majesty. ZARANDI (pp. 229-230) reported that the Báb remained in Kulayn for a fortnight, after which he received a letter from Muhammad Sháh, in reply to his request for a private audience with His Majesty. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 11-12) also referred to this letter. Balyuzi indicated that the Báb's letter was written nearly three weeks after his arrival in Kulayn (p. 121), and that Muhammad Sháh sent his reply in April 1847 (p. 122). For more information about Muhammad Sháh's letter to the Báb in Kulayn, please see Note (14). According to ZARANDI (p. 227; and Balyuzi, p. 120, citing ZARANDI), two days after his arrival in Kulayn, the Báb was joined by four of his adherents, Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, his brother Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí, Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím and Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí. On 14 Rabí al-Thání 1263, corresponding to 1 April 1847 ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 227, n. 3), and the twelfth day after Naw-Rúz, Mullá Mihdíy-i-Khu'í

Prophet saw Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Núrí,⁸ who would succeed him some years afterwards under the name of "Bahá'".⁹

and Mullá Muhammad-Mihdíy-i-Kandí arrived from Tihrán, the latter delivering to the Báb a sealed letter together with certain gifts from Bahá'u'lláh, which inspired the Báb with evident and unusual delight (ZARANDI, p. 227; cited in Balyuzi, p. 120).

In a Tablet addressed to Muhammad Sháh from Máh-Kú (translated in "Selections from the Writings of the Báb," p. 14), the Báb writes:

"Following his [Manúchihr Khán's] ascension to the eternal Kingdom, the vicious Gurgin, resorting to all manner of treachery, false oaths and coercion, sent Me away from Isfáhán with an escort of five guards on a journey which lasted seven days, without providing the barest necessities for My travel (Alas! Alas! for the things which have touched Me!), until eventually Your Majesty's order came, instructing Me to proceed to Mákú..."

Selections of this Tablet are translated by Nicolas — please see further along in this Chapter for the French, and note (62) for two English renderings of the text, one from the French by the present translator and another by Habib Taherzadeh in "Selections from the Writings of the Báb" (pp. 11-17) from the Persian text (published in "Muntakhabát-i-áyát az áthár-i-Hadrat-i-Nuqta-yi Úlá," Tihrán: 134 B.E., pp. 13-18). The Persian original of this Tablet is found in the International Bahá'í Archives in Haifa, Israel (listed as "Letter to Muhammad Sháh III" in MacEoin, p. 193; also cited in MacEoin, p. 58, n. 63; p. 97, n. 93).

⁷Nicolas alleges that the Báb was visited in Kulayn by Bahá'u'lláh. ZARANDI (pp. 228-229) reports Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím's story of a peculiar incident which has been understood to suggest a secret meeting between the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh. According to his account, the Báb disappeared one night from his tent in Kulayn, and when Muhammad Big, Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím and his companions set out to find him, they discovered him at the first flush of dawn, some distance from the village and coming from the direction of Tihrán, remarkably changed in his speech and demeanour. Balyuzi (pp. 120-121) cites this account without comment. Other sources appear to be silent on this matter. ZARANDI (pp. 459-462) reports his own meeting with Bahá'u'lláh on 7 Rabí al-Thání 1306/11 December 1888 (ZARANDI, p. 459, n. 1), and reproduces "the gist of his words to me on that memorable occasion" (Ibid.), in which Bahá'u'lláh states, speaking of an event which occurred after the conference of Badasht (summer 1263/1848) and hence subsequent to the Báb's sojourn in Kulayn (ZARANDI, p. 461):

"The leading Mullá of the town denounced us bitterly...He questioned Us regarding the Mission of the Báb. We informed him that, although We had never met Him face to face, yet We cherished, none the less, a great affection for Him."

Thus it seems that the Báb did not meet Bahá'u'lláh during his nocturnal journey towards Tihrán from Kulayn.

⁸Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Núrí (2 Muharram 1233/12 November 1817-2 Dhí'l-Qa'dih 1309/29 May 1892), was a Bábí from summer of 1844, and an openly active member of the Tihrán Bábí community from 1847 according to 'ABDU'L-BAHA (first edition, pp. 58-62); Mullá Ja'far Qazvíní in MSBR (pp. 3-4); Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh-i Samandar* (in first published edition); AVARIH (volume I, pp. 257-270); KAF (pp. 200, 239-240) — all sources cited in Amanat (p. 362, n. 158). Under the name Bahá'u'lláh, Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Núrí was recognized by the vast majority of his fellow Bábís as "Him Whom God shall make manifest" promised by the Báb. References to this Bábí in his relationship with the Báb and other Bábís are found in ZARANDI (pp. xxiii-xxv, xxxv-xxxvii, xlix, l, lxiii, 8-9, 12-13, 31-33, 40-42, 70-71, 77, 84, 86, 90, 92, 94, 100, 103-104, 106-114, 116-121, 123, 126-128, 137, 155-156, 159, 168, 183, 188, 189,-191, 197, 201, 203, 227-228, 248, 252, 255, 258, 260-261, 269, 278-279, 283-286, 288-299, 301, 304-305, 311-312, 323-324, 347-349, 352-354, 368-377, 410-411, 414-415, 425-426,

432-434, 439-441, 444, 459-462, 464-465, 473, 476-477, 490, 505, 519-521, 523, 539, 580-582, 584-586, 588-595, 597-607, 609-611, 613-619, 630-634, 636-643, 655-666); in Balyuzi (pp. 9, 27, 48, 55-56, 78, 109, 120, 125, 128, 135, 138, 145, 152, 154, 165, 167-168, 170-171, 173-175, 183, 188-192, 235, 237, 240); in MacEoin (pp. 3, 23-24, 26-27, 40, 84, 88-89, 92-93, 95, 98, 106, 130, 134, 145, 149, 150, 164, 168, 160); and in Amanat (pp. 123n, 272n, 281-282, 312, 324, 327-328, 345, 361-365, 384, 396n, 405). For more sources, please see note (9).

⁹According to ZARANDI (p. 293), Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Núrí was known as Jinab-i-Bahá' from the time of the conference of Badashht, during June/July 1848. The first reference to Bahá' as Bahá'u'lláh has not been dated as yet, but it is under this latter title that Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Núrí is now generally identified in historical accounts. The primary source material on the life and work of Bahá'u'lláh has yet to be reviewed in a single reference work, as provided for the Báb by MacEoin. Nor has the entirety of this source material been employed with complete fluency as Amanat has demonstrated in his study of the Báb. Two book-length biographies of Bahá'u'lláh have been written by Hasan M. Balyuzi ("Bahá'u'lláh," London: George Ronald, 1963; "Bahá'u'lláh, The King of Glory," Oxford: George Ronald, 1980). A third volume gives many details related to those who associated with Bahá'u'lláh is H.M. Balyuzi's "Eminent Bahá'ís in the Time of Bahá'u'lláh" (George Ronald Publisher, 1985). A largely autobiographical collection of source materials on the life of Bahá'u'lláh compiled by Geoffry W. Marks was published under the title "Call to Remembrance – Connecting the Heart to Bahá'u'lláh" by the Bahá'í Publishing Trust (Wilmette, 1992). David S. Ruhe began a multi-volume biography of Bahá'u'lláh, of which the first volume, "Robe of Light, The Persian Years of the Supreme Prophet Bahá'u'lláh 1817-1853" alone was published prior to his demise (Oxford: George Ronald, 1994). Juan R. I. Cole's treatment of some aspects of the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh was published in spring of 1998 by Columbia University Press as "Modernism and the Millennium". In 2008 two biographies of Bahá'u'lláh were published, one by Moojan Momen entitled "Bahá'u'lláh: A Short Biography" (Oneworld), and one by Shahrokh Monjizeb entitled "Bahá'u'lláh" (Furútan Academy Publications). Many stories about Bahá'u'lláh are also found in 'Alí-Akbar Furútan's "Stories of Bahá'u'lláh" (Oxford: George Ronald, 1985); Hájí Mírzá Haydar-'Alí's "Stories from the Delight of Hearts" (Los Angeles: Kalimat, 1980); Ustad Muhammad-'Alí-i-Salmání's "My Memories of Bahá'u'lláh" (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1982); and Tarazu'lláh Samandari's "Moments with Bahá'u'lláh" (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1995). Many of Bahá'u'lláh's writings are discussed in the four volumes of Adib Taherzadeh's "The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh" (Oxford: George Ronald Publisher, vol. I:1974; vol. II:1977; vol. III:1983; vol. IV:1988). Some details related to his life were reported in a Western language for the first time in Adib Taherzadeh's "The Covenant of Bahá'u'lláh" (Oxford: George Ronald Publisher, 1992). Other unusual details are cited in William McElwee Miller's "The Bahá'í Faith — its History and Teachings" (South Pasadena, 1974). Of his writings, approximately 17,000 documents have been preserved, and those which have been published in English translations include: "Kalimát-i-Maknunih" ("Hidden Words," in Arabic and Persian); "Haft Vadi'" ("Seven Valleys," in Persian); "Chahar Vadi'" ("Four Valleys," in Persian); "Kitáb-i-Íqán" ("Book of Certitude, in Persian); "Súrat al-Haykal" ("Chapter of the Temple," in Arabic); "Súrat al-Mulúk" ("Chapter to the Kings," in Arabic); "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" ("Most Holy Book," in Arabic); "Lawh-i-Karmíl" ("Tablet of Carmel," in Arabic); "Lawh-i-Aqdas" ("Most Holy Tablet," in Arabic); "Bishárát" ("Glad-Tidings," in Arabic); "Tarázát" ("Ornaments," in Arabic); "Tajalliyát" ("Effulgences," in Arabic); "Kalimát-i-Firdawsíyyih" ("Words of Paradise," in Arabic); "Lawh-i-Dunyá" ("Tablet of the World," in Arabic); "Ishráqát" ("Splendours," in Arabic); "Lawh-i-Hikmat" ("Tablet of Wisdom," in Arabic); "Asl-i-Kullul-Khayr" ("Words of Wisdom," in Arabic); "Lawh-i-Maqsúd" ("Tablet of Maqsúd," in Arabic); "Súriy-i-Vafá" ("Tablet to Vafá," in Arabic); "Lawh-i-Siyyid-i-Mihdíy-i-Dahají" ("Tablet to Siyyid Dahají," in Arabic); "Lawh-i-Burhán" ("Tablet of the Proof," in Arabic); "Kitáb-i-'Ahd" ("Book of the Covenant," in Arabic); "Lawh-i-Ard-i-Bá" ("Tablet of the Land of Bá," in Persian); "Lawh-i-Shaykh" or "Lawh-i-Ibn-i-Dh'ib" ("Tablet of the Shaykh" or "Epistle to the Son of the Wolf," in Arabic). Portions of other Tablets have been translated into English, by Shoghi Effendi, and by a committee of translators appointed by the Universal House of Justice. Also, provisional translations of many Tablets have been rendered by individual scholars and are readily available on various websites.

Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was perplexed — he didn't know what he should do. While he reflected upon the consequences of the decision he must make, the Báb wrote to Muhammad Sháh, asking him what had been decided with regards to himself.¹⁰ The Sháh wished that he come to Tihrán, but Hájí Mírzá Áqásí remarked that:¹¹

¹⁰MacEoin (p. 58) thinks it seems likely that the Báb wrote his first Tablet to His Majesty in early summer 1844 and that this Tablet was delivered by Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í along with a copy of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" (please see Note (6) for the Báb's Tablet which mentions the delivery of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'"). MacEoin (pp. 58, 192) indicates that manuscripts found in Iranian National Bahá'í Archives 4011C (pp. 328-336) and 5006C (367-371) appear to be the first Tablets of the Báb addressed to Muhammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, the Grand Vizier. The Báb then wrote Tablets to Muhammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí upon his return from pilgrimage, probably from Bushíhr, of which the manuscript copies ("Letter to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí II" in MacEoin, p. 192; "Letter to Muhammad Sháh II" in MacEoin, p. 193) were published in part in FAYZI (pp. 148-153; cited in MacEoin, p. 64, n. 90-92; pp. 192, 193). MacEoin (p. 83) indicates that the Tablet written by the Báb in Kulayn is mentioned only by 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) and he does not list a copy of this Tablet among the extant works of the Báb. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12) refers to other Tablets which the Báb wrote to Muhammad Sháh during this period, and which Muhammad Big delivered to the court, but which Hájí Mírzá Áqásí did not deliver to His Majesty. MacEoin (p. 83) has not discovered the location of any of these Tablets. Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh-i Samandar* (p. 99; cited in MacEoin, p. 83, n. 24) reports that the Báb wrote another Tablet to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí from the village of Síyáh-Dihán, in the neighborhood of Qazvín, where he paused briefly on his journey to Máh-Kú, and MacEoin (p. 83) states that it is highly unlikely that a copy of this Tablet has survived. Sepehr Manuchehri states that the Báb wrote this Tablet from the locality of Síyáh-Chaman, without citing a source. From Máh-Kú the Báb wrote at least one Tablet to Muhammad Sháh, which is cited in note (6). Two other Tablets were written to Muhammad Sháh from Chihríq, in 1264/1848 (MacEoin, p. 97), and published in "Muntakhabát" (pp. 5-8, 9-13), translated by Habib Taherzadeh in "Selections from the Writings of the Báb" (pp. 18-23, 24-28). There are unique manuscripts of these two Tablets in the International Bahá'í Archives (MacEoin, pp. 97, 193), and the second of these Tablets from Chihríq was quoted in ZUHUR (vol. III, pp. 82-85; cited in MacEoin, p. 97, n. 94; p. 193).

In the course of his journey from Isfáhán to Ádhirbáyján, the Báb "is reported" by Shaykh Kázim Samandar, *Tárikh-i Samandar* [SAMANDAR] (pp. 4-5, as cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 235, n. 2) "to have revealed several Tablets addressed to the leading 'ulamás in Qazvín, among whom were the following: Hájí Mullá 'Abdu'l-Vahháb, Hájí Mullá Sálíh, Hájí Mullá Taqí, and Hájí Siyyid Taqí. These Tablets were conveyed to their recipients through Hájí Mullá Ahmad-i-Ibdál."

¹¹'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 11-12) and ZARANDI (pp. 231-232) give accounts of Hájí Mírzá Áqásí's decisive influence on Muhammad Sháh, and his success in discouraging the monarch from summoning the Báb to Tihrán, by convincing His Majesty that it was not timely to do so. FADL (cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 232, n. 1; Balyuzi, pp. 121-122) stated that Hájí Mírzá Áqásí sought to induce Muhammad Sháh to abandon his aim of summoning the Báb to Tihrán by indicating the severe nature of the rebellion of Muhammad Hasan Khán, the Salar, in Khurasan and the revolt of Áqá Hasan-'Alí Khán-i-Isma'ílí, the Áqá Khán I, in Kirmán, which were state matters that must take precedence. Hájí Muhammad Ibn 'Abdu'l-Báqí Mu'in al-Saltana Tabrízí, *Tárikh-i Mu'in al-Saltana* [MU'IN] (p. 129; cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 232n) stated that the chief motive which motivated the Grand Vizier in urging that Muhammad Sháh indefinitely postpone summoning the Báb to Tihrán was his fear that the Báb might make good on his promise to cure the Sháh of his malady. He was sure that, should the Báb succeed in curing the Sháh, His Majesty would fall under the influence of the Báb, and would no longer confer upon his Grand Vizier all of the blessings of his well-established position. Please see Note (20) with regard to the Báb's promise to cure the Sháh.

"His Majesty having to leave the town to effect a voyage, the arrival of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad would not fail to excite the susceptibility of the mullás and the curiosity — perhaps favorable — of the general population, which would oblige the clergy to request the death of the unfortunate Siyyid. It would be more worthy if His Majesty were to give the necessary orders so that this personage would be sent to Máh-Kú, until the return of the Sháh, at which time it would be timely to examine the affair and to consider what measures should be taken."

Muhammad Sháh, convinced by the seeming wisdom of this opinion, replied [to the Báb] by his own hand:¹²

"As the imperial camp is at the point of setting out, your visit at this moment could not have but bad consequences. Go to Máh-Kú, rest yourself there for some time. I have recommended that you be treated with respect. When I return from my voyage, I will call you to my presence."¹³

¹²Nicolas writes: "The text of this letter was communicated to me by the Bábís." Muhammad Sháh's letter, apparently written in response to the Báb's request for an audience, and written in his own hand, is paraphrased in ZARANDI (pp. 230-231) and in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12), and both of these sources are cited in Balyuzi (pp. 122-123). A version of this letter is found in its original Persian in SAMANDAR (pp. 101-102; cited in Amanat, p. 259, n. 293), and parts of this version are translated in Amanat (pp. 258-259). ZARANDI (p. 231) and SAMANDAR (pp. 101-102; cited in Amanat, p. 259, n. 293) date this letter to Rabí al-Thání 1263/April 1847. This letter informed the Báb that the monarch was not at liberty to meet with him at this time, and that His Majesty wished him to proceed to Máh-Kú to await Muhammad Sháh's pleasure.

¹³Nicolas notes: "The author of "Mutanabbi'in" [Alí Qulí Mírzá I'tidád al-Saltanih, *Kitáb al-Mutanabbi'in*] adds these words: 'Consequently, the Báb was imprisoned. After some time, Násri'd-Dín Mírzá, then Valí-'Ahd [Crown Prince, heir to the throne] was named Governor of Ádhirbáyján.' Hence, this prince left Tihrán to take his government post on 23 January 1848, and, when his father died, on 4 September [1848], he returned [to Tihrán] on the 18 [September] of the same year as Sháh. The events which here follow are thus known to have taken place between two dates at the extremes [beginning and ending], 23 February and 4 September 1848." The Báb received Muhammad Sháh's letter, directing him to set out for Máh-Kú, in April 1847 (please see note (14) for details). Apparently the same letter, or a subsequent communication, required that the Báb pass through Tabríz on his way to Máh-Kú (ZARANDI, p. 235; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 12); either this, or the only route to Máh-Kú was that which passed through this city. The journey to Tabríz avoided passing through most populated places (ZARANDI, p. 235), no doubt in order to avoid coming into contact with the enemies and well-wishers of the Báb. The Báb, his two companions — Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí and his brother Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí (ZARANDI, p. 235) — and his escort, under the command of Muhammad Big, stopped en route to Tabríz in the village of Sáyáh-Dihán, outside of the city of Qazvín as reported by ZARANDI (pp. 235-236) and SAMANDAR (pp. 4-5; cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 235, n. 2). A number of the Bábís of Qazvín met the Báb in this village (ZARANDI, p. 235). While in Sáyáh-Dihán, the Báb is reported by SAMANDAR (pp. 4-5; cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 235, n. 2) to have written Tablets addressed to the leading 'Ulamá' of Qazvín, including Hájí Mullá 'Abdu'l-Vahháb, Hájí Mullá Salih, Hájí Mullá Taqí, and Hájí Siyyid Taqí, and delivered by Hájí Mullá Ahmad-i-Ibdál. MacEoin (p. 83) gives the name of this messenger as Mullá Ahmad Ibdál Maraghá'í, a Letter of the Living, and he cites SAMANDAR (pp. 97-98) to the effect that Muhammad Taqí Baraghání (apparently this is Hájí Mullá Taqí) tore up the letter sent to him, but that Shaykh Samandar Qazvíní, the author of this account, was able to copy the Báb's letter addressed to Hájí Mullá 'Abdu'l-Vahháb. MacEoin does not list any of these letters as being extant. SAMANDAR (p. 99; cited in MacEoin, p. 83, n. 24) states that the Báb wrote a Tablet to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí from Sáyáh-Dihán, and this seems to be the epistle mentioned in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12). SAMANDAR (pp. 4-5) stated that the Báb spent one night in Sáyáh-Dihán, and this is

An anecdote shows what sentiments inspired the Prime Minister when he determined that the will of the Sháh should take this direction. The Prince Farhad Mírzá,¹⁴ still young, was the student of Hájí Mírzá Áqásí. He recounted afterwards:¹⁵

His Majesty had taken the advice of his Prime Minister and had written to the Báb indicating that he was to go to Máh-Kú, we went with Hájí Mírzá Áqásí to spend some days in the park which he himself had planted in Yaft Abad,¹⁶ near Tihrán. I was very eager to question my master about the events which had precipitated, but I did not dare to do so before the assembled company. One day when I was walking with him in the garden and he showed himself to be in good humor, I steeled myself to ask him: 'Hájí, why have you sent the Báb to Máh-Kú?' He replied: 'You are still young and you can not understand certain things, but know this, that if he had come to Tihrán, we would not be able at this moment, you and I, to walk about free of all worries under these fresh shady trees.'"

Muhammad Big,¹⁷ the courier, took command of the escort which conducted Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad to his new residence.

also asserted by Balyuzi (pp. 124-125). One of the Bábís who attained the presence of the Báb at Sáyáh-Dihán was named Mullá Iskandar, and the Báb commissioned him to deliver a message to Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshar, then in Zanján, was called upon this admirer of Siyyid Kázim to recognize the Báb as the Promised One (the Mahdí, the Qá'im), and arise to effect his deliverance (ZARANDI, p. 235). Within three days, Sulaymán Khán received the message, but he ignored it and departed for Tihrán (Ibid.). Two days after his departure, a friend of Mullá Iskandar informed Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Hujjat al-Islám Zanjání, then in Tihrán, of the nature of this message, and he instructed a number of the Bábís from Qazvín and Tihrán to proceed to Tabríz and be prepared to rescue the Báb from captivity (Ibid.). The Báb and his travelling party were by then, perhaps a week after leaving Sáyáh-Dihán, not far from Tabríz. This group of Bábís entered the encampment, careful not to awaken the Báb's guards, and begged him to flee with them; however, they do not seem to have understood the Báb's intent in sending this message to Sulaymán Khán (ZARANDI, p. 236). The Báb refused to escape with his followers, and replied to their urgings with these words: "The mountains of Ádhirbáyján too have their claims" (Ibid.). Balyuzi (p. 125), citing ZARANDI, tells the same story.

¹⁴Prince Farhad Mírzá is mentioned in a Tablet of Bahá'u'lláh, written, apparently, in 'Akká ('ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 44), and quoted in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 48), in which he is called "His Highness the Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih." None of the other sources cited make any reference to this Prince. According to the Tablet cited in 'ABDU'L-BAHA, Farhad Mírzá visited Bahá'u'lláh twice, while the latter was residing in Murgh-Mahallih in Shimiran. David S. Ruhe ("Robe of Light, The Persian Years of the Supreme Prophet Bahá'u'lláh 1817-1853," Oxford: George Ronald, 1994, pp. 51-52) states that Bahá'u'lláh summered once at Murgh-Mahallih (Abode of Birds), located on a hillside of the Shimiran district near Tihrán, sometime after his marriage to Khánum, in early autumn 1835 (ibid. p. 45). From the text of this Tablet it seems that Farhad Mírzá was spreading calumnies regarding Bahá'u'lláh.

¹⁵The source of this account is not indicated by Nicolas.

¹⁶According to Sepehr Manuchehri, Yaft Abad used to be a locality lying just outside the southern outskirts of Tihrán. Nowadays it is well within the city proper.

¹⁷Muhammad Big Cháparchí (the courier) was appointed by Gurgin Khán to lead the Báb's mounted escort from Isfáhán to Máh-Kú. Apparently either Muhammad Big or all members of this escort were of the 'Alíyu'lláhi sect — please see Note (3). Muhammad Big escorted the Báb from Isfáhán (ZARANDI, p. 215; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 12), departing sometime in the middle of March 1847 — please see Note (3) — arriving in Tabríz in Jumáda al-Úlá 1263/late May 1847 (Amanat, p. 372). According to

The Bábís describe this voyage very differently. Some claim that the Báb said to Muhammad Big that he was ready to cure the malady of the Sháh.¹⁸ This offer was not reported to the Sovereign because the Prime Minister was opposed to it, perhaps fearing a snare. Other Bábís absolutely deny this report.

Be it as it may, the Báb, while on the road [to Mách-Kú], wrote to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí:¹⁹

ZARANDI (pp. 236-237), Muhammad Big and his 'Alíyu'lláhí cavaliers did not escort the Báb beyond Tabríz. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12) stated that Muhammad Big was one of the guards who escorted the Báb to Tabríz and then to Mách-Kú. ZARANDI (p. 239) reports that a detachment of the Násirí regiment guarded the entrance of the house in which the Báb resided in Tabríz. Perhaps this detachment is the same as the escort of Nusayrí cavaliers who are reported in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) to have accompanied the Báb from Isfáhán. In other words, it seems that the Báb's escort from Isfáhán to Tabríz was composed of a small group — in his Tablet to Muhammad Sháh from Mách-Kú (please see Note (5) this Chapter) the Báb says five guards accompanied him to the location where he received an order from Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, and which ZARANDI (pp. 225-226) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 11) identified as the village of Kinár-Gird. This escort seems to have been disbanded in Tabríz, as indicated by ZARANDI (pp. 236-237), who reported that the guards delivered the Báb into the hands of Nasiru'd-Dín, the Governor of Tabríz (and Ádhirbáyján), the Valí-'Ahd (Crown Prince). In this event, the detachment which guarded his place of residence in Tabríz, which is identified as Násirí, may have escorted him to Mách-Kú, and this escort may have been confused with the Nusayrí, who are a Muslim sect. In any case, ZARANDI (p. 236) reports that Muhammad Big made a declaration of faith in the claims of the Báb as the travellers approached the city of Tabríz, and that the Báb accepted his avowal. Balyuzi (p. 125) likewise alleges that before the end of this period, Muhammad Big came to believe in the claims of the Báb. According to Balyuzi (p. 125n) and Shoghi Effendi (citing Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl Gulpaygání in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 236, n.2), 'Alí-Akbar Big, the son of Muhammad Big, became some years later a follower of Bahá'u'lláh. Furthermore, Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl Gulpaygání met 'Alí-Akbar Big in Tíhrán and personally heard from him how his father came to believe in the Báb (cited in *Ibid.*). JADID (pp. 220-221), cited by Shoghi Effendi ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 236, n. 1) and Balyuzi (pp. 126-127 — this citation included what is found in "The Dawn-breakers" and much more besides) reports the account given by Muhammad Big to Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání regarding some of the events that took place during this journey from Isfáhán to Tabríz. Balyuzi (p. 126) implies that Muhammad Big met Hájí Mírzá Jání in Kashán, and as the Báb stayed with this Bábí while passing through that town, this seems to be very likely to have occurred. He also states that Muhammad Big met Hájí Mírzá Jání some time after the stop-over in Kashán, and that it was on that occasion that Muhammad Big related the anecdotes regarding the journey with the Báb which are found in JADID. According to Hájí Muhammad Ibn 'Abdu'l-Báqí Mu'ín al-Saltana Tabrízí, *Tárikh-i Mu'ín al-Saltana* [MU'IN] (p. 138), the Báb spent his first night in Tabríz in the home of Muhammad Big, after which he was transferred to the Citadel (the Ark) which adjoined the Masjid-i-'Alí Sháh (cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 239, n. 1). Amanat (p. 374, n. 8) also cites MU'IN (pp. 137-149) regarding the first abode of the Báb in Tabríz. Amanat (*ibid.*) identifies the Tabríz citadel as "Arg" and "Shanb-i-Ghazan".

¹⁸'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12) reports Bábí accounts to the effect that the Báb sent letters through Muhammad Big to the Sháh, offering to cure him of his foot malady, in exchange for a private audience, and for the cessation of the "tyranny of the majority", apparently a reference to the oppression of the Bábís by the predominantly Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í population. MU'IN (p. 129; cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 232n) affirmed that Hájí Mírzá Áqásí's chief motive for dissuading Muhammad Sháh from summoning the Báb to Tíhrán was because of his fear that he might be able to effect the healing of the monarch's ailment, which would undoubtedly have resulted in Muhammad Sháh falling under the influence of the Báb, and, in all likelihood, the ignominious exit of the Grand Vizier.

¹⁹An English rendering of this passage from the French of Nicolas:

"You have brought me from Isfáhán to Tihrán to talk with the Mulláhá — how is it that you have changed your mind and have had me re-directed to Tabríz and Máh-Kú?"

Once he arrived at Tabríz, he resided there for forty days in the midst of the lively hostility of the Mulláhá.²⁰ There, as in Shíráz, as in Isfáhán, an assembly of the most eminent doctors of Islám²¹ was convoked under the presidency of Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, at that time the Prince heir

"Vous m'avez mandé d'Isfahan à Téhéran pour y discuter avec les Mollas: comment se fait-il que vous ayez changé d'avis et me faissiez diriger sur Tébriz et Makou?"

Apparently the same text is found in 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12):

"You summoned Me from Isfáhán to meet the doctors and for the attainment of a decisive settlement. What has happened now that this excellent intention has been changed for Mákú and Tabríz?"

²⁰'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12) also states that the Báb remained in Tabríz for 40 days, and this is confirmed by Balyuzi (p. 128) and MacEoin (p. 82). 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12) indicates that during the entirety of this period, the 'ulamá' (Arabic plural form of 'alím, comparable in meaning to mullá in Persian) did not meet with the Báb. ZARANDI (pp. 237-238) wrote that the news of the Báb's approach to Tabríz having reached the Bábís, they set out to meet him, but were constrained by government officials from leaving the city, all except one youth who ran about a mile and a half to meet his Beloved, resulting in a meeting which was as touching as it was rare. ZARANDI (pp. 239-240) also reported that the Báb's arrival in the city of Tabríz was greeted with a tumultuous reception by the population of Tabríz, believers and non-believers alike, and KAZEM-BEG (vol. 7, pp. 357-358) attested that there were numerous Bábís in Tabríz as well as in a village just outside its limits where the people as a whole had embraced His Cause. The village referred to here may be Mílán, situated about 10 miles east of Tabríz, for, according to Muhammad Big, whose memoir is preserved in JADID (pp. 220-221), "in that place about two hundred persons believed and underwent a true and sincere conversion" (cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 236, n. 1). Other accounts (cited in Amanat, p. 284, n. 194) of the Bábís of Mílán, converts of Mullá Yúsuf Ardabílí, Letter of the Living, are found in MU'IN (pp. 194-196); in Mírzá Muhammad Husayn Mílání, "Tárikh-i-amrí-yi Ádhirbáyján" (pp. 32-35, cited in MacEoin, pp. 180, 219); in Áqá Mírzá Haydar-'Alí Uskú'í, "Tárikh-i-amrí-yi Ádhirbáyján" (pp. 1-2, cited in MacEoin, pp. 178, 217); and in ZUHUR (pp. 41-44). Amanat (pp. 284) indicates that there were mass conversions to the Bábí Cause in Mílán, Uskú, Salmás and Saysan. ZARANDI (pp. 239-240) also attested that while it was generally forbidden for the Bábís or any other among the inhabitants of Tabríz to visit the Báb, on the day after his arrival, Hájí Muhammad-Taqiy-i-Mílání and Hájí 'Alí-Askar came to visit him, and, through the intervention of Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí, they were permitted to enter his residence, not once, but several times during the forty days he spent in Tabríz. Balyuzi (pp. 127-128) retells all of the above-mentioned incidents found in ZARANDI. KAZEM-BEG (vol. 7 pp. 357-358) stated that Mullá Yúsuf-i-Ardibílí was responsible for attracting many converts to the Bábí Cause in Tabríz. Although the Báb was under house arrest in Tabríz, yet nevertheless his influence was felt. ZARANDI (pp. 306-307) indicated that the son of Siyyid 'Alí-i-Zunúzí who was also related to Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí, named Muhammad-'Alí-i-Zunúzí and later known as Anís, visited the Báb in Kulayn (ZARANDI, p. 227) and later in Máh-Kú (ZARANDI, p. 245), heard the message from the Báb himself in Tabríz, and embraced it with an enthusiasm and devotion which ultimately reached their zenith with his martyrdom alongside the Báb in that very same city.

²¹All the sources agree that an examination of the Báb took place in Tabríz, an assembly of the 'ulamá' presided over by Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá. However, Nicolas came to the conclusion that this trial took place during the Báb's first visit in Tabríz, en route to Máh-Kú, while Balyuzi (pp. 137-147), Amanat (pp. 385-393) and MacEoin (p. 82) indicate that it occurred over a year later. All three of these historians agree that this examination took place three months after the Báb had been relocated from Máh-Kú to

[heir to the throne] and Governor of the province [of *Adhīrbáyján*]. Nízámú'l-'Ulamá', Mullá *Báshí*,²² interrogated him regarding the significance of this or that Arabic word, upon the conjugation of such and such a verb.²³ It seems they feared to broach a theological discussion with him which might have confused the official clergy.

Chihriq, in *Sha'bán* 1264 B and either in early July 1848 (*Amanat*, p. 387), in the last week of July 1848 (*Balyuzi*, p. 139) or in August 1848 (*MacEoin*, p. 82). While 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 14-15) did not give the date of this trial, he stated that it took place after the Báb had spent three months at *Chihriq*. ZARANDI (pp. 314-320) described the trial in some detail, but did not assign it a date. The 'ulamá' who participated in this trial were, according to ZARANDI (p. 314): Hájí Mullá Mahmúd(32), the Nízámú'l-'Ulamá', and tutor of Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, the Valí-'Ahd; Mullá Muhammad-i-Mámáqání(34); Mírzá 'Alí-Asghar, the *Shaykhu*'l-Islám; and a number of the most distinguished *Shaykhi* divines as well as 'ulamá' from other theological schools. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14) listed the following participants: Nízámú'l-'Ulamá'; Mullá Muhammad-i-Mámáqání; Mírzá 'Alí-Asghar, the *Shaykhu*'l-Islám; Mírzá Ahmad, the Imám-Jum'ih; and several other unidentified divines. ZARANDI (pp. 314-315) attested to Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá's presence at that gathering, and to its presidency by the Nízámú'l-'Ulamá'. According to Ridá Qulí *Khán* Hidáyat, *Lálá-báshí*, *Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násiri* (volume X, p. 423) cited in *Amanat* (p. 388, n. 64), those who attended included Mírzá 'Alí-Asghar; MU'IN (p. 196) included Mírzá Abu'l-Qasím (*Amanat* indicated that this individual is also cited in ZARANDI, p. 314, but there is no mention of this person on that page) — neither of whom are cited in the official report. Mírzá Muhammad Mahdí ibn Muhammad Taqí Za'ím al-Dawlih, in "Miftah Báb al-Abwab au *Tárikh* al-Bábíya" (Cairo: 1342/1903, pp. 184-197; cited in *Amanat*, p. 388, n. 64; pp. 388-389, n. 67) identifies five other mujtahids who participated in the trial, including two other tutors of Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá and Za'ím al-Dawlih's own grandfather, and is based on the recollections of the author's father and grandfather. *Amanat* (*Ibid.*) notes that the presence of these two other tutors is not confirmed by Muhammad Taqí Mámáqání, cited in Murtaadá Mudarrísí *Chahárdihí*, *Shaykhigari va Bábígari az Nazhar-i Falsafa, Tárikh, Ijtímá'* (pp. 308-315) or by "others" whom he does not identify. *Amanat* also states (*ibid.*), based on the official report (*ibid.* n. 63) that Mírzá Ahmad, the chief Usúli mujtahid of Tabriz (*Amanat*, pp. 387-388) did not participate, although his participation was reported by several contemporary sources: 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14); *Shaykh* Muhammad Taqí Hashtrúdí [henceforth, HASHTRUDI], "Abwáb al-huda" (quoted in ZUHUR, pp. 73-74, 116-119; cited in *Amanat*, p. 388, n. 64); MU'IN (p. 201, citing HASHTRUDI; cited in *Amanat*, *ibid.*); and KAF (pp. 135-138, citing HASHTRUDI; cited in *Amanat*, *ibid.*). *Amanat* (p. 388, n. 65), citing the official report, states that the government of Persia was represented on this occasion by Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, his uncle — please see Note (39) for details — his chief steward, and various other officials and courtiers.

²²In identifying Mullá *Báshí* as the Nízámú'l-'Ulamá', Nicolas seems to be contradicted by ZARANDI (p. 314), who gives the name of the clerical official invested with this title as Hájí Mullá Mahmúd. However, later in his text — please see Note (33) — Nicolas identifies Hájí Mullá Mahmúd as the Nízámú'l-'Ulamá' and as the Mullá *Báshí* (that is, the personal tutor) of Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, the Valí-'Ahd (Crown Prince). Hence, "Mullá *Báshí*" appears to be a title of Hájí Mullá Mahmúd. He is certainly not to be confused with the only Mullá *Báshí* found in ZARANDI (p. 590), which name refers to Mullá Ibráhím, surnamed Mullá *Báshí*, who was ultimately martyred at Sultán-Abad, and whom Nabil-i-Zarandí identifies as his source for details concerning another Bábí named Siyyid Basír.

²³ZARANDI (p. 319); 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14); and the official reports of this trial in Mírzá Muhammad Taqí Sipihir, *Násikhu't-Tawárikh* (volume III, pp. 126-130), Ridá Qulí *Khán* Hidáyat, *Lálá-báshí*, *Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násiri* (volume X, pp. 423-430), and which are collected in E.G. Browne's Notes K and M, pp. 277-290 to "A Traveller's Narrative," and in MSBR (pp. 248-256) — for more information please see Note (40) for Chapter Two — all agree that one or more of the questions put to the Báb pertained to Arabic grammar. In Chapter One — Notes (8), (63), (67) and (71) — the Báb's lack of training in Arabic grammar is discussed. In "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhid IV: báb 10) the Báb forbade the study of grammar, except insofar as was necessary to understand the "Bayán." Elsewhere in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhid II: báb 1), the Báb affirmed that grammar has been based upon and established in conformity with the verses of

The Báb was very surprised with these questions and replied to them:²⁴

"It has been a long time since I transcended the world of words, since I set speech at liberty. What are of concern here are matters which are more grave and more exalted."

The convocation ended without result, and another was held some days afterwards in the house of Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání;²⁵ there they [the Mulláhá] replied to his explanations with blows.²⁶

God and not the reverse; that he has broken the rules of grammar; and that his revelation of verses which break the rules of grammar is in itself a proof of his prophetic claims. Hence, it is according to the divine standard, the divine verses that human learning and human words are to be evaluated, and not vice versa. This teaching of the Báb was re-affirmed and amplified by Bahá'u'lláh in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas":

"Say: O leaders of religion! Weigh not the Book of God with such standards and sciences as are current amongst you, for the Book itself is the unerring Balance established amongst men. In this most perfect Balance whatsoever the peoples and kindreds of the earth possess must be weighed, while the measure of its weight should be tested according to its own standard, did ye but know it." (KA:#99)

"Say: This is the infallible Balance which the Hand of God is holding, in which all who are in the heavens and all who are on the earth are weighed, and their fate determined, if ye be of them that believe and recognize this truth." (KA:#183)

²⁴All of the accounts cited are unanimous in asserting the Báb's bold proclamation during this trial of his station as the Qá'im, the Promised One of Islám. That the clergy present at this examination asked many questions which pertained to such technical matters and few which touched upon theological issues is evident from all of the accounts cited above. Balyuzi (p. 145n) reports the discovery of a letter in the handwriting of Násiri'd-Dín Sháh, addressed to 'Alau'd-Dawlih, the Governor of Tihrán, in which he attests that the Báb stood firmly by his claim to be the Qá'im at the Tabríz trial, to which His Majesty was an eye-witness.

This seems to be the answer that was reported by the official Muslim chroniclers cited above. *Tárikh-i-Jadid* (cited by E. G. Browne, "A Traveller's Narrative," Note M, p. 290 — reproduced in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 319, n. 2) indicated that the Báb kept a dignified silence in response to such frivolous questions. ZARANDI (p. 319) reported a different response: "In answer to him, the Báb quoted this verse of the Qur'án (37:180-182): 'Far be the glory of thy Lord, the Lord of all greatness, from what they impute to Him, and peace be upon His Apostles! And praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds.'" According to 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14) and ZARANDI (p. 319), the gathering broke up immediately after the Báb answered a question pertaining to Arabic grammar.

²⁵ZARANDI (p. 320) indicates that a second convocation was called for by some of the 'ulamá', for the purpose of inflicting a humiliating punishment on the Báb rather than in order to further investigate his claims. He (Ibid.) states that Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, the Governor of Tabríz and Prince Regent refused to convene such a gathering. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14) also indicates that Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá pronounced no sentence on the Báb and refused to interfere with him, and that the 'ulamá' decided on their own to inflict the bastinado — please see Note (30) — upon the Báb. He (Ibid.) states that the corps of farráshes — please see Note (43) — refused to inflict this punishment upon the Báb. ZARANDI (p. 320) alike reports that the Governor's body-guards were ordered to administer the bastinado, but that they refused to do so. ZARANDI (p. 320) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 15) agree that Mírzá 'Alí-Asghar, the Shaykhu'l-Islám summoned the Báb to his home and himself inflicted the punishment, eleven blows to his feet (ZARANDI, p. 320). Balyuzi (p. 145), citing no source, states that the Báb was taken to the house of Muhammad Kázim-Khán, the farrásh-báshí (chief lictor), but, as the guards refused to carry out the

This is, according to the Bábí version,²⁷ the transcript of this meeting:²⁸

sentence, it was personally administered by Mírzá 'Alí-Asghar, the Shaykhu'l-Islám. According to Dr. Cormick (extracted from letters to Rev. Benjamin Labaree, published by E.G. Browne in MSBR, pp. 260-262, 264; cited in "The Dawn-breakers," pp. 320-322, n. 1), an English physician and a long-time resident of Tabríz, who later recommended to the Sháh that the Báb's life be spared, when the Báb was administered the bastinado, a farrásh either intentionally or inadvertently struck him in the face, producing a wound and swelling which the doctor treated for a few days. This incident may have occurred after the trial just prior to the Báb's execution, in July 1850. It is not dated, either by Dr. Cormick or Browne. The whole of Dr. Cormick's eye-witness testimony is reprinted from MSBR in "The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 1844-1944: Some Contemporary Western Accounts", edited by Dr. Moojan Momen, and published in Oxford by George Ronald, 1981, pp. 74-75). Dr. Momen identifies the physician's full name as Dr. William Cormick and his nationality as Irish rather than English.

²⁶The bastinado, carried out by one or more farráshes, is illustrated in a photograph in W.D. Cresson, "The Awakening East" (cited in David S. Ruhe [henceforth, RUHE], "Robe of Light, The Persian Years of the Supreme Prophet Bahá'u'lláh 1817-1853," Oxford: George Ronald, 1994, p. 107). The victim is made to lie on his back, with his legs raised at right angles to his torso. His bare feet are tied to a post which is held on either end by assistants, and then the farrásh or farráshes administer the blows upon the soles of the feet with a cord or rod.

²⁷It is not clear which Bábí version of the Tabríz trial is recounted here by Nicolas. Perhaps it is the account found in KAF (pp. 135-138), which Amanat (p. 388, n. 67) indicates as derived from the "Abwáb al-Huda" by Shaykh Muhammad Taqí Hashtrúdí. This account is also found in MU'IN (pp. 201-207; cited in Amanat, p. 388, n. 67), and ZUHUR (pp. 73-74, 116-119; cited in MacEoin, p. 120). Another Bábí version of this trial is found in ZARANDI (pp. 314-322). Amanat (Ibid.) seems to allude to a third Bábí source, but does not give particulars. Muslim sources for this event are listed and briefly described in Amanat (p. 388-389, n. 67), including the so-called official reports found in Ridá Qulí Khán Hidáyat, Lálá-báshí, *Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násirí* (volume X, pp. 423-430), , and Mírzá Muhammad Taqí Sipihir, *Násikhū't-Tawárikh* [SIPIHR] (volume III, pp. 126-130). Other Muslim sources are the "Risála" of Shaykh Muhammad Taqí Mámáqání (cited in Murtadá Mudarrísí Chahárdihí, *Shaykhigari va Bábigarí az Nazhar-i Falsafá, Tárikh, Ijtímá'*, pp. 308-315); and "Miftah Báb al-Abwáb wa Tárikh al-Bábiya," of Mírzá Muhammad Mahdí ibn Muhammad Taqí Za'im al-Dawlih (Cairo:1903, pp. 184-197), the memoirs of the writer's father and grandfather, both of whom allegedly witnessed the trial of the Báb.

²⁸Although word for word this account differs considerably from that preserved in ZARANDI (pp. 315-319), many of the themes are identical. In Nicolas it is Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání who asks most of the questions, while in ZARANDI it is Hájí Mullá Mahmúd, the Nízámū'l-'Ulamá', but many of the questions cited in the two sources are identical. As in Nicolas, so also in ZARANDI (pp. 315-316), the Báb claims to be the Qá'im, the One Whom they have awaited for a thousand years. So also, in ZARANDI (p. 317) the Báb is asked for the proof of his claims, and he replies that the greatest proof of his prophethood are the verses he reveals. ZARANDI (p. 316-317), citing the recollections of Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí, who was standing outside the hall in which this trial took place and who was able to follow the conversation taking place within, affirms that the Báb made this statement regarding his Writings:

"The mightiest, the most convincing evidence of the truth of the Mission of the Prophet of God,' the Báb replied, 'is admittedly His own Word. He Himself testifies to this truth: "Is it not enough for them that We have sent down to Thee the Book?" [Qur'an 29:51] The power to produce such evidence has been given to Me by God. Within the space of two days and two nights, I declare Myself able to reveal verses of such number as will equal the whole of the Qur'an."

"Hájí Mullá Mahmúd,²⁹ Nízámu'l-'Ulamá', Mullá Bashi³⁰ of the Prince Heir, Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání,³¹ Hájí Murtadá Qulí Marandi 'Alam al-Huda,³² took their places

For more information regarding the speed of the Báb's revelation of verses, please see Note (81) of Chapter Three. In ZARANDI's account, the Báb is not posed this question and does not give the answer cited by Nicolas.

²⁹Hájí Mullá Mahmúd, the Nízámu'l-'Ulamá' of Tabríz (ZARANDI, p. 314; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 14; Balyuzi, p. 140; Amanat, p. 285); private tutor of the Prince Regent (ZARANDI, p. 314; Balyuzi, p. 140; Amanat, p. 285); a leading Shaykhí cleric of Tabríz (Amanat, p. 285); participated in the trial of the Báb in Tabríz (ZARANDI, pp. 314-319; ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 14; Balyzi, pp. 140-144; Amanat, pp. 387-390); presided over the trial of the Báb in Tabríz (ZARANDI, p. 314); the chief interrogator at that trial (Amanat, p. 389); was appalled by the discourtesy shown the Báb at this trial (ZARANDI, p. 319); was inclined toward clemency, suggesting a verdict of insanity which would avert the imposition of the mandatory death penalty required by a verdict of heresy (Amanat, p. 390). Ultimately, Hájí Mullá Mahmúd did not sign a "fatwá" condemning the Báb to death — this was carried out by Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání, Mírzá Baqír (the son of Mírzá Ahmad) and Mullá Murtadá-Qulí (ZARANDI, p. 510; 'ABDUL-BAHA, p. 26; Balyuzi, pp. 155-156; Amanat, pp. 399-400).

³⁰Mullá Báshí, as we have seen in Note (25) was none other than the title of Hájí Mullá Mahmúd, the Nízámu'l-'Ulamá'. "Mullá" is a Persian word meaning (Steingass, p. p. 1303) "schoolmaster, doctor, learned man, a judge, a priest"; and "Báshí" may be related to the Turkish word "báshá" which has been adopted in Persian meaning (Steingass, p. 147) as "governor of a province, counsellor of state, great lord"; in this instance a title comprised of both of these words seems to indicate that Hájí Mullá Mahmúd was not just the teacher but also the advisor of the Prince Regent.

³¹Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání, described by ZARANDI (p. 316) as a "one-eyed and white-bearded renegade" and by 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 26) as a "learned divine", was a Shaykhí mujtahid (Amanat, p. 39, n. 18), and one of the students of Shaykh Ahmad Ahsá'í who were reportedly envious of the attention he paid to Siyyid Kázim Rashedí his subsequent appointment as leader of the Shaykhí school (ZARANDI, p. 11). Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání was among the claimants to leadership of the Shaykhís after the passing of Siyyid Kázim Rashedí according to ZUHUR (p. 9; cited in Amanat, p. 285, n. 207). MU'IN (p. 299; cited in Amanat, p. 285, n. 208) reports that Mullá Mámáqání tried to preserve Shaykhism as a sect with only minor differences from the Usúlis and hence comfortably within the fold of Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í Islám. Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání was a participant in the Tabríz trial of the Báb (ZARANDI, pp. 316-320; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 14; Balyuzi, pp. 140-144), and his memories of the trial of the Báb were preserved by his son, Shaykh Muhammad Taqí Mámáqání, in a "Risála" which is cited in part in Murtadá Mudarrisí Chahárdihí, *Shaykhigari va Bábigarí az Nazhar-i Falsafa, Tárikh, Ijtimá'* (pp. 308-315; cited in Amanat, pp. 386-389). Mullá Muhammad Taqí Mámáqání claimed that the official report of this trial, penned by Hájí Mírzá Mahmúd, the Nízámu'l-'Ulamá' was replete with misrepresentations (Balyuzi, p. 143), and he wrote a detailed refutation of those points. Apparently, and perhaps in reaction to the widespread dissemination of the Shaykhí's "Risála," Mullá Hájí Mírzá Mahmúd tried to recall all copies of his tract and destroyed those he could retrieve (Balyuzi, p. 143). Mámáqání claimed that his report was the most accurate and reliable (Amanat, p. 389, n. 69), in comparison with the official chronicles, of Mírzá Muhammad Taqí Sipíhr, *Násikh-u't-Tavárikh*, Ridá Qulí Khán Hidáyat, *Lálá-báshí*, *Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násirí*. A detailed comparison of the various accounts has not yet been effected. Please see Note (31) for more details. Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání was, according to various accounts, one of the mujtahids who wrote a "fatwá" (legal decision) condemning the Báb of heresy and sentencing him to death (Balyuzi, p. 155); the most prominent of the three leading mujtahids who wrote that "fatwá" ('ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 26; Amanat, p. 399); and the first of the mujtahids to be approached for his "fatwá" by the farrásh-Báshí (head executioner) on the day of the Báb's execution (ZARANDI, p. 510).

under the Presidency of the Valí-'Ahd,³³ in the midst of a great number of functionaries. The Báb entered alone, fresh from the bath and perfumed.

"He held a cane in his hand; upon entering he saluted, but nobody replied to him. He stopped for an instant, waiting for someone to designate his place, but as nobody seemed to pay attention to him, he sat at the lower extremity of the assembly and immersed himself in prayers.

"Suddenly Mámáqání questioned him in these terms: "O Siyyid, writings circulate among men which are attributed to you. We cannot believe that you are the author thereof. Are you, yes or no?"

"The Báb replied:³⁴ "These writings contain the words of God, which have come from my pen."

"I have heard it said that you are the Báb."

"Yes."

"What does this word mean?"

³²Hájí Murtadá Qulí Marandi 'Alam al-Huda, called Mullá Murtadá-Qulí by ZARANDI (p. 510) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 26); called Mullá Murtidá-Qulí-i-Marandi by Balyuzi (p. 153); called *Shaykh* Murtadá Harandi 'Alam al-Huda by Hájí Muhammad Ibn 'Abdu'l-Báqí Mu'in al-Saltana Tabrízí, *Tárikh-i Mu'in al-Saltana* (p. 196) and (p. 142), and, citing these sources, by Amanat (pp. 285, 388, 399). He is described as a wealthy mujtahid, and a *Shaykhí* (Amanat, pp. 285, 388). He is not listed in ZARANDI (p. 314) or 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14) as participating in the trial of the Báb, but ZARANDI (p. 510) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 26) affirm that Hájí Murtadá Qulí issued a "fatwá" condemning the Báb to death. ZARANDI (p. 510) indicates that Hájí Murtadá Qulí refused to meet the Báb face to face, and issued his "fatwá" sight unseen. Balyuzi (p. 155) and Amanat (p. 399) mention this mujtahid as issuing a "fatwá" without going into other details. However, Mírzá Muhammad Taqí Sipíhr, *Násikhu't-Tavárikh* (volume III, p. 304) omits 'Alam al-Huda and names Siyyid 'Alí Zunúzí in his place, which is highly unlikely, considering that this cleric was, according to ZARANDI (p. 509), Balyuzi (p. 156, cited without name) and Amanat (p. 401), the stepfather of Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí, surnamed "Anís" who chose to die alongside the Báb. While Siyyid 'Alí Zunúzí was a mujtahid (Amanat, p. 401), and therefore qualified to participate as a jurist in this trial, it seems very improbable that he would have rendered judgment in a matter related so intimately to a member of his own household.

³³As indicated in note (24), ZARANDI (pp. 314-315) reports that Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, the Valí-'Ahd attended the examination of the Báb. However, he states that the chair reserved for the Valí-'Ahd was the only seat left unoccupied when the Báb entered the chamber, and that he took that seat without hesitation. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14) does not indicate that the Valí-'Ahd attended this gathering. ZARANDI (p. 315) states that the Presidency of this convocation belonged to the Nízámul-'Ulamá' and this affirmation is found also in Balyuzi (p. 143) and Amanat (p. 389). However, in another reference to this event, ZARANDI (p. 510) states that the Valí-'Ahd presided over the trial of the Báb. Perhaps there were two meetings, and the Valí-'Ahd presided over the one and not over the other. It is possible that information will surface that will settle the issue.

³⁴Nicolas notes: "The Báb replies by asking a question and this question cites none other than the hadíth upon which is based all of *Shí'í* Islám."

"How have you hitherto understood this illustrious expression: 'I am the City of knowledge and 'Alí is the Door?'³⁵

"Then the Báb plunged into an explanation of the subject in which he spoke of the eye, of the ear, of the mouth and of the nose.

"Then Hájí Mullá Mahmúd interrupted him in these terms: "Why do you say the eye, the ear, when we have two eyes and two ears?"

"O My soul, the meaning is a 'hearing'."

"The Báb had two purposes in pronouncing this word 'hearing'. First he reminded Hájí Mullá Mahmúd of the terms of the contract, decided upon moreover in his absence, and according to which Mámáqání alone was to take charge of the interrogation; and the second meaning of these words was this: "Open the ear of your heart and understand God."

"Mámáqání then said to him, in a bantering tone: "Who thus wished you a good night by giving you this name of 'Báb'?"

"I am He Whom you have awaited a thousand years."

"We await the 'Qá'im' of the family of Muhammad of whom the name is Muhammad son of Hasan."

"It is I."

"By what can we recognize you?"

"By my verses."

"Amír Arslan Khán,³⁶ the maternal uncle of the Valí-'Ahd then said to him: "Then descend verses on the subject of your cane."

"The Báb complied."³⁷

³⁵For a detailed note on this tradition, please see Note (86) in Chapter Two.

³⁶Amír Arslan Khán, the maternal uncle of Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, is not mentioned elsewhere in these various chronicles and histories. According to MSBR (pp. 249, 253; cited in Amanat, p. 388, n. 65), among the participants listed for this trial were Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, his uncle, his chief steward, and a number of other officials and courtiers. Apparently Amír Arslan Khán is the maternal uncle of the Valí-'Ahd here mentioned.

³⁷Nicolas cites `Alí Qulí Mírzá I'tidád al-Saltanih, *Kitáb al-Mutanabbi'in* on this detail: "According to 'Mutanabbi'in' here is the verse pronounced by the Báb: 'Glory to God, Who created the cane, which is a sign among the signs.'" If this is the verse revealed by the Báb, which seems nonsensical given the prolific nature of the Báb's versifying, then the response of the assembled, to the effect that they could not understand his verses, seems most unlikely. This subject of the cane may have been confused with another subject during the trial, inasmuch as Amanat (p. 390) indicated that Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání challenged the Báb to turn a walking stick into a serpent, a replica of the Mosaic miracle (Exodus IV:2-4; Qur'án VII:117), to which the Báb replied that his proofs were his verses. ZARANDI

"They then protested, saying to him: "We do not understand your verses."

"[He replied:] "From where have you understood that the Qur'án is the testimony of God? That which you attest on the subject of the sacred Book, you must say it again in this case."

"Amír Arslan Khán then said, laughing, "I also can make verses" and began to ramble.

"The Valí-'Ahd, entering the arena in his turn, said to him, throwing him a ball which he held in his hand: "Do you know astronomy? Explain to us the qualities of this ball."

"I do not know astronomy."³⁸

"Someone asked: "What do you believe on the subject of prayer, when one is in doubt whether one has said it two or three times?"

"The Báb replied.

"Then someone asked him: "Qala, what form is this of the Arabic verb?"

"The Báb, recognizing the derision of his adversaries, arose and left the assembly."³⁹

(pp. 317) reports that Hájí Mullá Mahmúd, the Nizámu'l-'Ulamá' requested verses from the Báb on an entirely different subject:

"Describe orally, if you speak the truth,' the Nizámu'l-'Ulamá' requested, 'the proceedings of this gathering in language that will resemble the phraseology of the verses of the Qur'án so that the Valí-'Ahd and the assembled divines may bear witness to the truth of your claim."

ZARANDI (pp. 317-318) indicates that the Báb had hardly begun his invocation when Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání interrupted him, criticizing his grammar. Amanat (p. 390) repeats this, apparently citing the official record. According to Nicolas, the Báb, in response to his audience protesting its inability to understand his verses, compares his verses to those of the Qur'án, while ZARANDI (pp. 318-319) indicates that the Báb made the same claim in response to Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání's criticism of his Arabic grammar. Amanat (p. 390) states that, according to the official report, the Báb was asked many questions, to which he replied either with silence, with a declaration of his ignorance of earthly things, or in a reiteration of his claims.

³⁸Nicolas reports one question, asked by Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, related to the properties of a ball, to which the Báb is alleged to have replied that he was not learned in astronomy. Inasmuch as Nicolas is citing a Bábí source, it seems that at least some of the Bábís regarded the Báb's knowledge as divinely inspired, and his perfections as divinely endowed, and did not expect that their Prophet would be infallible in human knowledge or in other human attainments. Nicolas later wrote an article translating and seeking to unravel what he alleged were the views of the Báb on astronomy, published as "Le Báb astronome" ("Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," no. 114, 1936, pp. 99-101). In view of the Báb's preoccupation with other-worldly subjects and aims, and his marked tendency towards allegorical interpretations of the references to physical phenomena found in Scripture, it is possible that any verses of the Báb which describe astronomical phenomena are meant to be understood metaphorically rather than literally.

³⁹Nicolas writes with regard to this description of the Tabríz trial of the Báb: "All this is told according to the Muslim authors. I do not believe for a second that the Báb could have had such a ridiculous attitude

These accursed ones decided that he must be beaten. The Valí-'Ahd ordered his farrāshes⁴⁰ to execute this sentence, but they refused, alleging that they feared for their eternal salvation in case they should permit themselves such forgetfulness of the respect due a descendant of Muhammad.⁴¹ Shaykh al-Islām⁴² then intervened, and ordained that a Siyyid beat him and this one obeyed.

This done, he was sent to Máh-Kú.⁴³

Every place through which he passed, in spite of or perhaps because of the furious hatred of the Mulláhá, he made numerous proselytes.⁴⁴ The terrain had been well prepared by his

in any of these assemblies." The authors to which Nicolas is alluding here are 'Alí Qulí Mírzá I'tidád al-Saltanih, *Kitáb al-Mutanabbi'in*, and Ridá Qulí Khán Hidáyat, Lálá-báshí, *Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násiri*, as cited in in note (26). The assemblies which he mentions are the examinations of the Báb in Isfáhán — please see Notes (87) and (88) for Chapter Three — and Tabríz. As to the trial in Tabríz, Nicolas here reports that immediately following another question on a grammatical point, the Báb rose and left this assembly. ZARANDI (p. 319) states that following that question, the Báb recited a Qur'anic verse and then stood up and exited the gathering. Balyuzi (pp. 144-145) cites ZARANDI regarding the break-up of the meeting, and neither he nor Amanat provide alternative accounts of its conclusion. Given the diversity of the sources, it appears that the details of this trial have not yet been fully sorted out by historians.

⁴⁰In this detail, Nicolas' account agrees with 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 14-15) and with ZARANDI (p. 320). Amanat (p. 391) explains that farrāshes are servants in charge of punitive duties, in this case in the employment of the Governor of Tabríz, Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá, the Valí-'Ahd.

⁴¹Nicolas alleges that the farrāshes were motivated by fear of divine displeasure should they deign to show such grave disrespect to a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad and the holy Imáms. ZARANDI (p. 320) simply states that the Governor's body-guards did not want to interfere in a matter which they considered to be the concern of the 'ulamá'. Ridá Qulí Khán Hidáyat, Lálá-báshí, *Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násiri* (volume X, p. 428) and MU'IN (p. 212, citing HASHTRUDI) state that the farrāshes refused to inflict this punishment because of their great sympathy for the Báb.

⁴²Nicolas indicates that the Shaykhu'l-Islām ordered a Siyyid to inflict the bastinado, whereas ZARANDI (p. 320) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 15) state that the Shaykhu'l-Islām, himself a Siyyid, inflicted the bastinado. Amanat (p. 391, n. 79), without citing his source, indicates that the Shaykhu'l-Islām ordered a clerical aide, Mullá Sádiq, known as Shimr (the name of the killer of the Imám Husayn) to administer twenty lashes to the Báb's feet. It is evident that ZARANDI (pp. 320-321) was entirely convinced that Mírzá 'Alí-Asghar, the Shaykhu'l-Islām personally administered this punishment, as he indicated that in the same year (1848), this individual was struck with paralysis and died a miserable death. Furthermore, he affirms that after his death the functions of the Shaykhu'l-Islām were abolished in Tabríz due to his infamy and the bad name he had given to this institution.

⁴³After forty days in Tabríz ('ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 12), the Báb left for Máh-Kú, arriving either in early July 1847 (Amanat, p. 374) or later in the summer of that year (MacEoin, p. 82). He remained in Máh-Kú for nine months according to KAF (p. 129; cited Amanat, p. 374, n. 9), and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 12; cited in Balyuzi, p. 132). ZARANDI (p. 249) indicates that the Báb left Máh-Kú for Chihriq on the twentieth day after Naw-Rúz in the year 1264, and Balyuzi (p. 132) calculates this as 9 April 1848. MacEoin (p. 82) agrees with this date, while Amanat (p. 380) states that the Báb departed for Chihriq on 4 Jamádi al-Úlá 1264/10 April 1848. If the Báb spent nine months in Máh-Kú, then he must have arrived nine months before this date, or around 10 July 1847. This seems to confirm Amanat's dating of the Báb's arrival in Máh-Kú.

⁴⁴Nicolas indicates that the Báb attracted many new believers in the places through which he passed en route from Tabríz to Máh-Kú. One of the towns through which the Báb probably passed was Khuy, situated some twenty miles northeast of Chihríq, and the future cite of much Bábí enthusiasm. It was this enthusiasm and its potential for danger which persuaded the captain of the Báb's escort on this journey from Chihríq to Tabríz to bypass Khuy and adopt the longer route via Urúmíyyih (ZARANDI, p. 309), either across Lake Urúmíyyih or around the southern end of that Lake. Inasmuch as Nicolas does not describe the journey which the Báb took from Chihríq to Tabríz, a few of the incidents which are reported for that journey are given in this note. Other events associated with the Báb's visit to Urúmíyyih are found in Note (50). To continue, when the Báb was informed that the overwhelming majority of the people of Urúmíyyih had spontaneously embraced the Bábí Cause, he remarked, quoting the Qur'án (XXIX:2) that they would be put to the proof. Soon after, the people of Urúmíyyih were informed of his punishment by order of the 'ulamá' of Tabríz, and only a handful from among these masses persevered in their faith (ZARANDI, p. 311). One of those who persevered was Mullá Jalíl-i-Urúmí, appointed by the Báb a Letter of the Living, who later became a follower of Bahá'u'lláh, and died at the age of eighty years after having served the Bábí and Bahá'í Cause with earnestness and unflinching determination (ZARANDI, pp. 311-312). Accounts of the Báb's prodigies were soon transmitted by eye-witnesses and spread through word of mouth over the entire country, reaching the seat of government in Tihrán, and particularly inflaming the populace of Tabríz prior to the Báb's arrival in that city (ZARANDI, p. 312). 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14) stated that Hájí Mírzá Áqásí ordered the Báb to be brought from Chihríq to Tabríz for trial because of the "ferment and clamor of the learned doctors in all districts of Persia"; and Balyuzi and Amanat cite other compelling reasons for this decision, and the reader will discover their testimonies in Chapter Five.

Balyuzi (pp. 138-139) reports that it was during the Báb's visit to Urúmíyyih that Áqá-Bala Big, the Naqqash-Báshí (Chief Painter) made a portrait of the Báb, which apparently represents the only likeness rendered of his person. The painter later related the circumstances of this event to Mírzá 'Alí-Muhammad Varqá, the martyred Bahá'í poet, which were in turn conveyed to Balyuzi by his son, Hand of the Cause Valíy'u'lláh Varqá (Balyuzi, p. 139n). Valíy'u'lláh Varqá passed away in 1955 and in that same year his son, 'Alí Muhammad Varqá, apparently named after his grandfather, was appointed to succeed his father. The original black and white portrait and one of the two copies of the watercolor rendered by Áqá Bálá Big from this original portrait were separately conveyed respectively to Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá in the Holy Land, and both are now on display at the International Bahá'í Archives in Haifa (Balyuzi, pp. 138-139). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 313) and FAYZI (p. 367) alike report that Áqá Bálá Bayk Shishavání drew a portrait of the Báb during the ten day period that the Báb was in Urúmíyyih, which is in the International Bahá'í Archives. Afnan points out that Áqá Bálá was not a Bábí at the time he made this portrait. However, he subsequently became a Bábí, and later a Bahá'í. A number of years later, Áqá Bálá made a copy of this portrait, with Bahá'u'lláh's permission, which somehow came into the possession of Varqá, but disappeared when he was captured and martyred in Zanján. In a Tablet cited by Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 313) and FAYZI (p. 369), Bahá'u'lláh subsequently gave Áqá Bálá permission to make another seven copies of the portrait, so that there would be nine altogether. It is not known whether or not Áqá Bálá made seven copies of the portrait. One copy came into the possession of Mírzá Mahmúd, who gave it to Mírzá 'Alí Asghar, the son of Mullá Husayn Dakhí'l Dárúghíyí, and in 1320 A.H. this portrait was received by 'Abdu'l-Bahá. FADZI also states (Ibid.) that after Áqá Bálá passed away, two copies of the portrait were found among his papers, but only one of them was complete. Mírzá 'Alí Ashráf (not to be confused with Mírzá 'Alí Asghar) colored the complete portrait and for many years the Bahá'ís in Tabríz were accustomed to view that portrait on Holy Days, until 1937, when the Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Tabríz sent this colored portrait to Shoghi Effendi. Neither Mírzá 'Alí Asghar nor Mírzá 'Alí Ashráf are to be confused with Hájí 'Alí-Askar, a relative of an official of the Russian consulate who saw another portrait of the Báb (ZARANDI, p. 518) which will be discussed in Note (39) of Chapter Five.

Apparently then, there are at least three copies of this portrait of the Báb, one of them the original, and two rendered from that original, in the International Bahá'í Archives in Haifa. If Áqá Bálá made seven copies of the portrait, and if one of those was left incomplete, then there may very well be five complete

missionaries,⁴⁵ and hence in the consciousness of the people one could follow the luminous traces of his passage.

It is thus that he converted 'Alí Khán,⁴⁶ Governor of the fortress of Máh-Kú, where he was imprisoned. This is how tradition reports the story of his conversion:⁴⁷

portraits, including the copy in the possession of 'Alí-Muhammad Varqá, and one incomplete portrait, which have yet to be accounted for. Please see Note (39) in Chapter Five for discussion of other portraits of the Báb, one genuine but missing, and others published but probably counterfeit.

⁴⁵Amanat (p. 284) states that Mullá Yúsuf Ardabílí, appointed a Letter of the Living by the Báb, was particularly active as a Bábí missionary, first in Ádhirbáyján, and then in Yazd, Kirmán and Qazvín. He also reports (p. 285) that Mullá Ahmad 'Abdu'l Maraghíhí was also instrumental in effecting the conversion of many persons in Ádhirbáyján. However, he does not date these conversions, except to state, citing ZUHUR (pp. 67-69; cited in Amanat, p. 285, n. 199), that three village preachers and their congregations converted in Salmás and Kuhnih Shahr during the Báb's imprisonment in Chihríq. It seems likely that the Báb's personal influence was limited in its impact during the course of his journey to Máh-Kú.

⁴⁶'Alí Khán was the warden in charge of the fortress of Máh-Kú and the frontier officer (ZARANDI, p. 244), for this fortress and its neighboring village were very close to the Persian territorial borders, with the Russian and Ottoman Turkish empires. His mother was a Kurd, and he was held in great esteem by the people of Máh-Kú and implicitly obeyed (Ibid.). Balyuzi (p. 128) states that 'Alí Khán was a Kurd, "simple, rough and uncouth." Amanat (p. 374) calls the warden 'Alí Khán Sardár. Steingass (p. 673) defines "sardár" as "a general, field marshal, officer of rank, king's lieutenant, a chief in any department" and this appears to be his title rather than his given name. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 13) does not speak of the conversion of 'Alí Khán Máh-Kú'í, but does indicate that the warden "paid Him such attention as was possible, and gave permission [to some persons] to converse with Him" and he is reputed by this source to have acted in this manner "because of his excessive love for the family of the Prophet". By this it is meant that 'Alí Khán was reverent and respectful towards the Báb because he was a Siyyid, a descendant of the family of the Prophet-Founder of Islám. ZARANDI (p. 245) reports that, during the first two weeks of his residence in Máh-Kú, the only persons who were allowed into the presence of the Báb were Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí and his brother, Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí, and that 'Alí Khán was adamant in preventing other Bábí visitors from visiting his prisoner. The same source (pp. 246-248) indicates that 'Alí Khán had a vision of the Báb, and that this vision brought about his conversion to the Bábí Cause. Thereafter, according to ZARANDI, 'Alí Khán did his utmost to alleviate the discomfort of the Báb's imprisonment, permitting his followers to visit him during daylight hours. 'Alí Khán later had a dream which further confirmed him in his devotion to the Báb (ZARANDI, pp. 255-257). Balyuzi (pp. 128-131) reports this transformation of 'Alí Khán, citing ZARANDI.

⁴⁷Nicolas relates a story which is not found in ZARANDI or 'ABDU'L-BAHA, at least in this form. ZARANDI (p. 309) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14) alike report that during the Báb's journey from Chihríq to Tabríz to be examined by the 'ulamá' of that latter city, he passed through the city of Urúmíyyih, whose Governor, Qasím Mírzá showed Him "extraordinary deference" ('ABDU'L-BA, p. 14) and "the warmest hospitality" (ZARANDI, p. 309). In connection with this visit to Urúmíyyih, ZARANDI (pp. 309-311) reports an incident which is virtually identical with that described here by Nicolas. According to ZARANDI, on his way to the public bath, the Governor provided the Báb with a steed which had overpowered the most skillful of equestrians, in the public square and in plain view of the populace, and the Báb calmly mounted and rode this stallion. He took his bath, and then once more mounted and rode the horse to the Governor's residence. The people who had witnessed this prodigy, and there were apparently hundreds or even thousands, rushed in to obtain a share of the bathing water used by the Báb, believing that given his apparently miraculous powers, it would invariably have a beneficial influence upon them. As a result of this incident, the overwhelming majority of the people of Urúmíyyih spontaneously embraced the Bábí Cause. This appears to be the event which Nicolas has

'Alí Khán Máh-Kúí, like everyone, had heard people speak of the Reformer. Like all Persians, curious regarding religious questions, he sought to inform himself, received some reports and must have recognized that, at least in his thundering against the abuses, the reigning vice and the rottenness of the century, the Báb was absolutely right. What he learned of his doctrines perplexed him much; the Reformer might speak the truth, but upon so moveable a terrain, truth clings so closely to falsehood that very little suffices to make a man stray. The least deviation from the path can conduct you to the abyss, and the Qur'án warns the faithful that Satan is clever and that he knows how to give false things the appearance of Truth.

He was at this point in his reflections when he received the official notice announcing that he was soon to become the jailer of the Báb. From then on he knew no rest B his conscience was anxious about this stain which was to be imposed upon him. What if the Báb was a true Prophet? But, on the other hand, if he were to disobey the orders which he had received? And if the illustrious captive was nothing but a vulgar charlatan? He could not find an exit from this dilemma and as much as he saw that eternal damnation might await him, the fury of the government seemed more menacing. Finally, convinced that he had reflected deeply and looked upon the problem from all angles, he did not come to the same solution as his fellow citizens in such an embarrassing situation; he left the matter to God, trusting that He would illumine the way. He would attempt a test of the Báb when he would arrive, and it was for God to turn this to [his] glory or towards confusion of this one who claimed to have been sent by Him.⁴⁸

The fortress of Máh-Kú is perched upon the summit of a mountain very difficult to access, and the village of the same name is found at the foot of the mountain.

ascribed to Máh-Kú and in relation to 'Alí Khán. The location of this event may be confirmed by the following report of Rev. Austin H. Wright (published in German translation as "Báb und seine Secte in Persien," in "Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft," Leipzig:1851, pp. 384-385; cited in English by E.G. Browne in "A Traveller's Narrative," p. 200; reprinted in Moojan Momen, "The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 1844-1944," Oxford:1981, p. 73); and in Amanat (p. 386, n. 56):

"On the way to Urumiyih, where the Governor treated him with special consideration and many people received permission to visit him. On one occasion, a crowd were with him, and as the Governor afterwards remarked, they were all mysteriously moved and burst into tears."

It is obvious that, had the conversion of 'Alí Khán been effected in the manner alleged by Nicolas, the Báb's followers would have had no difficulty, at the outset of his imprisonment at Máh-Kú, with obtaining the warden's permission to visit their Master. It seems unlikely that Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, one of the two companions of the Báb at this time, would have reported to ZARANDI (p. 245) that for two weeks all Bábí visitors were prevented from meeting the Báb unless this were the case. And while the Báb could have effected the conversion of 'Alí Khán in the manner alleged some time after his arrival in Máh-Kú, the story is much more plausible if it represents the arrival of the Báb from a journey. The Báb was a fervent advocate for cleanliness and practiced it himself with great consistency, and hence he would have been determined to bathe after traveling a considerable distance and over dusty roads, and prior to taking up his residence in a new location.

⁴⁸This manner of ascertaining the truth of the Báb's claims was assumed by at least one Bábí of prominence, namely Siyyid Yahya Darabí (Vahíd). Please see Note (57) in Chapter Three for more details on this Bábí. The story of his conversion is related in ZARANDI (pp. 174-176).

When the Báb arrived with this escort, the first thing he asked for, after the usual salutations, was permission to go to the baths. He wished in this way to relax from the fatigue of the voyage and thereby also to accomplish one of the obligations of his doctrine.⁴⁹ This makes the purity of the body and of the vestments one of the essential virtues of the true believer.

'Alí Khán complied with his desire and sent him to the village below the mountain. This circumstance inspired in him the idea of attempting a decisive test which would definitively indicate for him the value of the personage who had been confided to his guardianship. He possessed in his stables a young horse, vicious, restive, hopelessly skittish. Never had anybody been able to mount him, and only with impatience had he tolerated the presence of the man charged with his feeding.

'Alí Khán resolved to send this horse to the Báb. "Thus," he told himself, "if my prisoner is able to hold himself in the saddle, which nobody has been able to do, then God has wished to show me by this sign that he is truly everything he says he is. If, on the contrary, as it certainly will come to pass, that the horse unseats and kills his rider, then he is but a false prophet, and I will have thus relieved Persia and the Government of a dangerous charlatan at the same time as I will be delivered of a costly and annoying guest."

Every effort in the world was made to saddle the animal. Several grooms were obligated to take a hand, and some of them received powerful kicks, so restive was the beast. Finally they succeeded in bringing it to the door of the bath. 'Alí Khán ascended the wall of the fortress to observe what was going to happen. The villagers seeing this horse, celebrated in the neighborhood, saddled and held with great difficulty by several men, understood the intention of the Governor and gathered at this place to watch the events which could not fail to produce an effect, either one way or the other.

When the Báb came out of the bath the chief of the servants told him that the Governor, that he might avoid having to clamber up the difficult path, had sent him his own horse, along with several grooms to honour him.

The Báb approached the horse which stopped, trembling, caressed it with his hand and his words and the compliant beast docilely allowed itself to be mounted. It is even said that the restraint which it exercised upon itself was so powerful that an abundant sweat flowed from all of its members. The Prophet asked those who held the horse to let go of the reins, and very slowly and without incident he proceeded to climb the incline.

⁴⁹In "Bayán-i-fársí" the Báb set forth his teachings pertaining to bathing, cleanliness and purification. In váhid VI: báb 2, the Báb approved of bathing, and called for baths to be placed in every dwelling. Therein he also praised Christians (Europeans) for their high standards of cleanliness. In váhid VIII: báb 6, he set forth his own standards and procedures for cleanliness. In váhid V: báb 14 all previous religious injunctions with regard to ritual purity are abrogated, and in váhid VI: báb 2 he states that purification is to be effected by means of water, that is, through bathing and ablutions. In váhid X: báb 10 he indicates that physical cleanliness in his Dispensation is most pleasing to God, while in váhid IX: báb 10 he indicates that spiritual purification is effected not through any ritual or act of physical cleanliness but through the knowledge and remembrance of God. Hence, in his religion, cleanliness is not just close to godliness — it is an integral aspect of godliness, that is, of earning the good-pleasure of God.

The villagers who were witnesses to this prodigy hurried to the bath and collected the water thereof in basins; those who came late took cloths with which they wiped the humidity that was left over — they are still relics.⁵⁰

'Alí Khán⁵¹ placed himself in front of the Báb, prostrating before him, and professed faith in him.

The Báb consented thus to remain at Máh-Kú where he lived for nine months in relative freedom, meeting with those who came to see him,⁵² receiving and sending forth a numerous correspondence, writing much.⁵³

⁵⁰In many cultures, including that of the Kurds of Ádhirbáyján and the other inhabitants of Persia, the physical objects associated with persons who are believed to be extraordinary or superhuman are believed by the generality of the people to be invested with a peculiar and contagious power, which may effect cures, extend life and health, improve fertility, and generally make life easier to endure. This variety of magic can be witnessed in contemporary cultures, where it is associated with selected political leaders, celebrity entertainers, and athletic stars. It is often called "charisma" and, in the U.S.A. this wondrous power is often denominated "sex appeal." Nicolas reports this matter in such language that one gathers that either he himself or one or more of his informants have actually verified that the Kurds of Máh-Kú preserve relics associated with the miraculous powers of the Báb. Of course, if such relics are independently reported or actually found in Máh-Kú rather than in Urúmiyyih, this would be positive evidence in support of Nicolas' version of this story. It should be noted that ZARANDI's placement of this event in Urúmiyyih was described as taking place in 1848, and in Chapter XVIII of his history (as translated by Shoghi Effendi). ZARANDI's history is a chronological account according to his own testimony: "Yet is my hope to recount, in their chronological order, the chief events that have happened since the year '60, the year that witnessed the declaration of the Faith by the Báb" ("The Dawn-breakers," Preface, p. lxiii). In Chapter XXI, in which ZARANDI describes events in the years 1849 and 1850, we find his assertion that "at this stage of my narrative I was privileged to submit to Bahá'u'lláh such sections of my works as I had already revised and completed — He vouchsafed me His blessings." (ibid. p. 459) It seems likely then that Bahá'u'lláh was read or himself perused ZARANDI's account of the story, and that he approved of it. As Bahá'u'lláh was undoubtedly well informed concerning the events of this period, the fact that he approved of ZARANDI's account lends further credibility to ZARANDI's placement of this event in Urúmiyyih.

⁵¹Nicolas writes of 'Alí Khán: "Mírzá Jání does not speak of this conversion, the account of which I owe to the oral tradition." Nicolas is referring of course to KAF, which he believed to be authored by Mírzá Jání Kashání. The oral tradition from this story is derived was probably conveyed to Nicolas by one or more of the Azalí Bábí or Bahá'í informants whom Nicolas lists in his bibliography. Nicolas does not indicate here to which informant he owes this particular story. This is unfortunate, inasmuch as Mírzá Yahya Subh-i-Azal has elsewhere shown himself to be an unreliable chronicler of historical events pertaining to the Báb and his fellow Bábís, and if this story is derived from him alone, we would be advised to treat it with extreme caution. On the other hand, if it was derived from a more reliable informant, it should be treated with greater weight. In any event, this story is not found in JADID, 'ABDU'L-BAHA, ZARANDI, or indeed in any of the manuscript histories of the Bábí movement. Note (49) cites ZARANDI's account of 'Alí Khán's recognition of the Báb's superhuman station, by means of a miracle of a different kind, a vision later confirmed by a dream.

⁵²Nicolas states in a note: "The author of the "Mutanabbi'in" [Alí Qulí Mírzá I'tidád al-Saltanih, *Kitáb al-Mutanabbi'in*] writes: "The Bábís from all the parts of the earth went to Ádhirbáyján, on pilgrimage to their chief." ZARANDI (pp. 245, 248) indicates that an unspecified number of Bábís visited the Báb at Máh-Kú, and that their numbers increased during his imprisonment (p. 258). JADID (p. 238) described these visitors as "great multitudes" (cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 248, n. 1). One of these visitors was Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í, who arrived on the fourth Naw-Rúz after the declaration of the Báb, 13 Rabí al-Thání 1264 (ZARANDI, pp. 255-256) and departed on the ninth day after Naw-Rúz (ibid. p. 260),

The Báb⁵⁴ himself tells us how his life passed in the prison in which he was held captive. His lamentations, so frequent in the "Bayán",⁵⁵ must, I think, be due to the tightening of discipline

just eleven days before the Báb left Máh-Kú for Chihríq (ibid. pp. 259-260). Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í was instructed by the Báb to visit the Bábís resident in Khuy, Urúmíyyih, Marághih, Mílán, Tabríz, Zanján, Qazvín and Tihrán on his way to Mázindarán (ZARANDI, p. 160). Please see Note (48) for the significance of this missionary journey.

⁵³The continuation of this Chapter Two is found in Chapter VII of the original book by Nicolas.

⁵⁴While at Máh-Kú, the Báb wrote a great number of works. To begin with, a brief description of the books he penned during this period of nine months:

1] "Dalá'il al-sab'a" (Seven Proofs) in Arabic, of which three manuscripts are extant (MacEoin, pp. 87-88, 185), and which has been lithographed (MacEoin, pp. 185, 254).

2] "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" (Seven Proofs) in Persian, of which there are at least thirteen surviving manuscripts (MacEoin, p. 85), which has been lithographed (MacEoin, p. 85, n. 33; p. 285), printed (MacEoin, p. 85, n. 34), twice translated into French (MacEoin, p. 85, n. 35), was written in Máh-Kú, as attested by the Báb himself ("Dalá'il-i-sab'ih," p. 67 of lithographed edition; cited in MacEoin, p. 86, n. 43), and confirmed by Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 26), Mírzá Yahya Subh-i-Azal (letter to E.G. Browne, 1 October 1889; cited in MacEoin, p. 85, n. 37), Balyuzi (p. 132) and MacEoin (p. 86). Nicolas called this Book "the most important of the polemical works from the pen of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad" (translation from Nicolas, "Le Livre des Sept Preuves de la Mission du Báb," preface, p. i); and Shoghi Effendi described it as "the most important of the polemical works of the Báb" ("God Passes By," p. 26). Balyuzi refers to this Book (p. 132), as does Amanat (pp. 161, 193, 199, 375, 384).

3] Nine commentaries on the entirety of the Qur'án are reported by Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí, a Bábí convert from the Shaykhí school (ZARANDI, pp. 25-31), who testified that he was engaged in transcribing the verses which the Báb dictated to his amanuensis every night for a period of nine months. He claims that the Báb revealed a commentary on one "juz" (thirtieth part of the Qur'án) every night, and that, at the end of nine months, nine commentaries on the whole of the Qur'án had been completed (ZARANDI, p. 31). According to Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí (ibid. pp. 31, 307), the texts of these commentaries were to the keeping of Siyyid Ibráhím-i-Khalíl, in Tabríz. Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí told Nabíl (ZARANDI, p. 31) that Siyyid Ibráhím-i-Khalíl "was instructed to conceal them until the time for their publication might arrive. Their fate is unknown until now." As to the content of these commentaries, Shaykh H@asan-i-Zunúzí related the following conversation with the Báb to Nabíl (ZARANDI, p. 31):

"In connection with one of these commentaries, the Báb one day asked me: 'Which do you prefer, this commentary which I have revealed, or the Ahsanu'l-Qisas, My previous commentary on the Súrih of Joseph? Which of the two is superior, in your estimation?' 'To me,' I replied, 'the Ahsanu'l-Qisas seems to be endowed with greater power and charm.' He smiled at my observation and said: 'You are as yet unfamiliar with the tone and tenor of this later commentary. The truths enshrined in this will more speedily and effectively enable the seeker to attain the object of his quest.'"

According to Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, the Báb's amanuensis at Máh-Kú, Siyyid Hasan-i-Zunúzí was engaged in serving as an intermediary between the followers of the Báb who made the journey to Máh-Kú and his brother, Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí, who in turn submitted their petitions to the Báb and returned with his responses (ZARANDI, p. 245). Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí stated that, for the first two weeks of the Báb's residence at Máh-Kú, the only followers of the Báb who were admitted to his presence, by order of

'Alí Khán, were Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, and his brother Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí (Ibid.). After the miraculous conversion of 'Alí Khán (ZARANDI, pp. 246-247), Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí, who had been barred from the Báb's presence and who was residing in a "mašjid" (mosque) on the outskirts of Máh-Kú (ZARANDI, pp. 245, 247) was escorted by 'Alí Khán himself into the presence of the Báb. It was apparently from this point on, until the departure of the Báb from Máh-Kú, that Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí was occupied with transcribing the nine commentaries on the Qur'án revealed by the Báb. MacEoin (p. 88) has pointed out that the Báb may be referring to these commentaries when he writes, in "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd III: báb 16):

"Thus has the Point of the Bayán [i.e., himself] written three commentaries on the Qur'án." (MacEoin, p. 88, n. 51)

Browne refers to this verse as follows:

"The Nuqta-i-Bayán has written three Commentaries on the Qur'án; two in the style of verses (áyát) throughout, one Commentary on the Súratu'l-Báqara in the form of a scientific treatise." ("A Summary of the Persian Bayán," in "Selections from the Writings of E.G. Browne," p. 348)

Nicolas has translated this verse as follows:

C'est ainsi que le point du Báyân a écrit trois commentaires du Qoran, dont deux sont en versets jusqu'à la fin et un commentaire sur la sourate de la Vache [Súrat al-báqara] sous forme de matières scientifiques." ("Le Báyân Persan," tome II:1913, p. 67)

This verse can be rendered in this fashion:

"It is thus that the Point of the Bayán has written three commentaries on the Qur'án, of which two are in verses [from beginning] to end and [the third] a commentary upon the Súrah of the Cow [Súrat al-báqara] in the form of a scientific treatise."

It should be noted that, prior to his arrival in Máh-Kú, it is likely that the Báb had already revealed commentaries on "Súrat al-báqara" (MacEoin, pp. 201); on "Súrat Yúsuf," also called "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" (MacEoin, pp. 195-196); on "Súrat al-kawthar" (MacEoin, pp. 71, 201-202); on "Súrat al-qadr" (MacEoin, pp. 72, 202); on "Súrat al-'asr" (MacEoin, pp. 76, 202); and on "Súrat al-tawhid" (MacEoin, pp. 72, 202). Moojan Momen, in an editorial note related to this verse, has expressed the view that the Báb is here referring to the commentaries he had written prior to his imprisonment at Máh-Kú (SWEGB, p. 348, n. 1). MacEoin (p. 88) has pointed out that this verse may refer to three commentaries which had been written by the Báb at Máh-Kú at the time of his revealing váhíd III of "Bayán-i-fársí". Inasmuch as Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí" said that the Báb revealed a commentary on one "juz" of the Qur'án every night of his captivity (ZARANDI, p. 31), we may calculate, based on the number of verses in the "juz" (approximately 206 verses, one thirtieth of 6236 verses, the length of the "Qur'án" as attested by MacEoin, p. 15, n. 28) that during the first night the subject of his commentary was "Súrat al-fatihah", "Súrat al-báqara" and the beginning of "Súrat al-'imrán"; that during the second night he continued with "Súrat al-'imrán"; and that during the third night he completed "Súrat al-'imrán" and began "Súrat al-nisa." Hence, after the passage of three nights, the Báb would have completed commentaries on three chapters of the Qur'án, namely, "Súrat al-fatihah," "Súrat al-báqara" and "Súrat al-'imrán." There is clear agreement between this reasoning and the verse cited from "Bayán-i-fársí" (váhíd III: báb 16), and it seems likely to the present author that this was Báb's meaning. In any case, prior to his imprisonment at Máh-Kú, the Báb had written at least six commentaries on chapters of the Qur'án, rather than three, as referred to in this verse. It therefore seems that Momen's explanation is less likely.

4] "Bayán-i-fársí" was revealed at Máh-Kú (ZARANDI, p. 248; Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," pp. 24-25; MacEoin, pp. 84, 85, 88). Balyuzi (p. 132) indicates only that "Bayán-i-fársí" was begun at Máh-Kú, while Amanat (p. 374) states that the Báb compiled parts of "Bayán-i-fársí"

at Mách-Kú. There are at least forty-nine extant manuscript copies of this work (MacEoin, pp. 84, 181-184). It has been lithographed (MacEoin, p. 183, n. 23; p. 254), with the title "Bayán-i-fársí" and the title page of this version reads: Inna 'l-Bayán mi zan min 'inda'lláh ila yawmi man yuzhiruhu'lláh. Man ittaba'ahu nur wa man yanharifu 'anhu nar" (n.p., n.d.). Copies of this lithographed exemplar are to be found in many research libraries, and on the web (<http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~bahai/areprint/Báb/A-F/Bayánf/Bayánf.htm>). A manuscript copy of this Book is extant in the hand of the Báb's amanuensis, Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, to whom it was apparently dictated (Bahá'u'lláh, "Lawh-i-Shaykh," p. 128; cited in MacEoin, p. 84, n. 29), now in the International Bahá'í Archives (Balyuzi, p. 132; MacEoin, p. 182). Nabil-i-Zarandí transcribed a copy of "Bayán-i-fársí" which is also extant (MacEoin, p. 182, n. 12). In his "Tárikh-i-Nabíl" (ZARANDI, p. 248), he called this Book "the most weighty, the most illuminating and comprehensive of all His works". Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," pp. 24-25) called this work "that monumental repository of the laws and precepts of the new Dispensation and the treasury enshrining most of the Báb's references and tributes to, as well as His warning regarding, 'Him Whom God will make manifest'...peerless among the doctrinal works of the Founder of the Bábí Dispensation". MacEoin (p. 83) identifies it as "the most important work of this period — indeed, the central book of the entire Bábí canon". "Bayán-i-fársí" is composed of a preface (Nicolas, "Le Báyân Persan," tome I:1911, pp. 1-16) or exordium (SWEGB, p. 322), eight chapters individually called "váhíd," each composed of nineteen sub-divisions individually called "báb," and of a ninth "váhíd" composed of ten "abwáb" (plural of "báb"). As has been described above, MacEoin (p. 88) has pointed out that in váhíd III: báb 16, the Báb refers to three Qur'anic commentaries, and MacEoin suggests that as the Báb had completed this number of commentaries when the third váhíd of "Bayán-i-fársí" was being completed, this may indicate that the Báb wrote a váhíd of "Bayán-i-fársí" every month that he was imprisoned at Mách-Kú. This might explain why the Báb revealed nine váhíds instead of nineteen, inasmuch as he was in Mách-Kú for nine months. Indeed, the last month spent in Mách-Kú was short, and while all other váhíds were composed of nineteen abwáb, the ninth váhíd was composed only of ten abwáb. Nineteen was an important number for the Báb, rich with spiritual significances, whereas nine and ten do not seem to have been accorded a particularly outstanding role in his writings. Hence, MacEoin's hypothesis seems to fit what we know about the Báb's sojourn in Mách-Kú, although there is no conclusive evidence to support this hypothesis. Nicolas translated the entirety of "Bayán-i-fársí" into French, and this was published, with an Introduction and footnotes as "Le Báyân persan" (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911-1914). Selections from "Bayán-i-fársí" were translated into English by 1)E.G. Browne and are found in many of his articles and books on the Bábí religion; 2)Shoghi Effendi and are found in a number of his letters published under Bahá'í auspices; 3)Habib Taherzadeh and a committee appointed by the Universal House of Justice, and entitled "Selections from the Writings of the Báb" (first edition published 1976, reprinted 1978; corrected lightweight ed. (with index), 1982, in Israel: Bahá'í World Centre, vii, 235 pp.). A German translation of this last-named collection was published as "Der Báb: Eine Auswahl aus Seinen Schriften," 1991, Hofheim-Langenhain, Bahá'í-Verlag ed.). The original Arabic and Persian texts used in making this third listed translation under Bahá'í auspices were published as "Muntakhabát-i áyát az áthár-i Hadrat-i Nuqta-yi Úlá" (Tehran: Bahá'í Publishing Committee, 134 B.E./1977-78). Passages in Persian from "Bayán-i-fársí" were collected and annotated by Muhammad 'Abdul-Karím Isfáhání Na'ím, as "Natijat al-Bayán" (Tihrán: Bahá'í Publishing Committee, 105 B.E./1947-48). Also published, under Bahá'í auspices and in English was "A Compilation of Passages from the Writings of the Báb" (Manila, Philippines: Bahá'í Publishing Trust of the Philippines, 1980; New Delhi: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1980). A summary of "Bayán-i-fársí" in English was begun by E.G. Browne and completed by Moojan Momen, published as 'A Summary of the Persian Bayán', in "Selections from the Writings of E. G. Browne on the Bábí and Bahá'í Religions" (George Ronald Publisher, 1987, pp. 316-406).

5] "Bayán al-'arabíyya" was written in Mách-Kú (MacEoin, p. 85), at Chihriq (Balyuzi, p. 152), or at some time during these two imprisonments (Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," p. 25). This

Book is composed of a preface (Nicolas, "Le Báyân Arabe," pp. 103-107), and of eleven chapters each called "váhid" and each of these chapters in comprised of nineteen sub-divisions individually called "báb". If one applies the same method of calculation used by MacEoin with regard to "Bayán-i-fársí" one would be tempted to suggest that the Báb composed "Bayán-i-'arabíyya" during an eleven month period. However, the Báb spent nine months at Máh-Kú, and about two years at Chihríq, so there is no eleven-month period which would explain the length of this work, unless it was begun in Máh-Kú and completed in Chihríq. MacEoin (p. 85) describes "Bayán al-'arabíyya": "In spite of its brevity and frequent obscurity, this little book does provide us with the most succinct exposition of the laws and doctrines of the Báb in their final development." There are at least fifteen manuscripts of "Bayán al-'arabíyya," including an incomplete copy allegedly in the hand of the Báb (MacEoin, p. 181). This Book has been lithographed (MacEoin, p. 85, n. 33; p. 181, n. 6; p. 254), printed (MacEoin, p. 85, n. 34; p. 181, n. 3, 4), and twice translated into French (Comte de Gobineau, "Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale," 1865, appendix; and Nicolas, "Le Báyân arabe. Le livre sacre du Bábysme", Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905). The lithographed version was published under Azali auspices (n.p., n.d.) with "Lawh-i-Haykal al-Dín" and a "Tafsír" on two verses of the "Lawh-i-Haykal al-Dín"; and the printed version is in 'Abdu'l-Razzaq al-Hasaní, "Al-Bábíyyún wa'l-Bahá'íyyún fi hadirihim wa madihim" (Sidon: Matba'at al-'Irfán, 1349/1930-31).

6] "Tafsír Du'a al-sabah" (Commentary on the Morning Prayer) was revealed at Máh-Kú at the request of Áqá Siyyid Abu'l-Hasan, the son of Áqá Siyyid 'Alí Zunúzí according to Fádil-i-Mázindaráni (ZUHUR, p. 73; cited in MacEoin, p. 98, n. 100), of which there are two manuscript copies extant (MacEoin, p. 199).

7] "Lawh-i-Shihab al-Dín Siyyid Mahmúd al-Alusi" (Letter to the Muftí of Baghdád), in which the Báb claims to be the Mahdí and states that he has abolished Islamic canon law ("sharí'a"), is found in a collection of letters published by Muhammad Mahdí Khán Za'ím al-Dawla, in "Tárikh al-Bábíyya wa miftah Báb al-abwáb" (Cairo:1903; Persian translation by Hájí Shaykh Hasan Faríd Gulpaygání, Tihrán:1968, pp. 212-215; cited in MacEoin, p. 97).

8] "Lawh-i-Muhammad Sháh", "the most detailed and illuminating of his Tablets to Muhammad Sháh" (Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," p. 26) was also written in Máh-Kú (Ibid.; MacEoin, p. 94). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 460) indicates that the Báb addressed five Tablets to Muhammad Sháh, one each revealed in Búshihr, Isfáhán, Síyih Duhn, Máh-Kú and Chihríq. The "Lawh-i-Muhammad Sháh" revealed in Máh-Kú was written in a mixture of Arabic and Persian, and this entire Tablet is cited by Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (pp. 299-304). A single manuscript of this letter is preserved in the Bahá'í International Archives (MacEoin, pp. 97, 193), which is the basis for the Arabic and Persian text published in "Muntakhabát-i áyát az áthár-i Hadrat-i Nuqta-yi Úlá" (Tihrán:1977-1978, pp. 13-18; cited in MacEoin, p. 97, n. 93; pp. 193, 254), translated into English and published in "Selections from the Writings of the Báb" (Haifa:1976, pp. 11-17). It is this letter that Nicolas has cited later in this Chapter, in large excerpts, which are translated in Note (64). Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 26) describes the contents of this Tablet in these words:

"Prefaced by a laudatory reference to the unity of God, to His Apostles and to the twelve Imáms; unequivocal in its assertion of the divinity of its Author and of the supernatural powers with which His Revelation had been invested; precise in the verses and traditions it cites in confirmation of so audacious a claim; severe in its condemnation of some of the officials and representatives of the Sháh's administration, particularly the 'wicked and accursed' Husayn Khán; moving in its description of the humiliation and hardships to which its writer had been subjected, this historic document resembles, in many of its features, the Lawh-i-Sultán, the Tablet addressed, under similar circumstances, from the prison-fortress of 'Akká by Bahá'u'lláh to Násiri'd-Dín Sháh, and constituting His lengthiest epistle to any single sovereign."

according to orders received from time to time from Tihrán. All the historians, the Bábís as much as the Muslims, tell us that, despite the severe orders to stop all communications of the prisoner with the exterior world, the Báb received a crowd of disciples and strangers in his prison.

Be that as it may — for documents are utterly lacking for this period — the reader will judge for himself, if he will take a look at the passages of the "Bayán" which I have collected here:⁵⁶

⁵⁵The Báb indeed refers to his imprisonment at Máh-Kú in various passages of "Bayán-i-fársí" including váhid II: báb 1, báb 2, báb 5, báb 7, báb 16; váhid III: báb 17, báb 18, báb 19; váhid IV: báb 12, báb 16; váhid V: báb 13; váhid VI: báb 7, báb 8, báb 15; váhid VII: 15. Please see E.G. Browne's 'A Summary of the Persian Bayán' ("Selections from the Writings of E.G. Browne," pp. 316-406 passim.) and Nicolas' translation of "Bayán-i-fársí" ("Le Báyân Persan," tomes I-IV:1911-1914) for English and French versions of these verses.

⁵⁶The collection of passages cited here (and enumerated by Roman numerals in brackets) represent Nicolas' translations of passages from "Bayán-i-fársí" and as they were published in "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb" in 1905, they predate his publication of "Le Báyân Persan" in four volumes (1911-1914). Each of the passages will be cited as follows — in the main text, an English rendering of the text found in "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb"; in the endnote, the English version of the retranslation of this same text. Hopefully this will provide the reader with an improved understanding of the subtleties involved in translating the Báb's language.

[I] "How ignorant you are, O My creatures, who all, wherever you are, and in relationship to Me, imagine yourselves being in My good-pleasure; and these verses which prove Me, these verses from My power, of which the treasure is its very nature and which He recites with My permission, you have, contrary to any right, relegated Him to a mountain, in a place where the inhabitants are not worthy of being mentioned. In His presence, which is in My presence, there is nobody other than one of the Letters of the Living of My book; in His hands, which is in My hands, during the night, there is not even a lamp! And this notwithstanding that in these seats (Seats here is used in a general sense and particularly means mosques), which degree by degree, return to Him, there is an infinite number of lamps from which the light shines. Everything on the earth is created for Him, and it is from Him that all derive their happiness. And yet all have remained ignorant of Him, even refusing Him a lamp!" (váhid II: báb 1)

[II] "He has henceforth appeared in the very midst of Islám but all, opposing Him, claim precisely the title of Muslim, and without any right have relegated Him to the mountain of Máh-Kú." (váhid II: báb 7)

[III] "Hence this room (in which I am found), which has neither doors nor precise boundaries, is today the highest of the chambers of Paradise, for the Tree of Truth inhabits it. One would say that all the atoms of this room sing in a voice that says: 'In truth! I am God! There is no other God but Me, the Lord of all things.'" (váhid II: báb 16)

[IV] "The fruit of this door [báb] is that: At the moment that the manifestation of Him Whom God shall become manifest he [the believer] will understand from that very moment that this was ordained by His works [Writings] as it is for He Himself.

"That at least what has happened today will not happen then, when copies of the Qur'án valued at a thousand tumans are innumerable among Muslims, while He Who caused it to descend is imprisoned upon a mountain, in a room the walls of which are made of plain brick. And this even though, everywhere He was, that place is the 'arsh of God, be it at the highest degree of grandeur, be it crouching in the dust." (váhid III: báb 19)

[I] "Oh! such is your blindness, O My creature! That which you do, you do it thinking that in doing so you content Me!⁵⁷ And despite these verses which prove Me for Myself, these verses which flow from My power and of which the treasure is the very being of this Person (the Báb), despite these verses which do not leave His mouth without My permission, see that, without any sort of right, you have put Him on the summit of a mountain of which the inhabitants are not even worthy to be mentioned. Near Him, which is near to Me, there is nobody, except for one of the Letters of the Living of My book. Between His two hands, which are My two hands, there is not even a servant, to light, at night, the lamp. And yet the men who are on the earth have not been created except for His existence; it is by His benevolence that they are happy, and they do not even give Him a light!" [Unity II:Door 1]

[II]"The fruit (of the Islamic religion) is to believe in the manifestation (of the Báb) and He is imprisoned at Máh-Kú!" [Unity II:Door 7]

⁵⁷Nicolas asserts: "As strange as this might appear, this passage is not addressed in any way to the Bábís; on the contrary, it is the Muslims whom our author or rather God here summons to respond. In effect, as we will see later, in the second volume of this study—see Note (63) — one may also consult the "Book of the Seven Proofs" ["Dalá'il-i-sab'ih"] on this subject, that every "nation of a prophet" acts only, in its religious acts, with the intention of satisfying God and of pleasing Him. But, one cannot satisfy God except in satisfying His Prophet. And the Muslims do not want to recognize in the Báb the Mahdí promised by Muhammad. This refusal of obedience is unacceptable, for God, having summarily effaced the teaching of Muhammad, has replaced it with that of the Báb. The Báb is thus the current Prophet, for Whom the world was created. Thus, a Muslim who acts in order to satisfy God must act in reality in order to satisfy whom? The Báb." In this note, Nicolas has not explained the teaching of the Báb on this subject in all of its implications. In his writings the Báb does not merely refer to the abrogation of the law of the Qur'án by the law of the Bayán. In fact, he refers repeatedly to this phenomenon as it is repeated in many Dispensations, including the abrogation of the Torah by Jesus, the abrogation of the Gospel by Muhammad, and, in the future, the abrogation of the Bayán by the Book of "Him Whom God shall manifest". In particular this latter abrogation is of consequence, inasmuch as the Báb warns his followers not to miss the appearance of his prophetic successor, and to be especially careful not to harm "Him Whom God shall manifest" in any way. Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 444) indicates that "Him Whom God shall manifest" is mentioned 300 times in "Bayán-i-fársi" and 80 times in "Bayán al-'arabíyya". Fariba Ghayebi (email 26/2/02) remarked after having skimmed through "Bayán-i-fársi" that nearly every váhid contains a warning from the Báb not to miss the appearance of "Him Whom God shall manifest". A few of these passages, taken from the very same locations already cited by Nicolas, will be given here to illustrate this vital point.

"The final judgement of the Bayán will take place with the appearance of Him Whom God shall manifest. Today, in effect, the Bayán is in the station of seed, and, in the beginning of the appearance of Him Whom God shall manifest, it will be at its ultimate perfection." ("Le Báyân Persan," tome I:1911, p. 69; váhid II: báb 7)

"This is said so that the believers in the Bayán will understand that they must not do with their Master [Him Whom God shall manifest] as the believers in the Qur'án have done with theirs [the Báb]." ("Le Báyân Persan," tome II:1913, p. 73; váhid III; báb 19)

"It is ordained that once every nineteen days, one must read this door [báb] that thereby in the day of the appearance of Him Whom God shall manifest, they will not remain ignorant of the verses which were and which remain the greatest of the arguments and of the testimonies [in support of the Prophet of God]." ("Le Báyân Persan," tome III:1913, p. 102; váhid VI: báb 8)

[III]"All that belongs to the man of Paradise is in Paradise. This solitary room (in which I am) and which does not even have a door is today the greatest of the gardens of Paradise, for the Tree of the Truth is planted therein. All the atoms which compose it cry: 'In truth, there is no other god but God! In truth, I am God, and there is no other god but Me the Lord of the Universe!'" [Unity II:Door 16]

[IV]"The fruit of this door [báb] is that men seeing that it is permitted to do all that for the "Bayán" (spending so much money), which is only the trace of Him Whom God shall manifest, must pay attention to what they must do for Him Whom God shall manifest when He will appear, so that it will not happen (to him) what happens (to me) today. That is to say that there are in the world many [copies of the] Qur'án worth a thousand tomans, while He Who makes verses descend (the Báb) is put on a mountain, in a room built of bricks dried in the sun. And furthermore this room is the 'arsh (ninth heaven,⁵⁸ dwelling-place of the Divinity) itself." [Unity III:Door 19]

In Unity IX:Door 2 [Bayán-i-fársí], he remarks that they paid him the greatest respect when he was simply a Siyyid, and that it is from the moment that he manifested himself as sent by God that they began to overpower him with injuries and insults.⁵⁹

In Unity VI:Door 8, he again reproaches Muslims for having awaited the Mahdí with impatience, only to imprison him as soon as he appeared.⁶⁰

It is furthermore in the same order of ideas that, when sequestered at Máh-Kú, he addressed a long letter to the Sháh (Muhammad Sháh) which we are going to analyze here.

⁵⁸The identification of "'arsh" (throne of God) is with "His seat" [kursíyyuhu] found in the Qur'án, Súrat al-Báqarah, II:255:

wa si'a kursíyyahu al-samawati wa'l-arda
 "His throne is as vast as the heavens and the earth."

Nicolas' association of "'arsh" in this passage of "Bayán-i-fársí" with the ninth heaven is of unknown provenance.

⁵⁹Nicolas has misattributed this reference, inasmuch as a comparison of E.G. Browne's "A Summary of the Persian Bayán" (SWEGB, p. 403) and of Nicolas' translation ("Le Báyân Persan," tome IV:1914, pp. 143-145) indicates that "Bayán-i-fársí" does not mention this subject in váhid IX: báb 2. Nor is this theme found in Nicolas' translation of "Bayán al-'arabíyya" ("Le Báyân Arabe," p. 197) in the same location (váhid IX: báb 2).

⁶⁰Checked against Nicolas' translation ("Le Báyân Persan," tome III:1913), we find that this reference is embodied in these words:

"As for example (the Muslims), who read every day the prayer of the 'Ahd Namah' (prayer made by the Imáms specially for the manifestation of the Imám Mahdí) and, by the very fact that they have too often repeated 'Al-hajal! Al-hajal!' ('Hasten! Hasten' the arrival of the Mahdí), they have been mistaken in their desires and have believed that they loved the Imám Mahdí. When, in actuality, over three years have passed since the order of God (the Imám Mahdí) manifested himself, and here it is that the One Who was your aim you have locked up on a mountain. And yet, he did not manifest himself except with this very proof, upon which is based all of Islám." ("Le Báyân Persan," tome III:1913, pp. 102-103; váhid VI: báb 8)

The document begins, like almost all the literary documents of the Báb, with an exalted praise of the Divine Unity. The Báb continues by praising, as is agreeable to him, Muhammad and the twelve Imáms, who, as we will see in the second volume of this work,⁶¹ are the cornerstones of the "Bayán":⁶²

"And I affirm," he cried, "that all that is in this world of possibilities other than them is before them nothing but absolute nothingness, and if one can mention it, this all, it is but like the shadow of a shadow. I ask pardon from God for the limits which I have just assigned to them, for in truth the last degree of the praises that one can render is to recognize, in front of them, that one can not render them."

"It is why God created Me from such clay as no one has been created of a similar clay. And God gave me what the wise men in their knowledge cannot comprehend, what nobody can know except to be completely annihilated before one sign from among my signs."

"Know, that is truth, I am a column of the First Word: this Word that whoever has know it has known God in His entirety and has entered into the universal good. Whoever has not wished to know it has remained ignorant of God and has entered into universal evil. I swear by your God, the Master of the two worlds, the one who lives here below for as long as nature permits, and who remains all of his life the bondsman of God in the works of good embraced by the knowledge of God, if there is in his heart any animosity towards me, be this so little that God only can comprehend it, then all the good works and all his piety are without utility and God looks at him only with the glance of chastisement, and that one is among those who die. God has fixed all good which He Himself recognizes as good in the work of obeying me, and all the evil that He knows in the act of disobeying me. In truth, today I see, in the rank that I hold, all that I have just said and the people of my love and of my obedience in the highest dwelling-places of the heavens, while my enemies are plunged into the depths of the fire!

"If in my existence, I swear, I had not been obliged to accept being the Hujjat⁶³ of God, I would not have warned you!"

As we see, the Báb continues here very clearly and renews the affirmations of the "Kitáb bayna'l-haramayn". He adds nothing, but also retracts nothing:

"I then," he says, "I am this Point from which all that exists found existence. I am this countenance of God which does not die, I am this Light which is not extinguished. The one who knows me is accompanied by all good, the one who pushes me behind him by all evil."

⁶¹Nicolas refers once again to the second volume of "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb" which has yet to be identified, and must be presumed unpublished.

⁶²The Tablet to Muhammad Sháh which is cited by Nicolas at this point in his text is that described in note (56), part 8]. For an English translation of portions of this Tablet from the Persian, please see "Selections from the Writings of the Báb" (pp. 11-17).

⁶³"Hujjatu'lláh" means the "Proof of God". It is one of the names of the Imám Mahdí.

"In truth, Moses, when he asked God what he asked (he wanted to see God), God radiated upon the mountain, with the light of one of the followers of 'Alí,⁶⁴ and, as the hadíth explains "this light, I swear by God, was my light." Do you not see that the numeral value of the letters which compose my name is equal to the numerical value of those which compose the word Rabb (Lord)? And did not God say in the Qur'án: "And when your Lord will radiate upon the mountain" (68)?⁶⁵

The Báb continues to relate the prophecies found in the Qur'án and in some hadíth on the subject of the manifestation of the Mahdí. He reports the famous hadíth of Mufaddal,⁶⁶ which is one of the strongest arguments for the truth of his mission.

In the Qur'án it is said [Súrah 32, verse 4]: "God conducts the affairs (of the world) from heaven to earth and then (all) returns to Him in the day the duration of which is one thousand years of our reckoning".⁶⁷

On the one hand, the last Imám disappeared in the year 260 Hijri,⁶⁸ and it is at this moment that the [Muhammadan] prophetic manifestation was terminated and that "the door of knowledge was closed".

When Mufaddal asked the Imám as-Sádiq about the signs for the arrival of the Mahdí, the Imám replied: "He will manifest himself in the year sixty and his name shall be elevated." Which means in the year 1260, precisely that of the manifestation of the Báb.

"I swear by God," Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad says on this subject, "I did not take lessons and my education was that of a merchant. In the year 60 [1260 A.H.] my heart was filled with manifest verses, certain knowledge and the testimony of God. And I proclaimed my mission in that very year."

"And that very year I sent you a messenger (Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í), the conveyer of a Book so that the Government could act as it should towards the Hujjat (please see Note 65). But the Will of God was that civil wars rise up that they might deafen the ears, blind the eyes, and harden the hearts, and it is for this reason that this messenger was not allowed to come before you. Those who considered themselves patriots opposed us and until today almost four years have passed⁶⁹ without anyone speaking the truth on the question."

⁶⁴'Alí here is the Imám 'Alí.

⁶⁵Súratu'l-A'ráf, 7:143: falamá tajallí rabbuha lil-jabali

⁶⁶Hadíth of Mufaddal.

⁶⁷Súratu'l-Sajdat, 32:5: yudabbiru'l-amra mina'l-samá'í ilá'l-ardi thumma ya'ruju ilayri fi yawmin kána miqdáruha alfa manatin mimma ta'udúna

⁶⁸Disappearance of the Imám Mahdí in the year 260 Hijra.

⁶⁹Four years, 1844-1848.

"And now, as my time is near, as my work is divine work and not human, this is why I have written you briefly."

"I swear by God! If you only knew what has happened to me during these four years from your functionaries and your delegates! If you knew it, the fear of God would impede the passing of the breath which exhales at this moment from your lips, unless you were to adopt the aim of entering into the obedience to the order of the Hujjat, and to immediately repair what went wrong."

"I was in Shíráz, and from this awful and evil governor I suffered tyrannies such that if you only knew the least part thereof, by your justice you would exercise against him the punishment of the talion, for his violence attracted the punishment of heaven until the day of judgment upon the extent of the Empire. This very arrogant and always drunken man did not give a single sign of the imprint of intelligence. I was forced to leave Shíráz and I directed myself towards Tihrán to go see you, but the late Mu'tamidud-Dawlih understood the truth of my mission and was among those exercised deference towards the elect of the Lord."

"Some ignorant ones of the city started a riot, and that is why I sequestered myself in the Sadr palace at the moment that the Mu'tamid died. May God reward him! There is no doubt that the cause of his leaving the fire of hell is because of what he did for me."

"Then Gurgin caused me to voyage for seven nights with five individuals, without anything that is necessary for a voyage and with a thousand lies and a thousand violences. Alas! Alas, for that which happened to me! Finally the Sultán⁷⁰ ordained that I be directed towards Máh-Kú, without even giving me a mount which I might ride! Alas! Alas, that what happened to me happened! Finally I came to this village⁷¹ of which all the inhabitants are ignorant and vulgar. Ah! I swear by God, if you knew in what place I reside, the first who would have pity on me would be you! It is a little fort, at the summit of a mountain, and it is to your benevolence that I owe such a dwelling-place! Those who inhabit it are two men and four dogs! Think of how I pass my time!"

"I thank God, as He should be thanked, and I swear by God that the one who imprisoned me here is content with what he did. And yet, if he knew with whom he acted in this way, he would never again be happy."

"And now, I tell you a secret: this man imprisoned (in my person) all the Prophets, all the saints and he who has been embraced by the knowledge of God. And there has not remained a single kind of suffering under which I have not trembled."

"When I learned of the order which you had given (to conduct me to Máh-Kú), I wrote to the Sadr A'zam: "Kill me and send my head wherever you wish, for to live without sin and to go where sinners are cannot suit me." He did not reply to me with anything: and I am convinced that he did not know the truth of the question, for to sorrow without any reason the hearts of the believers male and female is worse than destroying the house of God."

⁷⁰"Sultán" is an Arabic word, which refers in this case to the Sháh of Írán, the King of Persia.

⁷¹Village of Chihriq.

"And, I swear by God, today I am the true house of God. All good attaches to this, that someone does me good, for it is as if he did good to God, to His angels, to His friends. But perhaps God and His friends are too far elevated for the good and the evil of anyone arrive at the dust of Their threshold, but that which happens to God happens to me. I swear by God, he who imprisoned me, has imprisoned himself, and only that which God has ordained happens to me. Then alas! Alas for him whose hand allowed evil to escape, and very happy is he who lavishes the good."

Finally, and to sum up this long missive, the Báb writes:

"The other question is the matter of this lower world. The late Mu'tamidu'd-Dawlih, one night, caused all of his assistants and even Hájí Mullá Ahmad to retire, and then he said to me: 'I know very well that all that I acquired, I acquired by violence, and it belongs to Sáhib al-Zamán. I therefore give it all to you, for you are the Master of Truth and I ask you permission to become its possessor.' He took off even a ring and gave it to him and sent him off in possession of all of his goods. God is witness to what I say here, and His testimony suffices."

"I do not want a Dínár⁷² of these goods," adds the Báb, "but it is for you⁷³ to ordain what seems good to you. But as for all disagreements God has Himself ordained the testimony of two witnesses, from the midst of all the wise men, therefore cause Áqá Siyyid Yahya⁷⁴ and Akhúnd Mullá 'Abdu'l-Khaliq⁷⁵ to be present. They will show you and explain to you my verses and from this meeting there will survive only one single thing, which is the perfection of my testimony."

"From these two persons, one knew me before my manifestation, the other afterwards; both know me very well, and this is why I have chosen them."

And the letter ends with kabbalistic proofs⁷⁶ and ahadíth.⁷⁷

⁷²Dínár is a Persian currency.

⁷³Here the Báb is referring to the Sháh, the recipient of his letter.

⁷⁴Áqá Siyyid Yahya—this appears to be a reference to Siyyid Yahya Darabí.

⁷⁵Akhúnd Mullá 'Abdu'l-Khaliq—unidentified person.

⁷⁶"Kabbalistic proofs" in this instance refers to 'ilm al-jabr, or 'ilm al-huruf, also called gematria, the computation of hidden meanings through the comparison of words having the same numerical values, with each letter in the Arabic/Persian alphabet representing a number.

⁷⁷"Ahadith" is the plural form of "hadith", denoting the oral traditions associated with the words and actions of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions, and, for the Ithna 'Asharí Imámís, the words and actions of the twelve Imámís.

Chapter Five

Imprisonment at Chihríq — Trial and Execution at Tabríz — Concealment and Burial

Hence, the Báb was much vexed in his prison and he remained there for a relatively long time⁽¹⁾, because the document which we have just cited is dated 1264⁽²⁾, and the execution of the martyr did not take place until 27 Sha'bán of the year 1266⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾The Báb was imprisoned at Máh-Kú for nine months (ZARANDI, p. 259; 'Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 12; KAF, p. 129 — cited Amanat, p. 374, n. 9), and he departed for Chihríq twenty days after Naw-Rúz (ZARANDI, p. 259), the fourth Naw-Rúz after his declaration, corresponding to the "hijra" year 1264 (ZARANDI, pp. 255-256). Since the eve of Naw-Rúz was on the thirteenth day of Rabí' al-Thání of that year (ZARANDI, pp. 255-256), then the twentieth day after Naw-Rúz must have landed on the fourth day of Jamádi al-Úlá 1264. Amanat (p. 380) gives precisely this date, with its Gregorian equivalent of 10 April 1848. Another conversion of this date is 8 April 1848, based on these two date converters:

<http://www.cs.pitt.edu/~tawfig/convert/convert.cgi>

<http://www.ori.unizh.ch/hegira.html>

Nine months prior to this date would place his arrival at Máh-Kú during the month of Sha'bán in the year 1263, corresponding to 15 July 1847 to 12 August 1847:

<http://www.ori.unizh.ch/hegira.html>

Or to 14 July 1847 to 11 August 1847:

<http://www.cs.pitt.edu/~tawfig/convert/convert.cgi>

⁽²⁾The Báb could have written this Tablet to Muhammad Sháh from Máh-Kú at any time during the last five months of 1263 — Sha'bán, Ramadán, Shawwál, Dhi'l-Qa'dih, Dhi'l-Hijjih, and the first four months of 1264 — Muharram, Safar, Rabí' al-Awwal, Rabí' al-Thání and Jamádi al-Awwal. Nicolas' dating of this Tablet in 1264 is entirely probable, although not proven beyond a reasonable doubt.

⁽³⁾The date of the Báb's death is reported in ZARANDI (p. 517), 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 27), and AVARIH (volume I, p. 245; cited Amanat, p. 402, n. 114) as the twenty-eighth of Sha'bán 1266. ZARANDI (p. 517) states that it took place at noon, while 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 27) affirms that it occurred before noon. In his dispatch to Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, dated 22 July 1850 (F.O. 60/152; cited Balyuzi, pp. 202, 241), Lt.-Col. Sheil reported the martyrdom of the Báb but seems to have omitted the date of this event. At the time of the execution of the Báb, R.W. Stevens, the British consul then serving in Tabríz was absent from the city, having left his brother George Stevens in charge; George did not report this event to Lt.-Col. Sheil, who seems to have been informed through some other channel (Balyuzi, p. 202).

On 24 July R.W. Stevens returned to Tabríz and promptly filed a report of the execution to Sheil (F.O. 248/142; cited Balyuzi, pp. 202, 241; Amanat, p. 402, n. 114). Amanat (p. 402, n. 114) notes that R.W. Stevens reported that the Báb's martyrdom took place on 27 Sha'bán 1266/8 July 1850, but casts doubt on the British consul's positive knowledge of the event, inasmuch as he was not present in Tabríz at the time of its occurrence. Amanat (p. 402, n. 114) notes that SIPIHR (volume III, p. 305; cited Amanat, p. 402, n. 114) also reports this event as occurring on 27 Sha'bán 1266, but that this chronicler mistakenly identifies 27 Sha'bán/8 July as a Monday, while ZARANDI (p. 517) correctly identifies 28 Sha'bán/9 July as a Sunday, and he reasons that this makes the Bábí/Bahá'í dating more reliable than the Muslim report and British diplomatic report. It might also be noted that ZARANDI (pp. 507-508) relates the testimony of the Báb's amanuensis, Siyyid Husayn Yazdí, with regard to the night just prior to the Báb's martyrdom, and it seems entirely unlikely that so devoted a disciple could have mistaken the date of his Master's martyrdom. Various eye-witness reports of the martyrdom of the Báb were collected and translated by Dr. Firuz Kazemzadeh and his brother Kazem Kazemzadeh and published as "The Báb: Accounts of His Martyrdom," in "World Order" (Fall 1973).

However the execution was preceded by a change of prison — he was made to leave Mách-Kú for Chihríq⁽⁴⁾. Mírzá Taqí Khán⁽⁵⁾, the Amír Nizám⁽⁶⁾ who was then the Prime Minister, seeing

⁽⁴⁾The date of the Báb's departure from Mách-Kú for Chihríq has been cited in Note (1), as 4 Jamádi al-Úlá 1264/8 or 10 April 1848. Since Chihríq is approximately eighty miles southwest of Mách-Kú, it seems likely that the Báb would have arrived in Chihríq a few days later, at the latest about 9 Jamádi al-Úlá 1264/13 or 15 April 1848. MacEoin (p. 82) indicates that the Báb departed Mách-Kú on 9 April 1848, and arrived at Chihríq at the beginning of Jamádi al-Thání 1264/early May 1848. It is entirely improbable that this journey would have taken an entire month. Hájí Mírzá Áqásí ordered that Ridá-Qulí Khán-i-Afshár lead the escort of the Báb from Mách-Kú to Chihríq (Balyuzi, p. 134). For information about his father, Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár, please see note (12). Ridá-Qulí Khán was married, through the intervention of his father, to the daughter of Siyyid Kázim Rashú (Balyuzi, p. 13-14). This chief of the Báb's escort was attracted to his charge during the journey from Mách-Kú to Chihríq (MU'IN, pp. 169-172; cited Amanat, p. 367, n. 192) and subsequently became a zealous Bábí (Balyuzi, pp. 134-135; Amanat, p. 247, n. 250). MU'IN (pp. 173-176; cited Amanat, p. 367, n. 194) also reports that Ridá-Qulí Khán was deprived of his family estate at Sa'in Qala by his anti-Bábí father, and then poisoned by his son, motivated also by religious enmity.

The transfer of the Báb from Mách-Kú to Chihríq is reported by ZARANDI (p. 259) to have been motivated by Hájí Mírzá Áqásí's "fear and resentment" over the influence exercised by the Báb over his jailer, 'Alí Khán of Mách-Kú. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 13) reports that the Báb was moved because of the entreaties of the "accomplished" Muslim clerics of Ádhirbáyján. Amanat (p. 378, n. 23) indicates that Prince Dolgorukov, the Russian minister in Tihrán from 1845 to 1854 (MacEoin, p. 170, n. 63), in a dispatch dated 4 February 1848 to the Foreign Minister of the Czar, reported that the Báb was transferred away from the Russian border, i.e. from Mách-Kú to Chihríq, during the previous year, in 1847. It seems likely that the Báb was not transferred until April 1848, but perhaps Prince Dolgorukov was informed of the decision to transfer the Báb prior to its taking effect. In any case, it appears from this dispatch that one of Hájí Mírzá Áqásí's motivations for effecting the removal of his prisoner from Mách-Kú to Chihríq may have been to calm the fears of the Czar's representative at court that the Báb's presence in that location might result in civil unrest and that its consequences might cross over the border into the Russian Empire. Chihríq was chosen for the Báb's imprisonment because the governor of the fortress and chief Khán (leader) in the region was Yahya Khán Shakaki, a Naqshbandí Sufí, the brother of Muhammad Sháh's favorite wife and an ally of Hájí Mírzá Áqásí (Amanat, p. 380, n. 33). ZARANDI (p. 301) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 13) call him simply "Yahya Khán the Kurd", and ZARANDI (p. 301) also reports that his sister was the mother of Náyibu's-Saltanih, one of the daughters of Muhammad Sháh — this would likewise identify his sister as one of Muhammad Sháh's wives. According to ZARANDI (p. 302), Yahya Khán was transformed through his contact with the Báb, as were the Kurdish inhabitants of the village of Chihríq, and those of Iski-Shahr, an hour's distance from the fortress. Soon after the death of Muhammad Sháh, his Grand Vazír, Hájí Mírzá Áqásí was deposed, and Násiri'd-Dín Sháh appointed Mírzá Taqí Khán the new Grand Vazír. According to 'Abbás Mírzá Mulk Ara (in "Sharh-i Hal," Tihrán:1946, p. 17; cited Amanat, p. 380, n. 33), shortly after Hájí Mírzá Áqásí's fall from power, Yahya Khán was summoned to Tabríz and imprisoned there, apparently because of his relationship with the former Grand Vazír. This would indicate that Yahya Khán was not governor of Chihríq during the last period of the Báb's imprisonment in that fortress. The last reference to Yahya Khán in ZARANDI (p. 322) is immediately upon the Báb's return to Chihríq after the trial in Tabríz, which probably occurred in August 1848, a month prior to Muhammad Sháh's passing and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí's disgrace. Please see the next paragraph for details. It should be noted that there is another Yahya Khán in this story, an attendant of 'Abbás Mírzá Sháh and of his son Muhammad Sháh (Balyuzi, p. 149). He was a resident of Tabríz, and the father of Hájí Sulaymán Khán ('ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 28; Balyuzi, p. 149). Balyuzi reports (p. 149) that it was intended that Hájí Sulaymán Khán follow his father in service to the court, but that instead he went to the 'Atabat, where he studied with Siyyid Kázim Rashú. Subsequently he embraced the Cause of the Báb, and visited his Master at Chihríq (Balyuzi, p.

149). ZARANDI (pp. 518-519) reports that Hájí Sulaymán Khán tried to effect the deliverance of the Báb, but arrived in Tabríz on the second day after the Báb's execution. ZARANDI (p. 519) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 28) indicate that Hájí Sulaymán Khán was instrumental in the initial retrieval and safeguarding of the mortal remains of Anís and the Báb, and ZARANDI (pp. 519-520) indicates that Hájí Sulaymán Khán reported the details of this matter to Bahá'u'lláh in Tihrán.

According to 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14), the Muslim clerics of Tabríz wrote to the government in Tihrán after the Báb had been in residence at Chihríq for three months. Three months after the Báb's arrival, which probably occurred about 9 Jamádi al-Úlá, would fall on 9 Sha'bán. ZARANDI (p. 301) reports that the Báb was brought to Tabríz towards the end of Sha'bán. Is there any conflict between these two dates? Not at all. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 14) reports that subsequent to the appeal of the clerics of Tabríz to Tihrán, Hájí Mírzá Áqásí ordered the Báb to be taken from Chihríq to Tabríz to be examined by the 'ulamá'. It would have taken some days for the message of the 'ulamá' to reach Tihrán, for the edict of the Grand Vazír to reach Chihríq, and then for the Báb to be conducted via Urúmiyyih to Tabríz. The Báb's imprisonment at Chihríq, which began in early Jamádi al-Úlá 1264/April 1848, was interrupted by his journey to Tabríz in Sha'bán 1264/July 1848 (Amanat, p. 387; Balyuzi, p. 139). MacEoin (p. 82) dates this journey in Sha'bán 1264 but later in that month, in August 1848 (the only day of Sha'bán which fell in August is the 1st — cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 301, n. 1), probably calculating the Báb's three months imprisonment at Chihríq from an arrival date of Jamádi al-Thání 1264/May 1848. Balyuzi (p. 147) dates the Báb's return to Chihríq in early August 1848, which must have corresponded to Ramadán 1264. Amanat (p. 394) indicates that the death of Muhammad Sháh took place less than two months after the Báb's trial in Tabríz. Balyuzi (p. 147) reports the date of Muhammad Sháh's death as 4 September 1848, while Amanat (p. 394) states only that this monarch died in September 1848. Hence, it appears that scarcely a month separated the return of the Báb to Chihríq and the death of Muhammad Sháh.

Whatever the duration of this interval, ZARANDI (p. 323) reports that the Báb wrote "Khutbiy-i-Qahríyyih" to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí immediately after his return to Chihríq; that Mullá Muhammad 'Alí-i-Zanjání, known as Hujjat (proof) personally delivered that Tablet to the Grand Vazír; and that Bahá'u'lláh recalled the circumstances of that delivery as they had been related to him by Hujjat himself, shortly after the fact. Hájí Mírzá Áqásí must have received this epistle shortly before the death of Muhammad Sháh and just prior to his own fall from power.

KAF (p. 132; cited MacEoin, p. 92, n. 70) included "Khutbiy-i-Qahríyyih" among the letters written to Muhammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí during the Báb's imprisonment at Chihríq. Balyuzi (p. 147) states that Hájí Mírzá Áqásí had already fallen from power when Hujjat delivered the Báb's letter to him in Tihrán. This is entirely unlikely given Bahá'u'lláh's account of the meeting between Hujjat and the Grand Vazír.

MacEoin (p. 92, n. 73) notes that "Khutbiy-i-Qahríyyih" can be dated from a reference in the text (INBMC 64, p. 140) to the forty months that had transpired since the Báb wrote Hájí Mírzá Áqásí for the first time. MacEoin (p. 58) cites the first letter of the Báb to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí as having been written most likely in 1844, and affirms that two manuscripts of this letter have survived (MacEoin, p. 192). The Báb meticulously listed all of his writings from 1 Muharram 1260/22 January 1844 to 15 Muharram 1262/14 January 1846 in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (cited MacEoin, pp. 50-52), and no mention is made therein of a letter to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí. However, the Báb wrote "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá" during this period, as is attested by "Kitáb al-fihrist" and other independent sources — ZARANDI (p. 61), JADID (p. 39), 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 4) — and copies of this work were conveyed by Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í to Muhammad Sháh and Hájí Mírzá Áqásí in 1260/1844 according to the Báb's Tablet to Muhammad Sháh from Máh-Kú, cited in the previous Chapter. Forty months prior to August 1848 would have fallen around April 1845, and certainly by that date Hájí Mírzá Áqásí would have received a copy of "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá". It is also possible that "Kitáb al-fihrist" is not a complete record of the Báb's writings during this period, and that he may have written a letter directly to the Grand Vazír subsequent to his pilgrimage, from Búshihir, in April 1845. Inasmuch as the Báb is writing "Khutbiy-i-Qahríyyih" to

Hájí Mírzá Áqásí in August 1848, he may have been referring to one of the "khutub" he wrote as he was returning to Shíráz after his pilgrimage, which are listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin, p. 51) and briefly described by MacEoin (p. 63). According to "Khutba al-Jidda" (cited MacEoin, p. 48, n. 25), the Báb sailed for Írán after the completion of his pilgrimage on 4 March 1845, arriving at Búshíhr about two and a half months later, circa 19 May 1845. During this voyage, the Báb's vessel would undoubtedly have put into port a number of times, and it may well have docked at a port in southern Írán, such as Bandar Abbas, in the strait of Hormuz and opposite the modern kingdom of Oman, in April 1845, forty weeks prior to the writing of "Khutbiy-i-Qahríyyih" in August 1848. Indeed, Amanat (p. 241) states that the Báb's sea-journey from Persia to Arabia took seventy-one days, and that the boat stopped at Kangan, Muscat and Mocha on its way from Búshíhr to Jidda. This period of time closely resembles the two and a half months which the Báb employed in returning from Jidda to Búshíhr. Inasmuch as we do not know of any epistle to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí which can be accurately dated in April 1845, it is difficult to follow MacEoin's reasoning that the date of "Khutbiy-i-Qahríyyih" can be dated from a reference in the text.

When the Báb returned to Chihríq, he remained imprisoned at that location from Ramadán 1264/August 1848 until Rajab 1266/June 1850 (KAZEM-BEG, tome VII, p. 371 — cited in French in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 302, n. 2; cited and translated into English in Moojan Momen, "The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 1844-1944," p. 75; cited Amanat, p. 395, n. 90). ZARANDI (pp. 504, 506) and GOBINEAU (p. 213; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 504, n. 1) report that Mírzá Taqí Khán — please see notes (5) and (13) for details — ordered Navváb Hamzih Mírzá, the governor of Ádhirbáyján to arrange the transfer of the Báb from Chihríq to Tabríz for a second time, without divulging the purpose of this journey.

Amanat (p. 395) alleges that the Báb was escorted by a detachment of Afshár horsemen from Sa'in Qal'a. Inasmuch as this was the location of the family estate of Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár, who was the Grand Vazir's special envoy charged with overseeing the Báb's execution (Amanat, p. 399), it may be that Hájí Sulaymán Khán was the instigator of this initiative. On his way to Tabríz, the Báb stayed at Salmás (MU'IN, p. 289; cited Amanat, p. 396, n. 91), where he was the guest, for the second time, of Mírzá Lutf 'Alí Salmási, the former steward of Muhammad Sháh who was dismissed when he conveyed one of the Báb's letters to His Majesty (MU'IN, pp. 175, 223; cited Amanat, p. 384, n. 47). Amanat (p. 396) reports that the Báb reached Tabríz on 19 June 1850.

During the first three months of his imprisonment at Chihríq (Jamádi al-Úlá 1264/April 1848 - Sha'bán 1264/July 1848), and the twenty-two months which followed his return from Tabríz (Ramadán 1264/August 1848 - Rajab 1266/June 1850), the Báb received many visitors, attracted many new followers and friends, and wrote many letters and other writings. His visitors included his uncle Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí [Khál-i-A'zam] (Amanat, p. 384; Balyuzi, p. 150); Hájí Sulaymán Khán (Balyuzi, p. 149); Muhammad Taqí Hashtrudi (MU'IN, pp. 255-258; cited Amanat, p. 384, n. 46); Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím Ahmad Qazvíní Kátib (ZUHUR, p. 370); Shaykh Mullá Mírzá 'Alí called 'Azím by the Báb (ZARANDI, pp. 306-307); Mullá Báqir Tabrízí (ZARANDI, pp. 504-505; Balyuzi, p. 151); Mullá Ádí Guzal Marághih'í, called Sayyáh (the traveller), the student of Mullá 'Alí Akbar Marághih'í (ZARANDI, pp. 431-433; MU'IN, p. 186; ZUHUR, p. 59 — all cited Amanat, p. 383, n. 43) — about whom please see more details in note (15); Mullá 'Alí of Kuhnih Sháhr (MU'IN, pp. 176, 231, 240, 254; cited Amanat, p. 384, n. 45); Dakhil Marághih'i (Ibid.; FAYZI, p. 280). The Russian agent, M. Mochenin, states in his memoirs, as reported in KAZEM-BEG (tome VII, p. 371; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 302, n. 2; Moojan Momen, "The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions," p. 75; Amanat, p. 395, n. 90) that he heard the Báb preaching in Chihríq shortly before his transfer to Tabríz, in June 1850, and that the eager listeners were so numerous that the courtyard of the fortress was too small to accommodate all of them, such that the majority remained in the street. His new followers, who became converts during his imprisonment at Chihríq, included the Indian dervish whom the Báb named Qahru'lláh (ZARANDI, pp. 305-306; KAF, pp. 212-214; MU'IN, pp. 226-230; all cited Amanat, pp. 384-385); "Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí and his brother Búyúk-Áqá, both siyyids of distinguished merit who had risen with fevered earnestness to proclaim their Faith to all sorts and conditions of people among their

countrymen" (ZARANDI, p. 303); and "Mírzá Asadu'lláh, who was later surnamed Dayyán by the Báb" (ZARANDI, pp. 303-305; ZUHUR, p. 64 — cited Amanat, p. 383, n. 42); and others (Amanat, p. 384), described by ZARANDI (p. 303) as including "a number among the most eminent of the siyyids, the 'ulamás, and the government officials of Khuy". The Báb's writings while at Chihríq included the following:

1] While according to some scholars (ZARANDI, p. 248; Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," pp. 24-25; MacEoin, pp. 84, 85, 88), the "Bayán-i-fársí" was revealed at Máh-Kú, Balyuzi (p. 132) indicates only that "Bayán-i-fársí" was begun at Máh-Kú, while Amanat (p. 374) states that the Báb compiled parts of "Bayán-i-fársí" at Máh-Kú. It is then possible that this book was begun at Máh-Kú and completed at Chihríq. Please see note (56) of Chapter Four for more details regarding this work.

2] "Bayán al-'arabíyya" was written in Máh-Kú (MacEoin, p. 85), at Chihríq (Balyuzi, p. 152), or at some time during these two imprisonments (Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," p. 25). Please see note (56) of Chapter Four for more details on this book.

3] "Lawh-i-hurúfát" (ZARANDI, p. 304), which is also called "Kitáb-i hayákil-i-váhid" by the Báb in "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" (pp. 45-46, lithographed edition; cited MacEoin, p. 90, n. 59); called "Kitáb-i-hayákil" (Book of Talismans) and "Kitáb-i-dar hayákil-i-váhid" (a book concerning the temples [talismans] of unity) in Bahá'u'lláh's letter to Mírzá Ibráhím Shírání (INBA 3003C, p. 19; cited MacEoin, p. 89, n. 55); called "Risála-yi Ja'fariyya" in Bahá'u'lláh's letter to Mullá 'Alí Muhammad Siráj Isfáhání (Ishráq-Khávarí, "Má'ida-i Ásmání," vol. VII, p. 60; cited MacEoin, p. 89, n. 56); and called "Kitáb-i-haykal" in another letter written by Bahá'u'lláh (Ishráqát, p. 47; cited MacEoin, p. 89, n. 58). This work is not to be confused with the Báb's "Sahífa-yi Ja'fariyya" (MacEoin, pp. 66-67, 90, 198); with Bahá'u'lláh's "Súrah-yi haykal" (MacEoin, p. 90, n. 61); or with Mírzá Yahya Subh-i-Azal's "Kitáb-i hayákil" (MacEoin, p. 90, n. 61). Nor should it be confused with the "hayákil" written by the Báb which are elsewhere described by MacEoin (p. 90, n. 61; pp. 99-101, 186).

4] "Haykal al-Dín" is preserved in at least three manuscripts (MacEoin, pp. 91, 186) and was lithographed along with "Bayán al-'arabíyya" (MacEoin, pp. 91, 254). MacEoin describes "Haykal al-Dín" as bearing a close resemblance to "Bayán al-'arabíyya" and taking the form of eight chapters of Bábí laws, each denominated a "váhid". In the lithographed version, two commentaries are appended, allegedly written by the Báb on 12 Sha'bán 1266/22-23 June 1850 (MacEoin, p. 91).

5] "Kitáb al-Asmá'" is also known as "Tafsír al-asmá'" and "Kitáb asmá'i kullí shay'" (MacEoin, p. 91), and "Chahár sha'n" ('Alí Frahvashú, "Á'ín-i Báb," n.p, n.d. — cited MacEoin, p. 91, n. 67; p. 251) was composed during the last days of the Báb at Chihríq according to Fádil Mázindarání ("Asrár al-athár," vol. I, p. 126). This book consists of nineteen "váhid" each of nineteen "abwáb", each "báb" containing four grades of writing (MacEoin, p. 91). MacEoin (pp. 92, 188) refers to twenty-six manuscript copies of this work, many of which are defective.

5] "Kitáb-i panj sha'n" which is also entitled "Shu'un-i khamisa dar Bayán-i shu'un-i da'wat," and "Kitáb al-Bayán fí'l-shu'un al-khamisa," is found in eleven manuscripts (MacEoin, pp. 189-190), and it was also lithographed but this version is missing five passages out of the total of sixty-five (MacEoin, p. 93). According to MacEoin (p. 95), the last five passages, or last two sections in the particular manuscript of "Panj sha'n" consulted by him (INBMC 64:60, pp. 85-89, 89-94; cited MacEoin, p. 90, n. 60) are more or less identical with "Lawh-i-hurúfát" — please see 1] for details.

6] Two Tablets addressed to Muhammad Sháh, listed in MacEoin (p. 97, n. 94; p. 193) are published in Persian ("Muntakhabát-i áyát az áthár-i Hadrat-i Nuqta-yi Úlá," pp. 5-8; pp. 9-13 and ZUHUR, pp. 82-85) and in English translation ("Selections from the Writings of the Báb," pp. 18-23; pp. 24-28). Amanat (p. 381) maintains that during his first few months at Chihríq, the Báb wrote two letters to Muhammad Sháh which were the first of a series of Arabic letters known as his "Khutab-i Qahríyyih." Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 354) states that the Báb wrote Muhammad Sháh from Chihríq (p.

460), and cites a portion of one such letter in Arabic (p. 354).

8] "Khutbiy-i-Qahríyyih", mentioned above and by MacEoin (p. 92), addressed to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí and apparently written immediately after the Báb's return to Chihríq from his trial in Tabríz, is found in two manuscripts (MacEoin, p. 186), and may be one of the "Khutab-i Qahríyyih" (sermons of wrath) quoted by MU'IN (pp. 151-160; cited Amanat, p. 383, n. 41) and FAYZI (pp. 304-306; cited Amanat, p. 383, n. 41).

9] Amanat (p. 381) asserts that the Báb wrote two letters to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí during his first months at Chihríq which were the first of the "Khutab-i Qahríyyih." The quotation he cites from ZUHUR (p. 84; Amanat, p. 381, n. 36) consists of a portion of one of the Báb's letters to Muhammad Sháh, according to MacEoin (p. 97, n. 94; p. 193). ZUHUR (pp. 85-89; cited MacEoin, p. 92, n. 78) quotes a letter written to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí that is different from "Khutbiy-i-Qahríyyih."

10] Letters to his followers: (1) Thirty-seven letters and other short pieces, in Browne Or. F. 25 (cited MacEoin, pp. 95, 208-209); (2) Six letters, in Browne Or. F. 21, numbers 9, 16, 18, 23, 24, 25 (cited MacEoin, p. 95, n. 90); (3) Ten letters, in ZUHUR (cited MacEoin, pp. 95-96); (4) Nine letters, published in facsimiles in an Azalí compilation, entitled "Qismatí az alwáh-i khatt-i Nuqta-yi Úlá wa Áqá Siyyid Husayn-i Kátib" (cited MacEoin, p. 96); (5) Three letters, in MIFTAH (Mírzá Muhammad Mahdí Khán Za'ím al-Dawlih, "Tá'ríkh al-Bábíyya aw miftah Báb al-abwáb"; cited MacEoin, p. 97).

11] Letter to the 'ulamá' in every city of Írán, and the 'Atabat, referred to by Shoghi Effendi, in "God Passes By" (p. 24) as probably written in Máh-Kú or Chihríq; which information MacEoin (p. 98) suggests is derived from Bahá'u'lláh ("Kitáb-i-Iqan," p. 178). Amanat quotes a letter written by the Báb in late 1849 to the 'ulamá' of Tabríz, reproduced in MU'IN (pp. 263-264; cited Amanat, p. 394, n. 86, 87). Abu'l-Qasim Afnan says that the Báb wrote a letter to the 'ulamá' of Tabríz while incarcerated at Chihríq.

12] Munáját (prayers), ziyaratnámás (Tablets of visitation), hayákil and dawá'ir (talismans in the shape of pentacles and circles) written at this time are described in MacEoin (pp. 99-101, 186, 195, 203, 210).

ZARANDI (p. 307) reports this testimony from Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí, one of the transcribers of the writings of the Báb in Máh-Kú (p. 31), speaking of the last days of the Báb in Tabríz, shortly before his martyrdom:

"At about the same time that the Báb dismissed 'Azím from His presence, I was instructed by Him to collect all the available Tablets that He had revealed during His incarceration in the castles of Máh-Kú and Chihríq, and to deliver them into the hands of Siyyid Ibráhím-i-Khalíl, who was then living in Tabríz, and urge him to conceal and preserve them with the utmost care."

Given the sheer quantity of writings cited above, it is quite remarkable that so many of them survive to the present day. However, it seems that Siyyid Ibráhím was not altogether unsuccessful in discharging his sacred trust. Indeed, ZARANDI (p. 31), writing circa 1888 about the location of the Báb's nine commentaries on the Qur'án authored at Máh-Kú, states that their "fate is unknown until now."

⁵Mírzá Taqí Khán, whose full name was Mírzá Taqí Khán Farahani (Amanat, p. 451), was appointed Grand Vazír by Násiri'd-Dín Sháh (ZARANDI, pp. 332, 500; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 20; Balyuzi, p. 152). He was determined to uproot the Bábí movement as it seemed to represent a challenge to the absolute authority of the central government; nor did he hesitate to employ the most brutal measures in order to effect his purpose (ZARANDI, pp. 500-504; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, pp. 20-22; GOBINEAU, pp. 211-213; cited "The Dawn-breakers," pp. 501-502, n. 2; Balyuzi, pp. 148, 152; Amanat, pp. 395-397). While Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 164) called Hájí Mírzá Áqásí the "Antichrist of the Bábí

that the Bábí revolution loomed bigger and higher and appeared to be formidable, told himself that the best means for calming down all these revolts would be to do away with the one whom he considered to be the leader behind all these events, that is to say, the Báb himself. He referred the matter to the Sháh⁽⁷⁾ who felt obligated to remark that all these troubles were due to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí, the former Sadr A'zam⁽⁸⁾ of his father⁽⁹⁾, who ordained the imprisonment of the Reformer at Máh-Kú without having him come first to Tihrán where he could have made him submit to an enquiry⁽¹⁰⁾.

Revelation," it is nevertheless incontestable that Mírzá Taqí Khán was singlehandedly responsible for effecting the martyrdom of the Báb and of hundreds if not thousands of his followers, during his Grand Vazírship, from fall of 1264/1848 until spring of 1268/1852, when he was assassinated by order of Násiri'd-Dín Sháh (ZARANDI, p. 595; Lord Curzon, "Persia and the Persian Question," volume II, p. 16 — cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 595, n. 2; Lady Sheil, "Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia," pp. 251-252 — cited "The Dawn-breakers," pp. 595-596, n. 2; Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," p. 82; David S. Ruhe, "Robe of Light," p. 129). ZARANDI (pp. 596, 598) recites a litany of "deeds of blackest infamy" of the so-called "Amír Kabír" which amply demonstrates that the Bábís could not but regard him as the most formidable of their many enemies. For information on Mírzá Taqí Khán, the reader is urged to consult ZARANDI (pp. 332, 443, 445-448, 450-452, 500-502, 504-506, 539, 546-547, 554-556, 558, 568, 595, 597, 598, 615); 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 20-21, 25, 26, 28-30); Balyuzi (pp. 146, 148, 152, 184, 185, 203, 207, 209, 212); and Amanat (pp. 27, 29, 281, 329, 339n, 355, 363, 366, 388n, 393, 395-399, 405-406, 411). Abbas Amanat's "Pivot of the Universe: Násir al-Dín Sháh Qájár and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896," (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) contains much more information about Mírzá Taqí Khán.

⁽⁶⁾Mírzá Taqí Khán was also called Amír-Nizám (ZARANDI, pp. 332, 500, 504, 506, 526, 539, 547, 595; 'ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 20); Amír Kabír (Balyuzi, p. 148; Amanat, pp. 394-401); and Amír (ZARANDI, p. 332; 'Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 25).

⁽⁷⁾Násiri'd-Dín Sháh assumed the throne with the decease of his father, Muhammad Sháh on 4 September 1848, and hence he was the reigning sovereign at the time of the Báb's execution. Ruhe ("Robe of Light," p. 129) reports that Násiri'd-Dín Sháh was made monarch at seventeen years of age, while Balyuzi (p. 140) and Amanat (p. 387) indicate that Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá was seventeen during the first examination of the Báb at Tabríz, earlier that same year. Balyuzi (p. 140) indicates that Násiri'd-Dín Mírzá had been recently appointed governor of Ádhirbáyján, and Amanat (p. 387) indicates this appointment as dating from February 1848. As the trial took place in July 1848, and Muhammad Sháh died in September 1848, it seems that these reports are mutually compatible.

'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 20) describes Násiri'd-Dín Sháh as being "in the prime of youthful years." In view of the various accounts of the machinations resorted to by Hájí Mírzá Áqásí in order to avoid a meeting between the Báb and Muhammad Sháh, it seems entirely realistic and justifiable that Násiri'd-Dín Sháh should have blamed the imprisonment of the Báb at Máh-Kú and the missed opportunity for an examination of the Báb's claims at Tihrán on the former Grand Vazír. Nicolas appears to base his account here on SIPIHR (volume III, p. 302; cited Amanat, p. 396, n. 93).

⁽⁸⁾Sadr-A'zam is a title meaning "prime minister; dignity of premier; chief seat" (Steingass, p. 788). Not only did Hájí Mírzá Áqásí serve as Grand Vazír to Muhammad Sháh, but according to Amanat (p. 79, n. 42), he may also have been the Sháh's Súfí "pir" (guide) in the Ni'matulláhi taríqah of which he, under the name Mullá 'Abbás Írávání was incontestably an adherent. It should also be noted that Muhammad Sháh consistently showed respect and reverence for Súfís (Amanat, p. 79, n. 43).

⁽⁹⁾Násiri'd-Dín Sháh's father was Muhammad Sháh.

⁽¹⁰⁾Hájí Mírzá Áqásí's rationale for circumventing such an enquiry in Tihrán was afterwards explained by him to Prince Farhad Mírzá, and is found towards the opening of Chapter Four.

Násiri'd-Dín Sháh remarked, "Also the vulgar believed that in him there was a [divine] knowledge or some miracle. If he had been allowed to come to Tihrán for a public discussion, it would quickly have been seen that there was nothing special about him." These judicious reflections attracted a response worthy of admiration. "The words of kings, are the kings of words," observed the Prime Minister in a convincing tone, "which does not detract," he added, "from the fact that today there is no longer any other way than to kill him." I do not know whether the conversation lasted a long time in this vein⁽¹¹⁾.

Nevertheless, Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshar⁽¹²⁾ was sent to Tabríz to proceed with the execution.

⁽¹¹⁾ZARANDI (pp. 501-502) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 25) indicate that Mírzá Taqí Khán, the Amír-A'zam and Grand Vazír decided that the only way to extirpate the Bábí movement was to strike at its source, and bring about the execution of the Báb. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 25, 30) states that he came to this decision without consulting Násiri'd-Dín Sháh or any of his fellow ministers of the court, whereas ZARANDI (pp. 502, 504) affirms that he summoned his counselors and that only one of them, Mírzá Áqá Khán-i-Núrí, the Minister of War, dared to advise him against this course of action. Balyuzi (p. 152) seems to follow ZARANDI in his account of this decision, and Amanat (p. 396) cites SIPIHR (volume III, pp. 302, 303) and ZARANDI (pp. 502, 504). ZARANDI (p. 615) states that a rumor was spread among the Bábís to the effect that shortly before his own demise, Mírzá Taqí Khán was haunted by a vision of the Báb whom he regretted having executed, and that he wished to effect the release of Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, the Báb's amanuensis and of Táhirih, as well as the Abandonment of further persecution of the Bábís. ZARANDI (pp. 615-616) also reports that Mírzá Áqá Khán-i-Núrí, who assumed the position of Grand Vazír after the forced departure of Mírzá Taqí Khán — and whom he described (pp. 502, 504) as the only minister who advised against the execution of the Báb — was inclined to follow a policy of reconciliation with the Bábís during the first period of his administration, until the attempt, in 1852, on the life of Násiri'd-Dín Sháh. 'ABDU'L-BAHA (pp. 29-30) affirms that the attempt of one Bábí to assassinate the Sháh was not representative of the wishes of the Bábí community, and moreover due to the ignorance of that individual. Nor was it justified, for the decision to execute the Báb had been taken by Mírzá Taqí Khán alone and without the cognizance of the Sháh. It should be noted that Tárikh-i-Nabíl (ZARANDI) was composed circa 1887-1892, while 'ABDU'L-BAHA was published in Persian in 1890, and in English translation in 1891, and that Násiri'd-Dín Sháh did not die until 1896 (Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," p. 296; Webster's Biographical Dictionary, p. 1084). It seems likely that if the Sháh had been instrumental in the decision to execute the Báb, the Bahá'í reports to the contrary would have come to the attention of his government, and that efforts would have been carried out to correct such a misapprehension.

This story recalls the Book of Esther, in which Haman, the chief minister of King Ahashverosh (Artaxerxes) conspires without the knowledge of His Majesty to bring about the genocide of the Jewish people resident in his realms. In that story, Mordechai advises Esther to inform the King of the impending doom of her entire people, and as a result of this action, the Jewish people are saved, Haman is condemned along with his treacherous associates and Mordechai is appointed chief minister in his place. In this nineteenth century story, Mírzá Áqá Khán-i-Núrí (like Mordechai) advised Mírzá Áqá Khán-i-Núrí (like Haman) not to carry out a death sentence, but he did not go to the Sháh himself, and so the sentence was carried out. Ultimately though, Mírzá Áqá Khán-i-Núrí replaced Mírzá Áqá Khán-i-Núrí as Grand Vazír, and, just like Haman, Mírzá Áqá Khán-i-Núrí went to his death by order of his sovereign.

⁽¹²⁾Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár (ZARANDI, pp. 391, 402, 428) is also called Sulaymán Khán (ZARANDI, pp. 391), Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár (Balyuzi, p. 125), Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár-i-Shahríyári (ZARANDI, p. 378), and Hájí Sulaymán Khán Afshár Sa'in Qal'a Amír al-Umara' (Amanat, pp. 247, 460). He was a son-in-law of Fath 'Alí Sháh, the King of Persia prior to Muhammad Sháh (Amanat, p. 247), and a devoted follower of Siyyid Kázim Rashú — who had promised that he would meet the

When Sulaymán Khán arrived at his destination, Hamzih Mírzá Hishmat al-Dawlih⁽¹³⁾, who

Qá'im (Balyuzi, p. 134). He was on such close terms with Siyyid Kázim Rashtí that he was able to effect the marriage of one of his Master's daughters with his son, Ridá-Qulí Khán-i-Afshár (Balyuzi, p. 134). After the passing of his Master, this Shaykhí chose to follow Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmání instead of the Báb (Balyuzi, p. 134; Amanat, p. 367). Sulaymán Khán met the Báb while on pilgrimage (The Báb, in ZUHUR, p. 271 — cited Amanat, p. 246, n. 240; ZUHUR, pp. 74-77 — cited Amanat, p. 247, n. 250; Balyuzi, p. 134). The Báb addressed a letter to Sulaymán Khán, probably during his pilgrimage, listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin, p. 51), and three manuscripts of letters addressed to Sulaymán Khán are extant (MacEoin, pp. 191, 192). ZARANDI (p. 235; cited Balyuzi, pp. 124-125) reports that in the course of his journey from Kulayn to Tabríz, while in the village of Síyáh-Dihán, the Báb was visited by Mullá Iskandar, whom he commissioned to deliver a message to Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár, then in Zanján and preparing to leave for Tihrán:

"He whose virtues the late siyyid unceasingly extolled, and to the approach of whose Revelation he continually alluded, is now revealed. I am that promised One. Arise and deliver Me from the hand of the oppressor."

Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár ignored the message. ZARANDI (pp. 378, 391, 402, 428) and SIPIHR (vol. III, p. 244; cited Amanat, p. 367, n. 193) report in some detail the contribution made by Hájí Sulaymán Khán to the destruction of the Bábís at Shaykh Tabarsí. Amanat (p. 399) indicates that Hájí Sulaymán Khán was subsequently sent to Tabríz by Mírzá Taqí Khán as his "special envoy and troubleshooter" to assist Mírzá Hasan Khán (Amanat, p. 399), the Vazír Nizám (secretary of the army) of Ádhirbáyján, and the Amír Kabír's brother and confidant (Amanat, p. 398), in effecting the execution of the Báb. Other details pertaining to Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár can be found in Amanat (pp. 246n, 247, 367, 398n, 399). He must not be confused with Hájí Sulaymán Khán, the Bábí, from Tabríz — please see note (38).

⁽¹³⁾Hamzih Mírzá Hishmat al-Dawlih (Balyuzi, pp. 152-153) was also called Navváb Hamzih Mírzá (ZARANDI, p. 504), and identified as a prince of the Qájár family (ZARANDI, p. 504; 'Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 25; Amanat, p. 398). ZARANDI (pp. 504, 506) indicates that Navváb Hamsih Mírzá appointed one of his trusted officers, with a mounted escort, to accompany the Báb from Chihríq to Tabríz. ZARANDI (p. 504) states that Mírzá Taqí Khán, the Grand Vazír did not disclose the reason why the Báb was being transferred to Tabríz, and that the governor of Ádhirbáyján assumed that no harm would come to the Báb. Once the Báb had been delivered to Tabríz, and the order for his execution was conveyed to Navváb Hamzih Mírzá, he was unwilling to carry out this order (ZARANDI, p. 506; 'Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 25). ZARANDI (p. 506) reports him as having told the Vazír-Nizám, Mírzá Hasan Khán, the brother of the Grand Vazír:

"The Amír,' he told him, 'would do better to entrust me with services of greater merit than the one with which he has now commissioned me. The task I am called upon to perform is a task that only ignoble people would accept. I am neither Ibn-i-Zíyád nor Ibn-i-Sa'd that he should call upon me to slay an innocent descendant of the Prophet of God."

Shoghi Effendi noted ("The Dawn-breakers," p, 506, n. 2) that Ibn-i-Zíyád and Ibn-i-Sa'd were "persecutors of the descendants of [the Prophet] Muhammad".

The sentiments of Mírzá Taqí Khán, the Grand Vazír are further attested to by ZARANDI (p. 504), citing a discussion prior to this event with court officials in Tihrán:

"Such considerations,' he protested, 'are wholly irrelevant to the issue with which we are faced. The interests of the State are in jeopardy, and we can in no wise tolerate these periodic upheavals. Was not the Imám Husayn, in view of the paramount necessity for safeguarding the unity of the State, executed by those same persons who had seen him more than once receive marks of exceptional affection from Muhammad, his Grandfather? Did they not in such

was then the Governor of Ádhirbáyján, ordained that the Báb be brought thence from Chihríq. At the same time his disciples were brought along with him, those who followed him everywhere, that is Áqá Siyyid Husayn⁽¹⁴⁾ and Mullá Muhammad-i-Yazdí⁽¹⁵⁾.

circumstances refuse to consider the rights which his lineage had conferred upon him?"

It is quite extraordinary that Mírzá Taqí Khán should have sought to justify his actions towards the Báb and his followers by referring to the assassination of the Imám Husayn and the suppression of his followers by order of Mu'awiya, whom Sunnī and Shī'ī Muslims alike consider a usurper of authority and a murderer of innocents. ZARANDI (p. 506) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (pp. 25, 26) state that Hamzih Mírzá explained his reasons for not carrying out the order of execution; that the Vazír-Nizám conveyed this message to the Grand Vazír; and that Mírzá Taqí Khán sent a second order to his brother, directing him to carry out the sentence immediately. When Hamzih Mírzá would not do so, feigning illness (ZARANDI, p. 506), Mírzá Hasan Khán took matters into his own hands. For more information about Hamzih Mírzá, Amanat (p. 398, n. 101) recommends that the reader consult Mahdí Bamdad, "Sharh-i Hal-i Rijal Írán dar Qarn-i 12, 13, 14 Hijra" (Tíhrán:1968-1974, vol. I, pp. 462-468).

⁽¹⁴⁾Áqá Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, also called 'Azíz, in this context probably meaning meaning "precious, dear" (Steingass, p. 848), and given this name by the Báb in "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá'" (Súrah 79, last verse), according to MacEoin (p. 204). He served as the principal amanuensis of the Báb, accompanying him to Máh-Kú, Chihríq, and Tabríz. According to Shoghi Effendi ("The Dawn-breakers," p. 80) and MacEoin (p. 204), Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí was chosen as one of the Letters of the Living by the Báb. Sources for his life include 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Ishráq Khávarí, "Rahíq-i-makhtúm" (Tíhrán, 1973-74, volume I, pp. 757-60); Muhammad 'Alí Malik Khusraví, "Tárikh-i-shuhadá-yi amr" (Tíhrán, 1973-74, volume III); ZUHUR (volume III, pp. 459-60, 460-61). Please see note (15) and note (26) for more details on his life.

⁽¹⁵⁾Nicolas calls this disciple of the Báb, Mullá Muhammad Yazdí. There is one Bábí by this name, Mullá Muhammad Rawdih-i-Khán-i-Yazdí, who is listed among the Letters of the Living in ZARANDI (p. 80) and Balyuzi (p. 27). Amanat gives this individual's name as Mullá Muhammad Rawza [Rawdih] Khwan Yazdí, and Zakir, and reconstructs some of his actions in relation to the Bábí Cause (pp. 176, 178-179, 286). It is fairly certain however that Mullá Muhammad Yazdí was not a constant companion of the Báb. There were two Yazdís who reportedly were companions of the Báb, and these were Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí and his brother, Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí. Nicolas mentions the first of these, and perhaps he simply got the name wrong for the second Yazdí. Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí joined the Báb in Shíráz shortly before the Báb departed for Isfáhán, and the Báb sent him on ahead to join his other disciples in that city (ZARANDI, pp. 192-193). Whether or not his brother accompanied him either to Shíráz or Isfáhán is not indicated. Two other disciples who had settled in Shíráz, Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím and Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí were also sent by the Báb to Isfáhán at that time (Ibid., p. 192). In Isfáhán the Báb instructed Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím Qazvíní, Shaykh Hasan Zunúzí and Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí to transcribe his writings (ZARANDI, p. 212). Towards the end of his stay in Isfáhán, the Báb sent Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím [Qazvíní] and Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí as emissaries to the other Bábís in that city to advise them to scatter throughout the region (ZARANDI, p. 214). The Báb then instructed Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí to proceed to Kashán, where they met shortly after the Báb's arrival there, on his way to Máh-Kú (ZARANDI, p. 219). Two days after the Báb arrived in Kulayn, he was joined by Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, his brother Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí, Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím [Qazvíní] and Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí (ZARANDI, p. 227). ZARANDI (p. 243) records a conversation between the Báb and Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí in Tabríz, on his way to Máh-Kú, and it is apparent from the context of this conversation that at least this one of two brothers was in the immediate company of the Báb at that time. Siyyid Husayn reports the transition to Máh-Kú: "...orders were issued to transfer Him and me to the castle of Máh-Kú and to deliver us into the custody of 'Alí-Khán-i-Máh-Kú'í." (Ibid.) Then Siyyid Husayn describes their residence in Máh-Kú: "For the first two weeks, no one was permitted to visit the Báb. My brother and I alone were admitted to His presence. Siyyid Hasan would, every day, accompanied by one of the guards, descend to the town and purchase our daily necessities. Shaykh

Then the 'ulamá' were invited to a great conference, but they refused to come, declaring that the ideas of the accused were heretical and that, by this very fact he merited death⁽¹⁶⁾. Hishmat

Hasan-i-Zunúzí who had arrived at in Máh-Kú, spent the nights in a masjid outside the gate of the town. He acted as an intermediary between those of the followers of the Báb who occasionally visited Máh-Kú and Siyyid Hasan, my brother, who would in turn submit the petitions of the believers to their Master and would acquaint Shaykh Hasan with His reply." (ZARANDI, p. 245) At one point the warden of the fortress in Máh-Kú, 'Alí Khán, dreamed a dream, and upon waking up from that dream he permitted other Bábís to visit the Báb, but ZARANDI asserts (p. 257), "Until that time no one of the disciples of the Báb but Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí and his brother had been allowed to spend the night within the castle." From Máh-Kú the Báb went to Tabríz, and then was sent to Chihríq, and ZARANDI (pp. 302-303) writes that at Chihríq "To no one would Yahya Khán refuse admittance to the castle. As Chihríq itself was unable to accommodate the increasing number of visitors who flocked to its gates, they were enabled to obtain the necessary lodgings in Iski-Shahr, the old Chihríq, which was situated at an hour's distance from the castle." Up until sometime in Dhi'l-Qa'dih 1265, the Báb was attended in Chihríq by Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí along with his brother, the Báb's amanuensis, Siyyid Husayn. ZARANDI (p. 431) informs us that the Báb sent out "Mullá Ádí Guzal, one of the believers of Marághih, who for the last two months had been acting as His attendant instead of Siyyid Hasan, the brother of Siyyid Husayn-i-'Azíz", to make a pilgrimage to Shaykh Tabarsí on his behalf. KASHF (p. 241, cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 431, n. 3) identifies the full name of this Bábí as Mírzá 'Alíy-i-Sayyáh-i-Marághih', and states that "he had acted as a servant of the Báb in Máh-Kú, ranked among His leading companions, and subsequently embraced the Message of Bahá'u'lláh." It appears then that Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí was no longer a companion of the Báb from Dh'il-Qa'dih 1265, as there is no mention of him accompanying the Báb to Tabríz.

Finally, the Báb was summoned to Tabríz, where the officer who had escorted him, Navváb Hamzih Mírzá "instructed one of his friends to accommodate Him in his home and to treat Him with extreme deference." (ZARANDI, p. 506) Mírzá Hasan Khán, the Vazír-Nizám and brother of the Grand Vazír arrived shortly thereafter and ordered the transfer of the Báb "and those in His company from the house in which He was staying to one of the rooms of the barracks." (ZARANDI, pp. 506-507) "Deprived of His turban and sash, the twin emblems of His noble lineage, the Báb, together with Siyyid Husayn, His amanuensis, was driven to yet another confinement..." (Ibid., p. 507) He was engaged in a conversation with Siyyid Husayn in that very barracks, when it was interrupted and he was taken to the place of execution. When the first volley failed to touch him, the Báb was found "seated in the same room which He had occupied the night before, engaged in completing His interrupted conversation, with Siyyid Husayn." (ZARANDI, p. 513) For the last time, the Báb and Siyyid Husayn were together in the flesh. ZARANDI reiterates that Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí was "the Báb's amanuensis both in Máh-Kú and Chihríq" (p. 629), and reports his imprisonment in the Sáyáh-Chál in Tihrán (pp. 629-630), his being joined in that prison by his "Comforter", Bahá'u'lláh, in whose company he "was privileged to remain until the hour of his death" (p. 631), which took place, in 1852, at the hands of the executioner of Táhirih, 'Azíz Khán-i-Sardár.

It is evident from this survey of the companions of the Báb, that Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí accompanied him virtually non-stop from his departure from Shíráz to the time of his death in Tabríz, and that Siyyid Hasan-i-Yazdí was also in his company for most of that period. There were other close companions of the Báb, including Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím Qazvíní and Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí, but none were as constantly in the company of the Báb as the two brothers from Yazd.

⁽¹⁶⁾Neither ZARANDI nor 'ABDU'L-BAHA refer to a second gathering of the 'ulamá' of Tabríz, and this seems to confirm Nicolas' allegation. ZARANDI (p. 509) reports that Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí — see note (15) — was summoned before a group of mujtahidún, who unsuccessfully tried to persuade him to renounce his ties with the Báb. ZARANDI (p. 510) also states that the Báb was conducted first to the house of Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání, then to that of Mírzá Báqir, and finally to that of Mullá

al-Dawlih, seeing the disgust — I here translate a Muslim author — of the 'ulamá', had the Báb arrive at night, when he was encountered, in a meeting prepared for this purpose, by Mírzá Hasan Khán Vazír-Nizám⁽¹⁷⁾ and Hájí Mírzá 'Alí⁽¹⁸⁾. These ones interrogated him, asking for the explanation of a difficult hadíth, and the Reformer — which is implausible — remained silent. So Hishmat al-Dawlih, taking the floor, asked him to descend verses on the subject of the crystal candlesticks⁽¹⁹⁾.

The Báb obeyed, but his response was not recorded. Some moments later, when invited to repeat for a second time the same verses, he was unable to do so⁽²⁰⁾.

Murtadá-Qulí, and that none of these three mujtahidún consented to meet the Báb face-to-face, although all three handed death-warrants to the government authorities who were charged with carrying out the execution. This version of the events of that morning is also found in Balyuzi (pp. 155-156). Amanat (p. 398) indicates that the 'ulamá' of Tabríz were reluctant to associate themselves with this execution. MU'IN (pp. 303-304), citing HASHTRUDI refers to a threatening message allegedly sent to the 'ulamá' of Tabríz by the Vazír-Nizám, warning them of the Grand Vazír's wrath should they refuse to sign death-warrants for the Báb (cited Amanat, p. 398, n. 102).

MU'IN (p. 305; cited Amanat, p. 399, n. 104) indicates that Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání was reluctant to sign a death-warrant. Muhammad Taqí, who was an eye-witness of his father's last meeting with the Báb, writes in his "Risála" (cited MURTAZA, pp. 315-317; mentioned Amanat, p. 399, n. 105; p. 400, n. 106, 107) that Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání tried to persuade the Báb to renounce his claims, but that the Báb firmly refused to do so. Mírzá Muhammad Mahdí ibn Muhammad Taqí Za'im al-Dawlih [henceforth, MIFTAH], in "Miftah Báb al-Abwáb aw Táríkh al-Bábíya" (Cairo:1903, pp. 233-235; cited Amanat, p. 400, n. 107), on the authority of his grandfather, Mullá Muhammad Ja'far and his father, Mullá Muhammad Taqí, both of whom he alleges to have been present on this occasion, gives similar testimony to the Risála of Muhammad Taqí. 'ABDUL-BAHA (p. 26) states that the farrásh-báshí (chief of police) delivered the Báb and Anís over to the chosen executioner, with the death-warrants of Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání, Mullá Mírzá Báqir, Mullá Murtadá-Qulí and others. ZARANDI (p. 510) says the same, but mentions only three death-warrants. The actual content of these death-warrants is described by MU'IN (pp. 304) on the authority of HASHTRUDI, and AVARIH (vol. I, p. 241), two different versions according to Amanat (p. 400, n. 108).

Amanat (p. 398, n. 101) indicates that inasmuch as he was unable to bring together the clergy, Hamzih Mírzá summoned a small gathering of state officials to examine the Báb. He cites SIPIHR (pp. 303-304) and AVARIH (vol. I, pp. 234-239) as sources for this event. Present at this examination, besides Hamzih Mírzá, were Mírzá 'Alí Khán and Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár (Amanat, p. 398, n. 101). Nicolas, citing no source, includes the Vazír-Nizám, Mírzá Hasan Khán in this meeting, and does not mention the presence of Hájí Sulaymán Khán.

⁽¹⁷⁾Mírzá Hasan Khán Vazír-Nizám was the secretary of the army in Ádhirbáyján and brother of Mírzá Taqí Khán, the Grand Vazír, also known as Amír Kabír. The fate of Mírzá Hasan Khán subsequent to the execution of the Báb is not mentioned in any of the sources consulted for this study.

⁽¹⁸⁾Hájí Mírzá 'Alí is also called Mírzá 'Alí Khán Ansárí, the son of Mírzá Mas'ud, and is named as having carried out the examination of the Báb before the state officials (Amanat, p. 398, n. 101). Nothing more is said about this individual in any of the sources.

⁽¹⁹⁾According to SIPIHR (pp. 303-304; cited Amanat, p. 398, n. 101), Hamzih Mírzá was not impressed with the verses revealed by the Báb. AVARIH (vol. I, pp. 234-239; cited Ibid.), on the other hand, which account seems to rely upon the Prince's own recollection of the inquisition, reports that he was indeed impressed with the Báb's revelation of verses.

⁽²⁰⁾Here it is reported that the Báb cannot reveal the same verses twice on the subject of crystal candlesticks, while in Chapter Four — please see Note (40) — the Báb is asked to reveal verses on the

From that time, he was condemned, and sentenced to death. However, it was wished that his execution be in public, for it was thought that if it took place secretly, nothing would stop the people from believing in his miraculous ascension to heaven. It was thus decided that the Báb would be marched through the streets of the town and executed in the great common⁽²¹⁾, which, strange as it may seem, has in Tabríz the name of "Plaza of the Sáhíb al-Zamán".

Thus the Siyyid was taken with Mullá Muhammad-'Alí Yazdí and Siyyid Husayn, and they were conducted to Hájí Mírzá Bábí⁽²²⁾, the Imám Jum'ih of the town, to Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání⁽²³⁾ and to Aqá Siyyid 'Alí Zunúzí⁽²⁴⁾. These ones delivered a fatwa ordaining the

subject of his cane, and then is told that his audience cannot understand his verses. In both cases it is clear that the examiners are toying with the Báb, not taking his claim to divine inspiration at all seriously, nor comparing his verses with the only other revealed verses in their possession, namely, those of the Qur'án. The Prophet Muhammad is not reported to have revealed the same verses a second time upon demand, nor is it alleged that all of the verses of the Qur'án are readily understood by its readers. Indeed, the Qur'án in Surat al-'imrán states, as a matter of principle (III:7):

"He it is Who has revealed the Book to you; some of its verses are unambiguous [muhkamátun], they are the basis of the Book, and others are figurative [mutashábihátun]. So that those in whose hearts is perversity will follow that part of it which is figurative, seeking to mislead others and to give it (their own) interpretation. However none knows its interpretation except God, and those who are firmly rooted in knowledge."

This theme is referred to with specific reference to this Qur'anic passage by the Báb in "Dalá'il-i-sab'ih" and by Bahá'u'lláh in Kitáb-i-Íqán.

⁽²¹⁾ZARANDI (p. 502) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 26) alike affirm that Mírzá Taqí Khán intended that the Báb be given a public execution. The specifics of the manner in which this execution would be carried out may have been left to Mírzá Hasan Khán and his associates.

⁽²²⁾Hájí Mírzá Bábí, also called Mírzá Bábí (ZARANDI, p. 510), Mullá Mírzá Bábí ('Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 26), and Mullá Muhammad Bábí the Imám Jum'ih (Amanat, p. 398), was the son of Mírzá Ahmad (ZARANDI, p. 510; Amanat, p. 398), the Imám Jum'ih of Tabríz who participated in the first examination of the Báb ('Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 14) — described in Chapter Four — and signed a death-warrant for the Báb at that time (ZARANDI, p. 510). Mírzá Ahmad had died in 1265/1849 according to Áqá Buzurg Muhammad Muhsin Jamáli, "Tabaqát A'lam al-Shi'a:II:al-Kiram al-Barara fi al-Qarn al-Thalith ba'd al-'Ashara" (part I, p. 97; cited Amanat, p. 398, n. 99). Amanat (p. 398) indicates that Hájí Mírzá Bábí was one of the 'ulamá' of Tabríz who were reluctant to involve themselves in the condemnation and execution of the Báb. Amanat (p. 399, n. 103) indicates that there is some disagreement among the sources (ZARANDI, pp. 509-510; SIPIHR, vol. III, p. 304; ZUHUR, p. 9; MU'IN, pp. 300-301) regarding the signatories of the fatwá calling for the execution of the Báb, but all of these sources seem to indicate that Hájí Mírzá Bábí Imám Jum'ih was one of the signers. Balyuzi (p. 155) likewise lists him as one of the three clergymen to sign death-warrants for the Báb: 1] Hájí Mírzá Bábí, the Imám Jum'ih of Tabríz, is not to be confused with 2] Hájí Siyyid Muhammad-Bábí-i-Rashtí, known as Harati (ZARANDI, pp. 19, 97, 264), also called Mullá Muhammad Taqí Harati (Amanat, pp. 61, 158n, 262, 264-266, 283-284); nor with 3] Mullá Muhammad Bábí-i-Tabrízí (ZARANDI, pp. 50-55, 63, 69), also called Mullá Bábí-i-Tabrízí (ZARANDI, pp. 368, 504-505), and named as one of the Letters of the Living (ZARANDI, pp. 80, 368, 504); nor with 4] Muhammad Bábí, the nephew of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í and one of the Letters of the Living (ZARANDI, pp. 80), also called Mullá Bábí (ZARANDI, pp. 287, 683); nor with 5] Mullá Bábí, the Imám of Chinár-Súkhtih (ZARANDI, p. 476); nor, finally, with 6] Muhammad-Bábí, the son of Zaynu'l-'Abidín, the fifth Imám of the Ithná 'Asharí Shí'í (E.G. Browne, "A Traveller's Narrative," Note O, pp. 296-298; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. lii).

execution.

From then on commenced a sorrowful march through the bazaars⁽²⁵⁾, during which Áqá Siyyid Husayn — charged by his Master with the execution of his last wishes — disavowed and renounced the Báb, and, upon the order of the tormenters, spit in his face. He accomplished the mission which was confided to him, and was, a little later, executed in Tihrán⁽²⁶⁾. Having

⁽²³⁾Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání has been identified in considerable detail in Note (34) of Chapter Four, as well as in other notes.

⁽²⁴⁾Siyyid 'Alí Zunúzí was a well-known mujtahid in Tabríz (Amanat, p. 401), and Nicolas follows SIPIHR (vol. III, p. 304; cited Amanat, p. 399, n. 103) in numbering him among the mujtahidún who delivered a "fatwá" condemning the Báb to death. Amanat (p. 399, n. 103) calls this "an obvious error." His stepson was none other than Muhammad-'Alí (ZARANDI, p. 507), also called Muhammad-'Alí-i-Zunúzí (ZARANDI, p. 306), Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí-i-Zunúzí (ZARANDI, p. 507), Áqá Muhammad-'Alí ('Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 26), and Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí (ZARANDI, pp. 508, 509, 512), and was surnamed Anís (ZARANDI, p. 306). Very little is known about Anís, except that his stepfather, Siyyid 'Alí-i-Zunúzí (ZARANDI, pp. 306, 509; cited Balyuzi, p. 153) locked him into his home, refusing to allow him to join the Báb at Chihríq (ZARANDI, pp. 306-307; Balyuzi, p. 153). It is also reported that the Báb assured Anís, in a vision, which he related to Shaykh Hasan-i-Zunúzí, a relative and one of the amanuenses and companions of the Báb, that he would be granted the privilege of sharing his Master's martyrdom (ZARANDI, pp. 307-308; cited Balyuzi, pp. 153-154). For more details concerning the fulfillment of this promise, please read on. There are reports in ZARANDI (p. 509), Balyuzi (p. 156) and Amanat (p. 401) to the effect that attempts were made to persuade Anís to retract his confession of faith in the Báb's claims, but to no avail. Amanat (p. 401, n. 111) cites AVARIH (vol. I, p. 240) and ZUHUR (pp. 31-37) both of which claim to be accounts of an exchange between Anís and a Shaykhí mullá seeking to elicit his return to Islám. ZARANDI (pp. 509-510) reports a brief exchange between Anís and Mullá Muhammad Mámáqání — among others — and it is worth noting that Mámáqání was regarded as perhaps the leading Shaykhí 'alím (cleric) in Tabríz.

⁽²⁵⁾The humiliating removal of the Báb's turban and sash, the twin emblems of the "siyyid" (descendant of the Prophet Muhammad) is reported in ZARANDI (p. 507) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 26), as well as Balyuzi (p. 153) and Amanat (p. 402). He was conducted around the city and through the bazaar before being brought to the square for his execution in order to demonstrate the government's full control of the situation (Amanat, p. 402). This whole scene evokes many similar images in the public humiliation, the parade through the city streets and the open air of Jesus of Nazareth, as depicted in the Gospels.

⁽²⁶⁾Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, the amanuensis of the Báb, held his last earthly conversation with his Master in the prison cell adjoining the place of the Báb's martyrdom, between the firings of the two regiments (ZARANDI, pp. 513-514; 'Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 27). ZARANDI describes Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí as "the Báb's amanuensis both in Máh-Kú and Chihríq" (p. 629), and reports his imprisonment in the Siyáh-Chál in Tihrán (pp. 629-630), his being joined in that prison by his "Comforter", Bahá'u'lláh, in whose company he "was privileged to remain until the hour of his death" (p. 631), which took place, in 1852, at the hands of the executioner of Táhirih, 'Aziz Khán-i-Sardár. According to MacEoin, (pp. 13, 84, 182), a manuscript copy of "Bayán-i-fársí" in the hand of Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí is preserved at the Bahá'í International Archives in Haifa. Also in the handwriting of this amanuensis are twenty-seven folios of "Kitáb al-asmá'", in the same location (MacEoin, p. 188); and six examples of letters reproduced in facsimile in the Azalí compilation entitled "Qismatí az alwah-i-khatt-i-Nuqta-yi-Úlá wa Siyyid Husayn-i-Kátib" (MacEoin, pp. 204, 254). The authenticity (and authorship) of the letters in this collection has yet to be independently confirmed. There is another trace of his influence which has been discovered, and a very interesting one at that. E.G. Browne (in Appendix Two to JADID, pp. 395-396; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 518, n. 1) quoted Hájí Mírzá Jání Kashání to the effect that Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí, whom he calls Áqá Siyyid Muhammad-Husayn, gave some of the writings of the Báb to the Russian consul at Tabríz (presumably Anitchkov, according to Amanat, p. 381, n. 35), who came to ask Siyyid Husayn

arrived at the fatal Plaza, all efforts were made, in vain, to detach Mullá Muhammad-'Alí⁽²⁷⁾ from his convictions — his wife and his little children were brought, and he obstinately refused to listen to them, confining himself to one last request — the favor of being killed before his Master.

It is then that a strange event occurred, unique in the annals of humanity. The two companions solidly attached to one another had placed before them the Christian regiment of the Bahadurans⁽²⁸⁾. Upon a signal given by their chief the soldiers fired. Then Mullá Muhammad-'Alí was seen covered with wounds, dying, turning towards his Master, and his words terrified the witnesses: "Master," he said, "master, are you content with me?" The bullets had cut the cords which held the Báb, who dropped to his feet, without a scratch. "Ah! If at this moment he had exposed his chest⁽²⁹⁾," says the historian of the "Kitáb al-Mutanabbí'ín"⁽³⁰⁾, "and if he had

about the Báb shortly after his martyrdom. E.G. Browne indicates that this story is confirmed by the testimony of Bernard Dorn ("Bulletin de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg," vol. VIII, p. 248), who, in describing a manuscript of one of the Báb's works in the possession of the Academie, indicates that it was "received directly from the Báb's own secretary, who, during his imprisonment at Tabríz, placed it in European hands." Amanat (p. 381, n. 35) notes that this interview is also found in KAF (p. 267), and Moojan Momen, "The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions" (p. 48).

Inasmuch as Siyyid Husayn was imprisoned shortly after the Báb's execution, it appears that the government authorities were not convinced by Siyyid Husayn's feigned repudiation of the Báb just prior to his martyrdom, an act which had been enjoined upon him by the Báb himself according to ZARANDI (p. 508) and ZUHUR (p. 460; cited Amanat, p. 381, n. 35). Two years later, immediately following the attempt on the life of Násirí'd-Dín Sháh in 1852, Siyyid Husayn was imprisoned in the same dungeon as Bahá'u'lláh, the Síyáh-Chál of Tihrán, until the time came for his execution, which was carried out by 'Azíz Khán-i-Sardár, the executioner of Táhirih (ZARANDI, pp. 629-631). ZARANDI (p. 631) indicates that Siyyid Husayn was comforted in his separation from the Báb by Bahá'u'lláh, "One who alone could banish, by the light of His presence, the anguish that had settled upon his soul." Whether this indicates that Siyyid Husayn recognized the prophetic station of Bahá'u'lláh is not evident from this passage.

⁽²⁷⁾The attempts to persuade Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí (Anís) from his Bábí convictions are described in Note (24). No mention is made in any of the Persian sources however to the pleas of this young man's wife and children. However, given the young age at which Persians were customarily married at this time, it is not improbable that he was married and had little children.

⁽²⁸⁾ZARANDI (pp. 511-514) indicates that Sám Khán and his men were designated the first executioners of the Báb. 'Abdu'l-Bahá (pp. 26-27) indicates the same, identifying Sám Khán as a colonel, and his men as the Christian regiment of Urúmiyyih. MU'IN (p. 306; cited Amanat, p. 402, n. 117) states that Sám Khán, better known as Sám Khán Urus was a convert to Islám; this is clearly not reflected in ZARANDI or 'ABDU'L-BAHA. Perhaps he became a convert to Islám after the execution of the Báb? HIDAYAT (vol. X, pp. 210, 329, 416-422; cited Amanat, p. 402, n. 117) reported that the Bahaduran regiment participated in all of the major campaigns of Muhammad Sháh's reign under Sám Khán's leadership. MIFTAH (p. 238; cited Amanat, p. 402, n. 116) indicates there were three regiments present at the place of execution, and that Áqá Ján Bag Khamsih, the leader of the Násirí regiment refused, and so the Bahaduran regiment was chosen. He indicates that KAF (p. 249; cited Ibid.) seems to confirm this report. ZARANDI and 'Abdu'l-Bahá state that Sám Khán and his men were selected first. ZARANDI (p. 514) indicates that upon the failure of the Bahaduran regiment to injure, let alone kill the two condemned ones, Sám Khán was excused and Áqá Ján Khán-i-Khamsih, colonel of the body-guard, known as the Khamsih or Násirí regiment, carried out the execution. 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 27) indicates the same, naming the colonel of the body-guard Áqá Ján Big-i-Khamsih.

⁽²⁹⁾Amanat (p. 403) has translated this passage, from SIPIHR (vol. III, p. 305; cited Ibid., n. 122), and it

started to cry, 'O soldiers, O men, you are yourselves the witnesses of this miracle, that of 1000 bullets⁽³¹⁾ not a single one could reach me, and some even came to cut my bonds,' all would

is reproduced here in full for the convenience of the reader (the words in brackets are supplied by Amanat in order to assist reading comprehension):

"[His] escape [to one of the rooms in the barracks] was a demonstration of the might of the [Islamic] shari'a since at that time when the bullets hit the rope and he was set free, if he exposed his bosom and cried out: 'O, ye the soldiers and the people, didst thou not see my miracle that of a thousand bullets not even one hit me but instead untied my bonds,' then no one would have fired a shot at him any more and surely the men and women in the barracks would have assembled around him and a riot would have broken out. It was God's will that the truth should be distinguished from falsehood and doubt and uncertainty be removed from among the people."

⁽³⁰⁾The author of "Kitáb al-Mutanabbi'in" is 'Alí-Qulí Mírzá, I'tidád al-Saltanih. Not to be confused with Muhammad Hasan Khán, Saní'ud-Dawlih, I'timád al-Saltanih Marághiyí. Please see Note (37) for details related to the latter author. MacEoin (p. 253) indicates that part of "Kitáb al-Mutanabbi'in" is incorporated in "Fitna-yi Báb" by 'Abdu'l-Husayn Navá'í, who also wrote an article entitled 'Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad Báb va Kitáb al-Mutanabbi'in-i-I'tidád al-Saltanih' ("Yaghma", volume III).

⁽³¹⁾Dr. Firuz Kazemzadeh and his brother Kazem Kazemzadeh compiled various eye-witness accounts of this event, some of them being translated for the first time from Persian and Russian, in "The Báb: Accounts of His Martyrdom" ("World Order," Fall 1973). According to ZARANDI (p. 513) and 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 27 English/p. 65 Persian), Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí (Anís) was untouched by the shots fired by the Bahaduran regiment. This seems to be confirmed by KAZEM-BEG (translated from the Russian of "Bab i babidy," St. Petersburg, 1865 pp. 39-41 by Kazem Kazemzadeh in the "World Order" article cited above). Justin Sheil's Foreign Office report to Lord Palmerston, cited by Balyuzi (p. 202) and in Moojan Momen's "Some Contemporary Western Accounts of the Babi and Bahá'í Religions, 1844-1944" (George Ronald, Publisher, 1981, p. 78) does not make any mention of Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí (Anís) in connection with the martyrdom of the Báb. Neither does Clement Huart, the French Orientalist, in "La Religion du Bab" (Paris, 1889, pp. 3-4; cited in "The Dawn-breakers," p. 513, n. 1). SIPIHR (p. 305; cited Amanat, p. 403, n. 120; and translated by Dr. Firuz Kazemzadeh for the "World Order" article) reports that Anís was killed in the first attempt, and this is repeated by GOBINEAU (translated by Kazem Kazemzadeh in the "World Order" article), and MIFTAH (translated by Dr. Firuz Kazemzadeh in the "World Order" article). Due to the similarity of their accounts, it seems that both GOBINEAU and MIFTAH based their descriptions of this event on SIPIHR, and hence should not be taken as independent sources. A conversation between George Latimer and 'Abdu'l-Bahá on 19 November 1919 seems to confirm SIPIHR in this regard ("The Light of the World," Boston:1920, p. 70):

"Mr. Latimer: 'Was the Babi, Aga Mohammed Ali, who was martyred with the BAB, killed with the first volley or the second?'"

"Abdul Baha: 'With the first one he was killed. He was mutilated. But the body of His Holiness the BAB was not hit by the first discharge.'"

However, this conversation was not confirmed either in substance or wording by 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and it is possible that Latimer or his translator may have misunderstood his meaning.

KAZEM-BEG stated that after the first attempt, the "Christian soldiers immediately ran and showed the people the ropes severed by bullets; the criminal was again tied; Áqá Muhammad-'Alí was shot first, then the Báb" (op. cit.). This seems to suggest that neither Áqá Muhammad-'Alí nor Báb was struck by the first attempt, namely of the Christian regiment, but that in the second attempt, first Áqá Muhammad-'Alí was struck and then the Báb. ZARANDI (p. 512) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (pp. 43-44) state

have set to howling, and precipitating themselves at his feet. But," continues our author, "God wished to make known the truth; that is why He made him run away."

I am not, and cannot be, concerning these last words, of the same opinion as I'tidád al-Saltanih. Christians are convinced that if Jesus Christ had wished to descend living from the cross, he could have done so without difficulty — he died voluntarily, because he had to die in order to fulfill the prophecies. It is the same for the Báb, say the Bábís, who alike wished to give clear evidence in support of his words. He also died voluntarily, because his death was to save humanity. Who will ever tell us the words that the Báb could have pronounced in the midst of the nameless tumult that greeted his departure? Who will know what memories agitated his beautiful soul? Who will ever tell us the secret of his death?

Be that as it may, the soldiers took him again⁽³²⁾, attached him once more to the infamous pole,

that the regiment consisted of three files of soldiers, each of two hundred and fifty soldiers (ZARANDI), and that each file was ordered to fire a volley of shots in its turn. Perhaps the attempt by the Christian regiment, after firing three volleys, did not injure either Áqá Muhammad-'Alí or the Báb, but severed the ropes that secured the Báb, resulting in his seemingly miraculous disappearance from the scene. Once the next regiment was summoned to make a second attempt at this public execution, perhaps Áqá Muhammad-'Alí was hit by the first file of soldiers, and the Báb by the second or third file, and hence after him. This might explain this difference between the various accounts.

ZARANDI (p. 512) and Balyuzi (p. 157) report that the regiment consisted of 750 men, and that they fired in three volleys, one row at a time, while Amanat (p. 403) states only that there were three volleys. Hence, it seems that I'TIDAD, here reported by Nicolas to have cited 1000 shots, is exaggerating the number of bullets fired during the first attempt to execute the Báb and his companion.

⁽³²⁾While I'TIDAD states that the Báb "ran away" and accuses him of cowardice, and SIPIHR (op. cit.), GOBINEAU (op. cit.) and MIFTAH (op. cit.) agree with this source, ZARANDI (p. 513) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 27) indicate that after his disappearance from the place of execution, the Báb was found in the cell he had occupied earlier and in the company of Siyyid Husayn-i-Yazdí. ZARANDI (pp. 513-514) reports that the farrásh-báshí who was in charge of finding the Báb and returning him to the place of execution was so shaken by these events that he resigned his post and left the scene; he further indicates that he told this story to his neighbor, Mírzá Siyyid Muhsin, who was immediately converted to the Bábí Cause, and who later showed Nabíl-i-Zarandí the exact location of the room where the Báb was found and the nail from which he was suspended during the execution. Amanat (p. 403, n. 121) cites a report — without identifying the source — that a Muslim army sergeant, Ghuj 'Alí Sultán retrieved the Báb, striking him in the face, and dragging back to the firing squad. In SIPIHR (op. cit.), Quch-'Alí Sultán is described as "having hit him several times on the back of his head, returned him to the place of execution." The same account is found almost word for word in MIFTAH. GOBINEAU (op. cit.) states once freed of his bonds by the first attempt on his life, the Bab "fell on his feet, quickly rose and sought to flee; then, all of a sudden seeing a guardhouse, he ran into it...when the Báb had entered the guardroom, an infantry captain, or Sultán, by the name of Quch-'Alí came in after him and cut him down with his sabre. The Báb fell without saying a word; then the soldiers, seeing him in a pool of blood, approached and ended his life with their rifles at point-blank range." It thus appears that Amanat could have derived his information from any one of these sources.

ZARANDI (p. 514) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 27) insist that the Muslim regiment led by Áqá Ján of Khamseh stepped in to carry out the death sentence against the Báb. ZARANDI (p. 525) seems to have kept track of this Muslim regiment: he indicates that during the year 1266/1850, one third of the regiment died in an earthquake, and that three years later the remaining 500 mutinied and were mercilessly shot by order of Mírzá Sádiq Khán-i-Núrí.

and this time Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad rendered his soul to God. It was on Monday the 27th of Sha'bán that this event took place⁽³³⁾.

The Comte de Gobineau⁽³⁴⁾, who is in agreement in this with the authors of the "Nasíkh't-Tawárikh"⁽³⁵⁾, of the "Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násirí"⁽³⁶⁾, of the "Mir'at al-Buldan"⁽³⁷⁾, in a word with all the official court historians, reports that after the execution, the cadaver of the Báb was thrown into the ditches of the town and devoured by the dogs. In reality it was not so, and we will see why this account was spread — as much by the authorities of Tabríz who were not at all anxious to bring upon themselves the reprimands of the government through a complacency sold at high expense, as by the Bábís who were desirous in this manner to influence the investigations of the police.

The most sure testimonies of the very spectators of this drama and of its actors do not leave me in any doubt that the body of Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad was received by pious hands and that finally, after vicissitudes which I will recount, received a sepulcher worthy of him.

When the execution was completed, the troops retired, the crowd dispersed and the bodies were confided to the soldiers on guard. The Comte de Gobineau would have it, with some other authors, that the body was marched through the streets of the town for three days. Although this fact is in general denied by tradition, I accept it as true because it is believable. In any case, night having come, the body was left where it was, alone and abandoned, or it was guarded by soldiers. In the first case it is totally impossible that the numerous Bábís who were found in the town would have hesitated a single instant to steal the body while nobody watched. They have demonstrated too many proofs of their courage, of their conviction and of their enthusiasm to admit, for even a second, that they would have abandoned to the public the body of him whom they considered as their god and which besides would have been so easy to recover. But, if the official historians are right, and if on the third day the body was thrown into the ditches of the town to become the prey of stray animals, it is very clear that after this it was no longer guarded and the sectarians could easily have appropriated it. Finally, in last case, even if it was guarded at night, its removal would have been relatively easy. One has no doubt been able to perceive in the course of this story what Persian sentinels are made of; their

⁽³³⁾Please see note (3) for a detailed consideration of the date of the Báb's execution.

⁽³⁴⁾Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, "Religions et philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale," Paris: Didier & Cie, 1865.

⁽³⁵⁾Mírzá Muhammad Taqí Lisan al-Mulk Sipihir, "Nasíkh't-Tawárikh:Qájáriyya," edited by M.B. Bihbudi; Tihrán:1965, four volumes.

⁽³⁶⁾Ridá Qulí Khán Hidáyat, Lálá-báshí, "Rawdat al-Safá-yi Násirí," Tihrán:1959-1960, third edition.

⁽³⁷⁾"Mir'at al-Buldan", a work in several volumes (Dr. Khazeh Fananapazir, email 14/1/02) was authored by Muhammad Hasan Khán (Dr. Fananapazir; and Dr. J.R.I. Cole, email 14/1/02), known as I'timád al-Saltanih (Dr. Cole) and as Saní'ud-Dawlih, I'timád al-Saltanih Marághiyí (Dr. Fananapazir). Dr. Cole pointed out that the author died in 1896, and he referred to the publication of his history in Tihrán by Nashr-i-Asfar, with the first volume dated 1364/1985. Dr. Fananapazir points out that the author of this history was the son of Hájibu'd-Dawlih Hájí 'Alí Khán Marághiyí, "a cruel persecutor of the Bábís" and that his son, "the author, was fair in description of geography etc. but not in matters related to the [Bábí] Cause." MacEoin (p. 252) cites "Kitáb al-ma'áthir wa'l-áthár" (Tihran, 1306/1888-89) by the same author.

function essentially consists in sleeping in front of the trust they have been charged with guarding.

If one considers that eloquent and passionate arguments leave very few people untouched in Persia, one may easily realize that these Bábís could find the way to the hearts' depths of these so inadequately remunerated poor devils. Finally, courage not being, especially in this circumstance, the dominant characteristic of the enemies of the Bábí Faith, if one wishes to admit that the guard was composed of two or three soldiers, these ones would very probably have fled after a first serious attack.

This is what the Bábís resolved at first to do. The leaders, gathered at the home of Sulaymán Khán of Sa'in Qal'a⁽³⁸⁾ in order to decide upon what measures to take to remove the body of the

⁽³⁸⁾There are two individuals named Hájí Sulaymán Khán who were directly associated with the Bábís during this period. Ridá-Qulí Khán-i-Afshár converted to the Bábí Cause (MU'IN (pp. 173-176; cited Amanat, p. 367, n. 194) and was apparently deprived of his family estate at Sa'in Qala by his anti-Bábí father, Hájí Sulaymán Khán-i-Afshár — please see note (4) for more information. On the other hand, there is another Hájí Sulaymán Khán, a fervent and active Bábí, who is referred to in the context of the safeguarding of the Báb's body, in ZARANDI (pp. 518-520) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 28). When the body was retrieved from the street, it was first brought, according to Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 408), to the house of Mírzá Hasan Vazír, the son in law of Hájí Mírzá 'Alí Tafriší (FAYZI, p. 357), known as Majd al-Ashraf. From there the body was transported to Tihrán by Hájí Sulaymán Khán, according to various accounts.

In a conversation between George Latimer and 'Abdu'l-Bahá on 19 November 1919, we find the following report ("Light of the World," Boston:1920, p. 70):

"Then Mr. Latimer asked about the taking of the body of the BAB to Teheran.

"Abdul Baha: 'It is just as it is written in the Traveller's Narrative. Read it in the Traveller's Narrative. It is the same. All the other accounts are without foundation. Suleyman Khán, the martyr, brought His Blessed Body to Teheran.'"

Actually, "Traveller's Narrative" (that is, 'ABDU'L-BAHA) does not state that the body of the Báb was brought to Tihrán by Sulaymán Khán...it only states (p. 28) that he retrieved the body of the Báb, placed it in a box, and sent it away from Ádhirbáyján according to instructions from Tihrán. ZARANDI (p. 519) tells a similar story, indicating that Sulaymán Khán had the Báb's body retrieved, placed in a box and transferred "to a place of safety." ZARANDI (p. 521) does not report who delivered the body of the Báb to Tihrán, but he does state that he was in Tihrán at that time, and that the remains were transferred by Áqáy-i-Kalím and Mírzá Ahmad, "from the Imám-Zádih-Hasan, where they were first taken, to a place the site of which remained unknown to anyone excepting themselves." Balyuzi (pp. 159-160) seems to rely on ZARANDI and 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and does not clarify this matter. It would seem that 'Abdu'l-Bahá's words, cited above, are the only definite account we have of who was responsible for transferring the body of the Báb from Tabríz to Tihrán. Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," pp. 273-274) states that, according to Bahá'u'lláh's instructions, the remains of the Báb were "transported to Tihrán and placed in the shrine of Imám-Zádih Hasan. They were later removed to the residence of Hájí Sulaymán Khán himself in the Sar-Chashmih quarter of the city, and from his house were taken to the shrine of Imám-Zádih Ma'sum, where they remained concealed until the year 1284 A.H. (1867-1868)..." This would seem to explain ZARANDI's omission of the name of Hájí Sulaymán Khán with regard to the process of the actual transfer of the Báb's body from Tabríz to Tihrán — it was intended that this process be secret, so that enemies of the Bábís (and later of the Bahá'ís) would be incapable of seizing that sacred relic. ZARANDI (pp. 610-611, 613-619) makes copious reference to the martyrdom of Sulaymán Khán, and other sources cited by Amanat (p. 367, n. 189) include SIPIHR (vol. IV, p. 42), ZUHUR (p. 26n), Browne in JADID (pp. 330-331), Moojan Momen (pp. 128-146), and "Vaqa'iyi' Ittifaqiya" (no. 82). Sepehr Manuchehri has indicated that ZUHUR (volumes III and IV) contains much

martyr from the insults and the brutalities of the infidels, decided to mobilize their men, to go in groups to the place where the Báb lay, to wage battle if necessary but to carry off the precious relic, no matter what the cost. Sulaymán Khán was a considerable man, and head of a large family having ties of friendship with the Kalantar of Tabríz⁽³⁹⁾. He prevailed upon his co-

material on Hájí Mírzá Sulaymán Khán, the Bábí, and on the transfer of the Báb's remains from Tabríz to Haifa. According to Manuchehri, ZUHUR categorically denies that the Bábís intended to 'wage battle if necessary' in order to retrieve the body of the Báb. Instead, the Bábís sent two or three persons who pretended to be 'mentally disturbed' to the vicinity of the site. These were instructed not to leave the site under any circumstances. Bábí women were directed to bring them food and water. They were to remain there and attempt to smuggle the body out at a suitable time.

⁽³⁹⁾Hájí Mihdi Khán (Balyuzi, p. 159), the Kalatar (mayor) of Tabríz was a long-standing friend of Hájí Sulaymán Khán. ZARANDI (p. 519) calls the Kalantar a dervish and a member of the Súfí community, while 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 28) states that he was "of the mystic temperament and did not entertain aversion or dislike for any sect" — important indications, inasmuch as Hájí Mírzá Áqásí and Muhammad Sháh were also Súfís, if clearly of a different stripe. The Kalatar arranged for Hájí Alláh-Yár (ZARANDI, p. 519; 'Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 28), a private servant of the mayor ('Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 28), known for his exploits (Balyuzi, p. 159) to recover the bodies of Anís and the Báb. These were delivered to Hájí Sulaymán Khán, on the second night after the Báb's death (ZARANDI, pp. 518, 519; 'Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 27), at midnight. Both ZARANDI (p. 518) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 27) report that an official of the Russian consulate sent an artist to draw a sketch of the two bodies as they lay at the edge of the moat, before they were recovered by the Bábís. ZARANDI (p. 518) received his report from Hájí 'Alí-Askar, a relative of an official of the Russian consulate, who showed him that sketch "on the very same day it was drawn. It was such a faithful portrait of the Bab that I looked upon! No bullet had struck His forehead, His cheeks, or His lips. I gazed upon a smile which seemed to be still lingering upon His countenance. His body, however, had been severely mutilated. I could recognize the arms and head of His companion, who seemed to be holding Him in his embrace. As I gazed horror-struck upon that haunting picture, and saw how those noble traits had been disfigured, my heart sank within me." This sketch was thought to be lost until the Armenian author Atrpet Sargis Mubagajian published numerous photographs of early Bábís and some allegedly of the Báb in the second half of his "Imámat: Strana Poklonnikov Imámov (Persidskoe Dukhovenstvo) [Imámate: The Country of the Worshippers of the Imáms]" (Alexandropol, 1909), entitled "Bábíty I Bekhaiti" (pp. 87-208) [<http://bahai-library.org/books/biblio/history.html>] Dr. Denis MacEoin, who inspected this volume himself and who was familiar with authenticated pictures of the Báb, wrote in his bibliography of Bahá'í literature, in which we find Atrpet's work cited, that "none of which [photographs] appear to be in the least authentic." This assessment is confirmed by an Ad Hoc Committee appointed by the Universal House of Justice to look into this question, replying (20 March 1983) to a letter asking about these pictures written by Robert Stauffer (9 February 1983) and posted as follows at: <http://bahai-library.org/wwwboard/messages00/584.html>

"In an early sketch of Atrpet Sargis Mubagajian's sources of information for his book 'Bábízm i Bekhaizm', a report was found among the documents filed by Shoghi Effendi indicating that Mubagajian went to Tabríz to investigate the Bahá'í Faith. He, unfortunately, met with Jalil Mishkar Khu'i, a Covenant-breaker, and received his information from this man. What Mubagajian was told, particularly about the period after Bahá'u'lláh, was grossly incorrect. Jalil also sold Mubagajian other pictures and portraits which later appeared in the book. The report further states that the portraits identified as those of Bahá'u'lláh, the Báb and Táhirih are obviously forged. However, the drawing made of 'Abdu'l-Bahá in his youth bears, of course, a great resemblance to the original picture."

Ismael Velasco (email 16/1/02) reported that "Bahiyih Nakhjavani and Bill Collins have done some research into this at the [Bahá'í] World Centre. It seems the portrait [found in Atrpet's book] that was purportedly drawn by an artist who had been brought by the Russian consul to the spot where the bodies [of the Báb and Anís] were thrown the day after the Báb's martyrdom may not be authentic. Bill

religionists for permission to warn this functionary of the decision that had been taken and to make known to him that it would be better for him to allow the removal of the body than to risk civil war breaking out in the town. The Kalantar, struck by the immanence of this peril, and by the sum that was offered him, thanked Sulaymán Khán for his message, prayed him to advise his companions not to budge and to wait until he himself could assure that the body of the Báb could be removed by his people. But the Bábís responded to him that they would not permit the assassins to sully with their touch the body of the august victim. The Kalantar thus consented that some Bábís go to the place of execution to remove the body and he sent some of his men with them to silence the soldiers on guard, who, receiving an agreeable payment, easily consented to keep quiet. Everyone being thus satisfied, it was arranged to say that the [body of the] Báb had been devoured by stray animals. This could easily be believed, for it was believable. Hence the plan offered the immense advantage of maintaining the peace in a generally turbulent city, of enriching the actors in the comedy, to free them from all responsibility and from the other side to close the eyes of the authorities. The two bodies were thus carried off, that of Muhammad-'Alí-i-Zanjání⁽⁴⁰⁾ was buried and that of the Báb shrouded in a box and hidden in a house⁽⁴¹⁾.

I must here open a parenthesis, so as to report what was told me by Subh-i-Azal, during my visit to Cyprus⁽⁴²⁾:

"Before his death the Báb ordained in one of his verses that I enclose his body in a

Collins wrote:

'I served at the Bahá'í World Centre Library for thirteen years, and on a number of occasions, I was presented with difficult problems of identification. One of these problems had to do with a supposed sketch of the Báb's body that appeared in a Russian article. We could find no historical evidence that this sketch was anything other than the author's imagination. Yet there were people who criticized the finding that this was almost certainly not drawn at the time the Báb's body was thrown by His enemies beside the moat in Tabríz.'

It appears then that the original sketch of the Báb after his martyrdom has not been found, and that the pictures found in Artpet's book are forgeries. Please see note (47) of Chapter Four for a description of other portraits of the Báb.

⁽⁴⁰⁾Mullá Muhammad-'Alí-i-Zanjání was named Hujjat-i-Zanjání by the Báb (ZARANDI, pp. 178, 529, 683) and was also called simply Hujjat (ZARANDI, pp. 531-580). Nicolas has confused him with Muhammad-'Alí Zunúzí of Tabríz, named Anís, who was the Báb's companion in death. Nicolas' source for this misinformation would appear to be Mírzá Yahya, as he quotes him to this effect (cited note (44) this Chapter). Nicolas claims that the body of the Báb's companion was buried while that of the Báb himself was shrouded in a box and hidden in a house. ZARANDI (p. 519) and 'Abdu'l-Bahá (p. 27) affirm that the bodies of both of these martyrs, the Báb and Anís, were carried away by the Bábís, and ZARANDI (p. 519) indicates that both were laid in a single casket. This is confirmed by Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 273) and by Mírzá Yahya as well — please read on and see note (44).

⁽⁴¹⁾As has been indicated in note (38), other reports confirm Nicolas' statement that the body of the Báb was placed in a casket and hidden in a house.

⁽⁴²⁾Nicolas attests that he was in contact with Mírzá Yahya Subh-i-Azal in Cyprus for two years, in 1894 and 1895 ("Introduction," "Le Beyan Persan," tome I:1911, p. i, n. 1). Inasmuch as Nicolas refers here to his visit to Cyprus, it would seem likely that he may have made two visits, one in 1894 and another in 1895. Mírzá Yahya did not die until 1911, so it appears that Nicolas discontinued contact with him by choice rather than necessity.

casket of diamonds, with God's permission, and to bury him opposite Sháh 'Abdu-'Azím⁽⁴³⁾. He described the place of the sepulcher in such fashion that I alone could understand what he meant.

"He died thus, as well as Muhammad-'Alí-i-Zanjání. The executioners threw the members of the two martyrs one over the other haphazardly in such fashion that it was impossible to differentiate them.

"I put both of them in a casket of crystal⁽⁴⁴⁾, not being able to make one in diamonds and buried it at the very place which the Prophet had indicated to me. The location of the sepulcher remained a secret for thirty years⁽⁴⁵⁾. The Bahá'ís especially knew nothing of it,

⁽⁴³⁾ZARANDI (pp. 520-521) indicates that Bahá'u'lláh ordered the transfer of the Báb's body from Tabríz to Tihrán, "prompted by the wish the Báb Himself had expressed in the 'Ziyárat-i-Sháh'-Abdu-'Azím,' a Tablet He had revealed while in the neighborhood of that shrine and which He delivered to a certain Mírzá Sulaymán-i-Khatíb, who was instructed by Him to proceed together with a number of believers to that spot and to chant it within its precincts." ZARANDI (p. 521) quotes some of the words of the Báb with regard to this location:

"'Well is it with you,' the Báb addressed the buried saint in words such as these, in the concluding passages of that Tablet, 'to have found your resting place in Rayy, under the shadow of My Beloved. Would that I might be entombed within the precincts of that holy ground!'"

Lord Curzon ("Persia and the Persian Question," pp. 345-347; cited "The Dawn-breakers," p. 521, n. 1) described this sanctuary, which is located about six miles southeast of Tihrán.

⁽⁴⁴⁾As was affirmed in note (41), ZARANDI (p. 519) and Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 273) report that the two bodies, of the Báb and Anís, were placed together in a single casket. This is corroborated here by Mírzá Yahya. It is entirely unlikely however that the Báb's body could have been buried in a crystal casket, inasmuch as this would be so heavy, so cumbersome and possibly so costly as to make the movement of such a relic extremely difficult. Hence, this contention of Mírzá Yahya is highly suspect. None of the extant letters of the Báb, including those which have been published by the Azalís (see MacEoin, p. 96) confirm Mírzá Yahya's claim that he was personally and exclusively chosen by the Báb to carry out the burial of his Master, in a location which he alone could identify. This is also unlikely because, if he had been the only person who could identify this location, the priceless remains of the Báb might easily have been lost forever, should Mírzá Yahya have died prior to informing another of the secret location. Finally, Mírzá Yahya, if he has been accurately quoted by Nicolas, wrongly identifies the martyred companion of the Báb as Muhammad-'Alí-i-Zanjání, called Hujjat, rather than Mírzá Muhammad-'Alí, called Anís.

⁽⁴⁵⁾Abu'l-Qasim Afnan (p. 408) affirms that the body of the Báb was taken to the house of Mírzá Hasan Vazír, the son-in-law of Majd-i-Ashráf. FAYZI (p. 357) indicates that the full name of Majd-i-Ashráf was Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí Tafri^{sh}i. ZARANDI (p. 521) states that the location of the Báb's body was a closely guarded secret, apparently known only to Bahá'u'lláh, and to Áqáy-i-Kalím (Bahá'u'lláh's brother, also known as Mírzá Músá) and Mírzá Ahmad, who were charged with effecting its concealment by Bahá'u'lláh, and perhaps also by 'Abdu'l-Bahá. However, ZARANDI (p. 521) indicates that upon the departure of Bahá'u'lláh for Adrianople, Áqáy-i-Kalím was to inform Munír, one of his fellow disciples, of the location, but that he was unable himself to find the site. Bahá'u'lláh left Constantinople for Adrianople on 1 December 1863 (Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," p. 161), and it seems likely that Áqáy-i-Kalím wrote to Munír by this time, if not earlier in the year. Ismael Velasco (email 14/1/02) indicated that Mírzá Músá, Áqáy-i-Kalím was "a leading disciple of Bahá'u'lláh" who acted "as His shield until 'Abdu'l-Bahá grew up" and that he was present when Bahá'u'lláh "received [a] copy of [the] Qayyúmu'l-Asmá' sent by Mullá Husayn." For a description of this event, the reader may refer to ZARANDI (pp. 106-107). For more details regarding that Mírzá Músá, Áqáy-i-Kalím, please

but a traitor revealed it to them. These blasphemers disinterred the body and destroyed it. If they did not destroy it, and if they can show a new sepulcher which truly contains the casket of crystal and the body of the Prophet which they have stolen, we cannot resolve ourselves to considering this new tomb as sacred as it is not the place indicated by the Báb⁽⁴⁶⁾."

see ZARANDI (pp. 183, 255, 286, 288, 397, 432, 441, 582); H.M. Balyuzi's "Bahá'u'lláh: King of Glory" (pp. 13, 36, 62, 66-67, 102, 105, 107, 112, 121, 128-29, 137, 139, 141, 148-50, 153, 155, 181, 184, 199, 204-207, 219, 221, 225-27, 229-30, 236, 243, 246, 275, 277, 283, 288, 315, 319, 327, 330, 347-48, 363, 369); H.M. Balyuzi's, "Eminent Bahá'ís in the Time of Bahá'u'lláh" (George Ronald, 1985, pp. 261-62); Adib Taherzadeh's "The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh" (volume I: pp. 15-16, 53, 67n, 131, 144, 205, 228, 247, 284, 316n; volume II: pp. 58, 67, 154, 160, 163-64, 200, 211, 247n, 332, 402, 405; volume III: pp. 23, 181, 225n, 361, 424-25; volume IV: pp. 242, 420n, 438).

ZARANDI (pp. 521-522) indicates that the casket containing the bodies of the Báb and Anís was subsequently discovered by Jamál, an adherent of the Cause who had been informed of its location while Bahá'u'lláh was in Adrianople. Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," pp. 273-274) states that in 1284 A.H. (1867-1868), in Adrianople, Bahá'u'lláh wrote a Tablet to Mullá 'Alí-Akbar-i-Shahmírzadí, whom he had appointed a Hand of the Cause (Balyuzi, p. 189n) and to Jamál-i-Burújirdí, ordering them to transfer the sacred remains to a new location. It appears that the Jamál in ZARANDI may be identical with Jamál-i-Burújirdí. This is confirmed by Adib Taherzadeh, who reports in "The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh" (volume II, p. 402): "At this juncture it is appropriate to mention that before going to Adrianople, Jamál-i-Burújirdí had rendered an important service to the Faith in Persia. He and Mullá 'Alí-Akbar-i-Shahmírzadí, known as Hájí Ákhund, whom Bahá'u'lláh later appointed a Hand of the Cause of God, had been instructed by Him in 1284 A.H. (1867-8) to transfer the remains of the Báb which were concealed within the Shrine of Imám-Zádih Ma'sum to another place of safety." The story of this transfer as found in "God Passes By" (pp. 273-276) is virtually identical to that found in Nicolas, and both accounts seem to be based on the memoirs of Mullá 'Alí-Akbar-i-Shahmírzadí. Photographs of the Shrine of Imám-Zádih Ma'sum are published in "Bahá'í World" (volume V, p. 544; and volume VI, p. 65). Hence, Mírzá Yahya's contention, that the location of the bodies remained a secret for thirty years, when they were apparently concealed in 1850 and moved in 1867-1868, is also highly suspect; furthermore, his claim that the Bahá'ís in particular knew nothing of the whereabouts of the precious trust is preposterous, inasmuch as Bahá'u'lláh called upon two Bahá'ís to move the remains when he foresaw that they could be endangered by being left in the shrine of Imám-Zádih Ma'sum. His statement that the Bahá'ís disinterred the body and destroyed it is furthermore unbelievable, when one considers that Bahá'ís universally regard the Báb as a Manifestation of God, greater in station to any previous Prophet, and the first of the two Manifestations of a Cycle of Fulfillment destined to last half a million years. Indeed, the Bahá'ís have a higher regard for the Báb than did the Bábís, inasmuch as the writings of Bahá'u'lláh depict his prophetic standing in more superlative terms than those employed by the Báb himself.

⁽⁴⁶⁾Mírzá Yahya allows that if the Bahá'ís did not destroy the body of the Báb, and if they possess this sacred relic, nevertheless, the tomb they chose for it is not sacred as it is not placed in the location stipulated by the Báb. According to the verses of the Tablet cited by ZARANDI (p. 521), the Báb wanted to be buried in Rayy, near the shrine of Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím, and just outside of Tihrán, because he wished to have a resting place "under the shadow of My Beloved." Given the many hints in his Writings to the identity of "Him Whom God shall manifest," which Bahá'u'lláh claimed to fulfill, it seems reasonable to regard this Tablet as an expression of the Báb's wish to be buried close to Bahá'u'lláh. 'Abdu'l-Bahá seems to have had the Báb's wishes in mind as well as those of Bahá'u'lláh when he ordered that the Báb's remains be transported from Tihrán to 'Akká, where they arrived on 19 Ramadán 1316/31 January 1899 (Shoghi Effendi, "God Passes By," p. 274). Finally, in "Bayán-i-fársí" the Báb stated that certain geographical locations and buildings are sacralized through their association with holy souls. The Manifestation of God is the "divine presence" during his earthly sojourn, and after his passing, the places associated with him are holy to his followers. His house becomes the House of

This version, which I reported to the Bahá'ís of Tihrán had the effect of exasperating them and causing them to renew their anathemas against the solitary of Cyprus.

This is how things transpired... We have said that the body of the Báb was hidden in one of the houses of Tabríz. It was that of Sulaymán Khán himself⁽⁴⁷⁾. This one informed Bahá'u'llah of what had happened and asked him for his instructions. Bahá', in conformity with the order he had received in the testament of the Báb⁽⁴⁸⁾, ordained the transport of this box to Jamál. It was carried to the Imám-Zádih Ma'sum⁽⁴⁹⁾, which has since become the favored cemetery of the

God, his city the City of God. The Báb made all of his ordinances and teachings contingent upon their acceptance by "Him Whom God shall manifest", and hence, if Bahá'u'lláh, the successful claimant to this title, decreed that the Báb's remains be located in a place different from the place ordained by the Báb himself, it would appear that this is entirely in harmony with the Báb's wishes.

Regarding Mírzá Yahya's version of these events, Nicolas writes: "I hesitated for a long time to write down these words of Subh-i-Azal in my story. Everything he says is contradictory and unbelievable, but I thought that impartiality made it a duty for me to report what I heard. I will limit myself to remarking that Subh-i-Azal does not explain how the body came to him, or where and how he procured the casket of crystal. The confused members of the two victims respond to nothing that history tells us. If the two sects differ in opinion as to the person of the successor of the Báb, at least they envelope the Báb himself with the same love and the same respect. To accuse one of them of having destroyed him seems to be a calumny of which Mírzá Yahya repents, moreover immediately, as he adds as a corrective that it is possible that the body was not destroyed. That the Bahá'ís would have ignored the location of the sepulcher for thirty years is impossible, because at the start there were only Bábís. Finally, how could Azal have hidden this [location] from his brother Bahá' in whom he had the greatest confidence and whom he even accuses of having abused that confidence?" Nicolas' comments are telling considering that he relied on Mírzá Yahya and his followers for much of his information and many of his copies of the writings of the Báb.

⁽⁴⁷⁾Nicolas does not identify his source here. ZARANDI (p. 519) states that Hájí Sulaymán Khán transferred the remains of Anís and the Báb from the silk factory in Mílán "to a place of safety." 'ABDU'L-BAHA (p. 28) reports that the sacred remains were placed in a box in the workshop of a Bábí of Mílán, and that afterwards, in obedience to instructions from Tihrán, they were sent away from Ádhirbáyján to a secret location. Inasmuch as Hájí Sulaymán Khán's father was a Tabrízí (Balyuzi, p. 149), and "one of the nobles of Ádhirbáyján" (ABDU'L-BAHA, p. 28), it is very likely that the family had a residence in Tabríz itself, and that the bodies of the Báb and Anís were taken to that location subsequent to their consignment to a casket. Furthermore, it is recorded by Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 273) that the casket was concealed in the Tihrán residence of Hájí Sulaymán Khán after it was removed from the shrine of Imám-Zádih Hasan and before it was taken to the shrine of Imám-Zádih Ma'sum.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ZARANDI (pp. 519-520) indicates that Hájí Sulaymán Khán reported the location of the casket and its sacred trust to Bahá'u'lláh who was then in Tihrán. ZARANDI (pp. 520-521) also indicates that Bahá'u'lláh gave instructions for the transfer of the Báb's body in compliance with a formal statement of the wishes of the Báb himself regarding his burial that was in his possession.

⁽⁴⁹⁾Nicolas identifies the resting place of the casket, which ZARANDI and ABDU'L-BAHA refrained from doing, either because they were not informed of its whereabouts, or more likely because they did not wish to endanger its continued existence by making its location public knowledge in an untimely fashion. When ZARANDI was compiling his history, circa 1887-1892, and when 'Abdu'l-Bahá was seeing his history published, in 1890 and 1891, the body of the Báb had already been transferred to another safe house, inasmuch as it had been imperiled by the renovations being made to the Imám-Zádih Ma'sum. However, the casket was still in the keeping of the Bahá'ís in the vicinity of Tihrán, and

Bábís, outside what is called the gate of Qazvín⁽⁵⁰⁾ — because it is there that the road terminates which conducts from this town to the capital. It was placed in a niche that was walled in with bricks.

Things remained in this way for a long time, when, twenty-nine years ago, Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Bahá', being then at Adrianople⁽⁵¹⁾, gave the order to Hájí 'Alí-Akbar Shahmírzádí⁽⁵²⁾ and to Áqá Jamál⁽⁵³⁾ to remove it from the place where it had been and to transport it elsewhere. These ones obeyed without understanding why they had been ordered to make this change; but they understood this instruction some time later when the Imám-Zádih, which was on the verge of collapse, was demolished and then rebuilt. Its demolition — if Bahá' had not taken this precaution — would have revealed the box and the previous relics would have fallen into

it may have seemed risky to them to openly discuss the present whereabouts of this sacred trust. In 1899, the sacred remains made their way to 'Akká and out of Persia altogether; hence, what would have constituted a risky and potentially disastrous disclosure in 1890 was an entirely appropriate statement of historical fact in 1905.

⁽⁵⁰⁾Qazvín is a city located around one hundred miles northwest of Tihrán.

⁽⁵¹⁾Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 274) gives the date of this ordinance of Bahá'u'lláh as 1284 A.H. (1867-1868), which would have been thirty-seven to thirty-eight years prior to 1905, when Nicolas published "Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Báb." Twenty-nine years prior to 1905 would have fallen on the year 1876. Bahá'u'lláh left Adrianople — from whence, according to both authors, he wrote a Tablet ordering the transfer of the Báb's remains — on 22 Rabí' al-Thání 1285 A.H. (12 August 1868) according to Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 180). Therefore, it is plainly impossible that he could have sent this order twenty-nine years prior to the publication of Nicolas' book, as he left Adrianople eight or nine years prior to that time. Was Nicolas referring to an earlier date, perhaps the time when he met and talked with Hájí Mullá 'Alí-Akbar Shahmírzádí? If so then this meeting must have taken place eight years before the publication of his book, in 1897. This is entirely possible. Another possibility is that Nicolas did not calculate this period of time accurately, and as we have witnessed repeatedly in the course of this biography, the calculation of time was not one of his strong points as a chronicler of events.

⁽⁵²⁾Hájí 'Alí-Akbar Shahmírzádí, also known as Hájí Ákhund, was appointed a Hand of the Cause of God by Bahá'u'lláh (Balyuzi, p. 189). Biographical references to Shahmírzádí can be found in H.M. Balyuzi's "Bahá'u'lláh: King of Glory" (pp. 399, 454); H.M. Balyuzi's "Eminent Bahá'ís in the Time of Bahá'u'lláh" (pp. 105-106, 139, 175, 258, 261-63, 265-66); Adib Taherzadeh's "The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh" (volume II: p. 402; volume III: pp. 85-86, 200, 425-27; volume IV: pp. 14, 185, 255, 275, 277, 279, 292, 294-301, 306, 311-12, 315-326, 337-38, 348, 380-81, 436).

⁽⁵³⁾Jamál-i-Burújirdí is described by ZARANDI (p. 521) as "an old adherent of the Faith", and it thus appears that he had been a Bábí for some time prior to the martyrdom of the Báb. ZUHUR (volumes V and VI), and the memoirs of Dr. Afrukhtih and Dr. Mu'ayyad contain biographical information related to this learned man, this devoted teacher who traveled throughout Persia to promote the Cause of Bahá'u'lláh. It has been reported that Jamál-i-Burújirdí eventually became proud of his knowledge and his eloquence, and it is certain that after the passing of Bahá'u'lláh he refused to accept 'Abdu'l-Bahá, the eldest son of Bahá'u'lláh who had been appointed by him in "Kitáb-i-Aqdas" and "Kitáb-i-'Ahdí" to serve as the leader of the Bahá'í community. He demanded that 'Abdu'l-Bahá appoint him the head of the Bahá'í Faith in Írán, even as George I. Kheirallah demanded to be made head of the Faith in North America. When 'Abdu'l-Bahá refused to accede to this demand, Jamál-i-Burújirdí joined forces with Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí, 'Abdu'l-Bahá's rebellious half-brother, in making a sustained attack upon the leadership of the appointed heir of Bahá'u'lláh. He maintained his opposition to 'Abdu'l-Bahá until his death, at a very advanced age.

profane hands.

I cede speech here to Hájí Mullá 'Alí-Akbar Shahmírzadí, who told me this entire story in these terms⁽⁵⁴⁾:

"After having received the order in question we went, Áqá Jamál and I, to find the box at the Imám-Zádih Ma'sum. We found it behind the wall of bricks which we had to destroy, and we transported it in the direction of Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím⁽⁵⁵⁾. Night had come and we did not know what to do, finding no place where we could safely place the box that had been confided to us. We crossed the village and came to the side of Chishmih-'Alí⁽⁵⁶⁾ when we passed before the Masjid-i-Masha'u'llah⁽⁵⁷⁾, which was then half ruined and far away from every inhabited place.

"We had found a favorable location, and we stopped. We opened the box and found the body enwrapped in a shroud; we left it as it was, but wrapped the whole in a shroud of silk which we had brought. In the course of this operation, we found upon his chest a bouquet of flowers which had been placed there and which were all dried out. We took this bouquet and we shared the flowers. Then we replaced the body in the box which we carried into the mosque and we placed it standing up under a little arch. In the opening of the two arches we built a wall of the bricks we found laying on the ground; some plaster had been brought to us by one of our co-religionists.

"While we were thus occupied, we had not noticed that we had been watched by farmers who had been intrigued by our entry into this solitary place.

"After having finished our work, we went to Quts-i-Hesar⁽⁵⁸⁾, a village situated below the Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím, where we rested the whole day.

"The evening having fallen, we directed ourselves towards Jamál. Having arrived at

⁽⁵⁴⁾This account is virtually identical to that found in "God Passes By" (p. 274), although it is told in greater detail by Nicolas.

⁽⁵⁵⁾Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím is the shrine to which the Báb apparently referred in his Tablet, and also which ZARANDI (p. 519) indicates as the preferred resting-place of the Báb. Sepehr Manuchehri states that it is found in southern Tihrán.

⁽⁵⁶⁾Chashmih-'Alí is translated as the 'Alí Springs by Balyuzi (p. 190). Sepehr Manuchehri reports (email 22/1/02) that "Chishmih-'Alí is now a part of the Nadí-Abad district in southern Teheran. It was famous for its natural spring water system. The local carpet dealers and weavers believed the quality of water would enhance the color richness of their carpets and hence it was a popular spot for washing carpets. During the reign of Fath-'Alí Sháh [1797-1834], a portrait of the king was engraved on the rocks surrounding the spring water way. Hence the name 'Chishmih-'Alí'."

⁽⁵⁷⁾Masjid-i-Masha'u'lláh, the "abandoned and dilapidated" mosque ("God Passes By," p. 274) "used to be in Chishmih-'Alí and was destroyed [a] long time ago to make way for development" (Sepehr Manuchehri in an email 22/1/02).

⁽⁵⁸⁾Quts-i-Hesar, according to Sepehr Manuchehri, is located approximately five kilometers from the shrine of 'Abdu'l-'Azím in southern Tihrán. This name was retained right up to the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím at the place where the two roads meet, the first going towards Chishmih-'Alí, the other towards Tihrán, Jamál took the road to the town. I stopped him saying it would be good that we return to the Masjid-i-Masha'u'llah to see if we had left any apparent traces of our passage and if our deposit was really secure. As you will see, this was an inspiration from heaven.

"We set ourselves on the road and Jamál whose mount was less tired or more robust than mine preceded me. I cried to him that I would await him at the place where I was. He left then and I stayed alone. I waited a very long time, so long even that inquietude overcame me and I hastened to rejoin my companion.

"Upon the threshold I found him swooning. I tried to make him come back to himself, but he was so troubled, so upset, that he did not have the strength to respond to my questions about the cause of his fainting. So I entered the Mosque fearing that something bad had happened, and, as it was dark, I touched with my hands the wall which we had constructed. I could feel that it had been destroyed! Half crazy I stretched out my arms before me, and found the box, but confirmed at the same time that the box had been broken. I pulled it to me in a violent movement of despair and, finding it very heavy, I was restored with hope. Very soon I had the immense joy of confirming that the body was still therein. Reassured, I reassured my companion and we took counsel as to what we could do.

"We did not see an alternative other than to trust in Providence and to try to bring the box back into the town. We put it upon one of our donkeys and set upon the way.

"Arriving close to the fortifications we stopped, much perplexed; if we wished to make our burden enter by the gate, the customs men and the soldiers would have stopped us to examine the contents, and we would have been imprisoned after the confiscation of our box. To pass through the ditch and to climb up the bank was difficult and dangerous. We were at the point of despair when the storm which had been threatening for a long time suddenly broke. The rain poured down and the pilgrims precipitated themselves in a crowd towards the door. Profiting from the occasion we mixed ourselves in their midst and, holding our 'abá⁽⁵⁹⁾ over the box we were able to pass in this disorder without being noticed.

"We carried the box to one of our number, Áqá Mírzá Hasan Vazír⁽⁶⁰⁾, son-in-law of Siyyid 'Alí Majdu'l-Ashraf⁽⁶¹⁾; I installed myself in his house without revealing to him the secret.

⁽⁵⁹⁾'Abá' is the Persian and Arabic term that denotes the heavy cloak or robe which was the preferred garb of most middle and upper class Persian men in the 19th century.

⁽⁶⁰⁾Áqá Mírzá Hasan Vazír is called Mírzá Hasan-i-Vazír by Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 190). Balyuzi (p. 190n) indicates that Dr. Yunis Khán-i-Afrukhtih learned that the descendants of this believer had pieces of linen that had been soaked in the blood of the Báb; he persuaded them to donate these relics to the leadership of the Bahá'í Faith, and they are now kept in the International Bahá'í Archives.

⁽⁶¹⁾Siyyid 'Alí Majdu'l-Ashraf is referred to in note (38), as being the father in law of Mírzá Hasan Vazír. FAYZI (p. 357) gives his full name as Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí Tafrihi. MacEoin (p. 19) identifies his name as Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí Tafarshí Majdu'l-Ashraf.

"I remained for fourteen months the guardian of this deposit. I do not know how our co-religionists were advised of this provisional sepulcher, but I soon received letters from all the provinces on this subject, and from all points of the Empire, Bábís came on pilgrimage. I had to answer all of these people that I did not know what this was all about, that all that had been said was false, and the pilgrimages continued nevertheless.

"From the start, alarmed by these comings and goings that might awaken the attention of the authorities, I referred to Bahá', informing him that some Isfáhánís had the intention of buying the terrain on which the house was built in order to construct there a befitting tomb.

"Finally, at the end of fourteen months, as I have already said, Hájí Sháh Muhammad, surnamed Amín, came from 'Akká⁽⁶²⁾. He was the bearer of an order enjoining me to deliver to him this deposit without asking him any questions about what he was going to do with it. I gave it to him without asking him for any explanation.

"Hájí Sháh Muhammad, who later was killed at Tabríz in the insurrection of Shaykh Obayd'u'llah⁽⁶³⁾, carried the body in great secrecy to an unknown place, probably the house of one of his co-religionists.

"Things remained as such, and we were all ignorant of the place where the remains of our Prophet were to be found, when, seventeen years ago, one named Áqá Mírzá Assad'u'lláh Isfáhání⁽⁶⁴⁾ came from 'Akká to Jamál. He took charge of the deposit, but nobody knew where he was going to take it and to whom he confided it. Finally, two years ago⁽⁶⁵⁾, this same Assad'u'lláh returned and transported the relic to 'Akká.

It is said that the sepulcher is found at the foot of Mount Carmel⁽⁶⁶⁾.

⁽⁶²⁾Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 274) indicates that Hájí Sháh Muhammad-i-Manshadi, surnamed Amínu'l-Bayán, was commissioned by Bahá'u'lláh to receive the sacred remains from Mullá 'Alí-Akbar Shahmírzádí, as is also stated by Nicolas. Sepehr Manuchehri has pointed out that many details are known regarding the life of this believer, including references to him in Tablets written by Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá; in ZUHUR (volumes V and VI); and in Hájí Muhammad Tahir Malmiri's "Tárikh-i-Yazdí".

⁽⁶³⁾When Mullá 'Alí-Akbar Shahmírzádí told his story to Nicolas, he was not apprized of the place in which Hájí Sháh Muhammad-i-Manshadi concealed the casket, but Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," pp. 274) indicates that he buried it beneath the floor of the shrine of Imám-Zádih Zayd.

⁽⁶⁴⁾Mírzá Assadu'lláh-i-Isfáhání was informed by Bahá'u'lláh of the location of the trust, and was instructed to transfer it elsewhere, which he did, first to his own home and later to other locations ("God Passes By," p. 274).

⁽⁶⁵⁾Nicolas indicates that Mírzá Assadu'lláh-i-Isfáhání returned to Tihrán from 'Akká to effect the transfer of the sacred relic to the Holy Land, and this is confirmed by Shoghi Effendi ("God Passes By," p. 274). Nicolas quotes Mullá 'Alí-Akbar Shahmírzádí to the effect that this occurred "two years ago," and as the year of this transfer is stated as 1899, this would date his telling of this story in the year 1901.

⁽⁶⁶⁾The present location of the remains of the Báb and his fellow martyr, Anís, is a tomb whose site was "blessed and selected by Bahá'u'lláh" ("God Passes By," p. 275); the construction of which was supervised by 'Abdu'l-Bahá and completed on 28 Safár 1327 A.H., 21 March 1909; the superstructure,

Hence, it was only long after his death, that Siyyid 'Alí, the greatest figure of modern times, he who, for love of his fellow men, took part in the most frightful adventure which could be dreamt of, with a courage all the more marvelous because it was tranquil and consistent, and who in certain fact is a hero whom no other hero will ever equal, finally rests in eternal peace. May the earth be light upon him!

ornamentation and adjacent gardens of which were carried out with infinite care by Shoghi Effendi; and the nineteen terraces and stairway of which were completed in summer 2001 under the supervision and management of the Universal House of Justice. The centerpiece of the World Order of Bahá'u'lláh is the shrine of the Báb on Mt. Carmel, in Haifa, Israel.

APPENDIX I: THE BÁB

Dearly-beloved friends! That the Báb, the inaugurator of the Bábí Dispensation, is fully entitled to rank as one of the self-sufficient Manifestations of God, that He has been invested with sovereign power and authority, and exercises all the rights and prerogatives of independent Prophethood, is yet another fundamental verity which the Message of Bahá'u'lláh insistently proclaims and which its followers must uncompromisingly uphold. That He is not to be regarded merely as an inspired Precursor of the Bahá'í Revelation, that in His person, as He Himself bears witness in the Persian Bayán, the object of all the Prophets gone before Him has been fulfilled, is a truth which I feel it my duty to demonstrate and emphasize. We would assuredly be failing in our duty to the Faith we profess and would be violating one of its basic and sacred principles if in our words or by our conduct we hesitate to recognize the implications of this root principle of Bahá'í belief, or refuse to uphold unreservedly its integrity and demonstrate its truth. Indeed the chief motive actuating me to undertake the task of editing and translating Nabíl's immortal Narrative has been to enable every follower of the Faith in the West to better understand and more readily grasp the tremendous implications of His exalted station and to more ardently admire and love Him.

There can be no doubt that the claim to the twofold station ordained for the Báb by the Almighty, a claim which He Himself has so boldly advanced, which Bahá'u'lláh has repeatedly affirmed, and to which the Will and Testament of `Abdu'l-Bahá has finally given the sanction of its testimony, constitutes the most distinctive feature of the Bahá'í Dispensation. It is a further evidence of its uniqueness, a tremendous accession to the strength, to the mysterious power and authority with which this holy cycle has been invested. Indeed the greatness of the Báb consists primarily, not in His being the divinely-appointed Forerunner of so transcendent a Revelation, but rather in His having been invested with the powers inherent in the inaugurator of a separate religious Dispensation, and in His wielding, to a degree unrivaled by the Messengers gone before Him, the scepter of independent Prophethood.

The short duration of His Dispensation, the restricted range within which His laws and ordinances have been made to operate, supply no criterion whatever wherewith to judge its Divine origin and to evaluate the potency of its message. "That so brief a span," Bahá'u'lláh Himself explains, "should have separated this most mighty and wondrous Revelation from Mine own previous Manifestation, is a secret that no man can unravel and a mystery such as no mind can fathom. Its duration had been foreordained, and no man shall ever discover its reason unless and until he be informed of the contents of My Hidden Book." "Behold," Bahá'u'lláh further explains in the *Kitáb-i-Badí'*, one of His works refuting the arguments of the people of the Bayán, "behold, how immediately upon the completion of the ninth year of this wondrous, this most holy and merciful Dispensation, the requisite number of pure, of wholly consecrated and sanctified souls had been most secretly consummated."

The marvelous happenings that have heralded the advent of the Founder of the Bábí Dispensation, the dramatic circumstances of His own eventful life, the miraculous tragedy of His martyrdom, the magic of His influence exerted on the most eminent and powerful among His countrymen, to all of which every chapter of Nabíl's stirring narrative testifies, should in themselves be regarded as sufficient evidence of the validity of His claim to so exalted a station among the Prophets.

However graphic the record which the eminent chronicler of His life has transmitted to posterity, so luminous a narrative must pale before the glowing tribute paid to the Báb by the pen of Bahá'u'lláh. This tribute the Báb Himself has, by the clear assertion of His claim, abundantly supported, while the written testimonies of `Abdu'l-Bahá have powerfully reinforced its character and elucidated its meaning.

Where else if not in the Kitáb-i-Íqán can the student of the Bábí Dispensation seek to find those affirmations that unmistakably attest the power and spirit which no man, except he be a Manifestation of God, can manifest? "Could such a thing," exclaims Bahá'u'lláh, "be made manifest except through the power of a Divine Revelation and the potency of God's invincible Will? By the righteousness of God! Were any one to entertain so great a Revelation in his heart the thought of such a declaration would alone confound him! Were the hearts of all men to be crowded into his heart, he would still hesitate to venture upon so awful an enterprise." "No eye," He in another passage affirms, "hath beheld so great an outpouring of bounty, nor hath any ear heard of such a Revelation of loving-kindness... The Prophets `endowed with constancy,' whose loftiness and glory shine as the sun, were each honored with a Book which all have seen, and the verses of which have been duly ascertained. Whereas the verses which have rained from this Cloud of divine mercy have been so abundant that none hath yet been able to estimate their number... How can they belittle this Revelation? Hath any age witnessed such momentous happenings?"

Commenting on the character and influence of those heroes and martyrs whom the spirit of the Báb had so magically transformed Bahá'u'lláh reveals the following: "If these companions be not the true strivers after God, who else could be called by this name?... If these companions, with all their marvelous testimonies and wondrous works, be false, who then is worthy to claim for himself the truth?... Has the world since the days of Adam witnessed such tumult, such violent commotion?... Methinks, patience was revealed only by virtue of their fortitude, and faithfulness itself was begotten only by their deeds."

Wishing to stress the sublimity of the Báb's exalted station as compared with that of the Prophets of the past, Bahá'u'lláh in that same epistle asserts: "No understanding can grasp the nature of His Revelation, nor can any knowledge comprehend the full measure of His Faith." He then quotes, in confirmation of His argument, these prophetic words: "Knowledge is twenty and seven letters. All that the Prophets have revealed are two letters thereof. No man thus far hath known more than these two letters. But when the Qá'im shall arise, He will cause the remaining twenty and five letters to be made manifest." "Behold," He adds, "how great and lofty is His station! His rank excelleth that of all the Prophets and His Revelation transcendeth the comprehension and understanding of all their chosen ones." "Of His Revelation," He further adds, "the Prophets of God, His saints and chosen ones, have either not been informed, or, in pursuance of God's inscrutable decree, they have not disclosed."

Of all the tributes which Bahá'u'lláh's unerring pen has chosen to pay to the memory of the Báb, His "Best-Beloved," the most memorable and touching is this brief, yet eloquent passage which so greatly enhances the value of the concluding passages of that same epistle. "Amidst them all," He writes, referring to the afflictive trials and dangers besetting Him in the city of Baghdád, "We stand life in hand wholly resigned to His Will, that perchance through God's loving kindness and grace, this revealed and manifest Letter (Bahá'u'lláh) may lay down His life as a sacrifice in the path of the Primal Point, the most exalted Word (the Báb). By Him, at Whose bidding the Spirit hath spoken, but for this yearning of Our soul, We would not, for one moment, have tarried any longer in this city."

Dearly-beloved friends! So resounding a praise, so bold an assertion issued by the pen of Bahá'u'lláh in so weighty a work, are fully re-echoed in the language in which the Source of the Bábí Revelation has chosen to clothe the claims He Himself has advanced. "I am the Mystic Fane," the Báb thus proclaims His station in the Qayyúmu'l-Asmá', "which the Hand of Omnipotence hath reared. I am the Lamp which the Finger of God hath lit within its niche and caused to shine with deathless splendor. I am the Flame of that supernal Light that glowed upon Sinai in the gladsome Spot, and lay concealed in the midst of the Burning Bush." "O Qurratu'l-'Ayn!" He, addressing Himself in that same commentary, exclaims, "I recognize in Thee none other except the 'Great Announcement' — the Announcement voiced by the Concourse on high. By this name, I bear witness, they that circle the Throne of Glory have ever known Thee." "With each and every Prophet, Whom We have sent down in the past," He further adds, "We have established a separate Covenant concerning the 'Remembrance of God' and His Day. Manifest, in the realm of glory and through the power of truth, are the 'Remembrance of God' and His Day before the eyes of the angels that circle His mercy-seat." "Should it be Our wish," He again affirms, "it is in Our power to compel, through the agency of but one letter of Our Revelation, the world and all that is therein to recognize, in less than the twinkling of an eye, the truth of Our Cause."

"I am the Primal Point," the Báb thus addresses Muhammad Sháh from the prison-fortress of Máh-Kú, "from which have been generated all created things... I am the Countenance of God Whose splendor can never be obscured, the light of God whose radiance can never fade... All the keys of heaven God hath chosen to place on My right hand, and all the keys of hell on My left... I am one of the sustaining pillars of the Primal Word of God. Whosoever hath recognized Me, hath known all that is true and right, and hath attained all that is good and seemly... The substance wherewith God hath created Me is not the clay out of which others have been formed. He hath conferred upon Me that which the worldly-wise can never comprehend, nor the faithful discover." "Should a tiny ant," the Báb, wishing to stress the limitless potentialities latent in His Dispensation, characteristically affirms, "desire in this day to be possessed of such power as to be able to unravel the abstrusest and most bewildering passages of the Qur'án, its wish will no doubt be fulfilled, inasmuch as the mystery of eternal might vibrates within the innermost being of all created things." "If so helpless a creature," is 'Abdu'l-Bahá's comment on so startling an affirmation, "can be endowed with so subtle a capacity, how much more efficacious must be the power released through the liberal effusions of the grace of Bahá'u'lláh!"

To these authoritative assertions and solemn declarations made by Bahá'u'lláh and the Báb must be added 'Abdu'l-Bahá's own incontrovertible testimony. He, the appointed interpreter of the utterances of both Bahá'u'lláh and the Báb, corroborates, not by implication but in clear and categorical language, both in His Tablets and in His Testament, the truth of the statements to which I have already referred.

In a Tablet addressed to a Bahá'í in Mázindarán, in which He unfolds the meaning of a misinterpreted statement attributed to Him regarding the rise of the Sun of Truth in this century, He sets forth, briefly but conclusively, what should remain for all time our true conception of the relationship between the two Manifestations associated with the Bahá'í Dispensation. "In making such a statement," He explains, "I had in mind no one else except the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh, the character of whose Revelations it had been my purpose to elucidate. The Revelation of the Báb may be likened to the sun, its station corresponding to the first sign of the Zodiac — the sign Aries — which the sun enters at the Vernal Equinox. The station of Bahá'u'lláh's Revelation, on the other hand, is represented by the sign Leo, the sun's mid-

summer and highest station. By this is meant that this holy Dispensation is illumined with the light of the Sun of Truth shining from its most exalted station, and in the plenitude of its resplendency, its heat and glory."

"The Báb, the Exalted One," `Abdu'l-Bahá more specifically affirms in another Tablet, "is the Morn of Truth, the splendor of Whose light shineth throughout all regions. He is also the Harbinger of the Most Great Light, the Abhá Luminary. The Blessed Beauty is the One promised by the sacred books of the past, the revelation of the Source of light that shone upon Mount Sinai, Whose fire glowed in the midst of the Burning Bush. We are, one and all, servants of their threshold, and stand each as a lowly keeper at their door." "Every proof and prophecy," is His still more emphatic warning, "every manner of evidence, whether based on reason or on the text of the scriptures and traditions, are to be regarded as centered in the persons of Bahá'u'lláh and the Báb. In them is to be found their complete fulfillment."

And finally, in His Will and Testament, the repository of His last wishes and parting instructions, He in the following passage, specifically designed to set forth the guiding principles of Bahá'í belief, sets the seal of His testimony on the Báb's dual and exalted station: "The foundation of the belief of the people of Bahá' (may my life be offered up for them) is this: His holiness the exalted One (the Báb) is the Manifestation of the unity and oneness of God and the Forerunner of the Ancient Beauty (Bahá'u'lláh). His holiness, the Abhá Beauty (Bahá'u'lláh) (may my life be offered up as a sacrifice for His steadfast friends) is the supreme Manifestation of God and the Day-Spring of His most divine Essence." "All others," He significantly adds, "are servants unto Him and do His bidding."

(Shoghi Effendi, "*The Dispensation of Bahá'u'lláh*," dated February 8, 1934, published in "*The World Order of Bahá'u'lláh*", Section 38, pp. 119-128)

APPENDIX II:

THE WRITINGS OF THE BĀB

CHRONOLOGICALLY ORDERED BY DATE AND LOCATION

BÚSHIHR (1834-1840)

1) Commercial accounts, invoices, bills, 1834-1840; cited MacEoin:44

2) "Risála-yi fiqhiyya," composed 1254-55/1838-39 in Búshihir; cited Nicolas, SAMB:190, MacEoin:43 (missing)

KARBILÁ (1840-1841)

1) "Risála fi'l-sulúk," referring to Siyyid Kázim Rashtí; cited MacEoin:44-45 (5 mss)

2) "Risála fi'l-tasdíd," found alongside "Risála fi'l-sulúk"; cited MacEoin:45,196 (6 mss)

SHÍRÁZ (1841-1843)

1) "Daftar-i hisáb-i khalá'iq," translated as "this is the reckoning book of mankind" (MacEoin translation:44); mentioned by his wife Khadjíh Begum to Munírih Khánum (wife of 'Abdu'l-Bahá), and noted in her memoirs, translated by Mírzá Ahmad Sohrab (Los Angeles:Persian-American Publishing Company, 1924, p. 24) and by Sammireh Anwar Smith (Los Angeles:Kalimat Press, 1986, p. 34); quoted Faydí, "Khándán-i Afnán," p. 163; cited MacEoin:44

2) "Ziyára jámi'a kabíra," n.d., n.p.; cited MacEoin:45-46 (5 mss); "Ziyárat Námih-yi Áhl-Alláh," same as above, cited in Amanat:138; confused with "Kitáb al-haramayn" by Nicolas in "Le Livre des Sept Preuves", p. ii (MacEoin:45n)

3) "Tafsír Súrat al-Baqara," commentary on the second chapter of the Qur'án, listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist," dated January-May 1844 (MacEoin:51); called "Kitáb al-Ahmadiyya" in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (MacEoin:53); composed 1259-1260/1839-1844, Shiraz; cited Nicolas:44; MacEoin:46-47,53,201 (15 mss)

SHÍRÁZ (May-August 1844)

1) "Qayyúmu'l-asmá'," listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:50); called "Tafsír Súrat Yúsuf," commentary on the twelfth chapter of the Qur'án; called "Kitáb al-Husayniyya" in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (53); composed 1260/1844; cited Nicolas:23-28; MacEoin:50,53,55-57,195-196 (17 mss)

2) "Tafsír Hadíth al-járiyya," composed 1260/1844; cited MacEoin:57-58,199 (6 mss)

3) "Ziyáratnáma fi'l-Imám 'Alí," cited MacEoin:58 (2 mss)

4) "Risála-yi Muhammad Sháh," first letter, composed 1260/1844, cited MacEoin:58,192 (2 mss)

5)"Risála-yi Hájí Mírzá Áqásí," first letter, composed 1260/1844, cited MacEoin:58,192 (2 mss)

6)"Risála-yi Najíb Páshá," letter to the Valí of Baghdád, composed 1260/1844; cited by Shoghi Effendi:24; MacEoin:58 (missing)

7)"Du'á-yi sahífa," listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:50); these prayers may have been written before hajj (MacEoin:59); called "Sahífa-yi makhzúna" (MacEoin:55,198); called "Sahífa al-Hujjatiyya" in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (55); cited Nicolas:29-33 (14 prayers listed); MacEoin:50,55,59-60,198 (14 prayers listed: 7 mss)

HAJJ TO MECCA AND MEDINA (10 September 1844-July 1845)

Letter to an uncle in Shíráz, dated 30 June 1845, indicating imminent return to Shíráz; cited Balyuzi:105n; MacEoin:48

"Kitáb al-fihrist," list of Báb's writings to date; listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (51); called "Sahífa al-radawiyya" in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (54-55); composed 15 Jumada II 1261/21 June 1845 in Bushíhr; cited Nicolas:37; cited MacEoin:51,188 (4 mss)

Letters listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (51); "Kitáb al-Hasaniyya" (?) described in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (53); cited as "Jadwal al-kutub" (33) in Nicolas:33-37 (22 letters listed); MacEoin:51 (22 letters listed),53,190-192:

(i)five letters to Mullá Husayn Bushru'i (Nicolas, MacEoin)

(ii)three letters to Mírzá Siyyid Hasan (Nicolas, MacEoin); [this may be the same person as Siyyid Hasan to whom the Báb wrote a letter enumerated (vi) in INBMC 67, cited MacEoin:190]

(iii)"Kutub al-'ulama" (Nicolas), "Kitáb al-'ulama" (MacEoin); one copy is entitled "Surat al-'ulama" (74); cited MacEoin:74,189 (4 mss)

(iv)letter to Mulláh Hasan (Nicolas), Mullá Hasan Gawhar (MacEoin)

(v)"Kitáb-i Majid" (Nicolas), letter to Sultan 'Abd al-Majid (MacEoin)

(vi)six letters to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, Báb's uncle (Nicolas, MacEoin)

(vii)two letters to Hájí Mullá Muhammad (Nicolas, MacEoin)

(viii)"Kitábayn bayt" (Nicolas), two letters to Khadíja Begum, the Báb's wife (MacEoin) [may be same as one of the letters listed in INBA 5014C(xxvi):330 as to his wife, and cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)]

(ix)three letters (Nicolas), three letters to the Hanbali, Maghribi and Hanafi Imams (MacEoin)

(x)"Kitáb al-imam al-hanafi" (Nicolas); letter to Hájí Muhammad Karim Khan Kirmani (MacEoin) [this may be the same as the letter found in INBA 5014C(xxvii):331 as to Karim Khan Kirmani, cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)]

- (xi) letter to Hájí Muhammad Karim Khan Kirmani (Nicolas); letter to Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Barfurushi (MacEoin)
- (xii) letter to Hájí Mullá Muhammad (Nicolas); letter to Mírzá 'Abd al-Baqi Rashti (MacEoin)
- (xiii) letter to Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Baqi Rashti (Nicolas); letter to Mírzá Siyyid Hasan Khurasani (MacEoin) [MacEoin:190 refers to letter to Siyyid Hasan written on return from hajj; MacEoin:191 refers to letter to Hájí Mírzá Hasan Khurasani: see undated letters]
- (xiv) letter to Mírzá Siyyid Hasan Khurasani (Nicolas); letter to Shaykh Rafi' (MacEoin)
- (xv) two letters to Mullá Sadiq Khurasani (Nicolas, MacEoin)
- (xvi) letter to Muhammad Kazim Khan (Nicolas, MacEoin)
- (xvii) letter to Shaykh Khalif (Nicolas), Shaykh Khalaf (MacEoin)
- (xviii) letter to Shaykh Salman (Nicolas), Shaykh Sulayman (MacEoin); [this may be the same as Mírzá Sulayman, to whom the Báb wrote answering six questions, cited MacEoin:190]
- (xix) letter to Sharif Sulayman of Mecca (Nicolas, MacEoin); Browne:F.28 (item 7); cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)
- (xx) letter to Siyyid 'Alí Kirmani (Nicolas); letter to Siyyid Ibráhím [Mahallati] (MacEoin) [MacEoin:191 identifies this with letter to Mahallati, pp. 308-311, INBA 5014C]
- (xxi) letter to Sulayman Khan (Nicolas); letter to Siyyid 'Alí Kirmani (MacEoin) [this may be the same as the letter to Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Kirmani, cited MacEoin:191]
- (xxii) "Kitáb al-fihrist" (Nicolas); letter to Sulayman Khan (MacEoin) [this may be the same as the letter to Hájí Sulayman Khan, written in Medina, cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms); this may be the same as the letter to Hájí Sulayman Khan found in Browne,F.28(item7) and listed as (ii) to Hajj Sulayman Khan, cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)]
- "Sahífa a'mál al-sana," listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (51); composed in Bushihr after hajj; called "Sahífa al- fátimiyya" in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (54); called "Kitáb a'mal al-sana" (64); mentioned in "Sahífa-yi 'adliyya" (64); called "Sahífa fátimiyya" in "Risála furú' al-'adliyya" (70); cited Nicolas:37-40; MacEoin:51,64,70,197 (2 mss)
- "Khutbas," sermons written on pilgrimage, listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (51); cited as "Jadwal al-khutib" (40) in Nicolas:40-41 (7 listed); MacEoin:51 (9 listed):
- (i) "Khutbas," two at Abi Shahar, Bushihr (Nicolas), Bushihr (MacEoin); cited MacEoin:186 (2 mss)
- (ii) "Khutba," at Banghareh (Nicolas), Banakan (MacEoin); cited MacEoin:186 (missing)
- (iii) "Khutba," at Kingan (Nicolas), Kanakan (MacEoin); cited MacEoin:186 (2 mss)
- (iv) "Khutba," on 'Id al-Fitr "feast day" (Nicolas, MacEoin), written in Masqat (MacEoin:187); cited MacEoin:187 (2 mss)

(v)"Khutba," at Jidda (Nicolas, MacEoin); giving account of pilgrimage (MacEoin:48): cited MacEoin:187 (2 mss)

(vi)"Khutba," on the sufferings of Husayn (Nicolas, MacEoin), "Khutab fi'l-safina" (MacEoin:187); cited MacEoin:187 (1 ms)

(vii)"Khutbas," three on the road to Mecca (Nicolas, MacEoin); cited MacEoin:187 (missing)

(viii)"Khutba," for Mullá Husayn Bushru'i, written on ship (MacEoin); cited MacEoin:187 (2 mss)

(ix)"Khutba," on "'ilm al-hurúf" (MacEoin); cited MacEoin:187 (3 mss)

"Al-sahífa bayna'l-haramayn," listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (51); composed for Mírzá Muhammad Husayn Muhit-i Kirmani; possibly called "Sahífa al-Músáwiyya" in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (54); called "Jadwal al-sahifeh wa'l-sahifeh bayn al-haramayn" by Nicolas:42-43, and may be same as "Kitáb bayn al-haramayn," Nicolas:51,454 (SOURCE); Amanat:441; MacEoin:51,54,197-198 (10 mss)

"Kitáb al-haramayn," cited Nicolas:Note A, B; not mentioned by MacEoin (see "Al-sahífa bayna'l-haramayn")

"Tafsír al-bismala," listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (51); called "Sahífa al-baqiriyya" in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (54); called "Tafsír hurúf al-basmala" (63); cited Nicolas:44; MacEoin:51,54,63,200 (9 mss)

"Tafsír al-hamd," one ms has this "Tafsír" preceeding "Tafsír al-bismala," cited in MacEoin:64,199 (3 mss)

"Kitáb al-rúh," listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (52); said to number 900 verses in "Kitáb al-'ulamá" (61); called "Kitáb al-'Alawiyya" in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (53); called "Kitáb al-'adl" by Mazandarani, "Asrár al-áthár" (61); called "Kitáb al-'adl" in "Risála furú' al-'adliyya" (70); cited Nicolas:44; MacEoin:52,53,61,70,189 (5 mss) called "Kitáb-i haftsad súra," by Mírzá Yahyá Subh-i-Azal (53)

"Jawáb al-masá'il," listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (52); cited in Nicolas:44; MacEoin:52 (missing)

"Du'á," collection of prayers listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (52); may be same as "Sahífa al-'alawiyya" described in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (54); cited MacEoin:52,54 (nine prayers: missing)

"Jadwal ma saráqá al-sariq (l'anihu'lahu) fi tariq Makka," titles stolen on pilgrimage 1261/1845, listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (52-53); cited Nicolas:45-46 (9 titles); MacEoin:52-53 (9 titles: missing)

Prayers listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (52); some of which are cited by MacEoin:191:

(i) in reply to twenty questions; INBA 5014C(xviii):300-304; MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

(ii) in reply to al-'Alawiyya

(iii) in reply to Mullá 'Abd al-Khaliq Yazdi

(iv) in reply to Karbala'i 'Alí Asghar; INBA 5014C(xv):298; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

(v) on the sijdat al-shukr in reply to Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl Urumi; INBA 5014C(xiii):294; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

(vi) in reply to Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Nahri; INBA 5014C(xxi):311-315; cited MacEoin:191 (ms)

(vii) in reply to Mullá Ahmad Khurasání [Mu'allim-i Hisari?], Di'bil, and the son of Mírzá 'Alí al-Akhbari; INBA 5014C(xiv):295-298; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

(viii) in reply to Mírzá Hadi and Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Qazvíní; INBA 5014C(xix):305-308; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

(ix) in reply to Mullá Ibráhím Mahallati; INBA 3014C(xx):308-311; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

(x) in reply to Siyyid Ja'far Shubbar; INBA 5014C(v):216-218;(xxii):315-318; cited MacEoin:190,191 (2 mss)

"Khasá'il-i-sab'a," composed 1260/1844; sent to Báb's uncle Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí along with letter (translated by Nicolas:214-218); described by Zarandí (DB:142-144); by Ishráq Khávarí, "Muhadirat," volume 2, pp. 785-786; by Muhammad 'Alí Faydí, "Hadrat-i Nuqta-yi Ula," pp. 53-54,153; cited MacEoin:62 (1 mss presumed)

"Risála-yi Muhammad Sháh," second letter, written on return from hajj in Bushíhr; cited in Fayzi:148-153; MacEoin:64,193 (2 mss)

"Risála-yi Hájí Mírzá Áqásí," second letter, written on return from hajj in Bushíhr (?); cited in Fayzi:148-153; MacEoin:64,192 (1 ms)

"Khutba" written one stage from Medina; cited MacEoin:187 (1 ms)

"Khutub," two written near the staging-post of al-Safra; cited MacEoin:187 (1 ms)

SHÍRÁZ (June 1845-September 1846)

"Risála-yi dhahabiyya," contains list of Báb's writings between beginning of 1260 to beginning of 1262 (1844-1846); cited MacEoin:50,51,207 (1 ms)

"Risála furú' al-'adliyya," composed 1262/1846, n.p.; cited MacEoin:70,196 (3 mss)

"Ziyára jámi'a saghíra," first chapter in "Risála furú' al-'adliyya" and one separate mss; cited MacEoin:203 (4 mss)

"Sahífa al-ja'fariyya," on the "ghayba," with much historical content; described in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (54); in "Sahífa-yi 'adliyya" (54); called "Sahífa-yi ja'fariyya" (198); cited MacEoin:66-67,198 (3 mss)

"Ziyára jámi'a kabíra," assigned to this period by MacEoin (45); cited MacEoin:202 (5 mss)

"Sahífa al-jawádiyya," on "lahút," described in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (55); cited MacEoin:55 (missing)

"Sahífa al-hádiyya," on "jabarút," described in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (55); cited MacEoin:55 (missing)

"Sahífa al-'askariyya," on "malakút," described in "Risála-yi dhahabiyya" (55); cited MacEoin:55 (missing)

"Du'á-yi alf," composed 1261-62/1845-46; cited by Mazandarani, "Asrár al-áthár," I:179-182; MacEoin:67-68,185 (1 ms)

"Sahífa-yi 'adliyya," composed 1262/1846, probably in Shíráz (68); first Persian work (68-69); cited MacEoin:68-69,197 (13 mss)

"Risála furú' al-'adliyya," composed 1262/1846, probably in Shíráz (68); first work of the Báb translated, by Mullá Muhammad Taqí Harawí from Arabic into Persian (70); cited MacEoin:70-71,196 (3 mss in Persian, 1 ms in Arabic)

"Kitáb al-tahára," in a ms of "Risála furú' al-'adliyya," which may not be the work of the Báb; cited MacEoin:71,189 (1 ms)

"Tafsír súrat al-kawthar," commentary on Qur'án 108, written for Siyyid Yahyá Dárábí (Vahid), in Shíráz; cited MacEoin:71,201-202 (12 mss)

"Khutba," written as preface to "Tafsír súrat al-kawthar"; cited MacEoin:71,187,201 (2 mss)

"Tafsír áyat al-núr," commentary on Qur'án 24:35; cited MacEoin:72,198 (7 mss)

"Tafsír súrat al-qadr," commentary on Qur'án 97; cited MacEoin:72,202 (3 mss)

"Tafsír súrat al-tawhíd," commentary on Qur'án 112, also known as "súrat al-ikhlás"; cited MacEoin:72,202 (3 mss)

"Tafsír hadíth 'nahnu wajh Allah," cited MacEoin:72,200 (5 mss)

"Tafsír hadíth 'man 'arafa nafsahu fa-qad 'arafa rabbahu'," cited MacEoin:72,200 (7 mss)

"Tafsír al-há," two commentaries by this name of the letter "h", referred to in "Risála alghina" (80); cited MacEoin:72,80,199 (6 mss)

"Tafsír hadíth al-haqíqa," commentary on tradition better known as "hadith-i Kumayl"; cited MacEoin:72,199 (5 mss)

"Bayán 'illat-i tahrím al-maharím," cited Mazandarani, "Zuhúr al-haqq" (III:288); MacEoin:72,184 (5 mss)

"Bayán jabr wa tafwíd," cited MacEoin:73,184 (3 mss)

"Bayán mas'ilat al-qadar," cited MacEoin:73,184 (4 mss)

"Bayán taqárub wa tabá'ud," cited Mazandarani, Ibid.; MacEoin:73,184 (7 mss)

"Bayán fi 'ilm al-jawámid wa'l-mushtáqát," cited Mazandarani, Ibid.; MacEoin:73,184 (4 mss)

"Bayán fi'l-nahw wa'l-sarf," cited Mazandarani, Ibid.; MacEoin:73 (missing)

"Sharh on statement of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí in his Tafsír khutba al-tutunjiyya of 'Alí," cited MacEoin:73,198 (4 mss)

"Tafsír hadíth 'kullu yawm 'ashúrá," cited MacEoin:73,200 (4 mss)

"Tafsír súrat al-inshiráh," commentary on Qur'án 94; mentioned in Mullá Muhammad Zunúzí, whose account was published in Mazandarani, "Zuhúr al-haqq" (III:31-32); cited MacEoin:73-74 (missing)

Letter to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, uncle of the Báb; translated by Nicolas:214-218; cited by MacEoin:62

ISFÁHÁN (September 1846-March 1847)

"Tafsír súra wa'l-'asr," commentary on Qur'án 103, composed for Mir Siyyid Muhammad, Sultan al-'ulama, Imam-Jum'a of Isfáhán; writing of which may have been timed by clock; cited MacEoin:76,202 (10 mss)

"Tasbih-i Fatima," doxology preceeding "Tafsír súra wa'l-'asr" in two mss; MacEoin:202 (2 mss)

"Risála fi'l-nubuwwa al-khássa," on the specific prophethood of Muhammad, composed for Manúchihir Khan, Mu'tamad al-Dawla, governor of Isfahan; cited MacEoin:76-77,196 (7 mss)

Letter to Manúchihir Khan; cited MacEoin:77-78,193 (4 mss)

Letter to the governor of Shúshtar; cited MacEoin:78,193 (5 mss)

Letter to Mírzá Sa'íd Ardistání or Mírzá Muhammad Sa'íd Zavára'í; cited MacEoin:78-79,193 (6 mss)

Letter to Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí al-Mudhahhib; cited MacEoin:79,193-194 (4 mss)

Letter commenting on a hadíth of the Imám Ridá; cited MacEoin:79,194 (4 mss)

"Ishráq" written in style of Siyyid Kázim Rashtí at the request of Mullá 'Alí Tabrízí; cited MacEoin:79,194 (2 mss)

"Tafsír" on Qur'án 50:16 and 112:4, for Mírzá Hasan Waqáyi'-nigár, possibly the court historian of Manúchihir Khan (79); cited MacEoin:79,194 (4 mss)

Letter to a theological students on questions contained in the Qur'án; cited MacEoin:79-80, 194 (5 mss)

"Sharh kayfiyyat al-mi'ráj," letter to Mírzá Hasan Núrí; cited MacEoin:80,194 (5 mss)

"Risála fi'l-ghiná," letter on singing; cited MacEoin:80,194 (4 mss)

"Risála-yi dhahabiyya," reply to criticisms of someone named Jawad, possibly Mullá Jawad Vilyání Khu'ar or Siyyid Jawad al-Karbala'i (80); cited MacEoin:80-81,195 (2 mss)

Letter replying to three questions, one referring to Qurrat al-'Ayn; cited MacEoin:81,195 (1 ms)

Letter on the significance of the letters of the alphabet; cited MacEoin:81,195 (1 ms)

Letter to Mullá Husayn Dakhíl Marágha'i, undated; cited in "Hadrat-i Nuqta-yi Báb" (see Secondary: Bahá'í); cited in MacEoin:177

EN ROUTE: KULAYN, SIYÁH-DIHÁN, TABRÍZ (March-August 1847)

"Risála-yi Muhammad Sháh," third letter; mentioned as written in Kulayn by 'Abdu'l-Bahá, TN:14,16; cited MacEoin:83 (missing)

"Risála-yi Hájí Mírzá Áqásí," written in Siyáh-Dihán according to "Tárikh-i Samandar" (99); MacEoin:83 (presumed lost)

Letters to the 'ulamá of Qazvín, including: Hájí Mullá 'Abd al-Wahháb Qazvíní (letter copied by Shaykh Samandar Qazvíní), Hájí Mullá Muhammad Sálíh Baraghání, Hajj Mullá Muhammad Taqí, Hájí Siyyid Muhammad Taqí Qazvíní, transmitted by Mullá Ahmad Iqbal Marágha'i (Letter of the Living); written in Siyáh-Dihán (83); cited in "Tárikh-i Samandar" (97-98); cited MacEoin:83 (missing)

IN PRISON: MÁH-KÚ (August 1847-9 April 1848)

"Bayán-i farsi," begun at Máh-Kú (Zarandí:248); completed by Subh-i-Azal in "Mutammim-i Bayán" according to Azalís (84) and by Bahá'u'lláh in "Kitáb-i-Íqán" according to Shoghi Effendi (GPB:138); published by Azalís; cited MacEoin:83-84,181-184 (at least 49 mss)

"Bayán al-'arabí," written in Máh-Kú (85); published in French translation by Gobineau (1865) and Nicolas (1905); published by Azalís; cited MacEoin:85,181 (15 mss)

"Dalá'il-i sab'a," Persian treatise, written in Máh-Kú according to Subh-i-Azal (85) and E.G. Browne (86); could have been completed at Chihríq (86); translated into French by Nicolas; published along with Arabic treatise by Azalís; cited MacEoin:85-87,185 (13 mss)

"Dalá'il al-sab'a," Arabic treatise; almost certainly dates from same period as Persian treatise (88); published along with Persian treatise by Azalís; cited MacEoin:88,185 (3 mss)

Tafsírs on the Qur'án, nine commentaries written at Máh-Kú according to Shaykh Hasan Zunúzí (eye-witness), entrusted to Siyyid Ibráhím Khalíl Tabrízí (Zarandí:31); "Bayán-i farsí" (316) refers to three commentaries on the Qur'án; Subh-i-Azal stated that two commentaries on the Qur'án were taken from Írán to Baghdad (Browne, TN:II:335); cited MacEoin:88 (missing)

"Risála-yi Muhammad Sháh," third extant letter; published in "Muntakhabát" (13-18); cited MacEoin:97,193 (1 ms)

TABRÍZ, CHIHRIQ, TABRÍZ (May-August 1848, August 1848, August 1848-July 1850, July 1850)

"Tawba-nama," recantation at judicial examination in Tabríz, facsimile published in Browne, MSBR:256-257; record of interrogation also in MSBR:248-255; may not be authentic (Amanat:392); cited MacEoin:97-98 (unknown)

"Lawh-i hurúfát," composed at Chihríq for Mírzá Asad Alláh Khú'í Dayyán (Zarandí:304); referred to in letter (Zarandí:304) of Bahá'u'lláh to Jináb-i-Muballigh, Mírzá Ibráhím Shirazi, where it is called "Kitáb-i hayákil" and "Kitábi dar hayákil-i wáhid" (MacEoin:89); in a letter to Mullá 'Alí Muhammad Siraj Isfáhání (Ibid.); and another letter in "Ishráqát" (p. 47) as "Kitáb-i haykal" (Ibid.); comprising the final five grades (sections) of "Kitáb-i panj sha'n" (Ibid.); referred to by the Báb in "Dalá'il-i sab'a" as "Kitáb-i hayákil-i wáhid" (MacEoin:90); referred to by Mírzá Yahyá as "Kitáb-i-hayákil" ("A Traveller's Narrative," volume II, p. 339; cited MacEoin:90n). MacEoin (pp. 189-190) cites eleven extant manuscripts of this work. This book is not to be confused with the Báb's "Kitáb-i hayákil" found in Haifa ms (Ibid.); nor with Bahá'u'lláh's "Súra-yi haykal" (Ibid.); nor with Mírzá Yahyá's "Kitáb-i-hayákil" (Ibid.).

"Haykal al-dín," composed at Chihríq; published by Azalís; cited MacEoin:90-91,186 (3 mss)

"Tafsírs," two commentaries on the first and second wáhids of "Haykal al-dín" published by Azalís along with this work and dated 22-23 June 1850; cited MacEoin:91 (unknown)

"Kitáb al-asmá'," also known as "Tafsír al-asmá'," "Kitáb asmá'-i kull-i shay'," and "Chahár sha'n" (91); written during last days at Chihríq according to Mázandarání ("Asrár al-áthár," I:126); cited MacEoin:91-92,188 (26 mss)

"Khutba-yi qahriyya," written for Hájí Mírzá Áqásí shortly after the Báb's return from judicial examination in Tabríz; delivered to Áqásí by Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Zanjání according to Bahá'u'lláh (Zarandí:323); cited MacEoin:92-93,186 (2 mss)

"Risála-yi Hájí Mírzá Áqásí," third letter; written in Chihríq and published in Mázandarání, "Zuhúr al-haqq" (III:85-89); cited in "Tárikh-i Samandar" (99); MacEoin:92,192 (1 ms)

"Risála-yi Muhammad Sháh," fourth extant letter, published in "Muntakhabát" (5-8); cited MacEoin:97,193 (1 ms)

"Risála-yi Muhammad Sháh," fifth extant letter, published in Mázandarání, "Zuhúr al-haqq" (III:82-85); published in "Muntakhabát" (9-13); cited MacEoin:97,193 (2 mss)

"Khutab-i qahriyya," series of Arabic letters written in Chihríq, including those written to the Sháh and Áqásí (Amanat:381); including two sermons quoted by Mu'in al-Saltana Tabrízí (see Secondary: Bahá'í) and Fayzi:304-306; Mázandarání states that he included several of these in unpublished volume of "Zuhúr al-haqq" (III:82); cited MacEoin:93 (missing)

"Kitáb-i panj sha'n," called "Shu'ún-i khamsa" (Munzawi, "Fihrist," II:2, p. 1736); one of Báb's last works (Shoghi Effendi, GPB:51); one of works brought to Baghdad according to Subh-i-Azal (Browne, TN:II:335); published by Azalís; cited MacEoin:93-95,189-190 (11 mss)

"Tafsír du'á al-sabáh," commentary on the Shi'í morning prayer at the request of Áqá Siyyid Abu'l-Hasan, son of Áqá Siyyid 'Alí Zunúzí, according to Mázandarání (III:73); cited MacEoin:98,199 (2 mss)

Letters to the 'ulamá of every city of Írán," according to Bahá'u'lláh, "Kitáb-i-Íqán" and Shoghi Effendi (GPB:24); cited MacEoin:98 (unknown)

"Kitáb al-jazá'," listed in Nicolas catalogue (item 90); seven pages of this work sent to Browne by Subh-i-Azal (Browne collection, folder1, item 25); described in 'Abdu'l-Bahá, TN:II,336-337; another name for "Bayán al-'arabíyya" according to Mázandarání ("Asrár al-áthár," III:14).

Letter to Mullá Báqir Tabrízí; Mázandarání, "Zuhúr al-haqq" (III:20-22); cited MacEoin:95

Letter to Mullá Ahmad Ibdal [Maraghá'í]; Ibid.:53-54; Ibid.

Letter to Mullá Muhammad Taqí Harawí, on the "qá'imíyya"; Ibid.:70-72; Ibid.

Letter to the Bábís in general, instructing them to follow Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í; Ibid.:122-124; Ibid.

Letter to an unnamed recipient, about Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í; Ibid.:140; Ibid.

Letter to Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí, proclaiming "qá'imíyya"; Ibid.:164-166; Ibid.

Letter to Hájí Mírzá Siyyid 'Alí, his uncle; Ibid.:223-225; MacEoin:96

Letter to an unnamed recipient, about Qurratu'l-'Ayn; Ibid.:332-333; Ibid.

Letter to Mullá Ahmad Mu'allim Hisarí; Ibid.:333; Ibid.

Letter to Áqá Siyyid Ahmad Yazdí, the father of Siyyid Husayn Yazdí; Ibid.:460-461; Ibid.

Letter to Subh-i-Azal, in which Báb instructs him to preserve Bayán; published by the Azalís in "Qismatí az alwáh-i khatt-i Nuqta-yi Úlá wa Áqá Siyyid Husayn-i Kátib," p. 1; copy in Azal's handwriting in Browne F.66, item 1; facsimile published in Hamadání, TJ, facing p. 426; facsimile published in Browne, NK, facing p. xxxiv of the Persian preface; cited MacEoin:96

Letter to Mullá 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní, tells him to send all of Báb's writings to Subh-i-Azal; Ibid., p. 1; Ibid.

Letter to Subh-i-Azal, assures him of divine inspiration in interpreting Book of God; Ibid., p. 3-8; Ibid.

Letter to 'Abd al-Karím Qazvíní, telling him to preserve Báb and his writings; Ibid., p. 9-10; Ibid.

Letter to Mírzá Asad Allah Khú'í Dayyan, tells him to protect Subh-i-Azal; Ibid., p. 9-10; Ibid.

Letter to Mullá Shaykh 'Alí Turshízí, claims "qá'imiyya," letter referred to in "Nuqtatu'l-Káf" (p. 209); *Ibid.*, p. 12-14; *Ibid.*

Letter written perhaps on 26 November 1848, testifies to truth of Muhammad and the Imáms; *Ibid.*, p. 15-16; *Ibid.*

Letter in which Báb lays claim to "qá'imiyya" and refers to Day of Resurrection come and return of Muhammad and the Imáms; *Ibid.*, p. 17-18; *Ibid.*

Letter addressed to "Him Whom God shall manifest" in which he suggests he wait nineteen years before making appearance; *Ibid.*, p. 20; *Ibid.*

Twenty-nine letters, received from Mírzá Mustafá, 3 June 1913; Browne Folder 4, item 10; cited MacEoin:195

Thirty-seven letters and other works, transcribed by Ridván 'Alí in 1913; Browne F.25; cited MacEoin:95,208-209

Six letters; Browne F.21:items 9,16,18,23,24,25; cited MacEoin:95

UNDATED MANUSCRIPTS

HAYÁKIL

"Hayákil," several received from Mírzá Mustafá, 3 June 1913; in Browne: Folder 4:Item 10; cited MacEoin:186,195 (1 ms)

"Haykal," in the Báb's hand; Browne: Folder 3:Item 6; cited MacEoin:186

"Haykal," said to be in Báb's hand, presented by Claude Cobham; British Library: Or. 6887; cited MacEoin:186

"Hayákil," dated 1851-1852, in hand of Áqá Siyyid Rahím Isfáhání; published by Azalís in "Qismatí az alwáh-i khatt"; cited MacEoin:186

RISÁLAT

On the apostacy of Mullá Jawád Vilyání; INBMC 98(i):111-122; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

On the words "the essence of 'Alí is in contact with the Essence of God"; INBMC 67(i):100-104; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

On the alteration of the divine Will and the "preserved tablet"; INBMC 67(ii):172-176; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

On illness; INBMC 67(iii):176; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

On the hajj; INBMC 67(iv):176-177; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

On abjad (gematria) and kimiya (alchemy); INBMC 67(v):203-204; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

Letter to Siyyid Hasan, refers to trial of Bastámí; INBMC 67(vi):?; [may be letter listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:50) as (ii) to Mírzá Siyyid Hasan or (xiii) to Mírzá Siyyid Hasan Khurasání]; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

Letter in reply to six questions from Mírzá Sulaymán; INBA 5014C(i):159-163; [may be letter cited in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:51) as (xviii) to Shaykh Sulaymán or (xxii) to Sulaymán Khán]; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

Letter on the Imáms; Ibid.(ii):163-166; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

In reply to four questions; Ibid.(iii):170-171; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

In reply to a question, with a prayer; Ibid.(iv):173-188; cited MacEoin:190 (1 ms)

Letter to 'Abd al-Wahháb; Ibid.(vi):257-264; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

On "istiftáh" (explaining texts); Ibid.(vii):264-269; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to Áqá Siyyid Jawád (Karbálá'í?); Ibid.(viii):269-270; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to Mullá Mahdí Khú'í; Ibid.(ix):270-271; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to Mullá Hasan Bajastání; Ibid.(x):271-275; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to Mullá Ahmad Mu'allim Hisárí; Ibid.(xi):275-279; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter in reply to a question; Ibid.(xii):279-284; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to Hájí Sulaymán Khán, written in Medina; Ibid.(xvii):no page cited; [may be same as letter listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:51) as (xviii) to Shaykh Sulaymán or (xxii) to Sulaymán Khán]; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Prayer copied in the hand of Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í; Ibid.(xxiii):319-321; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to Hájí Mírzá Hasan Khurasání; Ibid.(xxiv):319-321; [may be the same as the letter in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:51) listed as (xiii) to Mírzá Siyyid Hasan Khurasání]; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to an unknown recipient; Ibid.(xxv):322-324; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to his wife, "li'l-bayt"; Ibid.(xxvi):330; [may be one of two letters listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:51) as (viii) to his wife]; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter to Karím Khán Kirmání(?); Ibid.(xxvii):331; [may be the same as the letter in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:51) listed as (x) to Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán Kirmání]; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Letter in reply to two questions; INBA 5006C(i):347-348; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter in reply to seven questions raised by Mírzá Muhammad Yazdí; Ibid.(ii):363-365; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter in reply to Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl; Ibid.(iii):365-367; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter to Hájí Mírzá Áqásí; Ibid.(iv):365-371; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter replying to three questions; INBA 4011C(i):137-141; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter to Mírzá Muhammad Yazdí; Ibid.(ii):149-156; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter to 'Abd al-Jalíl; Ibid.(iii):156-159; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter to "akh al-Jalíl"; Ibid.(iv):163-164; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter to Habíb; Ibid.(v):164-165; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter to 'Abd al-Jalíl, in reply to five questions; INBA 6004C(i):198-200; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter in reply to three questions; Ibid.(ii):200-204; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter to an unknown recipient; Ibid.(iv):207-209; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter in reply to questions on abjad (gematria); Ibid.(v):213-215; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

Letter to Hájí Sulaymán Khán; Browne F.28 (Folder 7); [this letter may be the same as that listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:51) as (xxii) to Sulaymán Khán]; cited MacEoin:192 (1 ms)

ZIYÁRAT-NÁMAS

"Ziyárat al-zahrá," for Fatima (MacEoin:99); cited MacEoin:203 (1 ms)

"Ziyárat-námas" for Friday and Thursday nights; INBA 6007C:(1):30-40; cited MacEoin:210 (1 ms)

"Ziyárat-náma" Ibid. for the ten letters; Ibid.:(2):40-41; Ibid.

Ibid. for the first to believe (Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í) on Thursday night; Ibid.:(3):46-52; Ibid.

"Ziyára jámi'a" for Thursday night; Ibid.(4):52-61; Ibid.

"Ziyárat-náma" for the first (to believe); Ibid.(5):61-65; Ibid.

Ibid., for the first (to believe); Ibid.:(6):65-71; Ibid.

Ibid., for the two hidden names; Ibid.:(7):71-72; Ibid.

Ibid., for the martyrs, on Thursday night; Ibid.:(8):72-79; Ibid.

Ibid., for the letters of the unity (Báb and eighteen Letters of the Living=19[vahid:unity]), on Friday; Ibid.:(9):78-82; Ibid.

Ibid., for Friday; Ibid.:(10):97-101; Ibid.

Ibid., for the first and the last (to believe), on Friday; Ibid.:(11):106-113; Ibid.

Ibid., for the first to be martyred of the Letters of the Living; Ibid.:(12):114-118; Ibid.

Ibid., for the second to be martyred of the Letters of the Living; Ibid.:(13):118-121; Ibid.

Ibid., for the third to be martyred of the Letters of the Living; Ibid.:(14):121-123; Ibid.

Ibid., for the fourth to be martyred of the Letters of the Living; Ibid.:(15):123-126; Ibid.

Ibid., for the fifth to be martyred of the Letters of the Living; Ibid.:(16):126-128; Ibid.

Ibid., for the sixth to be martyred of the Letters of the Living; Ibid.:(17):128-131; Ibid.

Ibid., for the martyrs; Ibid.:(18):132-139; Ibid.

Ibid., for the letter "M"; Ibid.:(19):139-145; Ibid.

Ibid., for the first to believe, on the night of 'Id al-Fitr; Ibid.:(20):145-147; Ibid.

Ibid., for the middle of the night of the month of God; Ibid.:(21):160-164; Ibid.

Ibid., for the first (to believe) on the Day of 'Arafa; Ibid.:(22):164-175; Ibid.

Ibid., for the last (to believe); Ibid.:(23):175-176; Ibid.

Ibid., for the first (to believe); Ibid.:(24):187a-189; Ibid.

Ibid., for the eight letters; Ibid.:(25):189-201; Ibid.

Ibid., for the Point (the Báb) and his Letters of the Living; Ibid.:(26):201-211; Ibid.

Ibid., for the first (to believe); Ibid.:(27):255-262; Ibid.

Ibid., for the last (to believe); Ibid.:(28):262-266; Ibid.

Ibid., for the last (to believe); Ibid.:(29):266-268; Ibid.

Ibid., for the last (to believe); Ibid.:(30):268-272; Ibid.

Ibid., for the twenty-nine letters; Ibid.:(31):541-547; Ibid.

MUNÁJÁT

Prayer in reply to Mullá 'Abd al-Jalíl; INBA 5014C(xiii):294; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Prayer in reply to Mullá Ahmad Khurásání, Di'bil, and the son of Mírzá 'Alí al-Ak**h**bá**ri**; Ibid.(xiv):295-298; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Prayer written at the request of Karbalá'í 'Alí Asghar Khurásání; Ibid.(xv):298; cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

Prayer written in reply to Hájí Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání, in Medina; Ibid.(xvi):198-199; [may be same as letter listed in "Kitáb al-fihrist" (MacEoin:51) as (xxi) to Siyyid 'Alí Kirmání] cited MacEoin:191 (1 ms)

"Min á**th**ár al-bayán," prayers in Browne F.14; cited MacEoin:195 (1 ms)

"Min á**th**ár al-bayán," prayers in Browne F.25; cited MacEoin:195 (1 ms)

"Á**th**ár-i mutafarriqa-yi bayán," prayers in British Library: Or. 5629; cited MacEoin:195 (1 ms)

Twenty prayers, appended to "Kitáb al-asmá'"; British Library: Or. 6255; cited MacEoin:195 (1 ms)

Prayers; INBA 6001C; cited MacEoin:195 (1 ms?)

Prayers; INBA 6003C:173-227,294-319,324-330; cited MacEoin:195 (1 ms?)

Prayers; INBA 6005C; cited MacEoin:195 (1 ms?)

SALAWÁT

"The compilation INBMC 53 contains a large number of salawat addressed to the Prophet, Fátima, and each of the Imáms (pp. 95-130)." (MacEoin:99)

FINAL NOTES

Peter Terry has translated the complete works of A.L.M. Nicolas on the Bábí religion, with copious annotations. He is the author of several academic papers on topics related to Hají Siyyid ‘Ali Muhammad Shírází, known to history as “the Báb”, including, *The Language of the Bab*; *The Persian Bayan of the Bab*; *The Seven Proofs of the Bab*. He studied Judaism in Jerusalem, Islám at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and the University of Chicago, and the Bábí and Bahá’í religions as an independent scholar on four continents.

If the reader wishes to contact the author with a kind word of encouragement, a question, or to point out anything in this study that is inconsistently transliterated or translated, incorrectly cited, ill-conceived, poorly explained, or awkwardly positioned in the sequence of events and persons presented, the author may be reached at: babistudiesseries@yahoo.com

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