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A TRAVELLER'S NARRATIVE
WRITTEN TO ILLUSTRATE
THE EPISODE OF THE BĀB.

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A TRAVELLER'S NARRATIVE,

WRITTEN TO ILLUSTRATE

THE EPISODE OF THE BĀB,

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,
AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES,

BY

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TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

VOLUME II. ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS book is the history of a proscribed and persecuted sect written by one of themselves. After suffering in silence for nigh upon half a century, they at length find voice to tell their tale and offer their apology. Of this voice I am the interpreter.

So many Persian works of universally acknowledged and incontrovertible merit remain unpublished, not only in Europe but in the East, that one who offers to the public as the result of his study and labour the translation and text of a quite recent compilation, whereof the authorship must remain unknown, and which must therefore rely solely on whatever intrinsic interest and merit it may possess, may reasonably be expected to state the considerations which have led him to select for publication such a work.

This book is, as I have said, recent in composition; for, as appears from a passage which will be found on p. 67, it was written probably during the year 1886. It is also anonymous. This could not well be otherwise; for what Persian could, with ordinary prudence, acknowledge a work written in defence of a faith whereof the name is scarce mentioned in Persia without fear and trembling? So that these two things, which some might incline to account grave defects in the book, and reasons against its publi-

cation, are, in truth, inherent in its very nature and character. It is of quite modern origin, because it treats of a recent movement, of which the first beginnings are remembered by many still living; it is anonymous, because every promoter of that movement is, in the country which gave it birth, as a man "sitting beneath a sword suspended by a single hair, who knoweth not when it shall descend upon him, whether it shall descend instantly or after a while¹."

If, then, the subject treated of in this book be of sufficient interest and importance to merit careful study, and if the book itself, notwithstanding our ignorance of its authorship, can be shewn to proceed from a trustworthy source, I am sufficiently justified in having decided to edit and translate this "Traveller's Narrative."

Now it appears to me that the history of the Bábí movement must be interesting in different ways to others besides those who are directly engaged in the study of Persian. To the student of religious thought it will afford no little matter for reflection; for here he may contemplate such personalities as by lapse of time pass into heroes and demi-gods still unobscured by myth and fable; he may examine by the light of concurrent and independent testimony one of those strange outbursts of enthusiasm, faith, fervent devotion, and indomitable heroism—or fanaticism, if you will—which we are accustomed to associate with the earlier history of the human race; he may witness, in a word, the birth of a faith which may not impossibly win a place amidst the great religions of the world. To the ethnologist also it may yield food for thought as to the character of a people, who, stigmatized as they often have been as selfish, mercenary, avaricious, egotistical, sordid, and cowardly, are yet capable of exhibiting under the

¹ See p. 150 *infra*.

influence of a strong religions impulse a degree of devotion, disinterestedness, generosity, unselfishness, nobility, and courage which may be paralleled in history, but can scarcely be surpassed. To the politician, too, the matter is not devoid of importance ; for what changes may not be effected in a country now reckoned almost as a cypher in the balance of national forces by a religion capable of evoking so mighty a spirit? Let those who know what Muhammad made the Arabs, consider well what the B&b may yet make the Persians.

But to myself, and I believe to most others who have been or shall be brought to consider this matter, the paramount interest thereof lies in this, that here is something, whether wise or unwise, whether tending towards the amelioration of mankind or the reverse, which seemed to many hundreds, if not thousands, of our fellow-creatures worth suffering and dying for, and which, on this ground alone, must be accounted worthy of our most attentive study.

I have now to explain how this book came into my hands; what, so far as I have been able to learn, were the causes which led to its composition ; and why (with certain reservations which will be presently specified) we are warranted in regarding it as a true and authentic account of the events which it relates. In order to make this explanation clear, it is necessary for me to describe briefly how my attention was first directed towards this subject; how my interest in it was kindled; how the means of investigating it were made available to me; and how the investigation, whereof this book is at present the final outcome, was conducted.

One day some seven years ago I was searching amongst the books in the University Library of Cambridge for fresh

materials for an essay on the Şiff philosophy, in the study of which I was then chiefly engaged, when my eye was caught by the title of Count Gobineau's *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*. I took down the book, glanced through it to discover whether or no it contained any account of the Şúfis, and, finding that a short chapter was devoted to them, brought it back with me to my rooms. My first superficial glance had also shewn me that a considerable portion of the book was taken up with an account of the Bábfs, of which sect I had at that time no definite knowledge, save a general idea that they had been subjected to a most severe persecution.

The perusal of Gobineau's chapter on the Şúfis caused me, I must frankly confess, no small mortification; for I was an ardent admirer of these eloquent mystics, whose spirit has inspired so much of what is best and finest in Persian literature, and a rude shock was inflicted on my susceptibilities by such words as these :—"Le quietisme, le beng et l'opium, l'ivrognerie la plus abjecte, voilà surtout ce qu'elle [le soufysme] a produit."

When, however, I turned from this mournful chapter to that portion of the book which treated of the Bábí movement, the case was altogether different. To anyone who has already read this masterpiece of historical composition, this most perfect presentation of accurate and critical research in the form of a narrative of thrilling and sustained interest, such as one may, indeed, hope to find in the drama or the romance, but can scarcely expect from the historian, it is needless to describe the effect which it produced on me. To anyone who has not read it, I can only say let him do so forthwith, if he is in any way interested in the history of the Babfs. Many new facts may be added to those recorded by Gobineau, and the history which he carried down to A.D. 1852 needs to be

supplemented by an appendix detailing the events of the last thirty-eight years, but the narrative of the first origin of Bábism can hardly be told better than he has told it; certainly not in a style more eloquent nor in a manner more worthy of the subject.

Count Gobineau's book, then, effected in a certain sense a complete revolution in my ideas and projects. I had long ardently desired to visit Persia and above all Shiráz, and this desire was now greatly intensified. But whereas I had previously wished to see Shiráz because it was the home of Ḥāfīz and of Sa'di, I now wished to see it because it was the birthplace of Mirzá 'Ali Muḥammad the Báb. And, after Shiráz, not Tūs and Nishápúr, but Zanján, Mázandarán, and Tabriz were the objects of my eager desire. My impatience, too, was greatly increased; for I reflected that although there must be many still living who had witnessed, or even taken part in, the events of which I was so anxious to discover every slightest detail, each year that passed would materially lessen their number, and render ever fainter the possibility of restoring the picture in its entirety. Besides this, I was eager to know more of the doctrines which could inspire such heroism, and to gain this knowledge, as I clearly perceived, there was but one satisfactory and effectual method. As Anquetil du Perron had succeeded in unlocking the secrets of the Zoroastrian religion by going amongst those who professed it, winning their confidence, and eventually, after infinite patience and endeavour, obtaining copies of their sacred books and a clue to their contents, so I, if I were to succeed in fathoming the mysteries of the Bábí faith, must go to the land of its origin, strive to become intimate with some of its votaries, and from these obtain the knowledge which I sought. Let no one suppose that I am so presumptuous as to institute any comparison between Anquetil du Perron

and myself. His task was one which only rare courage, perseverance, and genius could bring to a successful issue. He had to induce the suspicious, taciturn, and uncommunicative priests of an ancient national religion actuated by no desire of making proselytes to impart to him a secret doctrine and ritual hitherto most jealously guarded. And when at length the sacred books were gained, they were books written in a language so long dead that over it had formed a deposit of commentaries in a speech which had grown, flourished, and died since it had been a spoken tongue. Added to this, AnquetiFs investigations were conducted amidst hardships, privations, and dangers of an exceptional kind. The B&bfs, on the contrary, would, I was convinced, be eager to impart their doctrines to any enquirer on whose discretion and fidelity they could place reliance. Their sacred books, moreover, were either in Arabic, or in Persian, and, beyond a certain reserve and obscurity necessitated by prudential motives, and a peculiar terminology such as all sects, whether philosophical or religious, possess, I anticipated no particular difficulty in understanding them. One special obstacle, it was true, did exist in this case to the primary establishment of relations of intimacy. The B&bfs were a proscribed sect, whereof every member was practically liable to outlawry and even death should he allow his creed to become known. It seemed probable enough, therefore, that I should at first have some difficulty in discovering them and putting myself into communication with them. Yet, could I but find means of spending a few months in Persia, it would be hard, I thought, if some lucky chance did not bring me in contact with some B&bi who would venture to take me into his confidence. And, if the first step could be won, I relied on the fair knowledge of colloquial Persian which I already possessed, the general acquaintance with the *B&bi* doctrines

which Gobineau's work had given me, the genuine admiration which I felt for the Báb and his apostles, and the close brotherhood which, according to all analogy, must probably exist within the sect, to effect the rest.

Meanwhile the first step was to get to Persia, and of this there seemed to be but little chance. Anquetil du Perron would have gone, chance or no chance, and either attained his object or perished in the search. I, not being fashioned in so heroic a mould, waited for the means. I made several fruitless attempts to obtain some appointment which would take me to the land of my quest, and finally, as a last resource, offered myself as a candidate for a medical post in the realms of the Nizám of Ḥaydar-ábád, on the chance that there I might find means of visiting Persia. Here again I was unsuccessful; and I was beginning to despair of attaining my object when suddenly and unexpectedly that thing befel me which is, as I believe, the greatest good-fortune which can fall to the lot of one eager to pursue a scientific enquiry from which he is debarred by lack of means. A fellowship became vacant at my college, and to this fellowship I was elected. This happened on May 30th, 1887. Five months later I had crossed the Turco-Persian frontier and was within three stages of Tabriz.

Of the disappointments and failures which I at first met with in my attempts to discover and communicate with the Bábis; of the fortunate chance which at length placed the clue in my hand; and of the fulfilment of my hopes in a manner surpassing my most sanguine expectations I have already spoken in another place¹. Of these and other things incidental to my journey I may perhaps give a fuller account at some future time. Here it is

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1889, vol. xxi. (New Series), pp. 486—489, 495—496, 501, &c.

sufficient for me to state that I returned to England in October 1888, having visited Zanjan, Tabriz, Shiraz, and Sheykh Ṭabarsf, the places most intimately associated with Babi history; having lived on terms of intimacy for periods varying from a few days to many weeks with the principal Babis at Isfahan, Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirmdn; and bringing with me a number of Babi books and writings, as well as journals wherein the gist of every important conversation with any member of the sect was carefully recorded.

So soon as I had established myself once more in the college which four years' absence from Cambridge and a year's travelling in Persia had served to render yet more dear to me, I set to work to make a systematic examination of the materials collected during my journey. The *Persian Bey an*, the *Íkan*, the *Kitab-i-Akdas*, the *Epistles to t/w Kings*, the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*, and a host of more or less important letters, memoranda, poems, and abstracts, were read, digested, and indexed; and the outcome of this and my previous labour, together with a brief account of my journey, was laid before the public in two articles, comprising in all 170 pages, of which the first appeared in July, the second in October 1889, in the *Journal of the Boyal Asiatic Society*. To these articles I shall continually have occasion to refer in the course of this work, and, for the sake of brevity, I shall henceforth generally denote them as "B. i." and "B. ii."

The preparation of these articles, in conjunction with other work, kept me occupied till the autumn of 1889, when, the main results of my investigations having been satisfactorily recorded, I was left at liberty to turn my attention to matters of detail. It appeared to me extremely desirable that texts or translations of the chief B&bf works should be published *in extenso*; the only question was which to begin with. Inasmuch as it seemed likely that

the historical aspects of the movement **would prove more** generally interesting than its doctrinal aspects, I finally determined to publish first the text and translation of the *Tdrikh-i-Jadid*¹, and this determination was approved by several of my friends and correspondents whose knowledge entitled them to speak with authority. This text and translation I accordingly began to prepare; and the former was completely copied out for the printer (awaiting only collation with the British Museum text)², while the latter was in an advanced stage of progress, when circumstances, immediately to be detailed, occurred, which postponed the completion of that work, and substituted for it another, the present.

My researches amongst the Bábfs in Persia had, at a comparatively early stage, revealed to me the fact that since Count Gobineau composed his work great changes had taken place in their organization and attitude. I had expected to find Mirza Yahya *Subk-i-Ezel* ("*Haẓrat-i-Ezel*" as Gobineau calls him) universally acknowledged by them as the Báb's successor and the sole head to whom they confessed allegiance. My surprise was great when I discovered that, so far from this being the case, the majority of the Babis spoke only of *Behd* as their chief and prophet; asserted that the Bab was merely his herald

¹ Concerning the *Tarikhi-i-Jadid* see Note A at end, pp. 192—197 *infra*.

² This collation has since been effected, and the variants offered by the British Museum MS. proved to be both numerous and important. Should the publication of the work be proceeded with, it would be necessary to collate also the defective MS. recently acquired by the St. Petersburg Library, the closing words of which occur on p. 235 of my MS. See note 1 at the foot of p. 192 *infra*, and the forthcoming (sixth) vol. of Baron Rosen's *Collections Scientifiques*, p. 244.

and forerunner (those who had read the Gospels, and they were many, likened the Bab to John the Baptist and Behd to Christ); and either entirely ignored or strangely disparaged Mirzd Yaḥyd. It took me some time fully to grasp this new and unexpected position of affairs, and perhaps I should not have succeeded in doing so had it not been for the knowledge of the former state of things which I had obtained from Gobineau's work, and the acquaintance which I subsequently made in Kirman with five or six persons who adhered to what I may call the "old dispensation" and regarded Mirzd, Yaḥyri. "*Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel*" as the legitimate and sole successor of the Bab.

To state briefly a long story, the case stands thus :—

(1) Mirza 'All Muhammad the Bab during his life chose from amongst his most faithful and most gifted disciples 18 persons called "Letters of the Living" (*Hurūf-i-Hayy*), who, together with himself the "Point" (*Nukṭa*), constituted that sacred hierarchy of 19 called the "First Unity" (*Vahid-i-Avval*). Of these "Letters" I have not been able to obtain a complete list, and indeed it would appear that the whole hierarchy was never made known. *Mirzi Yaḥyd Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel* held the fourth place in this hierarchy, and, on the death of the "Point" and the two first "Letters," rose, by a natural process of promotion, to the position of chief of the sect¹. *Bebi*, whose proper name is Mirza Huseyn 'Ali of Nur, was also, according to Gobineau², included in the "Unity." Gobineau has, however, mistaken the relationship which existed between him and Mirza Yahya. That the two are brothers (or rather half-brothers, born of the same father by different wives) is a fact established by convincing testimony³.

¹ See **note 1** on **p. 95** *infra*.

² *Religions et Philosophies*, **p. 277**.

³ Cf. **pp. 56**, note 2; **63, top**; and **373**.

(2) Mirza 'Ali Muhammad the Bab declared explicitly and repeatedly in all his works that the religion established by him and the books revealed to him were in no way final; that his followers must continually expect the advent of "Him whom God shall manifest," who would perfect and complete this religion; that, though "He whom God shall manifest" would not, it was hoped, delay his appearance for more than 1511, or, at most, 2001 years (these numbers being represented in cabbalistic fashion by the words *Ghiydh* and *Mustagháth*), he might appear at any time; and that, whenever one should appear claiming to be "He whom God shall manifest," his very being, together with his power of revealing verses, would be his sufficient signs. All who believed in the Bab were solemnly warned not to reject one so characterized and making such a claim, and were commanded, in case of doubt, to incline towards belief rather than disbelief.

(3) During the sojourn of the Babi exiles at Adrianople, Beha (according to Nabil in A.D. 1866—7) suddenly claimed to be "He whom God shall manifest," in proof of which he revealed sundry "signs" (*áyât*) in eloquent Arabic and Persian, wherein he summoned all the Bdbis to acknowledge him as their supreme and sole chief and spiritual guide. Most of the Bdbis eventually made this acknowledgement, vowed allegiance to Behd, and thereby became *Behdís*; some few refused to transfer their allegiance from Mirza Yahya *Subh-i-Ezel* (who himself strenuously resisted Behd's claims, which he regarded in the light of an usurpation and a rebellion), and these were thenceforth known as *Ezelis*.

Thus did the great schism take place which divided the Babis into two unequal parties: a large majority, of whose unbounded and almost incredible love and reverence the object is Beha; a small minority, whose eager gaze is

directed, not to Acre in Syria, but to Famagusta in Cyprus, **where dwells** the exiled chief whom they refuse to disavow. Needless is it to say how bitter is the animosity which subsists between the Beha'is and the Ezelfs. Amongst both factions I have found good men and faithful friends, and from the chiefs of both and their sons I have met with much kindness; wherefore I would for the present touch as lightly as may be on this painful matter, leaving my readers to draw their own conclusions from what is hereinafter set forth. The general nature of the arguments for and against either side will be found summarized at pp. 514 and 515 of my first and pp. 997—998 of my second article on the BaMs in the *J. R. A. S.*, to which I refer such of my readers as are curious to examine the matter more minutely. Of one thing there can, in my opinion, be but little doubt: the future (if Babism, as I most firmly believe, has a future) belongs to Bellá and his successors and followers.

With most of the facts summarized above I became acquainted during my sojourn in Persia, but I was unable to learn for certain whether Mirzâ Yaḥyâ *Şubḥ-i-Ezel* was still alive, nor could I ascertain in what part of Cyprus he had fixed his residence. A dervish with whom I became acquainted in Kirmán told me that he had visited him, but could not remember the name of the town wherein he dwelt; and none of the Ezelfs whom I saw could give me any more precise information. In my first paper on the Bábis in the *J.B.A.S.* (pp. 516—517) I was therefore compelled to confess my failure in all attempts to elucidate this point. At the same time I pointed out how much precious information might be gained from *Şubḥ-i-Ezel* if he were still alive, and how extremely desirable it was in the interests of science that this matter should be cleared up.

After the publication of my first, and during the preparation of my second paper, I began to institute enquiries on this point. My sister, who was then travelling in the East, succeeded in obtaining the first clue from Mr G. L. Houston, who was kind enough to procure for me definite proof that *Şubh-i-Ezel* was still alive and was residing with his family at Famagusta. Shortly after this, my friend Dr F H. H. Guillemard, who had spent many months in Cyprus and had friends in all parts of the island, very obligingly wrote to Mr C. D. Cobham, Commissioner at Larnaca, and to Captain Young, Commissioner at Famagusta, asking them to obtain for me the fullest information possible relative to the Bábí exiles in Cyprus. I myself wrote at the same time, stating the nature of the information which I sought. Both Captain Young and Mr Cobham responded to my request with a kindness for which I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude; and so vigorously and energetically did they push their enquiries that I was soon in possession of all the chief facts relating to the Bábí exiles. Captain Young, indeed, spared no pains to clear up every point connected with the enquiry. The day after he received my letter he paid a visit to *Ştibk-i-Ezel*; questioned him concerning his life, his adventures, and his doctrines; asked for information on sundry points mentioned in my paper; and forwarded to me a complete account of all that he had learned. Nor was this all; for he succeeded so well in winning *Subh-i-Ezel's* confidence that with this first letter (dated July 28th, 1889) he was able to forward a Ms. of one of the Báb's works, whereof, so far as I know, no copy had previously reached Europe. Through Captain Young I was also able to address directly to *Şubh-i-Ezel* letters containing questions on numerous matters connected with the history, doctrine, and literature of the Bábí, to all of which letters I received most full and courteous replies.

Şubh-i-Ezel further sent me at different times several other MSS., a complete list of such of the Báb's works as had been in his own possession at Baghdad¹, and a brief history of the Bábí movement written by himself, besides numerous letters, each one of which contained most precious information.

This correspondence, which opened out so rich a mine of new facts, was but in an early stage when my second paper on the Bábfs was published in the *J.R.A.S.*, for October 1889, but I was able to add to it an appendix (pp. 994—998) embodying the more important results of the enquiry undertaken by Captain Young, Mr Cobham, and Mr Houston. A fuller and more accurate account of *Şubh-i-Ezel* and the other Bábí exiles in Cyprus, based on the enquiries of the above-mentioned gentlemen, the examination of official documents, and the statements made to me by *Şubh-i-Ezel*, his sons, and others, will be found in Note W at the end of this book. It is therefore unnecessary for me to allude further to this correspondence at present.

While I was in Persia I had already formed the intention of visiting Acre and learning the doctrine of Behá from the fountain-head. From the moment when I discovered that *Şubh-i-Ezel* was still alive I further resolved to visit him also, for from repeated personal interviews I anticipated results which could not be obtained by a correspondence, however elaborate. I was also anxious for my own satisfaction to see those who since the Báb's death had been the leaders of the Bábí movement. Without this I felt that my researches would lack that completeness which I wished to give them. The motives which impelled me towards Acre and Famagusta were equally strong, but somewhat different. At the former place I expected to see

¹ See Note U at end.

the mainspring and fulcrum of a mighty force with the astonishing results of which I had become practically acquainted in Persia, and from which I believed (as I still believe) that results yet more wonderful might be expected in the future. At the latter place I hoped to converse with one whom the Báb had recognized as his immediate successor and vicegerent; one who had been personally acquainted with Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, Mullá Sheykh 'AH, Suleymán Khán, Kurratu' l-'Ayn, and, in short, almost all of those whose devoted lives and heroic deaths had first inspired my enthusiasm; one, moreover, who represented the spirit and tradition of the old Bábism, which, in the hands of Behá, had already undergone important modifications, and, indeed, become almost a new religion. Various considerations decided me to visit Cyprus first, of which two only need be mentioned here:—*firstly*, it was practically certain that no obstacle to my seeing Şubh-i-Ezel would arise, while it was by no means certain that I should be able to see Behá; *secondly*, the logical order of procedure was to begin with the investigation of the old order of things, and having completed this, to continue the examination of the new. I hoped, however, to make one journey suffice for the attainment of both objects; but, allowing for the time which must be consumed in actual travelling, it was clear that at least two months would be required for the enterprise. The Long Vacation was amply sufficient for the purpose, but the summer was the most unsuitable season for such a journey, and I therefore determined to petition the University for such extension of leave at Easter as would enable me to be absent from England for two months. The University, ever ready to facilitate research of every kind, granted me permission to absent myself from Cambridge from March 4th till May 3rd, 1890, and accordingly,

leaving England on the date first mentioned, I landed at **Larnaca in** Cyprus on March 19th.

Captain Young and Mr Cobham, on becoming acquainted with my intention of visiting Cyprus, had, with that ready kindness and hospitality which, so far as my experience goes, are rarely lacking in Englishmen resident in the East, written to ask me to be their guest during such time as I might desire to remain in Famagusta or Larnaca, so that I was entirely relieved of all anxiety as to the possibility of finding a base of operations for my researches. Captain Young further counselled me, in case I wished to gain access to the official records of the Island Government, to obtain before leaving England such letters of recommendation as might ensure the attainment of this object. I accordingly applied for help in obtaining these to Major-General Sir Frederic Goldsmid, whose long residence in Persia and intimate knowledge of the Persian people and language had led him to take some interest in my communications on the subject of the B[^]dfs to the Royal Asiatic Society. He spared no pains to further my plans, and introduced me to Sir Robert Biddulph, who very kindly gave me a letter to Sir Henry Bulwer, the Governor-General of Cyprus, asking him to allow me, so far as might be permissible or expedient, to inspect such official documents as might throw light on the object of my investigations.

In Larnaca I spent only one day, the shortness of the time at my disposal and my eagerness to see *Subh-i-Ezel* compelling me with great reluctance to forego the pleasure which a more prolonged sojourn under Mr Cobham's hospitable roof would have afforded me. That day passed most pleasantly, for in my host I found not only an accomplished Oriental scholar and a traveller to whom few regions of the habitable globe were unknown, but a genial

friend and a warm sympathizer in my researches. Mr Cobham had studied Persian for some time with *Mushkin-Ḳalam*, one of the Behá'í exiles sent with Şubḥ-i-Ezel to Cyprus¹, and from him had learned much concerning the new religion. *Şubḥ-i-Ezel*, however, he had not seen; for *Mushkin-Ḳalam*, as was natural, had spoken only of Behá, and had entirely ignored the existence of a chief whose authority he disavowed.

On the following day (Thursday, March 20th, 1890) I bade farewell to Mr Cobham, and, after some six hours spent in a somewhat antiquated vehicle belonging to a loquacious Italian who had fought for Garibaldi, found myself at Famagusta, or rather its suburb Varoshia, where I met with a most cordial welcome from Captain and Lady Evelyn Young. Captain Young at once sent a message to *Şubḥ-i-EzeVs* son 'Abdu'l-'AH (who keeps a shop in Varoshia) requesting him to come to the *honâk*. In a short time he appeared; and I was much struck by the refinement of his manner, the intelligence revealed by his countenance and conversation, and the courteousness of his address. Our conversation was conducted in Persian, which, though he had never been in Persia, he spoke as his mother-tongue. It was soon arranged that I should visit *Şubḥ-i-Ezel* on the following day at whatever time he should appoint.

Next morning we received a message to the effect that *Şubḥ-i-Ezel* was prepared to receive us as soon as we could come. At about 11 a.m., therefore, Captain Young drove me into the town, which is situated about a mile from the suburb of Varoshia. As I had not entered within the walls of Famagusta on the preceding day I now saw for the first time the massive fortifications, the multitu-

¹ Concerning *Mushkin-Ḳalam* see B. i, p. 516; B. ii, pp. 994—995; and Note W at end.

dinous churches (whereof the number, as is currently reported by the inhabitants, equals the number of days in the year), and the desolate neglected streets of that most interesting relic of the Middle Ages. After Captain Young had transacted some other business we proceeded to *Subh-i-Ezd's* abode, in the court-yard of which we were received by his sons 'Abdu'l-'Alf, Rizyañ-'Alf, 'Abdu'l-Wahfd, and Taki u'd-Din, and an old Babi of Zanjan who had settled in the island so as to be near his master. Accompanied by these (with the exception of the last-mentioned) we ascended to an upper room, where a venerable and benevolent-looking old man of about sixty years of age, somewhat below the middle height, with ample forehead on which the traces of care and anxiety were apparent, clear searching blue eyes, and long grey beard, rose and advanced to meet us. Before that mild and dignified countenance I involuntarily bowed myself with unfeigned respect; for at length my long-cherished desire was fulfilled, and I stood face to face with Mirza Yahya *Subh-i-Ezel* ("the Morning of Eternity"), the appointed successor of the Bab, the fourth "Letter" of the "First Unity."

This my first interview was necessarily short and somewhat formal, for I had yet to win the confidence of *Subh-i-Ezel* and induce him little by little to speak without reserve of those things whereof I so earnestly desired to hear. In this, thanks to the confidence with which Captain Young's kindness had already inspired *Subh-i-Ezel*, and the very vivid picture of the chief actors in the Babi movement, which, first derived from the perusal of Count Gobineau's work, had continued to glow and grow in my mind till it became almost as a part of my own personal experience, I was completely successful. During the fortnight which I spent at Famagusta I visited *Subh-i-Ezel* daily, remaining

with him as a rule from two or three o'clock in the afternoon until sunset. Lack of space forbids me from describing in detail and consecutive order the conversations which took place on these occasions. Note-book and pencil in hand I sat before him day by day; and every evening I returned to Varoshia with a rich store of new facts, most of which will be found recorded in the notes wherewith I have striven to illustrate or check the statements advanced in the following pages. Apart from the delight inseparable from successful research my stay at Famagusta was a very pleasant one, for from every one with whom I came in contact, but most of all from Captain and Lady Evelyn Young, I met with a kindness which I can never forget. Besides my visits to *Subh-i-Ezel* in the afternoon I often spent some portion of the morning with his son 'Abdu'l-'Alf, and we were sometimes joined by Rizvân 'Ali, or by one or other of the few Ezelfs who have settled in Famagusta. During these conversations I learned many new facts of greater or less importance. The reserve which had at first been apparent in *Subh-i-Ezel* gradually disappeared, and at each successive interview I found him more communicative. Although our conversation was chiefly on religious topics, and the history, biography, doctrine, and literature of the Babis, other matters were occasionally discussed. Of the Báb and his first apostles and followers, as of his own life and adventures, *Subh-i-Ezel* would speak freely, but concerning the origin of the schism which for him had been attended with such disastrous results, and all pertaining to Behá and the Behá'fs, he was most reticent, so that, perceiving this subject to be distasteful, I refrained for the most part from alluding to it. During these conferences *Subh-i-Ezel*'s sons were always present, though they hardly spoke in the presence of their father, towards whom they observed the utmost deference and respect.

Tea was always served in the Persian fashion, but tobacco in all forms was conspicuous by its absence, the Ezelfs, unlike the Beliefs, following the injunctions of the Bab in this matter. In the course of each visit, or sometimes when I was leaving the house, *Subk-i-Ezel's* youngest son Taḳf'u'd-Dīm, a pretty, graceful child about thirteen years of age, used to present me with a little bunch of roses or such other flowers as the modest garden attached to the house would afford. On my walk to and from Famagusta I was always accompanied by 'Abdu'l-'Ali and often by one of his brothers.

A few days after my arrival at Famagusta I wrote to Sir Henry Bulwer stating what was my object in desiring to examine the official records concerning the exiles which might be preserved at Nicosia, asking whether I might be permitted to do so, and forwarding the letter of recommendation given me by Sir Robert Biddulph. In response to my request Sir Henry Bulwer, having learnt that the shortness of my stay in the island made it difficult, if not impossible, for me to visit Nicosia, was kind enough to forward for my perusal all the more important papers bearing on the subject. All of these, therefore, I was able to examine at my leisure; and of all of them, with one exception, I received permission to make use. An abstract of the important facts and dates established by these documents will be found in Note W at the end of this book.

The fifth of April, which was the ultimate limit whereunto my stay in Cyprus could be protracted, unless I were prepared to postpone indefinitely my visit to Acre, came at last. On the morning of that day, therefore, having with great reluctance bade farewell to all my kind friends, I left Famagusta, and embarked the same afternoon at Larnaca

on the Messageries steamer *Gironde*. I passed a pleasant evening with a Turkish official and a Syrian who were the only other passengers besides myself, and early next morning awoke to find myself at Beyrout.

As I had now but two weeks at my disposal ere I must again turn my face homewards I was naturally anxious to proceed as soon as possible to Acre, especially as I learned that should I fail to find a steamer bound directly for that port, three days at least would be consumed by the journey thither. It was, however, necessary for me first to obtain permission from the Bábi head-quarters; for though I could without doubt proceed to Acre if I so pleased without consulting any one's inclination save my own, it was certain that unless my journey had previously received the sanction of Behá it would in all probability result in naught but failure and disappointment. Now there reside at Beyrout, Port Said, and Alexandria (by one of which places all desirous of proceeding to Acre by sea must of necessity pass) Bábs of consequence to whom all desirous of visiting Behá must in the first instance apply. Should such application prove successful, the applicant is informed that he may proceed on his journey, and receives such instruction, advice, and assistance as may be necessary. To the Babi agent at Beyrout (whose name I do not feel myself at liberty to mention) I had a letter of recommendation from one of his relatives with whom I had become acquainted in Persia. The first thing which I did on my arrival was to send a messenger to discover his abode. The messenger shortly returned, saying that he had indeed succeeded in finding the place indicated, but that the agent was absent from Beyrout. This was a most serious blow to my hopes, for time was against me, and every day was of vital importance. There was nothing for it, however, but to make the best of the matter, and I therefore went in person to

the abode of the absent agent and presented myself to his deputy, who opened and attentively perused my letter of recommendation, and then informed me that his master was at Acre and was not expected back for ten days or a fortnight. In reply to my anxious enquiries as to how I had best proceed, he advised me to write a letter to his master explaining the state of the case, which letter, together with the letter of recommendation, he undertook to forward at once, as the post fortunately chanced to be leaving for Acre that very evening. I at once wrote as he directed, and then returned to my lodging with the depressing consciousness that at least five or six days must elapse ere I could receive an answer to my letter or start for Acre; that even if permission was granted (as no steamer appeared likely to be sailing) three more days would be spent in reaching my goal; and that consequently eight or nine days out of the fourteen still remaining to me would be wasted before I could even set foot in the land of my quest. Altogether I began to fear that the second part of my journey was likely to prove far less successful than the first.

Fortunately matters turned out much better than I expected. In the first place I made the acquaintance of Mr Eyres, the British Vice-Consul, whose kindness and hospitality did much to render my stay at Beyrout pleasant, and who, on learning that I wished to proceed to Acre, told me that he himself intended to start for Acre and Haifa on the following Friday (April 11th), and that I might if I pleased accompany him. In the second place it occurred to me that I might save two or three days' delay by telegraphing to Acre so soon as my letter must, in the natural course of things, have reached its destination, and requesting a telegram in reply to inform me whether I might proceed thither. On Wednesday, April 9th, therefore, I sent a telegram to this effect. On Thursday evening, returning

after sunset to my hotel from a ride in the hills, I was met with the welcome news that a Persian had called twice to see me during the afternoon stating that he had important business which would not brook delay, and that he had left a note for me which I should find upstairs. From this note, hurriedly scribbled in pencil on a scrap of paper, I learned that permission had been granted, and that I was free to start as soon as I pleased.

On receiving this intelligence my first action was to verify it beyond all doubt by calling at once on the deputy of the absent agent, whom I fortunately found at home. He congratulated me warmly on the happy issue of my affairs, and handed over to me the original telegram. It was laconic in the extreme, containing, besides the address, two words only:—" *Yatawajjahu 'l-musāfir*" ("Let the traveller approach"). He then informed me that as no steamer was starting for Acre I must of necessity proceed thither by land, and that the reason why he had been so anxious to communicate with me earlier was that the post left that day at sun-down and I might have accompanied it. I then told him of Mr Eyres' kind offer; which, as we agreed, was a most exceptional piece of good-fortune for me, inasmuch as he proposed to start on the following morning, and expected to reach Acre on April 13th.

After bidding farewell to the deputy-agent and thanking him for the effectual aid which he had rendered me, I visited Mr Eyres, and told him that I would accept his kind offer if I could obtain a horse and make the necessary arrangements for my journey on the following morning. He told me that he must start early, but that if I left Beyrout by mid-day I could easily overtake him at Sidon, where he would halt for the night; and he further placed at my disposal the services of one of his *ḵawwdṣes* to assist me in my preparations.

Next morning (Friday, April 11th) I was astir early, for there was much to be done. With the help of my friend Jemálu'd-Din Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and the active co-operation of the *kawwdş* of the Consulate, all was at length satisfactorily arranged; and shortly after midday I found myself on a sturdy, good-looking, but somewhat indolent horse, with a *khurjin* (pair of saddlebags) containing the most indispensable of my effects behind me, plodding along a sandy road bordered with cactus in the direction of Sidon, where (the road being fortunately easy to follow) I arrived without mishap at sun-down.

To speak of the delights of that three days' journey, the beauty of the scenery, the purity and fragrance of the soft spring air, the pleasant mid-day halts by some rippling stream or in some balmy grove, and the hospitable receptions accorded to me as Mr Eyres' travelling companion by those in whose houses we alighted at Sidon, Tyre, and Acre, would be to wander further than is permissible from the subject in hand. Suffice it to say that, thanks to Mr Eyres' kindness in allowing me to accompany him, a journey, which, if performed in solitude, would have lost more than half its charm, was rendered enjoyable in the highest degree. The last day was perhaps the most delightful of all, and I was greatly astonished on entering the Acre plain to behold a wealth of beautiful gardens and fragrant orange-groves such as I had little expected to find in what Beha has stigmatized as "the most desolate of countries" (*akhrabu'l-bilad*). I subsequently mentioned this feeling of surprise to the Bábfs at Acre, who replied that had I seen it when Beha first came there nearly two and twenty years ago I should not have deemed the title misapplied, but that since he had dwelt there it had assumed this fair and comely aspect.

We entered Acre towards sun-down on **April 13th, and**, wending our way through the fine bazaars, on the smooth stone pavement of which our horses' hoofs slipped as on ice, alighted at the house of a Christian merchant named Ibrahim Khuri, who accorded to us the usual hospitable reception. That same evening I sent a note to the Babf agent, which was brought back by the messenger unopened, with the disagreeable news that my mysterious correspondent had gone to Haifd with Beha's eldest son 'Abbas Efendi. This was most unwelcome information; for as Mr Eyres was leaving the next day for Haifa, and I did not wish to trespass further on the hospitality of Ibrahim Khúrf, it was absolutely essential that I should obtain help from the Babis in finding other quarters. Evidently there was nothing for it but to wait for the morrow and what it might bring forth.

Next morning I enquired if there was any representative of the absent agent who might be cognizant of his movements, and was conducted to a shop in the bazaar, where I found a tall handsome youth clothed entirely in white save for his red fez, from beneath which a mass of glossy black hair swept back behind his ears, at the lower level of which it terminated¹. This youth, accosting me in Turkish, enquired first somewhat haughtily what might be my business. I answered him in Persian, whereat he appeared surprised; and, after hearing what I had to say, bade me follow him. He led me to a house situated near the seashore, at the door of which we were met by an old Persian

¹ Concerning the characteristic manner in which the Bábis arrange their hair, cf. B. i. pp. 499—500. The wearing of pure white garments was from the first another special feature of theirs. Thus we learn from the *Tdrikh-i-Jadid* that the defenders of Sheykh Ṭabarsi used to issue forth to attack their foes clad in pure white raiment and crying out ** *Yd Sahibu'z-Zaman* " (" O Lord of the Age !").

with long grizzled hair and beard, whose scrutinizing gaze was rendered more rather than less formidable by an enormous pair of spectacles. This man, after conversing for a few moments with my guide in an under tone, led me into a large room devoid of all furniture save a sort of bench or divan which ran round its four sides. I had scarcely seated myself when another Persian, evidently superior in authority to the other two, entered and saluted me. He was a man of middle height and middle age, with a keen and not unpleasing countenance, whereof the lower part was concealed by a short crisp beard. After bidding me reseate myself (for I had of course risen on his entrance) and ordering his servant (for such, I discovered, was the old man who had met me at the door) to give me a cup of coffee, he proceeded to subject me to a most minute cross-examination as to my nationality, my occupation, my travels in Persia, the objects of my present journey, and the like. My answers appeared to satisfy him; and when he had finished his questioning he asked me what I proposed to do. I told him that I would be guided entirely by his advice. He then asked me whether I would proceed to Haifa, where I was certain to find the agent whom I sought with Beha's son 'Abbas Efendi. To this I replied that as I had but a few days at my disposal, and as Acre and not Haifa was the goal of my journey, I would rather remain than depart. "In that case," said he, "I myself will go to Haifa. this afternoon and bring back word tomorrow what you must do. Meanwhile will you remain where you stayed last night till I return?" I answered that I would rather not trespass further on a hospitality extended to me solely as Mr Eyres' friend, and that if he could suggest any other lodging for that night I should be glad. I was not, I added, exacting in the matter of comfort, and would be quite content with a caravansary.

He reflected for a few moments and then said, " Very well. If that be your wish you can stay here. I myself shall be absent, but I will give instructions that you shall be looked after. And after all it is only for one night: tomorrow I shall return, and we will, if God please, find you better quarters. When the consul departs for Haifa do you also leave the house where you are staying and bring your effects here." I then took my leave with many expressions of gratitude, and occupied myself during the remainder of the morning in packing my saddle-bags and making arrangements for the stabling of my horse during the time I expected to remain at Acre.

After lunch Mr Eyres departed for Haifa, and I, quitting Ibrahim Khuri's abode, found someone to carry my effects to the house which I had visited in the morning. Here I was received by a sharp-looking boy of about fourteen, who proved to be the son of my interlocutor of the morning, to whom also, as I subsequently discovered, the house which I had now entered belonged. I had expected to receive but the roughest accommodation, the resources of the house being in nowise revealed by the room on the ground-floor where I had been received in the morning. My experience of the hospitality of the Persians in general and the Babis in particular, and the deceptive exteriors of Oriental houses, might, it is true, have led me to expect tolerable comfort, but could hardly have prepared me for the positive luxury which the thoughtful kindness of my host had provided. During the afternoon I was entertained by my host's son, who showed that admirable courtesy and *savoir faire* with which even quite young Persian boys are capable, in the absence of their elders, of receiving the stranger and doing the honours of the house. As it was Easter Monday the street outside was filled with Syrian Christians, who continued so long as daylight lasted to

express their joy in howls, gun-shots, and wild dances, at which we looked on in amazement from the window. A more remarkable and discordant expression of religious fervour it has never been my lot to witness. Towards the latter part of the afternoon my host's son, thinking, I suppose, that I needed further amusement, took me to see an itinerant Greek photographer who was temporarily established in a sort of cellar in the basement of the house. This Greek spoke French tolerably well, and seemed an honest, kindly fellow. He was very anxious to make out that I was a free-mason, and importuned me greatly to tell him the names of the pillars of Solomon's temple. Dim recollections of some book purporting to expose the secrets of that cult prompted me to seek escape from his pertinacity by suggesting "Boaz," whereupon nothing would serve him but I must tell him the name of the other. As I had forgotten this, and begun to weary of the subject, I took my leave.

Towards evening I received another visitor, whose mien and bearing alike marked him as a person of consequence. He was a man of perhaps thirty or thirty-five years of age, with a face which called to one's mind the finest types of Iranian physiognomy preserved to us in the bas-reliefs of Persepolis, yet with something in it beyond this, which involuntarily called forth in my mind the thought, "What would not an artist desirous of painting a saint or an apostle give for such a model!" My visitor (who, as I afterwards discovered, was a son of Beha's deceased brother Musa) was clothed, save for the tall red fez which crowned his head, entirely in pure white; and everything about him, from his short well-trimmed beard and the masses of jet-black hair swept boldly back behind his ears, to the hem of his spotless garment, was characterized by the same scrupulous neatness. He saluted me very graciously, and

remained conversing with me all the evening. Shortly after supper he bade me good-night, saying that I must doubtless be fatigued with my journey. I was then conducted by my host's son and the old servant to the room where I had spent the afternoon, where, to my astonishment, I found that a bed provided with the most efficient mosquito-curtains and furnished with fair white sheets and soft mattress had been prepared for me. The arrangement of the mosquito-curtains (called by my new friends *nāmúsi*) was such as I had not previously seen, and, as it appeared to me perfect in simplicity and efficiency, I shall describe it for the benefit of other travellers. The *nāmúsi*, then, consists of what may most easily be described as a large box or small chamber of muslin, rectangular in shape, greater in length than in breadth, and furnished with a single funnel-shaped aperture in one of its sides. This muslin chamber is suspended by its corners by cords attached to the wall, and is entered through the funnel-shaped aperture, the mouth of which is encircled by a cord. The bed is laid inside, its component parts being introduced one by one. The occupant on entering draws tight the constricting cord, and is thereby completely cut off from the attacks of gnats, mosquitoes, and the like. The whole structure can, when not in use, be folded up into a very small compass.

I arose next morning (Tuesday, April 14th) after a most refreshing sleep, and was served with tea by the old man with the spectacles. Soon after this a sudden stir without announced the arrival of fresh visitors, and a moment after my companion of the previous evening entered the room accompanied by two other persons, one of whom proved to be the Bábí agent from Beyrout, while the other, as I guessed from the first by the extraordinary deference shewn to him by all present, was none other than Bellá's eldest son 'Abbás

Efendi. Seldom have I seen one whose appearance impressed me more. A tall strongly-built man holding himself straight as an arrow, with white turban and raiment, long black locks reaching almost to the shoulder, broad powerful forehead indicating a strong intellect combined with an unswerving will, eyes keen as a hawk's, and strongly-marked but pleasing features—such was my first impression of 'Abbas Efendi, "the master" (*Áka*) as he *par excellence* is called by the Babis. Subsequent conversation with him served only to heighten the respect with which his appearance had from the first inspired me. One more eloquent of speech, more ready of argument, more apt of illustration, more intimately acquainted with the sacred books of the Jews, the Christians, and the Muhammadans, could, I should think, scarcely be found even amongst the eloquent, ready, and subtle race to which he belongs. These qualities, combined with a bearing at once majestic and genial, made me cease to wonder at the influence and esteem which he enjoyed even beyond the circle of his father's followers. About the greatness of this man and his power no one who had seen him could entertain a doubt.

In this illustrious company did I partake of the mid-day meal. Soon after its conclusion 'Abbas Efendi and the others arose with a prefatory "*Bismillāh*," and signified to me that I should accompany them, which I did, without having any idea whither we were going. I observed, however, that the saddle-bags containing my effects were carried after us by one of those present; from which I concluded that I was not intended to remain in my present quarters. We left the house, traversed the bazaars, and quitted the town by its solitary gate. Outside this gate near the sea is a large shed which serves as a coffee-house, and here we seated ourselves, my companions evidently awaiting the arrival of something or somebody from a large

mansion half-hidden in a grove of trees situated about a mile or a mile and a half inland, towards which they continually directed their glances. While we were waiting thus, a weird-looking old man, who proved to be none other than the famous *Mushkin-Kalam*¹, came and seated himself beside us. He told me that he had heard all about me from a relation of his at Isfahan (that same *dallal* who had been the means of my first introduction to the Bábí community²), and that he had been expecting to see me at Acre ever since that time.

Presently we discerned advancing towards us along the road from the mansion above mentioned three animals, one of which was ridden by a man. Thereupon we arose and went to meet them; and I soon found myself mounted on one of those fine white asses which, in my opinion, are of all quadrupeds the most comfortable to ride. A quarter of an hour later we alighted in front of the large mansion aforesaid, whereof the name, *Behjé* (Joy), is said to be a corruption (though, as the Bábís do not fail to point out, a very happy corruption) *otBághcha* (which signifies a garden). I was almost immediately conducted into a large room on the ground-floor, where I was most cordially received by several persons whom I had not hitherto seen. Amongst these were two of Bellá's younger sons, of whom one was apparently about twenty-five and the other about twenty-one years of age. Both were handsome and distinguished enough in appearance, and the expression of the younger was singularly sweet and winning. Besides these a very old man with light blue eyes and white beard, whose green turban proclaimed him a descendant of the Prophet, advanced to welcome me, saying, "We know not how we

¹ See B. i, p. 516, B. ii, p. 994, and Note W at the end of this book.

² See B. i, p. 487 *et seq.*

should greet thee, whether we should salute thee with '*as-seldmu 'aleykum*' or with '*Alldhu abha*¹.'" When I discovered that this venerable old man was not only one of the original companions of the Bab but his relative and comrade from earliest childhood, it may well be imagined with what eagerness I gazed upon him and listened to his every utterance.

So here at *Behje was* I installed as a guest, in the very midst of all that Babiism accounts most noble and most holy; and here did I spend five most memorable days, during which I enjoyed unparalleled and unhopèd-for opportunities of holding intercourse with those who are the very fountain-heads of that mighty and wondrous spirit which works with invisible but ever-increasing force for the transformation and quickening of a people who slumber in a sleep like unto death. It was in truth a strange and moving experience, but one whereof I despair of conveying any save the feeblest impression. I might, indeed, strive to describe in greater detail the faces and forms which surrounded me, the conversations to which I was privileged to listen, the solemn melodious reading of the sacred books, the general sense of harmony and content which pervaded the place, and the fragrant shady gardens whither in the afternoon we sometimes repaired; but all this was as nought in comparison with the spiritual atmosphere with which I was encompassed. Persian Muslims will tell you often that the Babis bewitch or drug their guests so that these, impelled by a fascination which they cannot resist, become similarly affected with what the aforesaid Muslims regard as a strange and incomprehensible madness. Idle and absurd as this belief is, it yet rests on a basis of fact stronger than that which supports the greater part of what

¹ *i.e.* with the salutation ordinarily used by the Muhammadans, or with that peculiar to the Bâbis.

they allege concerning this people. The spirit which pervades the Babis is such that it can hardly fail to affect most powerfully all subjected to its influence. It may appal or attract: it cannot be ignored or disregarded. Let those who have not seen disbelieve me if they will; but, should that spirit once reveal itself to them, they will experience an emotion which they are not likely to forget.

Of the culminating event of this my journey some few words at least must be said. During the morning of the day after my installation at *Behje* one of Beha's younger sons entered the room where I was sitting and beckoned to me to follow him. I did so, and was conducted through passages and rooms at which I scarcely had time to glance to a spacious hall, paved, so far as I remember (for my mind was occupied with other thoughts) with a mosaic of marble. Before a curtain suspended from the wall of this great ante-chamber my conductor paused for a moment while I removed my shoes. Then, with a quick movement of the hand, he withdrew, and, as I passed, replaced the curtain; and I found myself in a large apartment, along the upper end of which ran a low divan, while on the side opposite to the door were placed two or three chairs. Though I dimly suspected whither I was going and whom I was to behold (for no distinct intimation had been given to me), a second or two elapsed ere, with a throb of wonder and awe, I became definitely conscious that the room was not untenanted. In the corner where the divan met the wall sat a wondrous and venerable figure, crowned with a felt head-dress of the kind called *táj* by dervishes (but of unusual height and make), round the base of which was wound a small white turban. The face of him on whom I gazed I can never forget, though I cannot describe it. Those piercing eyes seemed to read one's very soul; power

and authority sat on that ample brow; while the deep lines on the forehead and face implied an age which the jet-black hair and beard flowing down in indistinguishable luxuriance almost to the waist seemed to belie. No need to ask in whose presence I stood, as I bowed myself before one who is the object of a devotion and love which kings might envy and emperors sigh for in vain!

A mild dignified voice bade me be seated, and then continued:—"Praise be to God that thou hast attained!... Thou hast come to see a prisoner and an exile. . . . We desire but the good of the world and the happiness of the nations; yet they deem us a stirrer up of strife and sedition worthy of bondage and banishment. . . . That all nations should become one in faith and all men as brothers; that the bonds of affection and unity between the sons of men should be strengthened; that diversity of religion should cease, and differences of race be annulled—what harm is there in this? . . . Yet so it shall be; these fruitless strifes, these ruinous wars shall pass away, and the 'Most Great Peace' shall come_____Do not you in Europe need this also? Is not this that which Christ foretold? . . . Yet do we see your kings and rulers lavishing their treasures more freely on means for the destruction of the human race than on that which would conduce to the happiness of mankind... These strifes and this bloodshed and discord must cease, and all men be as one kindred and one family Let not a man glory in this, that he loves his country; let him rather glory in this, that he loves his kind"

Such, so far as I can recall them, were the words which, besides many others, I heard from Behi. Let those who read them consider well with themselves whether such doctrines merit death and bonds, and whether the world is more likely to gain or lose by their diffusion.

My interview lasted altogether about twenty minutes,

and during the latter part of it Behá read a portion of that epistle (*lawk*) whereof the translation occupies the last paragraph on p. 70 and the greater part of p. 71 of this book.

During the five days spent at *Behje* (Tuesday, April 15th to Sunday, April 20th), I was admitted to Behá's presence four times. These interviews always took place an hour or two before noon, and lasted from twenty minutes to half-an-hour. One of Behá's sons always accompanied me, and once Aka Mirza Aka Jan (*Jenab-i-Khadimu llah*)¹ the amanuensis (*kātib-i-āyat*) was also present. In their general features these interviews resembled the first, of which I have attempted to give a description. Besides this, one afternoon I saw Behá walking in one of the gardens which belong to him. He was surrounded by a little group of his chief followers. How the journey to and from the garden was accomplished I know not: probably under cover of the darkness of night.

At length the last day to which my departure could possibly be deferred if I were to reach Cambridge ere the expiration of my leave arrived. Loath as I was to go, there was no help for it; and reluctantly enough I declined the pressing invitations to prolong my stay which the kindness of my friends prompted them to utter. Finding that I was bent on departure, and that I could not remain longer without running a great risk of breaking my promise, they ceased to try to dissuade me from going, and, with most considerate kindness, strove to make such arrangements for my return journey as might most conduce to my comfort. In spite of all my assurances that I could easily return by myself, it was settled that the Bábí agent of Beyrout should accompany me thither. I was very un-

¹ See B. i, p. 519; and pp. 355, n. 2, 358, and 360—362 *infra*.

willing to put him to such inconvenience, but was finally compelled to accede to this arrangement, which, of course, made the return journey far pleasanter than it would otherwise have been.

In the course of a conversation which took place soon after my arrival I had expressed a strong desire to become better acquainted with the later history of the Babi movement, adding that the only history written in a friendly and sympathetic spirit which I had seen was the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, and that this only carried the narrative down to the year A.D. 1850. In reply I was told that a concise and authentic history carried down almost to the present day had been compiled¹; and that same day this book, of which the text and translation are now published, was placed in my hands. I did not at first understand that this was a gift, for many books were lent to me to read in my room; and consequently I spent much time which, as the event turned out, might have been more profitably employed, in copying out what I deemed the more important passages of the work in question. When, at the moment of my departure, I offered to return the book, I was told that it was a gift which I might take with me in remembrance of my visit; whereat I rejoiced greatly. Besides this I received a fine MS. copy of the *Ikān* written by the same scribe, "*the Letter Za*"²; for I had mentioned incidentally that the copy of that work which I had obtained in Persia had unfortunately suffered damages which rendered many passages almost illegible.

At length the moment of departure came, and, after taking an affectionate farewell of my kind friends, I once

¹ For a fuller account of the circumstances which led to the compilation of this history see that portion of Note A which is devoted to the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* (pp. 194—195 *infra*).

² See Note Z at end.

more turned my face towards Beyrout. I was accompanied by the Bâbi agent; and a servant, who, left fatherless in childhood by one of the Bâbi persecutions in Persia, had since remained in the household of Behâ, went with us as far as Tyre. I have seldom seen one whose countenance and conversation revealed a more complete contentment with his lot. That night we slept in a caravansaray at Tyre. Next day the servant bade us farewell and turned back towards Acre, while we continued on our way, and shortly after sunset passed through the beautiful gardens which surround Sidon, that fairest and most fragrant of Syria's cities. Here we alighted at the house of a Bâbi of Yezd, whose kindly hospitality formed a pleasant contrast to our somewhat dreary lodgings of the previous night.

On the evening of the following day (Tuesday, April 22nd) we entered Beyrout, and halted for a while to rest and refresh ourselves with tea at the house of a Bâbi of Baghdad which was situated in the outskirts of the town. This man had as a child gone with his father to Persia in the hope of seeing the Bâb. This he was unable to do, the Bâb being at that time confined in the fortress of Chihriḳ, but at Teherân he had seen Mulla Ḥuseyn of Bushraweyh. I asked him what manner of man Mulla Huseyn was. "Lean and fragile to look at," he answered, "but keen and bright as the sword which never left his side. For the rest, he was not more than thirty or thirty-five years old, and his raiment was white."

Next day soon after sun-down, the last farewells said, and the precious MSS. carefully concealed about me, I was borne swiftly out of Beyrout harbour by the Egyptian steamer *Rahmañiyya*. Eight days later, on Thursday, May 1st, I was back in Cambridge. So ended a most interesting, most successful, and most pleasant journey.

Shortly after my return to Cambridge I addressed a note to the Syndicate of the University Press, stating in brief outline the course and results of the investigations which had occupied me during the last three years, and my desire to place before the world some portion of these results by publishing the text and translation of one or other of the two Babi histories which I had obtained. Of these two histories I briefly discussed the respective merits, adding that, although the text of the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* only awaited collation with the British Museum MS., while the translation thereof was far advanced towards completion, this newer history, owing to its comparatively small bulk, could probably be got ready for publication quite as soon as the larger work, while the Ms. of it which I had obtained, being accurate, well written, and, to the best of my knowledge, unique in Europe, might, with perfect propriety, be reproduced in *facsimile* by some process of photo-lithography. In reply to my application, I was presently informed that the Syndicate was prepared to accept and publish the smaller work so soon as it should be ready, while the expediency of publishing the larger *Tarikh-i-Jadid* was deferred for future consideration. On learning the favourable result of my application I at once applied myself vigorously to the work of translation and annotation, and by the end of July 1890 the first proof-sheets were already before me. As it had been decided that the text should be reproduced by photo-lithography, I had no anxiety on that score; and the excellence of the *facsimile* produced in the workshops of the Cambridge Engraving Company under the careful supervision of Mr Dew-Smith of Trinity College, will, I am confident, more than reconcile the Persian scholar to the necessity of dealing with a lithographed instead of a printed text.

It remains for me to speak briefly of the peculiarities of this history both as regards tone and style. As to the former, the chief features which will strike the attentive reader are:—

(1) The quite secondary importance accorded to the Bab, whose mission is throughout depicted as a mere preparation for the fuller and more perfect dispensation of BeM. In like manner the deeds and sufferings of the early apostles of Babiism are passed over very lightly, and many of the most remarkable events of the older dispensation (such as the deaths of the 'Seven Martyrs'¹ and the great massacre at Teheran in 1852 which Renan² calls "un jour sans pareil peut-etre dans l'histoire du monde") are almost or quite unnoticed. The martyrdoms of Mirza Badi³ and the two Seyyids of Isfahan⁴, which belong to the new dispensation, are, on the other hand, treated of very fully.

(2) Mirzd Yaḥyd, *Subk-i-Ezel* is throughout depicted as a person of no consequence, enjoying for a while a merely nominal supremacy, bestowed upon him, not for any special merit or capacity, but out of regard for certain considerations of expediency⁵. No opportunity is lost of disparaging both his courage and his judgement⁶, and of contrasting him in these respects with Behd, who is everywhere described as the true and legitimate chief.

(3) Towards the Shih of Persia an extraordinarily temperate tone is observed, and in several places apologies are put forward for his justification, the blame for the cruelties inflicted on the Babis being thrown either on his

¹ See Note B at end.

² *Les Apôtres*, p. 378. See also Note T at end.

³ See pp. 102—106 *infra*.

⁴ See pp. 167—169 and 400 *et seq. infra*, and B. i, pp. 489—491.

⁵ Cf. pp. 62—63 *infra*.

⁶ Cf. pp. 51—52; 63—64; 89—90; and 93—101 *infra*.

ministers and courtiers, or on the Muhammadan doctors, who are repeatedly and strongly denounced¹.

(4) The resistance opposed to the government by the earlier B&bfs is deprecated even when evoked by the most wanton acts of aggression and cruelty², the attempt on the Shah's life in particular being alluded to with the utmost horror³; and it is implied that, although the Bab's precepts were altogether those of peace, the stronger will and influence of Beha. were needed to give them actual currency⁴.

The chief peculiarities presented by the style of this work are as follows : —

(1) A remarkable terseness and concision rare in Persian.

(2) An unusual preponderance of the Arabic element, and the frequent employment of many uncommon Arabic words.

(3) An abundant use of the past participle in place of the past tense where we should expect the latter. A good instance of this peculiarity occurs in the first five lines of p. 3 of the text. Of these three peculiarities the second and third are noticed by Gobineau (*Religions et Philosophies*, p. 312) as characteristic of the Babi style in general. He says:—"C'est un persan *ou* il ne paraît presque que des mots arabes choisis parmi les plus relevés et les plus rares, et où se combinent les formes grammaticales des deux langues de manière à exercer singulièrement la sagacité et, il faut le dire aussi, la patience des lecteurs divots et confiants. Suivant un usage, qui est du reste assez reçu dans les ouvrages philosophiques, les verbes persans employés se présentent presque toujours sous la

¹ Cf. pp. 20, 32—33, 34—35, 40-41, 52, and 104—106 *infra*.

² Cf. p. 35 *infra*.

³ See pp. 49—51 *infra*.

* Cf. pp. 65—69 *infra*.

forme concrete de participes passes, afin de ressembler autant que possible à des verbes arabes."

(4) A very noticeable tendency to omit the Persian auxiliary verb after Arabic participles, whether active or passive, and generally speaking to restrict the employment of the verb as much as possible. The following instances (and the like will be found almost on every page) will suffice to illustrate this feature:—

(On p. 1, last line, and p. 2, first line):— چون این

روایات مختلفه در سایر اوراق مذکور و بیانش سبب تطویل

لهذا الخ— "Now since these various accounts [are] recorded in other pages, and [since] the setting forth thereof [would be] the cause of prolixity, therefore "...etc.

(On p. 39, last line, and p. 40, first line):— باری ایران

در این بحران و اعلام حیران و پریشان که خاقان

Well, Persia [was] in this critical state and the learned doctors perplexed and anxious, when the late Prince Muhammad Sháh died. *

(On p. 43, last line, and p. 44, first three lines):—

تصور و افکارشان بقرار سابق و سلوک و رفتارشان بر

حسب قدیم مطابق طریق وصول یاب نیز مسدود و

Their conceptions and ideas [were] after the former fashion, and their conduct and behaviour in correspondence with ancient usage. The way of approach to the Báb [was], moreover, closed, and the flame of trouble visibly blazing on every side. *

(5) Two peculiar idioms common to all *Babi* compositions remain to be noticed. The *first* of these is the continual use of چه که in the sense of "for," to the almost complete exclusion of زیرا که, چرا که, or the simple و, which are commonly employed in other works. The *second* is the combination of the past and the present or the past and future tenses in general assertions (an idiom which is even more common in the writings of the Bab than in those of Beha). Of this usage the following instances may be cited from the present work:—

(At the bottom of p. 141):—چه که آن سلطان بی مثال

لا زال مقدس از صعود و نزول بوده و خواهد بود *
 ... "for that Peerless King hath been and will be for everlasting Holy above ascent or descent."

(In the sentence at the top of p. 142 which follows the above):—پس معنیء نصرت الیوم اعتراض بر احدی و—
 * "Therefore to-day victory neither hath been nor will be interference with any one, nor strife with any person."

The peculiarities of style affected by the Bab have for the most part received the sanction of Beha, and are copied with greater or less fidelity by the majority of Babis, so that one familiar with them might often succeed in recognizing a letter or other document as of *Babi* authorship.

It remains for me to say a few words as to the principles which have guided me in my own work, viz. the translation and notes. As regards the former, I have taken as my guide the canon laid down by the late Dr William Wright, whose

death, mourned by all as an irreparable loss, was to such as were like myself privileged to listen to his teaching and feel the genial influence of his constant and unvarying kindness and encouragement, the saddest of bereavements. This canon he states as follows (*Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, Cambridge, 1882, pp. vi—vii of the Preface):—

"In my translation I have striven to be as literal as the difference between the two idioms will allow. My method is first to translate as closely as I can, and then to try if I can improve the form of expression in any way without the sacrifice of truthfulness to the original. I also endeavour to preserve a somewhat antiquated and Biblical style, as being peculiarly adapted to the rendering into English of Oriental works, whether poetical or historical. The Old Testament and the Ko'ran, which are, of course, in many ways strikingly similar in their diction, can both be easily made ridiculous by turning them into our modern vernacular, particularly if we vulgarize with malice prepense." Now though I cannot flatter myself that I have succeeded in making my translation of this history very eloquent English, I can at least conscientiously declare that I have spared no pains to reproduce faithfully not only the thought but also the style and diction of my author. The desire to give a correct impression of the original has even led me to preserve the Persian idiom where a slight alteration would have improved the English. An instance of this occurs in the very first sentence on p. 1, where "on the lips" would undoubtedly have been better English than "on the tongues." Throughout my translation I have unhesitatingly preferred fidelity to elegance; and, even if I have gone too far in this, I trust that at least the English reader will obtain a clearer idea of the peculiarities of the original than would otherwise have been possible. Words of constant recurrence have been, so far as possible, rendered

by the same English equivalent, which, according to the canon above referred to, often bears the meaning which it has in the Bible rather than that which is given to it in ordinary usage. Thus by "lawyers" (فقهاء) are intended the expounders of the Sacred Books and of the Law therein contained, and by "doctors" (علماء) those learned in theology and the kindred sciences.

As regards the notes with which I have endeavoured to elucidate, control, and amplify the text, they are of two kinds; foot-notes containing explanations necessary for the proper comprehension of the text, references, supplementary details or varying traditions of events recorded in the body of the work, brief notices of events intentionally or accidentally passed over, comments, and the like; and the final notes designated by capital letters, to which perhaps the term "Excursus" or "Appendix" might more fitly have been given. These latter have, I confess, grown to proportions far exceeding what I originally intended, for the printing of the translation was finished ere half of them was written, and ever as I wrote fresh scraps of information which I could not persuade myself to omit kept coming in. I cannot but feel that, partly in consequence of this, partly because of the very nature of my original plan, portions of my work will appear discursive, desultory, and disconnected, even if it be free (which I can scarcely hope) from contradictions and repetitions. But my aim and object has been chiefly to record, for the benefit of future historians, every fact which I have been able to learn, and every varying tradition which I have heard in Persia, Turkey, Syria, or Cyprus. In the case of divergent traditions I have, so far as was consistent with the safety of my informants, given the *isnad* or chain of authorities by which they reached me. When this could not be done, I have striven to give

the reader some means of forming an estimate of the character of my informant. The office of the chronicler and collector of traditions is, in comparison with that of the historian, a humble one; yet the labours of the former are indispensable to those of the latter, and must precede them. The immense superiority of Ṭabarfi to all other Oriental historians lies, as Professor Noeldeke observes, in this, that he was content to record the various traditions of diverse events which he learned from this one or that one without seeking prematurely to blend them into one harmonious narrative. Let the oldest traditions of any historical event once be gathered up, the credibility of their narrators being, as far as possible, determined, and the chronicle may without prejudice to itself await in patience, for centuries if need be, the magic touch of the true historian; but if once the old traditions be lost the loss can never be made good. Through a fortunate combination of circumstances unlikely to repeat itself I was placed in a singularly good position for gathering together Babi traditions from sources many of which will in a few years be no longer available, and I was impatient to place on record the mass of information thus arduously acquired; so that now, as I write the last page of this work, I am conscious of a deep sense of relief and thankfulness that no obstacle has intervened to prevent the conclusion of my labours.

Of the bibliography of Babiism a full account will be found in Note A at the end of the book, so that I need add nothing further on this subject. My first and second articles on the Babfs in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889 (vol. xxi, new series, parts iii and iv) are, as already explained, respectively denoted throughout this work as "B. i," and "B. ii." When Gobineau is quoted, his work *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale* (2nd edition, Paris, 1866) is referred to, unless otherwise specified. Mirza

Kazem-Beg's five articles on the Babfs in the *Journal Asiatique*, though all published in 1866, extend through two volumes of that periodical, each of which volumes has a separate pagination. For convenience and brevity, therefore, the first and second of these articles, included in vol. vii (*sixieme serie*) of the *Journal Asiatique*, are together denoted as "Kazem-Beg i," while the third, fourth, and fifth, contained in vol. viii, are called "Kazem-Beg ii." Any other works whereof the full titles are not given in the notes will be found described in detail in Note A.

Concerning the *facsimile* of the text some few words are necessary. Thanks to the careful supervision of Mr A. G. Dew-Smith of Trinity College, for whose sympathetic and cordial co-operation I desire to express my warmest gratitude, this leaves little to be desired, reproducing faithfully the features of the original MS. In spite of all care, however, the reproduction of a letter or word here and there would in the first instance prove defective, while now and then points and dots not belonging to the original would creep in. Most of these defects have, I hope, been removed, every page having been subjected two or three times to a careful scrutiny. During this revision the original MS. was always before me, and only when it appeared that a defect observed in the proof already existed there has it been left untouched. In a word, so far as the text is concerned the object has been to reproduce, not to correct or emend. From this general rule, however, I have been compelled to deviate in certain special cases. Throughout the original MS. a somewhat erratic system of punctuation by means of red dots prevails. These red dots necessarily appeared as black dots in the *facsimile*. Now and then it happened that, owing to their situation, they came to simulate diacritical points, thus creating a confusion, ambiguity, or unsightliness which was foreign to the

original MS. In such cases I have considered myself justified in removing these marks of punctuation, but so far as possible they have been allowed to stand. The Persian title-page does not belong to the original, but was subsequently written at Acre by my request in black, and beautifully reproduced in colours by Mr Dew-Smith.

An investigation such as that whereof the course has been above detailed can be brought to a successful issue only by the co-operation and assistance of many persons, without whose kindly aid the desired information could not be obtained. To each and all of those to whose aid I am thus indebted I have striven, even at the risk of repetition, to express my indebtedness as occasion arose. It only remains for me to tender my most sincere thanks to such of my friends as have assisted me in the actual preparation of the work. In the tedious work of revising the proof-sheets I have received most efficient and valuable help from Mr R. A. Neil of this College. To the kindness and learning of Professor Robertson Smith, of Christ's College, and Mr A. A. Bevan, of Trinity College, I am indebted for many suggestions and corrections. To the rare generosity of Baron Victor Rosen of St Petersburg in allowing me to make full and free use of still unpublished work I have had occasion to refer repeatedly in the course of my notes. Lastly, I desire to express my gratitude to the Syndics of the University Press for that liberal assistance without which the publication of this work might have been indefinitely postponed.

ADDENDA.

On p. 132 add the following note to the first sentence of the last paragraph:—In K. the word **غير** has been inserted above the line before the words **طائفه از اين**. If we accept this reading (which is, however, unsupported by Rosen's as by the present text) the sentence will translate as follows:—"They have misrepresented matters before the presence of the King in such a way that if any ill deed proceed from anyone not of this se *it* they account him as [a follower] of the religion of these servants."

On p. 138, l. 5, add the following note after "*Book*":—K., supported by Rosen's text, inserts a sentence whereof this is the translation:—"Some men, when they are unable to answer their opponent; lay hold of the rope of textual corruption; whereas mention of textual corruption occurs [only] in special passages." This Persian sentence, if admitted, would seem to come more naturally at the end of the passage in Persian (omitted in the present text, translated in the foot-notes on pp. 137—138) than where it stands at present in the midst of a piece of Arabic. As regards sequence of ideas, too, it would be much more appropriately placed there than in its present position, where it has no obvious connection with the context.

On p. 141, ll. 5—6, add the following note:—K., as well as Rosen's text, reads "*we have sprinkled*" kinstead of "*we have made manifest*."

On p. 142, l. 20, add the following note:—Rosen's text agrees with & in reading **مشهوره** (*celebrated, notorious*) instead of **مشهوده** (*apparent, evident*).

NOTA BENE.

Passages of which the original is in Arabic are printed in italics in the translation. Words supplied to complete the sense are enclosed in square brackets

CORRIGENDA.

Baron Bosen has kindly called my attention to the following errors:—

On p. 69, n. 1, and again, in a yet more definite manner, on pp. 208 and 211, I have committed the inexcusable blunder of confounding Behá'u'lláh's earlier *Súratu'l-Mulilk* with his later *Alwdh-i-Saldtjn*. The former only is described by Baron Rosen in the *first* volume of the *Collections Scientifiques*, and what is there written bears no reference whatever to the *Sura-i-Heykal* or the *Alwdh-i-Saldtjn* comprised in it. The MS. described by Baron Rosen on pp. 145—243 of the forthcoming *sixth* volume of the *Collections Scientifiques* contains a series of Behá'u'lláh's writings. The first of these pieces is the *Súratu'l-Mulilk* (previously described in the first volume of the *Collections Scientifiques*) concerning the authorship of which I expressed my doubts on pp. 954—8 of my second article in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889. In reply to my objections Baron Rosen proves quite conclusively (*Collections Scientifiques*, vol. vi, pp. 145—8) that the *Súratu'l-Mulilk* was written by Behá'u'lláh, and that it was, moreover, written at an earlier date than the *Alwdh-i-Saldtjn*. The same MS. contains also the *Sura-i-Heykal* (including, of course, the *Alwah-i-Salatin*), and it is of *this* that the full text will appear in vol. vi of the *Collections Scientifiques*. The *Súratu'l-Mulilk* appears to have been written about the end of the Baghdad period, *i.e.* about A.D. 1864; the *Alwdh-i-Saldtjn* (or at least the Epistle to the King of Persia, which is the longest and most important of them) during the latter days of the Adrianople period (*cf.* pp. 102, and 119, n. 1 *supra*), *i.e.* about July 1868. The reader is therefore requested to make the following corrections. On p. 69, n. 1, l. 4, for "سوره هكلى*" read "سورة الملوك". On p. 208, l. 27, for "a copy of Behá's *Sura-i-Heykal*" read "a copy of Behá's *Súratu'l-Mulilk*," and delete what follows down to the end of l. 2 on p. 209, as well as n. 2 on p. 208. On p. 211, l. 5, for "(or سوره هكلى)" read "and the سوره هكلى."

A TRAVELLER'S NARRATIVE

WRITTEN TO ILLUSTRATE

THE EPISODE OF THE BĀB.



TOUCHING the individual known as the Bāb and p. 1. the true nature of this sect diverse tales are on the tongues and in the mouths of men, and various accounts are contained in the pages of Persian history and the leaves of European chronicles \ But because of the variety of their assertions and the diversity of their narratives not one is as worthy of confidence as it should be. Some have loosed their tongues in extreme censure and condemnation; some foreign chronicles have spoken in a commendatory strain; while a certain section have recorded what they themselves have heard without addressing themselves either to censure or approbation.

¹ See Note A at end.

p. 2. Now since these various accounts are recorded in other pages, and since the setting forth thereof would lead to prolixity, therefore what relates to the history of this matter (sought out with the utmost-diligence during the time of my travels in all parts of Persia, whether far or near, from those without and those within, from friends and strangers), and that whereon the disputants are agreed, shall be briefly set forth in writing, so that a summary of the facts of the case may be at the disposal of those who are athirst after the fountain of knowledge and who seek to become acquainted with all events.

The Bab was a young merchant of the Pure Lineage¹. He was born in the year one thousand two hundred and thirty-five [A. H.] on the first day of Muḥarram², and when after a few years his father Seyyid Muḥammad Rizd died, he was brought up in P-³- Shiraz in the arms of his maternal uncle Mfrzd Seyyid 'Ali³ the merchant. On attaining maturity he engaged in trade in Bushire, first in partnership with his maternal uncle and afterwards independently. On account of what was observed in him he was noted for godliness, devoutness, virtue, and piety, and was regarded in the sight of men as so characterized.

¹ i.e. a Seyyid, or descendant of the family of the Prophet.

² October 20th, 1819 A.D. Cf. B. ii, p. 993; and B. i, p. 517-511.

³ See Note B at end.

In the year one thousand two hundred and sixty [A. H.], when he was in his twenty-fifth year¹, certain signs became apparent in his conduct, behaviour, manners, and demeanour whereby it became evident in Shfr&z that he had some conflict in his mind and some other flight beneath his wing. He began to speak and to declare the rank of Bab-hood. Now what he intended by the term *Bāb*² [Gate] was this, that he was the channel of grace from some great Person still behind the veil of glory, who was the p possessor of countless and boundless perfections, by whose will he moved, and to the bond of whose love he clung. And in the first book which he wrote in explanation of the *Sūra of Joseph*³, he addressed himself in all passages to that Person unseen from whom he received help and grace, sought for aid in the arrangement of his preliminaries, and craved the sacrifice of life in the way of his love.

Amongst others is this sentence : ' *O Remnant of God*⁴, *I am wholly sacrificed to Thee; I am content*

¹ Jamadi-ul-Ūla 5th, 1260 A.H. (May 23rd, 1844 A.D.) is the date given by the Bab himself in the Persian *Beyan* as that whereon his mission commenced. The texts referred to will be found quoted in Note C at end. Cf. also B. i, pp. 507-508.

² See Note D at end.

³ Qur'an xii. See Gobineau, pp. 146-147; Rosen *MSS. Arabes*, pp. 179-191; B. ii, pp. 904-909.

⁴ See Kazem-Beg ii, p. 486 and note.

with curses in Thy way; I crave nought but to be slain in Thy love; and God the Supreme sufficeth as an Eternal Protection.'

He likewise composed a number of works in explanation and elucidation of the verses of the p. 5. Kur'an, of sermons, and of prayers in Arabic; inciting and urging men to expect the appearance of that Person; and these books he named 'Inspired Pages' and 'Word of Conscience, But on investigation it was discovered that he laid no claim to revelation from an angel.

Now since he was noted amongst the people for lack of instruction and education, this circumstance appeared in the sight of men supernatural. Some men inclined to him, but the greater part manifested strong disapproval; whilst all the learned doctors and lawyers of repute who occupied chairs, altars, and pulpits were unanimously agreed on eradication and suppression, save some divines of the Sheykhf party who were anchorites and recluses, and who, agreeably to their tenets, were ever seeking for some great, incomparable, and trustworthy person, p. 6. whom they accounted, according to their own terminology, as the '*Fourth Support*'² and the central

¹ See Gobineau, pp. 30-32; Kazem-Beg, pp. 457-464; B.ii, pp. 884-885 and pp. 888-892; and Note E at end.

² See Note E at end.

manifestation of the truths of the Perspicuous Religion¹.

Of this number Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh, Mirza Ahmad of Azghand, Mulld Sadik '*Mukaddas*' ['the Holy'], Sheykh Abu Turab of Ashtahard, Mulla Yusuf of Ardabil, Mulla Jalil of Urumiyya, MulU Mahdi of Kand, Sheykh Sa'id the Indian, Mulla 'Ali of Bistam, and the like of these came out unto him and spread themselves through all parts of Persia².

The Bab himself set out to perform the circumambulation of the House of God³. On his return, when the news of his arrival at Bushire reached Shiraz, there was much discussion, and a strange excitement and agitation became apparent in that city. The great majority of the doctors set themselves to p repudiate him, decreeing slaughter and destruction, and they induced Huseyn Khan *Ajudan-bashi*, who was the governor of Fars, to inflict a beating on the Bab's missionaries, that is on Mulla Sadik '*Mukaddas*'; then, having burnt his moustaches and beard together with those of Mirza Muhammad 'Ali of Barfurush and Mulla 'Ali Akbar of Ardistiin,

¹ i.e. the religion of Islām.

² For a further account of some of these persons see Note F at end.

³ i.e. the pilgrimage to Mecca. See Kazem-Beg i, p. 344 and note; and also Note G at end.

they put halters on all the three and led them round the streets and bazaars.

Now since the doctors of Persia have no administrative capacity, they thought that violence and interference would cause extinction and silence and lead to suppression and oblivion; whereas interference in matters of conscience causes stability and firmness and attracts the attention of men's sight and souls ; which fact has received experimental proof many times and often. So this punishment caused notoriety, p. 8. and most men fell to making enquiry.

The governor of F&rs, acting according to that which the doctors deemed expedient, sent several horsemen¹, caused the Bab to be brought before him, censured and blamed him in the presence of the doctors and scholars, and loosed his tongue in the demand for reparation. And when the Bab returned his censure and withstood him greatly, at a sign from the president they struck him a violent blow, insulting and contemning him, in such wise that his turban fell from his head and the mark of the blow was apparent on his face. At the conclusion of the meeting they decided to take counsel, and, on receiving bail and surety from his maternal uncle Haji Seyyid 'Ali, sent him to his house forbidding him to hold intercourse with relations or strangers.

¹ See Note G at end, and Kazem-Beg i, pp. 346-348.

One day they summoned him to the mosque urging and constraining him to recant, but he discoursed from the pulpit in such wise as to silence and subdue those present and to stablish and strengthen his followers. It was then supposed that p. 9. he claimed to be the medium of grace from His Highness the Lord of the Age¹ (upon him be peace); but afterwards it became known and evident that his meaning was the Gate-hood [*Bdbiyyat*] of another city and the mediumship of the graces of another person whose qualities and attributes were contained in his books and treatises.

At all events, as has been mentioned, by reason of the doctors' lack of experience and skill in administrative science, and the continual succession of their decisions, comment was rife; and their interference with the Bab cast a clamour throughout Persia, causing increased ardour in friends and the coming forward of the hesitating. For by reason of these occurrences men's interest increased, and in all parts of Persia some [of God's] servants inclined toward him, until the matter acquired such import- p. 10. ance that the late king Muḥammad Shdh delegated a certain person named Seyyid Yahyd of Darab², who was one of the best known of doctors and Seyyids as well as an object of veneration and con-

¹ See Kazem-Beg i, p. 345 and note.

² See Note H at end.

fidence, giving him a horse and money for the journey so that he might proceed to Shiraz and personally investigate this matter.

When the above-mentioned Seyyid arrived at Shiraz he interviewed the Bab three times. In the first and second conferences questioning and answering took place; in the third conference he requested a commentary on the Siira called *Kawthar*, and when the Bab, without thought or reflection, wrote an elaborate commentary on the *Kawthar* in his presence, the above-mentioned Seyyid was charmed and enraptured with him, and straightway, without consideration for the future or anxiety about the results of this affection, hastened to Burujird to P. 11. his father Seyyid Ja'far, known as *Kashfi*, and acquainted him with the matter. And, although he was wise and prudent and was wont to have regard to the requirements of the time, he wrote without fear or care a detailed account of his observations to Mirzd Lutf 'Ali the chamberlain in order that the latter might submit it to the notice of the late king, while he himself journeyed to all parts of Persia, and in every town and station summoned the people from the pulpit-tops in such wise that other learned doctors decided that he must be mad, accounting it a sure case of bewitchment.

¹ Kur'an, cviii.

Now when the news of the decisions of the doctors and the outcry and clamour of the lawyers reached Zanjan, Mulla Muhammad 'Ali the divine¹, who was a man of mark possessed of penetrating speech, sent one of those on whom he could rely to Shiraz to investigate this matter. This person, having ac- p. 12. quainted himself with the details of these occurrences in such wise as was necessary and proper, returned with some [of the Bab's] writings. When the divine heard how matters were and had made himself acquainted with the writings, notwithstanding that he was a man expert in knowledge and noted for profound research, he went mad and became crazed as was predestined: he gathered up his books in the lecture-room saying, "The season of spring and wine has arrived," and uttered this sentence:—"*Search for knowledge after reaching the known is culpable*" Then from the summit of the pulpit he summoned and directed all his disciples [to embrace the doctrine], and wrote to the Bab his own declaration and confession.

The Bab in his reply signified to him the obligation of congregational prayer.

Although the doctors of Zanjan arose with heart and soul to exhort and admonish the people they p. 13. could effect nothing. Finally they were compelled to

¹ Full accounts of this remarkable man will be found in Gobineau (pp. 233-252) and Kazem-Beg ii (pp. 198-224).

go to Teheran and made their complaint before the late king Muhammad Shah, requesting that Mulla Muhammad 'Ali might be summoned to Teheran. So the royal order went forth that he should appear.

Now when he came to Teheran they brought him before a conclave of the doctors; but, so they relate, after many controversies and disputations nought was effected with him in that assembly. The late king therefore bestowed on him a staff and fifty *tumans*¹ for his expenses, and gave him permission to return.

At all events, this news being disseminated through all parts and regions of Persia, and several proselytes p. 14. arriving in Fars, the doctors perceived that the matter had acquired importance, that the power to deal with it had escaped from their hands, and that imprisonment, beating, tormenting, and contumely were fruitless. So they signified to the governor of Fars, Huseyn Khan, "If thou desirest the extinction of this fire, or seekest a firm stopper for this rent and disruption, an immediate cure and decisive remedy is to kill the Bab. And the Bab has assembled a great host and meditates a rising."

So Huseyn Khan ordered 'Abdu'l-Hamid Khan the high constable to attack the house of the Bab's

¹ At the present time this would be equivalent to about £15, but at the time referred to it would be considerably more—probably more than £20.

maternal uncle at midnight on all sides, and to bring him and all his followers hand-cuffed. But 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Khan and his hosts found no one in the house save the Bab, his maternal uncle, and Seyyid Kazim of Zanzan; and as it chanced that on that night the sickness of the plague and the extreme heat of the weather had compelled Ḥuseyn Khan to flee, he released the Bab on condition of his quitting the city¹. p. 15.

On the morning after that night the *Bib* with Seyyid Kazim of Zanzan set out from Shiraz for Isfahan. Before reaching Isfahan he wrote a letter to the *MiḤtamadu 'd-Dawla*, the governor of the province, requesting a lodging in some suitable place with the sanction of the government. The governor appointed the mansion of the Imam-Jum'a. There he abode forty days; and one day, agreeably to the request of the Imam, he wrote without reflection a commentary on [the Sūra of] *Wāl-'Asr*² before the company. When this news reached the *Mu'tamad* he sought an interview with him and questioned him concerning the 'Special Mission.' At that same interview an answer proving the 'Special Mission' was written³.

The *Mu'tamad* then gave orders that all the doctors should assemble and dispute with him in one p. 16.

¹ See Note I at end.

² Kur'an, ciii.

³ See Note I

conclave, and that the discussion should be faithfully recorded without alteration by the instrumentality of his private secretary, in order that it might be sent to TeherAn, and that whatever the royal edict and decree should ordain might be carried out.

The doctors, however, considering this arrangement as a weakening of the Law, did not agree, but held a conclave and wrote, "If there be doubt in the matter there is need of assembly and discussion, but as this person's disagreement with the most luminous Law is clearer than the sun therefore the best possible thing is to put in practice the sentence of the Law."

The *MuHamad* then desired to hold the assembled conference in his own presence so that the actual truth might be disclosed and hearts be at peace, but these learned doctors and honourable scholars, p. 17. unwilling to bring the Perspicuous Law into contempt, did not approve discussion and controversy with a young merchant, with the exception of that most erudite sage Áka Muhammad Mahdi, and that eminent Platonist Mirza Ḥasan of Nur¹. So the conference terminated in questionings on certain points relating to the science of fundamental dogma, and the elucidation and analysis of the doctrines of Mulla Sadra². So, as no conclusion was arrived at

¹ See Note J at end.

² For some account of this great philosopher see Gobineau, pp. 80-90, and Notoári £20.⁹

by the governor from this conference, the severe sentence and harsh decision of the learned doctors was not carried out; but, anxious to abate the great anxiety quickly and prevent a public tumult effectually, he gave currency to a report that a decree had been issued ordering the Bab to be sent to Teheran in order that some decisive settlement might be arrived at, or that some courageous divine might be able to confute [him].

He accordingly sent him forth from Isfahan with a p. 18. company of his own mounted body-guard ; but when they reached Murche-Khur¹ he gave secret orders for his return to Isfahan, where he afforded him a refuge and asylum in his own roofed private quarters²; and not a soul save the confidential and trusty dependents of the *Mu'tamad* knew aught of the Bab.

A period of four months passed in this fashion, and the *Mu'tamad* passed away to the mercy of God. Gurgfn Khan, the *Mu'tamad's* nephew, was aware of the Bab's being in the private apartments, and represented the matter to the Prime Minister. Haji Mirza Ākasi, that celebrated minister, issued a decisive

¹ Mūrche-Khur is the second stage out from Isfahān on the north road, and is distant about 35 miles therefrom.

² The building to which the Bab was thus transferred is called in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* 'the *Boy al Building of the Sun** (عمارت خورشید سلطان). In the Persian Beyan (*Vahid ii*, ch. 16) the Bab alludes to his dwelling-place at Isfahān under the name of عمارت هدر.

command and gave instructions that they should send the Bab secretly in disguise under the escort of Nuseyri¹ horsemen to the capital.

- p. 19. When he reached Kinar-i-gird² a fresh order came from the Prime Minister appointing the village of Kalln³ as an abode and dwelling-place. There he remained for a period of twenty days. After that, the Bab forwarded a letter to the Royal Presence craving audience to set forth the truth of his condition, expecting this to be a means for the attainment of great advantages. The Prime Minister did not admit this, and made representation to the Royal Presence :—" The royal cavalcade is on the point of starting, and to engage in such matters as the present

¹ The Nuşeyri religion is prevalent amongst many of the *ilydt* or wandering tribes of Persia. An interesting account of the secret doctrines and practices of this sect by one Suleymân Efendi al-Adhani, who had withdrawn himself from it subsequently to his initiation, has been published at Beyrout under the title of **كتاب الباكورة الساجانه في كشف اسرار الذبانه**

النصيرية. A very comprehensive account of this work by E. E. Salisbury may be found in the Journal of the American Oriental Society for 1866 (vol. viii, pp. 227—308). See also de Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, vol. ii, pp. 559—586.

² A station on the old Isfahân road (now abandoned for one bearing more towards the west) distant about 28 miles from Teherân.

³ "Nom de la première station que rencontre le voyageur en allant de Key à Khowar." Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Géog. Hist et Litt. de la Perse* (Paris, 1861).

will conduce to the disruption of the kingdom. Neither is there any doubt that the most notable doctors of the capital also will behave after the fashion of the doctors of Isfahan, which thing will be the cause of a popular outbreak, or that, according to the religion of the immaculate Imam, they will regard p. 20. the blood of this Seyyid as of no account, yea, as more lawful than mother's milk. The imperial train is prepared for travel, neither is there hindrance or impediment in view. There is no doubt that the presence of the Bdb will be the cause of the gravest trouble and the greatest mischief. Therefore, on the spur of the moment, the wisest plan is this:—to place this person in the Castle of Maku during the period of absence of the royal train from the seat of the imperial throne, and to defer the obtaining of an audience to the time of return."

Agreeably to this view a letter was issued addressed to the Bab in his Majesty's own writing, and, according to the traditional account of the tenour of this letter, the epitome thereof is this :—

(After the titles). " Since the royal train is on the verge of departure from Teheran, to meet in a p. 21. befitting manner is impossible. Do you go to Makti and there abide and rest for a while, engaged in praying for our victorious state; and we have arranged that under all circumstances they shall shew

you attention and respect. When we return from travel we will summon you specially."

After this they sent him off with several mounted guards (amongst them Muḥammad Beg, the courier) to Tabriz and Maku¹.

Besides this the followers of the Bab recount certain messages conveyed [from him] by the instrumentality of Muḥammad Beg (amongst which was a promise to heal the foot of the late king, but on condition of an interview, and the suppression of the tyranny of the majority), and the Prime Minister's prevention of the conveyance of these letters to the Royal Presence. For he himself laid claim to be a spiritual guide and was prepared to perform

p. 22. the functions of religious directorship. But others deny these accounts.

At all events in the course of the journey he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister saying, "You summoned me from Isfahan to meet the doctors and for the attainment of a decisive settlement. What has happened now that this excellent intention has been changed for Maku and Tabriz?"

Although he remained forty days in the city of Tabriz the learned doctors did not condescend to approach him and did not deem it right to meet him. Then they sent him off to the Castle of Maku, and for nine months lodged him in the inaccessible castle

¹ See Note L at end.

which is situated on the summit of that lofty mountain. And 'Ali Khan of Maku¹, because of his excessive love for the family of the Prophet, paid him such attention as was possible, and gave permission [to some persons] to converse with him.

Now when the accomplished divines of Ázar- p. 23. baijan perceived that in all the parts round about Tabriz it was as though the last day had come by reason of the excessive clamour, they requested the government to punish the [Bab's] followers, and to remove the Bab to the Castle of Chihrik. So they sent him to that castle and consigned him to the keeping of Yahya Khan the Kurd¹.

Glory be to God! Notwithstanding these decisions of great doctors and reverend lawyers, and severe punishments and reprimands—beatings, banishments, and imprisonments—on the part of governors, this sect was daily on the increase, and the discussion and disputation was such that in meetings and assemblies in all parts of Persia there was no conversation but on this topic. Great was the commotion which arose : the doctors of the Pespicious Religion were lamenting, the common folk clamorous and p. 24. agitated, and the Friends rejoicing and applauding.

But the Bab himself attached no importance to this uproar and tumult, and, alike on the road and in the castles of Maku and Chihrik, evening and

¹ See Note L at end.

morning, nay, day and night, in extremest rapture and amazement, he would restrict himself to repeating and meditating on the qualities and attributes of that absent-yet-present, regarded-and-regarding Person of his¹. Thus he makes a mention of him whereof this is the purport:—

" Though the ocean of woe rageth on every side, and the bolts of fate follow in quick succession, and the darknesses of griefs and afflictions invade soul and body, yet is my heart brightened by the remembrance of Thy countenance and my soul is as a rose-garden from the perfume of Thy nature."

In short, after he had remained for three months in the Castle of Chihrfk, the eminent doctors of p. 25. Tabriz and scholars of Ázarbaijan wrote to Teheran and demanded a severe punishment in regard to the Bab for the intimidation and frightening of the people. When the Prime Minister Haji Mirza Ákasi beheld the ferment and clamour of the learned doctors in all districts of Persia, he perforce became their accomplice and ordered him to be brought from Chihrfk to

¹ As I have pointed out in another place (B. i i, pp. 924-927), one of the most striking features of the Persian Beyán, composed by the Báb during his imprisonment at Máku (which he repeatedly alludes to as 'the Mountain of M' (جبل م), is the continual reference to *Him whom God shall manifest' (من ظاهره), whose precursor the Báb considered himself to be. The work translated by Gobineau (*op. cit* p. 461 *et seq.*) under the title of *Livre des Préceptes* also affords ample evidence of this.

Tabriz. In the course of his transit by Urumiyya the governor of the district Kasim Mirza treated him with extraordinary deference, and a strange flocking together of high and low was apparent. These conducted themselves with the utmost respectfulness¹. -

When the Bab reached Tabriz they brought him after some days before the government tribunal. Of the learned doctors the Nizamul-Ulama, Mulla Muhammad Mamakani, Mirza Ahmad the Imam-

¹ Dr Wright of the American Mission at Unimiyya wrote a brief account of the Báb and his sect which was communicated by Mr Perkins to the German Oriental Society and published in their transactions for the year 1851. This account, dated March 31st, 1851, fully confirms the statement here made. After describing briefly the rise of the sect, the arrest of the Báb, his imprisonment at Mákú (... "a remote district six days' journey from Unimiyya situated on the Turkish frontier"), his transference to Chihrik (... "near Salmis, only two days' journey from Unimiyya"), and the conflicts between the Bábis and the orthodox party, especially in Mázandarán, he says:—"Die Sache wurde so ernsthaft, dass die Regierung den Befehl erliess, den Sectenstifter nach Tabriz zu bringen und ihm die Bastonade zu geben, seine Schuler aber überall, wo man sie fände, aufzugreifen und mit Geld- und Körperstrafen zu belegen. Auf dem Wege nach Tabriz wurde Báb nach Orumia gebracht, wo ihn der Statthalter mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit behandelte und viele Personen die Erlaubniss erhielten, ihn zu besuchen. Bei einer Gelegenheit war eine Menge Leute bei ihm, und wie der Statthalter nachher bemerkte, waren diese alle geheimnissvoll bewegt und brachen in Thränen aus." (*Zeltschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, vol. v, pp. 384-385.)

p. 26. Jum'a, *Mirzi 'Ali Agghar* the Sheykhu '1-IsMm, and several other divines were present¹. They asked concerning the claims of the Bab. He advanced the claim of Mahdf-hood; whereon a mighty tumult arose. Eminent doctors in overwhelming might compassed him on all sides, and such was the onset of orthodoxy that it had been no great wonder if a mere youth had not withstood the mountain of Elburz. They demanded proof. Without hesitation he recited texts, saying, "This is the permanent and most mighty proof." They criticised his grammar. He adduced arguments from the *Qur'&n*, setting forth therefrom instances of similar infractions of the rules of grammar. So the assembly broke up and the Bab returned to his own dwelling.

p. 27. The heaven-cradled Crown-Prince² was at that time governor of 'Azarbaijan. He pronounced no sentence with regard to the Bab, nor did he desire to interfere with him. The doctors, however, considered it advisable at least to inflict a severe chastisement, and beating was decided on. But none of the corps of *farrāshes** would agree to become the instruments of the infliction of this punishment. So *Mirza 'Ali Asghar* the Sheykhu '1-Islam, who was one of the

¹ See Note M at end.

² *Nāşiru'd-Din*, the present king of Persia.

³ *The farrash* (literally *carpet-spreader*) is the lictor of the East.

noble Seyyids, brought him to his own house and applied the rods with his own hand. After this they sent the B4b back to Chihrfk̄ and subjected him to a strict confinement.

Now when the news of this beating, chastisement, imprisonment, and rigour reached all parts of Persia, learned divines and esteemed lawyers who were possessed of power and influence girt up the loins of endeavour for the eradication and suppression of this sect, exerting their utmost efforts therefor. And they wrote notice of their decision, to wit "that p. 28. this person and his followers are in absolute error and are hurtful to Church and State." And since the governors in Persia enjoyed the fullest authority, in some provinces they followed this decision and united in uprooting and dispersing the Babfs. But the late King Muhammad Shah¹ acted with deliberation in this matter, reflecting, "This youth is of the Pure Lineage and of the family of him addressed with '*were it not for thee*'²." So long as no offen-

¹ For an admirable sketch of the characters of this monarch and his minister Hāji Mirza Ak̄asi, see Gobineau, pp. 160-166. Concerning the latter see also Watson's *History of Persia*, p. 288.

² See note 1 at foot of p. 2. In a very well-known tradition God is said to have addressed the Prophet Muḥammad as follows: *لو لآن لو لآن لآ ما خلقت الالآن*—*Were it not for thee I had not created the heavens.*¹ Hence "the family of him addressed with '*were it not for thee*'¹" means simply the

sive actions which are incompatible with the public peace and well-being proceed from him, the government should not interfere with him." And whenever the learned doctors appealed to him from the surrounding districts, he either gave no answer, or else commanded them to act with deliberation.

Notwithstanding this, between eminent doctors p. 29, and illustrious scholars and those learned persons who were followers of the B4b opposition, discussion, and strife did so increase that in some provinces they desired [to resort to] mutual imprecation; and for the governors of the provinces, too, a means of acquiring gain was produced, so that great tumult and disturbance arose. And since the malady of the gout had violently attacked the king's foot and occupied his world-ordering thought, the good judgement of the Chief Minister, the famous Haji Mirza Ákasi¹, became the pivot of the conduct of affairs, and his incapacity and lack of resource became apparent as the sun. For every hour he formed a new opinion and gave a new order: at one moment he would seek to support the decision of the doctors, accounting the eradication and suppression of the Babfs as necessary: at another time he would charge the p. 30. doctors with aggressiveness, regarding undue inter- descendants of the Prophet, amongst whom the Bab, in his capacity of Seyyid, must be reckoned.

¹ See note 1 at foot of preceding page.

ference as contrary to justice: at another time he would become a mystic and say, '*All these voices are from the King*'¹*, or repeat with his tongue, '*Moses is at war with Moses*'² or recite, '*This is nought but Tliy*

¹ The distich of which this is the first hemistich is a great favourite with the Sūfis. It occurs in the first book of the *Masnavi* of Jalālu'd-Din Rāmi in the 8th story (Story of the Harper). Different editions present considerable variants in the first hemistich, and in no one of the four which I have consulted does it stand as here quoted. In the Bombay edition of A. H. 1290 (p. 50, l. 20), the Teherān edition of A. H. 1299 known as 'Alā'ud-Dawla's (p. 51, l. 4), and a Constantinople edition of the first book published in A. H. 1288 (p. 77, l. 20) the entire couplet stands as follows:

حطاق آن آواز خود از ته بود * کز چه تر حلقوم عبد الله بود *

"Indeed that voice is really from the King

Although [apparently] it is from the throat of 'Abdu 'llah"

The English reader may consult Redhouse's versified translation of Book i of the *Masnavi*, p. 141, first two lines.

² This quotation is also from the *Masnavi* [Teherān edition of 'Alā'ud-Dawla, p. 65, l. 27; Bombay edition, p. 63, l. 16]. The couplet stands in both as follows:—

چونکه پرتکی اسپر رنگ شد * موسی با موسی در جنگ شد *

"When Colourlessness became the captive of colour

*A Moses is at war with a Moses.*¹¹

Redhouse's version will be found on p. 180 of his work above quoted, first two lines. A complete treatise on the mysticism of the Sufis might be written on this text, which is pretty fully discussed in Hāji Mullā Hādi's excellent commentary on the *Masnavi* (Teherān edition of A. H. 1285, p. 68 and also in a marginal note in 'Alā'ud-Dawla's Teherān edition (*loc. cit.*). In brief the meaning is this:—that strife and contest

trial^{1,9} In short this changeable minister, by reason of his mismanagement of important matters and failure to control and order the affairs of the community, so acted that disturbance and clamour arose from all quarters and directions: the most notable and influential of the doctors ordered the common folk to molest the followers of the Bab, and a general onslaught took place. More especially when the claim of Mahdf-hood⁸ reached the hearing of eminent divines and profound doctors they began to make lamentation and to cry and complain from their p. 31. pulpits, saying, " one of the essentials of religion and of the authentic traditions transmitted from the holy Imdms, nay, the chief basis of the foundations of the church of His Highness Ja'far³, is the Occupation

arise from the imprisonment of the One Absolute Undifferentiated Being ('Colourlessness') in the phantasmal appearances ('colours') of the World of Plurality. So Jami says at the close of a very beautiful passage:—

این همه آشوب و غوغا در جهان از عشق اوست *
 گشت معلوم این زمان سرفته غوغا بکست *

"All this tumult and strife in the world are from love of Him; It hath become known at this time that the source of the strife is One."

¹ Qur'ân vii, 154.

² See note N at end, and p. 20 *supra*.

³ The Imâm Ja'far-i-Şâdîk, as he is commonly called, was, according to the Shi'ite faith, the sixth of the twelve Imâms,

of the immaculate twelfth Imam (upon both of them be peace). What has happened to Jabulka¹? Where has Jabulsa gone? What was the Minor Occupation? What has become of the Major Occultation? What are the sayings of Huseyn ibn Ruh, and what

and succeeded his father, the Imám Muḥammad Bāḳir, who was the fifth Imám. Why the Shi'ites should speak of him as in some sort the founder of their church is explained thus in a work called *عقائد الشيعة* (*Tenets of the Shi'ites*) published in Teherán:—"Since His Holiness [the Imám Ja'far] lived at the end of the Omayyad and the beginning of the 'Abbásid dynasty and these two families were in conflict with one another, he tranquilly engaged in expounding the ordinances of God; therefore do men refer the religion to him, since he gave currency to the true doctrines."

¹ For the explanation of this and the subsequent points of Shi'ite belief alluded to in this passage see Note O at end. The general tenour of the argument here put in the mouths of the Shi'ite doctors is this:—"That certain prodigies and marvellous signs shall usher in the advent of the Imám Mahdi is an essential doctrine of our faith sufficiently confirmed and established by authentic traditions. If we believe this, then we must reject the Báb's claim to be the promised Mahdi, since these signs have not been witnessed: in which case it behoves us to inflict on him the severest punishment. If, on the other hand, we admit the Báb's claim, we thereby renounce our religion and become neither Sunnis nor Shi'as; unless, indeed, we take the view of the Bábis that these signs are to be understood metaphorically, that no literal fulfilment of them is to be looked for, and that to substantiate a claim to Mahdihood only two things are necessary—that the Claimant should belong to the family of the Prophet, and that he should be able to produce revealed verses similar to those in the *Qur'án*." Concerning this view of the Bábis see B. ii, pp. 915—918.

the tradition of Ibn Mihriy&r ? What shall we make of the flight of the Guardians and the Helpers? How shall we deal with the conquest of the East and the West ? Where is the Ass of Antichrist ? When will the appearance of Sofyan be ? Where are the signs which are in the traditions of the Holy Family? Where is that whereon the Victorious Church is agreed ? The matter is not outside one of two alternatives:—either we must repudiate the traditions of

p. 32. the Holy Imams, grow wearied of the Church of Ja'far, and account the clear indications of the Imam as disturbed dreams; or, in accordance with the primary and subsidiary doctrines of the Faith and the essential and explicit declarations of the most luminous Law, we must consider the repudiation, nay, the destruction of this person as our chief duty. If so be that we shut our eyes to these authentic traditions and obvious doctrines universally admitted, no remnant will endure of the fundamental basis of the Church of the immaculate Imam: we shall neither be Sunnites, nor shall we be of the prevalent sect¹ to continue awaiting the promised Saint and believing in the begotten Mahdi. Otherwise we must regard as admissible the opening of the Gate of Saint-ship, and consider that He who is to arise³ of the family of Muḥammad possesses two signs:—the first condition,

¹ i.e. of the Shi'ite church dominant in Persia.

² i.e. the Imām-Mahdi. See Note 0 at end.

Holy Lineage; the second, [that he is divinely] fortified with brilliant verses. What can we do with these thousand-year-old beliefs of the delivered band of the Shi'ites, or what shall we say concerning their p. 33. profound doctors and pre-eminent divines? Were all these in error? Did they journey in the vale of transgression? What an evidently false assertion is this! *By God, this is a thing to break the back! O people, extinguish this fire and forget these words! Alas! woe to our Faith, woe to our Law!"*

Thus did they make complaint in mosques and chapels, in pulpits and congregations.

But the Babi chiefs composed treatises against them, and set in order replies according to their own thought¹. Were these to be discussed in detail it would conduce to prolixity, and our object is the statement of history, not of arguments for believing or rejecting; but of some of the replies the gist is this:—that they held the Proof as supreme, and the evidence as outweighing traditions, considering the p. 34.

¹ Amongst the controversial works of the Bábis may be mentioned especially the *دلائل سبعة* (Seven Proofs) composed by the Bab himself about the year A.H. 1264-5 (A.D. 1848-49) during his imprisonment at Mákfi, and the *إقنان* (Assurance) composed by BeháVilláh in Baghdad in the year A.H. 1278 (A.D. 1861-62). For a brief abstract of the former see B. ii, pp. 912—918: for specimens of the latter carefully and judiciously selected see Rosen's *MSS. Persans*, pp. 32—51, and for some account of the work see B. ii, pp. 944—948.

former as the root and the latter as the branch, and saying, "If the branch agree not with the root it serves not as an argument and is unworthy of reliance; for the reported consequence has no right to oppose itself to the established principle, and cannot argue against it." Indeed in such cases they regarded interpretation as the truth of revelation and the essence of true exegesis¹: thus, for instance, they interpreted the sovereignty of the *Ḳálm* as a mystical sovereignty, and his conquests as conquests of the cities of hearts, adducing in support of this the meekness and defeat of the Chief of Martyrs² (may the life of all being be a sacrifice for him). For he was the true manifestation of the blessed verse '*And verily our host shall overcome for them*'³, yet, notwithstanding this, he quaffed the cup of martyrdom with perfect p. 35. meekness, and, at the very moment of uttermost defeat, triumphed over his enemies and became the most mighty of the troops of the Supreme Host. Similarly they regarded the numerous writings which, in spite of his lack of education, the Bab had composed, as due to the promptings of the Holy Spirit; extracted from books contrary sayings handed down by men of mark; adduced traditions apparently agreeing with their objects; and clung to the an-

¹ See Rosen's *MSS. Persans*, p. 36, and B. ii, pp. 915—916.

² Huseyn, son of 'AM, the third Imam.

³ *Ḳur'án* xxxvii, 173.

nouncements of certain notables of yore. They also considered the conversion of austere and recluse doctors and eminent votaries of the Perspicuous Religion [of IsUrn] as a valid proof¹, deemed the steadfastness and constancy of the Bab a most mighty sign², and related miracles and the like; which things, being altogether foreign to our purpose, we have passed by with brevity, and will now proceed with p. 36. our original topic.

At the time of these events certain persons appeared amongst the Babfs who had a strange ascendancy and appearance in the eyes of this sect. Amongst these was *Mini* Muhammad 'Alf of Mazandaran, who was the disciple of the illustrious Seyyid (may God exalt his station) Haji Seyyid Kazim of Resht, and who was the associate and companion of the Bab in his pilgrimage journey. After a while certain manners and states issued from him such that all, acting with absolute confidence, considered obedience to him as an impregnable stronghold, so that even Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who was the leader of all and the arbiter appealed to alike by the noble and the humble of this sect, used to behave in his presence with great humility and with the self-abasement of a lowly servant³.

¹ See Rosen's *MSS. Penans*, p. 41.

² *Ibid*, p. 43.

⁸ This statement is confirmed by the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*.

This personage set himself to exalt the word of p. 37 the Bab with the utmost steadfastness, and the Bab did full justice to speech in praising and glorifying him, accounting his uprising as an assistance from the Unseen. In delivery and style¹ he was '*evident magic*;' and in firmness and constancy superior to all. At length in the year [A.H.] 1265 at the sentence of the chief of lawyers the Sa'fdu l-Ulama the chief divine of Barfurtish, he yielded his head and surrendered his life amidst extremest clamour and outcry².

And amongst them was she who was entitled Kurratu 'l-'Ayn the daughter of Haji Mulla Salih, the sage of Kazvin, the erudite doctor. She, accord*ing to what is related, was skilled in diverse arts, amazed the understandings and thoughts of the most eminent masters by her eloquent dissertations on the exegesis and tradition of the Perspicuous Book³, and was a mighty sign in the doctrines of the glorious Sheykh of Ahṣa.⁴ At the Supreme Shrines⁵ p. 38. she borrowed light on matters divine from the lamp

¹ Of the writings of Mullá Muḥammad 'Ali (called آثار ^{تاریخ} from the title—جناب ^{توس}—borne by their author amongst his co-religionists) six pieces occupying in all 39 pages are contained in a MS. in my possession.

² See Note P at end.

³ The Qur'an.

⁴ Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥṣá'i the founder of the Sheykhi school of theology, concerning which see Note E at end.

⁵ Kerbelá and Nejef.

of Kazim¹, and freely sacrificed her life in the way of the Bab. She discussed and disputed with the doctors and sages, loosing her tongue to establish her doctrine. Such fame did she acquire that most people who were scholars or mystics sought to hear her speech and were eager to become acquainted with her powers of speculation and deduction. She had a brain full of tumultuous ideas, and thoughts vehement and restless. In many places she triumphed over the contentious, expounding the most subtle questions. When she was imprisoned in the house of [Mahmud] the *Kalautar* of Teheran², and the festivities and rejoicings of a wedding were going on, the wives of the city magnates who were present as guests were so charmed with the beauty of her speech that, forgetting the p. 39. festivities, they gathered round her, diverted by listening to her words from listening to the melodies, and rendered indifferent by witnessing her marvels to the contemplation of the pleasant and novel sights which are incidental to a wedding. In short: in elocution she was the calamity of the age, and in ratiocination the trouble of the world. Of fear or timidity there was no trace in her heart, nor had the admonitions of the kindly-disposed any profit

¹ Hâji Seyyid Kâzîm of Resht, the pupil and successor of Sheykh Aḥmad and the Teacher of the Báb. See Note E at end.

³ See Gobineau, pp. 292—295; Kazem-Beg i, p. 522 and note, and ii, p. 249; and Eastwick's *Diplomate's Residence in Persia*, vol. i, p. 288—290.

or fruit for her. Although she was of [such as are] damsels [meet] for the bridal bower, yet she wrested pre-eminence from stalwart men, and continued to strain the feet of steadfastness until she yielded up her life at the sentence of the mighty doctors in Teheran. But were we to occupy ourselves with these details the matter would end in prolixity¹.

p. 40. Well, Persia was in this critical state and the learned doctors perplexed and anxious, when the late Prince Muhammad Shah died², and the throne of sovereignty was adorned with the person of the new monarch. Mirza Taki Khan *Amir-Nizam*, who was Prime Minister and Chief Regent, seized in the grasp of his despotic power the reins of the affairs of the commonwealth, and urged the steed of his ambition into the arena of wilfulness and sole possession. This minister was a person devoid of experience and wanting in consideration for the consequences of actions; bloodthirsty and shameless; and swift and ready to shed blood³. Severity in

¹ For some further account of Kurratu'l-'Ayn see Note Q at end.

² September 4th, 1848. See Watson's *History*, p. 354.

³ This is by no means the light in which Mirzá Taqi Khán is regarded by most historians. See especially the encomiums bestowed on him by Watson (*History of Persia from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, &c.* p. 364 and p. 404). Compare also Lady SheiTs *Diary*, pp. 248—253. Yet his cruelty towards the Báb and his followers goes far to justify their opinion of him, and at least fully explains the fact that they

punishing he regarded as wise administration, and harshly entreating, distressing, intimidating, and frightening the people he considered as a fulcrum for the advancement of the monarchy. And as His Majesty the King was in the prime of youthful years the minister fell into strange fancies and sounded the p. 41. drum of absolutism in [the conduct of] affairs : on his own decisive resolution, without seeking permission from the Royal Presence or taking counsel with prudent statesmen, he issued orders to persecute the Babis, imagining that by overweening force he could eradicate and suppress matters of this nature, and that harshness would bear good fruit; whereas [in fact] to interfere with matters of conscience is simply to give them greater currency and strength; the more you strive to extinguish the more will the flame be kindled, more especially in matters of faith and religion, which spread and acquire influence so soon as blood is shed, and strongly affect men's hearts. These things have been put to the proof, and the greatest proof is this very transaction. Thus they relate that the possessions of a certain *Babi* in p. 42. Kashan were plundered, and his household scattered and dispersed. They stripped him naked and scourged him, defiled his beard, mounted him face backwards

regard the cruel fate which befel him at the hands of the king as a signal instance of Divine vengeance. See Gobineau, p. 253—254.

on an ass, and paraded him through the streets and bazaars with the utmost cruelty, to the sound of drums, trumpets, guitars, and tambourines. A certain guebre¹ who knew absolutely nought of the world or its denizens chanced to be seated apart in a corner of a caravansaray. When the clamour of the people rose high he hastened into the street, and, becoming cognizant of the offence and the offender, and the cause of his public disgrace and punishment in full detail, he fell to making search, and that very day entered the society of the Babis, saying, "This very ill-usage and public humiliation is a proof of p. 43. truth and the very best of arguments. Had it not been thus it might have been that a thousand years would have passed ere one like me became informed."

At all events the minister with the utmost arbitrariness, without receiving any instructions or asking permission, sent forth commands in all directions to punish and chastise the Babis. Governors and magistrates sought a pretext for amassing wealth, and officials a means of [acquiring] profits; celebrated doctors from the summits of their pulpits incited men to make a general onslaught; the powers of the

¹ It is almost unnecessary to remark that the word *guebre* (more correctly *gabr*) is always used in a contemptuous if not in an offensive sense. It is never used by the Zoroastrians in speaking of themselves.

religious and the civil law linked hands and strove to eradicate and destroy this people.

Now this people had not yet acquired such knowledge as was right and needful of the fundamental principles and hidden doctrines of the Bab's teachings, and did not recognise their duties. Their conceptions and ideas were after the former fashion, and their conduct and behaviour in correspondence with p. 44. ancient usage. The way of approach to the Bab was, moreover, closed, and the flame of trouble visibly blazing on every side. At the decree of the most celebrated of the doctors, the government, and indeed the common people, had, with irresistible power, inaugurated rapine and plunder on all sides, and were engaged in punishing and torturing, killing and despoiling, in order that they might quench this fire and wither these [poor] souls. In towns where these were but a limited number all of them with bound hands became food for the sword, while in cities where they were numerous they arose in self-defence agreeably to their former beliefs, since it was impossible for them to make enquiry as to their duty, and all doors were closed.

In Mazandaran amongst other places the people of p. 45. the city of B&r'fim'ish at the command of the chief of lawyers the Sa'idu'l-'Ulama made a general attack on Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh and his followers, and slew six or seven persons. They were busy compassing

the destruction of the rest also when Mulla Huseyn ordered the *azan*¹ to be sounded and stretched forth his hand to the sword, whereupon all sought flight, and the nobles and lords coming before him with the utmost penitence and deference agreed that he should be permitted to depart. They further sent with them as a guard Khusraw of Kadi-kala with horsemen and footmen, so that, according to the terms of agreement, they might go forth safe and protected from the territory of Mazandaran. When they, being ignorant of the fords and paths, had emerged from the city, Khusraw dispersed his horsemen and footmen and set them in ambush in the forest of Mazandaran, scattered and separated the Babis in that forest on the road and off the road, and began to hunt them down singly. "When the reports of muskets arose on every side the hidden secret became manifest, and several wanderers and other persons were suddenly slain with bullets. Mulla Huseyn ordered the *azan*¹ to be sounded to assemble his scattered followers, while Mirza Lutf-'Ali² the secretary drew his dagger and ripped open Khusraw's vitals. Of Khusraw's host some were slain and others wandered distractedly over the field

p. 46.

¹ The call to prayer.

² According to the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* it was a Babi named Mirza Muḥammad Taḳi who, exasperated by Khusraw's insolences towards Mullā Huseyn slew the treacherous guide.

of battle. Mulla Huseyn quartered his host in a fort near the burial-place of Sheykh Tabarsi¹, and, being aware of the wishes of the community, relaxed and interrupted the march. This detachment was p.47. subsequently further reinforced by *Mirza* Muhammad 'Ali of Mazandaran with a number of other persons, so that the garrison of the fort numbered three hundred and thirteen souls. Of these, however, all were not capable of fighting, only one hundred and ten persons being prepared for war. Most of them were doctors or students whose companions had been during their whole life books and treatises; yet, in spite of the fact that they were unaccustomed to war or to the blows of shot and sword, four times were camps and armies arrayed against them and they were attacked and hemmed in with cannons, muskets, and bomb-shells, and on all four occasions they inflicted defeat, while the army was completely routed and dispersed². On the occasion of the fourth defeat

¹ The tomb of Sheykh Tabarsi—ever memorable for the gallant defence of the Bábis—is situated about fourteen miles SE. of Bárfurfish and can only be reached by traversing swampy rice-fields and dense forests which in wet weather must be almost impassable. I visited the spot on September 26th 1888, and could perceive no trace of the strong ramparts described by the Musulmán historians and by Gobineau as having been erected by the Bábis.

² Kazem-Beg enumerates four sorties made by the Bábis, of which the first three were successful, although in the second Mulla Huseyn was killed. Kazem-Beg's *second sortie* there-

'Abbls-Kulf Khan of Larijan was captain of the forces and Prince Mahdi-Ḳuli Mirza commander in the camp. p. 48. The Khan above mentioned used at nights to conceal and hide himself in disguise amongst the trees of the forest outside the camp, while during the day he was present in the encampment. The last battle took place at night and the army was routed. The Babis fired the tents and huts, and night became bright as day. The foot of Mulla Huseyn's horse caught in a noose, for he was riding, the others being on foot. 'Abbis-Kuli Khan recognised him from the top of a tree afar off, and with his own hand discharged several bullets. At the third shot he threw him from his feet. He was borne by his followers to the fort, and there they buried him. Notwithstanding this event [the troops] could not

fore corresponds to the *fourth* Babi victory mentioned above. Considerable confusion exists as to the successive incidents of the siege, but after comparing the different accounts and especially that of the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* I should suppose the four successes here alluded to to be as follows:—(1) Rout of some of the comrades of the deceased Khusraw who attacked the Bábis some three weeks after they had taken up their quarters at Sheykh Ṭabarsi. (2) Repulse of a larger force of local volunteers and sack of Faráhil (Kazem-Beg i, p. 491—492; Gobineau, p. 197—199). (3) Surprise of Mahdi-Ḳuli Mirza and rout of his troops with great loss (Kazem-Beg i, p. 495—499; Gobineau, p. 201—206). (4) The successful sortie wherein Mullá Huseyn's gallant career was brought to a close in the very hour of victory (Kazem-Beg i, p. 499—504; Gobineau, p. 210—215).

prevail by superior force. At length the Prince made a treaty and covenant, and swore by the Holy Imams, confirming his oath by vows plighted on the glorious Kur'an, to this effect: "You shall not be molested; return to your own places." Since their provisions had for some time been exhausted, so that even of the skins and bones of horses nought remained, and they had subsisted for several days on pure water, they agreed. When they arrived at the army food was prepared for them in a place outside the camp. They were engaged in eating, having laid aside their weapons and armour, when the soldiers fell on them on all sides and slew them all. Some have accounted this valour displayed by these people as a thing miraculous, but when a band of men are besieged in some place where all avenues and roads are stopped and all hope of deliverance is cut off they will assuredly defend themselves desperately and display bravery and courage. p. 49.

In Zanzan and Niriz likewise at the decree of erudite doctors and notable lawyers a bloodthirsty military force attacked and besieged. In Zanzan the chief was Mulla Muhammad 'Ali the *majtahid*, while in Niriz Seyyid Yahya of Darab was the leader and arbiter¹. At first they sought to bring about a p. 50.

¹ For full accounts of the siege of Zanzan see Gobineau, p. 233—254; Kazem-Beg ii, p. 196—224; and compare Watson, p. 387—392; Lady Shell's *Diary*, p. 181. Kazem-Beg alone of

reconciliation, but, meeting with cruel ferocity, they reached the pitch of desperation; and, the overpowering force of the victorious troops having cut off every passage of flight, they unclosed their hands in resistance. But although they were very strong in battle and amazed the chiefs of the army by their steadfastness and endurance, the overwhelming military force closed the passage of flight and broke p. 51. their wings and feathers. After numerous battles they too at last yielded to covenants and compacts, oaths and promises, vows registered on the *Kur'ân*, and the wonderful stratagems of the officers, and were all put to the edge of the sword.

Were we to occupy ourselves in detail with the wars of Niriz and Zanjan, or to set forth these events from beginning to end, this epitome would become a bulky volume. So, since this would be of no advantage to history, we have passed them over briefly.

During the course of the events which took place at Zanjan the Prime Minister devised a final and trenchant remedy. Without the royal command, without consulting with the ministers of the subject-

these four authorities gives an account of the events at Niriz (ii, p. 224—239), but, as it appears to me, he deals very unjustly with the character of Seyyid Yaḥyá of Dáráb. This much at least is certain, that the Bābis still regard him as one of their saints, which at any rate shews that they entertain no doubts either of his sincerity or his loyalty. See Note H at end.

protecting court, he, acting with arbitrary disposition, fixed determination, and entirely on his own authority, issued commands to put the *Bab* to death. This befel in brief as follows. The governor of Ázar-
 baijdn, Prince Hamzd Mirza, was unwilling that the execution of this sentence should be at his hands¹, and said to the brother of the Amir, *Mini* Hasan Khan, "This is a vile business and an easy one ; any-one is capable and competent. I had imagined that His Excellency the Regent would commission me to make war on the Afghans or Uzbegs or appoint me to attack and invade the territory of Russia or Turkey/' So Mfrzd Ḥasan Khan wrote his excuse in detail to the Amir. p. 52.

Now the Seyyid Bab had disposed all his affairs before setting out from Chihrik towards Tabriz, had placed his writings and even his ring and pen-case in a specially prepared box, put the key of the box in an envelope, and sent it by means of Mulla Bakir, who was one of his first associates, to Mulla 'Abdu'l-
 Karfm of Kázvin². This trust MULLA BAḠİR delivered p. 53.

¹ According to Gobineau (p. 259 *et seq.*), however, Ḥamze* Mirzá took the leading part in the examination and condemnation of the Báb.

² Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karim was also known amongst the Bábis by the name of Mirza Ahmad-i-Katib (the Scribe), inasmuch as he acted as amanuensis to the Báb and later to Mirzá Yahyá, Şubḥ-i-Ezel. He was one of the twenty-eight victims put to death in August 1852 in Teherán, and fell by the hands

over to Mulld 'Abdu'l-Karfm at K̄um in presence of a numerous company. At the solicitations of those present he opened the lid of the box and said, "I am commanded to convey this trust to Beh&'u'IUh: more than this ask not of me, for I cannot tell you." Importuned by the company, he produced a long epistle in blue, penned in the most graceful manner with the utmost delicacy and firmness in a beautiful minute *shikasta* hand, written in the shape of a man so closely that it would have been imagined that it was a single wash of ink on the paper¹. When they had read this epistle [they perceived that] he had produced three hundred and sixty derivatives from the word *Bellā*. Then Mulli 'Abdu'l-Karim con-
p. 54. veyed the trust to its destination.

Well, we must return to our original narrative. The Prime Minister issued a second order to his brother Mtai Hasan Khan, the gist of which order was this:—"Obtain a formal and explicit sentence from the learned doctors of Tabriz who are the firm support of the Church of Ja'far (upon him be peace)

of the artillerymen, apparently without having undergone previous torture which he had much feared and wherefrom he had prayed frequently to be delivered.

¹ An epistle of this sort written by the Bab I have seen. It was in the form of a pentacle, and most beautifully executed as above described. Cf. Kazem-Beg ii, p. 498. For a specimen of the 'derivatives' produced by the Bab from the word *Beha* see Note R at end.

and the impregnable stronghold of the Shi'ite faith ; summon the Christian regiment of Urtimiyya; suspend the *Bih* before all the people; and give orders for the regiment to fire a volley."

Mfrzd Ḥasan Kh&n summoned his chief of the *farrāshes*, and gave him his instructions. They removed the Bab's turban and sash which were the signs of his Seyyid-hood, brought him with four of his followers¹ to the barrack square of Tabriz, confined him in a cell, and appointed forty of the Christian soldiers of Tabriz to guard him. p. 55.

Next day the chief of the *farrashes* delivered over the B&b and a young man named *Aka* Muhammad 'Ali who was of a noble family of Tabriz to Sam Khan, colonel of the Christian regiment of Urumiyya, at the sentences of the learned divine Mulla Muhammad of Mamakan, of the second ecclesiastical authority Mirza Bakir, and of the third ecclesiastical authority Mulla Murtaza-Kull and others. An iron nail was hammered into the middle of the staircase of the very cell wherein they were imprisoned, and two ropes were hung down. By one rope the Bab was suspended and by the other rope *Aka* Muhammad 'Ali, both being firmly bound in such wise that the

¹ These four would seem to have been—(1) Āḳā Muḥammad 'Ali of Tabriz; (2) Āḳā Seyyid Ḥuseyn of Yezd, the Báb's amanuensis; (3) Āḳā Seyyid Ḥasan of Yezd, his brother; (4) Āḳā Seyyid Aḥmad of Tabriz. See Note S at end.

head of that young man was on the Bab's breast. The surrounding house-tops billowed with teeming crowds. A regiment of soldiers ranged itself in three files. The first file fired; then the second file, and p. 56. then the third file discharged volleys. From the fire of these volleys a mighty smoke was produced. When the smoke cleared away they saw that young man standing and the Bab seated by the side of his amanuensis Áka Seyyid Huseyn in the very cell from the staircase of which they had suspended them. To neither one of them had the slightest injury resulted.

Sam Khan the Christian asked to be excused; the turn of service came to another regiment, and the chief of the *farrashes* withheld his hand. Áka Jan Beg of Khamsa, colonel of the body-guard, advanced; and they again bound the Bab together with that young man to the same nail. The Bab uttered certain words which those few who knew Persian understood¹, while the rest heard but the sound of his voice.

p. 57. The colonel of the regiment appeared in person: and it was before noon on the twenty-eighth of Sha'ban in the year [A.H.] one thousand two hundred

¹ The Azarbaijān dialect of Turkish is the language generally spoken in Tabriz, and only persons who have either received some education or travelled in other parts of Persia understand Persian. Indeed Turkish prevails as far east as Ḳazvin, is widely spoken in Teherān, and is understood by many even as far south as Ḳum.

and sixty-six¹. Suddenly he gave orders to fire. At this volley the bullets produced such an effect that the breasts [of the victims] were riddled, and their limbs were completely dissected, except their faces, which were but little marred.

Then they removed those two bodies from the square to the edge of the moat outside the city, and that night they remained by the edge of the moat. Next day the Russian consul came with an artist and took a picture of those two bodies in the posture wherein they had fallen at the edge of the moat.

On the second night at midnight the Babis carried away the two bodies.

On the third day the people did not find the bodies, and some supposed that the wild beasts had p. 58. devoured them, so that the doctors proclaimed from the summits of their pulpits saying, "The holy body of the immaculate Imam and that of the true Shi'ite are preserved from the encroachments of beasts of prey and creeping things and wounds, but the body of this person have the wild beasts torn in pieces." But after the fullest investigation and enquiry it hath

¹ July 9th 1850. I have already pointed out (B. i, p. 512) that Kazem-Beg is in error in placing the Báb's death in 1849. As to the events contemporary with the Founder's martyrdom, the siege of Zanján was in progress, while the Niriz insurrection had just been quelled. Indeed Aḳá Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb according to reliable tradition suffered martyrdom on the same day as the Báb.

been proved that when the Bab had dispersed all his writings and personal properties and it had become clear and evident from various signs that these events would shortly take place¹, therefore, on the second day of these events, Suleymdn Khan² the son of Yahya Khan, one of the nobles of Ázarbaijan devoted to the Bab, arrived, and proceeded straightway to the house of the mayor of Tabriz. And since the mayor was an old friend, associate, and confidant of p. 59. his; since, moreover, he was of the mystic temperament and did not entertain aversion or dislike for any sect, Suleyman Khan divulged this secret to

¹ There is no doubt that, as Gobineau states (p. 258), the Báb fully expected to suffer martyrdom. He even issued instructions as to the disposal of his remains, which he desired should be placed near the shrine of Shah 'Abdu'l-'Azim some five miles to the south of Teherán. " *The place of Shah-'Abdu'l-'Azim,*" he wrote, "is a good land, by reason of the proximity of *Wahhl*" (i.e. Şubḥ-i-Ezel, whose name, Yahyá, is equivalent numerically to *Wahid*, cf. B. ii, 097) "for keeping; and God is the Best of Keepers" The body, as here stated, was presently sent along with that of Áká Muḥammad 'Ali, the Báb's fellow-sufferer, from Tabriz to Teherán. It was committed to the care of Áká Mahdi of Káshán, who deposited it in a little shrine called *Imám-zadt-i-Ma'stim* situated near the *Imdm-zade-i-Ḥasan* on the road from Teheran to Bibát-Karim. Here it remained in charge of the custodian of the shrine (who was paid to keep watch over it) till about the year 1867, when it was removed elsewhere by command of Behá'u'lláh.

² Concerning Suleymán Khán's martyrdom in August 1852 at Teherán see Note T at end.

him saying, " To-night I, with several others, will endeavour by every means and artifice to rescue the body. Even though it be not possible, come what may we will make an attack, and either attain our object or pour out our lives freely in this way." "Such troubles," answered the mayor, "are in no wise necessary." He then sent one of his private servants named Haji Allah-yar, who, by whatever means and proceedings it was, obtained the body without trouble or difficulty and handed it over to Hdji Suleyman Khan. And when it was morning the sentinels, to excuse themselves, said that the wild beasts had devoured it. That night they sheltered the body in the workshop of a Babi of Milan: next p. 60. day they manufactured a box, placed it in the box, and left it as a trust. Afterwards, in accordance with instructions which arrived from Teheran, they sent it away from 'Azarbaijan. And this transaction remained absolutely secret.

Now in these years [A.H. one thousand two hundred and] sixty-six and sixty-seven throughout all Persia fire fell on the households of the Babis, and each one of them, in whatever hamlet he might be, was, on the slightest suspicion arising, put to the sword. More than four thousand souls were slain¹, and a great multitude of women and children,

¹ The most notable massacres during this period were at Zanján and Niriz. Concerning the martyrdom of the " Seven

left without protector or helper, distracted and confounded, were trodden down and destroyed. And all these occurrences were brought about solely by the arbitrary decision and command of Mirza Taki Khan, p. 61., who imagined that by the enactment of a crushing punishment this sect would be dispersed and disappear in such wise that all sign and knowledge of them would be cut off. Ere long had passed the contrary of his imagination appeared, and it became certain that [the Babfs] were increasing. The flame rose higher and the contagion became swifter : the affair waxed grave and the report thereof reached other climes. At first it was confined to Persia: later it spread to the rest of the world. Quaking and affliction resulted in constancy and stability, and grievous pains and punishment caused acceptance and attraction. The very events produced an impression ; impression led to investigation; and investigation resulted in increase. Through the ill-considered policy of the Minister this edifice became fortified and strengthened, and these foundations firm and solid. Previously the matter used to be p. 62. regarded as commonplace: subsequently it acquired a grave importance in men's eyes. Many persons from all parts of the world set out for Persia, and

Martyrs " at Teherán (amongst whom was the Báb's maternal uncle Mirzá Seyyid 'Ali) which likewise took place at this time some information will be found in Note B at end.

began to seek with their whole hearts. For it hath been proved by experience in the world that in the case of such matters of conscience laceration causeth healing; censure produceth increased diligence ; prohibition induceth eagerness; and intimidation createth avidity. The root is hidden in the very heart, while the branch is apparent and evident. When one branch is cut off other branches grow. Thus it is observed that when such matters occur in other countries they become extinct spontaneously through lack of attention and exiguity of interest. For up to the present moment of movements pertaining to religion many have appeared in the countries of Europe, but, non-interference and absence of bigotry p. 63. having deprived them of importance, in a little while they became effaced and dispelled.

After this event there was wrought by a certain Bab a great error and a grave presumption and crime, which has blackened the page of the history of this sect and given it an ill name throughout the civilized world. Of this event the marrow is this, that during the time when the Bab was residing in Ázarbaijan a youth, Sadik by name, became affected with the utmost devotion to the *Bab*, night and day was busy in serving him, and became bereft of thought and reason. Now when that which befel the Bab in Tabriz took place, this servant, actuated by his own fond fancies, fell into thoughts of seeking blood-

revenge. And since he knew naught of the details of the events, the absolute autocracy of the *Amir-Nizám*, his unbridled power, and sole authority; nor

p. 64. [was aware] that this sentence had been promulgated absolutely without the cognizance of the Royal Court, and that the Prime Minister had presumptuously issued the order on his own sole responsibility; since, on the contrary, he supposed that agreeably to ordinary custom and usage the attendants of the court had had a share in, and a knowledge of this sentence, therefore, [impelled] by folly, frenzy, and his evil star, nay, by sheer madness, he rose up from Tabriz and came straight to Teheran, one other person being his accomplice. Then, since the Royal Train had its abode in Shimran, he thither directed his steps. God is our refuge! By him was wrought a deed so presumptuous that the tongue is unable to declare and the pen loath to describe it. Yet to God be praise and thankfulness that this madman had charged his pistol with shot, imagining this to be preferable and superior to all projectiles¹.

p. 65. Then all at once commotion arose, and this sect became of such ill repute that still, strive and struggle as they may to escape from the curse and disgrace

¹ Of the attempt on the Sháh's life a very graphic account is given by Gobineau (chapter xi). See also Watson's *History of Persia, d'c.* pp. 407—410, Lady Sheil's *Diary*, pp. 273—282, and Note T at end.

and dishonour of this deed, they are unable to do so. They will recount from the first manifestation of the Bab until the present time; but when the thread of the discourse reaches this event they are abashed and hang their heads in shame, repudiating the presumptuous actor and accounting him the destroyer of the edifice and the cause of shame to mankind.

Now after the occurrence of this grave matter all of this sect were suspected. At first there was neither investigation nor enquiry¹, but afterwards in mere justice it was decided that there should be investigation, enquiry, and examination. All who were known to be of this sect fell under suspicion. Beh&VUAh was passing the summer in the village of p. 66. Afcha situated one stage from Teheran. When this news was spread abroad and punishment began, every one who was able hid himself in some retreat or fled the country. Amongst these *Mirza Yahya*², the brother of Beha'ullah, concealed himself, and, a bewildered fugitive, in the guise of a dervish, with *kashkúl*³ in hand, wandered in mountains and plains

¹ i.e. at first everyone who was suspected of belonging to the Bábí community was put to death without enquiring as to whether he had any share in the conspiracy against the king.

² See Gobineau, pp. 277—279, and Note W at end.

³ A hollow receptacle of about the size and shape of a cocoa-nut, round the orifice of which two chains are attached at four points to serve as a handle. It is used by dervishes as an alms-basket.

on the road to Resht. But Beh&VU&h rode forth with perfect composure and calmness from Afcha, and came to Niyavaran, which was the abode of the Royal Train and the station of the imperial camp. Immediately on his arrival he was placed under arrest, and a whole regiment guarded him closely.

p. 67. After several days of interrogation they sent him in chains and fetters from Shimran to the gaol of Teheran. And this harshness and punishment was due to the immoderate importunity of Haji 'Ali Khan, the Hajibu'd-Dawla¹, nor did there seem any hope of deliverance, until His Majesty the King, moved by his own kindly spirit, commanded circumspection, and ordered this occurrence to be investigated and examined particularly and generally by means of the ministers of the imperial court.

Now when Beha'u'llah was interrogated on this matter he answered in reply, " The event itself indicates the truth of the affair and testifies that this is the action of a thoughtless, unreasoning, and igno-

¹ Concerning this infamous monster who, amongst innumerable other wickednesses and cruelties, *volunteered* to carry out the sentence of death on his fallen benefactor, Mirzâ Takî Khân, see Watson's *History of Persia*, &c. pp. 403—404. Dr Polak (*Persien; das Land und seine Bewohner*, Leipsic, 1865, vol. 1, p. 352) describes him as "*ein Mann ohne Herz und auf Commando zu jeder Grausamkeit bereit*," and then proceeds to enumerate the ghastly tortures which he devised for the Bâbis.

rant man. For no reasonable person would charge his pistol with shot when embarking on so grave an enterprise. At least he would so arrange and plan it that the deed should be orderly and systematic. From the very nature of the event it is clear and p. 68. evident as the sun that it is not the act of such as myself."

So it was established and proven that the assassin had on his own responsibility engaged in this grievous action and monstrous deed with the idea and design of taking blood revenge for his Master, and that it concerned no one else \ And when the truth of the matter became evident the innocence of Beh&VII&h from this suspicion was established in such wise that no doubt remained for anyone; the decision of the court declared his purity and freedom from this charge; and it became apparent and clear that what had been done with regard to him was due to the

¹ According to G-obineau (p. 280) three Bábis actually took part in the attempt on the Sháh's life and others were concerned in the plot. According to the *Ndsikhu't-Tawárikh*, which gives the most circumstantial account of the occurrence, Mulfa Sheykh 'Ali (called by the Bábis *Jendb-i-'Aẓim*) first proposed the attempt, for the carrying out of which twelve persons volunteered. Of these twelve, however, there were but three—Şádiq of Zanjań (or Milań), Mullá Fathu'lláh of Ẕum, and Mfrzá Muḥammad of Nirfz—whose hearts did not fail them at the last. Of these three the first was killed on the spot, the other two were put to death afterwards. See Note T at end.

efforts of his foes and the hasty folly of the Hajibu'd-Dawla. Therefore did the government of eternal
 p. 69. duration desire to restore certain properties and estates which had been confiscated, that thereby it might pacify him. But since the chief part of these was lost and only an inconsiderable portion was forthcoming, none came forward to claim them. Indeed Beha'u'llah requested permission to withdraw to the Supreme Shrines [of Kerbela and Nejef] and, after some months¹, by the royal permission and with the leave of the Prime Minister, set out accompanied by one of the King's messengers for the Shrines.

Let us return, however, to our original subject. Of the Bab's writings many remained in men's hands. Some of these were commentaries on, and interpretations of the verses of the K̄ur'in; some were prayers, homilies, and hints of [the true significance of certain] passages; others were exhortations, admonitions, dissertations on the different branches of the doctrine of the Divine Unity, demonstrations of the special prophetic mission of the Lord of existing things [Muḥammad], and (as hath been understood) encouragements to amendment of character, severance from worldly states,
 p. 70. and dependence on the inspirations of God². But

¹ According to Nabil's chronological poem (B. ii, p. 983, 987) Beha'u'llah was imprisoned in Teheran for four months.

² For an enumeration of the Báb's writings see Note U at end.

the essence and purport of his compositions were the praises and descriptions of that Reality soon to appear which was his only object and aim, his darling, and his desire. For he regarded his own appearance as that of a harbinger of good tidings, and considered his own real nature merely as a means for the manifestation of the greater perfections of that One. And indeed he ceased not from celebrating Him by night or day for a single instant, but used to signify to all his followers that they should expect His arising: in such wise that he declares in his writings, "I am a letter out of that most mighty book and a dew-drop from that limitless ocean, and, when He shall appear, my true nature, my mysteries, riddles, and intimations will become evident, and the embryo of this religion shall develop through the grades of its being and ascent, attain to the station of '*the most comely of forms*¹,' and become adorned with the p. 71. robe of '*blessed be God, the Best of Creators*².'³ And this event will disclose itself in the year [A.H. one thousand two hundred and] sixty-nine, which corresponds to the number of the year of '*after a while*³,'

¹ Ḳur'ān, xciv. 4.

² Ḳur'ān, xxiii. 14. For texts from Beyān illustrating this passage, see Note V at end.

³ The year of **a while*' (س. هـ. ح) is 68 (ح=8, ی=10, ن=50), and the year of **after a while*' therefore corresponds to 69, which is the number *after* 68. It was not, however, till A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866—67) that, according to Nabil (B. ii. pp. 984,

and ' *thou shalt see the mountains which thou thinkest so solid passing away like the passing of the clouds*^ shall be fulfilled." In short he so described Him that, in his own expression, he regarded approach to the divine bounty and attainment of the highest degrees of perfection in the worlds of humanity as dependent on love for Him, and so inflamed was he with His flame that commemoration of Him was the bright candle of his dark nights in the fortress of Maku, and remembrance of Him was the best of companions in the straits of the prison of Chihrfk. Thereby he obtained spiritual enlargements; with His wine was he inebriated ; and at remembrance of Him did he rejoice. All of his followers too were in p. 72. expectation of the appearance of these signs, and each one of his intimates was seeking after the fulfilment of these forecasts.

Now from the beginning of the manifestation of the Bab there was in Teheran (which the Bab called the *Holy Land*) a youth of the family of one of the ministers and of noble lineage², gifted in every way,

988), Behá openly declared himself as 'He whom God shall manifest.*

¹ Qur'án, xxvii. 90.

² Behá'u'lláh (Mirzá Huseyn 'Ali) and Şubh-i-Ezel (Mirzá Yahyá) were both sons of Mirzá 'Abbás (better known as Mirzá Buzurg) but by different mothers. This is confirmed beyond all doubt by Şubh-i-Ezel and others who have the best means of knowing, though Gobineau (p. 277) gives a different

arid adorned with purity and nobility. Although he combined lofty lineage with high connection, and although his ancestors were men of note in Persia and universally sought after¹, yet he was not of a race of doctors or a family of scholars. Now this youth was from his earliest adolescence celebrated amongst those of the ministerial class, both relatives and strangers, for single-mindedness, and was from childhood pointed out as remarkable for sagacity, and held in regard in the eyes of the wise. He did not, however, after the fashion of his ancestors, desire elevation to lofty ranks nor seek advancement to splendid but transient positions. His extreme aptitude was nevertheless admitted by all, and his excessive acuteness and intelligence were universally avowed. In the eyes of the common folk he enjoyed a wonderful esteem, and in all gatherings and assemblies he had a marvellous speech and delivery. Notwithstanding lack of instruction and education² such was the keenness of his penetration

p. 73.

account. There was another brother called Músá, now deceased, one of whose sons is at present residing at Acre.

¹ Lit. "the place where the camels' saddles are put down," i.e. people whose houses are frequented by guests and visitors. See Lane's *Lexicon*, Book i. Part i. n. p. 1053.

² Behá himself says in the earlier portion of his *Epistle to the King of Persia* not included in the extract therefrom given

further on:— ما قرأت ما عند الناس من العلوم و ما دخلت المدارس:—
 "I have not studied the sciences which men have, neither have I entered

and the readiness of his apprehension that when during his youthful prime he appeared in assemblies where questions of divinity and points of metaphysic were being discussed, and, in presence of a great concourse of doctors and scholars loosed his tongue, all those present were amazed, accounting this as a sort of prodigy beyond the discernment natural to the human race. From his early years he was the hope of his kindred and the unique one of his family and race, nay, their refuge and shelter.

However, in spite of these conditions and circumstances, as he wore a *kulák*¹ on his head and locks flowing over his shoulder, no one imagined that he would become the source of such matters, or that the waves of his flood would reach the zenith of this firmament.

When the question of the Bab was noised abroad signs of partiality appeared in him. At the first he apprized his relatives and connections, and the children and dependents of his own circle; subsequently he occupied his energies by day and night in

the colleges: ask the city wherein I was that thou may est be sure that I am not of those who lie."

¹The Persian lamb-skin hat worn by Government employed and civilians. The words *مكلاه* (hatted) and *معمم* (turbaned) are commonly used to distinguish the laity or civilian class from the clergy or learned class. The latter usually shave the head, while the former wear their hair in *zulf* descending below the level of the ears.

inviting friends and strangers [to embrace the new faith]. He arose with mighty resolution, engaged with the utmost constancy in systematizing the principles and consolidating the ethical canons of that society in every way, and strove by all means to protect and guard these people.

When he had [thus] established the foundations in Teheran he hastened to Mazandaran, where he displayed in assemblies, meetings, conferences, inns, p. 75. mosques, and colleges a mighty power of utterance and exposition. Whoever beheld his open brow or heard his vivid eulogies perceived him with the eye of actual vision to be a patent demonstration, a latent magnetic force, and a pervading influence. A great number both of rich and poor and of erudite doctors were attracted by his preaching and washed their hands of heart and life, being so enkindled that they laid down their lives under the sword dancing [with joy].

Thus, amongst many instances, one day four learned and accomplished scholars of the divines of Núr were present in his company, and in such wise did he expound that all four were involuntarily constrained to entreat him to accept them for his service. For by dint of his eloquence, which was like 'evident sorcery/ he satisfied these eminent doctors p. 76. that they were in reality children engaged in the rudiments of study and the merest tyros, and that

therefore they must read the alphabet from the beginning. Several protracted conferences were passed in expounding and elucidating the *Point*¹ and the *Alif* of the Absolute, wherein the doctors present were astounded, and filled with amazement and astonishment at the seething and roaring of the ocean of his utterance. The report of this occurrence reached the hearing of far and near, and deep despondency fell on the adversaries. The regions of Nur were filled with excitement and commotion at these events, and the noise of this mischief and trouble smote the ears of the citizens of Barfurush. The chief divine of Nur, Mulla Muhammad, was in Kishlak². When

¹ The '*Point*' (نقطه), '*Point of Revelation*' (نقطه • بان), and '*First Point*' (نقطه • اولی) were the titles assumed by the Báb during the latter part of his mission, and it is by one of these titles, or by the phrases حضرت اعلیٰ ('*His Highness the Supreme*'), حضرت ربّ الاعلیٰ ('*His Highness my Lord the Supreme*'), that he is mentioned amongst the Bábís. (See Gobineau, p. 156.) The *Alif*, in the phraseology of the mystics, indicates the unmanifested Essence of God.

² *Kishlak* is a word of Turkish origin (from فیش winter) applied generally to the warmer low-lying districts where the winter is passed, the highlands where the summer is spent being called *Yilak* or *Yilagh*. It is also applied as a proper name to several places in the north of Persia. *Kishlak of Núr* is, as appears from the Shah's Diary of his journey through Mázandarán, a district bordering on the coast, of which the chief town is Khurramábád. Núr itself is situated in the mountains.

he heard of these occurrences he sent two of the most distinguished and profound of the doctors, who were possessed of wondrous eloquence, effective oratorical talent, conclusiveness of argument, and brilliant powers of demonstration, to quench this fire, and to subdue and overcome this young man by force of argument, either reducing him to penitence, or causing him to despair of the successful issue of his projects. Glory be to God for His wondrous decrees! When those two doctors entered the presence of that young man, saw the waves of his utterance, and heard the force of his arguments, they unfolded like the rose and were stirred like the multitude, and, abandoning altar and chair, pulpit and preferment, wealth and luxury, and evening and morning congregations, they applied themselves to the furtherance of the objects of this person, even inviting the chief divine to tender his allegiance. So when this young man with a faculty of speech like a rushing torrent set out for Amul and Sdrf he met with that experienced doctor and that illustrious divine in KishUk of Nur. And the people assembled from all quarters awaiting the result. His accomplished reverence the divine, although he was of universally acknowledged excellence, and in science the most learned of his contemporaries, nevertheless decided to have recourse to augury as to [whether he should engage in] discussion and disputation. This did not prove favourable and he therefore excused

himself, deferring [the discussion] until some other time. His incompetency and shortcoming thereby became known and suspected, and this caused the adherence, confirmation, and edification of many.

In brief outline the narrative is this. For some while he wandered about in those districts. After the death of the late prince Muhammad Shah he returned to Tehenin, having in his mind [the intention of] corresponding and entering into relations p. 79. with the Bab. The medium of this correspondence was the celebrated Mulla 'Abdu'l-Karim of Kāzvin¹, who was the Bab's mainstay and trusted intimate. Now since a great celebrity had been attained for Beha'u'llah in Teheran, and the hearts of men were disposed towards him, he, together with Mulla 'Abdu'l-Karim, considered it as expedient that, in face of the agitation amongst the doctors, the aggressiveness of the greater part of [the people of] Persia, and the irresistible power of the *Amir-Nizam*, whereby both the Bab and Beha'u'llah were in great danger and liable to incur severe punishment, some measure should be adopted to direct the thoughts of men towards some absent person, by which means Beha'u'llah would remain protected from the interference of all men. And since further, having regard to sundry considerations, they did not consider an outsider as suitable, they cast the lot of this

¹ See above, p. 41 and note.

augury to the name of Beh'u'llah's brother Mirza Yahya\

By the assistance and instruction of Beha'u'llah, p. 80. therefore, they made him notorious and famous on the tongues of friends and foes, and wrote letters, ostensibly at his dictation, to the Bab. And since secret correspondences were in process the Bab highly approved of this scheme. So *Mirza* Yahya was concealed and hidden while mention of him was on the tongues and in the mouths of men. And this mighty plan was of wondrous efficacy, for Beh'u'llah, though he was known and seen, remained safe and secure, and this veil was the cause that no one outside [the sect] fathomed the matter or fell into the idea of molestation, until Beh'u'llah quitted Teheran at the permission of the King and was permitted to withdraw to the Supreme Shrines.

When he reached Baghdad and the crescent moon of the month of Muharram of the year [A. H. one thousand two hundred and] sixty-nine (which was termed in the books of the Bab "the year of '*after a while*'²" and wherein he had promised the disclosure of the true nature of his religion and its mysteries) shone forth from the horizon of the world, this covert secret, as is related, became apparent amongst all within and without [the society]. Beha'u'llah with mighty steadfastness became a target for the arrows

¹ See Note W at end.

² See note 3 at foot of p. 55.

of all amongst mankind, while Mirza Yahya in disguise passed his time, now in the environs and vicinity of Baghdad engaged for better concealment in various trades, now in Baghdad itself in the garb of the Arabs.

Now Beha'u'llah so acted that the hearts of this sect were drawn towards him, while most of the inhabitants of 'Irak¹ were reduced to silence and speechlessness, some being amazed and others an-
 p. 82. gered. After remaining there for one year he withdrew his hand from all things, abandoned relatives and connections, and, without the knowledge of his followers, quitted 'Irak¹ alone and solitary, without companion, supporter, associate, or comrade. For nigh upon two years he dwelt in Turkish Kurdistan, generally in a place named Sarkalú, situated in the mountains, and far removed from human habitations. Sometimes on rare occasions he used to frequent Suleymaniyye. Ere long had elapsed the most eminent doctors of those regions got some inkling of his circumstances and conditions, and conversed with him on the solution of certain difficult questions connected with the most abstruse points of theology. Having witnessed on his part ample signs and satisfactory explanations they observed towards him the

¹ Here and in subsequent passages where 'Irak¹ is mentioned ¹-*Iraki*-¹*Arab* (especially Baghdad) is intended, not *Irak-i-'Ajam*.

utmost respectfulness and deference. In consequence of this he acquired a great fame and wonderful reputation in those regions, and fragmentary accounts of him were circulated in all quarters and directions, to wit that a stranger, a Persian, had appeared in the district of Suleymaniyye (which hath been, from of old, the place whence the most expert doctors of the Sunnites have arisen), and that the people of that country had loosed their tongues in praise of him. From the rumour thus heard it was known that that person was none other than Beha'u'llah. Several persons, therefore, hastened thither, and began to entreat and implore, and the urgent entreaty of all brought about his return.

Now although this sect had not been affected with *quaking or consternation at these grievous events, such as the slaughter of their chief and the rest, but did rather increase and multiply; still, since the *Bab* was but beginning to lay the foundations when he was slain, therefore was this community ignorant concerning its proper conduct, action, behaviour, and duty, their sole guiding principle being love for the *Bab*. This ignorance was the reason that in some parts disturbances occurred; for, experiencing violent molestation, they unclosed their hands in self-defence. But after his return Beha'u'llah made such strenuous efforts in educating, teaching, training, regulating, and reconstructing this com-

munity that in a short while all these troubles and mischiefs were quenched, and the utmost tranquillity and repose reigned in men's hearts; so that, according to what hath been heard, it became clear

p. 85. and obvious even to statesmen that the fundamental intentions and ideas of this sect were things spiritual, and such as are connected with pure hearts; that their true and essential principles were to reform the morals and beautify the conduct of the human race, and that with things material they had absolutely no concern.

When these principles, then, were established in the hearts of this sect they so acted in all lands that they became celebrated amongst statesmen for gentleness of spirit, steadfastness of heart, right intent, good deeds, and excellence of conduct. For this people are most well-disposed towards obedience and submissiveness, and, on receiving such instruction, they conformed their conduct and behaviour thereto. Formerly exception was taken to the words, deeds, de-

p. 86. meanour, morals, and conduct of this sect: now objection is made in Persia to their tenets and spiritual state. Now this is beyond the power of man, that he should be able by interference or objection to change the heart and conscience, or meddle with the convictions of any one. For in the realm of conscience nought but the ray of God's light can command, and on the throne of the heart none

but the pervading power of the King of Kings should rule. Thus it is that one can arrest and suspend [the action of] every faculty except thought and reflection; for a man cannot even by his own volition withhold himself from reflection or thought, nor keep back his musings and imaginings.

At all events the undeniable truth is this, that for nigh upon thirty-five years¹ no action opposed to the government or prejudicial to the nation has p. 87. emanated from this sect or been witnessed [on their part], and that during this long period, notwithstanding the fact that their numbers and strength are double what they were formerly, no sound has arisen from any place, except that every now and then learned doctors and eminent scholars (really for the extension of this report through the world and the awakening of men) sentence some few to death. For such interference is not destruction but edification when thou regardest the truth, which will not thereby become quenched and forgotten, but rather stimulated and advertised.

I will at least relate one short anecdote of what

¹ This passage clearly shews that our history was composed not more than four or five years ago, probably during the year 1886. For since the attempt on the Sháh's life in the month of Shawwál, A.H. 1268 (August 1852), the Bábis have taken no action hostile to the Persian government, and the month of Shawwál, A.H. 1303 (35 years from this date) began in July, 1886.

actually took place. A certain person violently molested and grievously injured a certain B4W.

p. 88. The victim unclosed his hand in retaliation and arose to take vengeance, unsheathing his weapon against the aggressor. Becoming the object of the censure and reprimand of this sect, however, he took refuge in flight. When he reached Hamad&n his character became known, and, as he was of the clerical class, the doctors vehemently pursued him, handed him over to the government, and ordered chastisement to be inflicted. By chance there fell out from the fold of his collar a document written by Beha'u'llah, the subject of which was reproof of attempts at retaliation, censure and reprobation of the search after vengeance, and prohibition from following after lusts. Amongst other matters they found these expressions contained in it: — " *Verily God is quit of the sedi-*

p. 89. *tious,*" and likewise :—" *If ye be slain it is better for you than that ye should slay. And when ye are tormented have recourse to the controllers of affairs and the refuge of the people¹; and if ye be neglected then entrust your affairs to the Jealous Lord. This is the mark of the sincere, and the characteristic of the*

¹ i.e. " If you be wronged or persecuted, appeal for protection and redress to the legally constituted authorities; and if they will not help you, then be patient and put your trust in God, but do not attempt by force to obtain redress for yourselves,"

assured" When the governor became cognizant of this writing he addressed that person saying, "By the decree of that chief whom you yourself obey correction is necessary and punishment and chastisement obligatory." "If," replied that person, "you will carry out all his precepts I shall have the utmost pleasure in [submitting to] punishment and death." The governor smiled and let the man go.

So Beha'u'llah made the utmost efforts to educate [his people] and incite [them] to morality, the acquisition of the sciences and arts of all countries, kindly dealing with all the nations of the earth, desire for the welfare of all peoples, sociability, concord, obedience, submissiveness, instruction of [their] p. 90. children, production of what is needful for the human race, and inauguration of true happiness for mankind; and he continually kept sending tracts of admonition to all parts, whereby a wonderful effect was produced. Some of these epistles have, after extreme search and enquiry, been examined, and some portions of them shall now be set down in writing¹.

¹ For some account of Behá's various writings see B. ii. pp. 942—981. A specimen of the *إيمان* in the original may be found in Rosen's *MSS. Persans*, pp. 32—51, and a part of the *سوره هيكل* in his *MSS. Arabes*, pp. 191—212. Baron Rosen intends shortly to publish the whole of the *سوره هيكل* including the *Epistles to the Kings* (*الواح سلاطين*), and he has been kind enough to send me the proof-sheets of this

All these epistles consisted of [exhortations to] purity of morals, encouragement to good conduct, reprobation of certain individuals, and complaints of the seditious. Amongst othersthis sentence was recorded:—

p. 91. " *My captivity is not my abasement: by my life, it is indeed a glory unto me! But the abasement is the action of my friends who connect themselves with us and follow the devil in their actions. Amongst them is he who taketh lust and turneth aside from what is commanded; and amongst them is he who followeth the truth in right guidance. As for those who commit sin and cling to the world they are assuredly not of the people of Beha.*"

So again:—

" *Well is it with him who is adorned with the decoration of manners and morals: verily he is of those who help their Lord with clear perspicuous action.*"

"*He is God, exalted is His state, wisdom and utterance.* The True One (glorious is His glory) for the shewing forth of the gems of ideals from the mine of man, hath, in every age, sent a trusted one. The primary foundation of the faith of God and the religion of God is this, that they should not make diverse sects and various paths the cause and reason of hatred. These principles and laws and firm sure roads important work as they are printed off. Further information will be found in a subsequent foot-note.

appear from one dawning-place and shine from one dayspring, and these diversities were out of regard for the requirements of the time, season, ages, and epochs. p. 92.

O unitarians, make firm the girdle of endeavour, that perchance religious strife and conflict may be removed from amongst the people of the world and be annulled. For love of God and His servants engage in this great and mighty matter. Religious hatred and rancour is a world-consuming fire, and the quenching thereof most arduous, unless the hand of Divine Might give men deliverance from this unfruitful calamity. Consider a war which happeneth between two states: both sides have foregone wealth and life: how many villages were beheld as though they were not! This precept is in the position of the light in the lamp of utterance."

"O people of the world, ye are all the fruit of one tree and the leaves of one branch. Walk with perfect charity, concord, affection, and agreement. I swear p. 93.

by the Sun of Truth, the light of agreement shall brighten and illumine the horizons. The all-knowing Truth hath been and is the witness to this saying. Endeavour to attain to this high supreme station which is the station of protection and preservation of mankind. This is the intent of the King of intentions, and this the hope of the Lord of hopes."

"We trust that God will assist the kings of the earth to illuminate and adorn the earth with the

refulgent light of the Sun of Justice. At one time we spoke in the language of the Law, at another time in the language of the Truth and the Way; and the ultimate object and remote aim was the shewing forth of this high supreme station. *And God sufficeth for witness"*

p. 94. "O friends, consort with all the people of the world with joy and fragrance. If there be to you a word or essence whereof others than you are devoid, communicate it and shew it forth in the language of affection and kindness: if it be received and be effective the object is attained, and if not leave it to him, and with regard to him deal not harshly but pray¹. The language of kindness is the lodestone of hearts and the food of the soul; it stands in the relation of ideas to words, and is as an horizon for the shining of the Sun of Wisdom and Knowledge."

"If the unitarians had in the latter times acted according to the glorious Law [which came] after His Highness the Seal [of the Prophets²] (may the life of all beside him be his sacrifice!), and had clung to its skirt, the foundation of the fortress of religion

¹ i.e. "If you have a message or gospel wherein others are not partakers, then convey it to those about you in kind and gentle words. If they accept it you have gained your object \ if not, leave it to ripen and bear fruit, and pray that it may do so, but on no account strive to force its acceptance on any one."

² Muḥammad.

would not have been shaken, and populous cities would not have been ruined, but rather cities and p. 95. villages would have acquired and been adorned with the decoration of peace and serenity."

"Through the heedlessness and discordance of the favoured people and the smoke of wicked souls the Fair Nation is seen to be darkened and enfeebled. Had they acted [according to what they knew] they would not have been heedless of the light of the Sun of Justice/

"This victim hath from earliest days until now been afflicted at the hands of the heedless. They exiled us without cause at one time to *'lr£k* at another time to Adrianople, and thence to Acre, which was a place of exile for murderers and robbers ; neither is it known where and in what spot we shall take up our abode after this greatest prison-house. *Knowledge is with God, the Lord of the Throne and of the dust and the Lord of the lofty seat.* In whatever place we may be, and whatever befall us, the saints must gaze with perfect steadfastness and confidence towards the Supreme Horizon and occupy p. 96. themselves in the reformation of the world and the education of the nations. What hath befallen and shall befall hath been and is an instrument and means for the furtherance of the Word of Unity. *Take*

¹ See note on p. 64.

*hold of the command of God and cling thereto: verily it hath been sent down from beside a wise Ordainer!**

"With perfect compassion and mercy have we guided and directed the people of the world to that whereby their souls shall be profited. I swear by the Sun of Truth which hath shone forth from the highest horizons of the world that the people of Beha had not and have not any aim save the prosperity and reformation of the world and the purifying of the nations. With all men they have been in sincerity and charity. Their outward [appearance] is one with their inward [heart], and their inward [heart] identical with their outward [appearance]. The truth

p. 97. of the matter is not hidden or concealed, but plain and evident before [men's] faces. Their very deeds are the witness of this assertion. To-day let every one endowed with vision win his way from deeds and signs to the object of the people of Beha and from their speech and conduct gain knowledge of their intent. The waves of the ocean of divine mercy appear at the utmost height, and the showers of the clouds of His grace and favour descend every moment. During the days of sojourn in Irak¹ this oppressed one sat down and consorted with all classes without veil or disguise. How many of the denizens of the

¹ See note on p. 64.

horizons¹ entered in enmity and went forth in sympathy ! The door of grace was open before the faces of all. With rebellious and obedient did we outwardly converse after one fashion, that perchance the evil-doers might win their way to the ocean of boundless forgiveness. The splendours of the Name of the Concealer² were in such wise manifested that the evil-doer imagined that he was accounted of the good. No messenger was disappointed and no enquirer was turned back. The causes of the aversion and avoidance of men were certain of the doctors of Persia and the unseemly deeds of the ignorant. By [the term] 'doctors' in these passages are signified those persons who have withheld mankind from the shore of the Ocean of Unity; but as for the learned who practise [their knowledge] and the wise who act justly, they are as the spirit unto the body of the world. Well is it with that learned man whose head is adorned with the crown of justice, and whose body glorieth in the ornament of honesty. The Pen of Admonition

¹ i.e. The people of all lands.

² 'The Concealer' (الستار) is one of the Names of God (see Redhouse's *Most Comely Names*, p. 38, No. 236), of which Names the Prophets are the mirrors or places of manifestation (مظاهر). In their actions the Divine Attributes whether 'beautiful' (جمالى) or 'terrible*' (جلالى) are displayed. So Behá's concealment of his feelings is here described as a manifestation of the * Name of the Concealer.'

exhorteth the friends and enjoineth on them charity, pity, wisdom, and gentleness. The oppressed one¹ is this day a prisoner; his allies are the hosts of good deeds and virtues; not ranks, and hosts, and guns, p. 99. and cannons. One holy action maketh the world of earth highest paradise.

"O friends, help the oppressed one with well-pleasing virtues and good deeds! To-day let every soul desire to attain the highest station. He must not regard what is in him, but what is in God. *It is not for him to regard what shall advantage himself, but that whereby the Word of God which must be obeyed shall be upraised.* The heart must be sanctified from every form of selfishness and lust, for the weapons of the unitarians and the saints were and are the fear of God. That is the buckler which guardeth man from the arrows of hatred and abomination. Unceasingly hath the standard of piety been victorious, and accounted amongst the most puissant hosts of the world. *Thiereby do the saints subdue the* p. 100. *cities of [men's] harts by th permission of God, the Lord of hosts.* Darkness hath encompassed the earth: the lamp which giveth light was and is wisdom. The dictates thereof must be observed under all circumstances. And of wisdom is the regard of place and the utterance of discourse according to measure and

¹ Throughout his writings by the terms '*the oppressed one,*' * *tMs oppressed one,* * '*this servant,*'¹ &c, Beha intends himself.

state. And of wisdom is decision; for man should not accept whatsoever anyone sayeth¹.

" Under all circumstances desire of the True One (glorious is His glory) that He will not deprive His servants of the sealed wine² and the lights of the Name of the Self-subsistent.

" O friends of God, verily the Pen of Sincerity enjoineth on you the greatest faithfulness. By the Life of God, its light is more evident than the light of the sun! In its light and its brightness and its radiance every light is eclipsed. We desire of God that He p. 101.
will not withhold from His cities and lands the radiant effulgence of the Sun of Faithfulness. We have directed all in the nights and in the days to faithfulness, chastity, purity, and constancy; and have enjoined good deeds and well-pleasing qualities. In

¹ i.e. Of the dictates of wisdom one is this, that the believer should in speaking have regard to fitness of time and place and not with indiscriminating zeal lay bare his convictions to all persons or in all companies; and another is this, that he should be firmly established in his belief and not be 'tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine.'

² By the 'sealed wine' are meant the ordinances of God. Thus in the 'Most Holy Book' (كتاب اقدس) rather than لوح اقدس by which name I formerly described it, B. ii. 972--981) it is written:— لا تحسبن انا نزلنا لكم الاحكام بل فتحنا ختم الرّحيق المخبوم—
* باصابع القُدرة و الاقدار "Do not consider that we have revealed unto you ordinances, but rather that we have opened the seal of the sealed wine with the fingers of might and power"

the nights and in the days the shriek of the pen ariseth and the tongue speaketh, that against the sword the word may arise, and against fierceness patience, and in place of oppression submission, and at the time of martyrdom resignation. For thirty years and more, in all that hath befallen this oppressed community they have been patient, referring it to God. Every one endowed with justice and fairness hath testified and doth testify to that which hath been said. During this period this oppressed one was engaged in good exhortations and efficacious and sufficient admonitions, till it became

p. 102. established and obvious before all that this victim had made himself a target for the arrows of calamity unto the shewing forth of the treasures deposited in [men's] souls. Strife and contest were and are seemly in the beasts of prey of the earth, [but] laudable actions are seemly in man.

" Blessed is the Merciful One: Who created man: and taught him utterance. After all these troubles, neither are the ministers of state content, nor the doctors of the church. Not one soul was found to utter a word for God before the court of His Majesty the King (may God perpetuate Ms kingdom). There shall not be/al us aught save that which God hath decreed unto us. They acted not kindly, nor was there any shortcoming in the display of evil. Justice became like the

phoenix¹, and faithfulness like the philosopher's stone: none spake for the right. It would seem that justice had become hateful to men and cast p. 103. forth from all lands like the people of God. Glory be to God! In the episode of the land of T&² not one spoke for that which God had commanded. Having regard to the display of power and parade of service in the presence of the King {*may God perpetuate his kingdom*) they have called good evil and the reformer a sedition-monger. The like of these persons would depict the drop as an ocean, and the mote as a sun. They call the house at Kalfn³ 'the strong fortress,' and close their eyes to the perspicuous truth. They have attacked a number of reformers of the world with the charge

¹ The 'Anka (in Persian *Simurgh*), a mythical bird dwelling in the mountains of *Kaf*, which hound the world according to the old Arabian cosmography. Hence anything very rare or hard to find or of which the name is heard but the form is not seen (موجود الاسم مفقود الجسم) is compared to it.

² 'The land of T&' (ارض طا) means Teherán. So in the *Kitáb-i-Ahḡdas Khurásán* is called ارض الحاء and Kirmán ارض الكاف و البراء; while in the Persian *Beyán* we find mention of the *land of Alif* (Ázarbaijan), the *land of 'Aijn* ('Irak), the *land of Fa* (Fars), and the *land of Mim* (Mazandaran). This use of the letters of the alphabet to designate places and people is very common amongst the Bábis. See the note on the colophon at the end of the book.

³ Concerning Kalin (less correctly Kuleyn) see p. 14 *supra* and note 3 thereon.

of seditiousness. As God liveth, these persons had and have no intent nor hope save the glory of the state and service to their nation! For God they spoke and for God they speak, and in the way of God do they journey.

- p. 104. "O friends, ask of Him who is the Desire of the denizens of earth that He will succour His Majesty the King (*may God perpetuate his kingdom*) so that all the dominions of Persia may by the light of the Sun of Justice become adorned with the decoration of tranquillity and security. According to statements made, he, at the promptings of his blessed nature, loosed those who were in bonds, and bestowed freedom on the captives. The representation of certain matters before the faces of [God's] servants is obligatory, and natural to the pious, so that the good may be aware and become cognizant [thereof]. *Verily He inspireth whom He pleaseth with what He desireth, and He is the Powerful, the Ordainer, the Knowing, the Wise.*

- p. 105. "A word from that land hath reached the oppressed one which in truth was the cause of wonder. His Highness the Mu'tamadu 'd-Dawla, Farhdd Mirza¹, said concerning the imprisoned one that whereof the repetition is not pleasing. This victim consorted very little with him or the like of him. So far as is

¹ Farhád Mirzá was the uncle of the Sháh. He died in 1888.

recollected on [only] two occasions did he visit Murgh-Mahalla in Shimiran¹ where was the abode of the oppressed one. On the first occasion he came one day in the afternoon, and on the second one Friday morning, returning nigh unto sundown. He knows and is conscious that he should not speak contrary to the truth. If one enter his presence let him repeat these words before him on behalf of the oppressed one:— '*O Prince! I ask justice and fairness from your Highness concerning that which hath befallen this poor victim.*' Well is it for that soul whom the doubts of the perverse withhold not from the display of justice, and deprive not of the lights of the luminary of equity. *O saints of God!* p. 106. *at the end of our discourse we enjoin on you once again chastity, faithfulness, godliness, sincerity, and purity. Lay aside the evil and adopt the good. This is that whereunto ye are commanded in the Book of God, the Knowing, the Wise. Well is it with those who practise [this injunction]. At this moment the pen crieth out, saying, 'O saints of God, regard the horizon of uprightness, and be quit, severed, and free from what is beside this. There is no strength and no power save in God.'*"

¹ Shimiran or Shimran (sometimes used in the plural, Shimránát) is the name applied generally to the villages and mansions situated on the lower slopes descending from Elburz which serve as summer residences to the wealthier inhabitants of Teherán.

In short, formerly in all provinces in Persia accounts and stories concerning this sect diverse and discordant, yea, incompatible with the character of the human race and opposed to the divine endowment, passed on the tongues and in the mouths of men and obtained notoriety. But when their principles acquired fixity and stability and their conduct and behaviour were known and appreciated, the veil of doubt and suspicion fell, the true character of this sect became clear and evident, and it reached the degree of certainty that their principles were unlike men's fancies, and that their foundation differed from [the popular] opinion and estimate. In their conduct, action, morality, and demeanour was no place for objection; the objection in Persia is to certain of the ideas and tenets of this sect. And from the indications of various circumstances it hath been observed that the people have acquired belief and confidence in the trustworthiness, faithfulness, and godliness of this sect in all transactions.

Let us return to our original topic. During the period of their sojourn in 'M.k these persons became notorious throughout the world. For exile resulted in fame, in such wise that a great number of other parties sought alliance and union, and devised means of [acquiring] intimacy [with them]. But the chief of this sect, discovering the aims of each faction, acted with the utmost consistency, circumspection, and

firmness. Reposing confidence in none, he applied himself as far as possible to the admonition of each, inciting and urging them to good resolutions and aims beneficial to the state and the nation. And this conduct and behaviour of the chief acquired notoriety in 'Irak.

So likewise during the period of their sojourn in 'Irak certain functionaries of foreign governments were desirous of intimacy, and sought friendly relations [with them] ; but the chief would not agree. Amongst other strange haps was this, that in 'Irak p. 109. certain of the Royal Family came to an understanding with these [foreign] governments, and, [induced] by promises and threats, conspired with them. But this sect unloosed their tongues in reproach and began to admonish them, saying, "What meanness is this, and what evident treason; that man should, for worldly advantages, personal profit, easy circumstances, or protection of life and property, cast himself into this great detriment and evident loss, and embark in a course of action which will conduce to the greatest abasement and involve the utmost infamy and disgrace both here and hereafter! One can support any baseness save treason to one's country, and every sin admits of pardon and forgiveness save [that of] dishonouring one's government and injuring one's nation." And they imagined that they were acting patriotically, displaying sincerity and loyalty, and p. 110.

accounting sacred the duties of fidelity; which noble aim they regarded as a moral obligation. So rumours of this were spread abroad through 'Ir&ḳ-i-'Arab, and such as, wished well to their country loosed their tongues in uttering thanks, expressing approval and respect. And it was supposed that these events would be represented in the Royal Presence; but after a while it became known that certain of the Sheykh's at the Supreme Shrines¹ who were in correspondence with the court, yea, even with the King, were in secret continually attributing to this sect strange affinities and relations, imagining that such attempts would conduce to favour at the Court and cause

p. 111. advancement of [their] condition and rank. And since no one could speak freely on this matter at that court which is the pivot of justice, whilst just ministers aware [of the true state of the case] also regarded silence as their best policy, the 'Irak question, through these misrepresentations and rumours, assumed gravity in Teheran, and was enormously exaggerated. But the consuls-general, being cognizant of the truth, continued to act with moderation, until Mirzd Buzurg Khan of Kazvin² became consul-

¹ Kerbeḷā and Nejef.

² According to Şubḥ-i-Ezel's statement, Mirzā Buzurg Khān became incensed against the Bábis, partly because they would not consent to secure his goodwill by a bribe, partly because Behá'u'lláh took to wife the daughter of a merchant whom he wished to marry. At all events his enmity was such

general in Baghdad. Now since this person was wont to pass the greater portion of his time in a state of intoxication and was devoid of foresight, he became the accomplice and confederate of those Sheykhs in 'Irak, and girded up his loins stoutly to destroy and demolish. Such power of description and [strength] of fingers as he possessed he employed in making representations and statements. Each day he secretly wrote a dispatch to Teheran, made vows and compacts with the Sheykhs, and sent diplomatic notes to His Excellency the Ambassador-in-chief¹ [at Constantinople]. But since these statements and depositions had no basis or foundation, they were all postponed and adjourned; until at length these Sheykhs convened a meeting to consult with the [Consul-] General, assembled a number of learned doctors and great divines in the [mosque of the] 'two K&çzims'² (upon them be peace), and, having come to that he strove to incite the 'Ulama of Baghdad to declare a *jihad* or religious war against the Bábis, and this, according to Şubh-i-Ezel, they would have done, had not Nâmik Pâshâ, then governor of Baghdad, prevented them, saying, 'These are not rebels, and you shall not kill them'.

¹ Mirza Huseyn Khân was at this time Persian ambassador at Constantinople.

² ⁴ The tombs of the *two K&çzims' (i.e. the seventh Imâm, Mûsâ Kâzîm, and the ninth Imâm, Muḥammad Taqî) are situated about 3 miles N. of Baghdad, and constitute one of the principal places of pilgrimage of the Shi'ites. Around them has grown up a considerable town, chiefly inhabited by Persians, known as *Kazimeyn*.'

an unanimous agreement, wrote to the divines of Kerbela the exalted and Nejef the most noble, con-
voking them all. They came, some knowing, others
not knowing. Amongst the latter the illustrious and
expert doctor, the noble and celebrated scholar, the
p. 113. seal of seekers after truth, Sheykh Murtaẓá¹, now
departed and assoiled, who was the admitted chief of
all, arrived without knowledge [of the matter in
hand]. But, so soon as he was informed of their
actual designs, he said, "I am not properly acquainted
with the essential character of this sect, nor with the

¹ In the *Epistle to the King of Persia* (نوح سلطان) Sheykh Murtaẓá is especially exempted from the condemnation pronounced against the majority of the Shi'ite doctors, and held up as an example of a truly pious and God-fearing divine (see p. 129 *infra*). I was informed by Şubḥ-i-Ezel that he not only refused to pronounce sentence against the Bábis or sanction a *jihad* against them, but that he also withheld the Sháh from persecuting the Sheykhis (concerning whom see Note E at end) saying, "May it not become like the affair of the

Bábis 1" The book called *فصوص العلماء* (*Stories of Divines*), published at Teherán A.H. 1304, gives a brief account of Sheykh Murtaẓá, whose lectures, as it appears, the author of the work in question attended for a while. According to this account Sheykh Murtaẓá was a native of Shushtar, but spent the greater part of his life at Nejef, where, at the age of 80, he died and was buried. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is given. His works—not very numerous—are mentioned, and his remarkable piety and learning highly praised. Indeed it is stated that after Sheykh Muḥammad Hasan he was the most eminent of all the Shi'ite doctors.

secret tenets and hidden theological doctrines of this community; neither have I hitherto witnessed or perceived in their demeanour or conduct anything at variance with the Perspicuous Book which would lead me to pronounce them infidels. Therefore hold me excused in this matter, and let him who regards it as his duty take action." Now the design of the Sheykhs and the Consul was a sudden and general attack, but, by reason of the non-compliance of the departed Sheykh, this scheme proved abortive, resulting, indeed, only in shame and disappointment. So that concourse of Sheykhs, doctors, and common folk which had come from Kerbela dispersed. p. 114.

Just at this time mischievous persons—[including] even certain dismissed ministers—endeavoured on all sides so to influence this sect that they might perchance alter their course and conduct. From every quarter lying messages and disquieting reports continually followed one another in uninterrupted and constant succession to the effect that the deliberate intention of the court of Persia was the eradication, suppression, annihilation, and destruction of this sect; that correspondence was continually being carried on with the local authorities; and that all [the Babfs] in 'Irak would shortly be delivered over with bound hands to Persia. But the Babis passed the time in calmness and silence, without in any way altering their behaviour and conduct.

So when Mirza Buzurg Khan failed to effect and accomplish the designs of his heart by such actions also, he ill-advisedly fell to reflecting how he might
 p. 115. grieve and humiliate [the Babis], Every day he sought some pretext for offering insult, aroused some disturbance and tumult, and raised up the banner of mischief, until the matter came nigh to culminating in the sudden outbreak of a riot, the lapse of the reins of control from the hand, and the precipitation of [men's] hearts into disquietude and perturbation and [their] minds into anguish and agony.

Now when [the Babis] found themselves unable to treat this humour by any means (for, strive as they would, they were foiled and frustrated), and when they failed to find any remedy for this disorder or any fairness in this flower, they deliberated and hesitated for nine months, and at length a certain number of them, to stop further mischief, enrolled themselves as subjects of the Sublime Ottoman Government, that [thereby] they might assuage this tumult. By means
 p. 116. of this device the mischief was allayed, and the consul withdrew his hand from molesting them; but he notified this occurrence to the Royal Court in a manner at variance with the facts and contrary to the truth, and, together with the confederate Sheykh, applied himself in every way to devices for distracting the senses [of the Babfe]. Finally, however, being

dismissed, and overwhelmed with disaster, he became penitent and sorry.

Let us proceed with our original topic. For eleven years and somewhat over, Beha'u'llah abode in 'Iraḳ-i-'Arab. The behaviour and conduct of the sect were such that [his] fame and renown increased. For he was manifest and apparent amongst men, consorted and associated with all parties, and would converse familiarly with doctors and scholars concerning the solution of difficult theological questions and the verification of the true sense of abstruse points of divinity. As is currently reported by p. 117. persons of every class, he used to please all, whether inhabitants or visitors, by his kindly intercourse and courteous address; and this sort of demeanour and conduct on his part led them to suspect sorcery and account him an adept in the occult sciences.

During this period Mirza Yahya remained concealed and hidden, continuing and abiding in his former conduct and behaviour, until, when the edict for the removal of Beha'u'llah from Baghdad¹ was issued by His Majesty the Ottoman monarch, Mirzd Yahya would neither quit nor accompany [him]: at one time he meditated setting out for India, at another, settling in Turkistan²; but, being unable to

¹ It would seem that the departure of the Bábis from Baghdad took place during the summer of 1864.

² Perhaps *Turkistan* is here intended to signify, not the

decide on either of these two plans, he finally, at his
 p. 118. own wish, set out before all in the garb of a dervish,
 in disguise and change of raiment, for Karkúk and
 Arbfl. Thence, by continuous advance, he reached
 Mosul, where, on the arrival of the main body, he took
 up his abode and station alongside their caravan¹.
 And although throughout this journey the governors
 and officials observed the utmost consideration and
 respectfulness, while march and halt were alike
 dignified and honourable, nevertheless was he always
 concealed in change of raiment, and acted cautiously,
 on the idea that some act of aggression was likely to
 occur.

In this fashion did they reach Constantinople,
 where they were appointed quarters in a guest-house
 on the part of the glorious Ottoman monarchy. And
 at first the utmost attention was paid to them in
 p. 119. every way. On the third day, because of the strait-
 ness of their quarters and the greatness of their

country properly so called, but merely the country of the
 Turks, in which case we should rather translate 'remaining in
 Turkey.'

¹ Mirzá Yahyá, according to his own account, went from
 Baghdad to Karkúkin 8 days; thence to Mosul in 4 days; thence
 to Diyar Bekr in 20 days ; thence to Kharput in 7 or 8 days.
 From Kharput he went to Sivás, thence to Samsún, and thence
 by sea to Constantinople. The whole journey from Baghdad
 to Constantinople, including halts, occupied between three and
 four months. By Nabil also the duration of this exodus is
 stated as four months (B. i. i. pp. 984, 987, v. 8).

numbers, they migrated and moved to another house. Certain of the nobles came to see and converse with them, and these, as is related, behaved with moderation. Notwithstanding that many in their assemblies and gatherings continued to condemn and vilify them, saying, "This sect are a mischief to all the world and destructive of treaties and covenants; they are a source of trouble and baleful to all lands; they have kindled a fire and consumed the earth; and though they be outwardly fair-seeming yet are they deserving of every chastisement and punishment," yet still the Babfs continued to conduct themselves with patience, calmness, deliberation, and constancy, so that they did not, even in self-defence, importune [the occupants of] high places or frequent the houses of any of the magnates of that kingdom. Whomsoever amongst the great he [Beha] interviewed on his own account, they met, and no word save of sciences and arts passed between them; until certain noblemen sought to guide him, and loosed their tongues in friendly counsel, saying, "To appeal, to state your case, and to demand justice is a measure demanded by custom." He replied in answer, "Pursuing the path of obedience to the King's command we have come to this country. Beyond this we neither had nor have any aim or desire that we should appeal and cause trouble. What is [now] hidden behind the veil of destiny will in the future become manifest. p. 120.

There neither has been nor is any necessity for supplication and importunity. If the enlightened-minded leaders [of your nation] be wise and diligent, they will certainly make enquiry, and acquaint themselves with the true state of the case; if not, then

p. 121. [their] attainment of the truth is impracticable and impossible. Under these circumstances what need is there for importuning statesmen and supplicating ministers of the Court? We are free from every anxiety, and ready and prepared for the things predestined to us. ^c *Say, all is from God* is a sound and sufficient argument, and *'If God toucheth thee with a hurt there is no dispeller thereof save Him²'* is a healing medicine."

After some months a royal edict was promulgated appointing Adrianople in the district of Roumelia as their place of abode and residence. To that city the B&bs, accompanied by [Turkish] officers, proceeded all together, and there they made their home and habitation. According to statements heard from sundry travellers and from certain great and learned men of that city, they behaved and conducted themselves there also in such wise that the inhabitants of the district and the government officials used to

p. 122. eulogize them, and all used to shew them respect and deference. In short, since Beh&VIUh was wont

¹ Kur'an, iv, 80.

² Kur'an, vi, 17; x, 107.

to hold intercourse with the doctors, scholars, mag-nates, and nobles, [thereby] obtaining fame and celebritv throughout Roumelia, the materials of comfort were gathered together, neither fear nor dread remained, they reposed on the couch of ease, and passed their time in quietude, when one Seyyid Muḥammad¹ by name, of Isfahan, one of the followers

¹ Hāji Seyyid Muḥammad Isfahān! was, together with his nephew Mirzā Riḏā-Ḳuli, amongst the *Ezelīs* (followers of Mirzā Yaḥyā, Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel) killed at Acre by some of Behā's followers. (See B. i. p. 517). His death is evidently alluded to in a passage of the *كتاب افس* addressed to Mirzā Yaḥyā which

runs as follows:—
 فل يا مطلع الاعراض دع الاغماض ثم انطق بالحق
 بين الخلق بالله قد جرت دموعي على حدودي بما اراك مغيلاً الى هواك
 و معرضاً عن خلفك و سواك ان اذكر فضل مولاك اذ رببتك في البالي
 و الایام لخدمة الامر اتق الله و كن من التائبين هني اشبه على الناس
 امرك هل يشبه على نفسك خف عن الله ثم اذكر اذ كنت قائماً لدى العرش
 و كتبت ما اظنك من آيات الله المهيمن المقتدر القدير اياك ان تمنعك الحمبة
 عن شطر الاحدية توجهه اليه و لا تخف من اعمالك انه يفر من يشاء بمنضل
 من عنده لا اله الا هو الغفور الکریم انما ننصحك لوجه الله ان اقبلت فانفسك و
 ان اعرضت ان ربك غني عنك و عن الذين اتبعوك بهم مبین قد اخذ الله من
 اغواك اذا فارجم اليه خاضعاً خاشعاً متذلاً انه يكفر عنك سبائتك ان ربك لهو
 النواب العزيز الرحيم ❀

" Say, ' O Source of Perversion, cease closing thy eyes; then

[of the Bab], laid the foundations of intimacy and familiarity with Mirza Yahya, and [thereby] became the cause of vexation and trouble. In other words, he commenced a secret intrigue and fell to tempting Mirza Yahya, saying, "The fame of this sect hath risen high in the world, and their name hath become noble: neither dread nor danger remaineth, nor is there any fear or [need for] caution p. 123. before you. Cease, then, to follow, that thou mayest be followed by the world; and come out from amongst adherents, that thou mayest become celebrated

confess to the truth amongst mankind. By God, my tears have flowed over my cheeks for that I behold thee advancing toward thy lust and turning aside from Him who created thee and fashioned thee. Remember the favour of thy master when we brought thee up during the nights and days for the service of the Religion. Fear God, and be of those who repent. Grant that thine affair is dubious unto men: is it dubious unto thyself? Fear God: then remember when thou didst stand before the Throne and write what we did propose to thee of the verses of God, the Protecting, the Powerful, the Mighty. Beware lest jealousy withhold thee from the shore of [the Divine] Unity: turn unto Him, and fear not because of thy deeds: verily He pardoneth whom He pleaseth by a favour on His part: there is no God but Him, the Forgiving, the Kind. Verily we do but advise thee for the sake of God: if thou advancest, it is for thyself; and if thou turnest aside, verily thy Lord needeth not thee, nor such as follow thee in evident error. *God hath taken away him who led thee astray*: return then unto Him humble, contrite, abased: verily He will put away from thee thy sins: verily thy Lord He is the Repenter, the Mighty, the Merciful."

throughout the horizons." Mirza Yahya, too, through lack of reflection and thought as to consequences, and want of experience, became enamoured of his words and befooled by his conduct. This one was [like] the sucking child, and that one became as the much-prized breast. At all events, how much soever some of the chiefs of the sect wrote admonitions and pointed out to him the path of discretion saying, "For many a year hast thou been nurtured in thy brother's arms and hast reposed on the pillow of ease and gladness; what thoughts are these which are the results of madness? Be not beguiled by this empty name,¹ which, out of regard for certain con-

¹ The name alluded to is of course that of *Ezel* (the Eternal) bestowed on Mirzâ Yaḥyâ by the Báb. Gobineau (p. 277) calls him *Hazrat-i-Ezel* ('l'Altesse Éternelle'), but his correct designation, that which he himself adopts, and that whereby he is everywhere known, is *Subh-i-Ezel* ('the Morning of Eternity'). The epistles addressed to him by the Báb (of some of which copies are in my possession) invoke him either as '*Ismu'l-Ezel*' ('Name of the Eternal') or '*Ismu'l-Wahid*' (*Name of the One')—for the latter and the reason of its employment, see B. ii. 996-997. According to his own statement he was the fourth in the Bábî hierarchy (واحد) of 19. The first was of course the Báb himself; next in rank was Mullá Muḥammad 'Alî Barfuriishi (*Jenab-i-Kuddus*); then Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh (*Jenab-i-Babu'l-Bab*); then Mirza Yahya (*Subh-i-Ezel*). After the fall of Sheykh Ṭabarsi and the death of the two 'Letters' who intervened between him and the Báb, he attained the second place in the hierarchy, and, on the Báb's death, became the recognized chief of the sect. The 'considerations'

siderations and as a matter of expediency, was bestowed [upon thee]; neither seek to be censured by the community. Thy rank and worth depend on a p. 124, word¹, and thine exaltation and elevation were for a

which, according to the somewhat different account of our historian, rendered the recognition 'expedient' will be seen on pp. 62—63 above.

¹ A passage in the نصبر لوح illustrates this expression. It runs as follows:—اگر تفکر مینمودند در ظهور ثانیم باسی از اسمایم از—جمالم محتجب نمیدانند این است شأن این عباد و رتبه و مقام ایشان دع ذکرهم و ما بحری من فلهیم و بهرج من قسیم یا اینکه در جمیع الواح بیان جمیع عبادمرا مأمور فرمودم که از ظهور بخدم غافل نمانند و بحجاب اسماء و اشارات از ملک صفات محتجب نکردند و حال تو ملاحظه کن که باحتجاب کفایت نشده چه مقدار از احجار ظنون بر شجره عز ممکنون من غیر تعطیل و تعویق انداخته و باین هم کفایت ننموده تا اینکه اسمی از اسمایم که بحرفی اورا خلق فرمودم و بنفحه² حیات بخشیدم بمحاربه بر جمالم بر خاست

"Had they reflected, they would not on my second manifestation have been veiled from my Beauty by a Name amongst my Names. This is the state of these men and their rank and station! *Cease to mention them and to that flows from their pens and comes forth from their mouths.* Although I commanded all my servants in all the tablets of the Beyan not to continue heedless of my subsequent manifestation or be veiled by the veils of Names and signs from the Lord of Attributes, consider now, not satisfied with being veiled, how many stones of doubt they cast without cessation or interruption at the tree of my hidden Glory! *And even this did not suffice, till a*

protection and a consideration," yet still, the more they admonished him, the less did it affect him; and how much soever they would direct him, he continued to account opposition as identical with advantage. Afterwards, too, the fire of greed and avarice was kindled, and although there was no sort of need, their circumstances being easy in the extreme, they fell to thinking of salary and stipend, and certain of the women dependent on Mirza Yahya went to the [governor's] palace and craved assistance and charity. So when Beha'u'llah beheld such conduct and behaviour on his part he dismissed and drove away both [him and Seyyid Muḥammad] from himself.

Then Seyyid Muḥammad set out for Constantinople to get his stipend, and opened the door of suffering. According to the account given, this matter caused *Name amongst my Names, whom I created by a word, and on whom I bestowed life with a breath, arose in war against my Beauty.*" I have already pointed out in another place (B. ii. 949—953) the important position occupied by the epistle above cited, since it appears to be one of the earliest of Behā's writings wherein he distinctly claims to be a new 'manifestation' of the divinity, and it, more than any other writing which I have seen, throws light on that period of conflict and travail in the Bābi church which made so memorable the latter days of the Adrianople period and marked a new development in the short but eventful history of the new faith. When I wrote the passage above referred to, I believed that the only copy of this epistle in Europe was in my possession, but I have since learned from Baron Rosen that another copy is included in his own library at St Petersburg.

- p. 125. the greatest sorrow and brought about cessation of intercourse. In Constantinople, moreover, he presumptuously set afloat certain reports, asserting, amongst other things, that the notable personage who had come from 'Irak was Mirza Yahya Sundry individuals, perceiving that herein was excellent material for mischief-making and a means for the promotion of mutiny, ostensibly supported and applauded him, and stimulated and incited him, saying, "You are really the chief support and acknowledged successor: act with authority, in order that grace and blessing may become apparent. The waveless sea hath no sound, and the cloud without thunder raineth no rain." By such speech, then, was that unfortunate man entrapped into his course of action, and led to utter vain words which caused the disturbance of [men's] thoughts. Little by little those who were
- p. 126. wont to incite and encourage began without exception to utter violent denunciations in every nook and corner, nay in the court itself, saying, "The Babis say thus, and expound in this wise: [their] behaviour is such, and [their] speech so-and-so." Such mischief-making and plots caused matters to become misapprehended, and furthermore certain schemes got afloat which were regarded as necessary measures of self-protection; the expediency of banishing the Babis came under consideration; and all of a sudden an order came, and Beha'u'llah was removed from

Roumelia; nor was it known for what purpose or whither they would bear him away¹. Diverse ac-

¹ It is difficult amidst the conflicting statements of the two parties and the silence of disinterested historians to discover precisely what were the causes which led to the removal of the Bábis from Adrianople. Further investigation inclines me to abandon the view (B. i. p. 515) that overt acts of hostility between the two factions made it necessary to separate them, for Mirzâ Yaḥyá appears to have been almost without supporters at Adrianople, so that, according to his own account, he and his little boy were compelled to go themselves to the market to buy their daily food. His version of the events which led the Turkish government to change their place of exile is this:—that two of the followers of Behá set out from Adrianople for Constantinople, ostensibly to sell horses, but really to carry controversial books. The Páshá of Adrianople, being apprized of their object, telegraphed to the first halting-place on the road which they had to traverse and caused them to be arrested. The followers of Beha, believing that Mirza Yaḥya had given information to the Pashá, retaliated by lodging information against Āka Jan Beg, one of Mirza Yahya's followers then in Constantinople—the same who was afterwards killed in Acre (B. i. 517)—who was at this time, though a Persian, serving in the Turkish artillery. 'Āka Jan Beg had in his possession certain Babi books destined for Baghdad. Unable to find means for transporting them thither and apparently warned in some way of impending danger, he was contemplating the advisability of destroying them by burying them or throwing them into the sea when he was arrested. He appears to have been examined both by the Turkish authorities and the representatives of the Persian government in Constantinople, particularly by a certain Mirza Ahmad then attached to the Persian legation. Āka Jan Beg—an honest straightforward man incapable of concealing the truth by falsehood—frankly admitted his connection with "the people at Adrianople," his belief in

counts were current in [men's] mouths, and many exaggerations were heard [to the effect] that there was no hope of deliverance.

Now all those persons who were with him with one accord entreated and insisted that they should [be permitted to] accompany him, and, how much soever the
 p. 127. government admonished and forbade them, it was fruitless. Finally one Hajl Ja'far¹ by name was moved

the Babi doctrines, and the existence of certain of their books in his possession. These books were thereupon seized and laid before the Sheykh 'I-Islām, who, it would seem, hesitated to pronounce sentence of heresy against their author, but desired to see him himself. However in this wish he was not gratified, for he was soon after dismissed, and the books passed into the hands of another Sheykh 'I-Islām, who, after carefully examining them, declared that they did not contain actual heresy, although they had a very heretical look. Ākâ Jân Beg, however, was, in spite of his former good services to the Turkish government (he had, I believe, distinguished himself at the recapture of Damascus), dismissed the army and imprisoned for four and a half months. From this imprisonment he went forth with hair and beard whitened by premature old age an exile to Acre, there shortly to meet with a violent death. Whatever may be the respective values of these two accounts, they both point to this, that the detection of some fresh attempt at propagandism on the part of the Bābis impelled the Turkish government to change their place of exile once more.

¹ Hāji Muḥammad Ja'far of Tabriz is twice referred to, though not by name, in my first paper on the Babis; first at p. 493, where he is simply mentioned as 'a Persian merchant belonging to the sect' to whom two *Babi* missionaries were forbidden to speak during their voyage to Alexandria; and

to lamentation, and with his own hand cut his throat. When the government beheld it thus, it gave permission to all of them to accompany him, conveyed them from Adrianople to the sea-shore¹, and thence transported them to Acre². Mirza Yahya they sent in like manner to Famagusta³.

again at p. 516, where the episode here related is briefly mentioned. Space does not allow me to do more than refer to the first incident here. As regards the second it is, as I have already pointed out (B. ii. p. 962), alluded to in the Epistle from Behá known as لوح رُئس. I here quote the passage in the original:—
 و فدى احد من الاحياء نفسه لنفسى و قطع حنجره بيده
 حياءً لله هذا ما لا سمعنا به من القرون الاولين هذا ما اختصه الله بهذا الظهور
 * *And one from amongst the Friends sacrificed himself for myself and cut his throat with his own hand for the love of God. This is that [the like of] which we have not heard from former ages. This is that which God hath set apart for this dispensation as a shewing forth of His Power: verily He is the Powerful, the Mighty.*" It appears that the Turkish government at first intended to send only Beha and his family to Acre, and to give his followers passports and money to return to their homes, but the unforeseen determination of the Behá'is not to be separated from their chief compelled it to change its plans.

¹ Gallipoli was the port whence they embarked. It seems that they were first taken direct to Alexandria, and there, without being permitted to land, transhipped into vessels bound for their respective places of exile.

² They arrived at Acre on August 31st, 1868 (see B. i. p. 526, and B. ii. pp. 984 and 988, v. 12).

³ See Note W at end. An official document, dated De-

During the latter days [passed] in Adrianople Beha'u'llah composed a detailed epistle setting forth all matters clearly and minutely. He unfolded and expounded the main principles of the sect, and made clear and plain its ethics, manners, course, and mode of conduct: he treated certain political questions in detail, and adduced sundry proofs of his truthfulness: he declared the good intent, loyalty, and p. 128. sincerity of the sect, and wrote some fragments of prayers, some in Persian, but the greater part in Arabic. He then placed it in a packet and adorned its address with the royal name of His Majesty the King of Persia, and wrote [on it] that some person pure of heart and pure of life, dedicated to God, and prepared for martyr-sacrifice, must, with perfect resignation and willingness, convey this epistle into the presence of the King. A youth named Mirza Bad!¹, a native of Khurasan, took the epistle, and

cember 9th, 1884, from the *Muhasebeji's* (Accountant's) office in Cyprus, and embodying information relative to the Bábi exiles required by the Receiver General, states that the original *ferman* of banishment cannot be found, but that " from an unofficial copy of the *ferman* received at the time of banishment of these exiles it appears that the date of their banishment is 5th Rabi'ul-Ákhir, 1285 A.H. (26th July, 1868 A.D.)." According to other documents, the date of the arrival in the island of Şubḥ-i-Ezel and those with him was August 20th.

¹ Cf. B. ii. pp. 956-957, I have not been able to learn the proper name of Mirza Badi'. His father was named Haji 'Abdu '1-Majid. After the martyrdom of his son he visited

hastened toward the presence of His Majesty the King, The Royal Train had its abode and station outside Teheran, so he took his stand alone on a rock in a place far off but opposite to the Royal Pavilion, and awaited day and night the passing of the Royal escort or the attainment of admission into the Imperial Presence. Three days did he pass thus in a state of fasting and vigilance: an emaciated body and enfeebled spirit remained. On the fourth day the

p. 129.

Acre, and on one occasion during this visit Behá addressed him in these strange words—*این روشن چراغ رهنه را نذر امامزاده بکن*— "*Make this lamp-spilt oil an offering for the Imámzáde*" which, as I understand, are applied proverbially to one who offers up that which has become of little value to him, as the oil which has been upset from the lamp. Some time afterwards he suffered martyrdom in Khurásán, and it was this which Behá's words were believed to have shadowed forth. For by the death of his son in whom his hopes centred had Haji 'Abdu 'l-Majid's life lost its sweetness for him and become a thing of little worth, and this life thus marred did he offer up. Mirzá Badi' was not more than 20 or 21 years of age. He had left Acre after accomplishing his pilgrimage thither when news reached him of the letter to be carried to Teherán and of the conditions under which it must be taken. These were, that the bearer must refrain from speaking to or visiting any of his co-religionists during the whole journey, proceed directly and alone to Teherán, and give the letter himself into the hands of the king. The letter was written on one side of a large sheet of paper with the conditions incumbent on the bearer inscribed on the back. The text of these conditions, published by Rosen, will appear in vol. vi. of the *Collections Scientifiques*, &c, p. 192-193.

Royal Personage was examining all quarters and directions with a telescope when suddenly his glance fell on this man who was seated in the most respectful attitude on a rock. It was inferred from the indications [perceived] that he must certainly have thanks [to offer], or some complaint or demand for redress and justice [to prefer]. [The King] commanded one of those in attendance at the court to enquire into the circumstances of this youth. On interrogation [it was found that] he carried a letter which he desired to convey with his own hand into the Royal Presence. On receiving permission to p. 130. approach, he cried out before the pavilion with a dignity, composure, and respectfulness surpassing description, and in a loud voice, "*O King, I have come unto thee from Sheba with a weighty message¹!*" [The King] commanded to take the letter and arrest the bearer. His Majesty the King wished to act with deliberation and desired to discover the truth, but those who were present before him loosed their tongues in violent reprehension, saying, "This person has shewn great presumption and amazing audacity, for he hath without fear or dread brought the letter of him against whom all peoples are angered, of him who is banished to Bulgaria and Sclavonia, into the

¹ Cf. *Qur'án*, xxvii, 22, where, however, the words addressed to Solomon by the hoopoe differ slightly from those uttered by Mirzá Badi'.

presence of the King. If so be that he do not instantly suffer a grievous punishment there will be an increase of this great presumption." So the ministers of the court signified [that he should suffer] punishment and ordered the torture. As the first torment p. 131. they applied the chain and rack, saying, "Make known thy other friends that thou mayest be delivered from excruciating punishment, and make thy comrades captive that thou mayest escape from the torment of the chain and the keenness of the sword." But, torture, brand, and torment him as they might, they saw nought but steadfastness and silence, and found nought but dumb endurance [on his part]. So, when the torture gave no result, they [first] photographed him (the executioners on his left and on his right, and he sitting bound in fetters and chains beneath the sword with perfect meekness and composure), and then slew and destroyed him. This photograph I sent for, and found worthy of contemplation, for he was seated with wonderful humility and strange submissiveness, in utmost resignation. ...

Now when His Majesty the King had perused p. 132. certain passages and become cognizant of the contents of the epistle, he was much affected at what had taken place and manifested regret, because his courtiers had acted hastily and put into execution a severe punishment. It is even related that he said thrice, "Doth any one punish [one who is but] the

channel of correspondence?" Then the Royal Command was issued that their Reverences the learned doctors and honourable and accomplished divines should write a reply to that epistle. But when the most expert doctors of the capital became aware of the contents of the letter they ordained:—"That this person, without regarding [the fact] that he is at variance with the Perspicuous Religion, is a meddler with custom and creed, and a troubler of kings and emperors. Therefore to eradicate, subdue, repress, and repel [this sect] is one of the requirements of the Well-established Path¹, and indeed the chief of obligations. "

This answer was not approved before the [Royal] Presence, for the contents of this epistle had no obvious discordance with the Law or with reason, and did not meddle with political or administrative matters, nor interfere with or attack the Throne of Sovereignty. They ought, therefore, to have discussed the real points at issue, and to have written clearly and explicitly such an answer as would have caused the disappearance of doubts and the solution of difficulties, and would have become a fulcrum for discussion to all.

Now of this epistle sundry passages shall be set forth in writing to conduce to a better understanding [of the matter] by all people. At the beginning of

¹ The religion of Islâm. Cf. *Qur'ân*, v, 52.

the epistle was a striking passage in the Arabic language [treating] of questions of faith and assurance; p. 134. the sacrifice of life in the way of the Beloved; the state of resignation and contentment; the multiplicity of misfortunes, calamities, hardships, and afflictions; the falling under suspicion of seditiousness through the machinations of foes; the establishment of his innocence in the presence of His Majesty the King; the repudiation of seditious persons and disavowal of the rebellious party; the conditions of sincere belief in the verses of the Kur'an; the needfulness of godly virtues, distinction from all other creatures in this transitory abode, obedience to the commandments, and avoidance of things prohibited; the evidence of divine support in the affair of the Bab; the inability of whosoever is upon the earth to withstand a heavenly thing; his own awakening at the divine afflux, and his falling thereby into unbounded calamities; his acquisition of the divine gift, his p. 135. participation in spiritual God-given grace, and his illumination with immediate knowledge without study; the excusableness of his [efforts for the] admonition of mankind, their direction toward the attainment of human perfections, and their enkindlement with the fire of divine love; encouragements to the directing of energy towards the attainment of a state greater than the degree of earthly sovereignty; eloquent prayers [written] in the utmost self-abasement, devo-

tion, and humility; and the like of this. Afterwards he discussed [other] matters in the Persian language. And the form of it is this¹:

" O God, this is a letter which I wish to send to the King; and Thou knowest that I have not desired

¹ This letter to the Sháh of Persia I discussed briefly in my second paper on the Bábis (pp. 954—960). Therein I expressed a doubt as to whether another letter, addressed in part to the King of Persia, which had been minutely described by Baron Rosen (*MSS. Arabes*, p. 191 *et seq.*), was to be attributed to Behá. I am now convinced, however, both by Baron Rosen's reasonings and my own further enquiries, that I was wrong. However we may account for the undoubted difference of tone between the two letters—a difference marked and striking—there is no doubt that both of them emanated from the pen of Behá. Baron Rosen is about to publish not only the letter to the King of Persia and the other ' *Epistles to the Kings*' but the whole of the **سوره هیکل** of which (though, as it would seem, originally written separately) they now form a part. To the publication of Baron Rosen's edition of these *Epistles* (which will appear in the sixth volume of the *Collections Scientifiques de VInstitut des Langues Orientales* of St. Petersburg) all interested in the elucidation of Bábí doctrine and history must look forward anxiously. Baron Rosen has kindly continued to forward to me the proof-sheets of his work as they are printed off, and, therefore, knowing as I do that in a short while a reliable text of this epistle will be available to students, I have not thought it necessary, as I might otherwise have done, to mention in my notes all the variants from the present text presented by another MS. which I obtained in Kirmán. The variants presented by the Kirmán MS. (henceforth denoted by K.) are numerous; in one page of 25 lines there are no less than 32. As a rule the readings of

aught of him save the display of his justice to Thy people, and the shewing forth of his favours to the dwellers in Thy Kingdom. And verily, by my soul, I have not desired aught save what Thou hast desired, neither, by Thy Might, do I desire aught save what Thou desirest. Perish that being which desireth of p. 136.
Thee aught save Thyself! And, by Thy Glory, Thy good pleasure is the limit of my hope, and Thy Will the extremity of my desire! Be merciful then, O God, to this poor [soul] who hath caught hold of the skirt of Thy richness, and to this humble [suppliant] who calleth on Thee, for Thou art indeed the Mighty, the Great. Help, O God, His Majesty the King to execute Thy laws amongst Thy servants and to shew forth Thy justice amidst Thy creatures, that he may rule over this sect as he ruleth over those who are beside them. Verily Thou art the Potent, the Mighty, the Wise.

the present text are preferable, but not always; e.g. in several cases what is in K. a rhyming clause is altered here to one not rhyming. But it is the *omissions* of the present text that are most significant, inasmuch as they often consist of clauses which either give a greater force and precision to the passages wherein they occur, or else imply in a more unequivocal manner the position claimed by the writer. Such divergences between the two texts—whether it be a question of omission or alteration—will be noted at the foot of each page as they occur, but only in English. As regards the Arabic exordium (which in K. occupies 5 pages of the 17 filled by the whole epistle) a translation of it (based on the text of K.) will be found in Note X at end.

"Agreeably to the permission and consent of the King of the age, this servant turned from the place of the Royal Throne¹ toward 'Irak-i-'Arab, and in that land abode twelve years. During the period of [his] sojourn [there] no description of his condition was p. 137. laid before the Royal Presence, neither did any representation go to foreign states. Relying upon God did he abide in that land, until a certain functionary² came to Irak, who, on his arrival, fell to designing the affliction of a company of poor unfortunates. Every day, beguiled by certain of the doctors of Persia, he persecuted these servants; although nothing prejudicial to Church or State, or at variance with the principles and customs of their country-men had been observed in them. So this servant [was moved] by this reflection:—'May it not be that by reason of the deeds of the transgressors some action at variance with the world-ordering counsel of the King should be engendered!' Therefore was an epitome [of the matter] addressed to Mirza Sa'id Khan³, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, that he might

¹ Teherán. Cf. p. 54 *supra*.

² Evidently Mirza Buzurg Khán of Qazvin. See above, p. 84 *et seq.*

³ It was at the hands of this minister and his myrmidons that Mullá Huseyn of Khurásán (who, with Áká Muḥammad of Isfahán, had been entrusted with the conveyance of the Báb's remains from Tabriz to Teheran) met his death in August 1852. See Note T at end.

submit it to the [Royal] Presence, and that it might be done according to that which the Royal command p. 138. might promulgate. A long while elapsed, and no command was issued; until matters reached such a state that it was to be feared that sedition might suddenly break out and the blood of many be shed. Of necessity, for the protection of the servants of God, a certain number [of the Babis] appealed to the governor of 'Irak¹. If [the King] will consider what has happened with just regard, it will become clear in the mirror of his luminous heart that what occurred was [done] from considerations of expediency, and that there was apparently no resource save this. The Royal Personage can bear witness and testify to this, that in whatever land there were some few of this sect the fire of war and conflict was wont to be kindled by reason of the aggression of certain governors. But this transient one after his arrival in 'Irak withheld all from sedition and strife; and the p. 139. witness of this servant is his action, for all are aware and will testify that the multitude of this faction in

¹ i.e. the Turkish governor of Baghdad and 'Irak-i-'Arab, probably the same Námik Pásha mentioned in the third line of the foot-notes on p. 84. In this passage it is explained to the King that the Bábis were compelled to enrol themselves as subjects of the Ottoman Empire in order to escape the malice of the Persians, especially that of Mirzá Buzurg-Khán the Persian Consul at Baghdad.

Persia at that time¹ was more than [it had been] before, yet, notwithstanding this, none transgressed his proper bounds nor assailed any one. It is nigh on fifteen years² that all continue tranquil, looking unto God and relying on Him, and bear patiently what hath come upon them, casting it on God. And after the arrival of this servant in this city which is called Adrianople certain of this community enquired concerning the meaning of 'victory'³, Diverse answers were sent in reply, one of which answers will be submitted on this page, so that it may become clear p. 140. before the [Royal] Presence that this servant hath in view naught save peace and reform. And if some of the divine favours, which, without merit [on my part], have been graciously bestowed [on me], do not become evident and apparent, this much [at least] will be known, that [God], in [His] abounding grace and

¹ i.e. at the time Behá was in Baghdad (A.D. 1853—1864). K. reads here "that the multitude of this faction was more in 'Irák than in all [other] countries."

² Taking the attempt on the Sháh's life in August 1852 as the last act hostile to the Persian government for which the Bábís can be held in any way responsible, full 16 solar years must have elapsed between that date and the composition—or at any rate the completion—of this epistle, since allusion is made in it to the impending banishment to Acre, which did not occur till August 1868.

³ K. reads "certain of the people of 'Irák and elsewhere asked concerning the meaning of the 'victory' which hath been revealed in the Books of God."

undeserved¹ mercy, hath not deprived this oppressed one² of the ornament of reason. The form of words which was set forth on the meaning of 'victory*' is this :—

" * *He is God, exalted is He.*

" ' It hath been known that God (glorious is His mention) is sanctified from the world and what is therein, and that the meaning of "victory" is not this, that any one should fight or strive with any one. The Lord of *He doeth what He will*³ hath committed the kingdom of creation, both land and sea, into the hand of kings, and they are the manifestations of the p. 141. Divine Power according to the degrees of their rank : *verily He is the Potent, the Sovereign*⁴, But that which God (glorious is His mention) hath desired for Himself is the hearts of His servants, which are treasures of praise and love of the Lord and stores of divine knowledge and wisdom. The will of the Eternal King hath ever been to purify the hearts of [His] servants from the promptings of the world and what is therein, so that they may be prepared for illumination by the effulgences of the Lord of the Names and

¹ Lit. 'preceding mercy,' i.e. mercy not earned or deserved by previous good actions at the time it is bestowed.

² K. reads "the heart" instead of "this oppressed one."

³ Qur'án, iii, 35; xxii, 19.

⁴ K. substitutes here, "if they happen to be in the shadow of God, they are accounted of God; and if not, then verily thy Lord is knowing and informed."

Attributes. Therefore must no stranger find his way into the city of the heart, so that the Incomparable Friend may come unto His own place—that is, the effulgence of His Names and Attributes, not His Essence (exalted is He), for that Peerless King hath been and will be holy for everlasting above ascent or p. 142. descent¹. Therefore to-day² "victory" neither hath been nor will be opposition to any one, nor strife with any person ; but rather what is well-pleasing is that the cities of [men's] hearts, which are under the dominion of the hosts of selfishness and lust, should be subdued by the sword of the Word, of Wisdom, and of Exhortation. Every one, then, who desireth "victory" must first subdue the city of his own heart with the sword of spiritual truth and of the Word,

¹ Behá here guards himself from the doctrines of Jy**, jWTI, and the like, held by certain heretical sects, viz. the belief that God can pass into man, or man become essentially one with God. Jámi very beautifully distinguishes the doctrine of *annihilation in God* from that of *identification with God* in the following verse :—

چندان برو این ره که دوئی بر خیزد * و هست دوئی بره روئی بر خیزد *
 تو او نشوی و لك اكر جهد کنی * جائی رسی کز تو توئی بر خیزد *

“So tread this path that duality may disappear,
 For if there be duality in the path, falsity will arise:
 Thou wilt not become He; but, if thou strivest,
 Thou wilt reach a place where *thou-ness* shall depart
 from t.

² K. inserts “ . meaning of.”

and must protect it from remembering aught beside God: afterwards let him turn his regards towards the citks of [others'] hearts. This is what is intended by "victory:" sedition hath never been nor is pleasing to God, and that which certain ignorant persons formerly wrought was never approved. *If ye be slain for His good pleasure verily it is better for you than that ye should slay.* To-day the friends of God must p. 143. appear in such fashion amidst [God's] servants that by their actions they may lead all unto the pleasure of the Lord of Glory. I swear by the Sun of the Horizon of Holiness that the friends of God never have regarded nor will regard the earth or its transitory riches. God hath ever regarded the hearts of [His] servants, and this too is by reason of [His] most great favour, that perchance mortal souls may be cleansed and sanctified from earthly states and may attain unto everlasting places. But that Real King is in Himself sufficient unto Himself [and independent] of all: neither doth any advantage accrue to Him from the love of contingent¹ beings, nor doth any hurt befall Him from their hatred. All earthly places appear through Him and unto Him return, and

¹ By 'contingent' or 'possible' being is meant the material or phenomenal world, of which the being or not-being are alike possible and conceivable, as contrasted with 'Necessary Being' (God) of which the not-being is inconceivable and impossible.

p. 144. God singly and alone abideth in His own place which is holy above space and time, mention and utterance, sign, description, and definition, height and depth. *And none knoweth this save Him and whosoever hath knowledge of the Book. There is no God but Him, the Mighty, the Bountiful! Finis.*

" But good deeds depend on this *, that the Royal Person should himself look into that [matter] with just and gracious regard, and not be satisfied with the representations of certain persons unsupported by proof or evidence. *We ask God to strengthen the King unto that which He willeth: and what He willeth should be the wish of the worlds.*

" Afterwards they summoned this servant to Constantinople. We reached that city along with a number of poor unfortunates, and after our arrival did
 p. 145. not hold intercourse with a single soul, for we had nought to say [unto them], and there was no wish save that it should be clearly demonstrated by proof to all that this servant had no thought of sedition and had never associated with the seditious. *And, by Him in praise of whose spirit the tongues of all things speak,*

¹ This sentence is rather ambiguous, and would at first sight appear to signify that the continuance of the Bábís' good conduct depends on their being treated with more justice and fairness than they have hitherto met with on the part of the Persian government. But I think the real meaning is rather that the attribution of good actions to the Sháh depends on his now acting justly.

to turn in any direction was difficult in consideration of certain circumstances; but these things were done for the protection of lives'. *Verily my Lord knoweth what is in my soul, and verily He is witness unto what I say.* The just king is the shadow of God in the earth; all should take refuge under the shadow of his justice and rest in the shade of his favour. This is not the place for personalities, or censures [directed] specially against some apart from others; for the shadow tells of him who casteth the shadow². God {*glorious is His mention*) hath called Himself the *Lord of the worlds*³ for that He hath nurtured and p. 146. doth nurture all; *exalted is His favour which hath preceded⁴ contingent beings and His mercy which kith preceded the worlds.*

"This is sufficiently clear, that, [whether] right or wrong according to the imagination of the people, this community have accepted as true and adopted the religion for which they are notorious, and that on this account they have foregone *what they had, seeking after what is with God.* And this same renunciation of life in the way of love for the Merciful

¹ Allusion is made to the action of the Bábis in enrolling themselves as Turkish subjects. See p. 88, *supra*.

² i.e. the action of subordinates reveals the temper of their masters,

³ As, for example, in the first verse of the opening chapter of the *Ḳu'r'án*.

⁴ See note 1 on p. 113, *supra*.

[God] is a faithful witness and an eloquent attest *unto that wkereimto they lay claim*. Hath it [ever] been beheld that a reasonable man renounced his life without proof or evidence [of the truth of that for which he died] ? And if it be said, ' This people are mad/ this [too] is very improbable, for it is not [a thing] confined to one or two persons, but rather p. 147. have a great multitude of every class, inebriated with the *Kawthar* of divine wisdom, hastened with heart and soul to the place of martyrdom in the way of the Friend. If these persons, who for God have foregone all save Him, and who have poured forth life and wealth in His way, can be belied, then by what proof and evidence shall the truth of that which others assert concerning that wherein they are² be established in the presence of the King ?

"The late Haji Seyyid Muhammad³ (*may God*

¹ *Kawthar* primarily signifies *abundance*, but it is also the name of a river in Paradise.

² That is, the religion which they profess.

³ The event here alluded to occurred in the year A. H. 1241 (A.D. 1825). The Persians, exasperated by rumours of oppression and insult on the part of the Russians towards their Musulmán subjects, especially in the then recently ceded provinces of the Caucasus, were incited by the clergy headed by Aḳā (here called Hāji) Seyyid Muḥammad of Isfahān to declare a *jihad* or holy war against their northern enemies, in which, though at first encouraged by some measure of success, they were eventually totally vanquished, the campaign ending in the capture of Tabriz by the Russians and the treaty of

exalt his station and overwhelm him in the depth of the ocean of His mercy and forgiveness), although he was of the most learned of the doctors of the age and the most pious and austere of his contemporaries, and although the splendour of his worth was of such a degree that the tongues of all creatures spoke in praise and eulogy of him and confidently asserted his asceticism and godliness, did nevertheless in the war against the Russians forego much good and turn back p. 148. after a little contest, although he himself had decreed a holy war, and had set out from his native country with conspicuous ensign in support of the Faith. *O would that the covering might be withdrawn, and that what is hidden from [men's] eyes might appear!*

" But as to this sect, it is twenty years¹ and more that they have been tormented by day and by night with the fierceness of the Royal anger, and that they have been cast each one into a [different] land by the blasts of the tempests of the King's wrath. How

Turkmáncháy. See Watson's *History of Persia*, pp. 207—238. Watson, however, credits Áká Seyyid Muḥammad with some degree of moderation, observing (p. 209) that "he seems to have retained some slight remnant of prudence, after that quality was no longer discernible in the conduct and language of his professional brethren."

¹ The first interference with the Báb and his followers took place in August 1845, so that if we suppose this letter to have been written near the end of the Adrianople period (which came to a close in August 1868) nearly 23 years of persecution had then been endured by the BÉbis.

many children have been left fatherless! How many fathers have become childless! How many mothers have not dared, through fear and dread, to mourn over their slaughtered children¹! Many [were] the servants [of God] who at eve were in the utmost
 p. 149. wealth and opulence, and at dawn were beheld in the extreme of poverty and abasement! *There is no land but hath been dyed with their blood and no air whereunto their groanings have not arisen.* And during these few years the arrows of affliction have rained down without intermission from the clouds of fate. Yet, notwithstanding all these visitations and afflictions, the fire of divine love is in such fashion kindled in their hearts that, were they all to be hewn in pieces, they would not forswear the love of the Beloved of

¹ This is no mere figure of speech. Ussher writes in his *Journey from London to Persepolis* (London 1865), p. 629, "It was enough to be suspected of Babeism to be at once put to death, and many old feuds and injuries were avenged by denuncements and accusation of being tainted by the fatal doctrines. No time was lost between apprehension and execution. Death was the only punishment known; the headless bodies lay in the streets for days, the terrified relatives fearing to give them burial, and the dogs fought and growled over the corpses in the deserted thoroughfares. At last the European missions remonstrated, the reign of terror ceased, and although still proscribed and put to death without mercy whenever discovered, the Babees are supposed yet to reckon many seeming orthodox Moslems among their numbers, the southern parts of the country being thought to be the most tainted with the detested heresy."

all the dwellers upon earth; nay rather with their whole souls do they yearn and hope for what may befall [them] in the way of God.

"O King! The gales of the mercy of the Merciful One have converted these servants and drawn them to the region of the [Divine] Unity—

'The witness of the faithful lover is in his sleeve'¹—
 but some of the doctors of Persia² have troubled the most luminous heart of the King of the age with p. 150.
 regard to those who are admitted into the Sanctuary of the Merciful One and those who make for the Ka'ba of Wisdom. O would that the world-ordering judgement of the King might decide that this servant should meet those doctors³, and, in the presence of His Majesty the King, adduce arguments and proofs! This servant is ready, and hopeth of God that such a conference may be brought about, so that the truth of the matter may become evident and apparent before His Majesty the King. *And afterwards the decision is in thy hand, and I am ready to confront the throne of thy sovereignty; then give judgement for me or against me.* The Merciful Lord saith in the Furkan⁴, which is the enduring proof amidst the host

¹ i.e. the faithful-lover carries his life in his hand, or, as the Persians say, in his sleeve.

² K. reads 'outward [or formal] doctors.'

³ K. reads 'the doctors of the age.'

⁴ i.e. the *Ḳur'ān*, the supernatural eloquence of which is

of existences, *'Desire death, then, if ye be sincere¹?*
 He hath declared the desiring of death to be the
 p. 151. proof of sincerity; and it will be apparent in the
 mirror of the [King's] luminous mind which party it
 is that hath this day foregone life in the way of Him
 [who is] adored by the dwellers upon earth. Had
 the doctrinal books of this people, [composed] in
 proof of that wherein they are², been written with the
 blood which has been shed in His way (exalted is
 He), books innumerable would assuredly have been
 apparent and visible amongst mankind.

" How, then, can one repudiate this people, whose
 words and deeds are consistent, and accept those
 persons who neither have foregone nor will forego
 one atom of the consideration [which they enjoy] in
 the way of [God] the Sovereign ?

"Some of the doctors of Persia who have de-
 nounced this servant have never either met or seen
 him, nor [even] become cognizant of [his] intent:
 p. 152. *nevertheless they said what they desired and do what
 they will.* Every statement requires proof, and is
 not [established] merely by assertion or by outward
 gear of asceticism.

" A translation of some passages from the con-
 the 'permanent miracle' and 'enduring proof of its divine
 origin.

¹ Qur'án, ii, 88; lxii, 6.

³ i.e. ' that which they believe.'

tents of the *Hidden Book of Fátima*¹ (upon her be

¹ I was at first doubtful as to whether the passages here cited were really translated by Behá from some Arabic work bearing this name, or whether they were in truth extracts from a work of his own called '*Hidden Words*' (كلمات مكنونه) whereof I had heard frequent mention amongst the Bábis. The following passage on p. 379 of Mr Merrick's translation of a work on Shi'ite theology called *حجوة القلوب* seemed to bear on the question:—"After the Prophet's death Fátima was affected in spirit to a degree which none but God knew. Jebrá'il was sent down daily to comfort her, and 'Ali wrote what the angel said, and this is the Book of Fátima which is now with the Imám Mahdi." On consulting Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, I found mention (vol. ii, p. 829 b.) of a work entitled *كلمات مكنونه، فاطميه* composed by Mulfa Muhsin-i-Feyz of Kashán, and described as consisting of "one hundred sayings of Imáms and Štiffs in Arabic, with Persian commentary." I seized the first opportunity of examining this work, but a search of about two hours through its pages revealed nothing resembling the passages in the text before us. Finally I wrote to Acre, asking, amongst other questions, what might be the true nature of the work here alluded to. The following answer (which is authoritative) was returned:— [Translation] "*Fifth Question.* Concerning the mention of the matters in the *Hidden Book of Fatima* (upon her be the peace of God). The answer is this, that the sect of Persia, that is the Shi'ites, who regard themselves as pure, and the [rest of the] world (we take refuge with God!) as unclean, believe that after His Highness the Seal of the Prophets [Muhammad] Her Highness Fátima (upon her be the blessings of God) was occupied night and day in weeping, wailing, and lamenting over the fate of her illustrious father. Therefore was Jebrá'il commanded by the Lord Most Glorious to commune, converse, and associate with Her Highness Fátima; and

the blessings of God) which are apposite to this place will [now] be submitted in the Persian language, in order that some things [now] concealed may be revealed before the [Royal] Presence. Those addressed in these utterances in the above-mentioned book (which is to-day known as '*Hidden Words*') are those people who are outwardly notable for

he used to speak words causing consolation and quietude of heart. These words were collected and named * *The Book of Fd̄tima*¹ (فَدْتِیْمَةُ، فَاطِمَةُ). And they [i.e. the Shi'ites] believe that this *Book* is with His Highness the Ka'im [i.e. the Imam Mahdi] and shall appear in the days of his appearance. But of this *Book* nought is known save the name, and indeed it is a name without form and a title without reality. And His Highness the Existent [Le. Behá'u'lláh] willed to make known the appearance of the Ka'im by intimation and implication; therefore was it mentioned in this manner for a wise reason which he had. And that which is mentioned under the name of the *Book* in the Epistle to His Majesty the King [of Persia] (may God assist him) is from the * *Hidden Words*' [كَلِمَاتُ مَكْنُونَةٍ] which was revealed before the Epistle to His Majesty the King. The '*Hidden Words*' was revealed in the languages of eloquence (Arabic) and of light (Persian). It hath been commanded that some portion of it shall be written and sent specially for you, that you may become cognizant of the truth of the matter. At all events both the Persian and the Arabic thereof were revealed in *this* manifestation. As to the pronoun" [I had asked whether the pronoun in مَبْقُرًا هَادٍ referred to God, or to Gabriel, or to Fátima, i.e. whether its subject was masculine or feminine] " he says, 'It refers to the Hidden Unseen, from the heaven of whose Grace all verses are revealed. *"

science and piety, but who are inwardly subservient to their passions and lust. He says:—

"O faithless ones! Why do ye outwardly claim to be shepherds, while inwardly ye have become the wolves of my sheep? Your likeness is like unto the p. 153. star before the morning¹, which is apparently bright and luminous, but really causeth the misguidance and destruction of the caravans of my city and country.'

"So likewise he saith,—

'O outwardly fair and inwardly faulty! Thy likeness is like unto clear bitter water, wherein outwardly the utmost sweetness and purity is beheld, but when it falleth into the assaying hands of the taste of the [Divine] Unity He doth not accept a single drop thereof. The radiance of the sun is on the earth and on the mirror alike; but regard the difference as from the guard-stars² to the earth; nay, between them is a limitless distance.'

¹ There is a star which appears before the morning star and resembles it, and this the Persians call *kdravdn-kush* (the caravan-killer) or *cMrvaddr-kush* (the muleteer-killer), because it entices the caravan to start from its halting-place in the belief that the dawn is at hand, and so causes it to lose its way and perish.

² *Farkaddn*, the two *Farkads*, are two bright stars near the pole-star (β and γ of Ursa Minor). See Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* s.v. **فَرْكَاد**. In English they are properly called the "Guards" or "Guardians"— "' of the Spanish word *guardarej* saith Hood, ' which is to beholde, because they are diligently

" So likewise he saith:—

' O child of the world! Many a morning hath the effulgence of my grace come unto thy place from the day-spring of the place-less, found thee on the
p. 154. couch of ease busied with other things, and returned like the lightning of the spirit to the bright abode of glory. And I, desiring not thy shame, declared it not in the retreats of nearness to the hosts of holiness/

" So likewise he saith :—

' O pretender to my friendship! In the morning the breeze of my grace passed by thee, and found thee sleeping on the bed of heedlessness, and wept over thy condition, and turned back/

Finis.

" In the presence of the King's justice, therefore, the statement of an adversary ought not to be accepted as sufficient. And in the *Furkan*, which distinguished between truth and falsehood, He says, '*O ye who believe, if there come unto you a sinner with a message, then discriminate, lest you fall upon a people in ignorance and on the morrow repent of*
p. 155. *whit ye have done*'¹. ' And it hath come down in holy

to be looked unto, in regard of the singular use which they have in navigation.'" (Smyth and Chambers' *Cycle of Celestial Objects*, Oxford, 1881.)

¹ *Ḳur'ân*, XLIX, 6. Concerning the occasion of the revelation of this passage see the notes on it in Sale's and Palmer's translations of the *Ḳur'ân*.

tradition, '*Credit not the calumniator*' The matter hath been misapprehended by certain doctors, neither have they seen this servant. But those persons who have met [him] testify that this servant hath not spoken *contrary to that which God hath ordained in the Book*, and recite this blessed verse:—He saith (exalted is He) '*Do ye disavow us for aught save that we believe in God, and what hath been sent down unto us, and what was sent down before¹?*'

" O King of the age! The eyes of these wanderers turn and gaze in the direction of the mercy of the Merciful One, and assuredly to these afflictions shall the greatest mercy succeed, and after these most grievous hardships shall follow great ease. But [our] hope is this, that His Majesty the King will himself turn his attention to [these] matters, which thing will be the cause of hope in [our] hearts². And p. 156. this is unmixed good which hath been submitted, and God sufficeth for a witness.

" *Glory be to Thee, O God! O God, I bear witness that the heart of the King is between the fingers of Thy power: if Thou pleasest, turn it, O God, in the direction of mercy and kindness: verily Thou art the Exalted, the Potent, the Beneficent: there is no God but Thee, the Mighty from whom help is sought.*

¹ Kur'ân, v, 64.

² K. reads سبب رضای محبوب ("the cause of the good pleasure of the Beloved") in place of سبب رجای غلوب.

" Concerning the qualifications of the doctors, he saith¹:—' *But amongst the lawyers he who guardeth himself, observeth his religion, opposeth his lust, and obeyeth the command of his Lord—it is incumbent on the people to follow him...*' unto the end. And if the King of the age will regard this utterance, which proceeded from the tongue of the recipient of divine inspiration, he will observe that those characterized p. 157. by the qualities transmitted in the afore-mentioned tradition are rarer than the philosopher's stone. Therefore the claim of every person pretending to science neither hath been nor is heard.

"So likewise in describing the lawyers of the latter time he says :—' *The lawyers of that time are the most evil of lawyers under the shadow of heaven: from them cometh forth mischief, and unto them it returneth*².'

"And if any person deny these traditions, the establishing thereof is [incumbent] on this servant; but since [our] object is brevity therefore the detail of the authorities³ hath not been submitted.

"Those doctors who have indeed drunk of the

¹ The preposition appears to refer to the Prophet Muḥammad.

² K. here adds, " So likewise he saith, '*when the standard of the Truth appeareth the people of the East and of the West curse it.*'"

³ i.e. the *استاد*, or chain of narrators whereby a reliable tradition is substantiated, is omitted for lack of space.

cup of renunciation never interfered with this servant, even as the late Sheykh Murtazā,¹ (*may God exalt his station and cause him to dwell under the shadow of the domes of His grace*) used to shew [us] affection during the days of [our] sojourn in 'Irak, and used not to speak concerning this matter *otherwise than God hath permitted. We ask God to help all [men] unto that which He loveth and approveth.* p. 158.

"Now all people have shut their eyes to all [these] matters, and are bent on the persecution of this sect; so that should it be demanded of certain persons, who (after God's grace) rest in the shadow of the King's clemency and enjoy unbounded blessings, 'In return for the King's favour what service have ye wrought? Have ye by wise policy added any country to [his] countries? Or have ye applied yourselves to aught which would cause the comfort of the people, the prosperity of the kingdom, and the continuance of fair fame for the state?', they have no reply save this, that, falsely or truly, they designate a number of persons in the presence of the King by the name of Babis, and forthwith engage in slaughter and plunder; p. 159. even as in Tabriz and elsewhere² they sold certain

¹ See note 1 on p. 86 *supra*.

² K. reads "and Manṣūriyya of Egypt." The only record I can find of any of the Bābis being sold into slavery is in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, which, after describing the massacre of most of those who surrendered at Sheykh Ṭabarsi, continues—"The remainder of the companions who were left alive they carried

ones, and received much wealth; and this was never represented before the presence of the King. All these things have occurred because of this, that they have found these poor people without a helper. They have foregone matters of moment, and have fallen upon these poor unfortunates,

"Many sects and diverse tribes rest tranquil in the shadow of the King, and of these sects one is this people. Were it not best that the lofty endeavour and magnanimity of those who surround the King should so be witnessed: that they should be scheming for all factions to come under the King's shadow, and that they should govern amidst all with justice? To put in force the ordinances of God is unmixed justice, p. 160. and with this all are satisfied; nay, the ordinances of God [ever] have been and will be the instrument and means for the protection of [His] creatures, *as He saith (exalted is He) 'And in retaliation ye have*

in fetters and chains to Barfurush. *Several they sold*, such as Akhúnd-i-Mulla Muḥammad Ṣadīk of Khurásán, Āká Seyyid 'Aẓim the Turk, Hájí Naṣir of Ḳazvin, and Mirza" Ḥuseyn of Ḳum. And some they sent to Sári, and there martyred them." But it is not clear that these were *sold into slavery*: they may have been ransomed by their friends, as certainly happened in some cases. More recent instances are evidently alluded to here. Probably the Bábis sent to Khaṛṭúm in the Soudan about the period when this letter was written, and afterwards released by General Gordon, were sold as slaves. (See B. i, pp. 493-495.)

*life, O people of understanding*¹. [But] it is far from the justice of His Majesty the King that, for the fault of one person, a number of persons should become the objects of the scourges of wrath. God (glorious is His mention) saith:—*'None shall bear the burden of another**.' And this is sufficiently evident, that in every community there have been and will be learned and ignorant, wise and foolish, sinful and pious. And to commit abominable actions is far from the wise man. For the wise man either seeketh the world or abandoneth it. If he abandoneth it, assuredly he will not regard aught save God, and, apart from this, the fear of God will withhold him from committing forbidden and culpable actions. And if he seeketh the world, he will assuredly not commit deeds which will cause and induce the aversion of [God's] servants and produce horror in those who are in all lands; but rather will he practise such deeds as will cause the adhesion of mankind. So it hath been demonstrated that detestable actions have been and will be [wrought only] by ignorant persons³. *We ask God to keep His servants from regarding aught but Him, and to*

p. 161.

¹ *Qur'án*, ii. 175.

² *Qur'án*, vi. 164; xvii. 16; xxxv. 19; xxxix. 9; liii. 39.

³ Compare the argument on pp. 52-53 wherewit'n Behá meets the charge brought against him of complicity in the attempted assassination of the Sháh.

bring them near to Him: verily He is potent over all things.

" *Glory be to Thee, O God! O my God, Thou hear est my groaning, and seest my state and my distress and my affliction, and knowest what is in my soul If my cry be sincerely for Thy sake, then draw thereby t/ie hearts of Thy creatures unto the horizon of the heaven of Thy recognition, and turn the King unto the right hand of the throne of Thy Nave the Merciful;*
 p. 162. *then bestow on him, O my God,, the blessing which hath descended from the heaven of Thy favour and the clouds of Thy mercy, that he may sever himself from that which he hath and turn toward the region of Thy bounties. O Lord, help him to support the oppressed amongst [Thy] servants¹, and to raise tip Thy Word amidst Thy people; then aid him with the hosts of the unseen and the seen, that he may subdue cities in Thy Name and rule over all who are upon the earth by Thy power and aut/iority, O Thou in whose hand is the Kingdom of creation: and verily Thou art He who ruleth at the beginning and in the end: there is no God save Thee, the Potent, the Mighty, the Wise,*

"They have misrepresented matters before the presence of the King in such a way that if any ill deed proceed from any one of this sect they account it as [a part] of the religion of these servants. *But,*

¹ K. reads "to support Thy religion."

by God, beside whom there is none other God, this servant hath not sanctioned the committing of sins, p. 163. much less that whereof the prohibition hath been explicitly revealed in the Book of God! God hath prohibited unto men the drinking of wine¹, and the unlawfulness thereof hath been revealed and recorded in the Book of God², and the doctors of the age {*may God multiply the like of them*) have unanimously

¹ The Muhammadans are in the habit of alleging against the Bábis (of whose tenets they are, with very rare exceptions, perfectly ignorant) sundry false and malicious charges calculated to discredit them in the eyes of the world, as, for instance, that they are communists; that they allow nine husbands to one woman; that they drink wine and are guilty of other unlawful practices. These statements have been repeated by many European writers deriving their information either directly or indirectly from Muhammadan sources, and especially from the Persian state chronicles called *Nāsi-khuH-Tawdrih* and *Rawzatu's-Safid*. Of these somewhat partial and one-sided records the former has the following passage:—"In every house where they [i.e. the Bábis] assembled they used to drink wine and commit other actions forbidden by the Law; and they used to order their women to come unveiled into the company of strangers, engage in quaffing goblets of wine, and give to drink to the men in the company." Anyone knowing what reliance can be placed on the statements of the work in question, when any motive for misrepresentation exists, will learn without astonishment that the Báb absolutely forbade the use of wine, opium, and even tobacco, and that the Bábis observe the obligations laid upon them at least as well as the Muhammadans. The prohibition of tobacco has, however, been withdrawn by Behá.

² *Kur'an*, v. 92.

prohibited unto men this abominable action; yet withal do some commit it. Now the punishment of this action falls on these heedless persons, while those manifestations of the glory of sanctity [continue] holy and undefiled: *unto their sanctity all Being, whether of the unseen or the seen, testifyetk*

" Yea, these servants [of God] regard God as '*doing what He pleaseth and ordering what He willeth*¹.' *There is no retreat nor way of flight for any one save unto God, and no refuge nor asylum but in Him.* And at no time hath the cavilling of men, whether learned or unlearned, been a thing to rely on, nor p. 164. will it be so². The [very] prophets, who are the pearls of the Ocean of Unity and the recipients of Divine Revelation, have [ever] been the objects of men's aversion and cavilling; much more these

¹ Qur'an, ii. 254; iii. 35; xxii. 14, 19. K. inserts here:—"But they have considered the [further] appearances of the Manifestations of Unity in the World of dominion [i.e. the phenomenal world] as impossible; whereas if anyone regards this as impossible wherein does he differ from those people who regard the Hand of God as passive? If they regard God (glorious is His mention) as Sovereign, then all must accept a matter which appeareth from the Source of command of that King of Pre-existence."

² K. has this sentence differently as follows:—"That thing which is necessary is the production on the claimant's part of proof and demonstration of that which he says and that whereunto he lays claim: else at no time hath the cavilling of men" &c.

servants. Even as He saith:—*'Every nation schemed against their apostle to catch him. And they contended with falsehood therewith to refute the truth!'* So likewise He saith, *'There came not unto them any apostle but they mocked at him'*.⁷ Consider the appearance of the Seal of the Prophets³, the King of the Elect (the soul of the worlds be his sacrifice); after the dawning of the Sun of Truth from the horizon of the Hijdz what wrongs befel that Manifestation of the Might of the Lord of Glory at the hands of the people of error! So heedless were men that they were wont to consider the vexation of that holy one as one of the greatest of good works and as the means of approaching God Most High. For in the first years p. 165. the doctors of that age, whether Jews or Christians, turned aside from that Sun of the Highest Horizon; and, at the turning aside of those persons, all, whether humble or noble, girt up their loins to quench the radiance of that Light of the Horizon of Ideals. The names of all are recorded in books: amongst them were Wahb ibn Rihib, Ka'b ibn Ashraf, 'Abdu'llah [ibn] Ubayy⁴, and the like of these persons; till at

¹ Ḳur'an, xl. 5.

² Ḳur'an, xv. 11, xxxvi. 29.

³ Muḥammad.

⁴ I can find no mention of Wahb ibn Rahib. Perhaps Wahb ibn Yahudhā, one of the Jewish tribe of the Bani Ḳuraydhā who strenuously opposed Muḥammad and denied the Ḳur'an, is intended; or perhaps Wahb ibn Zayd of the

length the matter reached such a point that they convened a meeting to take counsel as to the shedding of the most pure blood of that holy one, as God (glorious is His mention) hath declared:—'*And when those who misbelieved plotted against thee to confine thee, or slay thee, or drive thee out; and they plotted, and God plotted; and God is the best of plotters*¹ J So likewise He saith:—'*And if their aversion be grievous unto thee, then, if thou art able to seek out*
 p. 166. *a hole down into the earth, or a ladder up into the sky, that thou mayest shew them a sign—[do so]: but if God pleased He would assuredly bring them all to the true guidance: be not therefore one of the ignorant*².' By God, the hearts of those near [unto God] are scorched at the purport of these two blessed verses; but the like of these matters certainly transmitted [to us] are blotted out of sight, and [men] have not reflected, neither do reflect, what was the

same tribe, who said that he would believe if Muḥammad would bring down a book from heaven, and whose name is mentioned as one of the "enemies amongst the Jews." Ka'b ibn Ashraf of the tribe of Ṭayy went with forty Jews from Medina to Mecca and conspired with the arch-enemy of the Prophet, Abú Sofyán, to compass the death of Muḥammad. He was subsequently slain by Muḥammad ibn Maslama at the command of the Prophet. 'Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Sahil of the tribe of ⁴Awf was called "the chief of hypocrites." [See Ibn Hishām's *Life of Mutyammad*, ed. Wiistenfeld.]

¹ Ḳur'án, viii. 30.

² Ḳur'án, vi. 35.

reason of the turning aside of [God's] servants at the appearance of the day-springs of divine lights.

."So too, before the Seal of the Prophets, consider Jesus the Son of Mary. After the appearance of that Manifestation of the Merciful One all the doctors charged that Quintessence of Faith with misbelief and rebelliousness; until at length, with the consent of Annas, who was the chief of the doctors of that age, and likewise Caiaphas¹, who was the most learned of the judges, they wrought upon that Holy One that which the pen is ashamed and unable to repeat. *The earth with its amplitude was p. 167. too strait for Him, until God took Him up into the heaven.* But were a detailed account of the prophets to be submitted it is feared that weariness might result²,

¹ John xi. 49, 50; xviii. 13-28; Acts iv. 6-10.

² K. inserts a long passage here as follows:—"And the Jewish doctors especially hold that after Moses no plenipotentiary prophet possessed of a [new] Law shall come, [but that] one from amongst the children of David shall appear, who shall give currency to the Law of the Pentateuch, until, by his help, the ordinances of the Pentateuch shall become current and effective between the East and the West. So too the people of the Gospel regard it as impossible that after Jesus the Son of Mary any Founder of a new religion should shine forth from the day-spring of the Divine Will; and they seek a proof in this verse which is in the Gospel:—' *Verily it may be that the heaven and the earth should pass away, but the word of the Son of Man shall never pass away.*'* And they hold that what Jesus the Son of Mary hath said and commanded shall not

" *O would that thou mightest permit, O King, that we should send unto Thy Majesty that whereby eyes would be refreshed, souls tranquillized, and every just person assured that with him [i.e. Beha'ullah] is knowledge of the Book Were it not for the turning aside of the ignorant and the wilful blindness of the doctors, verily I would utter a discourse whereat hearts would be glad and would fly unto the air from the murmur of whose winds is heard, ' There is w God but He'. But now, because the time admitteth it not, the tongue is withheld from utterance, and the vessel of declaration is sealed until God smll unclose it by His power: verily He is the Potent, the Powerful*

p. 168. " *Glory be to Thee, O God! O my God, I ask of Thee in Thy Name, whereby Thou hast subdued whomsoever is in the heavens and the earth, that Thou wilt keep the lamp of Thy religion with the glass of Thy power and Thy favours, so that the winds of denial pass not by it from the region of those who are heedless of the mysteries of Thy Sovereign Name: then increase*

suffer change, whereas He saith in one place in the Gospel, 'Verily I go and come [again]'; and in the Gospel of John likewise He giveth tidings of 'the Comforting Spirit which shall come after me'; while in the Gospel of Luke also certain signs are mentioned. But, because some of the doctors of that faith have propounded for each utterance an explanation after their own lusts, therefore have they remained veiled from the meaning intended."

its light by the oil of Thy wisdom: verily Thou art Potent over whomsoever is in Thy earth and Thy heaven.

. " O Lord, I ask of Thee by the Supreme Word, whereat whosoever is in the earth and the heaven feareth save him who taketh hold of the ' Most Firm Handle¹, ' that Thou wilt not abandon me amongst Thy creatures: lift me up unto Thee, and make me to enter in under the shadow of Thy mercy, and give me to drink of the pure wine of Thy grace, that I may dwell under the canopy of Thy glory and the domes of Thy favours: verily Tliou art powerful unto that Thou wishest, and verily Thou art the Protecting, the Self-Sufficing.

" O King! The lamps of justice are extinguished, p. 169. and the fire of persecution is kindled on all sides, until that they have made my people captives². This is not the first honour which hath been violated in the way of God. It behoveth every one to regard and recall what befell the kindred of the Prophet until that the people made them captives and brought them in unto Damascus the spacious; and amongst them was the Prince of Worshippers, the Stay of the elect, the Sanctuary of the eager (the soul of all beside*

¹ Kur'án, ii. 257; xxxi. 21.

² K. inserts here:—"from Zawra [Baghdad] unto Mosul 'the prominent*" (el-ḥadbd).

³ i.e. Zeynu'l-'Áhidin, the fourth Imám, son of Imám Ḥuseyn and Shahrbāmi the daughter of Yezdigird. Being ill in his bed at the time of the massacre of Kerbelá his life was,

him be his sacrifice). It was said unto them, 'Are ye seceders ?' He said, 'No, by God, we are servants who have believed in God and in His signs, and through us the teeth of faith are disclosed in a smile, and the sign of the Merciful One shineth forth; through our mention spreadeth Al-Baḥḥd¹, and the darkness which intervened between earth and heaven is dispelled.' It was said, 'Have ye forbidden what

p. 170. *God hath sanctioned, or sanctioned what God hath forbidden?'⁹ He said, 'We were the first who followed the commandments of God: we are the source of command and its origin, and the first-fruits of all good and its consummation: we are the sign of the Eternal, and His commemoration amongst the nations.' It was said, 'Have ye abandoned the Ḳur'ān ?' He said, 'Through us did the Merciful One reveal it; and we are gales of the All-glorious amidst [His] creatures; we are streams which have arisen from the most mighty Ocean whereby God revived the earth after its death; from us His signs are diffused, His evidences are manifested, and His tokens appear; and with us are His mysteries and His secrets! It was said, 'For wliat fault [then] were ye afflictedV*

after some deliberation, spared, and he was sent with the women taken captive to the court of Yezfd at Damascus/where the discussion here recorded is supposed to have taken place. (Cf. At-Tabari's *Annates*, ed. de Goeje, secunda series, v. i. pp. 367, et seq.)

¹ Mecca.

He said, ' For the love of God and our severance from all beside Him!

. " Verily we have not repeated his expressions (upon him be peace), but rather we have made manifest a spray from the Ocean of Life which was deposited in his words, that by it those who advance may live and be aware of what hath befallen the p. 171. trusted ones of God on the part of an evil and most reprobate people. And to-day we see tHe people censuring those who acted unjustly of yore, while they oppress more vehemently than those oppressed, and know it not By God, I do not desire sedition, but the purification of [God's] servants from all that withholdeth them from approach to God, the King of the Day of Invocation¹.

" I was asleep on my couch: the breaths of my Lord the Merciful passed over me and awakened me from sleep²: to this bear witness the denizens [of the realms] of His Power and His Kingdom, and the dwellers in the cities of His Glory, and Himself the True. I am not impatient of calamities in His

¹ i.e. the Day of Judgement, "so called," says the Arabic-Turkish dictionary called *Akhtari Kabir*, "because thereon the people of paradise and the people of hell shall call to one another." The expression occurs once in the *Qur'añ*, ch. xl. v. 34.

² K. inserts:—"and commanded me to proclaim betwixt earth and heaven: this was not on my part but on His part, and to this...:' &c.

way, nor of afflictions for His bve and at His good pleasure. God hath made affliction as a morning shower to this green pasture, and as a match for p. 172., His lamp whereby earth and heaven are illumined.

" Shall that which any one hath of wealth endure unto him, or avail him to-morrow with him who hddeth his forelock¹ ? If any should look on those who sleep under slabs² and keep company with the dust, can he distinguish the bones of the king's skull from the knuckles of the slave ? No, by the King of Kings! Or doth he know governors from herdsmen, or discern the wealthy and the rich from him who was withwut shoes or carpet ? By God, distinction is removed, save for him who fulfilled righteousness and judged uprightly. Where are the doctors, the scholars, the nobles ? Where is the keenness of their glances, the sharpness of their sight, the subtlety of their thoughts, the soundness of their understandings? Where are their hidden treasures and their apparent gauds, their bejewelled thrones and their ample p. 173. couches? Alas! All have been laid waste, and the decree of God hath rendered them as scattered dust! Emptied is what they treasured up, and dissipated is what they collected, and dispersed is wliat they concealed: they have become [such that] thou

¹ See *Kur'an*, xvi. 15, 16, and exi. 2 *passim*.

² K. reads تحت الرخام "under marble."

seest nought but their empty places, their gaping roofs, their uprooted beams, their new things waxed old. As for the discerning man, verily wealth will not divert him from regarding the end; and for the prudent man, riches will not withhold him from turning toward [God] the Rich, the Exalted. Where is he who held dominion over all whereon the sun arose, and who spent lavishly and sought after curious things in the world and what is therein created? Where is the lord of the swarthy squadron and the yellow standard? Where is he who ruled in Zawra, and where he who wrought injustice in [Damascus] the spacious? Where are they at whose bounty treasures were afraid, p. 174. at whose open-handedness and generosity the ocean was dismayed? Where is he whose arm was stretched forth in rebelliousness, whose heart turned away from the Merciful One? Where is he who used to make choice of pleasures and cull the fruits of desires? Where are the dames of the bridal chambers, and the possessors of beauty? Where are their waving branches and their spreading boughs, their lofty

¹ Baghdad. The name (or rather epithet) of Zawrd ("the crooked") is applied to no less than ten different places. (See Yāqūt's *Mushtarik*, ed. Wiistenfeld, p. 235.) But in this and similar places Baghdad, the capital of the perfidious 'Abbāsids so detestable to every true Shi'ite, is intended.

² *Al-Feyha* ("the spacious") is an epithet designating Damascus. Mu'āwiyā, Yezid, and the Omeyyad caliphs generally are here alluded to.

palaces and trellised gardens ? Where is the smoothness of the expanses thereof and the softness of their breezes, the rippling of their waters and the murmur of their winds, t/w cooing of their doves and the rustling of their trees? Where are their laughing hearts and their smiling teeth V Woe unto them I They have descended to the abyss and become companions to the pebbles; to-day no mention is heard of them nor any sound; nothing is known of them

p. 175. *nor any hint. Will the people dispute it while they behold it ? ' Will they deny it when they know it ? / know not in what valley they wander erringly: do they not see that they depart and return not? How long will they be famous in the low countries and in the high², descend and ascend? 'Is not the time yet come to those who believe for their hearts to become humble for the remembrance of God³?' Well is it with that one who hath said or shall say, ' Yea, O Lord, the time is ripe and hath come,' and who severeth himself from all that is\ Alas! nought is reaped but what is sown, and nought is taken but what is laid tip, save by the grace of God and His favour. Hath the earth conceived him whom the veils*

¹ Or perhaps "their heaving bosoms [lit. "dilated lungs"] and their smiling mouths."

² Concerning the expression غار و انجد see Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Bk. i. Pt. vi. p. 2306, column 3.

³ Qur'an, lvii. 15.

⁴ K. inserts "unto the King of beings."

of glory prevent not from ascending into the Kingdom of his Lord, the Mighty, the Supreme? Have we any good works whereby defects shall be removed or which shall bring us near unto the Lord of causes! We ask God to deal with us according to His grace, not His justice, and to make us of those who turn toward Him and sever themselves from all beside Him, p. 176.

" O King, I have seen in the way of God what no eye hath seen and no ear hath heard. Friends have disclaimed me; ways are straitened unto me; the pool of safety is dried up; the plain of ease is [scorched] yellow¹. How many calamities have descended, and how many will descend! I walk advancing toward the Mighty, the Bounteous, while

¹ I am uncertain as to this line, and incline to think (though both MSS. agree in the pointing of the first and the spelling of the second doubtful word) that we should read ضحاح in the first clause (which signifies *shallow water* or a *pool*, and agrees in sense with the verb نضب to *dry up* or *sink into the ground*), and صحاح ('a flat, even plain, destitute of herbage and containing small pebbles') in the second. At any rate I can find no other meaning of ضحاح which would seem appropriate to the verb اصتر. However, Baron Rosen's text (*Collections Scientifiques, etc.*, vol. vi. p. 213) agrees with the two MSS. in my possession, and a gloss therein appended to the passage before us explains ضحاح as meaning 'a pool of water' (ماء الظل), and صحاح as meaning 'garden' (الروضة).

behind me glides the serpent. My eyes rain down tears until my bed is drenched; but my sorrow is not for myself. By God, my head longeth for the spears for the love of its Lord, and I never pass by a tree but my hart addresseth it [saying], ' O would that thou wert cut down in my name and my body were crucified upon thee in the way of my Lord;' yea, because I see mankind going astray in their intoxication, and
 p. 177. *they know it not: they have exalted their lusts, and put aside their God, as though they took the command of God for a mockery, a sport, and a plaything; and they think that thy do well, and that they are harboured in the citadel of security. Th matter is not as thy suppose: to-morrow they shall see w/iat they [now] deny.*

" We are about to shift from this most remote place of banishment¹ unto the prison of Acre. And, according to what thy say, it is assuredly the most desolate of the cities of the world, the most unsightly of thm in appearance, the most detestable in climate, and the foulest in water; it is as thugh it were the metropolis of the owl; there is not hard from its regions aught save the sound of its hooting. And in it they intend to imprison the servant, and to

¹ Adrianople. In K. this sentence runs as follows:—"The lords of command and wealth are about to send us forth from this land, which is named Edirne [Adrianople], unto the city of Acre," etc.

shut in our faces the doors of leniency and take away from us the good things of the life of the world during what remaineth of our days. By God, though weariness should weaken me, and hunger should destroy me, though my couch should be made of the hard rock and my associates of the beasts of the desert, I will not p. 178.

blench, but will be patient, as the resolute and determined are patient, in the strength of God, the King of Pre-existence, the Creator of the nations; and under all circumstances I give thanks unto God. And we hope of His graciousness (exalted is Tie) the freedom of our necks from chains and shackles in this imprisonment: and that He will render [all men's] faces sincere toward Him, the Mighty, the Bounteous.

Verily He answereth him who prayeth unto Him, and is near unto him who calleth on Him. And we ask Him to make this dark calamity a buckler for the body of His saints, and to protect them thereby from sharp swords and piercing blades. Through affliction hath His light shone and His praise been bright unceasingly: this hath been His method through past ages and bygone times.

" The people shall know what to-day they understand not when their steeds shall stumble, their beds be p. 179

rolled up, their swords be blunted, and their footsteps slip. I know not how long they shall ride the steed of desire and wander erringly in the desert of heedlessness and error. Of glory shall any glory endure, or of

abasement any abasement ? Or shall he endure who used to stay himself on high cushions, and who attained in splendour the utmost limit ? No, by my Lord the Merciful ! ' All that is thereon¹ is transient, and there remaineth [only] the face of my Lord¹ the Mighty, the Beneficent. What buckler hath not the arrow of destruction smitten, or what pinion hath not the hand of fate plucked ? From what fortress hath the messenger of death been kept back when he came ? What throne hath not been broken, or what palace hath not been left desolate I Did men but know what pure wine of the mercy of tlieir Lord, the Mighty, the All-knowing, was beneath the seal, they would certainly cast*

p. 1H0. *aside reproach and seek to be satisfied by this servant; but now have they veiled me with the veil of darkness which they have woven with the hands of doubts and fancies. The White Hand³ shall cleave an opening to this sombre night⁴. On that day the servants [of God] shall say what those cavilling women said of yore⁵, that there may appear in the*

¹ i.e. on the earth. See KUR'ÁN, lv. 26, and cf. 27.

² See above, p. 77, note 2.

³ Alluding to the miracle of Moses. See KUR'ÁN, vii. 105; xxvi. 32; xx. 23; xxvii. 12; and xxviii. 32, especially the two last passages.

⁴ K. inserts, "and God will open into His city a gate [hitherto] shut [or, a great gate]. On that day men shall enter in in crowds, and shall say what the cavilling women said" etc.

⁵ Alluding to what was said by the women who had censured Potiphar's wife Zuleykha for her love of Joseph when

end what began in tJie beginning. Do they desire to tarry when their foot is in the stirrup ? Or do they see any return in their going ? No, by the Lord of Lords save in the Resurrection! On that day men shall arise from the tombs and shall be questioned concerning their riches. Happy that one whom burdens shall not oppress on that day whereon the mountains shall pass away and all shall appear for the questioning in the presence of God the Exalted!

Verily He is severe in punishing.

" We ask God to sanctify the hearts of certain of p. 181. the doctors from rancour and hatred that they may regard things with eyes which closure overcometh not; and to raise them unto a station where the world and the lordship thereof shall not turn them aside from looking toward the Supreme Horizon, and where [anxiety for] gaining a livelihood and [providing] household goods shall not divert them from [the thought of] that day whereon the mountains shall be made like carpets. Though they rejoice at that which hath befallen us of calamity, there shall come a day whereon they shall wail and weep. By my Lord, were I given the choice between the glory and opulence, the wealth and dignity, the ease and luxury wherein they are, and the distress and affliction wherein I am, I would certainly choose that wherein I am to-

they afterwards beheld the latter:—"This one is none other than a gracious awgel!" See Kur'an xii. especially v. 31-32.

day, and I would not now exchange one atom of these afflictions for all that hath been created in the kingdom of production! Were it not for afflictions in the way p. 182, of God my continuance would have no sweetness for me, nor would my life profit me. Let it not be hidden from the discerning and such as look towards the chiefest outlook that I, during the greater part of my days, was as a servant sitting beneath a sword suspended by a single hair who knoweth not when it shall descend upon him, whether it shall descend instantly or after a while. And in all this we give thanks to God the Lord of the worlds, and we praise Him under all circumstances: verily He is a witness unto all things.

" We ask God to extend His shadow¹, that the unitarians may haste thereto, and that the sincere may take shelter therein; and to bestow on [these] servants flowers from the garden of his grace and stars from the horizon of Ms favours; and to assist him in that which he liketh and approveth; and to help him unto that which shall bring him near to the Day-spring of His Most Comely Names, that he may not shut his eyes to the wrong which he seeth, but p. 183. may regard his subjects with the eye of favour and preserve them from violence*. And we ask Him

¹ By " the Shadow of God" is meant the King of Persia.

² K. inserts here:—"And we ask Him (exalted is He) to gather all together by the gulf of the Most Mighty Ocean where-

{exalted is He) to make thee a helper¹ unto His religion and a regarder of His justice, that thou mayest rule over [His] servants as thou rulest over those of thy kindred, and mayest choose for them what thou woaldest choose for thyself Verily He is the Potent, the Exalted, the Protecting, the Self subsistent"

Now since suitable occasion hath arisen it hath been considered appropriate that some of the precepts of BeM'u'lldh which are contained in tracts and epistles should also be inserted briefly in this treatise, so that the main principles and practice and [their] foundations and basis may become clear and apparent. And these texts have been copied from numerous tracts.

Amongst them [is this]:—" *Consort with [people of all] religions with spirituality and fragrance¹... of each drop crieth, ⁴ Verily He is the giver of good tidings to the Worlds and the quickener of the icorlds; and praise be to God the King of the Day of Judgement."*

¹ Perhaps there is an allusion here to the name of the Sháh of Persia—*NdşinCd-Din*—'the helper of religion' or *defender of the faith,' and a prayer is uttered that he may indeed become that which his name implies.

² The words " *that they may perceive in you the scent of the Merciful One*" (*ليجدوا منكم عرف الرحمن*) proper to this passage are, whether intentionally or accidentally, omitted in the text, but they occur in all MSS. of the *Kitab-i-Akdas*, from which this quotation is taken.

p. 184. *Beware lest the zeal of ignorance possess you amongst mankind. All originated from God and returneth unto Him: verily He is the Source of creation and the Goal of the worlds."*

And amongst them [is this]:—" *Ye are forbidden sedition and strife in the booh and epistles; and herein I desire nought save your exaltation and elevation, whreunto beareth witness the heaven and its stars, the sun and its radiance, the trees and their leaves, the seas and their waves, and the earth and its treasures. We ask God to continue His saints and strengthen them unto that which befitteth them in this blessed, precious, and wondrous station, and we ask Him to assist those who surround me to act according to that whereunto thy have been commanded on the part of the Supreme Pen."*

And amongst them [is this]:—"The fairest tree of knowledge is this sublime word:—'Ye are all the fruit of one tree and the leaves of one branch.' *Pride is not for him who loves his country, but for him who loves the [whole] world."*

p. 185. And amongst them [is this]:—" *Verily he who educateth his son, or one of the sons [of another], it is as though he educated one of my sons. Upon him be the splendour of God, and His grace, and His mercy which preceded the worlds!*"¹

¹ This quotation is also from the *Kitab-i-Ah̄las*.

Amongst them [is this]:—"O people of Beha! Ye have been and are the dawnings of affection and the day-springs of divine grace: defile not the tongue with cursing or execration of any one, and guard the eye from that which is not seemly. Shew forth that which ye have: if it be accepted, the object is attained; if not, interference is vain¹: *leave him to himself, [while] advancing toward God, the Protecting, the Self-subsistent* Be not a cause of grief, much less of strife and sedition. It is hoped that ye will be nurtured in the shade of the lote-tree of Divine Grace, and practise that which God desireth. Ye are all leaves of one tree and drops of one sea." p. 186.

Amongst them [is this]:—"The faith of God and religion of God hath been revealed and manifested from the heaven of the Will of the King of Pre-existence only for the union and concord of the dwellers upon earth: make it not a cause of discord and dissension. The principal means and chief instrument for [bringing about] the appearance and irradiance of the luminary of concord is the religion of God and the Law of the Lord; while the growth of the world, the education of the nations, and the peace and comfort of those in all lands are through the divine ordinances and decrees. This is the principal means for this most great gift; it giveth

¹ Cf. p. 72 *supra*.

the cup of life, bestoweth everlasting life, and conferreth eternal blessedness. The chiefs of the earth, especially the exemplars of divine justice, must make strenuous efforts to guard this state and to upraise

p. 187. and preserve it. So likewise that which is necessary is enquiry into the condition of the people, and cognizance of the deeds and circumstances of each one of the different classes. We desire of the exemplars of God's power, namely of kings and chiefs, that they will make endeavour: perchance discord may depart out of [their] midst, and the horizons may be illumined with the light of concord. All must hold to that which floweth from the Pen of Reminder, and practise it. God witnesseth and [all] the atoms of existences testify that we have mentioned that which will be the cause of the exaltation, elevation, education, preservation, and reformation of the dwellers upon earth. We desire of God that He will strengthen [His] servants. That which this oppressed one seeketh of all is justice and fairness: let them not be satisfied with listening; let them ponder on what hath become manifest from this oppressed one. I swear by the Sun of Revelation, which hath shone forth from the

p. 188. horizon of the heaven of the Kingdom of the Merciful One, that, if any [other] expositor or speaker had been beheld, I would not have made myself an object for the malevolence and the calumnies of mankind/'

Finis.

By these sentences a clue to the principles, ideas, line of conduct, behaviour, and intentions of this sect is placed in the hand; whereas if we seek to become acquainted with the truth of this matter through the accounts and stories which are in the mouths of men, the truth will be entirely concealed and hidden by reason of their manifold differences and contrariety. It is therefore best to discover the principles and objects of this sect from the contents of their teachings, tracts, and epistles. There is no authority nor are there any proofs or texts superior to these, for this is the foundation of foundations and the ultimate criterion. One cannot judge of the generality by the speech or action of individuals, for diversity of states p. 189. is one of the peculiarities and concomitants of the human race.

At all events, in the beginning of the year one thousand two hundred and eighty-five [A . H] they transferred Beha'u'llah and all those persons who were with him from Adrianople to the prison of Acre, and Mirza Yahya to the fortress of Famagusta, and there they remained¹. But in Persia after a while sundry persons who were discerning in matters, notable for wise policy, and aware and cognizant of the

¹ According to Nabil's chronological poem, Beha'u'llah and his companions left Adrianople on the 20th of Rabi II. A.H. 1285 (August 10th, A.D. 1868) and reached Acre on the 12th of *Jemddi* I. (August 31st). See notes 2 and 3 on p. 101, and note W at end.

truth of the earlier and later events, made representation before the presence of His Majesty the King saying, "What has hitherto been reported, related, asserted, and alleged concerning this sect in the Royal Presence was either an exaggeration, or else [the speakers] fabricated statements with a view to [their
p. 190. own] individual designs and the attainment of personal advantages. If so be that His Majesty the King will investigate matters in his own noble person, it is believed that it will become clear before his presence that this sect have no worldly object nor any concern with political matters. The fulcrum of their motion and rest and the pivot of their cast and conduct is restricted to spiritual things and confined to matters of conscience; it has nothing to do with the affairs of government nor any concern with the powers of the throne; its principles are the withdrawal of veils, the verification of signs, the education of souls, the reformation of characters, the purification of hearts, and illumination with the gleams of enlightenment. That which befits the kingly dignity
p. 191. and beseeems the world-ordering diadem is this, that all subjects of every class and creed should be the objects of bounty, and [should abide] in the utmost tranquillity and prosperity under the wide shadow of the King's justice. For the divine shadow¹ is the refuge

¹ i.e. "the royal protection"; for a King is called "the shadow of God on the earth."

of all the dwellers upon earth and the asylum of all mankind; it is not limited to one party. In particular, the true nature and real doctrine of this sect have [now] become evident and well known: all their writings and tracts have repeatedly and frequently fallen into [our] hands, and are to be found preserved in the possession of the government. If they be perused, the actual truth and inward verity will become clear and apparent. These pages are entirely taken up with prohibitions of sedition, [recommendations of] upright conduct amongst mankind, obedience, submission, loyalty, conformity¹, and acquisition of laudable qualities, and encouragements p. 192. to become endowed with praiseworthy accomplishments and characteristics. They have absolutely no reference to political questions, nor do they treat of that which could cause disturbance or sedition. Under these circumstances a just government can [find] no excuse, and possesses no pretext [for further persecuting this sect] except [a claim to the right of] interference in thought and conscience, which are the private possessions of the heart and soul. And, as regards this matter, there has [already] been much interference, and countless efforts have been made. What blood has been shed! What heads have been hung up! Thousands of persons have been slain;

¹ i.e. conformity to the royal commands, civil laws, and all such observances and customs as are harmless, even if useless.

thousands of women and children have become wanderers or captives; many are the buildings which have been ruined; and how many noble races and families have become headless and homeless! Yet nought has been effected and no advantage has been

p. 193. gained; no remedy has been discovered for this ill, nor any easy salve for this wound. [To ensure] freedom of conscience and tranquillity of heart and soul is one of the duties and functions of government, and is in all ages the cause of progress in development and ascendancy over other lands. Other civilized countries acquired not this pre-eminence, nor attained unto these high degrees of influence and power, till such time as they put away the strife of sects out of their midst, and dealt with all classes according to one standard. All are one people, one nation, one species, one kind. The common interest is complete equality; justice and equality amongst mankind are amongst the chief promoters of empire and the principal means to the extension of the skirt

p. 194. of conquest. From whatever section of earth's denizens signs of contentiousness appear, prompt punishment is required by a just government; while any person who girds up the loins of endeavour and carries off the ball of priority is deserving of royal favours and worthy of splendid and princely gifts. Times are changed, and the need and fashion of the world are changed. Interference with creed and faith in every

country causes manifest detriment, while justice and equal dealing towards all peoples on the face of the earth are the means whereby progress is effected. It is right to exercise caution and care with regard to political factions, and to be fearful and apprehensive of materialist sects; for the subjects occupying the thoughts of the former are [designs of] interference in political matters and [desire of] ostentation, while the actions and conduct of the latter are subversive p. 195. of safety and tranquillity. But this sect are steadfast in their own path and firmly established in conduct and faith; they are pious, devoted, tenacious, and consistent in such sort that they freely lay down their lives, and, after their own way, seek to please God; they are strenuous in effort and earnest in endeavour; they are the essence of obedience and most patient in hardship and trouble; they sacrifice their existence and raise no complaint or cry; what they utter is in truth the secret longing of the heart, and what they seek and pursue is by the direction of a leader. It is therefore necessary to regard their principles and their chief, and not to make a trivial thing a pretext. Now since the conduct of the chief, the teachings of his epistles, and the purport of his writings are apparent and well known, the line of action of this p. 196. sect is plain and obvious as the sun. Of whatever was possible and practicable by way of discouragement, determent, eradication, intimidation, repre-

hension, slaughter, banishment, and stripes there was no lack, yet nothing was thereby effected. In other countries when they perceived severity and persecution in such instances to be identical with stimulation and incitement, and saw that paying no attention was more effectual, they abated the fire of revolution. Therefore did they universally proclaim the equal rights of all denominations, and sounded the liberty of all classes from east to west. This clamour and outcry, this uproar and conflagration, are the consequences of instigation, temptation, incitement, and provocation. For thirty years there has been no p. 197. rumour of disturbance or rebellion, nor any sign of sedition. Notwithstanding the duplication of adherents and the increase and multiplication of this body, through many admonitions and encouragements to virtue this sect are all in the utmost repose and stability: they have made obedience their distinctive trait, and in extreme submissiveness and subordination are the loyal subjects of the King. On what lawful grounds can the government further molest them, or permit them to be slighted ? Besides this, interference with the consciences and beliefs of peoples, and persecution of diverse denominations of men is an obstacle to the expansion of the kingdom, an impediment to the conquest of other countries, an obstruction to multiplication of subjects, and contrary to the established principles of monarchy. In the time when

the mighty government of Persia did not interfere with [men's] consciences, diverse sects entered in and abode beneath the banner of the great king, and p. 198. [many] different peoples reposed and served under the shadow of that mighty government's protection. The extent of the empire increased from day to day; the greater portion of the continent of Asia was under the just rule of its administration; and the majority of the different religions and races were [represented] amongst the subjects of him who wore its crown. But when the custom of interference with the creeds of all sects arose, and the principle of enquiring into men's thoughts became the fashion and practice, the extensive dominions of the empire of Persia diminished, and many provinces and vast territories passed out of her hands, until it reached such a point that the great provinces of Turan, Assyria, and Chaldaea were lost; until—what need of prolixity?—the greater part of the regions of Khurasan likewise passed out of the control of the government of Persia by reason of the interference with matters of conscience and the fanaticism of its governors. For the cause of the Afghan independency and the revolt of the Turcoman tribes was in truth this thing, else were they at no time or period separate from Persia. In face of its evident harmfulness what necessity is there for persecuting the harmless? But if we desire to put in force the sentence [of the doctors of religion] no one will escape

p. 199.

fetters and chains and the keenness of the sword, for in Persia, apart from this sect, there exist diverse sects, such as the Mutasharri's, the Sheykhfs, the Şúfis, the Nuşeyrfs¹, and others, each one of whom regards the other as infidels and accuses them of crime. Under these circumstances what need that the government should persecute this one or that one, p. 200. or disturb itself about the ideas and consciences of its subjects and people? All are the subjects of the king, and are under the shadow of the royal protection. Every one who hears and obeys should be undisturbed and unmolested, while every one who is rebellious and disobedient deserves punishment at the hands of his Majesty the King. Above all, the times are completely changed, while principles and institutions have undergone alteration. In all countries such actions hinder development and progress, and cause decline and deterioration. Of the violent agitation which has befallen the supports of Oriental government the chief cause and principal factor are in truth these laws and habits of interference; while that state the seat of whose dominion over the Atlantic and the Baltic is in the furthest regions of

¹ Concerning the Sheykhfs see Note E at end. Concerning the Nuşeyrfs see note 1 on p. 14. The Mutasharri's are those who conform to the *Shari'at* or Sacred Law founded on the *Qur'an* and traditions, or, in other words, the orthodox party. The Şúfis—those mystical pantheists of Persia—are too well known to need description.

the North has, by reason of equal dealing with its different subjects and the establishment of the uniform political rights of diverse nationalities, acquired p. 201. extensive colonies in each of the five continents of the world. Where is this little island in the North Atlantic, and where the vast territory of the East Indies? Can such extension be obtained save by equal justice to all peoples and classes? At all events, by means of just laws, freedom of conscience, and uniform dealing and equity towards all nationalities and peoples, they have actually brought under their dominion nearly all of the inhabited quarter of the world, and by reason of these principles of freedom they have added day by day to the strength, power, and extent of their empire, while most of the peoples on the face of the earth celebrate the name of this state for its justice. As regards religious zeal and true piety, their touchstone and proof are firmness and steadfastness in noble qualities, virtues, and perfections, which are the greatest p. 202. blessings of the human race; but not interference with the belief of this one or that one, demolition of edifices, and cutting off of the human race. In the middle ages, whereof the beginning was the time of the fall of the Roman Empire, and the end the capture of Constantinople at the hands of [the followers of] IsUm, fierce intolerance and molestation of far and near arose in [all] the countries of Europe

- by reason of the paramount influence of religious leaders. The matter came to such a pass that the edifice of humanity seemed tottering to its fall, and the peace and comfort of chief and vassal, king and subject, became hidden behind the veil of annihilation. Night and day all parties were slaves to apprehension and disquietude: civilization was utterly destroyed:
- p. 203. the control and order of countries was neglected: the principles and essentials of the happiness of the human race were in abeyance: the supports of kingly authority were shaken: but the influence and power of the heads of religion and of the monks were in all parts complete. But when they removed these differences, persecutions, and bigotries out of their midst, and proclaimed the equal rights of all subjects and the liberty of men's consciences, the lights of glory and power arose and shone from the horizons of that kingdom in such wise that those countries made progress in every direction; and whereas the mightiest monarchy of Europe had been servile to and abased before the smallest government of Asia, now the great states of Asia are unable to oppose the small states of Europe. These are effectual and sufficient proofs
- p. 204. that the conscience of man is sacred and to be respected; and that liberty thereof produces widening of ideas, amendment of morals, improvement of conduct, disclosure of the secrets of creation, and manifestation of the hidden verities of the contin-

gent¹ world. Moreover, if interrogation of conscience, which is one of the private possessions of the heart and the soul, take place in this world, what further recompense remains for man in the court of divine justice at the day of general resurrection? Convictions and ideas are within the scope of the comprehension of the King of kings, not of kings; and soul and conscience are between the fingers of control of the Lord of hearts, not of [His] servants. So in the world of existence two persons unanimous in all grades [of thought] and all beliefs cannot be found. 'The ways unto God are as the number of the breaths of [His] creatures²' is a mysterious truth, and 'To every [people] We have appointed a [separate] rite*' is one of the subtleties of the *Ḳur'an*. If this vast energy and precious time which have been expended p. 205. in persecuting other religions, and whereby no sort of result or effect has been obtained, had been spent in strengthening the basis of the monarchy, fortifying the imperial throne, making prosperous the realms of the sovereign, and quickening the subjects of the king, ere now the royal dominions would have become prosperous, the seed-plot of the people would have

¹ On the meaning of 'contingent' being, see note 1 on p. 115.

² This is a very well-known and often quoted tradition.

³ *Ḳur'an* xxii. 35. The verse is inaccurately quoted here.

It should be *لِكُلِّ أُمَّةٍ* 'to every people,' etc.

been watered by the bounty of princely justice, and the splendour of the kingdom of Persia would be evident and apparent as the true dawn throughout the horizons of the world."

These questions and considerations, at all events, certain persons have reported. But let us return to our original subject. The Royal Personage was pleased to investigate the hidden secret in his own noble person. According to the account transmitted, it became clear and obvious before the [Royal]

p. 206. Presence that most of these suspicions arose from the intrigues of persons of influence who were continually engaged in fabricating matters behind the veil of fancy and casting suspicion upon the community, and who, to attain advantages for themselves and preserve their own positions, were wont to make motes appear as globes, and straws as mountains in the mirror of their imagination. For these suspicions there was absolutely no foundation or basis, nor had these assertions any proof or verisimilitude. What power and ability have the helpless people, or what boldness and strength have poor subjects that they should inflict injury or hurt on the sovereign might, or be able to oppose the military forces of the crown?

From that time till now disturbance and sedition have been on the wane in Persia, and clamour and

p. 207. strife have ceased; although [still] on rare occasions

certain of the official doctors do, for their own personal and private advantage, stir up the common folk, raise a hue and cry, and, by their importunity and pertinacity, molest one or two individuals of this sect, as happened ten or twelve years ago in Isfahan. For there were amongst the inhabitants of Isfahan two brothers, Seyyids of Tabataba, Seyyid Hasan and Seyyid Huseyn, celebrated in those parts for piety, trustworthiness, and nobility; men of wealth, engaged in commerce, behaving towards all men with perfect kindness and courtesy. And to all outward appearance no one had observed in either of these two brothers any swerving from what was best, much less any conduct or behaviour which could deserve torment or punishment; for, as is related, they were p. 208. admitted by all [pre-eminent] in all praiseworthy and laudable qualities, while their deeds and actions were like exhortations and admonitions. These had transacted business with Mir Muhammed Huseyn the Imam-Jum'a of Isfahan; and when they came to make up their accounts it appeared that the sum of eighteen thousand *tumans*ⁱ was due to them. They [therefore] broke off [further] transactions, prepared a bond for this sum, and desired it to be sealed. This thing was grievous to the Imam-Jum'a, so that he came to the stage of anger and enmity. Finding

i About £5400.

himself in debt, and having no resource but to pay, he raised clamour and outcry saying " These two brothers are Babis and deserve severe punishment from the king." A crowd at once attacked their house, p. 209. plundered and pillaged all their goods, distressed and terrified their wives and children, and seized and despoiled all their possessions. Then, fearing that they might refer the punishment to the step of the king's throne and loose their tongues in demand of redress, he [i.e. the Imam-Jum'a] fell to thinking how to compass their death and destroy them. He therefore persuaded certain of the doctors to cooperate with him, and they pronounced sentence of death. Afterwards they arrested those two brothers, put them in chains, and brought them before the public assembly. Yet seek as they might to fix on them some accusation, find some fault, or discover some pretext, they were unable to do so. At length they said, " You must either renounce this faith, or else lay down your heads beneath the sword of p. 210. punishment." Although some of those present urged them saying, "Say merely 'We are not of this sect/ and it is sufficient, and will be the means of your deliverance and protection," they would by no means consent, but rather confirmed and declared it with eloquent speech and affecting utterance, so that the rage and violence of the Im&m-Jum'a boiled over, and, not satisfied with killing and destroying them,

they inflicted sundry indignities on their bodies after death to mention which is not fitting, and of which the details are beyond the power of speech. Indeed in such wise was the blood of these two brothers died that even the Christian priest of Julfit cried out, lamented, and wept on that day; and this event befel after such sort that every one wept over the fate of those two brothers, for during the whole p. 211. period of their life they had never distressed the feelings even of an ant, while by general report they had in the time of famine in Persia spent all their wealth in relieving the poor and distressed. Yet, notwithstanding this reputation, were they slain with such cruelty in the midst of the people!

But now for a long while the justice of the King has prevented and withheld, and none dares attempt such grievous molestations'.

VALE.

¹ Unfortunately in face of the martyrdom of Áḳá Mirzá Ashraf of Ábade at Isfahan in or about October 1888, and the still more recent persecutions at Si-dih near Isfahán, this statement can no longer be taken as true. For some remarks on these persecutions, and some further account of the martyrdom of Seyyid Ḥasan and Seyyid Ḥuseyn, with which our history concludes, see B. i. pp. 489-491, B. ii. pp. 998-999, and Note Y at end.

*There ceased from the writing of this its poor writer
the Letter Za
on the night of Friday the 18th of
Jamadi-id- Ūla
A.H. 1307¹*

¹ January 10th, A.D. 1890. Concerning "the Letter Za" (*Zeynu'l-Muqarrabin*), and the colophons wherewith MSS. written by his hand conclude, see Note Z at end.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

PERSIAN AND EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS OF THE BĀB AND HIS RELIGION.

I. PERSIAN ACCOUNTS.

Four works, besides the present, written in the Persian language treat more or less fully of the history of the Babi movement. Two of these, the *Nasikhu't-Tawarikh* and the *Bawzatu's-Şafd*, are general histories compiled by Musulman historians; one, the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, is a monograph on the said movement, whereof the author, if not actually a Babi, at least sympathised warmly with the reformers; one, the *Kisasu'l-'Ulama*, is a biography of Shi'ite divines, which deals incidentally at some length with the Babi doctrines and the history of their originator and his precursors. Each of these works I shall now consider in detail.

1. The *Ndsihkit-Tawdrikk*

This is a general history of the world, intended, as its name implies, to supersede all preceding works of a similar character. Its author is Mirza Taki *Mustawfi*, better known by his poetical *nom-de-guerre* of *Sipihr* and his official title of *Lisanu'l-Mulk* ('The Tongue of the Kingdom'). Gobineau, at p. 454 of his interesting work *Trois Ans en Am* (Paris, 1859), gives a description of the social aspects of this historian (to whom he is indebted for the greater part of the facts relating to the Babi movement so graphically portrayed in his *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*), and of Riza-Kulf Khan, the author of the work to be next mentioned. The *Nasikhu't-Tawarikh* consists of a series of large volumes, each of which deals

with a particular period of history. The last volume is entirely devoted to the Kajar dynasty, and with it alone are we here concerned. It is divided into three parts, of which *the first* treats of the origin and rise of the Kajars and the reigns of Áka Muhammad and Fath-'Alf Shah ; the *second* of the reign of Muhammad Shah ; and the *third* of the reign of Nasiru'd-Din, the present Shah, down to the year A. H. 1267 (A.D. 1850—1851). A further supplement published separately carries the history down to the year A.H. 1273 (A.D. 1856—1857). All that relates to the Babis is contained in the *second* and *third* parts of the main volume and in the supplement, of the contents of which I shall immediately give a brief abstract. My intention was to have made this abstract a complete index of contents, but, having already written more than half of it, I perceived that it would occupy more space than could conveniently be spared, and I was therefore compelled to confine myself to a mere summary of the chief heads of the narrative, deferring a fuller presentation thereof till some future occasion. This is the less to be regretted, inasmuch as almost everything relating to the subject before us which is contained in this history has been embodied in the works of Gobineau and Kazem-Beg. The whole of the *Nasikhtut-Tawárikh* has been lithographed at Teheran, but unfortunately the pages are unnumbered and there is no index save occasional marginal references to the chief events narrated in the text. The numeration of the pages here given is supplied by myself. It is re-commenced for each part and for the supplement, but, inasmuch as my copy of the latter has no title-page and appears to be incomplete, it cannot in this case be regarded as having more than a relative value.

Contents of Part ii of the *Kajariyya* volume in
so far as they relate to the Babis.

P. 130. Events of the year A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844). Appearance of the Bab—His parentage, education, and character—Development of his claims—Peculiarities of his doctrines and ordinances—Reception accorded to him by different classes.

P. 131. Proofs advanced by the Báb—His innovations in matters of religion—Accusations against the chastity and temperance of his followers—The Báb's pilgrimage to Mecca and return to Bushire—Action taken against him and his missionaries by Huseyn Khán *Ajuddn-bdshi* the governor of Fárs—The Báb confined to his house.

P. 132. The Báb is entrapped by a stratagem of Huseyn Khán's into a too free enunciation of his doctrines—He is punished, and imprisoned with greater rigour for six months—Minuchihr Khan *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*, the governor of Isfahán, succeeds in effecting the Báb's release and bringing him to Isfahán, where, he treats him with consideration and kindness.

P. 133. Huseyn Khán expels Seyyid Yaḥyá and other prominent Babis from Shiraz—Minuchihr Khan, anxious to test the Báb's knowledge, summons a number of learned men to confer and dispute with him. [See Note J, *infra*.]

P. 134 [first 7 lines]. Conclusion of this conference—Minuchihr Khán conceals the Báb in his house and sets afloat a rumour that he has sent him to Teherán.

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P. 175 [last 3 lines]. Account of the Báb's first examination before the clergy of Tabriz in A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847).

P. 176 1

p. 176 1. Continuation of the same. [See note M, *infra*.]

P. 178 [first 9 lines]. Conclusion of the same—The Báb is bastinadoed until he recants.

Contents of Part iii of the *Kdjdrriyya* volume in
so far as they relate to the Babis.

P. 45. Events of the year A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848). Kurratu'l-'Ayn, her parentage, education, beauty, learning and eloquence—She embraces the Bábi doctrines.

P. 46 [first 12 lines]. The devotion inspired by Kurratu'l-'Ayn in her followers—She discards the veil, and openly preaches the new doctrines—Anger of her uncle, Mulla Muḥammad Taḳi—He drives her from his house—He is assassinated by Babis—Kurratu'l-'Ayn flies from

Kazvin, but continues her propaganda elsewhere. [See Note Q, *infra*.]

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P. 53 [last line]. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh and the Bábi insurrection in Mázarán.

P. 54. Mullá Huseyn is converted to Bábiism—His missionary journey—His reception and adventures in Isfahán, Káshán, and Teherán.

P. 55. Mullá Huseyn attempts to attach Muḥammad Shah and Haji Mirza Ákasi to the Bab's cause—He is compelled by threats to leave Teherán—He proceeds to Khurásán—Conversions to Bábfism—Measures adopted against the Bábis—Hamzd Mirzá imprisons Mullá Huseyn in his camp at Rádagán—Escape of Mullá Huseyn from custody—His journey westward, successes, and rebuffs.

P. 56. Continuation of Mullá Huseyn's journey towards Mázarán—Encounter with the populace at Mi-yárn! and defeat of the Bábis—Altercation with Mullá Muhammad Kazim, the *mujtahid* of Shahrud—Death of Muḥammad Sháh—Account of Haji Muḥammad 'Ali of Bárfurúsh—He falls in with the Báb on the pilgrimage to Mecca and embraces his doctrines—He returns to Bárfurúsh—He joins Mullá Huseyn at Mash-had—Returns thence on the arrest of his colleague—At Badasht near Bištám meets Kurratu'l-'Ayn and her followers who have arrived from Kazvin.

P. 57. Kurratu'l-'Ayn's address—Its effect on the audience—She returns with Hájí Muḥammad 'Ali towards Mázarán—Imputations on the conduct of Kurratu'l-'Ayn and Hájí Muḥammad 'Ali—They are attacked by the people of Hazar-Jarib—They separate, he returning to Bárfurúsh, and she continuing to wander through Mázarán preaching—Mullá Huseyn joins his colleague at Bárfurúsh—Success of the Bábi propaganda—Enmity of the Sa'fdu'l-'Ulama—Preparations for battle—Khanlar Mirza's aid invoked by the orthodox party to put down the innovators.

P. 58. The Bábis retreat from, but return to, Bárfurúsh—'Abbás-Kuli Khán of Láriján interferes—Collision between the two parties in the city—Terms offered by the

Babis and accepted by 'Abbas-Kuli Khan—The Babis retire accompanied by an escort sent by 'Abbás-Kulf Khán—After the escort leaves them they are attacked by Khusraw of Kadi-Kala at the head of a band of plunderers—Khusraw is killed and his followers routed—The Babis take up their quarters at the Tomb of Sheykh Tabarsi.

P. 59. The Babis fortify their position strongly without let or hindrance, most of the nobles and chiefs of the province having gone to assist at the Sháh's coronation at Teherán—Description of these fortifications—Garrison and commissariat of the Babis—Mullá Huseyn continues his propaganda—Extreme veneration paid to Haji Muhammad 'Alib by the Babis—Mulla Huseyn's encouragements and exhortations to his followers.

P. 60. A letter arrives from the Báb containing this passage:—

ينحدرون من جزيرة الخضراء الى سفح جبل الزوراء
ويقتلون نحو اثنا عشر الفا من الاتراك

' *They [the Babis] shall descend from the Green Isle [Mázandaránj-tftfo the foot of the mountain of Zawra [Teheran], and shall slay about twelve thousand of the Turks*—The Government, informed of the Babis' proceedings, instructs the Mázandaránf chiefs to take action against them—Áka 'Abdu'llah marches against Sheykh Tabarsi with some Afghan, Kurdish, and Turkish tribesmen and volunteers from Kadi-Kala—Mulla Huseyn makes a night-attack on the besiegers.

P. 61. Áká 'Abdu'lláh is slain and his force routed with a loss of thirty killed—The fugitives flee to the village of Farrá, which is sacked, burned, and razed to the ground by the Babis, and its inhabitants put to the sword—Rage of Nasiru'd-Din Shah on hearing this news—Prince Mahdf-Kulf Mirza is ordered to proceed against the Babis with all speed and exterminate them—He quits Teherán at the end of Muharram [A.H. 1265 = Christmas, A.D. 1848] for Mázandarán—'Abbás-Kulf Khán marches by another route to join him—The Prince takes up his quarters at Vásaks

near 'Ali-abad—His negligence—Stormy weather and snow come on.

P. 62. Mulla Huseyn makes a sortie with 300 resolute men before dawn on Safar 15th [A.H. 1265 = January 10th A.D. 1849]—By means of a stratagem he enters Vasaks, surrounds and fires the Prince's quarters, and defeats and disperses the enemy, of whom many are killed, including two princes, Sultan Huseyn *Mirzi* and Da'ud Mirza—Prince Mahdi-Kulf Mirza escapes with difficulty—Haji Muhammad 'Ali is wounded in the mouth.

P. 63. Courageous stand made by the men of Ashraf against the Babis—Cowardice of the other troops—Triumphant return of the Babis to their fortress—The Prince is discovered and harboured by a peasant, and his troops gradually re-assembled—He declines to risk another encounter—Arrival of 'Abbas-Kulf Khan with his troops before Sheykh Tabarsi—His foolhardiness and negligence—Mulla Huseyn at the head of 400 Babis makes a sortie before dawn on Rabi'u'l-Avval 10th [A.H. 1265 = February 3rd A.D. 1849].

P. 64. Description of the engagement—Rout of the besiegers—Mulla Huseyn is mortally wounded—The Babis retire in good order to their stronghold—After their departure and the dawn of day some of the scattered besiegers return, bury their own dead, decapitate the Babi corpses, and retire.

P. 65. How the news of the defeat is communicated to Prince Mahdi-Kulf Mirza—Death of Mulla Huseyn after re-entering Sheykh Tabarsi—His dying injunctions—His burial in the shrine—Thirty other Babis die of their wounds—The Babis go out to bury their dead, find them decapitated, and in retaliation exhume and decapitate the Musulman corpses and fix their heads on posts round the gate of the fortress—How the news of the defeat is received by the Prince—After much hesitation he advances against the Babis and encamps at Kiya-Kala..

P. 66. On reaching Sheykh Tabarsi the Prince's courage fails him—He retires to Kasht, and there meets 'Abbas-Kuli Khan—Preparations for the siege of Sheykh Tabarsi—Arrival of artillery—Discontent and insubordination amongst the besieging troops caused by the wilfulness and incapacity of Mahdi-Kuli Mirza

P. 67. Sortie of 200 Babis—They capture one of the towers erected by the besiegers—Cruelty of Mahdi-Kuli Mirza to one of his wounded officers—Renewed anger of the Sháh because the siege has lasted for four months without any decisive advantage having been gained—Threats and reproaches addressed by the Sháh to the besiegers.

P. 68. Suleymán Khán Afshár is sent from Teherán to superintend the siege—Revival of the courage of the besiegers—A breach is effected in the Babi fortifications by means of a mine sprung under the western tower of the fortress—A vigorous attempt to storm the breach fails, once again through the incapacity of Mahdi-Kuli Mirza—Desertions from the Babi camp—Fate of Aka Rasul and thirty other deserters.

P. 69. Desertion of Rizá Khán and some others from the Babis—They receive promises of pardon from the Prince—They are placed in the custody of Hadi Khan of Núr—The Babis, having consumed all their provisions, are reduced to eating grass, leaves, boiled leather, and broth made from the bones of dead horses—They make another desperate sortie, and attempt, but fail, to capture the tower erected by the besiegers against the western gate—The Babis capitulate on receiving a written promise, signed and sealed by the Prince, that their lives shall be spared.

P. 70. Evacuation of Sheykh Tabarsf and entry of the surviving Babis (216 in number) into the royalist camp—They are reassured by the manner in which they are at first received, but on the following day are perfidiously massacred, except Haji Muhammad 'Ali and some of the other chiefs, who are reserved to grace the Prince's triumphal entry into Bârfurtush—The Prince visits the deserted fortress, marvels at the skill displayed in its construction, and carries off the spoils accumulated by the Babis—Execution of Haji Muhammad 'Ali and the other Babi chiefs by command of the Musulmán clergy—During the whole war in Mázandarán 1500 Babis and 500 soldiers perished.*

P. 83 [last 12 lines]. Troubles at Zaiján—Mullá Muhammad 'Ali Zanjani—His character and previous career—His innovations, and disagreements with the other clergy.

P. 84. He is summoned to Teherán by Muḥammad Sháh and forbidden to return to Zanján—On the death of that king he escapes in disguise and returns home—He is received with acclamation by his admirers—He begins to preach the Bábi doctrines, and soon gains 15,000 adherents—Action is taken against him by the government—Collision between him and Aṣián-Khán the governor of Zanjan.

P. 85. The Bábis assume the offensive—Their organization and preparations—Fighting begins on Rajab 5th [A. H. 1266 = May 17th, A. D. 1850. In the *Nasikhíit-Tawárikk* these events are described under the year A. H. 1265, but this is an error, as proved by the accounts of Watson and Lady Sheil]—Names of some of the killed and wounded, who number about forty in all—Execution of a Bábi prisoner named Sheykhi' remarkable for his valour—Attack on Aṣián Khán's residence by a party of Bábis led by one Mir Sálíh—Repulse of the Bábis and death of their leader—Names of some of the killed and wounded.

P. 86. Arrival of Sadru'd-Dawla on Rajab 20th [June 3rd], and of Seyyid 'Ali Khan of Firuzkuh, Shahbaz Khan of Maragha, Muhammad 'Ali Khan Shahsivan, Kazim Khan Afshár, and Maḥmúd Khán of Khuy with large reinforcements of cavalry and artillery on Sha'ban 2nd—5th [June 13th—16th]—Capture of a Bábi position held by Mash-hadi Piri on Sha'ban 20th [July 1st]—Impatience of the Government—Mustafá Khán Kájár, colonel of the 16th (Shakáki) regiment, is sent to join the besiegers—Capture of a Bábi position held by Mirzâ Faraj Vláh after a desperate straggle on Ramazan 15th [July 25th]—Besiegers further reinforced by Naṣiriyya regiment and a corps of picked marksmen, and threatened with severe punishment unless they quickly bring the siege to a close—General attack on the Bábis on Ramazan 25th [August 4th].

P. 87. The day goes against the Bábis till Mullá Muḥammad 'Ali creates a diversion by setting fire to the bazaar—On Shawwál 8th [August 17th] the besiegers are further reinforced by Muḥammad Khán *Begler-begī* with 3000 troops, 6 cannons, and 2 mortars—On the same day the Naṣiriyya and Shakáki regiments are ordered to attack

the Bábis—The stratagem whereby Mulla' Muḥammad 'Ali throws the Náşiriyya regiment into confusion—Description of the Babi defences—The *Begler-begi* tries conciliatory measures, wherein he is seconded by 'Aziz Khán *Afuddn-bdfihi* and Mirza Hasan Khan the *Amir-Nizam's* brother, both of whom happen to pass through Zanján at this time—Conciliation failing, a fresh attack is made.

P. 88. Failure of this attack—Punishment inflicted on certain officers—The *Sadru'd-Dawla* is replaced by Farrukh Khán (the son of Yahyá Khán of Tabriz and the brother of Suleymán Khán the Bábi), who reaches Zanján on Zi'l-Ka'da 4th [September 11th]—Arrival of fresh reinforcements—A* way of escape is intentionally left open for the Bábis—The Bábis again turn to account the covetousness of the troops to inflict on them fresh losses—Extraordinary courage of the Bábi women—Letter from the *Amir-Nizam* to Farrukh Khan—The stratagem whereby the Bábis decoy Farrukh Khán to his destruction.

P. 89. Capture of Farrukh Khán by the Bábis—He and two renegades are tortured to death and their heads cast into the camp of the besiegers—Anger of the King at this news—More artillery is sent against Zanján—Renewed attack on the Bábis—Capture of the Castle of 'Ali-Mardán Khán and other Bábi positions—Twenty Bábis taken prisoners.

P. 90. Execution of these prisoners—Desertion and capture of twenty-five Bábis—Their ultimate fate—Mullá Muḥammad 'Ali is wounded—He survives his wound for one week—His dying instructions—His death and burial—His followers capitulate on receiving promise of pardon—Entry of the royal troops into Zanján—Mullá Muḥammad 'Ali's body is exhumed and dishonoured—Bad faith of the royalist leaders—Plunder of the Bábi quarter—Massacre of the Bábi prisoners on the third day after the surrender.

P. 91 [first 7 lines]. Háji Kázim Káltúki and Mashhadi Suleymán the cloth-maker are blown from the mouths of mortars—Approval of the Sháh—Some of the Bábi chiefs are brought to Teherán—Mirza 'Riza, Háji Muḥammad 'Ali, and Háji Muḥsin are put to death at the command of the *Amir-Nizam*, while the rest are cast into prison. * *

[Fourth and third lines from the bottom.] Suleymán

Khan Afshar arrives at Tabriz with the death-warrant of the Bab.

P. 93. Mirza Taqi KMn the *Amir-Nizam* advises Nasiru'd-Din Shah to order the Bab to be put to death—Discussion between the King and the Minister—The Bab's execution is finally decided on—Suleyman Khan Afshar is sent to Tabriz with the Bab's death-warrant and instructions to Hamze Mirza, the Prince-Governor of Azarbaijan, as to the method of procedure—The Bab and his amanuensis, Aka Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd, are brought from Chihrik to Tabriz—Aka [here called Mulla] Muhammad 'Ali of Tabriz is also arrested—His brother, Aka 'Abdu'llah, unsuccessfully attempts to induce him to recant—Hamze Mirza desires the clergy of Tabriz to dispute with and confute the Bab—They decline.

P. 94. The Bab is brought before Hamze Mirza, Mirza Hasan, Haji Mirza 'Ali, and Suleyman Khan Afshar by night—Hamze Mirza asks him to recite verses concerning a crystal candlestick—The Bab complies, and these verses are writtten down—Hamze Mirza, requests the Bab to repeat these verses—They are repeated differently—It is decided to kill the Bab with the utmost publicity—He is taken to the houses of three prominent members of the clergy, Haji Mirza Bakir, Mulla Muhammad Mamakani, and Aka Seyyid Zanvazi, who ratify the sentence of death—Aka Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd recants—The steadfastness of Aka Muhammad 'Ali—The execution takes place on Sha'bkn 27th [A.H. 1266, *not* 1265 as stated by Sipihir and Kazem-Beg. See pp. 45 and 186—187]—The firing-party is formed of Christian soldiers—At the first volley Aka Muhammad 'Ali is killed, but the Bab, released from his bonds by the bullets, falls uninjured to the ground—He takes refuge in the rooms of one of the soldiers.

P. 95 [first 9 lines]. Reflections on this strange occurrence—The Bab is dragged forth from his retreat by Kuch 'Ali Sultan, again bound, and once more fired on by the

soldiers—This time he is killed—Indignities offered to his body.

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P. 112 [last half]. The insurrection at Niriz—Áká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb—His character, and that of his father Aka Seyyid Ja'far-i-Kashfi—Seyyid Yahya is converted to the Bábi doctrines—He goes to Teherán to preach the new faith—He goes to Yezd—The Yezd insurrection and its failure—Seyyid Yahyá goes to Fasá in Fárs—Bahráin Mirzá having been dismissed from the government of Fárs, and Firúz Mirzá not having yet arrived to take his place, Mirzá Fazlu'llah *Násinil-Mulk* is the supreme authority in the province—The nobles of Fasá request him to put a stop to Seyyid Yahyá's propaganda.

P. 113. The *Naurul-Mulk* writes a letter to Seyyid Yahyá—He receives a reassuring reply—Fresh complaints are made—Another message to Seyyid Yahyá proves equally ineffectual—Seyyid Yahyá goes to Niriz with the force which he has collected—Disaffection of Niriz, and unpopularity of its governor, Zeynu'l-'Ábidin Khan—Seyyid Yahya, with 300 followers, occupies an old castle near Niriz—The *Nastrul-Mulk* sends him a third message—His answer—He makes a night attack on Niriz, sacks the town, and puts Zeynu'l-'Ábidin Khan to flight—Hereupon many recruits join the Bábis, so that their forces amount to more than 2000 men.

P. 114. Firúz Mirzá the new governor, when distant four stages from Shiráz, receives news of the success of the Niriz insurgents—He sends a messenger to Shiráz instructing Mihr 'Ali Khan Nuri *Skuja'id-Mulk* and Mustafa-Kuli Khán to proceed against Seyyid Yahya' with two Káraguzlu regiments—The *Nasirul-Mulk* writes to Zeynu'l-'Abidin Khán the fugitive governor of Niriz ordering him to collect what forces he can and join the attacking force—The royalist forces combine and proceed to Niriz—Preliminary skirmish—Siege operations commenced—Failure of Muşţafá-Kuli Khán's attempts to bring about a peaceable settlement—Seyyid Yahya' supplies his followers with amulets—Sortie of 300 Bábis—Failure, of the sortie

after prolonged fighting, during which 150 Babis and four soldiers are slain—Desertions amongst the Babis—Second sortie of the Babis.

P. 115 [first half]. Repulse of *Babi* sortie—Vali Khan is sent with reinforcements from Shiraz—Seyyid Yahya is induced to quit his fortress, and, accompanied by one attendant, to return to his house in Niriz—On his way thither he is met by the sons of 'Ali 'Askar KMn who kill him in revenge for their father's death—Seyyid Yahya's two sons and thirty of his followers are brought to Shfr&z—The former are spared in consideration of their being sey-yids, but the latter are put to death by order of Firuz Mirza

Contents of the Supplement to the *Kdjriyya* volume
in so far as they relate to the Babis.

P. 22. Events of the year A. H. 1268 [A. D. 1852] Iimim-Kuli Mirza is appointed governor of Kirmanšah—His energy in restoring order to his province—He arrests Mulla 'Ali Asghar, a Babi missionary, and sends him in chains to Teheran—One Teymur¹ of Kal'a-Zanjiri claims to be the vicegerent of the Absent Imam and draws to himself a great number of people—He is seized and put to death by Imám-Kulf Mirzd—Account of the attempt on the Shah's life—Digression on the character and doctrines of Sheykh Ahmad Ahsa'i.

P. 23. Haji Seyyid Kazim of Resht succeeds Sheykh Ahmad—Dissensions amongst his followers after his death—Mulld Huseyn—Haji Muhammad Karim Khan—How Mulla Huseyn persuades many of the Sheyklris to follow Mirza 'Ali Muhammad the Bab—His journey to Khurasan—Mulla Sheykh 'Ali [whom the Babis entitle *Jenab-i-Azim*] becomes a Babi and engages in active propaganda—He goes from Kerbela to Kashan, where he sees and attempts to

¹ Subh-i-Ezel informed me that this Teymur was not a Babi but advanced a claim on his own account. After his death, however, a youth calling himself Seyfur, who was a Babi, appeared, and used to declare that he was Teymur returned again from the dead.

•convert Mirzâ Ākā Khān of Nur, afterwards, *Sadr-i-A'ẓam* (Prime Minister)—He goes to Teherān, where, under various names and in diverse disguises, he continues his attempts at proselytizing—During the ministry of the *Amir-Niẓām* he meditates a rising to be inaugurated by the slaughter of Mirzâ Abū'l-Kāsim the *Imdm Jum'a*—This plot is discovered by government spies and reported to the *Amir-Niẓām*—Mirzâ 'Abdu'r-Raḥim, the brother of Mullā Muḥammad Taḳ! of Herāt, one of the disciples of Mulla' Sheykh 'Ali, is arrested.

P. 24. Mirzâ 'Abdu'r-Raḥim refuses to betray his confederates—Mirzâ Ṭāḥir, fellow-lodger of the above, is questioned—Hāji Seyyid Muḥammad of Isfahān is beguiled by a forged letter into revealing Mullā Sheykh 'All's abode—A servant of Mullā Sheykh 'All's is arrested and tortured, but discloses nothing—He is put to death, but Mirzâ 'Abdu'r-Raḥim's life is spared—Mullā Sheykh 'Ali escapes and takes refuge in Shaḥ 'Abdu'l-'Azim, whence he presently flies to Āzarbaijan—On the fall of the *Amir-Niẓam*, Mulla Sheykh 'Ali returns to Teheran and begins to organize the conspiracy against the Shah's life—The house of Haji Suleyman Khān of Tabriz becomes the meeting-place of the conspirators, and there Mulla Sheykh 'Ali takes up his quarters—Seventy persons are involved in the conspiracy—Nature of the plot—Twelve Babis volunteer for the attempt, amongst them being Muhammad Sadik [of Zanjan], Mirza 'Abdu'l-Wahhab of Shiraz, Mulla Fathu'llah of Kum, and Muhammad Bakir of Najafabad.

P. 25. The attempt on the Shāh's life is made on Sunday, Shawwāl 28th [A. H. 1268 = August 15th, 1852]—Account of the attempt and its failure. [See *infra*, Note T.]

P. 26. Fate of the assassins—Consternation of the ministers—Conjectures as to the originators of the plot—Firmness of the Prime Minister (*Sadr-i-A'ẓam*).

P. 27. Messengers despatched to all parts of the kingdom to announce the Shāh's safety—The search for the Bābis begins—Arrest of Hāji Suleymān Khān and twelve of his confederates—On information obtained from some of these prisoners 36 Bābis are captured, amongst whom is Mullā Sheykh 'Ali.

P. 28. The *Hajibu'd Dawla* cuts off Mulla Sheykh

'All's ear—Examination of the prisoners—Mfrzd Huseyix 'Ali Nur! [apparently Beha'u'llah himself], Mirza 'Suleymdn-Kuli, Mirza Mahmud, Akd 'Abdu'llah, Mirza Jawad of Khurasan, and Mirza Huseyn of Kum are imprisoned, there not being sufficient evidence to incriminate them in the plot: the other Babi prisoners are apportioned amongst the different departments and classes each to be slain in such fashion as shall please those to whom he has been assigned—The slaughter takes place on the last day of Zi'l-Ka'da [A.H. 1268 = September 15th, A.D. 1852]—Account of the executions [see *infra*, Note T].

P. 29. Account of the executions continued, including that of Kurratu'l-'Ayn [see *infra*, Notes Q and T]—Public rejoicings.

Whoever carefully examines the arrangement of matter in the *Nāsikhut-Tawarikh* as indicated in the above table of contents will perceive that this arrangement is not strictly chronological, although ostensibly intended to be so. A desire not to interrupt the continuity of the narrative in relating an episode often induces the historian to include under the year in which the episode which he is describing first began, events properly belonging to subsequent years. Thus the first public appearance of the B4b was in the year A.H. 1260, but the narrative is carried on without interruption not only to the time of his return from Mecca to Bushire, which certainly did not occur till A.H. 1261, but to the period of his concealment by the *Mu'tamadu d-Dawla* in Isfahan, which belongs to the year A.H. 1262. So likewise the beginning of the insurrection in Mazandaran was in A.H. 1264, while its final suppression did not take place till A.H. 1265; yet the whole insurrection from its earliest beginning to its ultimate conclusion is described under the year A.H. 1264, the only indication of a change of year being afforded by the rotation of the months. Other instances might be adduced, but these are sufficient to prove a fact which it is most important to bear in mind. The erroneous dates given for the siege of Zanzan and the Bab's martyrdom (of which events, according to all testimony, the latter took place during the

former) cannot, however, be satisfactorily accounted for in this way; and I am forced to suppose that in this case the *Lisanu'l Mulk* has committed a positive error, which, as it has been copied and reproduced by Kazem-Beg and a number of writers who have followed him, it is necessary to expose in the clearest manner possible. This I strove to do in my first paper on the Babis in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1889 (pp. 511—513), where I attempted to prove that both of the events in question were to be assigned, *not*, as stated in the *Nasikhu't-Tawarikh* and repeated by those who have unreservedly followed it, to the year A.H. 1265 (A.D. 1849), but to the year A.H. 1266 (A.D. 1850). It is unnecessary for me to repeat in this place the arguments there adduced to support an opinion in which further study of the matter serves but to confirm me; I will only observe that further corroboration of that opinion is afforded not only by the present work (*supra*, pp. 44—45) and the *Rawzatus-Safa*, but also by Dr A. H. Wright's memoir contributed to the *Z. D. M. G.* in 1851, wherein the Bab's execution is described (p. 385) as having occurred "*last year,*" and by Binning (*Journal of Two Years Travel in Persia &c.*, London, 1857, vol. i, p. 407), who, in a passage written in 1850 or early in 1851, remarks, after describing the Bab's execution, that "a large number of them [i.e. the Babis] are now up in arms in Zenjan."

Complete impartiality is a quality we could not reasonably expect to find in the court historian of a despot whose ears must hear what is pleasant rather than what is true, and whose actions must be not only justified but extolled as models of wisdom and virtue. When we consider that, apart from this, the *Lisanu'l-Mulk*, as a presumably orthodox Shi'ite Muhammadan, was bound to disparage and traduce in every way possible those whose object was nothing less than the complete overthrow of Islam and the abrogation of its ordinances, we cannot but admire the candour which he displays; for if, on the one hand, he brings against the Babis many unfounded and absurd accusations, on the other hand he portrays with a fidelity scarcely surpassed by the witty and sarcastic Comte de Gobineau the cowardice, incapacity, and treachery of Mahdf-Kuli Mirza, the courage of Mulla Huseyn of Bush-

raweyh, the constancy of Akā' Muḥammad 'Alī of Tabriz, and the heroism of the Bābi women of Zanĵān.

Each page of the *Nāsikhu't-Tawārikh* consists of 29 lines containing on an average 21 words each, so that a page is equivalent to about 600 words. That portion of the narrative which refers to the Bābis occupies in all not less than 46 pages, and cannot contain fewer than 27,000 words.

2. The *Rawzatu's-Safa*.

The Teherán lithographed edition of this work, whereof the publication was completed in Babi'ul-Avval A.H. 1274 (Oct.—Nov., A.D. 1857), consists of ten volumes bound in two. Of these ten volumes the first six composed by Mirkhwānd (d. A.D. 1498) and the seventh composed by his grandson Khwāndamir (d. A.D. 1534) constitute the whole of what is generally understood by European writers when they speak of the *Rawzatu's-Safa*. The three last (eighth, ninth, and tenth) volumes, which supplement the older work and bring the narrative down to our own days, were written by that most talented and learned scholar Bīza-Kuli Khan '*Lele-Bashī*' of whose life and works a most valuable account from the pen of Mr Sidney Churchill will be found in vol. xviii (New Series) of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 196—206. All that relates to the Bābis is contained in the last (tenth) volume, with which alone, therefore, we are here concerned. The numeration of the pages in this volume is supplied by my hand, the pages in the original being unnumbered. As the narrative of the Bābi movement here given agrees very closely for the most part with that contained in the *Nasikhu t-Tawarikh*, I shall in the summary of its contents about to be given indicate very briefly that portion of it dealt with in each page, except in cases where some fact is added or differently stated.

Contents of vol. x of the *Rawzatu's-Safa*
in so far as they relate to the Bābis.

P. 69 [last 17 lines]. From the first appearance of the

Báb to the stratagem whereby Huseyn Khán *Ajuddn-Bdslri* induces him to expose his ideas without reserve.

P. 70 [first 18 lines]. From the Báb's disputation with the clergy of Shíráz to the death of Minúchihr Khán in Rabfu'l-Ávval A.H. 1263 and the Báb's removal to Chihriḳ. Reflections on the causes which led to the rapid spread of his doctrines. He is accused of holding and teaching the doctrine of metempsychosis.

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P. 118 [last 26 lines]. From the beginning of Mullá Huseyn's propaganda to his escape from Mash-had and advance on Mázandarán with 300 or 400 followers. It is stated that his original intention was to proceed to Chihriḳ and liberate the Bab. The last three lines of this page begin the account of the Bab's first examination (A.H. 1263=A.D. 1847) by the clergy of Tabriz presided over by the present Sháh, at that time Crown-Prince. The account of the proceedings of this assembly is professedly copied "without favour or enmity" from the report written by Hájí Mullá Maḥmúd the *Nizdmu'I-Ulamd*. Concerning this conference see *supra*, pp. 18—21, and *infra*, Note M.

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V. 120.ⁱ Account of *the* conference continued,

P. 121. Conclusion of the conference, and punishment of the Báb, who is afterwards sent back to Chihriḳ—Exasperation of the Bábis on hearing what indignities have been offered to their master—Mulla, Muḥammad 'Ali of Bár-furúsh—Kurratu'l-'Ayn—The meeting at Badasht—The attack on the Bábis at Hazár-Jarib—The death of Muḥammad Shah (Shawwāl, A.H. 1264=August 31st—September 28th, A.D. 1848)—Beginning of the Mázandarán insurrection.

P. 122. Recapitulation of Mullá Huseyn's earlier adventures and behaviour—Narrative of events from the collision between Mullá Huseyn's 700 or 800 white-robed, white-turbaned followers and the Musulmáns of Bár-furúsh to the occupation of Sheykh Ṭabarsf by the former—Description of the Bábi fortress.

¹ According to Watson (*History of Persia*, p. 354), the death of Muḥammad Sháh took place on September 4th, 1848.

P. 123. Continuation of narrative of the Mázandarán insurrection to the surprise and discomfiture of Mahdi'-K̄ulf Mirza by *the* Bábís at Vásaks.

P. 124. Continuation of narrative to the night attack of the Bábís led by Mullá Huseyn on 'Abbás-K̄ulf Khán's army. The date of this event is here stated as Rabfu'l-Avval 10th A.H. 1266 (January 24th, A.D. 1850), which is a mistake. The correct date, Rabi'u'l-Awal (10th) A.H. 1265 (February 3rd, A.D. 1849) is given in the *Nisikhu't-Tawarikh*.

P. 125. From the death of Mullá Huseyn to the second advance of Mahdi-K̄uli Mirza against Sheykh Ṭabarsi.

P. 126. Continuation of the narrative to the arrival of Ja'far-Kuli Khan and Tahmasp Kuli Khan with reinforcements for the besiegers.

P. 127. Continuation of the narrative to the Bábí sortie, which results directly in the death of Ṭahm&sp-K̄uli Khán, and indirectly in that of his uncle Ja'far-K̄uli Khán through the wanton and inconsiderate cruelty of Mahdi-K̄uli Mirza.

P. 128. Conclusion of the narrative of the Mázandarán insurrection. Beginning of the narrative of the Zanján insurrection.

P. 129. Continuation of the narrative to Seyyid 'Ali Khan's unsuccessful attempt at pacification.

P. 130. Continuation of the narrative to Farrukh Khan's capture and terrible fate.

P. 131. Continuation of the narrative to Ḥasan Kh&n's unsuccessful attempt at pacification. (According to the *Nasikhu't-Tawarikh* this event preceded the last, and this version is on the face of it more probable.)

P. 132. Conclusion of the narrative of the Zanján insurrection—Brief account of the execution of the Bab at Tabríz. (The date of this event is here correctly stated as A.IL 1266. The account itself is most meagre, amounting in substance merely to this: that the Báb was brought from Chihriḳ to Tabriz, condemned to death by the clergy of that city, and suspended and shot, together with *two* of his disciples, by *the* Christian regiment, his body being afterwards cast outside the city as food for wolves and dogs.

No mention is made of his miraculous escape from the first volley fired by the soldiers.)—Beginning of the narrative of the Niriz insurrection.

P. 133. Conclusion of the narrative of the Niriz insurrection. (According to this account, Aḳá Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb the insurgent leader was brought to Shiráz and there put to death. Allusion is also made to the second Bábi rising at Niriz and the assassination of the governor Zeynu'l-'Áhidin Khán, which events occurred about two years later. See Note II, *infra*.)

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P. 167 [last 21 lines]. The attempt on the Sháh's life (see Note T, *infra*). Preliminary recapitulation of similar attempts on the lives of kings and ministers made by members of heretical sects—Eulogies of Náşiru'd-Din Sháh.

P. 168. After the death of the Báb a new leader (whom the author of this history apparently believes to have been Mullá Sheykh 'Alí 'Jeñab-l-'Azhñ) is chosen by his followers—The Bábi conspiracy—The assassination is planned by twelve Bábis, who arrange that the attempt shall take place on the morning of Sunday the 28th of Shawwal' A.H. 1268 (August 15th, A.D. 1852) as the Sháh is riding out on a hunting expedition from his summer residence at Niyávarán—Description of the Royal Cavalcade and the approach of the conspirators in the guise of suppliants.

P. 169. Of the twelve assassins, six fail to arrive in time, while three lag behind—The three who are ready approach the Sháh as petitioners, surround him, and fire two shots at him—The Sháh's retainers come up and kill one of the conspirators—Another shot is tired wounding the Sháh in the shoulder—The two surviving conspirators are seized and retained for examination—The Sháh wishes to continue his expedition, but is dissuaded by the Prime Minister—Panic in Teherán—The Sháh holds a public reception on the following day.

P. 170. Messengers are despatched in all directions to announce the Sháh's safety—Certain malicious persons strive unsuccessfully to cast suspicion on the Prime Minister and Muḥammad Ḥasan Khán of Erivan—It is

discovered that 70 Bábis are in the habit of resorting to the house of Hájí Suleymán Khán, on which accordingly a raid is made, resulting in the capture of Suleymán Khán and twelve others—Mullá Sheykh 'Ali and thirty-six other Bábis are also arrested—Account of the execution of these—The Sháh returns to Teherán from Niyávarán amidst general rejoicings on Friday, Zi'1-Ka'da 17th, A.H. 1268 (September 2nd, A.D. 1852).

Rizd-Kulf Khán's narrative substantially agrees with that of the *Lisúnul-Mulk*, but is on the whole less full, more bombastic, and more vituperative, execrations and curses on the Bábis severally and generally being freely introduced throughout. Some new dates are added, and some, such as that of the Zanján troubles, which are erroneously stated in the *Nasikhu't-Tawarikh*, are here correctly given; but, on the other hand, some fresh chronological errors, notably in the case of Mullá Huseyn's last sortie and death, are introduced. The account given of the Báb's death is extremely meagre; and in other parts of the narrative we miss that abundance of detail and fulness of description which render the *Nasikhu't-Tawarikh* so readable and so graphic.

Each page of the *Rawzatu's-Safa* contains 33 lines, and each line an average of 26 words, making about 858 words to the page. The number of pages devoted to the Bábis is in all twenty and a half, so that the whole narrative above summarized contains not fewer than 17,500 words, and is about two-thirds of the length of the account given in the *Nasikhu't-Tawarikh*.

3. The *Tarikh-i-Jadid*.

Of this work, which exists only in manuscript, two copies only, so far as I know, have reached Europe¹. One,

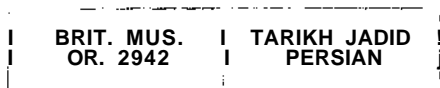
¹ Quite recently, as I have learned from Baron Rosen, another MB. of this work, obtained by M. Tumanski at Ishkábdd, has been added to the library of the Institut des Langues Orientales of St Petersburg.

obtained by Mr Sidney Churchill, is in the library of the British Museum, and is numbered Or. 2942. The other is in my own possession, and is briefly described at p. 496 of my first paper on the Babis in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, and at pp. 1002—1003 of my second paper in the same volume. Of the manner in which I first became acquainted with this work, of the means whereby I obtained the MS. now in my possession, of my intention of publishing it, and of the causes which led me to lay aside (I trust but for a season) the text and translation on which I was engaged in favour of the present work, I have already spoken in the Introduction. As the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* is not at present generally available to scholars, I shall confine myself to giving a brief statement of its contents based on my own MS. Before doing so, however, a few words must be said concerning the British Museum codex, which is superior alike in accuracy, neatness, and calligraphy to my own.

In the MS. catalogue of recent acquisitions the MS. in question is described thus:—

"Or. 2942. *Tarikh-i-Jadid*. A history of the Babis. A.JI. 1298 (1881). Persian."

On its cover it bears the following inscription:—



Inside the cover is written:—

هذا التاريخ جديد (*sic*)

The blank leaf at the beginning bears the name of the work (تاريخ جديد) both in Arabic and English characters, the date July 1882, and Mr Sidney Churchill's signature, substituted for that of Mr Henry Churchill through which a pen has been drawn.

At the end of the text is the following colophon:—

في شهر رجب المرجب سنة ١٢٩٨ هـ

(Rajab A. H. 1298 = May 30th—June 28th A. D. 1881).

A final note states that the MS. was bought of Mr S. Churchill on October 10th, 1885. It consists of 177 fol. (354 pp.). Quotations, headings, and the initial words of sentences are sometimes written in red. The paper is of a bluish colour. The text, so far as I have collated it, offers a good many variants from, and some additions to, my MS., and its readings are generally preferable.

My MS. consists of 374 pp., each of which contains 19 lines numbering on an average 10 words apiece. The whole history may be estimated to contain over 70,000 words.

As regards the authorship of the work, it is concealed for obvious reasons; and indeed the author goes out of his way to describe himself as a traveller who, having visited all parts of Europe and India, undertook a journey to Persia for scientific purposes and especially geographical research. He expresses thankfulness to God that he does not belong to the Persian nation, whose faults he exposes unsparingly. He portrays himself as a non-Muhammadan open to conviction on matters of religion and associating freely with all sects. And at the conclusion of his work he apologizes for his lack of literary style, advances as an excuse the statement that Persian is not his native tongue, and alludes to a " treatise written in his own language in French writing " wherein the matter in hand is more eloquently set forth. Now that any European should have been capable or desirous of composing such a work is on the face of it extremely improbable, and there can be little doubt that the author advanced the statements above alluded to merely as a blind. Of the Babis whom I have questioned on the subject some attribute the authorship of the work to a certain well-known and widely-travelled resident in the Persian capital, whom, as he is still living, I do not feel myself justified in indicating more particularly; others to his *mirza* or secretary, now dead. It appears not improbable that it was the joint product of these two. Whoever the author or authors may have been, the information set forth is so detailed and so minute that it must have been derived for the most part from persons who had conversed with actual eye-witnesses of the events described, if not from eye-witnesses themselves. The author, whether

he had really embraced the Babi faith or not, was, on his showing, a warm admirer of the Bab and his apostles and disciples, and was during the composition of his work in continual communication with certain prominent members of the sect. Yet the work when completed—perhaps because of the violence wherewith it denounces the Musulman clergy and reproaches the Persian nation, perhaps because of the slight mention which it makes of Beha'u'llah (of Şubḥ-i-Ezel it makes no mention at all) and the exaggerated veneration paid to the Bab—did not meet with the approval of the Babi chiefs at Acre, and as early as the spring of 1888 I learned in Shiraz that instructions had been issued for the compilation of a new history more in accordance with the views entertained by those chiefs. Of these instructions the history now offered to the public is the outcome.

Summary of the contents of the
Tarikh-i-Jadid.

- Pp. 1—38¹. Introduction.
 „ 39—40. Hâji Seyyid Kâzım of Resht foretells the approaching 'manifestation' and dies.
 Pp. 41—47. Conversion of Mulla. Huseyn of Bushra-
weyh.
 Pp. 48—50. Conversions of Haji Muhammad 'Ali of Barfurush (*'Jenab-i-Kuddus'*), Mulla Muhammad Sadik of Khurasan (*'Mukaddas'*), and others.
 Pp. 51—55. From Mulla Huseyn's journey to Khurd-
san to his entry into Barfurush with Haji Muhammad 'Ali and their combined followers.
 Pp. 56—114. From the first collision between the Babis and the Musulmans in Barfurush to the fall of the Castle of Sheykh Tabarsi.
 Pp. 115—132. Biographies of certain eminent Babis who suffered martyrdom in Mazandaran, with some reflections on the heroism displayed by the besieged.
 Pp. 133—155. The struggle at Niriz, and reflections thereon. (See Note H, *infra*.)

¹ The pagination refers to my own MS., not to the British Museum Codex.

'Ayn), had embraced the doctrines which he so abhorred, must have greatly conduced to an intensification of this hatred, which rose to such a pitch that, as we learn from the present work, he was during the last year of his life chiefly engaged in violent public denunciation of the Bab and his religion. This cost him his life; for at length certain Babis, stung by his words into uncontrollable anger, fell upon him early one morning as he was praying in the mosque, and with knives and daggers inflicted on him eight wounds, from the effects of which he expired two days later. He was buried at K̄azvin in the precincts of Shahzade Huseyn.

Contents of the *Kisasu'l-' Ulama* in so far as they relate to the Babis.

P. 20. Haji Mulla Muhammad Taki first denounces Sheykh Ahmad Ahsa'i as a heretic—Account of Sheykh Ahmad.

" Pp. 21—30. Account of Sheykh Ahmad and Haji Seyyid Kazim—Exposition and refutation of their doctrines. (See Note E, *infra*, and 13. ii, pp. 890—892.)

Pp. 30—35. Account of Haji Muhammad Karim Khan of Kirman—Further remarks on the Sheykhi doctrines.

P. 36. Account of the assassination of Haji Mulla Muhammad Taki by certain Babis in A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848).

P. 37. Account of Mirza 'Ali Muḥammad the Bab—His diligent attendance at Haji Seyyid Kazim's lectures. (See B. ii, p. 894.)

P. 38. How the attention of the author was first drawn to the Bab (see B. ii, pp. 894, 895)—The Bab returns to Bushire and begins to practise austerities—He composes a 'Kur'an*—The heresy of his doctrines exposed.

P. 39. Imprisonment of the Bab at Chihriḳ—His first examination before the clergy of Tabriz. (See Note M, *infra*.)

Pp. 40, 41. Account of the Bab's examination continued and concluded—He is bastinadoed—Further particulars concerning Haji Muhammad Karim Khan.

Pp. 42, 43. Disparagement of Haji Muhammad Karim Khan, and proofs of his lack of scholarship.

IL OTHER WRITINGS IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES WHEREIN
INCIDENTAL REFERENCE TO THE BABIS IS MADE.

Besides the Persian works above noticed which bear directly on the history of the Bábi movement, we may observe that the Persian poet Ka'ani has two *kasidas* written to celebrate the Sháh's escape from the attempt on his life¹. These, however, as one would naturally expect, throw very little new light on the facts of the case. It is said that Ka'ani was at first disposed to regard the Bab with favour, and that the *kasida* beginning :—

مقتدای انسی و جان آمد پدید
پیشوای این و آن آمد پدید

" The ensample of men and *jinn* hath appeared,
The leader of these and those hath appeared,"

was written in his honour. If this be so, it is by no means the only instance of inconstancy wherewith this talented but fickle poet can be taxed.

In *Arabic* there is an article on Babiism in the Encyclopaedia (دائرة المعارف) of Buṭrusu'l-Bustánf (Beyrout, 1881) which contributes some important facts not previously published, but also contains one or two grave errors. It comprises about 1600 words, and is based on information communicated by Seyyid Jemálu'd-Dím al-Afghán. Of a portion of this I published a translation in my second paper on the Babis (J. R. A. S. for 1889, pp. 942—943).

In *Turkish* a short article of about 240 words in vol. ii of Sámi Bey's *Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire et de Géographie* (قاموس الاعلام), Constantinople, A.H. 1307) contains no new facts, but several new errors.

¹ See *infra*, Note T.

III. EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS.

Numerous accounts of the Bab and his religion have been published in Europe, and these, so far as they are known to me, I shall now enumerate in the order of their publication, noting as far as possible whence each work derives the information which it embodies. A mere casual remark of some traveller often sheds a fresh ray of light on the matter, or helps to decide some doubtful date, and therefore I shall include in my list several works wherein only a few paragraphs are devoted to the Babis ; while on the other hand I do not consider it necessary to refer to all of the numerous articles on the subject which have appeared in various encyclopaedias and magazines, since these for the most part merely repeat more or less fully and eloquently the facts recorded by other writers.

[A.D. 1851.] *Bab und seine Secte in Persien*, by A. H. Wright of the American Mission at Urúmiyya, Persia, contributed by J. Perkins, also of the aforesaid Mission, to the German Oriental Society, and published in Vol. v of the *Z. D. M. G.* (Leipzig, 1851, pp. 384—385). From a note appended by the Editor we learn that the MS. of this article, dated March 31, 1851, was forwarded with a letter from Mr Perkins dated March 29, and that another copy of the same article was sent to the American Oriental Society. From the Journal of the last-named society it appears that this paper was read at one of their meetings, but, so far as I can discover, it was not published, so that we have it only in its German dress. This document is of capital importance, and I have more than once had occasion to refer to it in my notes.

[A.D. 1856.] *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, by Lady Sheil (London, 1856). The authoress of this work also was resident in Persia during the Babi troubles, and much valuable information is supplied by her. That this information was derived for the most part, if not entirely, from bitter enemies of the new faith, or in other words from persons attached to the Persian Court, is sufficiently

evident. Some of the statements advanced seem to be traceable to one or other of the Court historians whose works have been already noticed. Others—especially one to the effect that the Báb, while resident at Baghdad or Kerbelá, was arrested by the Turkish authorities, and only saved from execution at their hands by the intervention of the Persian consul (p. 177)—stand alone, and are unsupported by other testimony. What relates to the Babis in this work is as follows :

P. 176. Origin of the sect.

P. 177. Personal history of the Báb until his death.

P. 178. Confessions of ex-Babis.

P. 179. Bábí doctrines exposed.

P. 180. Babis compared to Assassins and Mazdakites—Mázandarán and Yezd insurrections—Execution of the 'Seven Martyrs/'

P. 181. Rising at Zanján—Probability that the Bábí faith is spreading.

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Pp. 273—282. Accounts of the attempt on the Sháh's life and of the Babi executions which followed it, the latter translated from the 'Teheran Gazette' in which it appeared.

[A.D. 1857.] *Journal of Two Year's Travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, by Robert B. M. Binning, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service (London, 1857, 2 vols.). Some few pages of the twentieth chapter of this work (vol. i, pp. 403—408) are devoted to the Babis. Of all accounts which I have read, not excluding those given by the Musulmán historians, this is the most hostile, the most unfair—I had almost said the most libellous. The writer, not content with likening the Babis to Mormons and Sadducees and describing their Founder as a kind of oriental Joe Smith, casts aspersions on the Báb's honesty, and almost accuses him of theft in so many words. This should not, perhaps, cause us much surprise in one who considers that the Gospel of Christ would be best commended to the people of Persia by the annexation of their country by some "Christian State," and who thinks that King Nushirvan acted "very properly" in ordering the massacre of Mazdak and his adherents. In

point of accuracy, too, this account leaves much to be desired. Thus the author, writing in 1850—1851, describes the Niriz insurrection and the death of Seyyid Yahya as having occurred "about five years ago," and states that the Bab himself travelled into Mazandaran, evidently confusing him with Muhammad 'Ali of Barfurush. Yet, open to criticism as it is, Mr Binning's narrative has its value, and, as I have shown above (p. 187), helps to determine some doubtful points of chronology. Mr Binning appears to have left Persia by way of Bushire on February 7, 1852, having learned, almost at the moment of his departure, the tragic fate of Mirzd Taki Khin *Amir-Nizam*, which befel in January of that year.

[A.D. 1864, 65.] In the *Bulletin de l'Academie Imperiale de St Pefersbourg*, dated December 22, 1864 (vol. viii, pp. 247—248), is a most valuable article by Dom on certain Babi MSS. belonging to the St Petersburg collection. One of these—described as "the Koran of the Babis"—derives special value from the fact that it was written by the Bab's own secretary, and by him placed in European hands. A portion of this text given by Dom as a specimen was pronounced by Şubh-i-Ezel (to whom I submitted it) an extract from the *Book of Names* (کتاب الاسماء). The other Ms. described is a history of the Mazandaran insurrection composed in the Mazandarani dialect, and was obtained by Dom during his sojourn in that province in 1860. From the abstract given of its contents it would appear to be of the highest interest, even though it be not in all respects worthy of credence. A short postscript referring to the authenticity of these two MSS. is added in the *Bulletin* for February 8, 1865. Concerning the occurrences in Mazandaran, Dom also refers to a previous article of his at p. 353 of vol. iv of the *Bulletin {Mélanges Asiatiques}*, vol. iv, p. 442), but this I have not seen.

[A.D. 1865.] *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, by M. le Comte de Gobineau (Paris, 1865 and 1866). This most brilliant, most graphic, and most charming work is too well known to need any detailed description.

Though largely based on the *Lisanu'l-Mulk's* account of the Bábí movement, it embodies also many statements derived from Bábí sources ; and not only are the facts thus obtained sifted with rare judgment and arranged with consummate skill, but the characters and scenes of this stirring drama are depicted in a manner so fresh, so vivid, and so lifelike that the work in question must ever remain a classic unsurpassed and indeed unapproached in the subject whereof it treats. The account of the Bábí books and doctrines (occupying 50 pages) is of the utmost value, being based on Bábí MSS. (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris) obtained by the author; and the translation of the *Book of Precepts* (کتاب احکام), which forms an Appendix of 82 pages, is still the only complete translation into any European language of a Bábí sacred book. Of the 543 pages composing this volume, 299 are devoted to the Bábis.

[A.D. 1865.] *Persien. Das Land and seine Bewohner*, by Dr Jakob Eduard Polak, formerly Physician to the Sháh of Persia and Professor at the Medical College of Teherán (Leipzig, 1865, 2 vols.). This work, embodying as it does researches into every phase of Persian life made by one whose position gave him rare opportunities of observing facts which his scientific training enabled him to describe with precision and accuracy, is also of the highest value. What relates to the Bábis occupies only four pages (pp. 350—353) of the first volume. Of these four pages the contents are briefly as follows:—

P. 350. The Báb and his teaching—Its rapid spread, especially amongst Seyyids, men of learning, and women of the most cultured class—Kurratu'l-'Ayn—Alleged use of narcotics such as *hashish* by the Bábis—Determination of the *Amtr-Nizám* to put the Báb to death.

P. 351. Execution of the Báb—Insurrections in Mázandarán and Zanján. [Both of these risings are here described as having taken place *subsequently* to the Báb's death, whereas in fact the former had terminated and the latter was in progress when this event occurred.]—Attempt on the Sháh's life in 1852.

P. 352. Attempt on the Shāh's life—Persons suspected—"Macchiavellian means" adopted for the extirpation of the Bdbis—Haji [*Ali Khan the Farrdsh-Bashi—Ek* cruel disposition—Partition of the Babi prisoners.

P. 353. Horrible cruelties perpetrated on the Bábis—Their extraordinary fortitude—The tortures inflicted on the beautiful Kurratu'l-Ayn, and the "superhuman courage" wherewith she endured her lingering death. [Of this execution Dr Polak was himself a witness.]—Persecutions in the provinces—Activity of the Bábis continued, though concealed.

[A.D. 1865.] *Journey from London to Persepolis*, by John Ussler, F.R.G.S. (London, 1865). This work contains (pp. 627—629) some mention of the Bábis, and depicts in vivid colours the reign of terror which succeeded the attempt on the Shāh's life. A portion of this description is quoted in a footnote on p. 120, *supra*.

[A.D. 1866.] *Bab et les Babis*, an article—or rather a series of five articles—communicated to the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866 by Mirza Kazem-Beg. The *Journal Asiatique* for each year being divided into two volumes in the second of which the pagination is recommenced, I have, for the sake of brevity, denoted all that portion of Mirza Kazem-Beg's article which occurs in vol. vii (6th series) by the abbreviation 'Kazem-Beg i,' and that which occurs in vol. viii by 'Kazem-Beg ii,' whenever I have had occasion to refer to them. The whole article amounts to 251 pages distributed in the two volumes as follows:—

Vol. vii (sixieme serie), pp. 329—384. Preface, and biography of the Báb in 16 sections.

Pp. 457—522. The Sheykhi doctrines. History of the Bábis, until the final suppression of the Mázandarán insurrection.

Vol. viii (sixikme sdrie), pp. 196—252. History of the Bábis concluded. (Insurrections of Zanján and Niriz, attempt on the Shāh, persecution of A.D. 1852.)

Pp. 357—400. The doctrine of the Bábis, and its antecedents...

Pp. 473—507. Two letters, from a Bábí Seyyid—

Changes in the original doctrine of the Bab wrought by his followers—Translations from a Babi work of a devotional character. [This work, as I have attempted to show on pp. 897—899 of my second paper on the Babis in the *J. R. A. S.*, is none other than the *Ziydrat-nama*—the so-called "Recit du Pelerinage"—composed by the Bab.]—Conclusion.

The sources from which Mirza Kazem-Beg drew his information are, as stated by himself in a note on p. 332 (vol. vii), the following :—

(a) The *Nasikku't-Tawwrikh*.

(p) The MS. History in the Mazandarani dialect described by Dom (see p. 202, *supra*). Its author calls himself *Shey-khul-'Ajam*. Kazem-Beg describes the work in question as "full of inexactitudes," "of no historic value," and "curious only because composed in the dialect of Mazandaran."

(y) A memoir on the Babis by M. Sdvruquin, who resided for twenty years in Persia.

(8) Another memoir by M. Mochenin, who was in Persia at the time of the Babf troubles, and who (vol. vii, p. 371) was so fortunate as to be at Chihrik in June 1850, and even, as it would appear, to see the Bab addressing the multitudes who flocked thither.

Some of Kazem-Beg's dates and facts I have already had occasion to criticize (though in almost all such cases it is the *Ndsikhu't-Tawarikh* which is ultimately responsible); neither can I concur in several of 'he views which he advances (especially his estimate of the characters of Áka Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd and Aka Seyyid Yahyd of Darab and his theory of the passive part taken by the Bab in the formation of the new doctrines); but, whatever new light further research may throw on the subject treated of by Mirza Kazem-Beg, there is no doubt that his work will always remain one of the chief authorities thereon.

[A.D. 1866.] *History of Persia from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year 1858*, by Robert Grant Watson, formerly attached to Her Majesty's Legation at the Court of Persia (London, 1866). This work is also of the utmost value, since the author, from the position which

he occupied, had at his disposal the best means for arriving at the truth of matters of historical fact (especially of chronology), and was, moreover, by no means disposed unreservedly to follow the Musulaman historians, of whose unreliability he was well aware. What refers to the Babis in this work is as follows :—

Pp. 347—352. Origin of the movement—Early life of the Bab—The treatment experienced by him at the hands of Huseyn Khan—Edicts against the Babis.

* * *

Pp. 360—362. Rising at Yezd (not described in this passage as Babi).

P. 385. Yezd rising described as a Babi movement.

P. 386. Account of the Seven Martyrs.'

P. 387. Siege of Zanjan.

Pp. 388—392. Execution of the *Bib*—Fall of Zanjan.

* * *

Pp. 407—410. Attempt on Shah's life—Executions of Babis.

[A.D. 1867.] *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, by Hermann Vambéry (Pest, 1867). This well-known traveller, *à propos* of a conversation which he had during his passage through Mazandaran with some of the inhabitants of 'Alf-abad, in whose minds the recollection of the siege of Sheykh Ṭabarsf was still fresh, gives a dissertation on the Bdbfs which extends from p. 286 to p. 303 of this work. This account seems to be based almost entirely on what he was able to learn from the Persians, though Gobineau's work is occasionally quoted. The details here given concerning Suleym&n Kh&n's martyrdom (which differ somewhat from those embodied in other traditions) will be referred to in Note T, *infra*.

[A.D. 1868.] *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, by Baron Alfred von Kremer (Leipzig, 1868). Twenty pages of this work (pp. 202—222) are devoted to *Bāb und seine Lehre*, which article constitutes sect, vii of Book ii. One of the Babi MSS. in the British Museum (Or. 3114) was, as appears from a note on the first page, bought from

Baron von Kremer, and contains a short note in pencil in his handwriting, but it does not seem that he made use of this in the compilation of the article in question.

[A.D. 1869.] *L'Annee Philosophique* for this year contains an article by P. Pillon referred to with approbation in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (vol. iii, s. v. *Bābi*).

[A.D. 1872.] *Essays und Studien*, by Dr Hermann Ethd (Berlin, 1872). Of this work 61 pages (pp. 301—362) are occupied by an essay on the Bab and his doctrine entitled *Ein moderner Prophet des Morgenlandes* and based on the works of Gobineau, Kazem-Beg, V&mbdry, and Perkins. This essay is written in a sympathetic spirit, and the Babf doctrines are expounded in a very lucid and logical manner.

[A.D. 1873.] The *Journal Asiatique* for this year (7th series, vol. ii, pp. 393—395) contains an article "Sur les sectes dans le Kurdistan" by M. T. Gilbert wherein is included a short notice of the Babis. After briefly describing the beliefs attributed to them by their neighbours, M. Gilbert estimates the number of those settled in KurdisUn at about five thousand.

[A.D. 1874.] *Persia—Ancient and Modern*, by John Piggot, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S. (London, 1874). The account of the Babf movement given in this work is full of inaccuracies. Thus, on p. 104, speaking of the Babis up in arms at Yezd in May 1850, the writer says, "failing in this" (i.e. their attempt to capture the citadel) "they retired to Zinjan"; and he further describes the Bab as having been present in person amongst the besieged in that city, and as having been captured "in one of the assaults of the Shah's troops" and executed there.

[A.D. 1874.] *Gurret-iil-Eyn: Ein Bild aus Persiens Neuzeit*, by Marie von Najmajer (Vienna, 1874). This is a poem in six cantos in honour of the Babi heroine Kurratu 'l-'Ayn, which, if not possessing much historic value, is at

least a graceful and pleasing tribute to the memory of a noble woman.

[A.D. 1875.] *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey in Asia*, by Lieut. Baron Max von Thielmann, translated into English by Charles Hennege, F.R.G.S. (London, 1875, 2 vols.). The first volume of this work contains (at p. 262) a brief reference to the Babis *à propos* of 'Muridism.' The second volume contains (at p. 52) an allusion to the Bab's execution in the citadel (*arg*) of Tabriz, which event is wrongly described as having occurred in A.D. 1843; and (at pp. 90—91) an interesting account of a Bābi named Hāji Muḥammad Ja'far¹ who was the author's fellow-traveller from Tabriz to Mosul.

[A.D. 1877.] *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*, vol. i, *Manuscripts Arabes*, by Baron Victor Rosen (St Petersburg, 1886). To this most valuable contribution to our knowledge I have had occasion to refer frequently, both in my second paper on the Babis (pp. 886, 905—909, 954—960, &c), and in the present work. Of the two Babi MSS. described, the first is conjectured by Baron Rosen (and there can hardly be a doubt that his conjecture is right) to be the *Commentary on the Sūra of Joseph* (تفسير سورة يوسف) composed by the Bab at the beginning of his mission; the second, concerning which I was unable to arrive at a definite conclusion in my second paper on the Babis (p. 954—958), has since been proved beyond all question to be a copy of Bella's *Sūra-i-Heykal*, whereof the Epistles to the Kings (including the Epistle to, the Shāh, a complete translation of which is given in the present work²) form a portion. Baron Rosen's convincing arguments (which he has kindly allowed me to see in proof) are prefixed to the text of the MS., which will be published *in*

¹ Baron von Thielmann's fellow-traveller is very probably identical with the Hāji Muḥammad Ja'far mentioned on p. 100, *supra*, and in note 1 on the same page.

² See pp. 108—151, *supra*, and Note X, *infra*. The latter contains a translation of that portion of the Arabic exordium which is not cited in the Persian text.

extenso, in vol. vi of the *Collections Scientifiques &c.*, shortly to appear (p. 145 *et seq.*).

[A.D. 1879.] The *Deutsche Rundschau* (vol. xviii, pp. 284—291) contains an article entitled *Orientalischer Socialisrrms* by Professor T. Nöldeke, in which the tenets of the Babi s are briefly discussed, and compared with those of the Mazdakites.

[A.D. 1886.] *Collections Scientifiques &c*, vol. iii, *Manuscripts Persans*, by Baron Rosen (St Petersburg, 1886). This volume, equally valuable with the other, contains descriptions of MSS. of the *Persian Beyan* (pp. 1—32) and the *thdn* (pp. 33—51).

[A.D. 1887.] The *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* for April 18th of this year contains (pp. 297—298) a review of Baron Rosen's *Manuscripts Per sans* by M. E. Fagnan. Special notice is taken of the Babi MSS. described by Baron Rosen, and some valuable information is given concerning the five Babi MSS. brought by Gobineau from Persia, which, on the death of their owner, were bought by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[A.D. 1887.] *Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine*, by Laurence Oliphant (Edinburgh and London, 1887). This work consists of a series of letters or essays on different subjects connected with the Holy Land, of which the twenty-first, entitled "*the Babs and their Prophet*" (pp. 103—107), gives an account of a visit paid by the writer to one of Beha's gardens in the vicinity of Acre, together with such information as to the history of the Bab and the Babis and the personal character and claims of Beha as he was able to collect. This account is very noteworthy, since it is, so far as I know, the first published notice of Behd and the Babi colony at Acre. Several erroneous statements are made, especially one to the effect that Beha "is visible only to women or men of the poorest class," and that "his own disciples who visit him are only allowed a glimpse of his august back." I myself, during the week which I spent at Acre (April 13th—20th, 1890), was

admitted to the august presence four times, each interview lasting about 20 minutes; besides which on one occasion I saw Beha walking in his garden of Janayn surrounded by a dozen or so of his chief disciples. Not a day passes but numerous Babis of all classes are permitted to wait upon him.

[A.D. 1887.] *Note sur trois ouvrages Babis* communicated by M. Cldment Huart to the *Journal Asiatique* for 1887 (eighth series, vol. x, pp. 133—144). Of the first of the three MSS. described I submitted an extract to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, who pronounced it to be (as M. Huart had conjectured) from his own work the *Kiṭāb-i-Nūr* ('Book of Light'), or rather from one of the two works which go by that name. The translation of Şubḥ-i-Ezel's words (contained in a letter written at the end of September 1889) will be found in Note U *infra*. The other two MSS. described by M. Huart appear to be from the same source. Baron Rosen alludes to another article about these MSS. by M. Huart in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (vol. xviii, p. 279—296), which I have not seen.

[A.D. 1889.] *La Religion de Bab*, a little volume of 64 pages, also by M. Huart, forming one of the series known as the *Bibliothique Orientate Elzévirienne* (Paris, 1889). This contains some translations from the above MSS. The historical portion supplies us with no new facts.

[A.D. 1889.] The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [New Series] vol. xxi contains my two papers on the Bdbis, whereof the first (throughout this work referred to as B. i) is entitled *The Bdbis of Persia. I. Sketch of their History and Personal Experiences amongst them*, and the second (referred to as B. ii) *The Babis of Persia. II. Their Literature and Doctrines*. These two papers embody the results of my investigations on this subject during the year which I spent in Persia (1887—1888).

[A.D. 1889.] Baron Rosen's *Zapiski* (vol. iv, parts 1 and 2, pp. 112—114) contains a short account of four Babf works recently brought to St Petersburg. These four

works are:—(1) A MS. of the ایتقان; (2) A copy of the Bombay lithographed edition of the ایتقان; (3) A MS. of the كتاب اقدس (which work I wrongly named لوح اقدس in my papers on the Bábís in the *J. R. A. S.*); (4) A MS. of the سورة الملوك (or سوره هیکل). A much fuller description of all these will be found in vol. vi of the *Collections Scientifiques* when it appears. See immediately below.

[To appear shortly.] *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. vi, by Baron Rosen. Although this volume is not yet published, the kindness of the learned author in sending me the proof-sheets as they were printed off has enabled me to make reference to it when occasion required. It will contain, amongst much other valuable matter, the complete text of the *Sura-i-Heykal*.

See also articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* s.v. *Bábí* (vol. iii, 1875, pp. 180—181), *Persia, Modern History* (vol. xviii, 1885, pp. 650—651), and *Sunnites and Shi'ites* (vol. xxii, 1887, p. 665); and articles in the following periodicals:—*Contemporary Review* (vol. xi, p. 581; vol. xii, p. 245), *Chambers' Journal* (vol. xxix, p. 45), *All the Year Bound* (vol. xxii, p. 149), *Hours at Home* (vol. viii, p. 210), and *The Nation* (vol. ii, p. 793).

NOTE B.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MIRZA SEYYID 'ALI THE BAB'S MATERNAL UNCLE AMONGST THE 'SEVEN MARTYRS.'

"This year," says Lady Sheil writing in September 1850, "seven Bābees were executed at Tehran for an alleged conspiracy against the life of the Prime Minister. Their fate excited general sympathy, for every one knew that no criminal act had been committed, and suspected the accusation to be a pretence. Besides this Bābeeism

had spread in Tehran too. They died with the utmost firmness. Previously to decapitation they received an offer of pardon, on the condition of reciting the Kelema, or creed, that Mahommed is the Prophet of God. It was rejected, and these visionaries died steadfast in their faith. The Persian minister was ignorant of the maxim that persecution was proselytism¹. Amongst these seven—the Seven Martyrs' as they are called by the Babis—was the Bab's uncle Haji Mirza Seyyid 'Ali. The other sufferers were Haji Mulla Isma'il of Kum, Mirza Kurban 'All the dervish, Aka Seyyid Huseyn of Turshiz the *mujtahid*, Haji Mulla Naki of Kirman, Mirza Muhammad Huseyn of Tabriz, and Mulla Sadik of Maragha. Of their martyrdom the *Tarikh-i-Jadm* gives a long and touching account, or which I here append an abridgement.

What led to this tragic event was, as stated by Lady Sheil, a report conveyed to Mirza Taki Khan the Prime Minister that the Babis in Teheran meditated a rising. Thirty-eight persons suspected of belonging to the obnoxious sect were therefore arrested and cast into prison. After a few days it was decided that all of these who would consent to renounce or repudiate their connection with the Bab and his doctrines should be released, but that those who refused to do so should suffer death.

When this news was brought to the prisoners, Haji Mulla Isma'il of Kum, who was one of the earliest believers and who had been present at the conference at Badasht [see Gobineau, pp. 180—184], arose and addressed his fellow-captives, announcing his own intention of standing firm in the faith even unto death, and exhorting others like-minded with himself and not hindered by any impediment to follow his example, "for," said he, "if we do not show forth the religion of His Highness the *Kd'im*, who then will show it forth?" At the same time he declared that those whose faith was weak, or who were prevented by domestic ties from freely laying down their lives, must judge for themselves as to the duty incumbent upon them, and decide whether they were justified in making a formal renunciation of the Bab's doctrine.

¹ Lady Sheil's *Life and Manners in Persia*, pp. 180—181.

Accordingly of the thirty-eight prisoners seven (including Hdji Mulla Isma'il) determined to adopt the more courageous course, while the others for various reasons were not prepared to forfeit their lives, and decided to recant. The latter were therefore released: the former were led out to die.

In spite of the wide-spread sympathy felt for the sufferers there were not lacking wretches to deride and mock them as they were led forth to the place of execution¹. Some of these threw stones at them; others confined themselves to abuse and raillery, crying out, "These are Babis and madmen." Thereupon Haji Mulla Isma'il turned towards them and said, "Yes, we are Babis; but mad we are not. By God, O people, it is for your awakening and your enlightenment that we have foregone life, wealth, wife, and child, and have shut our eyes to the world and its citizens, that perchance ye may be warned and may escape from uncertainty and error, that ye may fall to making enquiry, that ye may recognize the Truth as it meet, and that ye may no longer be veiled therefrom."

Now when they were come to the place of execution, one came to Haji Mulla Isma'il and said, "Such an one of your friends will, on condition of your recanting, give a sum of money in order that they may not kill you. To save your life what harm is there in saying merely 'I am not a B4bi'?" To this, however, Haji Mulla Isma'il would by no means consent; and, when greatly importuned, he drew himself up and said,

ای صبا از من با اسماعیل قربانی بگو
زنده بر کشتن ز کوی دوست شرط عشق نیست

"O zephyr! Say from me to Isma'il² destined for sacrifice,
'To return alive from the street of the Friend is not the condition of love.'"

¹ This, as I have heard, was the square called *Sabz-i-Meydan*, adjoining the northern limit of the bazaars, but according to the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* the execution took place in the *Meydan-i-Shah*.

² According to the Muhammadans it was Ishmael [Isma'il] not Isaac [Is-hak] whom Abraham designed for a sacrifice to Goa.

Then he took off his turban and said to the executioner, "Go on with thy work;" and the latter, filled with amazement, struck the fatal blow.

The next victim was Mirza Kurban-'Ali the dervish, an old man highly respected and beloved of all, who had spent the last night in prison in exhorting and encouraging his comrades and reciting verses appropriate to their condition. So high was the consideration in which he was held that the Shah's mother exerted her influence with her son to have him pardoned, declaring that it was impossible that he could be a Babi. So, as he stood there awaiting death, messengers came from the palace to give him another chance of saving his life. "Thou art a dervish," said they, "and art a man of excellence and virtue: they have thrown suspicion upon thee, but thou art not of this misguided people." "I consider myself as one of the disciples and servants of His Highness [the Bab]," answered the old dervish, "though whether He hath accepted me into His service or not I know not." And when they continued to press him and urge him to save his life he cried, "This drop of blood—this poor life—is nought: were I possessed of the lordship of the world, and had I a thousand lives, I would freely cast them before the feet of His friends." So, when they perceived that their efforts were of no avail, they desisted therefrom, and signified to the executioner that he should proceed with his work. The first blow struck only wounded the old man's neck and cast his turban to the ground. He raised his head and exclaimed,

ای خوش آن عاشق سر هست که در پای حیب
سر و دستار نداند که کدام اندازد

"O happy that intoxicated lover who at the feet of the Friend

Knoweth not whether it be his head or his turban
which he casteth!"

Then the executioner quickly dealt him another blow which slew him.

After him was slain Āka Seyyid Huseyn the *mujtahid* of Turshiz, who, returning homewards from Kerbela to visit his friends and family, had been arrested in Teheran. He too died with the utmost firmness and alacrity.

Then came the turn of the Bab's uncle Haji Mirza Seyyid 'AH. A merchant of his acquaintance wished to ransom him for the sum of three hundred *tumans*, but he declared that to suffer martyrdom was his greatest desire. Then he took off his turban, and, raising his face towards heaven, exclaimed, "O God, Thou art witness of how they are slaying the son of Thy Most Honourable Prophet without fault on his part." Then he turned to the executioner and recited this verse:—

چند درد فرقتش بکشد مرا
سریر تا عشق سر بخشد مرا

"How long shall grief of separation from him slay me?
Cut off my head, that Love may bestow on me a head¹."

When he had said this he too submitted himself to the executioner's hands.

After this the other three victims, each in his turn, met their death with like heroism. Of the martyrdom of one of these not specified by name but described as "a young Seyyid of pleasing countenance and attractive aspect"; of the attempt to save him made by Haji 'Ali Khan the Hajibu'd-Dawla (see p. 52, note 1), who was superintending the execution and was moved to a compassion rare in him at the sight of so youthful and comely a sufferer; and of the refusal of the youthful Babi to escape death and secure wealth, luxury, and a fair bride as the price of a simple recantation, the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* gives a detailed account, which, notwithstanding its pathetic interest, lack of space compels me to omit in this place.

When the executioners had completed their bloody work, the rabble onlookers, awed for a while by the patient courage of the martyrs, again allowed their ferocious fanati-

¹ *Masnavi*, Book vi, p. 649, l. 2 (ed. 'Ala 'ud-Dawla).

cism to break out in insults to the mortal remains of those whose spirits had now passed beyond the power of their malice. They cast stones and filth at the motionless corpses, abusing them, and crying out, "This is the recompense of the people of affection and of such as pursue the Path of Wisdom and Truth!" Nor would they suffer their bodies to be interred in a burial-ground, but cast them into a pit outside the Gate of Shah 'Abdu'l-'Azim, which they then filled up.

After detailing the occurrences briefly set forth above, the Babi historian proceeds to point out the special value and unique character of the testimony given by the "Seven Martyrs." They were men representing all the more important classes in Persia—divines, dervishes, merchants, shop-keepers, and government officials; they were men who had enjoyed the respect and consideration of all; they died fearlessly, willingly, almost eagerly, declining to purchase life by that mere lip-denial, which, under the name of *ketman* or *takiya*, is recognized by the Shi'ites as a perfectly justifiable subterfuge in case of peril; they were not driven to despair of mercy as were those who died at Sheykh Tabarsi and Zanjan; and they sealed their faith with their blood in the public square of the Persian capital wherein is the abode of the foreign ambassadors accredited to the court of the Shah. And herein the Babi historian is right: even those who speak severely of the Babi movement generally, characterizing it as a communism destructive of all order and all morality, express commiseration for these guiltless victims. To the day of their martyrdom we may well apply Gobineau's eloquent reflection on a similar tragedy enacted two years later:—"Cette journee donna au Bab plus de partisans secrets que bien des predications n'auraient pu faire. Je Tai dit tout a l'heure, l'impression produite sur le peuple par Teffroyable impassibility des martyrs fut profonde et durable. Fai souvent entendu raconter les scenes de cette journde par des tdmoin oculaires, par des hommes tenant de pres au gouvernement, quelques-uns occupant des fonctions dminentes. A les entendre, on eut pu croire aisement que tous etaient babys, tant ils se montraient penetres d admiration pour des souvenirs oh Y Islam ne jouait pas le plus beau r6le, et par

la haute idee qu'ils avouaient des ressources, des esperances, et des moyens de succes de la secte¹."

With regard to Haji Mirza Seyyid 'Ali the Bab's uncle, with whom we are more particularly concerned, the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* gives the following additional particulars. Before leaving Shiraz (where, as it would appear, he had remained after the Bab departed to Isfahan) he set all his affairs in order and paid all his creditors in person, as though in anticipation of a speedy death. Then he took a tender farewell of all his friends and relatives, besought them to pardon any fault which he might have committed in regard to them, and set out for Teheran, apparently with the intention of proceeding thence to Chihrlk̄ to visit the Bab. Perhaps on his arrival at the capital he was met with the news of his nephew's martyrdom at Tabriz on July 9th 1850: at all events it would appear that he continued there till, not two months later, he himself met with a similar fate.

As the Babi historian does not omit to point out, no stronger evidence of the marvellous personal influence of the Bab over all with whom he came in contact can be found than the devoted attachment to him manifested by his aged uncle, who, knowing him from his childhood upwards, and being fully conversant with his daily life, was one of the first to embrace the faith for which he died. Of the extraordinary purity and piety of the Bab's life, indeed, we have ample evidence. His bitterest enemies cannot asperse his personal character. Hence those who knew him best loved and revered him most. I was fortunate enough to meet at Acre one who was the Bab's cousin, comrade, play-fellow, and brother-in-law. He was a gentle old man with light blue eyes and white beard. I begged him to give me some account of the Bab's personal character. "He was very dignified and gentle in his manner," replied he, "yet at times, when any attempt to treat him unfairly or discourteously was made, he could be very stern. Once I remember while we were engaged in business at Bushire a custom-house officer attempted to

¹ Gobineau, *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrales* 2nd ed. p. 303.

extōrt money from him wrongfully and treated him with disrespect. Thereupon the Bāb, finding remonstrance unavailing, struck his assailant with his slipper once, accompanying the blow with a look of such majestic anger that the latter instantly became silent and took his departure."

NOTE 0.

TEXTS FROM THE PERSIAN BEYĀN GIVING THE BĀB'S AGE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS MISSION, AND THE DATE THEREOF.

The Bāb mentions his age in two passages in the Persian *Beydn*. The first of these occurs in *Vdḳid n*, ch. 1 and runs as follows in my MS. The variants of the British Museum codex marked Or. 2819 are here and hereafter given at the foot of each page. This codex is denoted by the letter B.

و هرگاه کسی تصور¹ در ظهور این شجره نماید² بلا
ریب تصدیق در علو امر الله می نماید زیرا که³ نفسی که
بیست و چهار سال از عمرش گذشته و از علومیکه کل
بآنها متعلم⁴ کشته⁵ متعری بوده و حال باین نوع تلاوت
آیات مینماید بدون فکر و تأمل در عرض پنجاه ساعت⁶
هزار بیت در مناجات مینویسد بدون سکون قلم و تفاسیر⁷

¹ B inserts کد.

² B omits.

³ B inserts و.

⁴ B reads مکتوم.

⁵ B reads مکتبه.

⁶ B adds دو.

⁷ B adds و.

شئون علمیه در علو مقامات معرفت و توحید ظاهر مینماید¹
 که² علما و حکما در آن موارد اعتراف بعجز از ادراک³
 نموده و⁴ شبهه⁵ نیست که کل ذلك⁶ من عند الله هست و⁷
 علمائیکه از اول عمر تا آخر عمر⁸ اجتهاد نموده چگونه در
 وقت نوشتن بطرز⁹ عربی دقت کرده¹⁰ و آخر الامر
 کلماتی است که لائق ذکر نیست کل اینها از جهة¹¹ خلق
 بوده و الا امر الله اعز و اجل از این است که
 بتوان او را شناخت بغیر¹¹ او بل غیر او شناخته میشود باور*
 *

"And if anyone should reflect on the appearance of this Tree¹⁸, he will without doubt admit the loftiness of God's religion. For in one from whose life [only] twenty-four years had passed, who was devoid of those sciences wherein all are learned, who now recites verses after such fashion without thought or hesitation, who in the course of five hours writes a thousand verses of supplications without pause of the pen, who produces commentaries and learned treatises of so high a degree of wisdom and understanding of the Divine Unity that doctors and philosophers confess their inability to comprehend those passages, there is no doubt that all this is from God. What pains do these doctors

¹ B reads جفرماپد.

² B inserts کل.

³ B inserts آنها.

⁴ B omits.

⁵ B inserts *.

⁶ B inserts حق.

⁷ B omits.

⁸ B omits.

⁹ B reads بطری.

¹⁰ B reads نموده.

¹¹ B inserts از.

¹² i.e. the Báb, who repeatedly calls himself "the Tree of Truth."

take who study diligently from the beginning to the end of their lives when writing a single line in Arabic! Yet after all [the result] is but words which are unworthy of mention. All these things are for a proof unto the people; else is the religion of God too mighty and glorious for one to be able to understand it by aught other than itself; rather by it is all else understood."

The second passage occurs in *Vdkid* vi, ch. 11, which prohibits the cruel beating of children and defines the penalties incurred by schoolmasters and teachers who infringe this injunction. After stating these in full it continues as follows:—

ثمره این اوامر این است¹ لعل برآن نفسیکه² کل
از بحر جود او متوجد میکردند حزنی وارد نیاید زیرا
که معلم نمیشناسد معلم خود و کل را چنانچه در
ظهور فرقان تا چهل سال³ نکذشت کسی شناخت⁴
شمس حقیقرا⁵ و در نقطه بیان بیست و پنج سال*

"The fruit of these ordinances is this, that perchance no sorrow may befall that Soul from the ocean of whose bounty all are endowed with existence. For the teacher doth not recognize the Teacher of himself and of all, even as in the manifestation of the *Furhan* [i.e. the *Kwari*] none recognized that Sun of Truth till forty years had passed, and in the [case of the] Point of Revelation [i.e. the Bab] for twenty-five years."

In my first paper on the Bdbis in the *J. R. A. S.* (B. i, pp. 509—511), I was disposed to believe that in each of these two passages the Bab referred to his actual age at

¹ B inserts که. ² B reads ان نفسی که. ³ B omits.

⁴ B reads شناخت کسی. ⁵ B reads خطبت را.

the time of writing, and that this was why he described himself in one passage as being twenty-four years of age and in the other as twenty-five. Starting with this hypothesis, I attempted to fix as nearly as possible the date when the first of these passages was written, and decided that it must have been about the end of A.D. 1847 or the beginning of A.D. 1848. From this I concluded that the Bab must have been born not earlier than A.D. 1824, and that he was consequently only nineteen years old at the commencement of his mission, as alleged by Gobineau (pp. 142—143) and by some of the Babis whom I saw in Kirmán. Further information as to the date of the Bab's birth, which reached me after the publication of my first paper, compelled me to abandon this view¹. Indeed, had I not been unduly influenced by the idea that the Báb was nineteen years of age at the commencement of his mission, and had I more carefully considered the second of the two passages above quoted, I should have perceived that the *Bib* speaks of his own age and that of Muḥammad at the beginning of their respective missions when their prophetic office was first disclosed to mankind. In the *دلائل سبعه* (*Seven Proofs*) the Báb also

describes himself as *سنی که از خمه و عشرين تجاوز نموده* "of an age which did not exceed five and twenty."

When in Cyprus I one day enquired of Mirza Yahya *Subh-i-Ezel* how old the Báb was at the time of the 'manifestation.' He replied without hesitation "twenty-four, and entering on his twenty-fifth year." Now the date of the 'manifestation' is given in the Persian *Beydn* (the passages will be quoted immediately) as Jamadif-ul-Ulā 5th A.H. 1260 (May 23rd A.D. 1844). It therefore follows that the Bab, being at that date, according to his own statement, over twenty-four and under twenty-five years of age, must have been born on Muharram 1st A.H. 1236 (October 9th, A.D. 1820) rather than on Muharram 1st A.H. 1235 (October 20th, A.D. 1819) as stated at p. 2 of the present work. The

¹ This information will be found at p. 993 of my second paper on the Babis.

correctness of the former date is further corroborated by the enquiries kindly undertaken by a friend of mine at Shfr&z who is himself connected with the Bab's family (see B. ii, p. 993), and I think there can be little doubt that it is the true one.

The first passage in the Persian *Beyan* where the date of the 'manifestation' is given occurs in *Vahid* n, ch. 7, which treats of the real meaning of the Resurrection. It commences as follows:—

الباب السابع من الواحد الثاني في بيان يوم القيامة ملخص
 این باب آنکه مراد از یوم قیامت¹ یوم ظهور شجره حقیقت
 است و مشاهده نمیشود که احدی از شیعه یوم قیامت را²
 فهمیده باشد بلکه موهوماً³ امری را توهم نموده که عند الله
 حقیقت ندارد [و آنچه عند الله حقیقت ندارد حقیقت ندارد]⁴ و
 آنچه عند الله و عند عرفا⁵ اهل حق⁶ مقصود از یوم قیامت
 است⁷ این است که از وقت ظهور⁸ شجره حقیقت در هر
 زمان بهر اسم [و رسم]⁹ الی حین غروب آن¹⁰ یوم قیامت¹¹
 است مثلاً از یوم [بعثت عیسی تا یوم]¹² عروج آن قیامت

¹ B reads فیه.

² B reads فیه را.

³ B inserts همه.

⁴ B omits.

⁵ B reads عرف.

⁶ B reads حقیقت.

⁷ B omits.

⁸ B omits.

⁹ B omits.

¹⁰ B omits.

¹¹ B reads فیه.

¹² These four words, essential to the sense of the passage, are omitted in my MS. and supplied from B.

موسی بود که ظهور الله در آن زمان¹ ما شهد الله في
 الاحليل بود و بعد از آن² يوم بعث رسول الله تا يوم
 عروج آن قیامت³ عیسی بود که شجره حقیقت ظاهر شد
 در هیکل محمدیه و جزا داده⁴ هر کس که مؤمن بعیسی
 بود⁵ عذاب فرمود بقول خود هر کس که مؤمن باو
 نبود و از حین ظهور شجره بیان الی ما یغرب قیامت
 رسول الله است که در قرآن خداوند وعده فرمود⁶ که
 اول آن بعد از دو ساعت [و پانزده]⁷ دقیقه از شب
 [جمعه پنجم]⁸ جمادی الاولى⁹ ۱۰ هـ ۱۶۶۰¹⁰ که ۱۱ هـ ۱۶۷۰¹¹ بعثت¹²
 میشود اول یوم قیامت¹³ قرآن بوده و¹⁴ الی غروب شجره
 حقیقت قیامت قرآن است زیرا که شی تا بمقام کمال نرسد

1 B here inserts the following passage :—

ظاهر بود ظهور آن حقیقت که جزا داد هر کس مؤمن بموسی بود بپول خود
 و هر کس مؤمن نبود جزا داد بپول خود زیرا که ما شهد الله در آن زمان

2 B omits. 3 B reads فیمه. 4 B reads داد.
 5 B inserts و. 6 B reads بان. 7 B reads فرموده.
 8 B reads پانزده. 9 B omits. 10 B reads الاول.
 11 B reads ۱۰۶۶۰ هـ. 12 B reads ۱۶۷۰ هـ. 13 B reads فیمه.
 14 B reads بود and omits و.

قیامت او^۱ نمیشود^۲ کمال دین اسلام الی اول ظهور
 منتهی شد و از اول ظهور تا حین غروب اثمار شجره
 اسلام آنچه هست ظاهر میشود و قیامت بیان از^۳ ظهور من
 بظهره الله است^۴ زیرا که امروز بیان در مقام نطفه
 است و در اول ظهور من بظهره الله آخر کمال بیان^۵
 ظاهر میشود که ثمرات^۶ اشجاریکه غرس کرده بچینند^۷*

" *The seventh chapter of the second Vahid.* In explanation of the Day of Resurrection. The quintessence of this chapter is this, that what is intended by the Day of Resurrection is the day of the appearance of the Tree of Truth : but it is not seen that any one of the Shi'ites hath understood the Day of Resurrection; rather have they fancifully imagined a thing which with God hath no reality. [And that which hath no reality with God hath no reality.] But what is meant by God and by those who are wise amongst the people of truth by the Day of Resurrection is this, that from the time of the appearance of the Tree of Truth, at whatever period, and under whatever name [or form] (it be), until the moment of its disappearance is the Day of Resurrection. For example, from the (first) day of the mission of Jesus till the day of His ascension was the Resurrection of Moses, for during that period the manifestation of God [appeared in the form of that Truth, who rewarded by His word everyone who believed in Moses, and punished by His word everyone who did not believe. For what God regarded at that time] was what God beheld in the Gospel. And after the (first) day of the mission of the Prophet of God

¹ B reads ^{آن} .

² B inserts ^و .

³ B reads ^{در} .

⁴ B omits .

⁵ B inserts ^{است} .

⁶ B reads ^{آن} ثمرات .

⁷ B reads ^{بچینند} .

till the day of his ascension was the Resurrection of Jesus, wherein the Tree of Truth appeared in the form of Muḥammad, rewarding by his word every one who was a believer in Jesus, and tormenting by his word every one who was not a believer in Him. And from the moment when the Tree of the Beyān appeared until it disappeareth is the Resurrection of the Prophet of God which God hath promised in the Kur'ān; of which appearance *the beginning was when two hours and fifteen minutes* (had passed) *from the eve of [Friday the fifth of] Jamadi-ul-Ula* (A.H.) 1260, which is the year 1270 of the mission (of Muḥammad). (This) was the beginning of the Day of Resurrection of the Kur'ān. And until the disappearance of the Tree of Truth¹ is the Resurrection of the Kur'ān. For of no thing doth the Resurrection occur till it reacheth the stage of perfection. The perfection of the religion of Islām was consummated ere the beginning of this Manifestation, and from the beginning of this Manifestation till the moment of disappearance the fruits of the Tree of Islām, whatever they are, will become apparent. And the Resurrection of the Beyān is from the (first) appearance of Him whom God shall manifest; for to day the Beyān is in the stage of seed, but at the beginning of the manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest the ultimate perfection of the Beyan will become apparent, when He shall gather the fruits of the trees which have been planted."

The second passage giving the date of the 'manifestation' occurs in *Vahid* vi, ch. 13 and runs as follows:—

و بعد از غرس شجره قرآن کمال آن در هزار و
 دوست و هفتاد سال^۲ رسید، اگر بلوغ آن در دو ساعتی
 که^۳ در شب [پنجشنبه]^۴ پنجم جمادی الاول میبود^۵ پنج دقیقه
 بعدتر^۶ نمیشد*^۷

¹ See nota 12 at the foot of p. 219.

² B omits. ³ B omits. ⁴ B inserts که. ⁵ B omits.

⁶ B omits. ⁷ B inserts ۴. ⁸ B inserts ظاهر.

" " And after the planting of the Tree of the Kur'an the perfection thereof was attained in one thousand two hundred and seventy years. Had the maturity thereof been (attained) at two o'clock on the night of [Thursday] the fifth of Jamadi-ul-Úla, it (i.e. the new manifestation) would not have appeared five minutes later."

The above quotations also illustrate what I have had occasion to notice in my first Paper on the Babís (B. i, p. 507), viz. that the Bab prefers to date not from *the flight* of Muḥammad but from the *beginning* of his mission, which he places ten years earlier. Hence he usually states the beginning of his own mission as having occurred not in the year 1260 A.H., but " 1270 years after the mission of Muhammad" Cf. Persian *Beyan*, *Vahid* ii, ch. 7 ; iv, 14; iv. W ; iv, 18; vi, 7; vi, 8; vi, 13 (bis).

NOTE D.

THE MEANING OF THE TITLE 'BÁB.'

Every writer who has made mention of the Bab has pointed out that this title assumed by him at the beginning of his mission signifies in Arabic 'Gate' or 'Door,' but in specifying that whereunto he professed to be the 'Gate' they are no longer in accord. Kázem-Beg says (i, p. 343) that one day, falling into an ecstasy, *Mirza 'Ali* Muhammad "discovered that he was the *Bab*, the Gate of Truth," and a few lines lower he says, "Je ne sais si les paroles du Christ: 'Je suis la porte' lui étaient connues; mais il n'ignorait sans doute pas que Mahomet avait dit: 'Je suis la ville du savoir et Ali (son gendre) est la porte de cette ville'." Gobineau (pp. 149—150) says, " Il annonça qu'il était le Bab, la Porte par laquelle seule on pouvait parvenir à la connaissance de Dieu." Lady Sheil says (p. 176), "this amiable sect is styled Babeé, from Bab, a gate, in

Arabic, the name assumed by its founder, meaning, I suppose, the gate to heaven." Watson (p. 348) gives the clearest and most correct statement of the meaning of the title in question. He says, "He (Mirza Ali Muhammad) now gave out that as Ali had been the gate by which men had entered the city of the prophet's knowledge, even so lie was the gate through which men might attain to the knowledge of the twelfth Imam. It was in accordance with this doctrine that he received the distinguishing appellation of Bab, or gate; from which his followers were styled Babis."

As regards the Muhammadan historians, the *Ndsikhu "t-Tawárikh* of Sipihr, which gives the fullest account of the Babi movement, and which has served as a basis of information to most European writers, says in speaking of the beginning of what it calls "the mischief (*fitna*) of Mirza. 'AH Muhammad the Bah":—

چون حاجی سید کاظم ازین جهان بسرای جاوید
انتقال نمود چند تن از شاگردان او را بر داشته برای
ریاضت و عبادت بمسجد کوفه در رفت و چهل روز
اقامت کرد و یکباره مزاجش از استقامت بکشت آنکاه
در نهائی مردمانرا بزهدات و افادت خویش میفریفت و
بارادت خود دعوت مینمود و از هر کس مطمئن
خاطر میشد با او میگفت من باب اللهم فادخلوا الیوت
من ابوابها هیچ خانرا جز از در بدرون نتوان شد هر
که خواهد بخدای رسد و دین خدای را باز داند تا مرا

دیدار نکند و اجازت نستاند نتواند ازین روی بمیرزا علی
محمد باب مشهور شد و چون روزی چند بگذشت هسمی
بیاب کشت و نام او کمتر بر زبانها رفت *

" When Haji Seyyid Kazim departed from this world to the Eternal Abode, he [Mirza 'Ali Muhammad] carried off several of his disciples and retired for vigils and worship to the mosque of Kufa, where he abode forty days. All at once his disposition swerved aside from rectitude. Then he secretly seduced men to his own austerities and doctrine, inviting them to devote themselves to him. And in whomsoever he felt confidence, to him he would say, 'I am the Gate of God : *enter then, houses by their gates*: one cannot enter any house otherwise than by the gate thereof. Whosoever desireth to come to God and to know the religion of God cannot do so until he seeth me and receiveth permission from me.' Therefore he became known as 'Mfrzd 'All Muhammad the Bab'; and when a few days had passed he was named 'the Bab,' and his own name rarely crossed men's tongues."

During the latter part of the reign of Muhammad Shah when the Bab, then in captivity at Chihrfk, was brought to Tabriz, and examined concerning his doctrine by a council of divines and doctors presided over by the present Shah of Persia, then Crown-Prince, he was required to explain the title which he had assumed and to state what meaning he attached to it. The account given of this examination in the present history (pp. 19—21, *supra*) is brief compared to the accounts contained in the supplement of the *Rawzat-us-Safd*, the *Tārīkh-i-Jadid*, and the *Ḳiṣaṣ-ul-'Ulamā* (concerning which works see above, Note A). Of the proceedings of this council a fuller account compiled from the above sources will be found in Note M. For our present purpose it is sufficient to observe that when the Bab was asked by his inquisitors, " What is the meaning of [the name] *Bab* ?" he answered, " The same as in the holy tradition, 'I am the City of Knowledge and 'AUis the Gate thereof:'"

Von Kremer, in the account of the Bab which he gives in his *Herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, quotes this same tradition as the probable source whence Mirza 'Ali Muhammad derived his title, and further points out (p. 209) that he was not the first to adopt it, one Abû Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ash-Shalmaghani, generally known as Ibn Abi Azakir, having suffered death under the Caliph Ar-Radhi for assuming this same title of *Bāb* and teaching new and heretical doctrines which included the tenet of metempsychosis. In his case also the title was explained by Ibn Abdus, one of his followers, as signifying "the door which led to the expected Imām." So likewise Abu'l-K&sim al-Huseyn ibn Kuh¹, a contemporary of ash-Shalmaghani who died A.H. 326 (A.D. 937—938), was regarded by his disciples as one of the "doors leading to the Lord of the Age" (*Sdkibuz-Zaman*). Lack of space forbids further discussion on the history of this title and its employment. Those who desire fuller information may consult the authorities referred to by von Kremer, viz. Ibn Khallikan, ed. Wust., p. 129, Vita 186; Baron MacGuckin de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikan, vol. i, pp. 436—437, and notes on p. 439; Hammer-Purgstall, *Litt. Geschichte der Araber*, vol. v, p. 283; and Ibnu'l-Athfr, vol. viii, p. 217.

It must be Dome in mind that, as is clearly explained by Gobineau (pp. 150 and 156) and Watson (p. 348), the title of *Bāb* was only provisionally and temporarily adopted by Mirza 'Ali Muhammad, nor is he now generally so styled by his followers, who call him *حضرت اعلى* ('*l'Altesse Sublime*' of Gobineau), *حضرت نقطه بيان* ('His Highness the Point of Revelation'), *حضرت نقطه اولی* ('His Highness the First Point'), or even *حضرت ربی الاعلى* ('His Highness my Lord the Supreme'). In the Persian *Beyân* he applies to himself other titles in addition to the

¹ For further particulars concerning this personage, see Note O, *infra*.

second and third of those above enumerated, such as

شجره حقیقت (the 'Tree of Truth'), ذات حروف سبعة (the 'Person' or 'Essence of the Seven Letters,' because his name, علی محمد, contains seven letters), and the like.

But amongst the Bēhā is there is a tendency (very evident in the present work, where the term *Bāb* is used throughout, and no mention is made of the fuller development of doctrine and exaltation of rank which marked the later period of Mirza 'Ali Muhammad's mission) to suppress the higher titles implying a supremacy which they would reserve for

Behd, and to speak of the Bab as حضرت مبشر ('His

Higness the Evangelist'). In reading the present history, the fact that it represents throughout the view of the Beh&'is, not of the original Babis or the Ezelis of to-day, must never be lost sight of. When, in the words of Gobineau (p. 156), Mirza 'Ali Muhammad "de'clara qu'il n'dtait pas le Bab, comme on l'avait cru jusqu'alors, comme il l'avait pense lui-même, c'est-a-dire la Porte de la connaissance des verites, mais qu'il etait le *Point*, c'est-k-dire le generateur meme de la vdrite', une apparition divine, une manifestation toute-puissante," then, to continue the quotation, "le titre de Bab, ainsi devenu libre, pouvait ddsormais rdcompenser le pieux devouement de Tun des neophytes," and it was on Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh that it was bestowed. Accordingly by Şubh-i-Ezel this illustrious champion of the new faith is always spoken of as جناب باب, while in the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd* he is called جناب باب الباب 'His Excellency the Gate of the Gate.'

In his earlier writings (e.g. the *Commentary on the Sūra-i-Yusuf*, for specimens of which see Rosen's *MSS. Arabes*, pp. 179—191) Mirza 'Ali Muhammad repeatedly uses the term *Bāb* and apparently applies it to himself. In the Persian *Beyan*, which was composed during his imprisonment at Maku and embodies his fully developed doctrine, he continues to use the term, but no longer limits

it to himself, though still occasionally employing it as his own title, as, for instance, in the following passage in *Vdhid* ii, ch. 1:—

خداوند سؤال فرمود بلسان خود که آیا قرآن کتاب
 کیست¹ کل مؤمنین باو گفتند کتاب الله هست بعد
 سؤال کرده شد که فرقی² در میان فرقان و بیان دیده
 میشود اولو الافئده گفتند لا والله کل من عند ربنا و
 ما يتذكر الا اولو الابصار بعد خداوند عالم نازل فرمود
 که آن کلام³ بلسان محمد رسول الله است⁴ و این⁵
 کلام من بلسان ذات حروف السبع باب الله است⁶ *

"God demanded in His own speech, 'Whose book is the Kur'án?' All the believers said to Him, 'It is the Book of God.' Afterwards it was asked, 'Is any difference seen between the Furqān [i.e. the Kur'án] and the Bey'an?' The spiritually-minded answered, 'No, by God, all is from our Lord': and none are mentioned but those endowed with discernment. Then the Lord of the World [thus] revealed:—'That Word is by the tongue of Muḥammad the Apostle of God, and this is my Word by the tongue of the Person of the Seven Letters, the Gate of God\''"

In other passages, however, the term is employed (often in the plural) in a more general sense. Thus the last four

¹ B reads کتاب الله نیست.

² B reads آیا فرقی.

³ B reads که اول بود کلام من.

⁴ B omits.

⁵ B reads و اینست.

⁶ B omits.

chapters of the first *Vahid*, consisting, as it would appear, of mere titles uncommentated and undeveloped, stand as follows :—

الباب السادس عشر من الواحد الاول در اينکه باب
اول رجوع فرمودند بدنيا با هر کس که مؤمن باو بود
من حق و دونه *

الباب السابع عشر من الواحد الاول در اينکه باب
ثاني الخ

الباب الثامن عشر من الواحد الاول در اينکه باب
ثالث الخ

الباب التاسع عشر من الواحد الاول در اينکه باب
رابع الخ

" *The sixteenth chapter of the first Vahid.* Concerning this, that the First Gate (*Bab*) hath returned to the world with everyone who believed in him truly or otherwise."

"*The seventeenth chapter...&c.* Concerning this, that the Second Gate..." &c.

"*The eighteenth chapter..Sc.* Concerning this, that the Third Gate..." &c.

"*The nineteenth chapter...Sc.* Concerning this, that the Fourth Gate..." &c.

In one of my interviews with Subh-i-Ezel I asked him

who were intended by these 'Babs' or 'Gates,' and he answered that Sheykh Ahmad Ahsa'i and Haji Seyyid Kazim of Resht [see Note E, *infra*, and also B. ii, pp. 884—885 and 888—892] were two of them. But this would only signify that in them reappeared, or 'returned to the world,' two of the four original 'Gates.' And by these can only be meant those four persons who, during the period of seclusion of the twelfth Imam known as the "Lesser Occultation" (غیت صغرا), acted as intermediaries between him and his followers. These four were, according to the عقائد الشيعة (1) Abú 'Umar 'Othmán ibn Sa'id; (2) Abú Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Othmán, son of the above; (3) Huseyn ibn Rúh [see Note O, *infra*, and the beginning of this note, p. 229]; (4) Abú'l-Hasan 'Alí ibn Muhammad Símarí.

So also in *Váhid* ii, ch. iv, this sentence occurs:—

زیرا که خداوند مقترن فرموده پناه بخود را پناه برسول
 خود و پناه برسول را پناه^۱ باوصیای خود و پناه
 [باوصیای خود را پناه]^۲ بابواب اوصیای خود^۳ زیرا
 که پناه برسول عین پناه بخداست و پناه بائمه^۴ عین پناه
 برسول^۵ و پناه بابواب عین پناه بائمه است *

" For God hath assimilated refuge in Himself to refuge in His Apostle, and refuge in His Apostle to refuge in His executors (i.e. the Imams), and refuge [in His executors to refuge] in the Gates (*Abwab* or *Bobs*) of His executors. For refuge in the Apostle is identical with refuge in God,

¹ B reads پناه باوصیاء او. ² B omits. ³ B reads او باوصیاء.

⁴ B reads ائمه.

⁵ B inserts است.

and refuge in the Imams is identical with refuge in the Apostle, and refuge in the Gates is identical with refuge in the Imams."

So likewise in other passages "Gates of the Fire" (ابواب النار) are spoken of as identical with "Letters of Denial" (حروف نفى), both terms signifying such as vehemently oppose the Truth and lead men to hell.

NOTE E.

THE SHEYKHIS, AND THEIR DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE 'FOURTH SUPPORT.'

The founder of the Sheykhi school, with which in its origin the Babi movement is so closely connected, was Sheykh Ahmad of Ahsa (often, but apparently erroneously, written Lahsa) in the province of Bahreyn. The following is a brief account of his life, for which I am indebted to the kindness of one of my Persian friends in Teheran. The genealogy therein contained purports to be based on an account written by the Sheykh himself for his son Sheykh Muhammad Taqi.

Sheykh Ahmad was the son of Sheykh Zeynu'd-Din Ahsa'i, son of Sheykh Ibrahim, son of Sheykh Sakr, son of Sheykh Ibrahim, son of Sheykh Dagher, son of Sheykh Ramadhin, son of Sheykh Bishid, son of Sheykh Dihfm, son of Sheykh Shamrtikh of the tribe of Şakr, one of the most important tribes of the Arabs. From Sheykh Shamruk to Sheykh Bamadhan the family were ostensibly not of the Imamite (Shi'ite) faith, but conformed outwardly to the practices of the Sunnites.

According to my correspondent's statement, the year of Sheykh Ahmad's birth is represented by the chronogram

انفص المدافع (A.H. 1166 = A.D. 1752—53). I think, however, that it should be انفص المدافع, "the water-courses overflowed." This sentence yields the date 1157 A.H., which agrees with the other particulars given, and also conveys an intelligible meaning, neither of which conditions, so far as I can see, are fulfilled by the first chronogram. The year of his death (A.H. 1242 = A.D. 1826—27) is contained in the following chronogram :—

فزت بالهردوس فوزاً يا بن زين الدين احمد

"Thou hast victoriously attained unto Paradise, O Ahmad son of Zeynu'd-Din!" Sheykh Ahmad was eighty-five years old at the time of his death.

From his youth upwards Sheykh Ahmad was pious, devout, and ascetic in his life. At the direction of his spiritual guides he quitted his native country and went to 'Irak (Kerbela and Nejef), where he took up his abode and occupied himself in teaching and diffusing religious knowledge. He soon acquired great fame, and many students gathered round him. His fame continuing to increase, he was invited by Fath-'Ali Shah, Prince Muhammad 'Ali Mirza Buknu'd-Dawla, and other eminent personages, to visit Persia. He accordingly came to Teheran ; thence he proceeded to Kirmanshahan, and thence to Yezd, where he abode for twelve years. He performed the pilgrimage to Mecca several times, and on the last occasion of doing so died two stages from Medina, where he was buried in the cemetery called Baki' [-ul-Gharkad. See Lane's *Arabic-English-Lexicon*, Book I. Part i, p. 235].

The account of Sheykh Ahmad Ahsa'i contained in the *Kisāsu'l-Ulamā'* differs somewhat from that above given. Thus it is asserted that he came direct from Baḥreyn to Yezd where he abode some time ; that from Yezd he went to Kirmanshahan, where he received yearly the sum of 700 *tumans* from Fath-'Ali Shih's son Muḥammad 'Ali Mirza

¹ See Note A, pp. 197—198, *supra*.

Ruknu'd-Dawla; and that thence he went to KerbeU where he finally took up his abode. It would appear, however, that he again visited Persia towards the end of his life, and that on this occasion he passed through Kazvin, where he paid a visit to Haji Mulla Muhammad Taki¹. The latter questioned him concerning his views on the resurrection, and, after a violent altercation, declared them to be heretical. In consequence of this many other divines, who had hitherto regarded Sheykh Aḥmad almost as a saint, began to look askance at him or even to display open hostility, so that he was compelled to leave Kazvin. He intended to proceed to Mecca, but died on his way thither at Basra.

The chief points wherein Sheykh Aḥmad's doctrine is regarded as heterodox are stated as follows. He believed that the body of man was compounded of parts derived from each of the nine heavens and the four elements; that the grosser elemental part perished irrevocably at death; and that only the more subtle celestial portion would appear at the resurrection. This subtle body he named

جسم هورقيا (the word *Hucarkilyá* being supposed to be of Greek origin) and believed to be similar in substance to the forms in the "World of Similitudes" (عالم مثال). Similarly he denied that the Prophet's material body had, on the occasion of his night-journey to heaven (معراج) moved from the spot where it lay in a trance or sleep. He was much given to fasts, vigils, and austerities, and believed himself to be under the special guidance of the Imáms, especially, as it would appear, the Imám Ja'far-i-Šádiq. He regarded the Imáms as creative forces, quoting in support of this view the expression الله احسن الخالقين "God, the Best of Creators," occurring in *Kur'án* xxiii, 14; "for," said he, "if God be the *Best* of Creators He cannot be the *sole* Creator." He also adduced in support of this

¹ The maternal uncle and father-in-law of *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, see Note Q, *infra*, and pp. 197—198, *supra*.

view the tradition wherein the following words are attributed to 'Ali:—

“I am the Creator of the heavens and the earth.” He even went so far as to assert that in reciting the opening chapter of the *Qur'án* (سورة الفاتحة) the worshipper should fix his thoughts on 'Alí as he repeats the words *أياك نعبد* “Thee do we worship.”

Sheykh Ahmad composed a number of works, amongst which the following are enumerated by the author of the *Kiṣāṣi'l-'Ulamá*:—

شرح زیارت جامعہ کبیر *Commentary on the Ziyarat-i-Jāmi'a*, in four vols. According to *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's* statement it is in this work that the doctrine of the subtle body (قالب مثالی or جسم هورقلیا) which survives the dissolution of the material frame is elaborated.

اجوبۃ المسائل *Answers to questions.*

شرح عرشیه *Commentary on the 'Arshīyya of Mullá Ṣadrá*¹.

شرح مشاعر *Commentary on the Mashá'ir of Mullá Ṣadrá.*

شرح تبصرہ علامہ *Commentary on the Tabṣīra-i-'Al-lāma*².

¹ Concerning Mullá Ṣadrá and his doctrines see Note K, *infra*.

² Concerning 'Allāma ('the Sage'), i.e. Jemálu'd-Dīn Hasan ibn Yúṣuf ibn 'Alí of Ḥilla, see a footnote on Note M, *infra*. The full title of the work here mentioned appears to be تبصرہ *التعلیمین فی احکام الدین* (“The Enlightenment of students on the ordinances of Religion.”)

فوائد و شرح فوائد *The Fawā'id and Commentary thereupon.*

Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'f was succeeded at his death by his disciple Hájí Seyyid Kázim of Resht, of whose life the following brief account was supplied to me by the same friend to whom I am indebted for the biography of Sheykh Aḥmad given at the beginning of this note. His family were merchants of repute. His father was named Áqá Seyyid Kásim. When twelve years old he was living at Ardabfl near the tomb of Sheykh Šafi'ud-Din Is-ḥáq, the descendant of the seventh Ima'm Músa' Kázim and the ancestor of the Šafavi kings. One night in a dream it was signified to him by one of the illustrious progenitors of the buried saint that he should put himself under the spiritual guidance of Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'i, who was at this time residing at Yezd. He accordingly proceeded thither and enrolled himself amongst the disciples of Sheykh Aḥmad, in whose doctrine he attained such eminence that on the Sheykh's death he was unanimously recognized as the leader of the Sheykhf school. He died at Baghdad ere he had attained his fiftieth year A.H. 1259 (A.D. 1843—1844). The date of his death is contained in the following chronogram: **غاب بدر الهدى** "The moon of guidance hath disappeared." His works are said to exceed 300 volumes.

Up to this point the Sheykhis were a united body, for the succession of Hájí Seyyid Kázim would seem to have been approved and accepted by all. This unanimity was no longer to continue. Seyyid Kázim had not explicitly nominated a successor; indeed according to the Bábí historian he had hinted that the transitional state of things under which he and his master Sheykh Aḥmad had assumed the guidance of the faithful was with his declining life drawing to a close, and that a brighter light was about to shine forth from the horizons of the spiritual world. Let the Bábí historian, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, take up the tale, and describe in the words of his informant the closing scenes of the life of Seyyid Kázim.

"When Hájí Seyyid Kázim had but recently departed

this life, I arrived at the Supreme Shrines [Kerbeld and Nejef] and heard from his disciples that the late Seyyid (may God exalt his station) had, during the last two or three years of his life, wholly restricted his discourse, both in lecture-room and pulpit, to discussing the promised Proof, the signs of his appearance, and their explanation, and enumerating the qualities of the Master of the Dispensation, repeatedly declaring that he would be a youth, that he would not be versed in the learning of men, and that he would, moreover, be of the race of Hâshim. Sometimes, too, he would say, '*see him as the rising sun!*' At length during the last journey which he made with the intention of visiting Kâzimeyii and Surra-man-ra'a, while he was returning from the latter place to Kâzimeyn and Baghdad, he was entertained by one of his friends and disciples, some dozen of his [other] disciples and pupils being [also] present in that garden. Suddenly an Arab entered, and, still standing, made representation thus:—'I have seen a vision touching your Reverence/ On receiving permission, he repeated the dream; whereupon Seyyid Kâzim appeared somewhat troubled, and said, 'The interpretation of this dream is this, that my departure from this world is nigh at hand and I must go hence.' His companions who were present were much distressed and grieved at this intelligence, but he turned his face towards them and said, 'The time of my sojourn in the world has come to an end, and this is my last journey. Why are ye grieved and troubled because of my death? Do ye not then desire that I should go and the True One should appear?'

"This is as I have heard it from Haji 'Abdu'l-Muttâlib of Isfahan, and Suleyman Khan Afshar¹ of Sa'in Kâl'a, who were present in that assembly. Indeed from the noble personage alluded to [apparently Suleyman Khan] I further

¹ This must be a mistake. Suleyman Khan Afshar was conspicuous as a persecutor of the Babis, for he was not only chiefly instrumental in putting down the Mazandaran insurrection, but was also the bearer of the Bab's death-warrant from Teheran to Tabriz. Haji Suleyman Khan the son of Yahya Khân of Tabriz, one of the most ardent adherents and steadfast martyrs of the Bábi faith [see Note T, *infra*], is no doubt intended.

heard as follows :—'The late Seyyid specially promised me that I should myself apprehend the Manifestation, saying, "*Thou shalt be there and shalt apprehend*" Now the utterance of these words and good tidings by him [Seyyid Kázim] as here described is a matter of notoriety and a thing universally admitted amongst his intimates, being authenticated by several letters from well-known persons to others who accepted the new Manifestation also'. Indeed some of those [who were] present in that assembly are still alive, and confess to having heard that announcement from the late Seyyid. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, one of the most distinguished of divines, who was moreover intimately acquainted with the late Seyyid, made urgent enquiry as to the manner in which the Manifestation should come to pass. The latter, however, only replied, "'Permission is not accorded unto me to say more than this V'. But from whatever quarter the Sun of Truth shall arise it will irradiate all horizons and render the mirrors of believers' hearts capable of receiving the effulgences of the lights of wisdom.' At all events after his return from Stirra-man-ra'a the revered Seyyid departed this life as he had foretold."

Whatever credence we may be disposed to attach to this narrative, there is no doubt that the Sheykhfs were, in general, anxiously expecting the appearance of someone who should assume the leadership of their party. A number of the late Seyyid Kázim's immediate disciples repaired directly after his death to the mosque at Kúfa, and there, with fasting, vigils and prayers, sought for God's guidance in the choice of a spiritual director. Having completed their religious exercises they dispersed each in his own way. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh proceeded to Shfráz, and on his arrival there paid a visit to Mirza 'Ali Muḥammad, with whom he had become acquainted at Kerbelá. To him first of all did the young prophet announce his

¹ "The new Manifestation" (ظهور بدیع) may mean only the dispensation inaugurated by the Bab, but the force of the "also" (و) which follows leads me rather to conjecture that the dispensation of Behá is intended.

² This quotation is from the beginning of the first book of the *Masnavi*.

divine mission, adducing in proof thereof his *Commentary on the Súra of Joseph*, and showing other signs whereby Mulla Huseyn, after a mental struggle which lasted several days, became firmly convinced that the Master so eagerly sought for and so earnestly desired had at length been found. No sooner was he himself convinced than, with that fiery energy which so pre-eminently distinguished him even amongst the eager active spirits who were soon to carry the new doctrine throughout the length and breadth of the Persian land, and cause the echo of its fame to reverberate through the civilized world, he hastened to apprise his friends and comrades of his discovery. Thus

did he become the "Gate of the Gate" (باب الباب), the

"First Letter" (حرف اول), the "First to believe"

(اول من آمن). The rapidity with which the new doctrine

spread was wonderful, representatives of all classes hastening to tender their allegiance to the young Seer of Shiraz, but it was from the old Sheykhi party that the most eminent supporters of the new faith were for the most part derived.

It must not be supposed, however, that *all* the followers of the late Seyyid Kazim accepted the new doctrine. A considerable number, headed by Haji Muhammad Karim Khan of Kirman, utterly declined to admit the Bab's pretensions (for so they regarded his claims), and these became the bitterest and most violent of his persecutors. Of those doctors who heaped insult on the Bab during his first examination at Tabriz, and those who two years later ratified his death-warrant in the name of religion, several were Sheykhfs. Hence it is necessary to recognize clearly the difference between the relations of Babiism to the old and the new Sheykhi school. From the bosom of the former it arose, and, in great measure, derived its strength; with the latter it was ever in fiercest conflict. Of Sheykh Ahmad Ahsa'i and Seyyid Kazim of Resht both Babis and Sheykhfs speak with reverence and affection; but Haji Muhammad Karim Khan and his followers are as odious in the eyes of the Babis as Mirza 'Ali Muhammad the Bab

and his adherents are execrable in the opinion of the modern Sheykhis. The Bab stigmatized H&jf Muḥammad Karim

Khán as “the Quintessence of Hell-fire” (جوهر جواهر كل) (نار) and “the [infernal] Tree of Zaḳḳum” (see B. ii, pp. 910—911), while Hájí Muḥammad Karim Khán wrote at least two treatises (one called “the crushing of Falsehood,”

انهاق الباطل) in refutation and denunciation of the Bábí doctrines. Of the bitter enmity which subsists between these two sects I had ample evidence during the two months which I spent at Kirman in the summer of 1888, and on more than one occasion when representatives of both parties happened to visit me simultaneously their scarcely disguised animosity, which seemed ready at the slightest opportunity to burst forth into open conflict, caused me the liveliest disquietude.

I trust that I have succeeded in making clear the relations which exist between the Babis on the one hand, and the old and new Sheykhis on the other; for a proper appreciation of these is essential to a clear understanding of the history of Babfism. Indeed we cannot consider that we have thoroughly fathomed the drift and purport of the *Babi* movement until the writings of Sheykh Ahmad Ahsa'i and Haji Seyyid Kazim of Resht shall have been submitted to careful and minute examination and study. This, however, is a labour still unaccomplished, and, with the exception of one point to be noticed immediately, I shall say no more about the Sheykhi doctrines in this place. Some further information concerning them will be found in Kazem-Beg's articles on the Babis (*Journal Asiatique*, 1866, 6me se'rie, tome vii, pp. 457—464); in von Kremer's *Herrsclienden Ideen des Islams* (pp. 206—208); and in my second article on the Babis in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889 (pp. 884—885 and 888—892)

The point of doctrine above mentioned as demanding some explanation (for it is alluded to in the present text) is that of the “*Fourth Support*” (ركن رابع). What I shall say concerning it is derived from notes of a conversa-

tion which I had in June 1888 with a Sheykhi doctor of Kirman named Mulla Ghulam Huseyn. I asked him to explain to me wherein the doctrine of the Sheykhs chiefly differed from that of other Shi'ites. His answer was in substance as follows:—"The Bálásarfs [i.e. non-Sheykhi Shi'ites] hold that the 'Supports/ or essential principles of religion (اصول دین), are five, to wit (1) Belief in the Unity of God (توحيد); (2) Belief in the Justice of God

(عدل); (3) Belief in Prophethood (نبوت); (4) Belief in the Imámate (امامت); (5) Belief in the Resurrection (معاد).

Now two of these (Nos. 2 and 5) we refuse to admit as separate principles, for why should we specify belief in the Justice of God as one of the essentials of faith and omit belief in the Mercifulness of God, the Wisdom of God, the Power of God, and all the other Attributes? These, moreover, as well as belief in the Resurrection, are really included in the third principle, for belief in Prophethood involves belief in the Prophet, and this again involves belief in his book, wherein these two so-called principles are set forth and whence only they are known. Of the five 'principles' of the Bálásarfs, therefore, we only accept three, viz. (1) Belief in the Unity of God; (2) Belief in Prophethood; (3) Belief in the Imámate; but to these we add another, which we call the 'Fourth Support' (ركن رابع), viz. (4) that there must always be amongst the Shi'ites some one perfect man (whom we call شیخه کامل 'the per-

Shi'ite') capable of serving as a channel of grace

(فیض) between the Absent Imám and his church. Our doctrine of the 'Fourth Support,' and it is so, whereas four supports are under all circumstances for stability, a greater number than this:

As so explained, the 'Fourth Support' is preferable rather to that article of faith which must always exist in the Church of the I

head who enjoys their special spiritual guidance and serves to convey their wishes and their wisdom to all true Shi'ites, than to the actual personage who fulfils this function. Yet outside the Sheykhi circle, both amongst the Balasaris and the Babis, it certainly bears the second meaning as well; and it is commonly asserted that Haji Muhammad Karim Khan regarded himself, and was regarded by his followers, as being this '*Fourth Support*' or Channel of Grace from the Spiritual World. It is evidently this second meaning which the term bears in the present text, and if it bore it from the first it is evident that there was originally very little difference between the pretensions of Mirza 'Ali Muhammad the Bab and those of Haji Muhammad Karim Khan, since both, in the first instance, claimed to be neither more nor less than intermediaries between the absent Imam and his Church, exactly in the same sense as were the four original '*Gates*' (*Abwab*, or *Babs*) who served as a connection between the Twelfth Imam and his followers during the period of the '*Lesser Occupation*.' [See end of Note D, *supra*.]

As regards the actual condition of the Sheykhis at the present day, their head-quarters are still at Kirmdn, near which city, in a little village called Langar, situated two or three miles from Mahan (the burial-place of the great dervish Shah Ni'matu'llah), several of the sons of H&jf Muhammad Karim Khan still reside. During my stay at Kirman I visited Langar and was permitted to sit for half an hour at the feet of 'the Masters' (*Ākāyān*) as they are called by their followers. The elder brothers were at *Arbelá* at that time (where, I believe, they were very warmly received, being, indeed, prevented from preaching in mosque as they desired to do), but two younger brothers engaged in expounding the doctrines of Sheykh Ahmad before a select audience of heavy-turbaned votaries. In conclusion of the lecture I had some conversation with them, but, though I had no reason to complain of lack of interest on their part, I cannot say that I was greatly impressed by their wisdom. After Kirman I believe that there are more Sheykhis than any other city in Persia to be found in most of the large towns. They are generally regarded by orthodox Shi'ites with respect and suspicion.

NOTE R

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING SOME OF THE
PERSONS MENTIONED ON P. 5.

Concerning several of the persons mentioned in the passage to which this note refers, the information at present at my disposal is deplorably scanty. Such as it is, however, I set it down, hoping that others may be able in the future to supplement these meagre notes with further details.

Mullā Huseyn of Bushraweyh ('The Gate of the Gate/ **جناب باب الباب**). Concerning this illustrious personage we have the fullest information. The *Nasikhu't-Tawdrikh* devotes some 10 pages (each containing about 600 words) to his history, and the *Rawzatu' s-Safa* gives an almost equally detailed account of his career. Gobineau and Kazem-Beg both treat of his life, work, and gallant death at Sheykh Ṭabarsi very fully, and in the present work a sufficient summary thereof is contained. Some account of his conversion will be found in Note E above. Nothing further need be added here except that, so far as I can learn, his mortal remains still repose in the little inner room of the shrine of Sheykh Ṭabarsi where, at the direction of Mullā Muhammad 'Ali Āarfurtushf, they were reverently laid by the hands of his sorrowing comrades in the beginning of the year A.D. 1849.

Mirza Ahmād of Azghand is mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* in the following passage :—

خلاصه بعد از چندی جناب باب الباب عازم خراسان
شدند و پس از آن از مصدر امر توقیعی بسر افرازی^۱ اصحاب
صادر [گشت] و در صورت امکان و استطاعت تکلیف

برفتن خراسان شده و در توقيق آقا ميرزا احمد از قندي
 كه از اكابر شاگردان مرحوم سيد بود و اتمه مازندرانا
 اظهار نموده بودند *

" In short, after a while His Excellency ' the Gate of the Gate' [i.e. Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh above mentioned] set out for Khurasan. And after that there emanated from the Source of Command [i.e. the Bab] an epistle to confer honour on the faithful, wherein it was made incumbent upon them to proceed to Khurasan in the case of this being possible and their being able. And in the epistle addressed to Aka Mirza Ahmad Azkandi, who was one of the chief disciples of the late Seyyid [Kazim of Resht], he [the Bab] foreshadowed the catastrophe of Mazandarn." In only one other passage in the *Tārīkh-i-Jadid* can I find any reference to Mirza Ahmad of Azghand, and this, consisting of a mere list of the names of learned and pious persons who believed in the Bab and " most of whom attained the lofty rank of martyrdom," throws no further light on the matter. I cannot find any other mention of this Mirza Ahmad in any of the documents at my disposal.

Mullá [Muhammad] Šádik, entitled " the Holy "

(مقدس), or " the Holy one of Khurásán " (جناب مقدس)
 (خراسان), was, according to the *Tārīkh-i-Jadid*, one of the first converts gained by Mulla Huseyn to the new faith. He was, previously to his conversion, a *mudarris*, or professor, at one of the colleges of Isfahan. On the arrival of Mulla Huseyn in that city (the first visited by him on the missionary journey which at the command of his master he undertook) Mullá Sadik sought and obtained an interview with him, listened to his arguments, examined the sacred books of the new creed, and, after a brief but severe mental struggle, wherein love of truth finally triumphed over fear and prudence, embraced the doctrines of

the Báb. We next find him some months later (Sept. 23rd or 24th, A.D. 1845) at Shiráz, suffering the penalty of his zeal as described in the text. Expelled from Shiráz, he seems to have made his way to Mázandarán; at all events we find him amongst the number of the besieged at Sheykh Tabarsf, and after the capitulation he was one of those reserved from the general massacre to grace the triumphal entry of Prince Mahdf-Kulf Mirza into Bárfurúsh. Here again fortune so far favoured him that he was saved by being sold into slavery¹ from the direr fate which overtook almost all of his companions. What befel him after this I know not, but from the manner in which he is referred to in the *Tankh-i-Jadid* it would appear that he was no longer alive at the time when that work was composed.

Sheykh Abu Turdb of Ashtahdrd is only twice alluded to in the *Tdrikh-i-Jadid*, and I can find no further account of him elsewhere. In the second of these passages his name is merely mentioned in the list of eminent men converted to the new faith of which I have already spoken. In the first it is stated that he was married to the sister of Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, a woman of extraordinary virtue and piety, who, from association with the celebrated Kur-ratu'l-'Ayn [see Note Q, *infra*], had attained to the highest degree of excellence and learning. Although the Sheykh Abt Turáb here mentioned is described as *Kazv'ni*, not as *Ashtahdrdi*, I think that the same person is intended in both passages.

Mulla Yusuf of Ardabil. See Kazem-Beg (*Journal Asiatique*, sixieme serie, tome vii, pp. 357, 358, 467, 468, 473, 477, 486, and 522). Mullá Yusuf was one of the Báb's most energetic missionaries, and was deputed to preach the doctrine in Azarbaiján. Through his instrumentality the majority of the inhabitants of Milán were converted. He afterwards attempted to join the Babis at Sheykh Tabarsf, but on his way thither fell into the hands of Mahdi-Kuli Mirza, who detained him as a prisoner till the conclusion of the siege, when, in company with several of the Bábi chiefs reserved from the general massacre to grace the Prince's triumph, he was led captive into Bar-

¹ See, however, note 2 at the foot of p. 129 *mpa*.

furush. There, according to M. Sevruguin's account quoted by Kazem-Beg (*loc. cit.*, p. 522), he was blown from the mouth of a cannon. The remainder of Kazem-Beg's account differs from that given in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, in that it represents him not only as reaching the Castle of Sheykh Tabarsf, but as taking a prominent part in the defence thereof.

Mulla Jalil of Urumiyya and *Mulla Mahdi of Kand* are merely mentioned in the list of illustrious martyrs contained in the *Tdrikh-i-Jadid*.

Of *Sheykh Sa'id the Indian* I can find no other mention.

Mulla 'li of Bistam, according to the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, was one of those who, on the death of Haji Seyyid Kazim of Resht, assembled in the mosque at Kufa to fast and pray for guidance. Subh-i-Ezel in December 1889 wrote for me a short account of the history of the Babi movement, which at some future date I hope to publish. In this occurs the following passage:—

جذاب ملا علی بسطامی که بقدرس خویش معروف است
 و مقدس خراسانی او است بسمت روم تشریف برده در
 بغداد گرفته حبس نموده بس از آن بفتوای مفتی بسمت
 اسلامبول حرکت داده نزدیکی بغداد در مکانی که بید رائی
 مذکور است مسموم گردانیدند و شهید نمودند *

" His Excellency Mulla 'Ali Bistami, who was noted for his sanctity (for he is 'the Holy One of Khurasan'), set out towards Turkey, but in Baghdad they took him and imprisoned him. Then, at the decision of the *Mufti*, they sent him off towards Constantinople, but martyred him by poison at a place near Baghdad called Bad-rd'f." In one of the interviews which I had with Subh-i-Ezel during my stay at Famagusta in March 1890 he communicated to me the

following additional particulars :—" Mulfa 'Ali of Bisṭām was the first martyr, and the only one who died by the hands of the Osmānī Turks. His martyrdom occurred in the second or third year of the * Manifestation' [A. H. 1262—3, A.D. 1846—7]. He was arrested at Baghdad and cast into prison. All the *mufṭīs* of Baghdad, headed by Maḥmud Efendi and Sheykh Muḥammad Ḥasan¹, signed his death-warrant, save one, Muḥsin or Ḥasan by name, who refused, saying that he was doubtful as to the rightfulness of so doing. Subsequently the Bab addressed these words to the above-mentioned Muḥsin or Ḥasan in the *Book of Names* (کتاب اسما):—"Because you doubted and declined to take part in this murder, therefore hath God decreed that in the Day of Resurrection the fire shall not touch you."

NOTE G.

THE BAB'S PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA AND RETURN TO SHIRAZ.

As the accounts hitherto published of the Báb's movements during the earlier period of his mission are somewhat contradictory, it has seemed to me advisable to embody in the present note all that I have been able to learn on this matter, together with the conclusions which may be fairly deduced from the facts at present available.

First of all let us enumerate briefly the facts which seem to be sufficiently established by good evidence.

(1) Mirza 'Ali Muḥammad, afterwards the Báb, was born at Shirāz either on Muḥarram 1st A. H. 1236 (Oct. 9th, A.D. 1820), or on Muḥarram 1st 1235 (Oct. 20th, A.D. 1819), most probably (for the reasons advanced in Note C, p. 221, *supra*) the former.

¹ Probably the same Sheykh Muḥammad Ḥasan who is censured in the *Kitāb-i-Akdas* (see B. ii, p. 980).

(2) Whilst he was still of tender age he lost his father, Seyyid Muhammad Riza, and was placed under the care of his maternal uncle, Mirza Seyyid 'Ali (*supra*, p. 2).

(3) On attaining years of discretion (probably, as Kazem-Beg states at p. 335 of his first article, when about fourteen or fifteen years old) he was sent to Bushire to help in his uncle's business (*supra*, p. 2).

(4) Disinclined by nature to the calling for which he was destined, he proceeded at some time antecedent to the year A. H. 1259 (in which year Seyyid Kazim died, see p. 238, *supra*) to Kerbela, where he resided for some time (two months, according to the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*), occasionally attending the lectures of Hdji Seyyid Kazim of Resht.

(5) In A. H. 1258 (A. D. 1842) when in his twenty-third year he married (B. ii, p. 993). There is no positive evidence to show whether this marriage took place at Shiraz or Kerbela, but the former hypothesis appears more probable. By this marriage he had (according to a statement made by Şubh-i-Ezel) one son named (if my memory serves me aright) Ahmad, who died in infancy. The loss of this child is said to be alluded to in the *Commentary on the Súra of Joseph*.

(6) On Jamadi-ul-Úla 5th, A. H. 1260 (May 23rd, A. D. 1844) Mirza 'Ali Muhammad—then "twenty-four years of age and entering on his twenty-fifth year" as Şubh-i-Ezel states, or, in his own words, "at an age which did not exceed five and twenty" (see p. 221, *supra*)—first became clearly conscious of the divine mission laid upon him, and (apparently without much delay) began to announce himself as the Bab. If by the 'manifestation'⁵ (ظهور) we are to understand that period at which the views of the young Seer first became definitely formulated rather than that at which they were first made known to others, it is of course possible that some little while elapsed between the 'manifestation' and its disclosure. This hypothesis is supported by the narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, according to which Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh (who was, as is unanimously admitted, and as his titles 'the First Letter' and the 'First who believed' imply, the earliest convert) came to Shir&z shortly after the death of Seyyid Kazim, visited Mirza 'Ali

Muhammad (with whom he had been previously acquainted at Serbela), and, during this first visit, was surprised by his former fellow-student demanding of him 'whether he saw in him the signs which must characterize Seyyid Kázim's successor?' (see B. ii, pp. 902—903). On the other hand it is clear that not more than a month or two can have elapsed between the time of the 'manifestation' and its disclosure, *firstly*, because the beginning of the Bábí propaganda is placed by both of the Musulmán historians in this same year of A.H. 1260; *secondly*, because seven months after the 'manifestation' (as will be shown immediately) the Báb, having laid the foundations of his religion at Shfráz, was away performing the pilgrimage to Mecca.

We have now reached the point to which this note specially refers—the Báb's pilgrimage to Mecca. Concerning this Gobineau says simply (pp. 144—145), "Il fit très-jeune le pèlerinage de la Mecque...Il est bien probable que ce fut dans la ville sainte elle-meme qu'il se detacha absolument et de'finitivement de la foi du Prophete, et qu'il concut la pens^e de miner cette foi pour mettre à sa place tout autre chose." Kazem-Beg says (I, p. 344), "Après avoir semé bon gré mal gré quelques mauvais grains dans cette terre de Chiraz si fertile en prejuges et en superstitions, le Kerbelai Sei'd Ali-Mohammed se rendit en pèlerinage à la Mecque." In this instance Kazem-Beg is undoubtedly right; it was *after*, not *before*, the manifestation that the Báb went to Mecca. The *Nasihhu t-Tawarikh* is clear on this point. "To proceed with the narrative," it says, "when the Báb had laid the foundations of such an edifice, he, according to his promise, set out for Mecca the venerable." The promise alluded to in this passage is thus noticed on the preceding page: "Since tradition affirms that His Highness the Ká'im (i.e. the Imám Mahdi) shall come forth from Mecca the venerable, he (the Báb) used to tell his disciples that next year he would announce his claim in Mecca and come forth with the sword." A statement of Šubh-i-Ezel's to the effect that the manifestation was in Šhiráz (not in Kerbela, as stated in the *Nasikkut-Tawarikh*), that Mulla Huseyn first believed, and that soon after this the Báb set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca, taken in conjunction with the above testimony, seems to prove conclusively that the

pilgrimage-journey took place shortly after the ' manifestation.

Now since, as we have seen, the ' manifestation' was on Jamadi-ul-Ula 5th A.H. 1260, and since the pilgrimage must be performed in the month of Zi'l-Hijje' (the last month of the Muhammadan year), it follows that Kazem-Beg's statement (i, p. 346) that "at the end of the year 1260 (1844) he (i.e. the Bab) returned from Mecca to Bandar-Bushire, where he was arrested in the month of October, by order of the *Nizamud-Dawla* Huseyn Khan, governor of Shiraz," is erroneous. For, according to the *Nasikhu't-Tawarikh*, the horsemen sent to Bushire to arrest the Bab set out from Shiraz on Sha'ban 16th, and returned, bringing with them their prisoner, on Ramazan 19th. The latter of these dates is confirmed by the *Rawzatus-Safa*; while the *Tarkh-i-Jadid*, after mentioning that the Bab's return to Bushire occurred in A.H. 1261, says that he was brought before Huseyn Khan on the eve of Ramazan 21st. Though neither of the Musulman historians mentions the year¹, it is evident that A.H. 1261 is intended, for in Ramazan A.H. 1260 the Bab had not yet started for Mecca. We may therefore add to the facts previously stated about the Bab's earlier movements—

(7) That towards the end of the year A.H. 1260, and presumably in the month Zi'l-Ka'da of that year (November, A.D. 1844), he set out from Shiraz for Mecca.

(8) That he remained at Mecca at any rate till Zi'l-Hijje' 13th A.H. 1260 (December 24th, A.D. 1844) for the completion of the rites incumbent on pilgrims.

(9) That he returned by sea some time during the first half of the year A.H. 1261 (A.D. 1845) to Bushire, whence he sent missionaries to Shiraz, he himself remaining at the former place. (See *supra*, p. 5.)

(10) That on Sha'ban 2nd A.H. 1261 (August 6th, A.D. 1845) strong measures were adopted by Huseyn Khan against these missionaries. (See *supra*, pp. 5—6.)

(11) That on Sha'ban 16th A.H. 1261 (August 20th, 1845) horsemen were sent from Shiraz to arrest the Bab at Bushire.

¹ Compare the remarks on pp. 186—187, *supra*.

1850, see *supra*, p. 45, note 1). The *Rawzatu's-Safa* contains a much briefer account of the matter, which agrees in the main with those above alluded to. The *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, on the other hand, differs considerably from the Musulmān histories, and supplies us with much new matter. As the versions embodied in the latter are rendered sufficiently accessible to the European reader by Kazem-Beg's narrative, I shall confine myself here to giving a brief presentation of the account according to the Babi tradition.

Seyyid Yaḥyā's father Seyyid Ja'far, surnamed *Kashfi* or *Kashshaf* ('the Discloser') because of his skill in the exegesis of the *Kur'a'n* and the visions which he claimed to have, seems, according to all accounts, to have been universally respected and revered. Before the events with which we are concerned took place he left his native town of Dārāb and settled in Burūjird. His son Seyyid Yaḥyā would seem to have resided at Teherān for some time previously to the Bāb's appearance, but for how long does not appear. At all events, shortly after this took place he (at the command of Muhammad Shāh as stated at p. 7 of the present work, at the request of his disciples and followers according to the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*) proceeded to Shfrāz with the express object of enquiring into the Bāb's claims; and was present, according to the *Nasikh'u't-Tawarikh*, at the Bāb's examination before Huseyn Khan on Ramazan 21st A.H. 1261 (Sept. 23rd, A.D.' 1845). Although, if we are to give credence to the Musulman historian's assertions, the Bāb scarcely emerged from this ordeal with flying colours, Seyyid Yaḥyā was sufficiently impressed by what he saw of the young reformer to desire fuller opportunities of conversing with him. The usual result followed. After a brief period of hesitation and doubt, Seyyid Yaḥyā eagerly embraced the new faith. A long account of his conversion is given in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, which, interesting as it is, lack of space compels me to omit.

Seyyid Yaḥyā does not seem to have remained in Shfrāz long after his conversion. The present history (p. 8) states that he "hastened to Burūjird to his father Seyyid Ja'far"; the *Tārīkh-i-Jadid* describes him as "setting out for Yezd";

while the *Nāsikh-u't-Tawārikh* asserts that after the Bab's flight to Isfahan he was informed by Huseyn Khan that "his further sojourn in Fars was undesirable," and that accordingly he betook himself to Yezd. Whatever his immediate movements on quitting Shiraz may have been (and it is not improbable that he may have visited many towns besides those mentioned to preach the new faith, being, as would appear, commissioned by the Bab so to do) he would seem to have again visited Teheran, and there to have remained for some considerable time. Subh-i-Ezel, in reply to a question which I addressed to him as to the character of Āka, Seyyid Yahya and the truth or falsity of the charge of perfidy brought against him by a certain writer (Kazem-Beg, ii, p. 239), wrote thus:—"The virtue and perfections of His Excellency Āka Seyyid Yahya were beyond all limits and bounds. He was not such as that historian has described. I bear witness by God and His Spirit that this [historian] has written downright falsehood. Most of the people of Persia admitted his virtue and perfections. I myself in the days of my youth met him several times at night in my own house and elsewhere, and witnessed the perfection of his virtues and endowments."

The information at our disposal is insufficient to enable us to trace Seyyid Yahya's movements from the period of his conversion in the autumn of A.D. 1845 till we find him involved in the troubles at Yezd in May 1850. If the reiterated assertions of the *Tārikh-i-Jadid* to the effect that he proceeded directly from Shiraz to Yezd, returned directly from Yezd to Shiraz and Niriz, and also visited Teheran, are to be credited, we must suppose that he visited Yezd twice at least during this period. At all events in May 1850 we find him in that city, busily engaged in preaching the Babi doctrines, and surrounded by a considerable number of followers. The governor of Yezd, Ākd Khan, at length considered it advisable to interfere, and sent men to arrest Seyyid Yahya, who retired with some of his followers to the citadel and prepared to defend himself. An unsuccessful attack on the insurgents' position resulted in a loss of thirty lives to the besiegers and seven to the Babis.

Seyyid Yahya, however, does not seem to have been altogether satisfied with his position. One night he said, "If anyone could lead out my horse so that I could go forth to put an end to this matter and convey myself to some other place, it would not be a bad thing." A youth named Hasan, distinguished by a singular devotion to Seyyid Yahya, at once volunteered to make the attempt, and persisted in his purpose in spite of his master's warning that he would be taken and slain. This actually befel. Hasan was captured by the enemy and brought before the governor, who ordered him to be blown from the mouth of a gun. So little did this terrible sentence affect the brave youth that he requested that he might be bound with his face towards the cannon so that he might see the match applied. In spite of this untoward event Seyyid Yahya succeeded in effecting his escape from Yezd in company with one of his disciples. He first made his way to Shiraz, whence he proceeded to NMz. After his departure, the Babis at Yezd were soon subdued by the governor, who punished some with death, some with imprisonment, and some with fines.

No sooner had Seyyid Yahya reached Niriz than he again began his propaganda, undeterred by the remonstrances and threats of the governor Zeynu'l-'Ahidin Khan. The latter finally called upon the people of Niriz to assist him in forcibly expelling the disturber. Seyyid Yahya, being apprised of this, repaired to the mosque where his father had been wont to preach, and addressed to the people there assembled an affecting discourse, wherein he reminded them of their former love for himself, declared that his only object was to make them partakers in that faith which had been to him a source of such great happiness, and concluded by conjuring them by the veneration in which they held his father's memory not to suffer themselves to be made the instruments of the governor's malice. Having finished his discourse he left the town accompanied by seventeen of his followers, and took up his abode at an old ruined castle in the neighbourhood.

Seyyid Yahya was not suffered to remain long undisturbed. His foes soon discovered his retreat and proceeded to lay siege to it. At first they were unsuccessful, Seyyid

Yahya having apparently been joined by a large number of supporters (three hundred according to the Musulmin historian); and indeed the Babis gained at least one decided victory over their foes. But in a short while the besiegers were re-inforced by troops sent from Shiraz at the command of Firuz Mirza, the new governor of Fars, and commanded by Mihr 'Ali Khan *Shuja'u'l-Mulk* of Nur and Mustafakuli Khan Kara-guzlu. The arrival of these troops greatly dispirited the besieged; many of the less ardent deserted, and in a short time the occupants of the castle were reduced to seventy.

In spite of the defections from their ranks, the Babis (according to the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*) continued to defend themselves with such vigour that the besiegers were fain to have recourse to treachery similar in character to that whereby Sheykh Tabarsi and Zanzan were finally subdued. They sent a message to Seyyid Yahya asking him to come to their camp and hold a peaceful consultation with the royalist leaders, and assuring him with oaths registered on the Kur'an that no harm should befall him at their hands. Seyyid Yahya, in spite of the remonstrances and warnings of his followers, acquiesced in the proposed arrangement, and forthwith betook himself to the besiegers' camp. He was at first received with courtesy and treated with all respect, but when, on the following morning, he attempted to leave the tent which had been assigned to him, he was prevented by the sentinels from so doing. The Babis, becoming aware in some way of the insult offered to their chief, made a sudden sortie and succeeded in greatly discomfiting their foes. Thereupon the officers of the besieging army hastened to Seyyid Yahya's tent and remonstrated with him on the action of his followers, reminding him that he had agreed to co-operate with them in striving to bring about a peaceful settlement. Seyyid Yahya in turn reproached them with wanton violation of good faith in confining him to his tent, which conduct on their part, he assured them, was the sole cause of what had now occurred. The royalist officers apologized for the insult offered, which, they declared, they had in no wise sanctioned, and finally prevailed on Seyyid Yahya to write to his followers instructing them to lay down their arms, evacuate their

fortress, and return to their homes. The Babis faithfully obeyed the commands of their chief, but no sooner were they disbanded and scattered than they were seized by the soldiers and brought in chains to the camp, while their houses were given over to plunderers.

The besiegers, having now gained their object, readily forgot their oaths and plighted troth. Seyyid Yahya was strangled with his own girdle by one whose two brothers had been killed during the siege, and the other Babis likewise died by the hands of the executioner. The heads of the victims were stuffed with straw¹, and, bearing with them these grim trophies of their prowess, together with some forty or fifty Bábí women and one child of tender age as captives, the victorious army returned to Shiraz. Their entry into that city was made the occasion of general rejoicings; the captives were paraded through the streets and bazaars and finally brought before Prince Firuz Mirza, who was feasting in a summer-house called *Kuláh-i-Firangi*. In his presence Mihr 'All Khan, Mirza Na'im, and the other officers recounted the details of their victory, and received congratulations and marks of favour. The captive women were finally imprisoned in an old caravansaray outside the Isfahan gate. What treatment they experienced at the hands of their captors is left to our conjecture. Twelve Babis who had escaped from Niriz to Isfahan were there captured and sent to Shfraz where they were executed. Thus ended the first Niriz insurrection.

The second insurrection occurred about two years later. A number of Babis took refuge with their wives and children in the mountains about Nrfz, and for a long while offered a vigorous and successful resistance to those who strove to dislodge them. They even attacked the town and killed the governor Zeynu'l-Abidin Khan—the chief author of their sufferings—while he was at the bath. Finally troops were sent from Shiraz by the governor Tahmasp Mirza, and these, aided by the tribesmen of Dáráb and Šábúnát, succeeded at length in stamping out the insurrec-

¹ Concerning this disgusting practice compare Eastwick's *Diplomate's Residence in Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 55—56.

tion. The fate of the captives was in every respect similar to that which had befallen their predecessors.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* in concluding this narrative takes occasion to point out how literally was fulfilled in these events the prophecy contained in a tradition referring to the signs which shall mark the appearance of the Imām Mahdi:—

عليه كمال موسى و بهاء عيسى و صبر ايوب فيدل اولياؤه
 في زمانه و تنهادى روسهم كما تنهادى روس الترك و الديلم
 فيقتلون و يحرقون و يكونون خائفين مرعوبين و جلين تصبغ
 الارض من دمائهم و يفسو الويل و الرثه في نساءهم اولئك
 اوليائي حقاً *

"In him [shall be] the perfection of Moses, the preciousness of Jesus, and the patience of Job; his saints shall be abased in his time, and their heads shall be exchlianged as presents, even as the lieads of the Turk and the Deylamite are exchanged as presents; they shall be slain and burned, and shall be afraid, fearful, and dismayed; tlie earth shall be dyed with their blood, and lamentation and wailing shall prevail amongst their women; these are my saints indeed."

"When I was at Yezd in the early summer of 1888, I became acquainted with a Bābi holding a position of some importance under government, two of whose ancestors had taken a prominent part in the suppression of the Niriz insurrection. Of what he told me concerning this the following is a summary taken from my diary for May 18th, 1888 :—

" My maternal grandfather Mihr 'Ali Khan *Shūja'ul-Mulk* and my great-uncle Mirza Na'fm both took an active

¹ This tradition, called حديث جابر, is also quoted from the *Kāfi* (one of the principal compilations of Shi'ite traditions) in the *Itān*.

part in the Niriz war—but on the wrong side. When orders came to Siriraz to quell the insurrection, my grandfather was instructed to take command of the expedition sent for that purpose. He did not like the task committed to him and communicated his reluctance to two of the ' *Ulama*, who, however, re-assured him, declaring that the war on which he was about to engage was a holy enterprise sanctioned by Religion, and that he would receive reward therefor in Paradise. So he went, and what happened happened. After they had killed 750 men, they took the women and children, stripped them almost naked, mounted them on donkeys, mules, and camels, and led them through rows of heads hewn from the lifeless bodies of their fathers, brothers, sons, and husbands towards Shiraz. On their arrival there, they were placed in a ruined caravansaray just outside the Isfahan gate and opposite to an *Imām-zade*, their captors taking up their quarters under some trees hard by. Here they remained for a long while, subjected to many insults and hardships, and many of them died,

" Now see the judgement of God on the oppressors; for of those chiefly responsible for these cruelties not one but came to a bad end and died overwhelmed with calamity.

" My grandfather Mihr 'Ali Khan presently fell ill and was dumb till the day of his death. Just as he was about to expire, those who stood round him saw from the movement of his lips that he was whispering something. They leant down to catch his last words and heard him murmur faintly '*Bābil Babil Babi!*'⁹ three times. Then he fell back dead.

" My great-uncle Mirza Na'im fell into disgrace with the government and was twice fined, 10,000 *tumans* the first time, 15,000 the second. But his punishment did not cease here, for he was made to suffer diverse tortures. His hands were put in the *el-ckek*¹ and his feet in the *tang-i-Kajar*²; he was made to stand bare-headed in the sun

¹ The torture called *el-cheke* consists in placing pieces of wood between the victim's fingers, binding them round tightly with cord. Cold water is then thrown over the cord to cause its further contraction.

² The *tang-i-Kajar* or 'Kajar squeeze' is an instrument of

with treacle smeared over his head to attract the flies; and, after suffering these and other torments yet more painful and humiliating, he was dismissed a disgraced and ruined man."¹

Áḳá Seyyid Yahyá was, as Şubḥ-i-Ezel informed me, not more than forty years old at the time of his death. A certain Bābi named Biyúk Áḳá used to say jestingly, "I like a handsome 'Commander of the Faithful' like Seyyid Yahyá, not an ugly old man bent double with age like Mulla Sheykh'Ali."

Major-General Sir Frederick Goldsmid was kind enough to call my attention to the following passage in Lovett's *Surveys on the road from Shiraz to Bam* (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1872):—

"It (i.e. Niriz) is divided into three parishes or *mahallas*; that to the South, termed the '*Mahalla-i-Babi* is well known to be peopled almost entirely by Babis, who, though they do not openly profess their faith in the teachings of Seyyid 'All Muḥammad the Báb, still practise the principles of communism he inculcated. It is certain, moreover, that the tolerance which was one of the precepts inculcated by the Báb is here shewed, for not only was I invited to make use of the public *hammam*, if I required it, but quarters were assigned to me in a *madrassa*."

Is it in the least degree probable that, if Seyyid Yahyá's conduct had been such as Kazem-Beg describes it, Niriz should have continued so long one of the strongholds of that faith whereof he was the apostle?

torture resembling the 'boot' once used in England, for the introduction of which (as its name implies) Persia is indebted to the dynasty which at present occupies the throne.

¹ Another yet more striking instance of Divine vengeance was related to me in the same connection, but I omit it as not bearing on the present subject. The belief prevalent amongst the Babis, that signal punishment befalls those who are most active in persecuting them, is strangely supported not only by the above instances but by the fates of the *Amir-Nizam* (Gobineau, pp. 253—254), of Mahmūd Khān the *Kaldntar* (Gobineau, p. 295), of Sheykh Bāḳir, and others (B. i, pp. 491—492).

NOTE I.

THE BAB'S ESCAPE FROM SHIRAZ TO ISFAHAN.

According to the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* the Báb, after his examination before Huseyn Khañ on Ramazañ 21st, A.H. 1261 (Sept. 23rd, A.D. 1845), was confined, not, as stated in this history (p. 6), in the house of his uncle Háji Seyyid 'Ali, nor, as asserted by the Musulmán historians, in prison, but in the house of 'Abdu'l-Ĥamfd Khán the *Darugha* or chief constable of Shiraz. That for some portion of the six months which elapsed between his arrest and his escape to Isfahán the Báb was an inmate of the house of this official would appear certain, for Şubĥ-i-Ezel, whom I questioned on the subject, affirmed this to have been the case, adding, in answer to further questions as to how strict was the custody in which he was kept, that the *rawza-khwañs* or religious recitations, of which the constable's house was frequently the scene, afforded opportunities to the Bábfs of seeing and conversing with their Master.

That some attack on the Báb's house such as that described at p. 10 of the present work did take place appears to be proved by the following passage from one of the Báb's works, for which I am also indebted to Şubĥ-i-Ezel:—

دخلوا حزيه ليلة القدر على بيتي و اخذوا ما استطاعوا
 مما ملكنى ربي بأمر مختار الفارس لعنة الله عليه *

" His party entered in unto my house on the 'Night of Worth'¹ and took what they could of that which my Lord hath caused me to possess, at the command of the ruler of Fars, upon whom be the curse of God!"

¹ The *Leylatu'l-kadr* ("Night of Worth" or "Decrees") is generally supposed to be the night between the 23rd and 24th of Ramazañ. (See Sale's translation of the *Kur'añ*, note on *sura xcvi*.)

The account of the Bab's escape from Shiraz contained in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* differs somewhat from that here given, and is in substance as follows. When the plague broke out in Shiraz the son of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid Khan was amongst those stricken by that awful málady. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamfd Khán in his distress and anxiety appealed to the Bá'b, entreating him to pray for the youth's recovery. This shortly took place; whereat the grateful father sought out his illustrious guest, and, with profuse expressions of thankfulness, assured him that he might consider himself free to go where he pleased. According to the Musulmán accounts (which, together with a note containing a very pertinent criticism on their intrinsic improbability, will be found in Kazem-Beg's first paper, pp. 348—349) Minúchihr Khán *Mu'tamadud'Dawla*, the governor of Isfahan, sent horsemen to Shiraz expressly to deliver the Bab from his captivity and bring him to Isfahan. It is but fair to add that Subh-i-Ezel also attributed the Bab's release directly to Minúchihr Khan's efforts.

Of the Bá'b's journey to Isfahán in company with Áḳá Ḥuseyn of Ardistán and Áḳa Seyyid Kázim of Zanján (who died shortly after reaching Isfahán) the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* gives a detailed account on the authority of Háji Mirza Jáni of Káshán, who had heard it from the above-mentioned Áka Muhammad Huseyn himself. The most noteworthy féature of this accóunt is its evident tendency to invest the Bab's slightest actions with a miraculous character.

The Bá'b probably reached Isfahán early in the summer of A. D. 1846, since, according to both the Musulmán historians, his captivity at Shiraz lasted six months, and since, according to the present history (p. 11), the hot weather (which seldom sets in till the beginning of May at the earliest) had already begun ere he left Shiraz. On approaching Isfahán he addressed a letter to the governor Minúchihr Khán asking permission to enter the city and craving protection. Of this letter Kazem-Beg (i. p. 352 and note) gives a translation, which, as it appears to be derived from authoritative sources, I here reproduce:—
"Poursuivi par tous, persecute, j'accours me placer sous

votre egide ; j'attends votre reponse au seuil de la capitale, et n'y entrerais pas avant d'avoir obtenu l'assurance de votre protection."

During the first forty days of his sojourn in Isfahan the *Bab* was, as stated at p. 11 of the present work and also in the *Tārikh-i-Jadid*, the guest of the Imam-Jum'a, who at first treated him with great respect, and at whose request he wrote the *Commentary on the Suratill-'Asr*. Of this work I have been fortunate enough to obtain a MS. quite recently. [See *infra* at the end of Note U].

NOTE J.

THE CONFERENCE AT ISFAHÁN.

Of the circumstances which led to the conference, and the considerations which induced the majority of the clergy invited to take part in it to absent themselves therefrom, the *Tārikh-i-Jadid* gives the following account. Although the ' *Ulama* of Isfahan headed by the Imam-Jum'a had at first behaved towards the *Bab* with respect, and expressed themselves favourably with regard to him, they began after a while to be alarmed at his increasing influence over the governor Minuchihr Khan. Alarm presently passed into hatred: they began to speak ill of him whom they had professed to admire, and even destroyed certain books which he had composed at their request. Minuchihr Khan on hearing this was greatly incensed, and bitterly reproached these divines with the fickleness of their conduct. "At first," he said, "you praised and admired. What has happened now to cause you to become so hostile and envious and induce you to speak so ill? There is no sense in denunciation without investigation or enquiry. If you are in truth searchers and strivers in matters of faith and religion, then choose one of three places—the Imam-Jum'a's house, my house, or the *Masjid-i-Shah*—and hold discussion with him [the *Bab*]. If he can establish and prove the truth of his claim so as to persuade and convince you,

admit it, so that the clergy of Persia may not oppose and resist it without reason, or turn away from the truth without cause. If he cannot succeed in establishing his claim, then do you be the first to rebut it, so that this mischief may cease, and mankind may be set at ease. But it is a condition that I myself be present and that only one person at a time speak, for if once wrangling begins and clerical tricks are resorted to, the matter will not be understood."

The clergy agreed to this proposal, and selected the Masjid-i-Shah as the scene of the conference. On the appointed day Mir Seyyid Hasan *Mudarris*, Haji Mulla Hasan 'Ali of Tusirkan, Aka Muhammad Mahdi Kalbasi, and other members of the clergy who were to take part in the discussion met at the house of H&ji Muḥammad Ja'far of Fars, intending to proceed with him to the Masjid-i-Shah. Haji Muhammad Ja'far, however, who was the oldest and most learned of those present, expressed a strong opinion to the effect that they would act most wisely in refusing to take any part in the projected discussion with the Bab, "for," said he, "if you prevail over him you will add but little to your reputation, seeing that he is confessedly unlearned and untrained in science; while if he prevail over you, you will be for ever shamed and disgraced. Under these circumstances it is best that we should sign a declaration stating that we are convinced of the heretical character of his doctrines, and refuse to have any further dealings with him." This expedient was, after some discussion, unanimously adopted, and the declaration was sent to Minuchihr Khan, who was greatly incensed thereat.

That some of the clergy who had been invited to take part in the discussion refused to attend is a fact vouched for by both of the *Babi* historians, though as to the names of the absentees they are not in complete accord, Aka Muḥammad Mahdi, for instance, being specially designated in the present work (p. 12) as having been present at the conference. The *Nasikhu 't-Tawarikh* gives a totally different account of the matter, including a report of the discussion. This account is in substance as follows.

Minuchihr Khan, anxious to test the Bab's wisdom, one

night invited to his house several eminent members of the clergy of Isfahan, amongst these being Mirza Seyyid Muhammad *Imam-Jun'a*, Aka Muhammad Mahdi Kalbasi, and Mirza Muhammad Hasan of Nūr. Shortly after these had arrived the Bdb entered and was placed in a seat of honour. The following colloquy then took place :—

Aka Muhammad Mahdi.—"Persons who follow the path of Religion belong to one of two classes : either they themselves deduce and determine religious questions from history and tradition, or else they follow some competent authority (*mujtahid*)".¹

Bab:—"I follow no one, and moreover I regard it as unlawful for each one to act after his own fancy."

A. M. M.—"To-day the Gate of Knowledge (*Bdb-i-Hlm*) is shut, and the Proof of God² absent. Unless you hold converse with the Imam of the Age and hear the explanation of questions of truth from his tongue, how can you attain certainty and be assured? Tell me, whence have you acquired this knowledge, and from whom did you gain this assurance ?"

Bab.—"You are educated in tradition and are as a child learning the alphabet. The 'Station of Praise and of the Spirit' is mine. You cannot speak with me of what you know not."

Mirza Hasan (the Platonist and follower of Mulla Sadra).—"Stop at this statement which you have made ! We in our terminology have assigned a station to 'Praise and the Spirit,' whereunto whosoever attaineth is conversant with all things ; from him nothing remains concealed, and there is nothing which he knoweth not. Do you recognize the 'Station of Praise and of the Spirit' as such, and does your nature thus comprehend all things ?"

Bab (without hesitation).—"It is even so. Ask what you please."

M. H.—"One of the miracles of the Prophets and Saints was, as it appears, the [instant] traversing of the

¹ He who follows is called *mufcallid*, and he who leads, *mujtahid*. Everyone belonging to the former class is at liberty to select his own guide from the latter.

² i.e. the Twelfth Imam.

earth. Tell me now, that I may know, how the earth can be thus traversed. For instance, His Holiness Jawad¹ (upon him be peace) lifted up his foot in Medina and put it down in Tus. Whither went the space which was between Medina and Tus? Did the ground between these two cities sink down, so that Medina became contiguous to Tus? And when the Imam (upon him be peace) reached I¹'us, did the earth again rise up? This cannot have been, for how many cities are there between Medina and Tus, all of which must in that case have been swallowed up and every living thing therein destroyed! And if you say that the lands [between them] were agglomerated so that they became amalgamated, this too is impossible, for in that case how many cities would have been obliterated or would have passed beyond Medina or Tus, whereas [in fact] no part of the earth was altered or moved from its place. And if you say, 'The Imam flew, and leapt with his mortal body from Medina to Tus,' this likewise agreeth not with sound reasonings. Say also how 'Ali the Prince of Believers (upon him be peace) was in one night—nay, in one moment—a guest in forty [different] houses. If you say, 'It was not 'Ali, but a simulacrum I of him] appeared,' we admit it not, for God and the Prophet lie not, neither was 'Ali a juggler. And if it was in truth he, how was it so? So likewise it is [stated] in tradition that the heavens moved swiftly in the time of Sultan Jabir, but had a slow motion in the time of the Imams. Now *firstly* how can there be two sorts of motion for the heavens? And *secondly* the Omeyyad and 'Abbasid Kings were contemporary with our Im&ms (upon them be peace), so that the heavens must at one time have had both a slow and a swift motion. Discover this mystery also."

Bab.—"If you wish, I will explain these difficulties verbally; if not, I will write [their solutions] with fingers and pen on paper."

M. H.—"The choice is yours. Do whichever you please."

Then the Bab took pen and paper and began to write.

¹ *Jawad* ("the Generous") is one of the titles assigned to the ninth Imdm, Muḥammad Taḳi.

At this moment supper was brought in. Mirza Ḥasan picked up the paper on which the Báb had written a few lines, and, after glancing at it, said, "It appears that you have begun a homily, and have only written an exordium of praise to God and a few words of prayer, without acquainting us with that which we desired to know." Here the discussion dropped, and after partaking of supper each one returned to his own home.

Whatever may be the truth about this conference and the behaviour of the clergy of Isfahán towards the Báb, one fact is clearly proved by all accounts, namely, that from first to last Minúchihr Khán shewed himself a sincere and faithful friend to the Báb. Whether, as stated by Şubḥ-i-Ezel, he wrote to Muḥammad Sháh telling him that "it was unseemly for the Government to engage in a quarrel with a private individual," and offered all the money at his disposal and even the rings on his hand to the Báb; or whether, as asserted by the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, he even went so far as to offer to place 50,000 troops at the Báb's disposal, march on Teherán, and compel the King to accept the new faith and bestow the hand of one of his daughters on its founder, must remain doubtful; but this much at least is certain, that almost the only period of comparative peace and comfort enjoyed by the Báb from the beginning of his mission till his martyrdom was the year which he passed in Isfahán under the protection of the wise and powerful Georgian eunuch.

NOTE K.

MULLÁ ŞADRÁ AND HIS PHILOSOPHY.

Gobineau in his *Religions et Philosophies dans VAsie Centrale* (pp. 81—91) has given so admirable an account of the life of this great philosopher and of the part played by him in the revival of metaphysical learning in Persia that any very detailed notice of his career on my part would be superfluous. I shall therefore confine myself to reproducing

a brief sketch of his biography as it was related to me by a most learned and amiable scholar—himself a pupil of Haji Mulla Hadi of Sabzawar, whose fame as a metaphysician has almost eclipsed that of the illustrious Mulla Sadra—with whom it was my privilege to study for some time in Teheran. This account agrees in the main with Gobineau's, but differs in some few points.

Mulla Sadra's father was a rich merchant of Shiraz, but though he had reached an advanced age he had no child to whom he might bequeath his wealth. This caused him much sorrow, and he prayed earnestly to God that a son might be vouchsafed to him, making a vow that if his prayer were granted he would bestow a *tuman* a day in alms on the poor. Shortly after this, that which he so earnestly desired came to pass, and a son—afterwards the great Mulla Sadra—was born to him. From an early age the boy gave indications of extraordinary talent and virtue. When his father died, he decided, after consulting his mother, to give the greater portion of the wealth which he had inherited to the poor, reserving only what was sufficient for his modest needs. He then left Shiraz and took up his residence in Isfahan, which was at that time unrivalled in Persia as a seat of learning. On his arrival there he enquired who were the best teachers of philosophy, and was answered that they were three—Mir Damad, Mir Fandariski, and Sheykh Behl. To the first of these he forthwith presented himself, and asked advice as to the course of study which he should pursue. "If you want sheer ideas," replied Mir Damad, "go to Mir Fandariski; if you want merely eloquence, go to Sheykh Beha; if you want both, come to me." Mulla Sadra accordingly attended with diligence the lectures of all three, but chiefly those of Mir Damad. After a while Mir Damad, wishing to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, bade a temporary farewell to his students, and instructed each of them to compose during his absence a treatise on some branch of Philosophy. On his return he asked to see the results of their labours. These he glanced over in private, and all of them lay aside after a cursory inspection save the treatise composed by Mulla Sadra under the name of *Skawtihad-i-P* ('Evidences of Divinity')—a treatise to thi-

highly esteemed in Persia. A few days after, as he was riding through the streets attended by his disciples, he called Mulla Sadra to him and said :—" *Sadra jan! Kitab-i-mara az meyan burdi*" ("My dear Sadra, you have done away with my book!"), meaning to signify that the pupil had superseded the teacher. Shortly after this Mullk Sadra, having completed his studies, went to Kashan, and thence, after a while, to Kūm, in the mountains around which city he long lived a secluded and studious life, troubled occasionally by the malice and hostility of the *mullds*.

Gobineau says (*be. cit*, p. 89) that MuLU Sadra's philosophy was simply a revival of Avicenna's and contained nothing new; but this, as he himself remarks, is not the general opinion in Persia. The following three points, as I was informed, constitute the chief original features of MuLU Sadra's system :—

- (1) The aphorism

بسيط الحقيقة كل الأشياء و ليس بشيء منها

"The elementary Reality is all things, yet is no one of them."

(2) The doctrine of "the Union of the Intellect with the Intelligible" (اتحاد عاقل با معقول), according to which the clear apprehension of an idea implies and involves the establishment of a kind of identity between it and the mind which apprehends it.

(3) The doctrine of "the Incorporeality of Imagination" (تجرد خيال)—a doctrine involving the important consequence that Reason (or the development of that principle which stands above Imagination in the evolution of spiritual faculties) is not a necessary condition of immortality, and hence that not infants only but even animals possess a spiritual part which survives the death of the

Šadrā composed a great number of works, whereof 'Treatises'), in two large volumes, and the *Sha-*

wahid-i-Rububiyya ('Evidences of Divinity') mentioned above, are the most important. His influence on Persian thought has been great; and his relations with the later developments thereof—especially with the Sheykhi school (concerning which see Note E *supra*)—merit a much more careful study than they have yet received.

NOTE L.

THE BAB AT MAKU AND CHIHRIK.

The Báb was accompanied on his journey to Máku by his amanuensis Áká Seyyid Hüseyn of Yezd, Mullá Sheykh 'AH 'Jenab-i-'Azirri, Mulla Muḥammad 'Mu'allim-i-NurV (afterwards killed at Sheykh Tabarsi)¹, and an escort of twelve horsemen under the command of Muḥammad Beg *Châpârji*. A full account of this journey, on the authority of Hâji Mirzâ Jâni of Kâshân, who had it directly from the aforesaid Muḥammad Beg, is contained in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*. The substance of this account is as follows :—

When Muḥammad Beg was ordered to conduct the Báb to Tabriz and there deliver him over to Bahman Mirza the governor, he was so averse to undertaking this charge that he feigned illness in hopes of being excused so thankless a task. His orders, however, were peremptorily repeated, and he was obliged to set out. He had been instructed not to take the Báb into the towns which they must pass on the road, and accordingly on approaching Zanjan he called a halt at a stone caravansaray situated outside and at some distance from the city. In spite of this, no sooner did their arrival become known than numbers of the inhabitants came out in the hopes of being able to get a

¹ This is according to Şubḥ-i-Ezel's statement. According to the *Tdrikh-i-Jadid* his companions were, besides the escort, Aka Mirza 'Abdu'l-Wahhâb, Mullá Muḥammad, Áká Seyyid Hüseyn the amanuensis, his brother Áká Seyyid Hasan of Yezd, and Seyyid Murtaza.

glimpse of the Báb. Muḥammad Beg, being occupied with other business, took no heed of what was passing, while the other men who composed the escort only offered such opposition to the entry of each group of eager visitors as sufficed to procure for themselves a gift of money. Presently an urgent message was brought from Ashraf Khán the governor of Zanján (who was greatly alarmed at the popular excitement caused by the Báb's proximity to the town) ordering Muḥammad Beg at once to start again and proceed to some spot further distant. Muḥammad Beg accordingly informed the Báb, with many apologies and expressions of regret, that he must prepare to resume his journey without delay, to which, with a single expression of surprise and regret at the governor's harshness, he submitted, and they pushed on to a brick caravansaray two *farsakhs* beyond Zanján. At Milán the Báb's arrival was the signal for a similar demonstration of enthusiasm on the part of the populace, and some two hundred persons who had come out of mere curiosity were converted to the new faith.

Before Tabriz was reached Muḥammad Beg too began to experience that marvellous fascination which the Báb exerted over almost everyone with whom he came in contact, and ere the journey was completed he had become an avowed believer in the divine mission of the captive whom he was conducting into exile. Of those disciples who accompanied the Báb on this journey two only—Áḳá Seyyid Huseyn and Seyyid Murtaza—allowed it to appear that they were his companions. The others used to follow at some distance behind, and only on halting for the night did they seek to find some pretext for approaching their beloved Master. In spite of these precautions, Muhammad Beg, whose faculties were perhaps quickened by his own recent conversion, did not fail in time to discover what they wished to keep secret from him, for of the change which had been wrought in his opinions and feelings they were not yet aware. One day, however, he opened his heart to them, declaring that when he reflected on the service in which he was engaged he felt himself to be worse than Shimr and Yazd, and expressing the warmest admiration for the patience, sweetness, gentleness, and holiness of the Báb, "for," said he, "had he chosen to give the slightest

hint to the people of Zanjan or Milan that they should effect his deliverance, they would not have given us time to draw our breath ere they had effected their object."

Muḥammad Beg was in hopes that he might be appointed to accompany the Bab to Maku—his ultimate destination—and this hope he communicated to the Bab, who, however, replied that this was by no means a thing which he desired, for that in *that* journey there would be harshness and cruelty shewn wherein he would not that Muḥammad Beg should bear any part. When they had come within a stage of Tabriz the Bab requested Muḥammad Beg to go on in advance and announce his approach to Bahman Mirza, to whom he also sent a message praying that he might not be sent to Maku, but might be allowed to remain in Tabriz. To this message the Prince merely replied that it had nothing to do with him, and that the instructions given at the capital must be complied with. Much distressed at being the bearer of such unwelcome tidings, Muhammad Beg returned to meet the Bab, whom he brought in to his own house at Tabriz. There the Bab remained for several days until the fresh escort which was to conduct him to Maku arrived. Then the Bab sent Muhammad Beg with a second message to the Prince, again renewing his request for permission to remain at Tabriz. To this message also Bahman Mirza turned a deaf ear; and such was Muhammad Beg's chagrin, and so great the sorrow which he experienced on parting from the Bab (whose new escort would suffer no further delay in starting), that he fell ill of a fever which did not quit him for two months.

No sooner had Muḥammad Beg recovered his health than he set out for Maku to visit the Bab. On his arrival there he fell at the Bab's feet, entreating him to overlook and condone any fault of which he might have been guilty. The Bab answered that he was not willing that even his enemies should suffer, much less his friends, and that he freely forgave all who had wittingly or unwittingly trespassed against him. He then enquired concerning the details of the disgrace which had befallen two of those who had slighted him—Ashraf Khan and Bahman Mirza—with which Muhammad Beg forthwith proceeded to acquaint him; and, on hearing the indignities to which Ashraf Khan

had been subjected by the relatives of a woman whom he had seduced, he expressed sorrow that so severe a punishment should have overtaken him.

The confinement to which the Bab was subjected at Maku was by no means an excessively rigorous one. Not only his amanuensis Āka Seyyid Huseyn, but also (according to Subh-i-Ezel) Mulla Sheykh 'Ali, and apparently others amongst the most earnest and devoted of his followers, were constantly with him, while many others flocked to Maku from all parts of Persia and were permitted to hold almost unrestricted converse with their Master. Besides this, continual correspondence was carried on between the Bab and his most active apostles, in spite of the instructions given to 'Alf Khan the warden of Maku Castle by the Prime Minister Haji Mirzri, Ākasi to the effect that no such correspondence was to be permitted. Whether 'Ali Khan found himself unable to prevent this correspondence (at any rate without risking a popular tumult), or whether he simply connived at it either from indolence, indifference, or partiality for the Bab, does not very clearly appear. It would at any rate seem that he always treated his prisoner with the utmost respect and deference, toiled daily up the steep road from the village to the Castle (which stood on the summit of a neighbouring hill), and, when questioned by his friends as to the opinion which he had formed of the Bab, would reply that, although he was not clever enough to understand his sayings, he was convinced of his greatness and holiness.

During his sojourn at Maku the Bab composed a great number of works, amongst the more important of which may be especially mentioned the Persian *Beyan* and the 'Seven Proofs' (*Dald'il-i-Sab'a*), both of which contain ample internal evidence of having been written at this period (B. ii, pp. 912—913). Indeed, if we may credit a statement made in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* on the authority of Mirza 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, the various writings of the Bab current in Tabriz alone amounted in all to not less than a million verses! The Prime Minister himself, *Haji Mirza, Ākasi*, was made the object of a homily entitled "The

Sermon of Wrath" (خطبهٔ قهریه) "which," says the author

of the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, "if anyone will peruse, he shall understand the true meaning of inward Strength and Power." Whether this document reached the eyes of him for whom it was intended and roused him to take further steps for the more effectual isolation of its author is uncertain; but at all events fresh instructions of a more peremptory character were despatched by the Prime Minister to the Warden of Mākū commanding him at once to put a stop to the interchange of letters between the Bāb and his followers. 'Ali Khān replied that he was absolutely unable to do this; whereupon orders were issued by the Prime Minister for the removal of the Bāb from Maku to Chihrik. 'Ali Khan, though his own action had brought about this transference, communicated the announcement thereof to the Bāb with every expression of distress and concern, but the latter sternly cut short his apologies saying, "Why dost thou lie? Thou didst thyself write, and dost thou excuse thyself?" So the Bāb was taken to Chihrik and placed in the custody of Yahya Khan.

The *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, ever disposed towards the marvellous if not the miraculous, relates that Yahya Khan saw the Bāb in a dream a short time before his actual arrival at Chihrik, and that this dream he related to *Jenab-i-Azim* (Mulla Sheykh 'Ali), declaring at the same time that should the Bāb's appearance prove to be such as he had seen in his vision he would know for a surety that this was indeed the promised Imam Mahdf. On the Bāb's arrival Yahya Khan went out to meet him and beheld his face even as the face in the dream. Thereupon, being greatly moved, he bowed himself in reverence before the Bāb, and brought him in with all honour into his own house, neither would he sit down in his presence without permission. In consequence of the impression thus produced on Yahya Khan, the Bāb, in spite of Haji Mirza Ākāsi's stringent orders, was not much more isolated from his followers at Chihrik than he had been at Maku.

Şubh-i-Ezel's version is quite different, and is not only much more probable in itself, but also rests on much better authority, since through his hands passed the greater part of the correspondence which was carried on with the Bāb. According to this version, the Bāb's confinement at Chihrik

was of the most rigorous kind, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that letters could be conveyed to or from him. Some of the expedients resorted to for this purpose were described by Mullá Sheykh 'Ali to Şubḥ-i-Ezel and by him to me. Sometimes the letter to be conveyed to the Bab was carefully wrapped up in a waterproof covering, weighted, and sunk in a vessel filled with *māst* (curdled milk), which vessel the Bābi messenger would pray the guards to convey as a trifling present to the captive. Sometimes the letter was enclosed in a candied walnut of the kind called *juzghand*. The bearer, on his arrival at Chihrik, would enter into conversation with the sentries, offer them a share of his *juzghands*, and finally, having sufficiently ingratiated himself with them, request them to carry a handful of sweetmeats to their prisoner. If they consented to do this, the walnut containing the letter was dexterously slipped into the handful destined for the Bab.

A passage from M. Mochenin's memoir quoted by Kazem-Beg (i. p. 371) would seem, however, to imply that even at Chihrik the Báb was permitted to address those who came to hear and see him. "The concourse of people," he says, "was so great that, the court not being spacious enough to contain all the audience, the greater number remained in the street listening attentively to the verses of the new Kur'an." But at all events the Bab was subjected to a closer and more rigorous confinement at Chihrik than he had been at Maku. Hence he used to call the former "*the Grievous Mountain*" (جبل شديد)¹, and the latter "*the Open Mountain*" (جبل باسط). His gaoler at Chihrik was moreover a coarse and unsympathetic creature, to whom Aká Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd gave the name of "*Fierce and Terrible*" (غلاظ شداد)².

The last point which requires discussion is this:—of the three and a half years which elapsed between the death

¹ It will be noticed that the numerical value of the word شديد (318) is the same as that of the name Chihrik (چهریق) for which it stands.

² Kur'an, lxvi. 6.

of Minúchihr Khan (Rabf'ul-Awal A. H. 1263 = Feb.—March A. D. 1847) and the execution of the Bab (Sha'b&n 27th A.H. 1266 = July 8th A.D. 1850) what portion was passed by the Bab at Maku and Chihrik respectively? As the Bab did not leave Isfahan till after Minuchihr Khan's death, we may, allowing for the time consumed in travelling and pprobable delays, assume that he did not reach Maku much before June A.D. 1847. Kazem-Beg says that he remained there six months ere he was transferred to Chihrfk, where, if this statement be correct, he must have arrived about the beginning of A.D. 1848. From Chihrfk he was brought to Tabriz to undergo his first examination (see subsequent note) during the life of Muhammad Sh&h, who died on Sept. 4th, A.D. 1848; and from Chihrik he was again brought to Tabriz in July A.D. 1850 to suffer martyrdom. It would therefore seem that of the last three years of the Bab's life six months (from June to December, A.D. 1847) were spent at Maku, and two years and a half (January A.D. 1848—July A.D. 1850) at Chihrik.

NOTE M.

THE FIRST EXAMINATION OF THE BAB AT TABRIZ.

Of what took place in this assembly we have four accounts besides that which is contained in the present work, whereof two—those contained in the *Rawzatu Y Safd* and the *Kisasu 'l-'Ulama*—are almost identical. The version contained in the *Nasikhu 't-Tawarikh* is substantially a mere condensation of these, and contains little new matter, though the order of the proceedings is somewhat differently given. The account contained in the *Tārikh-i-Jadid* is relatively very brief, and in the main agrees with what is stated in the present work. Babi tradition, in short, supplies us with no detailed narrative of this event, the reason for this being apparently that the assembly in question was held with closed doors, and that

the Báb (so far as we can tell) was unsupported by the presence of a single friend.

As to the credibility of the Muhammadan version, Kazem-Beg has some very pertinent remarks in his first article (pp. 360—363). While fully sharing the doubts which he expresses as to the historical value of this version, I have nevertheless thought it worth reproducing in this place, believing that, whether it be true or false, it will not be found altogether uninteresting as a specimen of the method of judicial enquiry adopted by an Ecclesiastical Court in Persia. I have in the main followed the account given in the *Bawzatu 's-Safa* and the *Kisam 'l-' Ulama*, except in a few cases where a question or answer seemed to be more clearly put in the *Nasikhu 't-Tawārikh*.

In the *Nāsikhu 't-Tawārikh* this conference is described as having taken place in the year A.H. 1263. If this were so¹, it must have been at the close of that year (which ended on December 8th, A.D. 1847), inasmuch as the Báb was, according to all authorities (including Dr A. H. Wright of Urúmiyya), brought to Tabriz from *Chihriḳ*, whither (as I have attempted to shew in the previous note) he was not transferred much before the beginning of A.D. 1848.

The chief persons who took part in this examination of the Báb were :—

Nasiru 'd-Din Mirza, now King, then Crown-Prince, of Persia, who was at this time about sixteen years old, and on whom the government of Ázarbajján had only recently been bestowed; *Haji Mulla Mahmud* entitled *Nizamu'l-'Ulama*, the young Prince's tutor; *Mulla Muhammad Mamakani* entitled *Hujjatu'l-Islam*, an eminent Sheykhf divine; *Haji Murtaza-Kuli Marandi* entitled *'Ilmu 'l-Huda*; *Haji Mirza 'Ali Asghar* the *Sheykhul-'Islām*; and (according to the present work) *Mirzā, Ahmad* the *Imām-Jum'a*. Shortly after these had assembled the Báb was brought in, and (according to the Musulmán, but not the Babi, accounts) was motioned to a seat of honour. The following dialogue then ensued :—

Hāji Mulla Mahmūd.—"The command of His Imperial Majesty the King is that you should set forth your

¹ But see remarks on pp. 186—187 *supra*.

claims in the presence of the doctors of Islám, so that the truth or falsehood thereof may be established. Although I myself am not one of the learned and only occupy the position of an attendant, I am free from prejudice, and my conversion will not be without importance. Now I have three questions to ask of you. *Firstly*, are these books composed in the fashion and style of the *Qur'án*, of Epistles, and of Prayers, and disseminated through all parts and regions of Persia yours, and did you compose them, or do men [wrongly] attribute them to you?"

Báb.—"They are from God."

If. M. M.—"I am no great scholar: if they are yours, say so; and if not, don't."

Báb.—"They are mine."

H. M. M. "The meaning of your saying 'They are from God' is that your tongue is like the Tree on Sinai¹—

روا باشد انا الحق از درختی *

* چرا نبود روا از نيك بختی *

این همه آوازه‌ها از شه بود *

* "گرچه از حلقوم عبد الله بود *

Báb.—"Mercy be upon you!"

H. M. M.—"They call you '*Báb.*' Who gave you this name, and where did they give it? What is the meaning of '*Báb.*'? And are you content with this name or not?"

Báb.—"God gave me this name."

H. M. if.—"Where? In the House of the Ka'ba, or in the 'Holy House,'⁴ or in the 'Frequented House?'"⁵

¹ i.e. The Burning Bush. Cf. *Qur'dn* xxvii, 7—9; and xxviii, 29—30.

² "If [to say] *I am the Truth' (i.e. God) be right in a tree, Why should it not be right in some favoured man?"

³ See note 1 at the foot of p. 23 *supra*.

⁴ Jerusalem.

⁵ See *Kur'an* lii, v. 4, and explanations in the commentaries.

Bab.—"Wherever it was, it is a divine name."

H. M. M.—"In that case of course you are content with a 'divine name.' What is the meaning of 'Bab'?"

Bab.—"The same as the word 'Bab' in [the tradition]—

* "أنا مدينة العلم وعلی بابها"

H. M. M.—"Then you are the 'Gate of the City of Knowledge'?"

BAb.—"Yes."

H. M. M.—"Praise be to God! For forty years have I journeyed seeking to meet with one of the 'Gates/ and it was not granted to me. Now, praise be to God, you have come to me in my own country, even to my very pillow! If it be so, and I can but assure myself that you are the 'Gate,' give me, I pray, the office of shoe-keeper!"

Bib.—"Surely you are Hajī Mullá Maḥmūd?"

H. M. M.—"Yes"

Bāb.—"Your dignity is great; great offices should be bestowed upon you."

B. M. M.—"I only want that office, and it is sufficient for me."

The Prince.—"We too will leave and deliver over this throne to you who are the 'Gate.'"

B. M. M.—"As the Prophet or some other wise man hath said—

* العلم علمان علم الابدان و علم الاديان"

I ask, then, in Medicine, what occurs in the stomach when a person suffers from indigestion? Why are some cases amenable to treatment? And why do some go on to permanent dyspepsia or syncope,³ or terminate in hypochondriasis?"

¹ "I am the City of Knowledge and 'Ali is its Gate (*Bab*)."

² "Knowledge is twofold—knowledge of bodies, and knowledge of religions;" i.e. Medicine and Theology are the only two branches of science which are really worthy of attention.

³ OU*, swooning or syncope. For fainting-fits in connection with dyspepsia, see Avicenna's *Ḳāntin* (Rome, A.D. 1593), vol. i, p. 440.

Bāb.—"I have not studied Medicine."

The Prince.—"If so be that you are the 'Gate of Knowledges/ yet say 'I have not studied Medicine/ this is quite incompatible with your claim!'"

H. M. M.—(*To the Prince*) "It is of no consequence, for this is but the art of the veterinarian and is not included amongst sciences; so that herein is no incompatibility with B&b-hood." (*To the Bāb*) "Theology consists of the sciences of 'Principles'¹ (اصول) and 'Applicati(فروع). The

science of 'Principles' has a beginning (مبدأ) and a conclusion (معاد). Say then: are [the Divine Attributes of] Knowledge, Hearing, Seeing, and Power identical with the [Divine] Essence, or otherwise?"

Bāb.—"Identical with the Essence."

H. M. M.—"Then God is multiple and composite; the [Divine] Essence and the [Divine] Knowledge are two things like vinegar and syrup which have yet become identical; [God is] compounded of [the Divine] Essence *plus* Knowledge, of [the Divine] Essence *plus* Power, and so on. Besides this, the [Divine] Essence is 'without Opposite, without Antithesis/ But Knowledge, which is identical with the [Divine] Essence, has an opposite, which is Ignorance. Besides these two objections, God knows, the Prophet knows, and I know: we [therefore] partake in Knowledge. We also have a 'ground of distinction'; for the Knowledge of God is from Himself, while our knowledge is from Him. Therefore God is compounded of a 'ground of distinction' and a 'ground of identity.' But God is not composite."

Bāb.—"I have not studied Philosophy." (*The Prince smiles, but preserves silence.*)

H. M. M.—"The science of 'Applications' is elucidated from the Book and the Code¹, and the understanding of the Book and the Code depends on many sciences, such as Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic. Do you who are the Bab conjugate *Kāla*?"

Bāb.—"What *gālal*"

¹ i.e. the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions.

H. M. M.—"Kaḷā, yalçulu, ḳawlan." {Begins to say the past tense after the fashion of a school-boy—¹ Kaḷa, kdla, kalu; kalat, kalata, kulna." Then, addressing the Bāb) "Do you say the rest."

Bāb.—"I learned it in childhood, but I have forgotten it."

H. M. M.—"Give the derivatives of Kaḷa."

Bāb.—"How give the derivatives?"

H. M. M. {after giving some of the derivatives)—"Now give the rest."

Bāb.—"I told you, I have forgotten."

H. M. M.—"Explain this verse of the Glorious Qur'an :—

هُوَ الَّذِي يَرِيكُمْ الْبَرْقَ خَوْفًا وَطَمَعًا *

and tell me also what is the construction of خَوْفًا
"و طَمَعًا?"

Bāb.—"I don't remember."

H. M. M.—"What is the meaning of this tradition :—

* "لَعْنُ اللَّهِ عَلَى الْعَيْنِ فَانْهَا ظَلَمْتَ الْعَيْنَ الْوَاحِدَةَ *"

Bāb.—"I don't know."

H. M. M.—"Explain the meaning of this tradition of what passed between Ma'mūn the Caliph and His Highness Bizd the eighth Imam :—

¹ "It is He who maketh you to behold the lightning, a fear and a hope." Qur'aḥ, xiii, 13.

"May God curse the eyes, for verily they have acted unjustly towards the one eye." I regret to say that I have failed to ascertain by whom and on what occasion these words were uttered or to what they allude.

قَالَ مَأْمُونُ مَا الدَّلِيلُ عَلَى خِلاَفَةِ جَدِّكَ عَلَى بَنِي إِيْطَالِبِ¹

قَالَ آيَةُ انْفُسِنَا قَالَ لَوْلَا نَسَاتِنَا قَالَ لَوْلَا ابْنَاتُنَا فَسَكَتَ مَأْمُونُ *

What was the nature of the argument employed by Rīzā (on him be peace), and what the point of Ma'mūn's objection and of Rīzā's reply thereto?"

Bab.—¹ "Is it a tradition?"

H. M. M.—"Yes." (*Cites authorities.*) "The circumstances under which the *Sūratu 'l-Kawthar* was revealed were, as is well known, the following:—His Highness the Prophet was passing by. 'Ās said, 'This is the childless man 1' Shortly afterwards he died, leaving no children. His Highness the Prophet was grieved, and so this *Sūra* was revealed for his consolation. Tell me now, what was the nature of the consolation which it contained?"²

Bāb.—"Were these indeed the circumstances under which it was revealed?"

¹ "Ma'mun said, 'What is the proof for [the right to] the Caliphate of thine ancestor 'Ali ibn Abi Talib?' He [i.e. Rīzā] said, 'The sign of ourselves.' He [i.e. Ma'mūn] said, 'If it were not for our wives!' He [i.e. Rīzā] said, 'If it were not for our sons!' Then Mamun was silent." By his first answer the Imam Rīzā means that the right of 'Ali and his descendants to the Caliphate is sufficiently proved by their being what they are and connected as they are with the Prophet. Ma'mūn objects, 'Yes, that is all very well, but we too are related to the Prophet on the female side;⁵ to which objection the Imam Rīzā replies, 'But our connection is in the male line;' for connection in the male line is a much closer tie, as expressed in the following verse from an old Arab poet for which I am indebted to my friend Mr Khalil Khayyāt of Beyrout:—

بِوَهْنِ ابْنَاءِ الرِّجَالِ الْإِبَاعِدِ * نَبَوْنَا بَنُو ابْنَاتِنَا وَ بَنَاتِنَا *

"Our sons' sons are our sons, but as for our daughters
Their sons are the sons of strange men."

This, at least, appears to me to be the explanation of the tradition.

² Concerning the circumstances under which the *SHratu 'l-Kawthar* was revealed see Ibn Hishām's *Life of Muḥammad*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 261.

H. M. M.—"Yes." (*Cites authorities.*)

(*The Bab asks for time to think.*)

H. M. M.—"In the days of our youth we used, according to the dictates of our age, jestingly to repeat this sentence of 'Allama¹', whereof I desire you now to explain to me the meaning :—

إذا دخل الرجل على الخشي و الخشي على الاثنى وجب

الفصل على الخشي دون الرجل و الاثنى *

Why should this be so ?"

Bab.—(after reflecting for a while) "Is this sentence from 'Allama ?"

The audience (unanimously).—"Yes !"

H. M. M.—"Suppose it is not 'Allama's but mine, do you nevertheless explain its meaning. After all you are the 'Gate of Knowledge'!"

Bab.—"I cannot think of anything."

H. M. M.—"One of the miracles of the Arabian Prophet is the *Qur'án*, and the miraculous character thereof is derived from its *fasdhat* and its *balaghat*. What is the definition of *fasdhat* and *balaghat* ? Is the relation which subsists between them *tabdyun*, *tasawi*, 'umum wa khums min wajh, or 'umum wa khusus-i-mutlak?"³

¹ The title of 'Allama ("the very erudite") is used by the Shi'ites to designate one of their great theologians named Hasan ibn Yusuf ibn 'Ali of Hilla. According to the *Kisasul-'Ulama* he was born on Ramazañ 19th, A. H. 648 (December 15th, A. D. 1250), and died on Muharram 11th, A. H. 726 (December 18th, A. D. 1325). No less than seventy-five of his works are enumerated.

² "Si vir cum Ibermaphrodito, Jwrmaphroditus cum muliere rem habety ab hermaphrodite* requiritur ut aqud se purget, non vero a viro et muliere."

³ *Fasdhat* and *balaghat* both signify in general "eloquence/' but the* former especially denotes *correctness of diction and chasteness of style*, the latter *moving and affecting language which reaches the hearts of the hearers or causes the speaker to reach his object.* (See Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. **بَلَّغَ** and **فَسَدَّ**.)

Bāb.—"I don't know." (*The audience manifest signs of anger and impatience.*)

H. M. M.—"If you were in doubt between two and three [inclinations in prayer] what would you do?"¹

Bāb. "I would assume two."

Mulla Muhammad Mamakani:—"O impious one! You do not even know what to do in cases of doubt in prayer, and yet you claim to be the Bab!"

Bāb.—"I would assume three."

The "four relations" recognized by Muhammadan logicians and here enumerated are in detail as follows:—(1) *Tasawi* ("Equivalence" or "Co-extensiveness"), as "man" and "endowed with articulate speech." (2) *Tabāyun* ("Diversity"), as "man" and "stone." (3) *Umūm wa khusias i-mutlak* ("Relation of genus and species absolutely"), as "animal" and "man." (4) *Umum wa khusus min wajh* "Relation of genus and species under one aspect*"), as "animal" and "white."

¹This question, with what immediately follows it, refers to the duty incumbent on a Musulmān who, while engaged in the performance of one of the prescribed prayers, becomes conscious of a doubt as to whether he has duly fulfilled some one or more of its essential elements, e.g. as to whether he has performed two or three inclinations (*rak'a*). Every possible case of doubt is provided for in that section of Muhammadan jurisprudence

which is entitled **الثبوت في الصلاة** concerning which see Querry's *Droit Musulman* (Paris, 1871) vol. i, pp. 107—109. The general rule is thus stated at p. 21 of the catechism called *Su' al u Jawab* ("Questions and answers") composed by Haji Seyyid Muhammad Bākir of Isfahān and printed at Teheran in A.H. 1247 (A.D. 1831—2):—"He who is doubtful assumes the [performance of the] act concerning which he doubts, whether it relates to the number of inclinations (*rak'a*) or not; except in cases where [the performance of] the act concerning which he doubts would cause nullity [of the prayer], when he assumes its omission. If, then, he be doubtful whether it is two or three inclinations [which he has performed], he assumes three; if he be doubtful whether he has performed the inclination or the prostration or not, he assumes that he has performed them; and if he be doubtful whether he has performed the recitation (*kara'at*), he assumes that he has performed it. But [on the other hand] if he be doubtful whether he has inclined twice or once he assumes that he has inclined [only] once; and if he be doubtful whether he has performed four inclinations of prayer or five, he assumes that it is four."

M. M. M. " Evidently if it is not two you must say three."

H. M. M. " Three is also wrong. Why did you not ask whether it was in the morning or evening prayer that I was in doubt, and whether it was after the inclination or before the inclination, or after the completion of two prostrations ?"

M. M. M.—"You ought to give thanks, for had he said ' I would assume two' (inasmuch as engaging in an indubitable duty demands fulfilment of that indubitable duty) what would you have done then¹?" (*To the Báb*)

"**أَوَّلُ مَنْ آمَنَ بِي نُوْرُ مُحَمَّدٍ وَ عَلِيٌّ**?"

Is this expression yours or not?"

Báb. " Yes, it is mine."

M. M. M.—"Then in that case you were the leader and they were followers, and you must be superior to them?"

Haji Murtaza-Kuli Marandi.—"The Lord of the Universe has said :—

"**وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا غَنِمْتُمْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فَإِنَّ لِلَّهِ خُمُسَهُ وَ لِلرَّسُولِ**"

¹ If I have rightly understood this rather obscure expression (شَغْلُ ذِمَّةٍ بِئِيْ بَرَاءَتِ ذِمَّةٍ بِئِيْ جِهَوَادِ) it means that the undertaking of an obligation such as prayer necessitates and requires the due discharge of all that is properly involved therein, without which it is null and void. Hence if it were necessary in a case of doubt such as is indicated above, to assume that only two inclinations had been performed (or, in other words, to assume the minimum instead of the maximum), then all persons who had followed the rule ordinarily received would have been guilty of numerous sins of omission for which they would be held responsible.

² "The first to believe in me was the Light of Muhammad and [the Light of] 'Ali."

³ "And know that whenever ye seize anything as a spoil, to God belongs a fifth thereof, and to His Apostle....." Kur'an, viii, 42.

while you in your *Ḳur*án* say ^{بِسْمِ} ^{اللَّهِ} ^{الرَّحْمٰنِ} ^{الرَّحِیْمِ} ^۱. On what authority, and why?"

Báb.—"A third is the half of a fifth. What difference does it make?"

(*The audience laugh.*)

H. M.-Ḳ. M.—"In how many ways is nine divisible?"

(*The Báb gives no answer.*)

H. M. M.

چند ازین العاظ و اضمار و مجاز

سوز خواهم سوز و با آن سوز ساز

I am not tied down to words ; shew me a miracle suitable to your claims, so that I may become your follower, and on my submission, many will set their footsteps within the circle of devotion to you, for I am well known as learned, and the learned man will never follow the ignorant."

Báb.—"What miracle do you desire?"

H. M. M.—"His Majesty the King Muḥammad Sháh is sick. Restore him to health."

The Prince.—"Why go so far ? Are not you present ? Let him exert an influence over your being and restore you

¹ "A third thereof." As a matter of fact the ordinances contained in the Persian *Beyan* relative to the disposal of spoils taken from infidels do not accord with the statement here made, which is probably quite fictitious. They will be found in *Vahid v, ch. vi*, and are in substance as follows:—(1) One-fifth of the spoils, together with whatever is incomparable in value or beauty, belongs to the Báb. If he be no longer alive it is to be held in trust for "Him whom God shall manifest." (2) Of what remains the warriors who have won it take what suffices for their needs. (3) The residue is given to the poor, all of whom, so far as possible, are to be made partakers in the bounty. Should anything still remain over, it may be expended on building or repairing shrines etc.

² "How long these words and this concealment and metaphor ? I would bum, burn, and acquiesce in that burning."

Masnavi (ed. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, p. 143, line 8).

to youthfulness, so that you may ever continue in attendance on our stirrup. We too, on witnessing the accomplishment of this miracle, will resign this throne to him."¹

Bab.—"It is not in my power."

H. M. M.—"Then honour is not rendered without some reason. O dumb in the realms of words and dumb in the realms of ideas, what virtue then do you possess?"

Bab.—"I can utter eloquent words" (*Recites*)

“الحمد لله الذى خلق السموات”

(*pronouncing the last word with final fat-ha*).

Prince (smiling).—

“وما بتا و الف قد جمعا *

يكسرفى النصب وفى الجرمعا *

Bab.—"My name 'Ali Muḥammad corresponds with *Rabb*" (Lord).⁴

H. M. M.—"Every 'Ali Muḥammad and Muḥammad 'AH corresponds with *Rabb*. Besides in that case you should claim to be the Lord rather than the Bab."

Bab.—"I am that person for whose appearance ye have waited a thousand years."

H. M. M.—"That is to say you are the Mahdi, the Lord of Religion?"⁵

¹ There is something almost ludicrous in the eagerness where-with the Crown-Prince interposes to check the miracle designed to restore his dying father to health.

² "Praise be to God who created the heavens."

³ "That which forms its plural in *alif* and *ta* is pointed with *lcesra* alike in the objective and in the dependent cases." This sentence is from the well-known versified Arabic Grammar called the *Alfiyya*, and will be found on p. 19 of Dieterici's edition of that work (Leipsic, 1851).

⁴ The sum of the letters in 'Ali Muḥammad is 202, which is also the numerical equivalent of *Rabb*.

⁶ i.e. the Twelfth Im'am. See Note 0 *infra*.

Báb.—"Yes."

H. M. M.—"The same in person, or generically?"

Báb.—"In person."

H. M. M.—"What is your name, and what are the names of your father and mother? Where is your birth-place? And how old are you?"

Báb.—"My name is 'All Muḥammad; my mother was named Khadija and my father Mirzá Rizá the cloth-seller; my birth-place is Shfráz; and of my life, behold, thirty-five years have elapsed."*

H. M. M.—"The name of the Lord of Religion is Muḥammad; his father was named Ḥasan and his mother Narjis; his birth-place was Surra-man-Ra'a; and his age is more than a thousand years. There is the most complete variance. And besides I did not send you."

Bák.—"Do you claim to be God?"

H. M. M.—"Such an Imam is worthy of such a God."

Báb.—"I can in one day write two thousand verses. Who else can do this?"

H. M. M.—"When I resided at the Supreme Shrines I had a secretary who used to write two thousand verses a day. Eventually he became blind. You must certainly give up this occupation, or else you too will go blind."

The conference then broke up, and the Báb was taken back to the house of Muḥammad Kázim Khán the *Farrdsh-bdshi*. Next day he was again brought before the Prince and the doctors, who sentenced him to the bastinado. The Muhammadan historians admit that the *farrdshes* were still, in spite of what had taken place at the examination on the previous day, so strongly inclined to sympathize with the Báb that they positively refused to take part in administering the punishment decreed, the execution of which therefore devolved on the servants of Hajj Mullá Maḥmúd and the Sheyku 'l-Islám. It is of course asserted

¹ Kazem-Beg (i, p. 334, note 4) bases the calculation whereby he arrives at the date of the Báb's birth on this passage, which, as a matter of fact, affords a strong proof of the falsity of the whole narrative wherein it occurs, since the Báb's age certainly did not exceed 29 years at this time (see Note C *supra*).

by the Musulmán historians that the Báb again recanted and revoked all his claims under the chastisement inflicted upon him, whereupon he was released and sent back to Chihrfk.

It is difficult to decide to what measure of credence the above narrative is entitled. Very probably such questions as are there recorded—and assuredly some of them are sufficiently frivolous and even indecent—were asked; but, even though the Báb may have been unable to answer them, it is far more likely that, as stated in the *Tdrikh-i-Jadid*, he preserved a dignified silence than that he gave utterance to the absurdities attributed to him by the Muhammadan writers. These, indeed, spoil their own case; for, desiring to prove that the Báb was not endowed with superhuman wisdom, they represent him as displaying an ignorance which we can scarcely credit. That the whole examination was a farce throughout, that the sentence was a foregone conclusion, that no serious attempt to apprehend the nature and evidence of the Báb's claim and doctrine was made, and that from first to last a systematic course of brow-beating, irony, and mockery was pursued appear to me to be facts proved no less by the Muhammadan than by the Babi accounts of these inquisitorial proceedings.

NOTE N.

THE BÁB'S CLAIM TO BE THE IMAM MAHBI

The Báb's original claim was, as has been already explained in Note D, that he was the * Gate' whereby men could communicate with the *Ḳá'im*, Imám-Mahdf, or Twelfth Imám. At a later period of his mission, however, he declared himself to be none other than the Imám himself, and, as has been set forth in the previous Note (p. 288 *supra*), it was this claim which he boldly advanced before his inquisitors at Tabrfz. The advancement of this claim certainly marks a very important point in the development of the Báb's doctrine, but as Gobineau (p. 159) very acutely

observes in speaking of Mullla Huseyn's announcement thereof to Minuchihr Khan, " il faut dire ici, pour prevenir toute erreur, qu'en assimilant le Bab au douzieme Imam, le missionnaire cherchait a se faire comprendre de la foule et a gagner ses sympathies, absolument comme saint Paul lorsqu'il revelait aux Atheniens que le Dieu qu'il leur annonçait etait ce Dieu inconnu auquel ils avaient deja eleve un autel. C'etait des deux parts une facon de parler, et on verra plus tard qu'il n'y a aucun rapport entre l'idee que les Babys se font du *Point*, et ce que les musulmans pensent au sujet de l'Imam Mehdy."

From the present history (pp. 20 and 24) it would appear that this new claim was publicly advanced by the BAB for the first time during his examination before the 'Ulamd of Tabriz at the end of A.D. 1847 or the beginning of A.D. 1848. The following passage in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* affords corroborative evidence of this :—

بعد از آنکه آن حضرت بقلعهٔ چهریق تشریف بردند
 با وجود شدت نهی حاجی^۱ مرحوم بنحو حکمت اصحاب
 واحباب مراوده مینمودند و در آن نواحی جمعی بشرف
 ایمان فائز شدند و تصدیق نمودند و تا زمانیکه یحیی خان
 حکومت داشتند نهایت احترام را نسبت بان حضرت بعمل
 می آوردند و آن حضرت نظر بافتضای زمان و مقتضیات
 مصلحت و حکمت و استعداد عباد اظهار قائمیت خود را در
 چهریق فرمودند اگرچه بعضی در اواخر زمان توقف ما کو
 میدانند *

"After His Highness [the B&b] had removed to the

Castle of Chihrik, his companions and friends, notwithstanding the rigorous prohibition of the late Haji [Mirza Ākasi], still continued to hold intercourse with him in a cautious manner, and a number of persons in that neighbourhood attained the dignity of belief and were converted. And so long as Yaḥyd Khdn held the office of governor he used to observe the utmost respect towards His Highness [the Bab]. And His Highness [the Bab], having regard to the exigencies of the time, the requirements of expediency and caution, and the capacity of men, [first] made himself known as the Ka'im in Chihrik; though some believe that [he did so] during the latter part of the period of his sojourn at Maku."

In the Persian Beyan (of which the greater part, if not the whole, was composed at Maku) I have found two passages wherein the Bab identifies himself more or less clearly with the Imam Mahdi. The first of these passages occurs in *Vahid* viii, ch. 17, and runs as follows:—

چنانچه در ظهور [نقطه^۱] فرقان شنیدی کل مؤمنین
 بانجیل منتظر بودند احمد موعود را و شنیدی [که^۲] بر آن
 شمس حقیقت در بیست و سه سال [ظهور خود]^۳ چه
 گذشت حتی آنکه فرمود ما اوزی نبی مثل ما اوزیت با
 آنکه کل از برای ظهور او تضرع و ابتهال مینمودند و^۴
 بقول عیسی در حق او عمل میکردند^۵ ولی حمد خدایرا^۶ که
 در آن روز بودی ولی در ظهور [نقطه^۷] بیان بودی که

¹ B omits.² B omits.³ B omits.⁴ B reads که.⁵ B reads کند.⁶ B reads خدایرا.⁷ B omits.

کَلِّ مومنین برسول الله¹ منتظرند² ظهور مهدی³ موعود را
 زیرا که این حدیث از رسول الله هست و عامه و خاصه⁴
 بر آن متفق اند⁵ و شبهه⁶ نیست که جوهر ایمان منحصر
 بود باثنی⁷ عشریه⁸ [و] قطع اسلام همین [قطع]⁹ ظاهر
 است که [اهل آن]¹⁰ خود را اثنی¹¹ عشریه میگویند و بظاهر
 فارس را [اهل]¹² دار العلم میگویند با وجود آنکه شجره¹³
 حقیقت طالع واحدی¹⁴ از اهل آن شناخت اورا¹⁵ بعد از
 شناختن ظاهر [است]¹⁶ حد [بعد]¹⁷ ایشان که همان کافی
 است¹⁸ در ذل ایشان و حال آنکه شب و روز العجل العجل
 میگویند *

"As thou hast heard, at the manifestation of the *Nuqta-i-Furqan* [i.e. Muḥammad, who was in his time the 'Point of Revelation'] all those who were believers in the Gospel were expecting the promised Aḥmad,¹⁶ and thou hast

¹ B inserts ع. ² B reads منتظر بودند. ³ B reads خواصه.

⁴ B reads معظمتند. ⁵ B reads انا. ⁶ B omits.

⁷ B omits. ⁸ B omits. ⁹ B reads انا. ¹⁰ B omits.

¹¹ B reads احدی. ¹² B inserts و. ¹³ B omits.

¹⁴ B omits. ¹⁵ B reads کافست.

¹⁶ In Muhammadan tradition Christ is said to have foretold the coming of Muḥammad in the words *بأني من بعدی احد اسمه احمد* "One shall come after me whose name is Aḥmad". This tra-

heard what befel that Sun of Truth during the twenty-three years of his mission, so that he said, * No prophet hath been afflicted as I have been afflicted/ Yet all were entreating and craving his appearance, and, in the words of Jesus, working for him. Praise be to God that in that day thou wast not I But thou wast in the manifestation of the *Nukṭā-i-Beyān* [i.e. the Bab, the 'Point of Revelation'] when all believers in the Apostle of God were expecting the appearance of the promised Mahdi; for this tradition is from the Apostle of God, and all, simple and gentle, are agreed therein. Now there is no doubt that the substance of Faith was confined to the Shi'ites, and that the sect of Islam is this same outward sect whereof the adherents call themselves Shi'ites; while men avowedly call Fars the 'Abode of Knowledge'.¹ Yet, although the Tree of Truth arose, not one of the people recognized it [even] after perceiving it. The degree of their remoteness is evident, for this sufficeth unto their abasement; yet night and day they exclaim 'speed! speed!'²

The second passage occurs in *Vahid* ix, ch. 3, and runs as follows:—

و ملتفت باش حق التفات که امر بسیار دقیق است در
 حینکه³ اوسع [است]⁴ از سموات و ارض و ما بینهما مثلا
 اگر [کل]⁵ منتظرین بقول عیسی یقین نموده بودند ظهور

dition is based on the prophecies relating to the coming of the *Παράκλητος*, for which word the Muhammadans would substitute *Περικλυτός*, whereof the signification is nearly the same as Ahmad or Muhammad. (See Ibn Hishām's *Life of Muhammad*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 149—150.)

¹ The official title of Shīrāz is *دار العلم* "The Abode of Knowledge".

² The Shi'ites, whenever they mention the Imām Mahdī, add the formula *عجل الله فرجه* "May God hasten his joy!"

³ B reads *زمینی* که.

⁴ B omits.

⁵ B omits.

احمدی را^۱ يك نفر منحرف نمیشد از قول عیسی و همچنین در ظهور نقطه^۲ بیان^۳ اگر [کل]^۴ یقین کتد باینکه همان مهدی^۵ موعود است که رسول خدا خبر داده يك نفر از مؤمنین بقرآن منحرف نمیشد^۶ از قول رسول الله^۷ و همچنین در ظهور من بظهره الله همین مطلب^۸ مشاهده کن [که]^۹ اگر کل یقین کتد [که این]^{۱۰} همان من بظهره الله است که نقطه^{۱۱} بیان خبر^{۱۲} داده احدی منحرف نمیشود *

"Consider with due attention, for the matter is very strait, even while it is more spacious than the heavens and the earth and what is between them. For instance, if all those who were expecting [the fulfilment] of the saying of Jesus had been assured of the manifestation of Ahmad [i.e. Muhammad], not one would have turned aside from the saying of Jesus. So likewise in the manifestation of the *Nukta-i-Beyan* [i.e. the Bab] if all should be assured that this is that same Mahdi [whose coming was] promised, whom the Apostle of God foretold, not one of the believers in the Kur'an would have turned aside from the saying of the Apostle of God. So likewise in the manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest behold the same thing, for should all be assured that he is that same 'He whom God shall manifest' whom the *Nukta-i-Beyan* foretold, not one would turn aside."

¹ B reads احمد رسول الله. ² B inserts که. ³ B omits.
⁴ B reads نمیشدند. ⁵ B reads خدا. ⁶ B adds را.
⁷ B omits. ⁸ B omits. ⁹ B reads خبری.

NOTE O.

ON CERTAIN POINTS OF SHI'ITE DOCTRINE REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT.

1, *The Occupation of the Twelfth Imam*. The cardinal point wherein the Shi'ites (as well as the other sects included under the more general term of Imamdites) differ from the Sunnites is the doctrine of the Imamate. According to the belief of the latter, the vicegerency (إِخْلَاف) of the Prophet is a matter to be determined by the choice and election of his followers, and the visible head of the Musulman world is qualified for the lofty position which he holds less by any special divine grace than by a combination of orthodoxy and administrative capacity. According to the Imamite view, on the other hand, the vicegerency is a matter altogether spiritual; an office conferred by God alone, first by His Prophet, and afterwards by those who so succeeded him, and having nothing to do with the popular choice or approval. In a word, the Caliph (خَلِيفَة) of the Sunnis is merely the outward and visible Defender of the Faith: the Imam of the Shi'ites is the divinely-ordained successor of the Prophet, one endowed with all perfections and spiritual gifts, one whom all the faithful must obey, whose decision is absolute and final, whose wisdom is superhuman, and whose words are authoritative. The general term *Imdmite* is applicable to all who hold this latter view without reference to the way in which they trace the succession, and therefore includes such sects as the *Bakiris* and *Ism'ilis* as well as the Shi'ites or "*Church of the Twelve*" (مَذْهَبِ اثْنَيْ عَشْرِيَّة), as they are more specifically termed, with whom alone we are here concerned. According to these, twelve persons successively held the office of Imam. These twelve are as follows:—

1. * *Ali ibn Abi Talib*, the cousin and first disciple of the Prophet, assassinated by Ibn Muljam at Kufa, A. H. 40 (A. D. 661).

2. *Hasan*, son of 'Ali and Fatima, born A. H. 2, poisoned by order of Mu'&wiya I. A. H. 50 (A. D. 670).

3; *Huseyn*, son of 'Ali and Fatima, born A. H. 4, killed at Kerbete on Muharram 10th, A. H. 61 (Oct. 10th, A. D. 680).

4. *'Ali*, son of Huseyn and Shahrbanu (daughter of Yazdigird the last Sasanian king), generally called *Imam Zeynul-'Aḥidin*, poisoned by Walid. [See also note 3 on p. 139.]

5. *Muḥammad Bakīr*, son of the above-mentioned Zeynu'l-'Aḥidin and his cousin Umm 'Abdi 'llāh the daughter of Imam Ḥasan, poisoned by Ibrahim ibn Walid.

6. *Ja'far-i-Sadik*, son of Imam Muhammad Bakir, poisoned by order of Mansur the 'Abbaside Caliph. [See note 3 at foot of p. 24.]

7. *Musa Kuzim*, son of Imam Ja'far-i-Ṣadik, born A. H. 129, poisoned by order of Ḥa'ūnu 'r-Rashid A. H. 183.

8. *'Ali ibn Musa er-Riza*, generally called Imam Riza, born A. H. 153, poisoned near Tus in Khurasan by order of the Caliph Ma'mun, A. H. 203, and buried at Mesh-hed, which derives its name and its sanctity from him.

9. *Muḥammad Taki*, son of Imam Riza, born A. H. 195, poisoned by the Caliph Mu'tasim at Baghdad A. H. 220.

10. *'Ali Naki*, son of Imam Muhammad Taki, born A. H. 213, poisoned at Surra-man-Ra'a A. H. 254.

11. *Ḥasan 'Askari*, son of Imam 'Ali Naki, born A. H. 232, poisoned A. H. 260.

12. *Muḥammad*, son of Imām Ḥasan 'Askari and Narjis Khatun, called by the Shi'ites "*Imam Mahdi*", "*Hujjatu 'Maḥ*" ("the Proof of God"), "*Baqiyyatu 'llah*" ("the Remnant of God"), and "*Kd'im-i-dl-i-Muḥammad*" ("He who shall arise of the family of Muḥammad"). He bore not only the same name but the same *kunya*—Abu'l-Kasim—as the Prophet, and according to the Shi'ites it is not lawful for any other to bear this name and this *kunya* together. He was born at Surra-man-Ra'a, A. H. 255, and succeeded his father in the Imdmate A. H. 260. The Shi'ites hold that he did not die, but disappeared in

¹ It is worthy of note that the ¹Manifestation' of Mirza' 'Ali Muḥammad the Bāb took place exactly one thousand years after this date.

an underground passage in Surra-man-Ra'a, A.H. 329; that he still lives, surrounded by a chosen band of his followers, in one of those mysterious cities, Jabulka and Jdbulsa; and that when the fulness of time is come, when the earth is filled with injustice, and the faithful are plunged in despair, he will come forth, heralded by Jesus Christ, overthrow the infidels, establish universal peace and justice, and inaugurate a millennium of blessedness. During the whole period of his Imamate, *i.e.* from A.H. 260 till the present day, the Imam Mahdi has been invisible and inaccessible to the mass of his followers, and this is what is signified by the term

"Occupation" (غيبت). After assuming the functions of Imam and presiding at the burial of his father and predecessor, the Imam Ḥasan 'Askari, he disappeared from the sight of all save a chosen few, who, one after the other, continued to act as channels of communication between him and his

followers. These persons were known as "Gates" (ابواب)

See Note D, pp. 229 and 233 *supra*). The first of them was Abu 'Umar 'Othman ibn Sa'id 'Umari; the second Abi'i Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Othman, son of the above; the third Ḥuseyn ibn Rūḥ Naw-bakhti (concerning whom somewhat will be said directly); the fourth Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad Simari. Of these "Gates" the first was appointed by the Imam Ḥasan 'Askari, the others by the then-acting "Gate" with the sanction and approval of the Imam Mahdi. This period—extending over sixty-nine years—during which the Imam was still accessible by means of the "Gates" is known as the "*Lesser*" or "*Minor Occul-*

tation (غيبت صغرى). This was succeeded by the "*Greater*"

or "*Major Occupation*" (غيبت كبرى). When Abū l-Ḥasan 'Ali, the last of the "Gates", drew near to his latter end, he was urged by the faithful (who contemplated with despair the prospect of complete severance from the Imam) to nominate a successor. This, however, he refused to do, saying

لله امر هو بالغه "God hath a purpose which He will accomplish." So on his death all communication between the

Imam and his Church ceased, and the "*Major Occultation*" began and shall continue until the Return of the **Imam** take place in the fulness of time. Besides these two Occultations mentioned in the text, another, called the "*Least Occultatio?i*" (*غيت اصغر*), is recognized by Shi'ite theologians. This last, however, refers to the future, and indicates a period extending from noon on Friday to the morning of Saturday the 10th of Muharram, during which the Imam will temporarily disappear after his Return.

2. *The mystical cities of Jdbulkd and Jdbulsd.* Concerning these I will confine myself to citing two passages illustrating the light in which they are regarded by Muhammadan cosmographers. The first passage is from M. Reinaud's introduction to his translation of Abu'l-feda's *Geography* (Paris, 1848), and occurs at p. cclvii of that work. It runs as follows:—"Thabary, se plagent sous un autre point de vue, reproduit la legende sur la montagne de Caf, qui entoure la disque de la terre, et il place deux villes aux points est et ouest: Djaboulka a l'orient, et Djaboulsa a l'occident." The second passage which I wish to quote occurs in al-Kazvfn's celebrated work on cosmography. The text thereof will be found on pp. 17—18 of Wüstenfeld's edition. The translation is as follows:—

"JABARSS. A city in the remotest regions of the East. On the authority of Ibn 'Abbs (may God be satisfied with him):—he says, 'In the remotest East is a city whereof the name is Jabars, and its inhabitants are of the children of Thamúd. And in the remotest West is a city whereof the name is Jabalk, and its inhabitants are of the children of 'Ad. And in each one are remnants of these two peoples.' The Jews say that the children of Moses (upon him be peace) fled in the fight with Bukht-Nassar [Nebuchadnezzar], and God (Exalted is He) caused them to journey towards Jabars and to alight therein. And in that place they dwell; none can come unto them nor reckon their number. Again [it is related] on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas (may God be satisfied with him) that the Prophet (may God look favourably upon him and grant him peace)

on the night therein he made the night-journey said to Gabriel (upon him be peace), 'I wish to see the people concerning whom God (exalted is He) hath said, "*Of the people of Moses there is a party who are guided in truth, and act justly according to the same.*"' [Kur'an vii, 159]. * Between thee and them,' said Gabriel (upon him be peace), 'is a journey of six years to go and six years, to return; and between thee and them is a river of sand which runs swiftly as the flight of an arrow and ceaseth not save on the Sabbath day; but ask of thy Lord,' So the Prophet prayed, and Gabriel said 'Amen' *; and God revealed unto Gabriel, 'Grant him what he hath asked,' So he mounted Bur&k, who took a few steps, and behold he was in the midst of the people. Then he saluted them, and they asked him 'Who art thou?' He said, 'I am the unlettered Prophet,' They said, 'Yea, thou art he concerning whom Moses was given good tidings, and verily the angels would take thy people by the hand, were it not for their faults,' 'I saw their tombs,' saith the Apostle of God, 'at the doors of their abodes, and I said unto them, "Wherefore this?"' They answered, "That we may remember death morning and evening; for did we not do thus, we should only remember it from time to time/" Then he said, 'How is it that I see your buildings equal Tin height] ?' They answered, 'That none of us friay overlook another, and that none may shut out the air from another,' Then he said, 'How is it that I see no King or judge amongst you?' They said, 'We are just one to another and give what is due of ourselves, wherefore we need not any to deal out justice in our midst,' Then he said, 'Wherefore are your streets empty?' They answered, 'We all sow and all reap, and every man amongst us taketh what sufficeth him and leaveth what remaineth for his brother,' Then he said, 'Wherefore do I see these People laughing ?' They replied, 'One amongst them hath Died,' He said, 'Why then do they laugh?' They answered,¹ 'For joy, because he hath been taken away in

¹ At the suggestion of my friend Mr A. A. Bevan of Trinity College I have ventured to read *امن* for *امن*.

the belief of the Unity.' He said, 'What aileth these that they weep?' They answered, 'A child hath been born unto them, and they know not in what faith he will be taken away.' He said, 'When a male child is born unto you, tell rae what you do?' They said, 'We fast for a month in thankfulness to God.' He said, 'And if a girl be born unto you?' They answered, 'We fast two months in thankfulness to Goa, because Moses hath told us that resignation on account of a female child hath a greater reward than resignation on account of a male child.' He said, 'Do ye commit adultery?' They said, 'Doth any one do this thing whom the heaven stoneth not with pebbles from above, and whom the earth swalloweth not from beneath?' He said, 'Do ye take usury?' They answered, 'He alone taketh usury who believeth not in the provision of God.' He said, 'Do ye sicken?' They said, 'We sin not, neither do we sicken; thy people are afflicted with sickness only as an atonement for their sins.' He said, 'Have ye wild beasts and reptiles?' They answered, 'Yes; they pass us by and we pass them by, and they hurt us not.' Then the Prophet proposed unto them his Law; and they asked, 'How shall we do as regards the Pilgrimage, for between us and it is a great distance?' Then the Prophet prayed, 'and,' saith Ibn 'Abbas, 'the earth was rolled up for them so that those of them who would perform the Pilgrimage might do so with [the rest of] mankind. And when' (saith he) 'it was morning, the Prophet told this [to] such as were present of his people, amongst whom was Abu Bekr (may God be satisfied with him). And he said, "Verily it is well with the people of Moses, and God (Exalted is He) knew what was in their hearts, and revealed *'Of those whom We have created is a nation wlv are guided in truth and thereby act with equity.'*" [Kur'an vii, 180.] And Abu Bekr fasted for a month and set at liberty a slave, because God had not preferred the Church of Moses to the Church of Muhammad (may God look favourably upon him and grant him peace)." Such are the cities of Jabulkri, and Jabulsa—the Muslim 'Land of Cocagne'—wherein, according to the Shi'ite belief, the Imam Mahdi dwells.

3, *Huseyn ibn Ruh* has been already mentioned in

this note as one of the vicars or 'Gates' of the Imam Mahdi. The following note concerning him occurs on p. 439 of Baron Mac Guckin de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikdn's *Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1842):— "Abu'l-Kasim al-Husain Ibn Ruh was a holy shaikh and one of the *doors* leading to the *Sāhib az Zamān* (*the lord of the time*, or last grand Imam, according to the Shi'ite doctrine; see *Druzes*, introd. p. 65). He was chosen by Abū Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Othm&n al-Omari as his lieutenant, and when the latter classed the Shi'ites according to their degrees (*of initiation*), Abu'l-K&sim was authorized to enter into his presence the first of them all.—He then went to see Ibn as-Shalmagh&ni" [see *supra*, Note D, p. 229], "and gained over so many proselytes, that the vizirs, ex-vizirs, and other persons of high rank rode (*publicly*) to visit him. He continued to be treated with the greatest deference till Hamid Ibn Abbas became vizir (*to al-Muktadir*) and ordered him to be arrested. He remained in prison for five years, but was liberated immediately after the deposition of al-Muktadir, A.H. 317 (A.D. 929). From that time till his death, which took place A.H. 326 (A.D. 937—8), he never ceased to be highly respected, but at the moment in which his influence had attained its utmost pitch, and his plans were ripe for execution, God preserved (*the Khalifat*) from his evil designs. He had been accused of inviting the Karmats by letter to lay siege to Baghdad, but he defended himself with great ability, presence of mind, and learning. He was a benefactor to the Shi'ites, and held a very high rank among them.—(Ad-Dahabi's *Tarikh-al-Islam*, No. 646, *in anno*.)"

4. *Ibn Mihriyar*. Of this person I can find mention only in two works of Shi'ite theology, viz. the '*Tenets of the Shi'ites*' (عقائد الشيعة), and the '*Garden of the Shi'ites*' (حديقة الشيعة), in each of which his name is written differently. In the first he is called محمد بن ابراهيم مهربيار and in the second محمد بن ابراهيم ابن قهريار. In both works

he is mentioned amongst those who, during the period of the "*Minor Occupation*," obtained access to, or corresponded with, the Imam; and in both he is described as a native of Ahw&z. What "tradition" of his is specially-referred to in the text, I am unable to say.

5. *The Guardians and the Helpers.* These constitute two grades of a spiritual hierarchy whereof the members are called generically "*Men of the Unseen World*" (رجال الغيب), and at the head of which is the "*Pole*" (قطب). Al-Jorjani in his *Definitions* (ed. Flugel, p. 266)

describes the "*Guardians*"¹ or "*Overseers*" (نقباء) as follows :—"They are those who have discovered the Inward Name so that they look into the hearts of men and discern secret thoughts, because for them veils are withdrawn from the faces of mysteries. And they are of three kinds:—Superior Souls, which are embodiments of [Divine] commands; Inferior Souls, which are mundane; and Intermediate Souls, which are human essences. And in each one of them God (Exalted is He) hath a trust deposited which compriseth mysteries divine and mundane. And they are [in number] three hundred/" Concerning the

"*Helpers*" (نجباء) he says (p. 259):—"They are forty, and they are engaged in bearing the burdens of creatures, generally such accidents as human strength cannot cope with. And this [they do] by reason of their abundant natural pity and mercy, neither do they desist [therefrom] save for the sake of another, for no increase of advancement is [possible] to them save by this channel." What is meant by the "flight" of these is, as I suppose, described in a passage of the '*Akaidush-Shi'a*' of which this is a translation :—"And amongst them " [i.e. the signs of the Return of the Imam] " are the *Men of the Unseen*, who are thirty or forty persons who in a week traverse the whole surface of the earth, spending each day in a different region. Every Friday they appear before His Holiness [the Imam Mahal] for the Friday prayers. . . . Then, when it is morning,

they traverse the earth in the twinkling of an eye and appear before His Holiness, or else come riding upon a cloud and stand in attendance on Him."

6. *The Conquest of the East and West* which will be effected by the Imam Mahdi on his appearance, of which it is one of the signs, needs no detailed notice.

7. *The Ass of Antichrist*, Concerning Antichrist (*Dajjal*), and the ass on which he is mounted, the '*Akaidnsh-Shi'a* has the following passage:—"The *forty-sixth* of the signs of the appearance [of the Imam Mahdi] is the coming forth of Antichrist. And the name of that accursed one is Sa'id ibn Sayd. The traditions concerning him are various. Some imply that he has existed from the time of Adam until now, as it is related in a tradition that the Apostle of God went to one of the houses in Medina wherein was a babbling madman with his mother. The Prophet pointed him out to his companions and said, * 0 people, God hath not sent any prophet without filling his church with the fear of Antichrist, whom he has respited and left until your time. And this man shall come forth with a mountain of bread and a river of water; and he will appear in a time of famine. Most of his followers will be Jews, women, Arabs, and nomads. He will enter into all quarters and regions of the earth save Mecca and its two mountains, and Medina and its two mountains. And whenever he comes forth he will claim to be God, although he is one-eyed and God is not one-eyed.' And in some traditions it hath come down that he was born in the time of His Highness [the Prophet]; that he had a beard and spoke when he was born; that the Prophet went to his house; that he claimed the rank of a prophet and said 'I am one sent of God'; that then His Highness [the Prophet] commanded an angel which was in the form of a great bird to carry him away and cast him into a well situated in one of the Jewish villages near Sajistan or Isfahan; and that he is chained [there] till such time as he shall receive permission to come forth. And he has an ass whereof each step covers a mile (three miles being equal to one parasang), and on the body of his ass are white spots

like a leopard. Now the characteristics of Antichrist are these:—his right eye is crushed; his left eye is in his forehead, and glitters as though it were the morning star, and in it is a piece of blood, so that it seems to be pervaded with blood; between his two eyes it is written that he is a misbeliever, so that everyone, whether learned or unlearned, can read it; he is a skilled magician, who, by his magic, descends into the oceans; with him travels the sun; before his face is a mountain of smoke, and behind his back is a white mountain, and through [his] magic it seemeth in men's eyes that they are two mountains of water and bread, though in truth it is not so, but a mere juggle; he traverseth all oceans, and over whatsoever ocean or water he passeth it sinketh down and cometh forth no more till the Day of Judgement; before him Satan dances, and the devils cause him and his ass to appear pleasing in men's eyes, and this is a mischief for the proving of mankind. And he crieth out so that the dwellers in the East and in the West, whether of *jinn* or of mankind, hear his voice, and he saith, 'O my friends, I am that God who created and fashioned the members and parts of the world; I am that God who predestined the affairs of [His] servants and guided and directed mankind; I am your Supreme Lord.' And most of his followers are women, Jews, bastards, and musicians. But when he cometh to ⁱ *Akaba-i-Afik*, which is a mountain in Syria, His Highness the K&'im shall slay him at the third hour on Friday, and shall cleanse the world of the filth and foulness of that Accursed One." Many other wonderful qualities are attributed to the ass of Antichrist, as, for instance, that the distance between its ears is a full mile, that each of its hairs gives forth ravishing strains of music, and the like, of which things the further enumeration appears to be unprofitable and unnecessary.

8. *The appearance of Sofyān.* In enumerating the signs which shall usher in the return of the Imām Mahdi, the '*Aka'idu'sh-Shi'a*' first mentions the appearance of Sofyan in these words :—"His name is 'Othmán the son of 'Ataba of the children of Yazld ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Abi Sofyān. He is a thick-set man with an ill countenance, a face

pitted with small-pox, a large head, and blue eyes. He has never rendered service to God, nor seen Mecca or Medina, and his eyes seem to squint. He will appear during the month of Rajab from the direction of Mecca in a desert devoid of water and grass, and will send his army, which will cause much ruin and act right foully, westward and towards Baghdad. He will destroy the region of Najaf the Most Noble, and will plunder Medina for three days. He will sojourn in Kúfa, and will proclaim, 'Who-soever shall bring the head of one of 'All's sectaries, to him will I give a thousand gold pieces.' Then men will yield one another into the hand of that Accursed One, for all the chiefs of that time are base-born. And the time of his empire shall be eight months, and in his hands are five cities:—Damascus, Homs, Falastin, Ardin, and Falzin. The decline of his dominion corresponds with the appearance of the triumph of the Truth, and a great number of his army shall sink down in Beydd, which is the name of a place near Medina." A few pages further on in the same work the following passage occurs:—"At that time [i.e. at the time when the bearded woman Sa'ida and the crusader Mazid shall appear] a man shall come forth from the direction of Mecca whose name is Sofyan ibn Harb. Perhaps he may be that same Sofyan who has been previously mentioned, whose dominion endureth eight months and continueth until the empire of the Ka'im of the race of Muhammad doth appear. And perhaps Harb may be his father and 'Ataba his grandfather."

NOTE P.

THE EXECUTION OF MULLÁ MUḤAMMAD 'ALÍ OF BARFURŪSH.

When, in the summer of A.D. 1849, the remnant of the brave defenders of Sheykh Ṭabarsi, beguiled by the treacherous promises of Prince Mahdi-Ḳuli Mirzd, evacuated the fortress which they had held so long and so gallantly, and yielded themselves up to the besiegers, they were at first received with an apparent friendliness and

even respect which served to lull them into a false security and to render easy the perfidious massacre wherein all but a few of them perished on the morrow of their surrender.

From this massacre some of the *Bibi* chiefs were reserved to grace the Prince's triumphal entry into Barfurush. Amongst these the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* mentions the following:—Mulla Muhammad 'Ali of Barfurush, called by the Babfs "His Excellency the Most Holy" (*Jenab-i-Kuddus*); Aka Mirza Muhammad Hasan, the brother of Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh; Mulla Muhammad Sadik of Khurasan; Haji Mfrzd, Muhammad Hasan of Khurasan; Sheykh Ni'matu 'llah of Amul; Haji Nasir of Kazvin; Mulla Yusuf of Ardabil; and Aka Seyyid 'Abdu'l-'Azim of Khuy.

Jenab-i-Kuddus (for the sake of brevity I shall make use of the title in preference to the name of him who is the subject of this note) requested the Prince to send him to Teheran there to undergo judgement before the Shah. The Prince was at first disposed to grant this request, thinking, perhaps, that to bring so notable a captive into the Royal Presence might serve to obliterate in some measure the record of those repeated failures to which his unparalleled incapacity had given rise. But when the Sa'fdu'l-'Ulamd heard of this plan, and saw a possibility of his hated foe escaping from his clutches, he went at once to the Prince, and strongly represented to him the danger of allowing one so eloquent and so plausible to plead his cause before the King. These arguments were, according to the *Tdrikh-i-Jadid* (from which these particulars are taken), backed up by an offer to pay the Prince a sum of 400 (or, as others say, of 1000) *tumans* on condition that Jenab-i-Kuddtis should be surrendered unconditionally into his hands. To this arrangement the Prince, whether moved by the arguments or the *tumans* of the Sa'idu'l-'Ulamd, eventually consented, and Jenab-i-Kuddus was delivered over to his inveterate enemy.

The execution took place in the *meydan*, or public square, of Barfurush. The Sa'idul-'Ulanid first cut off the ears of Jenab-i-Kuddtis and tortured him in other ways, and then killed him with the blow of an axe. One of the

Sa'idu'l-'Ulama's disciples then severed the head from the lifeless body, and others poured naphtha over the corpse and set fire to it. The fire, however, as the Babfs relate (for Şubḥ-i-Ezel corroborates the *Tankh-i-Jadid* in this particular), refused to burn the holy remains; and so the Sa'idu'l-'Ulama gave orders that the body should be cut in pieces, and these pieces cast far and wide. This was done, but, as Haji Mirza Jani relates, certain Babis not known as such to their fellow-townsmen came at night, collected the scattered fragments, and buried them in an old ruined *madrasa* or college hard by. By this *madrasa*, as the *Babi* historian relates, had Jenab-i-Kuddus once passed in the company of a friend with whom he was conversing on the transitoriness of this world, and to it he had pointed to illustrate his words, saying, "This college, for instance, was once frequented, and is now deserted and neglected; a little while hence they will bury here some great man, and many will come to visit his grave, and again it will be frequented and thronged with people/'

Jenab-i-Kuddus is said to have foretold his death and the manner thereof to several other persons, including his wife and her mother; and Şubḥ-i-Ezel told me that he had seen at Teheran a letter in his handwriting, taken from his pocket when he was buried, wherein the date and manner of his death were clearly set forth; also that he had previously to the siege of Şheykh Tabarsi written a letter to Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh wherein the following sentence occurred:—

كأنى دفنتّ نفسى فى التراب مع سبعين من الصالحين *

"It is as though I had buried myself in the earth with seventy righteous men." This letter Şubḥ-i-Ezel had copied at Baghdad.

As for the Sa'fdu'l-'Ulama, he did not escape the Divine vengeance; for, as the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* relates, all the vital heat seemed to be withdrawn from his body, and even in the midst of summer he used to suffer so severely from cold that when he went to the mosque two chafing-dishes full of burning charcoal were carried with him and

placed on either side of him. Yet, in spite of these and the thick skin cloak which he wore, he could hardly remain long enough to perform his prayers, and used to hasten back as soon as he was able to his house, where, enveloped in wraps and covered with quilts, he would sit shivering over his *kursi*.¹

Concerning the writings of Jenab-i-Kuddus, see note 1 at the foot of p. 30 *supra*.

NOTE Q.

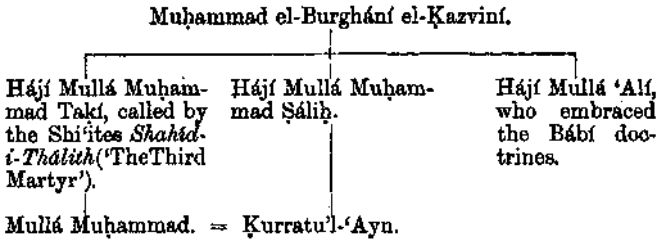
KURRATU'L-'AYN.

The appearance of such a woman as Kurratu'l-'Ayn is in any country and any age a rare phenomenon, but in such a country as Persia it is a prodigy—nay, almost a miracle. Alike in virtue of her marvellous beauty, her rare intellectual gifts, her fervid eloquence, her fearless devotion, and her glorious martyrdom, she stands forth incomparable and immortal amidst her countrywomen. Had the Babf religion no other claim to greatness, this were sufficient—that it produced a heroine like Kurratu'l-'Ayn.

In this note I do not propose to repeat facts with which everyone who has studied the subject is acquainted, neither shall I attempt to re-tell a tale which has been already set forth by Gobineau in language far more eloquent than I can command. My purpose is merely to add such new particulars as I have been able to glean from the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* and from oral tradition. Before proceeding to do this, I wish once more to call attention to the graceful poem by Marie von Najimijer whereof Kurratu'l-'Ayn is the heroine (see *supra* p. 207).

¹ The *kursi*—much used by the Persians during winter—is, roughly speaking, like a large table with very short legs. A chafing-dish containing ignited charcoal is placed beneath it, as are also the legs of those who sit round it. With a good supply of quilts, pillows, and amusing books, it affords the means of passing a cold winter's day very comfortably.

The following table, taken in conjunction with the remarks on pp. 197—198 *supra*, will sufficiently serve to indicate Kurratu'l-'Ayn's family relationships:—



The following particulars are derived from the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*. During the life of Haji Seyyid Kazim of Result Kurratu'l-'Ayn visited Kerbela, where she became acquainted not only with Seyyid Kazim himself, but with many of his chief followers, including Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh. When, on the death of Seyyid Kazim, Mulla Huseyn set out for Shiraz, Kurratu'l-'Ayn wrote a letter to him begging that should he succeed in finding the spiritual guide whom they were expecting (see pp. 239—240 *supra*) he would at once inform her. This letter Mulla Huseyn on his conversion placed in the hands of the Bab, who, recognizing the rare qualities and attainments of which it gave evidence, included its writer amongst the eighteen

"Letters of the Living" (**حروفات حى**) who composed the "First Unity" of the Babi hierarchy.

Kurratu'l-'Ayn continued for some time at Kerbela, where, seated behind a curtain, she used to lecture and preach to the disciples of the late Seyyid Kazim. The governor, becoming aware of this, wished to arrest her, but she hastily quitted Kerbela without a passport and went to Baghdad, where she proceeded directly to the house of the chief *Muftí*, before whom she defended her creed and her conduct with great ability. The question whether she should be allowed to continue her teaching was submitted first to the Pasha of Baghdad and then to the central government, the result being that she was ordered to leave.

Turldsh. territory. During her journey from Baghdad to Kirmánsháh aná Hamadán she continued to preach, and made several converts to the Bábi faith, amongst these being Sheykh Šálih the Arab, Sheykh Tahír, Mullá Ibrahim of Maħállát, and Sheykh Sulţán the Arab. Certain of the Bábis, however, were at first disposed to regard her efforts with disapproval, and some of these even wrote to the Báb asking whether it was seemly for a woman to preach publicly to men. In reply the Báb not only sanctioned her preaching and applauded her zeal, but betowed on her the title of *Jenab-i-Tahira* ("Her Excellency the Pure"), whereupon those who had been disposed to censure her expressed contrition and penitence, and her high position in the Bábi church became uncontested.

From Hamadán Kurratul-'Ayn intended to go to Teherán, hoping, it is said, to be able to convert Muħammad Sháh himself; but her father Hájí Mullá Muħammad Šálih, being apprized of this plan, sent servants to intercept her and bring her home to Kazvin. Perhaps it was on her* return thither that she was married to her cousin Mullá Muhammad the son of Hájí Mullá Muħammad Taqi, but of the date when this marriage was contracted I can find no indication. At all events the marriage must have been a most unhappy one, for Mulla Muhammad seems fully to have shared his father's hatred of the Sheykhis and Babis, and finally Kurratul-'Ayn refused to live with him any longer.

The position of Kurratu'l-'Ayn, sufficiently irksome and even precarious already, was rendered perilous in the highest degree by the death of her uncle at the hands of certain Bábis (see p. 198 *supra*). Some have hinted that Kurratul-'Ayn was privy to this assassination, but of this there is absolutely no proof, and we may be sure that, had there been any evidence of her complicity, the Musulmáns would not have failed to make use of it to rid themselves of one who was well known to be amongst the most zealous supporters of the Báb. As it was, she was brought before the governor of Kazvin, charged by her husband with complicity in the murder of his father, and acquitted. Several of the Bábis were arrested and tortured, until finally one—Mirza Salih of Shiraz, according to the

Tarikh-i-Jadid, Salih Tahir according to Subh-i-Ezel—confessed that he, alone and unabettèd, had compassed the death of the murdered *mujtahid*, in proof of which he described in detail how the murder had been committed, and where the blood-stained knife with which the deed was done might be found. This Salih was sent to Teheran with several others suspected of complicity, but he succeeded in making his escape, fettered as he was, to Mazandaran, where he was subsequently killed at Sheykh Tabarsi. As to the others arrested, the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* and Subh-i-Ezel are not completely in accord. Both agree, however, that Sheykh Salih the Arab and Mulla Ibrahim of Mahallat (who, as we have already seen were amongst the first proselytes gained by Kurratu'l-'Ayn) were of their number. The first of these was killed at Teheran; the second was taken back to Kazvin, where, in company with another (Sheykh Tahir according to the *Tdrikh-i-Jadid*, H&ji Muhammad 'Ali according to Subh-i-Ezel), he was cruelly donè to death by the populace. These were the first Babis who were put to death in Persia. The *Tdrikh-i-Jadid* adds the name of another—an old man called H&ji Asadullah—who died of cold and fatigue during his conveyance to Teheran.

Although Kurratu'l-'Ayn had been acquitted of all share in her uncle's death, it was clearly impossible for her to remain in Kazvin any longer, even had she desired to do so, which scarcely seems probable. She accordingly set out by way of Teheran for Khurasan, and was present at the celebrated meeting of the Babi chiefs at Badasht (see Gobineau, pp, 180—184). From Badasht she turned back with Mulla Muhammad 'Ali of Barfurush and his party towards Mazandaran. At this point the narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* breaks off, neither is it, in spite of the author's promise, again renewed; while all other written histories are equally silent as to what befel Kurratu'l-'Ayn from the time that she separated from Mulla Muhammad 'Ali and his followers to the time when she was brought captive to Teheran and placed in the custody of Mahmud Khan the *Kalantar*. From Subh-i-Ezel, however, I learned the following particulars. After separating from the Babis who went to form the garrison of Sheykh Tabarsi, Kurratul-

'Ayn went to Nūr, where she remained unmolested till the final suppression of the Mázandarán insurrection. She was then delivered up to the government authorities by the people of Nūr and sent to Teherán. On her arrival there she was brought before Ná'siru'd-Dfm Sháh, who, on seeing her, said:—

از هیشش خوشم می آید بگذار باشد

"I like her looks: leave her, and let her be."

She was accordingly placed under the custody of Maḥ-mud Khan the *Kalantar*, and in his house she remained till her execution in August A.D. 1852. Her imprisonment was not very rigorous, and she was occasionally seen by different Bábis under various pretexts. Her life, indeed, was in no jeopardy till the disastrous attempt on the Sháh's life by certain Babis (see Note T *infra* and pp. 49—50 *supra*) made the mere profession of the Bábí faith a crime deserving not death only, but the most horrible tortures, and gave rise to that reign of terror which has been so vividly described by Gobineau (pp. 301—303), Lady Sheil (pp. 273—282), Polak (pp. 352—353), and Ussher (pp. 627—629). Even then Kurratu'l-Ayn might, by abjuring her faith, have escaped death, and exchanged glorious martyrdom and immortal fame for a few brief years of life; but this her noble spirit scorned to do. That she met the cruel fate reserved for her with "superhuman fortitude" is a fact to which Dr Polak, who actually witnessed her execution, testifies in the following words:—"Ich war Zeuge von der Hinrichtung der Kurret el ayn, die vom Kriegsminister und seinen Adjutanten vollzogen wurde; die schönẽ Frau erduldet den langsamen Tod mit übermenschlicher Stärke." In what manner death was inflicted I have not been able to learn. Gobineau says that she was burned, but that the executioner first strangled her; Şubḥ-i-Ezel says that the accounts of her death are various, one being that she was strangled with the bowstring in the Bagh-i-Īl-Khanf; some with whom I conversed in Persia stated that she was killed in the Bagh-i-Lal6-zar; others that she was cast into a dry well in the garden of the palace called Nigaristan,

which well was then filled up with stones. However this may be, we have it on Polak's authority that her death was painful and lingering, and that she met it as a heroine should do.

I was anxious to discover from Şubḥ-i-Ezel whether it was true, as has often been alleged, that Kurratu'l-'Ayn discarded the veil. His reply, so far as I can remember, was as follows:—"It is not true that she laid aside the veil. Sometimes, when carried away by her eloquence, she would allow it to slip down off her face, but she would always replace it after a few moments."

Kurratu'l-'Ayn's fame as a poetess is great, but during my sojourn in Persia I only succeeded in obtaining three of the poems attributed to her, viz. two short but very beautiful *ghazals* and a long *masnawī*. Of one of these *c/hazals* I published the Persian text with a translation into English verse in my second paper on the Babfs in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889 (pp. 936—937 and 991). I now give the second, which, though its authorship is more disputed, certainly savours strongly of Babf doctrines and modes of expression.

ط

هو المحبوب

لمعات وجهك اشرفت و شعاع طلعتك اعتلا
 زچه رو أَلَسْتَ بربكم نرنى بزن كه بلى بلى
 بجواب طبل السّ تو ز ولا چه كوس بلى زدند
 همه خيمه زد بدر دلم سپه غم و حشم بلا
 من و عشق آن مه خو برو كه چو زد صلاى بلا برو
 بنشاط و فقههه شد فرو كه انا الشهيد بكر بلا
 چوشنيد ناله مرك من پر ساز من شد و برك من

فمشی الی مَهْرُولًا و بکی علی مَجْلَجَلًا
 چه شود که آتش حیرتی زینم بقلهٔ طور دل
 فسککتَه و دککتَه متدکدکا متزازلًا
 پی^۱ خوان دعوت عشق او همه شب ز خیل کرویوان
 رسد این صغیر مهیمنی که گروه غمزده الصلا
 تو چه فلس ماهی^۲ حیرتی چه زنی ز بحر وجود دم
 نشین چو ظاهره دم بدم بشنو خروش نهنک لا

(TRANSLATION.)

"The effulgence of thy face flashed forth and the rays of
 thy visage arose on high;
 Why lags the word 'Am I not your Lord?' 'Yea, that
 thou art' let us make reply¹.
 'Am Inofs*' appeal from thy drum to greet what 'Yeas'
 do the drums of devotion beat;
 At the gate of my heart I behold the feet and the tents
 of the host of calamity².

¹ i.e. "Why do you hesitate to lay claim to a divine nature? Were you to do so, all of us would admit your claim." See *Kur'ân* vii. 171, and B. ii., pp. 917—918 and note.

² The following lines from a poem attributed to Nabil express a similar idea:—

چو کسی طریق مرا رود گنمش ندا که خبر شود
 که هر آنکه عاشق من شود نرهد ز محنت و ابتلا

"If one should choose my path to go I will cry to him that
 he well may know
 That none shall escape from grief and woe who is once afflicted
 with love for me."

That fair moon's love for me, I trow, is enough, for he
 laughed at the hail of woe,
 And exulting cried as he sank below, 'The Martyr of
 KerbeU am I.¹
 When he heard my death-wail drear, for me he prepared,
 and arranged my gear for me,
 He advanced to lament at my bier for me, and o'er me
 wept right bitterly.
 What harm if thou with the fire of amaze should'st set my
 Sinai-heart ablaze
 Which thou first mad'st fast in a hundred ways but to
 shake and shatter so ruthlessly?²
 To convene the guests to his feast of love all night from
 the angel-host above
 Peals forth this summons ineffable 'Hail, sorrow-stricken
 community!'
 Can a scale of the fish of amaze like thee aspire to sing of
 Being's Sea?
 Sit still like Tahira, hearkening to what the monster of
 'No' doth cry³."

¹ *ie.* Imâm Huseyn, with whom the Bab repeatedly declares himself to be identical in essence.

² *ie.* "You first strengthened my heart with knowledge, and inspired it with zeal and enthusiasm; then you crushed and subdued it with love. Were it not well if you would now kindle on it, as on Mount Sinai, that fire whence comes the cry

نبي انا الله 'Verily I am God?' Cf. *Qur'a'n* xxviii. 30, and vii. 139.

³ *ie.* "How can you, who are but as a scale on some little fish which swims wonderingly in the vast expanses of the sea, speak fittingly of the Ocean of Being? Sit still then, as I, *Qurratu'l-'Ayn* (*Jenâb-i-fâkîra*), do, and listen to the roar of the monster, whale, crocodile, or Leviathan which continually cries لا اله الا انا 'There is no God but me!'" Some versions of this poem have بنشین چو طوطی و دم بدم "Sit still like a parrot" &c. at the beginning of the second hemistich of this couplet.

NOTE R.

ON THE BABI SYSTEM OF FORMING DERIVATIVES,

One of the peculiarities of style especially affected by the Báb is the employment of all theoretically possible derivatives of roots, whether sanctioned by usage or not. The number of these derivative forms in Arabic is great, but of course no single root is susceptible to all the modifications which they represent. Custom and authority, as well as the intrinsic meaning of each root, limit the number of actual derivatives employed in any given case to a fractional part of those theoretically possible. It would appear that the Báb believed some special talismanic virtue to reside in each possible form of every Attribute of God. Thus in the Persian Beyan (*Vahid*, viii., ch. 2), he says:—

ملحظ این باب آنکه از آنجائیکه مراتب توحید بر^۱
 هفت حرف تام میگردد که حروف^۲ اثبات باشد از
 اینجهت حکم شده که ارث نبرد از میت بسر حقیقه الاهیة
 نفس چنانچه [از]^۳ هر صفتی بهفت^۴ رتبه توان خدارا
 [خواند بان صفت]^۵ مثل اوحّد و وحاد و وحید و واحد^۶ و
 متوحّد و موحد^۷ و موحد *

^۱ B reads در.

^۲ My MS. reads حرف.

^۳ B substitutes در رتبه.

^۴ B reads هفت.

^۵ B reads بان صفت خواند.

^۶ B transposes واحد and وحید.

^۷ B reads موحد.

"The quintessence of this chapter is this, that inasmuch as the degrees of Unity are fulfilled in seven letters, which are the Letters of Affirmation, therefore it hath been ordained that, according to the Mystery of the Truth, none shall inherit from the dead save seven persons, even as one can invoke God by every Attribute in seven degrees of that Attribute, as *Unissimus, Unator, Unicus, Unus, Unatus, Unificiens, Unificatus*!"

The '*Book of Names*' (كتاب اسما), of which, according to Subh-i-Ezel's assertion, the extracts from a Babf MS. published by Dom in the *Bulletin de l'Academie Imperiale de St Pftersbourg* for December 22nd, 1864, form part, appears to consist in great measure of these permutations².

With regard to the derivatives formed as described in the text from the root *Behá* (بها), the following passage, occurring in a MS. presented to me by Subh-i-Ezel and called by him شئون خمسة "the Five States" or "Grades" (because it contains specimens of each of the five styles into which the Bab divides his writings, concerning which see *infra*, Note U) may serve to give us some idea of what the letter in question must have been like. No attempt has been made to translate what is hardly capable of translation.

كتاب الفاء يا طاهر

بالله الله البهي البهي

بسم الله الابهي الابهي الله لا اله الا هو الابهي الابهي

الله لا اله الا هو البهي البهي الله لا اله الا هو المبتهي

¹ I trust that I may be pardoned the use of such words. Only in this way can one convey some idea of the original to the European reader unacquainted with Arabic.

² See p. 202 *supra*.

المبتهى الله لا اله الا هو المبهى المبهى الله لا اله
 الا هو الواحد البهان و لله بهى بهيان بهاء السموات
 و الارض و ما بينهما و الله بهاء باهى بهى و لله بهى
 بهيان بهيته السموات و الارض و ما بينهما و الله بهيان
 متهى متباه قل الله ابهى فوق كل ذى ابهاء لن يقدر
 ان يمتع عن ملك سلطان ابهائه من احد لا فى السموات
 و لا فى الارض و لا ما بينهما انه كان بهاء باهيا بهيا *

This short extract, containing over a dozen derivatives of the root in question, not more than half of which, if so many, could be supported by previous authority, will suffice to give an idea of this style of composition.

NOTE S.

THE BAB'S LAST NIGHT ON EARTH.

The account of the Báb's condemnation and execution contained in the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* agrees in the main with the narratives of Gobineau and Kazem-Beg, but adds some curious particulars concerning what passed in the prison on the eve of the martyrdom. Of this passage I here give a translation.

"They imprisoned him who was athirst for the draught of martyrdom [i.e. the Báb] for three days [after sentence of death was passed], along with Aká Seyyid Huseyn [of Yezd] the amanuensis, and Aká Seyyid Hasan, which twain

were brothers went to pass their time for the most part in the Bab's presence.

"Now before this event the Bab had, for the completion of the proof, graciously sent by means of Áka Seyyid Aḥmad of Tabriz known as 'the scribe'¹, Mirzá Muḥammad 'Ali of Tabriz, and two other persons, sundry epistles containing exhortations, admonitions, and declarations of his truth to the doctors of Tabriz. At the time when these epistles were delivered one of the doctors had desired to show contempt and disrespect towards the blessed epistle. These forerunners of the field of courage put forward the foot of bravery to prevent this, and, their dispute ending in strife, were incarcerated in the prison of His Highness Prince Hamze Mirza ; where, as is currently reported, two of them would seem to have been poisoned, though, according to one account, the Prince released them unknown to the doctors. But Mirzá Muḥammad 'Ali was incarcerated till such time as the Báb was brought to the prison, and there obtained the honour of meeting him.

"On the very eve of the day whereon they martyred that gem of created essences [i.e. the Báb] he said to his companions, 'Tomorrow they will martyr me with boundless shame and dishonour. Let one of you now arise and slay me, so that I may not have to suffer all this dishonour and humiliation from the adversaries; for it is far pleasanter for me to be slain by the hand of friends than by the hands of enemies,' His companions, with expressions of sorrow and grief, sought to excuse themselves, save Mirzá Muḥammad 'Ali, who at once made as though he would obey the command. His comrades, however, anxiously seized his hand, crying, 'Such boldness and rashness is not the characteristic of true service,' 'This act of mine,' replied

¹ The author appears to have confounded this Akd, Seyyid Aḥmad of Tabriz (who, according to Subḥ-i-Ezel's statement, disappeared altogether and broke off all communications with the Bábis after his escape from Tabriz) with Mulla 'Abdu'l-Karim of Kazvin, who was commonly known amongst the *Babis* by the name of Mirza *Ahmad-i-Edtib* ('the Scribe'). There seems to be no doubt that they were quite distinct persons, and that the title *K&tib* is wrongly applied to the Aḥmad here spoken of. Cf. note 2 on p. 41 *supra*.

he, 'is not due to boldness, but rather to an excessive obedience, being [undertaken] in conformity with his command. After carrying out the order of His Highness [the Báb], I will assuredly pour out my own life also at his feet.' His Highness [the Báb] smiled, and, applauding his faithful devotion and sincere belief, said, 'Tomorrow, when they ask of you, renounce [me] and conceal your belief, for thus is the command of God now laid upon you, especially on Áka Seyyid Huseyn, with whom are the gems of knowledge^r, which he must convey to the people of God and the seekers after the way of true guidance.' The [Báb's other] companions agreed, but Mfrza' Muhammad 'Ali fell at the feet of His Highness [the Báb] and began to entreat and implore, thus praying with utmost self-abasement:—'Deprive not this thy faithful servant of the blessing of thy presence, and graciously grant to this worthless dust and mote permission to lay down his life.' How much soever His Highness [the Báb] would have prevented him, he continued to pray, crave, and entreat, until [the Báb], through the exceeding kindness of his disposition, consented.

"Now when a little while had elapsed after the rising of the sun, they brought them without cloak ['aba] or coat [*kaba*], and having [only] their vests on their breasts and their nightcaps on their heads, to the governor's palace, where it was decreed that they should be shot. Áká Seyyid Huseyn the amanuensis and Áká Seyyid Hasan his brother renounced [the Báb] as they had been commanded, and were released, and Áká Seyyid Huseyn bestowed the gems of knowledge treasured in his bosom upon such as sought for them and were worthy of them, and, according to his instructions, conveyed and carried certain secrets of the religion to those who were entitled to receive them. He [subsequently] attained to the rank of martyrdom in Teherán." (Here follows the account of the execution of the Bab and Mirza Muhammad 'Ali, which, as it agrees substantially with that given in the present work and in other published accounts, I omit.)

¹ *i.e.* the Bab's last words, behests, and directions.

According to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, the Báb signified his acceptance of Mirzá Muḥammad 'Alī's request that he might share in the glorious martyrdom of his Master in these words:—

أَنْ مُحَمَّدَ عَلِيٍّ مَعَنَا فِي الْجَنَّةِ

"Verily Muḥammad 'Alī [shall be] with us in Paradise."

If these words be authentic (and there is no reason for doubting that they are) they offer a most striking analogy to one of the last utterances of Jesus Christ (Luke xxiii. 43).

Whether the narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* be altogether worthy of credence or not, there seems no reason to doubt that Seyyid Ḥuseyn recanted, not, as Kazem-Beg asserts (i. pp. 375—377), from a craven dread of death, but in accordance with the command of his master, the object of this command being the preservation of the last words and writings of the Báb. When we consider how rare was the fear of death and torture amongst the Bábis, and how readily Seyyid Ḥuseyn himself met his fate two years later (cf. Gobineau, pp. 300—301), it seems most improbable that he of all the Bábis, he, the chosen companion, amanuensis, and intimate friend of the Báb, should exhibit so craven a fear. Amongst the Bábis, at least, no stigma of even a temporary and bitterly repented failure of courage, such as is supposed by Gobineau, lies on the memory of Seyyid Ḥuseyn. It is at least certain that he continued to correspond with Suleymán Khán and the other Bábi chiefs after the Báb's execution. Some of these

letters, wherein he alludes to Tabriz as **محل ضرب** ('the Place of the Blow') and **مشهد** ('the Place of Martyrdom'), were shewn to me by Şubḥ-i-Ezel. From these letters and Şubḥ-i-Ezel's statements it would appear that Seyyid Ḥuseyn was kept in custody for at any rate some considerable portion of the two years by which he survived his master.

Of the touching and beautiful letter written by Mirzá Muḥammad 'Alī from his prison to his elder brother the text will be found at p. 992 and the translation at p. 938 of my second paper on the Babis in the *J. R.A. S.* for 1889.

NOTE T.

THE ATTEMPT ON THE SHÁH'S LIFE AND THE MASSACRE
OF TEHERÁN.

The attempted assassination of Naşiru'd-Din Sháh on Sunday August 15th, 1852, though very lightly touched on in the present work, is so fully described by the two Musulm&n historians, Lady Sheil, Gobineau, Polák, Kazem-Beg and others, that I shall confine myself here to reproducing the substance of what was told me about this event by the nephew of one of the three Bábis actually engaged in the plot. This account naturally exhibits the Sháh's behaviour in a less heroic light than do the Musulman chroniclers Sipihr and Riza-Kuli Khan. I give it only for what it is worth, thinking that here, as elsewhere, the truth may lie between the two extremes.

According to this account, then, the Bábi conspirators were originally seven in number, but four of them drew back at the last moment from the projected enterprise. The three who actually made the attempt were Mullá Fathu'lláh of Kum, Şádiq of Zanján, and Mírzá Muḥammad of Niriz¹. These three approached the Sháh as he was riding out to the chase somewhat in advance of his retinue from the Palace of Niyávarán. The Sháh, supposing that they had some petition to prefer, allowed them to draw near without suspicion. When within a short distance of him one of the three Babis (apparently the Nirizi) drew a pistol from his pocket and fired at the Sháh. Mulla

¹ According to the *Ndsikhu't- Tawarikh* the conspirators were originally *twelve* in number. Of these, the names of four only—Sadik of Zanjan, Mirza 'Abdu'l-Wahhab of Shfraz, Mulla Fathu'lláh of Kum, and Muḥammad B'ákir of Najafabád—are given. It is subsequently stated that all save three drew back at the last, and that of these three one was " a man of Niriz " (presumably the same Mirzá Muḥammad mentioned above). Lady Sheil (*op. cit.*, p. 274) says that four Babis took part in the attack.

Fathu'llah of Kum then threw himself upon the King and dragged him from his horse on to the ground, meaning to cut his throat¹. The Shah, having almost fainted with terror, was already incapable of offering any further resistance, when a *farrash* (still living, and, thanks to the service rendered by him on that day, in the enjoyment of a good pension) came up, struck the would-be assassin in the mouth, and cut down one of the other two conspirators. A moment after, one of the *mustawfis* arrived on the spot and threw himself as a shield on the Sbih's body. The Shah, imagining that it was another assassin, cried out, "Why do you wish to kill me? What harm have I done?" "It is I," answered the *mustawfi*, "all danger is past. Fear not." All danger was in fact over. As soon as it was evident that the attempt had failed and that the Shah still lived, other retainers, who had at first hung back², hastened forward to bear a part in the seizure of the two surviving assassins (for Sadik of Zanjan had already been killed). The two captives, on being interrogated, declared that they were Babis, and that they had made the attempt with a view to avenging the blood of their Master. In spite of their frank confession, it was at first believed that the object of the attempt was political, and that it had been instigated by some rival claimant to the throne. S&dik of Zanjan, who was killed on the spot, was described by Subh-i-Ezel as a youth of short stature with very small eyes. He was the servant of Mulla Sheykh 'Ali (*Jenab-i-'Azim*) from whom he is said to have received the pistol with which he was armed. According to Subh-i-Ezel he alone fired at and wounded the Shah, but the *Nasikhut-Tawarikh* states that each of the three assassins discharged his pistol.

With regard to the Shah's behaviour, it may not be altogether uninteresting to compare with the above account the following passage from the *Nasikhut-Tawarikh*:—"The dust of perturbation settled not on the skirt of the

¹ According to Gobineau (p. 282) the conspirators did not succeed in unhorsing the King. See also p. 289 of the same work. Lady Sheil, however, (*op. cit.*, p. 274) says that the Shah was dragged to the ground.

² Cf. Polak's *Persien*, vol. i. p. 352.

patience and self-control of the King, whose elemental material God the Creator had leavened with the liver of the lion, the heart of Ardashir, the ardour of Shapur, and the majesty of Timur; nor did the pellucid stream of his mind become troubled by the foulness and filth of these events. Neither did he urge his horse to leap aside, nor did he utter a word indicative of alarm or consternation. He kept his place on his poplar-wood saddle like some mountain of massive rocks, and, notwithstanding that wound, turned not aside in any direction, and carried not his hand to his hurt, so that those present in his escort knew not that any hurt had befallen the king or that he had suffered any wound."

Ka'ani of Shiraz, the most famous and the most talented of modern Persian poets, has two *kaisidas* in celebration of the Sháh's escape from this danger. These will be found respectively at p. 26 and p. 254 of the edition of his works published at Teherán in A.H. 1302 (A.D. 1884). Although they add no new facts to the sum of our knowledge, they agree with the authorities already cited in stating that the attempt took place at the end of the month of Shawwal, and that those actually concerned therein were three in number. Thus in the first *kasida* Kâ'anf says:—

آخر شوال خسرو شد سوار از بهر صید
 آسمانش در عنان و آفتابش در رکاب
 کز کمین ناگه سه تن جنید و افکندند زود
 تیرهای آتشین زى خسرو مالك رقاب

" At the end of Shawwal the King rode forth to hunt,
 Heaven by his reins and the sun beside his stirrup,
 When suddenly three persons sprang forth from ambush,
 and swiftly hurled
 Fiery darts towards the King, the Lord of [men's] necks."

So in the second *kašīda* he says:—

آخر شوال را هر سال زین پس عید کن
چاکران شاهرا دعوت نما از هر کران
هی بگو شاهد یا زاهد برو خازن بخش
هی بگو ساقی بده چنگی بز ن مطرب بخوان
عید قربان شهنش کن نام و همچون کوسفند
دشمنان را سر ببر در راه شاه کامران

" Henceforth keep the end of Shawwāl as a festival every year;

Invite the servants of the King from every quarter.

Ho, say, 'Come, O beloved! Go, O anchorite! Give, O treasurer!'

Ho, say, 'Give, O cup-bearer! Play, O harper! Sing, O minstrel!'

Name it 'the Feast of Sacrifice of the King,' and, like sheep¹,

Cut off the heads of enemies in the path of the victorious King."

Between the attempt on the Shāh's life and the fearful vengeance wherewith it was visited on the Babis a whole month appears to have elapsed, for the executions are stated by the *Nasikkūt-Tawdrih* to have taken place on Wednesday the *salkh* (*i.e.* the last day) of *Zil-Ka'da* A.H. 1268 (September 15th, A.D. 1852). It must not be supposed, however, that this month was idly spent by the government officials. Messengers were at once despatched

¹ The custom of shewing honour to a great man returning home from a journey by decapitating a sheep and throwing the bleeding head across his path is still maintained in Persia.

to all parts of the kingdom to publish the failure of the plot and the safety of the Sháh. The police of Teherán, instructed to make a diligent search for members of the obnoxious sect¹, succeeded in surprising a gathering of a dozen Babis in the house of Háji Suleymán Khán² the son of Yahyá Khán of Tabriz, and other arrests soon raised the total number of captives to nearly forty. Some few of these were able to prove their innocence in a manner which satisfied even their judges, little disposed as they were towards acquittals. Amongst these the *Nasikhû-t-Tawarikh* mentions five, to wit:—Mirza Huseyn 'Ali of Nur [Beha'u'llah]; Mirza Suleyman-Kulf; Mirza Mahmud, nephew of the above; Áká 'Abdu'lláh, the son of Áká Muḥammad Ja'far; and Mirza Jawád of Khurásán; all of whom were committed to prison pending further investigations.

The majority of those arrested, however, were condemned to death; and, according to the list given in the *Ndsikhu 't-Tawarikh* twenty-eight of them expiated their faith with their lives. I say 'their faith' advisedly, for some of those doomed to death, such as Kurratu'l-'Ayn and Áká Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd, had long been in strict confinement, and could not by any possibility have been concerned in the conspiracy. Others, such as Mullá Huseyn of Khurásán, were convicted solely on the evidence of Babi writings found on their persons or in their houses. When a verdict of 'Not Guilty' bids fair to jeopardize the judge's reputation for loyalty, if not to place him in actual peril, acquittals in such a country as Persia are hard to win.

Weak as the evidence of criminality was in many cases, there could be little hope of averting the impending butchery; for so audacious an attempt demanded a commensurate revenge calculated to strike terror into the hearts of all. Efforts were nevertheless made by some of the European representatives at the Persian court to induce the Sháh to content himself with the execution of the condemned without subjecting them to the tortures which there was but too much reason to apprehend would be

¹ Cf. Gobineau, p. 284 *et seq.*

² *Nasikhû't- Tawarikh.*

superadded to the death-penalty¹. These efforts were fruitless. The Sháh's alarm and anger, far from diminishing, were* constantly stimulated by the representations of his ministers, who succeeded in convincing him of the existence of a wide-spread disaffection which could only be checked by the most stringent measures². Nor was this sense of dread confined to the King: it reacted on those who had inspired it, until, in Gobineau's words, " On ne savait plus sur quel terrain on se trouvait, et, faute de rdalitds qu'on ne saisissait pas, qui fuyaient devant toutes les recherches, on voyait errer autour de soi une multitude de fant6mes. L'epouvante devint gndrale au camp du roi....En face, on avait une quarantaine de captifs muets ; mais par derriére, savait-on ce qui s'agitait?"³

Then, because of this great fear, was devised that devilish scheme whereby all classes of society should be made to share in the bloodshed of that fatal day. It was suggested that if the responsibility for the doom of the captives rested solely on the Sháh, the Prime Minister, or the ordinary administrators of the law, these would become thereafter targets for the vengeance of the Babis. If, on the other hand, a partition of the prisoners were made amongst the different classes; if a representative body of each of these classes were made responsible for the execution of one or more Babis; and if it were further signified to the persons thus forced to act the part of executioners that the Sháh would be able to estimate their loyalty to himself by the manner in which they disposed of their victims⁴, then all classes, being equally partakers in the blood of the slain, would be equally exposed to the retaliation of the survivors, from whom they would be therefore effectually and permanently alienated, while at the same time the Shah himself would avoid incurring the odium of the massacre. Such were the "Machiavellian means"⁵ adopted for the extirpation of the supposed conspirators.

Of the victims of that day the *'Nasikhii t-Tawárikh*

¹ Lady Shell's *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, p. 276.

² Polak's *Persien*, vol. I. p. 352.

³ Gobineau, p. 290.

⁴ Gobineau, p. 292.

⁵ Polak's *Persien*, vol. I. p. 352.

gives a complete list, which I here append. This list I read over to Şubh-i-Ezel. The comments thereon made by him are added in square brackets.

(1) Mulla Sheykh 'Ali ("*Jenab-i-'Azim*") was killed by the ¹*Ulama*.

(2) Seyyid Hasan Khurásán! was hacked in pieces by the Princes.

(3) Mull* Zeynu'l-'Ahidin of Yezd was killed by the *Mmtawfis*. [The *Miistawfi' ul-memalik* (Secretary of State), unwilling to shed blood, shut his eyes and fired his gun in the air, while another *Mustawfi'* named Ibrahim of Núr only touched the prisoner with his penknife, leaving the bloody work to others less scrupulous. Mullá Zeynu'l-'Ahidin had succeeded once in escaping from his pursuers at Kúm by throwing a handful of dust in their eyes.]

(4) Mullá Huseyn of Khurásán was killed by the *Nisdmu'l-Mulk*, Mirza Sa'id Khan, and the employe's of the Foreign Office. [He had held no communication with Háji Suleymán Khán or the other chief Bábis at Teherán, where he had but recently rented a house. A fragment of Bábi writing found in his house was the sole ground whereon he was convicted.]

(5) Mirza 'Abdu 'l-Wahhab of Shiraz ['a youth of good understanding'] was killed by Ja'far-Kuli Khán the Prime Minister's brother, and his sons Mirza' 'Ali Khán, Músá Khán, and Zú'l-Fiķár Khán.

(6) Mullá Fathu'lláh of Kúm, the son of Mullá [*Ali Şahhúf*, who had fired the shot which wounded the King, was killed by Haji 'Ali Khan the *Hajibu'd-Dawla* and his *farrdshes*. Several incisions were made in his body, and in these lighted candles were inserted. After he had been tortured in this fashion for some time, the *Hajibu'd-Dawla* shot him in the back, and he was then hacked in pieces by the *farrashes* with knives. His execution took place at Niyávarán. [Şubh-i-Ezel confirmed the fact that he suffered torture by lighted candles inserted in wounds inflicted on his body, but asserted that he, together with Haji Suleymán Khán, was sawn in two.]

(7) Sheykh 'Abbás of Teherán was killed by the Kháns and nobles. [According to Şubh-i-Ezel, however, he was suffered to escape privily.]

(8) Muhammad Bakir of Najafabad (near Isfahan), who had, on his own confession, taken an active part in the insurrections of Mazandaran and Zanjan, was killed by the *pish-khidmats* (pages in waiting).

(9) Muḥammad Taḳi of Shiráz was delivered over to the *Mír-ákhúr* (Master of the Horse) and the attendants of the Royal Stables. These first nailed iron horse-shoes on his feet, and then, in the words of the Muslim&n historian, "broke up his head and body with clubs and nails."

(10) Muḥammad of Najafáb&d was killed by the *Eshik-áḳási-báshi*, the *Járci-báshi*, the *Nasaḳchi-bdshi*, and their attendants.

(11) Mirzá Muḥammad of Niriz, who had fought for the Babi cause at Niriz, Sheykh Ṭabarsi, and Zanjái¹, was killed by Mirzá Muhammad Khan the *Sar-kkhík* (captain of the guard) and the *Yúz-bdsfús* (centurions).

(12) Muḥammad 'Ali of Najafábád was delivered over to the artillerymen. They first plucked out his eyes, and then blew him from the mouth of a gun.

(13) Aka Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd (see preceding note, pp. 319—322) was killed by 'Aziz Kfán *Ajúddn-báshí*, and the brigadier-generals, colonels, captains, and other officers.

(14) Aka Mahdi of Kashan (see note 1 on p. 46 *supra*) was slain by the *farráshes*.

(15) Mirzá Nabi of Damávand [a youth about twenty-one years of age] was sent to the College (*Daru l-funun*) of Teheran, by the professors and students of which he was torn in pieces.

(16) Mirzá Rafi" of Núr [a relation of Subḥ-i-Ezel's, aged about fifty years, and noted for his skill in calligraphy] was killed by the cavalry.

(17) Mirzá Maḥmúd of Kazvin was hewn in pieces with daggers and knives by the men of the camel-artillery (*zambúrakchiyán*).

(18) Huseyn of Milán, called by the Bábis "Abú 'Ab-di 'Iláh," was slain by the soldiers with spears. [According

¹ As the risings at Zanján and Niriz were almost simultaneous, though the former was not suppressed for two months after the termination of the latter, it would appear very improbable that any one person could have taken an active part in both.

to Subh-i-Ezel, Huseyn of Milan acted most discredibly, being at once the most turbulent and eager for mischief and the most pusillanimous of those who professed to follow the Báb. When he came to Teheran from Tabriz, he took up his abode in the house of Hájí Suleymán Khán. While resident there, he began to advance various claims to spiritual authority, first declaring himself to be a re-incarnation of the *Imam* Huseyn, and then "He whom God shall manifest," whose coming the Báb had foretold. A considerable number of persons became his disciples, and, encouraged by this success, he seems to have meditated some act of violence, which was, however, discovered and frustrated by Şubh-i-Ezel. He had a brother named Ja'far, who gave himself out as "King of Baghdad." Huseyn of Milan, when arrested, would have saved himself by recanting and disclaiming all fellowship with the Babis, but, while he was under examination, a child came in, and mockingly greeted him with the words "*Es-selamu 'aley-kum, ya Imam Huseyn*" ("Peace be upon you, O Imam Huseyn!"). This sufficed to secure his conviction. It is worth noting that three other persons¹ besides Huseyn of Milan advanced vain claims to supreme authority in the Babi church, to wit, Mirza Asadu'llah of Tabriz surnamed *Deyyan* (see Gobineau, pp. 277—278); Seyyid Huseyn of Hindiyan near Muhammara, who gathered round him about forty disciples, and who, though not recognized or accredited by the Babi chiefs, continued to send greetings to them while they were in exile at Baghdad; and Sheykh Isma'il, believed to be still alive, who subsequently withdrew the claim which he had advanced.]

(19) Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karim of Kazvín (called by the Babis "Mirza Ahmad-i-Katib"; see note 2 on p. 41 *supra*) was killed by the artillerymen.

(20) Luţf-'Ali of Shifaz was put to death by the royal footmen.

(21) Najaf of Khamsa was delivered over to the people of the city, who "with sticks and stones crimsoned the earth with his blood."

¹ But see Note W *infra*, where, on the authority of the Ezeli controversial work called *Hasht Bihisht*, other pretenders are mentioned.

(22) Haji Mirza Jani of Kashan, the merchant, was delivered over to *Aki Mahdi* the chief of the merchants (*Maliku't-tujjdr*), and the other merchants and shop-keepers of the city, "each of whom inflicted a wound on him until he perished." [According to Subh-i-Ezel, Haji Mirza Jani took refuge in the sanctuary of Shah 'Abdu'l-'Azim, which is situated about four miles south of Teheran. The sanctuary was, however, not respected in his case, and he was dragged forth. In compensation for this violation of the holy place the Shah plated or replated the roof of the shrine with gold. Of Haji Mirza Jani's death Subh-i-Ezel gave a different version, according to which he was strangled with the bowstring. After he was let down, being supposed to be dead, he half raised himself, opened his eyes, gazed at his executioners, and then fell back dead. He had three brothers, two of whom were also Babis. Of these two, one, Haji Mirza Isma'il, died in Teheran. The other, Haji Mirza Ahmad, was killed in Baghdad by certain Beha'is¹, he being one of those who refused to transfer their allegiance from Subh-i-Ezel to Beha. The *Tarikh-i-Jadid* makes frequent mention of Haji Mirza Jani, and repeatedly quotes from a history of the Babi movement which he wrote.]

(23) Hasan of Khamsa was slain by Nasru'llah Khan the superintendent of the royal kitchen and his myrmidons.

(24) Muhammad Bakir of Kuhpaye' was slain by the Kajar chiefs with their swords.

(25) The body of Sadik of Zanjan, who was slain, as above narrated, while attacking the Shah, was cut into several pieces, which were suspended from the different gates of Teheran.

(26) Haji Suleyman Khan, the son of Yahya Khan of Tabriz, and—

(27) Kasim of Niriz, who regarded himself as the successor of Seyyid Yahyd, of Darab, were, by command of Aka Hasan the deputy-chief of the *famishes*, wounded in many parts of their bodies, and in these wounds lighted candles were inserted. The two unfortunate men were thus paraded through the streets and bazaars of the city to

¹ See Note W *infra*.

the sound of minstrelsy, while dust and ashes were hurled upon them by the spectators. After being made to traverse a great distance in this fashion, they were led out of the city, and sawn asunder into four quarters outside the Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azim gate by the *farrdshes* of the gaol. Their mangled remains were then attached to the city gates. [Vambry (*Wander ungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, Pest, 1867, p. 299) gives a quite different account of Suleymán Khán's martyrdom, which runs as follows:—"Suleiman Chan, ein wohl-beleibter Mann, hatte zuerst vier Schnitte in die Brust bekommen, in welche brennende Kerzen gesteckt wurden und man fiihrte ihn so lange im Bazar herum, bis das Wachs der Kerzen von den Flammen verzehrt war und der Docht sich später am heraushliessenden Fett des Delinquenten nähren musste. Darauf wurde ihm gliihende schwere Hufeisen auf die nackten Fusssohlen angeschlagen und aufs Neue wurde er herum gefiihrt, bis man ihm endlich alle Zähne vom Munde herausriss und in der Form eines Halbmondes auf den Schadel einschlug. Da starb er erst." The extraordinary heroism with which Suleyman Khan bore these frightful tortures is notorious, and I have repeatedly heard it related how he ceased not during the long agony which he endured to testify his joy that he should be accounted worthy to suffer martyrdom for his Master's cause. He even sang and recited verses of poetry, amongst them the following:—

باز آمدم باز آمدم از راه شیراز آمدم

با عشوه و ناز آمدم هذا جنون العاشق

"I have returned! I have returned! I have come by the way of Shiraz!

I have come with winsome airs and graces! Such is the lover's madness!"

"Why do you not dance," asked the executioners mockingly, "since you find death so pleasant?" "Dance!" cried Suleymán Khán—

يك دست جام باده و يك دست زلف يار
رقصی چنين ميانه ميدانم آرزوست

" 'In one hand the wine-cup, in one hand the tresses of the Friend—

Such a dance in the midst of the market-place is my desire!"]

(28) Last but not least amongst the victims of that fatal day was the beautiful and accomplished Kurratu'l-'Ayn, who had been imprisoned for two or three years previously in the house of Mahmi'id Khan the *Kalantar*. Concerning her life and death, see Note Q, *supra*.

Gobineau (pp. 301—302) and Vambery (*op. cit.*, pp. 299—300) both assert that amongst the martyrs of that day were women and children, who rivalled the men in the fortitude wherewith they met death; but of this assertion (except as regards Kurratu'Ayn) I have been unable to obtain any corroborative evidence from Musulman or Bahl tradition. The crimes and cruelties which that day beheld are black enough without going beyond even the Muham-madan chronicles, and one would be reluctant to add to them, unless compelled to do so by convincing evidence. The wife of Haji Suleyman Khan would appear from Şubḥ-i-Ezel's account to have been in imminent peril, but by eating flies she induced so violent an attack of vomiting that her gaolers, believing her to be stricken with a mortal sickness, released her. Two women related to Şubḥ-i-Ezel were arrested and imprisoned for a while in the house of Mahmud Khan the *Kalantar*, but were subsequently sent back to their homes at Ni'ir. A large reward was offered for the apprehension of Şubḥ-i-Ezel (then residing at Nur), who actually conversed for some time with one of those sent out to arrest him without being recognized.

NOTE U.

WRITINGS OF THE BĀB AND ŞUBĤ-I-EZEL.

On October 11th, 1889, I received a letter from Captain Young (dated September 30th) enclosing a letter and sundry other documents from Şubĥ-i-Ezel. Amongst these documents was a list of some of the writings of the Bab and Şubĥ-i-Ezel written out by the latter. Although this list does not profess to be complete, comprising only such works as were carried by the B4bf exiles to Baghdad, and although, in the absence of detailed information about the works enumerated therein, it is incapable of affording much help in the identification of *Bibi MSS.*, I here append a translation of it, in the hope that it may serve in some measure to throw light on the very imperfectly explored bibliography of the sect. Explanatory notes of my own are added in square brackets.

[WRITINGS OF THE BĀB.]

" *What was collected of the booh of the Begān of the remnant left from Persia, which was taken away in Baghdad, carried off by the relations of this humble one [i.e. Şubĥ-i-Ezel].*

[1] *Commentary on the Kur'ān* in the style of the *Kur'ān*, complete, 1 vol.

[2] *Answers and Commentaries* (اجوبه و تفاسير), 1 vol.

[3] *Commentary on the Kur'ān* in the fashion of the verses of the *Kur'ān*, complete, 1 vol.

[4] *The Five Grades* (شئون خمسة), 1 vol. [A ms. of this work was forwarded to me by Şubĥ-i-Ezel with the letter above referred to. It comprises 395 pages of 14 lines each, and contains selections of pieces in each of the "five

grades" or "styles" employed by the Bab, the nature of which will be briefly discussed at the end of this note.]

[5] *Verses* (آیات), 2 vols.

[6] *The Book of Recompense* (کتاب جزا), 2 vols. [A small fragment of this work, transcribed by Şubḥ-i-Ezel, is in my possession. One peculiarity thereof is the occurrence of groups of verses differing from one another only in one or two words. By combining the first letters of the divergent words or clauses proper names are formed, so that the book would appear to be in part a cabbalistic register of the names of believers. In the following specimen, which will render the nature of this procedure more clear, the catch-words are indicated by a line drawn over them:—

و لله الحمد في ملكوت السموات و الارض و ما بينهما
و كان الله حميداً مجيداً * و لله الامر من قبل و من بعد
يدع الله ما يشاء بامرہ انه كان على كل شيء وكيلاً *
و لله جبروت السموات و الارض و ما بينهما و كان الله
ذا جبروت حق عظيماً * و لله يمين السموات و الارض
و ما بينهما ينفق كيف يشاء بفضله و كان الله واسعاً
عليماً * و لله العظمة في ملكوت السموات و الارض و
ما بينهما و كان الله علياً عظيماً * و لله بر السموات
و الارض و ما بينهما و كان الله ذا بر قريباً * و لله
دوام الذكر في ملكوت السموات و الارض و ما بينهما و

كان الله دائماً قديماً * قل الله ربي و انه هو حسي
 لينصرتني في كل حين بامرہ انه كان ذا نصر عزيزاً *
 و لله لطائف السموات و الارض و ما بينهما و كان الله
 ذا لطف عظيماً * و لله ملك السموات و الارض و ما
 بينهما و كان الله ذا ملك كبيراً * و لله طهر السموات
 و الارض و ما بينهما و كان الله طاهراً لطيفاً * و لله
 لطائف السموات و الارض و ما بينهما و كان الله ذا
 لطف عظيماً * و لله بها السموات و الارض و ما بينهما
 و كان الله ذا بها عز عظيماً *

By combining the first letters of the catch-words in the above extract (after discarding the definite article, in cases where this is prefixed) we get the name حاجي عبد المطلب Hájí 'Abdu'l-Muttalib. Similarly the verses immediately succeeding these give the name حاجي محمد مهدي Hájí Muhammad Mahdí.]

[7] *Supplications and Visitations* (مناجات و زيارات), 1 vol. [In my second article on the Babis in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, I described one of these "Visitations" under the name *Ziy&rat-náme* (pp. 894—902, 1000), and attempted to prove its identity with Gobineau's "Journal du Pelerinage" and with a Babi MS. described by Mirza Kazem-Beg (ii, pp. 498—502). At that time I was not aware that the Báb had composed more than one work

of this character. I subsequently enquired of Şubḥ-i-Ezel as to the authenticity of this work. In reply he wrote as follows:—"The 'Book of Visitation' (*Kitdb-i-ziydrat*) which you alluded to is from His Highness the Point (i.e. the Bab), and was after the 'Manifestation,' as its contents testify. He wrote many 'Visitations': it is not limited to one. But there is also a 'Book of Visitations' by myself. That is in another style, but there is in this land but a small portion thereof." Some of these 'Visitations' are included in the MS. of the 'Five Grades' mentioned above, amongst them being one designed for the use of pilgrims visiting the graves of the martyrs who fell at Sheykh Tabarsi. This, according to Subh-i-Ezel, was also composed by the Báb.]

[8] *Prayers* (دعوات), 1 vol.

[9] *Various Grades* (شئون مختلفه), unbound, 1 [vol.].

[10] *Writings of the Scribe* [probably Áka Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd or Mulla 'Abdu'l-Karim of Kazvin] comprising what was revealed at Shiráz and Isfahán and during the journey of the Pilgrimage [to Mecca], 3 vols.

[11] *The Best of Stories* (احسن القصص), 1 vol. [This work, better known as the 'Commentary on the Súra of Joseph' is so called in allusion to Kúr'añ xii, 3, where the history of Joseph is thus characterized. Specimens of it have been published by Baron Rosen in vol. i of the *Collections Scientifiques de VInstitut des Langues Orientales* (St Petersburg, 1877), pp. 179—191. Some description of it, based on the extracts published by Baron Rosen, is given at pp. 904—909 of my second article on the Babis. See also p. 3 *supra*, and note 3 thereon.]

[12] *The Book of Names* (كتاب اسما), comprising 361 Names, amongst which is the Name ^l *Musakkin'* ('the Calmer'), incomplete, 2 vols. [The extracts from a *Bibi* MS. in the St Petersburg collection published by Dom in the *Bulletin de l'Academie Imperials de St Petersbourg* of Dec. 22nd, 1864, were pronounced by Şubḥ-i-Ezel, to whose inspection I submitted them, to belong to this work.]

[13] *Writings of the deceased Áká Seyyid Huseyn* [of Yezd], original copy, 2 vols.

[14] *Various Grades* (شئون مختلفه), 1 vol.

[15] *The Book of Figures* (کتاب های اکل), 1 vol.

[See note 1 on p. 42 *supra*, Mirza Kazem-Beg, ii, p. 498, and Gobineau, p. 498, note 1.]

[16] *Sundry* (متفرقه), 1 vol.

[17] *Things appertaining to Jenáb-i-Sheykh-i-'Azím* [Mullá Sheykh 'Alí, see Note T, p. 329 *supra*], 3 vols., together with his effects.

[18] *Copies and originals of writings* (فرع و اصل) (نوشتها), tied up together in four bundles.

[19] *Beyán*, 1 vol. [Concerning the application of this name see below.]

[20] *Prayers* (دعوات), 1 vol.

[21] *Prayers and Visitations* (دعوات و زیارات), 1 vol.

[22] *The Best of Stories* [see No. 11 *supra*], and another *Beyán* which is missing (بیان دیگر که خارج شده است), 2 [vols.].

[23] *The Five Grades* [see No. 4 *supra*], 1 vol.

[24] *Sundry* (متفرقه).

[25] *Another Book*, 1 vol.

“Besides what was destroyed in Persia, some of which never reached [my] hand, and what went to foreign lands and was therefore ignored in [making out the catalogue of] the trust. What was promulgated [by the Báb] at first in Shíráz and other places [included] the *Book of seven hundred Súras* (کتاب هفتصد سوره); the *Book of the Proof* (صحیفه حجتیه sic); the *Book of the two Sanctu-*

aries (صحيفة حرمين); the [Book of] *Justice* (عدليه); the *Prayer of the two alifs* (or, *of the two thousand*, كتاب الفين); *Epistles of the earlier period of the dispensation* (الواح اول), each of which was sent to a different destination; the *Commentary on the 'Bismillāh'* (شرح بسملة); and the *Commentary on* [Sūra ciii of the *Qur'an* beginning] '*Wa'l-'asr*' (see *supra*, p. 11).

"As to what appertained to [i.e. was composed by] the 'Name of the Last' (اسم آخر) [by which title, as Şubĥ-i-Ezel explained elsewhere, Mulla Muhammad 'Alf of Ba>furúsh, called by the Babis *Jenāb-i-Kuddm*, is intended], but little remained in [my] hands. 'All the rest passed into the hands of strangers. Amongst other things the *Commentary on* [the opening chapter of the *Kur'an* entitled **Al-JHamd*,' [the eloquence of] which was beyond the power of man, was entirely destroyed, and no copy remained in [my] possession."

[WRITINGS OF ŞUBĤ-I-EZEL.]

"What appertained to this humble one [i.e. Şubĥ-i-Ezel], apart from that whereof the existence in Persia is unknown [i.e. besides what may exist in Persia unknown to me].

[1] *The Book of Light* (كتاب نور), 1 vol. [See Gobineau, pp. 312—313; B. ii, pp. 939—942; and M. C. Huart's *Note sur trois outrages Babis* in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1887 (sdrrie viii, tome x, pp. 133—144). M. Huart identified the first of the three works which he described with the *Book of Light* mentioned by Gobineau, but did not fail to observe the discrepancy in size between the "assez gros in-folio" of the latter writer and the small volume which was the subject of his own description. The solution of the difficulty appears to be that there are two separate works bearing the same name, both composed by

Şubḥ-i-Ezel. I forwarded an abstract of M. Huart's description of the supposed *Book of Light* to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, who replied as follows :—"The *Book of Light* is by this humble one [i.e. by myself], but there are two *Lights*, a first and a second. If it be the second, it will be worthy of attentive perusal, -and will be a voluminous work. Some of the names of the *sūras* which you wrote are from the *Book of Light*, provided that there be not therein interpolations of enemies, such as my relatives have effected in some cases, inserting their own calumnies in certain epistles; though to him who hath knowledge of God this will be apparent." The *Book of Light* mentioned in this list is, as I ascertained during my sojourn at Famagusta, the larger of the two works bearing this name.]

[2] *The Highest Heaven* (علین), 1 vol. [Of this work Şubḥ-i-Ezel mentioned two copies, one in Persia, and one (the same here mentioned) in the hands of the Behá'ís at Acre.]

[3] *Miscellaneous* (مختلفه), 1 vol.

[4] *The Wakeful, &c.* (مستيقظ), 1 vol. [A copy extant in Persia.]

[5] *Writings of the Scribe* (خطوط كاتب), 2 vols. [By "the Scribe," as subsequently explained by Şubḥ-i-Ezel, Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím of Kázvín is intended. See note 2 on p. 41 *supra*.]

[6] *Tracts, &c., of [the nature of] Visitations* (صحيفه زيارت), 1 large vol.

[7] *Another book, miscellaneous*, 1 vol.

[8] *Commentary on the Kāşida, and other miscellaneous writings* (شرح قصيده و مختلفه), unbound, 1 vol.

[9] [Book of] *Light*, unbound, 1 vol. [The same as No. 1 *supra*.]

[10] *Verses* (آيات), 1 vol.

"Besides what may exist unknown [to me] in other

lands, and entirely apart from [what exists in] the prison of this land. All these books and epistles have disappeared, save what have remained in other countries and the few which remain in this land."

In the letter accompanying this list Şubḥ-i-Ezel wrote as follows concerning the fate of the Bab's works generally and of those above enumerated in particular:—

"As to what you asked concerning the existence of certain epistles, it is even as you have heard, leaving out of account that which from first to last passed into the hands of strangers, whereof no copy was preserved. At the time of the martyrdom [of the Bab] at Tabriz, as they wrote from thence, many of the original writings passed into the hands of persons belonging to the country of your Excellency or to Russia, amongst these being even autograph writings of His Highness the Point [i.e. the Bab]. Search is necessary, for to read the originals is difficult. If this humble one be applied to, copies thereof will be sent. What I myself arranged and copied out while at Baghdad, and what was commanded to be collected of previous and subsequent [writings] until the Day of Martyrdom [of the Bab], was nigh upon thirty volumes of bound books. I myself wrote them with my own hand, and up to the present time I have written many. The originals and copies of these, together with what was in the writing of others, sundry other [books] written in proof of this religion by certain learned friends¹, and what I myself wrote and compiled, amounted to numerous volumes, as [recorded in] the list thereof [which] I have sent. For some years all of these were in a certain place in the hands of a friend as a trust. Afterwards they were deposited in another place³.

¹ In answer to a question as to the nature and authorship of the works here alluded to, Şubḥ-i-Ezel informed me that the Bab declared it to be a meritorious action for each of his followers who was competent thereunto to compose a treatise in defence of the Faith. Many such treatises were accordingly composed by the more learned Babfs, amongst them being one by *Jenab-i-'Azim* (Mulla Sheykh 'Ali), and one called *سبعمانه* ('*The seven hundred*') by *Jenab-i-Tahira* (Kurratu'l-'Ayn).

² One of these depositaries, as I subsequently learned from

Eventually I entrusted them to my own relatives¹, [in whose keeping] they were preserved for a while; for, inasmuch as the friends of this recluse [i.e. myself] had attained unto martyrdom ton-vigli the *equity* and *justice* of the oppressors of (the age, who consider themselves as seekers after truth and just men, there was no resource but that this humble one [i.e. myself] should make his relatives his trustees. So, did this humble one; and whatever [was mine] of books and epistles was [deposited] in their house. The vicissitudes of the world so fell out that these also unsheathed the sword of hatred and wrought what they would. They cruelly put to the sword the remnant of [my] friends who, stood firm², and, making strenuous efforts, got into their hands such of the books of His Highness the Point as were obtainable, with the idea of destroying them, and [thereby] rendering their own works more attractive. They also harried off my trust [i.e. the books above referred to committed to their care], and fell not short in anything which could be effected by foes."

As to the meaning of the word *Beyan*, Subh-i-Ezel writes in another passage of the same letter as follows:—

"But in the *Beyán* different grades (شئون مختلفه) are observed. The *first grade* is like [i.e. in the style of] previous [sacred] books; the *second* [is] of the nature of supplications and prayers (مناجات و دعوات); the *third* [is] the grade of homilies (خطب), wherein he had regard to clearness and eloquence; the *fourth* [comprises] scientific treatises (شئون علمیه), commentaries, and answers to en-

Subh-i-Ezel, was Aká Seyyid Jawád, who died lately at Kirmán. The other was a certain merchant of great wealth whom I cannot more particularly designate.

¹ By his 'relatives' Subh-i-Ezel means his half-brother Behá'u'llah and those of his kindred who followed him. I never heard Subh-i-Ezel allude to Beha'u'llah and his followers by name. When he spoke of them at all (which he did but rarely) it was as his 'relatives,' the *people at Acre,' or the 'Mirza'is.'

² See Note. W *infra*.

quirers; *the fifth* [comprises what is written] in the Persian language, which is [in substance] identical with the aforementioned-grades, *for that all this is watered with one water*."

This statement of what is meant by the term *Beyân* is (with the exception of some slight differences in the arrangement of the 'grades') fully corroborated by the Persian *Beyan*, which, at the beginning of *Vahid* iii, ch. 17, has the following passage:—

مختص این باب آنکه کل آثار نقطه مسمی به بیان
 است ولی این اسم بحقیقه اولیه مختص آیات است و بعد
 در مقام مناجات بحقیقه ثانویه ذکر میشود و بعد در مقام
 تفاسیر بحقیقه ثالثیه و بعد در مقام صور علمیه بحقیقه رابعیه
 و بعد در مقام کلمات فارسیه بحقیقه خامسیه اطلاق میشود
 ولی این اسم مختص آیات است نه غیر او باستحقاق *

"The substance of this chapter is this, that all the writings of the Point [i.e. the Báb] are named *Beyân*, But this name is, in its primary nature, peculiar *fošverses* [Le. verses written in Arabic in the style of the *Kir'a'n*]; then it is uttered in its secondary nature in regard to *supplications*; then in its tertiary nature in regard to *commentaries*; then in its quaternary nature in regard to *scientific treatises*; then in its quinary nature it is used in regard to *Persian words* [i.e. writings and discourses]. But properly speaking this name [of *Beyan*] is peculiar to *verses*, and [is applicable] to nought else."

Again in *Vahid* vi, ch. 1, the following passage occurs:—

اسم بیان بحقیقه اولیه اطلاق بر آیات وحده میگردد زیرا

که اوست حجة عظمی و بینه کبری که دلالت نمیکند الا
 علی الله وحده و در حقیقه ثانویه اطلاق بمناجات
 و در ثالث بتفاسیر و در رابع بکلمات علمیه و در خامس
 بکلمات فارسیه میگردد ولی کل در ظل آیات ذکر
 میگردد اگرچه آن سر فصاحتی که در اول ظاهر
 است در آخر هم منظور¹ است ولی چون کل تواند
 درك نمود ذکر نشده *

"The name *Beyân* is, in its primary nature, applied to *verses* alone, for they are the chiefest proof and greatest argument, which point not save unto God alone. But in its secondary nature it is applied to *supplications*; in its tertiary [nature] to *commentaries*; in its quaternary [nature] to *scientific treatises*; and in its quinary [nature] to *Persian words*. But all [these] are mentioned in the shadow of [i.e. as subsidiary or subordinate to] *verses*, for, although that mysterious eloquence which is apparent in the first [grade] is also observable [or, if we adopt B's reading, *latent*] in the last, yet, since all cannot understand, they [i.e. the lower grades] are not mentioned [as a proof]."

From all this it follows that, although the book generally known as the *Persian Beyan* is a definite work of limited extent, we can no longer employ the term *Arabic Beydn* in an equally definite sense. As Şubḥ-i-Ezel states in another letter, as a rule only those books which were composed by the Bab during the earlier part of his mission received special names, while at a later date all that he uttered¹ or 'revealed' was named collectively *Beyan* ('Utterance*' or 'Revelation'). Some of these 'utterances' (such as the

¹ B reads *منور*.

'verses [recited by the Báb before his judges at Tabriz, concerning which see Gobineau, pp. 261—262) can hardly have been preserved at all, much less were all ever collected into a single work, though, according to Şubh[^]i-Ezel, a selection in nineteen volumes was compiled, or ordered to be compiled, during the Bab's lifetime. Gobineau, with his usual acumen, appears to have clearly apprehended this peculiar and elastic use of the term *Beyân*, for he says (p. 311):—"Le mot *Biyyan*, une fois employé par le Bab, lui parut convenir tres-bien pour designer la sphere d'idees dans laquelle sa pensee se mouvait, et il le donna des lors pour titre a tout ce qu'il composa." When, therefore, he speaks of "a *Beyan* written in Persian, which is not the commentary on the first *Beyan* written in Arabic," and of "a third *Beyan*, likewise composed by the first Bab," he apparently intends merely to signalize certain specially noteworthy parts of that almost limitless mass of religious literature emanating from the Bab which is known collectively as the *Beyân*.

From what has been said it is evident that the short list of the Bab's works which I gave at the end of my second article on the Babis in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889 (pp. 1000—1002) requires much alteration both in the way of correction and extension. The sum total of the Bab's writings would appear, both from the Persian *Beyân* and from the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, to have been enormous; and, though much of this mass of literature perished, much is still preserved in Persia and elsewhere in the East. Quite recently I received from Şubh-i-Ezel MSS. of the *Commentary on the Şûratul-aşr*, (see *supra*, p. 11, and B. ii, p. 912) and the *Commentary on the Suratul-Bakara* (see B. ii, pp. 902—903, 912), which had been brought from Persia to Cyprus during the present year (1890). Of the genuineness of these MSS. I entertain no doubt. Four other MSS. of different works composed by the Bab (amongst which are included the Commentaries on the Suras called *Kawthar* and *Yûsuf*) were brought to Cyprus at the same time, but of these I have not yet obtained copies¹. Of the *Şura-i-*

¹ Since writing the above I have received two of these four MSS. One of them is the commentary on the *Şratul-Kawthar*

Yūsuf at least two copies are preserved in Europe, one (numbered Or. 3539) in the British Museum, and one (fully described by Baron Rosen at pp. 179—191 of vol. i of the *Collections Scientifiques &c.*) at St. Petersburg.

NOTE V.

TEXTS FROM THE PERSIAN BEYAN ILLUSTRATING THE BĀB'S
VIEW OF HIS RELATION TO 'HIM WHOM GOD SHALL
MANIFEST/

- (i) The whole Beyan revolves round the saying of
* Him whom God shall manifest.'
[*Vahid iii, ch 3.*]

الباب الثالث من الواحد الثالث في ان البيان و من فيه
طائف¹ في حول قول من يظهره الله بمثل ما كان الالف
و من فيه طائف في حول² قول محمد رسول الله و ما
نزل الله [عليه]³ في اولاه⁴ و من فيه طائف في حول قوله
حين ظهور اخره ملخص اين باب انكه مد نظر بيان
نست الا بسوى من يظهره الله زيرا كه غير او واقع⁵ او

above mentioned. It contains 227 pages, and is dated Zi'l-Hijjé 4th, A.H. 1296 (Nov. 19, A.D. 1879). The other, a much larger work, is named by Şubḥ-i-Ezel "*Commentary on the Names*" (تفسير الاسماء).

¹ B omits.

² B omits.

³ Omitted in my own MS. and B, but supplied from the portion of the text published by Baron Rosen (*MSS. Persana*, p. 14).

⁴ B reads اولاه.

⁵ B reads واقع.

بوده و نیست چنانچه منزل¹ او² غیر او نبوده و نیست و بیان
و مومنین به بیان مشتاقترند بسوی او از اشتیاق هر حبیبی
بمحبوب خود ❁

"The third chapter of the third Vahid. Concerning this, that the Beyan and whosoever is therein revolve round the saying of Him whom God shall manifest, even as the Alif[i.e. the Gospel, Injil] and whosoever was therein revolved round the saying of Muḥammad the Apostle of God, and as that which God revealed unto him at first and whosoever was therein revolved round that which he said at the period of his later manifestation. The quintessence of this chapter is this, that the gaze of the Beyán is not extended save towards Him whom God shall manifest, for none but He hath raised or doth raise it up, even as none but He hath sent or doth send it down. And the Beyán and such as are believers therein yearn more after Him than the yearning of any lover after his beloved."

- (ii) A thousand perusals of the Beyan are not equal to the perusal of one verse of what shall be revealed by 'Him whom God shall manifest/
[Vahid v, ch. 8.]

قسم بذات اقدس الهی عز و جل³ که در یوم ظهور
من یظهره الله اگر کسی يك آیه را⁴ از او شنود و تلاوت
کند بهتر است از آنکه هزار مرتبه بیان را تلاوت
کند ❁

¹ B reads منزل.

² B omits.

³ B reads عز و جل.

⁴ B reads آیه.

"I swear by the Most Holy Essence of God (Glorious and Splendid is He !) that in the day of the manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest if one should hear a single verse from Him and recite it, it is better than that he should recite the Bey&n a thousand times."

[The same assertion is repeated in slightly different words in *Vdhid vi, ch. 6.*]

- (iii) The Beyan is to day in the stage of seed, but in the day of 'Him whom God shall manifest' it will arrive at the degree of fruition.

[*Vahid ii, ch. 7.* The passage referred to will be found in Note C at pp. 224—225].

- (iv) All the splendour of the Beyan is 'He whom God shall manifest,'[*Vahid iii, ch. 14.1*

کَلِّ بَهَاءِ بِيَانِ مِنْ يَظْهَرُهُ اللهُ اسْتِ كَلِّ رَحْمَتِ از
 راي کسيکه ايمان¹ آورد و کَلِّ نَقْمَتِ از براي کسيکه
 ايمان باو نياورد ❁

"All the splendour [*Beha*] of the Beyan is He whom God shall manifest. All mercy be on him who believeth, and all chastisement on him who believeth not in Him."

NOTE W.

MIRZA YAḤYA "ŞUBḤ-I-EZEL."

After the Bab himself, Beh&'u'll&h and Şubḥ-i-Ezel are without doubt the most important figures in the history of Babfism. To the words and deeds of the former a large

¹ B inserts ..

portion of the present work is devoted, while the latter, when mentioned, is spoken of slightly as a mere "man of straw." One whose knowledge of Babi history should be limited to the account given in this *Travellers Narrative* would, therefore, by no means properly apprehend the importance of the part actually played by ŞubḤ-i-Ezel. In my opinion it is proved beyond all doubt that the Bab ere his death chose him as his successor, duly appointing him as such by the form of words which I published at pp. 996—997 of my second paper on the Babis in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, and that during the period which elapsed from the Bab's death till the advancement of Beh&VIMh's claim to be "He whom God shall manifest" (i.e. from 1850 to 1864 at any rate) he was recognized by all the Babis as their spiritual chief. Even now the number of his followers, though small in comparison to that of the Beha'is, is considerable; and since, in addition to all this, the old Babi doctrines and traditions, which have undergone considerable modification at the hands of Beha'ullah, are preserved intact by SubḤ-i-Ezel, I have considered it incumbent on me to embody in a separate note all the more important facts relating to him which I have been able to ascertain, together with a complete account of the Babis exiled to Cyprus based on the most authentic documents.

The sources from which my information is derived are, broadly speaking, four in number, as follows :—

(1) Letters received from ŞubḤ-i-Ezel himself between August 1889 and the present time, the correspondence still continuing. In only one or two of these letters, however, does he speak of his own adventures and circumstances with any approach to freedom.

(2) Conversations between Captain Young or myself on the one hand and ŞubḤ-i-Ezel or his sons on the other. In the numerous and protracted interviews which I had with ŞubḤ-i-Ezel between March 22nd and April 4th, 1890, I was able to recur for my own satisfaction to almost every point which the preliminary enquiries kindly undertaken by Captain Young had first elicited.

(3) Official documents relative to the exiles preserved in the archives of the Cyprus government. Sir Henry Bulwer, with a kindness and courtesy for which I cannot

sufficiently express my gratitude, permitted me freely to inspect and copy all the more important of these documents, and, with one exception, to make use of the information therein contained, as has been set forth in detail in the Introduction.

(4) A bulky MS. of a hitherto unknown Ezeli controversial work entitled *Hasht Bihisht* ("The Eight Paradises"), which I was fortunate enough to obtain a few days ago (February 2nd, 1891) from a learned Ezeli resident in Constantinople. The whole of this work is not at present in my possession, 10 fasciculi (160 pp.) out of the middle having unfortunately fallen into the hands of the Philistines after they had been written out by the scribe. The original MS. is, however, in safe keeping, and in the course of a month or two I hope to receive a fresh transcript of the missing portion, which extends from p. 128 to p. 329 inclusive. The whole work contains nearly 450 pp., and deals chiefly with the philosophical basis of Bábism, its superiority to other religions, and the proofs of its divine origin; but a great deal of information is also given about the history, especially the later history, of the movement. The account given of the schism which separated the Beha'is from the Ezelis is, especially when taken in conjunction with the version given in this present work, extremely instructive; and the polemical portion, wherein the claims of Beha are attacked, and those of Subh-i-Ezel defended, is full of interest. At some future date I hope to give a fuller notice of this valuable work, but for the present I must needs content myself with extracting from it the chief facts recorded concerning the life of Subh-i-Ezel.

How best to deal with the information scattered through these numerous documents, notes, and letters in a manner which shall combine reasonable brevity with sufficient fullness is a matter which has cost me considerable thought. The plan which I have finally decided to follow is to give *firstly*, a full and literal translation of a short section of the *Hasht Bihisht* entitled *Sharh-i-hal-i-Hazrat-i-Thamara-i-*

¹ The fresh transcript of the missing portion reached me on March 23rd, 1891.

Beyan ("Elucidation of the circumstances of His Highness the Fruit of the *Beyan*"); *secondly*, a brief abstract of the account given in the same work of the origin and progress of the schism; *thirdly*, an epitome of the information derived directly from Şubḥ-i-Ēzel, either by letter or in conversation; and *lastly*, a *resumé* of the official documents preserved in the archives of the Cyprus government.

I. Translation from *Hasht-Bihisht*.

"Now during the two last years [of the Báb's mission], when the five years' cycle¹ of the 'Minor Resurrection*' had come to an end, the manifestation of His Highness the Eternal (*Hazrat-i-Ezel*) took place. And he, being then nineteen years of age, appeared in the hamlet of Takúr in [the district of] Nur of Mazandaran, and began with untaught tongue (*lisan-i-ummi*) to utter the Innate Word (*kalima-i-zdti*) and spontaneous verses (*ayat-i-fitri*). When the first letter from him was conveyed by means of Mirza 'Ali Sayyah to His Highness the Point [i.e. the Báb], the latter instantly prostrated himself to the earth in thankfulness, saying, 'Blessed be God for this mighty Luminary which hath dawned and this noble Spathe which hath arisen in the night², 'testifying of him that he spoke spontaneously and by the Self-Shining Light, which is the Innate Word, the Natural Reason (*'akl-i-fitra*), the Holy Spirit, the Immediate Knowledge (*'ilm-i-ladum*), the Suffi-

¹ A passage in the *Dala'il-i-safra* ("Seven Proofs"), to which I referred at p. 913 of my second paper on the Babis in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, affords confirmatory evidence of what is here alleged concerning the date of Şubḥ-i-Ezel's first appearance. This passage runs as follows:

پنجمین دینمائی بر اینکه ظهور موعود منظار : همان ظهور حقیقت مشول عنه است که در حدیث کمال دیده در سنه اول کشف سیاحت الجلال من غیر اشاره در ثانی دعوی الموهوم و صحو المعلوم و در ثالث هتک السر لطلبة السر و در رابع جذب الاحدیة بصفة التوحید بین و در خامس نور اشرق من صبا الازل را خولعی بد اکر خود هارب نشوی و مضطرب نکردی *

² تبارک الله من ذلك الشرق المتشارك العظيم و الطلع المنطالع اکرم

cing Light (*nūr-i-mustakfi*), or, after another manner of speech, by Inspiration (*wahy*), Revelation (*tanzil*), and Illumination (*farḍdb ū far tāb*).

" At this time His Highness the Point was imprisoned on the mountain of Mākū, and he therefore sent the writings of His Highness the Eternal for each of the Letters of the Living and the chief believers, testifying to his [i.e. *Hazrat* or *Subh-i-Ezel*' s] innate capacity (*fiṭrat*), and calling him by the names of 'Fruit of the Bey'an' (*Thamara-i-Beyan*), 'Morning of Eternity' (*Subh-i-Ezel*), 'Countenance' (*Wajh*), 'Splendour of God' (*Beḡtau'lldh*), 'Mirror*' (*Mir'at*), 'Crystal' (*Bellur*), 'Essence of Sweet Perfume' (*Jawhar-i-Kafur*)¹, 'Sun of Eternity' (*Shams-i-Ezel*), 'Second Point' (*Nukta-i-thani*), 'One' (*Wahid*)², 'the Living, the Speaking' (*Hayy*³-*i-Natik*), and sundry other titles. Having designated *Hazrat-i-Ezel* as his successor, he made over to him generally and particularly all the affairs of the *Beyān*, even transferring to him the [right of] disclosing the eight 'paths' (*manhaj*) of the [Seyānic ordinances]⁴ which had [hitherto] remained con-

¹ Cf. Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Book i, part vii, p. 2622, col. 3, s. v. *jlf*, and *Kur'ān*, lxxvi, 5. For an instance of the employment of this expression (which occurs repeatedly in the Bab's writings), see Mirza Kazem-Beg's last article on the Babis in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866 (sixieme serie, vol. viii) p. 501, last line.

² The numerical equivalent of *Wahid* (28) is the same as that of *Yahya*. [See my second paper on the Bābīs in the *J. R. A. S.* for 18*89, pp. 996—997.]

³ Concerning the sacred nature of the word *حي*, see Gobineau, p. 320. *Subh-i-Ezel*'s name *Yahya* not only contains the root *hayy* (indeed by merely altering the vowel-points it becomes *Yuhyi*, "he quickens," or "gives life"), but is also, as has just been pointed out, numerically equivalent to *Wahid* "One," another word of singular virtue.

⁴ By these 'eight paths' of the *Bey ān* are evidently intended the unrevealed *Vahids*. Gobineau, whose penetration suffered nothing to escape him, has not failed to notice that the *Beyan*—or rather *Beyans*, for, as has been pointed out, there are several—are purposely left incomplete. I cannot do better than quote his own words (p. 332):—"Le Biyyan etant le livre divin par excellence, doit necessairement etre constitue' sur le nombre divin,

cealed within the Divine Volition (whereon their disclosure depended), in case the time should demand this.

" In short, during the two last years [of the Bab's life and mission] all that emanated from the Supreme Pen bore reference to His Highness the Fruit [of the Beyan], whom he [i.e. the Bab] recommended to all the people of the Beyan, saying that should they bring sorrow, even to the extent of the mention of aught, on his holy heart, all their good works and devotions would become as scattered dust. Of the words of His Highness the Point [i.e. the Bab] still extant at the present day, what bears reference to the Fruit [of the Beydn, i.e. Subh-i-Ezel] exceeds 20,000 verses, not counting what has disappeared. And for ten years after [the death of] His Highness the Point all the people of the Beyan were unanimous and agreed as to the bestowal of the successorship on His Highness the Eternal [i.e. Subh-i-Ezel]. And he abode for more than two years in Tehéran and Shimiran, whence he departed into Mazandaran, whence again (because men had been stirred up on behalf of the government to seek him out) he set out disguised in the garb of a dervish for Hamadan and Kirmanshahan¹. Thence he proceeded to the Abode of Peace of Baghdad², and in reference to this the 'Tongue of the Unseen' [i.e. the poet Hafiz] says :—

c'est-à-dire sur le nombre 19. Il est donc compost, en principe, de 19 unites ou divisions principales, qui, à leur tour, se subdivisent chacune en 19 paragraphes. Mais le Bâb n'a écrit que onze de ces unités, et il a laissé huit autres au véritable et grand BeVelateur, à celui qui complètera la doctrine, et à regard duquel le Bab n'est autre chose que ce qu'dtait saint Jean-Baptiste devant Notre-Seigneur."

¹ Cf. pp. 51—52 *supra*.

² *Darus-salam* ("the Abode of Peace") is the official title of Baghdad, just as Teherân is called *Daru'l-khildfat* ("the Abode of the Caliphate"), Isfahân *Daru'ssaltanat* ("the Abode of the Sovereignty"), Shfrdz *Daru'l-'ilm* ("the Abode of Knowledge"), Yezd *Daru'l-ibadat* ("the Abode of Worship"), Kirman *Daru'l aman* ("the Abode of Security"), and the like. The Babis, so prone to regard such coincidences, attach great importance to this title of Baghdad (which for eleven or twelve years was their head-quarters and rallying-point and the home of their chiefs),

and quote as prophetic *Kur'ân* vi, 127 :— **و لهم دار السلام عند ربهم و هو**

{Couplet}

'Baghdad shall be filled with tumult; one with lips like
sugar shall appear;
I fear lest the disturbance of his lips may cast Shiraz into
confusion¹/

"At this juncture Mirza Huseyn 'Ali [i.e. Beha'u'llah],
the elder brother of His Highness [Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel], came to
Baghdad with two other brothers and several of the
believers, and these gathered round that Most Mighty
Light, who, in accordance with instructions which His
Highness the Point of Revelation [i.e. the Báb] had given
him, passed his nights and days behind the curtains of
seclusion apart from believers and others—

(Couplet)

'Behind a veil sits that moon-browed beauty;
He has rent asunder the veils of the world, yet sits behind
a veil'—

and none approached him save his brothers and certain
favoured followers. But from behind that veil issued forth
letters, epistles (*alwah*), and books [written] in reply to
men's questions and petitions."

Here ends that section of the *Hasht Bihisht* which I
deemed it desirable to translate in full. It is followed by a
section entitled *Sharh-i-hal-i-ijl u Samiri* ("Elucidation
of the circumstances of the Calf and Samiri")⁸, which in

وَلَهُمْ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ ("Theirs is an Abode of Peace beside their
Lord, and He is their Protector by reason of that which they
have done").

¹ This verse I have generally heard somewhat differently
quoted; see B. ii, pp. 993—994 and note 2 at foot of former page.
My MS. of the *Hasht Bihisht* puts "*Ahwáz*" in the margin as an
alternative reading for "*Shiraz*." The couplet is not to be found
in the Diván of Háfiz—at least in any of the copies which I have
seen.

² Allusion is made to the Golden Calf which the Children of
Israel were misled by Sámiri into worshipping. (See Kur'án, vii,
146; xx, 87, *et seq.*; and numerous other passages.) By "*the
Calf*" the Ezeli controversialist, of course, means Beha'u'llah (or,

turn is succeeded by another entitled *Sharh-i-hal-i-Jitne-i-saylam* ("Elucidation of the Direful Mischief"), by which is meant the secession (according to the Ezeli view) of Behá and his followers. These sections occupy many pages, are of a violently polemical character, and contain grave charges against the Behá'is and vehement attacks on their position and doctrines. The gist of their contents is given in the following abstract.

II. *Abstract from Hasht Bihiskt.*

Subh-i-Ezel having retired into a seclusion inviolable save to a chosen few, his elder brother Mirza' Huseyn 'Ali [BeháVIIáh] found the practical direction of affairs in his own hands. Now he was a man who from his youth upwards had associated and mixed with men of every class, whereby he had acquired a certain "breadth of disposition" (*wus'at-i-mashrab*) and "religious pliability" (*rakhawat-i-maz-hab*) which attracted round him men of like mind, to whom some slackening of the severer code of the Beyán was not unwelcome. Certain of the old school of Bábis, such as Mullá Muḥammad Ja'far of Niráq, Mullá Rajab 'Alf "*Kahir*", Hájí Seyyid Muḥammad of Isfahán¹, Hájí Seyyid Jawad of Kerbela, Hájí Mirza *Ahmad-i-Katib*², the *Mutawalli-bashi* (Chief Custodian of the Shrine) of Kum, Hájí Mirzá Muḥammad Rízá, and others, perceiving this tendency to innovation and relaxation, remonstrated so vigorously with Mirzá Huseyn 'Ali that he left Baghdad in

as he calls him throughout, Mirza Huseyn 'Ali), and by '*Samiri*'? Aka Mirza" Aka Jan (abusively designated as the "scald-headed soap-seller of 'Kashan"), to whom he attributes a *role* similar to that wherewith Seyyid Muhammad of Isfahan is credited by the Behá'is at pp. 93—98 of the present work. Concerning *Aki* Mirza Áka Jan (called by the Behá'is *Jenab-i-Khadimu 'llah*, "His Excellency the Servant of God") see Introduction, and also B. i. p. 519.

¹ See pp. 93—98 *supra*.

² Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karim of Kazvin is generally designated by this title (see *supra*, pp. 41—42, and footnote to former), but, as he was killed at Teherdn in 1852, either this must be a mistake, or some other person bearing the same name must be intended.

wrath and went towards Suleymd-niyyd, in the neighbourhood of which he abode amongst the Kurds for nearly two years¹. During all this period his whereabouts was unknown to the Babis at Baghdad. When at length it became known, Şubḥ-i-Ezel wrote a letter to him inviting him to return.

About this time Mirza Asadu'llah entitled "*Deyyan*"² (one of the second group of "Letters of the Living" or "Second Unity"), called by the author of the *Hasht Bihisht* "the Judas Iscariot of this people," who had been appointed by the Bab amanuensis to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, and who was learned in the Hebrew and Syriac languages, declared himself to be "He whom God shall manifest"; and one Mirza Ibrahim forthwith believed in him. Mirza Huseyn 'Ali [Beha'u'llah], after a protracted discussion with him, instructed his servant Mirza Muḥammad of Mazandaran to slay him, which was accordingly done. Shortly after this, Mirza 'Abdu'llah called *Ghawgha* ["Conflict"] advanced the very same claim; and he in turn was followed by Huseyn of Milan, commonly known as "Huseyn Jan," who made the same pretension in Teherān³. The matter did not end even here, for these pretenders were followed by Seyyid Huseyn of Isfahan⁴, and Mirza Muhammad "*Nabil*" of Zarand, called "the tongue-tied" (*akkras*)⁵;

¹ Of. pp. 64—65 *supra*, and verse 6 of Nabfl's chronological poem at pp. 983 and 987 of my second paper on the Babis in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889. Şubḥ-i-Ezel also mentioned that Beha'u'llah withdrew for some while from Baghdad because he "got angry" (*kaḥr hard*).

² See Gobineau, pp. 277—278. The passage is quoted in full on p. 365 *infra*.

See *supra*, pp. 330—331. If Huseyn of Milan was killed at Teherān in 1852, it is evident that whatever claim he advanced was long anterior to this period, for, according to Nabil's chronological poem (B. ii, pp. 983—984 and 987, verses 6 and 7), Beha'u'llāh was 40 years old when he returned from Kurdistan to Baghdad, which, as he was born in A. H. 1233, must have been in A. H. 1273 (= A. D. 1856—7).

⁴ Or of Hindiyan. See p. 331 *supra*, and cf. Gobineau, p. 278.

⁵ The same Nabfl who is now at Acre, and who wrote the chronological poem referred to in the last footnote but one. Some poems attributed to him and written apparently during the

until, to quote *verbatim* from the *Hasht Bihisht*, "the matter came to such a pass that everyone on awakening from his first sleep in the morning adorned his body with this pretension."

Now when Mfrzd Huseyn 'Ali beheld matters in this disordered state, he bethought himself of advancing the same claim himself (considering that from the prominent position which he had long held as practical director of affairs, he stood a better chance of success than any previous claimant), and in this idea he was greatly encouraged by Aka Mfrzd Aka Jan of Kashan. Little by little his resolution took more definite shape, and he fell to thinking how he might compass the destruction of such of the Babis as were likely to oppose his contemplated action.

About this time the Muhammadan clergy of Baghdad, Kerbela, and Nejef began to complain loudly because of the large number of Babis who continued to flock thither from Persia, and the Persian Government accordingly instructed Mirza Huseyn Khan *Mushirud-dawla*, its representative at the court of the Ottoman Sultan, to petition the Turkish authorities for the removal of the Babis to some part of their dominions remote from the Persian frontier¹. To this request the Turkish authorities, anxious to put a stop to the quarrels which were continually arising between the Babis and Muhammadans, acceded. The Babis were summoned to Constantinople; whence, four months after their arrival, they were sent to Adrianople. On their arrival in that city, Mirza Huseyn *Ali, still instigated and

period of his claim are in my possession. In one of them the following verse occurs :—

شجر مرفوع جان من ثمر نهان و عیان من

ملك الملوك بهان من و بی البان فقد علا

"I am the uplifted Tree of Life ; I am the hidden and apparent Fruit;

I am the King of Kings of the Beyan, and by me is the Beyan exalted."

¹ Cf. pp. 82—89 *supra*.

encouraged by Aka Mirza Aka Jan, gradually made public his claim to be, not only "He whom God shall manifest," but an Incarnation of the Deity Himself, and began to send letters and epistles in all directions. And now, according to the Ezelf historian, began a series of assassinations on the part of the Beha'is. All prominent supporters of Subh-i-Ezel who withstood Mirza Huseyn 'Ali's claim were marked out for death, and in Baghdad Mulla Rajab 'Ali "*Kahir*" and his brother, Haji Mirza Ahmad, Haji Mirza Muhammad Rizá, and several others fell one by one by the knife or bullet of the assassin¹. But the author of the *Hasht Bihisht* brings a yet graver charge against Mirza Huseyn 'Ali, and asserts that he caused poison to be placed in one side of a dish of food which was to be set before himself and Subh-i-Ezel, giving instructions that the poisoned side was to be turned towards his brother. As it happened, however, the food had been flavoured with onions, and Subh-i-Ezel, disliking this flavour, refused to partake of the dish. Mirza Huseyn 'Ali, fancying that his brother suspected his design, ate some of the food from his side of the plate; but, the poison having diffused itself to some extent through the whole mass, he was presently attacked with vomiting and other symptoms of poisoning. Thereupon he assembled his own followers and intimates, and declared that Subh-i-Ezel had attempted to poison him².

Shortly after this, according to the Ezelf writer, another plot was laid against Subh-i-Ezel's life, and it was arranged that Muhammad 'Ali the barber should cut his throat while shaving him in the bath. On the approach of the barber, however, Subh-i-Ezel divined his design, refused to allow him to come near, and, on leaving the bath, instantly

¹ Cf. B. i, p. 517, and B. ii, pp. 995—6.

² The Behá's reverse this story as well as the following in every particular, declaring that Mirza Yahya Subh-i-Ezel attempted to poison Mirza Huseyn 'Ali *Bekd'úlldh*, and after his failure spread abroad the report that the attempt had been made on himself. Behá'u'lláh's version will be found in the *S&ra-i-Heykal* at pp. 154—155 of Baron V. Rosen's forthcoming work. The text and translation of this passage, which Baron Rosen has most kindly permitted me to copy from the proof-sheets of his still unpublished work, will be found a few pages further on.

took another lodging in Adrianople and separated himself entirely from Mirzâ Huseyn 'Ali and his followers.

Some while after this, says the author of the *Hasht Bihisht*, Mirza Huseyn 'Ali devised a new stratagem. A number of letters were written in different handwritings by Aka Mirza Aka Jan, Mushkin Kalam, 'Abds Efendi, and other partisans of Mirzâ Huseyn 'Ali to sundry Turkish statesmen and officials to the following effect:—"About thirty thousand of us Babis are concealed in disguise in and around Constantinople, and in a short while we shall rise. We shall first capture Constantinople, and, if Sultân 'Abdu'l-'Aziz and his ministers do not believe [in our religion], we shall depose and dismiss them from their rule and administration. And our King is Mirza Yahya *Subh-i-Ezel*!" These letters were left by night at the Suitan's palace and the houses of the different ministers by Mushkin Kalam and other partisans of Mirzâ Huseyn 'Ali resident in Constantinople. When next day these letters were discovered, the Turkish Government, which had treated the Bábis with kindness, and afforded them shelter and hospitality, was naturally greatly incensed. The letters were forthwith laid before the Persian Ambassador, and, at a joint assembly of Turkish and Persian officials, it was decided to exile the Bábí chiefs to some remote island or fortress on the coast¹.

Meanwhile Háji Seyyid Muhammad of Isfahan, a philosopher of note, and Aka Jan Bey, nicknamed *Kaj-kulah* ("Skew-cap")², who held the rank of lieutenant-colonel (*kâ'im-makdm*) in the Turkish army, discovered how matters stood, and made known to the Ottoman authorities the hostility which existed between the two brothers at Adrianople. The only good result which followed from their intervention was that it was decided by the Turkish government to exile Mirzâ Yahya *Subh-i-Ezel* and Mirzâ Huseyn 'Ali *Behâ'ullâh* not to the same but to two different places; the former was ordered to be sent with his

¹ Cf. the Behâ'i account of the events which led to the removal of the Bábí chiefs from Adrianople at pp. 98—99 *supra*, and *Subh-i-Ezel*'s account in note 1 at the foot of the latter page.

² See B. i, p. 517, and note 1 at foot of p. 99 *supra*.

family and four of Beha'u'llah's followers, to wit Mushkin-
 Kalam¹, Mirzá 'Ali Sayyāh, [Muḥammad] Bākīr, and
 'Abdu'l-Ghafār, to Famagusta [Mdghūsa] in Cyprus; the
 latter, with his family, about 80 of his adherents, and four
 of 'Abū-i-Ezel's followers, to wit Hájī Seyyid Muḥammad
 of Isfahán, Aḳá Ján Bey, Mirzá Bizá-Kuli of Tafrish, and
 his brother Aka Mirza Nasru'llah, to Acre [Akka] in
 Syria. Before the transfer was actually effected, hōwēver,
 Mirzá Naṣru'lláh was poisoned by Mirzá Ḥuseyn 'Ali at
 Adrianoplè. The other three Ezelis were assassinated
 shortly after their arrival at Acre in a house which they
 occupied near the barracks, the assassins being 'Abdu'l-
 Karīm, Muḥammad 'Ali the barber, Ḥuseyn the water-
 carrier, and Muḥammad Jawād of Kazvin.

After remarking that Adrianople is called " the Land of
 the Mystery " (ارض سر)² because therein took place the
 separation between the Light and the Fire, the People of
 the Right Hand and the People of the Left Hand, the Good
 and the Evil, the True and the False, the Ezeli historian
 proceeds to describe, with much censure and animadversion,
 the propaganda by letters and missionaries set on foot
 throughout Persia by Mirzá Ḥuseyn 'Ali, the extravagant
 claims advanced by him, and the high-sounding titles
 conferred on his wives, sons, and chief followers. Amongst
 the titles so conferred are enumerated the following:—
 (on his wives) *Mahd-i-'Ulya* ("the Supreme Cradle"—a
 title reserved for the Queen-mother in Persia); *Warāka-i*
'Ulya ("the Supreme Leaf"); (on his sons) *Ghūm-i-*
A'zam ("the Most Mighty Branch"); *Ghūsn-i-Akbar**
 ("the Most Great Branch"); *Ghūsn-i-Aṭ-har* ("the Most
 Pure Branch"); (on Aḳá Mirzá Aḳá Ján of Káshán)
Avvalu man dmana ("the First to believe") and *Jenáb-*

¹ See B. i, p. 516, and B. ii, p. 994. Fuller particulars concerning all of these will be found at the end of this Note.

² Moreover the sum of the letters in the word سر (Mystery) is the same as in the word ادرنه (Adrianople), viz, 260.

³ See B. i, p. 518.

i-Khdimu'llah ("His Excellency the Servant of God")¹; (on others of his followers) *Mushkin-i-Ilahi* ("Divinely Fragrant"); *Zeynul-Mukarrabin** ("the Ornament of the Favoured"); *Ghuldmu'l-Khuld* ("the Servant of Paradise"); *Jabr'îl-i-Amin* ("Gabriel the Trusty"); *Kannâdûş-Samaddniyyat* ("the Confectioner of the Divine Eternity"); *Khabbdzu I- Wahidiyyat* ("the Baker of the Divine Unity"); *BaMfott-Hakikat* ("the Barber of the Truth"); *Malldhu'l-Kuds* ("the Sailor of Sanctity"); and the like. .

The author of the *Hasht Bihisht*, after indulging in a good deal of strong invective, garnished with many allusions to Pharaoh, the Golden Calf, and Samiri, brings forward further charges against the Beha'is. Certain persons, he says, who had at first been inclined to follow *Mirza Huseyn 'Ali*, subsequently withdrew and separated themselves from him. Some of these, such as Áka 'Abdu'l-Ahad, Áka Muhammad 'Ali of Isfahan, Haji Áki of Tabriz, and the son of Haji Fattah, fled from Acre; but the *Khayyat-bashi* (chief tailor) and Haji Ibrahim were assassinated in the Caravansaray of the corn-sellers (*Khan-i-gandum-firushdii*) and buried in quick-lime under the platform, which was duly mortared up over their bodies. After a while, however, the smell of the decomposing corpses became so offensive that the other inhabitants of the caravansaray complained to the local authorities, who instituted a search and discovered the bodies. Without mentioning what further action was taken by the Turkish government in the matter (a point certainly demanding elucidation, for we cannot suppose that, if what the Ezelf historian relates be true, they took no action at all to punish the murderers) the author proceeds with his indictment. Haji Ja'far, says he, had a claim of 1200 pounds against *Mirza Huseyn 'Ali*, and demanded the payment of this debt with some violence and importunity. *Mirza Áka Jan* of Kashan thereupon instructed one 'All of Kazvin to slay the old man and throw his body out of the window of the upper room which

¹ See Introduction, and B. i, p. 519.

² The writer of the MS. from which the fac-simile forming vol. i of the present work is taken. See Note Z, *infra*.

he occupied into the courtyard of the caravansaray. It was then put about that he had "cast himself out and died, yielding up his life to the Beloved." Another disappointed creditor, a native of Khurasan, is said to have gone mad in Acre from chagrin and deferred hope. Other assassinations in other places are alleged, the following being specially notified:—Akd, Seyyid 'Ali the Arab, one of the original "Letters of the Living," was killed in Tabriz by Mirza Mustafa of Nirak and Sheykh [name omitted] of Khurasan; Mulla Rajab 'Ali *Ḳahir*, also one of the "Letters," was killed at Kerbela by Nasir the Arab; his brother Aka 'Ali Muḥammad was killed in Baghdad by 'Abdu'l-Karim; and, in short, if we are to believe the Ezeli writer, most of the more prominent Babis who withstood Mirzd Huseyn 'Ali's pretensions were sought out and slain wherever they chanced to be, amongst these being Haji Áka of Tabriz.

The indictment does not stop here. Amongst those who had at first inclined to follow *Mirza* Huseyn 'Ali was, according to the *Hasht Bihisht*, a merchant named Áka Muḥammad 'Ali of Isfahan, who at this time resided in Constantinople. Owing to certain discoveries which he had made, however, his faith had undergone considerable abatement, and signs of coolness had been observed in him. *Mirzi* Abti'l-Kasim the Bakhtiyari robber was consequently despatched from Acre with instructions to "bleed that block of heedlessness whose blood is in excess." On his arrival in Constantinople he took up his lodging with the unsuspecting merchant in the *Khan-i-Sharki*. Here he remained till one day he found opportunity to break open his host's private safe and abstract therefrom £350. A part of this sum he retained for himself; with the remainder he bought clothes, stuffs, and other goods which he sent to Acre. In return for this service he received the following epistle:—"O phlebotomist of the Divine Unity! Throb like the artery in the body of the Contingent World, and drink of the blood of the 'Block of Heedlessness' for that he turned aside from the aspect of thy Lord the Merciful!" Here

¹ The original text of this epistle stands as follows in the *Hasht Bihisht*:—

ends the list of charges alleged against the Beha'is by the Ezelis, and what follows is of a purely controversial nature, consisting of refutations of the claims advanced by Mirza Huseyn 'Ali *Behau'llah*, and arguments to prove the rights of Mirzâ Yahyâ *Şubh-i-EzeL*. This controversial portion, interesting as it is, I am forced to omit here for lack of space.

It is with great reluctance that I have set down the grave accusations brought by the author of the *Hasht Bihisht* against the Beha'fs. It seemed to me a kind of ingratitude even to repeat such charges against those from whom I myself have experienced nothing but kindness, and in most of whom the outward signs of virtue and disinterested benevolence were apparent in a high degree. Yet no feeling of personal gratitude or friendship can justify the historian (whose sole desire should be to sift and assort all statements with a view to eliciting the truth) in the suppression of any important document which may throw light on the object of his study. Such an action would be worse than ingratitude; it would be treason to Truth. These charges are either true or false. If they be true (which I ardently hope is not the case) our whole view of the tendencies and probable influences of Behá's teaching must necessarily be greatly modified, for of what use are the noblest and most humane utterances if they be associated with deeds such as are here alleged? If, on the other hand, they be false, further investigation will without doubt conclusively prove their falsity, and make it impossible that their shadow should hereafter darken the page of Bábi history. In either case it is of the utmost importance that they should be confronted, and, to this end, that they should be fully stated. Inasmuch as the *Hasht Bihisht* only fell into my hands as I was beginning to write this note, and as several of the charges alleged in it against the Beh&fs are new to me, I regret that I cannot at present offer any important evidence either for their support or

ان با فساد الاحدية سكن نباحاً كما اشبهان في بدن الامكان و اشرب من دم جرنوم

الفلة لأنه اعرض عن طاعة ربك الرحمن *

their refutation. Certain points, however, which are connected with the narrative of the Ezelf controversialist and can be checked by other testimony are as follows :—

(1) For the claim advanced by Mirza Asadu'lláh "*Deyy&n*" of Tabriz, and the fate which it brought down upon him, we have Gobineau's testimony, given (at pp. 277—278 of his work) in the following words:—"1, 'election [c-a-d. de *Hezret-d-Ezel*] avait ete toute spontanea et elle fut reconnue imme'diatement par les bâbys. Cependant, un des membres de l'Unite, qui n'etait pas a Teheran au moment où elle eut lieu, et qui se nommait Mirza-Asad-Oullah, de Tebriz, surnomme' *Deyyan*, ou ' le Juge supreme,' personnage très-important et membre de FUnite' prophétique, entreprit de se faire reconnaltre lui-meme pour le nouveau Bâb. Il courut dans l'Arabistan et chercha à y reunir un parti. Mais les religionnaires se mettant sur ses traces, l'atteignirent près de Ia frontière turke, et lui attachant des pierres au cou, le noyèrent dans le Shât-el-Arâb. Cette tentative malheureuse n'encouragea pas les dissidents." From Gobineau's account we are led to infer that this episode occurred very soon after the death of the Bâb and the election of Mirza Yahya *Subh-i-Ezel*, that is to say some time before the Baghdad period.

(2) For the claim advanced by Huseyn of Milân we have *Subh-i-Ezel*'s evidence (see Note T, p. 331 *supra*), but since, as has been already pointed out, this Huseyn was amongst the Babis killed at Teherân in 1852, this event has no more connection than the last with the Baghdad period.

(3) That Nabil advanced a similar claim which he subsequently withdrew is a statement which I have heard made once if not oftener by Babis (of the Beha'i sect) in Persia. Some of the poems attributed to him, if really his, afford confirmatory evidence, as has been already observed (p. 357, note 5, *supra*).

(4) The assertion that Beha'u'llah alleges against *Subh-i-Ezel* an attempted fratricide, of which, according to the Ezelf writer, he was in reality himself the author, is fully borne out by the following passage in the earlier part of the *Sura-i-Heykal*, which Baron Bosen has most kindly permitted me to quote from his still unpublished work:—

ثم اذكري لهم باننا اصطفينا من اخواننا احداً و رشحنا
 عليه من طمطام بحر العلم رشحاً ثم البسناه قميص اسم
 من الاسماء و رفعناه الى لمقام الذي قام الكل على ثناء
 نفسه و حفظناه عن ضر كل ذي ضر على شأن يعجز
 عنه القادرون * و كنا وحده في مقابلة اهل السماوات و
 الارض في ايام كل العباد قاموا على قتلى و كنا بينهم
 ناطقاً بذكر الله و ثنائه و قائماً على امره الى ان حقت
 كلمة الله بين خلقه و اشتهرت آثاره و علت قدرته و لاحت
 سلطته و يشهد بذلك عباد مكرمون * ان اخي لما رأى
 الامر ارتفع وجد في نفسه كبراً و غوراً اذاً خرج خلف
 الاستار و حارب بنفسى و جادل باياتى و كذب برهاتى و
 جهد آثارى و ما شبع بطن الحريص الى ان اراد اكل
 لحمى و شرب دمي و يشهد بذلك عباد الذين هم هاجروا
 مع الله و عن ورائهم عباد مقربون * و شاور في ذلك
 مع احد خدامى و اغواه على ذلك اذاً نصرنى الله بجنود
 الغيب و الشهادة و حفظنى بالحق و انزل على ما منعه

عَمَّا ارَادَ وَ بَطَلَ مَكْرَ الَّذِينَهِمْ كَفَرُوا بِآيَاتِ الرَّحْمَنِ الْآ
 أَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ مُنْكَرُونَ فَلَمَّا شَبَّعَ مَا سَوَّلَتْ لَهُ نَفْسُهُ وَ أَطَّلَعَ بِهِ
 الَّذِينَهِمْ هَاجَرُوا ارْتَفَعَ الضَّجِيئُ مِنْ هَوْلٍ وَ بَلَغَ إِلَى مَقَامِ
 كَادَ أَنْ يَشْتَهَرَ بَيْنَ الْمَدِينَةِ إِذَا مَنَعَاهُمْ وَ أَلْقَيْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ كَلِمَةَ
 الصَّبْرِ لِيَكُونَ مِنَ الَّذِينَهِمْ يَصْبِرُونَ فَوَاللَّهِ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا
 هُوَ أَنَا صَبَرْنَا فِي ذَلِكَ وَ أَمَرْنَا الْعِبَادَ بِالصَّبْرِ وَ الْإِصْطِبَارِ وَ
 خَرَجْنَا مِنْ بَيْنِ هَوْلٍ وَ سَكْنَا فِي بَيْتٍ آخَرَ لِتَسْكُنَ نَارُ
 الْبَغْضَاءِ فِي صَدْرِهِ وَ يَكُونَ مِنَ الَّذِينَهِمْ مَهْتَدُونَ وَ مَا
 تَعَرَّضْنَا بِهِ وَ مَا رَأَيْنَاهُ مِنْ بَعْدِ وَ جَلَسْنَا فِي الْبَيْتِ وَحْدَهُ
 مَرْتَقِبًا فَضَلَ اللَّهُ الْمُهَيْمِنَ الْقِيَوْمَ أَنَّهُ لَمَّا أَطَّلَعَ بِأَنَّ الْأَمْرَ
 اشْتَهَرَ أَخَذَ قَلَمَ الْكُذْبِ وَ كَتَبَ إِلَى الْعِبَادِ وَ نَسَبَ كُلَّ
 مَا فَعَلَ بِجَمَالِي الْفَرِيدِ الْمَظْلُومِ ابْتِغَاءً فَتَنَةً فِي نَفْسِهِ وَ ادْخَالَ
 الْبَغْضَاءُ فِي صَدُورِ الَّذِينَهِمْ آمَنُوا بِاللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْوَدُودِ فَوَالَّذِي
 نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ تَحِيرْنَا مِنْ مَكْرِهِ بَلْ تَحِيرَ مِنْهُ كُلُّ الْوُجُودِ مِنْ
 الْغَيْبِ وَ الشُّهُودِ مَعَ ذَلِكَ مَا سَكَنَ فِي نَفْسِهِ إِلَى أَنْ ارْتَكَبَ
 مَا لَا يَجْرَى الْقَلَمُ عَلَيْهِ وَ بِهِ ضَيَّعَ حَرَمَتِي وَ حَرَمَةَ اللَّهِ
 الْمُقْتَدِرِ الْعَزِيزِ الْمَحْمُودِ لَوْ أَذْكَرَ مَا فَعَلَ بِي لَنْ تَسْمَهُ بِحُجُورِ

الارض لو يجعلها الله مداداً و لن تنفده الاشياء و لو
 يقبها الله اقلاماً كذلك نلقى ما ورد على نفسى ان انتم
 تعلمون *

"Then tell them that we chose out one from amongst our brethren, and sprinkled upon him drops from the depths of the Ocean of Knowledge ; then we arrayed him in the raiment of one of the [Divine] Names¹, and upraised him unto [such] a station that all arose to praise him; and we preserved him from the hurt of every hurtful thing in such wise as [even] the powerful cannot do. We were alone against the dwellers in the heavens and the earth in the days when all men arose to slay me, and we were in their midst, speaking in commemoration of God and His praise, and steadfast in His affair, until the Word of God was realized amongst His creatures, and its tokens became public, and its power waxed high, and its dominion shone forth; whereunto testify favoured servants. Verily my brother, when he saw that the matter had waxed high, discovered in himself pride and error; then he came forth [from] behind the veils, and warred with me, and contended with my signs, and denied my proof, and repudiated my tokens; neither was the belly of the glutton sated till that he desired to eat my flesh and drink my blood, whereunto bear witness those servants who fled into exile with God, and beyond them those brought nigh. And herein he took counsel with one of my attendants, tempting him unto this. Then God helped me with the hosts of the Invisible and the Visible, and preserved me by the truth, and revealed unto me that which withheld him from what he purposed, and brought to naught the device of those who denied the signs of the Merciful [God]: are they not a
Pie unbelieving? And when that whereunto his passion [had] seduced him was divulged, and those who [had] fled into exile became aware thereof, outcry arose from these,

¹ Cf. pp. 95—96 *supra*, and footnotes thereon.

and attained such a pitch that it was within a little of being published throughout the city. Then we restrained them, and revealed unto them the word of patience, that they might be of those who are patient; and by God, than whom there is none other god, we were assuredly patient in this, and enjoined patience and self-restraint on [God's] servants, and went out from amongst these, and dwelt in another house, that the fire of hatred might be quenched in his bosom and he might become of those rightly directed. Neither did we interfere with him nor see him afterwards; we sat alone in the house watching for the Grace of God, the Protector, the Self-subsistent. But he, when he became aware that the matter had become publicly known, took the pen of falsehood, and wrote unto the people, and attributed all that he had done to my peerless and wronged Beauty, seeking mischief in himself, and the introduction of hatred into the breasts of those who [had] believed in God the Mighty, the Loving. By Him in whose hand is my soul, we are amazed at his device, nay rather all being, invisible and visible, is amazed! Yet withal he rested not in himself till he committed that which the pen cannot set down, that whereby he dishonoured me, and God, the Potent, the Mighty, the Praised. Should I describe that which he did unto me, the seas of the earth would not complete it were God to make them ink, neither would all things exhaust it were God to turn them into pens. Thus do we reveal that which hath befallen us, if ye [will] know it."

I never heard Subh-i-Ezel himself allude to the events in question, for he is little addicted to complaints, and reticent as to all that concerns his brother Beh&VII&h, but his son 'Abdul-'All gave me the same account as is set forth in the *Hasht Bihisht*.

(5) The account of the forged letters circulated by the Beha'fs is improbable in itself (for the catastrophe which they were intended to produce was bound to involve all the Babis at Adrianople), and is at variance with the versions given by Beha'u'llah (*supra*, pp. 98—99) and Subh-i-Ezel (*supra*, p. 99, note 1).

(6) The names of the Beha'is exiled with Subh-i-Ezel to Famagusta are stated correctly, as proved by the documents of the Cyprus Government shortly to be cited.

(7) As to the assassination of the three Ezelis, Āka Jan Bey, Haji Seyyid Muhammad of Isfahan, and *Mirza Riza-Kuli* of Tafrish, by some of Beha's followers at Acre, there can, I fear, be but little doubt; for the account of this event which I published at p. 517 of my first paper on the Babis in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889 was given to me by a Beha'i who had during his visit to Acre seen, and, I think, conversed with some of the perpetrators of this deed. It is curious that he, so far from attempting to minimize the matter, raised the number of the victims and assassins from three and four to seven and twelve respectively. *Ṣubh-i-Ezel's* account (B. ii, pp. 995—6) agrees with that contained in the *Hasht Bihiskt.* There is, however, no evidence to prove that the assassins acted under orders, though the passage in the *Kitāb-i-Akdas* alluding (apparently) to Haji Seyyid Muhammad's death, which is quoted at the foot of p. 93 *supra*, proves that Beh&VII&h regarded this event with some complaisance. His son 'Abbas Efendi would also seem to have interceded for the murderers (B. i, p. 517). Mr Oliphant in his work entitled *Haifa* (see *supra*, pp. 209—210), after speaking of the mystery which surrounds Beha'u'llah and the difficulty of seeing him, says, in a passage which appears to bear reference to these assassinations (*op. cit.*, p. 107):—

"Not long ago, however, public curiosity was gratified, for one of his [i.e. Beha'u'llah's] Persian followers stabbed another for having been unworthy of some religious trust, and the great man himself was summoned as a witness.

"Will you tell the court who and what you are?" was the first question put.

"I will begin," he replied, 'by telling you who I am not. I am not a camel-driver'—this was an allusion to the Prophet Mohammed—'nor am I the son of a carpenter'—this in allusion to Christ. 'This is as much as I can tell you to-day. If you will now let me retire, I will tell you tomorrow who I am.'

"Upon this promise he was let go; but the morrow never came. With an enormous bribe he had in the interval purchased an exemption from all further attendance at court."

Since these assassinations took place within the last

23 years, it is not too much to hope that further investigation may serve to throw fuller light on the matter. The examination of Turkish official records (should this be possible) would probably do more than anything else to elicit the truth.

Of the other assassinations alleged by the author of the *Hasht Bihisht*, those of the following persons were independently mentioned by Şubh-i-Ezel:—Mullá Rajab 'Ali *Qahir*; Aká' 'Ali Muhammad of Isfahán, brother of the above; Mirzá Nasru'lliih; Háji Mirzá Aḥmad, brother of Mirza Jani (see Note T, p. 332 *supra*), and Haji Ibrahim. The last was stated to have been at first a fanatical Beh&'i, and to have cruelly beaten Haji Seyyid Muḥammad of Isfahan the Ezeli on board the ship which bore the exiles to Acre, of which action he subsequently repented sincerely. The following three persons, not mentioned in the *Hasht Bihisht*, were also stated by Şubh-i-Ezel to have been assassinated:—Huseyn 'Ali and Aká' 'Abdu'l-Kasim of Kashan; Mirza' Buzurg of Kirmanshah. This raises the total number of alleged assassinations of Ezelis to sixteen (unless, as appears probable, one of the last three be identical with the "*Khayyat-bdsM*" mentioned in the *Hasht Bihisht*), which agrees prëtty well with Subh-i-Ezel's statement to Captain Young (B. ii, p. 996) that about twenty of his followers were killed by the Beh&'is¹.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the removal of persons inimical to a religious movement by violent means, or in other words religious assassination, is a thing far less repugnant to the Eastern than to the Western mind. Since the first beginning of Islám (not to go further back) it has been freely practised; and the Prophet Muḥammad gave to it the sanction of his example on numerous occasions. Nothing can illustrate in a more striking manner the difference between the Oriental and the Occidental attitude of mind than a narrative given by

¹ The words "at Acre" added to this statement are clearly due to a misapprehension of the interpreter, and should read "of Acre," for Şubh-i-Ezel distinctly and repeatedly alluded to the majority of these assassinations as having taken place at Baghdad and elsewhere.

Ibn Hisham in his *Life of Muhammad* (ed. Wiistenfeld, pp. 553—555) to which my attention was first called by my friend Mr A. A. Bevan. This narrative is briefly as follows. There were in the time of Muhammad two brothers, of whom the younger, named Muḥayyiṣa, had embraced Islam, while Huwayyisa, the elder, still remained a pagan. Muḥayyiṣa, at the command of the Prophet, assassinated a Jewish merchant named Suneyna (or Subeyna) with whom Huwayyisa was on terms of friendship. Huwayyisa, on hearing of this, fell upon his younger brother with blows and reproaches, saying, "O enemy of God, hast thou slain him? By God, many a fat morsel of his wealth has gone into thy maw!" To this the other replied, "By God, I was ordered to kill him by one at whose command I would smite off thy head were he so to direct me!" "Would'st thou indeed slay me if Muḥammad should order it?" asked Huwayyisa. "Yes," answered the other, "by All Ah, were he to command me to cut off thy head I would assuredly do so." "By Allah," said the elder brother, "a religion which hath brought thee to this is assuredly a marvellous thing!" and he thereupon adopted the Muhammadan faith. The legend of Khizr and Moses in the Kur'An (*sūra* xviii, v. 64—81), and the first story in the *Māmavi* of JalAlu'd-Dm Rumf (well styled by JAmf "the Kur'An in the Persian language"), which describes with the utmost *nonchalance* how a poor goldsmith is slowly poisoned by a saintly personage to gratify the ignoble passions of a king, afford further illustration of this attitude of mind, which also revealed itself to me very clearly in a conversation which I had with a Babi Seyyid of Shiraz with whom I was disputing about the divine origin of Islam. In the course of the discussion I animadverted on the bloodshed and violence resorted to by Muhammad and his followers for the propagation of their religion. "Surely," replied the Seyyid, with a look of extreme surprise, "you cannot pretend to deny that a prophet, who is an incarnation of the Universal Intelligence, has as much right to remove anyone whom he perceives to be an enemy to religion and a danger to the welfare of mankind as a surgeon has to amputate a gangrened limb?"

I have insisted thus strongly on this point because we

cannot properly estimate the probability or improbability of an action alleged but not proved to have been committed by a given body of men unless we are in a position to form a just judgment on their opinions as well as their character. The idea of secret assassination is so repugnant to us, and so incompatible with our notions of virtue and moral rectitude, that we naturally shrink from imputing it without the clearest evidence to a man or body of men of whose character and qualities we have otherwise formed a high opinion. But in Asia, where human life is held cheap, and religious fervour runs high, a different standard of morality prevails in this matter; and we must beware of being unduly influenced in our judgment by our own sentiments.

III. *Additional information derived directly from Şubh-i-Ezel.*

Mirza Yahyd *Subh-i-Ezel* is the son of Mirza 'Abbas (better known as Mirzâ Buzurg) of the district of Nûr in Mazandaran, and the half-brother of Mirza Huseyn 'Ali *Behaullah* (see note 2 on p. 56 *supra*), to whom he is junior by 13 years¹. He was born in Teheran about the year A.D. 1830². His father died when he was 7 years old.

¹ This is according to the first statement made to Captain Young, but on another occasion the difference was stated as 11 or 12 years. Since, however, Behâ'u'llâh was, according to Nabfl (see B. i, p. 521, and B. ii, pp. 983 and 986), born in the year A.D. 1817, and since Subh-i-Ezel would seem to have been born in A.D. 1830 or 1831, thirteen years is the probable difference between their ages.

² The Persians are, as a rule, very careless about dates, and even well-educated men are often unable to state their exact age. To this rule Şubh-i-Ezel is no exception. Thus in November 1884 (according to official documents) he gave his age as 56, while in October 1889 he informed Captain Young that he was 58 or 59 years old. Perhaps, however, the former figure may be due to a misunderstanding on the part of the official engaged in drawing up the report on the exiles, for several remarks which Subh-i-Ezel made to me point to the correctness of the latter. Thus on one occasion he said, pointing to his son 'Abdu'l-Wahid (a youth of apparently about 17 years of age), "I was quite young

When and how he was brought to embrace the Babi doctrines I have not been able to ascertain, but he was appointed by the Bab as his successor after the deaths of Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh and Mulla Muhammad 'Ali of Barfurush (who was killed in the summer of A.D. 1849), the appointment (for text and translation of which see B. ii, pp. 996—997) being written from Chihrik. From that time until A.D. 1852 he generally resided during the summer at Teheran or Shimran, and during the winter in the district of Nur in Mazandaran, being continually occupied in teaching and diffusing the *Babi* doctrines. At the time of the Bab's martyrdom (July 1850) he was residing at the village of Zargande near Teheran. Mirza Áka Khan of Nur, who succeeded Mirza Taki Khan as Prime Minister at the end of A.D. 1851 under the title of *Şadr-i-A'zam*, was related to Şubh-i-Ezel. Although formerly, when living in retirement at Kashan, he had pretended to be favourably disposed towards the Babis, and had even had several interviews with Mulla Sheykh 'Ali *Jenab-i-'Azim*, he now shewed the utmost hostility towards them, especially towards Şubh-i-Ezel. Indeed his brother, Ja'far-Kuli Khan, who was on extremely bad terms with him, strongly advised Şubh-i-Ezel to keep out of his power, and, if possible, to avoid both Teheran and Núr.

When the attempt on the Shah's life was made in August 1852, Şubh-i-Ezel was at Núr, and so escaped arrest, though the Shah offered a reward of 1000 *tumans*

like him when I left Persia" (in A.D. 1852). "About seventeen?" I enquired. "No," he answered, "more than that; about 20 or 21." A Turkish dervish who, impelled by curiosity to see so celebrated a heresiarch, visited him soon after his arrival in Cyprus, remarked with surprise *دعا چو بچہ در* "He is still but a child!" Gobineau (p. 277) makes his age only 16 at the time of the Bab's death (A.D. 1850), but it is more probable that this was his age when he was designated by the Bab as his successor, in which case he would be about 19 when he actually succeeded. Bearing in mind the extraordinary virtue attributed by the Babis to this mystical number, we may well believe that such a coincidence would strongly influence the choice of the faithful in his favour.

for his capture, and though on one occasion he actually met and conversed with an Arab who had been sent to apprehend him but failed to recognize him. It was probably immediately after this that he set out, disguised as a dervish (pp. 51—52 and p. 354 *supra*), for Baghdad, where he arrived, according to his own statement, "in the year A.H. 1268, a few days after the arrival of Beha'u'llah." Since, however, Beha'u'llah was imprisoned in Teheran for four months after the attempt on the Shah's life, i.e. till December 1852, and since the year A.H. 1268 ended on October 14th, 1852, this date would appear to be erroneous.

Forty days after the attack on the Sh&h, after Şubḥ-i-Ezel had fled in disguise as above described, a raid was made on Núr by two regiments of soldiers under the command of Mfrzd Abū T[^]iib Khan. It appears that the Sh&h was induced to sanction this raid by representations made by Mirzd Aka Khan the *Sadr-i-A'zam* to the effect that Şubḥ-i-Ezel had "arrived there, declared himself to be the Imam-Mahdi, and collected about a thousand followers." Mirza Abu Talib Khan, though related to Subh-i-Ezel by marriage (his sister being wedded to Şubḥ-i-Ezel's eldest brother), shewed no compunction in carrying out the designs of his uncle the *Şadr-i-A'zam* with the utmost rigour, and, indeed, totally disregarded the remonstrances and pleas for mercy which some of his subordinate officers ventured to advance on its appearing that, so far from there being any rising, such of the inhabitants of the doomed village as had not fled into the mountains were unarmed and entirely unprepared for resistance. The village (containing some sixty houses) was sacked and plundered; two of its inhabitants, who were Babis, were killed; Şubḥ-i-Ezel's house was occupied by the principal officers; and his female relatives were confined to the upper rooms. A day or two after this a pursuit of the fugitives was organized; a shepherd betrayed their retreat; and the soldiers, falling upon them unawares, killed some (including Mirza Muhammad Taki Khan), wounded others (including Mulla Fattah, who subsequently died in prison), and carried off 26 or 27 (amongst whom were two women) to Teheran as captives. These captives, except the two women, were compelled to perform the journey on foot and in chains. On their

arrival at Teheran they happened to meet the Russian Ambassador, who was moved with compassion at the sight of their misfortunes, and addressed a remonstrance to the Shah. He, finding on enquiry that there had been no insurrection at all, ordered them to be set at liberty; but the *Sadr-i-A'zam* contrived to detain them in prison on various pretexts, and there most of them died of erysipelas, gaol-fever, and other diseases which rage in Persian prisons, or were secretly made away with. The ravaged district of Nur was made over to the *Sadr-i-A'zam*, and one of the two houses possessed by Subh-i-Ezel in Teheran was confiscated by the Shah, the other being sold by Beha'u'llah.

As I have embodied in previous footnotes all the more important particulars which I learned from Subh-i-Ezel relative to the expulsion of the Babis from Baghdad (p. 84, note 2 *supra*), the journey from Baghdad to Constantinople (p. 90, note 1 *supra*), and the expulsion of the Babis from Adrianople (p. 99, note 1 *supra*); and as the Ezel version of the state of things which prevailed in the Babi community at Baghdad and Adrianople is sufficiently set forth in the earlier portion of this note, I may now pass on to consider the evidence afforded by the state archives preserved in Cyprus.

IV. *State papers preserved by the Cyprus Government.*

These documents, to which, as explained in the Introduction, the kindness and courtesy of Sir Henry Bulwer allowed me so free an access during my stay in Cyprus, are very numerous, and range from August 1878 (the year of the English occupation) to June 1889. The majority of them are written in English, and to those written in Turkish English translations are always appended. All the papers of importance bearing on the subject, with the exception of certain despatches, were placed at my disposal, and during the four days for which they remained in my hands I was able to make a complete transcript of them. This transcript occupies 32 pages of foolscap.

With these documents a desire to avoid undue prolixity compels me to deal as briefly as may be. Many of them,

indeed, would not be worth reproducing in full in any case, while others are abrogated by fuller and later reports, and there, are naturally a good many repetitions, besides discussions of the basis whereon the pensions of the exiles are to be calculated, which may well be omitted or abbreviated; but, were space of no object, there are several which I would fain have inserted in full. As it is, I can only give the substance and not the form of the papers; while, to save explanations and prevent confusion, I have normalized the spelling of names in accordance with the system adopted throughout this work, besides correcting obvious errors. With these preliminary observations I proceed to the examination of the documents in question.

When the Turks evacuated Cyprus in 1878 they left behind them certain prisoners who had been interned in the fortress of Famagusta. In August of that year the Chief Secretary requested the Commissioner of that town to report on the number of these prisoners, their terms of imprisonment, their offences, and the like. The Commissioner of Famagusta stated in a brief reply (dated August 8th, 1878) that the prisoners in question were five in number, to wit (1) a Greek named K&tirjf Y&ni, sentenced for life for robberies committed in Syria; (2) a Bosnian named Mustafa, (3) a Turk named Yusuf, sentenced for life for "speaking against the Turkish religion," and two Persians, (4) Subh-i-Ezel, and (5) Mushkfn Kalam, whose crime and punishment are described as follows:—"They wished to invent some new religion, and, when pressed, fled from Persia and settled in Turkey. After a time they again tried to carry out their madness, and were consequently condemned by the Turkish authorities to imprisonment for life."

Nearly three months after this date further information concerning the prisoners was demanded by the Chief Secretary, with the especial object of determining the amounts of the pensions or allowances which they were drawing. In his reply (dated November 5th, 1878) the Commissioner of Famagusta states that he "cannot get any official information about them. The *Kazi* says if there were **any** papers about them the late *Ka'im-makam* destroyed them, or his secretary lost them, for there are none forthcoming

now." He then proceeds to speak of the two Persian prisoners as follows, premising that all the information which he has been able to obtain was "gathered from the men themselves":—

"1st, *Şubh-i-Ezel*. Handsome, well-bred looking man, apparently about 50. In receipt of pias. 1193 per month (the *Ḳāzi* only gets pias. 1020). States that he was for a long time at the Persian Court, where his brother¹ was next officer in rank to the vizier. He afterwards went to Stamboul and then to Adrianople, where he was accused of plotting against the Porte and the religion of Isl&m. Sentence—for life. Been here 11 years.

"2nd, *MushMn Kalam*. From Khur&s&n. Allowed pias. 660 per month. Sentence—for life. Been here 11 years. Came here at same time as *Şubh-i-Ezel*. Sentenced for religious offence against Porte. Is '53 years old. Has two families, one here, and one in Persia. In appearance is a dried-up, shrivelled old man, with long hair almost to the waist." Similar accounts of the other prisoners follow, and the report concludes with the statement that the late *Ka'im-makam* had left some old books, which, being alleged to contain only accounts for past years, were used in the office as Account and Military Police books, but that some old books still left would be searched for further particulars.

The next document of interest is a petition from *Mushkfn-Kalam* addressed to "His Excellency the High Commissioner of Cyprus" and dated August 15th, 1879. The original of this petition (apparently written by *Mushkin Kalam* himself) is in Turkish, but an English translation is appended. In it *Mushkin Kalam* states that he is a native of *Khurasan*; that, having proceeded to *Mecca* by way of *Diyar Bekr*, he had extended his journey to *Adrianople* to see his "Sheikh" *Mirza, Huseyn 'Ali [Beha u llah]*; that, after accomplishing this object, he was arrested in A. H. 1284 ("A. D. 1867")² and exiled to *Famagusta*, where he had now

¹ Probably this is a mistake for "father," as *Subh-i-Ezel* repeatedly described the position of his father *Mirza Buzurg* in these very words.

² A report from the *Muhasebeji's* (Accountant's) Office dated December 10th, 1884, states that, although the original *ferman* of

resided for 12 years; and that he has suffered much grief by reason of his long banishment and separation from his family. In conclusion, he begs the High Commissioner "to pity his position, deprived so long of his family, and to deliver him from such a hard punishment." The immediate effect of this petition was to call forth another demand for fuller information from the Chief Secretary, who desired especially to be informed on what authority Mushkin Kalam had been permitted to reside outside Famagusta (his petition having been sent in from Nicosia). The Commissioner of Famagusta replied that the permission in question had been granted by a letter from the Chief Secretary dated June 20th, 1879, and that, in the absence of any official Turkish register, a report based on the statements of the prisoners themselves and information supplied by the Turkish *Kâ'im-mağâm* had been compiled by the Local Commandant of Military Police. This report discusses the cases of seven "prisoners," to wit those five previously mentioned, a woman named Khadfja charged with incendiarism, and an old blind man named Khudâ-verdi, formerly in the Turkish artillery, who proved not to be a prisoner at all but a pensioner! That portion of the report which deals with the cases of Şubḥ-i-Ezel and Mushkin Kalam is as follows:—

"No. 3. Şubḥ-i-Ezel of Íran. *Trade?* Nil. *Crime?* Falsely accused of preaching against the Turkish religion. *Where?* Adrianople. *Who was charge made by?* A man of Íran. *By whom tried?* Came from Baghdađ and went to Adrianople where charge was made. Vali of Adrianople ordered him to Constantinople, where he was examined by Kamil Pasha (Prime Minister). *When?* Twelve years ago. *Previous imprisonment before coming here?* Five months in Constantinople, before coming here under arrest, five years at Adrianople. *Undergone here?* Twelve years.

banishment cannot be found, an unofficial copy of it, received at the time, gives the date of their banishment as *Rabi ul-Akhir* 5th A.H. 1285 (July 26th, A.D. 1868), and there is no doubt that this is the correct date. The reckoning called *Rumi* (Turkish), which is more than a year behind the *hijra*, was probably used by Mushkin Kalam, and misapprehended by the translator.

Pension? 38½ piastres a day current. *Do. before?* 38½ piastres a day Government exchange. Has a family of 17. His father was Chief Secretary of State to the present Shah of Persia (Násiru'd-Din Sháh).

"No. 4. 'Mushkin Kalam Efendi. *Trade?* Writer. *Grime?* Being in company with a preacher against Mahometanism who came from Persia and Acre in Syria. *Where?* Constantinople. *Punishment?* Transported for life, and to be imprisoned in Famagusta fortress. *By whom?* Authority of Sulṭán 'Aziz. *Date?* November A.H. 1284 (A.D. 1868)¹. [In the original document the corresponding Christian year is erroneously given as "A. D. 1876"]. *Previous Imprisonment?* Six months in Constantinople. *Has undergone?* Twelve years. *Any lodging?* The *ferman* ordering banishment stated that he was to get free lodging, but he has not had any [*sc.* free] lodging. This man has sent a petition to government about a week ago. 23/6/79."

A document based on records of the Temyiz Court and dated March 8th, 1880, first mentions Bablism ("i.e." it explains, "communism") as the crime with which Şubḥ-i-Ezel and Mushkin Kalam were charged. It is further stated that they were deported under Imperial Fermán, and not sentenced by a judicial tribunal. The next document (undated), embodying the results of further enquiries at Famagusta, gives the date of their arrival in the Island as August 24th, A.H. 1284. [As the month and year are seemingly given according to the Turkish style, this would correspond to September 5th, A.D. 1868.] In this document mention is first made of Sheykh 'Ali Sayyáḥ, who arrived as an exile at Famagusta, accompanied by his wife and five children, in A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1869—70)¹ He died² on July

¹ See preceding footnote.

² According to a statement made to me by Şubḥ-i-Ezel, Sheykh 'Ali Sayyáḥ (who was only about 35 years old) died very suddenly as though from poison, scarcely having time to summon his wife to his side ere he expired. He was arrested in company with 'Abdu'l-Ghaffar and Muhammad Bakir (immediately to be mentioned), and banished with them to Famagusta. He continued till his death to profess friendship towards Şubḥ-i-Ezel, declaring that his only object in keeping on good terms with the

22nd, A. H. 1287 ("August 4th, A. D. 1871¹"), and an allowance of 2½ piastres a day to his widow and each of his children was made by the government. Mushkin Kalam subsequently married the widow, and drew her pension in addition to his own. At the end of this document it is mentioned that "a note in the Register of Orders in the *Muhasebeji's* [Accountant's] office states that an allowance of 4 piastres a day for 14 persons in all, and 2 servants at 5 piastres the two" was granted to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, Sheykh 'Ali Sayyāh, Mushkin Kalam, and their respective families.

The next document of importance is a report in Turkish, dated March 11th, 1880, from the *Muhasebeji's* office, to which an English translation is appended. From this it appears that the original number of Bābi exiles sent to Famagusta was 14; that these were accompanied by 2 servants; that to each of the former 4 piastres a day and to each of the latter 2½ piastres a day (making a total of 61 piastres a day) were allowed; that 'Abdu'l-Ghaffar succeeded in effecting his escape from the Island on September 17th, A. H. 1286¹ ("Sept. 29th, A. D. 1870"); that [Sheykh] 'Ali Sayyāḥ of Kāra-Bāgh died on July 22nd, A. H. 1287 (see preceding paragraph); that Fāṭīma, one of Subh-i-Ezel's daughters, died on August 17th, A. H. 1287 ("Aug. 29th, A. D. 1871"); and that Muḥammad Bāḳir died on November 10th, A. H. 1288 ("NOV. 22nd, A. D. 1872"); that in consequence of this diminution in the number of the exiles a deduction of 16 piastres a day was made, thus reducing the daily allowance to 45 piastres; but that subsequently, by an order dated September 25th, A. H. 1289 (? Oct. 7th, A. D. 1873), 2½ piastres a day were allowed to

Behā'is was to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation and heal the schism. Şubḥ-i-Ezel, however, held aloof from him, and disregarded his overtures. From the *Hasht Bihisht* (see p. 352, *supra*) it would appear that the first communications between the Bab and Subh-i-Ezel passed through him.

¹ In this and the succeeding dates wherein Christian months are combined with Muhammadan years the Turkish reckoning (which, as already noted, is more than a year behind the normal Muhammadan reckoning) seems to be employed. The Christian dates here given in inverted commas are derived from another document dated October 13th, 1884.

the widow and each of the five children of Sheykh 'Ali Sayyah, thus raising the daily allowance of the exiles again to 60 piastres¹.

The following document in Mr Cobham's handwriting, dated March 11th, 1880, gives some additional statements made by Mushkin Kalam about himself:—

"It appears that in 1867 Mushkin Kalam Efendi came from Mesh-hed in Khurasan to Constantinople. His fame as a scribe had preceded him, and Fu'ad and 'Ali Pashas asked him to remain in Constantinople. He refused both pension and presents offered him by [Sultan] 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, for whom he executed some illuminations.

"Presently he was accused by one Şubh-i-Ezel, a Persian then at Adrianople, himself a member of some schismatic sect, of heresy. He had lived six months at Constantinople, where he was imprisoned, without question or trial, for another six months, and then sent to Famagusta.

"Şubh-i-Ezel was exiled at the same time on a similar charge of heresy."

The next document of importance is a petition in Turkish addressed by Şubh-i-Ezel to the Commissioner of Famagusta, bearing the date April 27th, A.D. 1881. From this it appears that on the 24th of the preceding month Şubh-i-Ezel had been informed that he might consider himself free to go where he pleased. For this permission he expresses the warmest gratitude, and further prays that, if it be possible, he may become an English subject, or be taken under English protection, so that he may with safety return to his own country or to Turkey. To this request, however, the Government did not see fit to accede.

The next group of documents belong to the latter part of the year 1884, when a fresh attempt was made to

¹ It appears that Sheykh 'Ali Sayyah's wife and five children (or such of them as were then born) joined him in Cyprus some time subsequently to his banishment, and hence were not included in the enumeration of the original exiles, and were not entitled to a pension. But in any case the rule appears to be that, unless specially continued by the Government, pensions to the families of exiles cease on the death of their head.

establish the amount of the pension paid to the exiles on a definite basis. To this end it became important to discover (1) who were the original exiles; (2) which of them had died or quitted the island, and when; (3) which of their children had been born previously to and which subsequently to their banishment. For the elucidation of these points several lengthy reports were compiled in the *Muhasebeji's* (Accountant's) office. As it was also decided that any one of the exiles entitled to a pension lost that pension on quitting the island, but might recover it on returning thither, their subsequent movements were carefully recorded. The details of apportionment of these pensions are of little historic interest, and I therefore omit them; but it is a most fortunate circumstance that they were apportioned in this way, inasmuch as the full record of facts embodied in these documents is entirely due to this circumstance. These various reports and tables I have striven to combine in the following tabular form, wherein is incorporated also information derived from Captain Young and Mr Houston independently of the reports. The names of the original exiles (described as 14 "masters" and 2 servants) are printed in italics, and after each of these is placed in heavier type the number which they bear on the pension-roll. The names of those who subsequently settled or were born in the island are printed in ordinary type. To the names of all alike ordinal numbers are prefixed.

Order.	Name.	Original number.	Relation to head of family.	Age in 1884.	Remarks.
1.	<i>Subh-i-Ezel.</i>	1.	Head.	56	
2.	<i>Fatima.</i>	9.	Wife.	—	Died, apparently soon after arrival.
3.	<i>Ruqayya.</i>	10.	”	48	Appears also to bear the name of <i>Badr-i-Jihan</i> , since a petition written in Greek to the Commissioner of Famagusta on September 13th, 1886, is signed « Πέτρος Τζιχάδης. » In this petition the writer asks leave for herself and her two daughters <i>Tal'at</i> and <i>Safiyya</i> to go to Constantinople. In reply she is informed that only her husband [Subh-i-Ezel] is a State prisoner, and that she is free to go where she pleases.
4.	<i>Nuru'llah.</i>	—	Son.	—	Was residing in Persia in 1889, and seems never to have been included amongst the exiles (probably because he parted from Subh-i-Ezel previously to 1868), as his name nowhere appears. It is only from information given to Captain Young by Subh-i-Ezel that his existence is known to me. He has thrice visited his father in Cyprus, once before, and twice since the English occupation. The last time is said to have been in 1878.

5.	Hádí	—	”	—	Also lives in Persia. The first portion of the preceding remarks applies to him also.
6.	Aḥmad.	2.	Son.	31	Left for Constantinople on May 3rd 1884. Seems to have visited his father since then.
7.	'Abdu'l 'Alí.	3.	”	27	Resident in Famagusta. See Introduction.
8.	Şafíyya.	5.	Daughter.	23	Named in some of the documents "Bekie" (بَكِيَّة) and "Refie" (رَفِيَّة), but, as it would seem, incorrectly. She went to Constantinople on September 21st 1886, married a man named Hasan 'Abdu'r-Rahmán Efendi, and returned without her husband to Cyprus on December 12th 1888.
9.	Bahjat Rafat.	6.	”	22	Also called in some documents " <i>Bakir</i> ," on which the following comment is made by the Local Commandant of Police:— " <i>Bakir</i> means in Turkish a virgin or girl. Subḥ-i-Ezel has no daughter called Bákir."
10.	Rizvan 'Alí.	4.	Son.	21	Resident in Famagusta. See Introduction.
11.	Ṭal'at.	7.	Daughter.	20	Accompanied her sister Şafíyya to Constantinople, and returned thence with her (see above). Described as "either a widow, or left by her husband."

Order.	Name.	Original number.	Relation to head of family.	Age in 1884.	Remarks.
12.	<i>Fāṭīma.</i>	8.	Daughter.	—	Died on August 29th 1871.
13.	Muḥammad.	—	Son.	17	Though the names of these occur on nearly all the lists, I could discover no other trace of their existence.
14.	Fu'ād.	—	"	15	
15.	'Abdu'l-Waḥīd.	—	5)	13	Called in some of the documents ' <i>Abdu'r-Rashid.</i>
16.	Maryam.	—	Daughter.	11	
17.	Taqīyyu'd-Di'n.	—	Son.	8	Called in some of the documents <i>Ziya u'd-Din.</i> From an undated Turkish document preserved at Famagusta it appears that the last three are the children of <i>Badr-i-Jihdn</i> (see No. 3 <i>supra</i>). From this document the following particulars are also derived.
18.	Fāṭīma.	—	Daughter-in-law.	21	Wife of Aḥmad (see No. 6 <i>supra</i>).
19.	'Ādila.	—	Grand-daughter.	4	Daughter of Aḥmad and Fāṭīma.
20.	<i>Sheykh 'Ali Sayyah,</i> of Ḳāra-Bāgh.	11.	Head.	Seep. 380 <i>supra.</i>	Died August 4th 1871. See pp. 380—381 <i>supra</i> , and note 2 on former.

21.	Fátima.	—	Wife.	47	After the death of Sheykh 'Ali Sayyáh married Mushkin Kalam, and was with him at Nicosia in 1884. It does not appear that she accompanied him to Acre in 1886.
22.	Jalálu'd-Dím.	—	Son.	25	Was employed as Land Registry clerk at Kyrenia in 1889.
23.	Jamdlu'd-Dím.	—	"	23	Was employed as a trooper in the Cyprus Military Police in 1889.
24.	Kamalu'd-Dfn.	—	"	21	Sheykh 'Ali Sayyah's family are described as having arrived " from Babylon" in a state of destitution. No allowance seems to have been made to them till two years after his death, i. e. in October 1873. This allowance was stopped in the case of the sons on April 1st 1884, but the allowance to the widow and daughter was continued, and thus went to increase Mushkin Kalam's pension, which, in 1884-5, amounted to £58. 17. 0. As the estimates for 1889-90 still shew a sum of £20.13.0 payable to Mushkin Kalam's family, and as he lost his pension on leaving Cyprus for Acre in September 1886, while his sons' pensions ceased in 1884, it would appear certain that Fátima, Jamáliyya, and the servant Bukáyya remained in Cyprus.
25.	Jamáliyya.	—	Daughter.	16	
26.	Ruqayya.	—	Servant.	47	

Order.	Name.	Original number.	Relation to head of family.	Age in 1884.	Remarks.
27.	<i>Mushkin-Ḳalam</i> , of Khurásán.	12.	Head.	—	<p>From the colophon of a MS. transcribed by Mushkfn Ḳalam and presented by him to Mr Cobham on his departure for Acre, it appears that in the year [A.H. 12]91 (= A.D. 1874) he was still, to use his own phrase, "imprisoned for the love of God" (محبونا حب الله) at Famagusta. He subsequently went to Nicosia, and thence to Larnaca, where he was in 1884. His final departure from Cyprus is notified by Mr Cobham in a letter dated September 18th 1886:—"The Persian heresiarch and calligraphist Mushkin Ḳalam left Cyprus for St. Jean d'Acree on the night of Tuesday September 14-15, renouncing his pinnances and the protection of the Island Government. He found an unwonted opportunity in a Syrian vessel going direct to Acre, the head quarters of the Báb [sc. BeháVUáh]...I am extremely sorry to lose him as a Persian <i>munshi</i>." He was still in April 1890 at Acre, where I met him (see Introduction).</p>
28.	(Name not given).	—	Servant.		<p>After his marriage with Sheykh 'Ali Sayyáh's widow, Mushkin Ḳalam obtained</p>

					possession of both the servants allotted to the exiles. " It is not clear," observes the Receiver General, "why Mushkin <i>Ḳalam</i> should have both the servants, but Government need not, I think, object to the arrangement if <i>Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel</i> consents, which I doubt his doing."
29.	<i>'Abdu'l-Ghaffar,</i>	13.	Head.	—	Escaped from Cyprus on September 29th 1870, during the fair held at Famagusta, in company with two other prisoners. According to <i>Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel</i> he went to Acre, but, though a <i>Behá'i</i> , was somewhat coldly received. He subsequently settled in Beyrout and changed his name.
30.	<i>Muḥammad Bākir,</i> of Isfahán.	14.	Head.	—	Died at an advanced age on November 22nd 1872.

NOTE X.

TRANSLATION OF THE SUPERScription AND EXORDIUM OF
THE EPISTLE TO THE KING OF PERSIA.

My original purpose was to give in this note nothing more than a translation of that portion of the "Epistle to the King of Persia" which is omitted in the text, but the permission so generously accorded to me by Baron Rosen to make full and free use of the proof-sheets of his still unpublished work enables me to add the text and translation of the instructions given to the bearer of the missive. [See p. 102 *supra*, and footnote.] The text of these instructions is as follows:—

هذه صورة ما كتب على ظهر كتاب السلطان
هو الله تعالى

نسل الله بان يبعث احداً من عباده و ينقطعه عن
الامكان و يزين قلبه بطراز القوة و الاطمينان لينصر
ربه بين ملاء الاكوان و اذا اطلع بما نزل لحضرة السلطان
يقوم و يأخذ الكتاب باذن ربه العزيز الوهاب و يمشى
مسرعاً الى مقر السلطان و اذا ورد مقر سريره ينزل
في الخان و لا يعاشر مع احد الى ان يخرج ذات يوم و
يقوم على معبره و اذا ظهرت طلائع السلطنة يرفع الكتاب
بكمال الخضوع و الاداب و يقول قد ارسل من لدى

المسجون و ينبغي له ان يكون على شأن ان يأمر السلطان
 بالقتل لا يضطرب في نفسه و يسرع الى مقرّ الفدا و يقول
 اى ربّك الحمد بما جعلتني ناصراً لامرك و قدرت لى
 الشهادة فى سبيلك فوعزتك لا ابدل هذا الكأس بكأوس
 العالمين لانك ما قدرت لها من بديل و لا يعادلها الكوثر
 و السلسيل و ان تركه و ما تعرض عليه يقول لك الحمد
 يا ربّ العالمين اى رضيت برضائك و ما قدرته لى فى
 سبيلك و لو اى اردت ان تصبغ الارض بدمى فى حبك
 و لكن ما اردته هو خير لى انك تعلم ما فى نفسى و
 لا اعلم ما فى نفسك و انت العليم الخبير *

TRANSLATION.

" *This is a copy of what was written on the back of the
 Epistle to the King.*

' *He is God, exalted is He.*

'We ask God to send one of His servants, and to detach him from Contingent Being, and to adorn his heart with the decoration of strength and composure, that he may help his Lord amidst the concourse of creatures, and, when he becometh aware of what hath been revealed for His Majesty the King, that he may arise and take the Letter, by the permission of his Lord, the Mighty, the Bounteous, and go with speed to the abode of the King. And when he shall arrive at the place of his throne, let him alight in the inn,

and let him hold converse with none till he goeth forth one day and standeth where he [i.e. the King] shall pass by. And when the Royal harbingers shall appear, let him raise up the Letter with the utmost humility and courtesy, and say, "It hath been sent on the part of the Prisoner'." And it is incumbent upon him to be in such a mood that, should the King decree his death, he shall not be troubled within himself, and shall hasten to the place of sacrifice saying, "O Lord, praise be to Thee because that Thou hast made me a helper to Thy religion, and hast decreed unto me martyrdom in Thy way! By Thy Glory, I would not exchange this cup for [all] the cups in the worlds, for Thou hast not ordained any equivalent to this, neither do Kawthar and Salsabil² rival it!" But if he [i.e. the King] letteth him [i.e. the messenger] go, and interfereth not with him, let him say, "To Thee be praise, O Lord of the worlds! Verily I am content with Thy good pleasure and what Thou hast predestined unto me in Thy way, even though I did desire that the earth might be dyed with my blood for Thy love. But what Thou wiliest is best for me: verily Thou knowest what is in my soul, while I know not what is in Thy soul; and Thou art the All-knowing, the Informed." " "

Baron Rosen, after quoting the version of Mirza Badi' 's mission and martyrdom which I published at pp. 956—957 of my second paper on the Babis in the *J. R.A.S.* for 1889, observes that, considering the text of the above instructions, and the minute obedience yielded by Beha'u'llah's followers to his slightest wish, this version is extremely improbable. He says:—"S'addresser au souverain de Ia Perse, en lui disant 'j'ai un ferman pour vous' etc.,—cela n'est certes pas l'humilite parfaite dont parle l'heresiarque." The opinion thus expressed by Baron Rosen is entirely borne out by the present work (see pp. 102—105 *supra*), and I am now quite convinced that it is correct. He further adds, "Quant a Ia date de l'evenement, j'ai toutes raisons de croire qu'il s'est passe au *mois de Juillet* de l'annee 1869, indiquee par M. Browne."

¹ Cf. p. 104 *supra*.

² The names of two rivers in Paradise.

TRANSLATION OF THE EXORDIUM OF THE EPISTLE.

١٥٢^١

" *This is what was revealed in the 'Heykal²' for His Majesty the King. 'He is God, exalted is His state [in] Might and Power.*

' O King of the earth, hear the voice of this servant. Verily I am a man who hath believed in God and His signs, and I have sacrificed myself in His way; to this do the afflictions wherein I am (the like of which none amongst mankind hath borne) testify, and my Lord the All-knowing is the witness to what I say. I have not summoned men unto aught save unto thy Lord and the Lord of the worlds. In love for Him there hath come upon me that whereof the eye of creation hath not beheld the like: in this will those servants whom the veils of humanity have not withheld from confronting the Chiefest Outlook bear me out, and beside them He with whom is the knowledge of all things in a Preserved Tablet. Whenever the clouds of fate rain down the darts of affliction in the way of God the Lord of the Names, I advance to meet them; to this testifieth

¹ These numerals, as remarked by Baron Rosen (pp. 146—147), clearly stand for the equivalent letters letters, *Beha*.

² Concerning the *Sura-i-Heykal* (of which the *Epistles to the Kings* collectively form only a portion) see note 1 at the foot of p. 108 *supra*; B. ii, p. 954; and p. 149 of Baron Rosen's forthcoming work. My Kirmān MS. lacks this heading, for which the following is substituted:—"This Epistle was revealed in Adrianople specially for His Majesty the King. This servant, the confidential attendant of their Excellencies [apparently Behá-'u'lláh and his sons], sends it for you to peruse. The meanings of sundry Arabic phrases which were in my mind have been written down agreeably to the command of God's Most Mighty Branch [*Ghusnu 'llahi 'l-a'zam*]." The original from which the Kirman text and the glosses appended to it (which agree almost exactly with those given by Baron Rosen) were derived would therefore appear to have been communicated to the Babis in Persia by Aka Mirza Aka Jan (" *Jenab-i-Khadimu'llah*") at the command of Beha'u'llah's eldest son 'Abbas Efendi. [See Introduction; Note W, p. 361 *supra*; and B. i, pp. 518—519.]

every fair and rightly-informed person. How many are the nights wherein the wild beasts rested in their lairs, and the birds in their nests, while this servant was in chains and fetters, and found for himself none to succour, nor any helper! Remember the grace of God towards thee when thou wast in prison with sundry others, and He brought thee out thence, and succoured thee with the hosts of the Invisible and the Visible, until the King sent thee to 'Irak¹ after that We had disclosed to him that thou wast not of [the number of] the seditious. Verily such as follow [their] lusts and turn aside from virtue, these are in evident error. And as for those who work sedition in the earth, and shed blood, and falsely consume men's wealth, we are quit of them, and we ask God not to associate us with them either in this world or in the world to come, unless they repent unto Him; verily He is the Most Merciful of the merciful. Verily it behoveth him who turneth towards God to be distinguished in all actions from what is apart from Him, and to conform to that which is enjoined upon him in the Book: thus is the matter decreed in a Perspicuous Book. As for such as cast the command of God behind their backs and follow after their lusts, they are in grievous error.

'O King, I conjure thee by thy Lord the Merciful to regard [His] servants with the gaze of pitiful eyes², and to rule with justice in their midst, that God may award His favour unto thee: verily thy Lord judgeth as He pleaseth. The world shall perish with whatsoever of glory and abasement is therein, while dominion remaineth unto God, the Supreme and All-knowing King. Say, Verily He hath kindled the Lamp of the *Beyan*³, and He will continue it with the oil of ideas and expression: exalted is thy Lord the Merciful beyond this, that created beings should withstand His command. Verily He will shew forth what He pleaseth by His authority, and will guard it with a cohort of the Proximate Angels. He controlleth His handiwork and compelleth His creation: verily He is the All-knowing, the Wise.

¹ i.e. Baghdad.

² Literally, "with the glances of the eyes of thy clemency."

³ Or "of Utterance" or "Revelation."

'O King, verily I was as [any] one amongst mankind, slumbering upon my couch; The gales of the All-Glorious passed by me and taught me the knowledge of what hath been. This thing is not from me, but from One [who is] Mighty and All-knowing. And He bade me proclaim betwixt the earth and the heaven, and for this hath there befallen me that whereat the eyes of those who know overflow with tears. I have not studied those sciences which men possess, nor have I entered the colleges: enquire of the city wherein I was, that thou mayst be assured that I am not of those who speak falsely. This is a leaf which the breezes of the Will of thy Lord the Mighty, the Extolled, have stirred. Can it be still when the rushing winds blow? No, by the Lord of the Names and Attributes! Rather do they move it as they list, [for] Being belongeth not to Nonentity in presence of the Eternal. His decisive command did come, causing me to speak for His celebration amidst the worlds. Verily I was not save as one dead in presence of His command, the hand of thy Lord the Merciful, the Clement, turning me. Can any one speak on his own part that for which all men, whether low or high, will persecute him? No, by Him who taught the Pen eternal mysteries, save him who is strengthened by One Mighty and Strong.

'The Supreme Pen addresseth me, saying, "Fear not; [but] relate unto His Majesty the King what hath come upon thee. Verily his heart is between the singers of thy Lord the Merciful: perchance He will cause the sun of justice and kindness to dawn from the horizons of his heart." Thus was the command revealed from the All-Wise.

'Say, "O King, look with the gaze of justice upon thy servant; then decide according to the right concerning what hath befallen him. Verily God hath appointed thee His shadow amongst [His] servants¹, and the sign of His Power to the dwellers in the land: judge between us and those who have oppressed us without proof or clear warrant. Verily those who surround thee love thee for their own sakes, while [thy] servant loveth thee for thine own sake;

¹ See footnote on p. 156 *supra*.

nor doth he desire aught save that he may bring thee nigh unto the station of Grace and turn thee unto the right hand of Justice: thy Lord is witness unto that which I say."

'O King, if thou wouldest hear the cry of the Supreme Pen, and the murmur of the Dove of Eternity on the branches of the Lote-tree beyond which there is no passing¹ in praise of God, the Maker of the Names, the Creator of the earth and the heaven, verily this would cause thee to attain unto a station whence thou wouldest behold in existence naught save the effulgence of [God] the Adored, and [whence] thou wouldest regard dominion² as a thing of least account in thine eyes, leaving it to him who desireth it, and turning toward a horizon illumined with the lights of [God's] countenance; neither wouldest thou ever endure the burden of dominion, unless [it were] to help thy Lord, the High, the Supreme. Then would the people of the Supreme Concourse magnify thee [saying], "How good is this most glorious state," if thou wouldest [but] ascend thereunto by authority accorded unto thee in the Name of God.

'Amongst mankind are some who say that this servant desireth naught save the perpetuation of his name, and others who say that he desireth the world for himself, notwithstanding that I have not found during the days of my life a place of safety such that I might set my feet therein, but was ever [overwhelmed] in floods of affliction, whereof none wots save God: verily He knoweth what I say. How many were the days wherein my friends were disquieted for my distress, and how many the nights wherein the sound of wailing arose from my family in fear for my life! None will deny this save him who is devoid of truthfulness. Doth he who regardeth not [his] life [as assured] for less than a moment desire the world? [I] marvel at those who speak after their lusts, and wander madly in the desert of passion and desire. They shall be questioned as to that which they have said; on that day they shall not find for themselves any protector nor any

¹ See Kur'an, liii, 14.

² Or, "the world," for the word *au* bears this meaning also.

helper. And amongst them are those who say, " Verily he denieth God," notwithstanding that all my limbs testify that there is no God but Him, and that those whom He quickened with the truth and sent for [men's] guidance are the manifestations of His Most Comely Names, the day-springs of His Supreme Attributes, and the recipients of His revelation in the realm of creation; by whom the Proof of God unto all beside Himself is made perfect, the standard of the [faith of the] Unity is set up, and the sign of renunciation becomes apparent; and by whom every soul taketh a course towards the Lord of the Throne. We bear witness that there is no God but Him; everlastingly He was, and there was nothing beside Him; everlastingly He will be, even as He hath been. Exalted is the Merciful One above this, that the hearts of the people of wisdom should ascend unto the comprehension of His Nature, or that the understanding of such as inhabit the worlds should rise to the knowledge of His Essence. Holy is He above the knowledge of all save Himself, and exempt is He from the comprehension of what is beside Him: verily in Eternity of Eternities was He independent of the worlds.

'Remember the days wherein the Sun of Baṭ-ḥá¹ shone forth from the horizon of the Will of thy Lord, the High, the Supreme, [how] the doctors turned aside from him, and the cultured found fault with him; that thou mayst understand what is now hidden within the Veil of Light. Matters waxed grievous for him on all sides, until those who were [gathered] round him were dispersed by his [own] command²: thus was the matter decreed from the Heaven of Glory. Then remember when one of them came in before the *Nejdshi*³ and recited unto him a *sura* of the Kur'an. He said to those around him, " Verily it hath been revealed on the part of One All-knowing and Wise. Whosoever accepteth what is best, and believeth in that which Jesus brought, for him it is impossible to turn aside from what

¹ i.e. Muḥammad. Baṭ-ḥá is here synonymous with Mecca.

² Allusion is made to the flight of the persecuted and unprotected Muslims from Mecca in the fifth year of Muḥammad's mission.

³ *Nejashi* is a generic name for the Kings of Abyssinia, as *Kisra* is for the Persian, and *Ḳayṣar* for the Roman emperors.

hath been read: verily we testify unto [the truth of] it, even as we testify unto [the truth of] what is with us of the books of God¹ the Protecting, the Self-Subsistent."

'By God, O King, if thou wouldest hear the strains of the dove which cooeth on the branches with varied notes by the command of thy Lord the Merciful, thou wouldest assuredly put away dominion behind thee and turn unto the Chiefest Outlook, the station from the horizon of which the Book of the Dawn is seen, and wouldest spend what thou hast, seeking after that which is with God. Then wouldest thou find thyself in the height of glory and exaltation, and the zenith of greatness and independence: thus hath the matter been written in the *primaeval revelation*² by the Pen of the Merciful One. There is no good in what thou dost possess to-day, for another shall possess it to-morrow in thy stead. Choose for thyself that which God hath chosen for His elect: verily He will bestow upon thee a mighty dominion in His Kingdom. We ask God that He may help thy Majesty to hearken unto the Word whereby the world is illumined, and preserve thee from those who are remote from the region of nearness.

'Glory be to Thee, O God! O God, how many heads have been set up on spears in Thy way! How many breasts have advanced to meet arrows for Thy good pleasure! How many hearts have been riddled for the exaltation of Thy Word and the diffusion of Thy Religion! How many eyes have overflowed [with tears] for Thy love! I ask Thee, O King of kings, Pitier of thralls, by Thy Most Great Name, which Thou hast made the day-spring of Thy Most Comely Names and the manifestation of Thy Supreme Attributes, to lift up the veils which intervene between Thee and Thy creatures, withholding them from turning towards the horizon of Thy revelation; then draw them, O God, by Thy Supreme Word from the left hand of fancy and forgetfulness to the right hand of certainty and know-

¹ i. e. the Sacred books which we now possess, the Gospel.

² Literally "*the Mother of Revelation*" or "*of the Bey'an*" a phrase evidently copied from the expression **أم الكتاب**, which occurs in several places in the Kur'an (*suras* iii, 5; xiii, 39; xliii, 3, &c.).

ledge, that they may know what Thou, in Thy bounty and grace, desirest for them, and may turn towards the Manifestation of Thy religion and the Day-spring of Thy signs. O God, Thou art the Gracious, the Lord of great bounty; withhold not Thy servants from the Most Mighty Ocean, which Thou hast made to produce the pearls of Thy Knowledge and Wisdom, neither repel them from Thy Gate, which Thou hast opened unto all who are in Thy heaven and Thy earth. O Lord, leave them not to themselves, for they know not, and flee from what is better for them than whatsoever hath been created in Thine earth. Look upon them, O Lord, with the glances of the eyes of Thy favours and bounties, and free them from passion and lust, that they may draw nigh unto Thy Supreme Horizon, and may discover the delight of remembering Thee, and the sweetness of the table¹ which hath been sent down from the heaven of Thy Will and the air of Thy Bounty. Everlastingly hath Thy Grace encompassed [all] contingent beings, and Thy Mercy preceded² [all] creatures: there is no God but Thee, the Forgiving, the Merciful.

'Glory be to Thee, O God! Thou knowest that my heart is melted about Thy business, that my blood boils in my veins with the fire of Thy love, and that every drop thereof crieth unto Thee with dumb eloquence³ [saying], "O Lord Most High, shed me on the earth in Thy way," that there may grow from it what Thou desirest in Thy books, but hast concealed from the sight of Thy servants, save such as have drunk of the *Kawthar*⁴ of knowledge from the hands of Thy grace, and the *Salsabil* of wisdom from the cup of Thy bounty. Thou knowest, O God, that in every action I desire nothing save Thy business, and that in every utterance I seek naught but Thy celebration, neither doth my pen move except I desire therein Thy

¹ Cf. Kur'av, 112, 114.

² See note 1 on p. 113 *supra*.

³ Literally, "the tongue of [its] state" (لسان الحال), which, as contrasted with "the tongue of utterance" (لسان المقال), signifies the words wherewith the state of an inarticulate thing may appropriately be described.

⁴ *Kawthar* and *Salsabil*, the names of two rivers in Paradise.

good pleasure and the setting forth of what **Thou hast** enjoined upon me by Thy authority. Thou seest me, O God, confounded in Thine earth: if I tell what Thou hast enjoined on me, Thy creatures turn against me; and if I forsake what Thou hast enjoined on me on Thy part, I should be deserving of the scourges of Thy wrath, and far removed from the gardens of nearness to Thee. No, by Thy Glory, I advance toward Thy good pleasure, turning aside from what the souls of Thy servants desire: and accept what is with Thee, forsaking what will remove me afar off from the retreats of nearness to Thee and the heights of Thy Glory. By Thy Glory, for Thy love I flinch not from aught, and for Thy good pleasure I fear not all the afflictions in the world: this is but through Thy Strength and Thy Might and Thy Grace and Thy Favour, not because I am deserving thereof."

The Epistle then continues as in the text (pp. 108—151 *supra*).

NOTE Y.

THE MARTYRS OF ISFAHAN, THE MARTYRDOM OF MIRZA ASHRAF OF ABADÉ, AND THE PERSECUTIONS OF SI-DIH.

(1) *The Martyrs of Isfahan.*

Of the martyrdom of Seyyid Ḥasan and Seyyid Ḥuseyn (called by the Beha'is *Mahbubu'sh-shuhada* "the Darling of Martyrs" and *Sultanu sh-shuhada* "the King of Martyrs"), with which the present history concludes, I gave the substance of what I had heard at Isfahan and Shiraz at pp. 489—592 of my first paper on the Babis in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889. That account will be found to agree in all material details with the version contained in this work, and, as regards the actual facts of the case, I have but little to add, except that, according to Subḥ-i-Ezel, one of his followers named Mulla, Kazim (of whose martyrdom the Beha'is make no mention) was put to death in Isfahan at or about the same time (see B. ii, p. 995, note on p. 490).

During my stay in Kirmán, however, I became intimate with a certain Šeykh S——(not the Bábi courier whom, in Note Z, I have designated by the same abbreviation), a dervish endowed with considerable intellectual gifts not yet wholly destroyed by excessive indulgence in narcotics and stimulants, who had spent the greater part of his life in that eager and restless search after religious novelties called by such as pursue it *seyr-i-ḳulúb* (an expression which I can render but clumsily as "spiritual sight-seeing"), and who, so far as the prevailing antinomianism of his character can permit one to describe him as holding any definite religion at all, was an adherent of the Bábi faith, for which in his youth he but narrowly escaped martyrdom. One evening this Šeykh S——, being in a communicative mood, gave me an account of a conversation alleged to have taken place between himself and the Sháh's eldest son, the Prince Zillu's-Sulṭán, relating in part to the martyrdom of these two Seyyids. That Šeykh S——'s story is substantially true I see no reason to doubt, inasmuch as many other things which he related to me have subsequently been confirmed by other testimony, and, so far as I could judge, untruthfulness was not one of his faults. At all events his narrative is too characteristic to be consigned to oblivion, and I therefore give it for what it is worth as nearly as I can remember in his own words.

"When I was at Isfahán," said Šeykh S——, "I was for some time living on the bounty and in the house of one of the Zillu's-Sulṭán's attendants, just as I am now living at the expense of Mirzá——. This man was himself one of the 'Friends' (*i.e.* the Babis). Through him, as I suppose, the Zillu's-Sulṭán learned that I had visited Acre. At any rate, one evening he summoned me into his presence. On entering the room where he was sitting, I halted near the door and made my obeisance. 'Come nearer,' said he. I advanced a few paces, and again halted. 'Nearer,' said he again. In short he continued to bid me approach until I was close to him, when he commanded me to be seated. 'Now,' said he, 'I hear that you have been to Acre. I do not ask whether you are a Bábi or not. A man may go amongst the Jews or the Christians or the Guebres out of curiosity without becoming one of them, and I will suppose

that you went amongst the Babis for the same reason. I ask you, then, being myself curious, what you saw and heard from the time that you entered Acre to the time when you left it two stages behind you?' Seeing his humour, I perceived no better course than to relate to him all that I saw and heard, even as I have related it to you¹. When I had finished, the Prince said, 'Stand up,' I did so, and he cast over my shoulders a costly shawl, exclaiming as he did so, 'Bravo! You have told me the truth without exaggeration or suppression.' Then he asked me to let him see the epistle (توقيع) with which I had been honoured.

I gave it to him, and he read it attentively. When he had finished it he laid it down and remained silent for a while wrapped in thought. Then he said, 'Let me keep this by me to-night: I will return it to you to-morrow.' I accordingly withdrew, leaving the epistle in his hands. On the morrow, when I went to receive it back, the Prince said, 'You have heard, of course, how I killed those two Seyyids here because they were Babis?' 'I was not in Isfahan at the time,' I answered, 'but of course I heard about it,' Well,' said the Prince, 'I The Imam-Jum'a and Sheykh Bakir owed those two Seyyids money, and coveted their wealth and possessions, wherefore they fell to compassing their death, so that they might plunder their houses and recover the bonds which they had given to them. On their information and complaint I arrested the two Seyyids and cast them into prison, for I feared these doctors of religion, and they had said to me, "Either you will slay these two Seyyids, or you will cease to be governor of Isfahan." On the second or third day after this, in the evening, I, being alone with the *Binanu'l-Mulk* and my secretary, caused the two Seyyids to be brought before me, and thus addressed them:—"I do not wish to kill you. I would not willingly shed the blood of a Seyyid. But I fear Sheykh Bakir and the Imam-Jum'a. If you will but curse that Seyyid of Shfraz², I will at

¹ The substance of Sheykh S——'s narrative, which I heard him repeat several times, will be found at p. 519 of my first paper on the Babis in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889.

² *i.e.* Mirza 'Ali Muḥammad the Bab.

once release you, and thenceforth neither I nor the clergy will have any right to interfere with you further." "We cannot," they replied, "do this thing which you ask of us." I then said, "Look at the matter in another way; either you regard this Seyyid as God, or you do not. If you do not, then" curse him. If you do, then he is a boundless sea of light, and your cursing him will no more harm him than casting a dog into the ocean would render it impure." When I had said this, the younger of the two brothers, Seyyid Huseyn, raised his head and answered, "You are a prince and the King's son; such words beseem you not." On hearing these words I was overcome with anger, and, standing up, smote the speaker on the face. Directly I had done so I was sorry, and ordered them to be taken back to prison. As they still refused to recant, they were executed in the Meydan-i-Shah. Afterwards their bodies were dragged by the feet through the streets and bazaars, and cast out of the gate beyond the city walls, 'When the Prince Zillu's-Sultan had concluded his narrative he swore thrice¹ by the death of Jalalu'd-Dawla' (*'bi-marg-i-Jaldud-Dawla'*) saying, 'for three days after this I could neither sleep nor eat for thinking of those Seyyids.' There was a third brother, younger than the two who were killed, who cursed the Bab, abjured the Babi faith, and was released."

¹ To swear by the death of any one presumably dear to one's self is a very common form of asseveration amongst the Persians. The oath implies "may So-and-so die if I speak falsely." Hence the dearer the friend whose death is sworn by, the more binding and solemn the oath. This is why a Persian always swears "*bi-marg-i-khudat*" ("by thy death"), never "*bi-marg-i-khudam*" ("by my own death"), for, since one is bound to regard one's own life as of little value, the latter oath would be considered far less solemn. *Jalalu'd-Dawla* is the title of Prince Zillu's-Sultan's eldest son, who was, till March 1888, governor of Shiraz and the province of Fars.

(2) *The Martyrdom of Mirza Ashraf of Ābade in October 1888.*

Concerning this event, which occurred very shortly after I left Persia, but of which I heard for the first time from General Houtum-Schindler at the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on April 15th, 1889, before which I read my first paper on the Babis, I received on August 3rd a letter from one of my Persian friends at Shiráz dated July 3rd, 1889. Of this letter I published a translation at pp. 998—999 of my second paper. As the matter is of considerable interest and is not likely to be chronicled elsewhere, I think it will not be out of place to reproduce here the original text of the letter, which runs as follows:—

رفیق شفیق بسیار محترم من از شهادت یککفر
 از اینطایفه نوشته بودید از جنرال شیندلر شنیده اید
 تفصیل آن این است يك بچه از نوکرهای اندرون
 نواب ظلّ السلطان با چند نفر از احباب آشنا شده بود
 و آقا میرزا اشرف آباده^۱ او را باین امر تبلیغ کرده بود
 این فقره بعرض شاهزاده ظلّ السلطان میرسد آن بچهره
 خیلی اذیت می کنند که راست بگوید ولی مطلب را ابداً
 ابراز نمیدهد حیلہ بخاطر آدمهای شاهزاده میرسد یکی
 از آنها میرود از چند نفر از احباب میرسد که آقا میرزا
 اشرف کجاست من عیالی در آباده دارم و کاغذی

و پولی میخوامم بتوسط ایشان بفرستم آنها هم این اظهار
 اورا اعتقاد کرده منزل آقا میرزا اشرف را باو نشان
 میدهند چون آقا میرزا اشرف را می شناسند اورا میگیرند
 و بحضور شاهزاده می آورند شاهزاده از آقا میرزا اشرف
 سوال میکند که تو از اینطایفه هستی جواب میدهد من
 نیستم میگوید اگر نیستی لعن کن جواب میدهد چون
 بدی آنها بر من ظاهر نشده لعن نمیکنم بالاخره شاهزاده
 از چند نفر از علما فتوی میگیرد و تلگراف بطهران
 میکند که اگر این شخص کشته نشود علما و مردم
 شورش می کنند و علما هم فتوی داده اند خودش هم
 اقرار کرده که از این طایفه است و برای اسکات مردم
 قتل او واجب است از طهران هم حکم میرسد که هر
 طور صلاح است بکنید بعد از آن شاهزاده حکم به قتل
 آقا میرزا اشرف میدهد از قراریکه شنیدم سر اورا میبرند
 و بعد اورا بدار میزنند پس از آن جسدش را آتش

میزند *

من خودم با آقا میرزا اشرف آشنا بودم در سال
 ۱۸۸۴ که در بمبئی بودم ایشانرا دیدم و در آنجا غالباً
 همدیگررا میدیدیم گویا عمرش به شصت میرسید آدمی
 با فهم و سواد و خوش خط و بسیار نجیب و معقول بود
 در سال ۱۸۸۶ که از طهران بشیراز می آمدم باز اورا
 در آباده دیدم از هر جهت مرد بسیار خوبی بود *

On August 4th, the day after I received the above letter, I wrote to a friend at Isfahán, on whose kindness I felt sure I might rely, for information which no one was better qualified than himself to give. On October 8th, just a year after Mirza Ashrafs martyrdom, I received his answer, which bore the date September 6th, 1889. "Yes," he wrote, "it is quite true that Aga Mirza Ashraf of Ábâde' was put to death for his religion in the most barbarous manner in Ispahan about October last. The hatred of the Mullas was not satisfied with his murder, but they mutilated the poor body publicly in the *rnaidan* in the most savage manner, and then burnt what was left of it."

(3) *The persecutions of Si-dih and Najafábád.*

The same letter from which the above extract is quoted continues immediately as follows:—"Since then we have had two other persecutions of Babis, one in Sihdih and the other in Nejifabad. In Sihdih, where the Bábi community is small, their houses were burned and their wives and children ill-treated. The men saved themselves by flight to Tehran, and I am told that about 25 of them have just returned to Ispahan and are in the Prince's Stables in *bast*¹. In Nejifabad there are about 2000 Babis. They

¹ Sanctuary.

tried the same game with them, but some hundreds of them took refuge in the English Telegraph Office in Julfa, and the Prince [ZiAllu's-Sultan] took their part and banished from Nejifabad to Kerbela the Mujtahid who persecuted them. So the result is that they are freer now than they have ever been. I take very great interest in the poor people, not only for their own sakes but for the sake of Persia also, as if liberty is gained for them it will be a great step towards shaking the power of the Mullás and getting liberty for all. Just before the last persecution of the Babis the Mujtahids in Ispahan, especially Hájí Nejifi, tried a persecution of Jews also, and threatened Christians with the same. The 13 rules' of Omar (I believe, at least, most of them may be traced to him) were enforced for a short time:—(1) That no Jew should wear an '*abd*'. (2) That they should wear a mark on their dress. (3) Not to ride any beast of burden in the city. (4) Not to leave their houses on a wet day². (5) Not to purchase merchandize from a Moslem. (6) That when a Jew meets a Moslem he is to salute him and walk behind him. (7) Not to return abuse. (8) Not to build a house higher than a Muslim neighbour. (9) Not to eat in presence of a Muslim during the Ramazán, &c."

On May 16th, 1890, I received from one of my friends in Teherán a letter dated April 13th. Knowing the interest which I took in the Babis, he was kind enough to include in this letter a brief account of these persecutions, which runs as follows:—

" You have doubtless heard of the late Babi massacre at Isfahan, and I will only therefore tell you, in case you have not, the principal points. They are inhabitants of a district called Seh-deh, and last summer a number of

¹ A kind of cloak worn over the *kabd*.

² All non-Muhammadans are regarded by the Persian Shi'ites as unclean (*najis*), but, as is the case with other impurities, the true believer is only defiled by touching them or their garments when they are moist, for what is dry does not pollute. Hence this enactment, which is generally enforced against the Zoroastrians at Yezd. I have heard of a Zoroastrian being punished with the bastinado for venturing into the bazaars with wet clothes on a rainy day.

them, owing to constant persecution, left their villages and came to Isfahan, whence after a time they returned home, with the exception of a certain number who came to Tehran. On the return of these men to their homes about six weeks ago they were attacked by a mob headed by a man called Agha Nedjefy, and seven or eight of them were killed and their bodies burnt with oil. They then took refuge at the Telegraph Office, and finally, after persistent representations from this [i.e. the British] Legation, have been received by the Deputy Governor. It is hoped that on the Zil's¹ return in a few days they will be able to go home. Agha Nedjefy has been summoned to Tehran and well received. Of course they are said to be Babis, though there seems to be no real proof that they are of that persuasion. When the murders took place they were under the care of an escort which was intimidated by the mob and left them."

From a comparison of the above extracts it would appear that the Babis of Si-dih and Najafabad were subjected to two separate persecutions. The first of these, which took place previously to September 1889, seems to have been limited to the destruction of property, and not to have resulted in actual bloodshed. The second, which, according to the last extract cited, must have taken place about March 1st, 1890, was brought about by the return of the fugitive Babis to their homes, and resulted in the death of seven or eight persons.

Almost at the very time when the second letter from which I have quoted was being written, I heard at Acre some account of the latest phase of this episode. On the last day of my sojourn there (April 20th, 1890) Áka Mirza Áka Jan "*Khadimu'llah*" came into the room where we were sitting, bearing in his hand a letter which had just arrived from Persia. From this letter he read out what purported to be an exact copy of a telegram sent from Teheran by the Prince Zillu's-Sultan to his deputy at Isfahan. The message was a long one and I had no

¹ i. e. the Zillu's-Sultan, the Shdh's eldest son, till February 1888 Prince-Governor of the greater part of Southern Persia, and still Governor of Isfahan and the surrounding districts.

opportunity of copying it, but its general tenour I remember perfectly well, while some of the expressions contained in it were too remarkable to be forgotten. It contained the most positive orders couched in the most emphatic language to put an effectual stop to these unprovoked molestations of the Bábis. "If you do not instantly restore order and quiet, silence these mischief-makers who disturb the peace of my government, and give efficient protection to quiet law-abiding folks, I will come myself, post, and give you a lesson." Then followed a string of threats and reproaches, ending in these most significant words—"After all you "know me. It is not necessary for me to introduce myself". That the contents of a telegram sent from the Prince-Governor of Isfahán to his deputy should be known at Acre may appear astonishing, but I have more than once been amazed at the rapidity and completeness with which the Bábis become informed of all that concerns their interests.

The intercession of the British Minister with the Persian Government on behalf of the persecuted Bábis called forth a violent protest from the Teherán correspondent of the *Akhtar*². Of a portion of this article, which was dated Sha 'bán 9th, A.H. 1307 (= March 31st, 1890) from Teherán, and appeared in the issue of Shawwál 8th (= May 26th) of the same year, I append a translation.

"Some little time ago troubles arose in Isfahán by reason of an assault made by a party of Jews on a [Musulmán] student [of theology], and the towns-folk attacked the Jews, with whom it went ill. After that again a disturbance occurred in Si-dih of Isfahán, and several of the innovators³, who were wont to disparage the conduct of the Musulmán's, suffered injury and loss.

¹ آخر مرا همیشه لازم نیست خود را معرفی کنم.

² The *Akhtar* (Star) is the chief Persian newspaper, and almost the only one which contains any news as we understand the word. It is published weekly at Constantinople, and has a large circulation throughout the East. Lately, however, it has for some reason been suppressed.

³ A euphuism for the Bábis, whom other Persians are as a rule very loath to mention by name.

The Imperial Government made strenuous efforts to put a stop to the mischief, and did not allow the flame of that disturbance to spread; but the most astonishing thing is the interference of the English Embassy in such matters, and the submission of the ministers of the Persian Government to such conduct, which oversteps the rights of states and nations, on the part of the afore-mentioned Embassy. What has come to the English Embassy that, in face of the autonomy of the Persian Empire of eternal duration, it should send a special representative to Isfahan for the investigation of this matter, take down the names of these mischievous and seditious innovators, and thus embolden these misleaders of men, who are hostile alike to Church and State, and are, indeed, enemies to the whole human race, in their sedition ?

" All these things are the result of the heedlessness of that day when the ministers of state first admitted the interference of foreigners under the guise of benevolent intercession in such contingencies, until now they have changed intercession into arrogance, and benevolence into hostility, and have carried intervention to such a pitch that within the Persian dominions they meddle in a quarrel between two subjects of the Shah between whom and themselves no sort of connection or relation subsists, and send thither the second secretary of the Embassy to conduct investigations. Yet no one asks of them, ' Sir Ambassador, what concern of thine is it ? Should such an event happen in your country, would you allow another to meddle with it ? Show us then by what right you have been led to interfere in this matter V"

On the whole, however, the Babis are much less liable to suffer molestation now than they were formerly, and not uncommonly the malicious attempts of their inveterate foes the Mullas to inaugurate a persecution prove abortive, as is shewn by the following translation from a letter written to me from Shiran on October 19th, 1888, by the correspondent whose account of Mirza Ashraf's martyrdom I have already quoted.

" You asked me concerning the trouble about the Babis in Shir&z. It was not of such consequence as to be worth writing about. A black maid-servant had stolen sundry

articles from the house of K—Khan, and, out of mere enmity towards her master, had got possession of a copy of the *Ikân* which was amongst his books. This she laid before Seyyid 'AH Akbar, one of the '*Ulama* of Shfraz notorious for boundless fanaticism. He attempted to induce the authorities of Shfraz to put K—Khan and several other persons to death, but the Government paid no heed to his representations, and, indeed, censured and upbraided him. A telegram also came from Teheran sternly forbidding him. When he perceived that he was not supported or countenanced by the Government authorities, he was discomfited and reduced to silence.

"In Bushire also one of the Mullaas wished to act ill towards several persons of this sect. *Sa'dûl-Mulk*, the Governor of Bushire, promptly issued an order for the expulsion of the Mulla himself; though at length, by much intercession, it was decreed that he might remain on condition of never [again] meddling in such matters."

An event which took place still more recently in the Russian dominions may perhaps have a salutary effect in checking the ferocious intolerance of the Mullaas, at any rate outside Persia. Baron Rosen has described this occurrence, from notes made on the spot by M. Toumansky, in connection with two epistles from Beha to the "revelation" of which it gave rise. This account, together with the text of these epistles, will be found at pp. 247—250 of the forthcoming sixth volume of the *Collections Scientifiques &c.* Availing myself of Baron Rosen's generous permission to make full use of his still unpublished work, I conclude this note with a translation of his narrative.

"At 7 a.m. on September 8th (August 27th, old style) 1889, two fanatical Persian Shi'ites, Mash-hadi 'Ali Akbar and Mash-hadi Huseyn, threw themselves, dagger in hand, on a certain Haji Muhammad Riza of Isfahan, who was peaceably traversing one of the most frequented streets of Ishkabad, and inflicted on him 72 wounds, to which he succumbed. Haji Muhammad Riza, was one of the most respected of the Babis of Ishkabad. The crime was perpetrated with such audacity that neither the numerous witnesses of the occurrence, nor the constable who was on the spot could save the victim of this odious attack. The

assassins yielded themselves up to the police without any resistance ; they were placed in a cab and conveyed to the prison. During the transit they fell to licking up the blood which was dripping from their daggers. The examination, conducted with much energy by the military tribunal, gave as its result that Muḥammad Rīza had fallen a victim to the religious bigotry of the Shi'ites. Fearful of Muḥammad Rīza's influence, the Shi'ites of 'Ishkabad, acting in accordance with the orders of Mullas who had come expressly for this purpose from Khurasan, resolved to cut short the Babi propaganda by killing Haji Muḥammad Rīza. Knowing well, however, that the crime would not remain unpunished, they left it to chance to determine what persons should sacrifice themselves for the Shi'ite cause. Thus it was that the individuals named above became the assassins of Muḥammad Rīza, who had never injured them in any way. The sentence of the tribunal was severe: 'Ali Akbar and Huseyn, as well as two of their confederates, were condemned to be hanged, but the penalty of death was commuted by His Majesty the Emperor to hard labour for life.

"This sentence was hailed by the Babis with an enthusiasm easy to understand. It was the first time since the existence of the sect, *i.e.* for nearly fifty years, that a crime committed on the person of an adherent of the new religion had been punished with all the rigour of the law. The impression produced on the chief of the sect, Beha, appears to have been equally profound. The two *revelations* which we shall submit to the reader sufficiently prove this. They are also interesting from another point of view : they are almost the only Babi documents of which we can understand all the meanings, all the allusions."

. NOTE Z.

ZEYNU'L-MUKARRABIN, HIS COLOPHONS, AND THE LIGHT THROWN' BY THESE ON THE BABI METHOD OF RECKONING TIME.

The information which I possess about Zeynu'l-Muḥarrabin the Beha'i scribe (or, as he prefers to call himself,

Harfu'z-Za " the Letter Z ") is, unfortunately, very scanty. Before I visited Acre, I had heard his fame in Kirman, but all that I learned definitely about him was that his real name was Zeynu'l-'Ábidin; that he had resided for many years at Mosul; that all the best and most correct manuscripts of the sacred books were written or revised by him; and that Sheykh S*****, the Babi courier mentioned at pp. 496—498 of my first paper in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, visited him yearly on his return journey from Acre to Southern Persia.

During my stay at Acre in April 1890 I learned that he had resided there for some years, but I did not see him, at any rate to my knowledge. Many manuscripts were, however, lent me to read while I was there, and all of these, so far as I remember, were written by his hand. From some of these I transcribed the colophons of which I shall speak directly. Two manuscripts written by him were given to me on my departure from Acre, *viz.* the present history, whereof the text is now offered to the public in *facsimile*, and a copy of the *ṭḥān*. His industry must be prodigious, the aforesaid MS. of *Ikan*, for instance, being, as stated in the colophon, the 67th copy which he had transcribed! The present history, being written to some extent for general circulation, is dated only in the Muhammadan fashion; but all MSS. of the sacred books proper are also dated according to the Babi method. Though I have not ascertained exactly when Zeynu'l-Muḡarrabfn came from Mosul to Acre, it appears from the colophons directly to be quoted that in A.H. 1296 (A.D. 1879) he was still at the former place, and that in A.H. 1305 (A.D. 1887—8) he was already at the latter.

Of the Babi system of reckoning time, and of the names applied to the days and months, I gave an account at pp. 921—922 of my second paper in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889. Being uncertain as to whether these names had been fixed by the Bab himself or by the Beha'is, I was careful to enquire about them from Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, not telling him, of course, what I had heard previously. He wrote down their names for me, and this list which he gave me I here reproduce. It will be found to correspond with the

information obtained from the Behá'fs, save that the 8th and 9th months are transposed; and from this I assume that these names were fixed previously to the schism, probably by the Bab himself. Gobineau also, in his translation of the *Kitab-i-Ahkam*, mentions the month "Ala" as the last of the 19 months of the year.

List of the 19 Babi months in order, as given by Şubḥ-i-Ezel.

١٣ قدرت	٧ كلمات	١ بهاء
١٤ قول	٨ اسما	٢ جلال
١٥ مسائل	٩ كمال	٣ جمال
١٦ شرف	١٠ عزت	٤ عظمت
١٧ سلطان	١١ مشيت	٥ نور
١٨ ملك	١٢ علم	٦ رحمت
	١٩ علاء	

As the year contains 19 months, so does the month contain 19 days, and the same names therefore serve for both¹. Provisionally, however, the following new nomenclature has been applied to the old week of seven days:—

Sunday, يوم الجمال.	Wednesday, يوم العدل.
Monday, يوم الكمال.	Thursday, يوم الاستجلال.
Tuesday, يوم الفضال.	Friday, يوم الاستقلال.
	Saturday, يوم الجلال.

¹ The analogy between this and the system of nomenclature in the Zoroastrian calendar is very remarkable.

Of this arrangement Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel said nothing, so that it may possibly have originated with the Behā'is. I now proceed with the transcription and translation of three colophons copied by myself at Acre from manuscripts written by Zeynu'l-Mukarrabin, concluding with a fourth appended to the MS. of the *Íkan* above mentioned.

1. Colophon from a MS. written at Mosul in A.H. 1296 (=A.B. 1879).

فرغ من كتابته كاتبه المسكين حرف الزاء في يوم
الاستجلال يوم القدر من شهر العظمة من سنة البهي من
الواحد الثاني من ظهور نقطة البيان روح ما سويه فداه
مطابقاً للسابيع من شهر جمادى الثانية من شهر سنة ست
وتسعين و مأتين بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية على مهاجرها
الف سلام و نحية و كنت في الحدباء و هذه هي السخنة
السابعة التي وفقني الله لكتابتها بهذا الترتيب و الحمد لله
اولاً و آخراً و باطناً و ظاهراً *

" There ceased from the transcription of this its poor writer the Letter Za on the day of *Istijlal* [Thursday], the day of *Kudrat* [the 13th day] of the month 'Aẓimat [the 4th month] of the 36th year, [that is the year] Bhai [the seventeenth] of the second *Vdḥid* after the manifestation of the Point of Revelation [i.e. the Bab] (may the life of all beside him be his sacrifice), corresponding to the 7th of the month *Jemadi II* of the months of the year 1296, six and ninety and two hundred after the Millennium of the Flight of the Prophet (upon its fugitive be a thousand

salutations and greetings). And I was [at this time resident] in [Mosul] *al-Ḥadbā'*. And this is the seventh copy which God hath helped me to write according to this arrangement. Praise be to God first and last, inwardly and outwardly."

2. Colophon from a MS. written at Acre in A.H. 1305 (=A.D. 1887).

فرغ من كتابة هذا الكتاب المبين كاتبه المسكين حرف
الزَّاء يوم الكمال يوم العلم من شهر العزة من سنَّه
الواو من الواحد الثالث مطابقاً للمستهل من شهر محرم
الحرام سنَّه ١٣٠٥ في مدينة ع و الحمد لله كما هو اهله *

" There ceased from the transcription of this perspicuous book its poor writer the Letter Za on the day of *Kemal* [Monday] the day of *'lim* [the 12th day] of the month of *'Izzat* [the 10th month] of the 44th year [that is the year] *Vav* [the sixth] of the third *Vahid*, corresponding to the *Mustahall*² [first] of the month of *Muharram* the sacred [A.H.] 1305 in the city of *'Ayn* [*'Akka* or Acre]. Praise be to God as beseems Him."

3. Colophon from a MS. written at Acre in A.H. 1306 (=A.D. 1889).

فرغ من كتابة هذا الكتاب المبين كاتبه المسكين حرف
الزَّاء يوم الجمال يوم العلاء من شهر الملك من سنَّه

¹ See note 2 on p. 139 *supra*.

² This word I misread and transcribed as *مستهل*, which gives no appropriate meaning. To the kindness of Baron Rosen I am indebted for the correction here made, which is evidently needed.

الابد من الواحد الثالث مطابقاً لست بقين من شهر جمادى
 الثانية سنة ١٣٠٦هـ من الهجرة النبوية على مهاجرها الف سلام
 وتحية و الحمد لله الذى وفقنى لاتمامه حمداً يليق لِساحة
 قدسه * فى مدينة ع نمره ١٠

" There ceased from the transcription of this perspicuous book its poor writer the Letter ZĀ on the day of *Jemal* [Sunday] the day of '*Ala* [the 19th day] of the month of *Mulk* [the 18th month] of the 45th year [that is the year] *Abad* [the seventh] of the third *Vahid*, corresponding to the twenty-third of the month of *Jemád!* II in the year 1306 after the Flight of the Prophet (upon its fugitive be a thousand salutations and greetings). Praise be to God who hath helped me to complete it, such praise as is worthy of the court of His sanctity.

In the city of 'Ayn [*Akka*]. Number 10."

4. Colophon from my MS. of the *Ikān* written at Acre in A. H. 1306 (= A. D. 1889).

فرغ من كتابته كاتبه المسكين حرف الزاء ليلة الجمال
 ليلة المسائل من شهر الشرف من سنة الابد من الواحد
 الثالث موافقة لاحدى عشرة خلت من شهر جمادى الاولى
 من شهور سنة ١٣٠٦هـ من الهجرة النبوية على مهاجرها الف
 سلام و تحية و الحمد لله الذى وفقنى لاتمامه حمداً يليق
 لِساحة قدسه * نمره ٦٧

" There ceased from the transcription of this its poor writer the Letter Za on the night of *Jemal* [Sunday] the night of *Masa' il* [the 15th day] of the month of *Sharaf* [the 16th month] of the 45th year [that is the year] Abad [the seventh] of the third *Vdhid*, corresponding to the eleventh of the month of *Jemádf I* of the months of the year 1306 after the Flight of the Prophet (upon its fugitive be a thousand salutations and greetings). Praise be to God who hath helped me to complete it, such praise as is worthy of the Court of His sanctity.

Number 67."

For the further elucidation of the matter I here reproduce the single Bābi colophon which I was able to cite in my second paper in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889 (p. 922).

5. Colophon from a Commentary on the *Kitab-i-Akdas* seen at Shiraz in April 1888.

حرره في يوم الكمال [من] ¹ يوم العلاء من شهر النور
من ستة البدى ² من الواحد الثاني سنة ١٢٩٦ *

" He wrote it on the day of *Kemál* [Monday] the day of *'Ala* [the 19th day] of the month of *Nur* [the 5th month] of the year *Badi* [which would be the 16th year, but, for the reason given in the footnote, there can be no doubt that this is a mistake for *Bahi*, the seventeenth year] of the second *Vafid*, A.H. 1296."

From the above colophons we perceive that, besides the division of the year into 19 months of 19 days each, the years elapsed since the 'Manifestation' are also arranged

¹ *sic* in copy, but from analogy the word appears redundant.

² This is evidently a mistake for *البدى*, for, as we see from the first colophon quoted in this note (*supra*, p. 415), the 13th day of the 4th month of the year *Bahi* (i.e. the 36th year of the 'Manifestation,' or the 17th year of the second *Vahid* of nineteen years) fell in A.H. 1296, the same year in which this colophon was written; and in all that relates to the Babi method of reckoning time Zeynu'l-Muḥarrabfn's authority is incontrovertible.

in *Vdhids* or cycles of 19, and that to each year is given a name¹ which, by the sum of its component letters, indicates the position of the year in its own *Vahid*, e.g.—

The 36th year after the Manifestation is called "the year *Bahí* [ح + ه + ب = 10 + 5 + 2 = 17] of the second *Váhíd*" [19 + 17 = 36].

The 44th year after the Manifestation is called "the year *Váv* [و = 6] of the third *Váhíd*" [(2 × 19) + 6 = 44].

The 45th year after the Manifestation is called "the year *Abád* [ا + ب + د = 4 + 2 + 1 = 7] of the third *Váhíd*" [(2 × 19) + 7 = 45].

The general arrangement of the Babi calendar is now sufficiently clear, and, inasmuch as all Bábi colophons would appear to give the Muhammadan date as well as the Bábi date, this is perhaps all that we need know. Nevertheless, since MSS. may subsequently be discovered in which the date is given according to the Babi method only, and since the matter is one calculated to arouse our curiosity, I feel impelled to discuss two questions which must be solved ere we can feel that we have fully mastered the problem before us.

These questions are :—

- (1) From what fixed point does the reckoning begin ?
- (2) Does the year consist of 361 (*i.e.* 19 x 19) days only, or is any system of intercalation adopted to keep it in correspondence with the solar year ?

¹ That some special method of enumerating years was employed by the Babis I conjectured in my second paper in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889 (p. 922, note 1), but, having only one colophon before me, I altogether failed to understand its application, or to perceive that the *numerical value*, not the *meaning*, of the name of each year was the true guide to its position in the *Vahid* or cycle of years. Hence I failed to see that *Badi* (دی) was a mere numerical expression or chronogram, and, imagining that it meant "*first*", vainly perplexed myself over the chronological difficulties involved in this supposition. However, as I have already pointed out, *Badi* in this colophon is clearly a mistake for *Bahi* (بی), so that I might have failed to deduce the truth even if I had guessed it.

Before discussing these questions farther, let us see what is said on the matter (1) by the Bab in the Persian *Beyan*, and (2) by Beha'u Ilah in the *Kitab-i-Akdas*.

(1) Ordinances of the Bab concerning the arrangement of the calendar.

[From the Persian *Beyán*.]

الباب الثالث من الواحد الخامس * في بيان عرفان
السنين و الشهور *

ملخص اين باب آنکه خداوند عالم خلق فرموده کل
سنين را بامر خود و از ظهور بيان قرار داده عدد هر
سنين را عدد کل شی و آنرا نوزده شهر قرار داده و
هر شهر را نوزده روز قرار فرموده تا آنکه کل از
نقطه تحویل حمل تا منتهی الیه سير او که بحوت منتهی
گردد در نوزده مراتب حروف واحد سير نمايند و شهر
اول را بهاء و آخر را علاء نامیده
و شهر اول شهر نقطه است و شهر حى در حول او
طائف و مثل او در بين شهر مثل شمس است و سائر
شهر مثل مرایائی است که ضياء آن شهر در آنها مشرق
شده و در آنها دیده نمیشود الا آن شهر و از خداوند

شهر بهاء نامیده بمعنی آنکه بهاء کل شهر در آن شهر
 است و آنرا مخصوص گردانیده است بمن بظهره الله و
 هر یومی از آنرا یکی از حروف واحد نسبت داده و
 یوم اول که نوروز است آن یوم لا اله الا الله هست
 مثل آن یوم مثل نقطه است در بیان که کل از آن
 خلق میشوند و بسوی او عود مینمایند و مظهر آنرا در
 نقطه بیان ذات حروف السبع قرار داده و آنرا در این
 ظهور عرش من بظهره الله قرار فرموده الله

" *The third chapter of the fifth Vahid. In explanation of the knowledge of the years and the months.* The quint-essence of this chapter is this, that the Lord of the Universe hath created all the years by His command, and by the manifestation of the Beyán hath appointed 'the Number of All Things' [361 = 19 x 19] as the number of every year, and hath appointed it [to consist of] nineteen months, and hath appointed each month nineteen days; that all may advance through the nineteen degrees of the 'Letters of the Unity' from the point of entrance into [the sign of] the Ram to the limit of its course which terminates in [the sign of the] Fish. And He hath called the first month *Beha* and the last '*Ala*."

"And the first month is the month of the 'Point,' and around it revolve the months of 'the Living' [حی=18]; and it is like unto the sun amidst the months, the other months being like mirrors wherein shineth forth the light of that month, and wherein naught is seen save that month. And it hath been named by the Lord 'the month of *Beha*'

[i.e. splendour or brightness] in this sense, that the brightness of all the months "is in that month. And [God] hath set it apart for 'Him whom God shall manifest,' and hath assigned every day of it to one of the 'Letters of the Living,' And the first day [thereof], which is the *Nawrúz*, is the day of 'there is no god but God'; the like of that day is as the 'Point' in the *Beyán*, from which all are created, and unto which all return. And He hath made the manifestation thereof in the 'Point of the Beyan,' the 'Person of the Seven Letters,'¹ and hath made it the throne of 'Him whom God shall manifest' in this manifestation."

The fourteenth chapter of the sixth *Váhid* is entirely devoted to the glorification of the *Nauruz* and the description of the ceremonies and rejoicings with which it should be observed. This ancient festival, here called 'the day which the Lord of the Universe hath set apart for himself amidst the days, and hath named 'the Day of God'" (*Yawmu'llah*), is defined as "the day when the sun passes from the sign of the Fish into the Ram," and it is ordained that the actual moment of this passage "whether it occur during the night or during the day" shall be the signal for the inauguration of these ceremonies.

- (2) Ordinances of Beha'u'llah concerning the arrangement of the calendar.

[From the *Kitab-i-Akdas*.]

ان يا قلم الاعلى قل يا ملاً الانشاء قد كتبنا عليكم
 الصيام في أيام معدودات و جعلنا النيروز عيداً لكم بعد اكمالها
 كذلك اضئت شمس اليان من افق الكتاب من لدن
 مالك المبدء و المآب ان اجعلوا أيام الزائدة عن الشهر

¹ See p. 230 *supra*.

قبل شهر الصيام آنا جعلناها مظاهر الهاء بين الليالى و الايام
 لذا ما تحددت بحدود السنة و الشهور ينبغى لمن فى البها
 ان يطعموا فيها انفسهم و نوى القربى ثم الفقراء و المساكين
 و يهلن و يكبرن و يسبحن و يمجدن ربهم بالفرح و
 الانبساط و اذا تمت ايام الاعطاء قبل الامساك ليدخلن فى
 الصيام كذلك حكم مولى الانام ليس على المسافر و
 المريض و اعطامل و المرضع من حرج عفى الله عنهم
 فضلا من عده انه لهو العزيز الوهاب تلك حدود الله التى
 رقت من القلم الاعلى فى الزبر و الالواح تمسكوا باوامر
 الله و احكامه و لا تكونوا من الذين اخذوا اصول انفسهم
 و نبذوا اصول الله ورائهم بما اتبعوا الظنون و الاوهام كفوا
 انفسكم عن الاكل و الشرب من الطلوع الى الافول اياكم
 ان يمنعكم الهوى عن هذا الفضل الذى قدر فى
 الكتاب *

" O Supreme Pen! Say, 'O concourse of creation, We have ordained unto you the fast during [a] limited [number of] days, and We have appointed the *Nawruz* as a festival unto you after the completion thereof; thus doth the Sun of Revelation shine forth from the horizons of the Book on the part of the Lord of origin and return. Place the days

which are in excess over the months¹ before the month of fasting; verily We have made them types of the [letter] *Ha* [= 5] amongst the nights and the days, therefore were they not included within the limits of the year and the months. In them it is incumbent on those who are in *Behá* to feed themselves and [their] relatives, then the poor and the needy, and to confess and magnify and glorify and praise their Lord with joy and gladness. And when the days of giving before [the days of] abstinence are ended, let them enter upon the fast. Thus ordaineth the Lord of men: there is no obligation [to fast] on the traveller, on him who is sick, on the pregnant woman, or on her who giveth suck; these hath God excused as a favour on His part; verily He is the Mighty, the Bountiful. These are the ordinances of God which have been written by the Supreme Pen in the books and the epistles: hold firmly to the commands of God and His ordinances, and be not of those who adopt their own principles and fling God's principles behind them for that they follow imaginations and fancies. Abstain from eating and drinking from dawn till sundown; beware lest lust withhold you from this favour which hath been decreed in the Book."

From all this it would seem that the restoration of the old Persian solar year in place of the Arabian lunar year; the solemn sanctioning of the great national festival of the *Nawru'ý* which corresponds with the beginning of this solar year, the quickening of the earth after its winter's torpor, and the entry of the Sun into the sign of Aries; the division of the year into 19 months of 19 days each; and the nomenclature certainly of some and probably of all of these months were integral portions of the system devised by the Bab; while the provision of the five intercalary days (corresponding to what the Muhammadans call *خمسةٌ مستورقة* "the stolen five") and the enactments relating to their observance were supplementary details introduced by Behd. The fast of one month of 19 days (or, in the case of those who have not reached maturity, 11 days,

¹ *i.e.* the days required to bring the Babi year of 361 (19 x 19) days into correspondence with the solar year.

"according to the number of **هو**") is also enjoined in the Persian *Beyān* (*Vahīd* viii, *ch.* 18), but the month does not appear to be there specified, though in the *Kiṭāb-i-Ahkdm* (Gobineau, p. 525) the month of 'Ala, the last in the Bābi year, is appointed for it. The only part of the Bābi calendar as it at present exists with which Behá can be credited (and that not certainly) is the introduction of the intercalary days needed to bring the Bābi year into correspondence with the solar year. It is evident, moreover, that only so many of these five intercalary days are to be used as may be necessary to bridge over the interval between the last day of the month 'Ala and the *Nawruz*.

Lastly it is clear that the Bābi era commences not, as we might *'primā facie* have expected, on May 23rd A.D. 1844 (see p. 3 and note, and pp. 221—226 *supra*), but on the *Nawruz* of that year (A.H. 1260), which, according to the *Nasikhu t-Tawdrikh*, fell on Wednesday the last day (*salkh*) of Safar (Wednesday, March 20th, A.D. 1844). We can easily verify this by working out the dates in the above colophons. Let us take one only, the first, as an example. In it the Babi date is the 13th day of the 4th month of the 36th year, i.e. $(3 \times 19) + 13 = 70$ days after the *Nawruz*, which always falls on or about March 20th. Seventy days from this brings us to May 29th (11 days in March + 30 in April + 29 in May = 70 days). Looking out the Muhammadan date in the colophon (7th of Jemadi II, A.H. 1296) in Wustenfeld's tables we find that it does actually correspond with May 29th, 1879. The Babi year being, like our own, solar, is easily calculated by counting the number of complete years which have elapsed since March 20th A.D. 1844, the commencement of the era. In this case, for instance, the 35th year terminated on March 19th, A.D. 1879 (1844 + 35), and the 36th year therefore extends from March 20th, 1879 to March 19th, 1880.

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