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ART. XII.—*The Bábis of Persia. II. Their Literature and Doctrines.* By EDWARD GRANVILLE BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

ON a former occasion I described some of my experiences amongst the sect of the Bábis in Persia, and gave a short sketch of the history of their appearance and development. In the present paper I propose to speak of their literature and doctrine, so far as these are known to me.

First of all, however, it seems desirable to say something of the relations and antecedents of the Bábí movement. Now these are of two kinds, which I may call *formal* and *essential*. By the *formal relations* of the sect, I mean the schools of thought wherein Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb received his training, and from which he presumably acquired the germs of the doctrine which he subsequently elaborated. By the *essential relations*, I mean those religious or philosophical movements with which Bábíism has most similarity, though no external connection can be shown to exist between it and them. In the discussion which followed my last paper, Mr. Kay indicated some very interesting points of resemblance between the Bábis and the Isma'ílís, not only in doctrine and organization, but even in the use of particular terms. Similar resemblances, more or less striking, present themselves in other cases, *e.g.* the Druses, the Nusayris, and certain sects amongst the Şúfis. Into these latter, however, it is not my intention to enter at present, inasmuch as I do not feel that I possess sufficient knowledge of them to warrant my doing so; and I think that I shall do better to confine myself entirely to the doctrines of the Báb and his teachers and disciples, leaving to others the task of comparing and contrasting these with other analogous movements.

But before passing on to consider what I have described as the *formal relations* of the sect, I desire briefly to revert to what was said by the above-mentioned speaker concerning the grades of initiation which exist amongst the Isma'ílís.

I have occasionally fancied that something of a similar nature, though less definite, may exist amongst the Bábís. That they adapt their conversation to those with whom they are speaking there is no doubt. With a Muhammadan they will speak of the coming of the promised Imám Mahdí, and emphasize the doctrine that the production of *verses* like those of the *Kur'án* is the essential sign and proof of the prophetic mission. With a Christian they will speak of the expected coming of Christ and the signs thereof, pointing out that if the Christians blame the Jews for not recognizing Christ as the promised Messiah, and failing to understand that the prophecies concerning the kingdom of the latter were intended allegorically and in a spiritual sense, they are equally to blame if they insist on a literal fulfilment of the signs of Christ's coming, and refuse to see that He *has* returned. So also, in speaking with a Zoroastrian or a Şúfí, they will use arguments likely to commend themselves to their interlocutor.

This, however, is not so very remarkable, since the same method is common in greater or less degree to most proselytizers. But I remember on one occasion, during a discussion in which I was engaged with a learned Bábí at Shiráz, some point arose connected with the nature of the divinity which they attribute to Báb and Behá, and manifestations of the Divine in general. One who was present was about to offer some further explanations when the chief speaker checked him, saying, "*hanúz pukhté na-shudé ast,*" "He is not yet ripe." This remark naturally suggested to me the idea that the doctrine was only disclosed by degrees, as the mind of the enquirer was found prepared to receive it. A certain comparatively small class of Bábís, especially those drawn from the ranks of the Şúfís, simply regard the one essential inner doctrine of all prophets and saints in this and preceding "manifestations" as the oneness of the highest

portion of the human soul with the Divine Essence. Hence the doctrine of the divinity of Behá to them presents no difficulty at all, for they have their Mauşúrs, their Juneyds, and their Báyzíds, each of whom claimed to be divine.

To these the prophet is merely the *murshíd*, or spiritual guide, on a larger scale; and in either case the ultimate outcome of his teaching is to enable the *muríd*, or disciple, to realize the same truth which he has attained to. Bábis of this class ought perhaps to be regarded merely as Şúfis attracted by the prestige and influence of Báb or Behá, but really retaining their original beliefs almost or quite unmodified, and, as it were, reading these into the doctrine to which they have attached themselves, rather than deriving them from it. It was only at Kirmán that I met with Bábis of this type, and when I repeated their views to some of the influential and learned Bábis of Yezd, they unhesitatingly and strongly condemned them; and the following passage from the *Layh-i-Akdaś* (of which I spoke in my last paper as the most concise and authoritative résumé of the Bábí doctrine of the present day) is clearly intended to discourage all such mystical speculation, and render impossible that method of allegorical interpretation which the Şúfis have so freely applied to the *Qur'án* :

“ *Wa minhum man yadda'l-báḩina, wa báḩina'l-báḩini; kul, 'Yá ayyuhá'l-kadhhdháb! Ta'lláhi, má 'indaka innahu mina'l-kushúri, tarakná-há lakum kemá tutraku'l-'idhámu k'l-kiláb!'* ”

“ And there are those amongst them who lay claim to the inner and the inmost (mystery). Say, ‘O liar! By God, what thou hast is but husks which we have abandoned to you as bones are abandoned to the dogs!’ ”

A few lines further on we find the following verse :

“ *Man yadda'ti amran ḩabla itmámi alfi sanatin kámilatin, innahu kadhhdhábun mustarin. . . . Man yu'awwil hádhhi'l-áyata, aw yufassir-há bi-ghayri má nuzzila f'idh-dháhiri, innahu mahrumun min ruḩi'lláhi wa rahmatihillatí sabáḩati'l-'álamín.* ”

“Whosoever claims a mission (*lit.* matter) before the completion of a full thousand years, is in truth a lying impostor. . . . Whosoever shall interpret this verse, or explain it otherwise than it has been revealed obviously, is indeed deprived of the Spirit of God, and His mercy which preceded the worlds.”

From this digression I now return to a consideration of the school of thought in which the Báb was reared, previously to his declaration of his divine mission.

In the early part of the present century of our era, probably (for I have not yet been able to ascertain the date accurately),¹ there lived and taught in Persia a certain *Sheykh Ahmad Ahsá'i*, who, though accounted unorthodox by the majority of the 'Ulemá, nevertheless attracted a number of disciples. On his death, *Hájí Seyyid Kázim* of *Resht* was accepted as his successor by the latter, and for some years continued to lecture at Kerbelá to all who, either by reason of faith in him or the departed *Sheykh*, or from mere curiosity, chose to come to him. Amongst the number of his disciples were Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the Báb (then only a youth of some seventeen or eighteen years of age),² and a number of those who subsequently took a prominent part in the Bábí movement, such as Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Bálfurúshí, 'Áká Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd, and many others whose names are chronicled in the Bábí history of which I formerly spoke. During the last days of his life, *Hájí Seyyid Kázim* spoke much of the approaching advent of the *Ká'im*, or *Imám Mahdí*, but would not describe the signs whereby he should be known, further than by stating that he would be a youth, not trained in the learning of the schools, and of the race of Háshim. Though warned of his approaching death by the interpretation of a dream concerning himself, which was

¹ Since writing the above, I have received from one of my friends in Persia short biographies both of *Sheykh Ahmad* and of *Seyyid Kázim*. The former was born A.H. 1166 (A.D. 1752-53), and died A.H. 1242 (A.D. 1826-27). The latter died A.H. 1259 (A.D. 1843-44), being at that time not more than fifty years of age.

² See Appendix I.

related to him by an Arab, he did not nominate any one to succeed him, so that, when he died, his disciples were left in doubt as to whom they should choose to take their master's place. An interesting account is given by the author of the Bábí history, on the authority of witnesses then living, of how these latter assembled in the mosque at Kúfa to fast and pray, seeking for divine guidance in the matter of the choice of a successor. Lack of space prevents me from giving these particulars in further detail here: I will confine myself to the statement that two claimants arose for the vacant leadership. These were our hero, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb, and Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán of Kirmán, whose followers still exist in considerable numbers under the name of Sheykhís. They are thus called after Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í, from whose teaching their doctrines, like those of the Bábís, were derived. The majority of the early Sheykhís accepted the Báb, and forthwith became known as Bábís, while only such of them as refused to admit his claim, and followed Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán, retained the title of Sheykhís. Between these two sects the most extreme hostility exists.

Having now described the antecedents and relations of Bábíism, so far as appears necessary for my present purpose, I shall proceed to discuss the literature which must be examined in order to arrive at a satisfactory knowledge of its development. This I shall classify chronologically, both to facilitate reference, and also to aid in bringing about a clearer comprehension of the subject. All those works to which I have had access I have described as fully as the space at my disposal would admit of. In other cases I have been obliged to content myself with mentioning the names of works not accessible to me at present.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to notice several published descriptions of Bábí MSS., of the existence of which I was unaware when I wrote my first paper.

In the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* for 1864-65 (vol. viii. p. 217 et seq.), there is a notice by Dorn of a MS. of one of the Báb's works, wherein

several pages of the original text are given. This work, called by Dorn "the Kur'án of the Bábís,"¹ is probably one of the two Arabic Beyáns, as pointed out by M. Huart.² The interest of it is enhanced by the circumstances under which, according to Dorn, it was obtained: "With regard to the authenticity of the MS.," he says, "there can be no doubt, since it proceeds directly from the secretary of the Báb himself, who asserted that he had written it down at the dictation of his master. He had it conveyed into European hands from his prison at Tabríz. The responsibility for its contents rests, therefore, on the above-mentioned secretary."

Baron Rosen has published two volumes entitled *Collec-tions Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales (de St. Pétersbourg)*, of which the first (*Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Institut*, etc.) appeared in 1877, and the second (*Les Manu-scrits Persans*, etc.) in 1886. In the first of these volumes 33 pages are occupied with an admirable description and analysis, with copious extracts from the original, of two Bábí MSS. The first of these appears to be the Báb's *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf* (see below, pp. 904-909); the second con-tains letters written by one of the Bábí chiefs subsequently to the death of the Báb, the longest of which, addressed col-lectively to the kings and rulers of different countries, is altogether different from Behá's "Letters to the Kings," which I shall describe later (see below, pp. 954-958). The second volume of Baron Rosen's work contains also a description of two Bábí MSS. occupying 50 pages. Of these, the first appears to be the *Persian Beyán* written by the Báb him-self; while the second is the *I'fán* composed by Behá. Of both these books I possess copies, and others exist in the British Museum, and I have satisfied myself by careful com-parison of their identity.

Lastly, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1887 (8th series, vol. x.), M. Clément Huart has published a description of three Bábí MSS. which apparently consist chiefly, if not entirely, of the writings of Mírzá Yahyá, Şubḥ (or Hāẓrat)-i-Ezel.

¹ See below, p. 940, and note.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 1887, viii. série, vol. x.

This notice supplies a very great want, the Ezelí writings being rare and difficult to obtain, and I shall notice it more fully in its proper place (see below, p. 940 *et seq.*).

To proceed with the classification of the literature bearing on the Bábí doctrines, I shall divide it into four periods, as follows:

I. The writings of the teacher of the Báb, Hájí Seyyid Kázim of Resht, and of his teacher, Sheykh Ahmad Aḥsá'í. These I shall henceforth denominate as *Pre-Bábí* writings.

II. The writings of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb himself, which probably extend over a period of seven years, the earliest (the *Ziyárat-namé*) being apparently written *before* he announced his divine mission, and the latest (probably the *Persian Beyán*) having occupied him until his martyrdom at Tabríz on July 9th, 1850. To this period also belong sundry other Bábí writings, especially the poems of the unfortunate and talented *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn*.

III. The writings of what I may call "the Interval," *i.e.* from the death of the Báb until the exile of the Bábís from Baghdad to Constantinople and Adrianople, at the former of which places they only remained four months according to Nabil, arriving at the latter in the month of Rajab, A.H. 1281 (December, 1864). This period therefore embraces about fourteen years and a half, during the whole of which Mírzá Yahyá¹ (Házzrat-i-Ezel) was the nominal head of the sect, and vicegerent of the Báb, although even then Behá (Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí, Mázandarání), who, according to the accounts which I received from the Bábís, was Mírzá Yahyá's half-brother, and older than him by some years, actually took the most prominent part in the organization of affairs.

IV. The fourth period begins with the claim of Behá to be

¹ According to Gobineau (*loc. cit.* p. 277) Mírzá Yahyá was the son of Mírzá Buzurg Núrí, Vazír of Imám-Verdí Mírzá, governor of Teherán, and lost his mother at his birth. He was then adopted by the wife of Behá. This would make him the *adopted son* instead of the *half-brother* of Behá. The following is Şubh-i-Ezel's own statement made (in part directly, in part through his son, to Captain Young, Commissioner at Famagusta, Cyprus, who kindly communicated to me the result of his inquiries: "My name is Mírzá Yahyá. I was born in Teherán. My father, who was second to the Grand Vazír of Persia, was named 'Abbás, but was better known as Mírzá Buzurg. Behá is my step brother. We are of one father by different mothers. He is my elder by 13 years." (See Appendix II. § 2.)

“He whom God shall manifest,” and his consequent demand that all the Bábís, including Mírzá Yahyá, hitherto nominal head of the sect, should yield him allegiance. The date of this claim is fixed by Nabil as A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866-67). The schism resulting therefrom I spoke of in my former paper. Dissension waxed fierce amongst the two parties, and finally several on either side were killed. The Turkish government decided to separate them, and Mírzá Yahyá and his adherents were sent to Cyprus, while Behá and his followers were removed to Acre, where they arrived on the 12th of Jemádi’ul-Avval, A.H. 1285 (August 29th, 1868). This period extends down to the present day. The literature of the sect now becomes divided into that of Behá and his followers, and that of Mírzá Yahyá and his partizans. I regret to say that of the latter I do not possess any examples, and in discussing it I shall have to rely entirely on M. Huart’s notice.

I shall now proceed to examine each of these four periods in greater detail.

FIRST PERIOD. DOCTRINES OF SHEYKH AHMAD AḤSÁ’Í AND HIS SUCCESSOR ḤÁJÍ SEYYID KÁZIM OF RESHT, THE TEACHER OF THE BÁB.

The materials for an investigation of the above are copious, since both Sheykh Ahmad and Ḥájí Seyyid Kázim were prolific writers, and their works, which are greatly esteemed by the Sheykhís of the present day, abound.

The chief of those composed by the former are as follows: *Sharḥ-i-Favá'id*, both text and commentary by the same author, and both in Arabic; *Sharḥ-i-Ziyárat-i-Jámí'a* (4 vols.); *Sharḥ-i-'Arshíyya*, a commentary on the 'Arshíyya of Mullá Sadrá; *Ajwibatul-Masá'il*; *Sharḥ-i-Mashá'ir-i-Mullá Sadrá*; *Sharḥ-i-Tabšíra-i-'Alláma*; *Javámi'ul-Kalam*, etc.

Ḥájí Seyyid Kázim of Resht composed, amongst other works, a commentary on the *Khuṣṣé-i-Tutunjiyyé*, and the *Sharḥ-i-Kaṣída*.

To form a proper estimate of the influence of these writers and their doctrines on the Báb, and of the extent to which

the germ of the doctrine of the latter is contained in them, a careful study of all these works would be necessary. This I have not yet been able to accomplish. Fortunately a general résumé of the chief characteristics of their doctrine is contained in a work called the *Ḳiṣāṣu'l-'Ulamá*, by Muḥammad ibn Suleymán, Tunukábuní (2nd edition, Teherán, A.H. 1304). This book contains an account of the chief Shí'ite divines of recent times, and the second article, which treats of the life and works of Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taqí at considerable length, deals incidentally with the doctrines of both the Sheykhís and the Bábís. Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taqí of Ḳazvín was, as mentioned by Gobineau, the uncle and father-in-law of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, the Bábí heroine. He had always disliked Sheykh Ahmad Aḥsá'í and his followers, denouncing them as heretics; he had held disputations at Ḳazvín with the Sheykh himself concerning the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and finally so prejudiced the inhabitants of that town against him that he was compelled to depart thence. When the Báb's doctrines began to spread themselves through Persia, Mullá Muhammad Taqí's hatred was increased, and reached its climax when his niece and daughter-in-law *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn*, then called *Zarrín Táj*, not only embraced these doctrines, and put herself in communication with the Báb, but began openly to preach them, to the great scandal of all pious Muhammadans. Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taqí publicly cursed Sheykh Ahmad Aḥsá'í. For this act he paid with his life, for he was stabbed in the mosque at Ḳazvín by Mírzá Sálíh of Shírúz, and two or three other Bábís.¹ It was alleged by the enemies of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn that she was a party to this assassination. Of this there is no proof, and had there been such, we may be sure that she would have scarcely escaped the vengeance of the Muhammadans. As it was, she quitted Ḳazvín and proceeded to Mázandarán, where she met Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, and Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí of Bálfurúsh, with whom she remained until a short time before

¹ According to the *Ḳiṣāṣu'l-'Ulamá*, this took place in A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848).

they entrenched themselves, with their followers, in the Tomb of Sheykh Tabarsí. She was ultimately arrested, and suffered death in August, 1852.

It is on account of this fatal enmity, which Háji Mullá Muhammad Taqí entertained towards Sheykh Ahmad Ahsá'í, that his biographer treats at some length of the doctrines of the latter and his followers, which he likewise regards as heretical and objectionable.

From his statements, it appears that Sheykh Ahmad tried to combine theology with philosophy, and to reconcile dogma with reason. The result of this attempt, according to our author, was to satisfy neither theologians nor philosophers, the former disliking him as unsound, the latter despising him as illogical. Nevertheless he had numerous admirers, including Fath 'Alí Sháh, who was then reigning. His followers were called after him Sheykhís. When Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb put forward his doctrine, many of the latter embraced it, and became Bábis. The Sheykhís of the present day are, as before stated, those who consider Háji Muhammad Karím Khán of Kirmán as the successor of Háji Seyyid Kázim of Resht, who was the successor of the Sheykh himself, and the common teacher of both Háji Muhammad Karím Khán and Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the Báb.

Briefly, the chief peculiarities of Sheykh Ahmad's views seem to have been as follows. He declared that all knowledge and all sciences were contained in the Qur'án, and that therefore to understand the inner meanings of the latter in their entirety, a knowledge of the former must be acquired. To develop this doctrine, he used to apply cabbalistic methods of interpretation to the sacred text, and exerted himself to acquire familiarity with the various sciences known to the Muslim world.¹ He entertained the most

¹ It is worth remarking that Háji Muhammad Karím Khán, the Sheykhí, in his work entitled *Irshádú'l-'Awám* ("The Direction of the Common People"), similarly laid claim to a knowledge of the whole range of sciences. For this presumption, as well as that implied in the title of the book in question, he is severely censured both by the Muhammadans and the Bábis. Behá, in the *Íkán*, says that he declared in the above-mentioned book that the Ascension (*mi'râj*) of the Prophet could not be properly understood without a knowledge of some twenty sciences, including Alchemy, Philosophy, and Necromancy, and condemns him most strongly for thus making spiritual knowledge dependent on such sciences.

exaggerated veneration for the Imáms, especially the Imám Ja'far-i-Šádiq, the sixth of them in succession, whose words he would often quote. He wrote a treatise in which he asserted that in reciting the Súratu'l-Fátiḥa of the Qur'án, at the words "*Iyyáka na'budu*" ("thee do we worship"), the worshipper should fix his thoughts on 'Alí, and intend him ("*Amíru'l-Múminín-rá ḡaṣḡ kunud*"). He further asserted that the Imáms were creative powers, and the agents (*vakil*) of God in His government of the world; in support of this doctrine he adduced texts from the Qur'án, where God is called "*the Best of Creators*," and likewise quoted a traditional saying of 'Alí's, "*Ana Khálíku's-samáwáti wa'l-ardh*," "I am the creator of the heavens and the earth," for the same purpose. He used to live an austere life, believing that in his dreams he held converse with the Imáms, and received instruction from them. About the future life, and the resurrection of the body also, he held views which were generally considered to be heterodox, as previously mentioned. He declared that the body of man was composed of different portions, derived from each of the four elements and the nine heavens, and that the body wherewith he was raised in the resurrection contained only the latter components, the former returning at death to their original sources. This subtle body, which alone escaped destruction, he called *Jism-i-Huvarḡilyá*, the latter being supposed to be a Greek word. He asserted that it existed *potentially* in our present bodies, "like glass in stone." Similarly he asserted that, in the case of the Night-ascent of the Prophet to Heaven, it was this, and not his material body which performed the journey. On account of these views, he was pronounced unorthodox by the majority of the 'Ulamá, and accused of holding the doctrines of Mullá Šadrá, the greatest Persian philosopher of modern times. This he denied, and even pronounced Mullá Šadrá, and his follower, *Mullá Muḡsin-i-Fryz*, to be heretics, but he failed thereby to establish his own orthodoxy in the eyes of the clergy.

Such, in brief, were the doctrines of Sheykh Aḡmad Aḡsá'í; and his pupil and successor, Hájí Seyyid Kázim of

Resht, appears to have held and taught essentially the same views—which, for the rest, are, I believe, substantially the same as those held by the Sheykhís of the present day.

In them also I think we can discern the germs of the doctrines of the Báb, although the latter rapidly developed far beyond this point. As these only concern us at present, it is unnecessary to examine further the Sheykhí theology. It is sufficient to note three points only of Sheykh Ahmad's teachings: his extreme veneration for the Imáms, whom he regarded as the incarnate Attributes of God; his belief that he enjoyed spiritual communion with them, and received instruction from them; and his denial of a material resurrection, at any rate in the full sense in which it is generally held by the Muhammadan theologians.

SECOND PERIOD. DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINES OF MÍRZÁ 'ALÍ MUHAMMAD THE BÁB.

We now come to the *second* of the four periods which I have indicated above, viz. the doctrines of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb, and their gradual development. Here again the materials for an examination are abundant, but copies of the books, which exist only in manuscript, are extremely rare. Gobineau¹ states that his first writings were the Journal of his pilgrimage to Mecca, and a commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf, and then proceeds: "In 1848 he codified his prescriptions, so to speak, and collected them together in an Arabic book, which he entitled the *Beyán*, 'Explanation,' that is to say, the setting forth and expounding of all which it was important to know. . . . The word *Beyán*, once employed by the Báb, appeared to him to be very suitable to designate the sphere of ideas in which his thoughts moved, and thenceforth he applied it as a title to all which he composed." Here also M. le Comte de Gobineau displays his usual acumen and profound research. In the Persian *Beyán* (Váhid iii. chapter 17) the Báb says, "All the writings of the Point (Nuḡṭa) are called *Beyán*, though

¹ *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, p. 311.

in the original reality this term is confined to verses" (*i.e.* Arabic verses, like those of the *Ḳur'án*, *áyát*).

In other passages of the same work the Báb divides all his writings into five classes, viz. Verses (*áyát*), Prayers (*munáját*), Commentaries (*tafástr*), Scientific treatises (*shu'ún-i-'ilmíyyé*), and Persian writings (*kalimát-i-fársíyyé*), and expressly states that although the term *Beyán* is properly applicable only to the first, it includes them all in a certain sense. After the mention of this first Arabic *Beyán*, M. le Comte de Gobineau continues, "One must especially notice amongst them (*i.e.* the Báb's works) a *Beyán* written in Persian, which is not the commentary of the first *Beyán* written in Arabic, for it in no wise seeks to elucidate the difficulties of the latter. . . Besides the two *Beyáns* which I have just mentioned there is also a third, similarly composed by the first Báb. Without being either more difficult or more easy to understand than the two others, it sums up their contents in a comparatively short form. The translation of this catechism will be found at the end of the book."¹ Five works of the Báb's own composition are therefore enumerated by Gobineau, viz. three *Beyáns* (two of these in Arabic and one in Persian), the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsus*, and the so-called "*Journal of the Pilgrimage.*" This is not intended to include them all, for the learned author adds, speaking of the works of the Báb, "they were sufficiently numerous considering his age and the shortness of his life." Of several others we have mention made in the Bábí history of which I spoke in my last paper. Thus we read of a *Commentary on the Súra-i-Kawthar* written at Shíráz for Áká Seyyid Yaḥyá of Dáráb, and a *Commentary on the Súra beginning "Wa'l-'Asr,"* written at Isfahán for the Imám Jum'a of that city, as well as a *Treatise on the Prophetic Mission of Muhammad (Nubuvvat-i-Kháṣṣé)* written for Minúchihir Kḥán, Mu'tamadu'd-Dawlah, then Governor of Isfahán; while many more of his works must have perished during the long persecution of the Bábís, and others, doubtless, still

¹ Gobineau, *loc. cit.* p. 312.

remain hidden away amongst them. The Báb himself states in one passage of the Persian Beyán that his writings comprise no less than 500,000 verses.

We must therefore limit our investigations to the five works enumerated by M. le Comte de Gobineau, and of these it will obviously be desirable to consider first of all the two earlier ones, viz. the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsus*, and the so-called *Journal of the Pilgrimage*.

Before proceeding to do so, however, let us glance once more at the circumstances of their author. Originally destined for commercial pursuits, our hero, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, had been sent at the age of fifteen or sixteen to Bushire to conduct his father's business there. From his childhood he seems to have been addicted to speculation and reverie, and we can hardly suppose that he found his employment at Bushire congenial. At any rate after a while he undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, and remained for some time at Kerbelá studying under Hájí Seyyid Kázim. Even then he attracted considerable attention, favourable or unfavourable according to the disposition of those who came in contact with him. Let us again refer to the *Kiṣāsu'l-'Ulamá*, the author of which, while in Kerbelá, saw the Báb on sundry occasions. He writes thus: "Several times I attended the lectures of Hájí Seyyid Kázim. Mír 'Alí Muhammad also used to come to his lectures, and had with him pen and inkstand, and whatever Seyyid Kázim said, of moist or dry, he used to write down in that same lecture. And he used to shave his beard, or cut it close to the roots with a scissors. The cause of his being known to the author of this book was this, that one day I was seated with a holy and just person at the head of the tomb of that Holy One (*i.e.* Huseyn), when we saw that same Seyyid (*i.e.* the Báb) enter. And he stood at the entrance of the holy place, and performed his visit (*ziyárat*), and turned back from that same place. I asked of that holy person (*i.e.* my companion), 'Who is this person?' That holy one replied, 'This man is Mír 'Alí Muhammad of Shíráz, and he is one of the pupils of Hájí Seyyid Kázim.' I said, 'Why does this man perform his visit (*ziyárat*) thus?'

That person replied, 'For this reason, that he considers this manner more in accordance with respect.' I replied, 'This is a mistake, for visiting (the shrines) is an act of worship, and as we have been commanded, and our Imáms have taught us, so should we perform the visitation; and they have ordained that we should go up to the side of the pure tomb, and should embrace the most pure tomb. But to stand afar off by way of (showing) respect is as though we were not to recite supererogatory prayers because we are unworthy to stand in the court of God.'"¹

A few lines further on the same author says: "A certain individual relates, 'I was seated with a pious personage in the burial-place of the Kázimeyn² (upon both of them be peace), when Mír 'Alí Muḥammad came up to the door of the burial-place. That pious person said, "May God kill this Seyyid, and cause the time of his death to arrive!" Then I said to that pious person, "Why dost thou curse this person?" That pious one said in reply, "In a little while vain beliefs will appear from this person, and will rend the honour of the Musulmán's, and be the cause of the shedding of their blood."'"

From the above extracts we learn that at this period, before he had put forward any claim, and while still attending the lectures of Hájí Seyyid Kázim, the Báb had adopted the practice (unusual in his class in Persia) of shaving the chin, which he appears to have followed, not merely in a casual manner, as a simple matter of choice, but from a dislike to allowing the beard to grow, for we find that subsequently he commanded his followers to do the same.³ For the rest, he followed the practice of the Sheykhís in his method of visiting the shrines of the Imáms, and from the

¹ This method of performing a visitation of the holy shrines at Kerbelá, etc., is one of the distinctive practices of the Sheykhís to this day. Hence they speak of other Shi'ite Muhammadans as "*Bálásaris*," i.e. those who go up to, and embrace, the head of the tomb.

² The tombs of "the two Kázims" (i.e. the seventh Imám, Músá Kázim, and the ninth Imám, Muḥammad Taki) are situated about three 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 Kázimeyn.

³ See Gobineau, *loc. cit.* p. 353, and Persian Beyán, Váhid viii. chapter 8.

frequency with which he appears to have done so, we may well imagine that he had imbibed from his teachers that extreme love and veneration of them which characterized the Sheykhí school.

Bearing in mind these facts, let us turn to examine the so-called "Journal of the Pilgrimage," spoken of by Gobineau as one of the earliest writings of the Báb. Of its contents, no account is given by the learned Frenchman; he merely says that in this book the Báb was "chiefly pious and mystic."¹ A little further on, however, in speaking of the departure of Mullá Huseyn from Shíráz for 'Iráq and K̄hurásán, to preach the new doctrine, he says, "In order not to appear, in the eyes of suspicious people, as an adventurer without rights, without evidences, and without proofs, he took with him the Narrative of the Pilgrimage and the Commentary on the Súra of Joseph, which at that time composed the sum of the Bábí works."

Turning to the account of the Musulmán historian in the Násikhu't-Tawárikh, we find the following account given of the same event: "So when he (the Báb) had examined Mullá Huseyn, by seeing and talking with him, and found that he was firm in his faith, he bade him journey to 'Iráq and K̄hurásán, and enter every city and village, and invite men to him. And he entrusted to him the *Ziyárat-námé*, which he had composed for the visitation of the Commander of the Faithful (i.e. 'Alí), and he likewise gave to him the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsus*, which he had himself written, so that he might read it to his converts, and make the eloquence of the Báb in those words an argument for his perfections."

There can, I apprehend, be no manner of doubt that the "*Ziyárat-námé*" spoken of here, and the "Narrative of the Pilgrimage" mentioned by Gobineau, are one and the same work. Now the latter translation of the word *Ziyárat-námé* appears to me somewhat misleading. It might, no doubt, mean "Book of the Pilgrimage," in the sense of "Narrative

¹ *loc. cit.* p. 147.

of the Pilgrimage"; but it has another, and I think a commoner meaning, viz. a book of prayers to be used on performing a *ziyarat*, or visitation, to the tombs of the Imáms, or other saints. And from the words of the Persian historian, "*which he had composed for the visitation of the Commander of the Faithful*" (i.e. 'Alí), I think we can have no doubt that it is used in this latter sense, and that it is such a book of prayers which we must look for as representing the earliest composition of the Báb.

Now, while I was at Kirmán, one of my Bábí friends there one day showed me a MS. scroll, and informed me that it was the *Ziyarat-námé* of "*Házrat-i-Nuqta-i-U'lá*" (i.e. the Báb). I had not made any enquiries for this work, of which, indeed, I had forgotten the existence, so that the communication was quite spontaneous. Of this I obtained a copy, which is now in my possession, and I have no doubt that this is the work spoken of by Gobineau and the Persian historian. The style of the Báb's writings is too remarkable to be easily mistaken, and the same peculiarities are found in this as in the Persian Beyán.

Let us go a step further. Mirzá Kázem Beg, in his article on "*Báb and the Bábís*" in the *Journal Asiatique*,¹ describes a small manuscript which had been procured for him by M. Melnikoff, who had acquired it, along with some Bábí talismans, in Teherán. Concerning the manuscript he says that it "consists of twenty-seven pages of the size of a sheet (of paper) folded in four, written in Arabic; and containing instructions on the ceremonial to be observed by every Bábí who has to present himself to one of the masters of his doctrine, either during a journey or at the threshold of his dwelling, and when he appears before him."

Now I believe that Mirzá Kazem Beg was mistaken in thinking that this was the use for which the prayers in this volume were intended, and I am almost certain that the manuscript of which he speaks was none other than this *Ziyarat-námé* of the Báb which we are now considering.

Let us verify this conclusion by seeing whether we can

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 6^e série, tome viii. 1866, pp. 498-502.

find in the text of the *Ziyarat-námé* obtained by me in Kirmán any passages which correspond in meaning with the translated specimens of Mírzá Kazem Beg.

His first specimen runs thus : "La première essence qui a reçu la beauté de la forme s'est levée, a brillé et a communiqué au monde la lumière émanant de la sphère du séjour de l'Éternel, et cette essence *était la vôtre.*" Searching through the *Ziyarat-námé* I find, just as Mírzá Kazem Beg says, "at the beginning of the prayer addressed to the 'friend of God,'" the following passage :

"*Awwalu jacharin turrika wa ashraḳa, thumma ṭala'a wa láha min sáhati ḳurbi haḳhrati'l-ezel 'alaykum. . .*" This I should translate, "The first substance was formed and shone forth, (and) then arose and gleamed from the court of the Presence of the Eternal upon you. . . ." Neither the Arabic text nor my translation is *identical* in meaning with Kazem Beg's rendering, but the resemblance is sufficiently striking to make it in the highest degree probable that he had in view the same passage. However, let us take his second specimen, which runs thus : "N'eût été *vous, rien* (personne) n'aurait connu Alláh ; n'eût été *vous, rien* n'aurait honoré Alláh ; n'eût été *vous, rien* n'aurait glorifié Alláh !" Two pages further on in my text I find the following passage :

"*Fa lawlákum, lam ya'rifilláha shey'un ; wa lawlákum, lam ya'budi'lláha shey'un ; wa lawlákum lam yukaddisi'lláha shey'un. . .*" This I translate, "And were it not for you, nothing would have known God ; and were it not for you, nothing would have worshipped God ; and were it not for you, nothing would have glorified God." Here, at least, I think there can be no doubt of the identity of my text and Mírzá Kazem Beg's translated specimen.

To establish the matter beyond all reasonable doubt, however, let us take his third specimen, which runs thus : "Alláh *vous* a consolidé sur son trône ; il *vous* a donné son verbe ; il *vous* a désigné pour distribuer à chacun le lot (sort) qui lui est destiné ; il *vous* a élu pour transmettre leur destin à tous ceux qui sont soumis à la Providence, etc." This, I have no doubt, represents the following passage :

“*Kad ja'alakum mustakirrīna 'ala 'arshihī, wa'n-nāṭiqīna min 'indihi, wa'l-mu'ṭna ilā kullī dhī ḥaqqin ḥaqqahu, wa'l-mublighīna ila kullī dhī ḥukmin ḥukmahu. . .*” This I translate: “He (God) hath made you to abide near His throne, and to speak on His part, and to give to every one who hath a claim his due, and to convey His decision to whomsoever needeth one.”

I think that I have now fairly proved that both the book which Mírzá Kazem Beg received from M. Melnikoff, and the “*Journal (or Narrative) of the Pilgrimage*” spoken of by M. le Comte de Gobineau, are identical with one another, and also with the Bábí *Ziyárat-námé* obtained by me in Kirmán.

I have discussed this point at considerable length because, from an examination of the Bábí MSS. in the British Museum, and in the catalogues of the *Institut des Langues Orientales* at St. Petersburg, I am convinced that a great difficulty in identifying Bábí MSS. exists, and is one of the chief barriers to a study of them and the doctrines they embody.

Having now, as I hope, sufficiently established the identity of this, apparently the earliest of the Báb's writings, it is necessary to examine briefly its contents. It appears to be rightly described by the Muhammadan historian as consisting of instructions and prayers for visiting the shrines of the Imáms. After a short invocation addressed to God it begins: “When thou wishest to visit the Friend of God, or one of the Imáms of the Faith, first purify thy body from everything which thy heart dislikes; then wash thyself with seven handfuls of water upon the head, then with four handfuls upon the right (side), then with three handfuls upon the left (side). And when thou hast ceased (therefrom), put on thy best garments, and make use of perfume; ¹ then sit facing the Ka'ba, and ask pardon of God thy Lord twelve times.

¹ The use of perfume, and especially rose-water, is strongly recommended both by the Báb (*Persian Beyán*, vi. 2, etc.) and Behá (see below, p. 977). The Bábis often use rose-water to wash their faces, and frequently keep otto of roses amongst their sacred books. Some of the Bábí books which were not written expressly for me, but were given to me by their owners, still preserve this perfume.

Then walk with dignity and gravity, and magnify¹ God on thy way, until thou reachest the gate of the sacred enclosure (*bábu'l-ḥaram*). There pause, and magnify God thy Lord twelve times. Then enter, without uttering a single word, and walk with gravity until thou reachest unto (a distance of) seven paces below the foot (of the tomb). There stand, and say . . . ”

After this follows the prayer to be used, which occupies the rest of the work.

Now of this introduction I will only remark two things. *Firstly*, we find enjoined the method of performing the *ziyarat* observed by the disciples of Sheykh Ahmad, and Háji Seyyid Kázim, alluded to by the author of the *Kiṣāsu'l-'Ulamá* as having first attracted his attention to the Báb. *Secondly*, we see the germs of the Báb's own ideas, subsequently much more fully elaborated, of the desirability of using perfume and wearing fine raiment. In his later works he not only sanctions but ordains the use of silk, gold and silver ornaments, etc., which are condemned by Islám. This remark applies to the whole of the work in question. In the main, it reflects the doctrines of the Báb's masters, but an undercurrent of new ideas, still hardly defined, is discernible in places.

It would be beyond the scope of the present paper to attempt any detailed analysis of the *Ziyarat-námé*; a brief summary of its most salient features is all that I can give at present. What chiefly strikes us is the utter humility of the speaker, and the diffidence with which he addresses himself to the Imáms, whom he so exalts as to make them Effulgences of the Divine Glory, Manifestations of God, and Intercessors with Him for sinful men, though in this he only goes beyond the generality of Shí'ites in degree. “*How shall I describe you,*” he says, “*when in truth description is ashamed before your visage? And how shall I praise you, when verily praise is abashed before your presence?*” He then goes on to say how, in spite of his unworthiness and their loftiness and holiness,

¹ By saying “*Alláhu akbar,*” “God is most great.”

he dares to approach them in supplication, and offer them his praises, desiring only complete submission to them, and annihilation in them, although, when he remembers his imperfections and sins, his gladness ceases, and his joy is troubled, his limbs quake, and his skin creeps. “*With what language,*” he continues, “*shall I confess my faults? and with what regard shall I look upon my actions? By your glory! were any but you aware of what I had acquired (i.e. what sins were chargeable to me), he would not look towards me, and would fly from the terror of the justice of God with regard to me, but ye, notwithstanding the greatness of your state, and the loftiness of your rank, and the glory of your brightness, and the completeness of your proofs, have pardoned me, and concealed me, as though I had not committed any fault, nor wrought any wrong.*” Along with this self-humiliation we find a craving for closer communion with the Imáms (such as we have seen Sheykh Ahmad Aḥsá’i believed himself to possess), and occasionally an expressed longing for their return to earth. “*Where,*” he says, in another place, “*are the days of your empire, that I may struggle for you? and where are the days of your glory, that I may obtain the blessing of (beholding) your visage? and where are the days of your kingdom, that I may take revenge for you on your enemies? and where are the days of your manifestation, that I may be independent of all except you? and where are the days of the appearance of the signs of your lordship, that by your permission I may say to whatsoever I will ‘Be!’ and it shall become existent before you? and where are the days which God hath promised unto His servants for your return?*”

This work seems to me of the utmost interest and importance in tracing the gradual formation of the Báb’s ideas, and, so far as I know, it is the sole record of this early period of his life, before he put forward any claim to divine inspiration. In spite of the faults of grammar and obscurities of style which mark this, along with all the other compositions of the Báb, there is something sublime and beautiful in the thought concealed beneath the somewhat uncouth phraseology. Here we behold, not the “*Báb,*” nor the “*Point of*

Utterance" ('*Ilazrat-i-Nuqta-i-Beyán*'), but Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the young enthusiast, the ardent disciple of Hájí Seyyid Kázim.

And now comes the first change. By dint of dwelling on these ideas, and concentrating all his thoughts on the Imáms, the unseen dispensers of God's will, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad becomes convinced that he enjoys the favour of a special communication with them. His teacher, Hájí Seyyid Kázim, dies, and, as has been mentioned, his disciples are left in doubt as to who is to succeed him. Of the exact sequence of events it is difficult to judge, by reason of the difference which exists between the various accounts. According to the Bábí historian, Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh (who afterwards played so prominent a part in the Bábí movement till his death at Sheykh Tabarsí early in A.D. 1849) went to Shiráz from Kerbelá to be cured of a palpitation of the heart from which he suffered. On arriving there, he enquired for the house of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, who had been his friend and fellow-student at Kerbelá, and finding his way there, knocked at the door, which was opened by the latter himself, who welcomed his old friend, and conducted him into the house. After the customary compliments and enquiries, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad said: "Is it not the case that you Sheykhís believe that it is necessary that after the death of the departed Seyyid some one should take his place? It is now five months since he died. After him, who is his successor?" Mullá Huseyn replied, "We have not yet recognized any one." Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad said, "What sort of person must he be?" After a little reflection, Mullá Huseyn described the qualities and attributes which must be found in him. "Do you behold those signs in me?" asked the Báb. Mullá Huseyn knew that Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad had only studied at Kerbelá for about two months, and had not while there shown any signs of an unusual degree of knowledge, besides having received only a rudimentary education previously. He was therefore greatly astonished at the question, and replied, "I see none of these signs in you." Shortly afterwards he finds a commentary on the

Súratu'l-Bakara lying on a shelf, takes it up and reads a little, and is surprised at the new meanings which it discloses. He asks Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, "Whose book is this?" but the latter only replies, "A youthful tyro (*juráni tázé-kár*) has written it, and he shows forth exceeding knowledge and greatness."

Next day they have another similar conversation, and the Báb again asks Mullá Huseyn if he sees in him the signs of spiritual leadership. The latter marvels at the persistent way he returns to this point, and determines to convince him of his deficient learning by asking him some questions. To his amazement, these are answered with surprising readiness and clearness; nay, even his inward thoughts and doubts seem to be divined and answered by the Báb. He is astonished, yet unwilling to believe in this unlettered youth, whom he has always looked on as so inferior in knowledge to himself. Finally, however, he is convinced, and accepts the doctrine of the Báb with an earnestness and sincerity to which his subsequent deeds bear ample witness. Once convinced, Mullá Huseyn does not rest idle. He hastens to inform his fellow-disciples, who are still in doubt as to whom they should choose as a successor to their late teacher; many of these come to Shíráz, and after more or less hesitation accept the new creed. Thus was formed the first nucleus of the Bábís.

The above particulars are derived from the Bábí history, of which I obtained a MS. copy at Shíráz, and of which another copy exists in the Library of the British Museum, numbered Or. 2942. There are difficulties connected with this account, for, according to the *Násikhu't-Tawárikh*, it was at Kúfa that Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad first put forward his claims, and Gobineau supports this statement (though he does not explicitly state that he began to preach openly till his return to Shíráz); while in another part of this same Bábí history another account of the first beginnings of Bábíism makes Medína the scene of the earliest disclosure of his doctrines. Mírzá Kazem Beg follows the *Násikhu't-Tawárikh*, but represents the Báb as revisiting Mecca after

he had gathered round him some disciples at Shíráz. According to this account, which best explains the difficulties of the case, it was on his *return* to Shíráz in A. H. 1260 (A. D. 1844) that the Báb was arrested by order of Mírzá Huseyn Khán, governor of Fárs, owing to the progress which the sect founded by him made under the active leadership of Mullá Huseyn. This view, too, is not free from difficulties, since the Báb expressly fixes the date of the *Zuhúr* (by which I suppose is meant the time when he first became convinced of his divine mission) as the 5th of Jamádi-ul-U'lá, A. H. 1260 (May 23rd, 1844), while, according to Mírzá Kazem Beg, it was in October of the same year that he was arrested and imprisoned at Shíráz. It is evidently impossible that in the space of six months he could have come to Shíráz from Kerbelá, gained adherents there, visited Mecca, and returned to Shíráz; and it is equally impossible that he should have begun preaching any definite doctrine on his own account before the date of the *Zuhúr* which he himself gives very accurately in the Persian Beyán. I cannot help thinking that Mírzá Kazem Beg has been misled by the somewhat proleptic account of the Persian historian, who, after stating that the "mischief" (*fitné*) began in A. H. 1260, describes what follows up to the removal of the Báb to Isfahán continuously, not recurring to the subject till he comes to speak of Kurratu'l-'Ayn, and thus certainly including in the account which he gives of the occurrences of the year A. H. 1260 events which took place subsequently to that date. This view is confirmed by the Bábí historian, who makes the arrest of the Báb at Shíráz occur in Ramazán, A. H. 1261 (September, 1845). This gives us a year and a half between the *Zuhúr* and the Báb's first imprisonment, a space of time amply sufficient for the events described as having occurred in it.

We must now turn our attention to the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuf*, the second of the two books which Mullá Huseyn carried with him on his missionary journey to 'Irák and Khurásán. This work is subsequent to the *Zuhúr*, and though much bolder in its dogma than the *Ziyárat-námé*,

which we have already considered, it is less so than the Persian *Boyán*, which was composed at Mákú, and was apparently the ultimate expansion of the Báb's views.

Of this "Commentary of the *Súra-i-Yúsuf*" (*Tafsír-i-Súra-i-Yúsuf*), as it is somewhat misleadingly called, I have not myself been able to obtain a copy; but a MS., which entirely answers to the description given of it, exists in the Library of the Institut des Langues Orientales at St. Petersburg, and is fully described, with copious extracts, by Baron Victor Rosen in his work which I have already quoted. Another MS. of what appears to be the same work exists in the Library of the British Museum, numbered Or. 3539. The notes which I have taken of this latter entirely correspond with Baron Rosen's description, even to the groups of mystical letters placed at the beginning of each portion of the Commentary. Concerning the St. Petersburg MS. Baron Rosen writes, "According to M. le Comte de Gobineau, one of the first works composed by the Báb must have been 'a commentary on the *súra* of the *Qur'án* called Joseph.' It appears to me almost certain that our manuscript is an example of this work," and I think there can be little doubt that this is so. Since Baron Rosen has so well described the book in question, I will forbear to speak of it at length, merely referring those who are interested in the matter to his admirable account. Briefly, it consists of a number of chapters (111 in the St. Petersburg copy), at the head of each of which, except the first, stands a verse from the *Súra-i-Yúsuf*. This is followed by the so-called "commentary," which appears to have a very slight connection with the text. These chapters are, in the St. Petersburg copy, stated to be without title; but in the British Museum MS. most of them are headed after the fashion of the *súras* of the *Qur'án*. The earlier ones have a title, *e.g.* the first is called "*Súratu'l-Malak*," the second "*Súratu'l-Ulamá*," the third "*Súratu'l-Imán*," etc. On the right side of this is written "*Shíráziyya*" (revealed at Shíráz), while on the left is written the number of verses of which the chapter consists, which appears to be forty-two in all cases. The book is entirely in Arabic, and

is obscure and ungrammatical, like the rest of the Báb's writings. It must have been composed between May, A.D. 1844, and December, 1845, and therefore stands midway between the *Ziyárat-námé* and the Persian Beyán. In it a distinct claim to a divine mission is put forward. Thus, in the first chapter, it is written,

“*Alláhu ḥad ḥaddara an yakḥruja dhálíka'l-kitábu fī taf-siri aḥsani'l-ḳiṣāsi min 'inda Muḥammadi 'bni 'l-Ḥasani 'bni 'Aliyyi 'bni Muḥammadi 'bni 'Aliyyi 'bni Músa 'bni Ja'fari 'bni Muḥammadi 'bni 'Aliyyi 'bni 'l-Ḥuseyni 'bni 'Aliyyi 'bni Abi Tálibin 'alá 'abdihi, li-yakúna ḥujjata'lláhi min 'inda 'dh-dhikri 'a'á 'l-'álamina baḡḡhá.*”

“God hath decreed that this book, in explanation of the ‘best of stories’ (*i.e.* the *Súra-i-Yúsuf*, which is so called), should come forth from Muhammad, son of Hasan, son of ‘Alí, son of Muhammad, son of ‘Alí, son of Músa, son of Ja’far, son of Muhammad, son of ‘Alí, son of Huseyn, son of ‘Alí, son of Abú Tálib, unto his servant, that it may be the proof of God on the part of the Remembrance¹ reaching the two worlds.”

It is interesting to observe that the claim put forward at this period by Mírzá ‘Alí Muhammad is that he enjoys a special spiritual communion with the *twelfth* or *absent* Imám (Imám-i-*Gháh’ib*), whose return, as the Imám Mahdí, the Shí’ites are expecting. So far our author does not go much beyond Sheykh Ahmad, who, as we have seen, claimed to receive instructions from the absent Imáms. It is, I think, in this sense that Mírzá ‘Alí Muhammad at this period assumes the title of “*Báb*,” or “*Gate*”; he is the *gate* whereby men must approach the Imám, and the channel whereby the latter reveals to them the true meaning of the *Ḳur’án*. I do not think that he claimed to be the “*Gate of God*” (*Bábu ’lláh*), as the Persian historian says in the *Násikhū’t-Tawárikh*. At all events it must be borne in mind

¹ I think that by the “*Remembrance*” (*dhikr*) the Báb is meant. It has been suggested to me that by reading *li-yakúna ḥujjata ’lláhi*, etc., a different and perhaps a better sense is given to the latter part of the passage, viz. “that the proof (or demonstration) of God may reach the two worlds on the part of the Remembrance.” For a similar use of *dhikr* see Appendix II. § 2.

that at a later date he abandoned this title for a higher one, that of "*Nuḡṭa-i-U'lá*" (the first Point), or "*Nuḡṭa-i-Beyán*" (the Point of Utterance, or Explanation; *i.e.* Revelation). Amongst those who did not embrace his doctrines, the title of Báb was still applied to him, and his followers thus received, and are still known by, the name of Bábís. The latter, however, never mention Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad now as the Báb, but call him either "*Hazrat-i-A'lá*" (His Highness the Supreme), or "*Hazrat-i-Nuḡṭa-i-U'lá*" (His Highness the First Point), or "*Hazrat-i-Rabbi'ul-A'lá*" (His Highness my Lord the Supreme). Neither do they call themselves *Bábís* as a rule, but rather "*Ahlu'l-Beyán*," or "*Ahlu'l-Behá*," according to whether their sacred book is the Beyan, or whether they are believers in Behá.¹ In the writings of the latter the term "*Mala'ul-Beyán*" or "*Ahlu'l-Beyán*" (people of the Beyán) often means those Bábís who do not accept Behá as "He whom God shall manifest," *i.e.* the Ezelis, whom, as I have said, the Behá'is detest.

There are a few other points which it is desirable to notice with regard to the "*Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsun*." Outwardly, at least, the dictates of Islám seem to be in the main accepted, and the K̄ur'án is not declared to be abrogated. Thus it is written, "Whosoever denies Islám, God will not accept from him any of his actions in the Day of Resurrection." At the same time it is implied that a true knowledge of what Islám means is to be obtained only through the Báb: "And verily God will not accept from any one any of his actions, save from him who comes to the Báb (Gate) by the Báb (Gate) adoring God the Eternal, commended on the part of the Báb."

The month of Ramazán is ordered to be kept as a fast, and no mention seems to be made of the new month of fasting, consisting of nineteen days, which was afterwards instituted.

Smoking is forbidden absolutely. We know from the *Násikhu't-Tawárikh* that the refusal of the earlier Bábís to

¹ In conversation *Aḡháb* (Companions) and *Aḥbáb* (Friends) are the terms generally used by the Bábís to denote their co-religionists.

smoke the *ḡalyán* (water-pipe), so much in vogue in Persia, was regarded as one of their distinguishing marks. At Yárjamand, for example, Mullá Huseyn and some of his followers were invited to supper by one Áḡá Seyyid Muhammad, a Musulmán; but when pipes and coffee were brought in, the former declared them unlawful, and a violent discussion ensued, which terminated in the host forcibly expelling his guests.¹

Divorce appears to be forbidden,² as well as the use of drugs to produce abortion. Marriage with unbelievers is prohibited until they believe.

Although, so far, there is no great divergence from the precepts and doctrines of Islám, there are other passages of a different type, which suggest a considerable development of the Báb's ideas. In these he not only reprobates the 'Ulamá, and lays stress on his divine mission, but even distinguishes the believers in his book from the "people of the *Ḳur'án*," thus at least implying that the former is a new revelation. Thus he says:

"O people of the earth! Give thanks to God, for verily we have delivered you from the doctors of doubt ('Ulamá'udh-dhann), and have caused you to attain unto the region of the blessed Sinai."³

Again he says:

"And verily God hath made lawful the food of the people of the *Ḳur'án* to the people of this book, and verily we have made lawful the food of the people of the book (Jews and Christians?) unto them."

Of himself he speaks often, but in various, and often very enigmatical ways. Thus in one place he calls himself "This well-favoured Arabian youth, in whose grasp God hath placed the kingdom of the heavens and the earth;" in another he says, "O people of the earth! hear the voice of your Lord,

¹ Cf. Gobineau, *op. cit.* p. 303, and Kremer's *Herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, p. 212. The latter believes Bábism to be connected in origin with the Wahhábí movement, and cites the prohibition of the *ḡalyán* and coffee by the former as evidence in favour of this view.

² See Rosen, *MSS Arabes*, pp. 183, 185.

³ Alluding, apparently, to the new law revealed to himself, and comparing the 'Ulamá and Mullás to those who seduced the Israelites to worship the golden calf.

the Merciful, from the tongue of celebration of this Arabian youth, the son of 'Alí the Arabian;" a few lines further on he describes himself as "*Hádha'l-ghulamú'l-'arabiyú'l-Muhammadiyyú'l-'Alawiyyú'l-Fátimiyyú'l-Makkiyyú'l-Madaníyyú'l-Abtahíyyú'l-'Iráki,*" "This Arabian youth, of Muhammad, of 'Alí, of Fátima, of Mecca, of Medina, of Baḥá, of 'Irák."¹ In another passage he alludes to himself as "called by the Persians a Shirázi."

In other places he speaks of himself in a manner entirely mystical, as "the Light on Sinai, and Sinai in the rising-place of the manifestation" (*an-núru fí't-Túr, wa't-Túru fí malá' idh'dhuhúr*); "the (letter) *Bá*² which permeates the water of the Letters, and the Point which stands at the Gate of the two Alifs" (*Al-Bá'us-sá'iratu fí'l-má'il-hurúfín* (sic) *wa'n-Nuḫṭatu'l-wáki'fatu 'alá bábi'l-Alifeyn*); "the mystery (which is) in the Gospel Syrian, and in the Pentateuch Hebrew, and the mystery concealed in the *Qur'án* (which is) of Muhammad" (*As-sirru fí'l-Injíl Suryáni, wa's-sirru fí'l-Tawrá't rabbáni, wa's-sirru'l-mustasirru fí'l-Furḡán Aḥmadi*).³

It was probably at about the period which this book repre-

¹ Baron Rosen, in his work entitled "*Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*" (St. Petersburg, 1877), says, in a note on this passage (p. 186), "Ce jeune homme, qui est tantôt 'Arabi, tantôt, 'Ajami, Madani, etc. revient très-souvent dans le courant du livre (. . . presque sur chaque feuillet), sans que l'on puisse comprendre exactement son rôle." I have no doubt myself that Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad is throughout speaking of himself. He calls himself "*Muḥammadi,*" "*Alawi,*" "*Fátimi,*" because, as a Seyyid, he is descended from these. That he should describe himself as a *Shirázi* is only natural, as is the use of the epithet '*Ajami* (Persian); but it is harder to see for what reason he calls himself "*Makki,*" "*Madani,*" "*Iráki,*" etc. I can only suppose that on account of his visits to Mecca and Medina, and his sojourn at Kerbelá, he considers himself entitled to apply these titles to himself. In the whole of what I have written concerning the "*Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsus*" I wish to express my profound obligations to Baron Rosen's work, of which I have availed myself freely, not having the original at hand.

² I imagine that the *Báb*, following other Eastern mystics, means by this the '*Akt-i-Kull*, or Universal Intelligence. Sheykh Muḥiyú'd-Dín ibn'u'l-'Arabí, who flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century of our era, and whose works are much esteemed by the Súfis, says, in his Commentary on the first chapter of the *Qur'án*, "Here is a subtle point, which is this, that the prophets . . . have placed the letters of the alphabet in correspondence with the degrees of Existences . . . and therefore it is said, '*Existences emerged from the *Bd* of Bismi'Allah,*' since that is the letter which follows the *Alif*, which is placed to correspond with the Essence of God. And it (*i.e.* the letter *Bd*) signifies the First Intelligence, which was the first thing which God created."

³ I only hazard a guess at the meaning of these passages, especially the last two, which are very obscure. Indeed as they stand they appear to contravene the rules of grammar.

sents that an event occurred which deserves passing notice. The Báb wrote to Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán (who, as has been mentioned, refused to admit that the former was the lawful successor of Hájí Seyyid Kázim, which he himself claimed to be), and invited him to acknowledge his authority. This the latter not only entirely refused to do, but further wrote a treatise against the Báb and his doctrines.¹ A copy of this was sent to the Báb, and placed in his hands, while he was surrounded by his disciples, to one of whom he handed the book, desiring him to read some of it aloud. The latter accordingly began at the beginning, which ran in this fashion: "Thus says the sinful (*athím*) servant, Muhammad Karím, son of Ibráhím." Now it is usual for a Musulmán author to speak of himself as "standing in need of God's mercy," "poor, and of no account," and the like; but *not* as "*athím*" (a word chosen by the Báb's adversary, doubtless, because it rhymes with *Karím* and *Ibráhím*), which has a much worse signification, denoting actual impiety. When the Báb heard this, therefore, he said, "That is sufficient; he has condemned himself out of his own mouth." He then took the book, and wrote on the title-page the Arabic letters *Há-Mím*, and sent it back to its author, who probably did not fail to understand the allusion, which consisted in a reference to the chapter of the *Qur'án* entitled *Súratu'd-Dukhán* (which commences with these mystical letters), and the forty-second and following verses thereof, which run as follows:

"*Inna shajarata'z-zakḳúm. (43) Ta'ámu'l-athím. . . . (48) Dhuk! innaka anta'l-'azízu'l-karím!*"

"Verily (the fruit of) the tree of al-Zakḳúm shall be the food of the impious (*athím*); . . . Taste (this); for thou art that mighty (and) honourable (*karím*) person."²

¹ At least *two* such treatises were written by Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán. One of them was composed at a later date than this, probably after the Báb's death, at the special request of Naṣíru'd-Dín Sháh. Of these two, one has been printed, and is called "the crushing of falsehood" (*Jsháku'l-Báfil*); the other was shown to me by a Sheykhí at Kirmán, but I do not know what name it bears.

² Sale's *Koran*, ch. xlv. For a similar anecdote see Ouseley's *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets*, London, 1816, pp. 84-86.

This passage is said to have been specially levelled against Abú Jahl, the great opponent of Muhammad; and since the Bábís believe that in every *Zuhúr* or "manifestation" there must be a "*Point of Darkness*," opposed to the "*Point of Light*," they readily accepted this wonderfully appropriate application of the words of the *Kur'án*, and thenceforth identified Hájí Muhammad Karím *Khán* with the former.

We must now turn to consider the latest works of the Báb, in which his doctrine is fully elaborated.

We know, from the investigations of M. le Comte de Gobineau, that there are at least three Beyáns, two of these being in Arabic, and one in Persian. Of the shorter Arabic Beyán a translation is given by this writer in his "*Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*." The original text of this I have not seen, neither do I know whether it exists in Europe, though it is probably included amongst the Bábí MSS. obtained by Gobineau in Persia, which were six in number.¹ A work, which would seem to be the longer Arabic Beyán, is mentioned by Dorn,² who gives extracts from it, but of this likewise I do not possess a copy, neither do I think that it is to be found in the British Museum.

With the Persian Beyán it is otherwise. A very good MS. copy of this, written by the great Bábí poet *Nabil*, whose chronology of the life of Behá I have already spoken of, exists in the British Museum (Or. 2819). Another copy, in the St. Petersburg Library, is very fully described, with extracts, by Baron Victor Rosen.³ A third I was fortunate enough to obtain with some difficulty, and much entreaty, from some of my Bábí friends in Persia; and I have satisfied myself of its identity with the other two. I shall therefore take this as representing the ultimate doctrine of the Báb, since I have been able to study it at my leisure, and there is ample internal evidence in it to prove that it

¹ See *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, April 13th, 1871. Unfortunately no details are given about these six Bábí MSS., so that it is impossible to identify them. I learn from Baron Rosen that they are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

² *Ibid.* Dec. 22nd, 1864. See also Baron Rosen, *MSS. Arabes*, pp. 179-180.

³ Baron Rosen, *Manuscripts Persans de l'Institut*, etc., St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 1-32.

was composed during the last three years of the life of its author, *i.e.* during his imprisonment at Mákú (1847–1850). Before proceeding to sum up the doctrines contained in this, however, I will dispose of the other works of the Báb.

These, as I have pointed out, were numerous; but so far as I am aware no copy of the Commentaries on the Súras entitled respectively *Baḥara*, *Kawthar*, or '*Aṣr*' has found its way to Europe. It is much to be hoped that efforts to obtain these may be made by those who have the opportunity of doing so, in order that all the materials for an exhaustive examination of the tenets of this religion and their gradual development may be collected while this is still possible.

Of one other work, however, which is attributed to the Báb, I possess a copy. This is known amongst the Bábís as the "Seven Proofs" (*Dalá'il-i-Sab'a*), but my MS. thereof is, as usual, without title. This is a comparatively short treatise, written in proof of the divine mission of the Báb. I am unable to determine its authorship, but from the style of the document I do not think that it was composed by the Báb himself, although it is less easy to pronounce positively on this point than might at first sight appear, inasmuch as the latter always speaks of himself in the third person as "the Point" (*al-Nuḳṭa*), "the Tree of Truth" (*Shajara-i-Haḳīkat*), or "the Gate" (*Báb*), as the case may be; and moreover his followers naturally to some extent imitated his style and manner of thought and expression. I should conjecture the writer to have been one of the Báb's companions rather than himself. The epistle in question appears to have been written in answer to a letter from one of the disciples of the late Hájí Seyyid Kázim, containing sundry questions, and setting forth certain difficulties which the questioner experienced with regard to the acceptance of the Báb. Hence the writer several times quotes sayings of Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í and Hájí Seyyid Kázim, adding in the case of the latter such remarks as "which you yourself have repeatedly heard from the departed Seyyid," "for you yourself are one of the disciples of the departed Seyyid," etc.

Though we cannot with certainty determine either the

writer of the letter, or the person to whom it was addressed, it is possible to fix the date of its composition approximately. It was written *after* the publication of the Beyán, from which the writer quotes, and of which he speaks much. The Báb is also spoken of twice as confined "*in the mountain of Mákú,*" and allusion is made to the sufferings which he had undergone. Now the Báb was imprisoned at Mákú for about three years, viz. from the spring of A.D. 1847 till his martyrdom in July, 1850, and this book was therefore composed during this period. But one passage, if I understand it aright, fixes its date still more accurately, for the writer quotes a prophetic tradition of Kumeyl concerning the events of *five* successive years of the Zuhúr, and, speaking of the *first four*, points out this prophecy as already fulfilled, adding, "and in the fifth year thou *shall see* (fulfilled), '*there shone forth a light from the morning of Eternity,*' if thou dost not thyself flee away and become troubled."

Now since "the beginning of the Zuhúr" was in A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844), this would fix the date of this work as A.H. 1264, or early in A.H. 1265 (A.D. 1848-49), *i.e.* about a year or a year and a half before the Báb's death.

The book itself contains an excellent summary of the arguments for the truth of the new religion, which are also given in substance, but with less conciseness and sequence, in the Persian Beyán; and in a fuller form in the Íkán. I shall therefore choose this place to set them forth once and for all. In doing so, I shall state them as briefly as is consistent with clearness; and, as none of the three works from which I quote are yet available to the public, it appears to me unnecessary to give references to particular passages.

Briefly stated, then, the line of argument is this: The Unchanging and Unchangeable Essence of God has existed from Eternity of Eternities in unapproachable Glory and Purity. No one has known It as It should be known, and no one has praised It as It should be praised. It is above all Names, and free from all Likenesses or Similitudes. All things are known by It, while It is more glorious than that It should be known through aught else. From It was pro-

duced Its Creation, which has had no beginning in time, and shall have no end. This Emanation or Creation was produced by the Primal Will (*Mashiyyat-i-U'lá*), and though eternal in duration, is subsequent to the latter as to causation. Since it is impossible for created beings to know the Divine Essence, the Primal Will has, for their guidance and instruction, incarnated itself from time to time in a human form. These incarnations are known as "Prophets," and there have been endless numbers of them in the Past, as there will be in the future. That which spoke in all the prophets of the Past, now speaks through the Báb (or the Nuḳṭa, to speak more accurately, since, as we have seen, the former title belongs to a period antecedent to these teachings), and will speak through "Him whom God shall manifest" (*Man yuḏḥiruhu'lláh*), and after him through others, for there is no cessation to these Manifestations. The Primal Will is like the Sun, which rises and sets day after day, but is always the same Sun in reality, though we may, in ordinary parlance, speak of "the sun of to-day," or "the sun of yesterday." So in like manner, though we may, in common language, speak of Adam, Noah, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammad as distinct, in truth that which spoke in each of them was One, *viz.* the Primal Will. This is the meaning of the saying of Muhammad, "*Amma'n-nabiyyína, fa-aná,*" "But as to the prophets, I (am them)." The last manifestation of the Primal Will took place 1270 years ago (counting not from the hijra, but from the first revelations received by Muhammad till the beginning of this Zuhúr), and it has now incarnated itself in Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the Nuḳṭa, and speaks through him.

In each manifestation news has been given of the following one. Thus the Jews were told to expect a Messiah, but when he came as Jesus they rejected him, because they had imagined his coming in a different way, and one which was impossible, and contrary to nature. So again the followers of Christ were told to expect His return, yet when He returned as Muhammad they for the most part failed to recognize Him, and are to this day expecting His coming,

although more than a thousand years have elapsed since that took place. So likewise the Muhammadans are expecting the coming of the Imám Mahdí, and continue to pray for that day when he shall appear, and, whenever they mention his name, add the formula "*'ajjala'lláhu farajah,*" "May God hasten his gladness;" yet now he *has* come, with verses and signs (*áyát va bayyinát*), they refuse to recognize him, because the manner of his coming does not correspond with their own vain imaginings of how he *ought* to come.

The Muhammadans in particular are now addressed thus: You blame the Jews because they did not accept Christ as the promised Messiah. You also condemn the Christians because they did not recognize Muhammad as the Promised Comforter, although Christ has clearly said, "*Ya'ti min ba'di ahadun, ismuhu Ahmad*" (One shall come after me whose name is Ahmad¹)."

You admit that they were led to expect certain prodigies as announcing and ushering in this return of the Promised One, but that these were intended, and should have been understood, in a spiritual sense. So far you are right. All sacred books are written in a mystical language which needs interpretation, as it is said by the Prophet of the Qur'án that each verse has meanings within meanings; and as the Imáms have said, '*Nahnu natakalámu bi-kalámin, wa nuridu minhu ihdá² wa sab'una wajhan,*' 'We speak with a speech, and intend by it seventy-one (different) aspects.' This symbolic language is common to all the prophets, and the key to it is given in the sacred books themselves. By the *Sun*, for instance, is meant the Primal Will, manifesting itself in the Prophet of the Age, as before explained. By the *Moon* and *stars* are meant his immediate companions and disciples.

¹ It is generally believed by Muhammadans, at any rate in Persia, that such words were spoken by Christ, and are to be found in the Gospels. The belief is no doubt based on the prophecies concerning the *Paraclete*, for which word they would substitute *Periktulos*, which corresponds in meaning with Ahmad or Muhammad (praised, laudable). See Ibn Hishám's "*Life of Muhammad*," ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. i. pp. 149-150, where the Greek word is stated as *Baraklitis*, and the Syriac as *Manhamanna*.

² I have not ventured to alter the MS. reading, though I think it should be *ahadan* rather than *ihdá*.

Thus, when amongst the signs of the 'end of the world,' or 'the coming of the Promised One' (both of which mean the same thing, for only the cycle of one Manifestation comes to an end, while the actual world is eternal), it is said that '*the Sun shall be darkened, and the stars shall fall from heaven,*' or the like, what is meant is that the sacred book of the last Manifestation is abrogated, and the divines, or priests, or mullás, whose honour and position depended on their being the expounders of that book, have fallen from this high privilege, since their book is now superseded by another. Such is the meaning of the *Súratu't-Takwír* (ch. lxxx. Sale's translation), 'When the Sun shall be folded up; and when the stars shall fall,' and of the *Súratu'l-Infítár* (ch. lxxxii.), which begins, 'When the heavens shall be cloven in sunder, and when the stars shall be scattered.'

Now the Muhammadans blame the Jews and Christians, yet act in precisely the same way themselves, urging as a reason for not accepting this manifestation that the expected signs of the Imám's coming have not appeared. Either they must admit that the latter were justified in their conduct, or they must abandon the puerile objections whereby they seek to justify their own unbelief.

Have they accepted Islám intelligently, or unintelligently as a mere inheritance from their parents? If the latter, they are not truly believers at all, inasmuch as they believe without reason, and are, in fact, exactly like the unbelievers of old, who answered the appeals of the prophets who came to them with the words, "Verily we found our fathers in this religion, and we follow them." If the former, by reason of what proofs have they accepted it? They have never seen the prophet, neither have they witnessed any miracles, so that the written word of the prophet only is their proof. This, too, was the proof to which Muhammad always appealed. When his opponents demanded a sign, he challenged them to imitate the *Kur'an*, saying, 'Produce a *súra* like it, if ye speak truly.' No one of his adversaries was able to do this, and for twelve centuries and more the challenge had remained unanswered. Now, in these days, a young man of the race

of Hášim, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad of Shíráz, had come, and claimed a divine mission, in proof of which he had produced verses and a book like the *Ḳur'án*, but surpassing it in wisdom and eloquence. If then the *Ḳur'án* itself was a sufficient proof of the divine mission of Muhammad, the *Beyán* was equally satisfactory evidence of the truth of the prophetic claim advanced by its writer. Which was more wonderful? That Muhammad, brought up from his youth amongst the Arabs, should, in the course of a sufficiently long life, produce a comparatively small book like the *Ḳur'án*, written in his native language; or that this young Shírází, untrained in the learning of colleges, and accounted as nought by the learned, should in the space of a few hours write thousands of verses, like those of the *Ḳur'án*, in Arabic, which was not his native tongue, and in which he had not been instructed? It was objected that the verses of the *Beyán* were not only *not eloquent*, but that they were full of grammatical errors. Such an objection showed ignorance of the nature of the proof on which Muhammad's claim rested. The *Kur'án* was not so "eloquent" in the ordinary meaning of the term as many of the old Arabic poems, like the *Mu'allakát*, written in the 'days of ignorance.' The eloquence intended and appealed to as a proof of divine inspiration was the quality of profoundly affecting men's hearts, so that they were ready to die for their convictions; the power of realization or actualization possessed alike by the Divine and the Prophetic word. It is written that "When God wishes to create anything, He only says 'Be,' and it is." The word of the Prophet, who is an incarnation of the Primal Will, has the same quality. What he says comes to pass. Muhammad said, 'Make a pilgrimage to Mecca,' and now each year brings thousands flocking thither. He said, 'Fast in Ramazán,' and millions obey him year by year, in spite of the inconvenience they thereby suffer. Now once again a new command has come forth; once more, in answer to the divine '*A-lasta-bi-rabbikum?*'¹ ('Art thou not

¹ *Rúz-i-'Alast'* (The Day of 'Art thou not?') is a phrase familiar to all students of Persian poetry. The tradition is that in the beginning of Creation God addressed

of thy Lord's?'), thousands have answered, '*Balá ! Balá !*' ('*Yea ! Yea !*')

The word of the '*Nuḡta*' (Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad) is as powerful to change and to construct as the word of Muhammad. For the rest, the Kur'án, like the Beyán, might, when first produced, have been declared less eloquent in style, less accurate in grammar, and less pure in diction, than ancient Arabic poems like the Mu'allakát. Now it is regarded as the criterion of eloquence, as the Beyán will be. Divine revelations cannot be criticized as regards style and grammar, for the latter are merely deduced from them.¹

Such, in brief, is the line of argument adopted by the Bábís in dealing with Muhammadans. Its cogency is so far recognized by many of the latter that they do not often seek to meet a Bábí missionary in fair discussion; and I have heard it said by Persian Muslims who had fallen in with the latter on the pilgrimago to Mecca or Kerbolá, where free speech was possible, that as a last resort they were compelled to declare that they were sceptics (*lá-maz-hab*), since in no other way could they escape the logic of their opponents.

When dealing with Christians, Jews, or Zoroastrians, the Bábís adapt their arguments to the particular case, which the knowledge their missionaries generally possess of the respective beliefs of each enables them to do with considerable skill.

I now come to the Persian Beyán, the latest and fullest of the Báb's works. As I have already discussed the controversial portion of it above, it only remains for me to speak

the souls that had been created with these words, "*A-lasta bi-rabbikum ?*" and they all answered, "*Balá ! Balá !*" ("Yea ! Yea !"). According to another tradition, only the souls of believers answered 'Yea.' The Bábís apply the tradition in this way, viz. as the summons of the Primal Will speaking through a Prophet, and inviting all to follow him, for, as we have seen, with them Creation is co-existent in duration with God, and only subsequent in causation.

¹ This is stated explicitly in the first chapter of the second Vahid of the Persian Beyán: "*Va agar nuḡté giri dar i'ráb-i-ḡird'at, yá kavd'id-i-'arabiyyé shavad, mardú-l-ast ; zirú ki in kavd'id az áyát bar dúsheté mi-shavad, na áyát bar dnhá f'iri mi-shavad,*" "And if exception be taken to the vocalization (*i.e.* pointing) of the text (*lit.* reading), or the rules of Arabic (according to which it is written), he (*i.e.* the objector) is rejected; for these rules are removed from (revealed) verses, nor do the verses flow forth according to them." See Baron Rosen's *Manuscripts P'rsans*, p. 3, where the verse in question is quoted, and explained.

briefly of the doctrines it embodies (in so far as they have not been stated already) and the ordinances it lays down. The reasons which have led me to take the Persian Beyán instead of either of the two Arabic Beyáns have been already set forth.

On a perusal of the Beyán, three peculiarities therein strike us most forcibly. These are: *firstly*, the peculiar arrangement of the chapters into groups of nineteen; *secondly*, the stress which is laid on the doctrine that this revelation is *not final*, but that believers therein must continually expect the coming of *Him whom God shall manifest*, who will confirm what he pleases of the Beyán, and alter what he pleases; *thirdly*, the certainty with which the writer speaks of the ultimate prevalence which his religion will obtain. These three points must be considered in detail.

First, then, what is the significance of the number nineteen, and of the peculiar arrangement of the Beyán?

Each of the letters of the Arabic alphabet has, as is well known, a numerical value, and according to these values they are arranged in an order differing somewhat from that in which they are ordinarily placed. Hence every word may be represented by a corresponding number, formed by adding together the values of its component letters. This property is utilized in representing dates by a sentence which at once describes the events, and sums up in the numerical values of its component letters that number which it is desired to chronicle. The cabbalistic method of interpreting texts, or discovering their inmost meanings, depends on the same property of the letters, as does the science of talismans. In short, the "Science of the Letters," and the "Science of Numbers," are in the East highly esteemed and diligently cultivated, and skill therein has always been considered an accomplishment of the highest order. The subject has been treated of at considerable length by M. le Comte de Gobineau in his *Traité des Ecritures Cunéiformes*. Sheykh Muḥiyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, a learned Arab of Spain, who flourished at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries of our era, and whose numerous and erudite

writings profoundly affected Muhammadan mysticism, and are still eagerly studied in Persia and Turkey, employed this science largely in his interpretation of the *Ḳur'án*. I have already, in a note, made use of his explanation of the meaning of the letter *Bá*, to explain why the *Báb* called himself "the *Bá* which pervades all the Letters;" and the fact that he also discovered the sacred character of the number *nineteen* may well make us ask if the *Báb* may not also have been influenced by his views.

Interesting as the "Science of the Letters" is, I have not space to treat of it here at any length, but must confine myself to what is necessary for a comprehension of the point under discussion. We have seen that the letter *Bá* in the world of letters corresponds to the "Primal Will" or "First Intelligence," since it "follows the (letter) *Alif*, which is placed to correspond with the Essence of God." Now *Alif* stands for One, and in Arabic One is '*Váhid*.' If we add up the numerical values of the letters in this word *Váhid*, we find that the number 19 results. Thus 1 represents the unmanifested Essence of God, and 19 the first manifestation of the same. Again, God is absolute Being, which in Arabic is called "*Vujúd*." If we add up the letters in this word, 19 is again produced. So also in the formula '*Bismi'lláhi'r-Rahmán'r-Rahím*,' "In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement," which is used before commencing any action, there are 19 letters.

Now all things that exist do so only so far as they are permeated by the Divine Essence. It is the One Being diffused through them, and manifested in them, which raises them from Nothingness (*adam*) to the rank of "Contingent" or "Possible Being" (*imkán*), *i.e.* Being, the existence or non-existence of which is equally *possible* (as opposed to "*Vujúd-i-Vájibu'l-Vujúd*," "Necessarily Existing Being," which cannot even be thought of as ceasing to exist). This afflux of Being whereby the Contingent exists is called '*Fayz-i-Aḥdas*' (the Most Holy Outpouring), and sometimes '*Váhid-i-sárv dar jamát-i-a'dád*,' "the One which pervades all the Numbers." When, therefore, we descend from the

sphere of Absolute Being, and the undifferentiated Divine Essence, to that of "the Names," *i.e.* of Differentiation and Plurality, we must take into account the "One pervading the Numbers" whereby the latter exist.

Thus, one of the principal Attributes or Names of God is 'Hayy,' the Living. If we take the sum of the letters of this word, we find it is 18. Adding to this the number of the Alif—the "One pervading the Numbers"—we again get the sacred number 19.

The number 1, therefore, represents the Unmanifested, Undifferentiated, Unknowable Essence; 19, the manifestation thereof. Going a step further, we find 19×19 , *i.e.* 361, represents the manifested Universe. This the Bábis call 'adud-i-kullu shey,' "the number of All Things;" and if we add up the values of the letters in 'kullu shey,'¹ we find they come to 360, which, with the "One pervading the Numbers," makes 361.

The number 19, being thus recognized by the Báb as the sacred number, plays a prominent part in his system. God, the One (*Váhid*=19), the True Existence (*Vujúd*=19), the Living (*Hayy* + the One pervading the Numbers=19), by means of the 19 "Letters of the Living" (*Hurúfát-i-Hayy*) created "All Things" (*kullu shey* + the One pervading the Numbers=361=19 × 19).

In the World, He is represented by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the "Point" (*Nuqta*), and the 18 disciples, called "Letters of the Living," who first believed in him; these together constituting the complete "Unity" (*Váhid*). Each of the 19 members of the "Unity" had 19 immediate disciples, who represent the "Number of all things" (361).

Everything is arranged to correspond to this. The Arabic Beyán consists of 19 *váhids* (unities) each containing 19 Bábis (chapters). The Bábí year consists of 19 months, each containing 19 days. Nineteen names serve to indicate alike the months and days. Thus the first month is called *Shahru'l-*

¹ Letters marked with *tashdid* to double them are only counted once in the enumeration. Thus, in our word, *kdf*=20, *lám*=30, *shín*=300, *yá*=10, total 360. Cf. Gobineau, "Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale," pp. 319-322.

Behá, and the first day of any month *Yaumu'l-Behá*, the remaining names being as follows: 2nd *Jalál*, 3rd *Jimál*, 4th *'Azamat*, 5th *Núr*, 6th *Rahmat*, 7th *Kalimát*, 8th *Kemál*, 9th *Asmá*, 10th *'Issat*, 11th *Mashiyyat*, 12th *'Im*, 13th *Kudrat*, 14th *Kawl*, 15th *Masá'il*, 16th *Sharaf*, 17th *Sultán*, 18th *Mulk*, and 19th *'Ulá*. Supposing, therefore, we wish to name the 12th day of the 5th month according to this notation, we call it "*Yaumu'l-'Im min Shahri'n-Núr*." As, however, it appeared probable that the old method of counting by days of the week might linger on for some time, even after the Bábí arrangement of the year had been adopted as regards the months, it was considered desirable to give new names to the former. These are as follows: Saturday, *Yaumu'l-Jalál*; Sunday, *Yaumu'l-Jimál*; Monday, *Yaumu'l-Kemál*; Tuesday, *Yaumu'l-Fizál*; Wednesday, *Yaumu'l-Idál*; Thursday, *Yaumu'l-Istijlál*; Friday, *Yaumu'l-Istikhlál*.

It must not be supposed that at present this system is much used amongst the Bábís. It is rather, like the new writing (*Khut-i-Badí'*), intended for the future. So far as I know, it is confined to colophons at the end of the sacred books of the sect, and is not often used even for that purpose. When it is used, the *day* is usually given in both of the two manners explained, as, for instance, in the following colophon from the end of a commentary on the *Lawh-i-Akdas*: "*Harrarahu fi yaumi'l-Kemáli, min yaumi'l-'Ulá'i, min shahri'n-Núri, min sanati'l-Badiyyi mina'l-wáhidith-thánt, 1296*" (A.H.). "He wrote it on the day of *Kemál* (Monday), corresponding to the day of *'Ulá* (the 19th day), of the month of *Núr* (the 5th month), of the year of *Badí'*¹ of the second *Váhid*, A.H. 1296."

¹ It is evident from the latter part of this colophon that a special method of enumerating *years* is also employed. I regret to say that I did not ask for an explanation of this from the Bábís at the time when I learned the preceding details about the days and months, so that I do not know what ordinal number in the series of 19 years constituting the *váhid* is represented by the '*Sanati'l-Badí*.' One would be inclined to take *Badí* as meaning *the first* (see Lau's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, book i. part i. p. 171); but not only does it not agree with *sana* (year), but chronological difficulties are involved; for if A.H. 1296 be counted by the Bábís as the first year of the second *váhid*, i.e. the 20th year from the commencement of their era, the latter would fall in A.H. 1276, in which no important event occurred, for the "manifestation" of Mirzá 'Alí Muḥammad was in A.H. 1260, and the "manifestation" of Behá in A.H. 1283.

Although the sacred character of the number 19 was thus prominently brought forward by the Báb, he by no means implies that it was unknown to previous prophets. On the contrary, he not only points out that the number of letters in the "*Bismi'lláhi'r-Rahmání'r-Rahím*," which stands at the head of every chapter in the *Qur'án*, is 19, but further that the total number of the chapters themselves ($114 = 19 \times 6$) is a multiple of the sacred number. So, in every "Manifestation," the 18 "Letters¹ of the Living" have appeared surrounding the "Point," and amongst their number there is always at least one woman—Fátima in the Manifestation of Islám, *Qurratu'l-'Ayn* (*Jenáb-i-Táhíré*) in the present one. I have not a complete list of the 18 disciples of the Báb who constituted the "Letters of the Living," and each of whom bore a special title, but two at least, besides *Qurratu'l-'Ayn*, are prominent figures in the history of the sect, viz. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh (*Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*), and Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí of Bálfurúsh (*Jenáb-i-Kuddús*). So also the Báb declares that "He whom God shall manifest" will appear with his 18 "Letters of the Living."

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the part played by the sacred number in the ordinances of the new religion. The system of coinage, the construction of places of worship, the fines inflicted for transgressions, and the taxes to be levied, are all arranged on the same basis, so that, to quote from the Beyán (*Váhid* vii. ch. viii.), "It seems to be seen that the mystery of the *Váhid* will gain currency till it pervades all things, until even the pens in the pen-case shall be according to the number of the *Váhid*."

Before leaving this subject, one point must be noticed. I have said that the Bábí sacred books were to be composed on this plan, and that the longer Arabic Beyán is so, we know from Dorn's description of the St. Petersburg MS. But the Persian Beyán, and the shorter Arabic Beyán translated by

¹ For a similar use of the term "Letters" (*Hurúf*), cf. de Sacy's "*Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*," Paris, 1838, vol. i. p. 119, where the disciples of Hákim bi-amri'lláh are called "Letters of Truth" (*Hurúfu'l-ḥaqíq*).

Gobineau, both cease at the 10th chapter of the 10th Váhid ; in other words, they are only half completed. Was this mere accident? Was the life of their author cut short when these books were but half finished, or was there a reason for the elaborately incomplete form in which they were left? I believe that the latter is the case, and that the half-finished works were intended to be a perpetual reminder to the Báb's followers that the revelation they had received was not final, and that they must continually look for the coming of "Him whom God shall manifest."

This brings me to the second peculiarity I spoke of in the Beyán. As we have seen, in considering the arguments put forward by the Bábís, they consider that men have continually fallen into error in not recognizing the fact that the revelation which they believed in was not final. Consequently, on the arrival of the new "manifestation," they have always for the most part rejected it. The Báb is determined that his followers shall be, as far as possible, prepared and warned against this danger, so that they may have no excuse for failing to recognize and accept "Him whom God shall manifest" when he appears.

We have seen that, according to the Báb's teaching, all prophets are incarnations or "manifestations" of the "Primal Will." In this sense, therefore, they are all equal, but the same cannot be said of their revelations. For the human race is ever progressing, and consequently, just as a child is taught more fully and instructed in more difficult subjects by its master as its understanding ripens, so also the Primal Will, the Instructor ('*Murabbi*') of mankind, speaks in each successive manifestation with a fuller utterance. As children must be told things in a simple manner which they can easily understand, so with the human race in its earlier stages of development. For instance, if we wish to explain to a child that knowledge is a pleasant thing, we may tell it that it is sweet like sugar, though in reality there is no resemblance between the two things. In the same way, the Primal Will, or Universal Intelligence, speaking through former prophets, has taught men that good is pleasant in its

results, and evil bitter, by comparing the condition of the good after death to people in beautiful gardens surrounded with all such things as they are accustomed to consider most pleasant, while the wicked, on the contrary, are said to be consumed in fire. But now the world has reached a stage of development when it can be told the truth about these things without parables and similes, viz. that Paradise is belief, and Hell unbelief. But although this revelation is much fuller than preceding ones, it must not be considered final. On the contrary, it is merely intended to prepare the world for the fuller measure of truth which will be uttered by "Him whom God shall manifest." The Beyán is the seed; his revelation will be the fruit. Whenever men are sufficiently "educated" in the Beyán, "He whom God shall manifest" will appear. The day of his coming is known to God alone, and when he comes, he will come suddenly, even as the "Nuқта" did. Should any one at any time come and claim to be He, and produce the necessary proof of his identity, viz. "verses" (*áyát*), no one is to dare to deny him. Thus in the 8th chapter of the 6th Váhíd it is written: "And ye have not so much sense as to perceive that none but God can reveal verses. Know, therefore, that this is the same Primal Reality to whom God revealed verses in the beginning of Islám. If ye had understood the proof of your own religion, you would also have understood this Matter. Just as, from the time of Muhammad until now, which is 1270 years, no one has been able to produce verses like it (*i.e.* the *Ḳur'án*), so likewise after the setting of this Sun (*i.e.* after the death of the Báb) will it be, until He whom God shall manifest shall appear. *It is impossible that any one other than Him whom God shall manifest can lay claim to this Matter. . . . If any one makes such claim, and verses appear from him, none must oppose him, lest perchance sorrow come upon that Sun of Truth. Had the people of the Ḳur'án acted thus, all their books would not have become vain. So, therefore, if you hear of such a matter, and are not certain, do not do anything which may be the cause thereof (i.e. of bringing sorrow on Him whom God shall manifest), even though it really be other than*

him (i.e. even though the claimant be not really He whom God shall manifest). But this is an impossible idea. But if he (the claimant) merely mention His name (i.e. the name of Him whom God shall manifest), it is far from those who possess His love to grieve him, out of respect for His Name. For the matter is not outside one of two alternatives. Either it is He (and in truth it is impossible that it should be other than Him, in that he reveals verses spontaneously), and why then should any one deny the Truth, since they have acted night and day in expectation thereof? Or, which is an impossible supposition, he is not; in that case let him alone; it is not for creatures to judge him, out of respect to the Name of their Belordé."

We cannot fail to be struck by the fact that when the Báb was a prisoner and an exile at Mákú, probably well aware of what his ultimate fate would be, he showed far more anxiety about the reception which should be accorded to "Him whom God shall manifest" than about himself. That he did anticipate in some degree the cruel fate in store for him, the following words of his, quoted in the Bábí history,¹ sufficiently prove: "It is as though I heard the voice of one crying in my inmost heart, 'the most acceptable thing is that thou shouldst sacrifice thyself in the way of God, even as Huseyn (upon him be peace) sacrificed himself in my way;' and, did I not regard this mystery, by Him in whose hand is my soul! even were all the Kings of the Earth to assemble, they could not take from me a single letter," and he concludes by stating that the object of this sacrifice is "that all may know the degree of my patience, and contentment, and sacrifice in the way of God."

Almost every ordinance in the Beyán is similarly designed to be a perpetual reminder of "Him whom God shall manifest." Thus, in every assembly of believers, a vacant place is to be left for Him, and, if possible, 18 more empty seats for the "Letters of the Living" who accompany Him, so that, if they come suddenly, all may be prepared for them.

¹ These words of the Báb are also quoted in the Uqán, and the passage where they occur is specially noted by Baron Rosen (*Manuscripts Persans de l'Institut*, etc. p. 43).

Whenever His name is mentioned, all must rise from their seats. None of the believers in the Beyán must grieve one another, nor must children be beaten, lest sorrow be thereby caused to Him whom God shall manifest. Posts, and other means of communication, must be well organized, "as in the land of the Frank," so that, as soon as the new "manifestation" takes place, there may be every facility for conveying the news thereof to all parts of the earth. Many other instances might be added, but these are sufficient. Any one who reads the Beyán will find "He whom God shall manifest" mentioned on every page, and again and again is the hope expressed that, when He comes, He may not suffer at the hands of unbelievers as the Báb has suffered. When we consider all this, we shall better understand how almost universal was the acceptance met with by Behá amongst the Bábís when he announced that he was "He whom God shall manifest."

The third remarkable feature of the Beyán which I noticed was the assurance with which the Báb speaks of the ultimate prevalence of his religion. When we picture to ourselves the circumstances in which he was placed, a prisoner and exile amongst foes, in continual expectation of the inevitable fate which hung over him, and with scarcely a friend to support and encourage him, we cannot but admire the calm conviction with which he writes of the final triumph of his faith, and the confidence wherewith he organizes the model whereon the Bábí empires of the future are to be moulded. There is not a word of compromise on the one hand, nor a trace of rancour or desire for revenge on the other. Infidels are to be allowed no part nor lot in the future government; they are not even to be permitted to reside in the five holy provinces of Fárs (*the Land of Fá*), 'Irák (*the Land of 'Ayn*), Ázarbaiján (*the Land of Alif*), K̄hurásán (*the Land of K̄há*), and Mázandarán (*the Land of M̄im*), nor in any other country whose inhabitants are believers in the Beyán, unless they be merchants, or others who follow a useful profession. Every effort is to be made to convert them to the faith, but no violence is to be used, and "no one is to be slain for unbelief,

for the slaying of a soul is outside the religion of God; . . . and if any one commands it, he is not and has not been of the Beyán, and no sin can be greater for him than this."

Much more might be written on the Beyán, but I must at present necessarily content myself with sketching its most important features. It would be interesting to trace out in detail the Utopia which the Báb had conceived in his mind. Briefly, the future Bábí community was to be one characterized by brotherly love; dignity combined with courtesy in all dealings and transactions between its members; cultivation of all useful arts and improvements; prohibition of useless occupations and studies, amongst which latter are included Logic, Jurisprudence (*Fik̄h*), Philosophy, and Dead Languages; amelioration of the condition of women, who were to be allowed to appear in society; general elementary education; provision for the poor out of the common treasury at the discretion of the members of the "House of Justice" (*Baytu'l-'Adl*), but strict prohibition of mendicancy. The object of forbidding the study of philosophy, logic, etc., seems to have been the prevention of disputation and wrangling, which are strongly condemned, as destructive of that harmony which it is desired to secure. Pilgrimages are not much encouraged, particularly in the case of women, and travelling is restricted. Children are to be treated with kindness and affection, and allowed to play and enjoy themselves as much as possible, and penalties are imposed on any one who shall beat them severely. They are not to be made to stand at their lessons, lest they should be fatigued, but are to be allowed to sit on chairs, which it is recommended that all believers should do rather than on the ground.

Amongst many such ordinances which suggest to us the idea that the Báb had in some degree taken European civilization as his model, we find others which recall rather the pomp and ceremony of the religions of the Past. This is especially the case with regard to the instructions laid down for the enshrouding and burial of the dead. These are to be washed first three or five times with water in

a certain definite manner, and with certain prayers and ejaculations; then, if possible, with rose water. A cornelian ring, on which one of the Names of God is engraved, is then to be placed on one of the fingers of the right hand; after which the corpse is to be shrouded with five garments of different stuffs, beginning with silk and ending with cotton. During all these operations, the utmost reverence is to be observed in moving and turning the corpse, for "the outward body is the throne (*'arsh*) of the inward or essential body (*jasad-i-bâtinî, jasad-i-zâti*), therefore must the former be preserved with the utmost care, that no disgust may come upon the latter; for the Essential body regards its Throne, and is gratified if that be treated with respect." These preliminaries completed, the body is to be placed in a coffin or sarcophagus of glass or crystal (*ballûr*), or hard polished stone. Public prayers are then to be performed over the dead, and this is the only occasion when they are permitted. At other times people must perform their prayers singly. And now comes the strangest regulation of all, which is that the confession of faith of the dead man, and his belief in the "Divine Point" (*Nuḡta-i-Ilâhiyyé*) and the "Letters of the Living" (*Ḥurûfât-i-Ḥayy*), with a declaration of his love for them, and an account of his actions, shall be written and preserved by his heirs till the coming of "Him whom God shall manifest." Can we read these instructions without being reminded on the one hand of the Zoroastrian dislike of polluting the earth by the burial of corpses, and on the other of the "Book of the Dead" of the Egyptians?

If we seek for traces of Zoroastrian ideas in the Beyân, we shall not fail to find other instances, such as the formal establishment of a solar instead of a lunar year; the command to observe the Nawrúz as the great annual feast; the command to wash by pouring water over oneself, not by plunging into the water; the salutation of the Sun on first beholding it on Friday mornings by reciting the verse, "*The Brightness (Behá) on thine aspect is only from God, O rising Sun! and bear witness unto that which God hath*

witnessed concerning Himself, that there is no God but Him, the Precious, the Belovéd."

The parts of the Beyán and, generally speaking, of the Bábí doctrine, which are least readily understood, are those which treat of the future life. All the Muhammadan conceptions of the Questioning of the Tomb, the Resurrection, the Bridge of Širát, Hell, and Heaven, are allegorically interpreted. The *first* is the summons of the next Manifestation to those who are spiritually dead to believe in Him; the *second* is His appearing, or arising (*Āiyámat*); the *third*, the "Bridge which is finer than a hair and sharper than a sword to the unbelievers, but to the believers more spacious than Paradise," is belief in the Prophet of the Age, which is so difficult to the self-willed and obstinate, so easy to those who are really seeking after God. The Fire of Hell is ignorance, denial, and negation. Paradise is the joy of believing in and meeting the Manifestation of God, and attaining to the utmost perfection of which one is capable. Hence the perfection of anything is described as the *Paradise* thereof, as, for instance, in the following passage from Váhid iv. chapter xi.: "God, at the time of the revelation of the Beyán, looked at all His creation, and established limits for His creation in whatever station they may stand, so that no soul may be in the least grieved or distressed in the Paradise of the Beyán, but rather He has ordained that everything should be capable (of this), that they should bring that thing to the summit of its perfection, so that it may not be deprived of its Paradise." As an instance of what is meant, it is further stated that the Paradise of a text is that it should be written in the most excellent writing, and adorned with gold.

When we come to inquire what the Báb believed and taught about the life after death, we find it hard to give a satisfactory answer. We have seen that he speaks of an "Essential" or "Inner Body," which survives the death of the elementary body, so that it is clear that he believed in some sort of future life; but he does not seem to care to dwell on it, and in one passage says, in speaking of the "Barzak^h" (generally understood by the Muhammadans

somewhat in the sense of the Greek Hades¹), "*What is intended by Barzakhi is merely the interval between two manifestations, and not that (explanation) which is (commonly) known amongst men . . . ; for none knoweth what shall be decreed unto them after death except God.*" In another passage he speaks of that Paradise which consists in a knowledge of the Manifestation of God, and the Letters of the One as more glorious than a sensuous Paradise, wherein are "*silken garments, and gold vessels, and excellent meats, and pure wine, and mansions, and hürts.*" It is evident that the Báb wishes his followers to worship God from love of Him, and not in the hope of reward, as he says in Váhíd vii. chapter xix., "*So worship God that if the recompense of thy worship of Him were to be the Fire, no alteration in thy worship of Him would be produced. If you worship from fear, that is unworthy of the threshold of the holiness of God, nor wilt thou be accounted a Unitarian. So also, if your gaze is on Paradise, and if you worship in hope of that ; for then you have made God's creation a Partner with Him.*"

Certain passages in the Beyán would tempt us to imagine that the transmigration of souls formed a part of the Báb's belief and teaching, as would certain modes of expression often employed by the Bábís. Yet if you ask them whether they believe in metempsychosis (*tanásukh-i-arwáh*), they will answer in the negative, and declare that the doctrine, though superficially resembling this, is in reality otherwise ; but that it cannot easily be understood except by those skilled in philosophy.

In the face of this it seems presumptuous to attempt to put forward an explanation of what appears to me to be the doctrine really taught by the Báb, yet, inasmuch as the subject is too important to be passed over, I feel bound to state the opinion I have been led to form on it from a careful consideration of the various passages bearing on the matter in the Beyán, only premising that I do not presume to dogmatize on this point.

¹ See Sale's *Koran*, p. 261, note.

First of all, I must make a distinction between "Individuality" and "Personality." The former is the real, essential, and permanent part of a man; the latter, the temporary peculiarities which condition him in a particular state. To make the meaning of this clearer, let us take the favourite Bábí metaphor of the "Letters." The forms of these exist in the mind in unseen types which cannot be destroyed. They likewise have endless external "manifestations," which are transitory and perishable, and which show forth more or less clearly their original archetype. For instance, the essential character of the letter *Alif*, whereby it is known and individualized, is a straight vertical stroke of the height of five dots (*nukhtas*). This form can be written again and again, more or less perfectly. When it is written quite perfectly, it completely corresponds with its ideal archetype, and this is its Paradise. Particular written *alifs* may be destroyed, but only their "personality" is destroyed; their individuality returns to the archetypal *Alif*, and their essential part will manifest itself again and again in the world of writing (the External World) as occasion requires. It is in this sense that one may pick out all the *alifs* in a page of writing and say that they are the same letter: they are the same as regards individuality, but different in their accidental conditions, such as size, position, and perfection of form. It is the same with men. Just as we may write an alif on a piece of paper, and then tear it up and destroy it, and write another, and say, "Alif has been written again," or "has returned;" so also we may say, "Huseyn has returned in Mír. á 'Alí Muhammad," for both are manifestations in different *maghars* (places of manifestation) of the same Divine "Letter."

This, I think, is the real sense of passages like the 6th Chapter of the first Váhid, where it is written, "*Huseyn has returned to the life of the world with all who believed in him,*" or like the following passage from Váhid iv. chapter v. : "*Those who hold ta'ziyas¹ and weep and lament over the*

¹ *Ta'ziyas* are the representations of the adventures and misfortunes of the Imáms, etc., held during the month of Muharram, and especially during the first

misfortunes of the first promulgators of Islám, nevertheless imprisoned and oppressed that same person whom they lament, and the learned gave decisions (fatvás) against him."

It is this manner of speaking which has led the Muhammadans to assert that the Bábís believed in transmigration, and that the reason they met death so fearlessly was their conviction that after forty days they would come to life again.¹

I must now conclude this necessarily imperfect consideration of the doctrine of the Báb to pass on to the subsequent developments of it by Behá and others. I do so with regret, for who can fail to be attracted by the gentle spirit of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad? His sorrowful and persecuted life; his purity of conduct, and youth; his courage and uncomplaining patience under misfortune; his complete self-negation; the dim ideal of a better state of things which can be discerned through the obscure and mystic utterances of the Beyán; but most of all his tragic death, all serve to enlist our sympathies on behalf of the young prophet of Shíráz. The irresistible charm which won him such devotion during his life still lives on, and still continues to influence the minds of the Persian people. The majority of the Bábís of to-day may regard Behá as "Him whom God shall manifest," and Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad merely as his forerunner; yet it is with loving thoughts that they dwell on the memory of the latter. Often they apply to him these lines from an old Persian song:²

ten days thereof, by the Shí'ites. They reach their culminating point in the tragedy of the death of Huseyn and his adherents, cut off from water, and hemmed in by foes on the arid plain of Kerbelá. My guide from Bálfurúsh to the Tomb of Sheykh 'Tabarsí informed me that, following out the parallel suggested by the Báb, his followers, who make pilgrimages to those places where the earliest sufferings of the Bábís took place, call the river Bábul, which flows through Bálfurúsh, the "Euphrates," and Sheykh 'Tabarsí "Kerbelá." In the same spirit are the following lines, which form the concluding stanza of a Bábí poem of the authorship of which I am uncertain:

"Shuhadú-yi-fal'at-i-nár-i-man!

Bi-david sá-yi-diyár-i-man!

Sar ú ján kwid niqár-i-man!

Ki man-am Shahinshah-i-Karbalá."

"Ye who have seen my form of flame!
Shed your blood for my holy name,

Haste to the land from whence I came!
For I am the monarch of Kerbelá."

¹ Cf. Gobineau, *op. cit.* p. 330.

² I have often asked who was the author of these verses, and have generally been informed that they were Sa'di's, but I have not succeeded in finding them in his published writings.

"Shiráz pur *ghawghá*¹ shavad; shakkar-labí peydá shavad;
Tarsam kaz áshúb-i-labash bar-ham zanad Baghdád-rá."

"Shiráz shall become full of tumult; one shall appear
with lips like sugar;

I am afraid that by the disturbance of his lips he may
throw Baghdad into confusion."

Or, by a slight modification of a couplet of the poet 'Iráqí,
they will express their sense of the injustice of the sentence
of death pronounced and carried out against their hero :

"Dar kudám mazhab-ast ín ? dar kudám millat-ast ín ?
Kí kushand dílbarí-rá kí, 'tú dílrubá chirá'í ?'"

"In what sect is this (lawful) ? In what religion is this
(lawful) ?

That they should kill a charmer of hearts (saying), 'Why
art thou a stealer of hearts ?'"

Turning from the Báb, there is another figure amongst
those who took part in this sad drama which irresistibly
commands our attention. I mean the beautiful and accom-
plished Qurratu'l-'Ayn, the heroine, poetess, nay, almost the
prophetess, of the new faith, distinguished by the title of
"Jenáb-i-Táhiré," "Her Excellence the Pure." Anxious as
I was to obtain some of her poems, I only met with a very
limited amount of success. None of the Bábís at Shiráz
whom I conversed with had any in their possession, and they
said that Kazvín and Hamadán, where Qurratu'l-'Ayn had
preached, and Teherán, where she had suffered martyrdom,
would be the most likely places to obtain them. However,
at Yezd I saw copies of two short poems (*ghazals*) attri-
buted to her authorship. Both of these are in the same
metre (*kámil*), and have the same rhyme; and of each of
them I obtained a copy for myself. I wrote to one of my
friends at Shiráz, and asked his opinion on their authenticity.
He replied that one of them, beginning

"Lama'átu wajhika ashraḳat, wa shi'á'u ṭal'atika'tilá :
Zi ché rá 'Alasta bi-Rabbikum?' na-sani? Bi-san kí 'Balá!
Balá !'"

¹ Pronounced *kaugd*.

was not by Kurratu'l-'Ayn, but by a Súfi poet called Şuĥbat, of Lár. Although I have on several occasions heard the latter spoken of by dervishes and others in Persia with the highest approbation, I have neither been able to obtain his works, nor to discover any particulars about him; for he is not mentioned in any of the Biographies of Poets (*Tazkirés*) which I have been able to consult, not even in the *Riyázu'l-'Arifin* of the learned *Rizá-Kull Khán*, published a year or two ago at Teherán.

The second poem attributed to Kurratu'l-'Ayn, beginning,
"Jadhabátu shawĥika aĥamat bi-salásili'l-gham wa'l-balá
Hama 'áshikán-i-shikasté-dil, ki dihand ján bi-rah-i-walá,"

was thought by my friend, and pronounced with certainty by others, to be undoubtedly the work of Kurratu'l-'Ayn.

In a small work on Persian grammar called *Tanbihu'l-Aṭṣál*, composed by Háji Mirzá Huseyn Khán, Persian Consul at Trebizonde, and printed at Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (A.D. 1881), the first verse of the first of these two poems, which I have quoted above, is cited as an example, and its author is stated to be the above-mentioned Şuĥbat (Mullá Muhammad Bákir) of Lár. Further on in the same work a verse occurring in the second poem is quoted, and attributed to Mirzá 'Abdu'l-Karím, whose takhallus was Síma. Although these poems, especially the first, can only be referred very doubtfully to the authorship of Kurratu'l-'Ayn, it must be borne in mind that the odium which attaches to the name of Bábi amongst Persian Muhammadans would render impossible the recitation by them of verses confessedly composed by her. If, therefore, she were actually the authoress of poems, the grace and beauty of which compelled an involuntary admiration even from her enemies, it would seem extremely probable that they should seek to justify their right to admire them by attributing them to some other writer, and this view is supported by an assertion which I have heard made by a learned Persian with whom I was acquainted in Teherán, and who, though not actually a Bábi, did not lack a certain amount of

sympathy for those who were such, to the effect that many poems written by Kurratu'l-'Ayn were amongst the favourite songs of the people, who were for the most part unaware of their authorship. Open allusions to the Báb had, of course, been cut out or altered, so that no one could tell the source from whence they came.

Without pretending to assert positively, then, that either of these two poems is by Kurratu'l-'Ayn, I venture to give a translation of the second of them, which I have attempted to versify in imitation of the original metre, so as to afford a better idea of its style than could be given by a literal rendering in prose. In this I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the sense of the original, even though the English may have suffered thereby. I have chosen the second rather than the first poem, because there is a stronger consensus of opinion in favour of its being the work of Kurratu'l-'Ayn. The text of the poem will be found appended at the end of the paper.

TRANSLATION OF THE POEM BEGINNING "*Jadhabātu shavkika aljamat,*" etc.

The thralls of yearning love constrain in the bonds of pain
and calamity
These broken-hearted lovers of thine to yield their lives
in their zeal for thee.
Though with sword in hand my Darling stand with intent
to slay, though I sinless be,
If it pleases him, this tyrant's whim, I am well content
with his tyranny.
As in sleep I lay at the break of day that cruel Charmer
came to me,
And in the grace of his form and face the dawn of the
morn I seemed to see.
The musk of Cathay might perfume gain from the scent
those fragrant tresses rain,
While his eyes demolish a faith in vain attacked by the
pagans of Tartary.

With you who contemn both love and wine for the hermit's
 cell and the zealot's shrine,
 What can I do ? for our faith divine you hold as a thing
 of infamy ?
 The tangled curls of thy darling's hair, and thy saddle
 and steed aro thy only care,
 In thy heart the Absolute hath no share, nor the thought
 of the poor man's poverty.
 Sikandar's pomp and display be thine, the Kalandar's
 habit and way be mine,
 That, if it please thee, I resign, while this, though bad,
 is enough for me.
 The country of "I" and "We" forsake ; thy home in
 Annihilation make,
 Since fearing not this step to take, thou shalt gain the
 highest Felicity.

Besides these poems, I have a copy of a *Maṣnaví* of about 570 couplets in the same metre as the *Maṣnaví* of Jalálu'd-Din Rúmí (*Ramal-i-musaddas-i-mahẓúf*) attributed to Kurratu'l-'Ayn. That this latter is a Bábí poem I have no doubt, but I have not yet had time to examine it carefully with a view to determining whether it may not be a later production in praise of Behá rather than the Báb. For this reason, and also on account of its length, I leave it for future consideration.

One more document of great interest which belongs to this earlier period of Bábíism deserves notice, since it affords us an insight into the limitless self-sacrifice and devotion which is so remarkable in the disciples of the Báb. It is a letter written by Áḳá Muhammad 'Alí of Tabríz to his elder brother on the night before he suffered death with his Master, and the text of it has been preserved for us by the Bábí historian, and will be found appended at the end of the paper. It appears that the relatives of Áḳá Muhammad 'Alí occupied a good position in Tabríz, and as they did not believe in the Bábí doctrines, they were extremely anxious to persuade him to save himself from death by a recantation.

This letter, of which I here give a translation, seems to have been written in answer to a last appeal of this sort from the brother of the writer. It runs as follows :

“HE IS THE COMPASSIONATE.

O thou who art my *Kibla*!¹ My condition, thanks to God, has no fault, and ‘to every difficulty succeedeth ease.’ You have written that this matter has no end. What matter, then, has any end? We, at least, have no discontent in this matter; nay, rather we are unable sufficiently to express our thanks for this favour. The end of this matter is to be slain in the way of God, and O! what happiness is this! The will of God will come to pass with regard to his servants, neither can human plans avert the Divine decree. What God wills comes to pass, and there is no power and no strength, but in God. O thou who art my *Kibla*! the end of the world is death: ‘every soul tastes of death.’ If the appointed fate which God (mighty and glorious is He) hath decreed overtake me, then God is the guardian of my family, and thou art mine executor: behave in such wise as is pleasing to God, and pardon whatever has proceeded from me which may seem lacking in courtesy, or contrary to the respect due from juniors: and seek pardon for me from all those of my household, and commit me to God. God is my portion, and how good is He as a guardian!”

This letter, which bears every mark of genuineness, attracts us as much by its simplicity of style and lack of those epistolary ornaments to which we are accustomed, as by the spirit of courage and resignation which breathes in every line. I, for my part, cannot read it unmoved; for I feel myself face to face with one whose unwavering faith has robbed death of its terrors, and whose care is less for himself than for the helpless little ones he leaves behind.

¹ *Kibla*, as is well known, is the name given by the Muhammadans to the point towards which one turns in prayer, such as Mecca, in the case of the Muslims, and Jerusalem in the case of the Jews. The Persian form, *Kibla-guh* (lit. “*Kibla*-place”) is often used in letters to relations older than oneself as a title of respect.

THIRD PERIOD. WRITINGS OF THE INTERVAL WHICH INTERVENED BETWEEN THE DEATH OF THE BÁB AND THE CLAIM OF BEHÁ TO BE "HE WHOM GOD SHALL MANIFEST" (A.D. 1850-1867).

I now turn from the writings of the Báb and his contemporaries to those of his successors. In considering the latter in connection with the later history of the sect, we perceive the necessity of carefully distinguishing three distinct classes. *Firstly*, there are the writings of Mírzá Yahyá (*Hazrat-i-Ezel*), which might be further divided into those written in Baghdad before Behá put forward his claim, while their author still enjoyed the undivided allegiance of all the Bábís, and those composed subsequently to the schism, in Cyprus. Considering the very limited number of these writings at present available, it seems unnecessary to observe this distinction, and I shall therefore include them all in one class. *Secondly*, there are the writings of Behá during the period which preceded his claim to supremacy; and *thirdly*, those of that which succeeded it. The first and second of these classes, which we may call "writings of the Interval," I shall consider here, leaving the third class till the end.

I. *Writings of Mírzá Yahyá (Hazrat-i-Ezel).*

These need not detain us long. I have already stated that I met very few Ezelís in Persia, and that I was unable to obtain any of Mírzá Yahyá's works, which are of course accounted as worse than worthless by the Behá'ís, *i.e.* by the vast majority of the Bábís. Gobineau says (*op. cit.* p. 312), "His Highness the Eternal" (*i.e.* Hazrat i-Ezel) "has also composed a certain number of works; amongst these, that which is most appreciated by the Bábís is the *Book of Light*." Although I several times heard mention of this "Book of Light" (*Kitábu'n-Núr*) amongst the Bábís, I never succeeded in seeing it, or obtaining any information about its contents. The lacuna thus left in my knowledge caused me much regret until recently, when my attention was drawn to an excellent

article in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1887 (viii. série, vol. x.), by M. Clément Huart, which contains a description of three Bábí MSS. which had come under the writer's observation.

The first of these M. Huart identifies with the "Book of Light" described by Gobineau, and indeed the title of it, which he quotes, seems to establish this identity with certainty. There appears, however, to be some discrepancy between the size of this small MS. of 63 pages each comprising 19 lines, and that of the thick folio work described as the "Book of Light" by Gobineau. It is unfortunate that M. Huart subsequently terms this same work the "Ḳur'án of the Báb," and describes it as the "fundamental work of the new doctrine, concerning which its author said to the 'ulamá of Shíráz, 'Take my Ḳur'án, and compare it with that of your prophet, and you will be convinced that mine is more eloquently written than yours, and that my belief is preferable to the religion of Muhammad.'" For first of all, the term "Ḳur'án of the Báb," or "Bábí Ḳur'án,"¹ is open to objection. It is only used loosely in the sense of "the sacred book of the Bábís," just as we might call one of them the "Bábí Bible." For each one of them the Bábís have a special name: Beyán, Iḳán, or *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas*, etc., as the case may be; it is only the Muhammadans, who do not know one from the other and have no knowledge of their contents, who call them generically the "Ḳur'án of the Bábís." Furthermore, the indiscriminate manner in which this term is applied to any of the Bábí books of doctrine has resulted in no little confusion. Thus, for instance, the copy of the "Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsun" in the British Museum is lettered "Bábí Ḳur'án," while a work which appears to be one of the two Arabic Beyáns is described by Dorn by the same title. To apply this name to the "Book of Light" also, is to increase unnecessarily this confusion. Secondly, the latter was not

¹ I regret to say that I myself made use of this term in my first paper, thereby adding to the confusion which I here deplore. What I meant by using it was that if the chief work of the Bábís of to-day (*i.e.* the Behá'ís) were to be described as their *Ḳur'án*, then the *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas* was most worthy of this title.

composed by the Báb at all, nor, so far as we know, was it put forward by its author, who is clearly proved by M. Huart to be Mírzá Yahyá, as a rival to the Kúr'án; neither is it at all likely that Mírzá Yahyá visited Shíráz at any period of his life. M. Huart, however, corrects Dorn's mistake, and identifies the work described by him as one of the Beyáns.¹

The second work described by M. Huart comprises 26 chapters called *Rúh* (spirit), each of which, with the exception of the 22nd and 24th, has a special title. M. Huart shows that these too are the work of Hazrat-i-Ezel.

The third volume contains a number of letters (*alwáh*) written by Hazrat-i-Ezel to his disciples and followers, as is explicitly stated at the commencement of one, the text of which is published, with a translation, by M. Huart, who adds that "others emanate from certain personages designated by conventional formulæ, whom it would only be possible to indicate more clearly if one were in possession of the entire key to these denominations." Three of the latter are quoted, viz. *Al-wajh* ("The Face"), *Beyánu'l-'adl* ("The Explanation of Justice"), and *Shajaratu'l-'Amá*, which M. Huart translates "The Tree of Blindness" ("*L'Arbre de l'aveuglement*"), but which I should rather render by "The tree of the (Divine) Mystery."² I would merely suggest as a conjecture that all these terms may indicate the same person, viz. Hazrat-i-Ezel,³ just as the Báb has several titles such as *Nuқта-i-Beyán*, *Nuқта-i-U'lá*, *Hazrat-i-A'lá*, etc. It is true that all the "letters of the Living" enjoyed similar titles,

¹ *Journal Asiatique* (1887), viii. série, vol. x. p. 135, note 2.

² The word 'Amá is used in this sense by the Sufis commonly. See Jorjání's "Definitions," ed. Flügel, p. 163, where it is defined as "the degree of primal unity" (*martabatu'l-ahadiyyat*), by which is generally understood by Sufi writers that degree or plane wherein God is regarded as one absolutely, not relatively to plurality; and where plurality is not even potential, as it is in the "Degree of Unity" (*Martabatu'l-Wahidiyyat*), where the "Fixed Exemplars" (*A'yán-i-Thábita*) are existent in the mind of God. The first is the "Station of the Essence" (*Maكám-i-Zát*); the second the "Station of the Attributes" (*Maكám-i-Shifát*). For this sense of 'Amá consult also Lane's Arabic English Lexicon, s.v. 'Amd, book i. part v. p. 2161, where the tradition from which this use of it is borrowed is discussed.

³ Or perhaps Behá may be intended by one of these titles, since he calls himself *Al-wajh* (the Face) in several passages of his writings. See below, pp. 967, 969.

but their relative inferiority to the chief of the sect is generally marked by the prefix being *Jenáb* instead of *Hazrat*; e.g. *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn* is called *Jenáb-i-Ṭáhira*; Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*; Háji Mullá Mubammad 'Alí is *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús*; and similarly we read of *Jenáb-i-Muḥaddas* in the Bábí history, and Gobineau speaks of *Mírzá Asadu'lláh* of Tabríz surnamed *Deyyán*. In short it would appear as though names indicating the *Divine Essence* were originally bestowed only on the chief of the sect, while those given to the other members of the "Unity" indicated only the *Attributes*. For these reasons it appears to me probable that *Mírzá Yahyá* (*Hazrat-i-Ezel*) is the author of all the letters described by M. Huart. As I can add nothing more about the *Ezelí* writings, I will pass on to those of *Behá*, referring those who desire fuller information to M. Huart's valuable article, which fills a most important gap in our knowledge of the Bábí literature. M. Huart holds out some hopes of publishing these MSS., at any rate in part, and it is greatly to be hoped that he may carry out this intention.

II. *Writings of Behá during the 'Interval.'*

Although I have already described the state of affairs amongst the Bábís during the period which separated the death of the Báb from the claim of *Behá* to be "He whom God shall manifest," I think that it may not be amiss to quote in translation that part of the article on the Bábís in the Arabic Encyclopædia called *Dá'iratu'l-Ma'arif* which sums it up in a few well-chosen words. After relating the martyrdom of the Báb and the fierce persecution of his followers in A.D. 1852, the article proceeds as follows:

"Now this man (*i.e.* the Báb) had hinted in some of his writings that he who should succeed him after his death was a youth amongst his disciples named *Yahyá*, and entitled *Subḥ-i-Ezel* ("The Morning of Eternity").¹ And when the severities of the Sháh against them occurred, and he pur-

¹ See Appendix II. § 2.

sued them with slaughter in all places, many of them fled to Baghdad in the territory of the Sublime State (*i.e.* the Ottoman Government). And of those who came out (from Persia) thus, were Yaḥyá, 'Şubḥ-i-Ezel,' and his elder brother named Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí and entitled 'Behá.' And Şubḥ-i-Ezel hid himself from the eyes of men at the command of his brother, and his brother pretended that he (*i.e.* Mírzá Yaḥyá) was present amongst men, but that they did not behold him because their eyes were not fit to look upon him. And when it fell out that the Sublime State (the Ottoman Government) and the State of the Sháh (Persia) agreed to expel them from Baghdad, and the Government transferred them to Adrianople, Şubḥ-i-Ezel came forth and showed himself unto men, exercising the authority of vicegerency, and inviting (men) unto the religion of his master, the Seyyíd 'Alí (Muhammad, *i.e.* the Báb). And his brother envied him, and repudiated him, and asserted that he was Antichrist, and a schism occurred between them, and (their) followers were separated into two parties: one party followed Şubḥ-i-Ezel, and the other Behá, and the former are called 'Ezelis,' and the latter 'Behá'is,' while 'Bábis' is a term for both in common. And after a while the Sublime State (the Ottoman Government) perceived evil designs in them, and detected mischief amongst them, so it exiled Şubḥ-i-Ezel to the island of Cyprus, and there he died.¹ And Behá it exiled to 'Akká (Acre), where he is now, with a number of his followers."

This account entirely agrees with what I have heard from the Bábis of the relative positions of Behá and Ezel at Baghdad. The latter remained for the most part secluded from the eyes of men, while the business of interviewing disciples and inquirers and carrying on correspondence with the Bábis in Persia was chiefly undertaken by Behá, although at this time he acted merely on behalf of Ezel. Indeed, it would appear that even at this time he was regarded by the enemies of the Bábis as the chief of the sect,

¹ This is a mistake. See Appendix II. § 2.

and that consequently it was against him that their proceedings were chiefly directed. It is not easy to form a clear idea of the light in which he regarded himself while thus acting in the name of the nominal chief, Ezel; to do this it will be necessary to collect and study his earlier letters and writings, if such can be found. For the present I shall only notice his chief work during the period of the 'Interval,' about the date of the composition of which there is no doubt. This is the *I'fán* (Assurance) of which I spoke in my last paper, and which I described as a proof of the truth of the Bábí doctrines and the divine inspiration of their Founder, supported by arguments drawn from the Pentateuch, Gospel, *Qur'án*, and Traditions. Of its contents it is unnecessary for me to speak more fully at present, *firstly* because I included the general purport of its argument in a former paragraph while discussing the work called *Dalí'il-i-Sab'a* (The Seven Proofs); *secondly*, because Baron Rosen has already published a detailed account of it, with copious extracts, to which I refer those who desire fuller information.¹ Beyond repeating that it is composed in Persian, and is eagerly read and highly esteemed by the Bábís, I will only notice the following points about it:—

(1) Except a small tract in Persian called *Muduníyyat* (Civilization), which does not deal directly with religious questions, the *I'fán* is, so far as I am aware, the only one of their books which the Bábís have published. It was lithographed, I think in India, and much care was bestowed on its execution. It is not sold openly, all copies being in the hands of influential Bábís, who give them away to those who desire them and can be trusted with them. Manuscripts of the work are also commonly met with; Baron Rosen states that he possesses a copy, besides the one which exists in the Library of the Institut des Langues Orientales at St. Petersburg; another is to be found amongst the MSS. of the British Museum, numbered Or. 3116; and I have already stated that the first Bábí book which I

¹ *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*, vol. iii. *Manuscripts Persans*, St. Petersburg, 1886, p. 33-61.

succeeded in obtaining in Persia was a MS. of this work. Almost every Bábí who possesses any books at all has a copy of it, and from its pages their arguments are for the most part drawn.

(2) The date of its composition is thus mentioned in the body of the text: "*Hál hazár ú divist ú haftád (ú) hasht sené az zuhúr-i-Nuqta-i-Furqán guzasht, va jamt' i-tñ hamaj-i-ra'á' dar har šabáh takávat-i-Ḳur'án namúde-and, va hanúz bi-ḥarfí az maksúd-i-án fá'iz na-shudé . . .*" "One thousand two hundred and seventy-eight years have passed since the manifestation of the 'Point of the Furqán' (*i.e.* Muhammad, who is so called in correspondence with the title 'Point of the Beyán' applied to the Báb), and all of these worthless wretches have read the Ḳur'án every morning, and have not yet attained to a single letter of the purport thereof." It will be remembered that the Báb is very fond of dating not from the *hijra*, but from the *bi'şat* (mission) of Muhammad,¹ which he places ten years earlier; and this fact might make us uncertain whether the same method may not be employed in this passage, and the year A.H. 1268 (A.D. 1852) be intended rather than the year A.H. 1278 (A.D. 1861-62). We have, however, no reason for supposing that Behá imitated the Báb in this; and since A.H. 1268 was the year of the attempt on the Sháh's life, and the great persecution of the Bábís which resulted therefrom, and since, moreover, during the last three or four months of it, Behá was confined in prison at Teherán, and the exodus of the Bábís from Persia to Baghdad did not occur till A.H. 1269 (A.D. 1853), while in the Ykán Baghdad is referred to in at least two passages as being the head-quarters of the chief of the sect, it seems quite certain that it was in A.H. 1278, and not in A.H. 1268, that the latter work was composed.

(3) The conclusion of the book is important as casting a certain amount of light on the relations of its author, Behá, with other members of the sect at this period. Six pages from the end an appeal is made to the "Ulamá of the

¹ Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XXI. p. 507.

Beyán" not to behave like the Muhammadans, and to refrain from persecuting and rejecting the promised "Mustaghás," whose advent they are expecting, when he appears. After repeating the same injunction in other words on the following page, the author proceeds to speak briefly of the hostility shown towards himself (whom he denotes as *ín 'abd*, "this servant") by some of the Bábís, adding these words: "*Bá ín-ki bá aḥadī dar amrī iftikḥár na-namúdam, va ba-nafsi bartari na-justam; ma' har naḥsi muṣáhibi búdam dar niháyat-i-mihrbāni, va bi-gháyat burdbár ú ráyagán, va bá fuḥarā miṣl-i-fuḥarā búdam, va bá 'ulamá va 'uzamá dar kamál-i-taslim ú riḥá,*" "Although I never exalted myself over any one in any matter, nor sought for authority over any one; I associated with every one with the utmost affection, and (was) extremely patient and accessible, and with the poor was as the poor, and with the learned and great (I was) perfectly submissive and contented." He then declares that all the cruelty and tyranny of his open foes is far easier to bear than the envy and malice of pretended friends, and proceeds to describe how, on his "first arrival in this land" (*i.e.* Baghdad) he withdrew for two years into the wilderness by himself,¹ intending to remain there all his life, since his only desire was to avoid being a cause of dissension and strife amongst the believers. His reason for altering this resolution was that "the order to return emanated from the source of command,"² which clearly shows us that at this date (A.D. 1861-1862) Behá still recognized Ezel as his chief, and submitted to his authority, at least nominally. After declaring that "the pen is powerless to portray" what he has experienced since his return to Baghdad, and that for two years his enemies have been

¹ We learn from Nabil's chronological poem that Behá arrived at Baghdad when he was 37 years old, *i.e.* in A.H. 1270 (since he was born in A.H. 1233), and that when he was 38 years old (*i.e.* in A.H. 1271 = A.D. 1854-55) he "withdrew from mankind" (*ghaybat az khalq namiád*) until he was 40, when he returned to *Zawrá* (*i.e.* Baghdad). This is evidently the "four years of retirement" here alluded to. His return therefore occurred in A.H. 1273 (A.D. 1856-57), five years before the publication of the *Iḳán*.

² In the original "*az maḥdar-i-amr ḥukm-i-rújú' qádir shud, va lá budd taslim namúdam va ráji' shudam.*"

seeking to destroy him, while assistance and sympathy were withheld by those from whom he had the best right to expect such, he adds that, were it not that he is not only ready but anxious to yield up his life "in the way of the Nuḳṭa" (*i.e.* the Báb), he would assuredly not remain in Baghdad for a single moment. Although these details which Behá gives us about himself in the *Íḳán* only occupy a few paragraphs, they are sufficient to enable us to form a fairly clear idea of his position at the time he wrote it, which is the more valuable because we know precisely the date of its composition. To recapitulate briefly the most important facts which we learn from them: Behá at this time admitted the supremacy of Ezel, and arrogated to himself no superiority over his comrades, but at the same time he appears to have aroused the envy and hostility of some of the latter, besides having attracted the special attention of the enemies of the new religion. The latter facts may suggest to us the question whether Behá did not even at this time really occupy a more prominent position than his own words would seem to imply; while the repeated exhortation to the "people of the Beyán" not to reject the promised Mustagháṣ when he appeared renders the supposition that he already contemplated the idea of putting forward this claim himself not wholly improbable.

(4) The colophon with which the *Íḳán* closes deserves notice. It runs as follows: "*Al-munzalu min al-Bá wa 'l-Há, wa's-salámu 'alá man sami'a naḡhmata 'l-warḳá fi sidrati 'l-muntahá fu-subḥána Rabbaná 'l-A'lá,*" "Revealed from the B. and the H." (*i.e.* Behá) "and peace (be) upon whomsoever heareth the song of the dove on the 'lote-tree beyond which there is no passing,'¹ and glory (be) to our Lord the Most High."

The expression *munzal* ("revealed," "sent down") is remarkable, since we have seen that Behá at this date asserted that he "claimed no authority over any one," which statement could scarcely be put forward if he intended the work

¹ See *Ḳur'án* liii. (*Súratu'n-najm*), v. 14, and Sale's translation, p. 390, note.

in which it occurs to be regarded in the light of a revelation. I therefore think it most probable that the colophon was added at a later date, after Behá's claim had been put forward and accepted by the majority of the Bábís, and when all his writings (including, probably, those composed at a date previous to this claim) were regarded by his followers as inspired. The point can only be settled definitely when a copy of the *Íkán* written previously to this date (*i.e.* before A.H. 1283, A.D. 1866-67) can be obtained and examined. The British Museum MS. ends with the same colophon, except that *al-manzúl* is written instead of *al-munzal*.

To these remarks on the *Íkán* I will only add that it is a work of great merit, vigorous in style, clear in argument, cogent in proof, and displaying no slight knowledge of the Bible, *Kur'án*, and Traditions on the part of the writer. It fully deserves the high estimation in which it is held by the Bábís.

FOURTH PERIOD. WRITINGS OF BEHÁ COMPOSED AFTER HIS CLAIM TO BE "HE WHOM GOD SHALL MANIFEST."

In the year A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866-67), two years after the transference of the Bábís from Baghdad to Adrianople, Behá, then in his fiftieth year, openly declared his divine mission, and called upon all the Bábís, including Ezel, to acknowledge the same. From this point dates the schism which to this day divides the Bábís into Behá'ís and Ezelis, and henceforth the writings of Behá breathe a spirit altogether different from that which pervades the *Íkán*.

The works of the Báb are, as has been already shown, voluminous though not very numerous. The Persian *Beyán* and the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuf*, as well as the longer Arabic *Beyán*, are books of considerable bulk. On the other hand, the total number of separate treatises composed by him (at least of those with which we are at present acquainted) does not exceed, even if it reaches, a dozen.

Of the works of Behá exactly the opposite may be said. They consist of numerous letters and treatises, all, so far as I know, of comparative brevity, the longest and most com-

pleto being the *Lawḥ-i-Aḥdas* which I shall discuss shortly. All letters emanating from Behá are regarded as revelations by his followers, who carefully preserve and diligently copy them. In my last paper I described how the Bábí couriers visit Persia yearly, bearing with them a number of these *alwáh* (epistles) addressed to believers in the different towns. To receive one of these, even of only a few lines, is accounted a very great honour: the favoured recipient exhibits the treasured scrap of paper to his friends and co-religionists, who, after kissing it, and placing their foreheads on it, proceed eagerly to peruse it, and, if possible, obtain leave from the owner to take a copy of it for themselves. The number of these *alwáh* is therefore practically unlimited, and collections of them frequently occur amongst Bábí MSS.¹

As these generally consist only of a few words of encouragement and exhortation, and as, without a knowledge of the circumstances and date of their composition and of the persons to whom they were addressed (which knowledge could scarcely be obtained otherwise than by careful inquiries amongst the Bábís at Acre) little can be deduced from them, I shall at present limit myself to a consideration of a few of the longer and more important treatises and epistles of Behá, and for the purpose of illustration shall choose for discussion the *Lawḥ-i-Naṣír*, which appears to be the earliest of his writings wherein he distinctly and uncompromisingly puts forward his claims; the *Alwáh-i-Saláṭín* (Letters of the Kings), wherein he summons the rulers of various countries to believe in him and accept his religion; and the *Lawḥ-i-Aḥdas*, which, containing as it does in a codified form the prescriptions of the new faith as revised and remodelled by Behá, is the most important of all.

1. *The 'Lawḥ-i-Naṣír.'*

This is an epistle of 73 pages of small size, addressed to some Bábí called Naṣír, who appears to have been favourably

¹ One such collection occurs in the British Museum MS. marked Or. 3114, and another at the end of Or. 3116, the first part of which contains the *Iḳáin*.

disposed towards Behá, but to have had some difficulties in admitting the claims then recently advanced by the latter. These difficulties he had apparently set forth in a letter, to which this is a reply. A copy of this I obtained at Kirmán by the advice and through the kindness of some of my Bábí friends there, who considered it as an important document which I ought to possess. I know of no other copy in Europe. It is for the most part written in Persian, with occasional passages in Arabic. I shall confine myself to noticing briefly some of the more important points in it.

After the exordium, the letter proper commences thus: "*Ey Naşır! Ey 'abd-i-man!*" "O Naşır! O my servant." This mode of address already marks a great change from the tone adopted by Behá in the *Ykán*, where he declares that he "never sought supremacy over any one." A little further on he proceeds, "*Námé-i-tú bi-maḥarr-i-ḡuds rárid ámad,*" "Thy letter arrived at the Place of Holiness;" and shortly after he says, "*Báb-i-faẓl maftúh, va tú ma'múr bi-duḡhúl,*" "The door of grace is open, and thou art commanded to enter."

That this letter was addressed to one named Naşır appears from the above, and two or three other passages where the name of Behá's correspondent is mentioned. That it was written by Behá is also evident, apart from the style and substance of the document, from two passages, one of which begins, "*Lá fa-wa-nafsiya 'l-Behá!*" "No, by myself the Behá!" and the other of which runs as follows: "*Wa law yaḡúmu aḡadun 'alá ḡubbi-'l-Behá fi arḡhi 'l-inshá wa yuḡáribu ma'ahu kulla man fi'l-arḡhi wa's-semá la-yuḡḡlibuhu 'láhu* if any one understood the love of Behá in the earth of "And '*aleyhim idḡháran li-ḡudratihí, wa ibrázan li-salṡanatihí,*" creation, and were to fight on his side against all who are in the earth and the heavens, God would verily make him victorious over them, as a showing forth of His power, and a setting forth of His majesty."

That the letter was composed *after* Behá had put forward his claim is also manifest not only from the passages I have quoted, but from many others, and indeed from the whole

tenour of the letter. That it was written *shortly after this* is also evident from the strong opposition to his claims by the majority of the "people of the Beyán" (*i.e.* the Bábís) of which Behá complains, and for which he censures them, which opposition appears rapidly to have subsided until his rival, Ezol, only retained a mere handful of followers. In only one passage is anything approaching a definite date given, and in it Behá speaks thus:—"O people of the Beyán! have you not considered that for *twenty years* he"—(Behá is here speaking of himself in the third person)—"has stood up by himself against the enemies? Many are the nights when all were sleeping at ease on their beds, while this Beauty of Primal Unity (*Jemál-i-Aḥadiyyat*) was standing up openly against the unbelievers (*mushrikín*), and many the days when the Beauty of Glory and Dignity (*Jemál-i-'izz ú tamkín*) was evident and resplendent and obvious amongst the unbelievers, while ye kept yourselves preserved and concealed in hiding-places, fearing for yourselves." Now Behá must have been one of the first to believe in the Báb: we learn from the Bábí history that he was amongst those who met the latter at a place called *Khánliq* near Teherán as he was being conveyed to Tabríz from Isfahán, which was in the year A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847). As we have seen, Behá's claim was put forward in A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866-67), *exactly twenty years later*. From this we may fairly assume that the *Lawḥ-i-Nasír* was written very soon after that event, probably in the same year, which conclusion agrees with the statement made to me by the Bábís at Kirmán.

It remains for me to notice the nature of the claim therein set forth, which is of the utmost possible magnitude, and stated in the most uncompromising manner, though differently expressed in different passages. These differences, however, are only of aspect, depending on the Bábí views concerning the unity of the essential principle which speaks through all the prophets. Thus in one passage Behá says, "*Kull-i-kutub-i-samavi bi-lisán-i-jalíl-i-ḥudrat názil farmúdam*"—"I revealed all the heavenly books by the glorious tongue" (or, 'in the glorious language') "of (Divine) Might." In

another place he calls himself "*Malik-i-Şifât*," "The Lord of the Attributes" (meaning thereby that he is the Divine Essence made manifest), and reproves those who are "veiled by the Names" from the Essence, mentioning especially one (probably Mírzá Yahyá, "Hazrat-i-Ezel") whom he calls "a Name amongst my Names,¹ whom I created by a single letter, and to whom I gave life by a single breath," and who nevertheless "arose in war against" his "Beauty." In other passages, again, he declares that he is the *Nuқта-i-U'lá* ("The First Point," i.e. the Báb) returned again, and this manner of speaking he carries so far as to talk of the execution of the Báb at Tabriz as one of his own experiences, as in the following remarkable passage :

"It hath been witnessed what an amount of cruelty and perversity was shown by the people of error, so that none can reckon it but God: until at length they suspended my glorious body in the air, and wounded it with the bullets of malice and hatred, until my spirit returned to the Supreme Companion (*Rafík-i-A'lá*), and gazed on the Most Beauteous Garment (*Kamiş-i-Abhá*). And not one reflected wherefore it was that I accepted this injury from my own servants, for, had they reflected, they would not have remained veiled from my Beauty in my second manifestation by reason of a Name amongst my Names." Again, in another passage, he says, "In the *Beyán* I admonished all in the language of power." Other similar sayings might be quoted, but I think these are sufficient to establish this point.

Many valuable pieces of information can be gleaned from this epistle, since it is less formal and didactic than Behá's later writings. Thus he quotes several passages from the Báb's works, and mentions some of the latter by name, distinctly stating, for example, that the names *Ahsanu'l-Kişas* and *Kayyúm-i-Asmá* apply to the same book. As the

¹ I need hardly repeat that the 18 "Letters of the Living" which constituted, with the "Point," the Bábí hierarchy, and amongst whom Ezel was included, were regarded as incarnations, or "manifestations," of the chief Attributes or "Names" of God, while the "Point" was a manifestation of the Essence. Behá claims to be the "Point," and complains that one of his own "Names" should attempt to conceal him.

former of these terms is that whereby the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuif* is generally denoted amongst the Bábís, we learn where we must look for a passage stated in the *I'kán* to occur in the *Kayyúm-i-Asmá*, the importance of locating which Baron Rosen has pointed out.¹ This same passage quoted in the *I'kán* is also cited in the Bábí history, as I have mentioned in referring to it in a former part of this paper.² Some information about persons who played a more or less important part in helping or opposing the Bábí cause, such as Mullá 'Alí Bistámí amongst the former, and one of the Muhammadan 'ulamá called Muhammad Hasan Nujaí amongst the latter, is also given. The second of these individuals is probably the same as the "Sheykh who is named as Muhammad before Hasan," against whom a passage in the *Lawh-i-Akdas* is directed. I must now leave the *Lawh-i-Naṣír*, which concludes with a warning to Naṣír that one will shortly appear before him and try to turn his heart from the love of Behá, but that he is to "be sure that he is a devil, even if he be the highest of men." It is probable that Behá here alludes to some Ezelí missionary who was engaged in trying to prevent the Bábís from accepting Behá's claim and in consequence rejecting Hazrat-i-Ezel.

2. *The 'Alwáh-i-Saláṭín (Letters of the Kings).*

In my last paper I alluded to and enumerated the Letters sent by Behá to the Rulers of the chief countries in Europe and Western Asia, and promised to describe their contents more fully on a future occasion. I regret that the length which the present article has already attained forbids me from discussing them as fully as the great interest of their contents would impel me to do did the space at my disposal allow of it. For the present I must limit myself to

¹ *Collections de l'Institut, etc., vol. iii. Manuscrits Persans*, p. 43, note on text of *I'kán*: "Ce passage est très-important, parcequ'il nous donne le nom authentique d'un des ouvrages fondamentaux de la secte. Il s'agit maintenant de retrouver ce passage dans les manuscrits báby connus jusqu'ici."

² Page 926 *supra*, and note.

a statement of the more important features of each of them. Taken collectively, these letters constitute what is known amongst the Bábís as the *Súra-i-Heykal*, which I think includes also some shorter letters addressed to sundry other people. The only text in my possession forms part of a MS. obtained at Kirmán, which also includes the *Lawḥ-i-Akdas*, as well as a *tarjî'band* in praise of Behá. In this are contained: (1) the letter to Náṣíru'd-Dín Sháh, King of Persia; (2) the letter entitled *Lawḥ-i-Ra'ís*, addressed apparently to one of the Turkish ministers (probably 'Alí Páshá, but of the identity of the *Lawḥ-i-'Alí Páshá* with that at present under consideration I am not certain); (3) the letter to the Pope of Rome; (4) the letter to the "King of Paris" (*i.e.* Napoleon III.); (5) the letter to the then-reigning Emperor of Russia; besides these there is (6) the letter to Queen Victoria, of which, as it was not included in the Kirmán MS., I recently obtained a copy through the kindness of one of my friends at Shíráz. I am almost certain that a letter to the late Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz also exists, but of this I have unfortunately no copy. Most of these letters appear to have been written about the same time, *viz.* soon after the arrival of Behá at Acre (A.H. 1285-86, A.D. 1868-69), but the *Lawḥ-i-Ra'ís* must be placed later.

a. *Letter to the Sháh of Persia.*

Before proceeding to speak of this letter in detail, it is right that I should mention a difficulty which I am at present unable to solve. Near the beginning of my paper I spoke of Baron Rosen's description of a MS. in the St. Petersburg collection containing a long letter addressed collectively to the Sháh of Persia, the "Christian Kings" (*Mulúku'l-Mashḥiyya*), and certain officials (*rúkalá*), particularly the French and Persian Consuls at Baghdad. When I first read this description I had no doubt that Behá was the writer of the letter in question, but a further examination of it and a comparison between its style and tone and

those of the Letter to the Sháh which I am about to describe, render this supposition difficult.

The letter of which I possess a copy I have compared with another copy in the British Museum marked Or. 3115, with which, apart from a few various readings, it agrees. It is partly in Arabic, partly in Persian, and is characterized by extreme moderation of tone. The blame of persecuting the Bábís is chiefly laid on the ‘Ulamá, who, it is alleged, have instigated and maintained these persecutions by false representations to the Sháh. The writer declares that he has always been a loyal subject of the King, obedient to his commands, and desirous of his welfare, in proof of which he points out that since he was released from his imprisonment at Teherán on the establishment of his innocence of any complicity in the attempt on the Sháh’s life (which attempt Behá, in all his writings where he alludes to it, strongly condemns), no act of sedition has emanated from the Bábís, and that this submissiveness on their part, contrasting strongly with their former conduct, is in great measure due to his (the writer’s) influence.

The letter described by Baron Rosen, which is entirely in Arabic, not only does not contain a single passage corresponding with the above, but differs from it widely both in style and tone. The style appears to me very inferior (at any rate as regards accuracy) to that of Behá, and it contains, as Baron Rosen observes, numerous grammatical errors. The tone it adopts towards the Sháh is one of fierce recrimination: the writer, after upbraiding him for putting the Báb to death, says,¹ “And would that you had slain him as men slay one another, but you slew him in such wise that the eyes of men have not seen the like thereof, and Heaven wept over him, and the hearts of those near (to God) cried out. Was he not the son of your Prophet, and was not his relationship to the Prophet well known amongst you? How then did you do unto him that which none of the former ones have done? By God! the eye of existence hath not beheld the

¹ Rosen, *MSS. Arabes*, p. 199.

like of you : you slay the son of your Prophet and then rejoice in your places, and are of those who are joyful. And you curse those who were aforetime, who did the like of what ye have done, while ye are careless of yourselves." A few sentences further on the writer proceeds to excuse, if not to approve, the attempt on the Sháh's life as follows:—"And when ye slew him, one from amongst his friends arose in retaliation, and none knew him, and his purpose was concealed from whatever hath life. . . . Then it is not meet that you should blame any one for this, but rather blame yourselves for what you have done, if ye be just."

The fact that the particulars which we glean from a perusal of both letters correspond in the main is not a proof that their authors were identical, for the exodus from Teherán to Baghdad, and the proceedings eventually taken at the latter place against the Bábís included them all alike. Again, if both letters had been written by Behá at different times, we should have expected some allusion to be made in one of them to the former one, which is not the case. On the contrary, Behá, in the letter which is undoubtedly his, and which was written from Adrianople after it had been decided by the Turkish Government to send him to Acre, particularly says that he had not previously appealed directly to the Sháh, but only to one of his ministers named Mírzá Sa'íd Khán. He also says that he had not written or communicated with any foreign states. This, I think, conclusively proves that the document described by Baron Rosen cannot have been written before the one which is included in the *Súra-i-Heykal*, supposing Behá to be the author of the former. If we could overlook the difference of style, we might, however, suppose the reverse of this, viz. that the letter in the *Súra-i-Heykal* was first written, and that the change in tone observable in the other was caused by disappointment or anger at the neglect shown to the preceding missive. But when we recall the fate which befell the bearer of Behá's letter to the Sháh, which is a matter of notoriety in Persia, this hypothesis likewise appears difficult. It was considered desirable that this letter should be sent by

a special messenger, and on the announcement of this, several volunteers stepped forward, from the number of whom a youthful believer, now known amongst the Bábís as *Badí'* "the Wonderful," was selected. Travelling on foot from Acre to Teherán he succeeded, on his arrival at the Persian capital, in delivering his letter to the Sháh as the latter was riding through the streets, saying as he did so, "I bring a command (*farman*) to you." The Sháh, thinking that the sense of awe produced in him by the Royal Presence had bewildered him so that he did not know what he was saying, remarked, "You mean a *petition*." "No," answered *Badí'*, "I mean what I say: a *command* from one whose authority is higher than yours." When the Sháh understood whence the letter came, and who the writer was, he ordered *Badí'* to be put to death, which was done by branding him with red-hot bricks. I have heard that as the executioners were lifting up the bricks with iron tongs to apply them to his body, he cried out, "It is not necessary for you to trouble yourselves: I welcome death in such a cause," and, seizing the bricks in his own hands, pressed them to his bosom. Amazing as this seems, it finds a parallel in the behaviour of Sulcymán *Khán* at his execution in A.D. 1852.

Now if Behá had been, as I at first supposed, the author of this second letter (quoted by Baron Rosen), some allusion would almost certainly have been made in it to so remarkable an event. No such allusion occurs in the notice of its contents. This appears to me almost conclusive evidence that the second letter was not written by Behá. In this case its author must have been one of the other Bábí chiefs, and the first supposition which would naturally occur to us would be that it was composed by Ezel. This view is supported by the fact that in another letter occurring in the same collection, which is quoted in part by Baron Rosen,¹ we find these words: "*Asma'ú nidá'a 'lláhi 'an hádhihi 'sh-shajarati 'l-mani'ati 'l-murtasfi'ati 'l-mubáarakati 'l-ezeliyyati 'l-aḥadiyya.*" "Hear the voice of God from this unapproachable, lofty, blessed, eternal Tree of Unity."

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 208.

Against this view of the authorship of the letter is the fact that the writer describes himself¹ as "this servant who is called Huseyn in the Kingdom of names," while in another passage he says, "Say, O people, am I not in truth the son of 'Alí? but I am named Huseyn in the spiritual world² of God the Protector, the Mighty, the Kind." Inasmuch as the name of Hazrat-i-Ezel was *Yahyá*, not *Huseyn*, these passages would conclusively disprove his authorship of the document in question did it not seem possible that the meaning of the passages quoted is, not that the writer of the letter was called Huseyn in the actual world or "World of Creation" (*'Alam-i-Mulk*), but that he is so called spiritually, because he is the successor of the Báb, as Huseyn was of 'Alí. A passage in which he speaks of the Báb, not as *'Alí Muhammad*, but as *'Alí*,³ tends to strengthen this view, which, for the rest, is fully in keeping with Bábí methods of thought and expression.

To sum up the results of the foregoing investigation, it appears probable that the letter described by Baron Rosen was written not by Behá, but by one of the other Bábí chiefs, possibly Ezel.

Having occupied so much space with this discussion, I must speak very briefly of the points which have not been already noticed in the letter of Behá's which constitutes a part of the *Súra-i-Heykal*. It is written with great humility and moderation; the writer speaks of himself as "*hádhá 'l-mamlúk*" ("this slave"), and prays to God for help and courage to address the King. Turning then to the latter, he declares that those by whom he is surrounded, and who counsel him to act with severity against the Bábís, do so from interested motives: they have no real attachment to their master, whereas Behá sincerely and earnestly desires his welfare, which can only be secured by the exercise of justice towards all his subjects alike, regardless of their

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 192.

² Thus, in accordance with its use in *Sháfi* terminology, have I translated the expression *Jebérút*, concerning which cf. Jorjání's *Definitions*, ed. Flügel, p. 77 and p. 297.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 193, l. 7.

creed. All other sects and religions are tolerated in his dominions; why are the Bábís alone placed under a ban? Let them enjoy the liberty given to others, and they will prove loyal and obedient subjects. As to resistance to the Sháh's authority, Behá has never countenanced it, as he shows by quotations from his former writings, especially a letter to one of his co-religionists on the true meaning of "victory," which, he explains, means victory over one's own heart, and turning aside from all except God, not victory achieved by war, for "strife has never been and is not beloved of God, nor is the slaughter (of their fellow-creatures) which some of the ignorant have committed pleasing" (to Him). The remainder of the letter is chiefly taken up with strictures on the 'ulamá, certain exceptions being made in favour of members of that class who are free from bigotry and notable for piety. Of these latter a certain Sheykh Murtaẓá, who used, before his death, to reside at Baghdad, and who had shown kindness to the Bábí exiles, is particularly mentioned. As to the others, Behá only demands to be confronted with them in open discussion before the Sháh, promising, if he fails to confute them and prove his case, to submit without complaint to whatever sentence the Sháh may pronounce against him.

He quotes from the *Ḳur'án* the text¹ "*Fa-tamannawú 'l-mawta, in kuntum ṣádiqín,*" "Desire death then, if ye be sincere," and asks whether the Bábís or their enemies the Musulmán divines, have best responded to this test. Nor can it be alleged, he adds, that the Bábís are impelled by a sort of madness to this readiness to meet death, for it is not a thing confined to a few only. He cries out against the injustice of condemning the votaries of the new faith unheard, quoting again from the *Ḳur'án* the verse,² "*In já'a fásiḳun bi-naba'in fa-tabayyanú,*" "Even if a sinner come unto you with a message, investigate (it)." Many traditions are also quoted, including one which says that the 'ulamá of the latter days shall be most wicked and unjust, and this tradition, he says,

¹ *Ḳur'án* ii. 88, and lxii. 66.

² *Ḳur'án* xlix. 6.

has been fulfilled in these days. It is pointed out that in all previous "manifestations" they are the most bitter enemies of the light, which statement is illustrated by the treatment which Christ experienced at the hands of the Jewish doctors. After again exhorting the Sháh to be just, and seek after the truth, since the pomp and majesty of Empire pass away, Behá concludes by describing the insecurity and danger in which he has lived owing to the malice of his enemies, which is graphically described in the following sentence, with which I conclude: "*Fî akthari ayyámî kuntu ke-'abdin illadhî yakúnu jálisan tahta sayfin 'ullika bi-sha'r(at)in wáhidatin, wa lam yadri matá yanzilu 'aleyhi fî 'l-hin, aw ba'da hin,*" "For most of my days I was as a servant who is sitting under a sword which is suspended by a single hair, and he knoweth not when it shall descend upon him, at once, or after a while."

b. *Letter to the Ra'ís.*

I have already stated that I believe this letter to have been addressed to Álí Páshá, but that I am not certain of this point. It is written entirely in Arabic, and is the longest of the letters comprised in the *Súra-i-Heykal* with the exception of the letter to the Sháh which has just been described. Though the first part of it is addressed to the Turkish official designated by the word *Ra'ís* (chief), the latter portion is devoted to answering certain questions about the soul propounded by one of the faithful who had apparently proved his sincerity by the sufferings which he had undergone for the faith. As the letter contains an obvious reference to the death of the "Martyrs of Isfahán," which event I believe I am right in placing about the year A.D. 1880, it must have been written at a much later date than most of the others now included in the *Súra-i-Heykal*. I must confine myself to giving a translation of some of the most interesting passages.

"O chief!" the letter begins, "hear the voice of God, the Protecting Self-existing King. Verily He crieth between

the earth and the heavens, and summoneth all to the most glorious outlook (*al-manẓarū'l-abhá*), neither doth thy grunting prevent Him, nor the barking of those who are around thee, nor the hosts of the two worlds. . . . O chief! thou hast committed that by reason of which Muhammad the Prophet of God lamenteth in the highest heaven. And the world hath made thee proud in such wise that thou hast turned away from the Face of Him by whose light the people of the supreme assembly are illuminated, and thou shalt find thyself in a manifest loss. And thou didst unite with the Persian chief in opposition to me after that I came unto you from the rising-place of Greatness and Might with a matter whereby the eyes of those near (to God) are refreshed (*i.e.* whereby they are rejoiced). By God! this is a day wherein the Fire speaketh through all things, 'The Belovéd of the two worlds is come.' . . . Dost thou imagine that thou canst quench the Fire which God hath kindled in the horizons? No, by Himself, the True One, wert thou of those who knew! Rather by that which thou hath done its burning is increased and its blaze. . . . And the 'Land of the Mystery' (*i.e.* Adrianople) and what is beside it shall be changed, and shall pass out of the hand of the King (*i.e.* the Sultan of Turkey), and commotions shall appear, and lamentation shall arise, and trouble shall become manifest on all sides, and matters shall be altered by reason of that which hath come on these hearts from the hosts of the oppressors. . . . Look! and then remember when Muhammad came with manifest signs on the part of the Mighty (and) Wise One. The people would have stoned him in the public places and streets, and they denied the signs of God, thy Lord, and the Lord of thy fathers who were before. And the learned ('*Ulamá*) denied him; then those factions who followed them, and after them the Kings of the earth, as thou hast heard in the stories of those who were aforetime. And of these was Kistrá,¹ unto whom he sent a kind letter, inviting him to God, and forbidding him from polytheism; and verily thy Lord hath knowledge of all things. Verily he made himself

¹ *i.e.* Khusraw Parvīz, the Sásánian king.

great against God, and tore up the letter, because he followed his passion and lust. Is he not of the people of hell? Was Pharaoh able to hinder God from His dominion when he rebelled in the earth, and was of the disobedient? . . . Say, verily the King of Persia slew the Belovéd of both worlds that he might thereby extinguish the Light of God amongst His creatures (*lit.* "What is beside Him") and hinder mankind from the pure water of Life in the days of God, the Mighty, the Kind. . . . Leave the mention of the Chief; then mention the friend who came to know the love of God, and separated himself from those who associated (other things with God), and were of the lost. . . . Know, then, that we were in the morning one day and we found the friends of God confronted by the transgressors. The troops beset all the gates, and prevented the servants (of God) from entrance and exit, and were of the oppressors. And the friends of God, and His family, were left without food in the first night: thus did it befall those for whose sake was created the world and what is therein. Shame upon them! and upon those who commanded them to (do) evil! and God shall consume their livers with fire, and verily He is the fiercest of Avengers. Men gathered round the house, and the eyes of Islám and of the Christians wept, and the sound of weeping arose betwixt heaven and earth because of that which the hands of the oppressors had wrought. Verily we found the assembly of the Son (*i.e.* the Christians) more bitter in their weeping than (those of) other creeds, and herein are indeed signs to the thoughtful. And one from amongst the friends sacrificed (?) himself for myself, and cut his throat with his hand¹ from 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 manifestation, as a setting forth of His Power, for verily He is the Mighty and Powerful. And he whose throat was cut in 'Irák (*i.e.* 'Irák-i-'Ajami), verily he is the 'Beloved of Martyrs' (*Mahbûbu'sh-Shuhadâ*) and their King (*Sultân*), and that which appeared from him was the

¹ This event I described briefly in my former paper on the Bábis, p. 516.

proof of God unto all creatures.¹ This is a day unto which, had Muhammad the Prophet of God attained, he would assuredly say, 'We have known Thee, O Desire of (all) the apostles.' And had the Friend (*i.e.* Abraham) attained it, he would certainly place his face upon the earth, humbling himself before God, and would say, 'My heart is at peace, O God of whomsoever is in the heavens and the earths, and Thou hast caused me to behold the kingdom of Thy Command, and the dominion of Thy Might, and I bear witness that at Thy Manifestation the hearts of those who advance are at peace.' Had the Interlocutor (*i.e.* Moses) attained it, he would certainly say, 'Praise (be to Thee) for that Thou hast shown me Thy beauty, and hast made me of those who increase.' And God shall raise up one amongst the Kings who shall succour His saints, for He encompasseth all things. And He shall put into the hearts (of men) the love of His saints, and this is a decree on the part of the Mighty, the Beautiful (One). . . . Give thanks to God in that He hath strengthened thee with knowledge of Himself, and caused thee to enter into His protection on a day whercon the unbelievers encompassed the people of God and His saints, and drove them forth from their houses, with evident tyranny. And they desired to bring about a separation between us on the shore of the sea, and verily thy Lord is aware of that which is in the breasts of the unbelievers. Say, 'Though ye cut off our limbs, the love of God will not depart from our hearts: verily we were created for sacrifice: therefore do we glory over the two worlds.' " The remainder of the letter, which discusses the nature of the soul, I am compelled to omit for lack of space.

c. *Letter to the Pope.*

Of this also I append a few extracts without comment:

"O Pope! rend asunder the veils! The Lord of Lords hath come in the shadow of clouds, and the matter hath been

¹ I think there can be no doubt that the "Martyrs of Isfahán" are here alluded to, concerning whom see my former paper, p. 489 *et seq.*

decided on the part of God, the Powerful, the Unconstrained. Disclose the (divine) splendours(?) by the authority of thy Lord; then ascend into the Kingdom of Names and Attributes: thus doth the Supreme Pen command thee on the part of thy Lord, the Mighty, the Controller. Verily He hath come from heaven another time, as He came from it the first time: beware lest ye oppose Him as the Pharisees opposed Him without evidence or proof. On His right side floweth the River of Grace, and on His left side the Sweet Waters of Justice: before Him go the angels of Paradise with the standards of signs. Beware lest Names withhold you from God the Maker of the earth and the heavens. . . . Dost thou dwell in palaces, while the King of the Manifestation is in the most ruined of abodes? ¹ . . . The breath of God is diffused throughout the world, because the Desired One hath come in His Most Great Glory. Lo! every stone and clod crieth, 'The Promised One hath appeared, and the Kingdom is to God, the Powerful, the Mighty, the Pardon-ing. Beware lest sciences prevent thee from the King of what is known, or the world from Him who created it and left it. Arise in the Name of thy Lord the Merciful amidst the assembly of beings, and take the Cup of Life in the hand of assurance; drink therefrom, or not; then give to drink to those who advance of the people of (different) religions. . . . Remember when the Spirit ² came; he who was the most learned of the doctors of his age gave sentence against Him in his city, while those who caught fish believed in Him; be admonished, then, O people of understanding! . . . And when We come unto you another time we see you fleeing from Us, therefore doth the eye of My compassion weep over my people; fear God, O ye who are in expectation! . . . Look likewise at this time. How many monks seclude themselves in churches in My Name; and when the appointed time was completed, and We disclosed to them perfection (?), they did not know Me, after that they call

¹ *i.e.* Acre ('Akká), which is often thus described by Behá in his writings.

² *i.e.* Christ, whom the Muhammandans call "*Rúh'u'lláh*," "The Spirit of God."

upon Me at eventide and at dawn. . . . Do ye read the Gospel, and (still) do not flee to the Glorious Lord? This beseebeth you not, O concourse of learned ones! . . . The Word which the Most Faithful wrote hath appeared: It hath indeed descended into the form of man in this time: blessed is the Lord, who is the Father: He hath come with His most mighty Power amongst the nations; turn towards Him, O concourse of the good! The Father hath come, and that which hath been promised unto you in the kingdom is accomplished: this is a Word which was concealed behind the veil of Might, and when the promised (time) came, it shone forth from the horizon of the (Divine) Will with manifest signs. . . My body longeth for the Cross, and my head for the spear (?) in the way of the Merciful One (*i.e.* God), that the world may be purified from sin. . . . The people of the Furkán (*i.e.* the Muhammadans) have arisen, and tormented me with torments whereat the Holy Spirit crieth out; and the thunder roars, and the eyes of the clouds weep because of the unbelievers. Whosoever imagineth that calamity will hinder Behá from that which God, the Creator of (all) things, willeth, say (unto him), No! by the descent of the rains, nothing shall prevent him from the mention of his Lord. By God the Truth! even though they burn him on the earth, verily he will lift up his head in the midst of the sea, and will cry, 'Unto God indeed belongeth whosoever is in the heavens and in the earth.' And even though they cast him into a dark pit, they shall find him on the summits of the mountains, crying, 'The Desired One hath come by the authority of Might and Sovereignty.' And though they bury him in the earth, he will arise from the horizons of heaven, and will speak with the loudest voice, 'Behá hath come to the kingdom of God, the Holy, the Mighty, the Unconstrained.' And though they shed his blood, every drop thereof shall cry out and call upon God by this Name whereby the perfumes of the Garment are diffused through (all) regions. . . . And regard the pearl, that its lustre is in itself: if thou coverest it with silk, verily it veileth the beauty and

qualities thereof : such is man ; his nobility is in his virtues. . . . O people of the Son !¹ we have sent unto you John (the Baptist) another time.² Verily he crieth in the wilderness of the Beyán, 'O creation of beings ! make clear your eyes ! The day of vision and meeting hath come nigh. Prepare then the way, O people of the Gospel. The day wherein shall come the Lord of Glory hath come nigh : prepare to enter into the Kingdom. Thus was the matter decreed on the part of God, the Cleaver of the Dawn. . . . This is indeed the Father, whereof Isaiah gave you tidings, and the Comforter whom the Spirit (*i.e.* Christ) promised. . . . Hasten unto Him, and follow not every denying infidel. And if the eye of any one oppose him in this, it behoves him to pluck it out ; and if his tongue oppose him, it behoves him to cut it out. Thus was it written by the Pen of Eternity on the part of the King of Contingent Being (*Imkán*) ; verily He hath come another time for your deliverance, O people of creation : will ye kill Him after that He desireth for you enduring life ? Fear God, O people of discernment. . . . The Glorious One crieth continually from the horizon of the Pavilion of Might and Greatness, and saith 'O people of the Gospel ! He hath come into the Kingdom who was out of it ; and to-day we see you standing at the Gate. Rend the veils by the power of your Lord, the Mighty, the Munificent, and then enter into my Kingdom in my Name ; thus doth He command you who desireth for you enduring life ; verily He is powerful over all things. Blessed are those who have known the Light, and have hastened towards it : behold, they are in the Kingdom, they eat and drink with the elect. And we see you, O children of the Kingdom, in darkness : this is not meet for you. Do ye fear to meet the Light because of your deeds ? Advance thereto. . . . Verily He said, 'Come, that I may make you my fishers ; come, that I may make you fishers of men ;' and to-day we say, 'Come, that we may make you the

¹ *i.e.* Followers of Christ, the Son of God.

² The Báb, who was the precursor (*mubashir*) of Behá, is here intended.

vivifiers of the world.' Thus was the decree ordained in a tablet written by the Pen of Command."

d. *Letter to Napoleon III.*

This letter is rather longer than the last, and like it is entirely in Arabic. As much of what it contains is merely a repetition of the substance of what has been or will be noticed elsewhere, I shall give translations of only a few of the more important passages. The letter begins thus :

"O King of Paris! tell the priest not to ring (*lit.* strike) the bells. By God, the True One! the Most Glorious Bell hath appeared on the Temple of the Most Great Name, and the fingers of the will of Thy Lord, the High, the Supreme, ring (*lit.* strike) it in the World of Eternal Power (*Jeberútu 'l-Baká*) through his Most Splendid Name (*Ismuhu 'l-Abhá*): thus have the most mighty signs of thy Lord descended once more, that thou mayest arise to commemorate God, the Creator of the Earth and the Heaven. . . . We have sent one whom we have strengthened with the Holy Spirit that he may give you tidings of this Light which hath shone forth from the horizon of the Will of your Lord, the Exalted, the Most Splendid, and whose effects have appeared in the West, that ye may turn unto Him in this day . . . Arise amongst the servants (of God) in My Name and say, 'O people of the Earth advance towards Him, who hath advanced towards you, for verily He is the Face of God (*Wajhu'lláh*) amongst you, and His Evidence in your midst, and His Proof unto you. . . . This is that whereof the Spirit¹ gave you tidings when He brought the truth, and the Jewish doctors opposed Him, until they committed that whereat the Holy Spirit lamented. . . . Say, O concourse of monks! do not withdraw yourselves in churches and sanctuaries; come forth (thence) by my permission, then occupy yourselves with that whereby your souls shall be profited, and the souls of mankind. . . . He who cleaveth to the house is indeed as one dead: it is meet for man that he should produce

¹ *i.e.* Christ, "*Rúhu'lláh*," as before stated.

that whereby (other) beings shall profit; and he who hath no fruit is fit for the Fire . . . Verily, O King, we heard from thee a word which thou didst speak when the King of Russia asked of thee concerning what was settled as to the order of war: verily thy Lord is Wise and Informed. Thou didst say, 'I was asleep in my bed (when) the cry of the servants (of God) who were wronged, even till they were drowned in the Black Sea, awoke me.' Thus did we hear, and God is the Witness of what I say. Thou canst witness that it was not (their) cry, but (thine own) lust (of war) which awoke thee, inasmuch as we tried thee and found thee afar off. . . . Hadst thou been the speaker (*lit.* owner) of that speech, thou wouldst not have cast the book of God behind thy back when it was sent unto thee on the part of one Mighty and Wise. Verily we tried thee therewith, and did not find thee in that state whereto thou didst pretend: arise, and make reparation for what has passed away from thee. The world shall perish, and what thou hast, and the Kingdom remains to God, thy Lord, and the Lord of thy fathers who were of yore . . . *Because of what thou hast done affairs shall be changed in thy kingdom, and empire shall depart from thine hands, as a punishment for thine action: then shalt thou find thyself in manifest loss, and commotion shall seize the peoples there, unless thou arisest to assist in this matter, and followest the Spirit in this Straight Way. Thy glory hath made thee proud: by my life! Verily it shall not endure, but shall pass away, unless thou takest hold of this firm rope. We have seen humiliation hastening after thee, while thou art of those that sleep.*"¹

The letter contains many other passages of interest, and is vivid and graphic in its eloquence. It concludes with a summary of some of the ordinances of the new religion, especially as regards fasting and the observance of the two great feasts recognized by the Bábís. The last paragraph is directed against inordinate love of fame and glory.

¹ The passages in italics contain the prophecy of the downfall of Napoleon III. to which I alluded in my last paper.

e. *Letter to the Emperor of Russia.*

This is the shortest of all these letters, if indeed it be given in extenso in my MS. It seems to end so abruptly that I cannot help thinking it may be incomplete. It contains thanks on the part of Behá for services rendered by a Russian minister during his captivity. I content myself with giving a translation of this passage, preceded only by the first two or three lines:

“O King of Russia! hear the voice of God, the Most Holy King! Then advance unto Paradise (which is) the place wherein abideth He who is named with the Most Comely Names amongst the most high assembly, and in the Kingdom of Creation by the Name of God, the Splendid, the Most Splendid (*Alláhu'l-Baháyyu'l-Abhá*): beware lest thy desires prevent thee from turning towards the face¹ (*vajh*) of thy Lord, the Merciful, the Clement. . . . One of thine Ambassadors did assist me when I was in prison, in chains and fetters. Therefore hath God decreed unto thee a station which the knowledge of no one comprehendeth, save He only. Beware lest thou change this lofty station; verily thy Lord is able to do whatsoever He willeth: He cancelleth what He pleaseth and confirmeth what He pleaseth, and with Him is the knowledge of all things in a Preserved Tablet. . . . Be not of those who used to call upon Him by a Name amongst His Names, and when the Named One came, they denied Him, and turned away from Him, until they pronounced sentence against him with evident injustice. Look, then, and remember the days wherein came the Spirit,² and Herod gave judgment against Him: God hath helped the Spirit with the hosts of the Unseen.”

f. *Letter to Queen Victoria.*

This letter begins as follows:

“O Queen in London! Hear the voice of thy Lord, the

¹ It will be remembered that some of the letters in the MSS. noticed by M. Stuart (see p. 941) are described as emanating from some person entitled '*All-Wajh*' ('The Face'). I have suggested that this may be another title of Ezel, but Behá applies it to himself in several places in these letters.

² i.e. Christ.

King of (all) Creatures from the Divine Lote-tree that 'There is no God but Me, the Precious, the Wise.' Lay aside what is on the earth: then adorn the head of dominion with the diadem of thy glorious Lord: verily He hath come into the world with His most great Glory, and that which was mentioned in the Gospel hath been fulfilled. The land of Syria hath been honoured by the advance of its Lord, the King of men, and the exhilaration of the Wine of Union hath seized upon the regions of the South and North: blessed is he who discovereth the scent of the Merciful (*i.e.* God), and advanceth to the dawning-place of Beauty in this clear Morning. . . . It hath reached us that thou hast forbidden the selling of slaves and handmaidens: this is what God hath commanded in this marvellous Manifestation. God hath recorded unto thee the reward of this: verily He is the Discharger of the rewards of the well-doers. . . . And we have heard that thou hast entrusted the reins of deliberation into the hands of the Commonwealth.¹ Thou hast done well, for thereby the bases of the edifices of (all) affairs are made firm, and the hearts of those who are under thy shadow (*i.e.* protection), both of high and low, are made tranquil. But it behoves them² to be (as) trustees amongst the servants (of God), and to regard themselves as guardians over whomsoever is in all the earth. And when any one turns towards the assembly, let him turn his glance to the Supreme Horizon, and say, 'O God! I ask Thee by Thy Most Splendid Name (*bi'smika'l-Abhá*) to assist me unto that whereby the affairs of Thy servants may prosper, and Thy countries may flourish; verily Thou art Powerful over all things.' Blessed is he who entereth the assembly in the regard of God, and judgeth betwixt men with pure justice: is he not of those who prosper? . . . And look on the world as the body of a man who was created sound and whole, but diseases have attacked him from various and diverse causes, and his soul is not at ease for a day, but rather his sickness increaseth, in that he hath fallen under the control of unskilful

¹ Alludes to the system of Representative Government.

² *i.e.* those who are chosen to represent the people.

physicians who are hurried away by vain desires, and are of those who stray madly. And if one limb of his limbs become sound in one age of the ages through a skilful Physician, the other limbs remain as they were: thus doth the Wise and Knowing One inform you. . . . And that which God hath made the most mighty remedy and the most complete means for its health is the union of whomsoever is upon the Earth in a single Matter,¹ and a single Law. This can never be possible except through a skilful physician, perfect and strengthened (by God). By my life! this is the truth, and aught else is nothing but evident error.”

The writer goes on to say that whenever this True Physician (*i.e.* a Prophet) has come to heal the world of its ancient sickness, these would-be doctors (*mutatābbibūn*) strive to hinder and prevent him, and “become (as) clouds between him and the world,” even as, in the present manifestation, they have “placed him in confinement in the most desolate of lands”² for the alleged reason that he is one of those who make mischief; and this they do although they have not seen him nor spoken with him, and though they see that he has never been free from the causeless oppression and persecution of his enemies. Rulers are next exhorted to seek after peace rather than war as follows:

“We ask God that He will help the Kings to be at peace: verily He is able to do what He willeth. O assembly of Kings! Verily we see you increasing your expenditure every year, and placing the burden (thereof) on your subjects: this is nought but manifest injustice. Fear the sighs of the oppressed and his tears, and do not burden your subjects above that which they can bear, neither ruin them to build up your palaces: Choose for them that which ye choose for yourselves: thus do we expound unto you that which will profit you, if ye are of those who enquire.”

I can only pause for a moment to notice one further point. In this letter, as in that addressed to Napoleon, allusion is made to a previous appeal to the Kings. I have already

¹ *Amr*, *i.e.* Religion, in which sense the word is much used by the Bábis.

² *i.e.* Acire, as stated previously.

pointed out the difficulties of regarding the epistle described by Baron Rosen as the work of Behá, but it must be admitted that until another letter is discovered which, besides being addressed to the Rulers of Christian countries, corresponds more closely in style with Behá's writings, considerable uncertainty on this point must remain.

3. *The 'Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas' (Most Holy Tablet).*

I now come to the most important of Behá's works, and the last of which I shall speak at length; I mean the *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas*, wherein his prescriptions are arranged and codified. Of this work I have three MSS. in my possession, two of which I obtained at Shiráz, and one at Kirmán. Another copy, marked Or. 2820, is in the British Museum. One of the copies which I possess was written for me by one of the Bábí missionaries of whom I spoke in my last paper. It is well and carefully written in a good *Naskh* handwriting, and contains 146 pages, each of which, except the first and last, comprises 11 lines. I should estimate that the total number of words contained in it is rather over 10,000. I shall translate the first few lines, and then notice the contents in detail in the order in which they occur as briefly as possible, only translating passages which appear to me of special interest.

It begins thus :

“IN THE NAME OF HIM WHO RULETH OVER WHAT WAS AND IS.

“Verily the first thing which God hath ordained unto (His) servants is the Knowledge of the Dawning-place of His revelation and the Rising-place of His command, who was the station of Himself in the world of command and creation.¹ Whosoever attaineth thereunto hath attained unto all good, and he who is deprived (thereof) is indeed of the people of error, even though he bringeth all (good)

¹ i.e. the first thing necessary to men is that they should know Behá, the present “manifestation” of God in the World, without which knowledge good actions are of no avail.

actions. And when ye have attained to this most glorious station, and this most lofty horizon, it behoveth every one to follow that whereunto he is commanded on the part of the (Supreme) Object, because these two (things) are together: one of them will not be accepted without the other. This is what the Rising-place of Inspiration hath decreed. Verily those who are given vision from God will regard the ordinances of God as the greatest means to the order of the world and the preservation of the nations, and he who is careless is of the vile and worthless."

The first prescription given concerns *prayer*, which is ordained three times a day, in the morning, the afternoon and the evening; each prayer is apparently intended to consist of three prostrations (*rik'a*), since it is said that there are to be nine in all. The worshipper is to turn his face towards "the Most Holy Region, the Holy Place, which God hath made the point round which the Supreme Course revolves, and that whereto the denizens of the cities of Permanence advance, and that whence issueth the command to whomsoever is in the earths and the heavens." By this Acre is apparently intended, for it is added that "when the Sun of Truth and Exhortation sets" (*i.e.* when Behá dies) the Kibla will be changed to "that place which we have appointed unto you." All congregational prayer is abolished except in the single case of the prayers used for the Burial of the Dead. The wearing of garments which contain the hair of animals, or which are made of their skins, or have buttons of bone or ivory, is allowed: "verily it was not prohibited in the Furqán (*i.e.* the Qur'án), but it was misunderstood by the divines." In the case of those who are on a journey the prayers are still further shortened, a simple "*Subhána'lláh*" ("Glory to God") sufficing for those who cannot manage more. Further directions for prayer are given, into which I have not space to enter here.

Fasts and Feasts are next treated of. The great festival is the Persian Nawrúz (New Year's Day) when the Sun enters the sign of Aries, and this is made the beginning of the Bábí year, which, as I have already stated, consists

of 19 months of 19 days each, to which five intercalary days (*Khamsa-i-mustaraka*) are added, thus bringing the total number of days in the year to 366. The month of fasting is that which immediately precedes the Nawrúz; in other words, the last month of the Bábí year; and the five intercalary days are inserted between it and the preceding month, and are commanded to be observed by entertaining relatives and friends and feeding the poor. The fast itself lasts from sunrise to sunset daily during the month of 19 days, and is incumbent upon all except the young, the sick, the aged, and the infirm.

These instructions are followed by a prohibition of Murder, Adultery, Slandering and Backbiting, after which the Law of Inheritance is laid down. This is too complicated and obscure to discuss in detail in this place: suffice it to say that seven classes inherit, to wit, children, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and teachers; the share of each diminishing from the first to the last. In the absence of one or more of these classes, the share which would belong to them goes to the "House of Justice" (*Beytu'l-'Adl*), to be expended on the poor, the fatherless and widows, or on useful public works, as shall be decided by the members thereof. The constitution of this "House of Justice," though not described till further on in the *Lawh-i-Aqdas*, is best mentioned here. The number of its members is to be "according to the number of Behá" (which will be eight if we take the values of the letters in that word, but perhaps 19 is intended), though it may exceed this. In every city there must be one such "House of Justice," the members of which must regard themselves as the trustees and representatives of God in the world, and strive to fulfil for the public good the trust placed in them.

Places of worship are to be built, and they must not contain any images or pictures. The dead are to be buried with much pomp and ceremony, having been placed in coffins of stone or hard wood. Pilgrimages to the "House" (*Beyt*) are commanded to such as can undertake them, but women are excused. By the "House" most of the Bábis whom I

asked understood the Báb's house at Shíráz in the *Kúché-i-Shitshé-garán* (Glass-blowers Street).

Next follows an absolute prohibition of mendicancy couched in the following words: "The most hateful of mankind before God is he who sits and begs: take hold of the rope of means, relying on God, the Causer of causes." Men are forbidden to kiss one another's hands, or to ask pardon for one another (from God): those who have done wrong must repent and turn to God.

Those who claim inward knowledge and pretend to understand Divine mysteries are next censured. By this passage, which I have already quoted (p. 883), the Súfís and Philosophers appear to be intended. Austerities and self-mortification are forbidden, and their uselessness is exposed.

A statement next follows to the effect that any one who claims to have a new Revelation before the accomplishment of a thousand years is a liar, and to make this more unmis-takeable, it is added that no sort of explanation or interpretation of this verse contrary to its obvious meaning is to be attempted or listened to.¹

A passage now comes which is important as in some degree fixing the date when the work was composed. Speaking of some event Behá says, "This is what we informed you of when we were in 'Irák (*i.e.* Baghdad), and in the Land of the Mystery (*i.e.* Adrianople), and in this bright watch-tower" (*i.e.* Acro). Again alluding to his death he says in the next verse, "When the Sun of my Beauty has set and the Heaven of my Form is concealed be not troubled; arise for the help of my religion (*lit.* affair) and the exaltation of my word betwixt the worlds. Verily we are with you in all circumstances, and will assist you with the Truth: verily we are able (to do so).

Provision is made for the disposal of endowments (*Wakf*) in the event of Bábíism becoming the dominant religion in any country, the control over these belonging to Behá so long as he lives, then to his sons (*Aghsán*), and then to the House of Justice.

¹ See above, p. 883-884, where this passage is quoted.

Theft and its punishment are then treated of. For a first or second offence imprisonment is decreed, but on the third conviction a mark or sign is to be placed on the forehead of the thief, whereby he may be known wherever he goes, that men may beware of him.

Certain regulations for private life and personal conduct follow. Shaving the head is forbidden, because "God hath adorned it with hair," but the latter is not to be allowed to grow below the level of the ears. The use of gold and silver plate and ornaments is permitted, and the use of knives and forks in eating instead of the hands is enjoined. Cleanliness is insisted on. Parents are commanded to instruct their children; if they refuse, the "House of Justice" must see to the matter, charging the expenses of education to the parents if they are able to bear them, and if not, defraying them out of the funds at its disposal. Music is permitted.

Regulations for the punishment of some other crimes follow. Adultery is punished by a fine of 19 mişkâls of gold, to be paid to the House of Justice, the fine being doubled for a second offence. Wounds and blows are also atoned for by fines proportionate to their gravity. Arson and murder are punishable by burning and death respectively, but in place of this the offender may be imprisoned for life. Birds killed in the chase may be lawfully eaten, even though they have not had their throats cut and the Bismi'lláh uttered over them.

Marriage is enjoined on all, and is made conditional on the consent of both parties and their parents, only the former being necessary according to the law laid down in the Beyán. Instructions concerning dowries are given. Married men who travel must fix a definite time for their return, and use their utmost endeavours not to extend their absence beyond it. Their wives, if they have no news of them for nine months after the expiration of this period, are allowed to marry again, but if they are patient it is better, "since God loves those who are patient." If quarrels arise between a man and his wife, he is not to divorce her at once, but must wait for a whole year that perhaps he may become reconciled

to her. If, however, at the expiration of this period, he still wishes to put her away, he is at liberty to do so, but may take her back at the end of any month so long as she does not marry again, in which case "the separation is rendered valid by a new union." The practice of marrying a divorced woman to another man before her former husband can take her back is forbidden. If a man is travelling with his wife and they quarrel, he must give her a sufficient sum of money to take her back to the place they started from, and send her with some trustworthy person who will look after her.

The traffic in slaves is forbidden, and men are warned to be careful about the destruction of life. Legal impurity is abolished, and the people of all religions are regarded as pure and not to be avoided. The use of pleasant perfumes, and especially rose-water, is recommended.¹

The kings of the earth are then addressed and exhorted to adopt and spread the new faith. The Emperor of Germany is reproved, apparently because he had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and had passed by Acre without visiting Behá or asking after him, on account of which neglect calamities and defeat are foretold to the German nation as follows: "O banks of the river Rhine! we have seen you drenched in gore because the swords of retribution were drawn against you, and you shall have another turn. And we hear the lamentation of Berlin, though it be to-day in manifest glory."

Turkey, personified in Constantinople, is also addressed thus: "O Point which liest on the shore of the two Seas! The throne of injustice hath been fixed in thee, and in thee hath been kindled the fire of hatred in such wise that the Supreme Host lament thereat, and those who circle around the lofty Throne. We behold in thee the foolish ruling over the wise, and the darkness exalting itself over the light, and verily thou art in evident delusion. Thine outward adornment hath rendered thee proud; thou shalt perish, by the Lord of Creation! and thy daughters and widows and those peoples that are within thee shall lament. Thus doth the Wise, the All-Knowing, admonish thee."

¹ See above, p. 899, note.

Some of the cities and provinces of Persia are then addressed. Teherán is blessed because Behá was born there, and comforted thus: "If He (*i.e.* God) will, He will bless thy throne with one who shall rule with justice and gather together the sheep of God which have been scattered by the wolves. . . . Affairs shall be changed in thee, and a republic of men shall rule over thee. Verily thy Lord is the Wise, the Encompasser."

Khurásán is also comforted, and applauded because therein are heard "the voices of men commemorating thy Lord, the Rich, the Exalted." The faithful are enjoined not to oppose those that rule over them, but to "leave to them that which they have," and address themselves to gaining the hearts of men.

Kirmán is subsequently addressed and sharply rebuked for the pretensions to spiritual knowledge of some of its people. That this alludes to the Sheykhhís, who are, as before stated, the followers of Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán, is pretty certain, especially as the latter is held up to execration in a later passage.

Tithes of nineteen per cent. are decreed on all who possess more than a hundred mişkáls of gold. Believers are exhorted not to withhold these, since by giving them their wealth will be purified.

Here a digression occurs, explaining that this book was "revealed" because Behá had at different times received letters from believers asking for instructions as to conduct, etc., which were now epitomized so as to be accessible to all. The learned are warned against criticizing it, or judging of its style and contents according to their limited horizons. They are also challenged to produce the like of it with all their learning, and are reminded that Behá never studied the sciences which they have learned, but that all his wisdom is received from God. All explanations of the sacred text contrary to the obvious sense thereof are again forbidden.

Certain further regulations concerning personal cleanliness follow. The nails are to be cut and the body bathed at least once a week, but the use of the tanks (Khazína) in the

Persian baths is forbidden, because the water in them is generally not changed sufficiently often and so becomes foul and offensive. It is therefore recommended that the body should be washed by pouring water over it rather than by entering the water. Praying in the streets is forbidden, probably as savouring of ostentation. Festivals are again spoken of and are limited to two: the anniversaries of the "manifestations" of Behá and the Báb. As we have seen that the Nawrúz is the great festival of the Bábís, and as we know that the "manifestation" of the Báb occurred on Jumádí'ul-U'lá 5th, A.H. 1260 (May 23rd, A.D. 1844), it seems probable that that of Behá was on the Nawrúz.

The contents of the next portion of the *Lawh-i-Akdas*, so far as they can be classified, refer mainly to the Báb, and certain modifications of the ordinances laid down by him which are considered necessary. By him it was enacted that whoever possessed any object "the like of which was not to be found on earth" was to give it to Him whom God shall manifest (Persian *Beyán*, Váhid v. ch. 16); that useless and especially dead languages were not to be studied (*ibid.* iv. 10); and that all books were to be re-written every 202 years, and the originals then destroyed or given away (*ibid.* vii. 1). All these commands are abrogated by Behá, and the study of foreign languages for purposes of missionary enterprise is commanded. Some quotations from the Báb's writings are introduced to prove that Behá is really "He whom God shall manifest," and some of the objections raised by the Ezelís are met. This portion concludes with praise of the Báb, and those who do not believe in him are exhorted at any rate not to condemn him, because "the hosts of the oppressors who assembled against him suffice."

Wine and opium are prohibited. The instructions for the shrouding of the dead and the placing on their fingers of cornelian rings with certain words (which are detailed) engraven on them are essentially the same as those given in the *Beyán*, which have been already noticed in their proper place. Kindness and courtesy are enjoined on all believers, and they are forbidden to enter any man's house without his

permission, or in his absence. No one is to approve for another that which he would dislike himself. The sacred books are to be read regularly, but never so long as to cause weariness. Enemies are to be forgiven, nor must evil be met with evil. The furniture of houses is, where possible, to be renewed every nineteen years. Every one is to wash his feet daily in summer, and at least once every three days in winter. The use of chairs is recommended in preference to sitting on the ground. Arms are forbidden to be carried, except in time of war and disturbance. Shaving the beard is permitted.

Sheykh Muhammad Hasan (also referred to in the *Lawḥ-i-Naṣir*) is held up to reprobation. The *Beyán* is again spoken of, and those who believe in it are warned not to allow any passage therein to make them doubt the truth of Behá's claim, since he is the revealer of it, and learned all Divine Mysteries before Creation existed.

Next follow some passages which seem to be addressed to Behá's rival *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel*, part of which I translate: "Say, O rising-place of opposition! Cease (wilfully) to close thine eyes; then speak of the truth amongst the people. By God! my tears flow over my cheeks because I see thee advancing after thy lust and turning aside from him who created thee and fashioned thee. Remember the kindness of thy Master (*Mawlāka*) when we educated thee during the nights and days for the service of the Religion (*lit.* 'matter'): fear God, and be of those who repent. . . . Remember when thou didst stand before the throne (*'arsh*) and didst write what we conveyed unto thee of the signs (*vorses*) of God, the Guardian, the Able, the Powerful. . . . Verily we advise thee for the sake of God: if thou advancest, (it is) for thyself (*i.e.* for thine own good); and if thou turnest aside, verily thy Lord is independent of thee and of those who follow thee in manifest error. God hath taken away him who then led thee astray; return unto Him humbled, abased, trembling; verily He will put away from thee thy sins: verily thy Lord is Swift to Repent, the Precious, the Merciful."

After two more clauses, the first strongly forbidding the

ill-treatment and overloading of beasts of burden, the second ordaining the payment in all cases of accidental homicide of the sum of 100 mişkúls of gold as a compensation to the relatives of the deceased, the book closes with a recommendation that mankind shall select one language and one character of those which exist and adopt them as a means of communication one with another. "This," says Behá, "is the means of union, if ye knew it, and the greatest cause of concord and civilization did ye recognize it. Verily we have made these two things the two signs of the maturity of the world: the first (and that is the chief foundation) we have revealed in other Tablets; and the second we have revealed in this marvellous Tablet."

I have now completed my sketch of the sacred literature and the doctrines of the Bábís. Did I not feel that I had already exceeded the limits reasonably to be assigned to an article of this description, I should have said something about the poems of Nabil, Na'ím, Rawhá, Maryam, and other Bábís who have drawn the inspiration of their verses from the doctrines of the new religion. As it is, I unwillingly postpone an account of them till some future occasion.

My object in this Essay has been to sum up in the briefest compass possible all the more important facts which I have been able to glean on a subject hitherto comparatively little studied; to classify and describe the literature of the different epochs into which the history of Bábism divides itself; to smooth the path of future students of this last great religious movement to which Persia has given birth; and to point out the most important lacunæ which exist in our present knowledge of this matter. The work which was so ably begun by M. le Comte de Gobineau I have attempted to carry down to the present date so far as was possible from the materials at my disposal, though I am painfully conscious that I can lay no claim to the masterly pen and keen insight into character which he possessed, and by the magic of which he transports us as we read his words into the midst of the stirring events which convulsed Persia some forty years ago, in such wise that to us the fiery and zealous Mullá Huseyn, the beautiful

and enthusiastic Kurratu'l-'Ayn, and most of all the gentle, patient, persecuted Founder of the new faith, seem to us as people whom we have met and conversed with rather than such as we have merely read of in history.

In conclusion I would ask the kind indulgence of the reader for the defects which may be apparent in this Paper, whether of composition, arrangement, selection of material, or treatment thereof. Its preparation, frequently interrupted by other duties, has involved the perusal of a number of Persian and Arabic MSS., some of which were written in a Shikasta handwriting not easy to read. The perusal of these was for the most part accomplished *pari passu* with the composition of this article, and this was particularly the case with the later writings of Behá. That this method of procedure has given rise in some cases to inconsistencies I am fully aware, further study having sometimes obliged me to modify a view expressed, perhaps rashly, in an earlier part of my Paper; while it was not always possible so to alter the passage first written as to eliminate from it all traces of the opinion I had discarded without entirely reconstructing large portions of what I had written. In such cases I have referred in a note to the subsequent passage wherein this modification of opinion is set forth.

Lastly, some may perhaps wonder why I did not settle those points as to the date and authorship of certain works which I have been compelled to leave somewhat undecided by reference to my Bábí friends while this was still possible. With regard to this, I can only state that to the best of my knowledge I never missed an opportunity of conversing with the Bábís on matters connected with their religion, and that the information so acquired was in almost all cases carefully recorded in my Diary within a few hours of the time of hearing it; but that the perusal of the books which I obtained from them, often as a parting gift on the eve of my leaving a town, could not be accomplished amidst the vicissitudes of travel, because, as the Arabs say (and the proverb is specially true in the case of Eastern countries), "*Al-musáfiru ke'l-majnún*," "The traveller is as one mad."

APPENDIX I.

I. TRANSLATION OF NABÍL'S CHRONOLOGICAL POEM OF THE EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF BEHÁ.

- (1) In the beginning of *Ghirbál* (=1233 A.H. according to the abjad notation) from the year of the Furkán (*i.e.* the Kur'án), on the second morning of Muḥarram, in Teherán, that King, who is the Creator of whomsoever is in the world (*lit.* in the Contingent World), turned His footsteps from the Unseen to the Visible (*lit.* Contingent) World.
- (2) After twice ten and seven (*i.e.* 27 years) of His pure life it was "sixty" (*i.e.* the year of the 'manifestation' of the Báb, A.H. 1260), and there was mercy (shown) to the people of His land. He manifested His Supreme Name, so that creatures might comprehend him in that way.
- (3) At thirty-two (years) of age He started for the plain; the World became bright from the splendour of His visage; He met, to unfold His glories, with the forms of *Tá* (probably Jenáb-i-*Táhira*, *i.e.* *Qurratu'l-'Ayn*) and *Kuds* (Jenáb-i-*Quddús*, *i.e.* *Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Bálfurúshí*) in the plain of *Badasht*.
- (4) At thirty-three He blossomed like a rose; that God of all set out for (the tomb of *Sheykh*) *Tubarsí*; on the way, by His own hidden Will, He fell in with the people of tyranny at *Ámul*.
- (5) At thirty-five that Monarch of dominion set out towards grief and calamity (there is a play on these words, *Karb ú Bela* and *Karbalá*). At thirty-six when He arrived at Teherán He was imprisoned for four months with a hundred pains and griefs.
- (6) At thirty-seven the Monarch of Grace arrived at *Baghdad* with those of His household. At thirty-eight He disappeared from men, lifting up His standard like the Sun on the mountain-land
- (7) At the age of forty He went from the plain to *Zawrá* (*i.e.*

Baghdad); Zawrá in honour became like Yathrib and Baḥhá (*i.e.* Medina and Mecca); His lovers assembled from all directions (*lit.* from the four quarters); the standard of God (or 'of the truth') was set up by His rule.

- (8) At forty-seven that mighty Monarch came from 'Trák (*i.e.* Baghdad) travelling to the Great City (*i.e.* Constantinople): for four months he was journeying like the bright sun with those of His household and His family and His companions.
- (9) At forty-eight that Giver of Purity to the earth became for four months a sojourner in the Great City (*i.e.* Constantinople): in the month of Rajab he reached the 'Land of the Mystery'; Edirné (Adrianople) became the envy of the highest Paradise.
- (10) When the age of that Wonderful Lord was fifty He tore from His face the veil; sparks fell into the soul of Paradise and the Devil (*Tūghút*, which also signifies 'an idol'): the Sun of Behá appeared from behind the cloud.
- (11) When His blessed age was fifty-three, His advance towards Jerusalem took place: in *Ghurfa* (this word, which is a name for the seventh, or highest heaven, stands in the abjad notation for 1285, which is the year of the hijra intended), and on the twentieth of Rabí'uṣ-ṣání from Adrianople went forth the King of its glory.
- (12) On the twelfth day of Jamádi'ul-avval the King of nations (or creeds) arrived at Acre: it is settled that from beyond this strong prison all kingdoms will advance to His court.
- (13) It is now (the month of) Sha'bán of the year of *Fúrú'* (=1286 A.H.): the age of that King is fifty-four. It is now a full year and four months that this strong fortress (*i.e.* Acre) has been the abode of the Belovéd.
- (14) This year the reckoning of the life of the Belovéd is 'Life' (*ján*=54, and means 'life,' or 'soul'): all

- the friends are lifeless through separation: the Belovéd, who is this year established on the throne of 'Life' (*ján*) is ready to give life to those separated.
- (15) The King of Permanence with seventy people (*i.e.* followers) has made His abode in the most desolate of all cities (*i.e.* Acre): help Thine own religion (*amr*) Thyself, O King of Permanence; for Thee there is no other helper than Thyself.
- (16) How long shall Thy Branches (*aghṣán*, 'branches,' is, as I have explained, the term applied to Behá's sons) be in the assembly of the enemy? How long shall Thy friends be scattered on every side? Give life to the troop of those separated from Thee: how long shall this people be lifeless?
- (17) Open this year the Gate of Meeting; give exaltation to the People of Behá this year; this year, when *ján* (soul, or life=54) is in conjunction with *furú'* (divisions, ramifications=1286), exalt a standard from the Unseen this year.
- (18) O Nabil, (make) a plan for thine own affairs; thou art forty years (old); make a change; ask for the cup of spiritual knowledge from God this year; how long wilt thou stick in the world of Words?
- (19) Thine age is forty, (yet) thou art nought but a fool; thou hast not entered in at the gate of the City of the Heart: they say that forty is the year of perfection: thine age is forty, yet hast thou not become perfect."

N.B.—I have made the above translation as literal as possible, and added such notes as seem to me necessary to render it intelligible. All the dates embodied in it are given with the events corresponding to them and the equivalent Christian dates in the latter part of the "Chronological Table" appended to my first Paper on the Bábís. I possess only one text of this poem, which I copied for myself from a MS. in the possession of one of my friends at Kirmán.

II. TEXT OF NABİL'S CHRONOLOGICAL POEM TRANSLATED
ABOVE.

۱

در اوّل غریبال ز سال فرقان
دویم سحر محرّم اندر طهران
از غیب قدم بشهر امکان بنهاد
آن شه که بود خالق من فی الامکان

۲

بعد از دوده و هفت ز عمر پاکش
ستّین شد و رحم شد باهل خاکش
اظهار نمود اسم اعلایش را
تا خلق از آن راه کنند ادراکش

۳

اندر سی و دوز عمر شد عازم دشت
عالم ز فروع طلعتش روشن گشت
شد مجتمع از برای کشف سبحات
با طلعت طا و قدس در دشت بدشت

۴

اندر سی و سه شگفته همچون گل شد
عازم بطبری آن اله کدل شد
در عرض ره از مشیت غیبی خود
بر اهل ستم دوچار در آمل شد

۵

اندرسی و پنج آن شهنشاه و لا
فرمود عزیمت بسوی کرب و بلا
اندرسی و شش چه وارد طهران شد
شد حبس چهار ماه بصد رنج و بلا

۶

اندرسی و هفت همرا اهل حرم
شد وارد بغداد شهنشاه کرم
اندرسی و هشت غیبت از خلق نمود
چون شمس بکوهسار بر افراخته علم

۷

در سال چهل ز دشت بر زورا شد
زورا ز شرف یثرب و هم بطحا شد
عشاق وی از چهار سوی جمع شدند
از سلطنتش لوای حق بر پا شد

۸

اندر چهل و هفت آن شهنشاه قدیر
آمد ز عراق عازم آن شهر کبیر
با اهل حریم و عترت و اصحابش
سیار چهار ماه چون شمس منیر

۹

اندر چهل و هشت آن صفا بخش زمین
در شهر کبیر چهار مه گشت مکین
در شهر رجب وارد ارض سر شد
گردید آدرنه رشک فردوس برین

۱۰

پنجاه چه شد عمر آن میر عجاب
فرمود ز وجه خود خرق حجاب
افتاد شرر بجان جنت و طاغوت
خورشید بها عیان شد از خلف سحاب

۱۱

پنجاه و سه چون گشت مبارک سالش
بر جانب ارض قدس شد اقبالش
در غرفه و بیست از ربیع الثانی
بیرون ز آدرنه شد شه اجلالش

۱۲

در یوم ده و دواز جمادی الاول
شد وارد عگای بلا شاه ملل
حتم است که از ورای این سجن شدید
اقبال کند بدر گهش کلّ دول

۱۳

از سال فروع حالیا شعبان است
 پنجاه و چهار عمر آن سلطان است
 یک سال و چهار مه کنون گشته تمام
 کاین حصن شدید منزل جانان است

۱۴

امسال عدید عمر جانان جان است
 از هجر جمیع دوستان بی جان است
 جانان که بعرش جان مکین است امسال
 آمادهء جان بخشى همجوران است

۱۵

سلطان بقا همره هفتاد نفر
 در اخرب مجموع مدن کرد مقرر
 خود ناصر امر خود شو ای شاه بقا
 از بهر تو جز تو ناصری نیست دگر

۱۶

اغصان تو در مجلس عدوان تا کی
 احباب تو هر طرف پریشان تا کی
 جان بخشا بخیل همجورانت
 از هجر تو این سلسله بی جان تا کی

۱۷

مفتوح نما باب لقائی امسال
 بر اهل بقا ده ارتقائی امسال
 امسال که گردیده قرین جان فروع
 از غیب بر افراز لوائی امسال

۱۸

در کار خود ای نبیل تدبیری تو
 چل ساله شدی نمای تغییری تو
 امسال ز حق ساغر معنی در خواه
 در عالم لفظ تا بکی گیری تو

۱۹

عمر تو چهل گشت بجز چل نشدی
 داخل بدر مدینه دل نشدی
 گویند که اربعین بود سال کمال
 شد عمر تو اربعین و کامل نشدی

تَمَّتْ

Note.—I have ventured to amend the reading of my MS. in two places. At the beginning of the second hemistich of the 18th stanza I have substituted چل for چپل on account of the metre, and in the second hemistich of the 19th stanza I have substituted بدر مدینه for بدر بمدینه as making better sense. I have followed my MS. in writing چه for چو in the 5th and 10th stanzas, this being a common practice at the present day in Persia when the word is to be read as a short syllable.

III. TEXT OF A POEM ATTRIBUTED TO KURRATU'L-'AYN.
(For translation into English verse see pp. 936-937.)

من کلام جناب طاهره

جذبات شوقک الجحمت بسلاسل الغم و البلا
 همه عاشقان شکسته دل که دهند جان بره ولا
 اگر آن صنم ز سر ستم پی کشتن من بی گنه
 لقد استقام بسیفه فلقد رضیت بما رضا
 سحر آن نگار ستمگرم قدمی نهاد به بستم
 و اذا رأیت جماله طلع الصبح کأتما
 نه چو زلف غالیه بار او نه چو چشم فتنه شعار او
 شده نافه بهمه ختن شده کافری بهمه خطا
 تو که غافل از می و شاهدهی پی مرد عابد زاهدهی
 چکنم که کافر جاهدی ز خلوص نیت اصفیا
 بمراد زلف معلقی پی اسپ و زین معرقی
 همه عمر منکر مطلق ز فقیر فارغ بینوا
 تو و ملک و جاه سکندری من و رسم و راه قلندری
 اگر آن خوش است تو در خوری و گر این بد است مراسم
 بگذر ز منزل ما و من بگزین بملک فنا وطن
 فاذا فعلت بمثل ذا فلقد بلغت بما تشا

تمت

Note.—The text from which the above is taken was kindly copied out for me by a Bábí friend of mine formerly at Yezd from a MS. in his own possession. I have only altered it in minor particulars, viz. in writing the *izáfat* after پی in l. 3, l. 9, and l. 11; in adding the vowel points where they seemed necessary, and omitting them where they appeared superfluous in a few places; and in writing

ستمگرم for ستم گرم in l. 5 as more in accordance with custom.

IV. TEXT OF THE LETTER WRITTEN BY MÍRZÁ MUHAMMAD 'ALÍ OF TABRÍZ TO HIS ELDER BROTHER THE NIGHT BEFORE HE SUFFERED MARTYRDOM WITH HIS MASTER, MÍRZÁ 'ALÍ MUHAMMAD THE BÁB. (For translation see above, p. 938.)

هو العطوف

قبله گاه احوالم بحمد الله عیب ندارد و لکن عسر یسر
اینکه نوشته بودید که این کار عاقبت ندارد پس چکار عاقبت
دارد باری ما که درین کار نا رضا مندی نداریم بلکه شکر این
نعمت را نمیتوانم بجا بیاورم منتهای این امر کشته شدن
است در راه خدا و این زهی سعادتست قضای خداوندی
بر بندگان خود جاری خواهد شد تدبیر تقدیر را بر نمیگرداند
ما شاء الله لا قوة الا بالله قبله گاه آخر دنیا مرگست
کل نفس ذائقة الموت اجل محتوم که خداوند عز و جل
مقدر فرموده اگر مرا درک کرد پس خداوند خلیفه من است
بر عیال من و توئی وصی من هر طور که موافق رضای الهی
است رفتار فرمائید و هر چه که بی ادبی و خلاف مراسم
کوچکی نسبت بایشان صادر شده عفو فرمائید و طلب حلیت
از همه اهل خانه از برای من نمائید و مرا بخدا بسپارید
حسبی الله و نعم الوکیل انتهى

Note.—The text of the above is taken from the MS. History of the Bábís, of which I spoke in my first paper. I have supplied the *hamza* in three places, diacritical points in two others, and the *tashdid* in six more. The words اینکار, which were written together in the original, I have separated. These are all the alterations which I have made in my text.

APPENDIX II.

Since the publication of my first Article on the Bábís, information bearing on certain points discussed therein or in connexion therewith has reached me. As it seems to me desirable that this should be made public, especially as it has induced me to alter the views I expressed as to the age of the Báb, I have embodied it in this Appendix, together with sundry other remarks which I wished to add to what I had previously written.

I. THE AGE OF THE BÁB.

While engaged in the composition of my first Article I wrote to a friend in Shíráz, who is in some sense related to the Báb, and asked him to endeavour to ascertain the date when the latter was born as nearly as possible, stating at the same time the difficulty I had experienced in reconciling the conflicting statements of different authors.

A short time ago I received an answer stating that the Báb was born on Muharram 1st, A.H. 1236 (October 9th, 1820), and married in A.H. 1258 (A.D. 1842), two years before the commencement of his mission, at which time he was 24 years of age. It is therefore evident that the two passages which I quoted from the Beyán (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1889, pp. 508–511) refer to the Báb's age at the time when his mission began, *not*, as I at first thought, to the time when they were composed.

The Báb's widow survived till A.H. 1300, only six years ago. She was the sister of my friend's maternal grandfather. The above particulars are derived from an old lady of the same family, so that there is every reason to regard them as reliable.

Mr. C. D. Cobham, Commissioner at Larnaca, Cyprus, has kindly supplied me with much valuable information about the Bábí exiles there. Amongst other things he tells me that Mushkín Kālam (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* July, 1889, pp. 516–517), with whom he was well acquainted, stated the year of the Báb's birth as A.D. 1819, which agrees much more nearly with the date above given than with that which I previously put forward.

II. BĀBĪ EXILES IN CYPRUS.

In my first article I inserted a note (p. 517) stating that, according to the Arabic Encyclopædia called *Da'iratu'l-Ma'arif*, Şubḥ-i-Ezel was dead. Information kindly supplied to me by Mr. Houston, Mr. Cobham, and Captain Young, residents in Cyprus, proves this statement to be a mistake. According to the information obtained by the first of these gentlemen, Şubḥ-i-Ezel is still living at Famagusta. He is described as "evidently a man of rank," and it is further stated that he makes no use of the freedom granted him by the British Government, from which he receives a pension. He never even appears out of doors. Mr. Cobham was kind enough to refer to the Government Estimates for 1884-5, and 1889-90, and to communicate to me the results of his investigations, which showed that Şubḥ-i-Ezel's pension had been reduced during that period from £105 6s. to £61 16s. During the same period Mushkín Qalam's pension sunk from £58 17s. to £20 13s. He came from Nicosia to Larnaca towards the end of 1885, and remained at the latter place till September 14th, 1886, when he left Cyprus for Acre. He has two sons: one, 'Alí, accompanied him to Acre; the other, Jelálu'd-Dín, is still in Cyprus, and is in the employment of the British Government as Land Registry clerk. Mushkín Qalam's real name was "Ali-ed-Din Hussein."

The information supplied by Captain Young is still more detailed. The day after he received the letter of inquiry which I had addressed to him, he paid a visit to Şubḥ-i-Ezel in person, and of this interview he was kind enough to forward me a circumstantial account. On the following day he received a visit from Şubḥ-i-Ezel's son, whom he describes as "an intelligent young man about 30 years old," and from him obtained further information. I would gladly quote Captain Young's letter *in extenso*, but the length which this Article has already attained forbids me to do so, and I must necessarily confine myself to a statement of the more important facts which it embodies, some of which are incorporated in the foot-note on p. 887.

Şubḥ-i-Ezel is described by Captain Young as "a slightly-built man of about 5ft. 6in., with a fine-cut handsome face, and a large beard." His name is Mírzá Yahyá, and he was born at Teherán. His father, named 'Abbás, was better known as Mírzá Buzurg, and was "second to the Grand Vizier in Persia." Behá and Şubḥ-i-Ezel are step-brothers, born of one father but different mothers. Şubḥ-i-Ezel was sent to Cyprus apparently in 1868,¹ together with his wives and children, numbering twelve in all. Muskhín Kalam with his family, numbering four in all, were also sent there at the same time. These were all the Bábís sent to Cyprus. Şubḥ-i-Ezel's pension from the British Government at present amounts to £7 1s. 6d. per month of thirty-one days, and about 4s. 6d. less per month of thirty days.

Some of the statements made by me in my first Article were criticized by Şubḥ-i-Ezel as follows :

- (p. 490) "There were three Bábís killed through Sheykh Bákir. The name of the one not mentioned was Mullá Kázim.
- (p. 498) The Bábí salutation among themselves is the same as the Muhammadan. The women not the men say *Alláhu Abhá* as well as *Alláhu Akbar*.
- (p. 499) The Bábís do keep Ramázan as well as Nawrúz.
- (p. 499) Circumcision is not abolished by the Bábís.
- (p. 501) Wine is prohibited by the Ezelís, but not by the Behá'ís.
- (p. 517) Of the Ezelís killed at Acre: Háji Seyyid Huseyn of Káshán, and Mírzá Haydar 'Alí of Ardistán were not amongst them. They were killed previously at Baghdád. The full name of Mírzá Rizá is Mírzá Rizá Kulí. The others mentioned were killed at Acre by Behá's followers, and there were besides Huseyn 'Alí and Háji Mírzá Aḥmad, both of Káshán.

¹ This is according to a note made by Captain Young's predecessor in 1879, which states that Şubḥ-i-Ezel and Muskhín Kalam have both been in the island eleven years. Şubḥ-i-Ezel's own statement to Captain Young is as follows: "I was sent here twenty-three years ago. I may have said in 1879 that I had been here eleven years then, but it is twenty-three years now according to Persian years."

I forget at present the names of the others, but about twenty of my followers were killed by Behá'ís at Acre."

Besides this information, and much more of almost equal value, Captain Young succeeded in obtaining from Şubḥ-i-Ezel a MS. work (of which, as I have not yet had time to study it, I must reserve the description for some other occasion), and a document of great historical interest, viz. the appointment of Şubḥ-i-Ezel by the Báb as his successor. This is, I believe, copied directly from the original in Şubḥ-i-Ezel's possession. As it is too valuable to be omitted, and is, moreover, quite short, I subjoin the text and translation.

[TEXT OF ŞUBḤ-I-EZEL'S APPOINTMENT AS BÁB'S SUCCESSOR.]

الله اكبر تكبيراً كبيراً
 هذا كتاب من عند الله المهيمن القيوم الى الله المهيمن القيوم
 قل كل من الله مبدون قل كل الى الله يعودون
 هذا كتاب من على قبل نبيل ذكر الله للعالمين
 الى من يعدل اسمه اسم الوحيد ذكر الله للعالمين
 قل كل من نقطة الميان ليدئون
 ان يا اسم الوحيد فاحفظ ما نزل في البيان
 وأمر به فاتك لصراط حق عظيم
 (امضا)

[TRANSLATION OF THE SAME.]

"GOD IS MOST GREAT WITH THE UTMOST GREATNESS.

This is a letter on the part of God, the Protector, the Self-Existent.

To God, the Protector, the Self-Existent.

Say, 'all originate from God.'

Say 'all return unto God.'

This is a letter from 'Alí before Nebil, the Remembrance of God unto the Worlds.

Unto him whose name is equivalent to the Name of the One (*wahíd*=28), the Remembrance of God unto the Worlds.

Say, 'Verily all originate from the Point of Revelation' (*Nuḡta-i-Beyán*).

O Name of the One! Keep what hath been revealed in the Beyán,

And what hath been commanded. Verily thou art a Mighty Way of Truth."

(Signature).

The document from which the above text is taken is endorsed by Captain Young as follows: "*Copy of Appointment of Subḥ-i-Ezel as Báb's successor, original written by Báb.*" I will only make the following observations on it.

The Báb calls himself "'*Alí before Nebil*" (i.e. '*Alí Nebil*'), instead of '*Alí Muhammad*, which is his proper name. *Nebil* is chosen as an equivalent of *Muhammad*, the numerical value of either word being the same (92) according to the *abjad* notation. Of these substitutions the Bábís are very fond, and this same document, short as it is, furnishes us with another instance. *Subḥ-i-Ezel* is not addressed by his proper name, *Yaḥyá*, but is described as "he whose name is equivalent to the One" (*wahíd*), because the numerical equivalent of both *وحيد* and *يحيى* is the same, viz. 28. I have already discussed the important part played by the *abjad* notation in the Bábí theology (p. 39-43), which has also been fully treated of by Gobineau. This document furnishes us with the grounds whereon *Subḥ-i-Ezel's* claims to be the Báb's vicegerent are based. The reasons why the appointment is considered as cancelled by the Behá'ís have been mentioned in my first Article (p. 515). They admit that *Mírzá Yaḥyá* was the vicegerent of the Báb, but declare that his right to exercise authority ceased on the appearance of 'He whom God shall manifest' and the commencement of the new dispensation which he ushered in. That 'He whom

God shall manifest' has the right to assume the fullest authority—this authority extending to the abrogation of old and the addition of new ordinances—is conclusively proved by the Beyán itself. The whole question on which the Bábí schism hinges is therefore this: "Is Behá 'He whom God shall manifest,' or not? If he is, then Şubḥ-i-Ezel's appointment ceases to be valid. If not, then Şubḥ-i-Ezel is undoubtedly the Báb's chosen successor."

I cannot lose this opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks to Captain Young, Mr. C. D. Cobham, and Mr Houston for the ready help they have given me in my researches, and the valuable information with which they have supplied me. The promptitude with which their inquiries were set on foot, the care with which they were conducted, and the value of the results obtained, were only equalled by the ready courtesy with which they undertook the investigation. I also desire to express my gratitude to Mr. A. A. Bevan, of Trinity College, Cambridge, for his kindness in assisting me to revise most of the passages translated from the Arabic, whereby several serious errors have been corrected, and many emendations made.

One more remark must be added. In my first Article (p. 517, note) I stated that a rumour had reached me from Beyrout to the effect that Behá was dead. The correspondent who informed me of this report has since written to contradict it on the authority of no less a person than Behá's son, 'Abbás Efendí.

III. THE LAST BÁBÍ MARTYR.

Those who were present at the Meeting of the Society on April 15th, 1889, at which my first paper was read, will remember that in the discussion which followed it, General Houtum-Schindler stated that a Bábí had been put to death at Isfahán in October, 1888. In reply to inquiries which I made of my friends in Persia, I received a little time ago a letter containing an account of this event, of a portion of which I here give the translation:

“ You wrote that you had heard from General Schindler of the martyrdom of one of this sect. The details are these. A child, who was one of the servants of the *andarún* (women's apartments) of the Prince Zill-es-Sultán, had become acquainted with several individuals of ‘the friends’ (*ahbáb*), and Áká Mírzá Ashraf of Ábádé had apprized him of this Matter (*i.e.* had converted him to Bábism). News of this reaches the Prince Zill-es-Sultán. They torment the child to make him tell the truth, but he in no wise discloses the matter. Guile enters the hearts of the Prince's servants. One of them goes and inquires of several of ‘the friends,’ ‘Where is Áká Mírzá Ashraf? I have a wife in Ábádé, and I desire to send to her a letter and some money. Since Áká Mírzá Ashraf has acquaintances in Ábádé, I wish to send them by means of him.’ These, believing this representation, point out to him the abode of Áká Mírzá Ashraf. When they recognize Áká Mírzá Ashraf, they seize him and bring him into the presence of the Prince. The Prince inquires of Áká Mírzá Ashraf, ‘Art thou of this sect?’ He answers, ‘I am not.’ He says, ‘If thou art not, curse’ (them, or the Báb, or Behá). He replies, ‘Since their wickedness has not been made apparent to me, I will not curse’ (them). Eventually the Prince obtains a decision from several of the ‘*Ulamá*, and telegraphs to Teherán, ‘If this person be not killed, the ‘*Ulamá* and the populace will raise disturbance: the ‘*Ulamá*, moreover, have pronounced sentence: he himself, also, has confessed that he is of this sect, and it is necessary to kill him to quiet the people.’ The order comes from Teherán, ‘Do whatever appears desirable.’ Then the Prince orders the execution of Áká Mírzá Ashraf. According to the accounts I have heard, they cut off his head and then gibbet him. Afterwards they set fire to his body. I myself was acquainted with Áká Mírzá Ashraf. . . . His age seemed to be about sixty. He was a man of understanding and education; a good calligraphist; and extremely courteous and amiable. . . . In every way he was a most excellent man.”

IV. BĀBĪ LITERATURE.

Although I have had occasion to refer to almost all the Bābī works known to me in the course of one or other of my Articles, it appears to me desirable, as a means of facilitating future studies of this subject, to recapitulate briefly the titles of these, and, in the case of such as have not been elsewhere described, to add the opening and concluding passages in the original, so that the identification of Bābī MSS. may be rendered easier.

A. WORKS OF MĪRZĀ 'ALĪ MUHAMMAD THE BĀB.

1. زیارت نامہ. The *Ziyarat-namé*, containing prayers for the visitation of the tombs of the Imāms. Composed probably before A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844). Passages which appear to be translations of portions of this work are given by Mīrzá Kazem Beg in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866, série vi. tome 8, pp. 500-502. Of this work I possess a copy written for me at Kirmán.

Begins :

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَأَتَمَّ الصَّلَاةِ
عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ وَخَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ وَأَتَمَّ السَّلَامَ عَلَى آلِ اللَّهِ
وَآلِ آلِ اللَّهِ بِمَا شَاءَ وَأَرَادَ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَقُّ (الْحَقُّ) الْمُبِينُ
وَبَعْدَ إِذَا أَرَدْتَ زِيَارَةَ حَبِيبِ اللَّهِ أَوْ أَحَدٍ مِنْ أُمَّةِ الدِّينِ طَهَّرْ أَوَّلًا
جِسْمَكَ الْحَجَّ

Ends :

اِخْتَمَ ثَنَائِي عَلَيْكُمْ بِمَا نَزَلَ اللَّهُ فِي كِتَابِهِ حَيْثُ قَالَ وَقَوْلِهِ
الْحَقُّ لِمَنْ عَرَفَ حَقِّكُمْ فِي مَلَكُوتِ الْأَمْرِ وَالْخَلْقِ سُبْحَانَ رَبِّكَ
رَبِّ الْعِزَّةِ عَمَّا يَصِفُونَ وَسَلَامٌ عَلَى الْمُرْسَلِينَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ
الْعَالَمِينَ *

2. تفسير سورة يوسف. The *Commentary on the Sūra-i-Yūsuf*. Described by Baron Rosen (*Manuscripts Arabes de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*, St. Petersburg, 1887, pp. 179-191). A

MS. of this work also exists in the British Museum Library, numbered Or. 3539.

3. The longer Arabic *Beyán*. A MS. which may be a copy of the work in question is described with extracts by Dorn (*Bulletin de l'Académie Imp. de St. Pétersbourg*, Dec. 22nd, 1864). See also Rosen (*MSS. Arabes*, etc., p. 180, note), and Gobineau *et Relig. Philos.* etc., pp. 311-312).

4. The shorter Arabic *Beyán*. This has been translated by Gobineau into French (*Relig. et Philos.* pp. 461-543). He calls it '*Biyyan*' (page 312) and '*Ketab-e-hukkam*' (كتاب احكام).

5. The Persian *Beyán*. Described by Rosen (*MSS. Persans*, etc pp. 1-32) with copious extracts, and table of contents. Contains eight واحد each divided into nineteen باب, and ten باب of the ninth واحد. Rosen's exhaustive and detailed description, which is based on two MSS., renders further notice unnecessary in this place. A copy of the same work, written in A.H. 1299 by نبیل and numbered Or. 2819, exists in the British Museum. Another copy is in my own possession. All copies end at Vâhid ix. ch. x. Composed by the Báb while a prisoner at Mákú (A.D. 1847-1850).

6. دلائل سبعه. The *Seven Proofs*. Authorship doubtful. Written during the Báb's life about 1264-65 (A.D. 1848-49) I know of only one copy, viz. my own, made for me at Kirmán.

Begins :

بسم الله الافرد الافرد الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا هو الافرد الافرد
اتما البهاء من الحمد على من يظهرة الحمد ثم ادلائه لم يزل ولا يزال
وبعد لوح مسطوررا مشاهده نموده هرگاه خواسته شود مفصل ذكر
ادله در اثبات ظهورگردن الواح اكوانيه و امكانيه نتوانند محتمل نمود

Ends :

و آن ایمان تورا کفایت میکند از کل ما علی الارض و کل ما
علی الارض تورا کفایت نمیکند از ایمان که اگر مومن نباشی
شجره حقیقت امر بقاء تو میکند و اگر مومن باشی کفایت

میکند از کل ما علی الارض اگرچه مالک شی نباشی این است
 ظهور معنی این آیه در مقام رسول الله در ظهور قبل و هم چنین
 ظهور بعد و هم چنین ظهور من یظهره الله و هم چنین الی آخر
 الذی لا آخر له بمثل من اول الذی لا اول له مشاهده کن و
 قل ان الحمد لله رب العالمین و استغفر الله ربک فی کل حین و
 قبل کل حین و بعد حین * تمت *

Other works mentioned in the Bábí history as having been composed by the Báb: Commentaries on the سورة البقرة, the سورة الكوثر, and the سورة العصر: treatise on خاضه .

B. POEMS OF KURRATU'L-'AYN.

The text of one ghazal attributed to 'Jenáb-i-Tahírè' has been given above: another ascribed to her authorship beginning:

لمعات و جهك اشرفت و شعاع طلعتك اعتلا
 زچه رو الست بر بكم نزنى بزن كه بلى بلى

has been discussed. There remains the *masnavi* poem beginning:

ط
 هو المحبوب

در تغنى آى اى طير عما در شرار انداز اوراق ثنا
 آدمى را سوى جنت باز آر در مقام ستر وحدت باز آر

and ending:

چون سخن گفتى زحق اى خوش سخن
 باش خاموش و دهمى خود دم مزن

Other poems doubtless exist, and might be obtained by careful search.

C. BÁBÍ HISTORY.

A MS. of this numbered Or. 2942 exists in the British Museum. It contains ff. 177 (pp. 354). My MS. obtained at Shíráz contains pp. 374. For description of it, see my first article (*Journal R.A.S.* July, 1889, p. 496).

Begins :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم خورده بینان خردمند بفراست در
یافت کنند و دانشمندان بصیر بعین یقین بینند و هوشمندان
خبیر بنور کیاست و دانش دانند که در امر مذهب و دین ابدأ
تبعیت و تقلید شایسته و جائز نبوده

Ends :

بقیه احوالات این سلسله که مشعر بر چگونگی احکامات و
سنن ایشان و بعضی مطالب عالیہ عرفان و شمه از مراتب
محاسن و اخلاق و آداب و صداقتی که از ایشان مشهود آمد و
برای العین مرئی گردید اگر خداوند بخواهد و اجل امان بدهد
در دفتر دوم ذکر میشود با بیانی کآن بود نزدیکتر ازین کنایات
دقیق مستتر بو که فیما بعد دستوری رسد رازهای گفتنی گفته
شود *

D. WORKS OF MÍRZÁ YAHIYÁ, ŞUBH-I-EZEL.

Of none of these have I seen copies, and beyond the brief notice of the '*Livre de la Lumière*' by Gobineau (*Rel. et Phil.* pp. 312-313), and the description of a MS. which appears to be a specimen of the work, as well as of sundry other Ezeli writings, by M. Clément Huart (*Journal Asiatique*, 1887, viii. série, tome 10, pp. 133-134), I know of no information about them.

E. WORKS OF MÍRZÁ HUSEYN 'ALÍ, BEHÁ.

1. ایقان. The *I'kán* (Assurance), a controversial work written A.H. 1278 (A.D. 1861) by Behá before he put forward his claim to supremacy. This important work is probably the commonest of all the Bábi writings, and is generally the first book placed in the hands of the inquirer. It is fully described by Rosen (*MSS. Persans*, pp. 32-51) with copious extracts. A copy numbered Or. 3116 exists in the British Museum. Another copy is in my own possession. The work has also been very carefully lithographed

in India. Almost every Bábí in Persia who has any books at all has this.

2. لوح نصير. One of the earliest Epistles written by Behá after putting forward his claim. The only copy I know of in Europe is one made for me at Kirmán.

Begins :

هو البهّی الابهی بنام خداوند یکتا عزّ توحیده و تفریده قلم اعلی
لازال بر اسم احبای خود متحرّک و جاری و آنی از فیوضات
لا بدایات خود ممنوع و ساکن نه و نسیم فضلّیه از مکن احدیه
بر کل اشیا در کلّ حین در هبوب بوده و خواهد بود

Ends :

کذلک حرّک لسان الله الملک الغریز العلیم لتسکن فی نفسک
و تفرح فی ذاتک و تكون من الصابرين و المتوکلین * تمّت *

3. الواح سلاطین. Letters from Behá to the Kings, written probably about A.D. 1869. These are altogether different from the Epistle described by Rosen (*MS. Arabes*, pp. 191-208): the latter would seem to be by a different writer (see above, pp. 954-958). They are as follows :

(i) لوح ناصر الدین شاه. The Epistle to Náşiru 'd-Dín Sháh, King of Persia. Carried from Acre to Teherán by a young Bábí called by his co-religionists بدیع, who was put to death in consequence by the Sháh. A copy numbered Or. 3115 exists in the British Museum.

Begins :

هو الله تعالى شانه بالعظمة¹ و الاقتدار یا ملک الارض اسمع
نداء هذا المملوک انی عبد آمنّت بالله و آیاته و فدیت نفسی
فی سبیلہ و یشهد بذلك ما انا فيه من البلیایا التي ما حملها احد
من العباد و كان ربّی العلیم علی ما اقول شهیداً

Ends :

و الحمد لله مالک يوم الدين و نسئله تعالى بان يجعلک
ناصرأ لأمره و ناظراً الى عدله لتأحکم علی العباد كما تأحکم علی
نوی قرابتک و تختار لهم ما تختاره لنفسک آتہ لهو المقدر المتعالی
المهیمن القيوم *

¹ MS. العظمة.

(ii) لوح ملك پاریس . Epistle to Napoleon III.

Begins :

ان يا قلم الاعلى متحرك على ذكر ملوك اخرى فى هذه الورقة
المباركة انوراء ليقومون عن رقد الهوى ويسمعون ما تغرد به الورقاء على
افنان سدرة المنتهى ويسرعون الى الله فى هذا الظهور الابدع المنيع
قل يا ملك الباريس نبتى القسيس بان لا يدق النواقيس تالله الحق
قد ظهر الناقوس الافخم على هيكل اسم الاعظم و تدق اصابع مشيئة
ربك العلى الاعلى فى جبروت البقاء باسمه الابهى كذلك نزلت
آيات ربك الكبرى تارة اخرى لتقوم على ذكر الله فاطر الارض
و السما فى تلك الايام التى فيها ناحت قبائل الارض كلها و
تزلزلت اركان البلاد و غشيت العباد غيرة الاحاد الآمن شاه ربك
العزير الحكيم

Ends :

كذلك سلطت عليهم الاوهام جزاء اعمالهم فانظر فى قلة عقولهم
يتبعون ما لا ينفعهم بمنهى الجدة و الاجتهاد و لو تسئلهم هل ينفعكم
ما اردتم تجدهم متحيرين و لو ينصف احد يقول لا و رب العالمين
هذا شأن الناس و ما عند هم دعهم فى خوضهم ثم ول وجهك شطر
الله هذا ما ينبغى لك ان استنصح بما نصحت من لدن ربك
و قل ان الحمد لك يا الله من فى السموات و الارضين *

(iii) لوح رئيس . Epistle to 'the Chief,' written to some
Turkish or Persian official ; to whom I am not sure.

Begins :

بسمه الابهى ان يا رئيس اسمع نداء الله الملك الميمى
القيوم انه ينادى بين الارض و السماء و يدع الكال الى المنظر الابهى
و لا يمنعه قباعتك و لا نباح من فى حولك و لا جنود العالمين.

Ends :

ای ربّ قد اخذتنا رعدة الظمأ وعندك كوثر البقا و ائتک انت
المقتدر على ما تشاء لا تحترمنا عمّا اردنا ثمّ اکتب لنا اجر
المقرّبين من عبادک و المخلصين من برّيتک ثمّ استقمنا فى حبّک
على شأن لا يمنعنا عنک ما دونک و لا ينصرفنا عن حبّک ما سوىک¹
و ائتک المقتدر على ما تشاء و ائتک انت العزيز الکریم *

(iv) لوح پاپا . Epistle to the Pope.

Begins :

ان يا پاپا ان اخرق الاحجاب قد اتى ربّ الارياب فى ظلّ
السحاب و قضى الامر من لدى الله المقتدر المختار ان اكشف
السبحات بسطان ربّک ثمّ اعد الى ملكوت السماء و الصفات
كذلك يا مرکم الفلم الاعلى من لدن ربّک العزيز الجبار

Ends :

طوبى لتدين عرفوا النور و سرعوا اليه اذا هم فى ملكوت يأكلون و
يشربون مع الاصفياء و نريکم² يا ابنا الملكوت فى الظلمة هذا لا
ينبغى لكم الخافون من اعمالکم تلقاء النور ان اقبلوا اليه ان ربّکم
الجليل قد شرف بقدمه دياره كذلك نعلمکم سبيل الذى اخبرد
الروح انى اشهد الله كما اشهد له كما انه كان لى شهيداً انه قال
تعاليا لاجعلکم صيادی³ تعالوا ان اجعلکم صياد الانسان و اليوم
نقول تعالوا لتجعلکم محيى العالم كذلك قضى الحكم فى لوح كان
من قلم الامر مسطوراً *

(v) لوح ملكه . Epistle to the Queen of England.

Begins :

يا ايّنها الملكة فى اللوندره ان استمعى ندا¹ ربّک مالک البريّة
من السدرّة الالهية انه لا اله الا انا العزيز الحكيم ضعى ما على الارض
ثمّ زيّننى رأس الملك باكليل ربّک الجليل انه قد اتى فى العالم
بمجده الاعظم و كمل ما ذكر فى الامجيل

¹ For سواک .

² For نراکم .

³ Probably صيادی .

Ends :

ثمّ ايّدنى يا الهى على ذكرك بين إمائك و نصرة امرك فى
ديارك ثمّ اقبل منى ما فات عتى عند طلوع انوار وجهك اترك
انت على كلشئى قدير و البهائ لك يا من بيدك ملكوت ملك
السموات و الارضين *

(vi) لوح ملك روس . Epistle to the Emperor of Russia.

Begins :

ان يا ملك الروس ان استمع ندا الله الملك القدوس ثمّ اقبل
الى الفردوس مقرّ الذي فيه استقرّ من سمى بالاسماء المحسنى بين
ملا الاعلى و فى ملكوت الانشاء باسم الله البهى الابهى اياك ان
يجيبك هواك عن التوجه الى وجه ربك الرحمن الرحيم

Ends :

لا تكن من الذين كانوا ان يدعوا له باسم من الاسماء فلما اتى المسمى
كفروا به و اعرضوا عنه الى ان افتوا عليه بظلم مبين و انظر ثمّ اذكر
الآيام التى فيها اتى الروح و حكم عليه هيرودس قد نصر الله الروح
بجنود الغيب *

4. لوح اقدس . "The Most Holy Tablet." The chief sacred book of the Bábis who follow Behá. A MS. of this work numbered Or. 2820 exists in the British Museum. It contains a short commentary on some of the more difficult passages, especially the very obscure section relating to inheritance. Of this work I possess three MSS., two from Shíráz, and one from Kirmán. They are all written with care, and present comparatively few variants.

Begins :

بسمه المحاكم على ما كان و ما يكون انّ اول ما كتب الله على
العباد عرفان مشرق وحيه (وجهه Kirman MS.) و مطلع امره الذى
كان مقام نفسه فى عالم الامر و الخلق من فاز به قد فاز بكلّ الخير
و اذى منع انه من اهل الضلال و لو يأتى بكلّ الاعمال

Ends :

يا اهل المجالس فى البلاد ان اختاروا لغة من اللغات ليتكلم بها
من على الارض و كذلك من الخطوط ان الله يبين لكم ما ينفعكم
ويغنيكم عن دونكم انه لهو الفضال العليم الخبير هذا سبب الاتحاد
لو انتم تعلمون و العلة الكبرى للاتفاق و التمدن لو انتم تشعرون انا
جعلنا الامرين علامتين لبلوغ العالم الاول و هو الاس الاعظم نزلناه فى
الواح اخرى و الثانى نزل فى هذا اللوح البديع *

These comprise the chief Bábí writings with which I am acquainted. Besides them there are numerous short epistles written to different private individuals, generally believers; sometimes, as in the case of the لوح شيخ باقر, to enemies and persecutors. Numerous Bábí poems by نعيم, روحا, نبيل, etc., also exist. Of some of these I possess copies which I hope to publish subsequently.

V. TRANSLITERATION.

Considerations into which it is needless to enter having induced me, though somewhat against my own inclinations, to employ only the Roman character in the earlier part of this article, reserving the Arabic type for the last pages, it is necessary to add a few words of apology and explanation.

Transliteration of Arabic is especially unsatisfactory, involving as it does not only disputed questions of pronunciation, but also the necessity of supplying vowel-points, which are not as a rule given in the texts, and are sometimes doubtful. As I have no knowledge of spoken Arabic, I have, in the transliteration of all Arabic passages, followed in the main the system laid down by my former teacher, the late Professor Palmer, in his *Arabic Manual*, which appears to me at least as good as any other. In only one point am I conscious of a certain amount of irregularity, viz. in the transliteration of the *fatha*. This is usually represented by *a*; but in certain words which occurred continually throughout the article, and in which *e* seemed to me more accurately to indicate

the current pronunciation, I have allowed the latter to stand, even when the word occurred in a passage cited in the original, e.g. *بها* is written *Behá*, not *Bahá*; *بیان* *Beyán*, not *Bayán*.

As regards the Persian, I knew of no system which I was prepared to adopt in its entirety. Those employed in France and Germany seemed unsuitable by reason of the more complicated representation of the consonants rendered necessary by the peculiarities of those languages, while those devised in England have usually been constructed with the view of indicating the pronunciation of Persian as spoken by natives of India.

So far as concerns the consonants, I have followed the system laid down by Forbes in his *Persian Grammar* with the following exceptions :

(1) *ث* is represented by *ṯ* instead of *ṯ̣*.

(2) *ع* is represented by ' instead of '̣'.

(3) *ظ*, *ض*, and *ذ* are alike represented by *z*. It would no doubt have been better to distinguish them as Forbes has done, but since they occur for the most part in words which will be immediately recognized by any one with a knowledge of the language, it appeared to me unnecessary to introduce further complications into the typography, especially as the total amount of transliterated Persian in the article is but small.

(4) *و* is usually represented by *v*, sometimes by *w*.

As regards the vowels, those which are long are marked with an acute accent, and the *majhûl* sounds of *o* and *e* peculiar to India are discarded. When *e* is used, it represents *fatha*, which, however, is usually transliterated *a*, with the exceptions above specified; at the end of words *é* represents *ṣ* pointed with *fatha*, and sometimes with *kesra*, e.g. *ché* for *چه*.