

THE SOURCES FOR EARLY BĀBĪ DOCTRINE AND HISTORY

A survey

BY

DENIS MACEOIN



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To the memory of Alex Shields

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have noted elsewhere my belief that 'although studies of the overall Bābī to Bahā'ī development are both possible and desirable, the main thrust

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

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

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

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

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

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

Denis MacEoin
Newcastle Upon Tyne
July 1991

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INTRODUCTION

If future studies of Bābī doctrine and history are to be based on firm academic foundations, it is essential that detailed attention be paid now to the preliminary tasks of establishing sound texts of the major works, and cataloguing, identifying, and assessing the mass of scattered materials at present known to exist in numerous locations. It is unfortunate that the invaluable pioneering work of two men, Edward Browne in Cambridge and Victor Rosen in St. Petersburg was not continued after their deaths by other scholars. Their attempts to assemble and classify the Bābī materials available to them had already resulted in the publication of a number of small but valuable catalogues,¹ but, apart from a few short bibliographies,² nothing substantial has been published on this topic since 1932.

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

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

¹ E.G. Browne, 'A Catalogue and Description of 21 Bābī Manuscripts', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1892) 24: 433-99 and 637-710; idem, 'Some Remarks on the Bābī Texts edited by Baron Victor Rosen in vols I and VI of the 'Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales de Saint-Petersbourg'', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1892) 24: 259-332; idem, 'Further Notes on Bābī, Azālī and Bahā'ī Literature, Oriental and Occidental, printed, lithographed and manuscript' in *Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 173-243; idem and R.A. Nicholson, 'Shaykhī and Bābī Mss' in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Mss belonging to the late E. G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1932), Section F, pp. 53-87; Victor Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères Vol.1 Manuscrits Arabes*, St. Petersburg, 1877, pp. 179-212; Vol.3 *Manuscrits Persans*, St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 1-51; Vol.6 *Manuscrits Arabes*, St. Petersburg, 1891, pp. 141-255.

² A.L.M. Nicolas, *Séyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Bāb*, (Paris, 1905), pp. 22-53; M. Malik-Khurasāvi, 'Manābī-i tarkh-i amr', *Āhang-i badīr* 326(131B/1974-75):11-34; H. Nuqabā'ī, *Manābī-i tarikh-i amr-i Bahā'ī*, (Tehran, 133B/1976-77); 'A.F. ('Alī Fārahvāshī?), *Ā'n-i Bāb*, (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 10-12; A. Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khatī-yi Fārsī*, 6 vols, (Tehran, 1348-53 Sh./1969-74), Vol.2, Part 2, Section 16 (Bābī, Azālī, and Bahā'ī manuscripts), pp. 1732-62;

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

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

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

It is also unfortunate that so little has been done to edit and publish important Bābī materials in the original. The Azālīs in Tehran have printed several volumes of works of the Bāb,³ but these are poorly edited and extremely difficult to obtain. The Iranian Bahā'īs have published a mere three volumes exclusively devoted to writings of the Bāb. These are: a short collection of prayers entitled *Majmū'a-yi munājāt-i Haqrat-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā* (Tehran, 126B/1969-70); a tendentiously-arranged compilation of passages from the Persian *Bayān* edited by the Bahā'ī poet Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm Isfahānī Na'īm, entitled *Nā'ijat al-Bayān* (Tehran, 105B/1947-48); and an anthology with the title *Muntakhabāt-i āyāt az āthār-i Haqrat-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā* (Tehran, 134B/1977), which is simply an edition of the original texts used

³ *Bayān-i Fārsī; al-Bayān al-'Arabi* with *Haykal al-dīn* and *Tafīr Haykal al-dīn*; *Qismatī az alwāh-i khatt-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā wa Āqā Sayyid Husayn-i Kātib*; *Dalā'il-i sab'a*; *Majmū'a'l az āthār-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā wa Šubḥ-i Azālī*; *Panj sha'n*; *Panj sha'n: qismat-i Fārsī*; *Šahī fa-yi 'adliyya*; *Mukhaṣṣarī az dastūrāt-i Bayān* — all Tehran?, n.d.

as the basis for a rather selective English-language compilation, *Selections from the Writings of the Bāb* (Haifa, 1976).⁴

On the whole, the texts published by the Azālīs are of much greater value than the Bahā'ī productions, in that they represent complete works rather than selections made to present the Bāb's teachings from a partisan viewpoint. To the extent that the Bahā'ī compilations are designed to show the identity of the Bābī and Bahā'ī religions, or the prophetic function of the Bāb in respect to Mīrẓā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh, they tend to be less representative of the Bāb's wider thought, whatever their value in demonstrating relationships which may be of interest in a different context.

The Iraqi scholar 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥasanī, published in 1957 the full text of the Arabic *Bayān* in his book *al-Bābīyūn wa 'l-Bahā'īyūn fī ḥāqirihim wa māqīhim*, but this is the only instance known to me where a Muslim writer has published a work of the Bāb's as a serious contribution to scholarship, and not merely as an excuse for polemical comment. Despite the fact that suitable materials are readily available, no Western scholar since E. G. Browne (d.1926) has shown any interest in editing and publishing Bābī works in the original. Browne planned at one time to publish an edited text of the Persian *Bayān*, and did considerable work on the collation of six manuscripts, but other interests intervened, and the task was never brought to completion. The manuscript of his collation, far from completed, still exists in the Cambridge University Library (classmark Or. 1331-7 [11]), awaiting the attention of some future scholar.⁵

⁴ The evident reluctance of the Bahā'īs to publish complete texts of works by the Bāb may be due to instructions given by 'Abbās Effendi 'Abd al-Bahā': 'As regards the translation and publication of the *Bayān*, there are laws in the *Bayān* which have been abrogated by the *Kitāb-i aqdas* (sic), and the Bahā'īs are bound by the laws of the *Kitāb-i aqdas*. Were the *Bayān* to be published and translated, the peoples of other countries — and, indeed, even the Iranians — would think that the basis of the religion of the Bahā'īs was those severe laws which are found in the *Bayān*.... Therefore, the *Bayān* must be published in all parts and corners of the world after the publication of the *Kitāb-i aqdas*, so that readers may know that those severe laws have been abrogated and cancelled. Before the publication of the *Kitāb-i aqdas* and its translation, and before its laws become well known, the publication of the *Bayān* is not permissible' (in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Isḥrāq Khāvarī [ed.], *Mā'iday-i ḥusnā*, Vol.2, [Tehran, 129B/1972-73], pp. 16-17). I understand that the Bahā'ī authorities do intend to publish a translation of the *Kitāb al-aqdas* soon, but I remain sceptical as to whether this will lead to the publication of complete texts of the Bāb's works.

⁵ The six manuscripts used by Browne were: 1. His own MS., BBC.3 (now F.13), which served as the basis of the collation; 2. his own MS., BBP. 8 (now F.12); 3. British Museum MS., Or. 2819; 4. St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences MS.; 5. St. Petersburg Institut des Langues Orientales MS.; 6. Bibliothèque Nationale MS., Suppl. Pers. 1070. An 'Abstract and Index of the Persian *Bayān*' prepared by Browne was published recently by Momen (Moojan Momen [ed.] *Selections from the Writings of E. G. Browne on the Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions*, [Oxford, 1987], pp. 316-406).

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

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

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

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

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

the *Dalā'il-i sab'a*, the *Kitab al-asmā'* and other works, and it is of obvious value as an introduction to the Bāb's works as a whole.

However, the tendentiousness of the selection is apparent from the preface, where it is described as 'a precious addition to the volume of Bahā'ī (sic) literature in the English language'. More serious flaws are the lack of an introduction, the virtual absence of notes, and the failure to indicate identity, provenance, condition, and location of manuscripts used or the reasons for their choice. Likewise, there is no indication as to whether a given passage was translated on the basis of one or more manuscripts; and, in several cases, the original is only vaguely identified as a 'prayer' or 'tablet'.⁶

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

The situation with regard to contemporary and near-contemporary historical works resembles that of doctrinal texts. With the exception of a reprint of Browne's edition of the *Kitāb-i nuqṭat al-kāf*, and editions of the *Hašt bihišt* and the *Risāla-yi 'amma* (neither very early), no historical works have been edited or published by the Azālī Bābīs. The only secondary historical work known to me to have been written by an Azālī is a short biography of the Bābī heroine Qurrat al-'Ayn.⁷ The Azālīs have, however, printed Persian translations of Gobineau's *Religions et philosophies dans l'Asie centrale* and Nicolas' *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed dit le Bāb* as well as a reprint of Mīrzā Yahyā Ṣubḥ-i Azāl's short historical piece, *Mujmal-i badi' dar waqāyi'-i zuhūr-i manī'*, first published by E. G. Browne as an appendix to his translation of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*.

Bahā'ī publishers have, for the most part, concentrated on secondary materials,⁸ of which a wealth have been produced. Even where primary sources are concerned, there has been a tendency, especially in Iran, simply to 'correct' what are regarded as errors, rather than to add editorial comment as to why the reader should exercise caution about particular statements or narratives. The result, of course, is that the scholar is often unable wholly to rely on published texts of this kind. The publication in 1932 of Shoghi

6 Such defects are common in Bahā'ī-produced translations. A compilation of passages by Mīrzā Husayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh, entitled *Gleanings from the Writings of Bahā'u'llāh*, translated by Shoghi Effendi (London, 1949), contains 165 selections from a wide range of books and letters, not one of which is identified, nor is there an introduction, notes, or a satisfactory index.

7 Anon, *Qurrat al-'Ayn: bi-yād-i sadumūn sāl-i shahādāt*, (Tehran?, 1949).

8 The more important secondary works on Bābī history produced by Bahā'īs are examined briefly in Part Two, Chapter Three.

Effendi's English translation of the *Tārīkh-i Nabī*⁹ was a useful addition to the literature; but it is to be regretted that, as yet, no effort has been made to publish a full edition of the original text, in order to allow the history to be used properly within an academic context.

Reasonably full historical accounts of the Bābīs may, of course, be found in the two Iranian court histories, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* and *Rawḍat al-safā-yi Nāsiri*, both of which are available in modern editions. Many other published contemporary or near-contemporary historical narratives contain brief references to the movement, the more important of these being the *Tārīkh-i naw* of Prince Jahāngīr Mīrzā and the *Ḥaqīiq al-akhbār-i Nāsiri* of Muḥammad Ja'far Khurmūji.¹¹ In 1333 Sh/1953-54, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'i published the portion of I'ṭiḍād al-Salṭana's *Mutanabbiyūn* which relates to the Bābīs, adding extensive notes and three articles of his own, the whole appearing under the title *Fiṣṣa-yi Bāb*. As further historical works and state documents from the Qājār period are gradually published, the amount of materials relating to Babism is sure to increase, in bulk if not in quality.

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

- The original text and a translation of the *Maqāla-yi shakhṣī sayyāḥ* of 'Abbās Effendi.¹²
- A translation, with notes and appendices, of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Hamadāni.¹³

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

10 Ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl, (Tehran, 1327 Sh/1948-49); see pp. 297ff, 321-22, 331ff.

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

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

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

- The text and translation of Mīrzā Yahyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal's historical narrative, *Mujmal-i badī' dar waqāyī' i zuhūr-i manī'* published as an appendix to the preceding.¹⁴
- 'Personal Reminiscences of the Bābī Insurrection at Zanjan in 1850, written in Persian by Āqā 'Abdu'l-Aḥad-i-Zanjānī, and translated into English'.¹⁵
- The Persian text of what Browne entitled the *Kitāb-i nuqtat al-kāf*, attributed by him to Ḥājī Mīrzā Jamī Kashānī; this is said to be the earliest general history of the Bāb and his followers.¹⁶
- 'An Epitome of Bābī and Bahā'ī history to A.D. 1898, translated from the original Arabic of Mīrzā Muḥammad Jawād of Qazwīn'.¹⁷

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

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

15 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1897): 761-827. The original ms. is item F25 in the Browne Collection in Cambridge.

16 *Kitāb-i Nuqtat al-Kāf*, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XV, (Leyden and London, 1910).

17 In *Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion*, (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 1-112.

PART ONE
WRITINGS OF THE BĀB AND THE BĀBĪ HIERARCHY
WORKS OF ANTI-BĀBĪ POLEMIC

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

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

Nevertheless, a word of warning must be uttered about the dangers of relying exclusively on these for information about early Bābī ideology in general. In the *Maqāla-yi shakhṣī sayyāh*, ‘Abbās Effendi makes the remark that the early Bābīs ‘had not yet acquired such knowledge as was right and needful of the fundamental principles and hidden doctrines of the Bāb’s teachings, and did not recognize their duties;¹ and again: ‘...since the Bāb was but beginning to lay the foundations when he was slain, therefore was this community ignorant concerning its proper conduct, action, behaviour, and duty, their sole guiding principle being love for the Bāb.’² Nicolas is even more direct: ‘...les babis du début — je parle du vulgaire — ne connaissent aucun des détails de la nouvelle doctrine.’³

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

That divisions existed is certain, even if later sources play them down. The author of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* records that Mulla Ḥusayn Bushrū‘ī and his companions did not put into practice any of the ideas formulated at Badasht, and that Bushrū‘ī even said ‘I shall punish the people of Badasht’.⁴ The gathering at Badasht itself was characterized by the divergence of views among the Bābīs assembled there. Even Zarandī (who is normally keen to

¹ *A Traveller's Narrative*, vol.1, p. 170.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³ *Séyyéd Ali Mohammed*, p. 209.

⁴ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 15.

impose a sense of unity on all Bābī thought and action) speaks of a group of Bābīs who 'sought to abuse the liberty which the repudiation of the laws and sanctions of an outgrown Faith [Islam] had conferred upon them.'⁵

Also at Badasht, opposition to the controversial female leader, Qurrat al-ʿAyn, appears to have been particularly fierce — confirmation of the contentious role she played in the early development of the movement. Her prolonged dispute with Mullā Aḥmad Muʿallim-i Hisārī in Karbalā' around 1846 has, as we shall see, been well documented; and there is evidence of serious complaints laid against her by an assembly of over seventy Bābīs in Kāzimayn. The dispute between her cousin Mullā Jawād 'Khu'ār' Vilyānī and the Bāb (c.1845) sheds yet more light on the nature and extent of dissension within the Bābī community from the earliest period. The *Nuqtat al-kāf* similarly provides us with a vivid picture of conflicting claims and novel doctrinal theories in the confused period following the Bāb's execution in 1850.⁷

⁵ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 298.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-97.

⁷ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, pp. 252-61; cf. Mīrzā Yahyā Ṣubḥ-i Azāl, *Kitāb al-mustayyiz* (Tehran?, n.d.), p. 28.

THE FATE OF THE WORKS OF THE BĀB

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

AUTOGRAPH COMPOSITIONS

It is well known that the Bāb himself frequently wrote down his compositions in his own hand. Zarandī says that this occurred in the case of each of the following texts: the *Qayyūm al-asmā’*,¹ the *Tafsīr* of the *Sūrat al-kawthar*,² the *Tafsīr* of the *Sūra wa ‘l-‘aṣr*,³ and the *Risāla fi ‘l-nubuwwa al-khāṣṣa*.⁴ The author of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* refers to autograph replies to three questions posed to the Bāb by Sayyid Yahya Dārābī Vaḥīd;⁵ elsewhere, he speaks simply of the Bāb writing, in a context that usually suggests that composition is taking place without the mediation of an amanuensis.

Apart from references to the topic in most histories,⁶ the Bāb himself frequently cites his ability to write with extreme rapidity as a proof of his divine mission,⁷ Extant examples of the Bāb’s handwriting⁸ show that he did

¹ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁵ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 121. This may be a reference to the *tafsīr* of the *Sūrat al-kawthar*.

⁶ See, for example, Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 61, 202; Hamadānī, *New History*, p. 209; Kāshānī, *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, pp. 108, 121.

⁷ See Shīrāzī, *Bayān-i Fārsī*, 2:1 (p. 13); *ibid.*, p. 17 (where he states that in five hours he can write down one thousand verses). In his *tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-kawthar*, he gives the figure as one thousand verses in six hours (see f.5a in ms. F.10, Browne Collection, CUL). This is also the figure given in a letter written in Isfāhān for the governor, Manūchīhr Khān (see ms. F.21, p.

indeed possess a fine hand, although elegance is achieved at the expense of legibility. The almost total absence of pointing, though it lends much to the grace of the finished product, makes the task of establishing unambiguous readings of these texts extremely difficult. And this difficulty is, in turn, accentuated by the perplexing, idiosyncratic, and often ungrammatical style of the author's Arabic and Persian.⁹

THE BĀB'S SECRETARIES

Although the Bāb continued to write in his own hand until the last days of his life,¹⁰ much of his writing during the period of his imprisonments in Makū and Chihrtq seems to have been dictated to a secretary. In most cases, this was Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī,¹¹ one of the eighteen *Ḥurūf al-Ḥayy* (Letters of the Living), the original disciples of the Bāb. Yazdī had also been, like other members of the Letters group, a pupil of the Shaykhī leader Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī. The author of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* states that Yazdī ('Āqā Sayyid

91, Browne Collection, CUL). In his *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya II*, the Bāb challenges Jawād Vilyānī by maintaining that he can write a complete *ṣahīfa* in one hour (INBMC 53, p. 164). Muḥammad 'Alī Fayḍī relates the circumstances of the conversion of Badī' Āfarīn, a famous Tabrizī calligrapher, who regarded the Bāb's ability to write rapidly, yet in an elegant hand, as a sign of divine afflatus (see *Ḥadrat-i Nuqṭa-yi Ūlā*, p. 384).

⁸ Reproductions may be found in: *Qismatī az alwāh-i khaff*, passim; 7. arandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, between pages xii and xiii; Balyuzi, *The Bāb*, frontispiece; Hamadānī, *New History*, facing p. 424; Fayḍī, *Ḥadrat-i Nuqṭa-yi Ūlā*, frontispieces.

⁹ Much ink has flowed on the subject of the Bāb's grammar. That his style is difficult and frequently incomprehensible is beyond question, but until the task of textual analysis and correction has been carried out adequately, it is probably premature to venture more than superficial comment on the matter. Gobineau's magisterial remarks that '... le style d'Alī-Mohammed est terse et sans éclat, d'une rigueur fatigante, d'une richesse douteuse, d'une correction suspecte' and that 'les obscurités qu'on y relève en foule ne viennent pas toutes de sa volonté, mais plusieurs ont pour raison d'être une inhabilité manifeste' (*Religions et philosophies*, p. 136) have generally been accepted without demur and even been quoted by Iranian writers as authoritative statements. In fact, the Frenchman's own competence in these languages was never such as to render him a fit judge. Nicolas (*Sayyid Ali Mohammed*, pp. 56-57) attributes the Bāb's errors to the mistakes of copyists, while Gūlpaygānī (*Majmū'a-yi rasā'il-i Abī 'l-Faḍl* [Cairo, 1920], pp. 146-47) lays them at the door of interpolations by Subḥ-i Azal or non-Bābīs. Neither of these explanations comes remotely near the mark. Even the best-preserved and most consistent texts contain as many oddities of grammar and syntax as the rest, and it is clear that the Bāb himself was responsible for the vast majority of them.

¹⁰ Evidence for this is to be found in the Tehran lithograph edition of the Arabic *Bayān*, which also contains the text of a *haykal* or talisman entitled *Haykal al-dīn*, written in the very last period of the Bāb's life. The editor of this text identifies it with a *haykal* referred to by Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī, the Bāb's amanuensis, in a letter to Mullā 'Abd al-Kāfīm Qazvīnī. According to Yazdī, the *haykal* was written in two copies, one in the Bāb's hand, the other in his own. (Yazdī's letter would seem to be the one reproduced at the very end of the collection, *Qismatī az alwāh.*) Similarly, a number of the sections of the *Kitāb-i panj shā'n* were written in the Bāb's hand only a few months before his execution (see the index to the Tehran edition).

¹¹ See appendix 1.

Muḥammad Ḥusayn 'Azīz') 'was continually in the presence of the Bāb, and whenever the verses were sent down from the heaven of glory and bounty, he would write them down.'¹² The entire text of the Persian *Bayān* was dictated to Yazdī, and his original manuscript is now kept in the Bahā'ī International Archives in Israel.¹³

The task of transcribing the sacred texts seems to have been carried out largely under the supervision of the Bāb himself. Two individuals in particular were responsible for preparing copies of the Bāb's writings: a former Shaykhī *mujtahid*, Mullā 'Abd al-Kārim Qazvīnī,¹⁴ and Shaykh Ḥasan Zunūzī.¹⁵ Both men had, like Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī, been pupils of Rashū. According to Zarandī, at one point in the course of the Bāb's fifteen-month stay in Shīrāz (July 1845 — September 1846), following his pilgrimage to Mecca, opposition to him became extremely fierce. As a result, he sent his followers from Shīrāz to Isfahān, retaining only 'Abd al-Kārim Qazvīnī for the purpose of transcribing his writings.¹⁶ The same source cites Sayyid Yahyā Darābī to the effect that, after the Bāb had written the *Tafsīr* of the *Sūrat al-kawthar*, he instructed him to transcribe it in collaboration with Qazvīnī.¹⁷

Zarandī relates further that, during the later period of the Bāb's stay in Isfahān (September 1846 — March 1847), Qazvīnī was instructed by him to transcribe his writings along with Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī and Shaykh Ḥasan Zunūzī; only these three individuals were permitted access to the prophet at this period.¹⁸

¹² *Nuqat al-kāf*, p. 245.

¹³ See Balyuzi, *The Bāb*, p. 132 fn. A photocopy of this ms. is in the possession of the present writer.

¹⁴ See appendix 2.

¹⁵ Zunūzī was the author of a work entitled *Riyāq al-janna*. He met the Bāb in Karbalā' in the company of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashū. Later, after becoming a Bābī, he associated with the leader of the sect after his return from the pilgrimage. He travelled with him to Mākū, where he transcribed passages taken down from the Bāb's dictation by Yazdī. At the time of the Shaykh Ṭabarsī conflict, he went on the Bāb's advice to Karbalā', where he married and earned his living as a scribe. For further details, see: Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 25, 30, 212, 245, 249, 307, 593-94; Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp. 37-38.

¹⁶ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 170.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176: 'Mullā 'Abdū'l-Kārim and I devoted three days and three nights to this work. We would in turn read aloud to each other a portion of the commentary until the whole of it had been transcribed. We verified all the traditions in the text and found them to be entirely accurate.'

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE SACRED TEXT

Apart from these three, numerous other individuals transcribed writings of the Bāb during his lifetime, although none had such regular or direct access to him. In the Persian *Bayān*, it is made obligatory for every believer to possess a book (*ṣaḥīfa*) of at least one thousand verses, to be read as and when the bearer wishes. It is explained that a verse consists of thirty letters (*ḥurūf*), or forty with vocalization (*īrāb*).¹⁹ Even if only a few individuals actually carried them out, such instructions must have encouraged the production of substantial numbers of transcriptions. Indeed, the Bāb himself writes in the *Bayān*: 'How many books have been written down from the beginning of the revelation until today.'²⁰ The *Bayān* itself is to be preserved; poor quality paper may not be used unless the entire work is subsequently bound; the more effort made to produce beautiful copies, the more pleasing will this prove to God; and, indeed, everyone should strive to have his own copy of the text, distinct from any other copy (presumably in terms of script, layout, and so on).²¹

According to the Bahā'ī writer Abu 'I-Qāsim Fayḍī, an early Bahī convert called Mullā 'Alī Akbar Ardīstānī transcribed three volumes of the Bāb's writings in the course of the first year after the commencement of the movement.²² Fayḍī says that these volumes are extant in the Bahā'ī archives in Haifa, but I could locate only one of them during my visit there in 1976.²³ A manuscript of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* discovered several years ago was transcribed in 1261/1845 by a certain Muḥammad Maḥdī ibn Karbalā'ī Shāh-Karam.²⁴

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

¹⁹ *Bayān-i Fārs* 16:1 (p. 187).

²⁰ *Ibid.* 7:1 (p. 240).

²¹ *Ibid.* 3:14 (pp. 97-98).

²² *Explanation of the Emblem of the Greatest Name* (Wilmette, Ill., 1974), p. 8. Ardīstānī was one of three Bābīs expelled from Shīrāz in June 1845, shortly before the Bāb's return there from his ḥajj journey. For details of the incident and reports of it in Western publications, see Robert Cadwalader, "'Persia': An Early Mention of the Bāb", *World Order* 11:2 (winter 1976-77).

²³ The ms. I saw was a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*, written in Shīrāz in 1261/1845.

²⁴ I have been unable to locate this ms., but refer to it here on the basis of a photocopy in the possession of the late Hasan Balyuzi. He in turn received this copy from the National Bahā'ī Archives Committee in Iran. I never saw this ms. in the INBA collection and conjecture that it may still be in private hands.

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

THE EXTENT OF THE BĀBĪ CANON

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

In two places in the Persian *Bayān*, the Bāb himself refers to the quantity of his output. In *wāḥid* 2, *bāb* 1, he states that 'one hundred thousand verses have been spread abroad among the people', these not including his treatises (*ṣuḥuf*) and prayers (*munājāt*), nor his 'scientific and philosophical' works.²⁵ There is a similar statement in the *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, referring to the period of the young prophet's confinement in Makū, when the Persian *Bayān* was begun: 'A vast quantity of writings issued forth from the pen of that scribe of power and destiny, to the number of more than one hundred thousand verses.'²⁶

In *wāḥid* 6: *bāb* 11 of the Persian *Bayān*, however, a higher figure is given: 'Since his manifestation... to this day, five hundred thousand verses have been sent down on a variety of topics'.²⁷ A likely explanation for this self-contradiction in the *Bayān* text may be that, although the Bāb computed his written works at five hundred thousand verses, only one fifth of these had actually been disseminated. If we take for our basis the Bāb's own statement (quoted above) that one verse equals thirty or forty letters — about ten words — we may estimate that something like fifty volumes, each of one hundred pages (with ten words to the line and twenty lines to the page) may have been made available. This is a very approximate figure, but a survey of extant works suggests that it may be in the right area.²⁸

²⁵ *Bayān* 2:1 (p. 17).

²⁶ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 131. The *Tārīkh-i jadīd* (p. 239) refers to 'a million verses'.

²⁷ p. 218.

²⁸ As a basis for comparison, it should be noted that the Qur'ān is reckoned (in the standard Egyptian text) to contain a total of 6236 verses.

DISSEMINATION OF THE CANON IN IRAN AND IRAQ

It would seem that copies of most, if not all, of the Bab's writings were made and disseminated among his followers, even during the period of his successive confinements in Mākū and Chihriq. The *Nuqat al-kāf* records the following instructions of the Prime Minister, Ḥajj Mirzā Āqāsī, regarding the Bab's custody: 'You must exercise such surveillance over him that no one may associate with him or write to him or carry away answers from him'.²⁹ There is, however, ample evidence that these orders were never carried out. Zarandī relates that, during the Bab's stay in Mākū, Shaykh Ḥasan Zunūzī lived in a mosque outside the town gate. According to Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī, 'he [Zunūzī] acted as an intermediary between those of the followers of the Bab who occasionally visited Mā Kū and Siyyid [sic] Ḥasan, my brother, who would in turn submit the petitions of the believers to their Master and would acquaint Shaykh Ḥasan with His reply'.³⁰

According to Mirzā Ḥusayn Hamadānī, Ḥajj Mirzā Āqāsī eventually wrote to 'Alī Khān, urging him to keep a stricter watch over the prophet and prevent his sending out any more of his writings.³¹ Unable to comply with this request, 'Alī Khān wrote to Āqāsī rejecting the proposal, whereupon instructions were issued from the capital, calling for the Bab's removal to Chihriq.³² The real reason for the Bab's transfer was, in fact, Russian pressure to have him removed from a place so near the border; but dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Mākū may well have played its part in convincing Āqāsī to take action.³³

Things seem to have continued much as before in Chihriq. The *Nuqat al-kāf* records that, when the Bab announced his claim to be the Qā'im there, he wrote to Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī 'Azīm,³⁴ instructing him to send copies of the letter to 'all the lands of Islam'.³⁵ Copies were, accordingly, sent 'to all corners of the earth' (meaning, presumably, Iran and the 'atābāt region

²⁹ *Nuqat al-kāf*, p. 131.

³⁰ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 245.

³¹ *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 239.

³² *Nuqat al-kāf*, p. 132.

³³ For details of Russian documents indicating concern about the Bab's presence in Mākū, see M. S. Ivanov, *Bābidskie vosstaniia v Irane (1848-1852)* (Moscow, 1939), Appendix I; Kazem Kazemzadeh, 'Two Incidents in the Life of the Bab', *World Order* 5:3 (Spring, 1971), pp. 21-24; Momen, *Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions*, pp. 72-73.

³⁴ Originally a leading Shaykhī cleric of Khurāsān, he later played a major role in the development of Bābism. He was responsible for organizing the attempt on the life of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh in 1852, following which he was arrested and executed.

³⁵ *Nuqat al-kāf*, p. 209. Māzandarānī published the text of a letter from the Bab to Turshīzī, in which he claims to be the Qā'im (*Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 164-66); a facsimile of the original letter may be found in *Qismatī az alwāh*, p. 14.

of Iraq), including seventeen or eighteen copies to Tehran. These latter copies were subsequently forwarded to the Imām Jum'ā of the city, Āqā Mahmūd, other ulama, and dignitaries. A somewhat different version of what must be the same series of events is given by Māzandarānī. According to this account, Turshizī brought eighteen copies of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, the *Tafsīr* on the *Ḥadīth al-jāriyya*, and other sermons and prayers from Shirāz to Tehran in order to convert Muḥammad Shāh and Ḥajī Mirzā Āqāsī, his Prime Minister. Āqāsī, it is said, gave these works to Mirzā Mahmūd Mujtabid, other ulama, and government officials.³⁶

There is evidence of wide distribution of the Bāb's writings during his lifetime. The first of his disciples to leave Shirāz in order to spread word of his claims was Mullā 'Alī Baṣṭāmī.³⁷ Baṣṭāmī is known to have headed for Karbalā' by way of 'Arabistān, where he visited an uncle of the Bāb's in Bushihr, Najaf, and Kūfa. On this journey he carried with him a copy of the newly-composed *Qayyūm al-asmā'* (or part of it, at least), as well as copies of a pilgrimage prayer (*ziyārāt-nāma*) for the Imām 'Alī and the devotional collection known as the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna*.³⁸ These all seem to have been copied and distributed in the 'atabāt. According to Tunukābunī, the governor of Baghdad, Najīb Pāshā, took a 'false Qur'an' from Baṣṭāmī.³⁹ In a letter to Stratford Canning, Rawlinson, the British agent in Baghdad at that period, wrote about the examination of the book which Baṣṭāmī had brought with him.⁴⁰ Rawlinson also mentioned to Justin Sheil that the book had been produced in court as evidence in the course of Baṣṭāmī's heresy trial.⁴¹ As Momen has shown at length in his study of that trial,⁴² the text of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* proved central to the charges laid against the Bāb's agent and, by proxy, the Bāb himself, by the ulama of Baghdad. Even if the text was only superficially considered, it is a matter of some importance that this

³⁶ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 163. The works named in this version suggest a much earlier date for these events.

³⁷ For details, see D. MacEoin, 'Mollā 'Alī Baṣṭāmī', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 860; idem, 'The Fate of Mullā 'Alī Baṣṭāmī', *Bahā'ī Studies Bulletin*, 2:1(1983), p. 77; Moojan Momen, 'The Trial of Mullā 'Alī Baṣṭāmī: A Combined Sunni-Shī'ī Fatwā against the Bāb', *Iran* 20 (1982): 113-43; idem, *Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions*, pp. 83-90; Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Bābī Movement in Iran, 1844-1850* (Ithaca and London, 1989), pp. 211-38; Balyuzi, *The Bāb*, ch. 4 pp.58-68; Zaranđī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp.66-69; Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp.105-108; Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Baghdādī, *Risāla amriyya* (Cairo, 1338/1919-20), pp.106-107.

³⁸ Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp. 106, 187.

³⁹ Muḥammad ibn Sulāymān Tunukābunī, *Qisas al-'ulamā'*, new ed (Tehran, n.d.), p. 185.

⁴⁰ F.O. 248/114 dated 8 Jan. 1845 (quoted in Momen, *Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions*, pp.83-85).

⁴¹ F.O. 248/114 dated 16 Jan. 1845 (quoted in *ibid.*, pp.86-87).

⁴² 'The Trial of Mullā 'Alī Baṣṭāmī'.

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

According to Muḥammad Muṣṭafa al-Baghdādī, Baṣṭāmī 'distributed the books, letters, and tablets among the ulama in Kufa'.⁴³ He then says that, when Najīb Pāshā imprisoned the Bāb's emissary, he also 'placed the books and epistles before the assembly (*majlis*)', meaning, presumably, the court set up to try the case.⁴⁴ When Baṣṭāmī was sent from Baghdad to Istanbul in April 1845, his books were sent with him.⁴⁵ Copies seem to have been made available before this, however, possibly through the mediation of Shaykh Muḥammad Shibi al-Baghdādī, father of the above-mentioned Muḥammad Muṣṭafa, and formerly the agent in Baghdad of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī. Muḥammad Shibi visited Baṣṭāmī each day during the six months he remained in prison, and it appears that he obtained some of the Bāb's writings during this period.⁴⁶ In Karbalā' in 1262/1846, Āqā Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Shahmīr-zādī and his son Āqā Sayyid 'Alī were given copies of the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna*, with other sermons and prayers of the Bāb by Mullā Walī Allāh Āmulī, who had himself obtained them somehow from Baṣṭāmī.⁴⁷

Government Circles in Iran

When Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī left Shīrāz shortly after Baṣṭāmī, heading for Tehran, he too carried a copy of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* and another of the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna*,⁴⁸ together with a copy of the *ziyāratnāma* for 'Alī⁴⁹ and what is described as 'the Bāb's first Tablet to Muḥammad Shāh'.⁵⁰ 'Alī Qulī Mirzā Iqīḍād al-Saltāna, a government official of the period, writes that, when Bushrū'ī arrived in Tehran, 'he had brought a letter from the Bāb to Muḥammad Shah and Ḥajī Mirzā Āqāsī, stating: "If you pledge allegiance to me and regard obedience to my person as an obligation, I will make great your sovereignty and bring the foreign powers under your command". Mullā Ḥusayn revealed this letter and announced his claim, but the state officials expelled him'.⁵¹

⁴³ *Risāla amriyya*, p.106.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.107.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴⁷ *Māzandarānī, Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p.187.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴⁹ Thus Lisān al-Mulk, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, vol. 3, p. 234. The same source confirms that Bushrū'ī was carrying a copy of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*. The identity of the *ziyāratnāma* will be discussed later.

⁵⁰ Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 24.

⁵¹ *Kitāb al-mutanabbiyūn*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī as *Fūna-yi Bāb* (Tehran, 1351/1972), p. 35.

Although the letter referred to seems no longer to be extant, there is confirmation that Iqīdād al-Saltāna's account of it may not be far from the truth. There is a passage at the beginning of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* (a copy of which, we have noted, Bushrū'ī carried with him to the capital), in which the Shīrāzī prophet thus addresses Muḥammad Shāh: 'God has ordained that you should submit to the Remembrance [*al-Dhikr*, i.e. the Bāb] and to his command, and that you should conquer the countries (of the earth) for the sake of the truth, by his permission'.⁵² It is possible that the 'letter' spoken of by Iqīdād al-Saltāna was, in fact, nothing more than part of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* containing the opening sections. The copy of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* brought to Tehran by Bushrū'ī may have been identified: a manuscript found about fifteen years ago in Iran and now kept in the Bahā'ī archives in Haifa bears the inscription 'given to the Vazīr by Mullā Husayn'.

Other copies of the Bāb's writings found their way into the hands of other government officials from an early date. Zarandī records that he was once informed by Mullā 'Abd al-Kārim Qazvīnī that the latter had succeeded in 'teaching the Cause' to Ildirīm Mirzā,⁵³ then governor of Khurramābād in Lūrīstan. On Qazvīnī's instructions, Zarandī travelled to visit the prince in order to present him with a copy of the *Dalā' il-i sab'a*, presumably one of the copies transcribed by Qazvīnī.⁵⁴

In fact, the latter seems to have made a point of presenting copies of this work to eminent people: on another occasion, he entrusted Zarandī with two copies, one for Mustawfī 'I-Mamālik Āshīyānī,⁵⁵ the other for 'Mirza Sayyid 'Alī Tafarshī Majdu'ī-Ashraf.⁵⁶ Zarandī goes so far as to state that Mustawfī 'I-Mamālik 'was so much affected that he was completely won over to the Faith'.⁵⁷ This seems unlikely, to say the least: following the Bābī attempt on the life of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh, Mustawfī 'I-Mamālik was

⁵² *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, sūra 1 (Cambridge U.L., Browne Collection, F.1 f. 2b)

⁵³ A younger brother of Khānīār Mirzā Iḥūshām al-Dawla. See Mirzā Husayn Khirmūjī, *Haqq-iq-i akhbār-i Nāṣirī* (Tehran, 1344/1965-66), pp. 109-10.

⁵⁴ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 587-88.

⁵⁵ Mirzā Yūsuf Āshīyānī Mustawfī 'I-Mamālik (1227/1812 — 1303/1886) was, in Bāmdād's words, 'the most respected individual of the reign of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh'. He was appointed Prime Minister some two years before his death. See Mahdī Bāmdād, *Tārīkh-i rijāl-i Irān*, vol. 4 (Tehran, 1347 Sh/1968), pp. 478-490.

⁵⁶ Almost certainly in error for Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Akbar Tafarshī (d. 1322/1905), a pupil of Shaykh Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī. Tafarshī lived in Tehran, where he became known as one of the ulama opposed to the Tobacco Régie. See Bāmdād, *Rijāl*, vol. 2, pp. 426-27; Muḥammad Hasan Khān Fumād al-Saltāna, *Kitāb al-ma'āthir wa'l-āthār* (Tehran, 1306/1888-89), p. 154; Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī, *Zindigānī wa shakhsīyāt-i Shaykh-i Anṣārī* (Iran, 1339 Sh/1960-61), p. 298.

⁵⁷ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 592.

responsible, in the company of other *mustawfīs*, for the execution of Mullā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Yazdī.⁵⁸

Prince Jahāngīr Mīrzā, a son of ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana, writes in his *Tārīkh-i naw* of an opportunity he was given to study two works of the Bāb. The first of these was a book of over four hundred *sūras* in a form similar to those of the Qurʾān.⁵⁹ The second was, he says, divided into sections with headings such as: *al-wāḥid al-rābiʿ min khāmīs al-ʿāshir*.⁶⁰ ʿAlī Qulī Mīrzā Iṣṭiḍād al-Salṭana describes how he attended a *majlis* organized by the Prime Minister, Mīrzā Āqā Khān Nūrī, at which the latter gave him a work of the Bāb; he provides a summary of this in order to demonstrate the absurdity of the Bāb's thinking.⁶¹ It is claimed that the Bāb's *Khuṭba-yi qahriyya*, written from Chihrīq in denunciation of Ḥajī Mīrzā Āqāsī, was delivered to the latter by the Bābī Münzer, Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥujjat-i Zanjānī.⁶² In view of Zanjānī's close contacts with court circles, this is not impossible.

Iraq

There is evidence that writings of the Bāb were being distributed as far afield as Karbalāʾ from a very early date. It has already been noted that Mullā ʿAlī Baṣṭāmī brought certain works of the prophet with him to Iraq. That other writings soon followed is clear from the contents of an early manuscript collection, the bulk of which was transcribed in 1262/1846 by a certain Muḥammad ʿAlī in the *madrasa* of Mīrzā Jaʿfar in Karbalāʾ. The rest of the

⁵⁸ Lisān al-Mulk, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 40. Iṣṭiḍād al-Salṭana states that Mustawfī ʿI-Mamālik was the first to shoot him (*Fitna-yi Bāb*, p. 83).

⁵⁹ *Tārīkh-i naw*, ed. ʿAbbās Iqbāl (Tehran, 1327 Sh/1949), pp. 29-303. The book referred to was almost certainly not a distinct work, but rather a collection of prayers, homilies, etc. Jahāngīr Mīrzā quotes one of these *sūras*. It begins: *bismi ʾllāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Al-ḥamdu li ʾllāhi ʾlladhī qad nazzala ʾl-ḥayāt bi ʾl-ḥaqq ilā ʿabdihī laʾāla ʾl-nās bi-ḥayāt rabbi ka yuʾminūna ...* and ends: *fa dhkur wa ʾllāhī rabbikum fa ʾinna dhālika la-ḥuwa ʾl-fawz al-ʿaẓīm*. This prayer occurs in two manuscripts in the INBA, numbers 5006C (pp. 2-3) and 2007C (ff. 66a-69a). These mss. have otherwise little else in common. 5006C contains several prayers, a complete text of the *Qayyūm al-asmāʾ*, the *Kitāb al-māl al-sana*, the *ziyāraināma* for ʿAlī, the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna*, several *khuṭbas*, *risālas*, and *tafsīrs*. 2007C is a smaller ms. containing the Arabic *Dalāʾ il al-sabʿa*, three letters, and this prayer. This suggests that Jahāngīr Mīrzā's book was just another compilation in which this prayer appeared — perhaps a collection of four hundred prayers.

⁶⁰ This heading appears corrupt. It may originally have read: *al-bāb al-khāmīs ʿāshir min al-wāḥid al-rābiʿ*. That and the description of the contents suggest that it was simply a copy of the Persian or Arabic *Bayān*.

⁶¹ *Fitna-yi Bāb*, p. 10. Nūrī had connections with the family of Mīrzā [Jusayn ʿAlī Bahāʾ] Allāh and his brother Mīrzā Yahyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal; he may have obtained the book in question from them or one of their relatives.

⁶² Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 323.

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

Apart from a number of prayers, this collection contains the *Ziyāra jāmi'a saḡhīra* (which equals *bāb* 1 of the *Risāla furū' al-'adliyya*), the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, the *Kiṭāb 'asmāl al-sana*, the *ziyāra* for 'Alī, the *Ṣaḡīfa makhzūna*, twelve *khuṭbas* (most of which seem to have been written in the course of the Bāb's pilgrimage journey to Mecca), several letters, a number of *risālas*, and several *tafsīrs*.⁶³

In a letter dated 1263/1847, from Shaykh Sulṭān al-Karbala'ī to Bābīs in Iran, the Bāb's commentary on the *Ḥadīth al-jāriyya*, the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, a *khuṭba*, and several *risālas* are quoted in a context suggesting that they were familiar to the Bābīs of Karbalā', where the letter was written.⁶⁴ Mīrzā Muṣṭafā al-Baghdādī states that Qurat al-'Ayn read portions of the Bāb's *tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-kāwthar* to the ulama of Karbalā'.⁶⁵ Finally, Mīrzā Muḥīṭ Kirmānī, a leading Shaykhī 'ālim from Karbalā', met the Bāb in Mecca; on returning to Iraq, he received a copy of the *Ṣaḡīfa bayna 'l-ḥarāmāyn*, written by the Bāb in reply to questions Muḥīṭ had put to him during their meeting.⁶⁶

Kerman, Qazvīn, and elsewhere in Iran.

Of course, Karbalā' was an important centre of Bābī activity throughout this early period, and numerous Bābīs — including several Letters of the Living — travelled between there and Shirāz.⁶⁷ Works of the Bāb reached other centres as well, among them Kerman, where Ḥājj Mullā Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī was making a separate bid for leadership of the Shaykhī sect. After his return from Mecca, the Bāb wrote to Karīm Khān. This letter was probably delivered by Munā Ṣādiq Khurāsānī in the course of a visit to that city.⁶⁸ Karīm Khān himself writes that 'he [the Bāb] sent a certain Mulla

⁶³ The MS is no. 5006C in the DNBA.

⁶⁴ Letter quoted Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp. 245-59.

⁶⁵ *Risāla amriyya*, p. 108.

⁶⁶ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 137.

⁶⁷ Among these were: Mīrzā Ḥādī Nahri and his brother Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī (see 'Abbās Effendi 'Abd al-Bahā', *Tadhkirat al-waḡfā* [Haifa, 1924], pp. 269-70); Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Karīmī (see Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 271); Shaykh Sulṭān al-Karbala'ī and Shaykh Ḥasan Z.undī (see Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 38); Sayyid Jawād al-Karbala'ī (see *ibid.*, p. 244); Āqā Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥādī Qazvīnī (see *ibid.*, p. 383); Samandar, *Tārīkh*, pp. 135-36, 173); Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Bushrū'ī (a brother of Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī, also a Letter of the Living; see Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 143); and Mullā Khudā-Bakhsh Qūchānī, another Letter of the Living (see *ibid.*, p. 171).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 289; Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 100-101, 183-87; Ḥamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, pp. 200-201. See also letter from the Bāb to Mullā Ṣādiq, quoted in Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 149 and *idem*, *Asrār al-āthār*, vol.4 (Tehran, 129 BE/1972-73), pp. 236-37.

Šadiq to Kerman bearing a number of *sūras* in the style of the Qur'an, a number of books in the style of the *Šahīfa Sajjādiyya* and a number of *khuṣbas* in the style of the *Nahj al-balāgha*.⁶⁹

Mullā Šadiq was preceded to Kerman (if only by a short margin) by Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī Quddūs, who also brought with him at least one work by the Bāb. According to Karīm Khān, the Bāb 'had written that *Sūra* for me, and sent it with a certain Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Māzandarānī, having written it in his own hand.'⁷⁰ Kirmānī quotes from or gives the gist of several works of the Bāb in the course of his treatises written to refute him and his doctrines.⁷¹

Mullā Ja'far Qazvīnī mentions that the first person to send writings of the Bāb to Qazvīn was Mirzā Muḥammad Mahdī, a son of Ḥajī 'Abd al-Karīm Bāghbānbāshī.⁷² If this was indeed the case, the writings referred to must have reached Qazvīn in late 1846 to early 1847, while the Bāb was residing in Iṣfahān. Mirzā Muḥammad Mahdī is known to have met the Bāb there, while en route to Bombay with an uncle. The Bāb did not permit him to continue his journey, and the uncle was later drowned at sea.⁷³ According to Mullā Ja'far, the transcripts of the Bāb's writings were accompanied by a description of the shipwreck and Muḥammad Mahdī's uncle's death. Later, he says that other writings were subsequently forwarded to Qazvīn by Āqā Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Qazvīnī (the husband of Qurrat al-'Ayn's sister, Marḍiyya, and a Letter of the Living). These were directed to Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī's father, Ḥajr Mullā 'Abd al-Wahhāb, one of the city's leading ulama.⁷⁴

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

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

⁶⁹ *Risāla dar radd-i Bāb-i murād* (Kerman, 1385/1965-66), pp. 27-28; see also p. 58. For a further description of the meeting between Mullā Šadiq and Karīm Khān, see Nicolas, *Séyyed Ali Mohammed*, pp. 228-29. The books mentioned by Kirmānī are two well-known Shī'ite sacred texts, attributed to the Imāms Zayn al-'Abidin and 'Alī respectively.

⁷⁰ Kirmānī, *Risāla dar radd-i Bāb*, p. 27; cf. pp. 21, 58-59. See also *al-Shihāb al-thāqib fi rajm al-nawāsib* (Kerman, 1353 Sh/1974-75), p. 25.

⁷¹ See *Izhāq al-bāṭil* (Kerman, 1351 Sh/1972-73), pp. 80-82; *al-Shihāb al-thāqib*, pp. 25-27; *Tir-i shihāb* (in *Majma' al-rasā'il Fārs I* [Kerman, 1386/1966-67]), p. 206.

⁷² *Tārīkh-i Mullā Ja'far Qazvīnī*, in Samandar, *Tārīkh*, p. 473.

⁷³ Samandar, *Tārīkh*, p. 86. Mirzā Muḥammad Mahdī was among the Bābis killed at Shaykh Ṭabānsī in Māzandarān.

⁷⁴ *Tārīkh-i Mullā Ja'far*, in Samandar, *Tārīkh*, pp. 494-95.

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

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

THE PRESERVATION OF THE CANON

In his *Lawḥ-i warqā'*, the Bahā'ī exilarch Bahā' Allāh refers to the plundering of Bābī texts: 'There is one matter which has, to be honest, caused me great regret. That is thāt, whenever one of the believers came to be arrested, [the authorities] would lay their hands first and foremost on his books and tablets, and only after that the owner of the house himself.... In the incident of Tehran [i.e. the 1852 pogrom], a large quantity of books and tablets fell into the hands of the oppressors. This is especially regrettable, for they do not preserve them, and it is quite likely that they will all perish.'⁷⁵

The Bāb himself seems to have made some attempt to preserve his writings. Shaykh Ḥasan Zunūzī stated that 'at about the time that the Bāb dismissed 'Azīm from his presence [during the Bāb's confinement in Chihriq], I was instructed by Him to collect all the available Tablets that He had revealed during His incarceration in the castles of Mah-Kū [Mākū] and Chihriq, and to deliver them into the hands of Siyyid [sic] Ibrāhīm-i-Khalīl, who was then living in Tabriz, and urge him to conceal and preserve them with the utmost care.'⁷⁶

The same authority states that the texts of nine commentaries on the entire Qur'ān were entrusted to this same Sayyid Ibrāhīm, presumably at the same time as the other writings.⁷⁷ Zarandī, who is our source for the above

⁷⁵ In 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ishrāq Khāvarī (ed.), *Mā'idā-yi āsmānī*, vol. 4 (Tehran, 129 BE/1972-73), p. 150. The Bahā'ī leader Shoghi Effendi speaks of the disorder in which this left the manuscripts of the Bāb's writings: 'The voluminous writings of the Founder of the Faith [i.e. the Bāb] — in manuscript, dispersed, unclassified, poorly transcribed and ill-preserved — were in part, owing to the fever and tumult of the times, either deliberately destroyed, confiscated, or hurriedly dispatched to places of safety beyond the confines of the land in which they were revealed' (*God Passes By*, pp. 90-91).

⁷⁶ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 307.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31. The ultimate fate of the Quranic commentaries was, however, unknown to Zunūzī. Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khalīl later became a follower of Mīrzā Asad Allāh Khā'ī Dayyān (on

statements, also notes that 'forty days before the arrival of that officer [the official deputed to bring the Bāb to Tabriz] at Chihriq, the Bāb collected all the documents and Tablets in His possession, and, placing them, with His pen-case, His seals and agate rings, in a coffer, entrusted them to the care of Mullā Bāqir, one of the Letters of the Living. To him He also delivered a letter addressed to Mirzā Aḥmad [i.e., Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīni], His amanuensis, in which He enclosed the key to that coffer.'⁷⁸

The Bahā'ī version of these events, as given by Zarandī, continues with an account of how these documents were directed to be given to Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh. In the *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, however, it is stated that the pen-case, papers, writings, clothes, and seal of the Bāb were sent to Mirzā Yāhyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal.⁷⁹ Both versions do, at least, agree that such articles were dispatched by the Bāb from Chihriq.

There is evidence, however, that by no means all of the writings of the Bāb kept at Chihriq were safely transferred into the hands of his followers. A letter is still extant from Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī to Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīni, written after the execution of the Bāb. Following an account of which pieces or sacred writing were in the hands of which believers, the author continues: 'Of those which God willed should reach the hands of His enemies, one hundred and forty-two pieces are in the possession of one whose nāme is well known, who is governor over the Land of the Sun [Azerbaijan],⁸⁰ yet others fell into the hands of the Christians [*ḥurūf-i Injīl* — 'Letters or the Gospel']... Among the writings which came into the hands of the Christians were some *dawā'ir* and *hayākil* [two species of talisman — see later], among them being a copy of the ordinances, other than the copy which was sent. This they forwarded to their king.'⁸¹

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

whom, see D. MacFoin, 'Divisions and Authority Claims in Babism (1850-1866)', *Studia Iranica* 18 (1989), pp. 111-13). Following Dayyān's assassination in Baghdad in 1856, however, Khalīl took fright and ceased his association with other Bābīs (who were responsible for Dayyān's murder). He may have destroyed his Bābī manuscripts at around this time. Māzandarānī notes that he had a non-Bābī son and that, as a result, any manuscripts in his family's possession were destroyed (*Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 39). Khalīl later converted to Baha'ism, however, so he may have passed some materials into Bahā'ī hands (Samandar, *Tārīkh*, p. 219; letter from Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh to Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khalīl, in Ishrāq Khāvarī, *Mā'ida-yi Asmānī*, vol. 8, pp. 171-76).

⁷⁸ *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 504-05.

⁷⁹ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 244. The section in question (from p. 238, line 16 to p. 245, line 1) does not appear in the Tehran or Haifa mss, but contains the majority of references in the history to Ṣubḥ-i Azal. For a full discussion of this problem, see part 2.

⁸⁰ Presumably Prince Ĥamza Mirzā.

⁸¹ *Qismat al-awāk*, p. 40.

October, 1889), Ṣubḥ-i Azal states that 'at the time of the martyrdom [of the Bāb] at Tabriz, as they wrote from thence, many of the original writings passed into the hands of persons belonging to the country of your Excellency or to Russia, amongst these being autograph writings of His Highness the Point [i.e., the Bāb].'⁸²

Towards the end of the *Nuqat al-kāf*, the following passage sheds further light on this issue: 'The king of Russia [Nicholas I] sent a message to his consul at Tabriz [N. V. Khanykov] to investigate the condition of his Holiness [i.e., the Bāb] and to send a report to him. When this message arrived, they [the Iranian authorities] had already put his Holiness to death. They [the Russians] summoned Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn, his Holiness's secretary, to come to their assembly, where they made enquiries concerning the condition and tokens of the Bāb. Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn did not dare to speak openly concerning the Bāb, on account of [the presence of] Muslims; but he did refer to a number of matters obliquely and presented them with some writings.'⁸³

Finally, the German orientalist Dorn states that a copy of what he called the 'Koran der Baby' (in fact, a volume of the *Kitāb al-asmī'*) had been placed in European hands by the Bāb's secretary while the latter was in prison at Tabriz.⁸⁴ The volume was one of several obtained in Iran by N. V. Khanykov, the Russian Consul in Tabriz. The 'secretary' must, of course, have been none other than Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī.

TEXT TRANSMISSION AFTER 1850

During the period between the Bāb's death in July 1850 and the purge of 1852, followed by the expulsion of many leading Bābīs to Baghdad at the beginning of 1853 and the gradual growth there of a community of Iranian Bābī exiles, further attempts were made to collect and transcribe the Bāb's writings. Zarandī attributes part, at least, of this enterprise to the initiative of the future hierophant, Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh. Speaking of early Sha'bān 1267/June 1851, he says that he was then 'dwelling in Kirmānshāh in the company of Mīrzā Aḥmad, the Bāb's amānuensis, who had been ordered by Bahā'u'llāh to collect and transcribe all the sacred writings, the originals of which were, for the most part, in his possession.'⁸⁵

⁸² *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 342.

⁸³ *Nuqat al-kāf*, p. 267.

⁸⁴ Bernard Dorn, 'Die vordem Chnykov'sche, jetzt der Kaiserl. Öffentlichen Bibliothek zugehörige Sammlung von morgenländischen Handschriften', *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. 8 (1865), p. 248.

⁸⁵ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 587.

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

1. *Commentary on the Qur'ān* (1 vol.)
2. *Ajwiba wa tafāsīr* ('answers and commentaries'; 1 vol.)
3. *Commentary on the Qur'ān* (1 vol.)
4. *Shu'ūn-i khamṣa (Panj sha'n, 1 vol.)*
5. *Āyāt* ('verses'; 2 vols.)
6. *Kitāb-i jazā'* (2 vols.)
7. *Munājāt wa ziyārāt* ('prayers and pilgrimage devotions'; 1 vol.)
8. *Dā'wāt* ('prayers'; 1 vol.)
9. *Shu'ūn-i mukhtalifa* ('various grades'; 1 vol.)⁸⁶
10. Writings of the scribe (Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī?), comprising what was sent down at Shīrāz and Iṣfahān, and during the pilgrimage journey (3 vols.)
11. *Aḥsan al-qīṣaṣ* (i.e., *Qayyūm al-asmā'*; 1 vol.)
12. *Kitāb al-asmā'* (2 vols., incomplete)
13. Writings of the late Āqā Sayyid Ḥusayn [Yazdī] (2 vols.)
14. *Shu'ūn-i mukhtalifa* ('various grades'; 1 vol.)
15. *Kitāb-i hayākil* (1 vol.)
16. *Muafarriqa* (sundries; 1 vol.)
17. Things appertaining to Jināb-i Shaykh 'Azīm [Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī] (3 vols.)
18. Copies and originals of writings (4 bundles)
19. *Bayān* (1 vol.)
20. *Dā'wāt* (prayers; 1 vol.)
21. *Dā'wāt wa ziyārāt* (prayers and pilgrimage devotions; 1 vol.)
22. *Aḥsan al-qīṣaṣ* (i.e., *Qayyūm al-asmā'*; 1 vol.)
23. *Bayān* (1 vol.)
24. *Shu'ūn-i khamṣa (Panj sha'n, 1 vol.)*
25. *Muafarriqa* (sundries)
26. Another book (1 vol.)

⁸⁶ These 'grades' are the five categories into which the Bāb divided his writings, namely: verses (*āyāt*) like those of the Qur'ān; prayers (*munājāt*); commentaries (*tafāsīr*); scientific treatises (*ṣuwar-i 'ilmīyya; shu'ūn-i 'ilmīyya*), and Persian writings (see Persian *Bayān* 3:17 [p. 102], 6:1 [p. 184], and 9:2 [p. 313]). The *Kitāb-i panj sha'n* substitutes sermons (*khutba*) for scientific treatises.

Speaking of the Bāb's writings in the *Kitāb-i Iqān*, written in 1862, Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh declared that: 'Twenty volumes [*mujallad*] are currently available; but what a proportion have not yet been obtained. And how many have been looted and fallen into the hands of unbelievers to meet an unknown fate.'⁸⁷ Although the precise meaning of the word 'volume' is hard to determine, it is possible to see a large measure of agreement with the above reckoning by Ṣubḥ-i Azal, which comes to around twenty titles if we ignore repetitions and works not by the Bāb.

In the course of the Baghdad period (1853-63), yet another attempt was made to collect and transcribe whatever writings of the Bāb remained accessible in Iran. Both Azalī and Bahā'ī sources agree that this task was carried out on the instructions of Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh, and that the actual transcription was largely the work of his brother Yaḥyā. In the *Risāla-yi 'amma*,⁸⁸ Sulṭān Khānum, an Azalī half-sister of Bahā' Allāh, states that he arranged for the collection of sacred texts in Iran. He wrote on behalf of Ṣubḥ-i Azal to believers in every province, telling anyone with writings in his possession that it was the latter's wish that these texts should be assembled. Sulṭān Khānum also says that Ḥusayn 'Alī sent his second wife, Mahd-i Ulyā, to Tehran in order to collect writings which had been left in the nearby village of Takūr;⁸⁹ these were brought, via Sulṭān Khānum, to Tehran, from whence they were taken on to Baghdad.⁹⁰

That some such collection was indeed made is borne out by a statement in a late work of Ḥusayn 'Alī himself: 'We specifically appointed a number of individuals to gather together the works of the Point [i.e. the Bāb]. After the work of collection had been completed, we brought together Mirzā Yaḥyā [Ṣubḥ-i Azal] and Mirzā Wahhāb Khurāsānī (known as Mirzā Jawad)⁹¹ in a single place, where they transcribed and completed two sets of

⁸⁷ *Kitāb-i Iqān* (Cairo, 1352/1933), pp. 168-69.

⁸⁸ Collected and later published as part of a compilation known as *Tanbih al-nā'imīn*, in three parts: 1) a letter from 'Abbās Effendi 'Abd al-Bahā' to his Azalī aunt, Sulṭān Khānum (or 'Izziyya Khānum); 2) her reply, the *Risāla-yi 'amma* ('Aunt's Epistle'); and 3) a homily by the Azalī writer Shaykh Aḥmad Rūḥi Kirmānī. There are three copies of this work in the Browne Collection in the CUL (F.60, F.61, and F.62). The compilation was published in Tehran without date. The first portion ('Abbās Effendi's letter) is also printed in *Makātib-i 'Abd al-Bahā'*, vol.2 (Cairo, 1330/1922), pp. 162-86.

⁸⁹ A village in Nūr, Māzandarān, originally the personal fief of Ḥusayn 'Alī. In 1852, following the attempt on the Shāh's life, it was attacked by government troops, sacked, and burned to the ground. Ḥusayn 'Alī's own house was among those looted and burned (see Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 639-43; H. M. Balyuzi, *Bahā'ullāh, the King of Glory* [Oxford, 1980], pp. 90-93). It seems doubtful that any manuscripts would have survived this attack.

⁹⁰ *Tanbih al-nā'imīn* (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 16-18 (Browne MS F.60, pp. 50-51).

⁹¹ A native of Turshiz. While the Bāb was imprisoned in Makū, Mirzā Wahhāb was resident in Tabriz, where he was sent many of the prophet's writings (see M. A. Fayḍī, *Kitāb-i la'ālī-yi*

the Bāb's works.⁹² Bāhā' Allāh adds that, owing to his other preoccupations, he himself never set eyes on these writings.

Additional confirmation is to be found in a letter from Mirzā Yahyā Subḥ-i Azal to E.G. Browne (received 11 October, 1889). 'What I myself arranged and copied out while at Baghdad,' he writes, 'and what was commanded to be collected of previous and subsequent (writings) until the Day of Martyrdom [of the Bāb], was nigh upon thirty volumes of bound books. I myself wrote them down with my own hand....'⁹³

The ultimate fate of these transcripts is, however, less clear. In the letter just quoted, Subḥ-i Azal says that 'the originals and copies of these, together with what was in the writing of others, sundry other books written in proof of this religion by certain learned friends, and what I myself wrote and compiled, amounted to numerous volumes, as recorded in the list thereof which I have sent. For some years all of these were in a certain place in the hands of a friend as a trust. Afterwards they were deposited in another place. Eventually I entrusted them to my own relatives in whose keeping they were preserved for a while....'⁹⁴ In the end, he says, these papers were carried off by those same relatives (meaning Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī and those of his family who followed him).

A similar version of these events is given by Ḥusayn 'Alī himself, containing, of course, significant differences: 'The above-mentioned writings were in the possession of those two individuals [Mirzā Yahyā and Mirzā Wāḥḥāb] at the time when the bānishment [from Baghdad] took place. It was arranged that Mirzā Yahyā should take the writings and carry them to Iran, in order to distribute them there. This wronged one headed for [Istanbul] at the request of the ministers of the Exalted State [i.e. the Ottoman government]. When I reached Mosul, I discovered that Mirzā Yahyā had left before me and was waiting for me there. The books and writings had been left behind in Baghdad while he proceeded to the capital to join the rest of us.... For some time this wronged one was afflicted by unending sorrows, until, in accordance with a plan that God alone is aware of, we sent the texts to another place in another land. For in Iraq we had to examine all papers every month, otherwise they would rot and perish.'⁹⁵

dirakhshān [Shiraz, 123 BE/1966-67], pp. 302-03). It is quite likely that he acted as an intermediary in Tabriz for the dissemination of scriptural texts. Some of the copies made by him in Baghdad may have been based on manuscripts obtained by him then.

⁹² Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bāhā' Allāh, *Lawḥ-i Shaykh (Lawḥ-i Ṭhni Dhī' b)* (Cairo, 1920), pp. 123-24.

⁹³ Quoted Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 1, p. 342.

⁹⁴ Quoted *ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

⁹⁵ Bāhā' Allāh, *Lawḥ-i Shaykh*, p. 124.

Whether abandoned by Ṣubḥ-i Azal or taken from him by his rivals, the fate of these documents must remain a mystery. They do not appear to be among the Bābī manuscripts in Haifa, which would suggest that they did not form part of the possessions of Bahā' Allāh and his followers in their travels to Istanbul, Edirne, and Acre. In his first letter to Edward Browne (despatched 29 July 1889, received 15 August), Ṣubḥ-i Azal stated that the only manuscript then available to him consisted of a small book of a mere twenty folios.⁹⁶ By means unspecified, Ṣubḥ-i Azal succeeded in obtaining more of the Bāb's writings, as well as some ascribed to Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī Quddūs, copies of which were sent to Browne.⁹⁷

BĀBĪ MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

1. Manuscripts presented to/purchased by E. G. Browne

In July 1889, an Azalī scribe from Iran was in Famagusta with Mirzā Yahyā when Browne's first letter to the latter was received. This scribe was instructed to obtain, on his return to Iran, whatever copies of the Bāb's writings he could. By June 1890, when he wrote directly to Browne from Tehrān, he had succeeded in locating copies of five works: the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, the *Kitāb al-asmā'*, the *Tafsīr* of the *Sūrat al-baqara*, the *Tafsīr* of the *Sūra wa 'l-ʿaṣr*, and a work entitled *Taṣbīḥ-i Ḥaḍrat-i Fāḥima*. On Browne's recommendation, this scribe again travelled to Cyprus, bringing with him copies of the above manuscripts. In place of the *Taṣbīḥ-i Fāḥima*, however, he brought a text of the *Tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-kawthar*. These volumes were eventually sent to Browne from Cyprus.⁹⁸

Apart from these, Browne also received from Cyprus two further manuscripts of works by the Bāb, these being the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn* and what were described to him as 'extracts from the *Shu'ūn-i khamsa*' (in reality a collection of letters); both these manuscripts were in the hand of Ṣubḥ-i Azal's son, Ridvān 'Alī,⁹⁹ who was also responsible for the transcription of large numbers of the Bābī texts in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

In his introduction to *Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion*, Browne relates how, in 1912, Dr. Sa'īd Khān Hamadānī put him in touch

⁹⁶ Browne and Nicholson, *Catalogue and Description*, pp. 451-52. A copy of this book in Ṣubḥ-i Azal's hand now constitutes item F.14 of the Browne Collection in the CUL.

⁹⁷ Now items F.15, F.23, and F.24 of the Browne Collection, CUL.

⁹⁸ See Browne and Nicholson, *Catalogue and Description*, pp. 493-95. These are now items F.8, F.9, F.10, F.16, and F.17 of the Browne Collection, CUL.

⁹⁹ They are now items F.7 and F.25 (ms. 3) in the Browne Collection, CUL.

with an old Azālī scribe then resident in Tehran. 'This old scribe, a follower of Ṣubḥ-i Azāl, seems to have been in close touch with many Bābīs in all parts of Persia, and on several occasions when persecutions threatened or broke out, to have been entrusted by them with the custody of books which they feared to keep in their own houses, and which in some cases they failed to reclaim, so that he had access to a large number of rare Bābī works, any of which he was willing to copy for me at a very moderate charge.'¹⁰⁰

Although not here named, the scribe in question was known to Browne as 'Mīrzā Muṣṭafā'. His real name, however, was Ismā'īl Sabbāgh-i Sihdihi.¹⁰¹ No fewer than eleven of Browne's Bābī manuscripts¹⁰² were transcribed for him by Mīrzā Muṣṭafā. Four of these¹⁰³ represent works by the Bāb.

No collection of Bābī literature in the West can compare in size or quality to that amassed by Browne. R. A. Nicholson surmised that the manuscripts brought together by his late colleague constituted 'the fullest and richest assemblage of original documents relating to these sects [Babism, Azālī Babism, and Bahā'ism] that exists in any public or private library in the world.'¹⁰⁴ While this is no longer strictly true — the Bahā'ī collections in Haifa and Tehran are undeniably the largest and richest today, and are likely to remain so — the Browne Collection will continue to be one of the world's best-provided sources for Bābī manuscripts.

2. The British Museum/British Library

The first Bābī manuscript obtained by the British Museum was a copy of the Persian *Bayān*,¹⁰⁵ which was bought in Yazd in 1885 by the British diplomat, Sidney Churchill. This text was transcribed in 1299/1882 by the Bahā'ī chronicler and poetaster, Mulla Muḥammad Zarandī. This is in itself a useful fact, in that Bahā'ī transcriptions of this work are inevitably fewer in number than copies by Azālīs. A comparison between Azālī versions of the *Bayān* and the British Museum copy would help settle the various disputes about interpolation of this text.

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

¹⁰⁰ Browne, *Materials*, p. xi.

¹⁰¹ Browne did not learn his true identity until 15 September 1922 (see Browne and Nicholson, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 81).

¹⁰² F.18, F.19, F.21, F.24, F.25 [parts 2 and 9], F.28, F.60, F.63, F.64, and F.65.

¹⁰³ F.18, F.19, F.21, and F.25 (part 2).

¹⁰⁴ Nicholson and Browne, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. xviii.

¹⁰⁵ Or.2819.

Delaval Cobham, the British Commissioner at Larnaca, who had obtained them from Rīdṡān 'Alī. Of these, only twenty-one manuscripts¹⁰⁶ represent works of the Bāb, while one¹⁰⁷ is attributed to Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī Quddūs.

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

3. The Bibliothèque Nationale

Of the five Bābī manuscripts acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at the 1884 sale of the pāpers of Gobineau, only two need concern us here.¹⁰⁸ These are the copy of the Persian *Bayān* which forms the first section of Suppl. Persan 1070 and the small Suppl. Arabe 2511. The former is dated 1279/1862; the latter lacks a colophon.

In the introduction to his edition of the *Nuṡṡat al-kāf* (p. xviii), Browne correctly identifies Suppl. Arabe 2511 as the work translated by Gobineau at the end of *Religions et philosophies*. But, in correcting Gobineau's title of *Kitāb-è Hukkām* to *Kitāb-i aḥkām*, the British author only helped confuse further the work's true identity. What Gobineau translated was, as we have already noted, the Arabic *Bayān* (minus the eleventh and final *wāḥid*), preceded by a short, unrelated piece.¹⁰⁹

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

¹⁰⁶ Or. 2819, 3539, 5080, 5109, 5112, 5276, 5277, 5325, 5378, 5487, 5488, 5489, 5490, 5612, 5629, 5631, 5760, 5869, 6255, 6681, and 6880.

¹⁰⁷ Or. 5110.

¹⁰⁸ Gobineau's manuscripts were sold at the Hôtel Drouot on May 6, 1884. The Persian mss. were listed in a catalogue entitled *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de manuscrits persans et ouvrages recueillis en Perse, provenant de la Bibliothèque de M. de Gobineau*. They consisted of two hundred and sixty-two items, of which the last five (nos. 258-262) were listed under the heading 'Théologie Babi'. The BN bought thirty-one of these mss. and registered them on 20 May under acquisition numbers 7539 to 7569. However, in his introduction to the *Nuṡṡat al-kāf*, Browne states (p. xiv) that Suppl. Arabe 2509 [Arabe 4667] was acquired on 21 October 1884, Suppl. Arabe 2510 and 2511 on 22 October, and Suppl. Persan 1070 and 1071 on November 25. Gobineau appears to have once possessed other Bābī mss., on which see later.

¹⁰⁹ According to Ṣubḥ-i Azal, this is a letter from the Bāb to Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī (Browne, *Nuṡṡat al-kāf*, pp. xviii-xix).

Bayān, which was a commentary on the first; and a third, briefer than the others, which was the text translated by him.¹¹⁰ And second by referring to the work by an invented title. This, in turn, led Browne in the second of his two articles on the Bābīs for the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*¹¹¹ to speak of the existence of two Arabic *Bayāns*, the shorter of which had been translated into French by Gobineau.

A. L. M. Nicolas utterly confounded the issue by remarking 'Voilà donc, suivant les affirmations même de M. Gobineau, un "Biyyār" qui n'est pas un "Biyyān" composé par le Bāb, qui n'est pas l'auteur.'¹¹² A simple comparison between Gobineau's *Kitāb-è Hukkām* and the Arabic *Bayān* would have shown them to be one and the same work. The text used by Gobineau for his translation was in any event brought to France from Iran by him.¹¹³

The other Bābī manuscripts acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at the Gobineau sale will be discussed in detail in the second half of this survey. Of the Bābī works later obtained by the library, fifteen¹¹⁴ represent works of the Bāb, all but three of them¹¹⁵ in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī.

4. St. Petersburg collections

The small collection of Bābī manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Languages within the Russian Foreign Office at St. Petersburg, meticulously described by Rosen in volumes 1, 3, and 6 of the *Collections Scientifiques*, originated in the main from Bahā'ī sources. Only two of them represent works of the Bāb: a copy of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* and a manuscript of the Persian *Bayān*. Both were obtained for the Institute of Oriental Languages within the Russian Foreign Office by V. Bezobrazov, a Russian Consul-General at Tābrīz. Apart from these, a second copy of the Persian *Buyān* was given to the Académie Impériale des Sciences in 1874 by F. A. Bakulin, who had been consul at Astarābād. The academy already possessed a copy of the

¹¹⁰ *Religions et philosophies*, pp. 279-80.

¹¹¹ 'The Bābīs of Persia. II. Their Literature and Doctrines', *JRAS* 21 (1889), p. 911.

¹¹² *Séyyéd Ali Mohammed*, p. 19.

¹¹³ In a letter to the Comte de Circourt (17 May 1864), Gobineau refers to '... la publication de l'évangile arabe de la nouvelle secte des Bābīs, qui va paraître dans le Journal Asiatique. J'ai envoyé texte, traductions et notes, à (Jules) Mohl' (*Études Gobiniennes*, 1966, p. 132). He had already mentioned the translation to Mohl earlier that month: 'Je vais vous préparer le Diwān bābī' (letter dated 1 May, quoted *Revue de littérature comparée*, July-Sept. 1966, p. 350; see also letter pp. 351-52). For some reason (possibly the inadequacy of the translation), this version was never published by Mohl.

¹¹⁴ 4668, 4669, 5804, 5805, 5806, 5807, 5780, 6141, 6142, 6143, 6154, 6248, 6435, 6518,

6531, 6610.

¹¹⁵ 4668, 4669, and 6518.

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

Rosen himself owned another copy of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* based on a transcript in the library of 'Alī Qulī Mirzā Mijād al-Saltāna and given to the orientalist by Jean Grigorovitch, first translator at the Russian legation in Tehran. According to Rosen, his manuscript contained important differences to that kept in the Institut des Langues Orientales.

5. Leiden University Library

A tiny collection of Bābī manuscripts, as yet poorly catalogued, may be found in the University Library in Leiden. It is interesting to note how they came to be there. In a letter to E. G. Browne (9 October 1896), a Mr H. Dunlop, agent for a trading company in Shīrāz, wrote that he had a number of Bābī manuscripts for sale, all of which he had obtained from Bābīs in the city.¹¹⁶ Browne thought the items of little value, and since Dunlop was asking a high price, he recommended that he offer them instead to the British Museum.

Not much later, however, Browne received several Bābī manuscripts from the University of Leiden, asking him for identifications. Although Browne does not say so, these were Dunlop's manuscripts, as a comparison of the latter's original lists with that subsequently made for Leiden by Browne will show. Further confirmation exists in a statement in the Leiden handlist to the effect that the texts had been 'received from Mr Dunlop, Tehran, in 1898'.¹¹⁷

Most of these items are, in fact, Bahā'ī texts. Three, however, are works of the Bab: a collection of prayers for the days of the week; part of the *Tafṣīr* of the *Sūrat al-baqara* (verses 70-94 only); and a very early and important copy of the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-haramayn*, dated Jumādā 111263/May 1847.

6. Collection of A. L. M. Nicolas

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

¹¹⁶ This letter, with another and three lists of manuscripts, may be found in Folder 1 in the Browne Collection, CUL.

¹¹⁷ P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands (Codices Manuscripti VII)* (Leiden, 1957). The handlist does not identify several of these works. Copies of Browne's list may be found in Folder 1 of the Browne Collection, CUL, and accompanying a letter to Professor De Goeje (March 1899), in the files of the Oriental Department, Leiden University.

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

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

7. Bahā'ī archives in Tehran

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

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

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

with the originals, I was able to identify virtually all of them, a total of twenty-eight volumes.¹¹⁸

This collection seems to have reached these archives generally through Bahā'ī families descended from early Bābīs. A number (3006C, 5010C, 6001C, 6004C, 6013C, 6016C, 6018C) seem to have been in the possession of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Nābil ibn Nābil Qazvīnī.¹¹⁹ Volumes 1004C, 1006C, 4008C, 6002C, 6015C, 6016C, 6018C, 6019C, and 6021C represent single works such as the Persian *Bayān*, *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, or *Kitāb al-asmā'*, while the remainder are compilations, in some cases of considerable size and richness. The number of titles represented is unusually great, giving this obscure collection the distinction of being one of the most complete in the world.

The following manuscripts from the INBA are of particular interest: 1004C, a copy of the Persian *Bayān* in the hand of Mullā Aḥmad Mu'allim Hisārī (a very early Bābī who was at one time involved in a serious dispute with Qurrat al-'Ayn); 4011C, containing twenty-six separate items, among them the *Nubuwwa khāṣṣa*, *Kitāb al-rūḥ* (a very rare text), several early *risālas* and *tafsīrs*, the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*, numerous letters and prayers addressed to individuals, a letter to Muḥammad Shāh, another to Ḥajjī Mīrzā Āqāsī, his Prime Minister, several *khuṭbas* written at the time of the Bāb's pilgrimage to Mecca, and a final *risāla* by an unnamed Bābī, dated Dhū 'l-Hijja 1266/October 1850 (part of this collection is dated Jumada II 1261/June 1845 — a very early date indeed);¹²⁰ 5006C, which contains several prayers, the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, the *Kitāb amāl al-sana*, the *ziyāra* for 'Alī, the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna*, a large number of *khuṭbas* written during the Bāb's ḥajj journey, several *risālas* and *tafsīrs*, and a number of letters to individuals. (This entire compilation was transcribed by a certain 'Muḥammad 'Alī' between Rajab 1262/June-July 1846 and Jumada II

¹¹⁸ These are: 1004C, 1006C, 2007C, 3006C, 4008C, 4011C, 4012C, 5006C, 5014C (with a Xerox copy misnumbered 6003C), 6001C, 6002C, {6003C = 5014C}, 6004C, 6005C, 6006C, 6007C, 6009C, 6010C, 6011C, 6012C, 6013C, 6014C, 6015C, 6016C, 6018C, 6019C, 6020C, 6021C, 7009C. I include in this number four volumes (6019C, 6020C, 6021C, and 7009C) which I have only seen in reproduction, but which I was assured are extant in ms. form in the main archives.

¹¹⁹ A brother of Shaykh Kāzīm Samandar; see the history of Āqā Mīrzā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Samandarzāda in Samandar, *Tārīkh*, pp. 371-445 and Samandar in *ibid*, pp. 36-50.

¹²⁰ This date appears on p. 179 after the *tafsīr* on the *Ḥadīth al-jāriyya*; the date after the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn* (p. 252) is now illegible. The manuscript of these sections seems to be in the hand of one 'Ḥajjī Muḥammad 'Alī'.

1263/May-June 1847, between Karbalā', Mashhad, and Tehran;¹²¹ 5014C, containing an incomplete text of the *Tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-kawthar*, the complete *Tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-ḥamd*, the *Ziyārajāmi'a kabīra*, the *Ziyarat al-Zahrā*, a large number of prayers (many in reply to individuals), numerous *risālas* and letters to individuals, the *Kitāb al-fihrist*, a letter from Qurrat al-'Ayn in reply to Mullā Jawād Vilyānī,¹²² and a final *risāla* by an unidentified Bābī; 6007C, a collection of manuscripts in different hands bound in one volume and containing several letters and prayers, no fewer than thirty-one *ziyāras*, the *Kitāb al-fihrist*, the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*, the *Kitāb al-māl al-sana*, and part of the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n*; and 6010C, which contains a large number of *tafsīrs*, the *Nubuwwa khāṣṣa*, and a considerable quantity of *risālas* and commentaries, most of which appear to have been written in Isfahān, several for the governor, Manūchihr Khān Mu'tamad al-Dawla. It should be apparent from the foregoing that the chief value of the compilations in this archive is the number of early works they contain.

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

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

¹²¹ The importance of this compilation ms. lies in the range of its contents and the early date of transcription. Otherwise, it is quite poor: the scribe was careless, and his work displays a limited knowledge of Arabic.

¹²² This important letter is printed in Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, (vol.3, pp. 484-501), without any indication of its provenance. I assume that Māzandarānī's source was this same manuscript copy.

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

8. Bahā'ī archives in Haifa

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

Less positively, there are serious restrictions on the use of these materials by researchers, whether Bahā'ī or non-Bahā'ī. Problems of space and financing mean that direct access to manuscripts or facsimiles stored in the IBA is entirely barred, although there do seem to be plans to allow partial access in future. Theoretically, it is possible to obtain Xerox copies of documents held at the IBA, but this seems to be subject to restrictions on the type of material that may be released and the status of the individual researcher.¹²³

To give some idea of the range and richness of materials held in Haifa, let me indicate the numbers of copies of some important texts. There are six manuscripts of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, one of which is dated 1261/1845; four copies of the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna*; two of the *Tafsīr* of the *basma*; one of the *Tafsīr* of the *Sūrat al-baqara* (from the Nicolas collection); two of the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*; three of the *Kitāb al-rūḥ*; four of the *Ṣaḥīfa 'adliyya*; six of the *Tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-kawthar*; three of the *Tafsīr* of the *Sūra wa 'l-'aṣr*; four of the *Nubuwwa khāṣṣa*; twelve of the Persian *Bayān*; two of the Arabic *Bayān*; six of the *Dalā' il-i sab'a*; eight of the *Kitāb al-asmā'*; and five of the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n*. As time passes and more manuscripts find their way to this international archive of the Bahā'ī religion, the collection will undoubtedly become the largest and probably the most important in the world.

¹²³ For details of arrangements at Haifa and plans for future development there, see William P. Collins, 'Library and Archival Resources at the Bahā'ī World Centre', *Bahā'ī Studies Bulletin* 3:4 (December, 1985), pp. 65-83.

9. Azalī manuscripts

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

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

I have been unable to determine what ultimately befell the manuscripts of writings by the Bāb which were in the possession of Šubḥ-i Azal until his death in Famagusta on 29 April 1911. In *Materials* (pp. 314-15), Browne states that Harry Lukach,¹²⁴ the secretary to the High Commissioner of Cyprus, wrote to him on 23 January 1913, enclosing a letter from a Syrian named Mughabghab, a resident of Famagusta. In his letter, Mughabghab offered his help should Browne wish to enter into negotiations for the purchase of the late exilarch's manuscripts. An enclosed list of texts consisted of a mere nine items, all of them works by Azal himself. Browne considered the prices asked to be excessive and did not pursue the matter further.

What happened to these manuscripts is open to conjecture. Presumably any other Bābī manuscripts remained in the keeping of members of Šubḥ-i Azal's family in Cyprus. Some time ago, the two surviving daughters of Mirzā Hādī Dawlatābādī¹²⁵ visited Cyprus, and from what one of them has told the present writer, they appear to have brought some manuscripts back to

¹²⁴ He appears to have later changed his name to 'Luke'.

¹²⁵ Hājī Mirzā Hādī was Šubḥ-i Azal's appointed successor. He died, however, in 1326/1908, three years before Azal (see Bāmdād, *Rijāl*, vol. 6, pp. 288-91; Fayḍī, *La'āl-yi dirakhshān*, pp. 220-24). After that, Šubḥ-i Azal appointed Hādī's son, Hājī Mirzā Yahyā Dawlatābādī (1279/1862-63 — 1359/1940) as future head of the sect. Yahyā, however, devoted his energies to education and literature and seems to have had little to do with Babism (see Bāmdād, *Rijāl*, vol. 4, pp. 437-38).

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

10. *The Institute of History and Culture, Baghdad*

A single manuscript collection exists in the Mu'assasa al-^ʿĀmma li 'l-Āthār wa' l-Turāth in Baghdad. This was originally in the possession of the late ^ʿAbbās al-^ʿAzzāwī and was subsequently registered with the Institute as number 10824 in its manuscript collection. It contains mss. of the *Tafsīr Sūrat al-baqara*, the *Tafsīr ḥadīth at-jāriyya*, and the *Tafsīr Sūrat al-kawthar*, as well as a collection of Islamic traditions concerning the Mahdī, and other materials as yet unidentified. The scribe was a certain Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn ^ʿAbd Allāh, who was, according to al-^ʿAzzāwī, a writer of the Bāb's letters who became known in the course of the events concerning the sect in Iraq in the years 1260/1844 and 1261/1845. If this is so, this manuscript may be significantly early.¹²⁶

AUTHENTICITY

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

The Bahā'ī view of the situation is summed up by Shoghi Effendi, who writes: 'The books of the Bāb have not as yet been printed in the original. Except for the Bayān, the Seven Proofs [i.e. the *Daḥī' il-i sab'ā*] and the Commentary on the Sūrah of Joseph [i.e. the *Qayyūm at-asmā'*], we cannot be sure of the authenticity of most of His other works as the text has been corrupted by the unfaithful.'¹²⁷

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

¹²⁶ See ^ʿAbbās Kāzīm Murād, *al-Ilābiyya wa' l-Bahā'iyya wa maṣādir dirāʾatihimā*, Baghdad, 1982, p.p. 173-74.

¹²⁷ Shoghi Effendi, *Dawn of a New Day: Messages to India 1923-1957* (New Delhi, 1970?), p.5.

khamsa/Panj sha'n, a copy of which was enclosed] is by His Holiness the Point [i.e., the Bāb]. There has been no tampering with it on the part of certain persons, save in so far as may have resulted from slips of the pen.... But at least it has not been tampered with by outsiders, as certain persons have tampered with some passages, whereby textual corruptions have arisen.¹²⁸

In a letter to the Bahā'ī scribe Zayn al-Muqarrribīn, Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Baha' Allāh speaks of the preparation of forgeries by his brother: 'At the time when I departed from Gog and Magog,¹²⁹ that is the twin unbelievers, I sent a box (*ja'ba*) containing sacred writings in the hands of the Bāb and Āqā Sayyid Ḥusayn [Yazdī], along with the seal¹³⁰ of the Bāb, to him [Ṣubḥ-i Azāl] who had turned aside from God. In the first years of this wonderful cause, for a four-year period, we had given instructions for him to make copies from the originals in the Bāb's hand;¹³¹ manuscripts transcribed by that unbeliever in the style of the Bāb's handwriting are still extant. In these days, he has once again begun to make copies, and whatsoever Satan inspires him to write, he writes and seals with the Bāb's seal....'¹³²

This matter is made clearer in a letter written in Edirne by Ḥusayn 'Alī to an Azālī Bābī named 'Alī Sirāj Isfahānī, dated between 1866 and 1868: 'At the time when I separated myself from my brother [Mirzā Yahyā], I sent him a box containing writings, *dawā'ir* [a species of talisman — see later], and *hayākil* [the same] in the Bāb's hand. This was accompanied by a message saying "since you want to pride yourself on having the writings of God, even though you have turned away from him, these are being sent to you. You may forward these *hayākil* to people in different parts and lay claim to a station for yourself; or you may give them to anyone who comes to visit you, as you are even now busy doing. Indeed, you have added certain forged words of your own to those words, in order to cause the feet of those who have known God to stumble."¹³³

Shoghi Effendī emphasizes these same accusations, speaking of Ṣubḥ-i Azāl's 'corruption, in scores of instances, of the text of the Bāb's writings...

¹²⁸ Quoted Browne, *Description and Catalogue*, pp. 462-63.

¹²⁹ *Yā'uj wa Mājūj*. The reference is to Bahā' Allāh's separation from Ṣubḥ-i Azāl and Sayyid Muḥammad Isfahānī in Edirne on 22 Shawwāl 1282/10 March 1866.

¹³⁰ Shoghi Effendī refers to 'seals' (*God Passes By*, p. 167).

¹³¹ i.e., in Baghdad; see above.

¹³² In *Isḥrāq Khāvarī, Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī*, vol. 4, p. 99.

¹³³ *Lawḥ-i sirāj* in *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 92-93.

[and] his insertion of references in those writings to a succession in which he nominated himself and his descendants as heirs of the Bāb.¹³⁴

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

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

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

¹³⁴ *God Passes By*, p. 165. I have not myself seen any instances of such interpolation. For a discussion of the issue of Subh-i Azal's succession, see MacEoin, 'Divisions and Authority Claims', pp. 96-99.

CHAPTER TWO

EARLY WORKS

1. WORKS WRITTEN BEFORE JUMĀDĀ 1260/MAY 1844

Although the Bāb is generally reckoned to have made his claim to be the gate of the Hidden Imām on the evening of 22 May 1844,¹ his own belief that he had been given a divine mission dates from slightly earlier.² And he appears to have written one or two pieces prior to that date. It seems to have been a visionary experience, in which he dreamt that he drank blood from the severed head of the Imām Ḥusayn, that marks the beginning of his writings in the persona of the 'Bāb'.

This dream is described in the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya*: 'Know that the appearance of these verses, prayers, and divine sciences is the result of a dream in which I saw the blessed head of the Prince of Martyrs [Imām Ḥusayn], severed from his sacred body, alongside the heads of his kindred. I drank seven drops of the blood of that martyred one, out of pure and consummate love. From the grace vouchsafed by the blood of the Imām, my breast was filled with convincing verses and mighty prayers. Praise be to God for having given me to drink of the blood of him who is his proof, and for having made of it the reality of my heart.'³

The dating of this dream is not altogether easy. Zarandī cites a very similar passage from an unspecified work of the Bāb, which he says was written in 1260/1844. In this passage, it says that the dream occurred 'in the year before the declaration of My Mission'.⁴ Other evidence suggests either

¹ See Shīrāzī, *Persian Bayān* 2:7 (p. 30); Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 61.

² For fuller details of the circumstances leading up to the Bāb's announcement of his claims, see D. MacEoin, 'From Shaykhism to Babism' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 1979), pp. 140-42; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 131-32, 146-52, 168.

³ Shīrāzī, *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya* (Tehran, n.d.), p. 14. Cf. two dreams of Shaykh Ahmad al-Aḥsā'ī narrated in Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz (ed.), *Sira Shaykh Ahmad al-Aḥsā'ī* (Baghdad, 1376/1957), pp. 17-18; Shaykh Abu 'I-Qāsim Khān Ibrāhīmī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i Shaykh Ahmad-i Aḥsā'ī wa sā'ir mashāyikh-i 'izām*, 3rd. ed. (Kerman, n.d. [1977]), Part One, pp. 139-40; Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Aḥsā'ī, *Risāla... sharḥ-i ḥālāt-i Shaykh Ahmad-i Aḥsā'ī* (Bombay, 1309/1892-93), pp. 18-19.

⁴ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 253. Isḥrāq Khāvarī is incorrect (*Muḥādīrāt*, 2 vols., Tehran, 120 BE/1963-64, vol. 2, p. 700) in stating that the passage quoted from the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya* and that referred to by Zarandī are one and the same. The very fact that Zarandī

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

In the *Kitāb al-fihrist* (Book of the Catalogue), written in Būshihir on his return from the *hajj* on 15 Jumādā II 1261/21 June 1845, the Bāb clearly states that ‘the first day on which the spirit descended into his heart was the middle [i.e., the fifteenth] of the month of Rabī‘ II.’⁵ We are also told that fifteen months had passed since that experience, so this allows us to place it firmly in the year 1260/1844, about one month before the arrival of Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrī‘ī in Shīrāz. It would seem to be this same experience (or a development of it) to which the Bāb refers in his later *Dalīl-i sab‘a*: ‘In the year sixty my heart was filled with manifest verses, certain knowledge, and the testimony of God.’⁶

EARLY COMPOSITIONS IN BUSHIHR

Before this, however, Sayyid ‘Alī Muḥammad had already begun to compose religious treatises. According to Nicolas (who does not, unfortunately, cite his authority), his first work was a treatise entitled the *Risāla-yi fiḥiyya*. This was composed when he was nineteen and living in Būshihir.⁷

Confirmation that the future prophet was already producing written works during his years as a merchant is provided in an account given by Mīrzā Abu ‘l-Faḍl Gulpaygānī: ‘I myself heard the late Ḥājī Siyyid Jawād-i Karbalā‘ī [a very early Bābī] say that when the Bāb was pursuing the career of a merchant in Būshihir, he [i.e., Sayyid Jawād]... because of his friendship with the uncles of the Bāb used to stay with them whenever he visited either Shīrāz or Būshihir. One day Ḥājī Mīrzā Siyyid Muḥammad came to him with a request. “Give some good counsel to my nephew.... Tell him not to

gives the date of the passage he quotes as 1260/1844 should have been sufficient indication that he was not citing the *Ṣaḥīfa*, written later than that. In any case, the two passages are in other respects quite dissimilar.

⁵ See text in INBA mss. 6003C, p. 286, 4011C, p. 63. This passage is quoted by Nicolas (*Sayyid Ali Mohammed*, p. 206), who thought it was from the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna ‘l-ḥaramayn*. It would appear from a statement on page 47 of *Sayyid Ali Mohammed* that Nicolas’ copy of the *Ṣaḥīfa* had been somehow interpolated with the completely separate *Kitāb al-fihrist* (a *risāla* of only a few short pages).

⁶ Quoted Nicolas, *Sayyid Ali Mohammed*. This passage is not in my copy of the text.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90.

write certain things which can only arouse the jealousy of some people: these people cannot bear to see a young merchant of little schooling show such erudition, they feel envious."⁸

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

EARLY COMPOSITIONS AFTER THE RETURN TO SHĪRĀZ

'Alī Muḥammad continued to compose religious tracts after returning to Shīrāz from Būshīhr in 1842, at the age of twenty-three. He married shortly after that, and his wife later related that 'in the evenings, as is the fashion with merchants, he would ask for a bundle of papers and his account book. But I noticed that these papers were not commercial records. I would sometimes ask him what they were, and he would reply with a smile that "this is the reckoning book of mankind (*daftār-i ḥisāb-i khalā'iq*)". If an outsider arrived suddenly, he would place the cloth (in which they had been wrapped) over the papers."⁹

Risāla fī 'l-sulūk

Several copies do exist of a short work which appears to have been written during the later years of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī's life (and thus before the commencement of the Bab's own career).¹⁰ This is the *Risāla fī 'l-sulūk*, a treatise of roughly three pages on the theme of right behaviour (*sulūk*). Here, we are presented with a schema of four pillars supporting religion; these are divine oneness (*tawḥīd*), prophethood (*nubuwwa*), the imamate (*wilāya*), and the body of believers (*al-shī'a*). Such an arrangement shows close parallels to the Shaykhī belief in a 'fourth pillar' in addition to the three basic pillars of religion.

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

⁸ From a narrative by Ḥijj Mīzā Ḥabīb Allāh Afnān, quoted in H. M. Balyuzi, *The Bāb* (Oxford, 1973), pp.39-40 (slightly altered).

⁹ From a narrative by Munīra Khānum, relating a conversation with Khadija Khānum, quoted Muḥammad 'Alī Fayḍī, *Khāndān-i Afnān* (Tehran, 127 BE/1970-71), p. 163.

¹⁰ The period in question stretches roughly from 1256/1840 or 1247/1841, when the Bāb spent a period of eight months in Karballī, studying under Rashtī, to the latter's death at the end of 1260/beginning of 1844.

protector and teacher, Ḥajj Sayyid Kāzīm al-Rashtī, may God prolong his life.'

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

Risāla fi 'l-tasdīd

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

Ziyāra jāmi'a kabīra

A great deal of discussion has centred around an early work of the Bāb's entitled the *Ziyāra jāmi'a kabīra* or 'The Large Prayer of Visitation of Muḥammad, Fāṭima, and all the Imāms'. As we shall see shortly, this long prayer has been confused, first with the Bāb's pilgrimage prayer for 'Alī, then with the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*. One confusion has led to another. First, Gobineau spoke of a '*Journal*' (or *Récit du Pèlerinage*) as one of the first works of the Bāb.¹¹ Next, Browne identified this with a text he had obtained in Kerman, merely pausing to correct Gobineau's impression that the work in question was some sort of pilgrimage narrative.¹² Since Browne had also read in the *Nāsikh al-tawārikh* that the Bāb had written a *ziyāra* for the Imām 'Alī, he leapt to the conclusion that his own text must be the same prayer — which it is not. However, this also led Browne to identify the prayer in his possession as 'the earliest composition of the Bāb'¹³ and as 'the sole record of this early period of his life, before he put forward any claim to divine inspiration.'¹⁴

This, in turn, seems to have misled Amanat into declaring that the *ziyāra jāmi'a kabīra* (which he correctly identifies, but under the title *Ziyārat Nāmih-yi Āl Allāh*) was 'perhaps written during or immediately after his pilgrimage to the 'Atabāt'.¹⁵ Other than quoting Browne (who is, of course, relying on Gobineau for his dating), Amanat provides no evidence whatever

¹¹ *Religions et philosophies*, p. 136.

¹² *The Bābīs of Persia II*, p. 896.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 897.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 901.

¹⁵ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 138. Amanat is incorrect in stating that Browne confused this work with the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn* (fn. 152): it is, in fact, Nicolas who does that (*Le Livre des Sept Preuves* [Paris, 1902], p. II).

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

Tafsīr Sūrat al-baqara

In the account of the conversion of Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūʿī in the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*,¹⁶ it is related that, when he first visited the Bāb's house in Shirāz, he noticed several books on a shelf. He took one of these down and found it to be a commentary on the *Sūrat al-baqara*. The Bāb indicated that he himself was its author.

As we will see, other accounts of Bushrūʿī's conversion speak of the Bāb's commentary on the *Sūra Yūsuf* (known as the *Qayyūm al-asmāʿ* or the *Aḥsan al-qīṣaṣ*) and refer to it as the young prophet's first work.¹⁷ This has led to some confusion, confusion which seems to me unnecessary.

References to the *Qayyūm al-asmāʿ* must be taken as meaning the first work composed subsequent to the inception of Shirāzī's prophetic career, some or the text having been written during his initial meetings with Bushrūʿī. Alternatively, such statements may have been made in simple ignorance or earlier, less well-known works.

The text of the *tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-baqara* seems to confirm such a view. According to the opening passage,¹⁸ the text was begun in the month of Dhū ʿl-Qaʿda 1259/November to December 1843, when the Bāb was in Shirāz. In this section he relates how he dreamt that the city of Karbalāʾ (*al-arḍ al-muqadassa*) rose up in pieces (*dharrat^{an} dharrat^{an}*) and came to his house to stand before him, at which moment he was informed of the imminent death of Sayyid Kāzim Raṣṣī, an event which took place in the early hours of 11 Dhū ʿl-Ḥijja 1259/2 January 1844.¹⁹ The *tafsīr*, the Bāb says, was begun on the day following this dream.

¹⁶ Hamadāni, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, pp. 34-39 (and see especially, p. 35). This account, related by Mirzā Wahhāb Khurāsāni, is said by Hamadāni to have been taken directly from the history by Mirzā Jānī Kāshāni. Browne states (*ibid.*, p. 344) that the version in the *Nuqat al-taf* 'agrees substantially, and often word for word, with that given in the *New History*', but a simple comparison shows that they are, in fact, completely different.

¹⁷ See, for example, 'Abbās Effendi, *A Traveller's Narrative*, p. 3: '...the first book which he wrote, in explanation of the *Sūra* of Joseph.'

¹⁸ This opening passage generally occurs before the *tafsīr* of the *Sūrat al-fātiḥa*, which precedes that of the *Sūrat al-baqara*; but it can be found in other positions or is entirely absent (as in the Cambridge ms.). The mss. used by me for references to this passage are found in INBA 6004C, 6012C, and 6014C.

¹⁹ Al-Qaṭīl ibn al-Karbālāʾī, 'Risāla' in Māzandarāni, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 509; Ibrāhīmī, *Fihrist*, p. 122. See also MacEoin, 'From Shaykhism to Babism', p. 115. In a letter

According to a majority of the manuscripts consulted by me, this work was completed up to the first *juz'* of the Qur'an (verse 141 of the *sūra*) in Muḥarram 1260/January to February 1844.²⁰ INBMC 69, however, contains an additional thirty-eight pages, taking the commentary as far as verse 133.

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

Māzandarānī states²¹ that several manuscripts of the first volume exist, although he does not reveal their location. It may be that he is referring to those copies held at the INBA. Thirteen complete and two partial manuscripts are known to me (see Appendix One).

Since this *tafsīr* is the only extended work of the Bāb's written before May 1844 and still extant, it is of unique importance as a source or concrete evidence for the development of his thought in the six months or so that led up to the initial announcement of a prophetic claim.²²

2. WORKS WRITTEN BETWEEN MAY 1844 AND SEPTEMBER 1846

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

written from prison to an uncle, the Bāb says that Rashtī 'died nineteen days before the revelation of the mystery' and indicates that the beginning of that revelation was the start of the year 1260 (letter quoted Māzandarānī, *Zuhār al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 223). Zarandī gives the date of Rashtī's death as the day of 'Arafa 1259, which is 9 Dhū 'l-Hijja/31 December 1843 (*Dawn-Breakers*, p. 45).

²⁰ Thus INBA 6004C and 6012C, as well as a copy in Haifa (originally in the possession of Nicolas. INBA 6014C bears the date Dhū 'l-Hijja 1260/December 1844 to January 1845. This is almost certainly corrupt, since there is evidence that the second part of the *tafsīr* must have been completed before then.

²¹ *Avār al-āthār*, vol.2, p. 61.

²² For a discussion of this work within the context of Islamic *tafsīr* literature, see B. Todd Lawson, 'Interpretation as Revelation: The Qur'an Commentary of Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad Shīrāzī, the Bāb (1819-1850)', in Andrew Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 233-42.

Until recently, it was widely assumed that the Bāb had arrived back in Iran from Arābia either in Šafar 1261/February-March 1845²³ or Rajab/July.²⁴ In 1977, however, I discovered what seems to be the correct date for his arrival in Būshīhr in a manuscript in the INBA.

In a copy of the *Kiṭāb aṣmāl al-sana* in manuscript 5006C (the section in question being dated 1262/1846), at the end of the first of two untitled prayers between *sūras* five and six, the words *بوشهر وارد* (8) [umāda] I, arrived in Būshīhr) have been written above the line. This gives the date 8 Jumāda I 1261/15 May 1845 as the day of his return to Iran.

That this date must be correct is confirmed by the text of a sermon (*khutba*) given by the Bāb in Jidda and contained in the same manuscript collection (and in a photocopy of another manuscript kept elsewhere, 3036C). In this sermon, the Bāb gives the dates of the major events which occurred in the course of his pilgrimage journey, up to and including his final departure from Jidda. According to this account, he left Shīrāz on 26 Shaḥbān 1260/10 September 1844; arrived at Būshīhr on 6 Ramaḍān/19 September; left the port on 19 Ramaḍān/2 October; reached Mecca on 1 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja/12 December; completed the *hajj* rites on 13 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja/24 December; left Mecca on 27 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja/7 January 1845; arrived in Medina on 7 Muḥarram 1261/16 January; stayed there twenty-seven days, leaving on 4 Šafar/12 February (which is conclusive evidence that he cannot have arrived there in that month); took twelve days to travel to Jidda, where he arrived on 16 Šafar/24 February; embarked on the ship for his homeward journey on 19 Šafar/27 February; and finally sailed for Iran on 24 Šafar/4 March.²⁵

The journey to Būshīhr took about two and a half months, roughly the same time taken for the outward trip. The Bāb remained in the port for just over a month. A letter discovered several years ago was written by the Bāb to an uncle in Shīrāz from Kunār-Takhta (on the Būshīhr-Shīrāz road) on 24 Jumāda II 1261/30 June 1845. This in turn gives us an indication of the date of the Bāb's arrival in Shīrāz, about one week's journey from Kunār-Takhta.²⁶

²³ Thus Balyuzi, *The Bāb*, p. 77.

²⁴ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 142: 'He landed at Būshīhr nine lunar months after He had embarked on His pilgrimage from that port.' A note on p. 129 (citing Muṭīn al-Salḥana) states that the Bāb left in Shawwāl 1260/October 1844.

²⁵ INBA 5006C, pp. 332-33; INBA 3036C, pp. 404-06. The passage giving this information (in extremely roundabout fashion, it should be noted) has been quoted, apparently from yet another ms., by Ishrāq Khāvarī (*Muḥāḍirāt*, 2 vols. [Tehran, 120 BE/1962-63], vol.2, pp. 729-31).

²⁶ For details of this letter, see Balyuzi, *The Bāb*, p. 105, f.n.

It used to be thought that the Báb reached Shīrāz as late as September 1845. The *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* states that horsemen sent by Ḥusayn Khān Ājudān-bāshī, the governor of Fārs, to arrest the Báb left Shīrāz on 16 Sha‘bān 1261/20 August 1845, and that they returned with him on 19 Ramaḍān/21 September.²⁷ The Báb’s letter, just referred to, speaks clearly of his arrest at Dālakī, one stage before Kunār-Takhta, and provides clear evidence that the Báb actually arrived in Shīrāz almost three months before he is thought to have done so.

Zarandī’s statement²⁸ that the Báb celebrated the Naw Rūz of 1261 (19 March 1845) in Shīrāz is also discredited by the information in that letter. Less excusable is the error made by Shoghi Effendī, the editor of Zarandī’s history. In a note, he refers to the raid made on the house of the Báb’s uncle by the chief *dārūgha* of Shīrāz, Abd al-Ḥamid Khān, an event which immediately preceded the Báb’s flight from the city and which took place at the time of a cholera epidemic. According to Shoghi Effendī, the date of this event was 23 September 1845.²⁹ This has obviously been lifted straight from the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* (p. 204).

The correct date must certainly be 23 September 1846: Major Hennell, the British Resident in Būshīhr, reported to Sir Justin Sheil that cholera appeared in Shīrāz about 22 September of that year.³⁰ The Báb seems to have left the city on or about the following day. Thus, we can give more or less exact dates for the beginning and end of his stay in Shīrāz after the *hajj*, while we have precise dates for all the main stages of the pilgrimage journey itself.

The earliest titles

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

1. *Risāla-yi fuḥūsiyya*
2. *Qayyūm al-asmā’*
3. Some verses of the *Bayān* (probably)
4. *Ṣaḥīfa bayna ‘l-ḥaramayn*
5. *Kitāb al-rūḥ*³¹

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

²⁷ *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, vol.3, p. 42.

²⁸ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 155.

²⁹ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 195, n. 1.

³⁰ F.O. 268/113; cited Balyuzi, *The Báb*, p. 104 n.

³¹ *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, pp. I-II.

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

Mirzā Yahyā Ṣubḥī Azal gives a longer list of the early works. This differs in several respects from that of Nicolas and includes at least one work known to have been written in Iṣfahān. It consists of the following titles:³²

1. *Kitāb-i haftṣad sūra* (i.e., the *Kitāb al-rūḥ*)
2. *Ṣaḥīfa-yi huḥjāiyya* (probably the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna*)
3. *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ḥaramayn* (i.e., the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*)
4. *‘Adliyya* (i.e., the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ‘adliyya*)
5. *Kitāb-i alfayn* (i.e., the *Tafsīr al-hā’*)
6. *Alwāḥ-i awwal-i amr* (‘First Tablets of the Cause’)
7. *Sharḥ-i bismi ‘llāh* (i.e., the *Tafsīr al-basmala*)
8. *Sharḥ-i wa ‘l-‘aṣr* (i.e., the *Tafsīr sūra wa ‘l-‘aṣr*)

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

Evidence of early titles in the Kitāb al-fihrist

Fortunately, the Bāb himself listed his early writings in two separate works. The first of these is entitled the *Kitāb al-fihrist*. It is dated 15 Jumādā II 1261/21 June 1845 and was written in Būshīhr after Shirāzī’s return from the ḥajj. The other is a *risāla* with the probable title of the *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya* (see appendix 4). This work records a total of fourteen items written ‘between the beginning of the year 1260 to the middle of the first month of the year 1262’³³ (i.e., from 1 Muḥarram 1260/22 January 1844 to 15 Muḥarram 1262/14 January 1846).

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

These, then, are the early works listed in the *Kitāb al-fihrist*:³⁴

1. *Qayyūm al-asmā’* (112 *sūras*, each individually named)
2. *Du‘ā-yi ṣaḥīfa* (14 prayers, each separately listed)

³² Text quoted in Browne, *Traveller’s Narrative*, vol.2, pp. 339-40.

³³ Shirāzī, *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya*, Browne F.28 (item 6). As explained in Appendix 4, this treatise is catalogued under the title of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Raḍawiyya*.

³⁴ This list has been prepared on the basis of two manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-fihrist*, those contained in INBA 6003C (pp. 285-93) and INBA 4011C (pp. 62-69). Since there are several small differences between these two texts, I have amalgamated the information they provide in order to form a clearer picture.

3. Letters:

- (i) 5 to Mullā Husayn [Bushrūʿī]
 - (ii) 3 to Mīrẓā Sayyid Ḥasan
 - (iii) to the ulama [*Kitāb al-ʿulamāʾ*]
 - (iv) to Mullā Ḥasan Gawhar
 - (v) to Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Majīd
 - (vi) 6 to his uncle [Ḥājj Mīrẓā Sayyid ʿAlī]
 - (vii) 2 to Ḥājj Mullā Muḥammad
 - (viii) 2 to his wife
 - (ix) 3 to the Ḥanbalī, Maghribī, and Ḥanafī Imāms
 - (x) to Ḥājj Muḥammad Karīm Khān [Kirmānī]
 - (xi) to Ḥājj Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī [Bārfurūshī]
 - (xii) to Mīrẓā ʿAbd al-Baqī Rashī
 - (xiii) to Mīrẓā Sayyid Ḥasan Khurāsānī
 - (xiv) to Shaykh Raftʿ
 - (xv) 2 to Mullā Ṣādiq Khurāsānī
 - (xvi) to Muḥammad Kazīm Khān
 - (xvii) to Shaykh Khalaf
 - (xviii) to Shaykh Sulaymān
 - (xix) to Sharīf Sulaymān of Mecca
 - (xx) to Sayyid Ibrāhīm [Mahāllādʿ?]
 - (xxi) to Sayyid ʿAlī Kirmānī
 - (xxii) to Sulayman Khān
- (Total: 38 letters)

4. *Kitāb al-fihrist* (i.e., the present work)5. *Ṣaḥīfa ʿmāl al-sana* (14 *bābs* listed)6. *Khuṭbas*:

- (i) 2 [written] in Būshīhr
 - (ii) [written] in Banakān
 - (iii) [written] in Kanakān
 - (iv) on the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr
 - (v) [written] in Jidda
 - (vi) on the sufferings of Ḥusayn
 - (vii) 3 [written] on the way to Mecca
 - (viii) for Mullā Husayn [Bushrūʿī], written on board ship
 - (ix) on the ʿilm al-ḥurūf
- (Total: 12 *khuṭbas*)

7. *al-Ṣaḥīfa bayna ʿl-ḥaramayn* (8 *bābs* listed)8. *Tafsīr al-basmala* (about 157 verses)9. *Tafsīr Sūrat al-baqara*

10. *Kiṭāb al-rūḥ* (700 sūras, 7000 verses)
11. *Jawāb al-masā'il* (replies to 41 questions)
12. Prayers written in reply to questions:
 - (i) in reply to twenty questions
 - (ii) in reply to al-ʿAlawiyya
 - (iii) in reply to Mullā ʿAbd al-Khāliq [Yazdī]
 - (iv) in reply to Karbalāʾī ʿAlī Aṣghar
 - (v) on the *sijdat al-shukr* ('thanksgiving prostration') in reply to Mullā ʿAbd al-Jahl [Urūmī]
 - (vi) in reply to Mirzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Nahrī
 - (vii) in reply to Mullā Aḥmad Khurāsānī [Muʿallim-i Ḥisārī?], Dīʿbil, and the son of Mirzā ʿAlī al-Akhbārī
 - (viii) in reply to Mirzā Ḥādī and Mirzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Qazvīnī
 - (ix) in reply to Mullā Ibrāhīm Maḥallāʾī
 - (x) in reply to Sayyid Jaʿfar Shubbar

In addition to the above, the Bāb here lists the titles of a number of works stolen from him by a Bedouin in the course of his pilgrimage journey. According to a statement in the *khūṭba* written in Jidda, this occurred on 11 Ṣafar 1261/19 February 1845, between Medina and Jidda.³⁵ The stolen titles are listed as follows:

1. A *ṣahīfa* containing fifteen prayers (in 5 *bābs*)
2. A commentary on the *Misbāḥ*³⁶ (in 100 *ishrāqs*)
3. A commentary on the *Qaṣīda Ḥumayrā* (in 40 *sūras*, each of 40 verses)
4. A commentary on the *Sūrat al-baqara* in the manner of the commentary on the *Sūra Yūsuf* (i.e., the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*)
5. A commentary on the *Sūrat al-baqara* from the second half to the end
6. Twelve *khūṭbas*
7. *Ṣahīfat al-ḥajj*
8. A commentary on the *Āyat al-kursī* (Throne Verse: i.e., Qurʾān

³⁵ The date given in the manuscript used by me (INBA 5006C) is 1 Ṣafar, which is obviously incorrect. However, Ishrāq Khāvarī cites another manuscript in which the date is clearly given as 11 Ṣafar (see idem, *Taqwīm-i ʿIrāqī-i amr* [Tehran, 126 BE/1969-70], p. 24).

³⁶ There are numerous Shiʿite books with this abbreviated title, but the most likely in this context is the *Misbāḥ al-sharīʿa wa miftāḥ al-ḥaqīqa*, a work of one hundred chapters ascribed to the Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. Presumably, each *ishrāq* of the Bāb's commentary was devoted to one chapter of the original. The Bāb refers to the *Misbāḥ* in his *Ṣahīfa-yi ʿadliyya* (p. 10).

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

9. Six letters

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

1. *Kitāb al-Aḥmadiyya*. This is described as a work 'in explanation of the first *juz'* of the Qur'ān'. It may, therefore, be readily identified as the *tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-baqara*, a commentary which, as we have noted, is carried exactly to the end of the first *juz'* (v. 141 of the Egyptian text), and which includes a preliminary *tafsīr* on the preceding chapter of the Qur'ān, the *Sūrat al-fātiḥa*.³⁷ It seems no coincidence that this work is listed first, since it was finished in Muḥarram 1260, the date at which this list commences. The implication is, of course, that the rest of the list is chronological. That is not the case, however.

2. *Kitāb al-ʿAlawiyya*. Described as a book 'in seven hundred *sūras*, each consisting of seven verses', this is clearly the *Kitāb al-rūḥ*, a work referred to by Ṣubḥ-i Azal as the *Kitāb-i hafṣad sūra* or 'Book of Seven Hundred Suras'.³⁸

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

4. *Kitāb al-Ḥusayniyya*. Described as a commentary on the *Sūra Yusuf*, this is obviously the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*.

The ten *ṣuḥuf* are as follows:

³⁷ All texts of the *Baqara* commentary known to me contain this preliminary *tafsīr*. However, this should not be confused with a separate commentary on the *Sūrat al-fātiḥa* (under the title *Sūrat al-ḥamd*), written about the same time.

³⁸ Cf. Nicolas, *Séyyed Ali Mohammed*, p. 44; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 24.

1. *Ṣaḥīfa al-Fāṭimiyya*. This is described as a treatise in fourteen chapters (*abwāb*) on the religious acts (*ʿmāl*) for each of the twelve months. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it is the *Ṣaḥīfa ʿmāl al-sana*, also listed in the *Kitāb al-fihrist*.³⁹

2. *Ṣaḥīfa al-ʿAlawiyya*. 'A collection of fourteen prayers in answer to ninety-two questions' posed on his return from the *hajj*. This could include the ten prayers listed at the end of the *Kitāb al-fihrist*, assuming they are not already counted in the '*Kitāb al-Ḥasanīyya*'.

3. *Ṣaḥīfa al-Bāqiriyya*. 'A treatise in fourteen chapters in explanation of the letters of the *basmala*': this would seem to be the *tafsīr* on the *basmala* listed in the *Kitāb al-fihrist*.

4. *Ṣaḥīfa al-Jaʿfariyya*. This is described as 'a treatise in fourteen chapters in explanation of his prayer in the days of the occultation (*ghayba*)'. No *ṣaḥīfa* of this description is mentioned in the *Kitāb al-fihrist* or any of the standard sources; but a reference to a commentary in fourteen *abwāb* on the *Duʿā al-ghayba* may be found in a letter in the hand of Sayyid Yahyā Darābī, in which he writes about some of the writings of the Bāb seen by him.⁴⁰ The Bāb himself refers to such a work in his *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya*.⁴¹ When we look at it in more detail later, it will be clear that, neglected though it has been, this commentary is actually a work of considerable importance.

5. *Ṣaḥīfa al-Musawiyya*. This is 'a treatise in fourteen chapters (*abwāb*) in reply to two individuals, sent down in the land of the two sanctuaries (*ard al-ḥaramayn*)'. It is possible that this may be the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn* even though it states in the opening passage of that work that it was written for only one individual (Mirzā Muḥit̄ Kirmānī). Strictly speaking, the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn* is not arranged in fourteen *abwāb*. The Cambridge copy has seven *ḍyāt*, with one *bāb* each, rather oddly arranged as follows: *al-bāb al-awwal min al-ḍya al-ūlā*; *al-bāb al-thānī min al-ḍya al-thāniyya*, and so on.

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

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

³⁹ Cf. Kāshānī, *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p. 179.

⁴⁰ Letter quoted Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 472.

⁴¹ p. 34.

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

7. *Ṣahīfa al-Jawādiyya*. This is described as 'a treatise in fourteen chapters in reply to fourteen questions on the world of the divinity (*lāhūt*)'. I know of no work of the Bāb's that meets this description.

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

9. *Ṣahīfa al-ʿAskariyya*. This work, '... in reply to fourteen questions on the realm of the angels (*malakūt*)' is also impossible to identify.

10. *Ṣahīfa al-Hujjatiyya*. This consists of 'fourteen prayers revealed at the beginning of the manifestation'. It seems to be the *Ṣahīfa-yi makhzūna*, also known as the *Durūb-yi ṣahīfa*.

Qayyūm al-asmā'

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

The *Qayyūm al-asmā'* is generally agreed to have been the first work written by Shīrāzī after 22 May 1844. We have already quoted 'Abbas Effendi, who mistakenly describes it as 'the first book (*nakhustīn kitāb*) ever written by the Bāb. He may very well have taken the idea from a passage in his father's *Kitāb-i Iqān*, where the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* is described as 'the first, greatest, and grandest of all books' (*awwal wa aʿzam wa akbar-i jamīʿ-i kutub*).⁴²

According to Zarandī, the first chapter of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, known as the *Sūrat al-mulūk*, was written in the presence of Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūʾī on the evening of 22 May.⁴³ Ṣubḥ-i Azal confirmed to Browne that it had indeed been a perusal of that work which had convinced Bushrūʾī of the truth of the Bāb's original claims.⁴⁴

⁴² Bahā' Allāh, *Kitāb-i Iqān*, p. 180.

⁴³ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 61. Hamaḍānī (*Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 39) gives a different version, according to which Shīrāzī showed what may have been a completed copy of the text to Bushrūʾī some time after his arrival in Shīrāz.

⁴⁴ Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, p. 499.

The time taken to write the book (a work of several hundred pages) was relatively short: forty days, according to Māzandarāni.⁴⁵ Certainly, copies of at least a considerable portion of the text were available in time for Bushrū'ī and his fellow-disciple Baṣṭāmī to carry transcripts with them on their departure from Shīrāz late that summer.⁴⁶

This book was widely distributed in the first year of the sect's existence. In a reference to his pilgrimage in the Persian *Bayān*, the Bāb states that 'in that year the blessed commentary on the *Sūra Yūsuf* reached everyone.'⁴⁷ According to Ṣubḥ-i Azal, the Bāb at one stage instructed his followers to 'wash out' their copies of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*.⁴⁸ The number of extant copies strongly suggests that this instruction was little obeyed. The Bāb himself seems to have remained unhappy about the copies in circulation: in the Persian *Bayān*, he writes 'It has not yet been reported to us that the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* ... has been written as it ought to have been written.'⁴⁹

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

In his account of this book, the Bahā'ī writer Shoghi Effendi states that its 'entire text was translated into Persian by the brilliant and gifted Tāhīrih [i.e., Qurrat al-'Ayn]'.⁵⁰ Since this author never provides any form of reference for his remarks, it is impossible to know on what grounds he makes the statement. But I am certainly unaware of any such translation, nor have I found any reference to Qurrat al-'Ayn having produced a translation of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* in any of the numerous documents I have consulted on her life.

Consisting of one hundred and eleven *sūras*, corresponding to the number of verses in the *Sūra Yūsuf*, this book is much more — and less — than a *tafsīr* in any normal sense of the word. A great deal more of the text is taken up with doctrinal reflections of the Bāb than with anything resembling Qur'anic commentary; if a verse is finally commented on, it is usually in an abstruse and allegorical fashion — *ta'wīl* rather than *tafsīr*.⁵¹

⁴⁵ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 285.

⁴⁶ It is possible to date Bushrū'ī's departure from the fact that the Bāb did not, it seems, leave Shīrāz himself until he received a letter from the former, sent from Mashhad via Ṭabas and Yazd. Since the Bāb left for Būstūhr in September, Bushrū'ī must have gone to Mashhad one or two months previously.

⁴⁷ Persian *Bayān* 4:18, p. 148.

⁴⁸ Browne, 'Bābīs of Persia', II, p. 268.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 239.

⁵⁰ *God Passes By*, p. 23. Cf. p. 74.

⁵¹ For a discussion of the Bāb's *tafsīr* methodology in this work, see Lawson, 'Interpretation as Revelation', pp. 242-51.

The style of the entire book is consciously modelled on that of the Qur'an, something that is true of other early writings of the Bāb's. This is actually referred to in an early passage: 'We [the Hidden Imām] have sent this book down to our servant [i.e., the Bāb] by God's permission, [in a manner] like it [i.e., the Qur'an].'⁵² The book has been 'sent forth' from the Hidden Imām to 'his servant' (i.e., the Bāb).⁵³ In another passage, the Imām declares that 'we have revealed to you what God has revealed to us'.⁵⁴ Elsewhere, the Bāb states that he has been taught by God or that God has inspired him,⁵⁵ that he is known through 'new verses from God',⁵⁶ and that this is 'a book from God'.⁵⁷ At one point, he even says that the words 'Truly, I am God, no god is there but me' come from 'the person of the Bāb'.⁵⁸

The tension which is visible here between the Bāb's claims to be merely the gate of the Hidden Imām, the Remembrance of God (*dhikr Allāh*), and Seal of the Gates (*khūtim al-abwāb*)⁵⁹ on the one hand and more dramatic proclamations of quasi-prophethood or even divinity on the other undoubtedly form one of the most interesting and doctrinally important features of this work. The *Qayyūm al-asmā'* is, in any case, one of the lengthiest of the Bāb's writings and, apart from the later *Kitāb al-asmā'*, his longest Arabic composition. Written in a terse, allusive, and often rambling style that is throughout a pastiche of the Qur'an, it is hardly the easiest of books to understand; but it does provide us with a clear picture of the young prophet's thought as it impressed itself on his earliest disciples and first opponents.

Tafsīr Ḥadīth al-jāriyya

The *Nuqṭat al-kāf* refers to a commentary on a Shi'ite tradition known as the *Ḥadīth al-jāriyya*, stating that it was written by the Bāb in the course of his first meeting with Bushrū'ī.⁶⁰ Hamadāni, however, says only that Bushrū'ī found a copy of this commentary in the course of a later visit to Shirazī's house.⁶¹

⁵² *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, sūra 4:13. (Verse divisions in the text are indicated by the use of an *alif* with *tanwīn*, a Qur'anic stylism used throughout.)

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1:9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:28.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:16, 14:31, 23:4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 26:13.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 59:6; cf. 51: 7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 22:21; cf. 57:16.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 24:24.

⁶⁰ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 106.

⁶¹ *Tārīkh-i jadid*, p. 38.

In either case, this very short work has the distinction of being one of the earliest of the extant writings of the Báb, being at the latest contemporary with the first passages of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*. It is a commentary on a tradition related from Sadīr about statements made by the Imām Ja'far al-Šādiq concerning 'knowledge of the unseen' (*ilm al-ghayb*) the original of which may be found in the *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*.⁶² For details of the six surviving manuscripts of this work, see Appendix One.

The ziyāratnāma for 'Alī

We have mentioned above that Bushrū'ī was entrusted with a copy of a pilgrimage prayer (*ziyāra, ziyāratnāma*) for the Imām 'Alī, and that he carried this with him from Shirāz to Tehran. It must be assumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that this document was written about the same time as the *Qayyūm al-asmā'* and *Tafsīr Ḥadīth al-jāriyya*. Only two manuscripts of it are extant: for details, see Appendix One.

Letters to Muḥammad Shāh, Ḥājī Mīrzā Āqāsi, and others

It has also been noted that, among the texts Bushrū'ī carried to Tehran were letters for the king and his prime minister, Ḥājī Mīrzā Āqāsi. The Báb himself refers to this in a later letter to the shāh, addressed from prison in Azerbaijan: 'In that same year (i.e., 1260/1844) I sent a messenger and a letter [or book: *kitāb*] to you...'⁶³ Copies of what appear to be the first letter to Muḥammad Shāh and the companion letter to Āqāsi are to be found in the INBA (see Appendix One).

The Báb's other letters to Muḥammad Shāh all date from later periods and will be dealt with in their proper place. Speaking of the period immediately following the composition of the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, Shoghi Effendi speaks of 'Tablets to Sultān 'Abdu'l-Majīd and to Najīb Pashā, the Vālī of Baghdad'.⁶⁴ We have already noted that the Báb himself refers to the first of these in his *Kitāb al-fihrist*. However, we possess no details of how these letters were transmitted to their recipients (if, indeed, they ever were), and I am unaware of the existence either of copies or of the original. Papers found in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul relating to the arrest and trial of

⁶² Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1392/1972-73), vol.1, pp. 495-96. See also C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879-1883), vol.1, p. 30; Hamādāni, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 62.

⁶³ 'Alī Muḥammad Shirāzi, *Muntakhabāt-i āyat az āthār-i Ḥadrat-i Nuqta-yi Ula* (Tehran, 134 BE/1976-77), p. 14. Cf. letter written in 1264/1848, in *ibid*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ *God Passes By*, p. 24.

Mulla 'Alī Basīāmī (who was the most likely bearer of such letters) do not include copies or even references.⁶⁵

The Du'ā-yi ṣaḥīfa or Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna

It is not clear when the *Du'ā-yi ṣaḥīfa* was written, but the fact that it is included in the *Kitāb al-fihrist* immediately after the *Qayyūm al-asma'* makes it reasonable that it should be dated before the *hajj* journey. There appears to be a reference to it in the *Qayyūm al-asma'*, where it is stated that it had been sent down along with that work so that the believers might know how to worship God.⁶⁶ That it and the *Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna* are identical may be confirmed by a simple comparison of texts occurring under both titles.

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

1. On *taḥmīd* (praise of God)
2. On the 'Īd al-Ghadīr [18 Dhū 'l-Hijja];⁶⁷ Fridays; 5 Jumādā I [the day of the Bāb's announcement of his claims]
3. On the 'Īd al-Fiṭr [1 Shawwāl]
4. On the 'Īd al-Adḥā [10 Dhū 'l-Hijja]
5. On Fridays
6. On the day of 'Arafa [9 Dhū 'l-Hijja]
7. On the 'Īd al-Akbar [i.e., 9 Rab' I]⁶⁸
8. On the day of 'moistening' [8 Dhū 'l-Hijja]⁶⁹
9. On each day of [the months of] Rajab, Sha'ban, and Ramaḍān
10. On the night of 'Āshūrā [10 Muḥarram] and the third part of every night
11. On the night of the 'declaration' and 5 Jumādā I
12. On the night of 15 Sha'ban [birth of the Imām Mahdī]
13. On the night of 23 Ramaḍān
14. On the completion of [reading] the Qur'ān

⁶⁵ Momen, *Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions*, pp. 89-90.

⁶⁶ *Qayyūm al-asma'*, 41: 32. The Cambridge text refers to it as *tūka 'l-ṣaḥīfa al-makṭūba*, possibly in error for *makhzūna* as a variant of *makhzūna*. The reference to *da'wā* (prayers) would seem to confirm the identity.

⁶⁷ This festival celebrates the Prophet's nomination of 'Alī as his successor. It was instituted in Baghdad in 351/962, under the Būyid ruler Mu'izz al-Dawla.

⁶⁸ This date is not usually celebrated as a festival. It signifies the first day of the imamate of the Hidden Imām, following the death of his father, Ḥasan al-'Askarī, on 8 Rab' I 260/873.

⁶⁹ *Yawm al-tarwiyya*, the day following that on which pilgrims leave Mecca during the *hajj*. It is given this name, it is said, because it is on this day that the pilgrims supply themselves with water sufficient for the next two days, spent on the plain of 'Arafat.

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

However, the opening passage of the *Ṣahīfa* — admittedly severely damaged in the Cambridge copy — reveals precisely the opposite, that the Bāb does *not* claim to be 'the Baqiyyatu'llāh Ṣāhibu'z-Zamān' (i.e., the Hidden Imām), but rather 'his gate, the Remembrance (*bābihi 'l-dhikr*)'.⁷⁰

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

In a letter written by Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Afnān, a younger cousin of the Bāb, some general details are given of compositions in the period immediately before the latter's departure for Arabia towards the end of Sha'ban. 'On Sundays, I used to visit my aunt, the blessed mother of his holiness, and I would enter his blessed presence. In Rajab of Sha'ban, I visited him on a Sunday.... He was busy writing verses and prayers. He gave me a page containing a prayer, one of several he had revealed for the days of the week. He told me to read it. When I had done so, he asked, "What prayer is this?" I said, "It resembles the prayers in the *Ṣahīfa-yi Sajjādiya*"⁷¹ That week or the week after, he set off for Mecca.'⁷²

Ṣahīfa bayna 'l-haramayn

At least three major works were written in the course of the Bāb's nine-month journey to and from Mecca. Of these, the most important is the *Ṣahīfa bayna 'l-haramayn*. According to Zarandī,⁷³ it was written, as its title suggests, between Mecca and Medina, in reply to questions posed by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Muḥīṭ-i Kirmānī, an eminent Shaykhī 'ālim who had

⁷⁰ The passage in question reads: 'This mighty and hidden book has been sent down by God, praised be he, to his servant Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [i.e., the Hidden Imām], upon him and his [father be peace. And the Remnant of God [*baqiyyat Allāh*], the Lord of the Age [*ṣāhib al-zamān*] has [in turn] sent it to his gate, the Remembrance [*al-Dhikr* — one of the Bāb's titles] that it may be God's proof for all men....'

⁷¹ A well-known collection of prayers ascribed to the fourth Imām.

⁷² Fayḍī, *Khāndāni Afnān*, p. 111. A reproduction of the original letter is inset.

⁷³ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 137.

been the teacher of Sayyid Kāzīm Rāshū's two sons.⁷⁴ Muḥṣī later vacillated between allegiance to Karīm Khān Kirmānī and a weak personal claim to leadership of the Shaykhī community.⁷⁵

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

Kitāb al-rūḥ

The fate of the *Kitāb al-rūḥ*, composed at sea on the way back from Iran,⁷⁶ was less fortunate. The Bāb, not given to undue modesty, regarded this composition as the greatest of books⁷⁷ and wanted to send copies to all the ulamā.⁷⁸ According to Nicolas, it was seized at the time of the Bāb's arrest en route for Shīrāz and thrown into a well there.⁷⁹ That copy was subsequently rescued by what Nicolas calls 'pious hands', but was by then in a seriously damaged condition.⁸⁰

Some sort of text seems to have been available a little later, when the Bāb was in Isfahān, since he recommends its perusal in a letter to the governor, Mandchīhr Khān.⁸¹ Certainly, there are several extant copies today, and I have recorded no fewer than five in Appendix One. The complete book consisted originally of either seven hundred or nine hundred sūras.⁸² It is also known as the *Kitāb al-'adl*.⁸³

Khaṣā'il-i sab'a

A third work of substance was composed during the *hajj* journey. According to Zarandī, when the Bāb returned to Shīrāz in 1845, he sent Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī Quddūs (who had accompanied him to Mecca)

⁷⁴ See Navvī, *Fitna-yi Bāb*, p. 232, note 6.

⁷⁵ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 137.

⁷⁶ There are problems about this dating. The Bāb himself states that it was written 'at sea on the return journey of the Remembrance' (*Kitāb al-'ulamā'*, INBMC 67, p. 212). See also Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 288. Nicolas, however (*Séyyéd Ali Mohammed*, p. 213) says it was written on the outward journey, probably basing this statement on the fact that the *Kitāb al-rūḥ* is referred to by name in the *Shāfi'a bayna 'l-haramayn*. I am, frankly, unable to resolve this contradiction.

⁷⁷ *A'zam al-lutub*. See Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 44; Nicolas, *Séyyéd Ali Mohammed*, p. 68.

⁷⁸ *Ibid* and *ibid*.

⁷⁹ *Séyyéd Ali Mohammed*, p. 60.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*.

⁸¹ Letter in Browne F.21, p. 92.

⁸² 'Seven hundred' according to the *Kitāb al-fihrist*, 'nine hundred' according to the *Kūbb al-'ulamā'* (INBMC 67, p. 212).

⁸³ Māzandarānī, *Asrār al-āḥdār*, vol. 4, p. 45.

ahead to Shirāz.⁸⁴ Barfurūshī was entrusted with a letter for the Bāb's uncle, Hājī Mirzā Sayyid 'Alī⁸⁵ and a copy of a book entitled the *Khaṣṣ'īl-i sab'a*, a treatise in which He [i.e., the Bāb] had set forth the essential requirements from those who had attained to the knowledge of the new Revelation and had recognized its claims.⁸⁶

On reaching Shirāz, Barfurūshī gave his copy of this work to another convert, Mullā Šadiq Khurāsānī. In accordance with instructions contained in the text, Khurāsānī proceeded to make use of a modified form of the call to prayer in either the Masjid-i Naw or the Shamshirgarān mosque.⁸⁷ The result was a riot, after which Barfurūshī, Khurāsānī, and a third convert, 'Alī Akbar Ardīstānī, were expelled from the city. This took place shortly before the Bāb's arrival.

Although I have never been able to trace a manuscript of this work, there seems to be at least one in existence. Both Ishrāq Khāvarī and Fayḍī refer to its contents in detail, implying that they had both had access to the text. Since they are of very real interest, I will list here the seven regulations that form the core of the *Khaṣṣ'īl*, as provided by these two authors:⁸⁸

1. To read the *Ziyāra jāmi'a kabīra* [presumably the version written by the Bāb] on Fridays, festivals, and holy nights, after ablutions and the purification of one's body and clothes with great care and in a spirit of sanctity.

2. To perform the prostrations of the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) on the grave of the Imām Ḥusayn, so that one's nose touches the grave.

3. To add to the *adhān* the formula: *ashhadu anna 'Alī^{am} qabla Muḥammad 'abd^u baqiyyat Allāh* (I bear witness that 'Alī Muḥammad [i.e., the Bāb] is the servant of the Remnant of God [i.e., the Hidden Imām]).

4. Each believer to hang round his neck, reaching to his chest, a talisman (*haykal*) in the Bāb's hand, containing various names of God and other mysterious devices based on the divine names.

5. Each believer to wear a ring of white agate bearing the words: *lā ilāha illā 'llāh Muḥammad^{un} rasūl Allāh 'Alī^{un} walīyu 'llāh 273* ('There is no god but God; Muḥammad is God's prophet; 'Alī is God's agent; 273' [a numerical equivalent of the words: 'Alī Muḥammad, Bāb Allāh, 'Alī Muḥammad, God's gate]).

⁸⁴ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 142.

⁸⁵ This letter is translated by Nicolas, *Séyyed Ali Mohammed*, pp. 214-18.

⁸⁶ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 143.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144. According to Fayḍī, the book was given, not to Mullā Šadiq, but to the Bāb's uncle, Hājī Mirzā Sayyid 'Alī (see *Ḥadrat-i Nuḡṣa-yi Ūlā*, p. 153).

⁸⁸ Fayḍī, *Ḥadrat-i Nuḡṣa-yi Ūlā*, pp. 53-54; Ishrāq Khāvarī, *Muḥāḍirāt*, vol. 2, pp. 785-86.

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

Khuṭbas

Of no small interest is a series of homilies (*khuṭub*) written by the Bāb (but almost certainly never delivered by him)⁸⁹ at various stages of his pilgrimage journey. Several of these have already been referred to in the list of works from the *Kitāb al-fihrist*. The following points should be noted:

A piece listed as 'a homily on the 'Īd al-Fiṭr' seems, on the evidence of the original index to INBA 4011C, to be identical with a *khuṭba* otherwise listed as 'a homily written in Masqāṭ'. The 'homily on the sufferings of the Imām Husayn' seems, from its contents, to be identical to a sermon entitled the *Khuṭba fi 'l-saftna* ('homily on board ship'). A piece described as 'a homily written for Mullā Husayn on board ship' would seem to be identical with a *khuṭba* written in Jidda 'at the time of his embarkation on board the ship'. The *khuṭba* on the science of gematria also seems to have been written while on board ship.

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

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

Tafsīr al-basmala

We have already mentioned a commentary on the phrase *bismi 'llāh*, listed in both the *Kitāb al-fihrist* and the *Ṣaḥī fa-yi dhahabiyya*. This *tafsīr* is also known as the *Tafsīr hurūf al-basmala*. The text presents a number of curiosities, occurring in slightly different forms in different manuscripts (see Appendix One).

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

⁸⁹ It is extremely unlikely that a non-cleric would have been permitted to deliver *khuṭbas* except to a very restricted group of persons.

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

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

Second letters to Muḥammad Shāh and Ḥājī Mirzā Āqāsi

On the Bāb's return from pilgrimage, he wrote for a second time to Muḥammad Shāh and his *vazīr*.⁹⁰ The letter to the Shāh is headed with the words 'Written from Būshihir', and it may be assumed that Āqāsi's was penned at the same time. It is evident from both letters that the prophet had not yet despaired of assistance from this quarter. He calls on the king to assemble 'the believers in God's oneness' (possibly a reference to the ulama) in his presence, to inform them that he has received a letter from the Remembrance of God, and to challenge them to produce a single verse like those in it. After explaining that he has heard of the imprisonment of Mullā 'Alī Bastāmī in Baghdad, he asks the Shāh to send 'the letter of your Lord' to the Ottoman Sultan and to all other monarchs.⁹¹ In the letter to Āqāsi, he again promises Muḥammad Shāh dominion over 'the realm of this world and the next' should he lend his assistance to the Bāb's cause.⁹² Manuscripts of these two letters are rare (see Appendix One).

Ṣaḥīfa (Kitāb) ʿmāl al-sana

Another important work written in Būshihir after the pilgrimage is the *Ṣaḥīfa* or *Kitāb ʿmāl al-sana*, which we have already noted as among those listed in the *Kitāb al-fihrist* and the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi dhahabiyya*. It is also mentioned in the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya*.

Evidence for the dating of this work may be found in manuscript 5006C in the INBA. The abbreviations ١٥ جمادى ١٢٦١ (i.e. 15 Jumādā II 1261/21 June 1845) are written above a line containing the phrase *min hādhdā 'l-shahr* ('of this month') in the first of two sections between chapters 5 and 6 (see contents list below). This suggests that the work was in progress at this

⁹⁰ See Fayḏī, *Ḥadrat-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā*, pp. 148-53. Fayḏī prints part texts of both letters.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

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

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

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

Two manuscripts survive (see Appendix One).

Kitāb al-fihrist

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

Ṣaḥīfa-yi Jaʿfariyya

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

The first chapter mentions Shīrāzī's contact with his first disciples, his *ḥajj* journey, and his return to Shīrāz. A brief passage⁹³ refers obliquely to his denial of his claims at this period, in order that his soul 'might be safe from the accidents of destruction'. Chapter two contains references to his rejection by a part of the Shaykhī community, including some individuals who had previously believed in him — a point taken up later⁹⁴ in an explicit reference to Mullā Jawād Vilyānī 'Khu'ār'. The fourth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters contain the commentary on the 'prayer in the days of the occultation', a Shiʿite devotional text ascribed to the Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.⁹⁵

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

Later, he refers to the gathering of his followers in Karbātā' and his own inability to join them as planned (pp. 116-17), the apostasy of Mullā Jawād Vilyānī (pp. 117-18), his relationship to Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī and Sayyid Kazim Rashī (p. 122 — see in particular a most intriguing section on pp. 123-26), and the works completed by him to the time of writing (pp. 119, 139, 144). The text proper is followed by a passage from Rashī's *Sharḥ al-qaṣīda* and quotations from statements written by Mullā ʿAbd al-Khāliq Yazdī and Mullā ʿAlī Qazvīnī Baraghānī.

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

⁹³ INBMC 60, p. 60.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁹⁵ The text of this prayer may be found in Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, 4th. ed., 4 vols. (Tehran, 1392/1972), vol.2, pp. 171-72 (in the 'Kitāb al-ḥujja' under 'bāb fi 'l-ghayba').

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

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

It is also evident from the contents that the Bāb had, as Azal states, already denied his earlier claims and is here justifying his action as *taqiyya*, in order to keep himself safe (*alhamtanī kalimat al-nafī bāda 'l-ithbāt li-yu'mina [sic] nafī* — 'you inspired me with the word of denial after that of affirmation, that I might be protected'). There is evidence that the Bāb decided on his policy of outward dissimulation while in Būshīr following the *hajj*,⁹⁶ as a result of hearing about Baṣṭāmī's arrest and trial. And there are references in the text of this *ṣahīfa* that suggest he had returned to Shirāz. For example, he speaks about having been taken by 'the Satans', says that he has been accused of claiming 'specific bāb-hood' (*bābiyya khāṣṣa*), and writes that, after his return from the *hajj*, God has now conveyed him to 'the abode of tyrants'. These I take to be references to his arrest and arraignment. Whether these passages were composed after the Vakil mosque incident is, however, less obvious.

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

Du'ā-yi alf

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

⁹⁶ See letter from the Bāb's uncle, Ḥājī Mirza Sayyid Muḥammad, to Ḥājī Sayyid 'Alī, quoted Fayḍī, *Khāndān-i Afnān*, pp. 27-31.

Māzandarāni, who reproduces (with omissions) the text of this prayer,⁹⁷ it was written in the second year of the Bāb's career (1261-62/1845-46), during his period of dissimulation. Māzandarāni does not indicate the provenance or whereabouts of the original used by him.

Taken together, the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi Jaʿfariyya* and *Dur̄ā-yi alfare* are critical to a proper understanding of the claims of the Shirazi prophet at this stage of his burgeoning career. The latter is particularly categorical in its renunciation of those claims with which the ulama had charged him, claims which had also formed an important element in the *fatwā* issued after the trial of Baṣṭāmī. Not only does the Bāb deny that there can be an 'appointed gate' (*bāb manṣūṣ*) for the Hidden Imām after the original four *abwāb*, but he tries to argue that the 'revelation' (*waḥy*) he has claimed is not to be compared with the prophetic revelation given Muḥammad, and denies that he has seen any visions. Since the precise nature of the Bāb's early claims has been and is likely to remain a topic for heated debate, these two short pieces acquire an importance out of all proportion to their brevity and former obscurity.

Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya and *Risāla furūʿ al-ʿadliyya*

Also of considerable importance are two related treatises on Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), probably written in Shirāz after the pilgrimage. These are the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya* and the *Risāla furūʿ al-ʿadliyya*, which deal respectively with the foundations (*uṣūl*) and branches (*furūʿ*) of jurisprudence.

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

1. On the nature of God
2. In explanation of the Balance according to God's command
3. On the knowledge of God and his saints (*awliyāʾ*)
4. On the return to God (*maʿād li 'llāh*)
5. On the prayer of devotion to God (*ikhhlāṣ li 'llāh*)

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

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

⁹⁷ *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 179-82.

his permission we have given life to the depths of understanding of the roots and branches [of religion] in these Persian verses which are possessed of the reality of the Arabic.⁹⁸ Apart from the reference above to the Bāb's return from pilgrimage, a few lines later he refers to the year 1262/1846 as either the current one or the one that has just passed, giving us as rough idea of the date of composition.

The *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya* is particularly valuable in helping us form a clear picture of the Bāb's thought as it had developed by this stage, not least because it seems to represent his first attempt to address a wide audience by writing in Persian. In the course of this fairly short treatise, he declares that the Islamic legal system (*sharī'a*) 'shall never be abrogated';⁹⁹ speaks of his own verses as 'utter nothingness when compared to a single word of God's Book [i.e., the Qur'ān] of the words of the people of the House of Purity [i.e., the imāms]';¹⁰⁰ praises Shaykh Aḥmād al-Aḥsā'ī, but condemns his followers;¹⁰¹ refers to a vision of the head of the Imām Ḥusayn which he appears to have regarded as instrumental in giving him inspiration;¹⁰² condemns the concept of the singleness of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) as unbelief (*shirk*);¹⁰³ lists the seven bases of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) as *tawḥīd*, *ma'ānī*, *abwāb*, *imāma*, *arkān*, *nuqabā'*, and *nujabā'*;¹⁰⁴ states that prayer through the Imām or others is unbelief, and denies that either al-Aḥsā'ī of Rashīf ever prayed through 'Alī or thought him the Creator (points on which they had been attacked);¹⁰⁵ says that he regards the station of the imāms as being higher than that of the [pre-Islamic] prophets (*anbiyā'*);¹⁰⁶ states that 'most of the men and women of the Iḥnā' 'Asharī sect will, because of their ignorance of this station [i.e., that of the *nuqabā'*], go to hell';¹⁰⁷ declares the enemies of al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashīf to be unbelievers like the Sunnis;¹⁰⁸ speaks of al-Aḥsā'ī as the 'perfect Shi'ī' (*shī'a-yi khāliṣ*);¹⁰⁹ speaks of the necessity

⁹⁸ *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya*, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Cf. p. 10.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-31. The technical terms listed here are difficult to translate adequately.

Tawḥīd is the divine oneness, *ma'ānī* the divine 'meanings' (normally identified with the imāms), *abwāb* the gates to God (again identified with the imāms), *imāma* the Imamate, *arkān* the pillars of divinity (identified with the imāms), *nuqabā'* the 'chiefs' and *nujabā'* the 'nobles' of the faith.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

of believing in a physical resurrection and physical ascension (*miʿrāj*), condemns the notion of spiritual resurrection, and maintains that al-Aḥsāʾī never spoke of it,¹¹⁰ and, finally, says that obedience to him as the servant of the twelfth Imām is obligatory.¹¹¹

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

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

This work has the distinction of being the earliest work of the Bāb's to be translated. While the prophet was staying at the home of Mīf Sayyid Muḥammad, the Imām-Jumʿa of Isfahān, Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Harawī translated the *risāla* from Arabic into Persian.¹¹² The book consists of seven *abwāb*, as follows:

1. *Ziyāra jāmiʿa (ṣaghīra)* (pilgrimage prayer for Muḥammad, Faṭīma, and all the imāms)
2. On the ritual prayer (*ṣalāʾi*)
3. On the regulations of the ritual prayer (*aḥkām al-ṣalāʾi*)
4. On alms (*zakāʾi*)
5. On the one-fifth tax (*khums*)
6. On holy war (*jihād*)
7. On debts (*dayn*)

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

It is difficult to determine from existing texts that the *Ziyāra jāmiʿa* actually forms part of the *Risāla furūʿ al-ʿadliyya*, but evidence that this is so may be found in the last chapter, where the Bāb refers to the 'seven chapters (*abwāb*) of this book'. In the same place, he mentions that he had dealt with the laws of fasting in his *Ṣaḥīfa Fāṭimīyya* (i.e., the *Kitāb al-māl al-sana*), those of the *hajj* in the *ṣaḥīfa* 'which the thief stole in the land of the twin shrines [i.e., Arabia]',¹¹³ and other laws in the *Kitāb al-ʿadl* (i.e., the *Kitāb al-rūḥ*).

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 34. This was another of the charges levelled at al-Aḥsāʾī and Rashīd.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 41.

¹¹² Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 208.

¹¹³ Presumably the *Ṣaḥīfa al-hajj* (see above).

Pages 166 to 175 of the *Risālafurūf al-ʿadliyya* in ms. INBA 5010C contain a piece entitled the *Kūāb al-ṭahāra*. This seems to be incomplete and has no apparent connection to the *Risāla* other than that it is also concerned with a question of *fiqh*. It contains detailed discussions of the purification of earth and water, quoting works on *fiqh* such as Sharīf al-Murtada's *Misbāh*, the important *ḥadīth* collection *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu 'l-faqlh*, and the *Kūāb al-bayān* of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Makki ʿĀmilī (al-Shahīd al-Awwal). It may very well not be a work of the Bāb's at all.

Tafsīr Sūrat al-kawthar

The most important work which can be assigned to the period of the Bāb's residence in Shirāz is, without doubt, the commentary on the *Sūrat al-kawthar*, a *tafsīr* of over two hundred pages written for Sayyid Yaḥyā Darābī Vaḥīd in the course of his visit to Shirāz for the purpose of interviewing the Bāb. An account of the book's composition is given by Zarandī.¹¹⁴ However, neither the author of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* nor Mirzā Ḥusayn Hamadāni refer to it in their accounts of Darābī's meetings with Shirāzī,¹¹⁵ although they do say elsewhere that such a commentary was written for him.¹¹⁶

This *tafsīr* was widely circulated by Shirāzī's followers. Navāʾī says copies were sent to Tehran, Kerman, and Iṣfahān,¹¹⁷ but there is no doubt that it went much further afield. In his *Risāla amriyya*, al-Baghdādī describes Qurrat al-ʿAyn's stay in Kirmānshāh in 1846. On the second day, the ulama and notables of the town paid a visit to the Bābīs. Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Kartmī stood up, flanked by two other converts. He proceeded to read from the *Tafsīr Sūrat al-kawthar*, while one of his companions, Mullā Ibrāhīm Maḥallāū, translated the text into Persian, presumably for the benefit of the lay members of the audience.¹¹⁸

Sayyid Mahdī Gulpaygāni has stated that copies of this work were entirely destroyed.¹¹⁹ That is incorrect: at least twelve good manuscripts have survived (see Appendix One). A *khuṭba* written as a preface to this *tafsīr* exists in only two copies (see Appendix One under *Khuṭbas*).

¹¹⁴ *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 174-76.

¹¹⁵ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, pp. 120-21; Hamadāni, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, pp. 111-13.

¹¹⁶ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 116; *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 209.

¹¹⁷ Navāʾī, *Fitna-yi Bāb*, p. 160.

¹¹⁸ Al-Baghdādī, *Risāla amriyya*, p. 112.

¹¹⁹ Mirzā Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpaygāni and Sayyid Mahdī Gulpaygāni, *Kashf al-ghūḍa' ʿan hijal al-ʿadāʾ* (Ashkhabad, n.d.), p. 190.

Other commentaries

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

1. The *Tafsīr āyat al-nūr*, a commentary on the 'Light Verse' (Qur'ān 24:35)

2. The *Tafsīr ḥadīth 'naḥnu wajh Allāh'*, a commentary on a tradition of some importance in Shi'ite metaphysics, in which the Imām claims to represent 'the Face of God'¹²⁰

3. The *Tafsīr Sūrat al-qadr*, commenting on the 97th. *sūra* of the Qur'ān, in reply to a letter from an unnamed individual

4. The *Tafsīr Sūrat al-tawḥīd*, a commentary on Qur'ān 112 (better known as the *Sūrat al-ikhhlās*), also in reply to a letter from an unnamed correspondent¹²¹

5. The *Tafsīr ḥadīth 'man 'arafa nafsahufa-qad 'arafa rabbahu'*, in interpretation of the well-known tradition 'He who knows himself knows his Lord', also in reply to a questioner

6. The *Tafsīr al-hā' I* and *Tafsīr al-hā' II*, two commentaries on the letter *hā'* (h) of the word *huwa* (he)¹²²

7. The *Tafsīr ḥadīth al-ḥaqīqa*, a commentary on a tradition better known as 'the Tradition of Kumayl', narrated from the Imām 'Alī by his companion Kumayl ibn Ziyād al-Nakha'¹²³

8. The *Bayān 'illat' tahrīm al-maḥārīm*, written to explain the 'reason for the prohibition of those things which are forbidden'. Mazandarānī refers to this work as 'early'¹²⁴

¹²⁰ On this theme, see Henri Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, 4 vols (Paris, 1971-72), vol. 1, p. 54; vol. 2, p. 229; idem, 'Face de Dieu et Face de l'homme', *Ehranos-Jahrbuch* XXXVI, pp. 165-228; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris, 1964), pp. 75-76. See also Mullā Ṣadrū Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-mashā'ir*, Bibliothèque Iranienne, vol. 10 (Tehran and Paris, 1964), pp. 185, 188-89. For traditions on this topic, see Muḥammad Khān Kimānī, *al-Kitāb al-mubīn*, 2nd. ed., 2 vols (Kerman, 1354 Sh./1975-76), vol. 1, p. 226.

¹²¹ As noted later, Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī Qudūs also composed a commentary on this *sūra*.

¹²² I have numbered these pieces I and II according to the titles listed in the index inside the cover of INBA 4002C, where they are referred to as *Tafsīr al-hā' awwal wa dawwim*. *Tafsīr al-hā' II* is followed in all manuscripts by two short prayers.

¹²³ This tradition is also cited in part by the Bāb in the *Dalā'il ilāhiyya* (Tehran, n.d.), p. 58. On the *ḥadīth* itself, see Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. 1, pp. 110-18 (Corbin lists several important commentaries on p. 112, n. 84). On Kumayl ibn Ziyād, see note to Imām 'Alī, *Nahj al-balāgha* (Tehran, Muḥammad 'Alī Press, n.d.), pp. 975-77; D. Donaldson, 'Al-Kumayl: A Companion of the Secret', *Muslim World* 28 (1938): 249-57.

¹²⁴ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 288.

9. The *Bayān jabr wa tafwīd*, in explanation of the meaning of 'predestination and free-will'

10. The *Bayān ma's ilat al-qadar*, concerning 'the question of fate'

11. The *Bayān taqārub wa tabā'ud*, on 'proximity and separation', a work described as 'early' by Māzandarāni¹²⁵

12. The *Bayān fi 'ilm al-jawāmid wa 'l-mushtāqāt*, a very short piece on 'the science of underived (defective) and derived [parts of speech], also listed by Māzandarāni as 'early'¹²⁶

13. The *Bayān fi 'l-nahw wa 'l-ṣarf*, a commentary on grammar and syntax, also included on Māzandarāni's list of 'early' works¹²⁷

14. An elucidation of a statement made by Sayyid Kāzīm Raṣṭī in his commentary on the *Khuṭba al-tuṭunjiyya* by the Imām 'Alī; this is also one of the 'early' works listed by Māzandarāni¹²⁸

15. The *Tafsīr ḥadīth 'kullu yawm 'Āshūrā'*, a short commentary on the ḥadīth 'every day is 'Āshūrā'. The Bāb says he has never seen the ḥadīth in question nor heard it spoken by any of the ulama, but he acknowledges its popularity and embarks on his commentary on the hypothesis that it is genuine.

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

The existence of so many commentaries, many of them written in answer to questions from individuals, is indicative of the Bāb's perceived and acted role at this period as a commentator on the Qur'an and traditions. That this was how he was widely regarded at this time, and how he saw himself, is clear from a treatise written by Mullā Muḥammad Zunūzī, an early follower. Zunūzī remarks that 'at the beginning, people believed the Bāb had been sent by the Hidden Imam', that he himself regarded his words as occupying a lower station to those of the imams (but one above those of al-Aḥṣā'ī and Raṣṭī), and that he gave himself out as an interpreter (*mufasssīr*), commentator (*mubayyin*), and promoter (*murawwīj*) of the Qur'an and Islam. Zunūzī refers specifically in this context to Shīrāzī's

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid. Raṣṭī's *Sharḥ al-khuṭba al-tuṭunjiyya* was published in a lithograph edition (Tabriz, 1270/1853-54). Only six hundred copies were printed, and the work is now extremely rare. A copy does exist in the British Library.

commentaries on the *sūras* of *Yūsuf*, *al-Baqara*, *al-Kawthar*, *wa 'l-ʿaṣr*, *al-Inshirāḥ*, *al-Fātiḥa*, 'and others'.¹²⁹

Kitāb al-ʿulamāʾ

The Bāb's general letter to the *ulamāʾ* (*Kitāb al-ʿulamāʾ*), referred to in the *Kitāb al-fihrist*, appears in at least four manuscripts, in three of them without a title. The copy in INBMC 67 has the alternative title of *Sūrat al-ʿulamāʾ*. The style of this work, a mere ten pages in length, resembles that of the *Qayyūm al-asmāʾ*, but it is not part of it. This letter may be dated roughly by references to the Bāb's visit to Masqāṭ¹³⁰ and to three earlier works: the *Kitāb al-rūḥ*, the *Kitāb* [sc. *Ṣaḥifa*] *bayna 'l-ḥaramayn* (referred to here as already 'plentiful in all lands', p. 212), and the *Ṣaḥifa makhzūna*.

In the course of this epistle, Shīrāzī addresses 'the concourse of the *ulamāʾ*',¹³¹ compares himself with the previous gates of the Hidden Imām,¹³² refers to his sea journey,¹³³ and denies the accusation that his writings are a pastiche of the Qur'ān.¹³⁴ Particularly interesting from a doctrinal perspective are several references to the *Qayyūm al-asmāʾ* and other writings of the Bāb as revelations of the 'inner meaning' (*bāṭin*) of the Qur'ān.¹³⁵

Four manuscripts are listed in Appendix One.

Other short works

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

Not all works written in this period have survived. After the Bāb's departure from Shīrāz in September 1846, the governor, Ḥusayn Khān, embarked on a campaign of reprisals against members of his family still in the city. More generally, the people of Shīrāz were threatened with punishment should they be found in possession of writings by the young prophet.¹³⁶ Scores ran to

¹²⁹ Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 31-32. No copy of a commentary on the *Sūrat al-Inshirāḥ* (Qur'ān 94) has ever come to light, nor have I seen any mention of it elsewhere.

¹³⁰ *Kitāb al-ʿulamāʾ*, INBMC 67, p. 215.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 213, and *infra*.

¹³⁶ This in itself suggests wide distribution of such writings.

the house of the Bab's brother-in-law, Hājī Mīrza Abu 'l-Qāsim, and threw quantities of writings into the portico of his house. One of the Bab's uncles, Hājī Mīrza Sāyyid 'Alī, advised members of the household to wash off the ink and to bury the sodden paper.¹³⁷ Presumably much of this material — again indicative of the sheer bulk of the Shirazi prophet's output — consisted of letters to individuals.

Despite this, I think it is clear that ample material exists, however scattered or, at times, badly transcribed, which may serve as a firm basis for the study of the inception and early development of the Bab's thought. One of the most difficult things about following this development is its very speed. Several large-scale modifications of doctrine occurred in the short space of six years. Most of what has been written until now about the Bab's thought has concentrated on his later ideas, as expressed in the Persian *Bayān* and other late works. This will have to be balanced in future studies with detailed reference to his ideas in this crucial early period.¹³⁸ In the works we have listed above will be found answers to several important questions, such as: what Shirāzī's earliest claims were; what his attitude was towards Islam in general, and the Qur'ān, *sharī'ah*, prophet, and imāms in particular; what he thought about the advent of the Hidden Imām; and what his views were with respect to Shaykhism.

¹³⁷ Balyuzi, *The Bab*, pp. 106-07. Balyuzi adds the following note: 'The present writer remembers hearing from his mother her recollections of her paternal grandmother, the wife of Hājī Mīrza Abu'l-Qāsim, which included an account of the washing away of the writings of the Bab. Huge copper collanders were used for the purpose. The paper was either buried or thrown into wells.'

¹³⁸ This process has already begun with my own study 'From Shaykhism to Babism' and Abbas Amanat's *Resurrection and Renewal*.

LATER WORKS

WORKS WRITTEN BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 1846 AND MARCH 1847

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

Tafsīr Sūra wa 'l-ʿaṣr

Only two works of any importance were penned in Iṣfahān. The first of these was the commentary on the *Sūra wa 'l-ʿaṣr*, written for the city's Imām-Jumʿa, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Sulṭān al-ʿUlamā'.¹ According to Zarandī, this lengthy commentary was written early in the Bāb's stay, while he was living at the Imām-Jumʿa's home. The book was written spontaneously at the request of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad himself, its first section being completed one evening between the end of supper and midnight. As a result of witnessing this *tour de force*, Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Harawī (the translator of the *Riṣāla furūʿ al-ʿadliyya*) was converted to the new prophet's cause.² According to the version of this incident given in the *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, a clock was actually set out in order to time the Bāb's writing! On this basis, it was estimated that he had written one thousand verses every six hours.³ (For details of manuscripts, see Appendix One.)

Nubuwwa khāṣṣa

Not long after completing the *Tafsīr Sūra wa 'l-ʿaṣr*, the Bāb was asked by Manūchihr Khān to write a treatise on the subject of *nubuwwa khāṣṣa*, the

¹ A leading rival of Zill al-Sulṭān. See Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran, 1785-1906* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 167, 180.

² Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 201-02.

³ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 116.

specific prophethood of Muḥammad.⁴ Zarandī gives a detailed account of the writing of this work. It was, apparently, completed in the space of only two hours, the final text running to some fifty pages. Zarandī states that Manūchihr Khān converted to Islam as a result of hearing it read, ignoring the fact that he had already become a Muslim a long time before this.⁵ Seven manuscripts of this important treatise are extant (see Appendix One).

Minor works

A number of minor works, some of considerable interest, may be assigned with either absolute or reasonable certainty to the Iṣfahān period. These are all contained in a small number of manuscript collections, notably INBA 6010 C, INBMC 40,⁶ INBMC 53, INBMC 69, and Browne F.21. Details may be found in Appendix One under individual titles and the heading 'Minor Works'.

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

(i) A letter of some four pages addressed to the governor of Iṣfahān, Manūchihr Khān, in which the Bāb responds to charges laid against him by setting out his beliefs concerning Islam. This text deserves to be studied in conjunction with those works from the Būshihir and Shirāz periods in which the Bāb denies any extreme claims for himself. He begins by stating that 'there is no doubt that the faith of God [*al-dīn*] neither changes nor alters' and proceeds to testify to a conventional Shi'ite belief in God, Muḥammad, Faṭīma, and the imāms. After this, he says: 'I am a servant who has believed

⁴ For a succinct explanation of the difference between specific and general prophethood, see E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1924), p. 387-88. In general, see Hajj Muḥammad Khān Kirmānī, *al-Kitāb al-mubīn*, 2 vols. (Kerman, 1354 Sh./1976), vol. 1, pp. 132-199 (*sifr* 1, *maqṣad* 2, *maṭlāb* 1 and 2).

⁵ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 202-04. See also *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 116 (and p. 199, where the governor's sincerity is called into question).

⁶ This ms., the original of which was once in the possession of Dr. Muḥammad Afnān, is identical to one he describes in an article entitled 'Majmū'atī az aḥār-i Ḥadrat-i Nuqṭa-yi Ula' (*Āhang-i badī'*, year 18 [1342 Sh./1963], 11/12, pp. 412-16, 443). It is Afnān's opinion that this collection (whose provenance he does not give) was based on a compilation of texts made in Tehran in 1263/1847 by Sayyid Yaḥyā Dārābī Vahīd, and that all the materials in it were written in Iṣfahān. This seems plausible, although the grounds given by Afnān are far from firm.

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

in God and his verses and followed the decree of the Qur'an'. He then expands on what he maintains is the true nature of his claims: 'God has bestowed on me some of his knowledge'. This knowledge he declares to exist in four degrees or conditions [*shu'ūnāt al-arba'a* (sic)]: the first is the type of knowledge demonstrated in his treatise on the *nubuwwa khāssa*, the second is in the form of prayers (which 'flow' with extreme rapidity from his pen), the third *khūṭbas*, and the fourth the degree of 'the people of eloquence'. This division is clearly an early version of the 'five grades' to be encountered in the Bāb's later works.

(ii) A letter to the governor of Shūshār, in which the Bāb interprets an obscure tradition attributed to the Imām 'Alī: *'allamanī akhī rasūl Allāh 'ilma mā kāna wa 'allamiuhu 'ilma mā yakūnu* (My brother, the Apostle of God, taught me the knowledge of all that has been, and I taught him the knowledge of all that shall be'. Although the Bāb says that he has never seen this tradition in any of the standard collections, he regards it as authentic. The interpretation deals in some detail with three or the seven active causes or creation or modes of the Divine Will: will (*mashī'a*), intention (*irāda*), and destiny (*qadar*).⁷

(iii) A letter to Mīrzā Sa'īd Ardīstānī or, according to INBMC 69, Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd Zavāra'ī. This letter is of interest as a source for the Bāb's early views on certain philosophical topics. In it, he describes as 'baseless' the Ishrāqī concept of a simple reality (*basīṭ al-ḥaqīqa*) which is ontologically equivalent to all things.⁸ He also examines the topics of destiny (*qadar*) and creation (*ḥudūth*), and the meaning of the phrase 'nothing issues from the single but the single' (*al-wāḥid la yaṣḍuru minhu illā 'l-wāḥid*). According to a note at the end of the text in INBMC 67, this letter

⁷ The other four causes are: decree (*qaḍā'*), permission (*idhn*), time appointed (*ajal*), and book (*kitāb*). Cf. the Bāb, *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adhiyya*, p. 16; idem, 'Risāla fī tashkīḥ al-ghina', in INBMC 82, p. 105 (and other mss.); *al-Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*, Browne F.7, p. 35. See also Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī, *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra*, 4 vols. (Kerman, 1355-56/1976-77), vol. I, p. 242; Sayyid Kāzīm Rashīd, *Uṣūl al-ṣaḥā'id*, INBMC 4, p. 114.

⁸ This concept is particularly derived from Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī's classic formulation: *kullu mā huwa basīṭ al-ḥaqīqa fa-huwa bi-wahdatihi kullu 'l-ashya'* ('all that which is Simple in Its essential Reality is, by virtue of Its [absolute] Unity, all things')—see Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, *The Wisdom of the Throne*, trans. J. W. Morris (Princeton, 1981), p. 98. For a Shaykhī commentary on this formula, see Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī, *Sharḥ al-'Arshiyya*, vol. I (Kerman, 1361 Sh./1982), pp. 79ff. A Bahā'ī view may be found in Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā'ī Allāh, 'Lawḥ-i basīṭ al-ḥaqīqa', in Ishrāq Khāvarī, *Mā'ida-yi āsmānī*, vol. 7, pp. 140-47.

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

(iv) A letter to Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Mudhahhib, commenting on a morning prayer (*du‘ā al-ṣabāḥ*) by one of the imāms.⁹

(v) A letter commenting on a tradition of the Imām Riḍā'. The tradition in question reads: 'There is no act performed by one of God's servants, be it good or evil, but that God has already issued a decree concerning it'. The recipient is not named.

(vi) The first section or *al-Lawāmi‘ al-badi‘* (sic). This is a *risāla* of some twenty pages written in Isfahān¹⁰ in reply to Mullā ‘Alī Tabrīzī, who wanted the Bāb to compose something along the lines of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashīd's *al-Lawāmi‘ al-Ḥusayniyya*. In all likelihood, this 'first *ishrāq*' (as it is called) is all that was ever written, since the Bāb indicates in the text that his correspondent wanted him to compose 'a single *ishrāq* (*ishrāq^{an}*) in this style.

Since the title appears only at the end of the text in INBA 7009C (one or only two extant copies), in the words *amma 'l-ishrāq al-awwal min al-lawāmi‘ al-badi‘*, it may be conjectured that this is really an untitled work to which a later scribe has given this name.¹¹

(vii) A *tafsīr* written in reply to Mīrza Ḥasan Waqayī‘-nigār (the 'chronicler'). The recipient was, it may be assumed, an historian attached to the court or Manūchīhr Khān. The commentary is an interpretation of two Qur'anic phrases: 'We are closer to him [man] than his jugular vein' (50:16) and 'a single rival' (112:4). A closing section deals with the subject of the movement of the heavens.

(viii) A letter to a theological student on the questions contained in the Qur'an (*istifhāmāt al-Qur'ān*). The main interest of this short letter lies in a passage towards the beginning, where the Bāb sets out his beliefs concerning

⁹ Not to be confused with the Bāb's later commentary on a morning prayer of the Imām ‘Alī, written in Mākū.

¹⁰ INBA 7009C, p. 180.

¹¹ There is, however, precedent for the use of *ishrāq* as a term for a division in a work by the Bāb. We have already quoted a statement in the *Kūdb al-fihrist* to the effect that, among the works stolen from the Bāb on the ḥajj journey, was a commentary on the *Miṣbāḥ* in one hundred *ishrāqs*.

God, Muḥammad and the imāms in a manner similar to that in his letter to Manūchihr Khān above (i).

(ix) The *Sharḥ kayfiyyat al-miʿrāj*. This is a letter to Mirzā Ḥasan Nūrī on the question of how the body of the prophet can be in all places and all times simultaneously. This short work (widely known as the *Sharḥ kayfiyyat al-miʿrāj*) refers briefly to the question of Muḥammad's ascension (*miʿrāj*), but offers insufficient detail to make any useful comparison between the Bāb's views on this subject and those of al-Aḥsāʾī. The work appears (according to a heading in Browne's copy and a reference in the text) to have been composed in the course of a public gathering, possibly one of those reported to have been held in the house of the Imām-Jumʿa of Iṣfahān. In spite of being graced with an independent title, this piece consists of only two pages.

(x) A *risāla* on the Islamic law regarding singing (*al-ghināʾ*). This substantial piece was written in response to an unnamed questioner who met the Bāb while visiting Iṣfahān. A reference towards the middle of the text reveals that the Bāb's *Tafsīr al-hāʾ* was written before it.

(xi) The *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya II*. This work must, I think, be assigned to the latter part of this period, even though in style and content it seems more like a composition of the Shīrāz period. It is an Arabic letter, quite distinct from the work of the same title referred to earlier (and which may not legitimately bear that name): I have, therefore, given it the title *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya II* for the purposes of differentiation.

The text is a reply to criticisms levelled against the Bāb by someone named Jawād. From the tone of the response, I am inclined to think this individual was Mullā Jawād Vilyānī ('Khuʾār'), a Shaykhī *ʿālim* who had been the first to reject the Bāb's claims (after embracing them briefly) in the early period after Shīrāzī's return from pilgrimage.¹² However, a heading above the copy in INBMC 86 states that it was written 'in reply to criticisms of the Sayyid'; this suggests that a different Shaykhī convert, Sayyid Jawād al-Karbālāʾī, may have been the recipient. More probably, this is just a guess on the part of the scribe: al-Karbālāʾī was much better known to later Bābīs than Vilyānī, but we know of no overt disagreement between him and Shīrāzī.

¹² For details of Vilyānī and his conflict with the Bāb, see MacEoin, 'From Shaykhism to Babism', pp. 199-203.

In the course of this letter, the Báb states that three years have passed since God first inspired him¹³ and that he has now written thirty *ṣahīfās*,¹⁴ a figure which corresponds roughly to the number of major works penned to the end of the Iṣfahān period. The letter is more broadly concerned with affirming the Báb's claim to possess the ability to reveal inspired verses from his natural disposition (*fiṭra*) and challenging his critic (or anyone else, for that matter) to do the same. Of some interest is a statement towards the end: 'I have not wished to abrogate a *sharīʿa* (sic) nor to add a word to it.'¹⁵ In the final section, the Báb writes briefly in condemnation of the concepts of unicity of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*) and simple reality (*baṣīʿ al-ḥaqīqa*) found in Islamic mystical philosophy. He refers specifically to the famous work of Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.

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

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

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

¹³ INBMC 53, p. 166.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

WORKS WRITTEN BETWEEN MARCH 1847 AND JULY 1850

This section covers the period from the Bāb's departure from Isfahān to his execution in Tabriz on 9 July 1850. He left the former Šafavid capital shortly after the death of his patron Manūchihr Khān in Rabī' I 1263/February-March 1847 and was taken under escort towards Tehran. It was his belief that a meeting would be arranged between himself and the king, something which never took place. His route took him through Kashān, past Qum, and on to the village of Kulayn, about twenty miles from the capital. He remained in this village for about twenty days, until orders were received from Hājī Mirzā Āqāsi, instructing his escort to remove him to confinement in the town of Makū near the Russian border.

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

This period saw the most developed expression of the Bāb's doctrines. Toward the end of his stay in Makū, he sent a letter to Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshizi ('Azīm), in which he proclaimed himself to be the return of the Hidden Imām in person, and announced that the laws of the Islamic *shari'a* were to be considered abrogated.¹⁶ The circulation of copies of this letter by Turshizi — as instructed by the Bāb himself — seems to have been a major factor leading to the convocation of a gathering of Bābī activists at the Māzandarān village of Badasht in the summer of 1848.

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

¹⁶ Māzandarāni, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 164-66.

Works written en route to Makū

A number of works were written on the Bāb's way to Makū. According to 'Abbās Effendi, he penned a third letter to Muḥammad Shāh at the end of his two-week stay at Kulayn, in which he again requested an audience.¹⁷ The same source also refers to accounts that, in the course of the journey, several more messages were sent to the king, none of which actually reached him.¹⁸

While at the village of Siyāh-Dihān, the Bāb wrote letters to the ulama of nearby Qazvīn. Copies of these were transmitted to the recipients by Mullā Aḥmad Ibdāl Marāghā'i, a Letter of the Living. Among the ulama addressed were Ḥajj Mullā 'Abd al-Wahhāb Qazvīnī,¹⁹ Ḥajj Mullā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Baraghānī,²⁰ his brother Ḥajj Mullā Muḥammad Taqī,²¹ and Ḥajī Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Qazvīnī.²² According to the account of this incident given by Shāykh Samandar Qazvīnī, Muḥammad Taqī Baraghānī tore up his letter, but Samandar was able to copy the letter sent to 'Abd al-Wahhāb.²³

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

Samandar also states that the Bāb wrote from Siyāh-Dihān to Ḥajī Mīrza Āqāsi, and that this letter was sent by regular courier to the capital.²⁴ It is highly unlikely that a copy of this letter would have survived. But its value in telling us something of the Bāb's attitude toward the state at this critical stage would make it a find of some importance.

The Persian Bayān

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

¹⁷ *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁹ A former Imām-Jum'ā and a rival of Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Baraghānī (Qurrat al-'Ayn's uncle). Two of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's sons became Bābīs and Letters of the Living. One was married to a sister of Qurrat al-'Ayn and was later killed at Shaykh Tabarsī. The other eventually separated himself from his fellow-Bābīs.

²⁰ The father of Qurrat al-'Ayn. The author of several books, he was less well known than his brother Muḥammad Taqī.

²¹ For details of this important figure, murdered by Bābīs in 1847, see D. MacEoin, 'Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Baraghānī Qazvīnī', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, and sources cited there.

²² Imām-Jum'ā immediately prior to Muḥammad Taqī Baraghānī.

²³ Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i Samandar*, pp. 97-98.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

nine *wāhids* ('unities'), each consisting of nineteen *abwāb*, except for the last, which has only ten. The Bāb's original intention was to write a book of nineteen *wāhids*, but he was unable to do this and, so it is reported, left the task of completion in the hands of *Man yuzhīruhu 'llāh* ('He whom God shall manifest'), the Bābī messiah.²⁵

Begun in Makā,²⁶ this book, more than any other, contains the mature doctrine of the prophet of Shirāz set out in as near an approximation to a system as could be hoped for. Each chapter is headed by an Arabic summary of its contents,²⁷ and the Bāb generally succeeds in sticking to the subject under discussion, even if his train of thought is seldom lucid or easy to follow.

Since this book has been discussed and summarized adequately elsewhere,²⁸ I shall add nothing further here. There is a richness of manuscript material on the basis of which a sound printed edition may one day be prepared. Though we do not possess a copy in the Bāb's hand, one does exist in that of his amanuensis, Sayyid Husayn Yazdī, apparently written at the prophet's dictation. Bahā' Allāh remarks that 'the copy [of the *Bayān*] in the handwriting of Sayyid Husayn has survived, as has that in the hand of Mirzā Aḥmad [i.e., Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī].'²⁹ I have been able to track down no fewer than fifty manuscripts, but I have no doubt that this number could be more than doubled. For details, see Appendix One.

²⁵ Azālī Bābīs believe that this was actually carried out by Ṣubḥ-i Azāl, whose continuation is entitled *Mutamīm-i Bayān* (Tehran, n.d.). Bahā'īs, however, believe that the *Kitāb-i Iqān* (Cairo, 1352/1933) of Mirzā Husayn 'Alī was the spiritual completion of the Bāb's text (see Shoghī Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 138).

²⁶ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 248.

²⁷ A fact which has led to the erroneous conclusion that the main text represents a Persian commentary on an Arabic work.

²⁸ See Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. 3, pp. 1-32; Browne, 'The Bābīs of Persia II', pp. 918-33; idem, 'A Summary of the Persian *Bayān*', in Momen, *Selections from the Writings of E. G. Browne*, pp. 316-406; Shoghī Effendi, *God Passes By*, pp. 24-25. Browne discusses the meaning of the term *bayān* in his 'Catalogue and Description', pp. 452-53 and *A Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. 343-46. He prepared and published a valuable index to the text in *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, pp. liv-xcv. A French translation was made by A. L. M. Nicolas: *Le Bēyan Persan*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1911-1914). In 1946, the Azālī Bābīs in Tehran published a useful and well-edited lithograph edition of the text. Unfortunately, copies of this work have become extremely rare.

²⁹ *Lawḥ-i Shaykh*, p. 128. According to Zarandī, 'Mullā 'Abdūl-Karīm remained in the capital, where he devoted his time to transcribing the Persian *Bayān*' (*Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 168-69). Sayyid Mahdī Dahajī refers to a defective copy of the *Bayān* in the hand of Hājī Mirzā Ismā'īl Kāshānī 'Dhābīh' (the brother of Hājī Mirzā Jānī), which he brought to Yazd from Kāshān (*Risāla-yi Sayyid Mahdī Dahajī*, Cambridge, Browne F.57, p. 61).

The Arabic Bayān

The much shorter Arabic *Bayān* is, in fact, the only Arabic work or the Bāb that bears that title. Gobineau's statement,³⁰ echoed by Browne³¹ and others, to the effect that there are altogether three *Bayāns*, two in Arabic and one in Persian, the latter a commentary on the first Arabic *Bayān*, is foundationless.³² As we have shown, Gobineau's *Livre des Préceptes* is nothing more than the Arabic *Bayān* (minus one section) prefaced by a short letter from the Bāb to Mullā 'Abd al-Kārim Qazvīnī.

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

Copies of the Arabic *Bayān* are much rarer than those of the Persian, but there are enough manuscripts in existence — including one in the Bāb's own hand — to make a firm text easy to achieve. The text has been lithographed³³ and printed,³⁴ and twice translated into French.³⁵

The Persian Dalā'il-i sab'a

While still in Mākū, the Bāb wrote yet another important Persian treatise, the *Dalā'il-i sab'a*, supported (like the Persian *Bayān*) by a much shorter Arabic version. Nicolas describes this work as "... la plus importante des oeuvres de polémique sorties de la plume de Seyyed Ali Mohammed."³⁶ Ṣubḥ-i Azal confirmed to Browne that this book was indeed the work of the Bāb and stated that it had been written in Mākū.³⁷

³⁰ *Religions et philosophies*, pp. 279-80.

³¹ *The Bābīs of Persia I*, p. 510.

³² Māzandarānī does suggest, however, that the Persian *Bayān* was written after the Arabic, as an expansion of the ideas contained in the shorter book (*Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 2, p. 99³³).

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

³⁴ In 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Ḥasanī, *al-Bābīyūn wa 'I-Bahā'īyūn fī māḍīhim wa ḥādīthim* (Sidon, 1962), pp. 81-107.

³⁵ First by Gobineau in *Religions et philosophies*, secondly by A. L. M. Nicolas: *Le Bāyan Arabe, le Livre Sacré de Bābysme de Seyyed Ali Mohammed dit le Bāb* (Paris, 1905).

³⁶ *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, preface, p. i.

³⁷ Letter to Browne, 1 October 1889.

There has, however, been uncertainty about the date of composition of this work. Nicolas writes that 'il est généralement admis qu'il fut composé pendant le voyage de la Mèkke pour répondre aux objections ou aux questions d'un olèmâ (sc. 'ulamâ, sic.) de Yezd. Que ce livre soit une réponse à un interrogateur, cela n'est pas douteux comme on pourra s'en rendre compte dès le début; qu'il ait été composé pour un des olèmâ de Yezd, cela n'a au fond, que peu d'importance; mais qu'il ait été écrit pendant le voyage de la Mèkke, cela ne se peut admettre.'³⁸

In all likelihood, the error about this work having been composed on the *hajj* journey arose from a simple confusion with the *Khasâ' il-i sab'a*. Nicolas, however, goes on to argue that, since Shīrāzī appears to have abandoned the title 'Bāb' and adopted that of 'Imām Mahdī', the *Dalā' il-i sab'a* must have been composed in Chihrtq, where this change occurred.³⁹

Browne, however, bases himself on a firmer internal argument. He refers to a passage in which part of the 'Tradition of Kumayl' is quoted and its phrases referred to different years of the Bāb's career. Since it is said that the first four years of this prophecy have elapsed and that the remaining prophecies are due to be fulfilled in the fifth year, Browne argues that the *Dalā' il-i sab'a* must have been written in 1264 or early 1265, when the Bāb was in Mākū.⁴⁰

There is confirmation for this dating in a passage which occurs some pages after that cited by Browne, where the Bāb says that 'in the space of four years' the number of his followers had come to exceed one hundred thousand.⁴¹ The matter remains uncertain, however, since the Bāb left Mākū several months before the beginning of 1265 and could arguably have written this passage in Chihrtq.⁴²

Fortunately, the solution to the problem is not hard to find: it is only a matter for astonishment that neither Browne nor Nicolas noticed it. In a passage some pages after the one I have just quoted, the Bāb actually states, in reference to a prophecy relating to the Hidden Imām: '... conceive and understand that the meaning [of these words] is this day, when he is seated on the mountain of Mākū.'⁴³

³⁸ *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, preface, p. i.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. iii-iv.

⁴⁰ 'The Bābīs of Persia II', p. 913. The passage cited by Browne may be found on p. 58 of the published edition, pp. 52-53 of Browne's own copy (F.25).

⁴¹ *Dalā' il-i sab'a*, p. 64.

⁴² See Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 259. The Bāb left Mākū twenty days after Naw-Rūz, that is, on 9 April. The year 1265 began on 27 November, 1848.

⁴³ *Dalā' il-i sab'a*, p. 67. Cf. p. 32: 'the mountain of Mākū prevents the meeting [of man with God].'

In the end, dating the *Dalā'il-i sab'a* is not very difficult. But who was it written for? We have noted above Nicolas' theory that it was addressed to a single individual who may have been a theologian from Yazd. Unfortunately, I know of no firm evidence to support this. Subḥ-i Azal told Browne that the recipient was Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī,⁴⁴ and this, in turn, may have given rise to the Yazd connection. Māzandarānī, however, is equally confident that it was written in reply to questions posed by Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Harawī,⁴⁵ to whom we have referred already in the last chapter.

Harawī became a Bābī during the Bāb's stay in Isfahān, but his faith was subsequently shaken when he heard of Shīrāzī's claim to be the Qa'im. According to Māzandarānī, it was then that he posed the questions that this had raised. If this is so, the *Dalā'il-i sab'a* failed in its purpose, for Harawī not only abandoned the Bāb but later wrote a refutation of his claims. However, I am not convinced that Harawī was the recipient of this work: he is referred to by name in the text, in a context which implies that the person addressed is someone else.⁴⁶

Other text indications as to the identity of the recipient offer little further help. For example, the addressee is clearly spoken of as having been a pupil of Sayyid Kazīm Rashīd⁴⁷ — a description which would fit not only Harawī and Yazdī, but a large number of the early followers of the Bāb. At one point, the Bāb says: 'You yourself know the first of the believers [i.e., Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī]', but this also could refer either to Yazdī (himself a Letter of the Living) or Harawī (converted by Bushrū'ī in Isfahān).⁴⁸

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

Māzandarānī believes that 'there is no original or reliable copy' of this work,⁴⁹ a view in marked contrast to that of Shoghī Effendī Rabbānī, who thought the *Dalā'il-i sab'a* was one of only three works by the Bāb which might be considered wholly authentic.

The Arabic Dalā'il-i sab'a

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

⁴⁴ Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, p. 448.

⁴⁵ *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 4, p. 109.

⁴⁶ Shīrāzī, *Dalā'il-i sab'a*, p. 60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴⁸ Gobineau, *Religions et philosophies*, p. 146.

⁴⁹ *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 4, p. 108.

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

Qur'ān commentaries

The most voluminous work undertaken by the Bāb during his confinement in Makū was a series of commentaries on the entire Qur'ān. The fate of these is, unfortunately, unknown. According to Zarandī, on the authority of Shaykh Ḥasan Zunuzī (who was himself at Makū during this period), the Bāb wrote a commentary on a one-thirtieth section (*juz'*) of the Qur'ān each night for the nine months of his imprisonment. At the end of each month, therefore, a commentary on the entire book would be produced. The texts of these nine commentaries were entrusted to the keeping of Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khaḥlī Tabrizī.⁵⁰

It is possibly to these commentaries that the Bāb refers in the following passage from the Persian *Bayān*: 'Thus has the Point of the Bayān [i.e., himself] written three commentaries on the Qur'ān'.⁵¹ Should this be so, it would provide us with an indication of the precise period when the Bayān itself was being written, since this suggests that the third *wāhid* (from which this passage is taken) was being composed around the beginning of the fourth month of the confinement. Since the text of the Persian *Bayān* was carried only as far as *wāhid* 9, *bāb* 10, there are grounds for assuming that it too was written on a daily basis, a *wāhid* being finished each month.

According to Ṣubḥ-i Azal, two commentaries on the Qur'ān were among the writings of the Bāb taken from Iran to Baghdad.⁵² Their present whereabouts are a mystery.

The Lawḥ-i ḥurūfāt/Kitāb-i haykal/Kitāb-i hayākil

According to Zarandī, one of the works written by the Bāb during his confinement in Chihriq was a 'tablet' for Mirzā Asad Allāh Khūfī Dayyān, entitled the *Lawḥ-i ḥurūfāt* ('Tablet of the Letters').⁵³ The same author goes on to say that this work had been considered at first as an exposition of the 'science of Jafr' (i.e., gematria); but that when Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bāhā' Allāh was in Acre, he had written a letter in which he explained its true

⁵⁰ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 31.

⁵¹ *Bayān-i Fārsī*, 3:16, p. 101.

⁵² Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, p. 335.

⁵³ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 304.

meaning, deriving from it the theory that the appearance of 'him who God shall manifest' (*man yuzhiruhu 'llāh*) was predicted 'no less than nineteen years after the Declaration of the Bāb'.⁵⁴

I have identified a manuscript belonging to the INBA, and catalogued (under the class-mark 3003C) as a work of the Bāb, as in fact a copy of Bahā' Allāh's letter to Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī, referred to by Zarandī. In this letter, written in a mixture of Persian and Arabic, the work commented on is referred to, not as the *Lawḥ-i ḥurūfāt*, but as the *Kitāb-i hayākīl* ('Book of talismans') or, more loosely, *kitābī dar hayākīl-i wāḥid* ('a book concerning the temples [talisman] of unity').⁵⁵ The description given of the work in question on the following pages is adequate to permit a firm identification. But before coming to that, I would like to link this reference to descriptions in two other works of Bahā' Allāh.

In a letter to Mullā 'Alī Muḥammad Sirāj Iṣfahānī, there are several references to and quotations from a *Risāla-yi Ja'fariyya* said to have been written by the Bāb for Asad Allāh Khū'i.⁵⁶ Among the passages quoted is the following: 'O you who are named Dayyān! This is a concealed and treasured knowledge. We have entrusted it to you and given it to you as a token of honour on our part.'⁵⁷ But when he quotes this same passage in another letter, Bahā' Allāh refers to the source, not as the *Risāla-yi Ja'fariyya*, but as the *Kitāb-i haykal*, once more observing that this was a work written by the Bāb for Asad Allāh Khū'i. References in this second letter⁵⁸ to the contents of the *Kitāb-i haykal* are very similar to those describing the *Kitāb-i hayākīl* in the above-mentioned letter to Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī. It seems fair to assume that one and the same work is intended.

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

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Bahā' Allāh, Letter to Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī, INBA 3003C, p. 19.

⁵⁶ Letter in Iṣhrāq-Khāvarī, *Mā'ida-yi āsmānī*, vol. 7, p. 60.

⁵⁷ Ibid. This passage is also quoted in the *Lawḥ-i Shaykh* (p. 130) with the substitution of the words *min 'inda 'llāh* ('on God's part') for *min 'indand* ('on our part').

⁵⁸ Bahā' Allāh, *Iṣhrāqāt*, p. 47.

This is clearly the *Kitāb-i hayākil-i wāhid* referred to by that name by the Bāb himself.⁵⁹ It would appear that, at some point, these last sections of the *Panj sha'n* were distributed among the Babis as an independent work, giving rise to the confusion we have noted as to its title and identity.

In fact, two sections from the *Panj sha'n* in INBMC 64⁶⁰ more or less equal what we may presume to have been the text of the *Lawḥ-i ḥurūfāt*. This, in turn, would explain a passage reading: 'What was sent down for his excellency al-Asad, the single, the unique, illumined with the eternal light, the name of God, al-Dayyān', quoted by Bahā' Allāh in the letters referred to above. This sentence does not appear in the *Panj sha'n* text, and it is my assumption that it represents a scribal addition placed at the head of the text as distributed independently. Bahā' Allāh, however, as is evident from his use of the preceding phrase *qawluhu ta'ālā* ('His words, exalted be he'), must have mistaken these words as part of the Bāb's original text. It is, of course, plausible that the address was added by the Bāb himself when the text was prepared for despatch to Khūṭ.⁶¹

The *Ṣaḥīfa-yi Ja'fariyya* mentioned (and treated as a different work to the *Lawḥ-i ḥurūfāt*) by Shoghi Effendi in his rather spurious list of the Bāb's 'best-known works'⁶² is not, as might at first sight appear, this same work under yet another title, but the treatise of that name already discussed in chapter two. How this piece comes to be regarded as one of the Bāb's best-known works must remain a mystery.

The Haykal al-dīn

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

⁵⁹ *Dal' il-i sab'a*, pp. 45-46. This provides us with useful evidence for the dating of the *Dal' il-i sab'a*, since the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n* is precisely dated.

⁶⁰ Pp. 85-89, 89-94.

⁶¹ Ṣubḥ-i Azal also refers to a work of the Bāb's entitled *Kitāb-i hayākil* (*Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, p. 339). It should be noted, however, that Azal himself wrote a work of the same name: a ms. exists in the Browne Collection (F.46). Neither the Bāb's *Kitāb-i haykal/hayākil* or Azal's *Kitāb-i hayākil* should, of course, be confused further with a collection of Bahā' Allāh's entitled the *Sūra-yi haykal*. A work entitled *Kitāb-i hayākil* may be found in Haifa. It is ascribed to the Bāb, but seems to be yet another work to that under discussion; it consists of a very large collection of *hayākil* and is probably not a single text in the normal sense. For a discussion of the Bāb's *hayākil* in general, see later in the text.

⁶² Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 669.

A defective copy (possibly transcribed from the original in Yazdī's hand) was later discovered, though where or how has not been explained. Ṣubḥ-i Azal indicates that he once saw a copy in Tehran, but says it fell into the hands of the Bahā'īs, along with other works of the Bāb. Some years ago, a copy by a Bahā'ī scribe, made from a text found at the back of another book and dated 1268/1852, was acquired by the Azalīs. Eventually, another copy, this time in the hand of an Azalī scribe, Āqā Sayyid Raḥīm Isfahānī,⁶³ was discovered. This manuscript also carries an early date: 1267/1851-52. On the basis of these manuscripts, a lithographed copy was produced several years ago by the Azalīs; it is included in the same volume as the Arabic *Bayān*.⁶⁴

The *Haykal al-dīn* bears a close resemblance to this last-named work. It is, in effect, a compendium in eight *wāhids* of the laws of the Bābī faith. After the text in the edition just referred to, there appear copies of two short *tafsīrs* on the first and second *wāhids* of the *Haykal al-dīn* itself. According to a statement preceding these *tafsīrs*, they were written by the Bāb on 11 and 12 Sha'wān 1266/22-23 June 1850, a mere two weeks before his execution in Tabriz. The copy lithographed here is in the hand of Mīrzā Muḥammād Taqī Isfahānī.

The Kitāb al-asmā'

One of the most puzzling of the Bāb's works is his lengthy and tortuous *Kitāb al-asmā'*, also known as the *Tafsīr al-asmā'* of *Kitāb asmā'i kullī shay'*. This huge book consists mainly of lengthy variations of invocations of the names of God. Its aim, according to Māzandarānī, is to enumerate each divine name of which a specific believer is to be regarded as a manifestation.⁶⁵ The same authority holds that the book was written during the last days spent by the Bāb at Chihriq.⁶⁶ This makes it roughly contemporary with the very similar *Kitāb-i panj sha'n*, and it is in fact sometimes referred to by the alternative title of *Chahār sha'n*.⁶⁷

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

⁶³ He was the copyist of one of the Azalī copies of the Persian *Bayān* (see Appendix One).

⁶⁴ The foregoing information is taken from the afterword to this edition.

⁶⁵ *Asrār al-dihār*, vol. 1, p. 126.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ A. F. *Ā'īn-i Bāb* (n.p., n.d.), p. 12.

The *Kitāb al-asmā'* was originally thought by Clement Huart⁶⁸ and Edward Browne⁶⁹ to be one of the two 'Arabic *Bayāns*' referred to by Gobineau. Although its contents are, with the exception of some isolated passages, of little direct value to the student of Bābī doctrine (but perhaps much interest to the psychologist of religious inspiration), this work cannot be wholly discounted, if only because of its enormous popularity. I know of twenty-six manuscripts, and I am sure many more exist.

The Khuṣṣa-yi qahriyya

Two further works must be mentioned briefly in connection with the Bāb's stay in the fortress of Chihrtq. The first is the *Khuṣṣa-yi qahriyya* (Sermon of Wrath), written for Ḥajjī Mirzā Āqāsi shortly after the Bāb's return from his judicial examination in Tabriz. The author of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* includes it among a number of letters said to have been penned at this time to the Shāh and his chief minister.⁷⁰ According to Zarandī (whose authority is Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allah), this letter was delivered to Āqāsi by Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Zanjānī.⁷¹ In view of the latter's close (if not always amicable) relations with court circles,⁷² this may well be true.

The dating of this work can be determined approximately, first by the statement that it was written after the return from Tabriz, and secondly from a statement in the text that forty months had passed since the Bāb first wrote to Āqāsi.⁷³

The text is taken up largely with an extended condemnation of Āqāsi and his treatment of the Bāb; but there are also references to the tyranny of the governor of Fārs, Ḥusayn Khān Ājudān-bāshī,⁷⁴ the kindly reception afforded Shirāzi by Manūchīhr Khān in Isfahān,⁷⁵ the Bāb's imprisonment in Maku,⁷⁶ and Āqāsi's harmful influence on Muḥammad Shāh.⁷⁷

A letter, separate from the *Khuṣṣa-yi qahriyya*, written from Chihrtq to Āqāsi, is quoted by Māzandarānī.⁷⁸

Amanat maintains that the first Chihrtq letters of the Bāb to the Shāh and Āqāsi formed the beginning of a series of Arabic letters known as the

⁶⁸ *Journal Asiatique*, 1887, viii série, vol. x.

⁶⁹ *The Bābīs of Persia II*, pp. 885-86.

⁷⁰ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p. 132.

⁷¹ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 323.

⁷² See *ibid.*, pp. 531-32; *Nuqtat al-kāf*, pp. 125-26.

⁷³ *INBMC* 64, p. 140.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁷⁸ *Zuhūr al-haqq*, vol. 3, pp. 85-89.

'sermons of wrath' (*khuṣab-i qahriyya*).⁷⁹ He refers to two later sermons quoted by Muṣṭafā al-Salṭana Tabrizī and Fayḍī, written after the Bāb's trial in Tabriz.⁸⁰

The Kitāb-i panj sha'n (Shu'ūn-i khamṣa)

The second of these works is the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n* (Book of Five Grades), 'one of his last works'.⁸¹ Munzawī correctly equates this with the *Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*,⁸² despite Browne's statement that the latter title has a wider use: 'Amongst Bābī mss. we do not infrequently come across volumes bearing this title and containing selections from each of these "Five Grades"'.⁸³ Ṣubḥ-i Azal confirms that there was at least one specific work of this title: there was, he says, a copy of the *Shu'ūn-i khamṣa* among the writings of the Bāb brought from Tehran to Baghdad.⁸⁴

That the *Panj sha'n* and the *Shu'ūn-i khamṣa* (in its specific application) are one and the same work is evidenced by the text entitled *Panj sha'n* published some years ago in Tehran by the Azalī Babis. This edition, which is almost complete, contains sixty passages arranged in twelve groups of five, each group under the heading of a different name of God. The five passages which constitute each group are listed as: *āyāt* (verses), *munājāt* (prayers), *khuṣba* (homilies), *tafsīr* (commentaries), and *fārsī* (Persian-language pieces). These are the five grades (*shu'ūn-i khamṣa*) in which the Bāb said his works were written.⁸⁵ Browne's own copy of this work (F.15), moreover, is entitled *Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*.

This work was written over a period of seventeen days, a group of five passages being penned each day. Five groups are missing from the printed edition. These begin on 1 Bahā' in the year 7 of the Bābī calendar, corresponding to 5 Jumādā 11266/19 March 1850 (only a few months before the Bāb's execution), and they continue to 21 Jumādā 1/4 April. These groups seem to have been sent to several individuals, among them Sayyid Asad Allāh Khūy Dayyān, Mīrzā Yaḥyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal, Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī, Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Nūrī Bahā' Allāh (or, possibly, Qurrat al-'Ayn), Ḥājī Mīrzā Sayyid 'Alī (the Bāb's uncle, still alive at this date),

⁷⁹ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 381.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 383 n.41. See also Tabrizī, *Tārīkh-i Muṣṭafā al-Salṭana Tabrizī*, INBA, pp. 151-60; Fayḍī, *Nuqta-yi Ūlā*, pp. 304-06. Māzandarānī states (*Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 82) that he has included several 'sermons of wrath' addressed to Āqāsī in the previous (unpublished) volume of his history.

⁸¹ Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 51.

⁸² *Fihrist*, vol. 2, Part 2, p. 1736.

⁸³ *Materials*, p. 207.

⁸⁴ Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, p. 335.

⁸⁵ See chapter 1.

Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī 'Azīm, Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Zanjanī Ḥujjat (apparently), Ḥusayn Wahhābī, and Mullā Ibrāhīm Mahallāt (?).⁸⁶

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

This daily record has been described hyperbolically by Jelal Azal as 'the Bāb's Personal Diary', and has been referred to as such by William McE. Miller.⁸⁷ This is quite misleading, since the document in question provides almost no personal information and very little of a historical nature except for dates.⁸⁸

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

Browne's description of the *Shu'ān-i khamsa*, one of the first manuscripts sent him by Ṣubḥ-i Azal, gives a good picture of its contents, resembling as they do those of the *Kutūb al-asmā'*'s.⁸⁹ Although numerous sections of the book consist of nothing more than tedious iterations of the various names of God and the Bāb's idiosyncratic plays on their Arabic roots, many other passages are devoted to the exposition of what must be

⁸⁶ See lithograph ed. (Tehran, n.d.), especially front index and additional pages 1-13 at end.

⁸⁷ *The Bahā'ī Faith, its History and Teachings* (South Pasadena, 1974), p. 426.

⁸⁸ The most interesting statement in the entire document is found in the third part of the first section, written on 5 Jumādā/19 March: 'God has made every year from this day (to be) nineteen months, and each month (to be) nineteen days. The reckoning commences from this day, inasmuch as it is the first year. This shall not be changed except through the command of him whom God shall manifest.' This seems to mean (as both Jelal Azal and Miller take it to) that the Bābī era commenced in 1850 rather than 1844 (as is normally assumed). The logic behind this may be that the fifth of Jumādā I (the date of the formal inception of the Bāb's mission) corresponded in this year with Naw-Rūz, the first day of the solar year. At the same time, the Bāb does describe the date a few lines higher as 'the first day of the month of Bahā' in the year Abad'. This is a clear (and correct) reference to the seventh year of the first nineteen-year Bābī sub-cycle (*wāḥid*), which implies that the era began six years earlier. I can suggest no easy resolution for this conflict.

⁸⁹ Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, pp. 462-70.

regarded as the final stage of Bābī doctrine. Many of the basic themes of the *Bayān* can be found here: the appearance of the Primal Will in successive loci (*maẓāhīr*), the alternation of periods of revelation (*zuhūr*) and concealment (*buḡ'ūn*), the re-creation of 'resurrection' of all things in each period of revelation, the appearance of unlimited mirrors reflecting the light shining in the primary mirror of the theophany (*maẓhar*), the future revelation of 'him whom God shall manifest', the role of Ṣubḥ-i Azal as the interpreter of the divine verses after the Bāb's death, the centrality of divine oneness (*tawḥīd*) in all religions, and the division of mankind into the two categories of affirmation and denial. Of particular interest, however, are two sections: the last five portions of the book, discussed above under the heading of the *Lawḥ-i ḥurūfāt*, and a brief section (pp. 336-56) on the occult sciences of alchemy and gematria, themes played down in the later Babism of Bahā' Allah and his successors.

Letters and short pieces

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

Six letters from this period are included in Browne F.21.⁹⁰ These are items 9, 16, 18, 23, 24, and 25. Other letters in the same compilation may date from the same period, but there is no evidence to support this at present.

A number of letters from this period, many of them of considerable interest, are quoted at length or in full by Māzandarānī in *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*. These include letters to Mullā Bāqir Tabrīzī (pp. 20-22); Mullā Aḥmad Ibdāl [Marāgha'ī] (pp. 53-54); Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Harawī, on the subject of *qā'imīyya* (pp. 70-72); the generality of Bābīs, instructing them to follow Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī (pp. 122-24); an unnamed recipient, about Bushrū'ī (p. 140); Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī, proclaiming *qā'imīyya* (pp. 164-66);

⁹⁰ For a full list of the 32 letters in this compilation, see Browne and Nicholson, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 62.

Hājī Mīrzā Sayyid ʿAlī, his uncle (pp. 223-25); an unnamed recipient, concerning Qurrat al-ʿAyn (pp. 332-33); Mullā Aḥmād Muʿallim Ḥisārī (p. 333); Qurrat al-ʿAyn (pp. 333-34); and Āqā Sayyid Aḥmad Yazdī, the father of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī (pp. 460-61).

Nine important letters from this period have been published (along with facsimiles of the originals) in an Azalī compilation entitled *Qismatī az alwāh-i khaff-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā wa Āqā Sayyid Ḥusayn-i Kātib*. They are:

1. A short letter to Ṣubḥ-i Azal, in which the Bāb instructs him to preserve the Bayʾān and to command men to follow it (p. 1; facsimile on preceding sheet).⁹¹

2. A very short letter to Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm Qazvīnī, in which the Bāb instructs him to send all his writings to Ṣubḥ-i Azal (p. 1; facsimile on preceding sheet).

3. An elaborately calligraphed letter to Ṣubḥ-i Azal, made up largely of invocations, in which the Bāb assures his recipient of divine inspiration in interpreting the book of God (pp. 4-8; facsimile p. 3).

4. A letter to ʿAbd al-Karīm Qazvīnī, in which the Bāb asks him to take care of Ṣubḥ-i Azal and to preserve his writings and those he himself (the Bāb) has written (p. 9; facsimile p. 10)

5. A letter to Mīrzā Asad Allāh Khūṭ Dāyyān, in which the Bāb tells him to relate to others whatever Ṣubḥ-i Azal reveals and to protect him (p. 9; facsimile p. 10)

6. A letter to Mullā Shaykh ʿAlī Turshīzī, in which the Bāb lays claim to the station of *qāʾimiyya* (see above). This is the critical letter referred to in the *Nuqat al-kāf* (p. 209), which was copied and sent out to the Bāb's followers, making public for the first time his claim to that status (pp. 13-12 [sic]; facsimile p. 14).

7. A letter possibly written on 29 Dhū ʿl-Hijja 1264/26 November 1848, in which the Bāb testifies to the truth of Muḥammad and the Imāms (p. 16; facsimile p. 15).

8. A letter in which the Bāb again lays claim to *qāʾimiyya*, states that the Dāy of Resurrection has arrived, and refers to the return to earth of Muḥammad and the imāms (p. 17; facsimile p. 18).

9. A letter addressed by the Bāb to 'him whom God shall manifest', in which he suggests that he should wait for nineteen years before making his appearance (p. 20; facsimile same page).

⁹¹ A copy of this letter in Azal's own handwriting may be found in Browne F.66, item 1; facsimiles are published in Hamadānī, *New History*, facing p. 426, and Browne, *Nuqat al-kāf*, facing p. xxxiv of the Persian preface.

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

Mirzā Muḥammad Mahdī Khān Za'īm al-Dawla includes the texts of a number of letters from the Bāb, all apparently from this period, in his polemical work, *Miftāḥ bāb al-abwāb*. Although the whereabouts of the originals remain unknown, the printed texts appear authentic (if somewhat corrupt). The following are of some interest:⁹²

1. A letter to Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Barfurūshī Quddūs, in which the Bāb indicates that 50,000 years of negation have passed and been succeeded by the day of affirmation (pp. 208-09).

2. A letter to Qurrat al-'Ayn in Arabic and Persian, containing unusually interesting references to the Bāb's writings in the first five years of his career. The first year is related to Muḥammad and the province of Fārs, the second to 'Alī and Iraq, the third to Fatima and Azerbaijan, the fourth to Ḥasan and Khurāsān, and the fifth to I.ūsayn and Māzandarān (pp. 209-11).

3. A letter written from Makū to Shihāb al-Dīn Sāyyid Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī, the Muftī of Baghdad, in which the Bāb claims to be the Mahdī and states that he has abolished the Islamic *sharī'ca* (pp. 212-15).

Further letters to Muḥammad Shāh

After his arrival at Makū, the Bāb sent yet another appeal to Muḥammad Shāh, now nearing the end of his reign. Although I have not seen a manuscript of this letter, I assume that at least one copy must be extant in the Baha'ī Archives in Haifa, for an excerpt from it appears in the compilation of the Bāb's writings produced there in 1976.⁹³ Two other letters to the Shāh, both apparently written from Chihrtq in 1264/1848, are also included in that compilation.⁹⁴

The 'Tawba-nāma'

In *Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion*,⁹⁵ Browne published a facsimile of a letter in the Bāb's handwriting, in which the prophet recants any claim to a divine mission or to specific deputyship (*niyāba*) on behalf of the Hidden Imām. The reference in this letter to 'His Imperial Majesty' (*Ḥaḍrat-i Shāhanshāhī*) suggests that it may be the signed recantation (*tawba-*

⁹² Page references are to the Persian translation.

⁹³ *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 13-18; *Writings of the Bāb*, pp. 11-17.

⁹⁴ *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 5-8, 9-13; *Writings of the Bāb*, pp. 18-23, 24-28. One of these letters (the second in the Persian compilation, the first in the English) is quoted by Māzandarāni, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 82-85.

⁹⁵ Pp. 256-57.

nāma) referred to in a record of the Bāb's interrogation in Tabriz, also published by Browne.⁹⁶

Amanat argues that the text of this document 'merits the utmost reservation'.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, its authenticity seems to me to be confirmed by the reference in it to 'specific viceregency' which, as we have seen, is an issue dealt with in each of the Bāb's earlier recantations. The fact that it later became 'part and parcel of all anti-Bābī-Bahā'ī polemics and an effective weapon in the growing arsenal of fictitious documentation'⁹⁸ may be regrettable, but has no bearing on the question of authenticity. According to Sayyid Mahdī Gulpāyḡānī, the original of this letter (together with the two documents published by Browne) was found in the Iranian state archives after the deposition of Muḥammad 'Alī Shah in 1909, at which time a photograph was made of it.⁹⁹ The present whereabouts of the letter are unknown to me.

The Tafsīr Du'ā al-ṣabāḥ

According to Māzandarānī,¹⁰⁰ during his imprisonment in Mākū, the Bāb wrote a commentary on a well-known Shi'ite morning prayer (*Du'ā al-ṣabāḥ*) at the request of Āqā Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the son of Āqā Sayyid 'Alī Zunūzī.

Letters to the ulama

The Bahā'ī author, Shoghi Effendi Rabbānī, says that a series of letters written by the Bāb to the ulama in every city of Iran, as well as those at the 'atabāt, 'must probably belong' to the Mākū/Chihriq period.¹⁰¹ A reference to a letter to the ulama 'in every town' can also be found in Nūrī's *Kitāb-i Iqān* (which may have been Shoghi Effendi's source),¹⁰² but I have not yet been able to find any copies of such a letter or letters. It may be that Shoghi Effendi has confused the Bāb's much earlier *Kitāb al-'ulamā'* (see chapter 2) with later letters such as those addressed to ulama in Qazvin and Zanjan.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ Ibid, pp 248-55.

⁹⁷ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p 392.

⁹⁸ Ibid, n.82. I have encountered a reference to a lengthy Bahā'ī work entitled *Bayān al-ḥaqā'iq*, which is, it appears, largely devoted to a refutation of the authenticity of the *tawbānāma*; but I have, regrettably, never been able to find a copy.

⁹⁹ *Kashf al-ghijā'*, p 205. See also, F. Ādamiyyat, *Amr-i Kabīr wa Irān*. 4th. ed. Tehran, 1352 Sh./1973, p. 446n.6.

¹⁰⁰ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol 3, p 73.

¹⁰¹ *God Passes By*, p 24.

¹⁰² *Kitāb-i Iqān*, p 178.

¹⁰³ On these, see Āqā 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Zanjānī, 'Personal Reminiscences of the Bābī Insurrection at Zanjan in 1850', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 29 (1897), pp. 771-72.

Ziyāratnāmas

We have already discussed the *ziyāratnāma* for the Imām ‘Alī which was one of the Bāb’s earliest works. He continued to write numerous prayers in this genre, among them *ziyāras* for the Bābī martyrs of Shaykh Ṭabarst, which he penned at this period. There is no need for an exhaustive list of all such prayers. Instead, the reader is referred to the list in Appendix Six of contents of a single manuscript (INBA 6007C) devoted almost entirely to Bābī *ziyāras*, all of them seeming to date from the late period.

The compilation INBMC 53 contains a large number of *ṣalawāt* addressed to the Prophet, Fāṭima, and each of the imāms (pp. 95-130). There is also a separate *ziyāra* for Fāṭimā, known as the *Ziyārat al-Zahrā*, which is extant in only one manuscript.

Amulets and talismans

A common species of Bābī scripture is that represented by amulets or talismanic devices, usually drawn in the form of stars (*hayākil*, sing. *haykal*, ‘temples’) and circles (*dawā’ir*, sing. *dā’ira*).¹⁰⁴ From the beginning of his career, the Bāb ‘fashioned amulets (*hayākil*), charms (*aḥrāz*), and talismans (*ṭilismāt*).’¹⁰⁵ As noted above, he gave instructions in the *Khasā’il-i sab’a* for each of his followers to wear about his neck a *haykal* in his (the Bāb’s) own hand, while the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna ‘l-ḥaramayn* of the same period contains a section on talismans, with instructions for their construction.¹⁰⁶

It is, however, in his later works that the Bāb devotes most attention to this topic. As we have seen, the final section of the *Kitāb-i panj sha’n* (known as the *Kitāb-i haykal/hayākil*) deals at length with talismanic knowledge. In that work, the Bāb indicates that children are to be taught the science of talismans at the age of eleven (the Bābī age of maturity). His followers are told to write out the ‘talismans of unity’ given in the book and to protect themselves with them.¹⁰⁷ In one place, the Bāb instructs them to read eleven *haykals* every day, so that one cycle of readings may be completed every Bābī month.¹⁰⁸

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

¹⁰⁴ For a fuller discussion of this subject, see D. MacEoin, ‘Nineteenth-century Bābī Talismans’, *Studia Iranica*, 14:1 (1985), pp. 77-98.

¹⁰⁵ Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Zunūzī, quoted Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 31-32.

¹⁰⁶ See *Ṣaḥīfa bayna ‘l-ḥaramayn*, Browne F.7, pp. 27-37.

¹⁰⁷ *Panj sha’n*, pp. 409, 413. For details on the construction of talismans given in this work, see MacEoin, ‘Bābī Talismans’, pp. 85-86.

¹⁰⁸ *Panj sha’n*, p. 412.

The Persian *Bayān* contains several regulations relating to the writing and use of talismans. It is indicated that the *haykal* form is to be worn by men and the *dā'ira* by women.¹⁰⁹ In one passage, the Bāb speaks of a *haykal* which is to consist of 2001 names of God (to the number of the name *al-mustaghāth*), and which is to be worn from birth as an amulet and never left off.¹¹⁰ The Arabic *Bayān* and the *Haykal al-dīn* both contain a regulation instructing every individual to write or to have written for him, from the moment of his conception, the phrase *Allāh^u a'zam* nineteen times per month. If light enough, this is to be carried about as an amulet. Should anyone fail to complete his talisman up to the time of his death, his youngest heir must finish it for him. Such amulets are to be passed on to one's heirs.¹¹¹

It is unclear what relationship (if any) exists between the *haykil* described in the *Panj sha'n*, which are recilinear in shape, and those in the shape of a pentagram, which are the commonest type of Bābī *haykal* encountered. These pentagrams generally consist of repetitious phrases, sometimes incorporating Qur'anic verses and the names of Muḥammad, Fājima, 'Alī, Hasan, and Husayn (which suggests a fairly early date for their production). Several excellent examples of such *haykil* in the Bāb's hand may be found in the Azālī compilation, *Qisma'tī az alwah-i khast-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā wa Āqā Sayyid Husayn-i Kātib*. A number of manuscript *haykil* are noted in Appendix One (under *Haykil*).

There are several different types of *dā'ira*. In the Persian *Bayān*, the Bāb states that these talismans must be divided into five unities (*wāhids*), each subdivided into nineteen sections, within which the bearer may write whatever he wishes.¹¹² Elsewhere, however, he gives detailed instructions on the precise composition of *dawā'ir*, which are to be drawn up on a pattern resembling that of Islamic horoscopes. They are divided into 'houses' containing Qur'anic verses, divine names, a popular Shi'ī symbol denoting the 'Greatest Name of God' (*ism Allāh al-a'zam*),¹¹³ and magical devices known to European writers as 'spectacle letters'.¹¹⁴ A particularly good example of a *dā'ira* drawn on this model is item B5 in Folder 3 in the Browne Collection.

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

¹⁰⁹ *Bayān-i Fārsī*, 5:10, p. 166.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7:10, pp. 252-53.

¹¹¹ *Al-Bayān al-'Arabi*, 7:8, p. 30; *Haykal al-dīn*, 7:8, p. 29.

¹¹² *Bayān-i Fārsī*, 5:10, p. 166.

¹¹³ The Bāb, vestise in Māzandarānī, *Aswār al-āthār*, vol. 4, pp. 155-20.

under the heading of 'for 'Alī, on him be peace'; the second is made up of concentric circles of writing. The only examples of these known to me are those reproduced in *Qismafi az alwāh*.¹¹⁴

Dawā'ir are also prescribed for use in the preparation of ringstones designed to be worn by believers. In the Persian *Bayān*, we read that 'if anyone should wish to enter into the talismanic protection of God (*hīrz Allāh*), he should order inscribed on a round cornelian a *dā'ira* of five circles. In the first circle, there should be written the Throne Verse, in the second the name of the circle, in the third the letters of the *basmala*, in the fourth the six names (i.e., *al-fard*, *al-hayy*, *al-qayyūm*, *al-ḥakam*, *al-'adl*, and *al-quddūs*), and in the fifth whatever is conformable to the individual's condition and intention, but to no more than nineteen letters. Similarly, it is considered pleasing to God if no more than nineteen letters be inscribed in the first and second circles.'¹¹⁵

The same work also makes it obligatory for all believers to have engraved for themselves and to wear in the form of a ring a stone of red cornelian or agate inscribed with the words, 'Say: God is the Truth, and all save God is (his) creation, and all are his servants'.¹¹⁶ In the *Haykal al-dīn*, the Bāb prescribes the wearing of a ring on the right hand, bearing a stone inscribed with two verses: 'Praise be to God, the mighty Power; praise be to God, the inaccessible Knowledge'.¹¹⁷

In his commentary on the *Sūrat al-qadr*, the Bāb recommends the inscription of the seven seals of Solomon¹¹⁸ on a ringstone of Yemeni ruby. Whoever carries out this instruction 'shall gather together all good, and it shall be his protection (*hīrz*, 'charm') from all evil'.¹¹⁹ Several other inscriptions are recommended elsewhere for use on precious stones.¹²⁰

Devotional writings

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

¹¹⁴ Pp. 11 and 22.

¹¹⁵ *Bayān-i Fārsī*, 6:10, pp. 215-16.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25. Cf. *al-Bayān al-'Arabī*, 6:10, p. 25.

¹¹⁷ *Haykal al-dīn*, 6:10, p. 24.

¹¹⁸ On these, see H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberrei* (Berlin & Leipzig, 1930), chapter 2.

¹¹⁹ The Bāb, *Sharḥ Sūrat al-qadr*, quoted *Māzandarāni, Asrār al-āshār*, vol. 5, p. 241.

¹²⁰ See 'A. F., *Ā'īn-i Bāb* (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 69-70, quoting the *Kitāb-i chahār shā'n* (*Kitāb al-asmā'*) and an untitled *ṣahīfa*.

For the sake of completeness, I will mention here one work attributed to the Báb which has puzzled me. This is a piece entitled *Kutāb al-jazā'*, listed in the Nicolas catalogue (item 90). Şubḥ-i Azal sent seven pages of this work to Browne.¹²¹ A work of the same title is also described in *A Traveller's Narrative*.¹²²

According to Māzandarānī,¹²³ the title *Kutāb al-jazā'* is merely an alternative for the Arabic *Bayān*, but I have been assured by an Iranian Bahā'ī writer, 'Azīz Allāh Sulaymānī, that it is another, much larger work. In the absence of a complete text, identification can be tentative at most. The matter could be settled if Nicolas' copy could be located.

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

¹²¹ Written in Azal's own hand, April 1890. The ms. is in the Browne Collection, Folder 1 (item 25).

¹²² Vol. 2, pp. 336-37.

¹²³ *Asnār al-Shīrāzī*, vol. 3, p. 14.

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

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

'The Bábī phenomenon,' writes Amanat, 'sprang up at a time when Persian society was on the verge of a crucial transition. Tormented by its age-old dilemmas, the Persian mind was beginning to be exposed to a materially superior civilization. The emergence of the Bábī doctrine thus was perhaps the last chance for an indigenous reform movement before that society became truly affected by the consequences of Western predominance, first in material and then in ideological spheres. Notwithstanding its weaknesses, the Bábī doctrine attempted to address, rather than ignore, the issues that lay at the foundation of an esoteric legacy, one that sought redemptive regeneration in a break with the past without being essentially alien to the spirit of that past.'¹²⁴

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

¹²⁴ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 413.

WRITINGS OF THE BĀBĪ HIERARCHY

The fate of the writings of the Bāb's followers is even more difficult to determine than that of the prophet's himself. The same factors that led to the loss, corruption, or destruction of the Shīrāzī corpus led even more directly to the large-scale spoliation of works known to have been written by such prominent exponents of the movement as Mullā 'Alī Muḥammad Zanjānī Hujjat, Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī Quddūs, Qurrat al-'Ayn Tāhira Qazvīnī, Sayyid Yahyā Darābī Vaḥīd, Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī, and Mirzā Asad Allāh Khū'ī Dayyān, as well as those of many lesser Bābī ulama.

In a letter to E. G. Browne,¹ Ṣubḥ-i Azal referred to 'sundry other books written in proof of this religion by certain learned friends',² Browne says he asked Azal about these and was told that the Bāb had declared it meritorious for those who could do so to compose treatises in defence of their faith.³ Many such treatises were written, including one by Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī 'Azīm and another (entitled *Sab'-mi'a*, 'Seven hundred') by Qurrat al-'Ayn.

Ṣubḥ-i Azal's statement is confirmed by Zarandī, who says that, in 1264/1848, while the Bāb was incarcerated in Chihrtq, he expressed a wish that forty or his followers should write treatises on the validity of his prophetic claims. These treatises, Zarandī says, were written as requested and submitted to the Bāb, who particularly liked the piece composed by Mirzā Asad Allāh Khū'ī, for whom he then wrote the so-called *Lawḥ-i ḥurūfāt* (see above).⁴

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

¹ Received 11 October 1889.

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

³ *Ibid.* f.n. Māzandarānī quotes a prayer of the Bāb's in which he states that several of the ulama sent questions on the Qur'ān to Bushrū'ī; the Bāb says that he will send these verses to 'the one who was for a time my teacher' (a reference to either Mullā Muḥammad Mu'allim Shīrāzī [Shaykh 'Ābid] or Mullā Ṣādiq Khurāsānī), so that he and Bushrū'ī could reply to these questions (*Asār al-āthār*, vol. 4, pp. 369-70; cf. Shīrāzī, *Ṣaḥīf-a-yi 'adliyya*, p. 3).

⁴ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 304.

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

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

1. MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ BARFURŪSHĪ QUDDŪS

Barfurūshī is known to have written a great deal in the short time between his conversion in 1844 and his death in May 1849. Both the *Nuqṭat al-kāf*⁵ and the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*⁶ refer to a treatise sent by him to Bushrū'ī, entitled the *Khuṭba-yi shahādāt-i azaliyya*. This same treatise may be the unnamed work which Barfurūshī is said to have shown to Bushrū'ī when they met in Bārfurūsh.⁷ To my knowledge, no copy of this sermon is extant.

According to Zarandī, when Barfurūshī was confined in Sārt in 1848, he was requested by Mirzā MuḤammad Taqī, the town's leading cleric, to write a commentary on the *Sūrat al-ikhlāṣ*.⁸ The same source alleges that the commentary on the letter *ṣād* of the word *al-ṣamad* in the second verse ran to three times the length of the Qur'ān.⁹

The author of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* says that this commentary was written, not in Sārt, but some time before this, in the course of Bushrū'ī's visit to Bārfurūsh. According to this account, the text consisted of twenty thousand verses (a little more than three times the size of the Qur'ān).¹⁰ Hamadānī, however, although agreeing with the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* as to the time and place of composition, estimates the commentary's length at only three thousand verses.¹¹ He goes on to say that 'in a brief space of time, nearly thirty thousand verses of learned discourses (*shu'ūnāt-i 'ilmiyya*), homilies (*khuṭub*), and supplications (*munājāt*) proceeded from him.'¹²

⁵ p. 156.

⁶ p. 44.

⁷ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 262-63.

⁸ Sūra 112, a Meccan sūra of four verses. According to Subḥ-i Azal, Bārfurūshī also wrote a commentary on the *Sūrat al-fātiḥa* (Browne, *Materials*, p. 202), but I have seen no other references to this. The Bāb, of course, also wrote a commentary on the *Sūrat al-ikhlāṣ*.

⁹ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 357.

¹⁰ *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 139.

¹¹ Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 44. The original text is unclear here. It could be read as Browne translates it: '... in a single night Jenāb-i Quddūs wrote a sublime commentary of some three thousand verses on the words "God the Eternal" or as: 'three thousand verses of exalted explanation and a full commentary in interpretation of the words "God, the Eternal". The Cambridge text (F.55, p. 52) reads: *dar yakshab sih hizār bayt-i bayānāt-i 'āliyya wa sharḥ-i kāf dar tafsīr-i lafz-i Allāh al-ṣamad nivīshā būdand.*

¹² *Ibid.*

According to Zarandī, Bārfurūshī continued to write his commentary on the *ṣād* of *al-ṣamad* in the fort at Shaykh Ṭabarstī, where it is said he penned as many verses as he had done in Sārt.¹³ The same author also records, on the authority of Mullā Muḥammad Furūghī, that, shortly after Bārfurūshī's arrival at Shaykh Ṭabarstī, he gave Bushrūtī a number of sermons to read aloud to the defenders of the fort. The first of these, Zarandī says, was devoted to the Bāb, the second to Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Nūrī Bahā' Allāh, and the third to Qurrat al-'Ayn.¹⁴ This is obviously highly controversial, in view of Nūrī's relative unimportance at this period, not to mention the disagreement which had occurred not long before between Qurrat al-'Ayn and Bārfurūshī.

In a letter to Mullā 'Alī Muḥammad Sirāj Isfahānī, Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh writes that, while he was at the gathering of Bābī leaders in Badasht in 1848, Bārfurūshī 'wrote a number of tablets and sent them [to the Bāb?].'¹⁵ Whether any of these 'tablets' still exists among the few surviving manuscripts of Bārfurūshī's writings is unclear, but if any could be identified, they would prove an invaluable source of information concerning the views of a central participant in the most critical single event in the development of Bābī doctrine.

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

Two manuscripts of writings by Bārfurūshī exist in Western libraries. Both originated in Cyprus. These are Or. 5110 in the British Library and F.43 in the Browne Collection.¹⁶ Describing the latter, Browne remarks that 'these specimens of the style of Ḥazrat-i-Ḳuddūs, few though they be, sufficiently show that his Arabic is even more open to the grammarian's criticism than is usually the case with Bābī writings in that language.'¹⁷ There is contemporary evidence to this effect. Mullā Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharī'atmadār Mazandarānī, with whom Bārfurūshī associated closely in his home town, writes in his *Asrār al-shahāda* that, following his return from the pilgrimage, the young devotee 'went to his [the Bāb's] house in Shirāz; he was with him there and [adopted] his manners, even in writing. I have seen

¹³ Zarandī, p. 357.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

¹⁵ Letter in *Ishraq-Khāvarī, Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī*, vol. 7, p. 97.

¹⁶ See Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, pp. 483-87.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 487.

an incomplete commentary on the *Sūrat al-tawhīd*, consisting of from five to six thousand verses. He [also] wrote homilies and prayers using strange and unfamiliar words, with immense speed, all of which I have seen. Their style and language were absolutely as one...¹⁸ If his Arabic was bad, his handwriting was apparently worse: ‘Abbās Effendi says that it ‘could not be read’.¹⁹

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

2. QURRAT AL-‘AYN QAZVĪNĪ (TĀHIRA)

The writings of Qurrat al-‘Ayn deserve close attention in view of her central role in the creation of a distinct Bābī doctrine, a role possibly more important than that of the Bāb himself. Of particular interest are the controversies which focussed on her in Karbalā’, Baghdad, Qazvīn, and Badasht. A study of these controversies, her role in generating them, and the reasons for the success of her views provide us with a singularly clear picture of the way in which Bābī doctrine developed in the earliest period outside the pronouncements and speculations of the Bāb.²⁰

References to these rifts within the Bābī community (if we may use so concrete a term) are to be found in a number of sources. Chief among these are two letters written by Shaykh Sulṭān al-Karbālā’ī and Mullā Aḥmad Mu‘allim Hisārī respectively; three letters by the Bāb printed in *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*;²¹ and several letters in Qurrat al-‘Ayn’s own hand.

Gobineau stated mistakenly that ‘il ne parait pas que Gourret-oul-Ayn, la Consolation-des-Yeux, ait rien composé, du moins je n’en ai pas connaissance, ou, si elle a écrit, son oeuvre est peu considérable.’²² The reason for this error appears a few lines later when he goes on to say ‘Mais une autre personne, aujourd’hui vivante, moins éminente sans doute que la

¹⁸ Quoted Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 438 n.

¹⁹ ‘Lawḥ-i javān-i rawḥānī dirakhsh’, in Ishrāq-Khāvarī, *Mā’ida-yi āsmānī*, vol 5, pp. 128-29.

²⁰ A basic outline of these controversies and an analysis of their implications may be found in MacEoin, ‘From Shaykhism to Babism’, pp. 203-07. See also Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, chapter 7.

²¹ pp. 332-33, 333, 333-34.

²² *Religions & philosophies*, p. 280.

Consolation-des-Yeux, mais qui occupe pour tant, parmi les religieux, un rang très élevé et que l'on désigne par le titre de "Son Excellence la Purifiée", Djenâb Moteherreh [Jinâb-i Muṭahhara], a composé un ouvrage qui est lu avidement par tous les bābys.²³

It is evident that Gobineau was misled by the existence of two titles, Qurrat al-ʿAyn and Jinâb-i Muṭahhara (which I take to be a confusion or duplication for Jinâb-i Ṭāhira). These do not, of course, refer to two individuals but one.²⁴

Qurrat al-ʿAyn is known to have written a large number of *risālas*, prayers, homilies, and, above all, poems, many of which are still extant. The earliest of her works of which any record exists is a treatise written in support of the doctrines of al-Aḥṣāʾī, in response to a general request by Sayyid Kāzīm Rashī for Shaykhī ulama to write in this vein.²⁵ This seems to have been written and sent to Rashī between her first visit to Karbalāʾ (at an unspecified date) and her second visit at the very beginning of 1844, a mere ten days after the Sayyid's death.

The fate of this treatise is now unknown; it may have been among the large number of papers lost after Rashī's death, when his house in Karbalāʾ was sacked.²⁶ If it could be discovered and identified, it might prove of particular value in providing us with a reliable picture of this women's beliefs prior to her conversion to Babism.

Shaykh Kāzīm Samandar has remarked that the earliest poetry composed by her consisted of elegies (*marāthī*) on the sufferings of the imāms (perhaps under the influence of her father, who wrote much on this subject).²⁷ These too appear to have been lost.

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

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Gobineau repeats this mistake on pp. 293-94: '... ce n'est pas l'Unité tout entière, qui se compose encore de dix-huit autres individualités, parmi lesquelles doit de toute nécessité se trouver une femme. C'était, au début, la Consolation-des-Yeux; aujourd'hui, c'est Son Excellence la Purifiée.' It is not clear to me which work of Qurrat al-ʿAyn's could have been so avidly read by the Bābīs in Gobineau's day.

²⁵ Zarandī, *Down-Breakers*, p. 83; Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 312. It was in approval of this *risāla* that Rashī first addressed her by the phrase that was to become the basis of her main sobriquet, Qurratu ʿaynī.

²⁶ See Kirmānī, *Fihrist*, part 1, p. 625.

²⁷ Samandar, *Tārīkh*, p. 345.

(*sabʿ-miʿa*). This request was made in a letter written to her around the time of the schism among the Bābīs of Karbalāʾ (about 1262-63/1846-47).²⁸

This treatise has also been lost, nor do we possess any record of its precise contents. I would surmise that it was simply a collection of seven hundred Shiʿite *akhbār* touching on the appearance of the Qaʾim, similar to the collections entitled *Arbaʿīn*, containing forty traditions.²⁹ There is evidence that such compilations were made by Bābī clerics. Zarandī states that Mīrzā Aḥmad Azghandī 'concentrated his energies upon the preparation of a learned and voluminous compilation of Islamic traditions and prophecies relating to the time and the character of the promised Dispensation.' 'He collected,' Zarandī continues, 'more than twelve thousand traditions of the most explicit character, the authenticity of which was universally recognized;³⁰ and resolved to take whatever steps were required for the copying and the dissemination of that book.'³¹

Some paragraphs later, Zarandī explains that a certain Mīrzā Taqī, a *mujtahid* who visited Azghandī while the latter was staying in Yazd, borrowed his copy of the *Sabʿ-miʿa*. He was incensed by its 'mischievous character' (which seems curious if the book were no more than a collection of 'universally recognized' traditions) and threw it into a pond.³²

One example of just such a compilation has survived, however. This is a *risāla* by an unknown Bābī containing some seventy traditions (mostly from the *ʿAwālim* of al-Baḥrānī)³³ relating to the advent of the Imām Mahdī and the events of the day of resurrection. The text of the traditions is followed by a section of commentary. This *risāla* forms the first and lengthiest part of a collection of works by early Bābīs, now available in Xerox form as INBA 80.³⁴

A number of treatises by Qurrat al-ʿAyn have survived. The earliest of these seems to be the *risāla* referred to by Hamadānī, who says that she wrote

²⁸ Letter quoted in Māzandarānī, *Zuhār al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 333-34; this quotation appears on p. 334.

²⁹ So named in response to a tradition attributed to Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq: 'Whoever of our followers shall preserve forty traditions, God shall raise him up on the day of judgement as an *ʿālim* and *ʿaqaḥī*, nor shall he be punished (for his sins)'. Numerous such collections have been made. Among the best known are the *Arbaʿīn* of Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī and Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī.

³⁰ That twelve thousand traditions on such a limited subject would be 'universally recognized' is stretching the truth, to say the least.

³¹ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 184.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ The *ʿAwālim al-ʿulūm waʾl-maʿārif waʾl-ahwāl min al-ayāt waʾl-akhbār waʾl-aqwāl* is a vast work of one hundred volumes by Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh ibn Nūr Allāh al-Baḥrānī. Only a few volumes have so far been published.

³⁴ Pp. 198-211.

some two to three thousand verses in reply to questions posed by two Shaykhī ulama, Mullā ‘Abd al-‘Alī and Mullā Jawād [Vilyānī?].³⁵ I discovered a copy of this treatise in the manuscript collection INBA 6003C, running from p. 332 to p. 379. The colophon at the end of the letter is dated 1262/1846, but the letter itself seems to have been written from Karbalā’ as early as 1261/1845: this is indicated at the top of a printed copy of the major part of the *risāla* contained in *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*.³⁶ Māzandarānī did not use the INBA 6003C manuscript as the basis for his text (there are minor variations between the two), so I assume his earlier date is taken from another manuscript.

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

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

- (i) A letter to Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū‘ī, pp. 334-38
- (ii) A general letter written after her departure from Karbalā’, pp. 338-52
- (iii) A general letter addressed to non-Bābī Shi‘ites, also written after her departure from Karbalā’, pp. 352-56
- (iv) A letter addressed to Sunnī Muslims, replying to doubts expressed by the Muftī of Baghdad, Shāykh Maḥmūd al-‘Āfūsī, pp. 356-59
- (v) A letter replying to slanders levelled by other Bābīs, written partly in Persian, pp. 359-66.

Māzandarānī also prints facsimiles of two letters written to her uncle Ḥajj Mullā Muḥammad Taqī, between pages 314 and 315.

An Arabic apologia for Babism written by Qurrat al-‘Ayn is published as an appendix to the Gulpāygānīs’ *Kashf al-ghīṭā’ ‘an ḥiyal al-‘adā’*. In the

³⁵ *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 283.

³⁶ Vol. 3, pp. 483-501.

text of the book itself, it is explained that two copies of this *risāla* were sent to Mirzā Abu' l-Faḍl Gulpāygānī. One came from a merchant in Iskandarūn whose father had lived in Baghdad, where he had copied it from the original. The other was sent by a Mirzā 'Abd Allah 'Iraḡī, who had copied it himself but forwarded a different transcript in the hand of a scribe called Ḥabīb Allah.³⁷

It is not clear what happened to the copies in Gulpāygānī's possession. On his death, the Bahā'ī leader 'Abbās Effendi ordered his papers to be collected. These were then taken by Āqā Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī (a nephew and son-in-law of the Bahā'ī cleric Nabil-i Akbar) to Ashkhabad, from whence they were removed to Tehran. It seems that they were then handed over to Gulpāygānī's nephew, Sayyid Maḥdī, who completed the writing of the *Kaṣf al-ghīḍ'*, which he had printed in Ashkhabad.³⁸ After that, the trail goes cold. An alternative account states that some at least of these papers were delivered by 'Abbās Effendi to Nabil-i Qa'inī.³⁹ I would surmise that the papers, including at least one copy of this *risāla*, are in the possession of Sayyid Maḥdī's descendants, or in the Iran National Bahā'ī archives in Tehran, or in Haifa.

Unfortunately, there is good reason to believe that most of Qurraṭ al-'Ayn's considerable output of apologetic writing has been destroyed or lost. Something of the extent of this output is indicated by Muḥammad Muṣṭafa al-Baghdādī. He says that, when she was in Kirmānshāh in 1263/1847, letters would arrive for her every day from ulama and other enquirers. She would write rapid replies to all of these.⁴⁰ The anonymous Azalī history, *Qurraṭ al-'Ayn: bi-yāḍ-i ṣadumīn sāl-i shahādāt*, states that, while under house arrest in Tehran, 'Izziyya Khānum, Ṣubḥ-i Azal's eldest sister, would send her younger sister Fāṭima to visit her, Fāṭima then being eight or nine years old. The little girl would bring letters for Qurraṭ al-'Ayn concealed in her pocket and would take replies away in the same manner.⁴¹ Many prayers, poems, homilies, and other pieces reached the Bābīs in this way, and many of the originals are still extant.⁴² These copies may be in the possession of

³⁷ Gulpāygānī and Gulpāygānī, *Kaṣf al-ghīḍ'*, p. 110.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

³⁹ Faḍl Allah Ṣubḥī Muḥtādī, *Khaṭirāt-i Ṣubḥī dar bāra-yi Bābīgarī wa Bahā'īgarī*, 5th ed. (Qum, 1354 Sh./1975), p. 85.

⁴⁰ Al-Baghdādī, *Risāla amriyya*, p. 112.

⁴¹ Anon., *Qurraṭ al-'Ayn: bi-yāḍ-i ṣadumīn sāl-i shahādāt* (n.p. [Tehran?], 1368/1949), p.

12.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

'Izziyya Khānum's family,⁴³ but it is possible that some are in Bahā'ī hands as well.⁴⁴

The above-mentioned Azālī publication contains some twenty-eight pages of poems and prayers by Qurrat al-'Ayn. Ḥussām Nuqabā'ī, the Bahā'ī editor of a book entitled *Tāhira-Qurrat al-'Ayn*, claims that most of these are 'suspect' (*mashkūk*),⁴⁵ although he does not provide any grounds for these suspicions. Indeed, in the present state of our knowledge of Qurrat al-'Ayn's writings, I cannot see on what basis such a claim could be reasonably founded. I think it quite possible that some of these pieces, particularly the poems, are works written during her Tehran confinement (about 1849 to 1852).

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

Even more important is a manuscript in the Tehran Bahā'ī Archives, INBA 5045E. This is a small manuscript of exactly 10x6 ems., consisting of one hundred and two folios. It is written in a very fine, minute *shikastā-nasta'liq* hand on variously-coloured paper. Clearly of some age, the manuscript has, unfortunately, lost its last pages, and contains little to indicate the actual date or to identify the scribe. The heading on the first page, however, uses the phrase '*alayhā 'l-bahā'*' ('upon her be the beauty') following the sobriquet *Tāhira*, a clear indication that the scribe was a Bahā'ī. This collection contains some 46 prose pieces, many of them letters to individuals. If its authenticity could be assured, there is no doubt that it would provide an indispensable source for the views of Qurrat al-'Ayn as expressed to her fellow-converts.

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

⁴³ Ibid. p. 25.

⁴⁴ Māzandarānī, *Zuhār al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 328, refers to letters from this period.

⁴⁵ Ḥussām Nuqabā'ī, *Tāhira 'Qurrat al-'Ayn'* (Tehran, 128 BE/1971-72), p. 73.

more definitely known to have been written by her, and the contents — which include detailed references to the controversies between her and other Bābīs in Iraq, described here as 'what took place between me and some of the brethren'⁴⁶ — lend support to the supposition of her authorship. In particular, there is a personal reference on page 278, where the writer says: *yā ikhwānī... lā thanū hādhihi 'l-aqallata min al-dharra* ('O my brethren,... do not praise this creature who is less than an atom'), using the feminine *hādhihi 'l-aqalla* rather than the masculine *hādha 'l-aqall*.

Apart from its references to the disputes between Qurrat al-ʿAyn and Mulla Aḥmad Muʿallim Ḥisārī, this letter is valuable for its brief account of the issue between the Bāb and Mulla Jawād Vilyānī, its defence of the role and position of the Letters of the Living (*al-sābiqūn*), particularly Mulla Ḥusayn Bushrūʿī, and its use of quotations from early writings of the Bāb. It is particularly interesting for its rejection of rational proofs,⁴⁷ its condemnation of traditional knowledge,⁴⁸ its use of the concept of the organ of the heart in reaching true understanding,⁴⁹ and the emphasis it places on spiritual love as a prerequisite for gnosis (*māʿrifā*).⁵⁰

At present, only one other manuscript collection (in this case, exclusively poetry) is definitely known to contain work by Qurrat al-ʿAyn. This is a manuscript in the possession of the Bahāʾī writer, Niʿmat Allāh Dhukāʾī Baydāʾī, who discovered it in 1319-20 Sh./1941-42, when living in Shīrāz. Thanks to his generosity, I was provided with a copy of this manuscript in 1977. The collection contains 73 pages with 475 *bayts* in eight sections, two of which are clearly the work of Bihjat-i Qazvīnī.⁵¹ The manuscript was transcribed by the Bahāʾī calligrapher Abu ʿl-Ḥasan Nayrīzī in 1341/1922-23 from a copy dated 20 Shaʿbān 1267/20 June 1851 (when Qurrat al-ʿAyn was still alive). There is no name for the scribe responsible for the original manuscript.⁵²

46 p. 225.

47 p. 217.

48 p. 244.

49 p. 246.

50 p. 293.

51 Karīm Khān Maftī, a cousin of Ḥusayn Qulī Khān Nizām al-Saltāna, was a poet who wrote under the *sakhalluṣ* of Bihjat. He corresponded with Qurrat al-ʿAyn while she was confined in Tehran. See Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 385; Niʿmat Allāh Dhukāʾī Baydāʾī, *Tadhkirā-yi shuʿarā-yi qarn-i awwal-i Bahāʾī*, vol. 1 (Tehran, 127 BE/1970-71), pp. 217-22.

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

The present author has heard of the existence of a number of other manuscript collections of works by Qurrat al-ʿAyn, all of them described as *dīwāns* of her poetry in her own hand. Should these exist and should they prove to be genuine, their importance would be considerable. For the benefit of future scholars, let me place on record what I know of these supposed collections. They are: 1) a *dīwān* said to be in the possession of a Mrs Tavāngar, a descendant of Mirzā Muṣṭafā, Browne's Azalī scribe; 2) a *dīwān* owned by Ḥajj Shaykh ʿAbbād al-Ṣāliḥī, a Muslim descendant of one of Qurrat al-ʿAyn's brothers, who has told me that it is among his family papers in Karbalāʾ; and 3) a *dīwān* in the possession of a Muslim friend of Mr al-Ṣāliḥī, Dr. Qāsimī.

A few manuscripts of Qurrat al-ʿAyn's writings — mainly poems — have found their way to Europe. E. G. Browne possessed a small number, including a letter from Qurrat al-ʿAyn to Mullā Shaykh ʿAlī Turshīzī, transcribed by Ṣubḥ-i Azal. This may be found in the Browne Collection, F.66* (item 12a). The original letter, in the hand of Qurrat al-ʿAyn, was known to have been in Browne's possession at one time, since he reproduced it in facsimile in his editions of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* and the *Nuqṭat al-kāf*.⁵³ It was lost for many years until identified by the present author in Folder 3 of the Browne Collection.

That same folder also contains the original of what is alleged to be an autograph *mathnavī* by Qurrat al-ʿAyn. This was sent to Browne on 24 September 1892 by Shaykh Aḥmad Rūḥī Kirmanī. It is reproduced in *Materials*.⁵⁴ Comparison of the handwriting of this item with that in several other pieces known to be in Qurrat al-ʿAyn's hand shows clearly that it is not an autograph. Although I would be reluctant to make a firm statement at this stage, my feeling is that the poem itself may be a forgery, since it is in a style rather different to that of other poems definitely known to be the work of Qurrat al-ʿAyn.

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

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

⁵³ *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, facing p. 434. The text is printed on pp. 434-37, and a translation of part one on pp. 437-41. *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, facing p. 140 of the Persian text.

⁵⁴ Facing p. 344. The text is printed on pp. 343-47.

manuscript of Qurrat al-ʿAyn's works for the Asiatic Museum in the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.⁵⁵ Momen also refers to an article by the Russian orientalist V. A. Zhukovski, in which he mentions various papers collected by the Russian consul at Astarābād, F. A. Bakulin; these included some writings by Qurrat al-ʿAyn.⁵⁶ E. G. Browne refers to copies of several more Bābī poems, possibly containing some by Qurrat al-ʿAyn, which were contained in a manuscript with the class-mark P.92, lent him by the late Charles Schefer.⁵⁷ Of the present whereabouts of Schefer's manuscript, I have, I regret, no idea.

In general, there is a serious problem of authenticity in the case of Qurrat al-ʿAyn's writings, particularly her poetry. A number of poems have been attributed to her which are, in fact, by other poets, including the early nineteenth-century Ṣūfī poet of Shīrāz, Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir, better known as Ṣuḥbat-i Lārī (1162-1251/1749-1835-6).⁵⁸

A version of the well-known poem beginning: *lamahārā wajhikā 'shraqat wa shūʿā' taʿatikā 'talās*⁵⁹ appears in the *Dīwān* of Ṣuḥbat-i Lārī,⁶⁰ Ṣuḥbat himself seems to have been imitating a poem by Jāmī, beginning: *nafahāt waṣlika awqadat jumarārī shawqikā fī 'l-mashā'*

A *mukhammas* beginning: *ay bi-sar-i zulf-i tu sūdā-yi manī va'z gham-i hijrān-i tu ghūghā-yi man* which appears in *Qurrat al-ʿAyn*,⁶¹ has also been attributed to the Bābī martyr Ḥājj Sulaymān Khān Tabrīzī.⁶² A *ghazal* beginning: *khāl bi-kunji-lab yakā lurra-yi mushkfām* du raises different problems. There is a very similar *ghazal* (identical in one line) by Sakīna ʿUfat Shīrāziyya, and Wafā-yi Qummī has at least two lines very close to its opening stanzas.⁶³ Ḥājj Faḥ Allāh Mafīʿūn Yazdī, however, attributes this *ghazal* to Umm Hānī (d.1236/1820-21), a daughter of Ḥājj ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān Yazdī.⁶⁴

One of Qurrat al-ʿAyn's best-known and most attractive poems is a *rubāʿī* beginning: *gar bi-tu uftadam nazar chihra bi-chihra rū bi-rū*. According

⁵⁵ Momen, *Bābī and Bahāʾī Religions*, p. 41n.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵⁷ Browne, *Materials*, p. 352.

⁵⁸ On Ṣuḥbat, see Bāmdād, *Rijāl*, vol. 6, pp. 211-212; introduction to *Dīwān-i Ṣuḥbat-i Lārī*, 4th. ed., (Shīrāz, 1354 Sh./1975-76), pp. ix-xix.

⁵⁹ Published by Browne in *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. 314-16 and *Materials*, pp. 349-51.

⁶⁰ 4th. ed., Shīrāz, 1354 Sh./1975-76, pp. 129-30. On this, see also Browne, 'Bābīs of Persia II', pp. 240-41.

⁶¹ pp. 26-27.

⁶² Muḥammad ʿAlī Malik-Khusravī, *Tārīkh-i shuhadāʾ*, vol. 3 (Tehran, 130 BE/1973), p. 228.

⁶³ Maʿsūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Tardʾ iq al-ḥaqdʾ iq*, vol. 3 (Tehran, 1345 Sh./1968-69), p. 235.

⁶⁴ *Bāb wa Bahāʾ-rā bishināsīd* (Hyderabad, n.d.), p. 271.

to Yazdī, this piece appears in old collections and is variously attributed to Nazīrī⁶⁵ or ʿAḡḡāʾī. Baydāʾī, however, attributes it to yet another poet of the Ṣafavī period, Ṭāhīrī Kashfī, known in the Deccan as Shāh Ṭāhīr Dakhanī.⁶⁶ It is also worth comparing two lines in the version attributed to Qurrat al-ʿAyn with two lines from a poem by Qāsim al-Anwār quoted by Browne.⁶⁷ The authenticity or several other poems has been challenged without firm attribution to other writers.⁶⁸

Apart from those just mentioned, the texts of numerous poems attributed to Qurrat al-ʿAyn have appeared in several publications.⁶⁹

3. MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ ZANĠĀNĪ ḤIJĀT

There are at least two manuscripts of a work by Mulla Muḥammad ʿAlī Zanġānī written before his conversion. Entitled *Rayḡānat al-ṣudūr*, this piece was composed for Muḥammad Shāh in 1259/1843; it deals with the question of the duration of the month of Ramaḍān. The two manuscripts are:

1. Tehran, Millī 898
2. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2536

Although the subject is not one of critical importance, this is still a significant text, not merely because it is a treatise written before 1844 by a radical cleric later to play a central role in the militant wing of the Bābī movement, but also because Zanġānī, unlike other Bābī leaders,⁷⁰ was not a Shaykhī prior to his conversion.

Māzandarānī publishes a facsimile of a letter from Zanġānī to one of the ulama of his home town; the original is, apparently, in his own hand.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Nazīrī of Nīshāpūr, d. 1021/1612-13 (see Browne, *Literary History*, vol. 4, p. 252, including references).

⁶⁶ *Tadhkira-yi shuʿarāʾ*, vol. 3, pp. 111-12. Baydāʾī bases this attribution on a miscellany in his possession containing this poem. The collection is, he maintains, over one hundred and fifty years old.

⁶⁷ *Literary History*, vol. 3, p. 480.

⁶⁸ See Baydāʾī, *Tadhkira-yi shuʿarāʾ*, vol. 3, pp. 102, 109-10, 132.

⁶⁹ Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 366-69; Nuqabāʾī, *Ṭāhira*, pp. 139-97; ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma* (Tehran, 1325-[58] Sh./1946-79, under 'Ṭāhira'; Muḥṣīr Sālmī, *Zanān-i sukhanvar*, vol. 2, pp. 82-98; Isfandiyār Bakhtiyārī, *Tuhfa-yi Ṭāhira* (Delhi, 1933), pp. 28-47; Mirzā Mahdī Shīrāzī, *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ* (Bombay, 1306/1889), under 'Qurrat al-ʿAyn'; Saʿīd Mahmūd Khayrī, *Farhangī az sukhanvarān va surūyandigān-i Qazvīn*, vol. 1, pp. 131-36; Baydāʾī, *Tadhkira*, vol. 3, pp. 121-30; Browne, *Materials*, pp. 347-48; idem, "Bābīs of Persia II", p. 297; Martha L. Root, *Ṭāhīrī the Pure, Iran's Greatest Woman* (Karachi, 1938; reprinted Los Angeles, 1981), between pp. 94 and 95.

⁷⁰ I here discount Mirzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī and his brother Yahyā, neither of whom played a significant role in early Babism, despite the claims of later Bahāʾī and Azālī historians to the contrary.

⁷¹ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, between pp. 182 and 183.

This is the only work of Zanjanī's from the Bābī period that has so far come to light.

4. SAYYID YAḤYĀ DĀRĀBĪ VAḤĪD

Two pages of a so-called *Risāla-yi istidlāliyya*, said to be in the hand of their author, Sayyid Yahyā Dārābī, the leader of the Bābī insurrection in Nayrīz, are reproduced in *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*.⁷² Mazandarānī also cites two Arabic *maqālas* by Dārābī, in which he describes his meeting with the Bāb in Shirāz; the originals of both pieces are said to be extant and to be autograph copies.⁷³ A copy of the second of these two *maqālas*⁷⁴ forms the introduction (after a preceding *khuṣba* ascribed to the Bāb)⁷⁵ to the collection of the Bāb's writings made by Dārābī in Tehran and now contained in INBMC 40 (pp. 3-5).

A manuscript in Haifa attributed to the Bāb under the unique title of *Risāla-yi aṣḥāt* is said to be in Dārābī's hand. This may, in fact, be a work by Vaḥīd himself, since no work of that name has been recorded anywhere as a work of the Bāb's. These apart, no other works by Dārābī seem to have survived.

5. MULLĀ MUḤAMMADḤUSA YNBUSHRŪĪ BĀB AL-BĀB

Very few works by Bushrū'ī seem to have survived. The largest is a work dealing with the advent of the Qā'im and consisting mainly of traditions from Bahrānī's *Kitāb al-awālim* and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Kitāb al-ghayba*. Written in Qazvīn about 1263/1847, not long before Bushrū'ī's leadership of the Shaykh Ṭabarstī insurrection, this work emphasizes the role of the inhabitants of Khurāsān as participants in the uprising (*khurūj*) of the Imām. We possess two manuscripts of this work. One is item 3 in the collection of early Bābī texts issued as INBMC 80 (pp. 198-211);⁷⁶ the other is in INBA 3032C.

⁷² Ibid, p. 471.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 471-77.

⁷⁴ The one on pp. 475-77.

⁷⁵ Reproduced in *ibid*, pp. 473-75.

⁷⁶ The following words have been added to the top of p. 1, possibly by the original scribe: *al-akḥbār allāf jamā'ahā Sayyid al-Aqāb Mawlānā Bāb al-Bāb ruḥī lahu 'l-fida' fi arḍi qāf*. The 'Land of Qāf' is, of course, Bābī-speak for Qazvīn. According to Mullā Ja'far Qazvīnī, Bushrū'ī passed through the town twice: once en route to Isfahān and again on his way to visit the Bāb in Chihriq. On the second occasion, he stayed for some days with Āqā Ḥādī Farḥādī and was introduced to Qurraṭ al-'Ayn ('*Tārīkh-i Mullā Ja'far*' in Samandar, *Tārīkh*, p. 488).

Mazandarānī reproduces part of the text of an Arabic treatise by Bushrūʿī, the style of which is extremely similar to that of the Bāb.⁷⁷ According to this authority, other works by Bushrūʿī have survived,⁷⁸ but no details are given as to their whereabouts.

6. OTHER BĀBĪS

We have already mentioned an important manuscript collection in private hands containing works by early Bābīs and issued as INBMC 80 under the title *Nivishūjāt wa āthār-i aṣḥāb-i awwaliyya-yi amr-i ʿlā ki dar ithbāt-i amr-i badīʿ nivishiya-and*. This collection (which I have only seen in photocopy) consists of six separate pieces in different hands, the whole bound together and amounting to 332 pages.

The first item, an anonymous treatise citing traditions from the ʿAwālīm, has already been referred to. It is followed by a fragment of only a few lines in Persian. The third piece is the collection of *akhbār* compiled by Mullā Husayn Bushrūʿī while visiting Qazvīn. Item four is the treatise attributed by me to Qurrat al-ʿAyn and referred to above. The fifth piece is a *risāla* of some thirty pages, possibly written by Mullā Jalīl Urūmī, a Letter of the Living who lived for some time in Qazvīn.⁷⁹

The last item is an important letter from Shaykh Sulṭān al-Karbālāʾī to some unidentified Bābīs in Iran, in which he provides details of serious dissension within the Bābī community of Karbalāʾ, in which the two sides were led by Qurrat al-ʿAyn and Mullā Aḥmad Muʿallim Ḥisārī respectively.⁸⁰

At least two of the above items may have been written in Qazvīn, and almost all seem to be in some way connected with (or by) Qurrat al-ʿAyn (both Urūmī and al-Karbālāʾī were in her entourage on her return to Qazvīn from Iraq in 1847). These facts suggest a Qazvīnī provenance for the collection, but more than that cannot usefully be said at present.

With reference to the last item of this collection, I should note here that I have been shown a small group of letters written by Mullā Aḥmad Ḥisārī, also referring to this dissension. The originals are in the possession of Ḥājī Shaykh ʿAbbād al-Ṣāliḥī, the descendant of Qurrat al-ʿAyn's brother

⁷⁷ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 136-39.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁷⁹ On whom see, Mīzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 47; Samandar, *Tārīkh*, pp. 351-52.

⁸⁰ This letter has been published — apparently from a different ms. — by Mīzandarānī in *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 245-59. Another printed version (based on a copy supplied by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-ʿAbbāsī) appears in ʿAlī al-Wardī, *Lamaḥāt ijtimāʿiyya min taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāq al-ḥadīth*, vol. 2 (Baghdad, 1969), pp. 163-68.

mentioned above, and are among papers owned by his family in Karbalā'. The importance of this collection lies in the fact that they provide us with an alternative version of a vital early doctrinal conflict within Babism, in this case by the leader of the losing party. The collection, which has been given the title '*Aqd'id al-Shaykhiyya*, was lent by Mr al-Ṣāliḥī to the Iraqi scholar 'Alī al-Wardī, who reproduces part of it in his *Lamahāt ijtimā'iyya*.⁸¹

Three further manuscripts of treatises by Bābīs were discovered by the present writer in Tehran in 1977. These are all included in manuscripts in the INBA listed as 'collections of writings of the Bab', but examination of their style and contents makes it clear that authorship must, in these cases, be assigned to as yet unidentified disciples rather than to the prophet himself.

The first of these is a *risāla* of sixty pages at the beginning of INBA 6006C (pp. 2-62). It is in a different hand to any of the other pieces in the collection (there being several hands altogether). This copy was produced two months after the original, which is dated Sha'bān 1264/July 1848. It may be one of the treatises referred to above, written at the Bāb's request in that year.

The second piece is a work of almost forty pages at the end of INBA 6003C (pp. 380-416), constituting one of the most important single documents for the study of the transition from Shaykhī to Bābī thought. The writer seems to have been a Shaykhī originally, since he frequently refers to al-Aḥsā'i and Rashtī, whom he calls *al-bābayn al-akhīrayn* (the two previous *bābs*) and *nuqtay 'l-i'itidāl* (the two points of balance),⁸² or separately as *al-shaykh al-bāb* (the Shaykh, the Bāb)⁸³ and *al-sayyid al-bāb* (the Sayyid, the Bāb).⁸⁴ Once, he refers to Rashtī as *bāb Allāh al-muqaddim al-sayyid al-bāb alladhī lāfarq baynahu wa bayna shaykhihi* (the previous Gate of God, the Sayyid, the Bab, between whom and his Shaykh there is no distinction) and to al-Aḥsā'i as *bāb al-akram* (sic; 'the noblest Bab').⁸⁵

The author gives a list of Rashtī's writings, and refers to the opposition the latter encountered from Shaykh Ja'far (al-Najafī?), Shaykh 'Alī (al-Najafī), and Mīrzā Muḥammad Akhbārī.⁸⁶ On one occasion, he quotes from al-Aḥsā'i's *Risāla waṣā'il al-ḥammam al-'ulyā*.⁸⁷ On page 392, he speaks of the split between the Shaykhīs and the Balāsarts,⁸⁸ and later

81 Vol. 2, pp. 159-63.

82 INBA 6003C, p. 401.

83 Ibid, pp. 401, 402.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid., p. 384.

86 Ibid, pp. 401-02.

87 Ibid, p. 384.

88 On this division, see D. MacEoin, 'Balāsart', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3, pp. 583-85.

refers to the beginning of some form of divine revelation at the end of 1200 years of Islam in the person of al-Aḥṣāʾī.⁸⁹ Some pages after this, he speaks of the two groups into which the followers of al-Aḥṣāʾī and Rāshī had become divided: the *ʿawāmm* (masses) and the *khawāṣṣ* (elite).⁹⁰ He goes on to write of the growth of the world, using the common analogy (still in use among modern Bahāʾīs) of the stages in the development of the individual, and he anticipates the appearance of the Hidden Imām.⁹¹

On page 413, he makes the first clear reference to the appearance of Shīrāzī as the Bāb, giving the date of his 'revelation' as the year '61'. This is not, I think, an error for '60', the year normally given for this event (referring to 1260 *hijrī*), but is more likely to be a reference to the open announcement of Shīrāzī's claims and the revelation of his identity.

The third of these *risālas* is a short work of only two pages at the end of INBA 4011C (pp. 368-69). Dated Dhū ʿl-Hijja 1266/October-November 1850, its chief interest lies in a reference to the break with the laws of the Islamic *sharʿa* and the adoption of a new legal system.

Several other manuscripts of important works by early Bābīs are referred to, quoted, or reproduced in facsimile by Mazandarānī throughout the third volume of *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*. These include:

1. A treatise in the form of questions and answers exchanged between Mirzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Zunūzī and an unidentified (possibly fictitious) Shaykhī *ʿālim* (quoted, pp. 31-37).

2. A work entitled *Riyāḍ al-janna*, written by Shaykh Hasan Zunūzī (a relative of the above Mirzā Muḥammad ʿAlī), a Shaykhī *ʿālim* and a close companion of Rāshī. This author later became an ardent disciple and secretary of the Bab (see chapter 1). This work may have been written while he was still a Shaykhī. (Referred to, p. 37.)

3. An incomplete manuscript by Mirzā Ḥusayn Dakhlī ibn Dakhlī (quoted, pp. 55-59).

4. The *Abwāb al-hudā* by Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Hashrūdī (d. 1270/1853-54), originally a Shaykhī. The book is an apologia for the claims of the Bab, using Shaykhī terminology. (Quoted, pp. 116-19; cf. pp. 73-74.)

5. A *risāla* by Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūdī (quoted, pp. 136-39). According to Mazandarānī, other works by Bushrūdī are extant, but no further details are given.⁹²

⁸⁹ INBA 6003C, p. 399.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

⁹² *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 136.

6. A book of *istidlāliyya* (apologetics) by Mullā Aḥmad Mu'allim Hisārī (referred to, p. 160). This work might prove invaluable as a source for the ideas of this unsuccessful opponent of the radicalism of Qurrat al-ʿAyn and other Letters of the Living.

7. Two *risālas* from Mullā Shāykh ʿAlī Turshīzī ʿAzīm, written for leading Bābīs (quoted, pp. 166-68, 168-69). Turshīzī's importance as one of the most revolutionary Bābī leaders and as the mastermind behind the attempted murder of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh in 1852 gives these short treatises considerable interest.

8. A letter from ʿAbd al-Khāliq Yazdī (quoted, pp. 172-73). Since Yazdī later abandoned the movement, the existence of any works from his hand is of real interest; the present piece is, however, too slight to form a basis for any serious comment on his thinking.

9. A letter from the Bāb's secretary, Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm Qazvīnī, to Mullā Jāhī Urūmī, a Letter of the Living for a long time resident in Qazvīn. (between pp. 370 and 371).

10. The *Asrār al-shahāda* of Mullā Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharīʿatmadār Māzandarānī, an ʿālim from Bārfurūsh who was, according to Māzandarānī, a Bābī convert.⁹³ Mudarrīst Chahārdihī (who denies Sharīʿatmadār's conversion) states that the original manuscript of this work was in the keeping of one of the author's descendants, Āqā Sharīʿatzāda, then director of the magazine *Jilva*.⁹⁴

Whatever the truth of this, the manuscript seems to have fallen into Bahāʿī hands. While working at the INBA in 1977, a number of manuscripts which had belonged to Sharīʿatmadār and one of his brothers, and which had been in the keeping of a descendant who had become a Bahāʿī, came into possession of the archive. On examining these briefly, I identified one massive volume of at least one thousand pages as a copy of the *Asrār al-shahāda* in the author's own somewhat inelegant hand. This may have been an original draft. Unfortunately, these manuscripts were soon afterwards removed elsewhere and I was unable to make a close study of any of them.

Another manuscript dealing with Islamic themes by an author who was at one time a Bābī convert but later returned to a strict orthodox position deserves a brief mention. This is *Al-insān al-kāmil*, a work written in 1253/1837 by Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī Baraghānī, one of the two paternal uncles of Qurrat al-ʿAyn. Unlike his brothers, Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī was a

⁹³ For contrasting views on Sharīʿatmadār, see *ibid*, pp. 434-45 and Chahārdihī, *Shaykhīgarī, Bābīgarī*, pp. 140-174.

⁹⁴ *Shaykhīgarī, Bābīgarī*, p. 158.

Shaykhī at the time of this book's composition (although this is not immediately apparent from the text). Penned some seven years before the author's brief conversion to Babism, this work covers a wide range of traditional subjects, among them the following: the souls of believers, unbelievers, and prophets; the souls of Muḥammad and the imāms; reason; faith; the qualities of the Shi'ā; formal prayer (very extensive); the creation of man; the days of the week; the *qibla*; clothing; the reality of the worshipper; important mosques; the call to prayer; reading of the Qur'ān; various aspects of prayer; *zakāt*; *khums*; fasting (in which section al-Aḥsā'ī is quoted); meditative seclusion (*i'tikāf*); piety; and the *hajj*.

Since this man was a major influence on Qurrat al-'Ayn and, indeed, was in part responsible for her adoption of the Shaykhī position, this book (written at a time when that influence may have been at its height) should repay study, even though it can give us no information about Bābī doctrine as such. The manuscript referred to here is number 3433 in Tehran University Library. It appears to be an autograph.

Numerous letters known as *'arā'id* (petitions) were written by his followers to the Bāb. The author or the *Nuqtat al-kāf* speaks of an *'arīḍa-yi taṣdīq-nāma* written by 'Abd al-Khāliq Yazdī,⁹⁵ and it may be that it was customary for recent converts to write to their prophet as a token of allegiance. Could copies or such letters be traced, they would undoubtedly give valuable insights into the general attitude of the mass of converts towards their leader, possibly showing changes with the passing of time. At present, however, no examples of such works are known.

⁹⁵ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p. 203. Māzandarānī also speaks of copies of *'arā'id* (*Asrār al-ʿAḥsā'ī*, vol. 3, p. 277). See also Balyuzi, *The Bāb*, p. 75n.

WORKS OF ANTI-BĀBĪ POLEMIC

WORKS OF KARĪM KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ

Refutations of Bābī doctrine are often valuable sources for the doctrine itself. The most accessible and earliest of Muslim polemics against the Bāb are four works by Shīrāzī's contemporary, Hājī Mullā Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī (1225-88/1809-70). Kirmānī was the most successful candidate for leadership of the Shaykhī school after Rashtī's death. His own position was threatened by the claims of the Bāb, who took away much of Kirmānī's potential following and, by his extreme heterodoxy, tainted mainstream Shaykhism in the eyes of the orthodox majority. In response to this double threat, Kirmānī became the first Shī'ite 'ālim to launch an attack on the person and teachings of the Bāb.¹

Kirmānī's four books are: *Izhāq al-bāṣil* (Kerman, 1351 Sh./1973), written in 1261/1845; *Tir-i shihāb* (Kerman, 1386/1967);² *al-Shihāb al-ithāqib* (Kerman, 1353 Sh./1974-75), written in 1265/1849; and the *Risāla-yi radd-i Bāb-i murīād* (Kerman 1385/1965-66),³ written in 1284/1867 for Naṣir al-Dīn Shāh.

There are, of course, brief references to the Bāb and his doctrines in other works by Karīm Khān, such as his lengthy *Irshād al-ʿawāmm*,⁴ written between 1262/1846 and 1267/1851; the *Risāla-yi sulṭāniyya*,⁵ written at the request of Naṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1274/1858; and the *Risāla-yi sī faṣl*,⁶ written in 1269/1853.⁷

¹ For details, see D MacEoin, 'Early Shaykhī Reactions to the Bāb and His Claims', in M. Moqim (ed.), *Studies in Bābī and Bahā'ī History*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles, 1982), pp. 1-47.

² Part of a compilation entitled *Majmū'a-yi rasā'il-i Fārsī*.

³ Published with *Risāla-yi taryīl* by Hājī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Khān.

⁴ 4th ed., 4 vols., Kerman, 1325/1907; see vol. 4, pp. 325-27.

⁵ Kerman, 1382/1962-63; see pp. 94, 283-84.

⁶ Kerman, 1368/1949; see sections 5 and 6.

⁷ According to Māzandarānī, Kirmānī attacked the Bāb in no less than twelve works (*Zuhār al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 400). He does not, unfortunately, enumerate these. His statement that one of Kirmānī's complete works on Babism is the *Fīrat al-salīma* (sic) is incorrect; this three-volume work deals separately with the knowledge of God, *nub uwwa*, and *imāma*. In his *Risāla-yi sī faṣl*, Kirmānī says: 'I have written five or six books in refutation of him [the Bāb] and have sent them to different parts of Azerbaijan, ʿIrāq ʿAjam, ʿIrāq ʿArab, Hījaz,

OTHER SHAYKHĪ POLEMICS

Other Shaykhī polemics are rather later than those of Kirmānī, but it is worth noting them here. They include a published book by Kirmānī's son and successor, Ḥajj Muḥammad Khān (1263-1324/1846-1906), *Taqwīm al-ʿawj*⁸ written in 1304/1887. The same writer also composed two earlier polemics, dated 1289/1873 and 1298/1881, but these remain in manuscript. Copies may be found in the Shaykhī archives in Kerman, in the manuscript collections classed as 'ع - ج', and د' | 'ج - د'.⁹ Ḥajj Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Khān, Muḥammad Khān's younger brother and successor, wrote two refutations of Babism: the *Ṣawāʾiq al-burhān*,¹⁰ a lengthy work of almost nine hundred pages, and the *Ṣiṭṭa*,¹¹ an abridgement of the first, written in 1330/1912 for Āqā Mirzā ʿAbd al-Kārim Khān Mukhābir al-Mulk.¹²

OTHER MUSLIM POLEMICS

Iḥqāq al-ḥaqq

Iḥqāq al-ḥaqq, a polemic by Āqā Muḥammad Taqī Hamadānī, is described by Browne as 'On the whole the best refutation of Bābī and Bahāʾī doctrine from the Muḥammadan point of view' which he had read.¹³ Lithographed without place or date of publication, internal evidence shows that it was printed during or after 1908.¹⁴ Its chief value consists in the fact that, as Browne states, 'it reveals... an amount of knowledge of his opponent's case on the part of the writer rarely to be found in authors of such polemical works, and numerous Bābī and Bahāʾī works are abundantly and correctly quoted'.¹⁵ The section on Bābī history, however, is 'neither very

Khurāsān, and India. I have also written letters to the ulama and sent petitions to officials of the victorious government [of Iran]. At times in Yazd and Kerman, and once on a journey to Khurāsān, I have made clear their unbelief from pulpits with proofs and evidences' (pp. 34-35).

⁸ Bombay 1311/1893-94; reprinted Kerman, n.d.

⁹ The same author has a work entitled *Shams al-muḍīʿa* (sic), (Tabriz, 1322/1904-05; reprinted Kerman, n.d.), written in 1320/1902-03 in refutation of the Bahāʾī apologetic work *al-Farāʾid* by Abū ʿI-Faḍl Gulpaygānī.

¹⁰ Kerman, 1381/1962.

¹¹ Kerman, 1252 Sh./1974.

¹² The same author's *Mirāj al-sarāda* (Kerman, 1351/1932-33) was written in 1348/1930 in reply to a Bahāʾī.

¹³ *Materials*, p. 190.

¹⁴ See the endorsements by *mujtahids* Ḥajī Muḥammad Kāzīm Khurāsānī and Ḥajī Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Māzandarānī, both resident in Najaf.

¹⁵ *ʿAid*, p. 189.

accurate nor very fair.¹⁶ Browne supplies a summary of thirty doctrines ascribed to the Bābīs by this author and condemned as heretical.¹⁷

Miftāḥ bāb al-abwāb

Probably the best-known refutation of Babism is the *Ta'riḫ al-Bābiyya aw miftāḥ bāb al-abwāb* of Muḥammad Mahdī Khān Za'īm al-Dawla (d. 1333/1914-15), editor of the newspaper *Ḥikmat*, a Persian monthly published in Cairo. Bāmdād exaggerates in calling this book 'one of the best and relatively unbiased works to have been written on this subject,¹⁸ but it has certain virtues, not least of which is its frequent citation of Bābī texts. A Persian translation by Ḥājī Shaykh Ḥasan Farīd Gulpāygānī is available.²⁰

Rajm al-shayṭān

A curious polemical work is *Rajm al-shayṭān fi raddi' ahl al-Bayān*.²¹ The book is attributed to an otherwise unknown cleric, Ḥājī Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥīm [Burūjirdī]²², and is supposedly a refutation of a Bābī work entitled *Kitāb al-Imān fi izhārī nuqtat al-Bayān*. However, no work of that title is known outside the pages of 'Abd al-Raḥīm's *Rajm al-shayṭān*, where it is quoted in full and commented on. Browne expressed the view that the refutation is often so feeble that I am inclined to believe that the book really forms part of the Bābī propaganda, the essence of it being the original *Kitābu' l-Imān*, and the weak reply being added merely to ensure its safe and open circulation amongst Muslims.²³ This is an opinion shared by the author of *Minḥāj al-ṭālibīn*, a genuine anti-Bābī polemic.²⁴ I am not myself entirely convinced that it is the case, but there is no question that the Bābī text is highly intelligent and displays a wide knowledge of religious literature, including the Bible and Sufī writing, and that the refutation sections of the *Rajm al-shayṭān* in no way match it for style or content.

Numerous other published works of polemic exist, but these are all twentieth-century productions and, as such, fall somewhat outside the scope of the present study. Many of them do, of course, deal in some detail with

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 325-39.

¹⁸ Cairo, 1321/1903.

¹⁹ *Rijāl*, vol. 4, p. 6.

²⁰ Tehran, 1346/1968.

²¹ Thus on the actual title page. Browne (*Materials*, p. 192) mistakenly gives the title as *Rajm al-shayṭān fi radhā' il al-Bayān*.

²² He is called Burūjirdī by Aqā Buzurg al-Tihirānī (*al-Dharr'a*, vol. 10:163).

²³ *Materials*, p. 193.

²⁴ Quoted *ibid*.

Bābī history and doctrine, but they rely for their information on earlier materials and seldom if ever present fresh material or make use of unpublished sources from the early period.²⁵

Manuscript polemics

The most interesting and important anti-Bābī polemics in manuscript are several works written by Ḥājī Mīrzā Abu 'l-Qasim ibn Āqā Sayyid Kazim Zanjānī (1224-92/1809-75). The author of a number of religious works of a general nature,²⁶ Zanjānī was a contemporary of the Bāb and an eyewitness of the Bābī uprising in his home town. He wrote four *radiyyas* against the Bāb: *Takhrīb al-Bāb*, *Sadd al-Bāb*, *Qaṣ' al-Bāb*, and *Qam' al-Bāb*.²⁷ As far as the present writer is aware, the manuscripts of these works are still in the possession of the author's family.

According to Navā'ī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Mamaqānī (a son of the Tabrizī Shāykhī leader, Mullā Muḥammad Mamaqānī) was one of the first to write a refutation of the Bāb and his claims.²⁸ Bāmdād adds that his father (who was one of the ulama who signed a warrant for the Bāb's death) was also among the first to write such a polemic.²⁹ Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī was, like his father, a leading Shāykhī cleric, as well as the author of several books of poetry under the sobriquet 'Nayyir'. His refutation of the Bāb does not seem to have been published, and it is not now known where the original may be.

We have already mentioned in these pages a Bābī convert named Mullā Muḥammad Tāqī Harawī, who later renounced the Bāb and returned to Islam. Harawī met the Bāb in Iṣfahān and later corresponded with him during his imprisonment; he may possibly have been the recipient of the *Dalā'il-i sab'ā*. According to Ḥabībābādī,³⁰ he wrote a refutation of his former master, entitled *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*. Āqā Buzurg Tihirānī mentions

²⁵ Āqā Buzurg Tihirānī lists a large number of what seem to be published *radiyyas* (see *Kūbb al-dharrī'a ilā taṣnīf al-shi'a*, particularly vol. 10, pp. 188-89; see also *ibid*, vol. 1, p. 524 [*Arghām al-shay'ān*]; vol. 2, p. 52 [*Asrār al-'aqā'id*], p. 504 [*al-Ṭaqṭ*]; vol. 3, p. 9 [*Bāriqat al-ḥaqīqa*]; vol. 5, p. 264 [*al-Jujjaj al-raḍawīyya*]). All these are late works, except for *al-Ṭaqṭ* by Ḥājī Sayyid Ismā'īl ibn Sayyid Muḥammad 'Iṣaynī Ardakānī, published in 1313/1895-96.)

²⁶ See *ibid*, vol. 16, p. 228, vol. 17, pp. 6, 70, 174-75.

²⁷ See *ibid*, vol. 4, p. 3, vol. 12, p. 153, vol. 17, pp. 167, 171. Navā'ī (*Fīna-yi Bāb*, p. 156) also lists four refutations by Zanjānī, but instead of *Qam' al-Bāb* gives the title *Radd al-Bāb*. Whether this is the same work or a fifth is not clear.

²⁸ *Fīna-yi Bāb*, notes, p. 239. On Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī, see Bāmdād, *Ri'āl*, vol. 3, p. 325; Chahārdihī, *Shaykhīgarī*, *Bābīgarī*, pp. 178-86.

²⁹ *Ri'āl*, vol. 3, p. 325.

³⁰ Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥabībābādī, *Makrīm al-āthār*, 4 vols (Iṣfahān, 1337-52 Sh./1959-74), vol. 3, p. 627.

two works written in refutation of Babism by Harawī, one of which may well be the work named by Ḥabībābādī. These are: *al-Radd ‘alā ‘l-Bābiyya* (which begins *amā ba‘d makhfī namānad bar rāh-ravān-i tarīq-i mustaqīm...*) and another entitled *al-Radd ‘alā ‘l-Mīrzā ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bāb*.³¹ These do not appear to be the real titles of the works in question, but at least they serve to identify them as separate pieces. The value of such documents, written by an outstanding ‘*ālim* with extremely close connections to Babism, several leading Bābīs, and even the Bāb himself can scarcely be overrated.

Another important discovery would be a *risāla* refuting the Bāb by Mullā Jawād Vilyānī (known to Bābīs as ‘*Khu‘ār*, ‘the Calf’), a maternal cousin of Qurrat al-‘Ayn who introduced her to Shaykhī ideas and later adopted Babism for a short time. Disillusionment with Shīrāzī led him before long to join forces with Karīm Khān Kirmānī, who was, as we have seen, a prolific author of polemics against the Bāb. Vilyānī eventually returned to Qazvīn, where, according to Māzandarānī, he wrote at least one *risāla* attacking the Bāb.³²

In his early article, ‘The Bābīs of Persia II’, Browne wrote: ‘... I am convinced that a great difficulty in identifying Bābī mss. exists, and is one of the chief barriers to a study of them and the doctrines they embody.’³³ I have tried in the foregoing pages to clarify some of the many obscurities that surround these manuscripts. I have answered some questions and found others to ask. I have identified and listed the principal manuscripts of the works of the Bāb and, where possible, those of his leading followers. But it is abundantly clear to me that much work remains: scattered materials have to be assembled, many manuscripts have yet to be properly identified, some of the more important collections have to be suitably catalogued, and an untold number of hidden manuscripts must still be brought to light. That said, I can only hope that the foregoing chapters will provide enough information to stimulate a rapid and wide-ranging enterprise of direct research into Bābī doctrine based on original sources and free of the biases that have until now blighted this important area of Iranian Shī‘ite studies.

³¹ *Al-Dharrī‘a*, vol. 10, pp. 188, 222.

³² *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 388. For more information about Vilyānī, see MacEoin, ‘From Shaykhism to Babism’, pp. 199-203 and sources cited there.

³³ p. 899.

PART TWO
SOURCES FOR BĀBĪ HISTORY

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

In the modern period, religious controversy has centred largely around questions of historicity. Even the debate surrounding *The Satanic Verses* is, in some measure, to do with problems of historical understanding, at the very least the portrayal of historical sacred figures. This has been particularly true for religions within the Judaeo-Christian tradition, which place a very high premium on historical records and the veracity of the sacred or secular events narrated in them. Many of the most crucial Western sacred texts — parts of the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and parts of the extensive *hadith* literature of Islam — are primarily historical narratives that purport to reveal the hand of God acting within human affairs.

The development of modern methods of historical and textual analysis has presented a major challenge to faiths rooted in texts of this kind. This has led in many cases to deep divisions between literalist fundamentalists determined to maintain the authority of the texts, on the one hand, and liberals eager to unharness their faith from what they perceive as the trammels of dogmatic historicism, on the other.

Within the Christian tradition, the growth of Biblical criticism has often resulted in radical rereadings of the Old and New Testaments. Even in the 1980s, the liberal views of the English bishop David Jenkins on the historicity of the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection precipitated a bitter crisis within the Church of England. The problems facing Western Jewish intellectuals who have come under the influence of modern historical methodology have been graphically and intelligently highlighted in the novels of Chaim Potok, notably *The Chosen* and *The Promise*. For Islam, the challenge of modernist thinking has been only part of a broader threat posed by Western ideas and influences on many fronts, from politics to postmodernist literature — what the fundamentalist writer ‘Āīsha ‘Abd al-Rahmān calls the ‘intellectual crusade’.¹ As yet, traditionalism has held out against those few attempts there have been to re-evaluate the historical origins of the Islamic faith in the light of fresh textual and archaeological evidence, or even simple rationalist criticism of *hadith* materials.

In spite of the relatively recent date of its origins, the Bahā’ī religion has not been immune to controversy over historical issues. If anything, the problems facing Bahā’īs in this area may be even more serious than they are

¹ *Al-ghuṭw al-fikrī. See Qar’ā’ fi wathā’iq al-Bahā’iyya*, Cairo, 1306/1986, p. 154 and throughout.

for the followers of earlier faiths. On the one hand, Bahá'ism is theoretically predisposed to favour a modern rationalist approach to the study of historical origins: the publicly-proclaimed principles of an unfettered search after truth and the harmony of science and religion (or faith and reason) commit adherents to a non-literalist, scientific methodology. In fact, the Bahá'í position with regard to earlier religious histories is avowedly anti-traditionalist, liberal, even iconoclastic. Bahá'ís would, for example, side more readily with Bishop Jenkins than with his opponents, and have been identified in the Islamic world as the bearers of a reprehensible modernism.

On the other hand, the peculiar way in which Bahá'í historiography has developed has invested the central historical texts with a degree of religious authority that may be considered extreme by any standards. Not only did Mirzá Husayn 'Alí Bahá' Alláh, the movement's founder, refer to historical events and personages in his own writings (which are believed by his followers to be a species of divine, infallible revelation), but he is recorded as having read and sanctioned part of the history of Mullá Muḥammad Nabil Zarandí later published in English as *Nabil's Narrative (The Dawn-Breakers)*. He is also reported to have instructed the Bahá'í writer Faḍíl-i Qá'íní to produce a 'corrected' recension of Mirzá Husayn Hamadání's *Tārīkh-i jadíd*.

Bahá' Alláh's son and successor, 'Abbás, also gave his approval to parts of Zarandí's history and to the text of a later work by Mirzá 'Abd al-Husayn Ávára, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya*. More importantly, he himself penned the anonymous history entitled *Maqāla-yi shakhṣī sayyāh* (later edited and translated by Browne as *A Traveller's Narrative*) and delivered a series of hagiographical discourses subsequently published under the title *Tadhkirat al-wafá' (Memorials of the Faithful)*. Years later, 'Abbás's successor as head of the religion, his grandson Shoghi Effendi Rabbānī, produced a heavily-edited translation of Zarandí's chronicle, as well as his own full-length English history of the Bábí and Bahá'í movements, under the title *God Passes By*.

Whatever the precise status of these works in terms of official doctrine, there can be no doubt that their very existence has exercised a profound influence on popular Bahá'í thinking about sacred history. For most Bahá'ís, there is a 'true', infallibly-sanctioned history of their faith and its predecessor, Babism (often conflated into a single movement). Whereas the history of earlier religions may, for Bahá'ís, have been distorted and clouded by myth and legend, that of God's latest revelation is deemed 'authentic' and unquestionable, even in what are often very minor particulars. One of the consequences of this is that alternative versions of Bábí or Bahá'í history, even where based on the kind of rational, scientific historical research Bahá'ís

readily commend when applied to the histories of earlier religions, are often confused with the polemical works of writers antagonistic to Baha'ism, and described indiscriminately as 'attacks' or 'distortions'.

This problem has been particularly acute in one area, that of Babi history. As we shall see, E. G. Browne's criticism that the Bahā'īs had bowdlerized or suppressed major elements of the history of Babism was in turn rejected by Bahā'ī writers as a wilful distortion of what they understood to be the unalloyed truth. The fact that many of Browne's conclusions have been extensively (and often indiscriminately) drawn on by opponents of the Bahā'ī movement in both Iran and the West has not helped preserve a clear line of demarcation between fair academic comment (however pointed) and outright polemic. Nor has the situation been made any clearer by the development of a critique of orientalist writing about Islam.

There is no need to enter here into the details of the controversy surrounding Babi and Bahā'ī historical studies. It is enough to point out that a controversy exists, that it is still both sharp and complex, and that it is likely to continue unabated for an indefinite period.²

Although no visible division took place within Babism until about 1866, it is nevertheless true that, after 1850, attention focuses first on the Bab's successor, Mirzā Yahyā Nūrī Ṣubḥ-i Azāl, and then on Yahyā's half-brother, Mirzā Husayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh. The history of Babism proper or 'early Babism' may be said to have ended with the Bab's death. A confused period of 'middle Babism' followed, lasting until the mid 1860s, after which the Bābī community split into rival Azālī (conservative) and Bahā'ī (progressive) factions.³ This division between Azālī and Bahā'ī Babism finally became absolute, with the former retaining its initial sense of identity and the latter developing with increasing self-consciousness into a distinct religion.

Since we are concerned here with Babism in its primitive form, I intend to concentrate largely on primary sources for the period up to about 1853. It should be pointed out, however, that, for the most part, this does

² For examples of recent articles pursuing this debate, see: D. MacEoin, 'The Bābī Concept of Holy War', *Religion* (1982) 12:93-129; idem, 'From Babism to Baha'ism: Problems of Militancy, Quietism, and Conflation in the Construction of a Religion', *Religion* (1983) 13: 219-55; Muhammad Afnan and William S. Hatcher, 'Western Islamic Scholarship and Bahā'ī Origins', *Religion* (1985) 15: 29-51; D. MacEoin, 'Bahā'ī Fundamentalism and the Academic Study of the Bābī Movement', *Religion* (1986) 16: 57-84; M. Afnan and W. Hatcher, 'Notes on MacEoin's "Bahā'ī Fundamentalism"', *Religion* (1986) 16; and D. MacEoin, 'Afnan, Hatcher and an Old Bone', *Religion* (1986) 16.

³ On this period, see D. MacEoin, 'Divisions and Authority Claims in Babism (1850-1866)', *Studia Iranica* 18:1 (1989), pp. 93-129.

not mean contemporary sources in the strict sense of the word. Several important histories exist which, although written after the Azalī/Bahā'ī division, are either the work of eye-witnesses or contain eye-witness accounts.

In a *risāla* written in reply to points in the Persian introduction to Browne's edition of the *Kitāb-i nuqtat al-kāf*,⁴ Sayyid Mahdī Dahajī remarks that the early Bābī period was so confused that no-one had the leisure to sit down and write a narrative of events as they were occurring.⁵ He goes on to say that, after these events, not only had the majority of the main participants perished, but the survivors tended to be reluctant to set down their memoirs for fear of distorting the facts.⁶

Most of the histories in our possession were written after the Azalī/Bahā'ī split, a fact which has led to repeated accusations of tendentiousness and outright falsification. That there are grounds for concern will be made evident. Fortunately, more and more early documents are coming to light, giving us a valuable means of checking the general or particular veracity of later works. There is still ample scope for serious research in Iranian libraries, in particular those, such as the libraries of the Majlis and Senate or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where official papers are stored. Current conditions make it unlikely that independent researchers will be granted access to these materials for some time to come.

During the 1970s, a Bahā'ī scholar, Moojan Momen, carried out extensive research in the British Public Records Office and elsewhere. In the

⁴ It is widely recognized that the Persian introduction was not the work of Browne but of Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī. The latter told Muḥī-i Tabāṭaba'ī that he wrote it on the basis of materials supplied by Browne (*Kitābī bi nām bā nāmī tāza*, *Gawhar*, year 2, nos. 11 and 12, p. 961).

⁵ Some attempt was made to produce a record. According to Zarandī, Sayyid Yahyā Dārābī invested several of his fellow-insurgents in Nayriz with specific functions. Among these was Mirzā Muḥammad Ja'far, a cousin of the governor, who was made chronicler. A certain Mirzā Faḍl Allāh was appointed 'reader of these records'. The fate of this chronicle, if it was ever kept, is not known (*Dawn-Breakers*, p. 483). Nicolas says that Mirzā Ja'far was the governor's nephew, that he merely wrote an ode in honour of the struggle, and that Mirzā Faḍl Allāh was charged with reading this to 'the troops', either the Bābīs or their opponents (*Séyyed Ali Mohammed*, p. 398). Muḥammad Shaftī Rawḥāndī confirms that he was the governor's nephew (and it should be said that Shoghi Effendi, Zarandī's translator, commonly confused the Persian for 'cousin' and 'nephew'); he also indicates that he was a son-in-law of Sayyid Yahyā. It seems that he was later given protection by his uncle and went on to produce a number of poetical works, included a published *mathnawī* entitled *Khusraw wa Shirin* and a manuscript history of the second Bābī struggle in Nayriz (in which he did not take part), entitled the *Jang-nāma* (see Nayrizī, *Lama'at al-awwāl*, vol. 1, pp. 258-63).

⁶ *Risāla-yi Sayyid Mahdī Dahajī*, Cambridge, Browne Collection, F.57. This work was written about 1331/1913-14. It represents only the first half: part two never reached Browne and may not have been written before Dahajī's death.

course of this work, he unearthed numerous documents containing references to early Bābī history. Many of these have been published in a large volume entitled *The Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions, 1844-1944: Some Contemporary Western Accounts*, of which chapters one to nine contain materials relating to the Bab and his followers. The book also contains a detailed and informative introductory survey of Western accounts of the Bābī and Bahā'ī movements. Although these materials are extremely limited in what they can tell us about Babism, there is no question that they do shed light on otherwise obscure points and occasionally provide a corrective balance to both Bābī and Muslim accounts.

The French Foreign Office Archives at the Quai d'Orsay are known to contain further material, but they have yet to be exhaustively researched; the same applies to the records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Istanbul. References to the Babists in Russian diplomatic despatches have been published by Ivanov,⁷ but it must be assumed that much more than this still awaits discovery.

If these diplomatic materials have any value other than the very occasional light they shed on shadowy corners of Bābī history, it is the mute witness they provide against the common slander that Babism and Baha'ism were subversive movements created by Western imperialists to destroy Islam in Iran from within. These accusations are still repeated in Iranian and Arab polemical literature and amount to something very like a blood libel used to justify arrests, confiscations, and even murder. None of the materials discovered in Western archives show anything but puzzlement or curiosity as to the origins, purposes, and ideas of the Babists. That alone is an important contribution to our knowledge, since it lets us return with renewed confidence to the other materials at our disposal. If there are problems with these (and there are), they are of a very different order.

⁷ M. S. Ivanov, *Babidskie vosstaniia v Irane (1848-1852)* (Moscow, 1939), appendix.

THE KITĀB-I NUQTAT AL-KĀF

Let us begin our examination of the available sources by considering what is undoubtedly the most controversial set of issues raised by any document connected with the history of Babism: the questions of the identity, reliability, and authenticity of the book known as the *Kitāb-i nuqṭat al-kāf*.

Although the history of this book and its relationship to the later *Tārīkh-i jadīd* have been discussed more than once,¹ a fresh summary will not be out of place here. It is hard to separate discussion of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* from treatment of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, but I intend to deal as fully as possible with the earlier history before embarking on an examination of the ways in which these two works relate to one another.

The authorship of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* has been attributed to Ḥājī Mīrzā Jānī Kashānī, a Bābī merchant who entertained the Bāb in the course of the latter's journey from Isfahān to Mākū in 1847.² Kashānī appears to have known personally several leaders of the movement, including Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī,³ Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Nūrī,⁴ and Mīrzā Yahyā Ṣubḥ-i Azāl.⁵ He was among those arrested and executed following the attempt on Naṣīr al-Dīn's life in 1852. At that time he was, it seems, living at Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm,

¹ See, in particular, Browne, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, introduction, pp. vii-xliii; idem, *Kitāb-i Nuqṭatu'l-Kāf*, introduction, pp. xii-xx, xxxiv-xlvii; H. M. Balyuzi, *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahā'ī Faith* (London, 1970), chapter VII; Gulpāyḡānī and Gulpāyḡānī, *Kashf al-ghīṭā*. The most recent discussion may be found in two articles by Sayyid Muḥīṭī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, all in *Gawḥar* magazine: 'Kitābī bi nām bi nāmī āza', *Gawḥar*, year 2, (1353 Sh./1975), II and 12; 'Tārīkh-i qadīm wa jadīd', 2 parts, *Gawḥar*, year 3 (1354 Sh./1976), 5 and 6. See also idem, 'Az taḥqīq wa tātabbu' wa tabliḡh farq-i bisyār ast', *Gawḥar*, year 4 (1355 Sh./1977), 3. For a useful summary, see Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Najafī, *Bahā'īdān* (Tehran, 1399/1979), pp. 359-99. A short Azālī reply to these articles has been written by Aḥmad Khazānī, entitled *Nazarī bi-Nuqṭat al-kāf* (ms.). A brief survey may be found in D. MacEoin, 'Nuqṭat al-kāf', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed. (forthcoming).

² Ḥamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, pp. 213-14; Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 217-22.

³ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 219.

⁴ Ibid., p. 368; *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, p. 242.

⁵ Ibid. and ibid. The text of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* indicates that the author met Sayyid Yahyā Darābī (pp. 120, 223) and Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Zanjānī (p. 125). Obviously, these references give us more information about Mīrzā Jānī if he is indeed the author of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf*.

where he is said to have been engaged in the composition of a history of the movement.⁶

In 1892, Edward Browne found what he believed to be a copy of Kāshānī's history among the Bābī manuscripts that had belonged to the Comte de Gobineau, by then located in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁷ It was a passage on folios 86b to 87a of this manuscript (Suppl. Persan 1071), corresponding to one quoted in the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* and said to have been written by Mīrzā Jānī, which first led Browne to suspect that the Paris text might be a copy of the lost narrative.⁸

Browne sought to confirm his theory as to this work's identity by sending a description of the five Gobineau manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale to Ṣubḥ-i Azāl. In his reply of 3 May 1892, Azāl thus identified Suppl. Persan 1071: 'The history to which you allude must, by certain indications, be by the uplifted and martyred Ḥājī [Mīrzā Jānī], for none but he wrote (such) a history.'⁹ The 'indications' which enabled Azāl to identify this work are not, unfortunately, elaborated on.

Browne rapidly became convinced of the importance of his discovery. In his introduction to the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, he spoke of the history attributed to Mīrzā Jānī as 'interesting, profoundly and intensely interesting; the most interesting book, perhaps, in the whole range of Bābī literature'.¹⁰ He went on to assert that, had Gobineau not preserved this unique manuscript, 'it would have been impossible to reconstruct faithfully and in detail the early history of Babism'.¹¹ Convinced that this book was of unique value, not only in portraying the history of Babism from a Bābī point of view, but in representing this history in a form untainted by later versions of those events as set down after the Azālī/Bahā'ī division, Browne published an edition of the Persian text in 1910. Under the title *Kitāb-i-Nuqtatu'l-Kāf*, this formed volume 15 of the Gibb Memorial Series; it was accompanied by English and Persian introductions (the latter actually written by Mīrzā Muhammad

⁶ Mīrzā Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpaygānī, *Risāla-yi Iskandariyya*, trans. as 'A Treatise for Alexander Tumansky', in *Letters and Essays 1886-1913*, trans. Juan R. I. Cole (Los Angeles, 1985), p. 79.

⁷ Ḥamadānī, *Tārīkh-i-jadīd*, introduction, p. xxx.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 199, n.1.

⁹ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, introduction, p. xvi. Ṣubḥ-i Azāl's original letter is in the Browne Collection as item 13 in a portfolio numbered F.66*.

¹⁰ *Tārīkh-i-jadīd*, introduction, p. xxviii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxx.

Qazvīnī, as we have noted), various facsimiles, indices, an index to the Persian *Bayān*, and textual footnotes.¹²

THE KASHF AL-GHIṬĀ'

Bahā'ī writers and, more recently, one Muslim author have been of the opinion that the book published by Browne was not, in fact, written by Mīrẓā Jānī, although theories as to what it actually is and who its author really was differ considerably. The Bahā'ī savant Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpāyḡānī, who was himself involved to some extent in the composition of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* (a history supposedly based on an earlier work by Mīrẓā Jānī) maintained that Browne's text was not identical with the work he had known.

Gulpāyḡānī began to write a refutation of the published *Nuqtat al-kāf*, but died in Cairo on 21 January 1914, when he had completed only 132 pages. His nephew, Āqā Sayyid Mahdī Gulpāyḡānī, completed the refutation, using notes left by his uncle. The finished work was eventually published in Ashkhabad some years later under the title *Kashf al-ghīṭā' 'an ḥiyāl al-a'ḍā'* (Removal of the Veil from the Schemes of the Enemies). It was, however, ill received by the Bahā'ī patriarch 'Abbās Effendī, who ordered all copies burned.¹³ Surviving copies are few and far between.

One can understand 'Abbās's concern. The *Kashf al-ghīṭā'* is of considerable interest as one of the earliest examples of what is now a common genre of Islamic writing, the anti-orientalist polemic. It is for the most part an ugly attack on the integrity and academic honesty of Browne and, even in the early sections, contains numerous absurdities.

Gulpāyḡānī the elder begins his attack on Browne by representing him as a man who, in his various works, has shown himself under different colours: now as a steadfast Bahā'ī, now a steadfast Azalī, now a judicious historian, now an English Christian, and now an unbiased orientalist.¹⁴ Anyone familiar with Browne's published work will know that this is entirely unfounded. On the next page, however, Gulpāyḡānī reveals why he labours under such misapprehensions: he admits that he knows no English and that the versions of Browne's writings given him by different interpreters have varied.¹⁵

¹² This title occurs on p. 5 of the published text. It must be stressed that it was Browne who actually made it the title of the entire work. The point will be discussed more fully later.

¹³ Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 'Kitābī bi nām', p. 957.

¹⁴ Gulpāyḡānī and Gulpāyḡānī, *Kashf al-ghīṭā'*, p. 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

He next attacks what he calls 'Browne's edition' of the *Chahār maqāla* as 'profitless', 'incorrect', and so forth.¹⁶ This is surprising, in that Browne never produced an edition of the *Chahār maqāla*, but a translation and a revised translation. The text of the *Chahār maqāla* published in the Gibb Memorial Series (presumably the edition meant by Gulpāygānī) was actually prepared by Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī.

We next learn that Browne gave himself out in Iran as a Bahā'ī (an allegation for which I know of no foundation whatever), arguing that his motive in so doing was either because there were no hotels in the country and Browne wanted to make use of Bahā'ī hospitality, or that he wished to bring a new history back to England.¹⁷ On the next page, Gulpāygānī cites a statement by a friend in the employ of the Russian government to the effect that Browne and Aleksander Tumanskii were 'politicians' who had decided to pose as the defenders of the Azalīs and the Bahā'īs respectively.¹⁸

After this, Gulpāygānī indicates new sources obtained by him in Egypt for the life of Browne. He alleges that the latter's efforts to obtain his degrees and to carry out studies in different disciplines were all merely for the purpose of making his one visit to Iran.¹⁹ He remarks that no-one could possibly spend just one year in Iran and become knowledgeable about its history, people, and so forth, implying some dark secret in respect to Browne's learning.²⁰

Finally, it is argued that, since Shi'īs would never associate with a foreigner or give him hospitality, Browne was forced to stay with Bahā'īs and Bābīs (members of proscribed sects!) and pretend to be one of them.²¹ In any case, Gulpāygānī argues, in spite of all he has written, Browne has never produced a work on anything but oriental studies, which shows how easily Easterners may be deceived.²² Let us not forget that these are remarks made by someone whose scholarship is a legend among the Bahā'īs of the West and who is regarded as 'the greatest Bahā'ī scholar'.²³

After a discussion of Mirzā Jān's identity and one or two other incidental matters, Gulpāygānī proceeds to the *Nuqtat al-kāf* itself. 'No book like it,' he writes, 'has ever been written in calumny of the Bāb'²⁴ — a rather

¹⁶ Ibid, pp 8-9.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 13-14.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 15.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 23.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 25.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Cole, editor's note to Gulpāygānī, *Letters and Essays*, pp xi, xiv.

²⁴ Gulpāygānī and Gulpāygānī, *Kashf al-ghūḥā'*, p. 54.

curious conclusion, bearing in mind the book's sympathies. After that, he alleges that the book has actually been tampered with,²⁵ but immediately leaves the subject in order to deal with other topics.

The next references to the *Nuqat al-kāf* proper occur in the section by Sayyid Mahdī, beginning at page 165. Gulpaygānī the younger contests Browne's statement to the effect that Gobineau brought back his copy of the *Nuqat al-kāf* from Iran. In support of his argument, he adduces the date of a defective second copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Persan 1070)²⁶ and the fact that Gobineau's *Religions et philosophies* was not corrected on the strength of Kāshānī's presumed history.²⁷ From this not unreasonable (and probably correct) premise, however, the author goes on to claim that the Azālīs actually added forged passages to Mirzā Jānī's history and sold it to the Bibliothèque Nationale as one of Gobineau's books.²⁸ Gulpaygānī nowhere offers any clues as to how this remarkable feat was carried out (the book was, after all, bought at public auction), but he does at least have the courtesy to exonerate Browne from complicity in the alleged deception.

After a discussion of some minor points relating to the introductory portion of the *Nuqat al-kāf*, Sayyid Mahdī asserts that the Azālīs have corrupted the passage relating the conversion of Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī 'out of pure spite against the Bahā'īs'.²⁹ (But it is hard to see what possible connection the incident in question could have with Bahā'īs that it does not have with Azālīs, which is just about none at all.) The *Kashf al-ghūṣā'* then continues to its end as a discussion — often a valuable one — of detailed points connected with the text of the *Nuqat al-kāf*, on which it serves as a useful, if biased, commentary.

I have devoted so much space to the *Kashf al-ghūṣā'* for no other reason than that it is the most extended Bahā'ī polemic written against the *Nuqat al-kāf* and the basis for almost all later Bahā'ī discussion of the topic. The heavy element of religious animus so apparent throughout the book, coupled with its far from scholarly approach, make it of little actual value in any serious discussion of the text it purports to criticize. Nevertheless, it is responsible for having put into circulation a theme that has recurred in all

²⁵ Ibid, p. 55.

²⁶ This copy was acquired by the library on 25 November 1884, the same date as Suppl. Persan 1071. The first section consists of a text of the Persian *Bayān*, the second of roughly one third of the text of the published *Nuqat al-kāf*. The date on the colophon of the *Bayān* is 1279/1862-63.

²⁷ Gulpaygānī and Gulpaygānī, *Kashf al-ghūṣā'*, pp. 168-70.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 171.

²⁹ Ibid, pp. 187-88. The passage in question is on pages 105 to 106 of the *Nuqat al-kāf*.

Bahā'ī writing on the *Nuqtat al-kāf*, namely that the text has been tampered with by one or more Azālī forgers.

THEORIES OF 'ABBĀS EFFENDI

The Bahā'ī patriarch 'Abbās Effendi 'Abd al-Bahā' states in a number of places that the *Nuqtat al-kāf* has been interpolated by the Azālīs. Indeed, he goes further than Gulpaygānī when he suggests that they actually collaborated with Browne in producing the history.³⁰ In a letter to the 'Hands of the Cause of God',³¹ he maintains that the Azālīs had prepared a falsified history in the name of Mīrzā Jānī and sent it to the Bibliothèque Nationale; this they eventually encouraged Browne to publish, along with the English and Persian introductions inspired by them. The whole work is 'from beginning to end [written] according to the instructions of the Azālīs [*Yahyā'ī'ihā*].'³²

In a talk recorded in the *Kitāb-i badāyī' al-āthār*, 'Abbās states that there is also a copy of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* in the British Museum.³³ He modifies this opinion somewhat in a letter to Browne, where he says simply that he has heard of a copy being in London.³⁴ But it is certain that there has never been a manuscript of this work in the British Museum or, to public knowledge, elsewhere in England.

In his letter to the Hands of the Cause, 'Abbās Effendi also refers to the existence of a manuscript of an original history written by Mīrzā Jānī: 'Hājī Mīrzā Jānī the martyr wrote some sections of a history, but these were brief and incomplete. They were in the possession of the nephew (*barādar-*

³⁰ Letter to Mīrzā Hasan Adīb Jāliqānī, quoted Māzandarānī, *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 80-81; also quoted Ishrāq Khāvarī, *Mā'ida-yi āsmānī*, vol. 2, p. 58.

³¹ A group of Bahā'ī leaders in Iran. See D. MacEoin, 'Ayādt-yi amr Allāh', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

³² Letter quoted Ishrāq Khāvarī, *Mā'ida-yi āsmānī*, vol. 5, pp. 206-10. In a letter from the same writer to the Bahā'ī poet Na'īm (ibid, p. 220), the latter is asked to send his researches on the *Nuqtat al-kāf* to Gulpaygānī the elder and to forward his own refutation of it to both Gulpaygānī and 'Abbās Effendi. Whether this refutation was ever written is not known.

³³ Presumably this is what is meant by *Kitābkhāna-yi Lāndan*. See passage quoted Māzandarānī, *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 1, p. 81. The phrase *Kitābkhāna-yi Lāndan* is used explicitly as a gloss for 'British Museum' elsewhere in the same work: Mīrzā Mahmūd Zarqānī, *Kitāb-i badāyī' al-āthār*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1914, 1921; reprinted Hofheim-Langenheim, W. Germany, 1982), vol. 2, p. 135.

³⁴ Letter quoted Ishrāq Khāvarī, *Mā'ida-yi āsmānī*, vol. 9, p. 106. It is possible that 'Abbās was misled in this matter by a report presented to him by Āqā Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Rafsanjānī and other unidentified disciples, to the effect that the 'national libraries' of both Paris and London contained Azālī writings (Zarqānī, *Badāyī'*, vol. 2, pp. 134-35).

zāda) of Dhabīh,³⁵ Āqa Muḥammad Riḍā', and are said to have been in Mīrza Jānī's own hand.³⁶

'Abbās seems for some reason to have been particularly concerned to discredit the *Nuqtat al-kāf* and Browne's role in its publication. He encouraged the elder Gulpāyḡānī to work on his refutation of the text (which became the first part of the *Kashf al-ghīḡā'*)³⁷ and wrote to Mīrza Naṣīm Sīdihī, asking him to assist Gulpāyḡānī, possibly with the assistance of Shaykh Kazīm Samandar.³⁸

The Bahā'ī apologist H. M. Balyuzi devoted an entire chapter of his study *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahā'ī Faith* to a detailed discussion of the authorship of the *Nuqtat al-kāf*. He concluded that 'there have been two books — one an incomplete history by a devout and courageous merchant who perished in the savage massacre of 1852, the second a distortion ascribed to the same devoted man whose voice had already been silenced when the *Nuqtatu' l-Kāf* had already been given the stamp of his name. Due to a preconceived idea Edward Browne did not make the right appraisal.'³⁹

In the most recent study of this subject, published in the Iranian magazine *Gawhar* in 1974, Muḥt-i Ṭabāṭabā'ī makes several pertinent remarks about the book's identity. He points out first of all that the Paris text nowhere indicates that Kashānī was the author, and then goes on to conjecture that the historical section may have been composed in Baghdad about 1270/1853-54. These and other points raised by Ṭabāṭabā'ī will be examined more closely when we come to discuss the questions of authorship and dating.

THE PROVENANCE OF SUPPL. PERSAN 1071

Are any of these claims true? Is the *Nuqtat al-kāf* a forgery, a corruption, or a pristine text of early origin? It may help to begin by trying to clear up the problem of the provenance of the Paris manuscript of the complete work, Suppl. Persan 1071.

As yet, insufficient evidence exists to let us reach a firm conclusion as to how, when, and where this manuscript was obtained. There can be no doubt that it was one of the five Bābī manuscripts formerly belonging to the

³⁵ Presumably Ḥājī Sayyid Ismā'īl Kashānī Dhabīh, one of Ḥājī Mīrza Jānī's three brothers, to whom reference will be made later.

³⁶ Letter quoted Iṣṭiḡ Khāvarī, *Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī*, vol. 5, pp. 209-10.

³⁷ Letter in Mīzandarānī, *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 80-81.

³⁸ Letter quoted Najafī, *Bahā'ī dān*, pp. 386-87.

³⁹ *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahā'ī Faith* (London, 1970), p. 88.

Comte de Gobineau, sold at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on 6 May 1884, some two years after the count's death. The catalogue of the Persian and Arabic manuscripts and books sold there was published by Leroux under the title *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de manuscrits persans et ouvrages recueillis en Perse, provenant de la Bibliothèque de M. de Gobineau*.

This catalogue contains a total of 262 items, the last five of which (numbers 258-62) were listed under the heading 'Théologie babi'. The Bibliothèque Nationale bought thirty-one of these items, including the five Bābī manuscripts, for a sum of over 3000F. They were registered at the library on 20 May 1884, under numbers 7539 to 7569 of acquisitions. The five Bābī manuscripts are described in detail by Browne in his introduction to the *Nuqtat al-kāf*.⁴⁰

They consist of the Arabic *Bayān* (Suppl. Arabe 2511); two works by Mīrzā Yahyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal, the *Kitāb al-nūr* (Suppl. Arabe 2509) and *Kitāb-i Ahmadiyya* (Suppl. Arabe 2510); a copy of the Persian *Bayān* bound with part of what may be regarded as the introduction to the *Nuqtat al-kāf* (Suppl. Persan 1070); and a complete manuscript of the latter work (Suppl. Persan 1071).

It has, however, been queried whether Suppl. Persan 1071 was brought back from Iran by Gobineau or whether it was sent from there or elsewhere some time between his return to France in 1864 and his death in 1882. As we have seen, the *Kashf al-ghīṣā 'an ḥiyal al-ā'dā'* maintains that Gobineau did not bring the manuscript back from Iran. Is there evidence to corroborate that?

Gobineau certainly did possess at least four Bābī manuscripts in 1870. In that year, strapped for cash and eager to sell some of his manuscripts, he prepared a catalogue of those which he had collected in Iran. He entitled this *Collection d'ouvrages recueillis en Perse sur l'histoire, la poésie, la philosophie, les sciences occultes, etc.*⁴¹ At that time, Gobineau possessed a

⁴⁰ Pages xii to xix. There is an unexplained discrepancy between the dates given for the acquisition of these manuscripts by Browne and those given in *Études Gobiniennes*. According to Browne, Suppl. Arabe 2509 and 2511 (now Arabe 4668 and 4669) were acquired on 22 October, and Suppl. Persan 1070 and 1071 on 25 November. These latter dates may be, not those of actual acquisition, but of classification.

⁴¹ Paris, 1870. This catalogue was reprinted by the German Gobineau scholar Ludwig Schemann in volume II of his *Quellen und Untersuchungen zum Leben Gobineaus* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1919), pp. 431-43. A brief resumé of the contents of the catalogue was earlier published by Dorn in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. 4 (1872), under the title 'Die Wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen des Grafen de Gobineau', pp. 401-08. There is confirmation here that Gobineau originally had six Bābī manuscripts, although he provides no details. In a letter to Wilfred Scawen Blunt (dated 1870), the count referred to his Bābī manuscripts as 'des ouvrages sur la religion bāby que l'on ne pourrait se procurer

total of six Bābī manuscripts. These are listed as numbers 93 to 99 of the catalogue. Of these six, number 93 can be identified clearly as item 258 of the 1884 catalogue, namely the *Kitāb-i Ahmadiyya*, which became Suppl. Arabe 2510, later Arabe 4668). 94 is described as having been translated in *Religions et philosophies*, which gives us a clear identification of it as the Arabic *Bayān*, item 259 of the later catalogue, Suppl. Arabe 2511. 95 appears to be item 261 of the later catalogue, namely the *Kitāb al-nūr* (Suppl. Arabe 2509).⁴² Numbers 96 and 97⁴³ do not appear to be listed at all in the 1884 catalogue; and 98 is almost certainly the same as item 262 in the later list (Suppl. Persan 1071, the complete text of the *Nuqtat al-kāf*).⁴⁴

It therefore appears that two Bābī manuscripts which were in Gobineau's possession in 1870 passed out of his hands before his death in 1882 (or disappeared before the sale in 1884), while one manuscript (Suppl. Persan 1070) sold in 1884 must have reached the count between 1870 and 1882. But unless more detailed information comes to light which would prove otherwise, I can see no good reason to question that Gobineau had the full text of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* in his library by 1870 at the latest.

This fact is immensely important for any discussion of the 'Azalt forgery' theory advanced by Sayyid Mahdī Gulpaygānī and 'Abbās Effendi.

nulle part en Perse, la seule possession entraînant la peine de mort' (*Études Gobiniennes*, 1972, p. 34).

⁴² In the 1870 catalogue, item 95 is described as: 'Livre Baby — Arabe — belle écriture. In-folio; maroquin rouge'. Item 260 of the 1884 catalogue (Suppl. Persan 1070) is thus described: 'Livre persan sur la doctrine des Babis, écrit en 1279 (1862). In-folio, maroquin rouge'. Item 261 (Suppl. Arabe 2509, the *Kitāb al-nūr*) is described as 'Livre de théologie babi, en arabe. Ms. daté de 1270. [Browne and the later Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue give 1279.] Reliure maroquin rouge, format in-folio'.

These descriptions are quite similar, but there is no reason to doubt the description of item 95 of the 1870 catalogue as an Arabic work, whence my identification of it as item 261 of the 1884 list. Further confirmation that it (item 95) is the *Kitāb al-nūr* may be found in Gobineau's reference to that work by name and his description of it as 'assez grand in-folio' (*Religions et philosophies*, p. 280). This provides, I think, reasonable grounds for supposing that he possessed this manuscript by the time he wrote his history. According to the colophon, the manuscript of the *Kitāb al-nūr* was transcribed on 14 Rabi' I 1279/9 September 1862. Gobineau must have obtained it by, at the latest, June of the following year, when he wrote to Prokesch-Osten from Tehran, saying that he had finished *Religions et philosophies* (see letter in Clement S. Gobineau (ed.), *Correspondence entre Comte de Gobineau et Prokesch-Osten* (Paris, 1933), p. 248.) (See also letters in *Études Gobiniennes*, 1966, p. 135 and *Revue de littérature comparée*, July-September 1966, pp. 351-52.)

⁴³ Described as 'Autre livre de théologie baby — Petit in-4; maroquin vert — Arabe' and 'Ouvrage analogue — Grand in-8; maroquin vert — Arabe' respectively.

⁴⁴ Item 98 of the 1870 catalogue is described as 'Ouvrage analogue [i.e., livre de théologie baby] — Persan — in-4; maroquin rouge'. Item 262 in the 1884 list is described as an 'Ouvrage dogmatique en persan (doctrine des babis), écriture neskhī [*naskhī*] très régulière; in-4, maroquin rouge'.

It does not disprove the theory as such, but it certainly discredits claims that the manuscript was somehow placed in the Bibliothèque Nationale by devious means (which is, in any case, inherently improbable).

Furthermore, since E. G. Browne did not know anything at all about the Bābī religion until 1884, the year of the Gobineau sale,⁴⁵ did not actually meet any Bābīs until 1888,⁴⁶ and did not come into contact with Azālīs until the next year,⁴⁷ it is impossible that any forgery should have been intended to deceive him personally.

It is perfectly clear that the Azālī Bābīs can have had no hand in the purchase of the five Bābī manuscripts taken by the Bibliothèque Nationale. Indeed, the most that can be said with any certainty about Azālī involvement in the whole affair is that Ṣubḥ-i Azāl identified Suppl. Persan 1071 as the work of Ḥājī Mirzā Janī. Since the text itself does not anywhere allude to this authorship and, indeed, positively suggests a different identity for the writer, the fantasy of a deliberate plot is hard to sustain. In the final analysis, it must be asked what the point of such a conspiracy would have been. No-one would have known where the book might have ended up, no-one would have guessed that Browne would later find and identify it as Kashānī's history, and no-one would have imagined that it would have been published in Europe.

There is, however, every likelihood that Gobineau did not obtain his manuscript or the complete *Nuqtat al-kāf* in Iran, as is generally believed. We have already observed that one of the five manuscripts sold in 1884 (i.e., Suppl. Persan 1070) must have been sent to him after 1870. This indicates that he must have been in communication with someone with access to such materials.

Certainly, he must have obtained his first Bābī manuscripts during his second stay in Iran, between 4 January 1862 and 16 September 1863, as is indicated in part by the colophons on two of them, the *Kitāb al-nūr* and the *Kitāb-i Ahmadiyya*.⁴⁸ We may also assume that he obtained his manuscript of the Arabic *Bayān* around the same time, since he seems to have been working on his translation while still in Tehran. Browne was undoubtedly incorrect in his assumption that Gobineau obtained his manuscripts in the course of his first stay in Iran, from 1855 to 1858.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ See Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. ix-x.

⁴⁶ See idem, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, p. 223; idem, 'The Bābīs of Persia' I, p. 487.

⁴⁷ See idem, 'Catalogue and Description', p. 434.

⁴⁸ The former is dated 14 Rabi' I 1279/9 September 1862, the latter 30 Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1278/29 April 1862. See also note 43 above.

⁴⁹ Introduction to Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. xxix.

In a footnote to his translation of the Arabic *Bayān*,⁵⁰ Gobineau implies that he had at one time access to other Bābī texts and to Bābī 'interpreters': 'J'ai eu dans les mains des copies où les interprètes bābys eux-mêmes ne pouvaient voir le texte à travers les lettres incorrectes et les fautes, que parce qu'ils le savaient par coeur'. In other footnotes, he refers to 'les interprètes' and 'certains docteurs' or 'les docteurs', as though he were in contact with Bābī scholars. Certainly, many of his footnotes demonstrate a surprisingly good understanding of points in the text, even though the translation as such is generally poor. It is likely, then, that one or more of these scholars supplied the Count with his Bābī manuscripts, either in Iran or later.

However, the *Nuqtat al-kāf* manuscript does not seem to have been one of those brought back from Iran in 1863. No reference to such a work is to be found anywhere in *Religions et philosophies*. It must be assumed that, had he possessed a copy then, he would have at least mentioned the existence of a history of the Bābīs by one of their own number. Since the *Nuqtat al-kāf* provides an incomparably wider range of historical information about the sect than any of the state chronicles used by Gobineau, he could hardly have passed it over in silence.

Or could he? It may be that we are making too much of this lack of a reference in *Religions et philosophies*. Gobineau was not a professional orientalist and may simply have found the book too difficult to read. It should be borne in mind that the first portion is a long and highly involved doctrinal treatise which must have been beyond his relatively low level of expertise. Indeed, he may never have realized that what he had in his hands was a history at all.⁵¹

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

Until recently, it was assumed that the Paris text of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* was the only manuscript in existence. This assumption has made it hard to discuss the question of its authenticity in a useful fashion. It has either been presumed that the Paris manuscript was corrupt, if not actually forged, or that it represented Mirzā Jānī's pristine history. Little more could usefully be said on the subject. Fortunately, a number of other manuscripts have come to light recently, thus opening up the discussion to questions beyond those raised by the Paris text.

⁵⁰ *Religions et philosophies*, p. 432, n. 2.

⁵¹ It is notable that, in the two catalogues referred to above, the *Nuqtat al-kāf* is described as: (1870) 'Ouvrage analogue (i.e., 'livre de théologie baby') and (1884) 'Ouvrage dogmatique (doctrine des babis).

It is, in fact, quite likely that Browne himself was aware of at least one other manuscript before publishing the text in 1910. In 1900 he had in his possession a copy of the Russian translation of Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh's *al-Kitāb al-aqdas*, which was published in 1899 by the Russian scholar Aleksander Tumanskii.⁵² In a footnote to his introduction, Tumanskii refers to a new manuscript of the history of Mirzā Jānī given him in April 1894 by Mirzā Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpāyḡānī in Tehran. The colophon of that manuscript was dated 18 Jumādā I 1291/3 July 1874.

Tumanskii wrote that there had been 'deliberate corruption of the basic sources for this (early) period, namely the history of Mirzā Jānī, by interested parties. Until there has been produced a textual collation of the Jānī ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale with the one at my disposal, it is incautious to embark on any discussion. One may say that there are grounds for supposing that there was a very early falsification of the manuscripts of Jānī's history, possibly soon after the attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah, that is to say, soon after the death of the author; and this source was exploited by interested parties. As regards the followers of Bahā' Allāh, the falsification of my copy by them is beyond doubt.'⁵³

There is further evidence that Browne also knew of the existence of other manuscripts of this work by 1912. Again, he makes no mention of these in his *Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion*, published in 1918, which includes a lengthy section on printed, lithographed, and manuscript Bābī literature. Thanks to sheer good luck, this fact came to light in the course of my researches in Cambridge University Library. In what was probably his first letter to Browne (dated 9 March 1912), the Bābī scribe Mirzā Muṣṭafā said he had recently received a copy of Browne's published edition of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* and that his son Nūr Allāh had read it to him half the night. Mirzā Muṣṭafā went on to say that Nicolas had given him a partial transcript of the Paris manuscript,⁵⁴ and that he also possessed a

⁵² A Tumanskii, *Kitābe Akdes* (St. Petersburg, 1899), in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, série viii, vol. viii, no. 6. Browne's copy is in the library of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge. It contains the date of acquisition (1900) as well as extensive marginal notes in Browne's own hand. The marginal notes (which I can only conjecture to have been made before 1918, and possibly before 1910) offer positive evidence that Browne must have been aware of the information referred to here. It is quite possible, however, that he forgot all about it at the time of his discovery of the Paris text.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. ix. It is, of course, quite possible that what Tumanskii possessed was none other than a ms. of the Bahā'ī-produced *Tārīkh-i jadīd*.

⁵⁴ It seems that Nicolas was busy transcribing the text of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* from the Bibliothèque Nationale copy when the library demanded it from him, seemingly to lend to Browne. Nicolas comments on this in the margin of his copy of the book (item 108 in the Nicolas catalogue).

defective manuscript of his own. He later obtained another (dated 1267/1850-51) from 'the friends in Narāq'. From these he made two complete copies, one of which was bought by the American College⁵⁵ and the other by Dr. Sa'īd Khān Kurdistānī (the original intermediary between Browne and Mīrzā Muṣṭafā).

This letter was removed from Folder 2 in the Browne Collection, but was mentioned in the original handlist. Its disappearance was first noticed when the contents of the folders were checked in 1972. Fortunately, Browne had made an extract from all his letters from Mīrzā Muṣṭafā, and this had been overlooked by whoever had removed the letter itself.

Ṭabāṭabā'ī refers to a manuscript of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* which had been in the possession of Sa'īd Khān. The latter apparently thought it had been corrupted before it reached him and did not consider it any better than the Paris text. According to Ṭabāṭabā'ī, this copy was stolen from Sa'īd Khān in 1315 Sh./1946 by the doctor's Assyrian servant.⁵⁶ What is probably the same manuscript has been placed, along with other materials belonging to Sa'īd Khān, in Princeton University Library.⁵⁷ Whether it was really stolen, how it came to arrive there, whether it was actually the copy written by Mīrzā Muṣṭafā, or whether Sa'īd Khān in fact possessed more than one manuscript of this work, I cannot say.

The former Bahā'ī historian 'Abd al-Husayn Āyatī (Āvāra) states that he saw a manuscript of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* in Sa'īd Khān's possession, that this copy had been written 'one year before the death of Hājī Mīrzā Janī', and that it corresponded exactly to the text published by Browne.⁵⁸

Apart from the stolen Sa'īd Khān manuscript, Ṭabāṭabā'ī also refers to three other copies of this work. These consist of a manuscript from Naṭanz, brought to Tehran in 1300 Sh./1921, where it was obtained by Hājī Muḥammad Fatḥī Isfahānī; a manuscript seen by Ṭabāṭabā'ī in the collection of an unnamed individual in Kerman — this, says Ṭabāṭabā'ī, is less elaborate than the Paris manuscript; and a third manuscript shown to Ṭabāṭabā'ī by a man (again unnamed) from Naṭanz. This last was copied from another manuscript at the beginning of the fourteenth century *hijrī* (about 1883), and begins at p. 87 of the printed text.

Unfortunately, Ṭabāṭabā'ī gives no further details of these manuscripts, a fact which will undoubtedly lead to future problems, if and when attempts

⁵⁵ Jordan's College in Tehran?

⁵⁶ See Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 'Kitābī bi nām'.

⁵⁷ Miller, *Bahā'ī Faith*, p. xix.

⁵⁸ 'Abd al-Husayn Āyatī, *Kashf al-ḥijjal*, 4th. ed. (Tehran, 1340 Sh./1961), p. 139. Āyatī's last remark should probably be taken with a pinch of salt, since it is unlikely that he will have made a proper collation of the two texts.

are made to identify them. Nor is any attempt made to explain the significance of Naʿanz in this context, or to elaborate on what, if any, may be the relationship between the two manuscripts originating there.

At least three other manuscripts of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* are known to exist. Two of these have been made available to me, and I am in a position to place on record the main details of how they differ from the published text. The first of these is located in the INBA, the other at the Bahāʾī centre in Haifa. They are fairly recent discoveries, but as yet I have been given no details as to their provenance.⁵⁹

The points at which the Tehran and Haifa manuscripts diverge from the Paris text are outlined in Appendix Seven. It will be immediately apparent that the Tehran and Haifa manuscripts represent the same basic text, one which lacks several passages that are found in the Paris manuscript. There are, however, numerous minor divergences and at least one major difference between the two recensions. For example, the version given of the fate of the Bab's remains in the Tehran ms. (f. 127) and the Haifa ms. (p. 161) differs radically from that in the Paris text (p. 250).

To summarize, we may say that some twelve manuscripts of the book generally known as the *Kitāb-i nuqtat al-kāf* are in existence. These are listed in Appendix Eight. Until detailed work can be done collating and comparing as many of these manuscripts as possible, any attempt to draw general conclusions from one or two texts would seem premature.

THE PROLOGUE AND THE DATE

I have not included in my list the Paris Manuscript Suppl. Persan 1070, not merely because it represents only the first 85 pages of the published text, but because it would seem that this portion of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* as edited by Browne is, in fact, a separate work which, whether by accident or design, has been tacked on to the beginning of the actual history. It would seem that it is this separate work which, strictly speaking, bears the title *Nuqtat al-kāf*.

Muḥīṭ-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī argues strongly in favour of this theory, laying much emphasis on the disparity between the dates given on pages 61 and 92 of the printed text. On page 61, it is stated that the date at the time of writing is 1277 years after the prophetic summons (*baʿtha*) of Muḥammad. That is either 1267/1851 or, if we calculate that thirteen years elapsed between the *baʿtha* and the *hijra*, 1264/1848. I have noted above that, in

⁵⁹ The Tehran ms. may be the version discovered several years ago by a Bahāʾī named Badīʿ Allāh Farīd, referred to by Nuqabaʾī in *Manābīʿ* (p. 31).

1264/1848, the Bāb asked forty of his followers to write treatises in defence of the new revelation, and have suggested briefly that what is now regarded as the introduction to the history ascribed to Mirzā Jāni may, in fact, be one of those apologia.

On page 92, the date is given as 1270 years after the *hijra* (1853-54). This is a strong indication that, at some point between page 61 and page 92, one work ends and another begins. The most likely point for this seems to be about mid-way. The 'defective' Paris manuscript Suppl. Persan 1070 breaks off at p. 85 of the published text, while the two manuscripts in Tehran and Haifa which are outlined in Appendix Seven begin at page 88 and 87 of that text respectively. The second Naʿanz manuscript referred to by Ṭabāṭabāʾī also starts at p. 87. Ṭabāṭabāʾī actually conjectures that the work contained in Suppl. Persan 1070 is complete, and it is, in fact, true that it shows no signs of being internally defective.⁶⁰ Ṭabāṭabāʾī also maintains that there are stylistic differences between the doctrinal continuation in Suppl. Persan 1071 and the previous section.

Of greater importance here is the fact that the second of these dates (i.e., 1270/1853-54: written in words and not figures), which occurs in all the texts I have been able to examine, provides strong evidence that the history cannot have been written, in its entirety at least, by Ḥājī Mirzā Jāni, who died, as we have seen, in the wave of executions that followed the attempt on Naṣir al-Dīn's life in 1268/1852.

Confirmation that this date may be taken as reliable is to be found in a passage near the end (p. 266), where it is stated that, in spite of persecution, the Bābīs 'have not been wiped out, but grow more every day; nor is it that this faith is only made manifest in Iran, for it has spread to every land, including Anatolia (Rūm), India, and Turkistān.' The writer then goes on to say: 'I have heard that there is a large group (*jamʿi kashīr*) in Istanbul'. This indicates a date of writing later than the lifetime of Mirzā Jāni.

AUTHORSHIP

There is internal evidence which argues strongly against Mirzā Jāni having been the author of this history. At no point in the text does the writer ever refer to himself in the first person by name. When speaking of himself, it is normally as 'this wretched one' (*in haqīr*). At one point, however, he thrice refers in the third person to 'Ḥājī Kashāni', in his account of Ṣubḥ-i Azal's journey to Māzandarān, when this 'Ḥājī Kashāni' is said to have

⁶⁰ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 'Kitābi bi nām', p. 954.

accompanied him and his brother Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī.⁶¹ The text twice cites 'Hājī Kashānī' as an authority: 'Hājī Kashānī has related that...'; 'Hājī Kashānī says that...'. And on one occasion he is referred to as a participant in the events of this journey.

It is confirmed by other sources⁶² that Hājī Mirzā Jānī did in fact accompany Ṣubḥ-i Azal and Baha' Allāh (among others) on the journey in question, and this makes it entirely reasonable to suppose that he is the 'Hājī Kashānī' referred to in the *Nuqtat al-kāf* account.

Another curious point is that the account given in the *Nuqtat al-kāf*⁶³ of the Bāb's stay in Kashān, when he was a guest in the home of Mirzā Jānī, consists of a mere two lines. These are a bare statement to the effect that the Bāb stayed there, nothing more. According to the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*,⁶⁴ Mirzā Jānī had given 'a full description' of this event, as might, indeed, have been expected.

Ṭabāṭabā'ī has conjectured that the *Nuqtat al-kāf* may have been written in the Baghdad period (roughly 1853-63) by a Bābī called Hājī Muḥammad Riḍā.⁶⁵ Ṣubḥ-i Azal says that someone of this name intended to write a history of the movement at this time.⁶⁶ Ṭabāṭabā'ī suggests that this man may have been the same individual spoken of by 'Abbas Effendi as Āqa Muḥammad Riḍā', a nephew of Dhābiḥ Kashānī — even though the man in question is called 'Iṣfahānī' by Ṣubḥ-i Azal. I think that things may, in fact, be rather more complex.

If, as seems possible, the 'Dhābiḥ' referred to here was indeed Hājī Ismā'īl, one of the three brothers of Hājī Mirzā Jānī, it is possible that he may have played some part, perhaps in conjunction with his nephew, in the writing of this history. He is certainly known to have been involved in the composition of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, at least one or two passages of which were his.⁶⁷ And he is now known to have written a lengthy *mahnāvī* largely

⁶¹ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p. 242.

⁶² Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 368; Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, pp. 64-65.

⁶³ pp. 123-24.

⁶⁴ p. 214.

⁶⁵ 'Kitābī bi nām', pp. 958, 960.

⁶⁶ See *Nuqtat al-kāf*, introduction, pp. xv-xvi.

⁶⁷ These passages are: 1. An account by Dhābiḥ of his meeting with Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥujjat-i Zanjanī in Tehran. This begins: 'One night I, by name 'Arif, entitled Dhābiḥ... (Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 139). According to Browne, this account includes the description of the Zanjan uprising up to p. 168. And 2: An account, presumably by Dhābiḥ, of his meeting with Mir 'Abd al-Bāqī in Kashān at the time of the Bāb's stay there (*ibid*, pp. 214-16). These sections occur in the London, but not the Cambridge text.

Browne provisionally identified the 'Dhābiḥ' of these passages with our Hājī Mirzā Ismā'īl Kashānī. That identification must stand, since we know that the poetic *takhalluṣ* of 'Arif, used here, was used elsewhere by Kashānī. He also used the nom-de-plume of 'Fānī',

largely devoted to the history of the Bābī and Bahā'ī movements, a manuscript of which was discovered in 1975 in Oxford by Abbas Amanat.⁶⁸

The Bahā'ī apologist Hasan Balyuzi has advanced the hypothesis that Mirzā Jānī's Azalī brother, Ḥājī Mirzā Aḥmad was responsible for the writing of the *Nuqtat al-kāf*, although he admits that 'no documentary evidence exists' to prove it.⁶⁹ While I see no reason to rule out the possibility of Mirzā Aḥmad's involvement, I can see no particular sense in Balyuzi's suggestion and, in the absence of documentary evidence in favour of it, can only suppose it motivated by determination that responsibility for the *Nuqtat al-kāf* must ultimately be laid on an Azalī. The fact that Mirzā Jānī had a brother who later became a follower of Ṣubḥ-i Azāl must have proved too tempting.

But what we are dealing with here is almost certainly a work composed largely or entirely before the appearance of the Azalī and Bahā'ī factions within Babism. It seems, therefore, much more reasonable to suggest that Ḥājī Mirzā Ismā'īl Dhabīḥ was the individual most likely to have penned or had a hand in the writing of the *Nuqtat al-kāf*.

A significant pointer in this direction is a reference on p. 259 to an individual known simply as 'the Point of [the letter] Kāf' — *Nuqta-yi kāfī*, a Persianized form of the Arabic *Nuqtat al-kāf*. The context is difficult to explain in a few words, but the gist of it is that a certain Dhabīḥ had laid claim, like many Bābīs after the death of Shīrāzī, to be some sort of divine manifestation.⁷⁰ Sayyid Baṣīr Hindī, a blind Ṣūfī from India, who had met the Bāb, become a convert, and travelled to Gilān, Anzālī, Qazvīn, and Tehran (where he met both Ṣubḥ-i Azāl and his brother Bahā'), encountered this Dhabīḥ while still in the capital.⁷¹ The Indian seems to have been

and is referred to by Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh as 'Anīs' (see Bayḍā'ī, *Tadhkira-yi shā'ard*, vol. 3, pp. 134-37).

It is difficult to determine when the passage or passages in question were added to Hamadānī's history, or how. They cannot have been added after Hamadānī's death in 1299/1881-82, for the simple reason that Kāshānī died a little before that in 1297/1880 or 1298/1881 (see *ibid.*, p. 137).

⁶⁸ This poem, in which Ḥājī Ismā'īl uses the two poetical sobriquets of 'Arīf and Fānī, is in seven sections (*daftar*) and contains 219 folios (part of the first section being missing). It has accounts of the Bābī and Bahā'ī religions and their history, with digressions on 'irfān, qiyāṣ, prayer, and so on. The manuscript is number 787 in the Minasiyan Collection in Wadham College Library, Oxford. For further details, see Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 426-27.

⁶⁹ Balyuzi, *Edward Granville Browne and the Bahā'ī Faith*, pp. 64-65.

⁷⁰ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, pp. 252-55. On claims of this kind at this period, see MacEoin, 'Divisions and Authority Claims'.

⁷¹ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, pp. 255-58.

captivated by Dhabīḥ and to have regarded himself as a reflection of his theophanic nature.

Sayyid Baṣīr subsequently travelled to Kashān, where he stayed with the 'Point of Kāf' (Kāf being, presumably, a reference to the initial letter of the town name). The reason for this is that he and this 'Point of Kāf' had spent four months together in Nūr 'with Vahīd' (presumably Ṣubḥ-i Azal, known as 'the second Vahīd') and Bahā', and had been 'inebriated with the wine of love for one another'.⁷² Everything points to the conclusion that this 'Point of Kāf' and the Dhabīḥ whom Sayyid Baṣīr met in Tehran were one and the same person, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this Dhabīḥ was none other than Ḥājī Mirzā Ismāʿīl.

Although it is probable that, as we have suggested, the introductory treatise entitled *Nuqtat al-kāf* was added to the historical portion of the Paris manuscript, it is not impossible that there is a closer connection between the two, even that they are, after all, the work of a single individual.

It may be worthwhile to put forward a fresh hypothesis as to the origin of the history. I would suggest that it was written, possibly in Baghdad, about 1270/1853-54, probably on the basis of notes made by Ḥājī Mirzā Jānī Kashānī. These notes may have been in the possession of Āqā Muḥammad Riḍā', who was either the son or the nephew of Mirzā Jānī.⁷³ The actual writing may have been carried out by two or even three individuals: Ḥājī Mirzā Ismāʿīl Kashānī (Dhabīḥ); his nephew, Āqā Muḥammad Riḍā'; and possibly Ḥājī Mirzā Aḥmad, his brother. At a later stage, an earlier work by Ḥājī Mirzā Ismāʿīl, written in 1264/1848 or 1267/1851, was added to the text of this history.

The question of whether the passages referring to Ṣubḥ-i Azal and his early role in the Bābī movement, which triggered off the extraordinary Bahā'ī reaction against the *Nuqtat al-kāf* and which are missing from the Tehran and Haifa Bahā'ī manuscripts, are later interpolations can only be discussed when all manuscripts have been collated, dated, and compared.

It must be said, however, that this issue has been given greater prominence than it deserves. That Ṣubḥ-i Azal did play an important role in early Babism and held a position of some eminence after the Bāb's death is not a matter for dispute. Even some Bahā'ī sources confirm it. The inclusion of references to this role is not, by any stretch of the imagination, evidence that they are late additions, much less that the entire text is an Azalī forgery.

I am in no doubt whatever that the *Kitāb-i nuqtat al-kāf* deserves to retain its reputation as the earliest comprehensive internal history of Babism.

⁷² Ibid, p. 259.

⁷³ We know positively only that he was the nephew of Mirzā Ismāʿīl.

As such, its importance is very great indeed and its usefulness limited only by the precautions any historian would normally take when employing a narrative of this kind.

THE *TĀRĪKH-I JADĪD* AND OTHER BĀBĪ SOURCES*The Tārīkh-i Jadīd*

Now that we have examined the major questions raised by the *Nuqtat al-kāf*, let us turn in some detail to a later history purportedly based on it, the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*.

Our information concerning the composition of this work is taken chiefly from a treatise by Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpāyḡānī, the *Risāla-yi Iskandariyya*,¹ a short treatise written in reply to questions sent by E. G. Browne and named in honour of the Russian diplomat Aleksander Tumanskii. The latter published part of it in the eighth volume of the *Zapiskii* of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society in 1893.² Additional information may, however, be found in a letter by Gulpāyḡānī dated 9 Rabī' I 1330/27 February 1912, which is kept among his personal papers in the Bahā'ī archives in Haifa (no. M 1083).

According to Gulpāyḡānī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* was a certain Mīrza Ḥusayn Hamadānī, who had originally been a secretary to an Iranian government minister, had accompanied Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh on his first European trip, had lived for some time in Istanbul, and was later imprisoned in Tehran for his adherence to Babism. In 1297/1880³ he was employed as a secretary to the then Zoroastrian agent in Tehran, Mānakjī Šahīb.⁴ Mānakjī was a soi-disant man of letters who encouraged others to write books and

¹ For details on the writing of this treatise, see Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, introduction, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi. It is translated in Gulpāyḡānī, *Letters and Essays*, pp. 43-83.

² К вопросу об авторстве истории бабидов, известной под именем Тарихе Манукчи, ... или Тарихе Дзхедид..., *Zapiski*, vol. 8 (1893): 33-45. Tumanskii translated the Persian material included in the text into Russian, and added his own notes. Browne published an English version of the section concerning the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* (Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, introduction, pp. xxxvii-xlii). See also Browne, 'Catalogue and Description', pp. 442-44.

³ Thus Browne, 'Catalogue and Description', p. 442. In Gulpāyḡānī's letter, however, the date is given as 1296/1879.

⁴ This man came from India to Iran in 1854 and died in Tehran on 6 Jumādā II/7 January 1892. On his relations with the Bahā'īs in Iran, see Susan Stiles, 'Early Zoroastrian Conversions to the Bahā'ī Faith in Yazd, Iran', in J. R. Cole and M. Momen (eds.), *From Iran, East and West: Studies in Bābī and Bahā'ī History 2* (Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 70-71.

treatises, and, according to Gulpāyḡānī, defaced the finished products with his own emendations and interpolations. Learning of Hamadānī's religious affiliation, he asked him to write a history of Babism.

Conscious of the difficulties he was likely to face in gathering reliable material for such an enterprise, Hamadānī turned to Gulpāyḡānī the elder for advice. The latter (who was himself also employed around this time as a secretary to Mānakjī) suggested that he obtain a copy of the history written by Mirza Jānī and supplement it with chronological data from the *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* and *Rawḡat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri*. According to the *Risāla-yi Iskandariyya*, Gulpāyḡānī told Mirza Ḥusayn that he would find a copy of Mirza Jānī's history 'in the hands of the friends [i.e. the Bahā'ī Bābīs]'. But in his letter of 1912, he says that Hamadānī took a copy of Mirza Jānī's history with hint on leaving him.

It is curious that Gulpāyḡānī makes no reference, either in his letter of the *Risāla-yi Iskandariyya*, to the copy of Mirza Jānī's history given by him to Tumanskii (see last chapter). Although the *Risāla-yi Iskandariyya* was penned at the very end of 1892, we may assume that that copy (or an original from which it was transcribed) was already in Gulpāyḡānī's possession. This would have been only about one year before he gave a copy to Tumanskii. One suspects that Gulpāyḡānī was being economical with the truth.

Hamadānī was further advised by Gulpāyḡānī to read over whatever he wrote to Sayyid Jawād Karbalā'ī. The latter was an old Bābī well acquainted with the history of the movement from its inception.⁶ He was then living in Tehran, in the house of a certain Mirza Asad Allah Isfahānī, but Gulpāyḡānī says in his 1912 letter that it proved difficult for Hamadānī to visit him there. It therefore seems that Karbalā'ī did not, as has been suggested,⁷ play a very large role in the drafting of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*.

For one reason or another, Hamadānī left Tehran in 1299/1881-82 and went to Rasht, where he died in the house of a relative. According to

⁵ According to Gulpāyḡānī's 1912 letter, this history consisted of only 'one or two portions' (*yak du juz'*). This would correspond neither to the entire history attributed to Kāshānī in the form of the published *Nuḡlat al-kāfir* nor to the bulk of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, which follows it fairly assiduously. But it might be a fair description of the sum total of pages in the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* said to be quotations from Kāshānī's history.

⁶ There has been controversy as to whether Karbalā'ī was an Azālī or a Bahā'ī (see Browne, 'Catalogue and Description', pp. 443-44; idem in Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, introduction, pp. xlii-xliii; Tumanskii, *Zapiskii*, pp. 41, 43-45). On the whole, the latter seems more likely, although it is equally plausible that, as a Bābī of the old school, Karbalā'ī did not recognize the firmness of the later divisions within the movement.

⁷ Gulpāyḡānī, 'Risāla-yi Iskandariyya', in *Letters and Essays*, p. 78; Browne, 'Catalogue and Description', p. 443.

Gulpaygānī, the history he left on his death amounted to only the first volume of a projected two-volume work, the second volume of which would have dealt with the emergence and subsequent career of Bahā' Allah.⁸ The same authority asserts that Mānakjī tampered with the text and that, in addition, 'ignorant transcribers and 'poor calligraphers' further distorted it. 'Today,' he says, 'every copy of the book is like an effaced painting, to the extent that a correct version cannot be found, unless the autograph manuscript of the author be located. Others are not dependable.'⁹

Tabāṭabā'ī has suggested that the real author of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* was none other than Gulpaygānī himself.¹⁰ Unfortunately, he adduces no evidence in substantiation of this claim, and I cannot see any immediate grounds for it myself. It is, certainly, quite plausible that Gulpaygānī had a much larger hand in the composition of Hamadānī's history than he admits.¹¹ He may originally have been reluctant to have his name attached to a work of this kind, following his arrest and lengthy imprisonment in 1882. But more than this cannot be said at present.

Browne viewed the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* as a deliberate attempt to suppress Mirza Janī's original history by superseding it: 'As the Biography of the Prophet Muḥammad composed by Ibn Is-ḥāq was superseded by the recension of Ibn Hishām, so should Mirza Janī's old history of the Bāb and his Apostles be superseded by a revised, expurgated, and emended "New History" (*Tārīkh-i-Jadīd*), which, while carefully omitting every fact, doctrine, and expression calculated to injure the policy of Bahā, or to give offence to his followers, should preserve, and even supplement with new material derived from fresh sources, the substance of the earlier chronicle.'¹²

The Tārīkh-i-jadīd and Nuqṭat al-kāf compared

In some respects, Browne's accusation seems to be true, even though the production of a new history may have been less of a 'plan' and 'scheme' than he suggests.¹³ Nevertheless, there is evidence that Hamadānī was engaged in more than simple bowdlerization. The close correlation between the Paris text of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* and all versions of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* strongly suggests that the former must be substantially the same as the text of Mirza

⁸ Gulpaygānī, 'Risāla-yi Iskandariyya', in *Letters and Essays*, p. 78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ *Kitābi bi nām*, p. 953. Gulpaygānī states that he composed no more than a couple of pages as a prelude: 'Risāla-yi Iskandariyya', in *Letters and Essays*, p. 78.

¹¹ He himself denies this (see his 1912 letter).

¹² Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i-jadīd*, introduction, p. xxix.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Jānī's history as used by Hamādānī. There are, however, very major differences between the two accounts, particularly in several passages said by Hamādānī to be quotations from the work of Mīrza Jānī. Close examination of the two texts makes it clear that Hamādānī must have made use of a text of the history ascribed to his predecessor that was frequently very different from any of the texts of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* now extant.

The comparison of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* and *Tārīkh-i jadīd* texts given by Browne¹⁴ is misleading, particularly since it gives the reader no means for setting the original Persian texts side by side. I have made a close synoptic reading of the two original versions, using the Paris and Cambridge texts, and with interesting results. Since it would take up far more space than is at my disposal here to set out my findings in full, I shall limit myself to noting some of the major divergences, in illustration of my theory that a different recension of the earlier history was somehow embodied in the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*.¹⁵

<i>Tārīkh-i jadīd</i>	<i>Nuqtat al-kāf</i>
pp. 34-39 (41-47) Said to be a quotation from Mīrza Jānī.	None of this passage occurs. Only 15 lines devoted to this topic. ¹⁶
pp. 43-44 (51-52). Said to be a quotation from Mīrza Jānī.	A similar passage occurs on pp. 138-39, but the wording is quite different and there are significant divergences.

¹⁴ Ibid, Appendix II

¹⁵ Since there is no published text of the original, my page references to the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* are taken from Browne's translation. I have, however, added in parentheses the equivalent references to the Cambridge manuscript used by Browne (F. 55). Where necessary, I have also used Browne's collation of the London and Cambridge texts (Sup. 7, Browne Collection). References to the *Nuqtat al-kāf* are to the published text.

¹⁶ Browne's remark (Hamādānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 344) that 'the account of his [Būshrū'ī's] conversion given by Mīrza Jānī agrees substantially, and often word for word, with that given in the *New History*' is quite inexplicable.

pp. 57-58 (65). Said to be an epitome of Mirza Jānī's account. Includes a statement that 'tradesmen and craftsmen were but few among them, for most belonged to the learned and scholarly classes and were from the ranks of the ulama and divines'.	Many differences. States that 'every trade was represented among them' (p. 161)
pp. 64-65 (76-77). A short passage including a 'quotation' from Mirza Jānī.	No such passage.
pp. 93 ff. (115 ff.). A long passage on Mirza Muḥammad Hasan said to be a quotation from Mirza Jānī.	A similar passage occurs on pp. 178-80, but contains one-third more. Hamadānī's statement about Mirza Muḥammad Hasan's age does not appear.
pp. 106-109 (129-31). Said to be a quotation from Mirza Jānī.	No such passage
pp. 113-15 (134-35). Said to be taken from Mirza Jānī.	The passage occurs (pp. 120-22) with an additional 20 lines.
pp. 124-28 (148-150). Quoted from Mirza Jānī.	No such passage.
pp. 206-208. Quoted from Mirza Jānī.	The passage occurs (pp. 113-15) with numerous additions and divergences.
p. 124. Refers to Mirza Jānī's 'full description' of the Bāb's stay in Kashan. Cites 'very words' of Mirza Jānī.	No such description. Sentence from Mirza Jānī does not occur.
pp. 217-24 (215-21). Long quotation from Mirza Jānī.	Passage occurs (pp. 124-30) with numerous divergences, several additions, and one omission.

pp. 241-44 (242-44) Account of the Indian believer, with reference to Mīrza Jānī's version.	Account (pp. 212-14) follows quite closely, but continues well beyond Hamadānī's version.
pp. 245-47. Account of Sayyid Baṣīr Hindī.	Account (pp. 256 ff.) differs, is longer, and ends differently.
pp. 309-11. Quotation from Mīrza Jānī.	No such passage.

It should be observed that, in general, those passages in which Hamadānī states he is quoting from Mīrza Jānī¹⁷ do not seem to follow the text of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* any more closely than the bulk of passages which are apparently based on it. In some cases, they follow it less closely.

Apart from those referred to above, there are numerous other differences between the two texts, only a few of which can be explained in terms of a tendentious recension by Hamadānī. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the latter made use of a different version of the earlier history as the basis for his own.

More difficult is the problem raised by Gulpaygānī's remark that he lent Hamadānī a copy of Mīrza Jānī's history, consisting of only one or two pieces. Whatever text was used as the basis for the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, it must have been at least as large as the Paris text of the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* — which could scarcely be described as 'one or two pieces'. Hamadānī himself states that he obtained his copy of Mīrza Jānī's history 'through a distinguished and noble Sayyid'.¹⁸ We must, then, assume that Hamadānī possessed at least two copies of a history by Mīrza Jānī and that Gulpaygānī's version was not the chief one used by him.

Recensions

To make matters more difficult, the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* exists in more than a single recension, often occurring under wholly different titles. Apart from Hamadānī himself, several other individuals are known to have contributed to the text, thus making difficult the task of establishing a relatively uncorrupted reading.

¹⁷ There are altogether twelve such passages: pp. 34-39; 43-44; 64-65; 89-90; 93-95; 106-109; 113-15; 124-28; 199-200; 206-08; 214; 217-24.

¹⁸ Hamadānī, *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 57.

Mulḥ-i Tabāḥabā'ī has postulated two hypothetical redactions of the history, as follows:¹⁹

1. An early version, written by one or more persons, based on an 'old history' (i.e., the *Nuqtat al-kāf*) and borrowing the device of writing under the persona of a foreign traveller in Iran from Ākhundzāda's fictitious correspondence between the imaginary princes Jamāl al-Dawla and Kamāl al-Dawla.

2. A later version, possibly written after the appointment, in 1288/1871, of Mīrza Husayn Khān Sipahsālār as Ṣadr-i A'zam, in which large portions from the writings of Malkum Khān are mixed together with sections by Gulpāyḡānī.²⁰

Tabāḥabā'ī's hypothesis is based largely on the view that the Bābīs, first in Baghdad and later in Edirne, had come into contact with reformers like Malkum Khān and Ākhundzāda and wished to emulate their policy of reconciliation with the Shāh and the Iranian government. He maintains that the writing of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* represents a stage in the move away from earlier intransigence towards the later Bahā'ī policy of rapprochement with the authorities.²¹

This view deserves serious discussion, especially in view of the role of some Azālī Bābīs in the Iranian reform movement. However, it may lead to errors in the study of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* recensions. Tabāḥabā'ī operates on the basis of certain preconceived notions as to the trend of Bābī and Bahā'ī writing, rather than from the texts themselves.

There certainly seems to be no evidence that any version of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* existed as early as 1288/1871, let alone earlier. At present, there is no good reason to reject Gulpāyḡānī's statement that the history was begun in 1296 or 1297 and that its original author was Hamadānī. Even if this is only a partial version of the true facts, it is at present the only position for which we possess anything approaching solid evidence.

Let me, therefore, conjecture the following recensions as representing the principal stages in the composition of the work generally known as the *Tārīkh-i jadīd*:

I. An original draft based on several previous accounts, probably including a text of the history now known as the *Nuqtat al-kāf* and a collection of notes made by Mīrza Jānī. This was written by Mīrza Husayn

¹⁹ *Tārīkh-i qadīm wa jadīd*, Part 2, p. 427.

²⁰ These passages are not identified.

²¹ On this general trend, see D. MacEoin, 'From Babism to Baha'ism: problems of militancy, quietism and conflation in the construction of a religion', *Religion* 13 (1983): 219-55.

Hamadāni between 1296/1879 and 1298/1881, and certainly before his death in 1299/1882.

2. A conjectural second draft with emendations by Sayyid Jawād Karbalā'i, prepared by 1299/1882 (when he died), presumably before his final departure from Tehran.

3. A recension, probably only stylistic, made by Mānakji,²² possibly made after Hamadāni's death.

4. The most common recension, a version made by Āqā Muḥammad Faḍīl-i Qā'ini (Nabī-i Akbar)²³ on the instructions of the Bahā'i prophet Bahā' Allāh. This version, which is commonly found under the title *Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*, was written between 1297/1880 and 1300/1883 (and most probably between 1299 and 1300).²⁴ The main revisions introduced by Qā'ini may be found in Browne's translation at pages 131, 293, and 301.²⁵

Manuscripts of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* are fairly common, and many more are known to me by reputation than I have actually seen. A list of the main manuscripts seen or read of by me is given in Appendix Eight.

According to Tabātabā'i,²⁶ a copy seen by him in the Kama Library in Bombay was originally brought there from Tehran along with other books belonging to Mānakji. This manuscript, which has since been stolen, bears

²² This recension may be identifiable with a manuscript in the possession of Abu 'l-Qāsim Afshār, under the title *Risāla-yi Mānakji*.

²³ A converted 'Alim, Faḍīl-i Qā'ini (1244-1309/1828-92) was widely regarded as the leading scholar among the early Bahā'is of Iran. See Sulaymāni, *Maṣābiḥ-i hidāyat*, vol. 1, pp. 275-350; 'Abbās Effendi, *Tadhkirat al-waḥid*, pp. 5-12; Isḥāq Khavari, *Ganji shayigān* (Tehran, 124 B.E./1967-68), pp. 141-44; Māzandarāni, *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 5, pp. 21-15.

²⁴ The exact date is a matter for dispute. At the end of several copies of this recension, there is a passage by Qā'ini explaining how he came to alter the history, together with the date of writing. In one ms. in Haifa (MR 1792), the date is 1297. Another ms. there (MD 47/2), however, gives Dhū l-Qa'da 1298/September-October 1881 as the date of the revision, the copy itself having been made in 1304. Tabātabā'i refers to a ms. containing Qā'ini's colophon with the date 17 Šafar 1300/28 December 1882, but with 1299 on page 51. He concludes that the work was begun in 1299 and finished in early 1300. This agrees with Māzandarāni's statement that Qā'ini's revision was made in 1300 (see *Asrār*, vol. 5, p. 215). Malik Khusravi (*Āhang-i badī'ī* magazine, no. 326, item 9) refers to a *Tārīkh-i badī'ī*, which he incorrectly refers to as a 'correction' of the *Nuqtat al-kāf* by Qā'ini. It is, in fact, a copy of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* (cf. another ms. with this title in Haifa, MR 1611). The ms. referred to by Malik Khusravi is dated 25 Ša'bān 1299/12 July 1882. The date 1297 seems much too early, since this is assumed to be roughly when the history was begun. In all probability, 1299-1300 is correct.

²⁵ The Cambridge text does not have the closing passage in which Qā'ini explains how he came to write his version.

²⁶ *Kitābī ū nām*, p. 953.

as its title *Tārīkh-i Mirza Husayn Tihrānī*²⁷ and lacks the additions of Qā'ini. It is Tabātabā'i's opinion that this may be Hamadānī's original text, but I am more inclined to think it represents a second, polished draft presented to Mānakji. Gulpaygānī states in his 1912 letter that Āqā Mirza Asad Allāh Isfahānī (with whom Sayyid Jawād Karbalā'i had been living)²⁸ told him that the French consul (unnamed) bought Mīrza Husayn's original manuscript.

Faql Allāh Šubhī speaks of having seen Qā'ini's autograph of his recension of Hamadānī's history in Ashkhabad.²⁹

OTHER BĀBĪ SOURCES

Accounts of the Shaykh Tabarsī Uprising

Probably the earliest surviving Bābī history is the *Tārīkh-i mīmiyya* (also known as the *Waqāyi'-i mīmiyya*) of Sayyid Muḥammad Husayn ibn Muḥammad Hādī Ṭabāṭabā'i Zavāra'i (Mahjūr). This work consists mainly of an account of the Bābī uprising in Māzandarān. It was written at the request of the mother and sister of Mullā Husayn Bushrū'i, the joint leader of the uprising.³⁰ According to a date occurring in the narrative itself, it would seem to have been written in 1265/1849, shortly after the events it describes.³¹

The bulk of the narrative is taken up with an account related by Ḥājī 'Abd al-Majīd Nīshāpūrī, a survivor of the struggle. Shorter accounts are also recorded from two other survivors: Ḥājī Naṣīr Qazvīnī and Ustād Ja'far Bannā Isfahānī. Edward Browne possessed a copy of this work, transcribed for him by Mīrza Muṣṭafā and sent to England in 1912. A brief description of the narrative may be found in Browne's *Materials* (pp. 238-39). Manuscripts are listed in Appendix Eight.

²⁷ This has led Ṭabāṭabā'i to question Gulpaygānī's statement that Mīrza Husayn was from Hamadān, but since he was living in Tehran at the time of writing his history, there seems nothing unusual in his being described as 'Tihrānī'.

²⁸ Thus the letter. But in the *Kashf al-ghīṭa'*, Gulpaygānī says that Karbalā'i came to Tehran in 1293/1876, stayed for some months in the house of Āqā Mīrza Asad Allāh, and then found himself a separate place to live (p. 60).

²⁹ Faql Allāh Šubhī Muḥaddī, *Khaṣīrat-i Šubhī dar bāra-yi Bābīgarī wa Bahā'īgarī*, 5th ed. (Qum, 1354 Sh./1975), p. 128.

³⁰ It is not made clear which of Bushrū'i's sisters is meant. He had two, the elder being Bībī Kūchik, the younger Khudja, later entitled Warāqat al-Firdaws and Warāqat al-Riḍwān respectively.

³¹ The siege of Shaykh Ṭabarsī shrine ended in May 1849.

The above-mentioned Ḥajj Naṣīr Qazvīnī, who died in prison in Rasht in 1300/1883,³² is said by Samandar to have written an autobiography with a full account of the Māzandarān uprising.³³ One copy of this autobiography is extant in the INBA. A portion of it, fourteen pages in length, was printed in the first edition of the *Tārīkh-i Samandar*, but was removed from later copies.

According to Malik Khusravī, Ḥajj Naṣīr's son, Āqā 'Alī Arbāb Naṣīrāf, also wrote memoirs, in which he gives details of his father's life based on information from the latter. These memoirs were, it seems, used by Samandar in his own history. A copy of Naṣīrāf's original exists in Tehran.³⁴

Another history by the author of the *Tārīkh-i mīmiyya* has survived. This is a brief prose and verse account of the death of Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī. A copy is to be found in the Browne collection (see Appendix 8).

The Māzandarān uprising has also been described in another early account by a survivor, Luṭf 'Alī Mirza Shīrāzī, a Ṣūfī descended from the Afshārid family.³⁵ Since the author of this untitled narrative was killed in the 1852 executions in Tehran, his chronicle can be fairly reckoned to be one of the earliest we possess.³⁶ Five manuscripts are extant (see Appendix 8).

Yet another account of the Shaykh Ṭabarī siege by a survivor is the *Tārīkh-i waqāyī'-i Māzandarān* by Āqā Abū Ṭalīb Shahmīrzādī.³⁷ I have not yet been able to determine the date when this narrative was written, but it is known that the author died in 1310/1892-93. The history may not, therefore, be particularly early, but it does at least represent a sympathetic eye-witness account of the events in question. Shahmīrzādī's account would seem to be Zarandī's source for his version of the Shaykh Ṭabarī struggle.³⁸ Some passages are quoted by Māzandarānī.³⁹ For manuscripts, see Appendix 8.

What appears to be a separate work by Shahmīrzādī is kept in the INBA under the title *Tārīkh-i qaṣ'a (Shahmīrzādī)* ('History of the Fort').

³² Malik Khusravī, *Tārīkh-i shuhadā'*, vol. 2, p. 243. On Ḥajj Naṣīr, see *ibid.*, pp. 233-44; Samandar, *Tārīkh*, pp. 214-16.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Muḥammad 'Alī Malik Khusravī, 'Manābi'-i tārikh-i amr', *Āhang-i bad'* magazine, 326, 131 B.E./1974-75, pp. 11-34.

³⁵ The statement of Mirza Muṣṭafā, who transcribed this work for Browne, that Luṭf 'Alī was a Qājār, is incorrect. On Luṭf 'Alī Mirza, see Malik Khusravī, *Tārīkh-i shuhadā'*, vol. 2, pp. 89-94.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 273-75. Malik Khusravī says (p. 274) that he wrote his history while living in Tehran.

³⁷ On whom see Malik Khusravī, *Tārīkh-i shuhadā'*, vol. 2, pp. 247-58.

³⁸ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 580.

³⁹ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 188n; 198n; 200-202n.

An undated biography of Shahrīzādī was written by Furūgh Allāh Ṭabīb Baṣṣārī and is kept in two separate manuscripts in the INBA. The compilation in which the first of these manuscripts occurs (INBA 2018E) also contains a history of Shaykh Ṭabarsī, Rasht, and Qazvin by Baṣṣārī. (See Appendix 8.)

There also exists an account of Shaykh Ṭabarsī written by Shahrīzādī's younger brother, Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā'. The latter was not present at the siege, but we may presume that he based his narrative on information provided by his brother and, possibly, others. Parts of this account are quoted by Māzandarānī.⁴⁰ See Appendix 8.

I have been unable to check and identify three further histories kept in the INBA, with the titles *Tārīkh-i qaḳ'a*, *Waqāyī-i qaḳ'a-yi Shaykh Ṭabarsī*, and *Tārīkh-i qaḳ'a-yi Shaykh Ṭabarsī*. (See Appendix 8.)

Accounts of the Nayrīz Uprising

At least one record has survived by a participant in the Nayrīz uprising of 1266/1850, together with details of the later troubles there in 1269/1852. This is an account by Āqā Mullā Muḥammad Shafī' Nayrīzī. It was written in Baghdad some time after the events described, and later served as Zarandī's principal source for his narrative of the same events.⁴¹ Only one manuscript is known to me (see Appendix 8).

In 1345/1926-27, Muḥammad Shafī's son, Āqā Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan, wrote a separate account of both Nayrīz struggles, based on his father's narrative. These appear to be the only manuscript histories of the Nayrīz episodes, a gap in the general record for which I can find no ready explanation.

Nayrīzī refers to a 'rare' manuscript history of the second Nayrīz struggle, written by a survivor. This is the verse *Jang nāma* of Mirza Muḥammad Ja'far Nayrīzī, appointed by Dārābī as his official chronicler. Unfortunately, it is not clear where manuscripts of this work are currently located.⁴²

Accounts of the Zanjān Uprising

Histories of the Zanjān upheaval of 1266/1850 to 1267/1851 are more common. Of these, the best known is a narrative written by Āqā 'Abd al-Aḥad Zanjānī, a participant in the siege who later became an Azālī. His

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 190-92n; 431-32n; 433-34n.

⁴¹ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 580-81, 644.

⁴² Nayrīzī, *Lama'at al-anwār*, vol. 1, pp. 262-63.

account was translated and published by Browne in 1897 under the title 'Personal Reminiscences of the Bābī Insurrection at Zanjan in 1850'.⁴³ The original manuscript in 'Abd al-Aḥad's own hand forms item 6 of manuscript F.25 in the Browne collection. It is dated 1309/1892.

An earlier work is the *Tārīkh-i waqāyi'-i Zanjan*, by Āqa Mirza Husayn Zanjanī. The author was a Bahā'ī commissioned in 1297/1880 by Bahā' Allāh to write an unprejudiced account based on Bābī and Muslim sources. Zanjanī's chronicle was used as the basis for the accounts of the Zanjan struggle by both Zarandī⁴⁴ and Nicolas.⁴⁵ There are two manuscripts in the INBA.

Nicolas also made use of a *Tārīkh-i Zanjan* by Āqa Naqd 'Alī Zanjanī.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, no manuscript of a history by that title exists in any of the collections surveyed by me, nor does the copy used by Nicolas seem to have been among those sold at the auction of his library.

The History of al-Qaṭl ibn al-Karbālā'ī and other early accounts

Of particular importance for the reconstruction of events immediately following the death of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashī is a document published as an appendix to the third volume of Māzandarānī's *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*.⁴⁷ The name of the author is given cryptically on p. 502 as 'al-Qaṭl ibn al-Karbālā'ī' ('the slain one, son of the man from Karbalā'), who is identified in the text only as a Bābī who had formerly been one of Rashī's companions in Karbalā'. Māzandarānī maintains that the letter was written there in 1263/1847, and I see no reason to dispute this.

Amanat has made the interesting suggestion that Qaṭl was none other than Qurrat al-'Ayn.⁴⁸ This theory is based on the lack of any direct reference in the text to Qurrat al-'Ayn and the many details concerning her close supporters. There are, unfortunately, a number of objections to this proposition. I would require some explanation for the use of the masculine 'al-Qaṭl' and 'ibn' in the author's pen-name before taking it more seriously. Nor am I convinced that the account is in the style of Qurrat al-'Ayn's known writings. Most importantly, the author seems to have had eye-witness knowledge of events that Qurrat al-'Ayn would not have known at first hand.

⁴³ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 29, pp. 761-827.

⁴⁴ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 580.

⁴⁵ *Séyyed Ali Mohammed*, pp. 50, 332n.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Pp. 502-32.

⁴⁸ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 429.

Leaving aside the question of authorship, this important text provides numerous details not available elsewhere regarding the discussions that took place within the Shaykhī community following the death of Rashtī, the departure for Iran of the men who were to be the first of Shīrāzī's disciples, their return to Karbalā' and their reception there, and the beginnings of the Shaykhī polemic against the Bāb and his followers. This is in many ways the primary document for any discussion of this period.

I have referred earlier to letters written by Shaykh Sulṭān al-Karbala'ī and Mullā Aḥmad Hisarī concerning the division that occurred within the Bābī community of Karbalā' in 1846. Although a large part of these documents is devoted to polemical issues, both contain invaluable references to the terms of the debate and the actual stages of its development, as well as to the personalities involved in it. There are also in existence several letters written by Qurrat al-ʿAyn, providing details of her activities in the period between 1845 and 1847.

An account of the life of Mullā Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharīʿaʿmadārī, written by one of his descendants, ʿAbd al-Karīm Sharīʿaʿmadārīān, may be found in the INBA.

Late accounts by early Bābīs

At least two other historical accounts by Bābīs from the early period have survived. One of these, the *mathnavī* by Ḥājī Mīrza Ismāʿīl Dhabīḥ Kashānī, has been referred to above. The other is a narrative of some fifty pages penned by Mullā Jaʿfar Qazvīnī. The author was born between 1221/1806 and 1223/1808 in Qazvin, studied in Karbalā' under Rashtī, became a Bābī, and met the Bāb en route to Maku.⁴⁹ His history, which remains incomplete, was written in 1293/1876. It contains references to al-Aḥsāʾī, Rashtī, Shīrāzī, Bushrūʾī, Darābī, the Shaykh Tabarsī insurrection, the attempt on Naṣīr al-Dīn's life, and details of sundry events at Qazvin. Like the narrative of Ḥājī Naṣīr Qazvīnī, it was published in the first edition of the *Tārīkh-i Samandar*, but it too was removed from subsequent printings.

Tārīkh-i Samandar

The *Tārīkh-i Samandar* itself is a useful though late source for Bābī history, despite the concentration of the narrative on people and events associated with the author's home-town of Qazvin. Shaykh Kaẓīm Samandar was born in 1260/1844 to an early Qazvīnī Bābī, Ḥājī Shaykh Muḥammad Nabīl. His father met the Bāb and many early Bābīs, such as Bushrūʾī, Darābī,

⁴⁹ ʿAbd al-ʿAlī ʿAlāʾī, introduction to Samandar, *Tārīkh*, pp. 8-9.

Mullā Jalīl Urūmī, Barfurūshī, and, presumably, Qurrat al-ʿAyn. The first part of Samandar's history (to p. 142 of the printed text) was written in 1303/1885-86, and the remainder (which contains a lengthy and useful account of Qurrat al-ʿAyn) between 1332/1914 and 1333/1915. Although it is late and lacking in detail, this work does contain sometimes valuable biographies of a large number of early Bābīs associated with (but by no means all belonging to) Qazvin.

Tārīkh-i Nabīl

By far the most widely-used source for early Bābī history among modern Bahāʾīs is the *Tārīkh-i Nabīl*, often referred to in the preceding pages. Best known in English as *The Dawn-Breakers* or *Nabīl's Narrative*, this history of 650 pages represents approximately half of a longer chronicle which takes events up to around 1892, the year of the author's death. In its present form, the narrative deals with the lives of al-Aḥsāʾī and Rashū, the early life, prophetic career, and execution of Shīrāzī, the activities of the earliest Bābīs, the Bābī-state clashes of 1848-1850, and the attempt to murder Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh. It is by far the most comprehensive, detailed, and systematic account of Bābī history available to us. Perhaps its principal value lies in the facts that the author was a young man and already a Bābī convert at the time of many of the events he describes, that he had met and spoken with several leading Bābīs of the early period (many of whom died in 1852), and that he had later made a point of seeking out and interviewing surviving members of the sect who had first-hand knowledge of important events or people.

Unfortunately, the undeniable merits of this history are greatly offset by certain problems it raises for the academic historian. The most serious of these difficulties is that arising from the nature of the edition in which the narrative is currently available. Zarandī's original text exists only in a unique autograph manuscript kept in the Bahāʾī archives in Haifa, where I was allowed to consult it briefly in 1976. This manuscript, which represents Zarandī's complete history, consists of 1014 pages of 20.5 cm. by 14 cm., and is filed under the class mark M1557. Unhappily, no published version of this original text has ever been issued, with the result that the historian is forced to depend on the English translation made by Shoghi Effendi and first published by the Bahāʾī Publishing Trust in the United States in 1932. The Persian edition of this history is actually a translation from ʿAbd al-Jalīl

Sa'īd's Arabic version of Shoghi Effendi's English text, made without reference to the original Persian text!⁵⁰

To make matters worse, it seems that Shoghi Effendi's version of Zarandī is not merely a translation but a much-edited re-write, shaped and tailored by him to make a coherent and readable narrative. The late 'Allī Murād Dā'ūdī has written that 'although this blessed book [the *Tārīkh-i Nabīl*] relies on Nabīl Zarandī's work in its narrative of historical events..., it cannot be regarded as a translation of that work in the usual sense of the word.... It is, rather, an authentic piece of writing penned by the Guardian of the Cause.'⁵¹ Similarly, Rūhīyyih Rabbānī, Shoghi Effendi's Canadian widow, speaks of 'the text, based on the original or Nabīl, but transfigured through the mind and vocabulary of Shoghi Effendi.'⁵² She also states that 'although ostensibly a translation from the original Persian, Shoghi Effendi may be said to have recreated it [Zarandī's history] in English', comparing his version with Edward Fitzgerald's free rendering of the quatrains of Omar Khayyam.⁵³

Reassuring as such statements may be for believers, they are unlikely to convince independent historians that they should place very much confidence in the English text, at least until they are allowed to compare it directly with an unexpurgated edition of the original. I have no doubt that Shoghi Effendi's version of Zarandī not only has its merits on literary and other grounds (including, I suspect, those of intelligibility and structure), and I would not wish to suggest that any very serious tampering has taken place with the basic narrative. Nevertheless, to the extent that a professional historian must often depend on nuances of language and context in his reading of primary sources, the lack of an original text over such a long period has placed and continues to place an awkward and unnecessary barrier between the researcher and his raw material.

A further difficulty with Zarandī's text lies in the rather late date of its composition. The author, originally known as Mullā Muḥammad and later as Nabīl-i Zarandī or Nabīl-i A'zam, was born in the village of Zarand on 18 Šafar 1247/29 July 1831. He himself states that he became a Bābī in

⁵⁰ Mullā Muḥammad Nabīl Zarandī, *Maqālāt al-anwār*, trans. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ishrāq Khāvarī (Tehran, 129 B.E./1973). And see *idem*, *Maqālāt al-anwār fi tā'rīkh awā'iz al-dawra al-bābīyya*, trans. 'Abd al-Jalīl Sa'īd (Alexandria, 1940).

⁵¹ 'Ma'ārif-i amrī', 11, pp. 12-13, quoted Najafī, *Bahā'īnā*, p. 412, n. 107.

⁵² Rūhīyyih Rabbānī, *The Priceless Pearl* (London, 1969), p. 217.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

1265/1848-49.⁵⁴ His history of the sect up to 1853 was begun in 1888 and finished in 1890; the sequel was written between then and his death in 1892. This means that there was a time-lag of something between thirty-five and thirty-seven years between the latest events described in the narrative and the time of writing, with as much as ninety-five between then and the earliest events recorded. If we bear in mind that Zarandī was not a professional historian working with a large range of reliable documents and that the normal distortions of hindsight were, in his case, much exacerbated by numerous shifts in doctrine and attitudes towards individuals, this time factor becomes extremely important. And it must not be forgotten that Zarandī's history, like those of Mirza Jānī and Hamadānī before him, is partisan, hagiographic, and frequently mistaken about dates and other vital details.

I have felt it necessary to lay such emphasis on the drawbacks of this otherwise useful history simply in order to encourage a balanced view of the book in certain circles. Parts of Zarandī's manuscript were seen and approved by Mirza Husayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh, the whole work was carried out in consultation with the latter's brother, Mirza Mūsā, and some sections were later reviewed and approved by Bahā's son and successor, 'Abbās Effendi.⁵⁵ Not only that, of course, but the English version was, as we have seen, both edited and translated by the head of the Bahā'ī movement, Shoghi Effendi, who went on to write his own history. It is not, therefore, surprising that, for many Bahā'īs, Zarandī's narrative has come to hold the status of a quasi-infallible document, whose chronicle of events between 1844 and 1853 is, to all intents and purposes, unchallengeable.

Zarandī has become for many Bahā'īs what two recent writers described it as: 'the basic text for Bābī history'.⁵⁶ Shoghi Effendi himself described it as an 'unchallengeable textbook'.⁵⁷ Another Bahā'ī writer speaks of it as the 'authentic history of the early days of the Faith'.⁵⁸ Most tellingly, George Townshend says that Zarandī's narrative 'has in the fullest degree the character of a Bābī Gospel', in that it is an 'authorized' and 'authentic'

⁵⁴ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 434. An account of his life by the author may be found between pages 434 and 445.

⁵⁵ Ibid., introduction, p. xxxvii.

⁵⁶ M. Afnan and W. Hatcher, 'Western Islamic Scholarship and Bahā'ī Origins', *Religion* 15 (1985), p. 49, n. 47.

⁵⁷ Shoghi Effendi, cable dated 21 June 1932, in *idem*, *Messages to America 1932-1946* (Wilmette, 1947), p. 1.

⁵⁸ Anon, *The Centenary of a World Faith* (London, 1944), p. 46.

account equivalent to a firsthand record of Christ by one of the twelve apostles.⁵⁹

Needless to say, such attitudes create problems, not least for the historian who may disagree with Zarandī or present a version of events based on sources that contradict him.⁶⁰ The future of scholarship on the Bābī movement within Bahā'ī circles depends on a willingness to apply discretion in the use of Zarandī's history, an open-minded approach to alternative versions of Bābī history, and tolerance in reading the work of scholars not committed to approaching Zarandī with unqualified reverence. *The Dawn-Breakers* is a valuable work and, if it is far from being 'the basic source', it is at least one of the basic sources for anyone working in this field, and it would be a pity if its usefulness continued to be impaired by a tendency to exaggerate or misinterpret its real significance.

Since the sources used by Zarandī have not previously been identified and set out systematically, I have provided a full list of them in Appendix Nine. Even a cursory glance will show that, whatever its drawbacks in other respects, Zarandī's narrative does possess the virtue of using a wide range of informants, many of them directly interviewed by the author himself.

Maqāla-yi shakhṣī sayyāh

Of less general interest or usefulness than Zarandī's history is the earlier Bahā'ī account of Babism entitled *Maqāla-yi shakhṣī sayyāh* (*A Traveller's Narrative*). Written by the son and successor of Mirza Husayn 'Alī Nūrī, 'Abbās Effendi 'Abd al-Bahā', in about 1886, this work was first published anonymously in Persian in Bombay in 1890. It was subsequently issued in a facsimile edition together with an English translation by E. G. Browne in 1891.⁶¹ The manuscript copy on which Browne's facsimile edition is based is in the hand of the Bahā'ī scribe Zayn al-Muqarrabīn,⁶² and was presented

⁵⁹ *The Mission of Bahā' u'llāh and Other Literary Pieces* (Oxford, 1952), p. 40-41.

⁶⁰ For a clear example of the unpleasantness to which this may give rise, see Afnan and Hatcher, 'Western Islamic Scholarship' and the response by D. MacEoin, 'Bahā'ī Fundamentalism and the Academic Study of the Bābī Movement', *Religion* 16 (1986), pp. 57-84. A more moderate Bahā'ī view is expressed by Stephen Lunden, 'An Episode in the Childhood of the Bāb', in Smith (ed.), *In Iran*, pp. 19-22, especially footnotes 37, 38 (pp. 29-31).

⁶¹ See bibliography under 'Abd al-Bahā', *A Traveller's Narrative*. This edition was reprinted in one volume by the Philo Press of Amsterdam in 1975; a new edition of the basic text without Browne's notes was issued by the Bahā'ī Publishing Trust, Wilmette, in 1980.

⁶² Mullā Zayn al-'Ābidīn Najafabādī. For details, see Māzandarānī, *Asrār al-āshār*, vol. 4, pp. 88-93.

to Browne in the course of his visit to Acre in 1890. It now constitutes item F.56 (7) in the Browne Collection.

A Traveller's Narrative is, on the whole, of extremely limited value to the student of early Babism. A mere 69 pages out of 211 (in the Persian text) are devoted to the history of the Bāb and his followers up to 1852. The rest of the book is given over to an account of the early career and teachings of the author's father, with the emphasis on doctrine rather than history. The style is, of course, hagiographic and rather loose, yielding little in the way of solid information and nothing that seems to be based directly on documentary or eye-witness evidence (as far as the Bābī section is concerned). Browne's translation is, in fact, more useful to the historian, since it contains numerous notes and reproductions of original materials.

Mujmal-i badī'

At the end of 1889, E.G. Browne received a copy of a short digest of Bābī history from Ṣubḥ-i Azal, then resident in Cyprus. Entitled *Mujmal-i badī' dar waqāyī' i zuhūr-i manī'*, this work of twenty-five pages reflects both the author's largely inactive role within the movement during the period under discussion (down to the attempt on Naṣir al-Dīn Shāh's life) and his preoccupation with other-worldly matters. There is nothing here that cannot be gleaned in greater detail elsewhere. The Persian text and an English translation were published by Browne in his edition of the *Tārīkh-i jadīd* (pp. 37-3, 397-419)

I'tirāfāt-i siyāsī (Alleged Memoirs of Dolgorukov)

In 1322 Sh./1943, a document entitled *I'tirāfāt-i siyāsī yā yād-dāshthā-yi Kinyāz Dolqorūkī* ('Political Confessions or the Memoirs of Count Dolgorukov') was published in the historical section of the *Khurasān Yearbook*, printed in Mashhad. This work was reprinted in the following year at Tehran (15 Sha'bān 1323/15 October 1944), with a number of alterations, and subsequently went through several editions — in lithograph, jellygraph, etc. — in the next few years. For a long time, this document — purportedly the memoirs of the Russian diplomat, Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich Dolgorukov⁶³ — was regarded in Iran as probably the most important contemporary source for the 'true' history of the Bābīs. It deals at considerable length with the Bāb and his religion, with whom Dolgorukov is shown to have been very closely linked, to the extent of their having conspired together to bring the sect into being.

⁶³ Russian minister in Tehran from 1845 to 1854.

In spite of excellent evidence that these 'memoirs' are nothing but a clumsy forgery, and statements by several Iranian scholars to that effect,⁶⁴ belief in their authenticity is still widespread and the text has been reprinted in recent years.⁶⁵ In no edition is any attempt made to indicate the source, date of writing, or even present location of the original document of which this is presumed to be a translation; however, the introduction to the second edition of the most recent version does indicate that the earliest published version (presumably in Russian) appeared in a magazine called *Sharq*, 'the organ of the Soviet Foreign Ministry', in 1924 and 1925.

There can be no question but that this work is a forgery. The many divergences between the Khurāsān edition and the later Tehran edition are alone indicative of heavy rewriting. Not only that, but the text contains numerous internal contradictions and 'historical' statements that take us straight into the realms of make-believe. Even as a work of fiction, Dolgorūki's memoirs lack conviction. As a source for history of any description, they are worse than useless. The tragedy is that they are still taken seriously in Iran and other parts of the Islamic world,⁶⁶ where they have become a standard element in a vicious conspiracy fantasy combining Russian and British imperialism, world Zionism, and Baha'ism.

Polemical works directed against Babism, many of which contain valuable historical information, have been dealt with fully in chapter five.

⁶⁴ See 'Abbās Iqbāl Āshūyānī, *Yādgar*, nos 8-9 (year 5), 1328 Sh./1949, p. 148 ('... it [the tract] is absolutely fictitious, and is the work of imposters'), Mujtabā Mīnavī, *Rāhnāmā-yi kitāb*, nos. 1-2 (year 6), 1342 Sh./1963, p. 22 ('I have confirmed that these memoirs have been forged'). For a fuller discussion of the problems of the text, see Anonymous, *Bahthi dar radd-i yād-dāshthā-yi Majāl* (Tehran, 129 B.E./1973-74).

⁶⁵ The most recent edition has appeared under the title *Gr̄sha-kā-yi fāsh nashuda'ī az tārikh: chand chashma az 'amaliyāt-i hayrat-angīz-i Kinyāzi Dālgorūki, jāsi's-i asrār-āml-i Rāsiyya-yi tazārī*, 3rd. ed. (Tehran, n.d.).

⁶⁶ An Arabic version of Dolgorukov's alleged memoirs was issued by Sayyid Ahmad al-Mūsawī al-Ghālī: *Mudhakarat Dālgorūki* (Beirut, n.d.) and reprinted in 'Abd al-Mun'īm Ahmad al-Nimr, *al-Nihla al-laql'a: al-Bābiyya wa 'l-Bahā'iyya, tā'rikh wa wadhā'iq* (Cairo, n.d.), pp. 210-46. They are referred to in numerous Arabic publications: see, for example, 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Rahmān ('Bint al-Shā'ī'), *Qarā'a ft wadhā'iq al-Bahā'iyya*, (Cairo, 1306/1986), pp. 36-37 and 'Abbās Kāzīm Murād, *al-Bābiyya wa 'l-Bahā'iyya wa maqādir dirāsatihi* (Baghdad, 1302/1982), pp. 55-60.

LATER HISTORIES

WORKS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Although my main concern in the second part of this study has been to examine the contemporary and immediately post-contemporary sources for Bābī history, it will be of some value to consider briefly the chief published and manuscript works on the subject produced in this century. My reason for doing so is that all of these later works provide references to and, in some cases, extensive quotations from primary materials. It will also prove useful to take the opportunity to make some general observations on the development of historical writing on Babism up to the present time.

E. G. Browne's editions of the *Maqāla-yi shakhsī sayyāh* and *Tarikh-i jadīd*, and his compilation entitled *Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion*, all contain items of interest, including facsimiles and translations of important documents, several of which have already been referred to above. Useful bibliographical information is provided in his 'Catalogue and Description of 27 Bābī Manuscripts', *Traveller's Narrative* (pp. 173-211), *Materials* (pp. 175-243), and the *Descriptive Catalogue* of his own manuscripts produced after his death by R. A. Nicholson.

A. L. M. Nicolas' *Séyyed Ali Mohammed dū le Bāb* (1905) represents the first attempt at a systematic history of Babism by a Western writer, if we ignore Gobineau's much more limited effort in *Religions et philosophies*. Nicolas relied on the fairly large range of original texts in his possession, contacts with several Azālī Bābīs and Bahā'īs, and materials in the archives of the French legation at Tehran and the Foreign Ministry in Paris. The text takes the history of the sect up to the executions that followed the attempted assassination of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh in 1852. A list of sources is supplied on pages 48 to 53.

Reference has been made to M. S. Ivanov's *Babidskie vosstaniya v Irane (1848-1852)* (1939), which deals with the Bābī uprisings from a Marxist standpoint. This important study relies on and includes the texts of numerous documents from the Tsarist state records, among them the despatches of Coultt Dolgorukov, the Russian Minister in Tehran. If nothing

else, the latter do at least lay bare once for all the forgery entitled *ʿItirāfāt-i siyāsi*, which falsely claims to be Dolgorukov's memoirs.

H. M. Balyuzi's *The Bāb* (1973) is based heavily on the English translation of the *Tārīkh-i Nābil*, from which it deviates almost not at all. The narrative is predominantly hagiographic in tone and content, owing more on the whole to the tradition of Iranian Bahāʾī historiography than to Western scholarship. The author does, however, make use of a number of primary materials not previously described, including documents from the British Foreign Office, a narrative by Mirzā Ḥabīb Ailāh Arnān, and a number of other early documents in the possession of the Afnān family.

The present writer's doctoral thesis, *From Shaykhism to Babism: A Study in Charismatic Renewal in Shiʿī Islam* (Cambridge University, 1979), still awaits re-writing for the purposes of publication. Apart from the early chapters on contemporary Shiʿism and early Shaykhism, it deals with the transition from Shaykhism to Babism, aspects of Bābī doctrine, the Bābī preaching mission among the Shaykhīs (particularly that in Iraq), and the eventual break with the earlier school. Among the topics dealt with freshly here on the basis of previously unused sources are the early Shaykhī conversions to Babism, the role of Qurraṭ al-ʿAyn, the first divisions within the Bābī community, and the Shaykhī reaction to the Bābī *daʿwa*. There is also discussion of the Bāb's earliest claims and the central ideas advanced by him and his followers in the first years of the movement. Several other short works by the present writer, most incorporating primary materials, are listed in the bibliography to the present work.

Abbas Amanat's major study, *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Bābī Movement in Iran, 1844-1850* (1989),¹ based on his doctoral thesis, 'The Early Years of the Bābī Movement: Background and Development' (Oxford University, 1981) is a detailed, scholarly, and innovative re-writing of primitive Bābī history. Amanat's account of these early developments is intelligent, perceptive, analytical, and thoroughly based on primary materials. It represents the first serious attempt to locate these events within the general context of nineteenth-century Iranian social, political, and economic history.

Unfortunately, the entire study is badly marred by the author's often careless use of his source materials, involving, in numerous cases, references to data not in the texts cited, statements in direct contradiction to the sources given as their authority, and mistranslations of both Persian and Arabic passages. In almost all cases, the reader would be well advised to cross-check

¹ See the review article by the present writer, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, forthcoming 1991.

Amanat's original sources before taking his information at face value. In spite of this, his study remains the best history of Babism written to date and is likely to dominate the field for a considerable time to come.

PERSIAN HISTORIES

Numerous Persian histories, most of them by Bahā'īs, have been written in the twentieth century, some of them quite lengthy.²

Mīrzā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Āvāra (Āyatī) Tafā, who later apostatized from the Bahā'ī movement, wrote a two-volume history of Babism and Baha'ism, published in Cairo in 1342/1924 under the title *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fi ma'āthir al-Bahā'iyya*. Much approved by the then Bahā'ī leader, Shoghi Effendi, the book was neglected after Āvāra's defection and is now virtually unknown within the sect. The first part of volume one deals at length with Babi history and includes a number of personal narratives and references to primary sources.³ Although the text is frequently inaccurate and must be used with caution, it does retain considerable value for its occasional insights and alternative versions of some events.

The Kitāb-i zuhūr al-ḥaqq

Another Bahā'ī writer, Mīrzā Asad Allāh Fāḍil-i Māzandarānī, was commissioned in the 1930s to write a general history of Babism and Baha'ism based on local histories that had been prepared in the Iranian provinces on the instructions of the central Bahā'ī assembly in Tehran. He was also provided with a generous quantity of original documents as further sources. The history was completed in nine volumes under the general title of *Kitāb-i zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, and deals with events on a region-by-region basis up to 1943.

Volume 3 of the history, which covers the Babi period, was published anonymously in Tehran in 1320/1941-42. Since then, only one other volume (vol. 8, parts 1 and 2) has been issued, and volume 3 has long been out of print. I have seen a typed document produced many years ago by a Bahā'ī committee in Iran, in which numerous 'corrections' to volume 3 are detailed, their source being the text of the *Tārīkh-i Nabīl*. It would appear from the introduction to that document that, although his project was officially approved, Mazandarānī's history nevertheless caused discomfort in certain

² For a general survey of published and unpublished Persian-language histories, see Husām Nuqabā'ī, *Manābī-i tārikh-i amr-i Bahā'ī* (Tehran, 123 B.E./1967-68). See also Muḥammad 'Alī Malik Khusravī, 'Manābī'.

³ See, for example, pp 27, 28-29, 32, 35, 58, 62, 85, 86, 91-92, 105-06, 126, 127-31, 242-43, 252-53.

quarters because of its alternative readings of events and, presumably, the challenge it presented to the inherent correctness of Zarandī's narrative.

Both here and in his five-volume dictionary of Babism and Baha'ism, *Asrār al-āthār*, Māzandarānī shows himself more willing than most Iranian Bahā'ī writers to present an unbowdlerized and direct picture of Bābī history. *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq* is, therefore, something of a *tour de force*.

According to Nuqabā'ī, the other volumes of Māzandarānī's history are kept in the INBA,⁴ but in spite of repeated requests during my visit there in 1977, no-one was able (or perhaps willing) to trace any of them for me. It is also unclear where the original materials used by Māzandarānī (and in many cases reproduced by him in the published text of volume 3) are now located. Amanat refers to 'miscellaneous notes' by Māzandarānī, kept in the INBA as ms. 1028D.

The third volume of *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq* is a work of immense value to the serious historian, containing as it does numerous transcripts, facsimiles, and quotations from original documents, albeit it in no very clear order. The text itself often refers to the primary sources used in its composition. A list of the twenty-eight most important documents quoted or reproduced there is given in Appendix 10.

Tārīkh-i Mu'īn al-Salṭana

Comparable in scope but not in quality to Māzandarānī's work is an earlier unpublished history by a Bahā'ī government official, Ḥājī Mu'īn al-Salṭana Tabrizī, completed around 1340/1921-22. Originally planned as a three-part history covering the eras of the Bāb, Bahā' Allāh, and 'Abbās Effendi, the finished work, generally known simply as the *Tārīkh-i Mu'īn al-Salṭana* reaches only as far as the Shaykh Ṭabarsi episode of 1848/49. In its revised form, this account runs to 566 pages. The narrative is often prolix, given to digression, and uncritical in its assessment and presentation of historical material. The author writes as a pious amateur rather than a trained historian, and relies heavily on anecdotal material.

Amanat has assessed Mu'īn al-Salṭana's history in the following terms: 'Confusions and obvious errors... make one particularly cautious about details which are outside the sphere of Mu'īn al-Salṭana's personal experience or given without specifying his source.'⁵ Two copies of this work, both autographs, are to be found in the INBA. A separate account of the life of Qurrat al-'Ayn by Mu'īn al-Salṭana is also kept there. Running to just over fourteen foolscap pages, this short narrative contains some interesting

⁴ Nuqabā'ī, *Manābi'*, p. 26.

⁵ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 435.

items of information, but lacks source references, except for a couple of passages based on first-hand statements made to the author by one of the Letters of the Living, Mullā Bāqir Tabrizī.

Two Minor Histories

I have been unable to see copies of two manuscript Bahā'ī histories both containing references to Babism. These are the *Tārīkh-i zuhūr-i haqrat-i Bāb wa Bahā' Allāh* by Mīrza Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpāyḡānī and the *Tārīkh-i baduww-i tulū'-i amr* by Mīrza Maḥmūd Zarqānī, an amanuensis of 'Abd al-Bahā'. Details are given in Appendix 8. I do not think either work likely to contain more than minor information. The Zarqānī history is described as 'very short'.

Tārīkh-i shuhadā-yi amr

Three volumes of another proposed multi-volume work by Muḥammad 'Alī Malik Khusravī appeared in Tehran in 130 B. E./1974-75 under the title *Tārīkh-i shuhadā-yi amr* ('History of the Martyrs of the Cause'). Volumes 1 and 2 are devoted to a history of the Shaykh Tabarstī siege and biographies of those participating in it. Volume 3 deals with martyrdoms in Tehran up to the year 1880; the first 334 pages concern themselves with individuals put to death up to 1853. Although these volumes are not well footnoted, the author does at least provide details of his sources, which include Bahā'ī histories of Bahnamīr (in Māzandarān) and Khurāsān (by Ḥasan Fu'ādī). The third volume gives the sources for the biographies at the end of each section.

Histories of Nayrīz

There are two modern Bahā'ī histories of Nayrīz. The longest of these is the *Lamā'at al-anwār* of Muḥammad Shaft' Rawḡānī Nayrīzī, published in two volumes in Tehran in 130 B.E./1974-75. Volume 1 deals with the two major incidents which took place in Nayrīz in 1266/1850 and 1269/1853. As in the case of Malik Khusravī's martyrologies, the mood is inevitably hagiographic and the method unscholarly. The author does, however, make use of a number of primary sources, among them the following:

1. A statement written on the wall of the small Masjid-i Jami' of Nayrīz by Āqā Sayyid Ḥusayn ibn Ibrāhīm Nayrīzī (text in vol. 1, pp. 305-18)
2. A history by Mullā Muḥammad Shaft' Nayrīzī (original in the possession of the Bahā'ī assembly of Nayrīz)
3. Oral accounts by survivors of the first and second episodes (listed vol. 2, p. 456)

The shorter history is *Nayrīz-i mushkbīz* by Muḥammad ‘Alī Fayḍī, published in Tehran in 129 B.E./1973-74. This is similarly hagiographic and unscholarly in its presentation of references and contains little of real interest to the historian.

Two Histories by Muḥammad ‘Alī Fayḍī

Two other works by the same author are of greater interest. *Khāndān-i Afnān*, a history of the Afnān family, a Bahā’ī sacred lineage traced back to relatives of the Bāb, includes a number of early letters from the prophet’s uncle, Ḥājj Mīrzā Sayyid Muḥammad (pp. 25-27, 27-31). These contain several points of historical importance. There are also two letters from Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Afnān Wakīl al-Ḥaqq (1246/1830-31-1327/1909), in which he refers to his personal memories of the Bāb (pp. 110-13, 113-17, with facsimiles of the originals). Otherwise, this work deals almost exclusively with the Bahā’ī period.

Fayḍī’s *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡa-yi Ulā* (Tehran, 132 B.E./1976-77) is a work similar in scope to Balyuzi’s *The Bāb*, on which it seems to have been modelled. Although the sourcing is poor and there is, as usual, no bibliography, some useful quotations and texts are given, and the originals of some documents are reproduced, including the following:

1. A letter from Sayyid Kāzīm Rashī to Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū’ī (facing p. 52)
2. A letter from Mullā Ḥusayn Dakhīl Marāghā’ī to the Bāb (between pp. 280 and 281)
3. A letter from the Bāb to Mullā Ḥusayn Dakhīl Marāghā’ī (between pp. 280 and 281)

This work contains an interesting account of the single portrait of the Bāb painted by Āqa Balā Big Shīshvānī Naqshbandī during Shīrāzī’s stay in Urūmiyya in 1848 (pp. 367-74). This painting is now kept in the Bahā’ī archives in Haifa, where it may not be viewed by unbelievers. It is never reproduced in any form.

Qurrat al-‘Ayn and Tāhira

The anonymous Azālī publication entitled *Qurrat al-‘Ayn* (1368/1949) contains several verse and prose works by her, as described earlier. The Bahā’ī work *Tāhira: Qurrat al-‘Ayn* by Ḥusām Nuḡabā’ī contains selections from a number of published historical works (regardless of quality) and several poems and letters by Qurrat al-‘Ayn, some of historical interest.

Regional Histories

We have already mentioned the regional histories used by Faḍīl-i Māzandarānī in the compilation of the *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*. Since Bahā'ī historians tend to conflate the Bābī movement with their own, such materials often contain detailed references to Bābī history. Although these histories are extremely numerous, I have selected the following as being the most valuable in the present context. Details of manuscripts are provided in Appendix Eight.

1. *Tārīkh-i Nayrīz* by Āqā Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nayrīzī. This work contains accounts of the first and second Nayrīz upheavals, based on eye-witness reports by the author's father, Āqā Mullā Muḥammad Shaft' Nayrīzī. It was composed in 1345/1927 and runs to about 255 pages.

2. *Mukhtaṣar-i waqāyī-i Zanjān* by Āqā 'Abd al-Wahhāb Zahīd al-Zamān. This very short work was written at the request of the Bahā'ī assembly of Zanjān in 1302 Sh./1923.

3. *Waqāyī-i Zanjān* by Ḥashim Faṭḥī Khalkhālī, dealing with the Zanjān upheaval of 1850. This work contains a narrative by Āqā Muḥammad Qulī Zanjānī, whose father was killed in the fighting. The present history was composed in 1345/1926.

4. *Manāẓir-i tārikhī-yi naḥḍat-i amr-i Bahā'ī dar Khurāsān* by Ḥasan Fu'ādī Bushrū'ī. This is the first part of a history of 460 pages, written in 1351/1932-33. It contains accounts of all the principal towns of Khurāsān from the Bābī period. Amanat considers it as 'of great value for the study of the Bābīs in that province'.⁶

5. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Ādharbāyjān* by Āqā Ḥaydar 'Alī Uskū'ī. This history of 141 pages (which seems to have been written in the 1920s) provides biographies of several early Bābīs, including Mullā Yūsuf Ardabīlī, Dakhilī Marāghā'ī, Mullā Aḥmad Ibdāl Marāghā'ī, Mīrzā Asad Allāh Khū'ī Dayyān, and Ḥājī Sulāymān Khān Tabrīzī. The author also describes his own friendship with A. L. M. Nicolas and indicates the information the latter obtained from him. Another history exists under the title *Tārīkh-i Jināb-i Mīrzā Ḥaydar 'Alī Uskū'ī*. It differs from the present work, but I have no further information about it.

⁶ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 436.

6. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Nūr* by Nizām al-Mamālik Takurī. This is a history in three parts, of which the first is relevant to Babism. It was written in or just after 1344/1925-26 at the request of Mirzā Athar Khān Yazdānī. Among the author's sources were two maternal uncles, his grandmother and mother, all of whom were relations of Mirzā Husayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh and Mirzā Yaḥyā Ṣubḥ-i Azāl. This short history of 40 pages is particularly useful for the light it sheds on Bābī theophanic theory and practice in the early 1850s.

7. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Hamadān* by 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ishrāq Khāvarī. This history, written in 1309 Sh./1930, relates details of Qurrat al-'Ayn's stay in Hamadān and incidents there in 1263/1847, 1268/1852, and 1269/1853.

8. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Shīrāz* by Āqā Sayyid Ḥabīb Allāh Afnān. The first part of this work, written after 1321 Sh./1942-43, deals with the family and early life of the Bāb, his earliest followers, his ḥajj journey and return to Shīrāz, and the fighting in Nayrtz.

9. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Kāshān* by Mirzā Muḥammad Nāṭiq Iṣfahānī, written in 1309 Sh./1930. This work of 69 pages includes references to the visits to Kāshān by the Bāb and Bushrūṭ, Ḥājī Mirzā Jānī, and the names of believers and opponents in 1265/1849.

10. *Tārīkh-i Jadhdhāb* by Mirzā 'Azīz Allāh Jadhdhāb. This undated history of 190 pages deals with individuals up to the early twentieth century. It begins with accounts of early Babism in Khurāsān, particularly Mashhad.

11. *Tārīkh-i mukhtāṣar-i Zanjan* by Rūḥā 'Aṭā'. This is based on accounts by the author's aunt, Raqā'īyya Khānum. Undated and 86 pages in length, it contains references to the Zanjan uprising.

12. *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Mullā 'Abd al-Husayn Qazvīnī* by Badī'a Khānum Lāmī' Qazvīnī. This work deals with incidents in Qazvīn around the time of the murder of Qurrat al-'Ayn's uncle, Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Baraghānī.

13. *Tārīkh-i Sangsar*. This is an anonymous history of 35 pages written in 1311 Sh./1932 (?). It gives details of four individuals from Sangsar who 'foretold' the appearance of the Bāb during the 1830s, as well as information on Sangsarī Bābīs who fought at Shaykh Ṭabarstī.

14. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Bihnamīr* by R. Mīhrābkhanī, containing details relating to Shaykh Ṭabarstī.

15. *Iqlīm-i Nūr* by Muḥammad ʿAlī Malik Khusravī. This work was first published in Tehran in 118 B.E./1962-63. A revised version exists in manuscript.

16. *Khāṭirāt* (Memoirs) of Āqā Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Iṣfahānī. Part of a collection of narratives on the Bābī-Bahāʾī history of Iṣfahān. I have not seen this document, but Amanat states that it contains new information.⁷

17. *Khāṭirāt* of Sayyid Jawād Muḥarrir. Similar to the above, this is also said by Amanat to contain new material.⁸

18. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Ādharbāyjān* by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Milānī. A study in two parts, the first a general survey of Bābī history in Azerbaijan, the second notes on Ḥaydar ʿAlī Uskūʾī's account (item 5 above).

19. *Waqāyīʿ-i Tīhrān* by Mīrzā Maḥmūd Zarqānī.

Numerous other short local histories exist in the INBA. For rather sparse details of some of them, see Nuqabāʾī, *Manābiʿ-i tārīkh-i amr*.

⁷ Ibid, p. 427.

⁸ Ibid

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BĀB'S WRITINGS AND THEIR LOCATIONS

*al-Bayān al-ʿArabi*¹

1. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Arabe 2511²
2. Paris, B.N. 4669 (dated late 19th. C.)
3. Iraq, (in possession of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ḥasanī)³
4. Iraq, (also in possession of al-Ḥasanī)⁴
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 101; dated c.1900)
6. Haifa, IBA (ii)⁵
7. Iran, Azalī possession (in the hand of the Bab)⁶
8. Iran, Azalī possession
9. Iran, Azalī possession
10. Iran, Azalī possession
11. Iran, Azalī possession
12. Iran, Azalī possession
13. Tehran, INBA 4002C
14. Iran, INBMC 43 (pp. 1-68)
15. Iran, INBMC 86 (pp. 1-64)

Bayān-i Fārsī

1. Cambridge, Browne F.13⁷
2. Cambridge, Browne F.12 (dated before 1282/1865)⁸

¹ In the Cambridge Browne Collection, part of ms. Y.9 is stated to consist of two chapters of the Arabic *Bayān*, but these are part of another, unidentified work.

² This is the text used by Gobineau in preparing his translation.

³ The first of two mss. used by al-Ḥasanī for his printed text. It was obtained for him in 1933 through Ḥājī Maḥmūd al-Qasābchī, chairman of the National Bahāʾī Assembly of Iraq.

⁴ The second of al-Ḥasanī's two mss. It was obtained in 1956 through Kāmil ʿAbbās, secretary of the National Bahāʾī Assembly of Iraq.

⁵ Although not listed by the Bahāʾī Research Department in Haifa, a ms. of this work is referred to in the bibliography of Zarandī's *Dawn-Breakers* (p. 671); since this is indicated as having been used by Shoghi Effendi, I presume that it remains in Haifa, possibly among his papers.

⁶ This ms. extends only to wāḥid 9. This and the next five mss. (8 to 12) are those used in the preparation of the Azalī lithographed ed. As with the mss. of the Persian *Bayān* used by the Azalīs, I must presume that they are still in their possession.

⁷ Sent by the Azalī writer Shaykh Aḥmad Rūḥī Kirmānī, 1891.

⁸ Given to Browne in Rafranjan, 22 August 1888. It seems to have been transcribed before 22 Muḥarram 1282/17 June 1865.

3. Cambridge, U.L., Or. 34 (8)⁹
4. St. Petersburg, Institut des Langues Orientales¹⁰
5. St. Petersburg, Academie Impériale des Sciences¹¹
6. London, B.L., Or. 2819¹²
7. London, B.L., Or. 5760
8. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Persan 1070 (ff. 1-284)¹³
9. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Persan 1279¹⁴
10. Unknown (originally Nicolas 115; in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal)¹⁵
11. Unknown (originally Nicolas 103:1)
12. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 103:2; in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal)¹⁶
13. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī; defective)¹⁷
14. Haifa, IBA (iii) (in the hand of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Muḥammad ‘Alī)
15. Haifa, IBA (iv) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)
16. Haifa, IBA (v) (in the hand of Mīrzā Bāqir Khān Shīrāzī)
17. Haifa, IBA (vi) (in the hand of Mīrzā Abu ‘I-Qāsim Sā‘at-sāz Shīrāzī)
18. Haifa, IBA (vii) (dated 1293/1876)
19. Haifa, IBA (viii)
20. Haifa, IBA (ix)
21. Haifa, IBA (x)
22. Haifa, IBA (xi)
23. Haifa, IBA (xii)
24. Tehran, INBA 1004C (from a copy in the hand of Mullā Aḥmad Mu‘allim Ḥisārī?)¹⁸

⁹ Bought by Browne from Naaman's, London, 5 February 1901, no colophon.

¹⁰ See Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. 3, no. 1. Donated by Bezabrazov.

¹¹ Donated by Bakulin, 1874.

¹² '... a very good ms.', Browne, *Materials*, p. 205, n. Transcribed by the Bahā'ī chronicler Muḥammad Nabīl Zarandī. Obtained in Yazd by Sidney Churchill, 1885.

¹³ From Gobineau's library.

¹⁴ Sent from Nicosia (probably by Rīḍvān ‘Alī), October 1897.

¹⁵ This was the text used by Nicolas as the basis for his translation.

¹⁶ Bound with Azal's *Taqrīb fi ḥaddi nafsihī*

¹⁷ Between the last line of p. 41 and the first line of p. 42, a section corresponding to p.

⁴⁷ line 3 top. 69, line 7 of the Tehran lithograph edition has dropped out.

¹⁸ This is described as the *waqf* copy of Aḥmad ibn Ismā‘īl Khurāsānī, the *mutawallī* of the *waqf* being Mullā ‘Alī Bajastānī. According to Māzandarānī (*Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 171), Ḥisārī brought to Mashhad a copy of the *Bayān* which had been corrected by the Bāb in person. Bajastānī made several copies from this manuscript. A letter in Persian from the Secretariat of the Universal House of Justice (the chief international Bahā'ī authority, based in Israel) is bound with my photocopy of the *Bayān* ms. in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī kept in Haifa. This letter (dated 5 September 1976) refers to 'the well-known book written in the hand of Mu‘allim-i Ḥisārī and corrected by the Bāb', but no indication is given as to the whereabouts of this 'well-known book'.

25. Tehran, INBA 1006C (apparently late 19th. C.; an elegant copy)
26. Tehran, INBA 4008C (dated 1320/1903)
27. Tehran, INBA 6015C (dated 1309/1892; in the hand of *ḥarf al-fā' wa 'l-khā'* ('the letter "f" and "kh") from Isfahān; an excellent copy)¹⁹
28. Tehran, INBA 6018C (dated 1297/1880; in the hand of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Nabil ibn Nabil Qazvinī?)²⁰
29. Tehran, INBA 6019C (dated 1316/1899)
30. Tehran, INBA 6021C (undated)
31. Tehran, Adabiyāt 482 Jawādī (dated 1270/1853-54)
32. Tehran, Pakzād (dated 1305/1888; in the hand of Muḥammad Šadiq Isfahānī)²¹
33. Tehran, Pakzād (dated 1346/1927-28)
34. Tehran, Malik 6117 (dated 13th. C.)
35. Tehran, University 3414 (dated 1311/1893)
36. Tehran, University 5169 (dated 13th. C.)
37. Tehran, Dānish-sarā-yi 'Alī (dated 14th. C.)
38. Tehran, Majlis 5710 (dated 14th. C.)²²
39. Iran, Azālī possession (dated 1273/1857; in the hand of Sayyid Yūsuf Isfahānī)²³
40. Iran, Azālī possession (dated 1288/1871; written in Tehran in the hand of Šubḥ-i Azāl's son, Nūr Allāh)
41. Iran, Azālī possession (in the hand of Šubḥ-i Azāl's son, Mīrzā Ḥādī Abqā)
42. Iran, Azālī possession (dated 1292/1875; in the hand of Mīrzā Maḥmūd)²⁴
43. Iran, Azālī possession (in the hand of Mīrzā Taqī Isfahānī)
44. Iran, Azālī possession (in the hand of Mīrzā Muštafā)²⁵
45. Iran, Azālī possession (in the hand of Ḥājī Mīrzā Maḥdī Amīn)
46. Iran, Azālī possession (in the hand of Sayyid Raḥīm)
47. Iran, Azālī possession ('other manuscripts')²⁶
48. Hamadān, 'Ismād al-Dawla Library 96 (dated 1320/1902-03)

¹⁹ According to a note in the hand of Muḥammad 'Alī Fayḍī kept at the front of this copy, the scribe was a Mīrzā Faḍl Allāh Nūrī. This does not, however, appear to account for the second letter in the name, 'kh'. The most likely place-name beginning with this letter is, of course, 'Khurāsān', but the number of proper names beginning with 'T' is too great to make a firm identification easy.

²⁰ A note in the hand of Dr. Muḥammad Afnān, kept in the cover of the photocopy of this ms., suggests this identification for the scribe.

²¹ See Munzawī, *Fihrist*, 17192.

²² Incorrectly catalogued as 'Yqān'.

²³ This and the following eight mss. (40-47) are those used in the preparation of the 1946 Azālī lithographed edition. I possess no information as to the exact whereabouts of any of them.

²⁴ Mīrzā Maḥmūd was a son of Mīrzā Karīm and Fāḥima Khānum, a young sister of Šubḥ-i Azāl who acted as intermediary between Qurraṭ al-'Ayn and other Bābīs during her term of house-arrest in the residence of Maḥmūd Khān Kalāntar in Tehran.

²⁵ Browne's scribe.

²⁶ *Bayān-i Fārsī*, lith. ed., afterword, p. 1.

49. Yazd, Muḥammad 'Alī Farḥumand (in the hand of Ghulam 'Alī Raṣ)

Bayān fi 'ilm al-jawāmid wa 'l-mushtāqāt

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 145-49
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 350-52
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 81-83
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 130-34

Bayān 'illatī tahrīm al-mahḏrim

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 159-63
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 352-54
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 87-89
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 493-96
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 165-69

Bayān jabr wa tafwīd

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 375-77
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 473-77
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 53-56

Bayān mas'ūlat al-qadar

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 110-15
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 192-95
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 67-69
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 134-38

Bayān taqārūb wa tabā'ud

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 141-45
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 348-50
3. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 187-89
4. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 80-81
5. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 455-58
6. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 77-79
7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 179-81

Dalā' il sab'a (Arabic)

1. Tehran, INBA 2007C (ff. 1a-13b)
2. Tehran, Azal possession²⁷
3. Haifa, IBA (originally Nicolas 106, with Persian text)

Dalā' il-i sab'a (Persian)

1. Cambridge, Browne F.22
2. Cambridge, Browne F.25²⁸
3. London, B.L. Or. 5109 (in the hand of Riqvān 'Alī)
4. Paris, B.N. 6154 (in the hand of Riqvān 'Alī)²⁹
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 116; dated 1313/1895; in the hand of Riqvān 'Alī)³⁰
6. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 106)³¹
7. Haifa, IBA (iii)³²
8. Haifa, IBA (iv) (incomplete)
9. Haifa, IBA (v) (in the hand of 'Andallīb)³³
10. Haifa, IBA (vi)
11. Tehran, INBA 2007C (ff. 13b-64b)
12. Tehran, Malik 61 10 (dated 1288/1871-72)
13. Tehran, in private hands (in the hand of 'Alī Tavāngar)

Dī'ā-yi alf

1. Iran (used as basis for citation by Māzandarānī, *Asrār al-ūthār*, vol. I, pp.179-82)

²⁷ This ms. is the basis for the printed text published with the Persian *Dalā' il-i sab'a*.

²⁸ In the course of his visit to Ṣubḥ-i Azal in Cyprus, from March to April 1890, Browne brought with him a copy of this work previously transcribed by himself; this copy he lent to Azal, who kept it for a few days, transcribed it, and returned it with a few minor emendations, declaring it to be genuine. (Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, p. 447.). This ms. represents Browne's transcription with Azal's emendations.

²⁹ With other works by Ṣubḥ-i Azal.

³⁰ This ms. includes annotations written by Ṣubḥ-i Azal and by Riqvān 'Alī at the former's dictation.

³¹ With other works.

³² There is a reference to a ms. of this work in the bibliography of Zaratī (p. 671). Although I have listed it separately here, assuming that it is among the papers of Shoghī Effendī, it may very well be included among other mss. at Haifa.

³³ With other works. 'Andallīb is the well-known Bahā'ī poet Āqā Mirzā 'Alī Ashraf Lāhijānī (c.1270/1853-54 to 1335/1916-17).

Du'ā-yi saḥīfa: see *Saḥīfa makhzūna*

Hayākil (various)

1. Cambridge, Browne, Folder 4 (item 10) (several *hayākil* mounted on card, sent by Mirzā Muṣṭafā)
2. Cambridge, Browne, Folder 3 (item 6) (*haykal* in the Bāb's hand; reproduced as frontispiece to *Nuqṣat al-kāf*)
3. London, B.L., Or. 6887 (a large *haykal* said to be in the Bāb's hand; presented by Claude Cobham)
4. Tehran, Azālī possession (?)³⁴

Haykal al-dīn

1. Iran, Azālī possession (defective; possibly made from original in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī)
2. Iran, Azālī possession (dated 1268/1852; in the hand of 'a Bahā'ī scribe')
3. Iran, Azālī possession (dated 1267/1851-52; in the hand of Āqa Sayyid Raḥīm Iṣfahānī)

Khaṣā' il-i sab'a

No surviving ms. is known to the present author; however, both Fayḍī and Ishrāq Khāvarī refer to the contents, from which we may infer the existence of at least one copy in Iran.

Khuṣba-yi qahrīyya

1. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 1-13
2. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 127-50

Khuṣbas

- (i) 'Two *khuṣbas* [written] in Būshih'

 1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 341-48
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 359-63

- (ii) 'A *khuṣba* [written] in Banakān'
No surviving ms. known.
- (iii) 'A *khuṣba* [written] in Kanakān'

 1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 351-58
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 355-59

³⁴ The originals of the *haykals* reproduced in *Qismatī az alwāḥ-i khattī*.

- (iv) 'A *khuṣba* on the 'Īd al-Fiṭr' (= *khuṣba* written in Masqat)
1. Tehran, INBA 401 1C, pp. 359-96
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 326-30
- (v) 'A *khuṣba* [written] in Jidda
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 330-35
 2. Tehran, INBA 3036C, pp. 404ff. (This is a Xerox copy of a ms. in private possession elsewhere in Iran.)
- (vi) 'A *khuṣba* on the sufferings of the Imām Ḥusayn' (= *Khuṣba fi 'l safina*)
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 317-20
- (vii) 'Three *khuṣbas* [written] on the way to Mecca'
- None of these seem to have survived.
- (viii) 'A *khuṣba* for Mulla Ḥusayn [written] on board ship' (?= 'a *khuṣba* [written] in Jidda at the time of his embarkation on the ship')
1. Tehran, INBA 401 1C, pp. 348-51
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 339-40
- (ix) 'A *khuṣba* on gematria'
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 315-17
 2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 209-213
 3. Tehran, INBMC 67, pp. 228-33
- (x) 'A *khuṣba* [written] one stage from Medina'
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 322-24
- (xi) 'Two *khuṣbas* [written] near the staging-post of al-Ṣafrā'
1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 320-22 and 324-26
- (xii) A *khuṣba* written as a preface to the *Tafsīr Sūrat al-kawthar* (see under that title)

Kitāb al-asmā' (Kitāb asmā'ī Kullī shay'ī/Tafīr al-asmā')³⁵

1. Cambridge, Browne F.17 (Vol 1; defective)
2. Cambridge, Browne F.16 (Vol 2; defective)
3. Cambridge, Browne F.19 (Vol 1; defective)
4. Cambridge, Browne F.18 (Vol 2; defective)
5. Cambridge, Browne F.20
6. London, B.L. Or. 5278
7. London, B.L. Or. 5487
8. London, B.L. Or. 5488
9. London, B.L. Or. 5489
10. London, B.L. Or. 5490
11. London, B.L. Or. 5869
12. London, B.L. Or. 6255 (ff. 1-265)³⁶
13. Paris, B.N. 5806 (in the hand of Ridvān 'Alī)
14. Paris, B.N. 5807 (in the hand of Ridvān 'Alī)
15. Paris, B.N. 6141 (in the hand of Ridvān 'Alī)
16. Paris, B.N. 6142 (in the hand of Ridvān 'Alī)
17. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 104; dated 1323/1905; from 2:10 to 7:19)
18. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 104; dated 1321/1903; from 8:1 to 19:18)
19. Haifa, IBA (iii) (in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī; 27 sheets)
20. Haifa, IBA (iv)
21. Haifa, IBA (v)
22. Haifa, IBA (vi)
23. Haifa, IBA (vii)
24. Haifa, IBA (viii)
25. Tehran, INBA 6002C (82 sections, most of four grades)
26. Tehran, Millī 584/5

Kitāb al-fihrist

1. Tehran, INBA 401 IC, pp. 62-69
2. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 285-93
3. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 339-48
4. Unknown (originally belonging to Nicolas, as chapter six of his copy of the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-haramayn*)

³⁵ The B.L. ms. Or. 5481 listed by Browne (*Materials*, p. 206) as a ms. of the *Kitāb al-asmā'* is not a Bābī work at all. Another ms. there (Or. 6255) contains, apart from a copy of the *Kitāb al-asmā'* (ff. 1-265), twenty prayers (several of them titled), written mostly for the days of the week or for recitation after noon or morning devotions.

³⁶ Bought from E. Hindamian, 15 October 1901.

Kitāb al-rūh

1. Haifa, IBA (i)
2. Haifa, IBA (ii)
3. Haifa, IBA (iii)
4. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 69-100 and 61-173 (dated 1261/1845; 98 *sūras* only)³⁷
5. Tehran, INBA 7005C (undated; 415 *sūras* only)

Kitāb al-ṣahāra

1. Tehran, INBA 5010C, pp. 166-75 (apparently incomplete)

Kitāb al-ʿulamāʾ

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 318-28 (carries title)
2. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 83-92
3. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 452-63
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 206-16

*Kitāb ʿmāl al-sana: see Ṣahīfa ʿmāl al-sana**Kitāb-i haykal/Kitāb-i hayākil (= last five sections of the Kitāb-i panj sha'n)**Kitāb-i panj sha'n/Shu' ūn-i khamṣa*³⁸

1. Cambridge, Browne F.15 (in the hand of Azal) (*Shu' ūn-i khamṣa*)³⁹
2. London, B.L. Or. 5612 (*dar bayān-i shu' ūn-i daʿwāi*)
3. London, B.L. Or. 6680 (*Kitāb al-Bayān fi 'l-shu' ūn al-khamṣa*)
4. Paris, B.N. 6143 (in the hand of Riqvān ʿAlī) (*Shu' ūn-i khamṣa*)
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 106; with other works) (*Panj sha'n*)

³⁷ Sections 1 to 64 are on pages 69 to 100; sections 64 to 69 are on page 61; sections 69 to 98 are in the margins of pages 62 to 73.

³⁸ Works of either title are listed here; a few other alternative titles are also given.

³⁹ This ms. contains eight sections, each with five grades, as follows: 1. *al-ilāh al-ilāh*; 2. *al-awḥad al-awḥad*; 3. *al-abḥā al-abḥā*; 4. *al-ajmal al-ajmal*; 5. *al-aqṣam al-aqṣam*; 6. *al-aḥad al-aḥad*; 7. *al-ajlal al-ajlal*; 8. *al-anwar al-anwar*. These sections correspond to those of the same name in the lithographed edition, though they do not always occur in the same order. They are followed (pp. 394-95) by a short closing section, beginning: *shahada 'ilāh annahu lā ilāha illā huwa al-ʿazīz al-maḥbūb*.

6. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 112; in the hand of Mirza Muṣṭafā) (*Shu' ūn-i khamsa*)
7. Haifa, IBA (iii) (*Shu' ūn-i khamsa*)
8. Haifa, IBA (iv) (*Shu' ūn-i khamsa*)
9. Haifa, IBA (v) (*Panj sha'n*)
10. Tehran, Azalī possession (*Panj sha'n*)⁴⁰
11. Tehran, Pakzād (in the hand of Azal; two of five grades only) (*Panj sha'n*)

Lawḥ-i ḥurūfū (= *Kitāb-i haykal/Kitāb-i hayākil*)

Letters

Items marked with an asterisk are either referred to by name in the list of letters and prayers in the *Kitāb al-fihrist* or are assumed to be identical with pieces mentioned there.

1. Iran, INBMC 98 (i) On the apostasy of Mulla Jawad Vilyānī, pp. 111-22

2. Iran, INBMC 67

(i) On the words 'the Essence of 'Alī is in contact with the Essence of God', pp. 100-104

(ii) On alteration of the divine Will and the 'preserved tablet', pp. 172-76

(iii) On illness, p. 176

(iv) On the *ḥajj*, pp. 176-77

(v) On gematria and alchemy, pp. 203-04

(vi) To a certain Sayyid Ḥasan, in which the Bāb refers to the trial of Basṭāmī, instructs the Letters of the Living to travel to Karbalā', and indicates that one of them should teach his verses in the house of Rashī there. This letter seems to have been written on the return journey from Mecca.

3. Tehran, INBA 5014C

(i) In reply to six questions from Mirzā Sulaymān, pp. 159-63

(ii) On the imāms, to an unknown recipient, pp. 163-66

(iii) In reply to four questions, to an unknown recipient, pp. 170-71

(iv) A prayer and a reply to a question from an unknown correspondent, pp. 173-88

(v) A prayer for Sayyid Ja'far Shubbar, pp. 216-18* (cf. xxii)

⁴⁰ This ms. is the basis of the lithograph text.

- (vi) To 'Abd al-Wahhāb, pp. 257-64
- (vii) On *istiṭāḥ* (asking the explanation of texts), pp. 264-69
- (viii) To Aqa Sayyid Jawād [Karbala'ī?], pp. 269-70
- (ix) To Mullā Maḥdī Khū'ī, pp. 270-71
- (x) To Mullā Ḥasan Bajastānī, 271-75
- (xi) To Mullā Aḥmad Mu'allim Ḥisārī, pp. 275-79
- (xii) In reply to a question from an unknown correspondent, pp. 279-84
- (xiii) Prayer in reply to Mullā 'Abd al-Jalīl, to be read during the 'thanksgiving prostration' (*siḥdat al-shukr*), p. 294*
- (xiv) Prayer in reply to Mullā Aḥmad Khurāsānī, Di'bil, and the son of Mīrzā 'Alī al-Akhbārī, pp. 295-98*
- (xv) Prayer written at the request of Karbala'ī 'Alī Aṣghar Khurāsānī, p. 298*
- (xvi) Prayer written in Medina in reply to Ḥājj Sayyid 'Alī Kirmānī, pp. 198-99*
- (xvii) To Ḥājj Sulaymān Khān, written in Medina*
- (xviii) Prayer in reply to several believers, on twenty questions, pp. 300-04*
- (xix) Prayer in reply to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥādr and Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Qazvīnī, pp. 305-08*
- (xx) Prayer in reply to Mullā Ibrāhīm Maḥallātī, pp. 308-11*
- (xxi) Prayer in reply to Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Nahūrī, Mullā Maḥmūd, and other believers, pp. 311-15*
- (xxii) Prayer in reply to Sayyid Ja'far Shubbar, pp. 315-18* (cf. v)
- (xxiii) Prayer (copied from the hand of) Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī, pp. 318-19
- (xxiv) To Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥasan Khurāsānī, pp. 319-21
- (xxv) To an unknown recipient, pp. 322-24
- (xxvi) To his wife (*li 'l-bayt*), p. 330*
- (xxvii) To Karīm Khān Kirmānī (?), p. 331

4. Tehran, INBA 6012C

- (i) To the people of Mecca, pp. 257-260 (identical to his letter to Sharīf Sulaymān of Mecca)*
- (ii) Prayer in reply to Ḥājj Sayyid 'Alī Kirmānī, pp. 260-61*
- (iii) To Ḥājj Sulaymān Khān, pp. 261-62*
- (iv) To an unknown recipient, pp. 262-64

5. Tehran, INBA 5006C

- (i) On two questions, in reply to an unknown correspondent, pp. 347-48
- (ii) On seven questions raised by Mirzā Muḥammad Yazdī, pp. 363-65
- (iii) In reply to Mullā ‘Abd al-Jalīl, pp. 365-67
- (iv) To Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī, pp. 365-71

6. Tehran, INBA 401 IC

- (i) On three questions, pp. 137-41
- (ii) To Mirzā Muḥammad Yazdī, pp. 149-56
- (iii) To ‘Abd al-Jalīl, pp. 156-59
- (iv) To ‘Jalīl’s brother’ (*akh al-Jalīl*), pp. 163-64
- (v) To ‘Habīb’, pp. 164-65

7. Tehran, INBA 6004C

- (i) To ‘Abd al-Jalīl, in reply to five questions, pp. 198-200
- (ii) In reply to three questions, pp. 200-04
- (iii) To an unknown recipient, pp. 207-09
- (iv) In reply to questions on gematria, pp. 213-15

8. Cambridge, Browne F28 (item 7)

- (i) To Sharīf Sulaymān and the people of Mecca*
- (ii) To Hājī Sulaymān Khān*

9. Cambridge, Browne F.25 (item 3)

For a list of contents, see Appendix Five.

Letter to Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī I

- 1. Tehran, INBA 401 IC, pp. 332-36 (undated, but early)
- 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 369-71 (dated 1262/1846)

Letter to Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī II

- 1. Iran (basis for published text in Fayḍī, *Ḥadrat-i Nuqta*, pp. 151-53)

Letter to Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī III

- 1. Iran (basis for published text in Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 85-89)

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh I

- 1. Tehran, INBA 401 IC, pp. 328-32 (undated, but early)
- 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 367-69 (dated 1262/1846)

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh II

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28 (item 7)
2. Iran (basis for published text in Fayḍī, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuqṭa*, pp. 149-51)

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh III

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 13-18)

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh IV

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 5-8)

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh V

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 9-13)
2. Iran, private possession (basis for published text in Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-Ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 82-85)

*Minor Works (Isfahān)**(i) Letter to Manūchīhr Khān*

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 383-88
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 133-36 (entitled *fadhlika*)
3. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 411-416
4. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 11

(ii) Letter to the governor of Shūsīar

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 408-15
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 137-43
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 68-75
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 194-203
5. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 12

(iii) Letter to Mīrzā Saʿīd Ardīsīānī

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 416-30
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 144-54
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 419-31
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 259-73]
5. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 419-34
6. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 10

(iv) Letter to Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Mudhahhib

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 398-407
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 155-62
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 406-11

4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 219-28

(v) Letter commenting on a tradition of the Imām Riḍā'

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 390-92
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 162-64
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 404-06
4. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 15

(vi) The first ishrāq of al-Lawāmi' al-badī'

1. Tehran, INBA 7009C, pp. 175-202
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 164-80

(vii) Tafsiṛ written in reply to Mīrzā Ḥasan Waqāyī-ḥ-nigār

1. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 180-192
2. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 385-98
3. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 85-100
4. Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 7:4

(viii) Letter to a theological student on the questions in the Qur'ān

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 393-98
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 192-96
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 406-11
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 273-79 (dated 30 Ramadan 1264/31 August 1848 [?])
5. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 13

(ix) Sharḥ kayfiyyat al-mī'rāj

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 388-90
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 197-98
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 402-04
4. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 416-18
5. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 14

(x) Risāla on singing

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 430-50
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 202-20
3. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 233-59
4. Iran, INBMC 82, pp. 96-133

(xi) Risāla-yi dhahabiyya II

1. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 157-80
2. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 70-98

(xii) Letter in reply to three questions

1. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 398-400

(xiii) Letter on the significance of the letters of the alphabet

1. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 400-02

Nubuwwa khāṣṣa: see al-Risāla fi 'l-nubuwwa al-khāṣṣa

Prayers

The following manuscripts contain substantial numbers of prayers and other unclassified works by the Bāb:

1. Cambridge, Browne F.14 (*Min āthār al-Bayān*)
2. Cambridge, Browne F.25 (*Min āthār al-Bayān*)
3. Cambridge, Browne Folder 4 (item 10) (29 letters, *hayākil*, etc. mounted on card; received from Mīrzā Mīrzā Muṣṭafā, 3 June 1913)
4. London, B.L. Or. 5629 (*Āthār-i mutafarriqa-yi Bayān; prayers, etc.*)
5. London, B.L. Or. 6255 (20 prayers, following *Kitāb al-asmā'*)
6. Tehran, INBA 6001C (prayers)
7. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 173-227, 294-319, 324-30 (prayers)
8. Tehran, INBA 6005C (prayers)

Qayyūm al-asmā'

1. Cambridge, Browne F.11 (dated 1891)
2. Leningrad (see Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques*, vol.1, pp. 179-91)
3. Leningrad (formerly in the Rosen collection)
4. London, BL Or. 3539
5. London, BL Or. 6681
6. Paris, BN 6435 (dated 1909, in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)
7. Paris, BN 5780 (dated 1897, in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī; this ms. is bound with a copy of the *tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-baqara*)
8. Tehran, INBA 6020C (dated 1275/1858-59, apparently in the hand of Sayyid Mahdī Dahajī, transcribed in Baghdad)
9. Tehran, INBA 6016C (dated 1281/1864)
10. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 5-262 (dated 1262/1846, in the hand of 'Muḥammad 'Alī', transcribed in Karbāl⁹)
11. Haifa, IBA (formerly Nicolas 107; the ms. seems incomplete) (i)
12. Haifa, IBA (ii)
13. Haifa, IBA (iii)

14. Haifa, IBA (iv)
15. Haifa, IBA (v) (defective)
16. Haifa, IBA (vi) (dated 1261/1845, in the hand of Muḥammad Mahdī Shah Karam: the oldest ms.)
17. Princeton, University Library, 'Babi Collection' 55.

Risāla fi 'l-nubuwwa al-khāṣṣa

1. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 101)
2. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarrribīn)⁴¹
3. Haifa, IBA (iii)⁴²
4. Haifa, IBA (iv)
5. Tehran, INBA 401 IC, pp. 1-60
6. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 13-76
7. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 311-82

Risāla fi 'l-tasdīd

1. Tehran, INBA 401 IC, pp. 121-23
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 207-09 (without *Risāla fi 'l-sulūk*)
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 72-73
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 477-80
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 61-63
6. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 143-45

Risāla furūḡ al-ʿadliyya

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 148-82 (Persian translation only)
2. Tehran, INBA 5010C, pp. 82-166 (Arabic text with Persian translation)⁴³
3. Tehran, INBA 6011C, pp. 81-120 (Persian translation only)⁴⁴

⁴¹ With other works.

⁴² With other works.

⁴³ This ms. seems at first confused: pages 1 to 11 are blank; pages 12 to 82 contain the five *abwāb* which constitute the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya*; pages 82 to 86 contain the *Ziyāra jāmiʿa* in Arabic, erroneously numbered 'bāb six'; pages 86 to 119 contain the six remaining *abwāb* of the *Risāla furūḡ al-ʿadliyya*, numbered as *abwāb* 7 to 12; pages 119 to 130 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 7 (i.e., *bāb* 2 of the *Risāla*), numbered as 'bāb 13'; pages 130 to 141 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 8 (*bāb* 3 of the *risāla*), without a chapter number; pages 141 to 153 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 9 (*bāb* 4 of the *risāla*), numbered as 'bāb 14'; pages 153 to 160 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 10 (*bāb* 5 of the *risāla*), without a chapter number; pages 160 to 163 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 11 (*bāb* 6 of the *risāla*), without a chapter number; pages 163 to 166 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 12 (*bāb* 7 of the *risāla*), without a chapter number. Pages 166 to 175 contain the piece entitled *Kiṭāb al-jaḥāra*.

⁴⁴ 6011C contains only the Persian translation of the *Risāla*, following a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya*. Several pages have dropped out between what are now numbered pages

Ṣahīfa-yi ʿadliyya

1. Tehran, INBA 6011C (pp. 1-77)
2. Tehran, INBA 5010C (pp. 12-82)
3. Tehran, INBA 3006C
4. Tehran, 6012C, pp. 265-99 (contains *bāb* three and four only)
5. Tehran (used as basis for Azalī printed text)
6. Tehran, Maḥk Library 5677 (dated 1263/1846-47)
7. Tehran, Tehran University Library 1350/2 (dated 13th. C)
8. Tehran, Millī library 586/1 (dated 13th. C)
9. Haifa, IBA (i)
10. Haifa, IBA (ii)
11. Haifa, IBA (iii) (dated 1322/1904)
12. Haifa, IBA (iv) (originally Nicolas 106)
13. Iran, INBMC 82, pp. 134-205

Ṣahīfa ʿmāl al-sana

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 262-78
2. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 413-52

al-Ṣahīfa bayna ʿl-haramayn

1. Cambridge, CUL, Or. 943 (8) (dated 1894, in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)⁴⁵
2. Cambridge, Browne F.7 (dated 1905, in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)⁴⁶
3. London, BL, Or. 5325 (in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)
4. Paris, BN 5804 (dated 1898, in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)
5. Paris, BN 6248 (dated 1904, in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)⁴⁷
6. Leiden, UL, 2414 (dated 1263/1847, Shīrāz)⁴⁸
7. Haifa, IBA (i) (dated 1261/1845, Shīrāz)
8. Haifa, IBA (ii)
9. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 179-252 (dated 1261/1845, in the hand of ʿMuḥammad ʿAḥ)

113 and 114: the last line of p. 113 corresponds to line 12, p. 149 in ms. INBA 5010C, and the first line of p. 114 to line 14, p. 160.

⁴⁵ This forms part of a collection containing works of Mīrzā Yahyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal. It was given by Azal himself to Cobham on 26 January 1897, and by the latter to Guy Le Strange, who donated it to Cambridge University Library in February 1916. There is a note of the date written in English on the last page: February 4, 1898; this, however, does not seem to correspond to the Bāḥī date in the colophon.

⁴⁶ Given to Browne by Cobham in May 1906.

⁴⁷ Bound with Ṣubḥ-i Azal's *Mustayyiq* and *La'ālī wa majālī*.

⁴⁸ The best and oldest manuscript' (Browne, *Materials*, p. 200). This is no longer true in respect of the age of the ms.

10. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 348-413 (undated)

11. Unknown, originally owned by Nicolas⁴⁹

Sahīfā-yi Jaʿfariyya

1. Iran, INBMC 60, pp. 57-154

2. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 48-108 (chapters 1 to 4 missing)

3. Unknown (copy used by Jelial Azal to prepare pages for presentation to William Müller)

Sahīfā makhzūna/Duʿā-yi saḥīfa

1. Haifa, IBA (i)

2. Haifa, IBA (ii)

3. Haifa, IBA (iii)

4. Haifa, IBA (iv) (originally in possession of Nicolas; dated 1261/1845, in the hand of Muḥammad ʿAlī Khurāsānī Nīshāpūrī)

5. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 284-314 (dated 1262/1846)

6. Tehran, INBA 6009C, pp. 1-171 (undated, but early; possibly in the hand of Taqī Mūsawī)⁵⁰

7. Cambridge, CUL, Add. 3704 (6) (undated)

Sharḥ on a statement of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashī in his commentary on the Khuṣṣa al-tutunjiyya of ʿAlī

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 171-76

2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 343-45

3. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 204-07

4. Iran, INBMC 67, p. 125-29

Tafsīr āyat al-nūr

1. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 27

2. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 134-37

3. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 345-57

4. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 77-78

5. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 485-88

6. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 75-77

7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 155-57

⁴⁹ In *Sayyid Ali Mohammed*, he refers to the 'manuscrit de ma bibliothèque' more than once; I am, however, unaware of the present whereabouts of this copy.

⁵⁰ This is a confused copy. Its contents are arranged as follows: pp. 1-2, Introduction; 3-18, Prayer 1; 18-42 (line 2), Prayer 2; 42 (lines 2-9), last section of Prayer 5, beginning after the heading *wa qul barāda ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*; 42 (line 10)-48, Prayer 10; 48-56, Prayer 3; 56-124, Prayers 4 to 9; 125-32, Prayer 11; 132-71, Prayers 12 to 14.

Tafsir Difrā al-ṣabāh

1. Cambridge, Browne F.21 (item 26)
2. Tehran, 4012C (pp. 96-109)

Tafsīral-hā' I

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 2-58
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 221-74
3. Iran, private possession (copy in Tehran, INBA 4002C)
4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 81-125
5. Iran, INBMC 67, p. 4-52
6. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 99-154

Tafsīral-hā' II

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 58-96
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 274-310
3. Iran, private possession (copy in Tehran, INBA 4002C)
4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 125-56
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 52-85
6. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 154-81

Tafsīr al-ḥamd

1. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 84-129
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 5-41
3. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 120-55

Tafsīr ḥadīth al-ḥaqīqa

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 127-34
2. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 74-77
3. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 458-64
4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 63-68
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 148-55

Tafsīr ḥadīth al-jāriyya

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 176-79 (dated 1261/1845)
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 373-75 (dated 1262/1846)
3. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 189-92 (undated)
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 490-93 (undated)
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 157-60

6. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-*Āmma li' l-Āthār wa' l-Turāth*, 10824, item 2 [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh]⁵¹

Tafsīr ḥadīth 'kullu yawm 'Āshūrā'

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 118-21
2. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 70-72
3. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 488-90
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 141-43

Tafsīr ḥadīth 'man 'arafa nafsuḥuḥa-qad 'arafa rabbahu'

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 101-110
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 180-87
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 63-67
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 464-73
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 46-53
6. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 82-84 (incomplete)
7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 181-90

Tafsīr ḥadīth nahnu wajh Allāh

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 115-18
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 195-97
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 69-70
4. Iran, INBMC 53 (pp. 56-58)
5. Iran, INBMC 67 (pp. 138-40)

Tafsīr ilaykal al-dīn (sections 1 and 2)

1. Iran, Azali possession (in the hand of Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Ḥafāz)

Tafsīr (ḥurūf) al-basmala

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 41-94
2. Tehran, INBA 6012C, pp. 300-93
3. Tehran, INBA 6013C, pp. 2-109
4. Tehran, INBA 6014C, pp. 299-370
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 1-45
6. Iran, INBMC 60, pp. 1-56
7. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 33-80
8. Haifa, IBA (i)
9. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally in the possession of Nicolas)

⁵¹ Part of the collection entitled *Majmū'at fi l-*ʿ*aqā'id al-Bābiyya wa' l-Bahā'iyya* [sic].

Tafsir Sūrat al-baqara

1. Cambridge, Browne F.8
2. London, BL Or. 5277
3. Paris, BN 5780 (hand of Ridvān 'Alī; dated 1897)
4. Paris, BN 5805 (hand of Ridvān 'Alī)
5. Paris, BN 6610 (hand of Ridvān 'Alī)
6. Haifa, IBA (originally Nicolas 102)
7. Princeton, University Library, 'Bābī Collection'
8. Princeton, University Library, 'Bābī Collection'
9. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-'Āmma li' l-Āthār wa' l-turāth 10824, item I [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh]⁵²
10. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 2-178
11. Tehran, INBA 6012C, pp. 60-257
12. Tehran, INBA 6014C, pp. 1-296
13. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 156-410 (pp. 372 to the end contain an extension of the commentary to verse 133)
14. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 65-69 (introductory section only)
15. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 23-27 (introductory section only)

Tafsir Sūrat al-kawthar

1. Cambridge, Browne F.10 (dated 1296/ 1879)⁵³
2. London, British Library, Or. 5080
3. Yazd, Muḥammad 'Alī Farhumand collection⁵⁴ (in the hand of Ghulām 'Alī Ra'īs; 14th./19th-20th C)
4. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally in the possession of Nicolas, no. 101; dated 1322/1904)
5. Haifa, IBA (ii) (dated 1323/1905)
6. Haifa, IBA (iii) (possibly in the hand of Mullā 'Abd al-Kārim Qazvinī)⁵⁵
7. Haifa, IBA (iv) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarrabīn)
8. Haifa, IBA (v) (probably in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarrabīn)⁵⁶
9. Haifa, IBA (vi)⁵⁷
10. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 1-83 (incomplete)⁵⁸

⁵² Part of *ibid.*

⁵³ This copy was sent to Browne from Iran via Cyprus.

⁵⁴ See A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khatī-yi Fārsī*, 6 vols. (Tehran, 1348-53 Sh/1969-74), item 17216.

⁵⁵ From line 15, folio 116b, corresponding to line 12, folio 115b in Browne F.10; this and the Cambridge ms. diverge to the end.

⁵⁶ With other works.

⁵⁷ With other works.

⁵⁸ The text ends at a point corresponding to line 2, folio 62b of Browne F.10.

11. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 181-383
12. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-*'*amma li' l-*'*āthar wa' l-Turāth, 10824, item 3 [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn *'*Abd Allah]⁵⁹

Tafsīr Sūrat al-qadr

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 211-19
2. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 14-21
3. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 158-65

Tafsīr Sūrat al-tawhīd

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 199-211
2. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 2-13
3. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 165-74

Tafsīr Sūra wa 'l-'*asr*⁶⁰

1. Cambridge, Browne F.9
2. London, BL, Or. 5112
3. Paris, BN 6531 (dated 1911, in the hand of Ridvān *'*Ah)⁶¹
4. Haifa, IBA (i) (possibly in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)
5. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)⁶²
6. Haifa, IBA (iii)⁶³
7. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 95-198
8. Tehran, INBA 7009C, pp. 5-130
9. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 6-80
10. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 21-119

Ziyārajāmi^{} a kabīra*

1. Cambridge, Browne F.22 (item 1)
2. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 132-45 (incomplete)
3. Tehran, INBA 6009C, pp. 173-219 (incomplete; dated 1267/1851)
4. Iran, INBMC 50, pp. 1-72
5. Russia (?), Kazem Beg copy

⁵⁹ Part of the collection entitled *Majma'^{*} fi' l-*'*aqā'id al-Babiyya wa' l-Bahā'iyya* [sic].

⁶⁰ In the Cambridge and British Library texts, the *tafsīr* is followed by a doxology on Fāṭima, entitled the *Taṣbīḥ-i Fāṭima*. It is unclear whether or not this short work is directly connected to the *tafsīr*. Such a *taṣbīḥ* is not mentioned elsewhere, but a short piece entitled *Taṣbīḥ-i *'*Alī* may be found in INBA 5014C, pp. 253-57.

⁶¹ Together with the *Kalimāt-i muṣafarīqa* of Ṣubḥ-i Azal.

⁶² With other works.

⁶³ With other works.

Ziyāra jāmi'a ṣaghīra = Chapter 1 of *Risāla furū' al-ʿadliyya*

There is one separate MS:

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, p. 2, line 20 to top left corner

Ziyārat al-Zahrā

1. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 148-59

APPENDIX TWO

SAYYID ḤUSAYN YAZDĪ

Yazdī belonged to a Shaykhī family, most of whom appear to have converted to Babism. He remained with the Bāb constantly after the latter's return from pūlgrimage in 1845, and was often accompanied by his brother, Sayyid Ḥasan. Instructed by the Bāb to practise *taqiyya* at the time of the former's execution, he was later killed in Tehran in 1852, following the Bābī attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The Bāb refers to him as 'Azīz' (*Qayyūm al-asmā'*, sura 79, last verse). For further details, see Zarandī, *passim*; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ishrāq Khāvarī, *Raḥīq-i makhtūm*, 2 vols., (Tehran, 130 BE/1973-74), vol.1, pp.757-60; Muḥammad 'Alī Malīk Khusravī, *Tārīkh-i shuhadā-yi amr*, vol.3 (Tehran, 130 BE/1973-74), pp.276-83; Mirzā Asad Allāh Fāḍil-i Māzandarānī, *Kūāb-i zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3 (Tehran, n.d. [1323 Sh/1944?]), pp.459-60, 460-61 (two letters from the Bāb about and to Yazdī). Six examples of letters in Yazdī's hand are reproduced in the compilation volume, *Qismatī az alwāh*. A facsimile of a letter from him to 'Ism Allāh al-'Alī' (probably Ḥājī Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī, an uncle of the Bāb) may be found in Browne's edition of the *New History* (facing p.427; transcript on pp.427-30; translation pp.430-34; also reproduced in the *Nuqṭat al-kāf*, facing p.245; original in Folder 3 in the Browne cabinet, CUL).

MĪRZĀ 'ABD AL-KARĪM QAZVĪNĪ

Better known as 'Mīrzā Aḥmad'. Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh refers to him in his *Lawḥ-i Naṣīr* as one of two individuals well informed of the origins of Babism: 'The origins of this cause have been concealed from all, nor has anyone been aware of them, with the exception of two individuals, one of whom was known as Aḥmad'.¹ (The other individual referred to was Mīrzā Mūsā Nūrī, an elder brother of Bahā' Allāh.)

'Abd al-Karīm first studied in Qazvīn under Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Irāvānī.² Irāvānī granted Qazvīnī an *ijāza* — Māzandarānī maintains implausibly that he was the only pupil to whom he ever gave one.³

Qazvīnī later travelled to Karbalā', where he studied under Sayyid Kāzīm Rashī, and later returned to his home town of Qazvīn on Rashī's instructions, some time before 1255/1839-40. During the period when the Bāb was living in Shīrāz after his return from pilgrimage in 1845, Qazvīnī (who had already become a Bābī and had been among those who set off for Karbalā' in the expectation of an uprising) arrived in the city and was introduced to the young prophet. The Bāb retained him to act as a secretary and, after his removal to Isfahān, Qazvīnī, Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī, and Shaykh Ḥasan Zunūzī were the only individuals normally able to visit him. All three engaged in the task of transcribing the new scriptures. Qazvīnī later accompanied the Bāb from Kāshān to Tabrīz. Afterwards he lived in Tehran, where he earned a living as a scribe and also transcribed further copies of works by the Bāb. Zarandī, who associated closely with Qazvīnī in Tehran, refers to his transcriptions of the Persian *Bayān* and the *Dalā'il-i sab'a*.⁴ Shaykh Kāzīm Samandar mentions his having seen several copies of the Persian and Arabic *Bayāns* in Qazvīnī's hand.⁵ Qazvīnī was imprisoned in the Siyāh Chāl prison in Tehran and executed during the 1852 pogrom.

The *Nuqtat al-kāf* speaks (p.245) of a certain Āqā Sayyid Aḥmad Tābrīzī, known as the 'Kātib' (amanuensis). Browne, in a note to *A Traveller's Narrative* (vol.2, p.320, f.n.1), has pointed out that this is the result of a confusion between Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī (generally

¹ Bahā' Allāh, *Majmū'at-i al-wāḥ-i mubāraka* [Cairo, 1920] p.174

² On whom see Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Tanakabunī, *Qīṣaṣ al-'ulamā'* (Tehran, n.d.), pp.94-100; Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Kashmīrī, *Nujūm al-samā'* (Lucknow, 1303/1885-86), pp.412-14; Muḥammad Mahdī Kāzīmī, *Aḥsan al-wadī'a*, vol.1, (Baghdad, 1347/1928-29), pp.20-21

³ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p.370, f.n.

⁴ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p.592.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i Samandar* [Tehran, 131 BE/1974-75], p.156.

known as Mirzā Ahmad) and another individual, Āqa Sāyyid Ahmad Tabrizī, who was never one of the Bab's secretaries.

For further details, see Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp.159, 162-69, 170, 176, 212, 227, 439-44, 592; Samandar, *Tārīkh-i Samandar*, pp.156-57; Mazandarāni, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp.369-71; Malik-Khusravi, *Tārīkh-i shuhadā'*, vol.3, pp.295-310; Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol.2, pp.41 and n.1, 42, 62, 320 f.n.1, 331, 338, 341, 356.

THE RISĀLA-YI DHAHABIYYA

There is some confusion as to the identity of this work. The ms. used by me forms part of a compilation transcribed for Browne by Mirzā Muṣṭafā; the whole volume is F.28 in the Browne Collection. According to Mirzā Muṣṭafā (in a note at the head of the text), this is the sixth *ṣahīfa* mentioned in the work itself. That turns out to have the title *al-Ṣahīfa al-Raḍawiyya*, and it is under this name that Browne catalogued it.

From the text, however, it is clear that *al-Ṣahīfa al-Raḍawiyya* must, in fact, be another work: towards the end of this manuscript, after enumerating the fourteen major works written by him in the first two years of his career, the Bāb writes: '... but as for the books which passed out of my hands and were stolen on the *hajj* journey, a detailed account of them has been written in the *Ṣahīfa al-Raḍawiyya*...' It seems highly likely that this is a reference to the *Kuāb al-fihrist*, which contains just such an account.

The wording of the passage in the Browne ms. which deals with books written between the start of 1260 and the middle of the first month of 1262 is, however, identical with a passage quoted by Nicolas in *Séyyed Ali Mohammed* (p. 59 n), as is the later reference to the *Ṣahīfa al-Raḍawiyya* just quoted. Nicolas (who says he owned a copy) states that he is quoting from a work known as the *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya*. I am willing to take this as a provisional title, on the assumption that Nicolas' copy carried it. Unfortunately, no work of this name appears to have been among the books sold after Nicolas' death. Mazandarāni quotes the same passage (*Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp. 189-90), but does not give the name of the work from which it is taken.

It should be noted that another work exists, also carrying the title *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya*. This seems to have been written by the Bāb to Mullā Jawād Vilyāni about 1847.

APPENDIX FIVE

CONTENTS OF BROWNE F.25, ITEM 3: 'SHU'ŪN-I KHAMSA' (EXTRACTS)

1. *Al-Thamara* ('The Fruit', i.e., *Ṣubḥ-i Azal*)
2. *Al-Thamara*
3. *Li-Ukhu al-Thamara* ('To the sister of al-Thamara')
4. *Kitāb al-sīn li' l-rukn al-ṭasbīḥ* (sic; 'Epistle of the letter S to the Pillar of Praise')
5. *Kitāb al-mīm li' l-rukn al-tahmīd* (sic; 'Epistle of the letter M to the Pillar of Glorification')
6. *Kitāb al-alif li' l-rukn al-tawḥīd* (sic; 'Epistle of the letter A to the Pillar of Unification')
7. *Kitāb al-lām li' l-rukn al-takbīr* (sic; 'Epistle of the letter L to the Pillar of Magnification')
8. *Kitāb al-lām li-Muḥammad 'alayhi 'l-ṣalāt* ('Epistle of the letter L to Muḥammad, upon whom be praise')
9. *Kitāb al-hā' li-'Alī 'alayhi 'l-salām* ('Epistle of the Letter H to [Imām] 'Alī, upon whom be peace')
10. *Kitāb al-alif li-Fāṭima* ('Epistle of the letter A to Fāṭima')
11. *Kitāb al-lām li' l-Ḥasan* ('Epistle of the letter L to [Imām] Ḥasan')
12. *Kitāb al-rā' li' l-Ḥusayn* ('Epistle of the letter R to [Imām] Ḥusayn')
13. *Kitāb al-hā' li-'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn* ('Epistle of the letter Ḥ to [Imām] 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn')
14. *Kitāb al-mīm li-Muḥammad ibn 'Alī* ('Epistle of the letter M to [Imām] Muḥammad ibn 'Alī')
15. *Kitāb al-nūn li-Ja'far ibn Muḥammad* ('Epistle of the letter N to [Imām] Ja'far ibn Muḥammad')
16. *Kitāb al-alif li-Mūsā ibn Ja'far* ('Epistle of the Letter A to [Imām] Mūsā ibn Ja'far')
17. *Kitāb al-lām li-'Alī ibn Mūsā* ('Epistle of the letter L to [Imām] 'Alī ibn Mūsā')
18. *Kitāb al-rā' li-Muḥammad ibn 'Alī* ('Epistle of the letter R to [Imām] Muḥammad ibn 'Alī')
19. *Kitāb al-hā' li-'Alī ibn Muḥammad* ('Epistle of the letter Ḥ to [Imām] 'Alī ibn Muḥammad')
20. *Kitāb al-bā' li' l-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī* ('Epistle of the letter B to [Imām] Ḥasan ibn 'Alī')
21. *Kitāb dā'ira al-thālitha* (sic; 'Epistle of the Third Circle')
22. *Bismi 'llāh al-'alī al-mutakabbar al-rafi'* ('In the Name of God, the Exalted, the Praised, the Elevated')
23. *Ziyārat-i Hujjat* ('Pilgrimage Prayer for the Proof' [i.e., the Hidden Imām or, possibly, Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Zanjānī])
24. *Bismi 'llāh al-raḥman al-raḥīm* ('In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate')
25. *Yā 'Azīm* ('O Mighty One' [possibly addressed to Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī])
26. *Mirzā Aḥmad*

27. *Ism-i awwal* ('The First Name': Bushrū?)
28. *Sayyid-i Shirāzi*
29. *Bismi 'llāh al-ʿalī al-ʿazīm* ('In the Name of God, the Exalted, the Mighty')
30. *Huwa 'l-mutakabbar al-badīʿ* ('He is the Praised, the Creative')
31. *Al-Thamara*
32. *An yā Karīm* ('O Generous One' [possibly addressed to 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī])
33. *Jināb-i ʿAzīm* (to Mulla Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī)
34. *120 Huwa 'llāh al-ʿalī al-ʿalā* (120, He is God, the Exalted, the Most Exalted')
35. *Ism Allāh al-ʿAzīm* ('The Name of God, the Mighty'; addressed to Mulla Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī)
36. *Huwa 'l-akbar* ('He is the Greatest')
37. *Huwa 'l-ʿazīz* ('He is the Powerful')

APPENDIX SIX

CONTENTS OF INBA 6007C

ZIYĀRATNĀMAS

Prayers for:

1. Friday and Thursday nights (pp. 30-40)
2. The ten letters' (pp. 40-41)
3. 'The first to believe' (i.e. Bushrū) on Thursday night (pp. 46-52)
4. Thursday night (*Ziyāra jāmi* 'a pp. 52-61)
5. 'The first [to believe]' (pp. 61-65)
6. 'The first [to believe]' (pp. 65-71)
7. 'The two hidden names' (pp. 71-72)
8. 'The martyrs, on Thursday night' (pp. 72-79)
9. 'The letters of the unity', on Friday (pp. 78-82)
10. Friday (pp. 97-101)
11. 'The first' and 'the last' [to believe], on Friday (pp. 106-13)
12. 'The first to be martyred of the Letters of the Living' (pp. 114-18)
13. 'The second [etc.]' (pp. 118-21)
14. 'The third [etc.]' (pp. 121-23)
15. 'The fourth [etc.]' (pp. 123-26)
16. 'The fifth [etc.]' (pp. 126-28)
17. 'The sixth [etc.]' (pp. 128-31)
18. 'The martyrs' (pp. 132-39)
19. 'The letter M' (pp. 139-45)
20. 'The first to believe', on the night of the 'Īd al-Fitr (pp. 145-47)
21. 'The middle night of the month of God' (pp. 160-64)
22. 'The first [to believe]', on the Day of 'Arafa (pp. 164-75)
23. 'The last [to believe]' (pp. 175-76)
24. 'The first [to believe]' (pp. 187A-89)
25. 'The eight letters' (pp. 189-201)
26. 'The Point [i.e., the Bāb] and his Letters of the Living' (pp. 201-11)
27. 'The first [to believe]' (pp. 255-62)
28. 'The last' [to believe] (pp. 262-66)
29. 'The last' [to believe] (pp. 266-68)
30. 'The last' [to believe] (pp. 268-72)
31. 'The twenty-nine letters' (pp. 541-47)

APPENDIX SEVEN

THE TEHRAN AND HAIFA MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *KITĀB-Ī NUQTĀT AL-KĀF* AND THEIR DIVERGENCE FROM THE PARIS TEXT

1. The INBA Manuscript

Since this manuscript is defective in parts, I have numbered the folios in a straight sequence as a means of indicating more easily the correspondence between the two manuscripts. The numbering of the Paris ms. follows the pagination of the printed edition. The three places where pages have actually been lost from the Tehran ms. are: f. 9b (p. 19) to f. 10a (p. 22); f. 61b (p. 125) to f. 62a (p. 128); and f. 123b (p. 261) to f. 124a (p. 264).¹

The manuscript begins at p. 88, line 14 of the Paris text. They then diverge as follows:

Tehran		Paris
f. 9b, last line f. 10a, line 1	breaks off at resumes at	p. 96, line 20 p. 97, line 21
f. 19a, line 2 f. 19a, line 3	breaks off at resumes at	p. 106, line 14 p. 125, line 18
f. 61b, last line f. 62a, line 1	breaks off at resumes at	p. 160, line 11 p. 171, line 18
f. 76b, last line f. 76b, last line	breaks off at resumes at	p. 185, line 21 p. 200, line 10

¹ It has been pointed out by 'Alī Murād Dā'udī (*Mujālib-i ma'arif-i Bahā'ī*, Tehran, 132 B.E./1975, part 11, p. 7) that the Tehran ms. does not include the sections between pages 238 and 245 and between pages 252 and 261 of the printed text, both of which contain extensive references to Ṣubḥ-i Azāl. Dā'udī concludes from this that these passages must be later insertions, an argument that is scarcely convincing. In fact, the Tehran ms. does contain one favourable reference to Azāl (which appears on p. 208 of the published text) and includes what seems to be another reference to him, except that, where the Paris ms. reads *Ḥadīth-i Azāl* (p. 238), the Tehran text has *Ḥadīth-i Ṣāḥib*, a common term of address for Bahā' Allāh, derived from Ṣūfī usage.

Tehran		Paris
f. 86b, line 10	breaks off at	p. 208, line 2
f. 86b, line 11	resumes at	p. 208, line 12
f. 86b, line 14	breaks off at	p. 208, line 14
f. 86b, line 14	resumes at	p. 208, line 14
f. 87a, line 12	breaks off at	p. 208, line 12
f. 87a, line 12	resumes at	p. 208, line 14
f. 122b, line 2	breaks off at	p. 238, line 16
f. 122b, line 3	resumes at	p. 245, line 1
f. 123b, last line	breaks off at	p. 246, line 14
f. 124a, line 1	resumes at	p. 247, line 13
f. 129b, line 6	breaks off at	p. 252, line 2
f. 129b, line 6	resumes at	p. 261, line 2

The Haifa manuscript, which seems to have originated in Tehran and bears the identification number M 1548 corresponds to the Paris text as follows:²

Haifa		Paris
p. 1, line 1	begins at	p. 87, line 16
p. 26, line 6	breaks off at	p. 106, line 14
p. 26, line 6	resumes at	p. 125, line 18
p. 103, line 12	breaks off at	p. 185, line 21
p. 103, line 12	resumes at	p. 200, line 10

² This manuscript, which is undated, has numbered pages from 1 to 179. Two pages are numbered 62 and another two 152. There is no page 129.

Haifa	Paris	
p. 114, line 1	breaks off at	p. 208, line 2
p. 114, line 1	resumes at	p. 208, line 12
p. 114, line 3	breaks off at	p. 208, line 14
p. 114, line 3	resumes at	p. 208, line 4
p. 114, line 9	breaks off at	p. 208 line 12
p. 114, line 9	resumes at	p. 208, line 14 ³
p. 154, line 7	breaks off at	p. 238, line 16
p. 154, line 7	resumes at	p. 245, line 1
p. 163, line 13	breaks off at	p. 252, line 2
p. 163, line 13	resumes at	p. 261, line 2

³ The reference to Şubh-i Azal in the Paris text at this point not only occurs in the Haifa ms., but has been encircled and embellished. This seems to be evidence that the scribe was not a Bahá'í.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS

Kitābi nuqṭat al-kāf

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Persan 1071¹
2. Princeton, University Library (originally in the possession of Dr. Sa'īd Khan)
3. Tehran (the 'American College' copy)
4. Tehran, INBA 2012D
5. Tehran, INBA 2009E
6. Tehran, library of Hājī Muḥammad Ḥusayn Fathī (originally from Naṣanz)
7. Tehran, another copy from Naṣanz seen by Muḥīṭ-i Ṭabāṭabā'ī
8. Tehran (?), a copy obtained by Mīrzā Muṣṭafā from Naraq
9. Tehran(?), a defective copy originally owned by Mīrzā Muṣṭafā
10. Kerman (owner known to Muḥīṭ-i Ṭabāṭabā'ī)
11. Haifa, IBA M 1548
12. Leningrad (?), originally in the possession of A. Tumanskii

Tārīkh-i jadīd/Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī² (Hamadānī/Qā'īnī)

1. Cambridge, Browne F.55
2. London, British Library, Or. 2942
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale³
4. Leningrad, Institute of Oriental Languages⁴
5. London, Afṣān Library
6. Haifa, IBA, MD 47/2⁵ (Qazvīn 1304/1887)
7. Haifa, IBA, MR 1611 (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*)⁶

¹ The basis for the published text.

² There are numerous other copies. Ṭabāṭabā'ī mentions several, but too imprecisely to be listed here. He also refers to copies in the possession of the Azālī Babi in Tehran, but I have not been shown any of these.

³ With emendations by Muḥammad Riḍā Iṣfahānī. Is this the same as the Hājī Muḥammad Riḍā' of Iṣfahān referred to by Ṣubḥ-i Azāl in connection with the *Nuqṭat al-kāf*?

⁴ See *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. 6, p. 244.

⁵ Without pagination. It contains the revisions and final passage by Qā'īnī and seems to have been copied in Qazvīn on 23 Dhū 'l-Qa'ḍa 1304/13 August 1887 by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī Farahānī.

⁶ Contains 104 pages and incorporates Qā'īnī's corrections and closing passage, without dates or colophon. On page 1, the name *Kunt du Gubiniū Farānsawī* (Comte de Gobineau of France) has been written in what appears to be a Persian hand, without explanation.

- 8 Haifa, IBA, M 1549⁷ (1318/1901)
- 9 Haifa, IBA, MR 1792⁸ (Qazvin, 1299/1882)
10. Tehran, library of M.A. Malik Khusravi (1299/1882)⁹
11. Tehran, Ma'jis Library
12. Tehran, INBA 1010D (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*)
13. Tehran, INBA 1022D (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*)
14. Tehran, INBA 1047D (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*)
15. Tehran, INBA 1052D (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*; 1297/1880)
16. Tehran, INBA 2017D (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*; 1299/1882; in the hand of Qā'inī)
17. Tehran, INBA 2019D (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*; incomplete)
18. Tehran, INBA 2016E (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*; incomplete)
19. Tehran, INBA 2029E (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*)
20. Tehran, INBA 2034E (*Tārīkh-i badī'ī bayānī*)
21. Shīrāz (?), library of A. Q. Afrān
22. Bombay, Kama Library (currently missing)¹⁰

Tārīkh-i mīmūyya/Waqāyi'ī mīmūyya (Zavāra'ī)

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 1
2. Tehran, INBA 1020D
3. Tehran, INBA 1058D
4. Tehran, INBA 2014D, item 1
5. Tehran, library of M.A. Malik Khusravi

Autobiography of Ḥājj Naṣīr Qazvīnī

1. Tehran, INBA 2014D, item 4

Account of the Death of Bushrū'ī (Zavāra'ī)

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 2

History of Luṭf'Alī Mīrzā Shīrāzī

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 3
2. Tehran, library of M. A. Malik Khusravi¹¹
3. Shīrāz, library of A. Q. Afrān¹²
4. Tehran, INBA 1019D¹³

⁷ 458 pages, dated 25 Dhū l-Qa'da 1318/16 March 1901. Contains the revisions of Qā'inī. In the hand of Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Āqā Mīrzā Ghulām Riḍā.

⁸ Contains Qā'inī's corrections.

⁹ May be identical with ms. 16. Dated 25 Sha'bān 1299/12 July 1882.

¹⁰ This ms. seems to have been stolen.

¹¹ See Malik Khusravi, 'Manābi', item 1.

¹² This ms. was copied by Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir Tīhrānī in 1319/1901-02 from a mā in Bārfurūsh. See Balyuzi, *The Bāb*, pp. 239-40.

¹³ This may be identical with ms. 2.

5. Tehran, INBA 2013

Tārīkh-i waqāyīʿ-i Māzandarān (Shahmūrzādi)

1. Tehran, INBA 2014D, item 2
2. Tehran, library of M. A. Malik Khusravi (= 1?)

Tārīkh-i qaḡa (Shahmūrzādi)

1. Tehran, INBA 2014D, item 3¹⁴
2. Tehran, INBA 3032

Biography of Āqā Abū Ṭālib, Shahmūrzādi (Baṣṣārī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2018E, item 2
2. Tehran, INBA 2030E, item 6

History of Shaykh Ṭabarsī, Rasht, and Qazvīn (Baṣṣārī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2018E, item 1

History of Shaykh Ṭabarsī (Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā' Shahmūrzādi)

1. Tehran, INBA 2025E

Waqāyīʿ-i qaḡa-yi Shaykh Ṭabarsī

1. Tehran, INBA 2022E

Tārīkh-i qaḡa-yi Shaykh Ṭabarsī

1. Tehran, INBA 2038E

Account of the Nayriz Uprising by Āqā Mullā Muḥammad Shaḡīr Nayrizī

1. Tehran, INBA 1051D

Tārīkh-i waqāyīʿ-i Zanjān (Zanjānī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2046E
2. Tehran, INBA 3037 (items 1, 2)

Biography of Mullā Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharʿatmadār (Sharʿatmadārīān)

1. Tehran, INBA 1009D

Mathnavī of Ḥājī Mīrzā Ismāʿīl Dhabīḡ Kāshānī

1. Oxford, Wadham College, Minasiyan Collection, 787

¹⁴ Not to be confused with a work of the same title also in the INBA: INBA 2014E.

Tārīkh- Nabil (Zarandī)

1. Haifa, IBA M1557

Maqāla-yi shakhṣī sayyāh ('Abbās Effendī)

1. Cambridge, Browne Collection, F.56 (7)

Tārīkh-i zuhūr-i ḥadrai-i Bāb wa Bahā' Allāh (Gulpāygānī)

1. Tehran, INBA 1015D
2. Tehran, INBA 2010D

Tārīkh-i baduww-i julū'ī-i amr (Zarqānī)

1. Tehran, INBA 1015D

Tārīkh-i Muḥīn al-Salṣana

1. Tehran, INBA (autograph)
2. Tehran, INBA (autograph; revised version, 1340/1921-22)

Tārīkh-i Nayrīz (Nayrīzī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2009D
2. Tehran, library of M.A. Malik-Khusravi (= 1?)

Mukhtaṣar-i waqāyī'ī-i Zanjān (Zāhid al-Zamān)

1. Tehran, INBA 2012E
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravi (= 1?)

Waqāyī'ī-i Zanjān (Khalkhālī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2007E
2. Tehran, INBA 2012E
3. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravi (= 1 or 2?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Khurāsān (Bushrī'ī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2028D (typescript)
2. Tehran, INBA 2038D (MS)
3. Tehran, library of Malik-Khusravi (= 2?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Ādharbāyjān (Uskū'ī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2007D
2. Tehran, INBA 2026D
3. Tehran, INBA 2010E
4. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravi (= 1, 2, or 3?)

Tārīkh-i Jināb-i Mīrzā Ḥaydar 'Alī Uskū'ī (Uskū'ī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2004D

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Nūr (Tākūrī)

1. Tehran, INBA 2027D
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravī (= 1?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Hamadān (Ishrāq Khāvarī)

1. Tehran, INBA 1007D
2. Tehran, INBA 1015D
3. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravī (= 1 or 2?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Shīrāz (Afnān)

1. Tehran, INBA 1027D
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravī (= 1?)
3. Shīrāz, library of A. Q. Afnān (?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Kāshān (Isfahānī)

1. Tehran, INBA 1017D
2. Tehran, INBA 1028D
3. Tehran, INBA 2016D
4. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravī (= 1, 2 or 3?)

Tārīkh-i Jadhdhāb (Jadhdhāb)

1. Tehran, INBA (?)
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravī

Tārīkh-i mukhtaṣar-i Zanjān ('Aḷī'ī)

1. Tehran, INBA 1004D
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravī (= 1?)

Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Mullā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Qazvīnī (Qazvīnī)

1. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravī

Tārīkh-i Sangsar (Anon.)

1. Tehran, INBA 2007E
2. Tehran, library of Malik Khusravī (= 1?)

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Bihnamūr (Mihrābkhānī)

1. Tehran, INBA (?)

Iqtīm-i Nūr (Malik Khusravi)

1. Tehran, INBA 2041E

Khāḡirāt (Iḡahānī)

1. Tehran, INBA 1028D/6

Khāḡirāt (Muharrir)

1. Tehran, INBA 1928D/1

Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Ādharbāyjān (Milānī)

1. Tehran, INBA 3030B

Waqāyīʿ-i Ṭīhrān (Zarqānī)

1. Tehran, INBA 3047

APPENDIX NINE

THE SOURCES FOR THE *ĀRĪKH-I NABĪ*

The following list is arranged simply 'in order of appearance', with page references to the citations given by Zarandī. The text used is the US edition of *The Dawn-Breakers*.

1. Mīrzā Maḥmūd Qamsārī (p. 8)
2. Shaykh Hasan Zunūzī (pp. 24-33; 249; 307-08; 316-19)
3. Shaykh Abū Turāb (pp. 39-40; 293-96)
4. Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī (Mīrzā Aḥmad; pp. 52-68; 159-60; 168-69; 228-29; 331; 505)
5. Ḥājī Sayyid Jawād Karbalā'ī (pp. 79-80)
6. Ḥājī 'Abd al-Majīd (pp. 88-90)
7. Ḥājī Hashim 'Aṭṭār (p. 91)
8. Mullā Šadiq Khurāsānī (pp. 100-01; 148; 381-82; 580)
9. Mīrzā Mūsā Nūrī (pp. 104; 286-87; 397-98; 432; 599; 616-21)
10. Mīrzā Aḥmad Azghandī (pp. 126-28)
11. Ḥājī Abū 'l-Ḥasan Shirāzī (p. 130)
12. Unnamed Muslim eye-witnesses (pp. 147-48)
13. Sayyid Ismā'īl Zavāra'ī (p. 168)
14. Mīrzā 'Abd Allah Ghawghā (p. 182)
15. Shaykh Sulṭān Karbalā'ī (pp. 190; 270)
16. Ḥājī 'Alī 'Askar (pp. 240-41)
17. Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī (pp. 243; 430; 507-08)
18. Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Nūrī Baha' Allah (pp. 298-99; 323; 375; 459-62; 582-86; 591; 631-34)
19. Mīrzā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī 'Aẓīm (pp. 313; 505)
20. Mīrzā Muḥammad Furūghī (pp. 331-336; 348-49; 353-54; 381-82; 390; 580)
21. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakamī Kirmānī (p. 331)
22. Ḥājī Mullā Ismā'īl Farahānī (p. 331)
23. Mīrzā Ḥabīb Allah Isfahānī (p. 331)
24. Sayyid Muḥammad Isfahānī (p. 331)
25. Nabīl-i Akbar (Faḍīl-i Qā'īnī; p. 332)
26. 'Abd al-Majīd Nīshāpūrī (pp. 332; 580)
27. Ism Allah al-Mīm (Sayyid Maḥdī Dahajī; pp. 413-14)¹

¹ Dahajī was the author of a commentary on the *Nuqat al-kāf*, the *Risāla-yi Sayyid Maḥdī Dahajī*, Cambridge, Browne Collection, F.57.

28. *Ism Allāh al-Jawād* (Āqā Muḥammad Jawād Qazvīnī;² pp. 413-14)
29. *Ism Allāh al-Asad* (Mīrẓā Asad Allāh Iṣfahānī; pp. 413-14)
30. Sayyid Abū Ṭalīb Sangsarī (pp. 426-27)³
31. Mullā Ādī Guzal Marāghāī (Shaykh Sayyāh; pp. 432-33)
32. *Ṣubḥ-i Azal* (pp. 441; 591-92)
33. Hājī Mīrẓā Sayyid 'Alī Shīrāzī (the Bāb's uncle; pp. 432-33)
34. Mīrẓā Qurbān 'Alī Darvīsh (p. 450)
35. Mullā Muḥammad Rīdā' Manshādī (Raḍī al-Rūḥ; pp. 473; 580)
36. Mullā Bāqir Tabrīzī (Letter of the Living; p. 505)
37. Mīrẓā Sayyid Muḥsin (p. 514)
38. Hājī 'Alī 'Askar (p. 518)
39. Mīrẓā Muḥammad 'Alī Ṭabīb (pp. 536-37; 580)
40. 'Several eye-witnesses' of the Zanḡān uprising (p. 553)
41. Ustād Mīhr 'Alī Haddād (pp. 565-67)
42. Abū Baṣīr Zanḡānī (p. 580)
43. Sayyid Ashraf Zanḡānī (p. 580)
44. Mullā Ḥusayn Zanḡānī (from his narrative; p. 580)
45. Sayyid Abū Ṭalīb Shahmīrẓādī (from his narrative; p. 580)
46. Mīrẓā Ḥaydar 'Alī Ardīstānī (from personal acquaintance and a narrative; p. 580)
47. Mullā Muḥammad Shaft' Nayrīzī (from his narrative; pp. 581; 644)
48. Shaykh Shāhid Mazkān (pp. 589-90)
49. Mullā Ibrāhīm Mullābāshī (p. 590)
50. 'Abbās Effendi 'Abd al-Bahā' (p. 590)
51. 'Persons' with whom the wife of the Kalantar (i.e. Mīrẓā Maḥmūd Khān, Kalantar of Tehran) was intimately connected (pp. 622-28)

Numbers 21 to 26 above are all recorded as having been present in gatherings where Zarandī heard others recount narratives.

² Author of a short history, published by Browne as 'An Epitome of Bābī and Bahā'ī History to A.D. 1898', *Materials*, pp. 1-112. See *ibid*, pp. viii-x. The ms. forms part of F.26 in the Browne collection.

³ A survivor of Shaykh Ṭabarsī. He wrote an account of several incidents in a letter to Bahā' Allāh, part of which is quoted by Zarandī.

APPENDIX TEN

SOURCES REPRODUCED IN THE KITĀB-I ZUHŪR AL-HAQQ

1. A Bābī account of the Bāb's trial in Tabriz (p. 16)
2. Text of questions and answers exchanged between Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Zunūzī and a Shaykhī 'ālim (pp. 13-37)
3. Part of an incomplete ms. by Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Dakhīl ibn Dakhīl (pp. 55-59)
4. Facsimile of a letter giving details of the death of Mullā 'Alī Bastāmī, dated 1262/1846 (facing p. 108)
5. Letter from Sayyid Kāzīm Rashīd to Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī (pp. 115-16)
6. Passage from the *Abwāb al-hudā* of Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Hashīrūdī, with an account of Bushrū'ī's conversion (pp. 116-19)
7. Account of the death of Khusraw Qādī-Kalā'ī by Āqā Sayyid Abū Talīb Shāhmīrzādī (pp. 126-29)
8. Account of the death of Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī by Shāhmīrzādī (pp. 133-39)
9. Part of a *risāla* by Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī (pp. 136-39)
10. Facsimile of the *ijāza* of Muqaddas-i Khurāsānī from Sayyid Kāzīm Rashīd (between p. 144 and 145)
11. Two letters from Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī 'Azīm to leading Bābīs (pp. 166-68, 168-69)
12. Letter from Ḥājj Mullā 'Abd al-Khāliq Yazdī testifying to his conversion (pp. 172-73)
13. Facsimile of a letter from Hujjat-i Zanjānī to one of the 'ulamā' of Zanjan (between pp. 182 and 183)
14. Various accounts relating to Āqā Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Shāhmīrzādī (pp. 188-204, text and footnotes)
15. Letter from Shaykh Sulṭān al-Karbalā'ī to the Bābīs of Iran, dated 1262/1845 (pp. 245-59)
16. Text of the sermon given by the Bāb in the Masjīd-i Vaktī in Shīrāz in 1845 (pp. 275-79)
17. Statement of Mullā 'Alī Baraghānī testifying to his conversion (pp. 309-10)
18. Account of Badasht by Mullā Aḥmad 'Allāqa-band Isfahānī (pp. 325-26)
19. Statement by Mullā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Qazvīnī concerning Mullā 'Abd al-Kārim Qazvīnī (p. 370n)
20. Facsimile of a letter from 'Abd al-Kārim Qazvīnī to Jalīl Urūmī (between pp. 370 and 371)

21. Statement by Āqā Muḥammad Jawād 'Amū-Jān on companions of the Bāb on the *hajj* journey (p. 372n)
22. Statement by the same 'Amū-Jān on the Farhādī family of Qazvin (p. 373n)
23. Arabic and Persian letters and other works by Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī Quddūs (pp. 407-18, 426-30)
24. Statement by Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā' Shahmīrzādī on the fates of Quddūs and Sa'īd al-'Ulama' Bārfurūshī (pp. 431-32n)
25. Statement by Shahmīrzādī on the fate of Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Mujtahid Saravī (pp. 433-34n)
26. Passage from the *Asrār al-shuhadā'* by Ḥājj Mullā Muḥammad Ḥamza Sharī'atmadār Bārfurūshī (pp. 437-41n)
27. The gist of an account by Āqā Muḥammad Jawād Farhādī Qazvīnī on Vahīd-i Dārābī's visit to Qazvin (p. 468n)
28. Facsimile of an *istidlāliyya* by Vahīd-i Dārābī (between pp. 470 and 471)

APPENDIX ELEVEN

INDEX OF FIRST LINES TO THE WRITINGS OF THE BAB

The present index gives the first lines in Persian and/or Arabic for sixty-four titled works of the Bab. The order is strictly alphabetical, but the reader will often have to read for a time or so until differences between texts reveal themselves. These readings are necessarily arbitrary and are based on either printed texts or the most convenient manuscripts: variants should be expected and care exercised in the attribution of titles. In a number of cases, I have included opening sections found in certain manuscripts but not in others: these are bracketed within square parentheses before the commencement of the text proper.

استقن يا سائل التقى في مقام التوحيد
[رسالة في السلوك]

اعلم ثبتت الله قدميك أن الله سبحانه تعالى
غني كامل
[رسالة في التسديد]

الحمد لله الذي قد تفرّد اوليائه بالمجامد
العظمى وتوحد ابوابه في علم الجوامد الكبرى
[رسالة في علم الجوامد والمشتاقات]

[الصحيفة السلاسة في الخطب وهي مرتبة
باربعة عشر خطبة . الخطبة الاولى: هذه
الخطبة قد انشئت في كلما سطر في ذلك
الكتاب ليكون الكلّ بذلك من الشاهدين]. بسم
الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي خلق الماء

بسرّ الانشاء واقام العرش على الماء
[رساله ذهبیه ۱]

الواحد الاول يا هو بسم الله الامنع الاقدس
اننى انا الله لا اله الا انا وانّ ما دونى خلقى
قل ان با خلقى اياي فاعبون قد خلقتك
ورزقتك وامتك واحييتك وبعثتك وجعلتك
مظهر نفسى لتتلون من عندي آياتى
[البيان العربى]

[باب الاول فى ذكر الله عزّ وجلّ] بسم الله
الرحمن الرحيم حمد وسپاس وصف جمال
ذاتىست كه لم يزل بوده يگانه فرد بدون وجود
سى با او
[صحيفه عدليه]

بسم الله الاءه الاءه اننى انا الله لا اله الا انا
الاءه الاءه بسم الله الاءه الاءه بالله الله
الاءه الاءه بسم الله المؤله المؤله الله لا اله
الا هو الاءه الاءه
[پنج شان]

بسم الله الافرد الافرد الحمد لله الذي لا اله الا
هو الافرد الافرد وانما البهاء من الله على من
يظهره الله ثمّ دلالة لم يزل ولا يزال وبعد لوح
مستوره مشاهده نموده هرگاه خواسته شود

بالتفصيل ذكر ادله در اثبات ظهور گردد
[دلائل سبعة فارسي]

بسم الله الافرد الافرد بسم الله الفزد الفرد
بسم الله الفرد الفرد بسم الله الفرد الفراد
بسم الله الفرد الفراد بسم الله الفريد الفريد
[دلائل سبعة عربي]

بسم الله الامنع الاقدس تسبيح وتقديس بسات
قدس عز مجد سلطاني را لايق كه لم يزل ولا
يزال بوجود كينونيت ذات خود بوده وهست
[بيان فارسي]

بسم الله البديع الذي لا اله الا هو افتح بسر
البيان لاطهار ما جعله الله في الكيان بالوجود
الى العيان
[تفسير آية النور]

بسم الله البديع الذي لا اله الا هو ان الله
صبحانه قد جعل لظهوره لخلقه اربع مقامات
المشار اليها
[تفسير حروف البسملة]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اشهد لله كشاهدته
لنفسه ان لا اله الا هو وهو العزيز الحكيم
واشهد لمحمد واحبائه سلام الله عليهم
[بيان علة تحريم المحارم]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
 المشيئة قبل كل شئ لظهور قيوميته في
 ملكوت الامر والخلق
 [اللوامع البديع]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
 جوهريات ذرات اهل الانشاء لا من شئ بامرہ
 ليعرفه كل من في ملكوت الارض والسموات
 [رسالة في استفهامات القرآن]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
 كل ذرات الموجودات بامرہ لا من شئ لتدلعن
 السن كل الممكنات بما شهد الله لنفسه بنفسه
 [رسالة في دعاء الصباح]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
 كينونيته الخلق آيات ظهور قدرته ليعرفه كل
 الموجودات بما تجلى لهم بهم
 [رسالة في بسيط الحقيقة]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
 ما في السموات والارض بامرہ ثم الذين آمنوا
 بالله وآياته فاولئك هم الى الله يحشرون
 [تفسير سورة القدر]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
 ما في السموات والارض بامرہ ثم الذين آمنوا
 بالله وآياته فاولئك هم الى الله يحشرون اما
 بعد قد اطلعت بما سالت من معنى الرضاء عليه
 السلام حيث قال عز ذكره ما من فعل يفعله
 العبد من خير او شر الا لله وفيه قضاء
 [شرح حديث ما من فعل يفعله العبد]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
 ما في السموات والارض بامرہ ويحكم بين
 الكل بالقسط في اليوم الذي فيه كل الى الله
 يحشرون
 [تفسير دعاء الصباح]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
 من في السموات والارض حكمه لئلا يحتجب
 احد عن ظهور نور طلعتہ الذي اوضع في
 مقامات الامر
 [شرح حديث علمني اخي رسول الله]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تجلى
 على الانسان بالنقطة المنفصلة المتحركة عن
 مطلع البيان
 [رسالة في النحو والصرف]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تجلى
 للممكنات بطراز النقطة المنفصلة عن لغة

الابداع لها بها اليها
[تفسير سورة البقرة]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تجلى
للممكنات بظهور آثار إبداعه في ملكوت الامر
والخلق
[تفسير سورة والعصر]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تجلى
للممكنات بظهور المشيئة لها بها ليعرفن كل
الممكنات ما جعل الله في حقائق ذاتيات
كينونيتهم
[شرح كيفية الامواج]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي
تقدس بقدس قيوميته عن نعت الجوهريات وما
يشابها... وبعد ذكر مينمايد عبد مفتقر الى
الله ومعنصم بدبل آل الله
[رسالة في تشخيص الغناء]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي
تقدس بقدس كينونيته عن عرفان اعلى
مجردات اللاهوت ومن يشابها
[تفسير الهاء ٢]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تقهر
بتقهير اقتهاره قهار قهاريته على كل

كينونيات المشركات من الممكنات... اما بعد
 فاعلم يا ايها الكافر بالله والمشرك بآياته
 والمعيد عن جنبه
 [خطبه قهريه]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي جعل
 طراز الواح الابداع طرز الالف القائم بين
 الحرفين
 [تفسير الهاء ١]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي جعل
 طراز الواح كتاب الاذن طراز النقطة التي
 عُيُنِتْ بعد ما شُيِنَتْ وقُدِرَتْ قِرْلَانِ قُضِتْ
 واذنت حينما اجلت واحكمت
 [نبوت خاصة]

(هذه الصحيفة الجليلة التي قد نُزِلَتْ من سماء
 الابداع وجرى على افئدة العارفين بقلم العلي
 ذي البدع والاختراع نعمة لمن آمن واقرّ وعذاب
 على من جحد وانكر المسطرة في تفسير سورة
 الكوثر وانّ شأنه هو الابطر وانّ على محبّه
 ثناء الله الملك الاكبر) بسم الله الرحمن
 الرحيم الحمد لله الذي جعل طراز الواح كتاب
 الفلق قي كلما فتق واستفرق واستنطق طراز
 الاول الذي لاحت واصاءت
 [تفسير سورة الكوثر]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي خلق
السموات ولارض بأمره
[دعائي الف]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد
أرفع عبده من البلد المقام على السفينة
الصغيرة
[خطبة حين جلوسه على السفينة]

(قد أنشئت في جدّة) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي قد أقام العرش على الماء
والهواء على وجه الماء
[خطبة في جدّة]

(قد أنشئت في المسقط) بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد شرّد بالعزة وتوحد
بالعظمة وتعظّم بالكبرياء
[خطبة في مسقط/في عيد الفطر]

(في قرب المدينة بمنزل) بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد شهد لذاته بذاته أنّ
لا اله الا هو وابدع خلقه بأمره ألا اله الا هو
[خطبة في قرب المدينة]

(قد أنشئت في السفينة) بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد شهد لذاتيته الاحدية
القديمة بما علم بأنّ الحسين يشهد لنفسه بنفسه

ألا اله الا هو

[خطبة في السفينة]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد
عرف ذاته بآياته المتجدية في عزّ الفؤاد
[خطبة في علم الحروف]

(في قرب منزل الصفراء) بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد عرف ذاته في ذاته
ولا يعلم احد كيف هو الا هو
[خطبة في قرب منزل الصفراء ١]

(في قرب منزل الصفراء) بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد للذي قد على بعلو ذاتيته علواً
سقطت الاشياء دونه
[خطبة في قرب منزل الصفراء ٢]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد
على بعلو ذاتيته عن وصف الانشاء
[خطبة في بوشهر]

(سوزة الاولى في علم الكتاب) بسم الله
الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي نزل الكتاب
بالحق هدىً وذكرًا للخالصين وانه لكتابٌ قد

فصل في حكم شهد الله في القرآن
[كتاب اعمال السنة]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي نزل
الكتاب على عبده بالحق ليكون للعالمين سراجاً
وهاجاً
(قيوم الاسماء)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ينزل
الامر في الكتاب على قدر غير معدود فاشهد
أن لا اله الا الله كما هو اهله
[تفسير سورة التوحيد]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ينزل
الكتاب على من يشاء من عباده وانه لا اله الا
هو لغنى حميد
[كتاب العلماء]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي يهدي
من يشاء ويضلّ من يشاء واليه كلّ الخلق
يرجئون وانّ الصلاة على محمد رسول الله
واوصياء الذين قد جعلهم الله ائمة الدين
[رسالة لتوجهر خان]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله المقدّس عن
جوهر نعت الموجودات والمتعالى عن مجرد

وصف الممكنات والمتكبر عن ذكر كافور
الكينونيات
[تفسير الحمد]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله المقدس في
الذات والمتفرّد في الصفات القديم الوتر
والقيوم الحيّ
[خطبة في كنكون]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الواحد
الاحد الفرد القهار الصمد الوتر الدائم الجبار
[رساله ذهبه ٢]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الف لام ميم راء
ذلك الكتاب ذكر من الله في حكم عبده بديع
وانه لكتاب قد نزل من بقية الله امام حق قديم
[كتاب الفهرست]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ان هذا كتاب قد نزل
على الارض المقدسة بين الحرمين من لدن علي
حميد
[الصحيفة بين الحرمين]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال السائل سلمه
الله تعالى ما معنى الحديث المروي عن علي
عليه السلام من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه
[تفسير حديث من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال مولانا علي عليه
السلام في خطبة الطننجية على قائلها آلاف
الثناء والتحية: الحمد لله الذي فتق الاجواء
[شرح ما قال الرشتي في شرح الخطبة
الطننجية]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ولقد فرض الله على
الناس قبل الصلاة بعضاً من الاحكام وهي ان
الله لا يكلف لاحد الا دون قوته
[رسالة فروع العدالة]

بسم الله العلي العظيم الحمد لله الذي استعلى
على كل علو وعلو كينونيته العزلية التي هي
بظهورها التي هي عين بطونها
[ذكر مصيبت]

بسم الله القديم الاقوم الذي لا اله الا هو
العظيم الادوم... ولقد كتب الكاتب مكتوباً في
ما قد اراد الله في علم التقارب والتباعد
معلوماً

[بيان التقارب والتباعد]

بسم الله تعالى اعلم ان عرباً من العرباء من
اهل البادية سال عن علي عليه السلام عن وجه
الله

[تفسير حديث نحن وجه الله]

(بسم الله تعالى بيان مسالة القدر) قال الله
تعالى الذي خلق فسوى
[بيان مسالة القدر]

بسم الله تعالى فاقول مستعينا بالله في
تفسير بعض الحديث المروي في الكافي في ذكر
علم الغيب
[تفسير حديث الجارية]

في تفسير حديث الحقيقة وهو أن كميل بن
زيلا النخعي اراد في [؟] على عليه السلام يوماً
على ناقه فقال كميل يا مولاي ما الحقيقة...
[تفسير حديث الحقيقة]

قال الله تعالى الذي خلق فسوى والذي قدر
فهدى وقال الصادق عليه السلام لا جبر ولا
تفويض بل امر بين الامرين
[بيان در جبر وتفويض]

ما معنى الحديث كل يوم عاشوراء ؟
[رسالة في حديث كل يوم عاشوراء]

هو العلي كتاب الطهارة وانها من مصدر طهر
بدم العين وفتحها ويريد منها اهل اللغة
النزاهة واشبهها
[كتاب الطهارة]

هو الواحد الاول هو شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو
 الملك ذو اللاكين قد قدر في الباب الاول ذكر
 نفسه نفسه
 [هيكل الدين]

INDEX OF TITLES OF THE WRITINGS OF THE BĀB

The present index reverses the contents of Appendix Eleven, listing sixty-four works of the Bab in alphabetical order of title. For the purposes of alphabetization, the Arabic article 'al-' has been ignored. Each title is followed by the first lines based on printed texts or standard manuscripts. Variants are not given.

بيان التقارب والتباعد

بسم الله القديم الاقوم الذي لا اله الا هو
العظيم الادوم... ولقد كتب الكاتب مكتوباً في
ما قد اراد الله في علم التقارب والتباعد
معلوماً

بيان در جبر وتفويض

قال الله تعالى الذي خلق فسوى والذي قدر
فهدى وقال الصادق عليه السلام لا جبر ولا
تفويض بل امر بين الامرين

البيان العربي

الواحد الاول يا هو بسم الله الامنع الاقدس
انني انا الله لا اله الا انا وان ما دوني خلقي
قل ان يا خلقي اياي فاعبدون قد خلقتك
ورزقتك وامتك واحبيتك وبعثتك وجعلتك
مظهر نفسي لتتلون من عندي آياتي

بيان علة تحريم المحارم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اشهد لله كشهادته

لنفسه ان لا اله الا هو وهو العزيز الحكيم
 واشهد لمحمد واحبائه سلام الله عليهم

بيان فارسي

بسم الله الامنع الاقدس تسبيح وتقديس بسات
 قدس عز مجد سلطاني را لايق كه لم يزل ولا
 يزال بوجود كينونيت ذات خود بوده وهست

بيان مسالة القدر

[بسم الله تعالى بيان مسالة القدر] قال الله
 تعالى الذي خلق فسوى

پنج شان

بسم الله الاءله الاءله اننى انا الله لا اله الا انا
 الاءله الاءله بسم الله الاءله الاءله بالله الله
 الاءله الاءله بسم الله المؤله المؤله الله لا اله
 الا هو الاءله الاءله

تفسير آية النور

بسم الله البديع الذي لا اله الا هو افتح بسرّ
 البيان لاظهار ما جعله الله فى الكيان بالوجود
 الى العيان

تفسير حديث الجارية

بسم الله تعالى فاقول مستعينا بالله فى
 تفسير بعض الحديث المروي فى الكافي فى ذكر
 علم الغيب

تفسير حديث الحقيقة

في تفسير حديث الحقيقة وهو أن كميل بن زياد النخعي اراد في [؟] علي عليه السلام يوماً على ناقه فقال كميل يا مولاي ما الحقيقة...

تفسير حديث من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال السائل سلمه
الله تعالى ما معنى الحديث المروي عن علي
عليه السلام من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

تفسير حديث نحن وجه الله

بسم الله تعالى اعلم ان عرباً من العرباء من
اهل البادية سأل عن علي عليه السلام عن وجه
الله

تفسير حروف البسملة

بسم الله البديع الذي لا اله الا هو ان الله
صباحانه قد جعل لظهوره لخلقه اربع مقامات
المشار اليها

تفسير الحمد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله للقدس عن
جوهر نعت الموجودات والمتعالى عن مجرد
وصف الممكنات والمتكبر عن ذكر كافور
الكينونيات

تفسير دعاء الصباح
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
ما في السموات والارض بامرہ ويحكم بين
الكلّ بالقسط في اليوم الذي فيه كلّ الى الله
يحشرون

تفسير سورة البقرة
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تجلى
للممكّنات بطراز النقطة المنفصلة عن لجة
الابداع لها بها اليها

تفسير سورة التوحيد
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ينزل
الامر في الكتاب على قدر غير معدود فاشهد
أن لا اله الا الله كما هو اهله

تفسير سورة القدر
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
ما في السموات والارض بامرہ ثمّ الذين آمنوا
بالله وآياته فاولئك هم الى الله يحشرون

تفسير سورة الكوثر
[هذه الصحيفة الجليلة التي قد نُزلت من سماء
الابداع وجرى على افئدة العارفين بقلم العلي
ذي البدع والاختراع نعمة لمن آمن واقرب وعذاب
على من جحد وانكر المسطرة في تفسير سورة
الكوثر وانّ شأنه هو الابطر وانّ على محبّيه

ثناء الله الملك الاكبر] بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد لله الذي جعل طراز الواح كتاب
الفلق قى كلما فتق واستفرق واستنطق طراز
الاول الذي لاحت واطاءت

تفسير الهاء ١

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي جعل
طراز الواح الابداع طرز الالف القائم بين
الحرفين

تفسير الهاء ٢

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي
تقدس بقدس كينونيته عن عرفان اعلى
مجردات اللاهوت ومن يشابهها

تفسير سورة والعصر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تجلى
للممكنات بظهور آثار ابداعه فى ملكوت الامر
والخلق

خطبة حين جلوسه على السفينة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد
ارفع عبده من البلد المقام على السفينة
الصغيرة

خطبة فى بوشهر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد

على بعلو ذاتيته عن وصف الانشاء

خطبة في جذة

[قد انشئت في جذة] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي قد اقام العرش على الماء
والهواء على وجه الماء

خطبة في السفينة

[قد انشئت في السفينة] بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد شهد لذاتيته الاحدية
القديمة بما علم بان الحسين يشهد لنفسه بنفسه
ألا اله الا هو

خطبة في علم الحروف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد
عرف ذاته بآياته المتجلية في عز الفؤاد

خطبة في قرب المدينة

[في قرب المدينة بمنزل] بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد شهد لذاته بذاته ان
لا اله الا هو وابدع خلقه بامر له الا اله الا هو

خطبة في قرب منزل الصفراء ١

[في قرب منزل الصفراء] بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد عرف ذاته في ذاته
ولا يعلم احد كيف هو الا هو

خطبة في قرب منزل الصفراء ٢
 [في قرب منزل الصفراء] بسم الله الرحمن
 الرحيم الحمد للذي قد على بعلو ذاتيته علوا
 مسقط، الاشياء دونه

خطبة في كنكون
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله المقدس في
 الذات والمتفرد في الصفات القديم الوتر
 والقيوم الحي

خطبة في مسقط/ في عيد الفطر
 [قد أنشئت في المسقط] بسم الله الرحمن
 الرحيم الحمد لله الذي قد تفرد بالعزة وتوحد
 بالعظمة وتعظم بالكبرياء

خطبه قهره
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تقهر
 بتقهير اقتهاره قهار قهاريته على كل
 كينونيات المشركات من الممكنات... اما بعد
 فاعلم يا ايها الكافر بالله والمشرك بآياته
 والمعيد عن جنابه

دعائي الف
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي خلق
 السموات والارض بامرہ

دلائل سبعة عربى

بسم الله الافرد الافرد بسم الله الفزد الفرد
 بسم الله الفرد الفرد بسم الله الفرد الفراد
 بسم الله الفرد الفراد بسم الله الفريد الفريد

دلائل سبعة فارسى

بسم الله الافرد الافرد الحمد لله الذي لا اله الا
 هو الافرد الافرد وانما البهاء من الله على من
 يظهره الله ثم ادلائه لم يزل ولا يزال وبعد لوح
 مستوره مشاهده نموده هرگاه خواسته شود
 بتفصيل ذكر أدله در اثبات ظهور گردد

ذكر مصيبت

ببسم الله العلى العظيم الحمد لله الذي
 استعلى على كل علو بعلو كيتونيته الازلية
 التى هى بظهورها التى هى عين بطونها

رساله ذهبیه ۱

الصحيفة السادسة فى الخطب وهى مرتبة
 باربعة عشر خطبة . الخطبة الاولى : هذه
 الخطبة قد انشئت فى كلما سطر فى ذلك
 الكتاب ليكون الكل بذلك من الشاهدين . بسم
 الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي خلق الماء
 بسر الانشاء واقام العرش على الماء

رساله ذهبیه ۲

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الواحد

الاحد الفرد التفتّار الصمد الوتر الدائم الجبار

رسالة شروع العدالة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ولقد فرض الله على
الناس قبل الصلاة بعضاً من الاحكام وهي ان
الله لا يكلف لاحد الا دون قوته

رسالة في استفهامات القرآن

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
جوهريّات ذرات اهل الانشاء لا من شئ بامرّه
ليعرفه كلّ من في ملكوت الارض والسموات

رسالة في بسبب الحقيقة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
في كينونية الخلق آيات ظهور قدرته ليعرفه
كلّ الموجودات بما تجلّى لهم بهم

رسالة في التسديد

اعلم ثبت الله قدميك أن الله سبحانه تعالى
غنى كامل

رسالة في تشخيص الغناء

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي
تقدّس بقُدس قيوميّته عن نعت الجوهريات وما
يشابهها... وبعد ذكر مينمايد عبد مفتقر الى
الله ومعتصم بحبل آل الله

رسالة في حديث كل يوم عاشوراء
ما معنى الحديث كل يوم عاشوراء؟

رسالة في دعاء الصباح
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
كل ذرات الموجودات بامرہ لا من شئ لتدلعن
السن كل الممكنات بما شهد الله لنفسه بنفسه

رسالة في السلوك
استقن يا سائل التقى في مقلم التوحيد

رسالة في علم الجوامد والمشتاقات
الحمد لله الذي قد تفرّد اوليائه بالجامد
العظمى وتوحد ابوابه في علم الجوامد الكبرى

رسالة في النحو والصرف
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تجلى
على الانسان بالنقطة المنفصلة المتحركة عن
مطلع البيان

رسالة لمنوچهر خان
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي يهدي
من يشاء ويضلّ من يشاء واليه كل الخلق
يرجئون وان الصلاة على محمد رسول الله
واوصياء الذين قد جعلهم الله ائمة الدين

شرح حديث علمنى اخى رسول الله
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي الهم
من فى السموات والارض حكمه لنلا يحتجب
احد عن ظهور نور طلعتة الذي اوضع فى
مقامات الامر

شرح حديث ما من فعل يفعله العبد
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
ما فى السموات والارض بامرهم الذين آمنوا
بالله وآياته فاولئك هم الى الله يحشرون اما
بعد قد اطلعت بما سالت من معنى الرضاء عليه
السلام حيث قال عز ذكره ما من فعل يفعله
العبد من خير او شر الا لله وفيه قضاء

شرح كيفية المعراج
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تجلى
للممكنات بظهور المشينة لها بها ليعرفن كل
الممكنات ما جعل الله فى حقائق ذاتيات
كينونيتهم

شرح ما قال الرشدى فى شرح الخطبة
الوطننجية
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال مولانا على عليه
السلام فى خطبة الطننجية على قائلها آلاف
الثناء والتحية: الحمد لله الذي فتق الاجواء

شؤون خمسة = پنج شان

الصحيفة بين الحرمين
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ان هذا كتاب قد نزل
على الارض المقدسة بين الحرمين من لدن على
حميد

صحيفه عدليه
[باب الاول في ذكر الله عز وجل] بسم الله
الرحمن الرحيم حمد وسپاس وصف جمال
ذاتيست كه لم يزل بوده يگانه فرد بدون وجود
سى با او

قيوم الاسماء
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي نزل
الكتاب على عبده بالحق ليكون للعالمين سراجا
وهاجا

كتاب اعمال السنة
[سورة الاولى في علم الكتاب] بسم الله
الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي نزل الكتاب
بالحق هدى وذكرى للخاصعين وانه لكتاب قد
فصل في حكم شهد الله في القران

كتاب الطهارة
هو العلى كتاب الطهارة وانها من مصدر طهر
بدم العين وفتحها ويريد منها اهل اللغة
النزاهة واشبهها

كتاب العلماء

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ينزل
الكتاب على من يشاء من عباده وأنه لا اله الا
هو لغني حميد

كتاب الفهرست

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الف لام ميم راء
ذلك الكتاب ذكر من الله في حكم عبده بديع
وأنه لكتاب قد نزل من بقية الله امام حق قديم

اللوامع البديع

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي ابدع
المشيئة قبل كل شئ لظهور قيوميته في
ملكوت الامر والخلق

نبوت خاصة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي جعل
طراز الواح كتاب الاذن طراز النقطة التي
عُينت بعد ما شُينت و قُوت سقر ان قضت
واذنت حينما اجلت واحكمت

هيكل الدين

هو الواحد الاول هو شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو
الملك ذو الملاكين قد قدر في الباب الاول ذكر
نفسه نفسه

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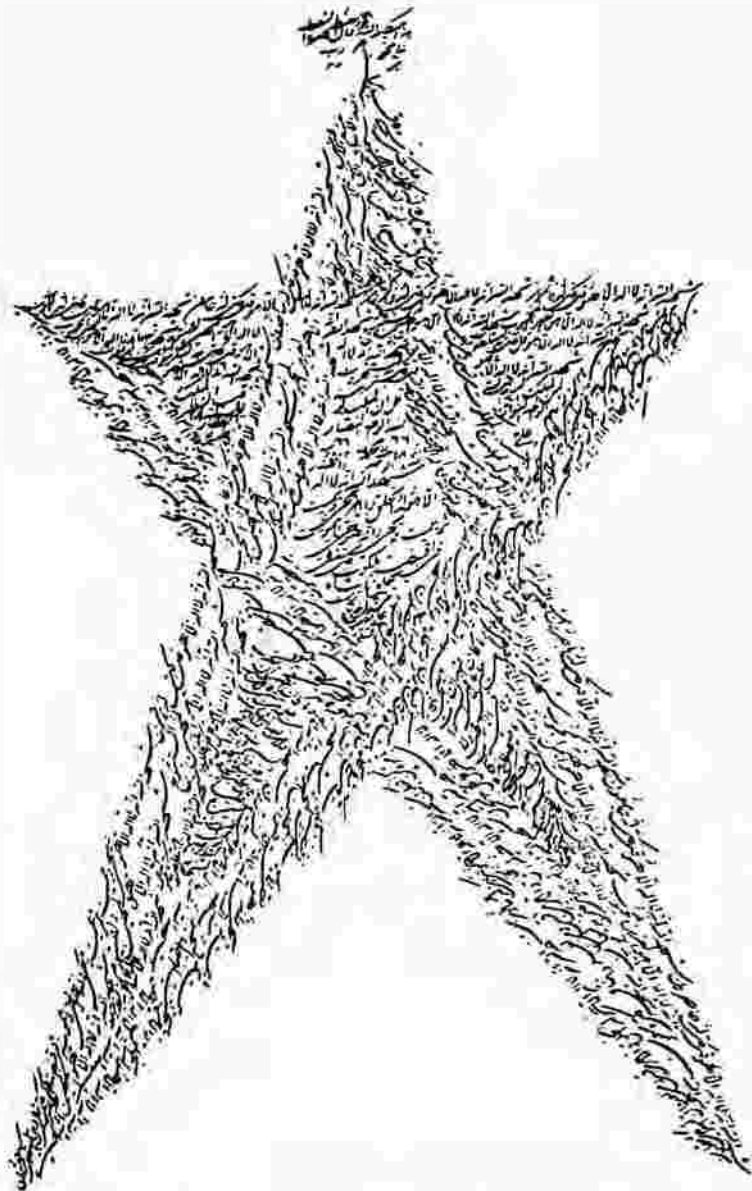
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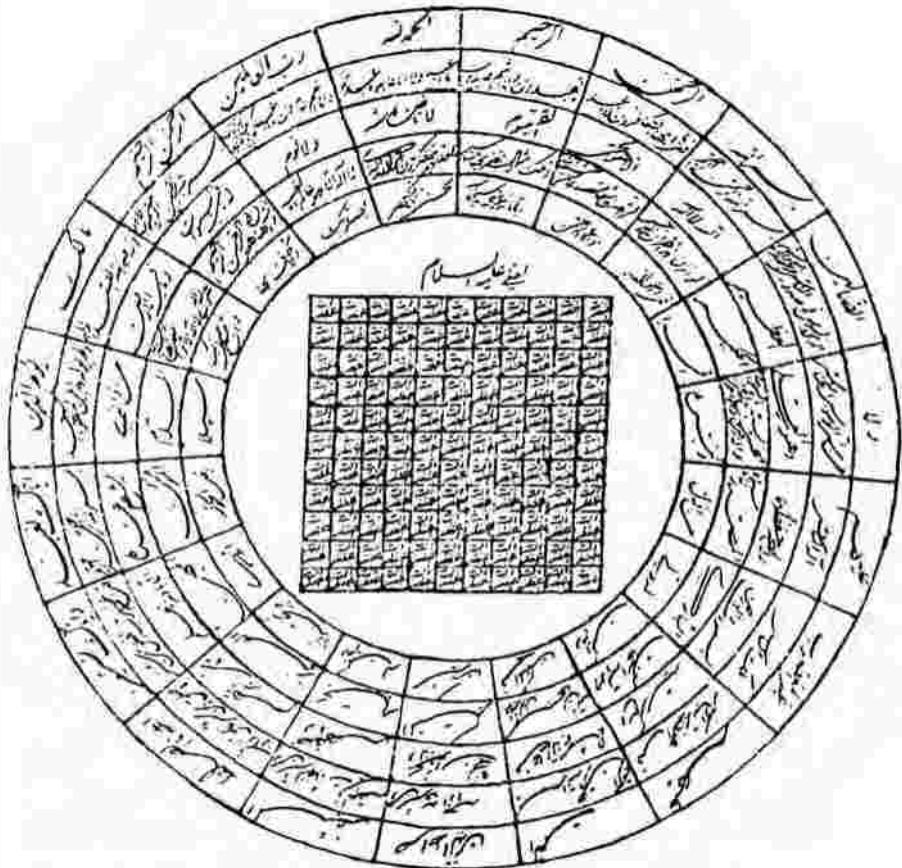
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A star *haykal* in the Bāb's handwriting (from the reproduction in *Qismatī az alwāḥ-i khaṭṭ-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā* p. 26).



A *dā'ira* in the Báb's handwriting (reproduced in *Qismatī az alwāh-i khatt-i Nuqta-yi Ūlā*)

از قرآن فی قال ای رب العزیز مکن بالذکر لایاتیه الباطن یعنی بر سر دلجو جلدی بر سر
 می غرور حید ما خلقیت الخیر والانس الایعدون الخس اما خلقناکم عننا واکم البیاء لا تعرفون
 اما خلقناکم لنبشروکم ایکم احسنی ملاذ قال رب العلم اکبر در رفت بعد کم و فرغ لغو و جات لنبشروکم
 فیما انکم فخر نیست بر الاله اب و در محسبی خلال دیار و مسرتی با نوار مسرتی
 ارطرا تدرت پروردگار بر اسبگر در بر جیم جبار خلق ۴۰ عبت خلق لغزوه
 و این اوضاع به الهی ای که بر نیاید در سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب سب
 برای حواجر مکتوبه از ذرات بر شکر از کبر نیست و نقل خود طرار وجود
 پیش نبوده و بعالم کوه اود ۲ بر سر بر عزت نشسته و چون در فرمود
 در سه از اود ۲ اگر کوه در حال عدت لایط معرفت در سیر اود در عالم
 حقیق معرفت تا آنکه بلطف سر وجود در وجود و رسید به عدت بعالم
 بر بر بال شمول غرضه و مقام خود رسید در اجمام وحدت از نبوده است
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 خود به یافته بر خلیفه اگاه گشته بکلمت والای خلیفه الله عزوجل
 در هر دو عالم وجود کرده تا سر ته است این نیست که اگر خود
 دین است دکن بر اله الذکر کبریه رسید می نشد در مقام عیان متلا
 کرد و در شهادت کشته الاله اباب درینی باب نیست که عبادت
 فرج معرفت بل عین اوست در نزد اله اود و کتب خود عبادت
 در هر عالم است از آن عالم است در هر گاه عبادت ملا معرفت باشد
 احسانا منقری بر اوست نیست بل در دست بر صاحبش

A page from a treatise in the handwriting of Qurrat al-'Ayn (from a copy of an autograph manuscript in the possession of the writer).

