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**THE TÁRÍKH-I-JADÍD,
OR
NEW HISTORY
OF
MIRZÁ 'ALÍ MUḤAMMAD THE BÁB.**

**London: O. J. CLAY AND SONS,
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THE TÁRÍKH-I-JADÍD

OR

NEW HISTORY

OF

MÍRZÁ 'ALÍ MUḤAMMAD THE BĀB,

transl. BY
MÍRZÁ HUSEYN OF HAMADÁN,

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN,

With an Introduction, Illustrations, and Appendices, by

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TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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نُورُ اُشْرُقِ مِنْ صُبْحِ اَلْاَزَلِ

ŞUBH-I-EZEL,

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY CAPTAIN YOUNG.

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INTRODUCTION.

HALF a century has not yet elapsed since Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, the young Seer of Shíráz, first began to preach the religion which now counts its martyrs by hundreds and its adherents by hundreds of thousands¹; which seemed at one time to menace the supremacy alike of the Kájár dynasty and of the Muhammadan faith in Persia, and may still not improbably prove an important factor in the history of Western Asia; and which, within the memory of men not yet arrived at an age in any way unusual, has passed successively through the Prophetic and Apostolic periods, and entered on that phase of intestinal dissension and political opportunism whither, sooner or later, every religion (be the Idea which gave life and strength to the teaching of its Founder never so pure and lofty, and the devotion, self-abnegation, and brotherly concord subsisting amongst his early disciples never so perfect) inevitably comes. Thus it is that, quite apart from the political significance which it may acquire in the future, and the influence which it may exert over the destinies of Persia and the neighbouring states, the Bábí movement cannot fail to attract the atten-

¹ See Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 499. "The lowest estimate," says he, "places the present number of Bábis in Persia at half a million. I am disposed to think, from conversations with persons well qualified to judge, that the total number is nearer one million."

tion and awaken the curiosity of every student of the Comparative History of Religions.

Now the study of the origin and evolution of any religion, ancient or modern, especially of one which aims at effecting a great change in the thought, life, or political organisation of the people amongst whom it arises, is, though invested with a singular charm, fraught with peculiar difficulties. For, at the outset, such religion finds arrayed against itself every vested interest and every deep-rooted prejudice of the dominant dynasty and hierarchy, as well as of all who are, whether by conviction, habit, or considerations of personal advantage, attached to these; and, whether or no it be called upon to face the sword of a tyrant, the sentence of an inquisition, or the rack, the stake, and the axe of the headsman, it is certain to be exposed to the misrepresentations of court-chroniclers and ecclesiastical historians, who will spare no effort to pourtray it under the most sombre and lurid colours with which their imaginations can invest it. Facts will be suppressed or distorted; vague rumours and unfounded slanders will be recorded as assured and indisputable facts; charges of communism, anarchy, free-love, and worse, will be hurled against the innovators; and while, on the one side, occasional excesses and casual acts of violence are represented as the natural and logical outcome of doctrines subversive alike of morality and humanity, on the other, deeds of treachery and cruelty are passed over in silence, elevated to the dignity of righteous reprisals for inextinguishable iniquities, or condoned as measures which, though harsh indeed, were rendered not only excusable but inevitable by the exigencies of the time. Should the nascent faith lack strength to outlive this stormy period of probation and persecution, the name of its founder and his adherents will almost certainly be branded with a stigma of infamy from which oblivion alone will free

them. How different a complexion might the life of Moseylima or the teaching of Mazdak wear if we could but hear the case for the defence, or learn aught about them save that which their triumphant opponents have recorded!

But even should the young religion survive this fiery ordeal, and secure for itself a permanent footing amongst the theological systems of the world, new dangers and new sources of misrepresentation of a yet more subtle kind than any to which it has been heretofore exposed spring into being. Hitherto these have been wholly or chiefly from without. That whole-hearted devotion to the founder which alone could induce his early disciples to disregard wealth, position, ease, family ties, and even life itself for his sake, and that unquestioning faith in his teachings and unhesitating obedience to his commands which is the natural and necessary outcome of this devotion, maintain the community, at least during his lifetime, in concord, harmony, and fraternal love. Persecution from without, the sense of common danger, and the still fresh remembrance of the beloved Master's words and wishes, expressed or implied, may combine to prolong this period for a time, even for a considerable time, after his death; but, sooner or later, dissensions, schisms, and internecine strifes are sure to arise. A cessation or abatement of the persecutions which have hitherto compelled the members of the community to combine all their powers in resisting the common foe, and to present a united front towards their oppressors, now at length gives them leisure to examine more minutely and critically the doctrines bequeathed to them; attempts are made to weld these doctrines into a logical and coherent system; differences of temperament, training, and aspiration, hitherto latent, become manifest; ambitions, hitherto held in check, burst forth; rival claimants arise to contest the supremacy; new circumstances and altered relations

to the environment suggest to the bolder and more active spirits modifications and developments of the primitive doctrine, of which, perhaps, the founder never dreamed; and an energy and tenacity of purpose which were developed by the need of uniting the young church against a common foe are expended in dividing it against itself. Now, alas! the golden age of the new religion is past, or all but past; the heaven-inspired prophet, the loving, untiring, undoubting apostle, and the pale martyr, who, with the smile of victory on his lips, and widely opened eyes fixed on the far distance, as though to discern through the lurid flames of the bale-fire some glimpse of the promised Utopia, fade from the page of its history, which henceforth is filled with pitiful tales of dissension and disruption; of anathemas and accusations of heresy and apostasy reiterated and reciprocated with increasing bitterness; of suppressions of unwelcome records and corruptions of inconvenient texts; of fratricidal assassinations and persecutions.

Of this golden age of faith the records are usually scanty, but, in their primitive form, simple, truthful, and worthy of credence in the main, though not improbably one-sided, exaggerated, confused, and rude in style. The enemies of a new religion do not corrupt its records, they destroy them; and what escapes destruction at their hands, and subsequent corruption at the hands of partisans, may be trusted to give a tolerably faithful narrative of its early history. For the earliest historians of a religion are, as a rule, so full of faith, so lacking in critical or sceptical habits, so ready to accept whatever new ideals may be set before them, so prone to discover a hidden wisdom in every act, not only the most trivial, but the most questionable, which emanates from their Master and his immediate disciples, that they will chronicle with scrupulous fidelity inci-

dents which a later and more critical generation of believers would be strongly tempted to suppress or to transfigure. When Ibn Hishām came to re-write Ibn Is-hāk's biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, he judged it expedient to omit certain details which appeared to him unedifying and likely to cause scandal to the faithful; and when a modern Musulmán, like Syed Ameer Ali, composes a history of Islām for English readers, he is tempted to touch very lightly on certain matters which Ibn Hishām saw no cause to include in this category. To take another instance altogether, might not a modern Buddhist, especially if he were an European, feel disposed to allow the fact that Buddha's death was accelerated by eating pork to sink into oblivion, although this fact casts no reflection on the life of that great and virtuous teacher, but only contravenes our ideas of what is graceful and artistic?

"But," it will be asked, "does it often happen that these earliest records of a religious movement, supposing them to be written with this perfect candour, and to escape destruction at the hands of foes, retain for long their primitive form? If the doctrines of the teacher whose life, deeds, and words they chronicle prevail, and so the records survive, what guarantee can we have that they have not undergone mutilation or received embellishment at the hands of his later followers, from whom almost necessarily we must receive them?" Generally, from the very nature of the case, such assurance is difficult to obtain, and, indeed, can only be obtained in its most satisfactory form when the early records pass within a short time after their compilation into the hands of strangers, who, while interested in their preservation, have no desire to alter them for better or worse. That this should happen at all obviously requires a very unusual combination of circumstances. So far as my knowledge goes, it never has happened save in

the case of the Bábí religion; and this is one of the facts which invest the history of this religion with so special an interest.

Fifty years ago Persia belonged to all intents and purposes (as, indeed, she still belongs, notwithstanding the attempts recently made, to the huge delight of certain nostrum-mongers and vendors of universal panaceas, to overlay the court and capital of her present rulers with a thin veneer of tawdry European civilisation) to the ancient world. There hardly anything is impossible, and not very many things even grossly improbable. That a young visionary should arise proclaiming a new religion designed to replace and supersede all existing creeds; that many persons of learning, virtue, and position should eagerly embrace and boldly proclaim his doctrines; that gorgeous but unsubstantial visions of a New Creation wherein there should be neither injustice nor discord, of a Reign of God's Saints on earth, and of a Universal Theocracy conformed in every detail to a mystical Theosophy (wherein are blended, under the guise of an ultra-Shi'ite nationalism, theories of numbers more fantastic than those of Pythagoras or Plotinus, with theories of the Divine Names and Attributes more intangible than those of the Cabbala or of Spinoza) should exercise so powerful an influence, not only over philosophers and scholars, but over peasants and artisans, as to make them ready and eager to meet death in its most terrible forms not by scores, but by hundreds; that this new faith, set forth, for the most part, not in the language of the people, but in Arabic treatises of interminable length, at once florid and incorrect in style, teeming with grammatical errors the most glaring, iterations the most wearisome, and words the rarest and most incomprehensible, should have power to inspire its votaries with a courage so stubborn as to threaten for several years the very existence

of the established religion and the reigning dynasty, and should stir up an insurrection which all the armed forces of the Persian king, all the anathemas of the Muhammadan clergy, all the tortures which an Asiatic tyrant could devise or his myrmidons execute, could, by dint of ruthless and repeated massacres, only check for a while, but not permanently subdue; all this, however strange it may seem to an European, is in the history of the East not much more remarkable than is the accession of a new dynasty, the partition of a principality, or the annexation of a province in the history of the West. The doctrines of the Báb, it is true, formed together a system bold, original, and, to the Persian mind, singularly attractive; but, taken separately, there was hardly one of which he could claim to be the author, and not very many which did not remount to a remote antiquity. The title of *Báb* ("Gate") had been already assumed, not only by the four intimates of the Twelfth Imám, but by a heresiarch who was put to death in the tenth century of our era by the Caliph er-Ráqihí Bi'lláh'. The theories advanced by Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad concerning the successive incarnations of the Universal Reason, the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, and the symbolism of every ritual form and every natural phenomenon, differ in no essential particular from those held by the Isma'ís. Even the virtues of the number nineteen, the mysterious "Number of the Unity," had been already signalized, and that, probably, not for the first time, by Sheykh Muḥiyyu 'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, a renowned Sūfī teacher who flourished in the twelfth century of our era'. The personal influence of the Báb; the extraordinary steadfastness and devotion of his followers under perse-

¹ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 229.

² See *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, pp. 909, n. 2, and 919—920.

cution of a severity almost unparalleled in modern times; the dramatic circumstances attending the earlier history of the sect, from its foundation in A.D. 1844 till the martyrdom of its Founder in A.D. 1850, and of all but a very few of his original apostles in A.D. 1852, were indeed exceptional; yet, notwithstanding all this, it might easily have happened that the materials for a continuous and authentic history of the movement should have been wanting, in which case we should have had to trust the inaccurate and garbled accounts of the court-historians, *Lisánu'l-Mulk* and *Rizá-Kulí Khán*¹, till such time as the scarcely more impartial "*Traveller's Narrative*"², written anonymously (as I have learned only since its publication) by the son of one aspirant to the supreme authority in the now divided Church to discredit the perfectly legitimate claims and to disparage the perfectly blameless character of his less successful rival, came to increase our mystification and plunge us into further uncertainties.

Fortunately for science a happy combination of circumstances averted a too probable, but none the less deplorable, contingency. Amongst the early disciples of the Báb was a certain merchant of Káshán, Hájí Mírzá Jání by name, who, together with two of his three brothers, Hájí Mírzá Ismá'íl and Hájí Mírzá Ahmad³, was remarkable for his enthusiastic devotion to the new religion. When, in the year 1847, the Báb passed by Káshán on the way to his prison at Máktú, Mírzá Jání bribed the escort to allow their illustrious captive to be a guest in his house for two days

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 173—4, 186—8, and 192.

² Presented to me by the author during my visit to Acre in April 1890; published in *fac-simile*, with English translation, Introduction, and Notes, by the Cambridge University Press in 1891.

³ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 332.

and nights¹. While the Mázandarán insurrection was in progress (A.D. 1848—9), he, in company with Behá'u'lláh, Şubh-i-Ezel, and several other prominent Bábís², attempted, but failed, to join the garrison of Sheykh Tabarší, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was imprisoned for some while at Ámul. We find him, always impelled, as it would appear, by religious zeal, now at Bárfurúsh, now at Mash-had, now at Teherán. He appears to have been personally acquainted not only with the Báb, Şubh-i-Ezel, and Behá'u'lláh, but with Hájí Suleymán Khán, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján, Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb, Mullá Sheykh 'Alí "*Jenáb-i-'Aẓím*," Kurratu'l-'Ayn, "*Hazrat-i-Kuddús*," and almost all the early apostles of the Bábí religion. Finally, in company with twenty-seven of his co-religionists, he suffered martyrdom for the faith at Teherán on September 15th, 1852³. He was therefore heart and soul a Bábí; he had the best possible opportunities for obtaining detailed and accurate information about every event connected with the movement during the first eight years of its existence (A.D. 1844—1852); and he enjoyed a high reputation for truthfulness, intelligence, and integrity⁴. Most fortunately, also, he occupied his leisure moments during the two years which elapsed between the martyrdom of his Master (July 9th, 1850) and his own death (Sept. 15th, 1852) in composing a voluminous work, to which, from considerations of a mystical and not very comprehensible character, he gave the rather fanciful name of *Nuḡţatu'l-Káś* ("The Point of Káf," i.e., as it would appear, "of Káshán")⁵, on the doctrines and history

¹ See pp. 213—216 *infra*, and footnotes.

² Cf. pp. 64—5 and 378—9 *infra*.

³ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 323—324.

⁴ Cf. pp. xxxix and 5 *infra*.

⁵ See n. 1 on p. 391 *infra*. The passage in which the title of

of the religion for which, probably only a few months after the completion of his labours, he suffered death.

It is superfluous to say that Mírzá Ján's work never existed save in manuscript, and that any copies which passed into the hands of the royalist or orthodox party were without doubt at once destroyed. For there was nothing of caution, compromise or concealment about the honest Káshání merchant. The Bábís of his time looked rather for an immediate triumph over all existing powers, culminating in the universal establishment of the True Faith and the Reign of God's Saints on Earth, than for

the book is given occurs near the beginning of the work and runs as follows:—

و چونکه در ابتدای این کتاب ذکر مقام نقطه بسیار
 گردید و اصل نوشتن این رساله در باب توحید و ذکر
 مبدء و معاد که اصل دین میباشد نوشته میشود لهذا
 نام این کتاب را نقطه الکافی نمودم بدو جهت یکی آنکه
 خود را صاحب اسمی و رسمی نمیدانم تا ذکر خود را
 نمایم زیرا که ذکر خود را در پی ذکر میگذارم دوم
 آنکه منظور گردید که نقطه را پنج مقام میباشد و آن
 مقام هاء است و هاء چهار مرتبه که ترقی نمود کاف
 میشود و کاف چهار نقطه است نقطه الهیة و نقطه
 الارادة و نقطه القدر و نقطه القضاء و کاف اول
 کلمه کن میباشد و کاف دوم فیکون و غیب و شهادت
 کاف میمر است که ذکر میمر مشیت میشود که اول
 امکان به مشیت شئیت بهر رسانیده و لهذا اسم نقطه
 الکافی حقیقت دارد ...

a Heaven of Glory, a far-distant Millennium, or "the Most Great Peace" on which Behá and his followers love to dilate¹. They did not make any profession of loyalty to, or love for, the reigning dynasty; nor did they attempt to exonerate the Sháh from the responsibility of the persecutions which they suffered at the expense of his ministers or the Musulmán divines, as later Bábí historians have done². They hated the Muhammadan clergy, it is true, with an intense and bitter hatred, and Mírzá Jání anticipates with exultation a day whereon the Ká'im, or Messiah, of the Family of Muḥammad shall behead seventy thousand *mullás* "like dogs"; but they entertained for the Kájár rulers an equal hatred, which Mírzá Jání is at no pains to disguise. To Násiru'd-Dín, the present Sháh, and to his father, Muḥammad Sháh, such terms as "tyrant" (ظالم), "scoundrel" (حرامزاده), "unrightful king" (سلطان باطل), and "progeny of Abú Sofyán" (آل ابوسفیان) are freely applied. Teherán is compared to Damascus, the capital of the wicked Mu'áviya and his yet more wicked son Yazíd; while Mullá Huseyn is likened to the martyred Imám Huseyn, Sheykh Ṭabarsí to the immortal plain of Kerbelá, and Bárfurúsh, whither the Bábí captives were brought after the conclusion of the siege, to Kúfa. The battle-cry of the royalist soldiers, "*Yá Násiru'd-Dín Sháh!*" is described as "a foul watch-word" (كلام خبیث); the death of Muḥammad Sháh is noted in the words "when Muḥammad Sháh went to hell"; and the unbelievers are flouted with scorn because they suppose that the Promised Deliverer whom they expect will confirm

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. xl.

² Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. xlv—xlvi; and, amongst many other similar passages in this book, pp. 173, 180—182, 189—190, 278—279, 291—293, and 315—316.

³ See n. 1 on p. 291 *infra*.

the authority of the existing rulers and governors, and will subdue the world for the benefit of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh.

Now if this were all, Mírzá Ján's history, though it would certainly have been destroyed as far as possible by the Muhammadans and the royalists, might well, with sundry emendations and expurgations, have been preserved almost intact, like many other proscribed books, in the bosom of the Bábí Church. But it is not all. Events which I have elsewhere discussed at length¹, and shall here, for the benefit of the general reader, briefly recapitulate, brought about the seemingly strange result that a large majority of the Bábís themselves came to have a direct interest in the suppression of this precious record. One of the chief doctrines of the Báb, one which he never wearies of repeating and emphasising, is that his revelation is not final; that he is not the last of the Theophanies which, at longer or shorter intervals, shine forth in the Phenomenal World for the guidance of mankind; and that after him a greater Revealer, whom he calls "*Man yudh-kiruhu'lláh*" ("He whom God shall manifest"), shall appear for the consolation of his followers. Now a year before his martyrdom, on the fall of Sheykh Tabarsí and the death of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* (July or August, 1849)², the Báb nominated Mírzá Yahyá (then a lad of nineteen) to succeed him under the title of *Subh-i-Ezel* ("the Morning of Eternity"), or *Hazrat-i-Ezel* ("His Holiness the Eternal"). The nomination was explicit and notorious, and, on the death of the Founder in July 1850, the youthful vicegerent at once received the almost unanimous

¹ *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. xv—xviii and 349 *et seq.*

² See pp. 380—2 *infra*.

³ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 373 and note.

recognition and homage of the whole Bábí community¹. Till the catastrophe of September 1852, which proved fatal, not only to Mírzá Jání, but to nearly all the principal apostles of the new faith who had survived the earlier persecutions, he remained for the most part in the neighbourhood of Teherán in the summer, and in the district of Núr in Mázandarán in the winter, actively occupied in arranging, transcribing, and circulating the Bábí books, preaching and expounding the Bábí doctrine, and comforting and edifying the Bábí Church². It was during this period, and, as internal evidence renders probable, during the year A.H. 1267³ (Nov. 1850—Oct. 1851) that Mírzá Jání composed his work, in which, as was only natural, he inserted a long notice on Şubḥ-i-Ezel⁴, whom he most certainly, and his contemporaries in the faith most probably, believed to be none other than "He whom God shall manifest⁵." The evidence that at this period, and for some considerable time afterwards, Şubḥ-i-Ezel, now living in almost solitary exile at Famagusta in Cyprus, a pensioner

¹ Cf. Gobineau's *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 277—8.

² See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 374.

³ The clearest allusion in Mírzá Jání's work to the date of its composition is contained in the words (occurring on f. 48 r of *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, and f. 335 r of *Suppl. Pers.* 1070) **الہومر کہ ہزار دوہست و ہفتاد و ہفت سال از بعثت رسول اللہ گذشتہ**, "To day, when one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven years have elapsed since the <commencement of the> Mission of God's Apostle..." The Bábís generally date not from the *Hijra* or Flight of the Prophet, but from his Call (*ba'ṭhas*), which they place ten years earlier. Hence this date corresponds to A.H. 1267.

⁴ See pp. 374—394 *infra*.

⁵ See pp. 381—2 *infra*.

of the British Government, held undisputed and absolute sway over the Bábí Church is absolutely conclusive.

Immediately after the great persecution and massacre of 1852, Šubḥ-i-Ezel fled to Baghdad, so as to be beyond the reach of the Persian Government. Hither a few months later (at the end of 1852 or beginning of 1853¹) he was followed by his half-brother, Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí *Behá'u'lláh*, who was thirteen years his senior, and who, arrested on suspicion of complicity in the attempt made by the Bábís on the Sháh's life, had just been acquitted and released from an imprisonment of four months' duration. At this time and for some years later (at any rate till 1858) Behá'u'lláh was, as his own writings prove², to all appearance as loyal a follower of Šubḥ-i-Ezel as he had previously been of the Báb. The Bábí Church was still, in spite of the attempts made by sundry ambitious persons to advance claims to the supreme authority³, united under Šubḥ-i-Ezel, and its members no doubt continued to read with edification the pages of Mírzá Jání's history.

About 1862 the Turkish Government, acting, as it would appear, on the representations of the Sháh's ministers, decided to transfer the Bábí exiles from Baghdad to Adrianople, whither, it would seem, they were actually brought in December 1863⁴. Here they remained till July or August 1868, when signs of renewed and increased activity amongst them attracted the notice of the Ottoman authorities, who, learning that a schism had divided them

¹ See *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 304—6.

² See *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 304—6 and 436—8.

³ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 356—8 and 365.

⁴ The chronology of these events is less certain than that of the earlier ones. I have done my best to reconcile and combine the various and sometimes conflicting data at pp. 306—8 of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892.

into two hostile sections, the one headed by Behá'u'lláh, the other by Şubḥ-i-Ezel, packed them off without more ado, and probably without troubling to enquire much into the rights and wrongs of the matter, the former to Acre, the latter to Famagusta in Cyprus.

About the subsequent history of the Bábs, of which full accounts will be found, by such as it may interest, in the *Traveller's Narrative*, I do not propose to say anything in this place. Concerning the schism itself, however, a few words are necessary. A community like that which had existed at Adrianople, consisting almost entirely of actual exiles and potential martyrs, and in large part of religious enthusiasts, revolutionary visionaries, and speculative mystics, whose restless activity, debarred from external action, is pent up within limits too narrow for its free exercise, requires a firm hand to control and direct its energies. Such firmness Şubḥ-i-Ezel, a peace-loving, contemplative, gentle soul, wholly devoted to the memory of his beloved Master, caring little for authority, and incapable of self-assertion, seems to have altogether lacked. Even while at Baghdad he lived a life of almost complete seclusion, leaving the direction of affairs in the hands of his half-brother Behá'u'lláh¹, a man of much more resolute and ambitious character, who thus gradually became the most prominent figure and the moving spirit of the sect. For a considerable time Behá'u'lláh continued to do all that he did in the name, and ostensibly by the instructions, of Şubḥ-i-Ezel; but after a while, though at what precise date is still uncertain, the idea seems to have entered his mind that he might as well become actually, as he already was virtually, the Pontiff of the Church whose destinies he controlled. It was not, however, till

¹ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 356—8.

the Bábís had been for two or three years at Adrianople that, most probably in the summer of 1866¹, he threw off all disguise, publicly proclaimed himself to be "Him whom God shall manifest," and called upon Şubḥ-i-Ezel and all the Bábí Churches throughout Persia, Turkey, Egypt and Syria to acknowledge his supreme authority, and to accept as God's Word the revelations which he forthwith began to promulgate, and continued till his death on May 16th of last year (1892) to publish.

Amongst the Bábís the effect of this announcement (for which, no doubt, the way had been already prepared) was little short of stupendous. From Constantinople to Kirmán and from Cairo to Khurásán the communities of the faithful were rent asunder by a schism which every subsequent year has rendered wider and more permanent, and which nothing short of the complete extinction of one of the two rival factions can possibly heal. At Adrianople itself the struggle was short and the triumph of Behá complete. Şubḥ-i-Ezel was so completely deserted that, as he himself informed me, he and his little boy had to go themselves to the bazaar to buy their food. Elsewhere, though active and astute emissaries² were at once despatched in all directions by Behá, the conflict, though its issue was from the first hardly doubtful, was longer maintained. For the question at issue was not merely whether one leader should be replaced by another, whether certain doctrines should be understood in this way or in that, or whether the ethics, practices, or forms of worship of the sect should be reformed or modified (all of which things, as we well know, have again and again in the history of religions proved sufficient to create the fiercest enmities, the profoundest

¹ See *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 304.

² Cf. *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 311—312.

heart-searchings, and the bitterest dissensions), but whether the doctrines and writings of the beloved Master, for which his followers had been ready to suffer death or exile, were to be regarded as abrogated and cancelled in favour of a new revelation ; whether his chosen vicegerent, whom they had so long regarded as their Supreme Pontiff and as the incarnation of all purity, virtue, and heavenly wisdom, was to be cast down from this high position, and branded as "the First Letter of Denial" of the New Dispensation ; and whether the Báb himself was henceforth to be looked upon, not as the "Point of Revelation," a veritable Manifestation of the Divine, but as a mere harbinger and precursor of a more perfect Theophany. Bábís who remember that time cannot easily be induced to speak of it ; only once, so far as I can remember, did I hear a follower of Behá explicitly allude to it. "I was long torn with doubts," said he, "which were finally removed by this verse on which one day I chanced in the *Beyân* : '*Thou takest Divinity from whomsoever Thou pleasest, and givest Divinity to whomsoever Thou pleasest : verily Thou art the Almighty, the Wise.*'"

How long the contest was maintained by the Ezels, or old Bábís, against the innovators it is impossible to say, for on no portion of the history of the sect is our information so scanty or our light so dim. At first not a few prominent Bábís, including even several "Letters of the Living" and personal friends of the Báb, adhered faithfully to Šubḥ-i-Ezel. One by one these disappeared, most of them, as I fear cannot be doubted, by foul play on the part of too zealous Behá'ís. Hájí Seyyid Muḥammad of Isfahán, one of the Báb's "Companions" (*aṣ-ḥáb*), Mírzá Rízá-Kulí and his brother Mírzá Naṣru'lláh of Tāfrish, Áká Ján Beg of Káshán, and other devoted Ezels, were stabbed or poisoned at Adrianople and Acre. Two of the "Letters

of the Living," Áká Seyyid 'Alí the Arab, and Mullá Rajab 'Alí *Kháir*, were assassinated, the one at Tabriz, the other at Kerbelá. The brother of the latter, Áká 'Alí Muḥammad, was also murdered in Baghdad; and, indeed, of the more prominent Bábís who espoused the cause of Ezel, Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá (who died at Kirmán about 1884)¹ seems to have been almost the only one, with the exception of Ezel himself, who long survived what the Ezelís call "the Direful Mischief" (*fitna-i-şaylam*). From that time forwards, while the Behá'ís have been ever waxing in power and influence, so that their numbers now probably reach or even exceed half a million souls, the Ezelís have been ever waning, until at the present time it is doubtful whether in all they amount to more than a few hundreds. It is even doubtful whether the recent death of Behá will contribute in any sensible measure to the restoration of their failing fortunes, though Ezel still lives, and numbers amongst his supporters at least one or two men of energy and ability.

At the present day, therefore, the vast majority of Bábís are Behá'ís, whose doctrines, sentiments, and ideals are already far removed from those of the primitive Bábís or modern Ezelís. No sooner was Behá firmly established in his authority than he began to make free use of the privilege accorded by the Báb to "Him whom God shall

¹ Cf. *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 443—4 and 684; and *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 342, n. 2. That Seyyid Jawád was a follower of Ezel is, however, categorically denied by Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl of Gulpáygán in a letter addressed to M. Toumansky, the text of which will be found on pp. 44—5 of vol. viii of the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. As, however, this is affirmed equally positively by Şubḥ-i-Ezel and Sheykh A—— the Ezelí, I have allowed these words to stand.

manifest" to abrogate, change, cancel, and develop the earlier doctrines. His chief aim seems to have been to introduce a more settled order, to discourage speculation, to direct the attention of his followers to practical reforms pursued in a prudent and unobtrusive fashion, to exalt ethics at the expense of metaphysics, to check mysticism, to conciliate existing authorities, including even the Sháh of Persia, the Nero of the Bábí faith, to abolish useless, unpractical, and irksome regulations and restrictions, and, in general, to adapt the religion at the head of which he now found himself to the ordinary exigencies of life, and to render it more capable of becoming, what he intended to make it, a universal system suitable to all mankind¹. A remembrance of all the wrongs which he and his co-religionists had suffered at the hands of the Musulmán's further caused him gradually but steadily to eliminate the tinge of Muhammadan, and more especially of Shi'ite, thought which the Bábí doctrine still maintained, while ever seeking a better understanding with the Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians, with all of whom he recommended his followers to consort on friendly terms.

Now once admitting Behá's right to assume this position of supremacy at all, there can be no question that these changes were beneficial and salutary. The original

¹ See especially the summary of contents of the *Kutáb-i-Ahdas* at pp. 972—981 of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889; and the *Lawh-i-Bashrá't*, of which the text (with the exception of the 15th and last clause, recommending constitutional government, which the Behá'is appear to have thought it expedient to suppress in the copy of the tract forwarded to Russia) has been published by Baron Rosen with a Russian translation at pp. 183—192 of vol. vii of the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society (St Petersburg, 1893). The substance of this latter document has been stated in English by myself at pp. 678—9 of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892.

doctrine of the Báb, fascinating as it was to Persians of a certain disposition, was utterly unfitted for the bulk of mankind, and could never by any possibility have taken any root outside Persia. In the sacred books wherein it was set forth, precept bore but a small proportion to dogma, and dogma a still smaller proportion to doxologies and mystical rhapsodies of almost inconceivable incomprehensibility. Not only were the positive precepts few, but they were generally quite unpractical, and not rarely extremely inconvenient. What, for instance, could be more unpractical than the adoption of the number 19 as the basis of all measures and calculations; the command that all books when they had been in existence for 202 years should be copied out afresh, and the originals destroyed or given away; or the elaborate ceremonies prescribed for the interment of the dead? What more inconvenient than the exclusion of all unbelievers from five of the chief provinces of Persia, and, save in the case of merchants and others following a useful profession, from all lands in which the Bábí faith prevailed; the discouragement of sea-voyages and of the acquisition of foreign languages; and the command to destroy all works treating of Logic, Jurisprudence, and Philosophy? Great conceptions, noble ideals, subtle metaphysical conceptions, and splendid, though ill-defined, aspirations do, indeed, exist in the *Beyán*; but they are so lost in trackless mazes of rhapsody and mysticism, so weighed down by trivial injunctions and impracticable ordinances, that no casual reader, but only a student of considerable diligence and perseverance, can hope to find them¹.

That the development of Behá's doctrines proceeded

¹ For a summary account of the teachings of the *Persian Beyán*, the most systematic and comprehensible of the Báb's many works, see pp. 911—933 of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889.

gradually there can be little doubt, for a system such as he elaborated could not be worked out, much less imposed on a scattered church not always remarkable for docility, in a brief space of time. From the moment that his claims were generally recognized by the Bábís, however, the whole of the earlier literature of the sect, including the writings of the Báb himself, began to suffer neglect and to sink into oblivion. Without admitting the assertion made by the Ezéls, that Behá and his followers deliberately destroyed, or fraudulently tampered with, the books belonging to the older dispensation on a large scale, it is clear that the conditions which could alone secure the continual transcription and circulation of these books had ceased to exist. They were, for the most part, voluminous, hard to comprehend, uncouth in style, unsystematic in arrangement, filled with iterations and solecisms, and not unfrequently quite incoherent and unintelligible to any ordinary reader. Hitherto, less on their own merits than by reason of the enthusiastic devotion inspired by their authors, they had been regarded by all the Bábís as priceless gems. Of this enthusiastic devotion Behá now became the object; and to his writings (which, at any rate in comparison with those of his predecessors, were terse, lucid, vigorous, and eloquent) was this sentiment of admiration diverted. The energies of the Behá'í scribes were fully occupied in transcribing the new revelations; and the older books, no longer regarded as the final expression of Divine Truth and Wisdom, ceased to be renewed, and for the most part reposed undisturbed and forgotten in the shelves and boxes to which they had been consigned. All this, of course, applies only to the Behá'ís; but the Ezéls, to whom the old books still retained their pristine value, were few in number, isolated, fearful alike of the Muhammadans and the Behá'ís, and altogether incapable of

maintaining the currency of the discarded literature. Besides this, many of the older writings at the time of the schism were probably preserved only at the Bábí headquarters in Adrianople, where, as we have seen, Subh-i-Ezel was left entirely without supporters. What he could, he saved, and bore with him to Cyprus; but there can be no doubt that the lion's share fell to Behá, and was conveyed by him and his followers to Acre. And, from my own experience, I can affirm that, hard as it is to obtain from the Behá'ís in Persia the loan or gift of Bábí books belonging to the earlier period of the faith, at Acre it is harder still even to get a glimpse of them. They may be, and probably are, still preserved there, but, for all the good the enquirer is likely to get from them, they might almost as well have suffered the fate which the Ezeli's believe to have overtaken them.

The history composed by Hájí Mírzá Jání, however, belongs to a different category from the writings which we have hitherto been discussing. Without sharing the sacred character of these, it was incomparably more dangerous to the pretensions and plans of Behá, as any one may see by referring to Appendix II of this volume. Its tone towards all beyond the pale of the Bábí Church, and more especially towards the Sháh of Persia and his government, was irreconcilably hostile. The doctrines set forth in it, though undoubtedly those held by the early Bábís, were eminently calculated to encourage mysticism and metaphysical speculation of the boldest kind, and to maintain in full activity that pantheistic fermentation which Behá was so desirous to check. Worst of all, it supplied the Ezeli's with a most powerful weapon not of defence only, but of attack. And withal it was interesting, profoundly and intensely interesting; the most interesting book, perhaps, in the whole range of Bábí literature. To

suppress it and withdraw it from circulation, at any rate while those on whom had been thrown the glamour of the young Shírází Seer and of the beautiful Kurratu'l-'Ayn, the martyred heroine and poetess of Kázvín, constituted the majority of the faithful, was almost impossible; to let it continue to circulate in its present form would be disastrous. Only one plan offered any chance of success. Often in the literary history of the East has the disappearance and extinction of works both valuable and of general interest been brought about, either accidentally or intentionally, by the compilation from them of a more concise and popular abridgement which has gradually superseded them. As the Biography of the Prophet Muḥammad composed by Ibn Is-hāḳ was superseded by the recension of Ibn Hishām, so should Mírzá Jání's old history of the Báb and his Apostles be superseded by a revised, expurgated, and emended "NEW HISTORY" (*Tārīkh-i-Jadíd*), which, while carefully omitting every fact, doctrine, and expression calculated to injure the policy of Bahá, 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.

Only by the merest accident, so far as our present knowledge goes, did this scheme fail of complete success. Most fortunately for science, there resided at Teherán in the years 1855—8 a French diplomatist, the Comte de Gobineau, who, animated by a keen and insatiable curiosity, devoted himself with rare success to the study of the Bábí religion, which was at that time still in its primitive state, neither rent asunder by the schism which now divides it, nor modified by the policy which that schism has introduced. The results of his labours, so far as the Bábís are concerned, were a masterly sketch of their history and doctrines in his classical *Religions et Philosophies dans*

l'Asie Centrale, and a small but most precious collection of Bábi manuscripts; this, after his death, was bought by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, where, since the year 1884, it has been deposited. Of these volumes one (*Suppl. Persan*, 1,071) contains the whole, and another (*Suppl. Persan*, 1,070) the first third, of Hájí Mírzá Jání's invaluable history, of which, so far as I know, no other copy is extant in Europe or Asia. It is not too much to say that but for M. de Gobineau's exertions in the cause of science it would have been impossible to reconstruct faithfully and in detail the early history of Bábfism.

At this point I shall perhaps do well to answer two questions which may suggest themselves to the reader.

"Why," he may ask in the first place, "have you chosen to translate this later '*New History*' in preference to Mírzá Jání's contemporary record, to which you evidently attach a much greater importance?"

This question can be answered in very few words. I did not discover the existence of the Paris manuscripts of Mírzá Jání's history till this translation of the *New History* had been completed, and the arrangements for its publication finally concluded. That there was such a work, I had learned from the *New History* itself; and, as may be supposed, I made many efforts to procure a copy, or to discover whether any still existed. After repeated disappointments, I finally came to the conclusion that the work was probably lost. When, in the Easter Vacation of 1892, I finally chanced on it in the Bibliothèque Nationale during a short stay in Paris, it was too late to substitute a translation of it for the present history. It only remained for me to procure a transcript of it (from the complete manuscript, *Suppl. Pers.* 1,071), to compare this carefully with the *New History*, and to epitomize in an appendix the results yielded by this comparison. The

transcript was made for me by my friend Ahmed Beg Agaëff, to whom I here tender my sincere thanks ; and the variants and additional matter obtained by the comparison of this with the *New History* will be found fully stated in Appendix II (pp. 327—396) at the end of this volume. For the present this must suffice ; but, if the history of Bábism is to be seriously studied, the text of Mírzá Jání's history will, sooner or later, have to be published *in extenso*. For this reason I now deem it a most fortunate circumstance that the Syndics of the University Press, when they accepted the present translation, were reluctant to incur the great expense which the publication of the text of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* would have involved.

The second question which may be asked is this. "What relation exists between the history of the Bábí religion entitled '*A Traveller's Narrative written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb*,' of which you published the text and translation rather more than a year ago, and these two histories which you have just been discussing?"

This question also I must answer very briefly. The *Traveller's Narrative*, composed by Behá'u'lláh's son 'Abbás Efendí so recently as A.D. 1886, represents a further development of the tendency, to which I have already alluded, to glorify Behá'u'lláh and his Neo-Bábí doctrine at the expense of the Báb and the primitive Bábí theology. In the *New History* it is still the Báb and his apostles, and the early martyrs of the cause, whose words and deeds form the subject-matter of the work. In the *Traveller's Narrative* this is no longer the case ; it is Behá'u'lláh who is the hero, and it is his words and precepts which are quoted with admiration and reverence, while the Báb has been reduced from his high station of "Point," "Ká'im,"

and "Imám Mahdí" to that of a mere precursor and harbinger of a more perfect dispensation¹.

Having now, as I trust, made sufficiently clear the relations which subsist between these three histories, to wit, the *Nuṣṣatu'l-Káfi* composed by Mírzá Jání in A.D. 1851; the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, or "New History," composed (as will presently be set forth in greater detail) under the supervision of Mánakjí the Zoroastrian by Mírzá Ḥuseyn of Hamadán, assisted by Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl of Gulpáýagán, in A.H. 1297—8 (A.D. 1880); and the *Maḳála-i-shakhṣí sayyáh*, or "Traveller's Narrative," composed by Behá'u'lláh's son 'Abbás Efendí in or about the year A.D. 1886, I shall now discuss more minutely the date and authorship of the second of these works, here offered in translation to the English-reading public, and describe the manner in which I first became acquainted with it, the manuscripts which I have had at my disposal, and my labours in re-establishing and translating the text.

First, as regards the date and authorship. Concerning these something can be gleaned from internal evidence. As to the date, the allusion to the *Íkán* on p. 26 proves that the *New History* was written subsequently to that work, which was composed in A.D. 1858²; the allusion to Behá'u'lláh's "Manifestation" on p. 64 carries the date down to A.D. 1866; while the reference to the Sháh's tour in Europe (presumably the first) on p. 181 brings it down to A.D. 1873. This last date would in any case be the earliest admissible, for on p. 174 the Bábís are said to have endured nearly *thirty years* of persecution, while on

¹ For further details as to the peculiar features of this latter history, see the Introduction to vol. ii of the *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. xlv—xlvi.

² See *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 305.

p. 321 this number is raised to *thirty-five* by one manuscript. As to the internal evidences of authorship, they are somewhat conflicting and misleading. In some passages the author implies that he is a Christian (p. 3), an European (p. 17) and not a Persian (p. 23), and a Frenchman (p. 318). Certain expressions on pp. 2—3 would suggest that he was a believer in the Bábí religion; certain others on p. 30 would seem to imply that he was only a sympathetic onlooker; while the verse cited on p. 17 would lead us to suppose that he was a free-thinker. Several passages (*e.g.* on pp. 323, 324, and 326) indicate familiarity with Zoroastrian ideas and writings; others (*e.g.* on pp. 6—7, and 308—9) shew a strange ignorance of the history and customs of Europe with which he professes to be so familiar. Lastly, there are several passages and episodes (some of them occurring in one manuscript only) which have evidently been added to the original work by other hands; *e.g.* the paragraph on p. 48 beginning, "The reviser of this history says . . ."; the rationalistic remarks on p. 89 by "the writer (or transcriber) of these pages"; and the narratives of the second Níríz war (pp. 128—131) and the Zanján siege (pp. 139—168) attributed respectively to Nabíl and Zabíh.

Fortunately we have something better than internal evidence to go upon. Thanks to Lieutenant Toumansky of the Russian Artillery, to whose energetic and successful researches amongst the Bábís of 'Ishkábád science owes so much, a full account of the circumstances which gave rise to the composition of the *New History*, and the manner in which its composition was effected, has been obtained from one of the three persons (the only one still living) concerned therein, to wit, Mírzá Abú'l-Fazl Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Rízá of Gulpáýagán, whose acquaintance M. Toumansky made at 'Ishkábád. The

substance of what M. Toumansky learned from Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl he most kindly communicated to me through Baron Rosen, with full permission to make use of it. Of this permission I availed myself in describing my manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadíd* in my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí MSS.* published in the July and October numbers of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, where, at pp. 442—3, Baron Rosen's words will be found cited.

A little while before the conclusion of my *Catalogue* went to press, I received certain books and letters (*Cat. and Des.*, pp. 663—5, and 701 *et seq.*) from a Persian Jew of Mash-had named Áká 'Azízu'lláh, a Bábí, and a friend of Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl. In answering one of his letters I asked several questions, one of which referred to the composition of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadíd*. He promised to refer this question to Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl, and there for the time the matter dropped.

It now appears, however, that my questions were duly transmitted to Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl, who thereupon composed in reply to them a treatise which he entitled *Risálat-i-Iskandariyya* ("the Epistle of Alexander") in honour of M. Alexander Toumansky, to whom, in virtue of a long-standing friendship, the book was dedicated. Of this treatise, as he himself says, he wrote four copies with his own hand: one for transmission to Acre, one for M. Toumansky, one for himself, and one for me. The last was sent to Bombay to be thence forwarded to me, but has not yet reached me. This, however, is of the less consequence inasmuch as M. Toumansky is publishing an account of this important treatise at pp. 33—45 of the forthcoming (eighth) volume of the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Of this article Baron Rosen, with his usual kindness, has sent me the proofs, from which I shall now translate what Mírzá

Abū'l-Faḡl says about the composition and authorship of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd*.

The copy of the treatise in question forwarded to M. Toumansky bears the following inscription: "*The Epistle of Alexander was compiled and composed as a gift to His Most Honourable Excellency Mīrzā Alexander Toumansky (may God Almighty prolong the days of his glory and his fortune!)*." The cause of its compilation is thus stated:—

"The immediate cause of the composition of this historical pamphlet was as follows. When I was in Hamadān in the year A.H. 1305 (A.D. 1887—8), I wrote, at the request of certain elders of the Jews, a treatise entitled *Risāle-i-Ayyūbiyya*¹ ('The Epistle of Job'), copies of which were disseminated everywhere. Some while ago, when Āḳā 'Azīzullāh was in Bombay, a copy of this treatise fell into the hands of Mr Browne, who wrote to Āḳā 'Azīzullāh, saying, 'Since you are in correspondence with Mīrzā Abū'l-Faḡl, ask of him three questions. *Firstly*, in this treatise he has fixed the date of the second restoration of the Holy Temple at four hundred and thirty years, whereas other chronologists have stated it to be about six hundred years'. *Secondly*, let him make known the chronological data which he possesses touching the life of His Holiness Behā'-

¹ *Zapiski*, loc. cit., p. 33, n. 1.

² This is the work described on pp. 701—5 of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892 under the title *Isidlatigya*.

³ The objection which I raised to Mīrzā Abū'l-Faḡl's chronology is neither very clearly nor very accurately stated here. His contention was that the 2300 days (i.e. years) during which the sanctuary shall be trodden under foot, as mentioned in the book of Daniel (ch. viii, v. 14), came to an end at the time of Behā'u'llah's "Manifestation" in A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1868), and the question raised bore reference to the *terminus a quo*.

u'lláh (may the life of all the denizens of the world be his sacrifice!); for the date which he assigns in his treatise to the Blessed Theophany is A.H. 1285, whereas in the *Traveller's Narrative* it is given as A.H. 1269¹. *Thirdly*, who is the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd* ("New History"), for some ascribe it to Mīrzā Abū'l-Faẓl, others to Mánakjī? In short, it became necessary to compose in reply to him this treatise, which consists for the most part of such facts connected with the Blessed Theophany from first to last as have come within my own knowledge. Now although this treatise is addressed to Ākā 'Azīz-u'llāh, and was written in consequence of the enquiries of Mr Browne, yet was it primarily composed in accordance with a promise which I made to M. Toumanský when I was present with him, and therefore is it named after his name. And the cause of this delay <in the fulfilment of my promise> was that, in the absence of an assistant, I was obliged to write four copies with my own hand; one for transmission to the Supreme Horizon²; one for transmission to Bombay, that it might thence be forwarded to Mr Browne; and one for M. Toumanský; while one must needs remain in my possession."

The text of the reply to the third question (touching the authorship of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd*) is given in full by M. Toumanský (*loc. cit.*, pp. 36—8), and, before proceeding to translate it, it only remains to observe that the transcription of his manuscript by Mīrzā Abū'l-Faẓl was concluded on the 11th of Jumádā II, A.H. 1310 (= Dec. 31st, A.D. 1892).

¹ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. i, pp. 71 and 80—81; vol. ii, p. 55 and n. 3, and p. 63. See also the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 703, n. 1.

² i.e. to Behá'u'llah at Acre.

"Third Question.

"Enquiry was made touching the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd* (New History). The writer and author of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd* was the late Mīrzā Huseyn of Hamadán. He was a youth of the kinsfolk of Rīzā Khán the son of Muḥammad Khán the Turcoman, who is reckoned amongst the martyrs of the Castle of Sheykh Ṭabarsī, and whose name is recorded in the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd*¹. The aforesaid author, in consequence of the calligraphic and epistolary skill which he shewed in drafting letters, was at first secretary to one of the ministers of the Persian Government. At the time of His Majesty Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Sháh's first journey to Europe he too visited those countries in the Royal Suite. On his homeward journey he remained for some time at Constantinople. After his return to Persia, he was amongst those imprisoned in consequence of the troubles of the year A.H. 1291 (A.D. 1874), when His Reverence Áká Jemál of Burújird was committed to the prison of His Majesty the King after his dispute with the clergy of Teherán².

"After his release from the prison of Teherán, he obtained employment in the office of Mánakjī the Zoroastrian, well known as an author and writer³. Mánakjī treated

¹ See pp. 96—101, and 365 *infra*.

² A full account of this discussion will be found at pp. 170—180 *infra*. This account, as appears from p. 172, last paragraph, was originally written by Áká Jemál himself in Arabic, and translated by Mīrzā Abd'l Faḡl of Gulpáygán into Persian. The conjecture which I hazarded in n. 1 on p. 170 as to the identity of "the Letter J" proves to be correct.

³ The full name of Mánakjī, late Zoroastrian Agent at Teherán, was Mánakjī the son of Lámjī Húshang Hátaryári Kiyání, surnamed *Darvīsh-i-Fāni* (درویش هوشنگ هاتریاری کیانی). Thus it is given by himself in

him with great respect, for had he not become notorious as a Bábí, he would never have engaged in this work. Now it chanced one night that he and Muḥammad Isma'íl Khán the Zend, who was a writer skilful in Persian composition, were Mánakjí's guests at supper; and Mánakjí requested each one of them to write a book (for he was most zealous in book-collecting, and whomsoever he deemed capable of writing and composing he would urge to write a book or compose a treatise). So on this night he requested Muḥammad Isma'íl Khán to write a history of the kings of Persia, and begged Mírzá Huseyn to compile a history of the Bábía.

"To be brief, Muḥammad Isma'íl Khán wrote the book called *Firázistán*, on the ancient empire of Persia from Mah-ábád till the fall of the Sásánians, in pure Persian, which, as a matter of fact, he made a veritable rag-bag of legends and myths from the *Sháhnáma*, the *Chahár Chiman*, and the *Dasátír*. But Mírzá Huseyn came to the writer and asked his assistance, saying, 'Since hitherto no full and correct history has been written treating of the events of this Theophany, to collect and compile the

the preface which he wrote to the *Farhang-i-Anjuman-drá-yi Nápiri* of Rízá-Kulí Khán *Lálá-báshí*, and at the beginning of the Persian translation of the account of his travels in Persia published under the title *رساله ترجمه اظهار سیاحت ایران* at Bombay in A.H. 1280 (A.D. 1863). He appears to have come to Persia from India in 1854, for the German missionaries Petermann and Brühl travelled with him, his son Ormasdjí, a Múhad or Zoroastrian priest, a secretary named Key Khusráw, and a cook named Shápúrjí, from Shíráz to Yezd in July of that year. (See an article by F. Justi on the dialect of Yezd in the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1881, vol. xxv, pp. 327—8, and a foot-note on p. 328, according to which Mánakjí acted for a while as French consul at Yezd.) He died a year or two ago.

various episodes thereof in a fitting manner is a very difficult matter. For what *Sipihr* and *Hidāyat*¹ have written touching its circumstances is, by reason of their extreme obsequiousness <to the Court> and their utter error, altogether sheer calumny and downright falsehood. And the accounts given by narrators, too, are so diverse and different that the reconciliation of them is not free from difficulty.'

"To this I replied, 'There is in the hands of the Friends a history by the late Hájí Mírzá Jání of Káshán, who was one of the martyrs of Teherán, and one of the best men of that time. But he was a man engaged in business and without skill in historiography, neither did he record the dates of the years and months. At most he, being a God-fearing man, truthfully set down the record of events as he had seen and heard them. Obtain this book, and take the episodes from it, and the dates of the years and months from the *Násikh's't-Tawárikh* and the appendices of the *Rawzat'u's-Safá*; and, having incorporated these in your rough draft, read over each sheet to His Reverence Hájí Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá (whose name has been repeatedly mentioned in these pages), for he, from the beginning of the Manifestation of the First Point [i.e. the Báb] until the arrival of His Holiness Behá'u'lláh in Acre, accompanied the Friends everywhere in person, and is thoroughly informed and cognizant of all events. Thus diligently correct the history, in order that this book may, by the will of God, be well finished, and may win the approbation of the learned throughout the world.'

"Then he requested the writer to indite the introduc-

¹ Concerning *Sipihr* (better known as *Lisánu's-t-Mulk*) and *Hidāyat* (Rizá-Kulí Khán *Lálá-bashí*), and their histories, the *Násikh's't-Tawárikh* and the supplement to the *Rawzat'u's-Safá*, see vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 173—192.

tory preface, and so open for him the path of composition. So I, agreeably to his request, wrote two pages at the beginning of that book, and embellished this introduction with prefatory exhortations and incitements to strive after truth¹. Now it was his intention to compose this book in two volumes², the first volume about the events connected with the Manifestation of the First Point [*i.e.* the Báb], and the second volume about the circumstances of the Most Holy and Most Splendid Dawn³. But after he had completed the first volume, fate granted him no further respite, for he died in the city of Resht in the year A.H. 1299 [= A.D. 1881—2].

“But Mánakjī would not suffer this history to be finished in the manner which the writer had suggested, but compelled the chronicler to write what he dictated. For Mánakjī’s custom was to bid his secretary write down some matter and afterwards read the rough draft over to him. So first of all the secretary used to read over to him the rough draft which he had made in accordance with his own taste and agreeably to the canons of good style; and then, after Mánakjī had made additions here and excisions there, and had docked and re-arranged the matter, he used to make a fair copy. And since Mánakjī had no great skill or science in the Persian tongue, the style of most of the books and treatises attributed to him is disconnected and broken, good and bad being mingled together. In addition to this defect, ignorant scribes and

¹ Cf. *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 442. According to Baron Rosen’s letter there cited, the portion of the Preface of the *New History* composed by Mírzá Abú’l-Faḡl extends from the beginning to l. 3 of p. 3 *infra*.

² See pp. 318—319 *infra*.

³ By this expression (طلوع اقدس ابهى) the Manifestation of Behá’u’lláh is meant.

illiterate writers have, in accordance with their own fancies, so altered the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd*¹ that at the present day every copy of it appears like a defaced portrait or a restored temple, to such a degree that one cannot obtain a correct copy of it, unless it were the author's own transcript; otherwise no copy can be relied upon.

"As for Hájí Mírzá Jání of Káshán, he was one of the most highly respected merchants of that town, and believed in the blessed mission of the First Point [i.e. the Báb] at the very beginning of the Theophany. He was brother to *Jenáb-i-Zabíh* (who is mentioned in the *Lawh-i-Ra'ís*², and was honoured with the title of *Anís*). He it was who, when the First Point (exalted be his Supreme Name!) was being conveyed, by command of Muḥammad Sháh, from Isfahán to Teherán, entertained His Holiness for three nights in his house at Káshán³. Some while afterwards he came from Káshán to Teherán, and abode in Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Aẓm⁴, where he wrote his history. He was involved in the catastrophe of the year A.H. 1268 (A.D. 1852, Aug.—Sept.), and in prison shared the same cell with His Holiness Behá'u'lláh, and was bound by the same iron chain. Some days later he was put to death, an innocent victim, in this massacre⁵, and attained to the rank of martyrdom.

¹ The multitude of variants and divergences in the two MSS. of which I made use in preparing this translation fully bears out this statement.

² See index, s.v. *Zabíh*; and the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 311, where my conjecture as to the identity of *Zabíh* seems to have been erroneous.

³ See pp. 213—214, and 349 *infra*.

⁴ The celebrated shrine and city of refuge, distant about 5 or 6 miles from Teherán to the south.

⁵ On September 15th, A.D. 1852. See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 332.

But of his history I, the writer, cannot now procure a copy; for from Samarkand to Teherán is very far, and fortune frowns on the People of Behá, and is beyond measure jealous of them.

"God Almighty best knoweth the truth of all matters.

"Written on the twenty-first day of the month of *Rabí'u'th-thání* A.H. 1310, corresponding to the thirty-first of *Tashrín-i-avval* [October]¹ A.D. 1892, by the pen of the author of this treatise, Abú'l-Faḡl Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Rizá of Gulpáyagán."

This full and detailed account of the authorship and composition of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, for which both Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl and M. Toumansky are entitled to our warmest gratitude, the one for writing and the other for publishing it, renders it unnecessary for me to say much more on this head. We cannot but regret that one capable of writing so clear, succinct, and pertinent a statement had not a larger share in the compilation of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, which would undoubtedly have gained much more from the co-operation of Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl than it has from that of Mánakjī. One point, however, I must again briefly allude to: I mean the share in the work here ascribed to Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá. In my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábi MSS.* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 443—4 and 683—5) I expressed a doubt as to the correctness of this portion of Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl's statement, my grounds for this doubt being the ascription to Seyyid Jawád of the *Hasht Bihišt*, a controversial work of strongly-marked Ezelf proclivities, and assurances given to me by Šubḥ-i-Ezel to the effect that Seyyid Jawád was one of his staunchest

¹ This date is given according to the old style prevalent in Russia. The corresponding date according to our style is November 12th.

adherents'. What I wrote on this matter was shown by M. Toumansky to Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl, who, in letters published in the article in the *Zapiski* already cited, categorically and absolutely denies that Seyyid Jawád was an Ezeli, or was other than a most devoted and loyal adherent of Behá. I have not space to quote either the interesting biographical details about this illustrious man, nor the epistle addressed to him by Behá'u'lláh, nor the denial of his sympathy with the Ezelis made by Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl to M. Toumansky, and published by the latter in vol. viii of the *Zapiski* (pp. 41, and 43—5), to which I refer such as desire fuller information. The sum of the matter is this: Seyyid Jawád was a man equally remarkable for his illustrious descent, his learning, and his piety; he was brought up in the Sheykhí doctrines, followed the lectures of Seyyid Káḡim, and was one of the earliest believers in the Báb, whom he knew personally. His nature was so gentle and temperate that, according to Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl, "he would speak ill of no one, mentioning all religious opinions, whether of Hindoos, Jews, Christians, Musulmáns, Ezelis, or Behá'ís, with respect." Both the Ezelis and the Behá'ís claim him; and, as I think, we have not yet sufficient evidence to enable us to decide between them, for against the clear and explicit testimony of Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl is the equally clear and equally explicit testimony of Šubḡ-i-Ezel and his partisan Sheykh A——.

I now pass to my own connection with the *Túrikh-i-Jadíd*. I was first made aware of its existence by Mr Sidney Churchill (to whose unrivalled knowledge of Persian bibliography I seize this occasion of once more bearing testimony) on December 14th, 1887. He told me that he had obtained a manuscript of this history of the Bábis for the British

¹ *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 342, n. 2.

Museum Library, and advised me, if I was interested in this subject, to work at it on my return to England. He did not inform me of the author's name, but said that he was a member of the sect. I made a note of his communication in my diary, and, for the time being, did nothing more.

I next heard of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd* at Shīrāz on March 30th, 1888, from some of my Bábí friends. They described it as a history of the events of the 'Manifestation' from the beginning, and the author as a Persian who had travelled much, and who, having begun to write the book as an impartial observer, had been convinced by the results of his enquiries, if not by his own eloquence, during the progress of his labours. One of my informants, a Bábí missionary, admitted that he knew the name of the author, but said that he did not feel justified in divulging it to me. At the same time a promise was given that a copy of the book should be lent to me. This promise was fulfilled two days later; and during my stay at Shīrāz I read a considerable portion of it. When I left Shīrāz hurriedly for Yezd, expecting to return thither before leaving Persia, I was permitted to take the manuscript with me, and finally it was bestowed upon me as a gift. It is now in my possession, and is described in full in my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí MSS.* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 440—444) under the press-mark BBP. 5. In this volume I designate it simply as *C.* (Cambridge Codex).

On my return to England in the autumn of 1888, I again read this manuscript through, this time more carefully, making marginal references and annotations; and I made considerable use of it in the compilation of the two articles on the Bábís which I published in the July and October numbers of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889. This reading I concluded on December 8th, 1888.

When the conclusion of the two articles above referred to left me free to take up fresh work, I resolved to prepare a text and translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd*. I did not at first make any use of the British Museum Codex (Or. 2942), as I could not at that time go to London to consult it. I therefore transcribed my manuscript in a fair legible hand, such as could be easily read by an European compositor, marking the passages which seemed corrupt, or writing them in pencil with a query in the margin, and sometimes a conjectural emendation. At the same time I made the rough draft of a literal English translation, which, however, I discontinued when I had transcribed about half the book. The transcript I finished on February 8th, 1890.

During the following Easter Vacation (March 4th—May 3rd) I visited the two rival Bábí chiefs, Şubḥ-i-Ezēl at Famagusta in Cyprus, and Behá'u'lláh at Acre in Syria. From the latter place I brought back the manuscript of 'Abbás Efendi's *Traveller's Narrative* (referred to at pp. xiv and xxxi—ii *supra*), which, in accordance with the pleasure of the Syndics of the University Press, I published in *fac-simile* with an English translation and notes. Till the appearance of these volumes in February 1892, I had little leisure to give to the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd*, but nevertheless in the Easter vacation of 1891 I spent about three weeks in London, and, by dint of hard work, finished collating my transcript of the text with the British Museum Codex (Or. 2942), hereinafter designated as *L.* (London Codex), on April 11th of that year. This collation was more laborious than I had anticipated, for the variants between the two manuscripts were numerous and important, and several long episodes contained in *L.* but omitted in *C.* had to be transcribed. Finally, however, the work was accomplished, and a satisfactory text established.

My original intention was, as I have said, to publish both text and translation of a work which I regarded as of capital importance for the proper understanding of the Bábí religion. It was clear, however, that the partial translation which I had made would have to be entirely rewritten in the fuller light of the collated and corrected text. The work of translating the *Traveller's Narrative* had somewhat modified my views as to the manner in which Eastern books should be done into English. I had made that translation as literal as possible, and, owing to the concise and clear style of the original, this was not so difficult as in the case of the diffuse, wordy and discursive *New History*, which abounded in re-iterations, digressions, and irrelevant diatribes. Yet even the translation which I had made of the *Traveller's Narrative* did not wholly satisfy me, for I felt that, notwithstanding all my pains, it was at best laborious and wearisome reading in English. How, then, would it be with the *New History*?

Before finally deciding on the course which I should adopt, I again applied to the Syndics of the University Press with a view to ascertaining whether they were disposed to accept the text and translation of the book, or either of them, for publication. I ventured to urge the publication of the translation, but did not feel justified in insisting very strongly on the importance of printing the text as well; for to print so extensive a text in the Arabic character would, I knew, be a very costly undertaking, and, seeing that of such texts the total number which can be published in Europe is necessarily limited, it is incumbent on the scholar to consider what text is most indispensable, lest haply he fail to use to the best advantage the facilities placed at his disposal. In reply to my application, the Syndics generously consented

to bear the expenses of publishing the translation, but expressed a disinclination to undertake the text as well. This decision, although it did not surprise me, caused me at the time some little disappointment; for it is not in human nature, when one has laboured long and diligently at the reconstruction of a text, to learn without a shadow of regret that it will never be anything more than a manuscript. Yet I deem it now a most fortunate circumstance that the Syndics arrived at this decision, for the discovery of Hájí Mirjá Ján's history in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* puts an entirely new complexion on the matter, and it is evident that it has a far stronger claim to publication than the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*.

The determination arrived at by the Syndics decided me on two points. I had learned from Baron Rosen that an incomplete manuscript of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* had been obtained at 'Ishkábád and forwarded to St Petersburg by Lieutenant Toumansky in the summer or autumn of 1890¹. Had it been decided to publish the text, I should have had to make a further collation of this manuscript with my restored text. As the translation only was to be published, this seemed to me no longer absolutely necessary, my text being sufficiently good for this purpose. I was, moreover, enabled to form a clearer conception of the lines on which my new translation must be made. Of the plan which I elaborated and have carried out in the following pages I shall now proceed to speak.

The facts with which I had to reckon were these: a work wherein historical matter of great interest and importance was mingled with prolix digressions of little value; a text based on two manuscripts each of which contained

¹ See *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales de St Pétersbourg*, vol. vi, p. 244; and the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 318—319.

several important and lengthy passages omitted in the other; and a style generally concise and clear in the narrative portions of the book, but florid, redundant, and diffuse in the digressions. The object which I had in view was to produce a readable rendering of this work in English, which, while embodying everything in the least degree calculated to throw light on the history and development of the Bábí religion, should omit most of the irrelevant matter mixed up with it in the original, preserving only such specimens of the digressions, diatribes, and somewhat trite reflections of the author as might suffice to give a correct idea of his style.

Now in the case of a classical or ancient text, which has an interest mainly literary, our endeavour must evidently be to find out, so far as possible, what the author wrote, and to eliminate and discard all interpolations made by later hands. No one, for instance, who proposed to edit the *Masnaví* would wish to retain in the text the many spurious lines which have been added by ingenious copyists in the course of ages; therefore, having satisfied himself that a given passage reposed on no good manuscript authority, he would without compunction excise it. But this does not apply to a book like the *Táríkh-i-Jadíd*, which was written only thirteen or fourteen years ago, which is essentially a compilation made by two or three persons acting in concert, and which, moreover, is interesting less from a literary than from a historical point of view. In this case the interpolations may be just as valuable as the original text, for no one but a Bábí would copy the book, and such an one might well add from his own knowledge new and important facts of which the authors were not cognizant. Indeed, as a matter of fact, some of the most interesting portions of the *Táríkh-i-Jadíd* are evidently interpolations of this sort, several of them

being actually introduced by the words "thus says the reviser of this history," or "thus says the transcriber'." It was evidently most important to preserve all these narratives, to indicate at the same time the Codex in which they occurred, and, in the case of episodes differently narrated in the two Codices, to give the two versions for comparison one beside the other.

The way in which I have done this is as follows. Passages occurring only in L. (the London Codex) are enclosed in single square brackets [. . .], and passages occurring only in C. (the Cambridge Codex, *i.e.* my own MS.) in double brackets [. . .]. When such passage is a simple insertion, and has nothing corresponding with it in the other manuscript, no further mark is added. When, however, there is a parallel passage in the other manuscript (whether this consist of a few words only, or of a different narrative of almost equal length), the two versions are placed one above the other (the longer, as a rule, in the body of the page, the shorter at the foot), and the same typographical mark (an asterisk, a dagger, or the like) is placed outside the enclosing brackets of both, so that their correspondence may be at once apparent. In this way both versions are preserved, and the translation of either

¹ As instances I will only cite Kúchak 'Alí Beg's narrative of the entry of the Níríz captives into Shírás (pp. 124—8 *infra*), which is much fuller in L. than in C.; the different accounts of the second Níríz insurrection in the two MSS. (pp. 128—131); the extensive particulars of the Zanján siege given in L. on the authority of Haydar Beg, the son of Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí's lieutenant Dín Muḥammad (pp. 136—161, and 163—8); Zab'ih's narrative of Mír 'Abdu'l-Báki's meeting with the Báb at Káshán (pp. 214—216) in L.; the text of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí's letter to his brother (pp. 301—3) in C.; and Suleymán Khán's account of the Báb's execution in L. (pp. 309—311).

text can be easily restored. Suppose, for example, one of my readers sees reason to think that the L. text is the more correct one, and wishes to deal with this only, he will delete everything enclosed in double brackets, and transfer the parallel passages in single brackets from the foot of the page into the body of the text; and *vice versa*. In some cases passages occurring in one manuscript only (but generally passages of small extent) have been relegated to the foot of the page because they appeared to me to be either redundant, or incorrect. In this case their position in the text is indicated by the insertion at the point where they occur of the same typographical sign (asterisk, dagger, or the like) which is prefixed and appended to the brackets enclosing them.

Of the two manuscripts on which my text is based, the London Codex (L.) is described at pp. 192—7 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, and my own manuscript (C.) at pp. 440—4 of the *J.R.A.S.* for 1892, so that I need say no more about them in this place, save that the former, transcribed in Rajab A.H. 1298 (June, 1881), was written, as appears from Mīrzā Abū'l-Faḡl's statement, during the author's lifetime (for he died in A.H. 1299), and may even have been made under his supervision. In any case it is the better manuscript of the two. My inability to publish the text has made me feel a greater responsibility about the translation, since my readers will not be able to check the accuracy of my renderings by reference to the original; and I can conscientiously say that I have taken more pains with this book than with the *Traveller's Narrative*, though I have not followed the idiom of the Persian quite so closely, especially in the non-historical portions, where I felt that a greater latitude in treatment was admissible.

It now only remains for me to speak of the supple-

mentary matter with which I have striven to enrich this volume, and to tender my thanks to those to whom I am most indebted for help. This supplementary matter consists of three illustrations; four fac-similes of letters; and three Appendices', numbered II, III, and IV.

Of the illustrations, one, a portrait of Şubh-i-Ezel, forms the frontispiece. For this I am indebted to my friend Captain Arthur Young, lately Commissioner at Famagusta in Cyprus, to whose kind help I owe so much. The photograph, which, as I can testify, is an extremely faithful likeness, was taken, so far as I remember, about the end of 1889 or the beginning of 1890, and the negative, which was necessary for the preparation of the copper-plate, was sent to me last year. The plans of Sheykh Tabarâ and the sketch of the Zanjân gate were drawn by my sister, Miss Helen Browne, from rough sketches made by myself on the spot in 1887—8.

For the autograph letters of the Báb, Seyyid Huseyn, Mullâ Sheykh 'Alî *Jenâb-i-'Azîm*, and Kurratu'l-'Ayn I am indebted to the kindness of Şubh-i-Ezel. Fac-similes of these, with their translations and reproductions in the printed character, form Appendix III, to which the reader is referred for further information. All these illustrations and fac-similes have been executed by the Cambridge Engraving Company under the supervision of my friend Mr A. G. Dew-Smith of Trinity College, to whom I here offer my warmest thanks for the pains which he has taken to make them as perfect as possible.

For the facilities afforded me for working at the Paris manuscript of Hâjî Mîrzâ Jân's history, an account of which forms Appendix II of this volume, I owe a great

¹ Appendix I is not included, because it merely contains an abstract of certain portions of the *Târîkh-i-Jadîd* which did not seem to me worth translating in full.

debt of gratitude to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale, especially to M. Delisle and M. Zotenberg, as well as to my friends M. Barbier de Meynard and M. Michel Bréal. For the transcript of the text on which I have chiefly had to rely, my thanks are due to Aḥmed Beg Agaëff, who, at considerable personal inconvenience, exerted himself to the utmost to complete it in the shortest possible space of time.

The "*Succinct Account of the Bábí Movement*," of which the English translation forms Appendix IV of this volume, and of which the Persian text stands at the end of the book after the Index, was written for me by Šubḥ-i-Ezel in November—December 1889 in reply to sundry questions which I had addressed to him a little while previously. On the importance of such an account coming from such a source it is unnecessary to dwell: it is almost as though we had a narrative of the first beginnings of Islām told by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb. That so valuable a document deserved publication will, I should think, be questioned by no one.

Last of all my warmest thanks are due to the Syndics of the University Press for their liberality in bearing the cost of publication of a work little likely, I fear, to prove remunerative; to my friend Mr R. A. Neil of this College for undertaking, notwithstanding the many claims on his time, the labour of reading through the proof-sheets; and to Baron Rosen and Lieutenant Toumanasky for keeping me continually informed of their latest discoveries, and for supplying me with proofs of papers not yet published. That my book may not be found unworthy of the generous help received from so many different quarters is my earnest hope.

PREFACE.

THAT in matters of faith and religion a slavish subservience to authority and custom is improper and unseemly; that problems of such vital importance cannot be solved by passion, prejudice, and idle guesses; and that we cannot soar into a region so vast on the wings of baseless conjecture or blind conformity, are statements which all wise and impartial judges will readily admit. For it was through naught else than such blind imitation of their ancestors and unreasoning submission to the authority of their priests that former peoples rejected the prophets sent unto them, seeking to justify their unbelief by such words as, "Verily we found our fathers practising a religion, and we follow their footsteps¹." Neither is this enquiry one on which we should enter heedlessly or unreflectingly, inasmuch as even those best qualified to undertake it do humbly entreat Him who is the Guide of Wanderers to keep them from erring or stumbling, while the very prophets and apostles exclaim in their sense of utter helplessness, "Place me not with the wicked people!"² One cannot, therefore, in a quest so perilous, follow the footsteps of such as pretend to take philosophy as a guide of life while they are themselves still entangled in the bonds of passion; nor of those who acquire learning only with a

¹ Qur'án, xliii, 22.

N. H.

² Qur'án, vii, 149.

view to obtaining power, and who make their austere and ascetic life a snare wherewith to delude the ignorant. [For the Prophet hath said, "All men shall perish save the wise, and all the wise shall perish save such as make use of their wisdom, and all such as make use of their wisdom shall perish save those who are sincere, and even the sincere are in dire peril." This is also implied in the saying, "The true believer is rarer than the philosopher's stone, and harder to find than pure gold"; while the same fact is eloquently set forth by Christ where he says that men of every kind shall assemble at the wedding-feast, but that the chosen are few.]

But inasmuch as the Merciful God hath made every soul a mirror capable of illumination by the Sun of Wisdom, in such wise that whosoever will may thereby apprehend divine verities, and so become endowed with true humanity and unselfishness, it behoves every one to renounce all self-seeking and egotism, to avert his gaze from passion and desire, and earnestly to endeavour to follow the path of God, looking to Him and trusting in Him. So with stedfast feet shall he pursue the path of righteousness, and enter with all sincerity and singleness of heart into the highway of enquiry, until he at length win to a state where God shall be gracious unto him and shall guide him unto the recipient of divine revelation and the saint of that age. Thus may the seeker realize the promise of the blessed word, "Those who strive for us we will assuredly direct into our ways¹."

Now whosoever hath been brought to this state and led to apprehend this truth is bound by the gratitude which so signal a blessing should inspire, as well as by the dictates of common humanity, to communicate the results of his

¹ Qur'án, xxix, 69.

enquiry to his fellow-men, that they also may be delivered from doubt and uncertainty. For this reason did the writer of this book deem it incumbent on himself to set forth in these pages in a concise and narrative form such information as he acquired during his travels in Persia concerning the different sects of the Musulmáns, hoping that thereby certain current misapprehensions may be dissipated, and that sundry baseless calumnies and false accusations which lead men to deem their fellow creatures infidels meet only to be slain and despoiled, whose very touch is a contamination, may be disproved. In this way the enmity and discord which are the ruin of this people may perchance be abated, so that they may meet and discuss amicably with a view to the removal of their differences, and may no longer continue to regard each other as infidels and unbelievers without having clearly apprehended that wherein they are at variance.

To be brief, after travelling for some time in all parts of Europe and India and observing the races and religions of those regions, I chanced to visit Persia. Although I had not meditated a long sojourn in that country, nevertheless events so shaped themselves that I remained there for a considerable period, mixing in familiar conversation with all sorts of people, and making friends and acquaintances amongst every class. Some of these invited me to exchange the Christian faith for the religion of Muḥammad; others regarded me as one of themselves; others again received me not. Yet such was the divergence of opinions and such the multiplicity of sects which I beheld in this religion—Sheykhís, Mutasharri's, Šúfís, Sunnís, mystics, metaphysicians, dervishes, Nuṣeyrís, devotees, and Bábis—that, though my inclination prompted me to advance, my reason bade me stand still. For if the Kúr'án be one and contain the commands of God, whence come all these

differences of opinion and contradictory judgements? Seek as I might, I could discover no agreement between the treatises of two *mullás*, or the decisions of two *mujtahids*. What I heard was ever, "My humble opinion is this," or "the view held by So-and-so is this," the command of God being altogether disregarded amongst them.

Alas that they have by their disagreements and differences so marred this holy Law that little is left of it save the name and appearance, and that nothing wise or intelligible is any longer heard, but only vain discussions touching legal uncleanness and purification! It is as though God, in His infinite bounty, should cause to fall the rain of mercy, purposing thereby to satisfy all mankind with sweet streams of wisdom, and to deliver them from the thirst of ignorance and inadvertence; that thereupon a host of foul reptiles should gather round the spot where it had collected pure and sweet, batten, breeding, and each after his own fashion asserting his supremacy and claiming undisputed possession; that in the course of ages these should so befoul and pollute that pure sweet water that it waxeth loathsome and abominable; that notwithstanding this they should still continue with those melodious voices wherewith they are endowed to invite all men from far and near to enter in and drink, crying out "This is the pure Water of Life and the Fount of Immortality"; that pilgrims athirst in the desert of enquiry should approach with eager hope; but that on their arrival they should behold the contrary of what they had expected, and should turn away in bitter disappointment, saying,

"If indeed the faith of Islám be what in the world appears,
Well may sceptics mock the faith of Islám with a thousand
sneers!"

And yet, by striving to exercise a little candour and to banish dissension, they might still hope to purify and

reform this holy religion. But if they desire to please God and His prophets, regenerate their faith, restore to their creed its pristine lustre, and render their country and state once more free, prosperous, and powerful, they must in the first place abandon certain habits which are at present rooted and engrained in their very nature. To these habits they have grown so accustomed that not only have they become almost a second nature, but the hatefulness thereof is not even suspected by them. Their condition is like that of a certain priest who said to a friend, "If you notice in me any objectionable habit of which I myself may not be aware, pray inform me of it, that I may strive to relinquish it." "I perceive no fault in you," answered his friend, "save a habit of using abusive language." "Abusive language!" cried the other, "What rascally knave calls me abusive? What shameless ruffian have I abused that he should dare to prefer such a charge against me?"

Now the principal vice of the Persians (and it is the worst of faults, and, indeed, the source of all) is falsehood, which has gained such universal ascendancy and become so customary and so familiar that truthfulness and integrity are entirely abandoned and ignored. And it is this vice which has brought about the decay of religion and law and the enfeeblement of Church and State. For falsehoods uttered by ministers of state in diplomatic transactions, by destroying the dignity of the Crown and the reputation of the government, bring about the ruin of the empire; falsehoods proceeding from ministers of religion dishonour the Sacred Law and overthrow the edifice of faith; while falsehoods uttered by the common folk prevent progress and tend to bring about the decline and fall of the nation. For this reason political and religious liberty and national wealth and prosperity are in all other countries and amongst all other races and creeds, whether in Europe or India,

daily on the increase ; while with this unfortunate people, by reason of this same perverse untruthfulness and lack of integrity, they are continually on the decline, though the prevalent corruption, disorder, and mental preoccupation do not suffer the cause of this to be discerned.

The people of Italy were till within recent years similarly afflicted. Eventually a number of their men of learning assembled together to investigate the cause of this. "Since we dwell in the fairest portion of Europe," said they, "and are skilled in all arts, trades, manufactures, and sciences, what can be the reason that we are continually deteriorating while our neighbours are perpetually making progress in every direction?" After due thought and deliberation they discovered that this was wholly traceable to the influence of the Pope, who in their country represented the supreme spiritual authority, declaring himself to be the vicar of Christ. He, like the divines of Persia, withheld men from acquiring useful arts and accomplishments or amassing wealth by senseless injunctions, in proof of which he would adduce sayings of great and holy men whereof he had wholly failed to apprehend the true purport, such as, "The world is carrion and such as desire it are dogs" ; "Love of the world is the source of all error" ; "Provision is appointed and the covetous are disappointed." These aphorisms, and others like unto them, had been so dinned into men's ears that they had ceased to care for art, commerce, agriculture, or wealth, and had been brought to regard this ancient and enduring world as a thing impermanent and unstable as a spider's web, saying, for example,—

"Naught in the world shall endure ;
Naught shall abide 'neath the sun ;
Earth is a mansion as frail
As the web which the spider hath spun."

Yet in this "spider's web" the wise men of Europe, by means of the astronomical instruments and tables which they possess, behold one of those celestial orbs whereof some are so remote that the light proceeding from them must travel for thirty thousand years ere it reach this globe, notwithstanding that light travels two hundred thousand miles a second! We speak here of orbs which the wise men of those parts have actually beheld with the eye of sense, for as to those far more distant orbs which cannot be seen without special appliances, but which still exercise attraction on other celestial bodies, they extend unto wheresoever God pleaseth, and He alone knoweth their number, the distances which intervene between them, the fashion of their formation, and the kind of creatures which inhabit them. Compared to these this globe is like a ball encircled by the bat of Divine Might, and so moved and rolled by the sun's attraction.

To be brief, however, when the wise men of Europe and the people of Italy had proved the extent of His Holiness the Pope's hypocrisy, guile, and deceit, they exerted all their energies, and, notwithstanding all his power and the subjection in which he had hitherto held all the sovereigns of Europe, so effectually deposed him and his children and grandchildren that naught remained of him but the name and appearance, nor did anyone thenceforth pay the slightest heed to a single word which he wrote. After this they employed themselves in spreading the triumphs of Art, Commerce, and Political Reform, until in a little while they became objects of emulation to all their fellows and contemporaries.

Now, although the Persians have witnessed and comprehended the consequences of falsehood, they still refuse to relinquish this evil habit—

"I know not how such as in evil delight
See nothing but evil in virtue and right."

Yet in their books of tradition it is stated on good authority that certain persons demanded of the Imám Ja'far-i-Šádik, "Will your followers commit crimes and do unlawful actions?" He answered, "Yes." "Will they be guilty of fornication and sins against nature?" they asked. "It is possible," he replied. "Will they drink wine and do murder?" they inquired. "It is likely enough," said he. "Will they utter falsehoods?" they asked. "That," said he, "is impossible!"

Notwithstanding this, the Persians still claim to be Shi'ites, and, although God has called liars accursed in all the sacred books, refuse to abandon their mendacious habits. Nor do they confine themselves to minor falsehoods affecting only the things of this world, for in matters relating to religion also they have shewn themselves to be ready liars and shameless forgers, as will be duly set forth in its proper place.

Now the principal evil of falsehood is, that when it has entered into a man's nature and there established itself, it generates a host of other evils. Amongst these is hypocrisy, which is a kind of unbelief. Hypocrites have ever been the chief cause of the downfall of religion, even as the Seal of the Prophets, Muḥammad, hath said, "I fear for this faith neither unbeliever nor believer, but I fear the hypocrite who makes a show of faith and harbours unbelief in his heart." Now the original meaning of the word *kuf*r (unbelief) is *the concealing of truth or right in any way whatsoever*, though it be but to the extent of a mustard-seed or mote, without its being restricted to the truth or right of God or man. Indeed it is evident that none can conceal God, who is more evident and manifest than the visible sun. So a *káfir* (unbeliever) is one who refuses to recognize the rights of God or of his fellow-men; and this unbelief, as I imagine, exists to some extent in every one. And so

likewise the devout Musulmán is he who recognizes God and all such as have just claims on him, and who discharges the duties which he owes to others in a right manner, injuring none either in word or deed. But as for such as devour the wealth of great and small alike, dishonour their fellow-men, lay violent hands on the property of this one or that one, give unjust decisions, and denounce as infidels and doom to death God's servants, I know not how they can hope or believe that they are devout Musulmán! Could some men but regard themselves impartially and discern their own inward unbelief, they would never again ascribe infidelity to another!

As it has now been shewn that disregard and neglect of the rights of our fellow-men is a kind of unbelief, it is evident also that hypocrisy is a species of latent infidelity, and Muḥammad hath said, "Infidelity is more difficult of detection amongst my people than a black ant crawling in the dark night over hard rock." Now hypocrites are those whose hearts and tongues are not in accord, whose words and deeds are inconsistent, who are inwardly reprobate and outwardly devout, and who, clothing themselves in the garb of a spurious asceticism and simulated piety, seek to deceive God and man by their guile and cunning—

"Without fair-seeming as the pagan's shrine;
Within o'ershadowed by the wrath divine;
The life of Báyasid¹ their lips defame;
Their hearts Yasid² himself might blush to claim."

Now should anyone, while admitting that it is possible by guile and falsehood to deceive men, demand how it is possible to deceive God, we reply that, albeit this is im-

¹ Báyasid of Bisṭám, a celebrated Šúfí saint who flourished in the third century of the *hijra*.

² Yasid b. Mu'áviya, the second Omayyad caliph and murderer of the Imám Husayn. He reigned from A.H. 60 to 64.

possible, these foolish men do nevertheless attempt to cheat Him who is "the Best Deviser of Stratagems", and to explain away the ordinances and commandments of Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets. Have you not yourself seen and heard of how many estates and fortunes persons ostensibly devout obtain possession, persuading themselves by their casuistry that these are their lawful right and just due? Judge by this of the thousand other species of traffickings, barterings, and pleadings whereby, in diverse fashions, they compel rightful claimants to effect settlements and partial compromises. With such phrases as "I compromise," "I agree," which have now become universal technicalities, do they defraud God and man, trampling under foot the rights of their fellows, and shutting their eyes to equity and justice. This is the real meaning of infidelity, and these are the true infidels. Consider fairly: if a woman be entitled to receive a thousand *túmáns* dowry from her husband, or a sister the like sum as a legacy from her brother, and if, after the conclusion of the legal formalities and proceedings, she be unable to enforce her just claims and be compelled to effect a compromise at one hundred *túmáns*, have those other nine hundred *túmáns* become the lawful due of those who constitute themselves her creditors, and are their consciences clear? Though the doctors of law and divinity have now given their sanction and authority to such decisions, yet are they none the less repugnant to God's good pleasure, and inconsistent with true piety and virtue.

So, in like manner, if a hundred *túmáns* of tithe¹ be

¹ So is God termed in two passages in the *Kur'án*: iii, 47; and viii, 30.

² In the original *khums*, which signifies a proportion of one fifth of wealth acquired in war, commerce, or the like, to which

due from one of these pious believers, they will place that sum in a vessel containing oil, honey, or curdled milk, and offer it instead of the tithe to some poor Seyyid. Then for a small sum they buy back the vessel with the hundred *túmáns* concealed therein from the Seyyid, who, poor fellow, is quite unconscious of the way in which he has been defrauded. Or sometimes they will give one *túmán* to a poor Seyyid on condition that he accept it as a hundred *túmáns*. By such quibbles do they mock God, and account themselves free of blame in their usurpation of men's wealth. By the mere utterance of the phrase "I compromise," they divest themselves of all anxiety as to the questioning of the Day of Reckoning, although they profess to believe in the holy precept "Contracts follow intentions," which, indeed, they are unable to deny. Yet, fraudulent and sophistical hypocrites that they are, they consider the wealth which they have amassed by their legal quibbles and artifices just as lawfully obtained as did the thief the shroud for his mother.

For they relate that the mother of a certain thief when at the point of death besought him to obtain for her a lawful shroud. He assented, and sallying forth from his house at midnight lay in wait at the end of a road. By chance he presently fell in with a poor solitary traveller who had lagged behind the caravan, and at once took from him by force his ass and his saddle-bags. Amongst the various articles contained in the latter he discovered several yards of linen, whereat he rejoiced and gave thanks, saying, "Praise be to God who hath not suffered me to return disappointed and ashamed to my mother!" Then he fell to beating the owner of the linen with all his might, crying, "Make this linen lawful to me with thy the descendants of the Prophet are entitled. See Querry's *Droit Musulman*, vol. i, p. 175 *et seq.*

whole heart!" On his return he described to his mother all that had taken place, saying, "I gave the owner of the linen such a drubbing that he cried out with all his might, 'I make it lawful to thee,' repeating more than a thousand times with tears and groans, 'May it be lawful to thee!'"

Now this hypocrisy, with the envy, frowardness, guile, and jealousy which are, as it were, the fourfold elements of which it is compounded, has become so engrained in this people as to be almost a second nature. Their miserable and degraded condition is entirely due to this cause, for no two individuals can unite or combine in any enterprise without quarrelling; and, should they enter into partnership for six months, for six years they will be wholly occupied with litigation. In short they so vex, oppress, and harass one another in every possible way that the very name of charity and courtesy would seem to be forgotten.

Another offspring of this hypocrisy is injustice, which drinks milk from the breast of the false mother and draws instruction from the lying father, until, when it is well matured and has learned to walk alone, it goes abroad to destroy the welfare of every land where it plants its footsteps. Such is the injustice which holds absolute sway over this country, and to which the people (through ancient habit and long subserviency, and because, as the proverb says, "Men follow the faith of their kings") have become as much attached as is the nightingale to the rose or the moth to the candle. Though their wings are scorched by this fire, they still whirl recklessly around it, as though eager for immolation. To adopt another simile, this injustice is like a chronic wasting disease which is continually sapping and undermining the health of this people, who are notwithstanding so heedless of their condition that they fancy themselves better every day, and refuse to follow the advice of those wise physicians who bid them avoid that

lying and hypocrisy which generate it. Such spiritual physicians were the prophets and saints sent for their guidance and healing, to whom, out of mere cruelty and lust of oppression, they did such things as the pen is ashamed to record.

Now just as these vile qualities of which we have spoken are the cause of temporal and eternal loss and ignominy, so do kindliness, charity, and concord conduce to the welfare and progress of states and nations, and secure peace and happiness for great and small. It is impossible to do justice here to the beneficial results of these qualities, and we will only remark that true affection and charity is not that a man should love his wife, children, and kindred, or his fellow-citizens and compatriots only. He is indeed worthy of the name of man who loves all his fellow-creatures, withholds his charity from no human being, refrains from injuring by word or deed aught that has life, and neither scorns nor regards as unclean anything which breathes, however lowly, remembering that it too stands in some relation to the Lord of the Universe, and would not exist but for some beneficent purpose. And so the wise and humane man will not regard as accursed aught which exists, nor spurn it, nor speak evil of it, even as the Lord Jesus was once walking with some of his disciples when they came suddenly upon a dead and putrid dog, at the stench of whose corruption the disciples expressed their disgust. But he rebuked them, saying, "Why take ye heed but of the corruption of its body, and regard not its white teeth nor ponder on its defence of its master's rights and contentment with its lot? Regard but what is good, if ye be of the spirit."

How far from this are some, who, instead of striving to see naught but good in all around them, occupying themselves with the amendment of their own characters, and

endeavouring to remove their own faults, seek only in their folly to discover blemishes in others! "Such an one," say these, "is unsound in his religious beliefs"; "So-and-so is a reprobate and accursed"; "The touch of Zeyd is a pollution"; "It were a meritorious action to slay 'Amr." Only the most extravagant self-approbation and conceit can lead them to speak thus, and of all vices these are the most detestable. To them is traceable in no small measure the deterioration of the Persians, their refusal to accept new ideas, and their complete indifference to the progress and well-being of their country. And so, in spite of all their self-esteem, they are continually going back while all other nations are advancing. Yet they themselves relate a well-known tradition of how God bade Moses seek out some creature of less account than himself and bring it into the Divine Presence. After searching for a while Moses discovered the putrid carcase of a dog. Thinking that this would serve his purpose, he attached a cord to its leg and began to drag it after him, but ere he had proceeded many steps the thought came upon him, "How dare I prefer myself even to this?" Even as he dropped the cord from his hand he heard a voice rebuking him and saying, "O son of 'Imrán, hadst thou brought that dog one step further thou wouldst have forfeited thy rank of prophet!"

Far removed from this humility of Moses (who, notwithstanding his prophetic rank and the privilege of communing with God which he enjoyed, dared not prefer himself to the putrid carcase of a dog) is the arrogance of those who regard themselves as superior to all the rest of mankind, and do not even hesitate to rank themselves above Moses, quoting in support of their presumption the tradition, "The doctors of my church are more excellent than the prophets of the children of Israel." As to the

rest of God's servants, they hold them in less account than the carcase of a dog !

In strong contrast with these are the people of Europe, who have truly apprehended the meaning of affection and concord, and have reaped from these a wondrous harvest. For, solely by reason of the love which they bear towards their fellow-creatures, the wise men of modern Europe have devoted themselves to the devising of such appliances as may serve to lessen the sufferings of God's creatures or conduce to their prosperity and comfort, whereby also the glory of the State is increased. Thus was the power of steam discovered, whereby thousands of factories of different kinds were set in motion, many precious and wonderful goods produced, and prodigies of workmanship hitherto undreamed of accomplished. The land was delivered from the thralldom of desolation and disorder, the people were freed from sloth and poverty, the nation waxed rich and the state strong. Governments ceased to depend on oppression and injustice as a means of acquiring revenue, and the practice of extorting money by threats and promises fell into disuse. Every effort was made to secure equal justice for all, and every exertion put forth to perfect the mechanism of the administration. The people, thus freed from anxiety, began to seek after education and culture, and to make rapid progress in humanity and virtue ; and, since each had his allotted share in the common work and was indispensable to the common weal, all became united in intent and purpose. Thus they made progress in every direction and became objects of emulation to all around them.

Amongst these numerous inventions was the railroad, which was originally devised with the object of alleviating the sufferings endured by beasts of burden and increasing the comforts of travellers. Consider the benefits which

have resulted from this invention, and observe how, wherever it goes, it furthers the prosperity of the country and the freedom of the people, leaving none within the sphere of its influence poor or unemployed, and furnishing each with work suited to his capacity. How largely has it conduced to national progress, wealth, and consolidation ! How well it shelters its patrons from the depredations of robbers, the keenness of the winter's cold, and the fierce heat of summer !

Not long ago the Prime Minister of Persia, actuated solely by a desire for the welfare of his nation, sought to introduce into his country that which had elsewhere proved so beneficial. In this design, however, he was vigorously opposed by the doctors of religion, who stirred up the people against him by telling them that the increased influx of Europeans which would result from the proposed innovation would infallibly bring about the spread of infidelity and the downfall of religion. They were really actuated by a fear lest in course of time the eyes of the people might be opened and they should refuse any longer to obey them blindly. So they set themselves to discover objections and obstacles to the proposed scheme, to fabricate "authentic" traditions, and to cast imputations of atheism on the Minister. Thus, because of their selfishness and craving for power, they would not suffer this people after a thousand years of abasement and misery to obtain peace and happiness.

A certain Persian of sense and discernment wrote a pamphlet to expose the true motives of these doctors. Unfortunately, however, it was not published or circulated, for "truth is bitter," and its contents would have been so unpalatable to his antagonists that, had they seen it, they would, without stopping to consider the arguments contained in it, at once have declared its author an infidel. It

is not unlikely that they would pronounce the same judgement on the author of the present work ; but he, thank God, is not of this people, and cares naught for the approbation or resentment of any one.

"I neither hearken to the Sheykh, nor hold the parson's creed ;

From every sect and every faith, thank heaven, I am freed¹!"

Now if I have strongly and repeatedly insisted on the defects apparent in the religion of certain persons, the injustice of the government, the ignorance of the people, or the total absence of moderation and fairness in the ministers of church and state, God is my witness that I have no personal spite against any individual or class. My sole object is to arouse their zeal by bringing these matters before their notice, and to shew them the hatefulness of certain of their vices in a true light, so that they may cease to regard them as trivial, and may learn to abhor and avoid them. So also when I instance the practices of European nations in exemplification of such virtues as justice, magnanimity, charity, uprightness, and culture, and dwell on their praises, it is from no mere desire to extol my compatriots², but in the hope that thereby I may arouse the spirit of emulation in this people, incite them to acquire these good qualities, and induce them to desist from injuring and destroying their fellow-countrymen.

To return, however, to the tract of which I spoke. The author maintains that the Persians are endowed with a

¹ This verse and the words immediately preceding it are noticed by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sci.*, vol. vi, p. 244) as affording some evidence that Mánakjí, the late Zoroastrian agent at Teherán, wrote, or caused to be written, this history.

² It must be borne in mind that throughout this work the author maintains the fiction of his European nationality.

high degree of intelligence and aptitude, and are fully capable of improvement, but that unfortunately their rulers, fearing to lose the authority which they enjoy, will not suffer them to open their eyes and ears, or learn to discriminate between good and evil. After establishing this thesis by conclusive arguments, he puts forward the following allegory, observing that, as each of the ministers of state is charged with special duties, the Minister for Foreign Affairs may be likened to the sentinel who keeps guard over the citadel of the empire. And so, when one comes in the early morning and knocks at the gate of this citadel, the Minister for Foreign Affairs demands, "Who art thou, and what dost thou seek?"

"I am Justice and Progress," answers the other, "and I come to establish equity, inaugurate an era of progress, and root out disorder and oppression."

"Thanks be to God," answers the Minister, "that our land already enjoys the fullest measure of justice and progress. We need you not."

The other then proves to the Minister by conclusive evidence that he is Justice and Progress, after which he continues :—

"Long ago I went forth from this country and took up my abode in Europe. For more than a thousand years I have not beheld this land or its people, nor set my footsteps on its soil. Learning, however, that a fraudulent impostor claiming to be myself has formed a league with Discord to lay waste the land, I have now returned, for charity's sake, to effect its regeneration. Open the door!"

Quoth the Minister, bolting the door more securely, "Our country needs not your help. Thanks be to God, we have strong and lofty buildings."

"I bring from Europe," rejoins the other, "all manner of new and wonderful inventions and appliances, that I

may, by their introduction, free the people from misery and poverty, and make them rich, prosperous, and happy, like the people of Europe."

"We want not your gifts," replies the Minister, "for such of these things as we need men bring from Europe, and we buy them. Besides, if our people were to become rich, they would rise in rebellion."

After much discussion and argument, the Minister, unable to raise any further objections, says in a soft and wheedling tone, "Your remarks are perfectly just. Through your influence countries prosper, peoples are made free, and nations become great. But what can I do? With you here I could neither govern nor subsist, but must at once relinquish my power, limit myself to the exercise of my proper authority, and content myself with the fixed salary paid to me by the state. An annual income of two hundred thousand *túmáns* and an annual expenditure of one hundred thousand would be no longer possible, inasmuch as I should be prevented from accepting gifts and bribes, and could no longer arrest, imprison, condemn, and acquit as I please. In spite of my lofty rank I should be compelled to abide by the law, nor should I be permitted even to apply a simple abusive epithet to one of my subordinates without cause. These things being so, I cannot, so long as I live, admit you. But even if I were to withdraw my opposition, there is not one of the administrators of the state who would suffer you to remain here for a single instant. They would all unite in representing you to the Privy Council as an enemy to His Majesty the King, and would forthwith issue orders for your execution. But even leaving this out of account, the doctors of religion, on becoming aware of your arrival, would at once assemble and produce a thousand well-authenticated and accredited traditions against you. That they would kill you is a mere nothing, for they regard

it as obligatory on every Musulmán to drink your blood and eat your flesh, and if one should so much as mention your name they declare him an infidel deserving of death. That they would not suffer you to remain in this country for a single moment is also nothing, for wherever they recognize one of your friends and admirers they slay him without a moment's respite. They regard all Europeans as enemies who may be lawfully plundered and slain solely because of the love which these bear you. The massacres and persecutions of the Bábis—a sect so remarkable for their steadfastness and earnestness of purpose—were also brought about entirely by their devotion to you; else why do the Musulmáns refrain from interfering with the Nuṣeyrís and Ghálís (whom their clergy regard as utter heretics), the Khárijís, the eleven unorthodox sects of Imámities, the Šádíkís and Ná'úsís (who hold that the Imámate ceased with the Imám Ja'far-i-Šádík, and regard him as the promised Mahdí), and the Mukhtáris' (who assert that Muḥammad ibn Hanafiyya was the expected Imám), all of whom are a hundred thousand times worse than the Bábis?"

What the learned author of this tract wished to shew was that these people have neither care nor compassion for their subordinates, being concerned only about the preservation of their own power, and not at all about the protection of those committed to their charge. Had it been otherwise, the people would never have sunk into so degraded a condition nor have become so despicable in the eyes of foreign states, for the cause of this national

¹ Accounts of these sects will be found as follows in Shahrístání's *Kutáb-i-milál* (ed. Cureton):—the Nuṣeyriyya, p. 143; the Ghulát or Gháliya, p. 132; the Khárijíyya, p. 85; the Imámiyya, p. 122; the Šádíkíyya or Ja'fariyya, p. 124; the Ná'úsiyya, p. 126; the Mukhtáriyya, p. 109.

abasement is the prevailing lack of justice and absence of generous feeling. Not that they have not a certain kind of justice of their own, but it is like the piety of the Hindoos and Jews¹, which doth but conduce to their greater error. Nor are they devoid of all social instincts and power of combination, but their concord is the concord of wolves, who appear friendly while face to face, but, so soon as one relaxes his attention in the least degree and suffers sleep to overcome him, they tear him in pieces. So do they combine to plunder, but afterwards quarrel over the spoil.

How much better have the people of Europe apprehended the true ideal of friendship! Some years ago they announced in all their newspapers that in the opinion of experts all the coal-mines in the world would be exhausted in a thousand (or, as others maintained, in less than four hundred) years; that then all the railways and factories in the world which are worked with coal would be brought to a standstill and rendered useless; and that any one who should succeed in devising some substitute for coal would confer a benefit upon his own and all nations, and would receive a pension for himself and his heirs in perpetuity. Such people, who concern themselves about the welfare of those who shall come into the world several hundred years hence, may indeed be said to have grasped the true meaning of affection! This is why they have made, and still continue to make, countless discoveries in the application of electricity, compressed air, and the like.

When I was on my way to Persia I met in Alexandria one of my friends who had resided for some while in that

¹ C. reads "Magians," but it seems unlikely that Mánakjī would have gone out of his way to speak ill of his own people.

country, and he remarked to me, "Persia has great natural resources, but the people are devoid of kindness." This was exactly what I myself afterwards observed. It is this lack of kindness which causes them to hold aloof from their fellow-men, and thereby to cut themselves off from the possibility of happiness and progress. So, in course of time, these misunderstandings and differences which have brought about their ruin arose, and *[[the government was thus enabled]]* to usurp a tyrannous sway. Now until they make the recovery of this concord and harmony the object of their endeavours it is impossible for them to make any progress in civilization. And the conditions under which the attainment of this end is possible are two. The first is that they should follow the example of European nations, and refrain from interfering in any way with the religious opinions of their fellows, regarding all as God's creatures, and acting towards all with kindness and charity. For the people of Europe became civilized when they abandoned all attempts to constrain any man in matters concerning himself alone (of which matters is the choice of a creed and the manner of its observance), and confined themselves to the suppression of actions hurtful to the community, such as lying, breach of contract, and evil-doing. So in matters of conscience they compel no one, nor do they say, "You must accept such-and-such a creed and obey such-and-such a divine." Indeed in Europe people who claim to be civilized never question anyone as to his religion, nor do they consider themselves entitled to make such an enquiry, lest their own taste be questioned by people of culture. As, however, it appears impossible that the ecclesiastical authorities in Persia should suffer

* [those wolves in sheep's clothing who are the heads of church and state were enabled]*

the people to adopt this custom, it is best that they should observe the second condition, and, by means of fair discussion, remove dissent from their religion, so that concord may be established and peace succeed all this dissension and strife.

Now although there are amongst the Muhammadans more than seventy different sects, each of which is further split up into several subdivisions, these, though they may hold aloof from each other, are not at enmity and strife; for ages have elapsed since their differences first appeared. But in the case of the Bábís, who are of recent origin, they make the most strenuous and persistent efforts to harass and hurt them in every way, seizing, imprisoning, and slaying them with unremitting energy, and this notwithstanding that they know nothing of their beliefs, and declare them infidels solely on the misrepresentations of certain ignorant and malicious persons. Wherefore since the writer, during his travels in Persia, became fully cognizant of the history and doctrines of this sect, he felt himself impelled by sympathy and common humanity to compose this book, that perchance by its instrumentality these discords and blind enmities may be removed, and men be led to pursue the paths of amity and concord, whereby they shall become generous, humane, earnest, magnanimous, and noble; cease to appear vile and contemptible in the sight of other nations; and be no longer a by-word throughout the world for lack of virtue, misery, folly, and uncharitableness. As God is my witness, though I be not of this nation¹, whenever I reflect on the former greatness of this people and their present abasement my eyes involuntarily overflow with tears and my heart is filled with sorrow.

¹ Cf. n. 2 at the foot of p. 17, *supra*.

About the time of the appearance of Seyyid 'Alí Muḥammad the Báḅ, when all Persia was convulsed, I arrived by way of Constantinople and Trebizonde at Tabriz. Here I saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears how the Báḅís were everywhere hunted down, and, wherever found, doomed to death, without enquiry or examination, by the ecclesiastical or civil authorities. Some were sawn asunder, some strangled, some shot, or blown from the mouths of cannons. This period of massacre and plunder endured for a long while, and in Yezd, Shíráz, Tabriz, Níríz, Mázarán, and Zanján there was strife, bloodshed, massing of troops, and slaughter of the people. None were spared. Those who bore a grudge against anyone, as well as bands of scoundrels bent on plunder, had now their opportunity, for whomsoever they pointed out to the *furrúshes* as a Báḅí was put to death without more ado.

The object of my travels in Persia was to visit and examine the different towns and describe their geographical features. In every city, village, or hamlet which I entered, I beheld the same strife and turmoil, whereat I marvelled much, saying to myself, "What can these people see in this new faith, and what manner of men has it made them, that they recoil in fear neither from death nor bondage, mutilation nor imprisonment? Rather will they consent to abandon their riches, their wives and children, yea, even life itself, than this belief, though already nigh upon ten thousand of them have drenched the earth with their blood, or gone forth as exiles into foreign lands. How many ancient families have perished! How many notable and esteemed persons, divines, doctors, and other men of learning and virtue, have abandoned wealth and life and made the earth their couch! Yet withal they neither repent, nor dissimulate, nor seek to preserve themselves,

nor shrink from the arrests, imprisonments, and executions which are of daily occurrence."

I enquired of sundry doctors and men of learning amongst the Shi'ites concerning the nature of this people's belief and the sources whence they drew their inspiration. The answer which I received was that they believed the Báb to be the Imám Mahdí; held their wives and possessions in common, regarding both alike as belonging to God alone; accounted lawful the drinking of wine and every kind of immorality, as well as other things prohibited by Islám; and asserted that one woman might, and indeed should, have nine husbands.

Hearing of such follies, I was disposed to regard these people as madmen, until at length I became acquainted with certain learned men belonging to this sect, and heard that every one of those who had been taken and put to death had been a master of eloquence and discernment, an authority on matters of learning, and an object of general esteem and respect, as, for example, were Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, Áká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján, and the rest. My astonishment was increased by finding such persons amongst the Bábís, "for," thought I with myself, "it cannot be that men so wise and so gifted should believe in the absurdities with which they are credited by the ignorant and vulgar, neither would they so freely and joyfully forego their position, wealth, families, and even their very lives unless they had apprehended something of moment."

Now in every age two classes are inwardly antagonistic to the spirit of a new dispensation—statesmen and priests. These, because they love authority and dominion, stand firmest in the ranks of denial, and are conspicuous for the obstinacy with which they reject the new truth. This is more especially so in the case of the clergy, because they

run a greater risk of losing their power; and, indeed, unless the prophet of the age, perceiving in them some latent merit and virtue, should constrain them by his attractive influence, it is scarcely possible for them to enter in.

Inasmuch as I was most eager to apprehend correctly and record in writing the doctrines and principles of every religion and cult, I strove to acquire precise information as to the tenets of this new sect also, in order that I might give some account of them in my journal of travel in Persia. After seeking for some while, I obtained several of their books, including the *Beyân*, the *I'kân*, and sundry epistles, treatises, and forms of prayer. On examining these I perceived them to be written with eloquent fervour, and to contain nought but precepts of virtue and piety, commands to love God and man, and exhortations to seek after wisdom and purity of morals. Brotherly love, equal participation of wealth, chastity, and charity towards all were likewise enjoined. Amongst the precepts contained in their books one which specially won my approval and led me to prosecute my enquiries with renewed zeal was in substance as follows:—

“O servants of God, it behoveth you to be so weaned from all save God, and so endowed with divine qualities, that your works may be a proof to such of God's creatures as are still in darkness, and may rend asunder the veils of doubts, vain imaginings, and promptings of devils which hinder them from this Law of Wisdom revealed by the All-merciful Lord, so that they may become partakers in the pure water of Eternal Life and the everlasting wine of Salsabîl.”

To be brief, after prosecuting my enquiries for some while, and ascertaining somewhat about the matter, I became acquainted with several men of learning belonging

to this sect. One day in the course of confidential conversation I enquired of one of these, "What have you perceived in this new faith that no kind of suffering will induce you to relinquish it? Already not fewer than ten thousand of you have been laid low in blood-stained graves or driven forth into distant countries as exiles from their native land, neither is any abatement yet apparent in the persecutions to which you are subjected. Why have you no compassion for yourselves, your wives, and your children? Who and what was this Báb? Had he been gifted with supernatural powers, he ought assuredly to have saved himself from a miserable death, and not suffered men to crucify and slay him, or the wild beasts to devour his body."

On hearing these words my companion became affected with a sorrow strange to witness, and replied,

"'And darest thou question those whom God hath given
Power to control the treasure-house of heaven!'"

Seeing him so affected, I strove with all my tact to conciliate him, saying, "Men ignorantly utter many foolish words and baseless assertions which in no wise prove the falsity of the religion in question. My enquiry was not intended to imply either denial or affirmation, and I desire but to arrive at the truth of the matter as an unprejudiced historian, who is not concerned with anyone's creed, but wishes only to obtain accurate information as to the circumstances, practices, and doctrines of any sect having a claim to advance, so that he may commit to writing the facts which he has ascertained. This is my sole object, and I therefore pray you to give me a true account of the matter."

Thereupon my friend gave me some account of that illustrious Seyyid, and of the persecutions suffered by his

followers, whereof that which I myself had seen afforded ample corroboration. So my heart began to burn within me as I reflected on the patient fortitude and endurance of these people, the sufferings which they had undergone, and the total absence of justice in Persia. For in other countries many erring sects whose practices are abominable in the eyes of all, such as the different kinds of Hindoos (who are adorers of beasts, idolaters, cow-worshippers, Manicheans, fire-worshippers, and even downright atheists) live peacefully under the protection of just rulers, neither is it permitted to any one to question the religion of another. And although the Bábis are no worse than these, nor than the Nuṣeyrís, Ghálás, Khárijís, Náṣibís', materialists, and sceptics, but are, on the contrary, remarkable for their superior humanity, culture, and intelligence, yet, because of the total absence of justice in Persia and the misrepresentations to which they have been exposed, they have been subjected to the most cruel treatment, albeit those things which are alleged in proof of their infidelity are utterly false and devoid of foundation. Therefore, being moved by love of mankind and a desire to dispel the misconceptions entertained concerning this sect, I felt myself constrained to set forth in a separate treatise somewhat concerning them and their beliefs, so that those who read these pages may be rightly informed concerning them, and may cease to treat with such cruelty those who are not only God's creatures but their own fellow-countrymen.

I therefore requested my friend to visit me at my

¹ See note at the foot of p. 20, *supra*. The Náṣibís (*aḥlu'n-naṣb, nāṣibiyya*) are a sect who make it a matter of religious obligation to bear a violent hatred to 'Alí b. Abí Tálib, the first Imám of the Shi'ites. See Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. viii, p. 2800, third column.

abode twice a week during his hours of leisure, and to describe from the beginning all the events of this dispensation as they actually occurred, together with the doctrines in which he believed, so that what I proposed to write might be a true and correct statement of facts. He, when he perceived me to be free from prejudice, eager for discussion, and unwilling to accept anything on hearsay, was kind enough to introduce me to one of his co-religionists who was remarkable alike for his learning and virtue, telling me that I might rely on whatever I should hear from this man, since he had personal knowledge of all things connected with this matter.

I soon found opportunities of holding frequent and prolonged conversations with my new acquaintance, whose virtue and learning proved fully equal to what I had been led to expect. Even before he adopted the new creed he was notable for his piety and godliness, and, notwithstanding the fact that he was in easy circumstances and possessed of much wealth, was reported to have made a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of the Imám Rízá at Mash-had in company with Hájj Mír 'Abdu'l-Wási' the dervish, who, for thirty-five years, had withdrawn himself entirely from the world. The hardships and privations of that journey bore fruit, for on reaching Khurásán he met with Mullá Ni'matu'lláh of Ardabíl, Mullá Yúsuf 'Alí of Khúy, and Mullá 'Abdu'l-Khálik of Yezd, all wise and holy men, by whom he was directed to the truth. The full and detailed accounts vouchsafed to me by this man, enhanced as they were in interest by his agreeable manners and evident sincerity, confirmed me in the resolution which I had formed to write this treatise.

My original intention was to confine myself to a statement of the history and doctrine of this sect, avoiding all controversial matter. My friend, however, pointed out to

me that if I desired to render real service to the cause of truth and to remove existing misapprehensions, I should certainly fail, if I did not even make matters worse, by omitting all reference to the arguments and proofs adduced in support of the doctrine. About this time, moreover, it so happened that a long discussion took place in my lodging between him and a certain divine, wherein the latter was signally worsted, though he continued as long as possible to raise objections and demand further proofs, and was finally reduced to silence rather by necessity than by a sense of justice.

I am now convinced that my friend is right, and that my book could serve no good purpose if I excluded from it all reasonings and arguments. Neither could these be kept apart from the historical portion of the work and set down in order as they came up in the discussions between him and the divine, else would the book be unduly enlarged. In accordance with his wish I have therefore inserted such of them as appeared most pertinent in the course of my narrative. Furthermore, whenever I have had occasion to mention that illustrious Seyyid¹, I have, for several reasons, alluded to him in terms of the utmost respect, making use of the titles used by his own followers. For, in the first place, the claim which he advanced was a great one, and he was of an illustrious descent and a Seyyid of the people; secondly he suffered martyrdom by reason of his love for his nation and his attempts to admonish and regenerate them. And in Europe the name of such a man is not mentioned slightly, but is accounted worthy of all honour.

Here follows what my learned friend narrated to me.

¹ i.e. the Báb.

BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE.

*[I visited the holy shrines of Kerbelá and Nejef shortly after the death of Hájí Seyyid Kázim, and learned from his disciples that during the last two or three years of his life he had spoken in lecture-room and pulpit of little else but the approaching advent of the promised Proof, the signs of his appearance and their signification, and the attributes by which he would be distinguished, declaring that he would be a youth of the race of Hášim, untaught in the learning of men. Sometimes he used to say, "I see him as the rising sun." During his last pilgrimage to Surra-man-ra'a, while he was returning thence to Baghdad by way of Kázimeyn, he was entertained by one of his friends and disciples, about a dozen others being present. All of a sudden an Arab entered, and, still standing, said, "I have seen a vision touching your Reverence." Permission to speak having been accorded to him, he related his dream; whereupon Seyyid Kázim appeared somewhat disturbed, and said, "This dream signifies that my departure from the world is near at hand." Hearing this, his friends were greatly troubled, but he turned to them, saying, "Why are ye grieved and troubled at my approaching death? Desire ye not that I should depart and that the Truth should appear?"

[This is the account which I have heard from Hájí 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib of Isfahán and Hájí Suleymán Khán',

¹ C. has, "Suleymán Khán Afshár of Şá'in-Kál'a," an evident error, as Suleymán Khán Afshár was one of the most determined

who were present on the occasion alluded to. The latter further added, "Seyyid Kázim specially promised me that I should myself participate in the new Manifestation, saying, "Thou shalt be there and shalt apprehend it."

[That the late Seyyid actually gave utterance to these words, and announced these good tidings as above described, is a matter of notoriety, and a thing universally admitted amongst those who were intimate with him. The fact, moreover, is further authenticated by several letters from well-known persons to others who also believed in the new Manifestation'. Indeed, some who were present on the occasion above described are still alive, and these admit that they heard this announcement made by Seyyid Kázim.

[Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, a most eminent divine who enjoyed great intimacy with Seyyid Kázim, urgently besought him to enlighten them further as to the manner in which the Manifestation would take place, but he only replied,]* "More than this I am not permitted to say, but from whatever quarter the Sun of Truth shall arise,

[I visited the holy shrines of Kerbelá and Nejef shortly after the death of Hájí Seyyid Kázim, and learned from his disciples that the late Seyyid had, a few days before his journey to Surra-man-ra'a and death, said, "This is the last time that I shall visit Surra-man-ra'a, for the days of my sojourn in this world are ended, and it is time for me to depart." His friends thereat displayed much sorrow, but he replied, "Grieve not, but rather be thankful and rejoice, for after I am gone you shall be permitted to behold the Promised Proof."]

persecutors of the Bábís. Hájí Suleymán Khán of Tabriz, the son of Yahyá Khán, is without doubt intended. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 239 and foot-note.

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 240, note 1.

it will illuminate all hearts which are receptive of Divine Grace."

On his return from Surra-man-ra'a the venerated Seyyid departed this life, even as he had foretold; and I, after a while, repaired to the mosque of Kúfa, and there abode for a time engaged in the performance of certain spiritual exercises which I had undertaken. Here I saw Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, Mullá 'Alí of Bisṭám, Hájí Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh, Áḳá 'Abdu'l-Jalíl the Turk, Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Hádí, Mírzá Muḥammad Hádí, Áḳá Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd, Mullá Ḥasan of Najistán, Mullá Bashír, Mullá Báḳir the Turk, and Mullá Aḥmad Abdál¹, with many other learned and devout men who had retired into seclusion to undergo as severe a spiritual discipline as can well be imagined. On the completion of these exercises I proceeded to visit Nejef, while the others departed each on his own way.

Now as it has been said,

"Whate'er man seeks as surely he obtains,
If he but seek it with sufficient pains;
God's shadow falls upon His servant's mind,
And he who striveth in the end shall find²,"

so God did direct their steps in the path of search until they came to Shíráz. To Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh

¹ L. is corrupt here, interrupting the continuity of the narrative with a verse of poetry bearing reference to Seyyid Kázim's death, and omitting the list of names given above. Probably the scribe intended to write them in afterwards with red ink, as two lines are left blank.

² Both these couplets are from the third book of the *Namast*, but they do not belong to the same context. The first will be found at p. 229, l. 13, and the second at p. 319, l. 13 of the Teherán edition of 'Alá'ud-Dawla.

was granted the happiness of first coming to His Supreme Holiness, and he became "the first who believed".

The late Hájí Mírzá Jání, one of the most respected of the inhabitants of Káshán, who was remarkable for his self-devotion, virtue, and purity of heart, who had with his own eyes witnessed all the most important events of the Manifestation, and who for his zeal finally suffered martyrdom (whereof he foretold all the circumstances some while before their occurrence to certain of his acquaintance), wrote a book describing the course of events and setting forth arguments in support of the faith. In this work he recorded all that he was able to ascertain [from first to last, by diligent enquiries most carefully conducted,] about each of the chief disciples and believers. Concerning Mullá Huseyn's conversion he writes as follows :—

"I myself heard directly from Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Khurásán, a most eminent divine, the following narrative of this event :—

"I enquired" (said he) 'of Mullá Huseyn concerning the manner of his conversion. He replied, "After the death of Seyyid Kázim I became afflicted with great perturbation of mind, and, in the course of my mental struggles, went from Kerbelá to Shíráz in the hope of benefiting a palpitation of the heart from which I suffered. And since the Seyyid 'Alí Muḥammad had honoured me with his friendship during a journey which we made together to the Holy Shrines <of Kerbelá and Nejef>, I at once on reaching Shíráz sought out his abode. As I approached the door I desired inwardly to tarry there some few days. So I knocked at the door. * [Before he had opened it or seen me, I heard his voice exclaiming, 'Is it you, Mullá Huseyn?'] *

[As it chanced he came to the door in person.]

¹ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 241, 250.

'Then he opened the door. [It did not at the time strike me how strange it was that without having seen me he should know I was there.] When he *[had opened the door]* he smiled and said, 'All day I have felt disinclined to go to the caravansaray, and now I know that it was because of your coming.' So we entered the house and sat down, and after we had exchanged the customary enquiries he said, 'Do not you Sheykhís believe that some one must take the place occupied by the late Seyyid Kázim? Five months have now elapsed since his death. Whom do you now recognize as your Master?' 'As yet,' I replied, 'we have recognized no one.' 'What manner of man,' asked he, 'must the Master be?' Thereupon I enumerated some of the requisite qualifications and characteristics. 'Do you observe these in me?' he asked. Now during the two months he abode at Kerbelá I had not observed in him any signs of special knowledge, and I knew that he had not studied in the colleges nor attended the lectures of any teacher, so I answered, 'I see in you none of these qualities.' To this he replied nothing. After a while I observed several books lying on a shelf. I picked up one of them, and found it to be a commentary on the *Súratu'l-Bakara*¹. After reading a little I perceived it to be a commentary of remarkable merit, and demanded in astonishment who the author might be. 'A mere youthful beginner,' answered he, 'who nevertheless lays claim to a high degree of knowledge and greatness.' I again asked who and where the writer was. 'Thou seest him,' he replied; but I did not at the time apprehend his meaning, and continued to read

[had seen and recognized me]

¹ See my *Catalogue of 27 Bibl MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, where the text of this passage is quoted in a description of the work in question.

on till I came to a passage where it was written, '*the explanation of the inmost of the inmost.*' This appeared to me to be an error, and I remarked, 'Here it should be "*the inmost,*" and "*the inmost of the inmost*" is written.' 'What can I say?' he answered, 'the author of this Commentary lays claim to more even than this of greatness and knowledge. Consider the passage attentively.' I did so, and said, 'It is quite correct. But I am wearied. Do you read, and I will listen.' He read for a time, and then, as men are wont, I said, 'It is enough. Do not trouble yourself further.' Towards evening tea was brought, and several learned Sheykhís and merchants who had been informed of my arrival came to see me. In the course of conversation they, supported by Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, made me promise to deliver a lecture, and arranged to assemble on the morrow in the Ílkhání mosque to hear it. Next morning, agreeably to this arrangement, they assembled in the mosque, whither I also repaired. When, however, I desired to begin my discourse, I found that in place of the ready flow of language and easy delivery generally at my command I was as though tongue-tied and unable to speak. This filled me with amazement, for I was persuaded that so unusual an occurrence must be due to some unusual cause, and wondered much who it was that exercised this secret control over me, and what might be his object. Such was the astonishment and emotion which took possession of me that I was obliged to make the best excuses I could for cutting short my discourse. Thereupon the assembly broke up, and I returned to my lodging deeply meditating. Next day when I wished to preach precisely the same thing happened, and so again a third time. On this last occasion I came out from the mosque in a state of the utmost misery and astonishment. Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad said, 'Let the rest of our friends go to their own houses, and do

you alone accompany me.' When we reached his house he said, 'By what sign canst thou recognize the Master, and what proof dost thou deem most effectual to convince thee that thou hast attained the object of thy search?' I answered, 'The possession of the Point of Knowledge, which is the source and centre of all the wisdom of past and future prophets and saints.' 'Do you perceive this in me?' he asked; 'How if I were so endowed?' 'That you are devout, godly, and holy of life,' I answered, 'is true; but only knowledge derived directly from God can admit to this lofty rank.' At this he was silent for a while as though in wonder, while I thought to myself, 'What idea can this devout youth be harbouring in his mind that he so persistently introduces this topic? I must at all events ask some question of him which he has never heard discussed and cannot answer, so that he may be turned aside from his vain imaginings.' I therefore put to him a question which appeared to me very difficult of solution, and which had always been in my mind during the life-time of the late Seyyid <Kâsim>, though I had never found an opportunity of propounding it in such wise as to have my difficulties removed in a satisfactory manner. Without hesitation he gave me a full and sufficient answer. I was filled with amazement, and proceeded to propound to him several other hard questions, each of which, to my utter astonishment, he answered in the most conclusive way. Yet withal I reflected within myself, 'Is not this he who but a few days ago blundered over a sentence in the Commentary on the *Sûratu'l-Bakara*? How is it that he has now become the source and well-spring of this divine wisdom?' Even as I thus thought, I looked up, and saw him sitting in a most dignified and majestic attitude, the left hand laid on the left knee and the right hand over it; and, even as I looked, he began to utter most wondrous

verses containing answers to every thought which passed through my mind, until seventy or eighty verses had been revealed. During all this time I waited anxiously for him to be silent, so strong was the fear and awe which possessed me. At length he ceased, and I, in the extremity of terror, rose up to flee, as some delinquent might flee from before a mighty king. But he withheld me, saying, 'Sit down! Whither goest thou? Anyone who should see thee in this state would think thee mad.' So I was constrained to sit down as he bade me, while he withdrew to his private room. During his absence I was a prey to most anxious thoughts. Care for my worldly interests and fear of incurring suffering alike urged me to draw back; and yet, ponder as I might, I could find no pretext whereby I might excuse myself, neither did I perceive any course save confession and acceptance. So was I greatly perturbed, and troubled beyond all measure. After some while Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad returned, and, contrary to his usual custom, himself brought in the tea. Having set tea before me, he seated himself by my side, and continued to behave towards me most graciously. I remained, however, as one distraught, and presently again asked permission to depart. 'Thou art still,' said he, 'in a state of extreme bewilderment, though thou art not thyself aware of it. Should anyone see thee thus he would assuredly deem thee mad.' A little while afterwards, however, he suffered me to depart. On the occasion of another visit I saw a commentary which he had written on the Tradition of the Handmaiden¹. Now the late Seyyid had been wont to say when he was alive that the Proof who was to appear would compose a full explanation of this tradition, and that sign I now

¹ See Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. i, p. 30, where an outline of the story here alluded to is given.

witnessed. Moreover one day, when I was alone with the late Seyyid in his library, I enquired the reason why the *Súra-i-Yúsuḡ* was entitled in the *Qur'án* 'the Best of Stories,' to which he replied that it was not then the proper occasion for explaining the reason. This incident remained concealed in my mind, neither had I mentioned it to anyone. One day Mírzá 'Alí Muḡammad said to me, 'Dost thou recollect enquiring once of the late Seyyid why the *Súra-i-Yúsuḡ* was called "the Best of Stories," and how he replied that the proper occasion for explaining this had not yet come? The time for this explanation has now arrived.' Thereupon he shewed me a Commentary <on this *Súra*> of the most perfect lucidity and eloquence, [whereat I was utterly astounded, perceiving that my trained intelligence was incompetent to grasp all the subtle mysteries and lofty ideas contained therein].'"

The account given by Hájí Mírzá Jání of Mullá Ḥuseyn's conversion is much more detailed than this, but were I to repeat a tithe of what I have heard on the most trustworthy evidence weak reason would fail to comprehend it.

"Should I attempt to write or utter it,
The mind would stagger and the pen would split."

But Hájí Mullá Muḡammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh, a man of singular excellence, and noted for his piety and godliness, had no sooner seen and conversed with the Báb than, because of the purity of his heart, he at once believed without seeking further sign or proof; for "to demand a sign after attaining the thing signified is unseemly". So, because he recognized the Proof by its very nature [without any further sign], he received the title of *Jenáb-i-*

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. i, p. 12; vol. ii, p. 9.

Kuddús, and became the companion of His Holiness on the journey to Mecca, and the possessor in a high degree of all manner of miraculous powers and divine illuminations.

To be brief, other learned and eager seekers after truth who were wandering amazed in the path of search were drawn unwittingly to Shíráz by the attraction of the True Beloved, and there, each in a different way, were brought to see and apprehend the Truth. Each of these, according to the measure of his strength and his capacity, drank of the wine of faith and wisdom; forgot all ties and obstacles, and, indeed, his very being; rent asunder the veils of name, fame, and worldly position; purified his heart from the stain of apprehension; and, resolute in the pursuit of the desired object, set off, each in a different direction, to spread the good tidings of the Manifestation and to convey the signs¹ of it to all. And, because of the love and fervour which possessed them, they thought not of the enmity of the stubborn, neither did they anticipate the opposition and rejection which they were to encounter at the hands of the froward. So, briefly, the matter came to the ears of most men, great and small; of whom some believed, though the more part turned aside, [while many set themselves to stir up trouble].

At this time Mullá Huseyn [of Bushraweyh, who was entitled *Bábu'l-Báb*,] set out for Isfahán, where he fell in with Mullá Muḥammad Šádiḳ [generally known as the saint] of Khurásán, a professor in that city, who, when he had heard the matter, and considered the proofs and signs thereof, believed. The circumstances of his conversion (which I heard directly from himself) were thus told by His Excellency the Saint of Khurásán :—

“ When I had considered the clear signs and proofs set

¹ i.e. the sacred writings, to which alone the Báb appealed in proof of his divine mission. Cf. Gobineau, p. 158.

before me, I could see no possible way of rejecting or denying them. For the Merciful Lord hath plainly said in the *Qur'án* that though all genii and men should combine together they could not produce a sign like unto it¹, and, during these twelve hundred and sixty years which had elapsed since that time, none, however skilled in rhetoric and eloquence, had presumed even to make this attempt. But these verses were incomparably superior to the *Qur'án* in point of eloquence and beauty, so that it was impossible to take exception to them or deny them. Nevertheless I remained overwhelmed with amazement, wondering how such verses could be poured forth like copious showers by this simple and unlettered youth*. 'O God!' I cried in my heart, 'in face of such ample proofs how is denial possible? Yet how can I confess and accept this illiterate and uneducated young merchant as Báb and *Qá'im*?' So for a while I subjected myself to a severe discipline, keeping continual vigils during the night, and praying God for help and guidance; until one night, when I had been engaged in prayer and self-abasement till near the morning, a little before dawn †[I came somewhat to myself, and began to reproach myself, saying,]† 'Wherefore these complaints and prayers, and this tarrying in the world of form? Why be blinded by the limitations of the commonplace, and kept back by the restrictions of the nominal? Is God's hand shortened, then, or is He unable to accomplish His will? Is He not one who "doeth what He pleaseth and ordaineth what He willeth?"' At this inward com-

[whom in his childhood they had brought to me for instruction, though he attended my class only one day.]

†[being wide awake, I plainly saw His Holiness appear to me saying,]†

¹ *Qur'án*, xvii, 90.

muning I was overcome with fear; but when I came to myself the veil was lifted, and I beheld within myself a state of freedom and peace transcending description."

Now although I have myself with mine own eyes beheld greater wonders than those above recorded, yet am I fain to excuse myself from relating or publishing them; for that Gem of created essences <the Báb> was in no wise eager or desirous for the disclosure of such occurrences, neither did he seek to make known such evidences of power as were manifested in him, since he regarded his nature as his proof and his verses as his sign. [.....So much was this the case that Mullá Mírzá Muḥammad, one of the most eminent of those divines and highly-gifted men who hastened to accept the new Manifestation, one who had, moreover, himself witnessed the greater part of the occurrences connected with it, and who was amongst the remnant who escaped the sword at Sheykh Ṭabarsí, at the request of a certain learned and eminent enquirer set down in writing two thousand four hundred occurrences of a miraculous character which he had witnessed on the part of His Holiness, and, during the siege of the Castle of Sheykh Ṭabarsí, on the part of *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* and his companions and supporters. But when he had completed this, he became aware that His Holiness in no wise regarded these miracles, wonders, and supernatural occurrences as a proof of his mission, and did not desire them to be published; wherefore he effaced what he had recorded in that precious book, and refrained from publishing it. Somewhat of the nobility of nature and eminence of this great man we shall describe, if God so please, when we come to speak of the learned doctors and eminent divines who entered into this new dispensation.]

Let us return, however, to Mullá Ḥuseyn of Bushraweyh entitled *Bábu'l-Báb*. In every part of the country which

he visited he made converts amongst men of learning and discernment, until at length he reached Khurásán, where also he guided many to the truth. The late Hájí Mírzá Jání writes [in his book] as follows:—

“Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who was entitled *Bábu'l-Báb*, set out from Khurásán [after he had remained there some while] with the intention of visiting His Holiness the Supreme. So great was his devotion, and the sense of unworthiness which possessed him, that he went on foot to Máku (where at that time His Holiness abode), conducting himself everywhere on the way with caution and prudence. After he had been honoured by admission to the Blessed Presence, the Báb informed him of his approaching martyrdom and the many cruel afflictions which were impending, ordering him at the same time to return to Khurásán, and adding, ‘Go thither by way of Mázandarán, for there the doctrine has not yet been rightly preached.’ So, agreeably to these instructions, he came to Mázandarán, and there joined *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*. Such of the faithful as were present at that meeting relate that on the first day of his arrival *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* sat, as befitted his rank, in the place of honour, while *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* took a lower place; for *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* was unrivalled in excellence and learning, while *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* appeared to possess no special merit or distinction, save that he had accompanied His Holiness the Supreme on the pilgrimage to Mecca. But on the following morning they beheld *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* seated on the chief seat, and Mullá Huseyn standing humbly and reverentially before him. Until that time the virtues and extent of spiritual knowledge possessed by the former had been suspected by none, but during that night such evidences of hidden wisdom and knowledge of divine mysteries had been witnessed in him by *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* that on the morrow he was

fain to stand humbly before one who had neither studied deeply, nor, to all outward appearance, attained any very high degree of excellence. Be this as it may, they relate that in a single night *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* wrote a sublime commentary of some three thousand verses on the words "God the Eternal", and that in a brief space of time nearly thirty thousand verses of learned discourses, homilies, and supplications proceeded from him¹."

To return, however, to our narrative. After a while *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* set out for Khurásán, and shortly after this the faithful were honoured with an Epistle from the Fountain-head of the Faith, bidding them, in case it should be possible, to proceed to Khurásán. In the letter addressed to Mírzá Aḥmad of Azkand, one of the chief disciples of the late Seyyid, the impending catastrophe of Mázarán was made known. So *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, accompanied by several of the faithful, set out towards Khurásán, but after a while turned back into Mázarán. On arriving there, he despatched a letter to *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* announcing the news of his approaching [death, along with seventy believers², as well as the circumstances of his own] martyrdom, and bidding him depart out of Khurásán. *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, on receiving this letter (which is known as "the Eternal Witness"), came out from that holy sanctuary with a number of his companions, and set out for Mázarán. On reaching Mi-yámí, these were further reinforced by a band of about thirty believers. The leader of these was a devout and saintly old man named Mullá Zeynu'l-'Ábidín, a disciple of

¹ Kur'án, cxii, 2.

² Concerning the writings of *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, see *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 30, n. 1; and *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 485 *et seq.*

³ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 308.

the late Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í. So great was his devotion and the ardour of his affection that he had said to his recently-wedded son, a lad eighteen years of age, "Come with me, O my son, for this journey is to the Hereafter, and I imagine for thee a right goodly marriage." And everywhere this white-bearded old man went on foot.

Now when *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* had reached the confines of Mázandarán, he began to tarry on the way, and even when he advanced it was but a parasang or half a parasang a day. His companions enquired of him whether he was expecting aught that he thus loitered and lingered, to which he replied that they would soon know the reason. After some days the news of the decease of His Majesty Muḥammad Sháh arrived, whereupon *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* recommenced his march, saying, "It was this news which I was awaiting." They were at that time at Áríṃ, one of the villages of Sawád-Kúh, for which latter place they at once set out, and there performed the daily prayers incumbent on them. Now it was the custom of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* to preach to the faithful twice a day, exhorting them to remember God, to purify their hearts, and to hold themselves aloof from the world. So he ascended into the pulpit, and, after delivering a homily containing many exhortations, counsels, and disparagements of this transitory world, thus addressed them :—

"Know, O people, that, according to the dictates of sound reason, it is impossible to combine things essentially opposed, and that therefore the pursuit of worldly prosperity is incompatible with the perfecting of religious life, and that the amassing of wealth is antagonistic to the working out of faith. For, from the very creation of the world until now, such as were guided by Divine Grace and fitted by their natural dispositions for the search after true wisdom and the attempt to perfect themselves in faith and

service, if they did not at the first step close their eyes to wealth, wife and child, nay, life itself, could in no wise take a second step in advance. Thus it is that, in every past age down to the present time, until the prophets, the saints, and the elect had themselves crossed over the Bridge¹ of attachment to this Old Inn²; displayed, along with their companions and followers, the utmost constancy and steadfastness in supporting all manner of sharp afflictions and grievous trials; and advanced with eager steps towards martyrdom, they did not succeed in delivering their benighted people from the abyss of error and the snare of unbelief, or in guiding them into the city of assurance and the haven of faith. For this it was that the Chief of Martyrs³, together with his supporters and adherents, stood so firm in that plain of self-sacrifice⁴, and bore active witness to the truth, for the guidance of mankind and the establishment of the faith; whereby, long years after the consummation of their martyrdom, the Law of the Prophet

¹ Whether the report of Mullá Huseyn's address to his followers here given be literally correct or no, it at least shews an evident reflex of his Master's doctrines and phraseology. The Báb distinctly taught that Heaven, Hell, the Questioning of the Tomb, Hades (*Darsakh*), and the Bridge (*Širúf*) here alluded to, were not to be understood in a material sense, as by the Muhammadans, but metaphorically. This doctrine is elaborated in detail in the second *Váhid* of the Persian Beyán, whereof the twelfth chapter, treating of "the Bridge," begins thus:—"What has at all times been intended by 'the Bridge' is the manifestation of God and His religion. Whosoever is steadfast is on the Bridge of God, else is he not on the Bridge." Cf. *J. R. A. S.* (new series), vol. xxi, p. 930.

² i.e. the world, often likened to a caravansaray or inn where the traveller sojourns but a few days.

³ i.e. Huseyn b. 'Alí b. Abí Tálíb, the third Imám.

⁴ i.e. the plain of Kerbelá.

was matured, and the ordinances of his holy religion established. And now we likewise, for the awakening of our fellow-men, be they rich in virtues or beset with faults, intelligent or heedless, wise or simple ; for the removal of the doubts and objections of the obdurate ; and for the admonition of the careless and indifferent, are constrained by the good pleasure of the Beloved to bear witness by our deeds to the truth of this new revelation, to prove our sincerity by disregarding all earthly considerations, to undergo sufferings transcending human imagination and endurance, and to lay down dear life itself for the establishment of this great truth and the perfecting of the proof to our perverse and benighted opponents. Know, then, for a surety, that once arrived in Mázarán all paths of escape will be closed to us ; that we shall without doubt be slain with most grievous torments ; and that the land beyond Bárfurúsh shall be dyed with the blood of these our comrades. Indeed our supreme object in pressing forward to the goal of this our journey of woe is naught else than to bear witness to the truth and attain to the lofty rank of martyrdom. Whosoever feeleth himself able to bear steadfastly, contentedly, nay, rapturously, this heavy burden, let him remain ; but if there be any who perceive in themselves, be it even in the least degree, signs of weakness, they are enjoined to depart, for it is not meet to lay on anyone more than he can bear. Let these, then (if such there be), bid a last farewell to their friends and comrades, and turn back even from this place."

On hearing these words those faithful companions wept much, and replied, "When we entered on this journey we shut our eyes to all worldly considerations and earthly ties, firmly resolving not to shrink from laying down our lives." And there were present in this assembly two hundred and thirty persons, all distinguished for learning and virtue,

many of them being also men of wealth and position. Of these, two hundred unhesitatingly agreed to endure even unto death. The other thirty, by reason of diverse impediments, felt constrained to excuse themselves, and asked permission to depart. And these turned back from that place.

[[The reviser of this history says:—"Several persons worthy of credence affirm that it was on this occasion that *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* informed his companions of the impending death of Muhammad Sháh, who was at that time still alive; even as he had previously, while in the Most Holy Land', made the same announcement, along with others bearing reference to the calamities and afflictions which God had decreed to take place in the Most Holy Land, to a certain great and eminent man of Khurásán who is now present."]]¹

After this, *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* and his remaining companions mounted and proceeded towards Bárfurúsh. But when news of their advent reached the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá*, he, because of a former difference which he had had with *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, whose devoted friend he knew *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* to be, issued orders that they should not be suffered to approach the city. *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, who, with some of his companions, was a little in advance of the others, said to those who would oppose their advance, "Because of the King's death and the disturbed state of the roads and highways we come to you as guests seeking shelter. In accordance with the tradition, 'Honour the guest even though he be an infidel,' suffer us to abide for a few days in your land of safety, and seek not to injure

¹ i.e. Mash-had, the place of martyrdom and burial of the Imám Rizá.

² This paragraph, which occurs only in C., is evidently an addition to the original text. Cf. p. 45, *supra*.

us. For according to no creed is it lawful and right to molest strangers, or to spurn such as come seeking protection." Yet, notwithstanding the arguments thus advanced, and the efforts made to induce a kindlier feeling, these pretended followers of the Prophet of God, instigated by their clergy in general and the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá* in particular, refused to be turned from their purpose; nay rather in face of this gentleness and forbearance they waxed yet more insolent, and grew bolder in their attempts on the life and property of the strangers.

So *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, determined to complete the proof, and, if possible, to avert strife, submitted and turned back, while these devout and godly professors of the holy religion of Islám continued to follow them, till at length one fellow, more insolent than the rest¹, discharged his musket. Now Áká Seyyid Rizá, a man eminent for his piety and virtue, was wont, by reason of the ardour of his devotion, to walk everywhere by the stirrup of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*; and he, thus running by his leader's side, received that fatal shot, and forthwith gave up the ghost. And so, in like manner, were two others amongst the faithful slain.

Then *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* turned himself about, saying, "Now have they made it our duty to protect ourselves;" grasped the hilt of his sword; and, acquiescing in that which the providence of God had ordained, began to defend himself. Notwithstanding his slender and fragile frame and trembling hand, such was his valour and prowess on that day that whosoever had eyes to discern the truth could clearly see that such strength and courage could only be from God, being beyond human capacity.

¹ L. reads *shakhs khabbári*, "a certain fellow who was a baker," instead of *shakhs jabbári* which is C.'s reading.

So the Bábís, obediently to their leader's command, began to defend themselves and to wage battle until they came to the city. One of their opponents fired a shot which did not take effect, and *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* made as though he would punish the attempt, but nevertheless spared the offender because of his entreaties. The action was, however, again repeated; the foolish wretch fired a charge of shot full at *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb's* face, and inflicted on him a serious injury. At this the latter was filled with wrath, and rushed upon his antagonist, who took shelter behind a tree, striving to guard himself with the barrel of his musket. So *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, perceiving that with the right hand he could not reach him, smote him with his sword a left-handed blow beneath the arm-pit and clave him in twain. After this he pushed on to the door of the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá's* house; but, though he could easily have entered it (for most of the combatants, on beholding the last blow dealt by him, had taken to flight or hidden themselves, while such as remained kept crying out afar off in terror for their lives), he refrained for several reasons from doing so, in order that this man and his deeds might remain on the page of time as a warning to such as are endowed with discernment. So he spoke him fair, and turned back thence to the Herb Market, in which is a caravansaray wherein they took up their quarters. Again the townspeople attacked them, surrounding the caravansaray and striving to set fire to it, until at length some of the faithful sallied forth and put them to flight.

Now when these were come back, *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* said, "Let one among you go up and sound the call to prayer." So one went up, but ere he had uttered more than a few words he was stricken down by a bullet. Then *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* said, "The call to prayer must be completed." Another went up, but, before he had finished,

he too was shot. Forthwith a third went up, and completed the remainder of the call, but, even as he did so, he also fell a martyr, and was united to his comrades who had preceded him. The object of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* in thus insisting on the completion of the call was, as it would appear, to make apparent to those benighted people the steadfastness and self-devotion of himself and his companions in proclaiming the word of God, and to demonstrate conclusively to all mankind the absence of all piety, mercy, and true religion in those pretended Muslims.

Although in this age there are but few who are impartial or disposed to believe, those of the time to come will meditate on these events diligently and without prejudice, and these will distinguish the oppressed from the oppressor, the wise from the foolish, and the true from the false. It is related that [four hundred, or, according to another tradition] seventy doctors and divines of repute signed the warrant authorizing the murder of the Chief of Martyrs¹ and declaring him a heretic. But now, after the lapse of a thousand years, they admit their wrong-doing, and vainly beat their breasts and heads in mourning for that broken troth and the desertion of that holy one whom they left alone in the plain of Kerbelá, crying out continually, "O would that we had been with you!" Yet withal, because of their heedlessness and blind prejudice, they continue to act towards the saints of this dispensation, and even towards the Proof foretold to this ignorantly-expectant people, in such wise as hath happened in no former age, and with a cruelty and injustice never heretofore witnessed. And, on the other hand, there hath never been any people so patient under the most cruel wrongs, or of like fortitude under afflictions so grievous. Every sound understanding must admit that men so reasonable and so learned

¹ Huseyn b. 'Alí b. Abí Tálíb, the third Imám.

would not thus cast the coin of life into the crucible of tribulation, or plunge their wives and children into the abyss of woe, unless they had first seen visibly before them that which they sought, and experienced within themselves a peace and power from God.

“When saints behold the Hour of Union nigh
Then seemeth it to them most sweet to die;
E’en those magicians, stirred with gratitude
To Moses, passed with rapture to the rood¹.”

To return, however, to our narrative. The *Sa’idu’l-Ulamá* gathered together from all quarters a great multitude, who laid siege to the caravansaray, so that for the space of five or six days there was strife and battle. At the end of this time ‘Abbás-Ḳulī Khán of Larján entered Bárfurúsh, and, having heard what had taken place on either side, sent his son-in-law to wait upon *Jenáb-i-Bábu’l-Báb* with a message to this effect:—“Although the people of this place have acted wrongly and foolishly in not observing the respect due to you, who came unto them as

¹ See *Qur’án*, *súra vii* (pp. 115—117 in Sale’s translation). According to the Muhammadan account, the magicians summoned by Pharaoh to oppose Moses were so overcome by witnessing the true miracles wrought by him that they fell on their faces crying, “We believe in the Lord of all creatures, the Lord of Moses and Aaron.” Thereat was Pharaoh very wroth, and said, “Have ye believed on Him ere I have given you permission so to do? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye may drive out thence the inhabitants thereof. But ye shall know for a surety <that I am your master, for> I will cause your hands and your feet to be cut off on opposite sides, then will I cause you all to be crucified.” They answered, “We shall assuredly return unto our Lord; for thou takest vengeance on us only because we have believed in the signs of our Lord when they came unto us. O Lord, pour on us patience, and cause us to die Muslims.”

strangers seeking hospitality, and in further seeking to do you injury, yet since, owing to the death of His Majesty the late King, the public order is disturbed, it is desirable, especially having regard to the fact that blood has been shed between you, that you should depart out of this city."

To this message *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* thus replied:—"On condition that they suffer us to depart without harm, we have no objection to go. If you will promise that no fresh attempt shall be made to cause bloodshed and provoke strife, we will not refuse to withdraw." To this the chief pledged himself, and sent his son-in-law¹ Sa'ádat-Kulí Beg to bear them company till they should reach a place of safety. Their antagonists, however, conspired with a certain Khusraw of Kádé-kalá, a matchless and notorious scoundrel, to follow and treacherously rob and murder them in a certain part of the forest. So Khusraw of Kádé-kalá, taking with him a hundred horsemen, rode off with [the Sardár's son-in-law] Sa'ádat-Kulí Beg. When they had proceeded a short distance *['Abbás-Kulí Khán's son-in-law]* took leave of them and turned back, while Khusraw continued to accompany them till he came near to his own home, to a place hard by the Tomb of Sheykh Tabarsí'. When they were come there, some of the faithful

* [Sa'ádat-Kulí Beg] *

¹ L. adds "and," thus making Sa'ádat-Kulí Beg a different person from the chief's son-in-law. According to Şubh-i-Esál, Sa'ádat-Kulí Beg was himself a Bábí. He had a young daughter whom he used occasionally to dress in boy's clothes.

² The Tomb of Sheykh Tabarsí lies to the south of the road leading from Bárfurúsh to Sárf, some twelve or fifteen miles S.E. of the former town. I visited it on September 26th, 1888, in the company of a very intelligent tradesman of Bárfurúsh. Yet, though he was intimately acquainted with the country, so intricate are the paths leading to it, and so uncertain the state of the

observed to *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* that it was the time for [the noon-tide] prayer, whereupon he alighted to pray. Khusraw, seeing his opportunity, approached him, saying, "We wish to turn back; give us a present." So, in accordance with the instructions of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, they gave him a sum of one hundred *túmáns* in money, besides other articles. He then demanded *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb's* horse and sword, but the latter replied, "Make not this request, for these were given to me by a certain holy man, and I cannot part with them to anyone." "If you will not give them up," returned Khusraw, "I am authorized [by the clergy] to kill you; your [lives and] possessions are lawful to us." As he continued to speak after this unseemly fashion, *Mírzá Muḥammad Taḳí* [of Juveyn] caught hold of his hand and drew him back a few paces, gently remonstrating with him, and even offering to add to the sum of money which he had already received if he would but refrain from molesting *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*. Remonstrances and offers, however, proved equally unavailing; and *Mírzá Muḥammad Taḳí*, having completed the proof, and being reduced to despair, with a blow of his dagger freed mankind from Khusraw's malice. On seeing their leader fall, the others took to flight, but, their village being near at hand, soon returned with a great multitude, overtook the Bábís in a narrow path, and prepared to attack and plunder them. So *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, seeing that in that forest-path there was neither room to pass nor to fight, commanded his companions to abandon their baggage and retreat. In obedience to his command, therefore, they

quagmires and marshes which must be traversed to reach the forest on the edge of which it lies, that we were continually obliged to ask the road and to change our course wherever the swampy rice-fields proved impassable. Altogether, a worse ride of three hours I never saw.

retired into the tomb of Sheykh Ṭabarsí. When they reached it, he said to them, "Here shall we attain our object, and here also will the purpose of the froward and unrighteous be fulfilled." And in passing this spot on his way to Bárfurúsh he had similarly said, "In this place will the blood of God's soldiers and saints be shed, and many a pure spirit shall be quenched in dust and gore." And most of his companions knew what he intended to signify.

After this several mounted men were sent to collect the baggage, and they gathered it together and brought it in. Then *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* said, "If ye be united in spirit, it is contrary to the dictates of self-devotion and single-heartedness to make any distinction in these perishable possessions during the few brief days for which a respite may be granted to you. Forsake, then, all such distinctions, and, for this short while, share what ye have in common." So they appointed a steward and a cook; and at breakfast and supper they sat round like brethren, one plate containing a uniform portion being placed before every two of them. Thus did they live happily together in content and gladness, free from all grief and care, as though resignation and contentment formed a part of their very nature.

For about twenty days and nights did they thus tranquilly await the fulfilment of divine destiny, but during all this time the continuous rain suffered none to leave his house. When the weather cleared, the comrades of Khusraw of Kádé-kalá, banding themselves together, surrounded the Castle with a great host of horsemen and footmen, determined to shed the blood of its inmates. When news of this was brought to *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* most of his followers were without the fortress. But he said, "Let none of those who are without the castle stir from their places, and let those who are within go forth and sit down out-

side boldly and unflinchingly." And all obeyed his command.

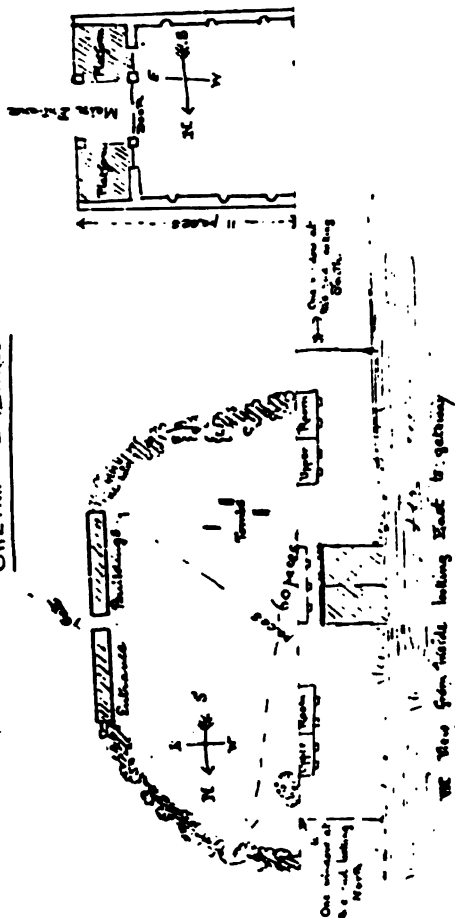
What ensued is thus related by one worthy of credence who was of the remnant spared by the sword in the Castle :—

"We, as we had been commanded, were sitting round about outside the Castle, while our foes came so near us that their bullets and shots passed by our cheeks and whistled round about and beside us. Inwardly we were somewhat disquieted, but *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* came up to us and said, 'Fear not; but if ye be indeed fighting for God, if ye be content with His good pleasure, ready to endure affliction and martyrdom, and freed from all worldly ties, then stand firm even where you are, and bow your heads in submission. If so be that God's will requireth your martyrdom, then great is your honour and happiness! But if God purposeth not that you should be slain, then none of these successive shots will effect your death; and this will be but one amongst the countless manifestations of His Power and Grace. If, therefore, anyone, in whatever position he may be, should so much as move his head to avoid a passing bullet, or should inwardly desire that the bullet should pass by him, he hath failed to attain to a state of true spiritual peace and contentment, is an unfaithful and wavering servant, and advanceth a vain boast.'

"Such was the effect of these words that our hearts became filled with strength, and so ready were we to lay down our lives that without flinching we joyfully exposed our breasts to the fire of the malignants. The enemy's horsemen galloped round about us in great numbers, but, though they fired many shots at close quarters, none of us suffered any injury, and it almost seemed as though their erring bullets were testifying to the error of their ways.

"After a little while *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* came forth

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(To face p. 56)

from the Castle, picked up several small pebbles, and cast them towards the enemy, saying, 'This is what David' did to the troops of Goliath"; whereupon, in the course of a few minutes, all were dispersed and incontinently fled."

To proceed. Soon after this occurrence *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* arrived at the Castle with a number of his companions. [The writer of these pages, being actuated by no wish to produce an elegant literary work, but only desiring to set down a true, faithful, and correct account of these matters, has become assured, after the most careful investigation, that what the late Hájí Mírzá Jání has written concerning the events of this Manifestation is in accordance with truth and actual fact, and is the outcome of careful and discriminating enquiry. He has, therefore, for the better informing of his readers and their fuller assurance, succeeded, with the assistance of a distinguished and noble Seyyid, who is also eminent in literary attainments, in obtaining a copy of this work.] Of the detailed account of these transactions *[there given]* the following is an epitome of what is most material. When *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* had arrived at the Castle of Sheykh Ṭabarsí and interviewed those who already occupied it, he proceeded to determine the extent and limits of the fortress, and ordered a wall to be built about it. He likewise commanded all such as were

* [written by the late Hájí Mírzá Jání]*

¹ C. reads *Jánáb* and L. *Jálát* (Goliath). The first is a mere copyist's error, and the second an evident mistake. I have substituted *Dá'úd* (David), which the sense of the passage obviously requires. Allusion is made to the transaction here referred to in *Kur'án* ii, 252. A full account of it, according to the Muhammadan tradition, is given in Book i of the *Rawzat-i-Safá* and in other Muhammadan histories.

² C. and L. both read *Túlát* (Saul) instead of *Jálát* (Goliath), an error which I have not hesitated to correct.

skilled in any craft to exercise that craft for God's glory in as perfect a manner as was possible, to the end that their brethren might be profited thereby. So the mason busied himself with building, the tailor with tailoring, and the sword-maker with the manufacture of swords. The number of those amongst them who were craftsmen and artisans was but small; but what was intended by this command was that all should profit by the results of one another's gifts and talents. Wherefore in like manner such as were divines and men of learning busied themselves in searching out divine mysteries and expounding philosophic truths, whereby those who lacked learning and scholarship were enabled to partake in the advantages which these confer, and to advance towards perfection, learning to base their faith on grounds of reason, and not on mere imitation or blind devotion.

The news of the construction of the fortress was soon spread abroad in every direction. It was at this time the beginning of the reign of His Imperial Majesty Násiru'd-Dín Sháh Kájár (may God perpetuate his rule)¹, and to his court did the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá* forward a petition, in response to the demands and lying assertions of which orders for the annihilation of the Bábis were issued to the chief local authorities. *[Áká 'Abdu'lláh, the brother of Hájí Muşţafá Khán, with a body of skilled marksmen and experienced soldiers; Mírzá Áká, the secretary, with a host of Kurdish, Turkish, and Afghan horsemen from Sári; and

[So there came to war with them a great host, who entrenched themselves in a village hard by the Castle of Sheykh Tabarsí and made preparations for battle.]^{*}

¹ L. inserts "corresponding to the year.....", the date being left blank. The coronation of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh took place on Zí'l-Ka'da 22nd, A.H. 1264 (Oct. 20th, A.D. 1848).

Muhammad Beg, the captain, with 300 marksmen, set out in haste to subdue and destroy the Castle, and, on their arrival there, began to throw up earthworks and to dig a trench.]* But on the other side, as a measure of defence, a body of men marched out, attacked the entrenchment, routed the enemy, and, without losing even one of their own men, slew a hundred and thirty of their antagonists. And *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* had announced that in this fight none of them were fated to fall.

When this news reached Teherán, Prince Mahdí-*Qulí* Mírzá was appointed to the government of Mázandarán with commands to put down the Bábís, and 'Abbás-*Qulí* Khán of Lárján received instructions to help and support the Prince. So the latter, with two or three thousand soldiers, advanced to within two parasangs of the Castle of Sheykh Tabarsí, and halted at Dih-i-Bázú to await the arrival of the remainder of the royal troops with 'Abbás-*Qulí* Khán.

During this period of inactivity the Prince addressed a letter to *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, demanding what his real aim might be, and whether he was fighting for religious or political objects, and calling upon him in any case to abandon his present attitude.

In reply to this letter, *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* wrote nearly as follows :—"We are exceedingly adverse to enmity and discord, much more to actual strife and warfare, especially with His Majesty the King. Only those who dream of lordship and dominion deliberately seek war with established authority, not such as these, who, foredoomed to destruction in this narrow enclosure, have nobly and devotedly cast from them such power, authority, and lordship as they formerly possessed, abandoning worldly success and supremacy to such as seek after these things. For we, agreeably to the duty incumbent on the doctors of Islám, who pretend to have been expecting the Master's coming for

twelve hundred and sixty years, and who continually pray 'May God hasten his glad advent,' have announced the appearance of that promised Proof and declared his signs ; and we maintain that you should not, like most of the doctors of former ages (who, through their blind adhesion to vain superstitions, remained shut off from the blessing of recognizing the Prophet of their time, whereby the common people also were held back, doubting and expecting, in the desert of error), continue to await in darkness the accomplished Manifestation, as do the diverse sects of Hindoos, Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians. Of these, some were indifferent, some mocked, some fell to chiding or cursing, while others again set themselves to fight and oppose the new truth, and, without investigation or enquiry, denounced as infidels and doomed to death the innocent objects of their cruel hatred. And now, by their misrepresentations, they have induced His Majesty the King to send forth his hosts to battle, thus bringing eternal disgrace on this Royal house. Had they been indeed seekers after God and desirous of distinguishing truth from falsehood, they should at least, when this matter first became apparent, have made it their business to enquire into it, and ought not to have rested for a moment until they had seen and questioned the Master, and verified or disproved his claim, so that they might be in a position to direct the rest of mankind without war and bloodshed. But now the government, refusing to give the matter due consideration, has imprisoned that Day-spring of Divinity in the remotest borders of its territory, and has carried war and slaughter against a mere handful of its subjects who have renounced the world and all that therein is. Hereby it has exposed itself to the reprobation of all nations and peoples, who will say, 'Bigotry and injustice have come to such a pass that guns and muskets have

become the arbitrators between truth and falsehood.' Can gunners and soldiers distinguish right and wrong? This is the work of learned divines, on whom devolves the duty of enquiring into the matter. If differences can be removed by reasonable discussion and argument, well and good. If not, then let us invoke God's curse on whosoever is in error, leaving to Him the decision. Or, if this content them not, let us kindle a fire¹ and enter in to the midst thereof, that the truth or falsehood of either side may be made apparent without the shedding of blood or the slaughter of God's servants. And should they agree to none of these alternatives, we for our part have no quarrel with any one, being strangers, who have suffered much in this wilderness, and are the objects of causeless persecution. Suffer us then to depart, that we may with all speed quit this land and pass to the holy shrines of Kербелá and Nejef. But if you encompass us on all sides and suffer us not to depart, and if ye be indeed bent on the slaughter of innocent folk, then have we no choice but to defend ourselves and to prove the sincerity of our belief by laying down our lives as martyrs to our cause. But do not thou, O noble Prince, take part in bringing about this bloodshed. Misrepresentations have made His Majesty the King hostile to us without cause, else by counsel and fair dealing could our differences be removed without the unsheathing of a single sword or the utterance of a single unkind word. Even Pharaoh, notwithstanding his claim to divinity, his exceeding greatness and power, and his conviction that Moses was but what he seemed—the son of one of his own slaves, and a self-confessed murderer fleeing from justice—still ostensibly acted towards him with justice

¹ The ordeal by fire would seem to have been long known to the Persians, for we find an account of it in the Episode of Siyávuš in the *Šáhnámé* (ed. Vüllers, vol. ii, pp. 550—3).

and fairness. For he summoned Moses before him, spoke with him at length, heard what he had to say, and demanded a sign. Moses answered, 'The rod and the white hand are my signs.' 'These,' said Pharaoh, 'are but a juggle'; but he was met with the answer, 'Produce the like thereof if ye speak truly'. To this, notwithstanding all his power and despotic authority, Pharaoh raised no objection, but, at great expense, assembled about a thousand magicians from all parts of the country in order that a like sign might be wrought by them. So in like manner did Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, whom our divines regard as accursed and an unbeliever, assemble nearly four hundred learned doctors to answer Ḥasaniyya the handmaiden¹ and to test the truth of her assertions. How different is the case now, when, though more than three hundred eminent and gifted divines confidently assert the truth of this new doctrine, these people, who profess to have been expecting this Manifestation for twelve hundred and sixty years, are at no pains to enquire into this matter with a view to arriving at the truth, and so preventing a powerful government from being led by the wilful misrepresentations of prejudiced persons from carrying battle and slaughter against a mere handful of its subjects. According to the Law they regard the testimony of two just witnesses as sufficient, even where life is involved: wherefore, then, do they refuse to accept the testimony of three hundred men who are not only just, but, for the most part, learned, discreet, self-devoted, and ready to lay down their lives at God's bidding? If they declare these to be in error and delusion, we reply that it is most improbable that three hundred learned men possessed of such means for forming a correct judgment should fall into such an error, seeing that each one of

¹ Cf. Qur'án, ii, 21; x, 39; xi, 16; lii, 34.

² See note 1 at the foot of p. 38, *supra*.

them attained the goal in view with infinite pains and after enduring countless privations and hardships. Only when a thousand difficulties, whereof the solution was a thousand times harder than the Cleaving of the Moon¹, had been resolved, did they suffer their doubts, which formed a rampart more stubborn than the Wall of Alexander, to be surmounted; neither did their pride of learning and priestly arrogance permit them to bow their heads in humble submission until they had been convinced by irrefragable proofs of the plenary authority bestowed from on high on that Well-spring of divine wisdom. Yet do men foolishly imagine that they lightly and easily relinquished their supremacy, and chose without reason such utter self-abandonment, little thinking what hesitation, diffidence, fear, and anxiety each of them experienced ere he became fully assured of the truth..... Again, if it be asserted that they embraced this doctrine in the hope of securing to themselves authority and lordship, this is an evident calumny, credible only to such as regard learning merely as a means for the acquisition of the perishable wealth and worthless consideration of the world. These things which they already enjoyed, yea, the very hope of life, they freely forsook for the good pleasure of the Beloved and the awakening of benighted souls. Their very deeds bear witness to the purity of their motives, for, in so dire a pass, even the most faithful are in grievous peril, and the elect quake and tremble in fear of stumbling.

["Cast away thy sword and buckler, make thy life thy shield instead;
Only he can head the van who feareth not to lose his head."]”

Now when the Prince had perused this letter, guile entered into his heart, and he wrote in reply as follows:—
“What you have written accords with truth and sound

¹ One of the miracles ascribed to Muhammad.

reason. I will convene the clergy for the consideration of the claims advanced on either side, and will endeavour to arrive at a true decision in this matter." His real object, however, was only to gain time till his reinforcements should arrive and he should be in a position to make a night attack upon the fortress; and meanwhile he arrested all such as he knew to be well disposed towards the Báb or believers in the Beyán, displaying in his treatment of them no lack of cruelty and harshness. Amongst these was Mullá Yúsuf of Ardabíl, who, in company with another, was proceeding to the Castle. These they arrested and imprisoned in the camp. About the same time that this misfortune occurred, the late Hájí Mírzá Jání, the chronicler of these events, together with Muḥammad Taqí Khán of Núr and several others, arrived in the neighbourhood in company with His Holiness Behá' (the lives of all beside him be his sacrifice), the mystery of whose real nature was still hidden within the veils of the divine Wisdom, and desired to proceed to the Castle of Sheykh Ṭabarsá. The late Hájí Mírzá Jání writes, "We repeatedly urged him¹ to proceed, and to let us bear him company, but he replied, 'If we go, they will not suffer us to reach the Castle; for this is unattainable, and the matter is otherwise predestined.'" At length, however, he yielded

¹ This passage is very important, as it shews not only that the author of this history wrote after Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí *Behá'u'lláh* had advanced his claim to supremacy, but also that he recognized the validity of this claim. That he drew his inspiration from Behá'í sources is also shewn by the fact that he makes but one doubtful reference to Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Esál*, who, whatever view be taken of his position, certainly played a part in Bábí history too important to be ignored by any disinterested historian.

² i.e. Behá'u'lláh.

to the entreaties of his devoted companions. Of the sums of money which others have mentioned, they had with them in all not less than four thousand *túmáns* in cash, besides other goods and chattels. When they had come within two parasangs of Sheykh Ṭabarsí, they were observed and seized by the royalist troops, who stripped them and bore them to the camp, intending to put them to death. As, however, Behá belonged to a distinguished family of Mázarán, certain of the royalist officers accorded him their protection and sent him to Bárfurúsh, where he suffered such afflictions as the pen is ashamed to pourtray. As to Hájí Mírzá Jání, two merchants of Káshán, who had a claim on certain of the officers, received him as the equivalent of four hundred *túmáns* which were owing to them, and set him at liberty. [When he was setting out from Teherán, some of his friends had strongly dissuaded him from going, but he replied in answer to their remonstrances, "I shall suffer martyrdom in Teherán, and though on this journey I shall be taken captive, I shall be released. Yet that I may have no cause for shame in not going, and that I may to the full accomplish my endeavour, I will go.

'Better he who boldly fronts the desert is than he in languid ease who lies;
I at least am free to make the effort, even though I fail to win the prize.'"]

Now inasmuch as *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* had, in the address known as the "Eternal Witness",¹ made known the circumstances of his own and his companions' martyrdom in the plainest manner, and knowledge of this had reached most of the brethren whether far or near, who were firmly persuaded of the truth of his foreshadowings, these no sooner learned how he and his followers were hemmed in by so great a beleaguering force in the Castle of Sheykh Ṭabarsí than they knew

¹ See p. 44 *supra*.

for a surety that in a little while that devoted band would to a man fall before the guns of the foe, and stain the earth with their life-blood. In spite of this knowledge, however, they eagerly set out from the most distant provinces to share the martyrdom of those already assembled in that fatal spot. I know not what these people had seen or apprehended that they thus readily cast aside all that men do most prize, and thus eagerly hastened to imperil their lives. Surely their conduct was such as to leave no room for doubt of their sincerity and devotion in any unprejudiced mind; and in truth what they did and suffered was little short of miraculous, being beyond mere human capacity. In them was exemplified the blessed verse, 'Desire death then if ye be sincere',¹ while through their steadfastness the words, 'Those who strive in the way of God with their possessions and persons, these are highest in rank before God, and these are they who shall be happy',² gained a new lustre.....

So *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, being well aware of the Prince's real intentions, and perceiving that his design was nothing else than to gain time till his re-inforcements should arrive and he should be able to make a night attack, repeated the blessed verse, 'They devised stratagems, and God devised stratagems, and God is the best deviser of stratagems',³ and issued orders that three hundred men should that night hold themselves in readiness for battle. And when these were ready, *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* mounted his horse, and *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* rode forth by his side, and all set out towards the camp.

Now when those who were in the royalist camp saw

¹ *Qur'án*, ii, 88; lxii, 68.

² *Qur'án*, ix, 20. The verse is not, however, quoted quite accurately.

³ *Qur'án*, iii, 47.

them, they rejoiced, thinking that it was 'Abbás-Ḳulī Khān arriving with re-inforcements. But when they came to the magazine they set fire to it, and then surrounded the Prince's quarters. Then cries and shouts arose from the soldiers on all sides, and the fire of battle blazed high. The royalist troops, unable to withstand the attack, were utterly routed and took to flight, while the followers of *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús* continued to fight with the utmost courage, and succeeded in releasing such of their companions as were confined in the camp, besides setting fire to the Prince's quarters. Prince Sulṭān Ḥuseyn Mírzá, a son of the late king Fath-'Alī Sháh, Prince Dá'ūd Mírzá, son of the late Zillu's-Sulṭān, and Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Báqī, not being quick enough to effect their escape, were burned to death in the fierce conflagration; but Prince Mahdí-Ḳulī Mírzá, being swift and cunning in flight, boldly leaped from the high roof and hid himself in the forest.

The Bábis of Mázandarán, about a hundred and twenty in number, whose leader was Áká Rasúl', together with some others, began to spoil and plunder. Thereupon *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús* called out to them, "O brethren, do not disgrace your cause by associating it with rapine!" But the weak brethren of Mázandarán, seeing a clear field and abundant spoil, paid no heed to the commands of their leader, and continued plundering till dawn began to brighten the sky. Now some thousand of the royalist soldiers had hidden themselves in the defile of a mountain hard by, and when these perceived that the Bábis were but few in number, and that, in addition to this, many of them were scattered abroad or laden with booty, they took courage, surrounded them, and opened fire. *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* attacked them

¹ C. adds *نبرد*. The title is hardly legible in L., but seems to read *نبرد*.

with drawn sword, and was pressing them hard, when suddenly a bullet was fired which struck *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* in the mouth, knocking out several of his teeth, and shattering one side of his face. When *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* witnessed this catastrophe, he began to fight even as Huseyn fought at Kerbelá, and to mete out to the enemy the recompense of what they had done. The late Hájí Mírzá Jánf writes that in that onslaught he dismissed nearly three hundred from their evil courses to the place whereunto they belonged¹. The rest, unable to withstand him, fled and hid themselves, while *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* halted till all his comrades were collected together, and then set out on his return to the Castle.

Now in spite of the success achieved by the Bábís, two misfortunes had befallen them. Firstly, three of the believers had been slain; of which the reason was that *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* had given permission to three hundred only to take part in the enterprise, and these three had gone in excess of the number so ordained. Secondly, some of the weaker brethren had engaged in plundering and straggled from the main body, thus delaying the return; and their transgression had been visited on *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, for "the kindred bear the blood-wit." *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* was deeply distressed at this sad misfortune, and seemed overcome with shame in the presence of his chief; for *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* was unable to eat solid food, and for three months tasted nothing, except now and then a little tea or broth. And this was a most marvellous thing, yea, almost a miracle; for during these three months he neither lost colour nor wasted away, nor was any impairment of bodily strength perceptible in him, nor any sign of pain or uneasiness.

¹ i.e. Hell.

When news of the Prince's defeat reached the Sartíp 'Abbás-Ḳulí Khán, he assembled his troops and joined him in Bárfurúsh, whence they set out together with a large force for the Castle of Sheykh Ṭabarsí. On their arrival they began to entrench themselves, and sometimes at night they would make a sudden attack on the Castle. But *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús* used to warn the garrison in advance, saying, "To-night these pretended watchers for the advent of the Imám Mahdí intend to attack us, therefore let nineteen men be ready to repel them." The royalists, imagining that their antagonists had no knowledge of their plans, sought by all manner of devices to capture the fortress; but on each occasion they were routed at the outskirts of the Castle and driven back in shame and confusion by these nineteen men.

After the war had continued for some time, *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* said to *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús*, "I can no longer bear to look upon the wound which mars your glorious visage. Suffer me, I pray you, to lay down my life this night, that I may be delivered alike from my shame and my anxiety." So *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús* suffered him to go, and bade the faithful bear him company.

Now it was the custom of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* to go forth to fight in this wise: he himself, followed by several other mounted men, would ride in advance, while the rest of his companions followed on foot. If it was at night-time, they would put on felt caps, gird their swords to their belts, and, with bare feet and arms uncovered to the elbow, rush upon the very centre of the hostile army with cries of "*Yá Şáhibu 'z-zamán*!" Then, with swords worth not more than five *kráns*, which they had wrought for themselves within their castle, they would cut down men whose gear had cost a thousand *túmáns*.

¹ "O Lord of the age!"

So *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* and his companions advanced calmly upon the enemy in this fashion, and quitted themselves that night like men of valour. Though their opponents were more than seven thousand strong, within one hour they captured seven of their entrenchments. When 'Abbás-Kulí Khán saw this, he disguised himself in change of raiment, quitted the camp with two of his retainers, and concealed himself in the shelter of a hillock, or, according to another account, in a hollow tree. Now since the night was very dark, and rain was falling heavily, the Bábís, fearing to injure one another, had set fire to the wood which had been stacked in the camp (or, as others relate, to the bundles of reeds which were there), that they might have light enough to distinguish friends from foes. They had also hung white shawls across their shoulders as a token to serve for mutual recognition, and this rendered them conspicuous to 'Abbás-Kulí Khán, who presently caught signs of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, and discharged a bullet at him which struck him in the breast. He followed up this shot with another, which also took effect.

Now *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, knowing for a surety that he would meet his death that night, had, in the very midst of the conflict, said to one who was beside him, "Mount behind me on my horse, and when I say, 'Bear me to the Castle' turn back with all speed." So now, overcome with faintness, he said, "Bear me to the Castle." Thereupon his companion turned the horse's head and brought him back to the entrance of the Castle; and there he straightway yielded up his spirit to the Lord and Giver of life.

So they brought in his body and laid it before *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, who neither wept, nor moved from his place, nor by any change of countenance betrayed his emotion, but only pointed to it with his staff, saying, "Leave it here, and go dig a grave in such-and-such a spot." What

followed is thus related by him who made ready the grave:—"When the grave was completed, I advanced to the curtain <which guarded the entrance of the chamber> to request permission to enter, and to announce that the grave was ready. As I did so, the low murmur of conversation reached my ears. I softly raised a corner of the curtain, and beheld *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* seated beside *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, from whose face the covering had been removed, engaged in conversation with him. When I saw this, fear overcame me, and I quaked with terror. Suddenly *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* said to me, 'Is the grave ready?' I replied in the affirmative. 'Enter, then,' said he, 'and take away the body.' So I entered the chamber, bore away the body of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* from before him, and buried it with the raiment in which it was clad."

The royal troops had that night suffered a disgraceful defeat, and were scattered in flight. Many of the Bábís, too, had in the darkness and pouring rain missed the way to the Castle and become separated from their comrades, but, when the time for prayer came, these, guided by the sound of the *aqán*, found their way back thither. For it was customary with the garrison of the Castle to keep vigil during the last third of the night, to read and pray aloud with fervent devotion until day-break, and to offer up their petitions to the Just and Gracious Lord. Far otherwise was it in the royalist camp, where wine-bibbing, foul and licentious acts, dice-playing, and utter neglect of spiritual exercises universally prevailed.

When these belated stragglers reached the Castle, and were informed of the martyrdom of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, they became exceeding sorrowful. And when they computed the number of those who had fallen by his side from the beginning of the war until that night, there were seventy, neither more nor less, exactly as *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*

had explicitly declared in the sermon of the "Eternal Witness'." But in the royalist camp more than four hundred men perished that night, including thirty-five officers of distinction, and more than a thousand were wounded, while the survivors had betaken themselves to flight. So 'Abbás-Kulí Khán gathered up the corpses of his officers, and retired to Ámul to mourn their loss.

But when the Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá was informed of this, he (fearing lest the Bábís should enter Bárfurúsh and mete out to him the punishment which he deserved) was overcome with trouble and consternation, and wrote several successive letters to 'Abbás-Kulí Khán, saying, "I congratulate you on your courage and discretion, but how much to be deplored it is that after you have been at such pains, lost so many of your kinsmen, and gained at length so signal a victory, you did not follow it up. You have made a great multitude food for the sword, and have returned, leaving only a few decrepit old men as survivors. Alas, that, after all your efforts and perseverance, the Prince is now prepared to march against the Castle and take captive these few poor wretches, so that after all he will get the credit of this signal victory, and will appropriate to himself all the money and property of the vanquished! You must make it your first and most important business to return to the Castle ere he has set out, for the government of a province like Mázandarán is not a thing to be trifled with. Strive, then, to gain the entire credit of this victory, and let your exertions accomplish what your zeal has begun." He also wrote at great length to the clergy of Ámul, urgently exhorting them to use their best endeavours to make the Sartíp 'Abbás-Kulí Khán start at once without further delay. So they continued to remind him incessantly.

¹ See p. 44 *supra*.

santly that it was his duty to march with all speed against the Castle; and the Sartip, though he knew that what the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá* had written to him was utterly false and baseless, was eager, if it should be possible, to make some amends for what had passed, and so to clear himself in some measure of the disgrace which he had incurred in the eyes of the Larijání women whose husbands he had sacrificed, and of the government. But inwardly he was consumed with anxiety, fearing that, as in the previous campaign, he might fail to accomplish anything. Most of his men, too, were wounded, while many had fled and concealed themselves in the surrounding villages distant four or five parasangs from the city. So, as a makeshift, he wrote to the clergy of Ámul, saying, "If indeed this be a religious war, you, who are such zealous champions of the faith, and to whom men look for example, should take the lead, and make the first move, so that others may follow you." The clergy, not being prepared with a suitable answer, and seeing no way of excusing themselves, were obliged to send a message to the effect that the war was a religious war. A great company of tradesmen, common people, and roughs was assembled, and these, with the clergy and students, set out, ostensibly for the accomplishment of a religious duty, but really bent on plunder and rapine. Most of these went to Bárfurúsh and there joined the advance of Prince Mahdí-Kulí Mírzá, who, on reaching a village distant one parasang from the Castle, sent a body of his men to reconnoitre and collect information about the movements of the Bábí garrison.

But *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* was well aware of the circumstances just detailed, and said to his followers, "Go, and set up on posts the heads of such of our antagonists as were slain, arranging them in regular order round the ramparts of the Castle." So they did as he commanded.

And when the royal troops, with the rabble who accompanied them, drew nigh to the Castle, and saw these heads, with mouths gaping horribly and blackened faces, set up on posts round the fortress, they were filled with indescribable terror. And even as they stood gazing thus, fifteen horsemen emerged from the Castle crying "*Yá Sāhibu 'z-zamán'!*" and scattered before them the cavalry of the enemy (though these were more than five hundred strong), slaying not a few.

After this it became clear to the royal troops that they could not carry the fortress by storm. They therefore employed carpenters to construct scaling-ladders and battering-rams, which they carried to the Castle and erected during the night. They also began to dig trenches, and thus gradually advanced. Many came from the surrounding district to help them; ammunition and artillery began to arrive daily from Teherán; and the garrison of the Castle came forth but seldom, only firing occasional shots from the tops of their towers.

The reverend divines, who with their pupils, had come to take part in the holy war, were scarce able to sleep at night for fear (though their quarters were in a place distant two parasangs from the Castle), and continually in their conversation would they roundly abuse the Prince and 'Abbás-Kulí Khán and curse the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá*; "For," said they, "these have, without sufficient reason, taken us away from our studies, our discussions, and the earning of our livelihood, besides bringing us into dire peril; since to fight with men like these, who have renounced the world, and carry their lives in their hands, is to incur great risk." So the holy verse "Cast not yourselves into peril with your own hands" became their daily utterance. One said,

¹ "O Lord of the age!" Cf. p. 69 *supra*.

² Kur'án, ii, 191.

"Certain circumstances exonerate me from the duty of taking part in this war at present." Another [adducing thirty different pretexts] said, "I am lawfully excused and am compelled to turn back." A third said, "I have little children dependent on me; what can I do?" A fourth said, "I have made no provision for my wife, so I must go, but, should it be necessary, I will return again." A fifth said, "My accounts with certain persons are not yet settled; should I fall a martyr, my wealth will be wasted, and an injustice will be done to my wife and children; and both waste and injustice are condemned as repugnant to our holy religion and displeasing to God." A sixth said, "I owe money to certain persons, and have none to acquit me of my debt. Should I fall, my debt will not allow me to cross the Bridge of *Širát*¹." A seventh said, "I came away without the knowledge of my mother, and she had said to me, 'Should'st thou go, I will make the milk where-with I nourished thee unlawful to thee.' I fear therefore that I may be cast off as undutiful by my mother." An eighth wept, saying, "I have made a vow to visit Kerbelá this year; one circumambulation of the holy sepulchre of the Chief of Martyrs² is equivalent in merit to a hundred-thousand martyrdoms or a thousand pilgrimages to Mecca. I fear to fail in the fulfilment of my vow, and so to be disappointed of this great blessing." Others said, "We, for our part, have neither seen in these people, nor heard of them, aught which sheweth them to be unbelievers, for they also say 'There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, and 'Alī is the Friend of God.' At most, they maintain that the advent of the Imám Mahdī has

¹ The narrow bridge "finer than a hair and sharper than a sword" which, as the Muhammadans believe, all must traverse to reach paradise.

² Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tálīb, the third Imám.

taken place. Let them be ; for at all events they are no worse than the Sunnis, who reject the twelve Imáms and the fourteen immaculate saints, [[recognize such an one as 'Umar as caliph, prefer 'Othmán to 'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb, and accept Abú Bekr as the successor of our holy Prophet]]. Why should our divines leave those alone, and fight with these about matters whereof the rights and wrongs have not been properly determined ? ”

In short, throughout the camp murmurs arose from every tongue, and complaints from every mouth ; each one sung a different tune and devised a different pretext ; and all awaited but some plausible excuse to betake themselves to flight. So when 'Abbás-Ḳulí Khán perceived this to be the case, he, fearing lest the contagion of their terror might spread to his soldiers, was forced to accept the excuses of these reverend divines and their disciples and followers, who forthwith departed, rejoicing greatly, and uttering prayers for the Sartíp's success. Men of discernment can easily appraise the faith and understanding of persons like these, who came to join in a holy war at the command of 'Abbás-Ḳulí Khán and turned back from it by his permission, not having sense enough to see that the wise would deride their conduct, saying, “ If, agreeably to God's command, it was a religious duty to fight with these people, then the clergy should have taken the lead ; in which case, why did they not from the first undertake this duty ? And when, impelled by the zeal of 'Abbás-Ḳulí Khán, and at his command, they had entered upon the war, what occasion had they for turning back without striking a blow ? If, on the other hand, it had not yet been shewn that the Bábis were infidels, and if war with them were a thing displeasing to God, then why did they not strive to restrain 'Abbás-Ḳulí Khán instead of submitting to his opinion ? ” In a word, they went forth to

fight actuated solely by their passions, and turned back by reason of their own selfish motives. By this all may judge of the rest of their actions, for whosoever is endowed with discernment will perceive that all their words and deeds were prompted by self-interest, and that their conduct was wholly at variance with right. They regard knowledge but as a means of obtaining power and winning men's esteem; they barter religion for gold and silver; and they study the Law but to demand 'restitution of wrongs', 'Imám's money', and 'thirds' of the property left by persons dying, or to obtain bribes in lawsuits and presents for pronouncing decisions contrary to what God hath revealed. [Thus do they amass wealth without the trouble of engaging in commerce or agriculture.]

["If every sinner got drunk with sin as the toper does with wine,
How many a sin would stand revealed which we scarcely now divine!"]

Now after the martyrdom of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* made it his chief object to prepare his companions for death and departure from the world, and to set in order the means for their deliverance from earth and ascent to the realms of true existence, desiring that the period of strife and suffering might be shortened, and that they might the sooner escape from the prison of the body, and rest in the presence of the Beloved. For they had no

¹ When a Persian Shi'ite dies, it is customary to give a certain proportion of the wealth he leaves behind him to the clergy, to be expended on pious and charitable objects, and thus to atone for the wrongs which the deceased during his life-time may have done to his fellow-men. This is called *radd-i-ma'áfíim* ('restitution of wrongs').

² See Querry's *Droit Musulman*, vol. ii, pp. 327—363 *passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 633, § 178, and p. 162, § 210.

other object in placing their lives in jeopardy than to publish the news of the Manifestation, proclaim the word of God, complete the proof, and convey the summons to all peoples of the world ; so that all such as were open to receive the truth at that time or in after ages might, according to the degree of their fitness, become enquirers or believers. When, therefore, they knew that the fame of their deeds and doctrine had been sufficiently noised abroad and had reached the ken of all nations and peoples, then, their sole object being accomplished, they made haste to lay down their lives and depart to the invisible and eternal world. Thus *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, coming forth one day from the room wherein he dwelt, saw lying a quantity of rice in the husk¹. Thereupon he said to his companions, "We came hither to shew forth God's truth, not to live gluttonously. If the aim in view were to maintain in luxury these perishable bodies, had you not in your own homes all manner of delicate foods? Why then did ye forsake these to come hither? But if ye came to die, then you need not fodder and provisions." To this his companions replied, "Whatever your orders may be, we are ready to obey them." Then said he, "Give the rice to the horses and sheep and cattle for them to eat it." For they had over two hundred horses, forty or fifty milch-cows, and three or four hundred sheep, most of which had been given to them by the people of *Mázandarán*, who, as many as believed, brought with them to the Castle of what they possessed. So the *Bábís*, eager to obey the commands of *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, took no pains to husband their resources, so that in a little while their provisions were exhausted ; while, inasmuch as the enemy had sur-

¹ *Shalták*, i.e. rice not yet separated from the husk. In Hindústán it is called *shált*, and by Anglo-Indians "paddy."

rounded the Castle on all sides, they could not go forth to procure fresh supplies.

Once, indeed, some few of them did go out to try to obtain a little tea [and sugar] for *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*. The most notable of these was Mullá Sa'id of Zarkanád. Now he was a man so accomplished in science that when certain learned men of the kindred of *[[Mírzá]]* Muhammad Taqí of Núr addressed to *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* in writing certain questions touching the sciences of divination and astrology, the latter said to Mullá Sa'id, "Do you speedily write for them a brief and compendious reply, that their messenger be not kept waiting, and a more detailed answer shall be written subsequently." So Mullá Sa'id, though hurried by the presence of the messenger, and distracted by the turmoil of the siege, rapidly penned a most eloquent address, wherein, while replying to the questions asked, he introduced nearly a hundred well-authenticated traditions bearing on the truth of the new Manifestation of the promised Proof, besides several which foreshadowed the halting of those who had believed in the Lord about Tabará, and their martyrdom. The learned men of Núr were amazed beyond all measure at his erudition, and said, "Candour compels us to admit that such presentation of these matters is a great miracle, and that such erudition and eloquence are far beyond the Mullá Sa'id whom we knew. Assuredly this talent hath been bestowed on him from on high, and he in turn hath made it manifest to us."

Now Mullá Sa'id and his companions, while they were without the Castle, fell into the hands of the royal troops, and were by them carried before the Prince. The Prince strove by every means to extract from them some information about the state of the Bábi garrison, their numbers,

* [Mullá] *

and the amount of their munitions ; but do what he would he could gain nothing. So, when he perceived Mullá Sa'id to be a man of talent and understanding, he said to him, "Repent, and I will release you and not suffer you to be slain." To this Mullá Sa'id replied, "Never did anyone repent of obedience to God's command, why then should I? Rather do you repent, who are acting contrary to His good pleasure, and more evilly than anyone hath heretofore done." And he spoke much more after the same fashion. So at length they sent him to Sári in chains and fetters, and there slew him, with circumstances of the utmost cruelty, along with his companions, who appear to have been five in number.

We have, however, wandered from our subject, which was the scarcity of provisions from which the garrison of the Castle began to suffer. When their stores were exhausted, and they began to suffer the hardships of privation, they represented to *Jenáb-i-Kuddís* that the horses were perishing of hunger. So he ordered them to drive out from the Castle such as were lean, and to slay and eat such as were fat, seeing that this was now become lawful to them¹. One can readily imagine how grievous and how distasteful the eating of horse-flesh must have seemed to persons habituated to such luxuries as Russian sugar, Austrian tea², and fine aromatic rice. Yet they ate submissively and with contentment so much as was needful to sustain life, bowing patiently, yea, thankfully, before the Divine decree. Now there were in the Castle from olden time the remains of a bath, which the Bábís had endea-

¹ See Querry's *Droit Musulman*, vol. ii, p. 230, § 10, and p. 242, § 100.

² "White tea" (*cháy-i-safíd*) and "Austrian tea" (*cháy-i-Namé*) are the names given in Persia to the finest variety of the leaf.

voured to repair. One day *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, as he came forth from this bath, saw some of his companions roasting and eating horse-flesh. "Let me see," said he, "what this food, which the Beloved hath apportioned to us, is like." Then he took a little and sucked it in his mouth, and presently remarked that the meat was very pleasant to the taste, and sweet in savour. After this, horse-flesh seemed to the taste of all so sweet and so palatable that they were filled with astonishment, saying, "It is as though our food savoured of paradise, for never have we tasted meat so delicious."

Now when the horse-flesh came to an end they began to subsist on vegetables, until even the grass and the leaves of the trees within the fortress were all consumed, so that, as some have related, they ate even the leather off their saddles'. Grass became harder to find than the Philosopher's Stone, and if they sought to gather it outside the Castle, they were at once exposed to the fire of the enemy. They therefore ceased to attempt to leave their fortress, and abstained from food, so that for nineteen days they took no sustenance (save that morning and evening they drank each a cup of warm water), drawing their strength from their converse with *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*. And as his aim was to hasten the impending catastrophe, so did the strength of the faithful wane daily on every side, while that of their foes ever waxed greater. Thus the latter constructed four towers on the four sides of the Castle, and raised them so high that they were able to command the interior of the fortress with their guns, and to make the garrison targets for their bullets. Then the faithful, seeing this, began to dig subterranean passages and to retreat thither. But the ground of *Mázandarán* lies near the water and is saturated

¹ The saddles used by the Persians are chiefly composed of wood.

with moisture, added to which rain fell continually, increasing the damage, so that these poor sufferers dwelt amidst mud and water till their garments rotted away with damp, and a voice from the Unseen seemed to proclaim to each,

“Clothe thy body with the garb of nakedness
Ere the cloak of death shall fall upon thy frame;
So renounce the things of earth that at thy death
E'en the shroud upon thy corpse may seem a shame.”

So their bellies clave to their back-bones, as though to say, “Ye are come near to the spirit-world; be ye therefore like unto the angels;” their bodies became like skeletons, reminding them that—

“There they seek for wasted frames and know the worth of wearied hearts;”

their cheeks grew pallid as amber, telling them that the signs of a faithful lover are a heart filled with woe, bitter sighs, and a sallow complexion. They were ready to breast the steep ascent to martyrdom and bliss; they hovered like moths round the cannon-balls and bullets, which they hailed as a means of deliverance; they rushed towards immolation with an impetuosity which imagination can scarce conceive.... They seemed weary of life and of their bodies, and met the afflictions which continually beset them with the cry of “Is there more?” Whenever one of their comrades quaffed the draught of martyrdom before their eyes, instead of grieving they rejoiced. Thus, for instance, on one occasion a bomb-shell fell on the roof of a hut, which caught fire. Sheykh Šālih of Shīrāz went to extinguish the fire. A bullet struck his head and shattered his skull. Even as they were raising his corpse a second bullet carried away the hand of Ākā Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī, the son of

¹ Qur’ān, I, 29.

Seyyid Aḥmad, who was the father of Āḳā Seyyid Ḥuseyn "the beloved." So, too, was Āḳā Seyyid Ḥuseyn "the beloved," a child ten years of age, slain before his father's eyes, and he fell rolling in mud and gore with limbs quivering like those of a half-killed bird. His father heaved a deep sigh and said, "May thy filial piety find acceptance!" On another day a bomb-shell fell on the wooden roof of the hut occupied by *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*. Mullá Muḥammad Šádík, who was better known as *Muḥaddas-i-Khurásání*, involuntarily sprang up, crying, "O my master, quit thy place!" But the other answered composedly, "If the Beloved of all worlds desires that we should fall by a bullet, then why should we flee, our object being gained? But if He desire it not, then shall we assuredly not be slain; wherefore then should we move?" *Jenáb-i-Muḥaddas-i-Khurásání* used to declare that forthwith the projectile rose up from the ground and burst in the air, and this notwithstanding the fact that bomb-shells commonly enter the ground where they fall, and then leap back and burst.

So every day the final catastrophe drew nearer, and ever the royalist troops devised some fresh plan for capturing the Castle. Amongst other devices, they had some while before dug a mine under one of the towers, charged it with powder, fired it, and destroyed the tower; but during the following night the garrison, at the command of their illustrious chief, rebuilt it, and completed it ere dawn. Now again in these last days they made a mine under one of the walls of the Castle, placed therein a cauldron full of powder, and fired it, thus destroying the wall. *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, being informed of this, said, "Do not rebuild it, for when we bade you repair the breach in the tower we had need of it for other six months, but now we need these things no longer. Let two marksmen sit there; so shall none be able to approach or enter in."

The first attempt of the enemy to storm the fortress was made on the covered way'. As soon as they approached the Castle in force, fifteen [mounted] men [and five] on foot sallied forth and attacked them. Many of the soldiers were slain, and amongst them fell the Sardár 'Ab-du'lláh Khán. Of the defenders only two were killed. The attacking force retired in despair, while the garrison collected the bodies of their slain, and carried them into the Castle. The disastrous result of the attack on the covered way was openly admitted in the royalist camp, but nevertheless, seeing that the garrison did not repair the breach in the walls, they again prepared to make an attempt to carry the Castle by storm. It was arranged by the royalist leaders that there should be five standards, and that to him who should first succeed in planting one of them on the Castle wall should be awarded a sum of five hundred *tímáns*, to the second four hundred, and to each subsequent one a hundred *tímáns* less, by which arrangement the bearer of the last standard would receive one hundred *tímáns*. They then disposed the artillery, marshalled out seven thousand regulars, horse and foot, and boldly began the advance. When they were come near to the Castle, the first standard-bearer succeeded in planting his standard on the ramparts, but a bullet struck his foot and he fell. He bravely regained his feet, but a second shot struck him in the breast, and he fell down headlong with his standard. The defenders of the Castle, hungry and barefooted as they were, hurled themselves upon the enemy sword in hand, and displayed that day a courage and heroism which the world had never before seen, and which must appear to such as consider it little short of miraculous. So fiercely did they drive back that mighty host that many even of the bravest and boldest were un-

¹ *Kúché-i-salámat.*

able to escape from their hands, while the rest, overcome with panic, could neither fight nor flee.

That night the chiefs of the besieging army met in council. "We cannot," said they, "carry the Castle by storm; every attempt to do so results only in defeat, disgrace, and useless loss of life." Even Suleymán Khán Afshár, a man wise in council and skilled in war, who had been sent from Teherán to take the Castle at all hazards, gave up in despair, and retired to 'Alí-ábad with the intention of returning [to the capital]. The Prince and 'Abbás-Ḳulí Khán also declared in the despatches which they forwarded to the King that in spite of the most strenuous efforts the troops could gain no advantage, and that it appeared certain that there was but little chance of their obtaining a victory. So the Prince, despairing of effecting aught by force, again resorted to a stratagem, and wrote to *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús* as follows:—"Seek not to inflict further hurt on the Musulmána. For nine months have both sides been engaged in hostilities without any truce or respite. We now consent to abandon all thought of war, and, for the sake of peace, to agree to what terms you may propose."

When *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús* had read this letter, he said, "Although he meditates treachery, and designs to shed the blood of these innocent people, yet, since his designs accord with destiny, and since we desire but to die and escape from this transitory world, we will even suffer his schemes to prevail." Therefore he wrote in reply, "If you will guarantee our safety and let us pass without molestation, we will depart out of your land and go into another country."

The Prince, on receiving this letter, rejoiced exceedingly, and both he and 'Abbás-Ḳulí Khán swore on the Ḳur'án to respect the terms of the treaty, which contained

the following clause :—"To whatsoever place ye desire to go, none shall let or hinder you in any way." Moreover the Prince [sent a horse, and] expressed a great wish to meet *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, who, out of respect for the *Kur'án* on which the oaths were sworn, agreed to the proposals made, saying, "Although his object is evident *[and his treachery clear to our minds (for he has made the Word of God the instrument of his guile, and will in no wise abide by the *Kur'án*, or his word, oath, treaty, and covenant) yet we would rather lose our lives than fail in respect for God's Word, and will therefore accede to his invitation, and, of our own free will, tread submissively this path of agony.]"*

So the horse was sent for *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, and he mounted it, and came forth with such of his men as still survived, two hundred and thirty in all, walking on his right hand and on his left. Outside the camp a place had been prepared for them, and there they alighted. Then a messenger came from the Prince to *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, saying, "Either permit me to pay you a short visit here, or else be kind enough to come to me, that we may converse together for a while, and arrange some plan for your departure." So *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, with fourteen (or, as some say, seven) others, came to the Prince's quarters.

After the interchange of the usual compliments, the Prince requested *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* to order his followers to lay down their arms, because these were a menace and a cause of fear to the troops. This request he urged so persistently that *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* finally sent orders to his men to lay aside their weapons, which orders were cheerfully and willingly obeyed. Then the soldiers gathered

*[still, that we fail not in respect for the *Kur'án*, or in readiness to respond to his overtures, it is good for us to tread submissively this path of agony.]*

up the arms and weapons and bore them away. Before this was done the Prince had ordered breakfast to be brought for the Bábís. But when these sat down unarméd to eat, the soldiers surrounded them and fired a volley upon them, and then rushed in amongst the survivors, giving them for refreshment the draught of martyrdom. Then they seized *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* and those who were with him. A strange hospitality and welcome did they shew to these poor people! After they had for three months suffered such hunger that they would eagerly eat grass, and even that failed them, they were bidden on the Word of God to a feast, yet ere they had tasted a single morsel their hunger was appeased with bullets! And so much of their blood was collected in a hollow of the ground that the truth of a tradition which affirms that in that land shall be such bloodshed that a horse shall wade knee-deep in gore was made manifest.

Next day the royalists fell on the Castle, and carried off as plunder all the goods and chattels which were therein. After this they moved their camp from that place, carrying with them in shameful bonds *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, *Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan* the brother of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, *Mullá Muḥammad Šádiḳ* of *Khurásán**, *Hájí Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan* of *Khurásán*, *Sheykh Ni'matu'lláh* of *Ámul*, *Hájí Naṣír* of *Kazvín*, *Mullá Yúsuf* of *Ardabíl*, *Áká Seyyid 'Abdu'l-'Azím* †[*of Khúy*]†, and several others. They beat the drums to celebrate their victory, and displayed such pride in their prowess that one would have supposed that they had either retaken from Russia the territories once owned by Persia, or obtained some great victory over the English, which had placed them in possession of India, or

*[*Mírzá Muḥammad Šádiḳ* of *Khurásán*]*

†[*of Marágha*]†

annexed Balúchistán, Afghánistán, Balkh, and Bukhárá, or recovered their captives from the Turcomans, or won from the Turks Baghdad, Kerbelá, and Nejef, and brought back with them as prisoners of war many a proud Páshá and great captain.

When these few half-famished men, who for three months had suffered such pangs of hunger as can scarcely be conceived, were brought in <to Rárfurúsh>, the people decorated the city and made great rejoicings. *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* on his arrival in the city besought the Prince to send him to the capital, to be dealt with by the King himself, and to receive judgement according to the right. The Prince at first acceded to his request, but when the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá* heard that he had done so, he sent him a message, saying, "Beware that you meddle not in this matter, for he is a plausible fellow and hath a specious tongue; should he be suffered to appear before His Majesty the King, he will assuredly succeed in misleading him. Send him to me, and I will give you a thousand *túmáns*." So the Prince accepted the thousand (or, according to another account, four hundred) *túmáns*, and delivered over *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* to the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá*.

Now when *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* was brought in before him, the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá* abused him right foully and entreated him most cruelly. With his own hands he first cut off both his ears, and then struck him on the crown of the head with an iron axe which he held in his hands, which blow caused his death. After that, a student severed his holy head from his body in the midst of the market-place*. Then the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá* commanded that his body should

*[And when they slew him no blood came forth from his body. So they told this to the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá*. And he said, "He was afraid, and his blood left him."]*

be burned. So they tried to set fire to it by kindling dried rice-stalks. **[According to the account given by Hájí Mírzá Jání, not even the blazing fire thus kindled would burn those holy remains. Some firmly believe this, and regard it as an assured fact; but the writer of these pages' regards fire as a thing which must in its very nature burn, and is essentially a consumer; that this natural quality should be taken from it appears to him impossible. But God knows best, and the responsibility for this narrative lies on the narrator. Hájí Mírzá Jání further writes that when they saw this they informed the Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá.]** He, fearing lest men might now condemn his action, bade them go at once and cut the body in pieces and scatter them in the fields. And they did as he commanded. But at night † certain of the faithful, not known to men as such, watched their opportunity, and came and gathered up the fragments of the body, and buried them in a ruined college. *[Hájí Mírzá Jání writes :—]* "A believer whose words are worthy of all credence narrated as follows :— 'One day, before ever these matters were talked of, I was in the company of that holy man. We were taking a walk in the country, and in the course of it chanced to pass by the gate of that same ruined college. He, speaking of the

[But the fire would not consume it. They secretly told the Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá of this.]

†*[according to Hájí Mírzá Jání's account,]*†

¹ A part of the passage from L. inserted here in the text has been erased in the original MS. by a stroke of the pen; but, notwithstanding this, it is easily legible. The erasure begins at the words "but the writer (*muasawwid*) of these pages . . .", and extends to the words "Hájí Mírzá Jání further writes that . . .". Very probably the passage in L. is an interpolation of the copyist, and was deleted by a former possessor of the MS., who disapproved of such scepticism.

viciissitudes of the world, said by way of illustration, "This college, for instance, was once frequented and flourishing, and is now desolate and ruined. After a while some illustrious man will be buried here, men will come from afar to visit the place, and once again it will flourish." So likewise in the year of his martyrdom, before he went to Khurásán, he chanced one day to pass with a companion through the square in which he suffered death. His eyes happening to fall on a heap of dried rice-stalks, he remarked, 'This very year they will slay a certain holy man in this very spot after the vilest fashion, and will attempt to burn his body with these very rice-stalks, but the fire will be ashamed to touch it, though this people will not be ashamed.' Then he heaved a deep sigh and was silent."

So likewise in the exhortation known as "the Eternal Witness'," which he wrote while on his way to Khurásán to *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, and wherein, besides foreshadowing his own martyrdom, he clearly made known to him how he should die together with seventy¹ just and righteous men, he wrote, "I shall bury my body with my own hands," by which expression he signified that none² would bury him [but that one of themselves would succeed in accomplishing his interment]. Again in that same year he had repeatedly said to his sister and his step-mother, "This year all manner of troubles will befall you by reason of the love ye bear me, but be ye patient and thankful when affliction comes and the predestined blow falls, and display resignation and fortitude." There is also a well-authenticated tradition to the effect that a bearded woman of Jewish extraction called Sa'ida shall compass the martyr-

¹ See p. 44, *supra*.

² See p. 44, n. 3, *supra*.

³ i.e. no Musulmán.

dom of the Ká'im¹ with an iron pestle in Fárán² of Teherán. And since *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* had arisen to proclaim this teaching, he was in a sense Lord of the Dispensation, even as it runs in the tradition. And by "the bearded Sa'ida" the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá* appears to be meant, for he lacked all virtues of manhood and was probably effeminate in the worst sense³. And the "iron pestle" was that same iron axe wherewith he smote the head of his illustrious victim, while as to his being a recent convert to Islám and of Jewish extraction there is no doubt, this fact being well-known⁴ to all the people of Mázandarán. Moreover, after the martyrdom of *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá* suffered a grievous punishment. For God deprived his body of the element of heat, so that in mid-summer, even while the sign of the Lion was dominant, two iron chafing-dishes filled with glowing fire were brought with him whenever he went to the mosque, and, although he always wore a sheep-skin cloak over his vest, and over the sheep-skin a thick mantle, he would make haste to finish his prayers, and at once return to his home. And on his arrival there, they would put the chafing-dishes under a *kursí*⁴ and cover him with many thick quilts, yet still his body would shiver and shake under the *kursí* by reason of

* [by diverse indications and signs] *

¹ "He who is to arise", i.e. the Mahdí.

² The arabicized form of the Mount Paran of the Old Testament. L.'s reading, *Fárá*, seems to be a mere slip.

³ In the original, "*wa gháliban san-fab'at bádadand*."

⁴ The *kursí*, much used by the Persians in cold weather, is like a low table under which a chafing-dish filled with burning charcoal is placed. The legs are put beneath it, and the remainder of the body, supported by pillows, is protected from the cold with rugs and quilts.

the cold. So by reason of his lack of caloric and heat-producing power also one may describe him as bereft of virility and manhood.

At all events it appears that after the martyrdom of *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, a pious divine, Hájí Muḥammad 'Alí Ḥamza'í by name, whose skill in exegesis and spiritual gifts were recognized by all, secretly sent several persons to bury the mutilated remains in the ruined college already mentioned. And he, far from approving the *Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá's* conduct, used to curse and revile him, and never himself pronounced sentence of death against any Bábí, but on the contrary used to obtain decent burial for those slain by the *Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá*. And when men questioned him concerning the garrison of the Castle, he would reply, "I do not condemn them or speak evil of them." For this reason half of Bárfurúsh remained neutral¹, for at first he used to forbid men to traduce or molest the Bábís, though later, when the trouble waxed great, he deemed it prudent to be silent and shut himself up in his house. Now his austerity of life, piety, learning, and virtue were as well known to the people of Mázandarán as were the irreligion, immorality, and worldliness of the *Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá*.

"The doctor oft of wisdom hath no share,
And is but wisdom's guardian, not its heir.
'Which beareth books',² saith God. A mere dead load
Is knowledge which is not by Him bestowed.
A sword in savage hands is not more dire
A danger than the knowledge fools acquire!
Rank, wealth, authority, and scripture lore
In evil hands cause only strife and war.

¹ Literally "silent."

² This alludes to Qur'án, lxii, 5, where the Jews are reproofed for their rejection of Muḥammad in these words, "Those unto whom the Pentateuch was committed, and who observed it not, are like unto an ass which beareth books, &c."

Whene'er the unjust judge controls the pen,
 Some Mansúr¹ dies upon the gallows then.
 Whene'er fools wield authority, God's Word
 'They slay the prophets' is a thing assured."²

Since an attempt to describe even in outline and in the most concise manner possible all that relates to the garrison of the Castle would lead us too far beyond our original design, and would even then tell but a tithe of what took place, we must perforce content ourselves with giving for illustration brief and succinct accounts of some few individuals only.

< Account of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan, the brother of
 Mullá Ḥuseyn. >

Amongst these was Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan, the [younger] brother of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*. The late Hájí Mírzá Jání writes, "I myself met him when he was bringing his mother and sister from Kerbelá to Kázvín and from Kázvín to Toherán. His sister was the wife of Sheykh Abú Turáb of Kázvín, who was a scholar and philosopher such as is rarely met with, and believed with the utmost sincerity and purity of purpose, while such was his love and devotion to the Báb that if anyone did so much as mention the name of His Supreme Holiness (the souls of all beside him be his sacrifice!) he could not restrain his tears. Often

¹ Ḥuseyn b. Mansúr-i-Ḥalláj (the wool-carder) was a celebrated Šúfí who wandered about teaching the most exalted mysticism till he was finally sentenced to death by the 'Ulamá at Baghdad, and there hanged or crucified in the year A.H. 309 (A.D. 922). He was condemned on a charge of blasphemy, because in one of his mystical ecstasies he had cried out "*Ana'l-Hakk*" (i.e. "I am God").

² Qur'án, iii, 108.

³ This quotation is from the *Masnavi*.

have I seen him, when engaged in the perusal of the writings of His Supreme Holiness, become almost beside himself with rapture, and nearly faint with joy. Of his wife he used to say, 'I married her three years ago in Kerbelá. She was then but an indifferent scholar even in Persian, but now she can expound texts from the *Kur'an* and explain the most difficult questions and most subtle points of the doctrine of the Divine Unity in such wise that I have never seen a man who was her equal in this, or in readiness of apprehension. These gifts she has obtained by the blessing of His Holiness the Supreme and through converse with Her Holiness the Pure' (upon whom be the splendour of God!). I have seen in her a patience and resignation rare even in the most self-denying men, for during these three years, though I have not sent her a single *dímir* for her expenses, and she has supported herself only with the greatest difficulty, she has never uttered a word; and now that she has come to Teherán she refrains altogether from speaking of the past, and though, in accordance with the wishes of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, she now desires to proceed to Khurásán, and has literally nothing to put on save the one well-worn dress which she wears, she never asks for clothes or travelling-money, but ever seeks reasonable excuses wherewith to set me at my ease and prevent me from feeling ashamed. Her purity, chastity, and virtue are boundless, and during all this while no unprivileged person hath so much as heard her voice*.

"But the virtues of the daughter were surpassed by

¹ *Jenáb-i-Táhira*, i.e. *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*.

² This sister of Mullá Huseyn's may perhaps be the same who is known amongst the Bábís as *Jenáb-i-Maryam*, one of whose poems—an imitation of the ghazal of Shams-i-Tabriz beginning, '*Bi-n'máy ruh, ki bāgh á gulistānam ārsāt*'—is in my possession.

those of the mother, who possessed rare attainments and accomplishments, and had composed many poems and eloquent elegies on the afflictions of her sons. Although *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* had warned her of his approaching martyrdom and foretold to her all the impending calamities, she still continued to exhibit the same eager devotion and cheerful resignation, rejoicing that God had accepted the sacrifice of her sons, and even praying that they might attain to this great dignity and not be deprived of so great blessedness. It is indeed wonderful to meditate on this virtuous and saintly family, the sons so conspicuous for their single-minded devotion and self-sacrifice, the mother and daughter so patient and resigned. When I, Mírzá Jání, met Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan he was but seventeen years of age, yet I observed in him a dignity, gravity, composure, and virtue which amazed me. After the death of *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús*¹ bestowed on him the sword and turban of that glorious martyr, and made him captain of the troops of the True King. As to his martyrdom, there is a difference of opinion as to whether he was slain at the breakfast-table in the camp, or suffered martyrdom with *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* in the square of Bárfurúsh." [But the more probable version, which, indeed, amounts almost to a certainty, is that he suffered martyrdom with that holy man.]

¹ Although in this history the lower title of *Jenáb* rather than the higher title of *Ḥazrat* is generally given to Hájí Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh, amongst the early Bábis generally the latter appears to have been accorded to him. *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel*, for instance, always spoke and wrote of him as *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús*.

*[Account of the noble Rizá Khán, and his courage
and devotion.]*

Amongst them also was Rizá Khán, the son of Muḥammad Khán the Turkmán, Master of the Horse to his late Majesty Muḥammad Sháh. And he was a youth graceful of form, comely of face, endowed with all manner of talents and virtues, dignified, temperate, gentle, generous, courageous, and manly. For the love and service of His Supreme Holiness he forsook both his post and his salary, and shut his eyes alike to rank and name, fame and shame, reproaches of friends and revilings of foes. At the first step he left behind him dignity, wealth, position, and all the power and consideration which he enjoyed, spent large sums of money (four or five thousand *túmáns* at least) in the cause, and repeatedly shewed his readiness freely to lay down his life. One of these occasions was when His Supreme Holiness arrived at the village of Khánlik near Teherán, and, to try the fidelity of his followers, said, "Were there but a few horsemen who would deliver me from the bonds of the froward and their devices, it were not amiss." On hearing these words, several tried and expert horsemen, fully equipped and armed, at once prepared to set out, and, renouncing all that they had, hastily conveyed themselves before His Holiness. Amongst these were Mírzá Kurbán 'Alí of Astarábad and Rizá Khán. When they were come before His Holiness, he smiled and said, "The mountain of Ázarbaiján¹ has also a claim on me," and bade them turn back.

¹ i.e. Máku on the frontiers of Ázarbaiján, which the Báb in the Persian Beyán generally alludes to as "*Jabal-i-Mám*" ("the Mountain of M.").

After his return Rizá Khán devoted himself to the service of the friends of God, and his house was often the meeting-place of the believers, amongst whom both *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* and *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* were for a while his honoured guests. Indeed he neither spared himself nor fell short in the service of any of this circle, but, notwithstanding his high position, strove with heart and soul to further the objects of God's servants. When, for instance, *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* first began to preach the doctrine in Mázarán, and the *Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá*, being informed of this, made strenuous efforts to do him injury, Rizá Khán at once hastened to Mázarán, and, whenever *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* went forth from his house, used, in spite of his high position and the respect to which he was accustomed, to walk on foot before him with his drawn sword over his shoulder ; seeing which the malignants feared to take any liberty. Whoever considers such behaviour fairly and without prejudice will surely allow that it is in itself a thing transcending ordinary experience and beyond the measure of merely human strength. For no one would without good reason voluntarily forego the consideration and respect to which he is accustomed, incur the recriminations and reproaches of his fellows, and walk alone, barefooted and with drawn sword, before the horse of another amidst a host of foes, thereby placing his life in peril, had he not first clearly beheld the goal before him and recognized an object worthy of his endeavour. 'Alí, with all his might and valour, [and though it was well known to his companions that if he did but put his hand to the hilt of *Zu'l-Fikár*¹ he would drive a multitude from the world of Being to the realms of non-existence, and that none could withstand him, † and that when he went forth to fight in the

¹ The name of 'Alí's celebrated sword.

field of battle he regarded the population of the whole world as naught and their existence as of none account, standing not in need of any help but God's,† nevertheless]¹ said to his august companions :—

* [“Shave your heads, lay your naked swords across your shoulders, and come, so that, according to your request, I may set myself to promote God's cause.” In the morning, of all those followers, who in word had been so eager for that enterprise, only four came to the door of 'Alf's abode. Of these four, only Salmán had shaved his head and girded on his sword (and that secretly beneath his cloak); and yet he was accounted almost as one of 'Alf's household, while his life was far advanced towards its natural term, neither did he enjoy any special rank, power, or authority. Moreover he knew 'Alf to be both wronged and able to redress his wrongs, and yet he girded on his sword beneath his cloak! As for the other three followers, they were not even willing to give up the hair on their heads!]* So, then, for one in authority and in the prime of youth to renounce without constraint his life and all the good things of the world, to run with drawn sword over his shoulder before the horse of his beloved master, and to fear not a whole city-full of obstinate foes, is a thing which

* [“Let seven (or four) men accompany me to the mosque with drawn swords.” Salmán, who was preferred before the other followers in service and honour, and who knew 'Alf to be both wronged and able to redress his wrongs, and to have been the victim of an unlawful usurpation, nevertheless girded on his sword secretly under his cloak, and this though his life had almost reached its natural term, neither did he enjoy any special rank, power, or authority.]*

¹ This passage occurs only in L., the words enclosed between daggers having been subsequently inserted in the margin.

transcends the strength of man, and hath not heretofore been heard or seen.

To continue. For some while Rízá Khán remained after this fashion in Mázarán, until he accompanied *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* to Mash-had. On his return thence he was present at the troubles at Badasht, where he performed the most valuable services, and was entrusted with the most important and delicate commissions. After the meeting at Badasht was dispersed, he fell ill, and, in company with Mírzá Suleymán-Kulí of Núr (a son of the late *Sháfir-báshí*¹, also conspicuous for his virtues, learning, and devotion), came to Teherán. Rízá Khán's illness lasted for some while, and on his recovery the war of the Castle <of Tabars> had already waxed grievous. He at once determined to go to the assistance of the garrison. Being, however, a man of mark and well known, he could not leave the capital without giving some plausible reason. He therefore pretended to repent his former course of action, and begged that he might be sent to take part in the war in Mázarán, and thus make amends for the past. The King granted his request, and he was appointed to accompany the force proceeding under Prince Mahdí-Kulí Mírzá against the Castle. During the march thither he was continually saying to the Prince, "I will do this," and "I will do that;" so that the Prince came to entertain high hopes of him, and promised him a post commensurate with his services, for till the day when battle was inevitable and peace no longer possible he was ever foremost in the army and most active in ordering its affairs.

But on the first day of battle he began to gallop his horse and practise other martial exercises, until, without

¹ The *Sháfir-báshí* is the chief or superintendent of the footmen who run before the Sháh on state occasions and clear the way for him.

having aroused suspicion, he suddenly gave it free rein and effected a junction with the Brethren of Purity'. On arriving in their midst, he kissed the knee of *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, and prostrated himself before him in thankfulness. Then he once more returned to the battle-field, and began to revile and curse the Prince, saying, "Who is man enough to trample under foot the pomp and circumstance of the world, free himself from the bonds of carnal lusts, and join himself, as I have done, to the saints of God? I for my part shall only be satisfied with my head when it falls stained with dust and blood in this plain." Then like a ravening lion he rushed upon them with naked brand, and quitted himself so manfully that all the royalist officers were astonished, saying, "Such valour must have been newly granted him from on high, or else a new spirit hath been breathed into his frame." For it happened more than once that he cut down a gunner as he was in the very act of firing his gun, while so many of the chief officers of the royalist army fell by his hand that the Prince and the other commanding officers desired more eagerly to revenge themselves on him than on any other of the Bábís. Therefore, on the eve of the day appointed for *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* to surrender himself at the royalist camp, Rizá Khán, knowing that because of the fierce hatred which they bore him they would slay him with the most cruel tortures, went by night to the quarters of an officer in the camp who was an old and faithful friend and comrade. After the massacre of the other Bábís, search was made for Rizá Khán, and he was at length discovered. The officer who had sheltered him proposed to ransom him for a sum of two thousand *rimáns* in cash, but his proposal was rejected, and though he offered to increase the sum, and strove earnestly to save

¹ *Ikhvân-i-p-ṣafá*, a name still often applied by the Bábís to themselves. L., however, substitutes, "Friends of God".

his friend, it was of no avail, for the Prince, because of the exceeding hatred he bore Rizá Khán, ordered him to be hewn in pieces.

"E'en so, without a tear or smile, he sped ;
One spirit woke to life, another fled."

< *Account of Murshid.* >

Amongst the garrison of the Castle was another person named Murshid, a notable scholar and mystic, remarkable alike for his intellectual and moral excellence, who had visited all parts of the world, associated with every class and circle of society, and was familiarly acquainted with the most distinguished men of the capital. On the day when the royal troops took captive and massacred the garrison of the Castle, violated their oath and covenant, and made manifest their infidelity and disbelief in the Kur'án, Murshid was amongst those whom they brought bound before the Prince. Now Suleymán Khán¹ was an old and intimate friend of Murshid's, and, as soon as his eyes fell upon him, he said, "How came you to be involved in this peril? Thank God that I was here, else you would certainly not have escaped." Murshid answered, "If you desire to do me a friendly service such that I may bear you eternal gratitude, do not intercede for me and thereby deprive me of the glory of martyrdom." Suleymán Khán, overcome with astonishment, strove by every means to dissuade him from this course, but he only replied, "I have tasted to the full the bitter and sweet of life, its hot and cold, its ups and downs. I have trodden every path, held converse with every class, associated with men of every

¹ i.e. Suleymán Khán Afshár, who was sent to supersede Prince Mahdí-Kulí Mírzá in the actual command of the besieging force. See p. 85 *supra*.

sort and condition, and sought to fathom every creed, but nowhere have I beheld the Truth save in this supreme station, where I have seen with mine eyes and heard with mine ears things passing description. For a while I have walked with these in the path of love and with them have trod its stages, and I would not leave them now. Suffer me, then, to bear them company, and set me free from the trammels of this life.

‘I know for sure that this my life is death;
My true life opens at my closing breath.’”

So he would not suffer himself to be moved by Suleymán Khán’s persuasions, but continued looking towards the executioner and awaiting the death-blow ; wherefore, seeing him so eager for the draught of martyrdom, they quenched his thirst with the bright sword. And Suleymán Khán and the other officers were amazed beyond description at his steadfastness.

So in like manner there was another, a mere youth, whom the soldiers had hidden to save from death, [that advantage might accrue to them from his family.] But when his eyes fell on *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, whom they were leading away in fetters and chains, he was overcome with uncontrollable emotion, and cried out, “Would that I were blind, that I might not see you thus !” Then he began to weep and cry out, saying, “Let me go to my master ;” and though they bade him hold his peace and not make known his connection with the Bábis, he did but cry the more, “Do ye not see that I am one of them ?” until at length the others perceived the true state of the case, and bore him away to death.

Now as to the remnant of the faithful who were left alive, they brought them in fetters and chains to Bárfurúsh. Some of them they sold, such as *[[Mullá Muḥammad

Šádík]* of Khurásán, Áká Seyyid 'Aẓím the Turk, Hájí [Mírzá] Naẓír of Kázvín, and Mírzá Huseyn of Kúm'. Several were sent to Šarí, and there suffered martyrdom; others were put to death at Bárfurúsh; while two more were sent to Ámul. Of these latter, one was Mullá Ni-matu'lláh of Ámul, a man skilled in philosophy and science, and endowed with singular virtues; the other was Mírzá Muḥammad Bákir [of Ká'in] of Khurásán, who, apart from his learning, was a man of many arts and resources and very brave and valorous, and who had planned most of the strategical movements of the garrison. Mullá Ni-matu'lláh was first slain with every circumstance of cruelty and indignity, but when the headsman would have killed Mírzá Bákir and began to mock and revile him, his anger blazed forth, and, calling to mind the Beloved of the worlds, he broke the bonds which confined his arms, plucked the knife from the headsman's hands, and smote him so sharply on the neck that his head rolled away some ten or fifteen paces. The bystanders rushed upon him, but he despatched several of them to the hell whence they originally came, and wounded some others, until at length they shot the brave youth from afar off. Men and women marvelled at his courage and manhood, wondering how he was able thus to burst asunder those strong links of iron and oppose so fierce a resistance to a thousand foes all thirsting for his blood. When he had fallen, they searched his pockets and found therein a little roasted horse-flesh †[which had become too dry for him to eat,]† and many a heart was moved at the thought of his courage and his afflictions*.

[Jenáb-i-Muḥaddas]

† [[which he had not been able to eat] †

¹ Cf. my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 129, n. 2.

² In the notes taken during one of my interviews with Šubḥ-

[*Account of Ākā Seyyid Aḥmad of Semnān and his circumstances.*]

Of the number of those brave warriors of truth who were most eminent for their attainments was Ākā Seyyid Aḥmad of Semnān, a preacher of incomparable eloquence and rare powers of diction and delivery, well known throughout all Māzandarān for his godliness, simplicity of life, virtue, and piety. When he saw the faithful beleaguered in the Castle of Ṭabarsī, and ascertained them to be for the most part learned, wise, and virtuous beyond the generality of their fellows, he was convinced by his natural acuteness of apprehension that they would not have embarked on so hazardous an enterprise or have thus imperilled their lives unless they had clearly recognized < in the new doctrine > something < worthy of their self-devotion >. This was in the early days of the siege, before the garrison of the Castle were subjected to a rigorous blockade. And the inhabitants of Shah-Mīrzā and Dasak-sar¹, two considerable villages situated near to the Tomb of Sheykh i-Ezel at Famagusta I find the following entry, which in some measure confirms what is here related:—"Mīrzā Bākir, who had been half-starved, and had had his nose cut off, was shot on the bridge at Āmul, but not till he had wounded several of his foes with a knife."

¹ I am uncertain as to the correct spelling of this name, which is not clearly written in either MS. In C. it appears to stand as دسک سر; in L. as دسک سر; but in either case the first letter may be a د instead of a د. Perhaps it is the same village as that called in the *Rawzat-i-Ṣafā* داسک, in the *Nāsikh-i-Tawārīkh* داسک, and by Gobineau (p. 202) *Daskès*. In the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. ii, pp. 177 and 190) I have transliterated this name as *Vdsaks*, but this is merely conjectural.

Ṭabarsī, moved by the same considerations as had influenced Āḳā Seyyid Aḥmad, resolved to enquire into the matter, and waited upon him to unfold their views. "I also," replied he, "am filled with wonder at their behaviour, and am much disposed to examine their doctrine, and discover what object they have in view." To this the others replied, "We entertain no doubt concerning your piety and wisdom, and if you, having visited them, affirm the truth of their claims, we too will join ourselves to them and help them, so far as lies in our power, with men and supplies."

Now although at this time none dared so much as speak of the Báb's, much less go to their stronghold and converse with them, Āḳā Seyyid Aḥmad, actuated solely by his natural goodness and sincerity, manfully set out for the Castle to ascertain the truth of the matter. And it had been agreed that, so soon as he should have satisfied himself, he should return and inform the others of the state of the case, so that, if they held to their promise, they might all join the defenders of the Castle, and furnish them with supplies. So Āḳā Seyyid Aḥmad, shutting his eyes to all worldly considerations, and impelled by zeal to discover the truth, set his feet within that vortex of affliction. And when he was come thither, and had met and conversed with *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús* and others of the believers, the veil of doubt fell from his eyes, and he saw plainly that which he sought transcending the understandings of the wisest amongst mankind. So he believed with his whole heart, and thereafter turned not back from the path on which he had entered.

Then he sent word to the inhabitants of the two villages, saying,

"That which my heart hath long essayed to find
Is found at length, concealed this veil behind."

So the villagers began to make preparations to go to the Castle, but just at that time the troops hemmed it in on all sides, closing every avenue of approach, so that they were unable to reach it. Surely men care naught for religious truth, and are held back by the bonds of passion and self-interest from taking thought of spiritual things, for of those, whether wise or simple, who set themselves to enquire into the matter not one but was convinced.

“The physician of Love hath the healing breath of Christ, and
is prone to heal,
But how can he undertake the cure of a pain which thou
dost not feel?”

Yet more wonderful than the events above described is the account of them given by ‘Abbás-Ḳulī Khán, with many expressions of admiration, to Prince Aḥmad Mírzá. The late Hájí Mírzá Jání writes :—“About two years after the disaster of Sheykh Ṭabarsí I heard one, who, though not a believer, was honest, truthful, and worthy of credit, relate as follows :—‘We were sitting together when some allusion was made to the war waged by some of those present against *Ḥaṣrat-i-Ḳuddús*’ and *Jenáb-i-Bábu’l-Báb*. Prince Aḥmad Mírzá and ‘Abbás-Ḳulī Khán were amongst the company. The Prince questioned ‘Abbás-Ḳulī Khán about the matter, and he replied thus :—“The truth of the matter is that anyone who had not seen Kerbelá would, if he had seen Ṭabarsí, not only have comprehended what there took place, but would have ceased to consider it”; and had he seen Mullá Ḥuseyn of Bushraweiyh he would

¹ See n. 1 on p. 95 *supra*.

² i.e. the courage displayed by the Bábis at Sheykh Ṭabarsí and the afflictions endured by them resembled, but far surpassed, the fortitude and the sufferings of the Imám Ḥuseyn and his followers at Kerbelá.

have been convinced that the Chief of Martyrs' had returned to earth; *[[and had he witnessed my deeds he would assuredly have said, 'This is Shimr come back with sword and lance.']]* I swear by the sacred plume¹ of His Majesty the Centre of the Universe that one day Mullá Huseyn, having on his head a green turban, and over his shoulder a shroud, came forth from the Castle, stood forth in the open field, and [leaning on a lance which he held in his hand] said, 'O people, why, without enquiry, and under the influence of passion and prejudiced misrepresentation, do ye act so cruelly towards us, and strive without cause to shed innocent blood? Be ashamed before the Creator of the universe, and at least give us passage, that we may depart out of this land [to Europe, or Turkey, or India.]' Seeing that the soldiers were moved, I opened fire, and ordered the troops to shout so as to drown his voice. Again I saw †[him lean on his lance and cry, 'Is there any who will help me?' three times], † so that all heard his cry. At that moment all the soldiers were silent, [and some began to weep], and many of the horsemen were visibly affected. Fearing that the army might be seduced from their allegiance, I again ordered them to fire [and shout]. Then I saw Mullá Huseyn unsheath his sword, raise his face towards heaven, and exclaim, 'O God, I have completed the proof to this host, but it availeth not.' Then he began to attack us on the right and on the left. I swear by God that on that day he wielded the sword in such

* [*Abbás-Kulí Khán's description of Mullá Huseyn's entry into the field of battle.*]*

† [[that his voice was raised]]†

¹ i.e. the Imám Huseyn.

² *Jilfa*, properly the aigrette worn by the Sháh in the front of his *kulák*.

wise as transcends the power of man. Only the horsemen of Mázarán held their ground and refused to flee. And when Mullá Huseyn was well warmed to the fray he overtook a <fugitive> soldier. The soldier sheltered himself behind a tree, and further strove to shield himself with his musket. Mullá Huseyn dealt at him such a blow with his sword that he clave him and the tree and the musket into six pieces¹. And during all that war not once was his sword-stroke at fault, but every blow which he struck fell true. And by the nature of their wounds I could recognize all whom Mullá Huseyn had cut down with his sword*, [and since I had heard and knew that none could rightly wield the sword save the Chief of Believers², and that it was <well-nigh> impossible for sword to cut so true,] therefore I forbade all who were aware of this thing to mention it or make it known, lest the troops should be discouraged and should wax faint in the fight. But in truth I know not what had been shewn to these people, or what they had seen, that they came forth to battle with such alacrity and joy, and engaged so eagerly and gladly in the strife, without displaying in their countenances any trace of fear or apprehension. One would imagine that in their eyes the keen sword and blood-spilling dagger were but means to the attainment of everlasting life, so eagerly did their necks and bosoms welcome them as they circled like salamanders round the fiery hail of bullets. And the astonishing thing was that all these men were scholars and men of learning, sedentary recluses of the college and the cloister, delicately nurtured and of weakly frame, inured <indeed> to austeri-

[knowing it to be the blow of his hand]

¹ i.e. he cut each of them in two.

² 'Alí b. Abí Tálíb, the first Imám.

ties, but strangers to the roar of cannon, the rattle of musketry, and the field of battle. During the last three months of the siege, moreover, they were absolutely without bread and water, and were reduced to the extreme of weakness through lack of even such pittance of food as is sufficient to sustain life. Notwithstanding this, it seemed as if in time of battle a new spirit was breathed into their frames, insomuch that the imagination of man cannot conceive the vehemence of their courage and valour. They used to expose their bodies to the bullets and cannon-balls not only fearlessly and courageously, but eagerly and joyously, seeming to regard the battle-field as a banquet, and to be bent on casting away their lives'."'"

In short, seldom has the eye of time beheld or the historian been called upon to record events so wondrous or afflictions so dire as those which befell these devoted believers in Mázarán. And withal these men were for the most part honourable amongst their people, delicately nurtured in the lap of luxury, accustomed to comfort if not to splendour, highly considered and esteemed by their neighbours, and in the enjoyment of fame, influence, and high authority. Yet they manfully severed all worldly ties, abandoned every hope and ambition of their own, and for nine months were exposed to all manner of afflictions, suffering such long stress of hunger that they were content to eat grass and the flesh of horses and to drink each day a single cup of warm water. Yet, so far from complaining or

¹ Šubh-i-Ezel informed me that on one occasion, when some of the clergy of Núr began to revile Mullá Huseyn in the presence of 'Abbás-Kulí Khán, he said—

بد كفن ندارد مرد شجایى بود كشت و كشته شد.

"There is no occasion for reviling: he was a brave man, who slew and was slain."

sorrowing, they endured patiently and even joyfully, not swerving aside by so much as a hair's breadth from the path which they so steadfastly followed, and attaining to heights of constancy whereof the lowest degree transcends the imagination of saints and apostles. The pen is powerless to describe the full measure of their high-souled devotion and heroism, but a sufficient hint of it has been given in this brief narrative to prevent the uninformed from regarding this episode as a matter of small consequence, or imagining that it was but men of mean position who, misled by idle dreams, suffered themselves to be slain. Let this much at least be known and recognized, that these were men of consequence and the best of every class, and that they, disregarding all worldly considerations, did, being of full knowledge and understanding, voluntarily and cheerfully lay down their lives in the way of the Beloved.

Now these events took place in the fifth¹ year of the Manifestation, corresponding to the year A.H. 1264², and the period of their duration [from first to last] was nine months [or even more].

¹ C. has "third". The fifth year of the Manifestation began on the Nawrúz of A.H. 1264 (about March 21st, A.D. 1848). Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 425.

² C. has "A.H. 1263". The troubles in Mázandarán began towards the end of the year A.H. 1264 (autumn of A.D. 1848) and lasted till Ramazán or Shawwál A.H. 1265 (July or August 1849).

[Account of the Episode of the learned, virtuous, and incomparable Áká Seyyid Yahyá, the possessor of divine gifts of the highest order, the strenuous striver after knowledge, who went to Fárs to seek after the truth, and proved His Supreme Holiness, until at length he reached the haven of faith; and how he went thence to Yezd, and there set up the standard, and thence to Níríz; and of the circumstances incidental to all this.]

Yet more wonderful than the Mázandarán episode is that which befell Áká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb, son of the late Áká Seyyid Ja'far-i-Kashfí. And he was eminent amongst divines and thinkers, divinely gifted with supernatural faculties, notable for his sanctity, and unrivalled in austerity of life and piety. Now when he heard the report of the Manifestation, he went to Shíráz expressly to enquire into the matter. There he met with a certain eminent and illustrious divine who is in truth learned in Divine Knowledge and wise in the wisdom of the Eternal, one whose being is an ever-stirring sea harbouring ideas bright as pearls. But men know him not by this name <of Bábí>, for the All-Wise hath till now kept him under the shadow of His protection for the perfecting and training of His servants, the guidance of such as wander in the wilderness of search into the straight highway of knowledge, and the deliverance from error of such as seek after truth. With this illustrious personage and several other learned and pious believers did this thirsty pilgrim in the path of enquiry meet on his arrival at Shíráz. He was eager to obtain forthwith an interview with the Báb, but permission was for sundry reasons deferred, and Seyyid Yahyá spent this interval in examining some of the sacred

writings. Finding in them no ground for objection or denial, he said in confidence to the illustrious divine already referred to, "These luminous words bear witness to the truth of the claim, and leave no room for doubt; yet were it permitted to me to behold some miracle or sign beyond this, I should gain a fuller assurance." To this the other answered, "For such as have like us beheld a thousand marvels stranger than the fabled cleaving of the moon to demand a miracle or sign from that Perfect Truth would be as though we should seek light from a candle in the full blaze of the radiant sun :

'In presence of the sun's effulgence bright
Should we from lamp or candle seek for light,
'T would surely be an act as vain as rude,
A proof of folly and ingratitude.
The sun, in sooth, requires no further sign
Than the slant sun-beam's long-protracted line.'¹

So Áká Seyyid Yahyá set down in writing several hard questions of his own devising, and one night, about five hours after sun-set, sent this paper by means of the eminent divine afore-mentioned to His Supreme Holiness. In the morning the messenger brought the answer, wherein were nearly three thousand verses of texts and explanations sufficient to dispel all doubts. No sooner had Áká Seyyid Yahyá glanced at these than he was filled with wonder, and said to that illustrious divine, "I have beheld a marvel a hundred-thousand-fold beyond what I sought, for, with all my learning and scholarship, I spent nine whole days in writing one single page of questions containing not more than twelve lines. Most wonderful, therefore, does it seem to me that over two thousand verses and illustrations of such exceeding eloquence and beauty of style should be revealed and written down during five or six hours of the

¹ This quotation is from the *Mamari*.

latter part of the night, which is the time for His Holiness' repose."

When, therefore, Áḳá Seyyid Yaḥyá had well considered that writing, *[and the solutions therein offered of the hard questions which he had propounded, his doubts were completely removed];* and, after a sojourn of some little while, during which the honour of an interview was accorded to him, he received permission to depart, and set out for Yezd. The late Hájí Mírzá Jání writes, "Áḳá Seyyid Yaḥyá, agreeably to the behest of His Supreme Holiness, came from Yezd to Teherán, and it was during this journey that I had the honour of meeting him. It was at a season when snow had covered the earth, the air was bitter cold, and snow and rain threatened travellers with destruction and rendered locomotion almost impracticable. Nevertheless I beheld in him a blitheness and content which knew no limit. I once demanded of him in the course of conversation what had been the means of his conversion, and how he had come to believe. His answer was as follows:—"After the report of the Manifestation had been spread abroad, men would ask of me, "What say you of him'?" to which I was forced to reply, "Not having seen him, what can I say? When I have seen him, and ascertained somewhat about him, I shall be able to impart to you what I have understood." After a while I set out for Shíráz to enquire into the matter. In the first interview with His Holiness wherewith I was honoured, I spoke, after the manner of divines, in a somewhat arrogant fashion, asking numerous questions, and conducting myself haughtily, as men of learning are wont to do. His Holiness answered me; but,

* [he at once believed and prostrated himself in worship]*

¹ i.e. the Báḅ.

my eyes being still covered with a veil of egotism and self-approval, his words found no favour in my sight. I began to be somewhat sorry that I had troubled myself to no purpose, and fruitlessly undertaken so long and tedious a journey, though His Holiness smiled upon me, and treated me very graciously. On returning to my lodging, I said to some of his disciples who were profoundly versed in knowledge, "You are far wiser and more learned than this youth; for what reason do you acknowledge the truth of his claim and admit the cogency of his proofs?" "If you will but be patient," answered they, "for a little while, you too will confess and yield." I wished to return to my home, and was actually intending to start, but my companions prevented me, saying, "You too will be fully convinced." I enquired on what grounds they based their belief. They replied, "Experience has taught us that anyone whom His Holiness receives graciously, and to whom he shews affection, is in the end invariably persuaded, even though he be filled with antagonism and aversion; while, on the other hand, anyone on whom His Holiness looks not favourably turns aside, even though at first he incline to believe."

"To be brief, one night His Holiness summoned me, and, after receiving me very graciously, said, "What dost thou desire of me?" I replied, "I am a man of learning, and learning is my daily bread. I have in mind several questions, the which should you be able to solve I shall know that the Point of Knowledge is yours." "Write down your questions," said he, "that I may answer them in writing." Now I had in mind three questions. Two of these I wrote down and handed to His Holiness, who at once took a pen, and, without reflection or hesitation, wrote, as fast as pen could travel, answers of surpassing merit. Then he took another sheet of paper and wrote, "The third question which you have in your mind is this, and this is

its answer." When I had considered these full and sufficient answers, and the reply given to the question which I had in my mind (which I regarded as more weighty and important than the other two, but deemed unanswerable), I submitted so entirely to the power of attraction and influence which he possesses that at a mere hint on his part I am proud and glad to undertake a journey in this cold winter weather, my only hope being that he will of his grace and favour accept me as the servant of his servants, and that I may be permitted to shed even a drop of my blood in the furtherance of his cause.'

"When, after the lapse of some time, I again had the honour of meeting Áká Seyyid Yahyá in Teherán, I observed in his august countenance the signs of a glory and power which I had not noticed during my first journey with him to the capital, nor on other occasions of meeting, and I knew that these signs portended the near approach of his departure from the world. Subsequently he said several times in the course of conversation, 'This is my last journey, and hereafter you will see me no more;' and often, explicitly or by implication, he gave utterance to the same thought. Sometimes when we were together, and the conversation took an appropriate turn, he would remark, 'The saints of God are able to foretell coming events, and I swear by that Loved One in the grasp of whose power my soul lies that I know and could tell where and how I shall be slain, and who it is that shall slay me. And how glorious and blessed a thing it is that my blood should be shed for the uplifting of the Word of Truth!'"'

So Áká Seyyid Yahyá, after he had believed and made submission, took leave of the Báb, and set out from Shíráz

¹ Some reflections of the author, which merely serve to interrupt the continuity of the narrative, are here omitted.

for Yezd. For a while during the earlier period of his mission he expounded the Báb's doctrines only in gatherings of such as were prepared and fitted to hear them. But afterwards, according to the purport of the verse—

“Prudence and love can ne’er walk hand in hand,”

and the verse—

“Love and fair fame must wage eternal war;
O lover, halt not at the loved one's door!”

he began openly to proclaim the truth, and converted a great multitude, besides leading many who had not reached the stage of conviction and the haven of assurance to profess devotion and sympathy. At length, through the officiousness of certain meddlesome and mischievous persons, the governor of Yezd was informed of what was taking place. He, fearing for himself, sent a body of men to arrest Seyyid Yahyá. A trifling collision occurred between the two parties, and thereupon the governor prepared to effect his capture by force of arms.

Seyyid Yahyá retired with a number of his followers and friends into the citadel of Yezd, while the myrmidons of the governor surrounded it and commenced hostilities. At length the matter came to actual warfare, in the course of which some thirty or more [of the governor's men and the rogues and vagabonds of the city who had joined them were killed, while seven] of Áká Seyyid Yahyá's followers [were also slain, and the rest were besieged for some time, till some], unwilling to endure further disaster, dispersed. Seyyid Yahyá therefore determined to set out for Shíráz, and said one night, “If one of you could manage to lead out my horse, so that I might escape this disaster, and convey myself to some other place, it were not amiss.” One Hasan by name, who had been for some time in

attendance on Seyyid Yahyá, and had displayed in his service the utmost faithfulness and devotion (having witnessed on the part of his august master many a display of miraculous and supernatural faculties), made answer, saying, "With your permission, I will lead out the horse." "They will capture and slay you," replied Seyyid Yahyá. "That," rejoined Hasan, "is easy to bear, if it be for love of you, and I have no ambition beyond it." So Seyyid Yahyá suffered him to go, and, even as he had announced, they took the youth captive outside the citadel and brought him before the governor, who ordered him to be blown from the mouth of a cannon. When they would have bound him with his back towards the gun, he said, "Bind me, I pray you, with my face towards the gun, that I may see it fired." The gunners and those who stood by looking on were all astonished at his composure and cheerfulness, and indeed one who can be cheerful in such a plight must needs have great faith and fortitude.

Seyyid Yahyá, however, succeeded in effecting his escape from the citadel with one other, and set out for Shíráz, whence he proceeded to Níríz. After his departure his followers were soon overcome by the governor. Several of them were taken captive and put to death, while from the rest, after they had suffered divers torments, fines of money were exacted.

Now when Seyyid Yahyá was come to Níríz, where was the abode of his family, and where he had many adherents (some of the country-folk being believers, others deniers, and many halting undecided), the governor of that district, though he had formerly professed the most devoted attachment, no sooner perceived that a struggle was imminent, and that the government would pass out of his hands, than he sent word to Seyyid Yahyá saying, "I do not consider it expedient that you should continue any longer in this

province. It is best that you should depart with all speed to some other place." To this Seyyid Yahyá made reply, "I have returned hither, after a prolonged absence, to learn how matters fare, and to see my wife and family, neither do I wish to interfere with anyone. What makes you order me to quit my house, instead of affording me protection, and observing towards me the respect which is my due? Do you not fear God, and have you no shame before His apostle?"

So when the governor saw that Seyyid Yahyá heeded not his words and answered him sharply, he was filled with obstinate spite, and strove to raise a popular tumult, inciting such men of every class and kind as were most wicked and mischievous to make a disturbance and drive out Seyyid Yahyá, who, perceiving this, repaired to the mosque, and, after performing his devotions, entered the pulpit formerly occupied by his grandfather, and spoke as follows.

"Am I not he whose opinions and prescriptions ye were wont to follow in all religious questions? In your needs and trials, as well as in all matters of doctrine and practice, used ye not to prefer my word to that of any other? Was not my belief, and the judgement which my studies had led me to form, the criterion of all your actions? What has come to you that you meet me now with opposition and enmity? What forbidden thing have I sanctioned, or what lawful thing have I forbidden, that you thus without reason charge me with heresy and error? I stand here amongst you wronged and oppressed for no other cause than that I have, for your awakening and enlightenment, spoken true words and held faithful discourse, and that I have, out of sympathy for you and desire for your welfare, made known to you the way of salvation. This being so, let each who slights or supports me know for a surety that,

whatsoever he does, he does in regard to my illustrious ancestor'."

When he had spoken to this effect, some were sorry, and some wept bitterly, saying, "We still continue in our former allegiance and devotion to you, and all that you say we hold true and right."

Then Seyyid Yahyá came forth from the mosque, quitted the city, and alighted in a ruined castle hard by, those friends who bore him company being not more than seventeen in number. But even after he had left the city his malicious and mischievous persecutors ceased not from their evil designs, for they followed him with a great multitude, scouring the country in all directions until they discovered his retreat. Thereupon they laid siege to the castle and opened hostilities. Then Seyyid Yahyá commanded seven of his men to go out and drive them away, and gave them full instructions as to the ordering of the sally, adding that whoever should occupy a certain station would be slain by a wound in the breast, and that such as went in a certain direction would return unhurt. One amongst those present, a young lad of Yezd, good of heart and comely of countenance, arose and said, "I pray you suffer me to be the pioneer of this much-wronged band and to precede my comrades in martyrdom." And Seyyid Yahyá kissed him on the cheek, and breathed a prayer for him. Then the defenders of the castle sallied swiftly forth, and attacked that godless host of hypocrites, and ere long scattered them and put them to flight. But the Yezdí lad, even as his master had foretold, and he had himself desired, drained the draught of martyrdom, escaped from the bonds of earth's deceptions, and gained the everlasting world and the life eternal. But the rest returned victorious, having learned the

¹ 'Alí b. Abí Talib the first Imám.

meaning of "verily we belong to God, and unto Him do we return."

At the very time when these events were in progress, Prince Fírúz Mírzá¹ came to assume the government of Shíráz, and was informed of what had taken place. He at once collected a considerable force, which he despatched under the command of Mihr 'Alí Khán **[Shujá'u'l-Mulk]**, son of Hájí Shukru'lláh Khán of Núr, and Mustafá-Kulí Khán Káragúzlu, colonel, to subdue and take captive the insurgents. When this force reached the castle, the number of Seyyid Yahyá's followers had increased to seventy. Several encounters took place between the two forces, and on each occasion the Bábís routed and dispersed their opponents and obtained possession of a goodly spoil. And all this while the devotion, faith, and love of Seyyid Yahyá's companions were much increased by the many prodigies which he wrought, so that each was fully prepared to lay down his life. And when Seyyid Yahyá had repeatedly described to his companions the circumstances of his approaching end, and all had, for the good pleasure of the Beloved, washed their hands of life, and, quit of earthly ties, were awaiting martyrdom, those who had come to take them, being unable, notwithstanding all their efforts, to prevail by force of arms, and despairing of the final issue, had recourse to treachery, and wrote to Seyyid Yahyá expressing perplexity as to his mission, making excuses for the past, declaring themselves to be desirous of enquiring into the matter, and begging for instruction. They further pledged them, with oaths plighted on the Word of

[Díván-Begí]

¹ Both C. and L. have "Prince Farhád Mírzá," an obvious error. Cf. my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 183, and 257—8.

God, that if he would be good enough to come out to them, they would agree to whatever terms he might propose.

So Seyyid Yaḥyá, out of respect for the *Qur'án* <on which they had sworn>, prepared to go forth. But his followers surrounded him on every side, saying, "We are fearful and anxious about your outgoing, for this host is more faithless than the men of Kúfa¹. No reliance can be placed on their oaths and promises, neither ought you to believe their asseverations." To this Seyyid Yaḥyá replied, "By God, I clearly perceive their perfidy, faithlessness, and treachery, and I know it as well as my saintly ancestor² knew the perfidy of the men of Kúfa. But how can I resist their wiles, these being in accord with divinely-appointed destiny? Because of what they have written and pledged themselves on the *Qur'án* to perform, it is incumbent on me to go and complete the proof. Do you abide here till you receive my written instructions." †[Then, having wept a while with them, he mounted his horse and rode forth.]†

So Seyyid Yaḥyá came to the royalist camp, and there alighted. And at first they treated him with all respect and deference, [such respect as Ma'mún observed towards the holy Imám 'Alí ibn Músa er-Rizá while inwardly bent on his death.] And they agreed to postpone all discussion

†[Then he mounted his horse and took a last farewell of his companions, saying, "Verily we belong to God, and verily unto Him do we return." And his followers wept bitterly.]†

¹ The people of Kúfa by their promises of support induced the Imám Ḥuseyn to take up arms, but failed him in the day of need.

² Imám Ḥuseyn, from whom, as a Seyyid, Seyyid Yaḥyá claimed descent.

of terms till the morrow, and spent that night in conversing on various topics. But when morning was come, and Seyyid Yahya would have gone forth from his tent, the sentinels prevented him, saying, "It is not permitted to you to go out." So he remained a prisoner in the tent.

No sooner had tidings of this reached Seyyid Yahya's faithful followers than, unable to restrain themselves, they emerged from their castle, hurled themselves upon the centre of the army, and, in the space of one hour, threw the whole camp into confusion. The officers, seeing this, hastened into Seyyid Yahya's presence, saying, "Was it not agreed between us last night that there should be peace and concord?" "Aye," said he, "but your conduct this morning provoked this reprisal." "It was done without our knowledge," answered they, "and without our sanction. Some of our men, who have lost kinsmen and relatives in this warfare, offered you this insult ignorantly and without our knowledge. You, who are merciful and generous, must overlook their fault." "What", quoth he, "would you have me do?" "Write", said they, "to these men of yours, bidding them evacuate the castle and return to their own homes, that the minds of our soldiers may be reassured; and we will then arrange matters as you may determine, and act agreeably to your suggestions."

So Seyyid Yahya had no resource but to write to his followers, "Come what may, you must submit to divinely-ordered destiny; and meanwhile there is nothing for it but that you should gather up your own gear, leaving the spoils you have won exactly as they are, and return to your own homes. Let us wait and see what God wills." So these poor people, being constrained to obey his behest, departed to their homes. But no sooner were they come thither than their foes attacked their houses, captured them singly, carried off their goods as spoil, destroyed their dwellings,

and brought them in chains, bound hand and foot, to the camp.

Now there was with Seyyid Yaḥyá a certain believer of Yezd who had served him faithfully both at Yezd and Níríz, renouncing all and suffering much for his sake. And when word was brought that the headsman was on his way from the city charged with the execution of Seyyid Yaḥyá¹, this man began to make great lamentation. But his illustrious master said, "It is thee, not me, whom this headsman shall slay; he who shall slay me will arrive to-morrow." When the morrow was come, about an hour after the time of the morning prayer, he said again, "He who is to slay me is now come." Shortly after this, a party of *farráshes* arrived and led out Seyyid Yaḥyá and the Yezdí from the tent. Then the headsman, just as Seyyid Yaḥyá had foretold, administered to the youth the draught of martyrdom; but, when his glance fell on Seyyid Yaḥyá, he said, "I am ashamed before the face of God's Apostle, and will never lift my hand to slay his offspring," neither would he, for all their importunity, consent to do their bidding. Then one who had lost two brothers in the earlier part of the war, and therefore cherished a deep resentment, said, "I will kill him." And he loosed the shawl wherewith Seyyid Yaḥyá was girt, cast it round his neck, and drew it tight. And others beat his holy body with sticks and stones, dragging it hither and thither over the plain, till his soul soared falcon-like to the branches of paradise. Then they severed his head from his body, skinned it, stuffed it with straw, and sent it, with other heads, along with the captives to Shíráz. And they sent an announcement of their victory

¹ L. has *an wajh-i-Rabb*, "that Face of the Lord," i.e. "that apparition of the Divine." *Wajh* (face, mask, apparition) was a title assumed by the Báb, Mírzá Yaḥyá *Subh-i-Ezel*, and, I think, others of the chief Bábis.

and triumph to Prince Nuṣratu'd-Dawla¹, and fixed a day for their entry <into Shíráz>. And when on the appointed day they drew near, the city was decorated, and the people were busy enjoying themselves and making merry, most of them having come out from the town to meet the victorious troops and gaze on the captives.

The late Hájí Mírzá Jání writes :—" One Kúchak 'Alí <Beg>², the head-man and chief of the Báṣírl³ tribe of Shíráz, related as follows :—" After they had slain Áká Seyyid Yaḥyá, they came to take camels from our people, intending to set the captives on bare-backed camels. I was distressed at this, but could not resist the governor's order. I therefore rode away from my tribe at night and came to Shíráz, that at least I might not be amongst my people and have to endure the insolence of the soldiers. When I was come within half a parasang of Shíráz, I lay down to sleep for a while and so get rid of my weariness. When I again mounted, I saw that the people of Shíráz had come out in troops with minstrels and musicians, and were sitting about in groups at every corner and cross-road, feasting and making merry with wanton women. On every side I noted with wonder drunken broils, wine-bibbing, the savour of roasted meats, and the strains of guitars and lutes. Thus wondering I entered the city.

"After a while, unable to endure the suspense, I determined to go out and see what was taking place. [As I

¹ The same Fírúṣ Mírzá previously mentioned. L., constant in its error, substitutes "*Mu'tamad'u'd-Dawla*", the title of Prince Farhád Mírzá, but this, as already observed, is a mistake.

² L. omits, and C. reads "Ník", but this seems to be a mistake for "Beg". The name occurs a little further on (in a passage omitted in C.) as here given in the text.

³ The Báṣírl is one of the Khamaa (Arab) nomad tribes of Fárs and Láristán. See Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 114.

came forth from the gate, I heard an old man asking another, "What has happened to-day that the people have thus left their houses and gone out of the town as though to see some great sight, and why do they thus make merry?" The other, a youth, replied, "You must surely be a stranger not to know about the heretic who renounced our faith and creed and rebelled against His Majesty the King, and how a great force of troops was sent against him. Well, they have taken and slain him, and made captive his family and his followers, whom they will bring into the city to-day." "By which gate," asked the old man, "will they enter?" "By Sa'd's gate," answered the other.

["'He was a wise old man,' continued Kúchak 'Alī Beg, 'and had seen the world and read its history!' As soon as I had heard what passed between him and the youth, it at once recalled to me the story of Sahl ibn Sā'id, how he questioned the man of Damascus, and how just such a dialogue ensued, and how the latter said, "They will enter Damascus by the gate of Sā'āt'." I was much struck by

¹ The narrator means, I suppose, to imply that the old man, struck by the resemblance between the episodes of Níríz and Kerbelá, intentionally asked this question to bring out this resemblance more clearly.

² In illustration of this narrative, I subjoin the translation of a passage occurring in a manuscript collection of *ta'ziyas* belonging to the University Library of Cambridge (Add. 423, f. 63*):—"It is related on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás that Sahl-i-Sā'id related as follows:—"I had gone on business to Damascus. One day I arrived at a village in the neighbourhood of Damascus. I found that orders had been issued for the village to be decorated, and that the people were flocking out as though to see some sight, with rejoicings and beatings of drums and kettle-drums. I said to myself, "Surely these people must have some festival not common to other men." I asked one what was toward. He replied, "O Sheykh, art thou then an Arab of the desert?" I

the coincidence, and my wonder increased. When I had gone somewhat further,] I saw such feasting and rejoicings as I had never before witnessed. Most of the men were engaged in sports and games, making merry and toying with their lemans. After a little while I saw approaching the camels, whereon there were set some forty or fifty women. §[Many of the soldiers bore on their spears the severed heads of the men they had slain.]]§ And till this time the towns-folk had been busy with their merry-makings, but no sooner did their eyes fall on the severed heads borne aloft on spears and the captives set on bare-backed camels than they incontinently burst into tears.

“So they brought the captives thus into the bazaars, which had been decorated and adorned, and though it was no great distance from the bazaars to the citadel, yet such was the throng of spectators (who purposely retarded the passage of the captives) that it was after mid-day when they reached the governor’s palace. The Prince was holding a pleasure-party in the summer-house called *Kulât-i-A’irangî*’ and the garden adjoining it, he sitting on a chair, and the nobles and magnates of the city standing. (On one

§[And by the side of each camel and captive was a severed head stuck on the point of a spear.]]§

answered, “I am Sahl-i-Sá’idî, and one of the companions of our Holy Prophet.” The man heaved a sigh and began to weep and make lamentation, saying, “It is wonderful that the heavens do not rain down blood at this calamity.” Then said I, “Speak more clearly.” Then quoth he, “The people of Damascus are rejoicing and making merry over the blessed head of Imám Huseyn which they of ‘Irák have sent to Yazîd.” I said, “From which gate of the city will they bring forth that head?” He answered, “From the Gate of Sá’ât.”...’”

¹ “The European’s hat.” This summer-house was still standing when I was at Shíráz in the Spring of 1888.

side was drawn a curtain, behind which the women of the Prince's household were ensconced. And the captives [all bound to one chain] were led in this sad plight into the garden and brought before the Prince. Then Mihr 'Alī Khān, Mīrzā Na'im', and the other officers recounted their exploits and their glorious victory, with various versions and many embellishments, to the Prince, who on his part kept enquiring the names, rank, and family of the captives, and throwing in an occasional, "Who is this?" and "Which is that?" And all the captives were women, with the exception of one child four or five years of age who was with them. *[And that sickly child was in truth a partaker of the sufferings of these unfortunate women.

[“Now when the conversation had been protracted for a long while, suddenly a very tall woman who was amongst the captives cried out, “O son of Marjāna¹, hast thou no fear of God and no shame before my ancestor² that thou thus lookest on his offspring before all these strange men?”” Here Kúchak 'Alī Beg would add an oath as he continued, ‘The woman's words produced such an effect on the hearts of those who were present that had

[Then they dismissed the captives from the Prince's presence, and, as it would seem, appointed them lodgings in a caravansaray.]

¹ See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 259—261.

² i.e. Shimar ibn Jawshan, one of the murderers of Imām Huseyn. See Sir Lewis Pelly's *Miracle Play of Hasan and Huseyn*, vol. ii, p. 258, and Tabarī's *Annales*, series ii, vol. i, p. 377, l. 6.

³ The Prophet Muḥammad, or his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, from whom the woman, as belonging to a family of Seyyida, claimed descent.

⁴ i.e. men beyond the circle of those whose nearness of kinship to a woman entitles them to look on her unveiled.

the sight-seers and townsfolk been there and witnessed what took place there would assuredly have been a disturbance and revolt. The Prince first ordered the woman to be killed, but afterwards, seeing the temper of the bystanders greatly changed, he grew apprehensive, and ordered the captives to be dismissed.]*”

On the night when the raid had been made on the houses of the faithful <at Níriz> and they were taken captive, twelve persons had succeeded in effecting their escape. These, however, were subsequently captured in [[the neighbourhood of]] Isfahán and brought to Shíráz, where they suffered martyrdom.

But besides all this, †[[as it would seem two years later,]]† they again waged a strangely protracted mountain warfare with the believers <of Níriz>, who, because of the cruelties and exactions to which they were subjected, were for a long while in hiding in the mountains with their wives and children.

§[[This struggle lasted for a long while ; and that little band, hemmed in as they were in their mountain fastness, succeeded in holding their ground until a mighty host of regular troops and volunteers from far and near had been gathered against them, and they had fought many a hard fight, and won many a gallant victory. Often would a company of seven or nineteen men come down with cries of “*Yá Šāhibu’z-zamán’!*” attack a battery, cut down all who opposed them, capture the gun, and bear it away with them to the mountain, where they would mount it on a

†[after a time]†

§[[The Bábis fought most gallantly and were always victorious, until at length, after a desperate resistance, they were overcome, and suffered martyrdom. Their perse-

1 “O Lord of the Age!” Cf. pp. 69 and 74, *supra*.

tree trunk and fire it morning and evening against the camp. At other times they would make night-attacks on certain suburbs of Níríz inhabited by God's enemies, numbers of whom they would send to the abyss of hell-fire. At such times none could withstand them, or do aught but choose between submission and flight.

[Now Zeynu'l-'Ábidín Khán the governor of Níríz had taken the chief part in bringing about all these troubles. He it was who had compassed the death of the much-wronged Seyyid Yahyá in the first war; he it was who devised most of the stratagems, tactics, dispositions, and arrangements of the army; he it was who, both in the first and the second war, provoked strife for the sake of securing his position as governor and winning approval from the government; he it was, in short, who had driven away the Bábis from their homes and possessions, and caused them with their wives and families to be beleaguered in the mountains. So one day when this honourable governor had gone to the bath, the insurgents attacked the bath and slew him.

[But reinforcements of men and guns sent in rapid succession by Prince Tahmásp Mírzá (at that time governor of Fárs) continued to arrive and occupy the rising ground adjoining the mountain. Yet, notwithstanding the greatness of their host and the small number of the besieged, they did not venture to ascend the mountain and attack

cutors, having captured and killed the men, seized and slew forty women and children in the following manner. They placed them in the midst of a cave, heaped up in the cave a vast quantity of firewood, poured naphtha over the faggots strewn around, and set fire to it. One of those who took part in this deed related as follows:—"After two or three days I ascended that mountain and removed the door from the cave. I saw that the fire had sunk down

them. Even in their camp they were ill at ease because of the night-attacks and sudden onslaughts made upon them by parties of their antagonists ten or twenty strong. These, as is related, would oft-times rush into the camp, attack the artillery, slay the gunners, and return, pushing the guns with their shoulders, till they reached the mountain. Then, because the gun-carriages would go no further, they would dismount the guns, and, with shoulders and ropes, push and drag them up the mountain. There they would remount them on tree-trunks in place of carriages.

[So when the royalist troops saw that they could effect nothing, they sent into Šábúnát, Dáráb, and the other districts round about Níríz, and commanded the tribes to furnish as many marksmen and warriors as could be mustered, that these might surround the mountain on all sides and storm it after their own fashion of warfare. And when this had been done there were, besides the regular troops deputed for this task, nearly ten thousand horse and foot of the people of Fárs, the tribesmen, and others. These ascended the mountain on every side and made a simultaneous attack <on different points of the position occupied by the insurgents>. The Bábís, men and women alike, defended themselves most gallantly, and everywhere displayed, both in defence and attack, the most desperate courage, until most of them were slain, and the few survivors, having exhausted their powder and shot, were taken

into the ashes; but all those women with their children were seated, each in some corner, clasping their little ones to their bosoms, and sitting round in a circle, just as they were <when we left them>. Some, as though in despair or in mourning, had suffered their heads to sink down on their knees in grief, and all retained the postures they had assumed. I was filled with amazement, thinking that the fire had not burned them. Full of apprehension and awe

prisoners. Then the people, swarming over the mountain on all sides, seized the grief-stricken and distracted women whose husbands had been slain, and brought them, together with a few little children, to the camp; and we can well guess the treatment to which these women and children were there subjected. After that the host of local auxiliaries dispersed, while the regular troops broke up their camp, and, carrying with them their prisoners, and the severed heads of the men, set out for Shíráz, which in due course they reached.

[The above brief narrative of these events is what the illustrious Nabíl, the reviser of this poor history of mine, heard when he passed through Níríz from certain aged folk who had survived that time and had full knowledge of all that took place. And in truth the events of the second struggle were by many degrees stranger and more remarkable than those of the first, which took place in Seyyid Yahyá's lifetime.]§' But at that time the Bábis were subject to so rigorous a persecution, and matters went so hard with them, that none dared so much as utter their name, or allude to them in any way, or enquire aught

I entered. Then I saw that all were burned and charred to a cinder, yet had they never made a movement which would cause the crumbling away of the bodies. As soon as I touched them with my hand, however, they crumbled away to ashes. And all of us, when we had seen this, repented what we had done. But of what avail was this?"§

¹ I have relegated L.'s version to the foot of the page rather as a matter of convenience than because I am disposed to regard it as an interpolation. Indeed the longer narrative given by C. would seem, from the closing words, to have been a subsequent addition to the original text. Concerning Mírzá Muḥammad Nabíl of Zerand, called *al-akhras* ("the tongue-tied"), see my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 357 and note 5 at the foot of that page.

concerning them. The full narrative of these events, therefore, would greatly exceed what is here recorded, but the epitome of them here set forth is all that could be ascertained. And these details were for the most part related by persons who were not believers, though candid and truthful after their own fashion. "*Excellence is that whereunto foes testify.*"

Even this brief summary, however, will suffice for the information of unprejudiced persons. The right of the matter is, indeed, sufficiently indicated by a tradition of Jábir, who, speaking of the promised Proof, says, "*In him shall be the perfection of Moses, the preciousness of Jesus, and the patience of Job ; his saints shall be abased in his time, and their heads shall be exchanged as presents, even as the heads of the Turk and the Deylamite are exchanged as presents ; they shall be slain and burned, and shall be afraid, fearful, and dismayed ; the earth shall be dyed with their blood, and lamentation and wailing shall prevail amongst their women ; these are my saints indeed*¹."

Glory be to God ! A thousand years before this Manifestation the signs and tokens whereby its saints might be distinguished were thus explicitly declared by the Imáma of our holy religion for the information of this misguided people and their deliverance from error. The fulfilment of these foreshadowings is now clearly seen ; yet still the majority of mankind, so blinded are they by wilful prejudice, refuse to recognize this, and pay no heed to the accomplishing of the prophecy handed down by tradition from the Imáms of old. Yet have they clearly seen or heard how the heads of these true believers were sent as presents from country to country, how they were slain and burned, how their wives and children and those of their households

¹ See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 259.

were led captive from city to city, and how, just as the Imáms foretold, the earth was dyed with their blood. Yet do many, accounting as sound reason their own erring and wilful judgments, stigmatize as misguided or mad men such as these, who were in truth kings in the spiritual world, gracious proofs of the Point of Unity, exemplars of '*I was a hidden Treasure, and I desired to be known, therefore I created creation that I might be known*',¹ to whom, moreover, such words as '*These are my saints indeed*' were addressed. And the greatest marvel is that before those who believed in this sublime and holy faith had embraced the new doctrine all men readily admitted their virtue, learning, sincerity, integrity, wisdom, and piety, and allowed them to be incontestably superior to their contemporaries in austerity of life, godliness, intelligence, and good works. Thus Seyyid Yaḥyá, for example, was confessedly one of the most eminent doctors of Islám, being remarkable not only for his singular holiness of life, but for his rare insight and miraculous faculties. Whenever he entered any town within the lands of Islám he was met by all the divines, nobles, and great men of the district, and was brought into the city with every mark of deference and respect. It was considered an honour to serve him, and at whatever house he alighted the owner thereof would glory over his fellows. In short, all men regarded his society as a privilege, and converse with him as a legitimate cause for pride. But when he had, after most careful and diligent enquiry, recognized the Lord of the world, and, actuated only by a desire to please God, set himself to save from error those who still wandered in the wilderness of heedlessness and delusion, and to guide them into the haven of peace and

¹ This well-known tradition, according to Muḥammadan belief, embodies God's answer to David's question, "O Lord, wherefore didst thou create the world?"

assurance, then, because bat-like they hated the light of Truth, they acted according to their evil nature and their ancient custom, and, in return for his charity towards them, stirred up strife and blood-shed, persecuted and afflicted him, stuffed his holy head with straw as though it had been the head of a 'Turcoman', Belúch, or Deylamí, and bore it from town to town. Then, just as the holy Imáms had foretold, they grievously afflicted and slew his friends and followers, cruelly burned their bodies with fire, and sent their heads as a show and a gift from land to land, as though to say, "This is the meaning of '*Love's portion is affliction*,' and this the way of such as are permitted to draw near to the courts of God !

"The guest whose place is highest in this banquet
They ply most often with the wine of woe."

So they acted as they had done of yore in the time of God's Apostle, dealing with these sorely afflicted people as they dealt with the Chief of Martyrs¹ and his followers on the plain of Kerbelá, and as they had erst dealt with the Holy Spirit of God² and his disciples. But the cruelty, hardness of heart, and unbelief which they had displayed towards Moses and the other prophets of bygone time appeared in this Manifestation with redoubled intensity, revealing to all discerning persons the infidelity which permeated every recess of these men's being. For just as in every previous age they slandered the prophets and saints, accounting it a work of merit to slay them, burn them, saw them asunder, and crucify them in blind obedience to their priests' command ; just as they reviled, cursed, and rejected them, and

¹ Cf. Eastwick's *Diplomat's Residence in Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 55—56.

² Imám Huseyn.

³ Jesus Christ, called by the Muhammadans '*Ráhu'lláh*', "the Spirit of God".

convened assemblies to devise means for the shedding of their blood ; just as they set in order proofs for the justification of their own assertions and actions, and arguments for the falsity of the claim advanced by those who announced themselves to be God's messengers ; just as they accounted their miracles naught but magic or jugglery, and their revelations mere tales and " fables of the ancients," so in this Manifestation did they say and do more than ever they had said or done in days of yore.*

[Account of the Catastrophe of Zanján, and of His Excellency Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí 'Ḥujjatul-Islám', who before the Manifestation held the doctrine of the Akhbáris[†]; his conversion and public appearance in Zanján, and how he laid down his life.]

Now after the Níríz catastrophe came the siege of Zanján and the martyrdom of Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Zanjání, a most devout, learned and pious divine, whose power of mind and holiness of spirit made him heedless of

*[He was summoned to Teherán several times. Never had the eye of time beheld so incomparably learned a doctor. One night the late Hájí Mírzá Ákásí assembled a concourse of divines, all of whom he silenced and discomfited. He was ordered to remain in Teherán, but after the death of Muḥammad Sháh he returned to Zanján.]**

[†] Kur'án, vi, 25 ; vii, 31 ; xvi, 26 ; &c.

[‡] L. appends to this narrative three couplets from the Masnaví as a conclusion.

[§] These words, included in the title, written partly in red ink, which L. prefixes to the narrative of the Zanján rising, are relegated to the foot of the page because they do not in truth partake of the nature of a title at all, but rather of a note which has become incorporated in the text.

men's opinion, and to whom most of the people of Zanján professed a devoted allegiance.'

†[And the manner of his conversion was as follows. He was endowed with supernatural faculties, and foretold the approaching Manifestation to the people of Zanján seventeen years before it took place, so that all were expecting it and keeping count of the years. And when at length the year of the Lord's Manifestation was come, he sent one Mash-hadí Aḥmad by name to Shíráz with several letters, in answer to which several epistles were brought back. On the day when Mash-hadí Aḥmad reached Zanján, bearing nineteen epistles addressed to nineteen different persons, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí announced his return, wherefore a great multitude assembled in the mosque. Then Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, when he had performed the prayers, went up into the pulpit and said, "Lo, even as I promised you the Sun of Truth has appeared and shone forth!" And he invited the people <to embrace

†[Since to describe in detail the circumstances of his conversion, and how, with much caution and hesitation, and after manifold strivings and searchings of heart, he made profession of his faith, would render our narrative unduly prolix, and divert us from our original purpose, we must of necessity confine ourselves to a bare statement of the facts. One day, soon after the Manifestation had taken place, while he was engaged in lecturing to an attentive audience of students and men of learning, one entered, and handed to him a letter. No sooner had he perused it

¹ Here begins the first important divergence between the texts of C. and L. The full and detailed account of the Zanján siege given by the latter I have, as a matter of convenience, placed in the body of this work, although it appears to be an interpolation added by one 'Árif; the meagre version of the former, which still supplies us with some new facts, at the foot of the page.

the new doctrine>, such of them as he deemed capable of receiving it, in secret ; and sometimes he would say openly, "The author of these verses claims to be the Báb, as <in the tradition> 'I am the City of Knowledge, and 'Alí is its Gate.'" And he appointed one Mash-hadī Iskandar his messenger, and he used to wait upon the Báb and bring epistles <from him>. And so matters continued till they brought the Báb through Zanján on his way to Mákú. The people, being apprized of this, gathered in crowds to see him, but Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí restrained them, and wrote <to the Báb> as follows :—"May we be thy sacrifice! Do you grant us permission to assemble in force and deliver you out of the hands of the escort, or to enjoy the honour of waiting upon you?" This letter he concealed inside a cucumber, which he placed in a basket with several other cucumbers, and sent to the caravansaray. The guards wished to seize it, but <the messenger> would not give it up. At that moment the Báb came out from his room and said, "Give up the cucumbers and come with me." It was Mash-hadī Iskandar who had brought the cucumbers,

than the signs of a most extraordinary perturbation of mind appeared in him, and so much disquieted was he that he could not continue his lecture, and was forced to make his excuses to his audience. These, therefore, dispersed, save some few intimates, who remained and pressed him to make known to them the cause of his disquietude. In reply he shewed them the letter, saying, "The writer of these verses claims to be the Báb, and, so far as my knowledge enables me to judge without prejudice, they do not resemble mere human words." This letter, in brief, led him to make earnest search and enquiry ; and, when he himself was fully convinced, he began to impart his belief to others. As his heart waxed stronger, and love gained fuller sway over him, he grew by degrees less prudent and cautious, and publicly preached the new faith to God's

and he thereupon gave them to the guards and himself followed the Báb. Then the Báb, without having seen the letter, wrote in answer to it as follows:—"Your project accords not with expediency, for to-day strife is not approved. Moreover they have summoned you to Teherán, and the governor has already despatched horsemen to set you on the road" (as will be described in connection with the Báb's journey). Now since Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí previously to the Manifestation had been an Akhbárá¹, and was continually engaged in disputations with the divines and lawyers, these had appealed against him to Teherán, and he had five times been summoned thither, kept for a while, and then suffered to depart, so that this was the sixth time. For even as the Báb was setting out again, horsemen came and bore away Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí to Teherán. There the late Hájí Mírza Ákásí assembled together the doctors that he might dispute with them. And when he had silenced and discomfited them all, they afterwards again complained, declaring that he was stirring up sedition in Zanján. So they detained him in Teherán.

servants, till at length Amír Aqlán Khán the governor <of Zanzan> was made acquainted with the matter. He, fearing for himself, at once took measures to safeguard his authority, and forwarded to Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí Khán *Amír-i-Kabír* a garbled account of the affair; for he was fearful lest another should acquire more influence than he possessed, and so his authority and consideration should be weakened. In consequence of his representations, Seyyid 'Alí Khán, Lieutenant-Colonel, of Fírúzkúh, received the royal command to proceed with a numerous body of horse and foot to Zanján, and to arrest Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, who had retired with his followers (nearly five thousand in number) to the citadel. On his arrival, Seyyid 'Alí Khán

¹ For an account of the Akhbárá, see Gobineau's *Religions et Philosophies da.*, p. 28 *et seq.*

[One night I, by name 'Árif, entitled *Zabīb*, in company with Sheykh Abú Turáb, met him at the abode of the Most Precious Appearance' (the soul of the world be his sacrifice!), and enjoyed the opportunity of observing his virtues and knowledge. He there said, "Before the Manifestation I had no faith in Sheykh Aḥmad Laḥsá'í" and Hájí Seyyid Kásim, but His Supreme Holiness wrote that they were men whom he held in high consideration, so I now account myself their slave." And he would read the Báb's writings and verses, and weep over them. And he was honoured with an epistle from Mákú in which the Báb wrote as follows:—"Muhammad Sháh is about to die. Do not you go away anywhere, but remain in Teherán." So he remained in Teherán till Muhammad Sháh died and His Majesty Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh entered the capital. Then he waited upon the young king, who received him with honour, and was well pleased that he, being a prisoner <at large>, had not gone away, and asked him why he had not

laid siege to the citadel, and thus was the fire of strife kindled, and day by day the number of those slain on either side increased, until at length he suffered an ignominious defeat and was obliged to ask for reinforcements from the capital. The government wished to send Ja'far-Kulí Khán, Lieutenant-Colonel, the brother of *I'timádu'd-Dawla*, but he excused himself, and said to <Mírzá Taqí Khán> *Amír-i-Kabír*, "I am not an Ibn Ziyád" to go and make war on a band of Seyyids and men of learning of whose tenets I know nothing, though I should be ready

¹ *Ta'at-i-Abbás*; i.e. Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí *Behá'u'lláh*.

² More commonly, and, apparently, more correctly, *Aḥsá'í*. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 224.

³ 'Ubeydu'lláh ibn Ziyád, the governor of Kúfa under Mu'áviya and Yazíd, whom, by reason of his severities and cruelties towards the Imám Ḥuseyn and his friends and followers, the Shi'ites regard with singular detestation.

done so. "I awaited the honour of appearing before Your Majesty," replied he. So the king gave him permission to depart. Dīn Muḥammad¹, who was always with him, observed to him, "Now that you have the king's permission to depart, there is no object in your remaining." So he departed from the capital.

[On the other hand Mash-hadī Iskandar came to Zanjan, bringing a number of epistles. Thence he came to Qazvin, intending to come to Teherán. But in Qazvin they arrested him with his letters, and sent him to Teherán, where he suffered martyrdom. Then the king was sorry that he had suffered Mullá Muḥammad 'Alī to depart.

[But on the other hand, on the day when Mullá Muḥammad 'Alī reached Zanjan a great multitude came out to meet him, and they slew in his honour as many as four hundred beasts*. The clergy were jealous, and wrote an

enough to fight with Russians, Jews, or other infidels." Other officers besides him shewed a disinclination to take part in this war. Amongst these was Mīr Seyyid Huseyn Khán of Pīrúzkúh, whom <Mīrzá 'Takī Khán> the *Amīr* dismissed and disgraced so soon as he became acquainted with his sentiments. So also many of the officers who

¹ This name, in the earlier part of L.'s narrative, appears as دین محمد. I at first conjectured that it should be Dā'ī Muḥammad; the title Dā'ī (uncle) being not uncommonly prefixed to the names of Persians. But an old Bábi, now resident at Famagusta, who was in Zanjan during the siege (though he was then but a child of 11) wrote the name for me as Dīn Muḥammad or Dīn-i Muḥammad (دین محمد), which spelling I therefore adopt. The name also occurs in this form in the latter part of L.'s narrative.

² It is customary in Persia to sacrifice sheep or other animals before a great man returning from a journey, especially when he reaches his own town. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 326 and footnote.

account of the matter to Teherán. Instructions were sent to His Excellency *Majdu'd-Dawla* either to pacify the clergy, or to arrest and send <to the capital> Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí. His Excellency *Majdu'd-Dawla* sent the order to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, and summoned him to appear. Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí said to his friends, "Let two hundred men accompany me." So they girded on their swords, and went with him and Dín Muḥammad to the audience-hall of *Majdu'd-Dawla*, and there remained without, awaiting instructions. *Majdu'd-Dawla* treated Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí most respectfully, and they agreed that the followers of the latter should pay treble taxes so that the governor's men might refrain from molesting them, and that any one of the believers who did wrong should be sent before him. Then *Majdu'd-Dawla* wrote to Teherán declaring that he had effected a reconciliation, and further requested Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí not to repair to the mosque. So he used to pray and to preach in his own house.

were <of the sect of the> 'Alí-Iláhís, although they went to the war, withdrew from it when they learned more of the matter. For their chief had forbidden them to fight, and therefore they fled. For it is written in their books that when the soldiers of Gúrán shall come to the capital of the king, then the Lord of the Age (whom they call God) shall appear; and this prophecy was now accomplished. They also possess certain poems¹ which contain the date

¹ The Bábís profess to find in certain verses of several of the mystic poets, notably Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, Háfiz, and Pír of Ardistán, foreshadowings of the Báb's appearance. This is especially the case with the first of these three, who is said to have foretold the year (A.H.) 1260 as the year of the Mahd's coming. This verse was shewn to me at Kirmán, but when I consulted the copy of Sháh Ni'matu'lláh's works kept at his shrine at Máhán I found that a different date was there given.

[At that time came the news of <what was taking place in> Mázarán, and Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí said to his followers, "Let us equip ourselves and set off thither." But an epistle arrived <from the Báb> saying, "It will come to you there." One night one of the believers had spoken ill of the clergy in his own house. The neighbours came by night and strangled him, and left him for dead; but he was not dead. Dín Muḥammad was informed of this. He at once went to the man's house, taking with him thirty of his followers. They found the man still living, and in the morning brought him before *Majdu'd-Dawla*, who, however, paid no heed to their suit. So the Bábís went to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí and said, "Because you remain within your house and go not to the mosque, our enemies have waxed bold." He answered, "Tell the believers to muster in force tomorrow, that I may complete the proof, and afterwards go to the mosque." So his friends assembled. Then he addressed them as follows:—"You wish me to go to the mosque. Do you not know that there will be a disturbance, that our enemies will make a riot, that there will be slaughter and spoiling, that they will send word to Teherán, and that guns and mortars will be brought against you?" All replied, "We are ready to lay down our lives." So he took from them an oath of allegiance, and said, "Bid all the people of the city and those of the neighbouring villages come to the mosque on Friday, for

of the Manifestation, and these too came true. So they were convinced that this was the Truth become manifest, and begged to be excused from taking part in the war, which thing they declared themselves unable to do. And <to the Bábís> they said, "In subsequent conflicts, when the framework of your religion shall have gathered strength, we will help you." In short, when the officers of the army perceived in their opponents naught but devotion, godliness,

public prayer on Friday is obligatory." So they bade them; and about four or five thousand assembled and sacrificed about a hundred head of beasts'. Thus honourably did Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí come to the mosque. And when prayers were concluded he preached to them, and then returned to his house. And His Excellency *Majdu'd-Dawla* and the clergy were filled with apprehensions.

[One day one 'Abdu'l-'Alí by name, a Bábí, had a quarrel in the market-place with certain of the enemy. These complained to the governor, who sent and arrested him, and cast him into prison, contrary to the agreement <made between himself and Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí>. The Bábis represented this to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí. He sent a message to *Majdu'd-Dawla*, saying, "Yield us up our man, and let them bring him to us." But he sought excuses and said, "The vizier imprisoned him; I know nothing about it." So they told this to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí. Then he said, "Let them go to the prison and bring him forth." So the Bábis went and brought him out from the gaol.

[Then the clergy sent to *Majdu'd-Dawla*, saying, "Thou art no longer governor; the actual governor is Dín Muḥammad." Thereupon *Majdu'd-Dawla* ordered proclamation to be made that all who were Bábis should withdraw to one side <of the town>; and the bazaars were closed. And whosoever of the faithful had his dwelling on that side <of

and piety, some wavered in secret, and did not put forth their full strength in the war. Therefore was the duration of the siege greatly protracted. Now the Bábis, in whose hands was more than half the city, erected nineteen ramparts. And they had thirty captains, over all of whom Dín Muḥammad held an unquestioned supremacy. In each redoubt nineteen devoted men who had bidden farewell to

¹ See note 2 on p. 140 *supra*.

the town> abandoned it and came to this side, and so likewise did the enemy. Thus were the true and the false separated from one another; and the number of the Bábís was about five thousand.

[That night His Excellency *Majdu'd-Dawla* quitted Khamsa¹ to go into the surrounding country and collect troops.

[Such was the position till Friday the first of the month of Rajab, A.H. 1266². On that day Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí summoned Dín Muḥammad, and said to him, "Take two hundred men and go to the house of Mash-hadí Karín the powder-maker, seize whatever powder he has, and bring it away with you." So they went and brought it. Now the enemy had arranged to go to the mosque and seize Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí and take him prisoner. Near noon a servant brought word that they had surrounded the mosque on all sides. Sheykh Šálih was in the mosque, and him, with flattery and a show of weakness, they succeeded in seizing. But he clapped his hand to the hilt of his sword, and, crying out, "*Yá Šāhibu'z-zamán*!" attacked them. The

life kept watch and ward, and one of these was captain over the others, and according to his behests and forbid-dings did they act. Five times each night did they pray and read or chant the sacred texts of the new dispensation with sweet and strange utterance. Then one amongst

¹ Khamsa is the small province or district of which Zanján is the capital.

² May 13th, A.D. 1850. L. has "1267", which is certainly a mistake (though the 1st of Rajab in that year did actually fall on a Friday), as is clearly proved by unimpeachable testimony. Cf. my first paper on the Bábís in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, pp. 511—512 and 524, and my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 186—187.

³ Cf. pp. 69 and 74 *supra*.

enemy laughed that one should think to fight with so great a host, but on the other side one Mash-hadí Haydar also rushed to attack them. Pahlaván Asadu'lláh *Zirih-púsh* had fallen upon Mash-hadí Haydar, when Sheykh Šáliḥ smote him on the head, so that the blow shore through his hat and clave his skull to the brow. Then all the enemy drew their swords and charged. Áká Mír Šáliḥ had wounded four men, when the other Bábís rushed to the attack with cries of "*Yá Šáhibu'z-zamán*," and surrounded the enemy, who, being unable to withstand them, took to flight. The Bábís wished to follow them, but Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí sent and forbade them, saying, "You have no permission to undertake a religious war; if they attack us we will defend ourselves, and if we fall we shall die martyrs." It was then ascertained that Sheykh Túpchí, one of the believers, had fallen a martyr, and that two others had been wounded. On the other side four men had been killed and twenty wounded. These occurrences were reported to Teherán by the other side, who declared themselves unable to cope with the Bábís.

[Now there was near the citadel a castle known as the Castle of 'Alí-Murád Khán, and this castle the enemy had occupied. On one side of it was the quarter of the friends, on the other that of the enemy, but the enemy held possession of it, and had placed in it five hundred markamen, and its towers were lofty. So the Bábís represented to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí that the enemy, so long as they occupied this castle, would harass them sorely. Then said he, "Dín

them would repeat the words "*Alláhu Akbár*" two and ninety times, according to the number of the letters in *Muḥammad*, and the other eighteen would respond "*Al-*

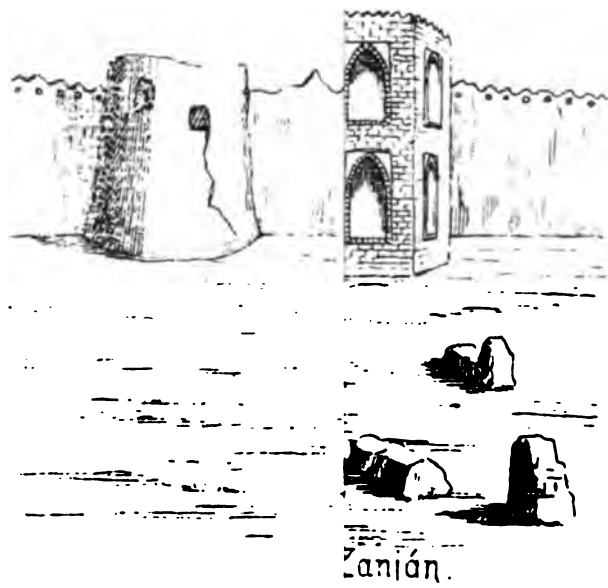
¹ Cf. my first paper on the Bábís in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889. pp. 498—9; and my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. xxxviii.

Muhammad, send two hundred men, and let them capture the castle from the enemy." Now there was within the castle a bath, and the doorway of this bath was toward the quarter occupied by the believers. And that night two hundred Bábís entered the castle by this bath. The enemy had occupied the roofs all round about, and there were within the castle ten enclosures one within another, and the roofs of these had the enemy occupied on every side, and thereon had they posted sentries. All at once the Bábís burst open the door of the bath and entered through the bath into the midst of the castle. Then Amír Šálih with two others took the staircase and began to ascend thereby, holding shields over their heads, and caring naught for the bullets aimed at them. So these went up, their comrades supporting them, and defeated the enemy, some of whom they hurled down from the roof-tops, and some of whom they slew with the sword, while the rest took to flight. Seven hours of the night had passed when they gained possession of the castle. Fifty-eight of the enemy were slain, and the plenteous store of muskets and other arms which were in the castle fell into the hands of the Bábís. They then posted sentinels round about the castle, to wit fifty men under the command of Kerbelá'í Haydar and Áká Fath-'Alí. And all the provisions which they had they stored together in the castle. Three times during that day did the enemy attack them, and each time they were worsted and compelled to retire.

[At the end of the month of Rajab¹, Seyyid 'Alí Khán

láhu Abhá" in melodious unison. Thus were they wont to engage in prayer and praise till morning, being filled with ecstasy and joy. Now when the duration of the siege was

¹ The month of Rajab of the year A.H. 1266 ended on June 11th, 1850.



(To face p. 146)

came from the capital, bringing with him four regiments of soldiers and four cannons, and entered the town. In the town they had made forty-eight ramparts, and half the town with three gates was in the hands of the enemy, and half the town with three gates in the hands of the friends. Seyyid 'Alí Khán arrived there in the morning to reinforce the enemy, and issued orders that they should that very night attack <the Bábís> on all four sides. Dín Muḥammad told off two hundred men to repel the enemy, and ordered the rest to keep watch on the ramparts. The night set in dark with heavy rain. The enemy made a general attack, but were slain or overcome and put to rout.

[Again they sought help from Teherán; but Dín Muḥammad also was engaged in devising means of opposing them. He had caused four guns of iron to be made (Seyyid Ramazán the courier acting as gunner) in addition to the twenty camel-guns which the Bábís already had. And he had made an iron rod, wherewith any wall which he might indicate could be pierced, so that <the rod> went through on that side'. So, in like manner, all night until the morning he had miners¹ in the entrenchments, who dug shafts from the midst of the street, so that they came out into

long protracted, and the royal troops had the worst of it for the most part, Muḥammad Khán of Gilán was commissioned to destroy Zanján and slay its inhabitants, and

¹ This description is not very clear, but what seems to be meant is that an iron punch or boring-rod was constructed, by means of which the walls could be loop-holed for musketry at any point attacked. It must be borne in mind that the walls of Zanján, like those of all other Persian towns, are made of nothing stronger than sun-baked clay.

² The word *mughanní* (properly *mufanní*) really denotes a professional maker of the subterranean channels (*fānít*) whereby water is conveyed to towns, villages, and fields in Persia.

the market-place and there fought ; for they had ramparts round about, and these they mined.

[So matters were till Kásim Khán, Lieutenant-Colonel, came from the capital with four regiments of soldiers, three guns, and two mortars, entered the city, and established himself in the entrenchments. Then he wrote a letter to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alī requesting permission to visit him. Permission having been granted, Kásim Khán with three of his officers waited upon Mullá Muḥammad 'Alī, who imparted to them the new doctrine. And they remained with him till morning, and said to him, "We have two regiments of soldiers under our command ; let us bring them, and imperil our lives with you." But he answered, "Stay in your entrenchments, and order your soldiers not to charge their muskets with bullets, and <in appearance> continue to act with the other officers, lest hurt come to you. Act with prudence : God will cause you to attain to His Supreme Grace."

[On the following night <the enemy> made an attack on all four sides, and fought on until the morning, the strife continuing into the day until noon ; but at length they were defeated, and fell back. In that day and night's fighting twenty-eight of the friends fell martyrs, and three hundred of the opposite side perished.

[Again <the besiegers> applied to Teherán for re-inforcements, and for three or four days abstained from fighting. On the fifth of the blessed month <of Ramaẓán>¹ they made a mine under the ramparts. Āká Fathu'lláh, who was in an upper room, informed Dín Muḥammad, who came

set out, bringing with him fierce soldiers and murderous guns. But though the besiegers had now more than thirty thousand horse and foot and nineteen pieces of ordnance,

¹ Ramaẓán 5th, A.H. 1266 = July 15th, A.D. 1850.

and put down a saucer there, and placed in the middle of the saucer some nuts. These moved, and by this he knew that they were mining <underneath>¹. Thereupon he withdrew his men from that rampart. In the morning they fired the mine. The upper room was blown up and overthrown. Seven of the Bábís were blown into the air, but remained alive, and were extricated with a thousand difficulties <from the ruins>. Then word was brought that Hájí Ghulám had constructed a box with double sides of planks and wood, behind which they had piled up earth, and that they had mounted this on a gun-carriage to serve as a gabion, and were pushing it forwards from behind. Fire at this as they would, the Bábís could produce no effect upon it. Áká Aḥmad, the brother of Haydar Beg, taking with him nineteen men, went to the rampart of the Ákhúnd's Mosque. Ascending the minaret he cried out, "Bring pick-axes, and let us destroy this." One Ḥuseyn by name went up on to a roof, took aim at Áká Aḥmad, and

still for a long while (six months according to one account, nine months after another version) the citadel held out, though its defenders were only three hundred and sixty

¹ A similar device is mentioned by Ferrier (*Journeys in Persia and Afghanistan*, London, 1857, p. 156) as follows:—"He [Yár Muḥammad Khán] mentioned, however, in high terms the bravery of the [Persian] troops, and furnished me with much curious information respecting the siege [of Herát]; his mode of ascertaining the direction in which the besiegers were carrying the galleries of their mines to reach the ditch of the place was very ingenious. Plates were filled with as much small seed as they would hold and placed upon the ground in those spots under which it was presumed the sappers were at work; and, in spite of all their precautions, the least concussion or blow from a spade or pick brought down a few grains from the heap, and discovered their position."

shot him, so that he fell from the minaret. The foe charged, but the friends also charged, and the attack was repelled. *Áká Aḥmad's* bones were broken <by his fall>. The *Bábís*, with a thousand difficulties, succeeded in obtaining possession of his body, which they buried. But *Dín Muḥammad* rejoiced greatly, and the other *Bábís* congratulated him; for it was their custom when any one of the friends fell a martyr to congratulate his relations.

[A few days only had elapsed <after this> when *Suleymán Khán* arrived with five regiments of infantry, four guns, and six thousand cavalry. The cavalry remained outside, while the <infantry> regiments entered the city. Encounters took place daily; and if, for example, a hundred *Bábís* attained the rank of martyrdom, five hundred men fell on the other side. One day a woman came out with a black pitcher in her hand to sprinkle water <on the dust>. The *Bábís* seized her, and then discovered that she was really a man <in disguise>. They asked him what he was doing. He answered, "The clergy of the town have repeated spells over this water for forty days, and have given me twenty *túmáns* to sprinkle it, so that <your> people may be dispersed." Then they brought him before *Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí*, to whom he said, "Six of the clergy have read prayers over this water for forty days and given it to me to bring and sprinkle here." Said *Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí*, "Their wickedness stands revealed, but no blame attaches to a messenger." Then he gave the man a present, and dismissed him.

[The clergy daily sent letters saying, "Come, let us make peace." *Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí's* reply to these was,

men, all divines or artizans, who had never before seen a battle-field, and to whom the very name of strife, much more actual war, was most distasteful. Yet, in spite of

"My answer is the sword." The clergy and the governor wrote to Teherán bringing malicious accusations against Kásim Khán, whom they accordingly summoned thither. On his arrival they secretly put him to death. But his two regiments continued to render services <to the Bábís>, and to send them word when the besiegers intended to make a night attack.

[At length one day it was arranged that the whole besieging force should, in a combined attack, strive to capture the Bábí positions. The attack was made simultaneously on twelve different points. Several officers and nearly a thousand soldiers, horse and foot, were slain, while of the Bábís sixty-seven men fell, and the besiegers were utterly routed. They again wrote to Teherán saying, "They have finished us." Muhammad Khán, Brigadier-General, was sent to their assistance, and came bringing with him eight regiments of soldiers, four guns, and two mortars. He encamped outside the city, and fired on it daily to destroy the towers. On the other side also they maintained a continual fire with cannons and camel-guns, and inflicted great loss on the soldiers.

[One day the besiegers made an attack and captured one of the towers, on which they planted a standard. Haydar Beg had remained beneath the tower. The Bábís made a charge and drove down the enemy from the top of the tower. Dín Muhammad was wounded in the thigh, and was confined to his house for some days, when, being somewhat recovered, he again came out.

[One day Dín Muhammad made intercession with Mullá Muhammad 'Alí for some aged men of the enemy who were

this, they fought so bravely throughout this long struggle as to leave on the page of time a lasting record of their valour, which must fill with wonder all discerning men,

in prison, and he let them go. When they were gone, one of them, by name Kalb 'Alf, went to the camp, waited on the Brigadier-General, talked with him, and obtained his consent to conclude a truce. Then he came back to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alf and submitted to him <the following proposal>:—"You shall give <a sum of> five crores <of *dínārs*>¹, and some of your old men, with a few children, shall take the *Qur'án*, and go and sit beneath one of the guns". Then the Brigadier-General will send a despatch to the Government to say that these have thrown themselves on its clemency. Then they will carry the vizier² before His Majesty the King, and the common folk can go their own way." Dín Muḥammad carried this proposal before Mullá Muḥammad 'Alf, who replied, "You are a free agent; act in whatever way you think best." So Dín Muḥammad chose out sixty old men of eighty or ninety years of age and a few children, and

and appears little short of miraculous. For, while they thus triumphed, an incomparable cavalry, trained to warfare, and accustomed to victory, was continually put to

¹ i.e. 250 *túmdāns*, or about £76, according to the present rate of exchange. It seems incredible that five crores (two and a half millions) of any larger unit than the *dínār* could even be demanded by the royalist general.

² The privileges of sanctuary (*bast*) are still accorded in Persia to wrong-doers of any class who take refuge either in a holy city or shrine (such as *Kūm* or *Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím*), in the royal stables, or in certain other places and objects specially associated with royalty. A certain large gun which stands in one of the squares of *Teherán* is "*bast*." The same virtue appears to be attributed here to the royal artillery in general.

³ It is not clear who is meant by "the vizier," but presumably the Bábí chief Mullá Muḥammad 'Alf, or his lieutenant Dín Muḥammad is intended.

put the *Kur'án* in their hands, and sent them to the camp, ordering the ramparts, meanwhile, to be well guarded.

[As soon as the old men were come to the camp they seized them, thinking them to be the chiefs of the *Bábís*, and ordered an attack. But the *Bábís* too were ready behind their ramparts, and as soon as the troops approached they were received with volleys of musketry and cannon-shots, to which they replied with guns and camel-guns. The fight was fierce, but at length the troops were forced to beat a retreat. It was ascertained that on that day nine hundred soldiers were slain.

[But the old men whom they had taken captive they wounded and cast into the <full glare of the> sun, and there they lay, crying out continually for the thirst which was upon them. When Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí heard this, he summoned Dín Muḥammad and said, "I require of you the hostages." "With all my heart," answered he. So when it was night he took four hundred men, removed the earth with which they had stopped up the gates, opened the gate, issued noiselessly forth, and made a sudden attack on three different points. When the besiegers became aware of what was taking place, they loaded their cannon with small shot and fired. The *Bábís* lay down, and, when the shot had passed, sprang to their feet and rushed forwards, scattering an army of thirty thousand. They gave water to the hostages, set them free, seized all the weapons and provisions on which they could lay their hands, and returned <to their entrenchments>. Seyyid Ramaẓán succeeded in carrying off a cannon, which he mounted on a gun-carriage he had made. They also brought back many muskets.

flight, although its leader was a soldier inured to battle, brave, experienced, and capable, who had control over the

[The enemy again applied to Teherán, and continued to devise schemes for the capture of the Bábís, until one night Farrukh Khán (the son of Yahyá Khán <of Tabriz>, and the brother of <Hájí> Suleymán Khán) Lieutenant-Colonel, resolved to come and take captive Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí. So he took with him two others clad in helmets and coats of mail, and two of the enemy, who had been in prison <in the hands of the Bábís> and had escaped, as guides. And about twenty thousand soldiers, whom Farrukh Khán and the other officers had maddened with drink, took part in the attack. They first attacked Hájí Banná's barricade, drove him into a corner of it, and surrounded him. There were five men at that barricade, who, seeing this, abandoned it and fell back on a house behind it.

[Ḥaydar Beg relates as follows:—"While we were going the rounds with Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí he said, 'I am going home; do you go and win some good, and then come to me.' So I went off. Then I saw that they had taken the barricade and were preparing to set fire to it. At that moment Mírzá Jalíl came up with nineteen men, and my father also with a number of others. We besieged that house, where a number <of the enemy> were in a room, and cut them off, so that no more from the army could come to their assistance. Then I entered the room, and with fair words induced them one by one to come forth, and our men stripped them of their weapons, saying, 'We will take you before the Master,' until two and twenty of them had come out, and Farrukh Khán alone remained. Notwithstanding all we could do, he would not come out.

treasury of His Holiness the Eighth Imám¹, and lavished money on the soldiers as though it had been but sand. But no great while elapsed ere he suddenly fell from favour,

¹ The Imám Riḡá, to whom Mash-had owes its sanctity.

One of the faithful named 'Alí Akbar entered the room. Farrukh Khán fired at him with a pistol and killed him. My father said, 'Do you stand still?' Thereupon I entered the room. He fired at me, but hit my shield, so that no harm befell me. Then I seized him tightly, and my comrades came, and took him, and led him out, and brought him before Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí. 'By command of what prophet,' said he, 'do you madden <your men> with drink, and attack the houses of God's servants, and kill several?' Then he ordered him and the twenty-two other prisoners to be put to death'. My father and I, taking a company of our men, also attacked a great bastion on which were seven guns, and set fire to it. We likewise captured and destroyed six barricades besides it, and came back and presented ourselves before Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, who rewarded us with increase of rank and robes of honour.

['Two days after this, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí ordered me to go to the Castle of 'Alí Murád Khán and bring to him Kerbelá'í Haydar and Áká Fath-'Alí. So I went and brought them. Then he said to them, 'You have betrayed the people's possessions to the enemy for money, intending to take flight yourselves. Why have you not gone? And why have you given the people's possessions to the enemy?' For a while they answered nothing; then they said, 'We wished to know whether you would discover it or not.' So

was disgraced, and met with the punishment which his actions merited. And these three hundred and odd men, who were no soldiers, who had neither treasure, nor artill-

¹ According to Subḥ-i-Ezel, Farrukh Khán was, or pretended to be, a Bábí; and it was, no doubt, for this reason that he was put to death so cruelly, being first skinned alive and then roasted. (Cf. Kazem-Beg, ii, pp. 217—220). His horse and sword were brought to his brother Yahyá Khán, by whom they were offered to Subḥ-i-Ezel.

Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí commanded them to be imprisoned; and there were thirty-five of them'. Then he placed ten other believers in the Castle <of 'Alí Murád Khán in their stead>.

[“Next day the other side made a fresh attempt, and attacked the upholders of Truth at ten different points. For a day and a night fierce conflict was waged. One hundred of the faithful suffered martyrdom, and one thousand two hundred and five of the enemy were slain.

[“But now orders were issued from the capital that His Holiness the Supreme Lord¹ should be brought from Chihriḳ to Tabriz to suffer martyrdom (as will be described in detail at a subsequent page). News of his martyrdom was brought to Zanján, and they cried out at the barricades, ‘They have killed your Imám! Wherefore do you imperil your lives?’ Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí said, ‘My Master is one who lives, and death cannot touch him; yea, even those live who believe <in him>.’

[“Then the enemy wrote to Teherán, and <Mírzá Taḳí Khán> the *Amír-i-Kabír* issued further commands, and from Luristán, and the districts of Hamadán and Tabriz, regiment after regiment of troops, horse and foot, continued to pour in and join the <besieging> army, until a host of about thirty or forty thousand lay round about us, and

lery, nor stores and munitions of war, and who were supported only by spiritual grace, stoutness of heart, and that new power of endurance bestowed on them from on high,

¹ It appears from p. 146 *supra* that the defence of the Castle in question had been entrusted to fifty men commanded by Kerbelá'í Ḥaydar and Áḳá Fath-'Alí, and that thirty-three of these had been guilty of making overtures to the enemy.

² *Ḥaḡrat-i-Rabb-i-A'la*, one of the Báb's titles. See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 229.

some of the friends took to flight, and some were captured and slain.

[“Now the followers of Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí had nineteen barricades, and in each barricade were stationed nineteen men. When it was night one of them used to cry ‘*Alláhu Abhá*’ ninety-two times, according to <the number of> the name Muḥammad, and the other eighteen used simultaneously to respond ‘*Alláhu Abhá*,’ and ere morning they used five times to chant the sacred texts of the new dispensation with melodious voice, and till the morning they were occupied with prayer.”]

[“To return. The Government wished to send Ja‘far-Ḳulí Khán, General of Division, from Teherán. But he said to <Mírzá Taḳí Khán> *Amír-i-Kabír*, ‘I am not Ibn Ziyád to go to fight against a band of Seyyids and men of learning, though I have no objection to wage war against heretics such as the Turcomans and the like.’ And some officers who had gone did but feign to fight, such as Mír Seyyid Ḥuseyn Khán of Pírzukúh, whom the *Amír-i-Kabír*, on discovering this, dismissed. So likewise did some officers of the ‘Alí-Iláhi sect who had gone to the war, so soon as they became acquainted with the true state of the case; for their Seyyid had forbidden them, therefore they fled. For it is written in their books and traditions that when the soldiers of Gúrán shall come to the Capital of the King,

wrought during those days deeds which were an absolute miracle, for they were always successful in repelling the

¹ The substance of this and the following paragraphs occurs in C. also, as will be seen by referring to the translation of C.’s text at the foot of pp. 139—146 *supra*. The writer of the L. text has introduced them here most inopportunately, as the paragraph which succeeds should clearly follow immediately the paragraph which precedes them.

then the Lord of the Age (whom they call God) shall appear; and this prophecy was now fulfilled. They also possess certain poems which contain the date of the Manifestation, and these too came true. So they were convinced that this was the Truth become manifest; but they excused themselves from giving active help and support <to the Bábís>, saying, 'In subsequent conflicts, when the framework of your religion shall have gathered strength, we will help you.'

[“ Now when the enemy discovered that there was no one in the castle, they made a sudden and simultaneous attack, and took the castle and some of the barricades and houses, while the believers retreated from certain of their outworks, and fell back. The troops then occupied themselves in plundering the Bábís' property for one day, when they again put forth their whole strength, and poured down like a flood through every street and over every roof. The believers, being but few in number, were unable, strive as they might, to check their advance, and the enemy imagined that they had gone to fight in the lower part of the town. Four thousand soldiers with their officers had collected behind the house of Huseyn Páshá. A woman brought word of this to Dín Muḥammad, who sent a body of men into the upper story. These saw that the enemy were boring holes underground at the back of the house, which would come out in the court-yard. Although I discharged muskets and pistols at them, they would not move. We therefore retreated to the court-yard to go out. One

foe, and held in check an army of thirty thousand. At length one day when Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí had himself mounted on to one of the barricades, a chance bullet struck

¹ Cf. the translation of C.'s text at the foot of pp. 139—142 *supra*, and the preceding note.

of the enemy recognized Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí and cried out 'Seize him !' Another of them approached, intending to lay hands on him, but he put his hand to his sword and smote his assailant so fiercely on the right shoulder that the sword came out under his left arm-pit, cutting him clean in two. When the enemy saw this, they halted in consternation, and we went out from the house. But others of our friends, having been apprized of what was taking place, rushed into the yard sword in hand, and the assault was repelled." Three hundred soldiers were killed, and the rest were routed and put to flight. Ḥaydar Beg was wounded with a sword-cut, and his maternal uncle was killed.

[Ḥaydar Beg continues as follows :—"One day I was going the rounds with His Holiness <Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí>. We came to a house the rooms of which had been destroyed and in which there was no one. He said to me, 'See whether anyone is on guard here or not.' I looked, and saw no one. Now there was a narrow embrasure between two alcoves, and I looked through this to see whether the enemy had a barricade at this point, intending to discharge my gun, that they might not imagine that there was no one there. His Holiness was standing, his cloak thrown over his shoulder, opposite to the embrasure, when a bullet fired from the other side came through it, and, as fate would have it, struck his hand, shattering the bones. 'I render praise to God,' ejaculated he, 'that I have not been disappointed of this supreme blessing, that is to say martyrdom, but have at length attained to it.' I took out my handkerchief and bound up his wound, after which he went to his house. 'Go,' said he then, 'bring hither your father Dīn Muḥammad.' I therefore went and informed my father, and

his hand, inflicting on him a grievous hurt. A few days before this he had signified to the faithful that such an

he came, bringing with him a surgeon, and they bandaged the wounded hand of our chief.

["Now when the enemy learned that His Holiness had been wounded by a bullet, they attacked us on all sides, and ceased not for a moment to pour down on us cannon-balls and bullets, as a cloud in spring-time <pours down rain>. On every side they made good their advance, and captured our barricades and houses. The houses which they took they set on fire, carrying off the furniture as spoil. Every day they took several barricades, until at length they surrounded one of the houses belonging to His Holiness. Bomb-shells would come and fall in the house, bury themselves in the ground, again emerge, and burst, killing several of the faithful. And now all the believers had fallen martyrs save eighty only, who still survived, and continued to fight at the barricades and in the trenches.

["It was now forty days since His Holiness had received his wound, yet he used to come out every day. But one room was his own private retreat. Round one side of that court-yard the enemy had erected a stockade from which they used to fire cannons, so that the cannon-balls came through the alcoves of the room. One day we went to move His Holiness and take him out. In an adjoining room one of his wives, a woman of Zanján, had in her arms a child still at the breast. A cannon-ball came and took off the heads of both mother and child, so that both fell martyrs, and were buried in that same room. While we were carrying His Holiness out the enemy discharged another cannon, and the ball entered the room. A girl fell into the fire-place and was burned.

["His Holiness had three wives, two of them natives of

injury was about to befall him. In brief, he turned back from the barricade <to his house>, and was for some days

Zanján and one a woman of Hamadán. The Hamadání, with one son named Huseyn, was taken to Shíráz, where they still are.

["We had removed the carpets and vessels of copper from one room, banked it up with earth, and converted it into a barricade. That was during the days of the month of Muḥarram'. And when the enemy saw that they could not prevail against us, they ordered large quantities of firewood to be brought, and piled it up, meaning to set fire to it suddenly and burn us. But when it was the night of the twenty-fifth of Šafar², five hours of the night being past, His Holiness summoned Dín Muḥammad and three others, and thus communicated to them his last behests:—]†²

“‘The time of my sojourn in this wretched world, which is the abode of disruption and strife and the home of woes and afflictions, is ended, and my departure is nigh at hand. In this great trouble I enjoin on you patience and steadfastness. Be patient for three days more, for [three days] after my decease a strong* wind will blow [with great violence]. If you endure and are patient, after the wind falls God will grant you [victory and] happiness. But if you are not patient, and if dissension and discord arise in your midst and ye become disunited, you will all be slain. Do not forget my words, for if you act agreeably to them you will see their fruit, and if you neglect them you will suffer their hurt and will be sorry. In either case you will see

confined to his bed. Then he summoned three or four of his chief followers and said:—]†

[black]

¹ Muḥarram A.H. 1267 began on November 6th and ended on December 5th, A.D. 1850.

² December 30th, A.D. 1850.

³ Here the L. and C. texts unite.

that I have not spoken vainly.' Then he bade them bury him in the clothes he wore, adding to Dín Muḥammad, who was his confidential friend, 'Suffer no one to remove the diamond ring which I wear on my hand.' Being asked the reason of this injunction, he said, 'They must cut off my finger [as they did that of Ḥuseyn ibn 'Alí] [for the ring ere they can take it'].

"So when His Holiness Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí had yielded up his spirit to the Lord of life, passed away from this transitory world, and ascended to a throne of supreme and everlasting glory, his followers, as he had bidden them, buried his body [with its gear] in *[the same room where they had buried his wives and his child],* as above described, and then betook themselves anew to [the defence of their stockades and] the repelling of the enemy. And the besiegers were amazed at their resolution and courage, marvelling that they should be thus ready to imperil their lives now that they were without a leader. They therefore, despairing of being able to carry the position by storm, began, after their wont, to devise treachery.

"And now a strong wind began to blow and rain to fall, and the air grew dark and gloomy. †[‘Amír Aslán Khán]† *Majdu'd-Dawla*, [Muḥammad Khán] the Brigadier-General, and the other chief officers, seeing that in face of the rain, the gloominess of the weather, and the violence of the wind (which was like to blow down all the tents in the camp) it was equally impossible to continue fighting or to wait patiently, had recourse to deceit, and sent [Suleymán Khán with] a promise of amnesty plighted on the Kur'án to the Bábís. [Although Dín Muḥammad said to them, 'You see what the wind is doing: be patient for one day more!'] they did but answer, 'Do you want them

[a room near a well]

†[His Excellency]†

to burn our wives and children?'] Then the besiegers declared with the most solemn and binding oaths, 'It was Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, not you, whom we sought to take. Do not then seek to bring further sufferings on the soldiers or on yourselves. Be easy in mind, for with you we have no quarrel.' So these poor simple-minded folk suffered themselves to be beguiled by the plighted Kūr'án and these solemn oaths, and came before Dín Muḥammad, and said, 'Now that they desire peace, as witnessed by their treaty and covenant, it is displeasing in God's sight that we should reject their proposals and persist in continuing the strife.' He answered, '[By God, they speak falsely, and will shew us no mercy.] Do you not see what the wind is doing [to-day]? Be patient for two or three days more, that God may give you deliverance.' Most of them, however, because of their simplicity of heart, believed the treachery of the enemy to be the promised deliverance, and imagined that they had plighted their word on the Kūr'án in all truth and sincerity, really wishing to conclude the strife."

*'[But on the side of the enemy they did not wait for the Bábis to come forth of their own accord, but encompassed them round on every side. The Brigadier-General with his officers ascended the roofs, while an army of thirty

*[So they came forth from the castle submissively, hopefully, even joyously, and surrendered it to the besiegers. But when these had thus captured them (through their respect for the Kūr'án and the plighted troth) they slew them with every species of cruelty and indignity, and

¹ Here begins the second important divergence between the accounts given by C. and L. of the Zanján siege. The former is as usual the shorter, the poorer in detail, and the more bombastic and inflated in style, and is relegated for these reasons to the foot of the page.

thousand poured into the houses, seized their occupants, and cast some down from the roofs on to the ground. Dín Muḥammad and his friends and relatives were all gathered together in the room which had been occupied by His Holiness the martyr < Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí >. With them were his wife¹ and children, several old men, and their own wives. The rest of the Bábís were in their own houses. The soldiers poured into the houses, stripped the men, and carried off the women which these had with them. Ḥaydar Beg relates :—"I and my father Dín Muḥammad were in a room †in which was an ice-cellar wherein the Bábís had stored all the money and goods which they had secured†². The women they had assembled in the house of Ḥuseyn Páshá. A regiment of soldiers surrounded them, veiled as they were, and bore them off to the house of Mírzá Abu'l-Kásim the *mujtahid*, to whose custody they committed them. Another regiment marched Dín Muḥammad with fifteen others out of the city to the caravansaray of

in most cases burned their bodies, all save some few whom they led forth in chains and fetters to be carried before the *Amír*. Then they fell upon their houses and seized all that they had as spoil, took captive their women and children, whom they sold for a small price, and exhumed the corpse of His Holiness the Proof from the spot where it was

¹ i.e. the Hamadání woman who alone survived of the three wives.

² The text is here so corrupt as to be almost unintelligible, and I offer the translation enclosed between daggers as a mere guess at the sense. The text stands as follows in the MS. :—

و جدر يك بكوچ كه من و ابوئ كه جناب دى محمد باشد در اطافى بوديم
كه ۱۶. چندان كه نغد و اسباب همه را تصرف كردند و زنهارا در خانه حبن
پاشا جمع نمودند و پكنوچ سرباز آنها را با چادر در میان گرفته بردند بخانه ميرزا
ابو القاسم مجتهد سپردند *

His Holiness Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, stripping them, so that they had nothing but their shirts and drawers. The rest of the Bábís they left in the city, making them find sureties <for their appearance>.

["Next day at sundown they sent and brought Dfn Muḥammad before the Brigadier-General, who said to him, 'Tell me where they have buried the corpse <of Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí>?' My father answered, 'Since we shall be killed in any case, why should we tell you?' All said, 'He speaks truly.' Then they brought the eldest son of His Holiness <Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí>, a boy of about seven years of age named Huseyu, and questioned him. He pointed out the spot. They dragged up the corpse of His Holiness, and questioned the people of Zanján <as to its identity>. All said, 'It is the Master's corpse.' The eyes of one of the officers fell on the ring. He drew his knife, cut off the finger, and removed the ring. The Brigadier-General remonstrated with him, saying, 'Why did you cut off the finger of this corpse? For people will say that even this detail is like what befell Imám Huseyn'. According to what is related, they dragged the corpse about the streets for three days, and none knows what they did with it at last."

[On the same day whereon two regiments of soldiers had brought Dfn Muḥammad and the other Bábís to the market-place in the morning, Dfn Muḥammad's eyes fell on

buried. As they were doing so, the eyes of one of these just and righteous Musulmán's fell on the ring on its finger, and he immediately drew out his knife, cut off the finger, and removed the ring. Then it flashed upon the minds of Dfn Muḥammad and several others who were in chains with him that the words which their illustrious leader had

¹ Cf. Sir Lewis Pelly's *Miracle Play of Hasan and Huseyn*, vol. ii, pp. 153--156.

the body of His Holiness, from which they had severed the finger, and he began to weep, and at once it flashed upon the others that the words which His Holiness had spoken, at the moment of his departure, "They will cut off my finger and take the ring" had come true. They therefore entreated the Brigadier-General, saying, "Order them to kill us now, and send us to join him." The Brigadier-General was beyond all measure astonished at their request, and said,]* "What have you beheld in this house of oblivion¹ that you seek thus eagerly after your own slaughter?" They replied, "May you never see what we have seen, and may God never make it your portion; please God you will never hear what we have heard—

'We have seen what heretofore hath been seen by no mortal eye;

[To us is the mystery, "*I was a treasure concealed*"² made plain,

For "*We are nearer to you*", saith He, "*than the jugular vein*".³
We marvel wherefore the Truth ye still reject and deny!]"

†[So two regiments of soldiers bore them away to the

uttered at the time of his death, 'They will cut off my finger and take the ring' had come true. Thereupon they began to weep bitterly, and urgently to entreat Muḥammad Khán, saying, 'Kill us also, and send us to join that great and holy man.' Muḥammad Khán was beyond all measure astonished and said,]*⁴

†[So they surrounded those poor victims also, and

¹ *Farámúsh-kháneh* ("House of Oblivion") is the name given by the Persians to a masonic lodge. See Gobineau's *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, p. 306.

² Alluding to the well-known words in which, according to Muslim tradition, God made known to David the object of creation:—"*I was a Hidden Treasure, and I desired to be known; therefore I created creation that I might be known*". Cf. p. 133 *supra*.

³ Qur'án, I, 15.

market-place, and there they blew three of them from the mouths of mortars, and the rest they impaled on spears. Thus did they send them to join their leader.]†

[But they spared Haydar 'Alí Beg, seeing that he was but a child, though he continued to revile them, saying, "Kill me too!" For they thought that His Holiness must have amassed treasure, and hoped, by tormenting the child, to make him point it out to them, therefore they refrained from killing him. And God also willed to make manifest His might. So they imprisoned the lad, and next day brought him forth and said, "Make known to us the site of the treasure." He answered, "There was naught but what you have taken." Then they ransacked the room, but found nothing. Then they said to the child, "Why did you not curse the Báb yesterday?" He replied, "So that you might kill me also." "Was it so great a thing to kill you?" said they. "No," answered he, "but I would that the merit of the act might be yours." Then they tied him to the poles; but, beat him as they might, he continued, so long as he had sufficient strength, to revile them. And after that they continued to beat him until they thought he was dead, when they carried him away and cast him on an ash-heap. About the time of the morning call to prayer he came to his senses. Twice afterwards they seized and imprisoned him. When the Brigadier-General was about to return <to Teherán> he gave him to *Majdu'd-Dawla*, who repeatedly tormented him that he might point out the supposed treasure, but, as there was none, he still said nothing. Haydar Beg relates as follows:—"They carried away the corpses of His Holiness Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí and my father and cast them out into the moat. At

struck blows at each one, until they had sent them to join their leader.]†

night the gunners took away the four corpses and buried them. Afterwards they summoned four others with the wife of His Holiness to Teherán." There were four of the Bábí leaders who had survived (for though they had been wounded they had not died), to wit : Muḥammad Bákir the surgeon, 'Alí Muḥammad, Hádí Beg, and Ḥaydar Beg, together with the widow of His Holiness. All these they brought to Teherán. The widow of His Holiness they sent to Shíráz¹. The four leaders they sentenced to death. They brought them to the foot of the execution-pole and slew three of them ; " But for me," says Ḥaydar Beg, " they substituted another, one Abú'l-Ḥasan, whom they killed ; for Hájí 'Alí Khán made representation to the King, saying, ' Since this one is a mere child it is not good that his blood should be shed.' They sent me to the gaol, where I remained for nearly two years. Then they set me free, and I came out, and was for some years in attendance on him", until he too suffered martyrdom, while I survive till this day."]

After they had thus made an end of the Bábís, they destroyed their houses with artillery so utterly that no trace of them was left, and, having accomplished all this, turned back, conquering and victorious, with demonstrations of triumph.

Now the full details of these events are many, and what has been here set forth is but as one in a thousand and a little out of much. I know not how it could be that

¹ See p. 161 *supra*.

² It is impossible to say to whom the pronoun refers. As the plural is used, and as the person designated is said to have "suffered martyrdom" it is clear that some one of the Bábí saints is intended. None who escaped the massacre of Zanján having been mentioned, one can only conjecture that one of the Bábís put to death at Teherán in 1852 may be meant. No doubt the unrecorded circumstances or the context of Ḥaydar Beg's narrative rendered the point clear enough to his hearers.

no wise statesman or prudent counsellor perceived and pointed out to His Majesty the King, that he ought to take thought for his poor subjects, the prosperity of his realms, and the freedom of his nation, and ought not, merely on account of religious differences, to send armies to ravage the land and destroy the people. Differences of faith can only be removed by conferences and discussions between learned divines, and the unbiassed investigations of properly qualified persons, not by massing of troops and massacre of the people. At the beginning of the war His Holiness Mullá Muhammad 'Alí, desirous of perfecting the proof, wrote the following letter to <Mírzá Takí Khán> *Amír-i-Kabír* :—†

“Your Excellency has been misinformed concerning this matter. It behoves a strong and honourable government to subdue by force of arms rebels and disaffected persons who seek to grasp for themselves independent authority, but not such as myself and this little band of devoted men, who have trodden under foot all worldly ambitions and hopes. We would discuss the signs whereby the recipients of Divine revelation may be recognized with those who, alas! have made their knowledge but an instrument wherewith to secure worldly consideration and the esteem of men. It is not seemly to attempt the removal of this difference by armed force, injustice, and violence. Justice and fairness rather demand that a conference should be arranged to take place in the presence of Your Excellency where we may discuss the matter with the clergy, who are responsible for the misrepresentations from which we suffer, and the war and strife which these have entailed. Should this be done, either truth will be distinguished from false-

†[*Account of the letter of His Holiness 'the Proof' to Mírzá Takí Khán Amír-i-Kabír.*]†

hood [in which case the establishing of the former and the suppression of the latter will be easily effected], or you can give us leave to depart into foreign lands without strife and bloodshed."

The *Amir-i-Kabir*, however, notwithstanding his desire for the welfare of the state, and his great administrative capacity, was so blinded by selfish interest that he paid no heed to a single word of this address, and became the cause of terrible devastation of property and destruction of life both amongst the troops and the people, until at length he received his deserts. Even the representatives of foreign powers, actuated solely by humane and philanthropic motives, pointed out to him at the beginning of these events how ill it beseeemed the majesty of the Sovereign to send his troops to destroy a number of his own subjects, for the most part men of learning, who had neither injured nor molested anyone, nor been guilty of any treasonable action towards the government, merely on the ground of a difference of belief between them and the rest of the clergy.... Their representations, however, proved inefficacious, and deeds were done which ill befitted the kingly dignity.

*[Account of the letter addressed to His Majesty the King by the Letter J.]*¹

In like manner some while ago one of the most profoundly learned, earnest, and virtuous of divines addressed to His Majesty the King a letter to this effect:—"Through the machinations of the clergy, and at their command, these

¹ By "*the Letter J.*" (حرف ج) I conjecture that Ākā Jemāl of Burūjird, one of the most learned and influential of the (Behá'í) Bábís resident in Persia, is meant. That he was imprisoned for some time in Teherán (see pp. 172 and 180 *infra*) I know from one who shared his captivity.

people¹ have for a long while been visited with the scourges of wrath and anger. If this bitter animosity and these harsh measures arise from the fact that the clergy regard them as heretics and infidels, then convene an assembly in the presence of some few persons who enjoy the confidence both of the government and the people, so that I your petitioner may make it clear by irrefragable proofs that the clergy are in error, and may banish these dissensions from our midst, in order that His Majesty the King may henceforth refrain from molesting these much-wronged and innocent people."

Certain passages of this document which bear most on the topic before us are as follows :—" Is the measure of peace and security granted to humble and unobtrusive folk to be dependent on the whims of sectarian zealots steeped in selfishness and prejudice and thinly disguising their greed of worldly lucre under a veil of sanctity? Or is it to be dependent on the judgement of His Majesty's trusted advisers, the requirements of the national well-being, and the principles of a just administration designed to increase the prosperity of the country, to suppress sedition, and to promote the welfare of mankind? If the former, then ere long neither state nor people will remain, and we had best abandon forthwith our lives and property, and depart to the realms of non-existence. If the latter, then wherefore all this strife and disputation? I know not what advantage cunning and spiteful men obtain from religion. I swear by God that religion cannot be combined with worldliness, nor true faith with greed of gold. From old time proueness to strife and discord hath been one of the characteristics of the worthless and ignorant. In matters of faith and doctrine hatred and malice should have no place, for religion is a hidden mystery appertaining to the heart, and cannot be placed in dependence on any man's will. The

¹ i.e. the Bábís.

Most Merciful God hath endowed every soul with the means of recognizing Him, and hath rendered it independent of all else. Blind subservience to authority hath never been right, nor are vain fancies a sufficient guide. Every soul must attain to a knowledge of the truth by its own earnest endeavour."

It was therefore decreed by His Majesty the King that a discussion should take place in the house of one of the ministers of state, between several prominent members of the clergy on the one hand, and the learned petitioner on the other, in order that some conclusion might be reached as to the validity of the claims advanced on either side. After much discussion, and re-iterated demands on the part of the clergy for reasons why their authority was disputed, some left the room in anger, and the others declared that they would no longer remain in the same city with their opponent. In consequence of this the King imprisoned that learned and saintly man for a whole year, merely to propitiate the clergy, and to protect the state from the sedition which they would otherwise have stirred up.

The learned Bábí, on his part, wrote an account of the discussion which took place between himself and the clergy in the Arabic language. A perusal of this document will convince all fair-minded persons that the clergy were actuated solely by a selfish desire to retain their supremacy, and that the motive which led them to reject the Lord of the Age was a fear lest their authority might be weakened and their commands and prohibitions made of none effect. To make this clear, we append a translation of this account, rendered in the Persian language by that eminent scholar and illustrious divine Áká Mírzá Abu'l-Faḡl¹, originally of

¹ C. introduces this account with a somewhat different form of words, and suppresses the name of Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl, concern-

Gulpáyagán, without either addition or suppression. The account, as rendered by the Mírzá in Persian, runs as follows :—

"This is a true account of what passed between this oppressed servant of God on the one hand, and two factions of the mighty ones of the earth' on the other, when they brought me in to their assembly with malice and great injustice. When I had entered and seated myself, they first demanded what I sought and intended by the petition which I had submitted to His Majesty the King, and the complaints which I had therein made against the clergy. When they had finished speaking, I answered them as follows.

"'A tradition which hath been handed down from the holy Imáms and the pure ones of God's chosen family saith, "*When heresies appear amongst mankind, then let the wise man shew forth his knowledge.*" Now since I do clearly perceive that heresies and falsehoods have appeared in your midst, and since I find you all pursuing the path of error, I am come to shew forth such knowledge and wisdom as it hath pleased God to bestow upon me, to warn alike the ministers of state and the clergy of their errors, and to call your attention to those ordinances of the Book of God which you have ignored.

"'Now what I have to say to the representatives of the government is this, that kings and rulers have no right to exercise control over anything beyond the outward body of the world. Their function is to maintain order in their realms, to strive to secure the prosperity of their lands, to suppress sedition, to seek after the amelioration of men's condition, and to be diligent in the furtherance of all
ing whom see my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Báb Manuscripts* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 442—3, 663—5, and 701.

¹ i.e. the representatives of the government and the clergy.

measures conducive to the tranquillity and welfare of the community and the increase of the national wealth. But kings have no right to interfere with the religious opinions of their subjects, or to seek control over men's beliefs. Because the King hath done this, enmity and war have been rife for nearly thirty years¹, during which time nearly a hundred thousand souls have been slain or scattered abroad in distant and foreign lands. Had these been spared, the number of them and their offspring would now have amounted to five hundred thousand, and thereby the prosperity of the country would have been greatly increased, for how much may be effected with even a hundred thousand !

“‘To the clergy I have three things to say. First of all, if one appears in great glory and power summoning men to God, if he be not from God does it rest with God to confute him and bring him to naught, or with men ?’

“They answered, ‘It rests with God.’

“‘Then,’ said I, ‘what say you of him who appeared in the year A.H. 1260, with great glory and cogent proofs, calling men to God, and directing them to the divine law ? For the Lord did in no wise confute him, but, on the contrary, exalted his doctrine, made manifest his deeds, and rendered clear his proofs, so that his verses are disseminated throughout the world, and his writings found in every region and quarter.’

“They answered, ‘Learned divines, who are God’s representatives amidst men, turned away from him and rejected him, even as we also reject him.’

“‘Are you then,’ said I, ‘the representatives of God,

¹ From this it would appear that the discussion here described took place about A.H. 1290 (A.D. 1873). Cf. my *Remarks on the Bābī texts published by Baron Rosen &c.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 281.

the elect of the Sure Faith, the guides to the Straight Path—you, who are devoid of the very rudiments of wisdom, who know no method but conjecture and imagination? How can such as have no certain conviction in minor points of religion and jurisprudence, who can pronounce no final decision, and who regard the Gate of Knowledge as shut¹, think themselves entitled to decide on the highest questions relating to the Divine Unity, or to recognize those well-springs of holy inspiration who are the channels whereby God's grace is conveyed to mankind? How can they consider their acceptance or rejection of God's apostles and messengers as a thing to be greatly heeded? Can one so blind that he cannot see his own foot, but stumbles into the pits of error and strays in the valleys of destruction, claim to distinguish between truth and falsehood, or to be a measure for the knowledge of Him who created the heavens, the Lord of the Names and Attributes?'

"When my discourse had reached this point, all were silent in wonder and amazement, and I continued: 'Let us descend, however, from this level, and suppose that these people are in error. Even in this case, what right have you to regard them as unbelievers and to sanction the shedding of their blood, seeing that they make the same profession as the Muslims in what regards the prophetic office of the prophets, the sanctity of the saints, the sufficiency of the Book of God for a proof, and the binding nature of its commands and prohibitions? Yet have you unjustly slain these holy and spiritual men with such cruelty as hath not been witnessed or heard of in any of the heathen tyrants of bygone time.'

" 'This sect,' answered they, 'maintain that that Holy

¹ i.e. who deny the possibility of any further revelation, or the existence of any open channel of communication between God and men. Cf. my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 243—4.

Being whose coming hath been promised to us hath been born in this time, which assertion is contrary to truth. With those who hold such a belief we will have no dealings.'

"'By what proofs,' I demanded, 'do you make good this assertion? For, according to the established principles of your religion, this is not unbelief.'

"'The proof,' replied they, 'is the self-evident necessity of the matter in the eyes of all adherents of our faith; for if you enquire of even the common folk and tradespeople, they will unanimously declare that the promised advent cannot possibly take place in this age.'

"'Great heavens!' I exclaimed, 'I marvel at <your adducing> a proof so flimsy and weak that a child would laugh at it! The common folk and tradespeople are a branch from your stem; their beliefs are gathered from your discourses, and their errors learned from you. And now you regard these beliefs of theirs as "fundamental principles of faith" which are necessarily true, cling to figments more unsubstantial than a spider's web, and cast yourselves adrift from the "Strong Rope" and "Most Firm Hand-hold"' of the Lord.'

"When the discussion had reached this point, they, being unable to justify their deeds, sought to repudiate them, saying, 'We have not pronounced the ban of infidelity against this sect, nor have we seen in them any evil, nor do we seek to shed their blood. The author of this bloodshed and these imprisonments, and the cause of this terror and persecution is the King.'

"'Why then,' I retorted, 'did ye not enjoin on him the right and forbid him the wrong, seeing that in the Book of God ye are bidden to summon men into the way of

¹ Qur'án, ii, 257; xxxi, 21.

righteousness and salvation, and not to hide from them the divine ordinances ?'

"Finding my arguments stronger than their own and my faith more firmly established, they remained silent, and I continued, 'There is another point to which I would call your attention. To day the Manifestation of God's command and the Well-spring of His inspiration is apparent in the world, and, with God-given power, hath proclaimed his mission, summoning the great ones of every people and the kings of every nation to enter the Straight Way and to embrace the Firm Faith'. Agreeably to the purport of the blessed verse, "*The believers should not march forth all together; and if a troop of every division of them march not forth, it is only that they may study religion,*"² was it not incumbent on you to enquire into his doctrine, that your uncertainty might give way to assurance and full conviction? O assembly of divines, why do ye keep men back from the fount of the sweet water of God, and shut them out from the Straight Way of the Lord? Why do ye hide the truth with falsehood, strive to extinguish God's Light, and sell religion for the world? Answer fairly: can Almighty God, under whose absolute control are the souls of all mankind and the uttermost parts of the earth, patiently suffer anyone to maintain successfully a false claim to saintship and authority in such wise that the most discerning minds and the keenest intellects should submit to his sway, as you have seen them do in this case?'

¹ Since the Bábí apologist at the beginning of his discourse (p. 174 *supra*) spoke of his fellow-believers as having been subjected to persecutions "for nearly thirty years" it is evident that Behá'u'lláh is here intended. The concluding words in the sentence can hardly allude to anything else than his Epistles to the Kings (*Álwáh-i-Saláttin*).

² Qur'an, ix, 123.

“ ‘Aye,’ said one of those present, ‘men submitted to his attraction, allowed his claims, believed in him, and made him their refuge, but without proof or token.’

“ ‘Then,’ answered I, ‘to God is the greater glory for endowing His Manifestation with a majesty so unapproachable and a power so supreme as to be in himself a sufficient proof. He is the realization of the blessed word “*O Thou whose essence proveth Thine essence*,” the mirror of the glorious truth “*High is He above all likeness to the manifestations of His Names and Attributes*”, the fulfilment of the word “*Exempt is He from participation in the nature of His creatures*”, inasmuch as He is independent of all else than Himself and of all which men denote by the term “thing”.’

“ ‘They replied, ‘In proof of your assertion shew us some miracle the like of which no man can perform.’

“ ‘I am but a humble servant of God,’ said I, ‘and a believer in the King of kings ; yet if all of you, great and small, prince and peasant, learned and simple, will agree respecting the sign you desire, and will publicly notify it to all men, and appoint a day for its exhibition, I, by means of that instrument known as the telegraph whereby communication can be established with distant lands, will, on the day so appointed, pray him who is the Manifestation of Divine Power and the Well-spring of Revelation¹ to shew you what you desire.’

“ ‘Perceiving by the confidence with which I advanced so bold a challenge that I stood on firm ground, they replied, ‘It was you who first provoked this contest, and it is therefore incumbent upon you to shew us some sign on your own part, that we may admit the validity of your claim.’

¹ i.e. Bahá'u'lláh, who must at this time have already taken up his abode at Acre in Syria. See n. 1 on p. 174 *supra*.

“‘By Him in whose control my spirit lies,’ said I, ‘I hold myself as nothing more than a believing servant of the Lord of Unity, neither do I claim aught beyond this. But answer me fairly : what greater miracle can there be than that I should thus fearlessly confront you, expose your errors, and dispute with you, undeterred by fear of your malignant hatred, or your notorious eagerness to shed the blood of such as hold this certain truth ? For every man of discernment well knows that any one of you who should have reason to believe that he had incurred the enmity of a powerful noble or high officer of the King would be overcome by that dread and fearfulness which are the constant portion of the erring, and would hasten to hide himself like a timid girl.’

“When the discussion had reached this point, my adversaries dispersed from before me and assembled in another place, whither they summoned others of God’s servants whom they had arrested and imprisoned with me, and began to ply them with questions. Then they called me into their presence a second time. When I entered, I saw the friends of God sitting abashed and confounded before them. ‘Tell me,’ cried I, ‘of what wrong towards church or state these poor innocents have been guilty, that in the land of Káshán they should have been exposed to the malice and spite of a pack of scoundrels, and that you, instead of succouring the afflicted and protecting the oppressed, should punish and imprison them ?’

“Then a certain divine of Káshán, overstepping all bounds of decorum, cried out at me, ‘What hast thou to do with these, that thou seekest to defend them and darrest call learned and eminent divines “tyrants” and “scoundrels” ?’

“Then was I filled with wrath, and sat down on my knees, and thus spake : ‘Such words becom not thee and

such as thee, who are unworthy to speak of higher things. It is only the ignorant who dare shew discourtesy to those superior to themselves alike in birth and position, and none but fools fancy themselves wise in the absence of all learning and culture. How can one ignorant alike of the decencies of society and the amenities of discussion, and neglectful of the ordinary rules of good breeding incumbent upon all, account himself wise in matters of faith, and competent to decide as to the repudiation or acceptance of God's elect? "

Repeated attempts were subsequently made at Kerbelâ and Nejef to compass the death of this learned apologist, but these were frustrated by the justice of His Majesty the King, who, to put a stop to the trouble, subjected him to a temporary confinement. No one can blame the King for acting thus; for such is the influence which the clergy enjoy, and so great is their power in every department of the state, that they have nullified the sovereign's authority in exactly the same way as they have destroyed all but the name of religion and law. Through their successive encroachments and usurpations of power the King is reduced to the semblance of a lifeless body, or a half-killed bird whose struggles tell but of approaching death...The King cannot issue any command or take any step opposed to their views, and they imagine that he exists but to maintain their authority and to give effect to their decisions. Thus should any governor or minister, however powerful, issue any order or take any steps to secure the well-being of those subject to him, or to promote the national prosperity, without first consulting them, they will, by a mere hint, incite the people of his province or city to harass, vex, and thwart him till they have driven him out, after which they will fall to plundering men's property and carrying off their

wives, without the least respect for the authority of the King or any other person. That they should so act towards governors is indeed a common-place scarcely worthy of mention, for they have always behaved in the same unseemly fashion towards the most powerful monarchs of former days, not suffering them to take any step in accordance with their own judgement, or to adopt any measure for the good of the nation; and, at the least opposition or offence, inciting the people to rebel against the royal authority. Down to the present day they have continued to hold the government and the people in subjection to themselves, and have at all times been the cause of national decay. All history bears witness to the truth of this assertion, on which it is unnecessary to expatiate further; but at no previous time have any clergy possessed such power as is now wielded by the *mullás* of Persia, who regard themselves as the representatives of the Imáms, and call their kings "dogs of the Imáms' threshold." If some effectual means be not soon adopted to disperse this hierarchy, nullify their power, and destroy their authority, they will ere long bring about the fall of this empire also, seeing that they have now waxed exceedingly bold and powerful. On the return of His Majesty the King from Europe¹ they not only clamoured for the dismissal of the Prime Minister, circulating false reports of his atheism, but also prevented the introduction of railways, which would have greatly conduced to the prosperity of the country and the freedom of the people. Had the King not adopted the

¹ Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh set out from Teherán on his first journey to Europe on Saturday, the 21st of Šafar, A.H. 1290 (April 20th, 1873), and again set foot on Persian soil on Saturday, the 13th of Rajab of the same year (September 6th, 1873). This allusion is important, as giving some indication of the date when this history was written.

wise policy of conciliating them by acceding to their demands, they would assuredly, as they had openly declared, have refused to let the Royal cavalcade enter the capital, or the King take his seat on the throne. In short, if effectual steps be not taken to check these mischief-makers, they will, for the attainment of their own selfish ends, so destroy and blot out this dynasty that no trace of its existence shall remain on the page of time, even as they destroyed the mighty monarchies of bygone days. Even towards the great kings of the Achæmenian dynasty they behaved in a manner which it is a shame even to mention. Did not rash and inconsiderate priests persuade Shîrîyê to kill King Parvîz in order that he might become king in his stead, and afterwards induce him to put to death twenty-one of his brethren, each one a prince of the blood royal? Yet even then, notwithstanding his obedience to their will, they would not suffer him to govern according to his own pleasure.

[“Would’st thou know the many ills obedience to a priesthood brings?

Read the records of the world, and search the stories of its kings!”]

Did not the territory of this same Persia once extend eastwards to Transoxania and the mountains of Thibet and China, westwards to the river Euphrates, southwards to the Gulf of Oman, and northwards to the Aral Mountains? Even in the time of Khusraw Parvîz, notwithstanding all the troubles and revolutions brought about by the priests, the revenue of what remained of the Persian Empire amounted to eight hundred and twenty-nine crores¹ [(of

¹ See Tabari's *Annales*, series i, vol. ii, pp. 1058—1060, and Noeldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, pp. 379—383, and n. 1 at the foot of the latter page.

² The Persian crore (کروڑ) is half a million.

dínárs] of red gold, while in might, majesty, and power they had no rival. All the kings of the earth rendered homage to the monarchs of the Achæmenian dynasty and were as naught beside them, just as at the present day Persia is as naught beside the nations of Europe, but is like a dismissed governor or a cancelled edict, heeded by none. This abasement is the outcome of the learning of these divines, these upholders of religion and law, and the result of their undue power and influence. By the troubles which they have stirred up Persia has been made desolate and reduced to a few empoverished and deserted provinces, the total revenue derived from which at the present day only amounts to seven crores <of *túmáns*>¹, and even of this, were the taxes fairly levied, not half would come into the royal treasury.

Shame on the people of Persia for their lack of spirit! By God, they have not a spark of patriotic or manly feeling; they have grown habituated to cowardice, falsehood, and flattery; they acquiesce in tyranny and oppression, and, relinquishing the position of free agents, have become mere passive instruments in the hands of the clergy! Do they forget that in days of yore their glory and honour, their wealth and prosperity, were the envy of all peoples? Do they not ask themselves why they have now become a bye-word amongst the nations for abject misery, meanness, and baseness? Moreover did they not once excel all mankind in every art, trade, and handicraft? Why are they now sunk in savagery, poverty, and ignorance, and notorious for their utter want of generosity, justice, and wisdom? Do they never reflect why it is that their science is now restricted to such things as purifications, washing the orifices of the body, dyeing the beard, clipping the

¹ Between a million and a million and a half pounds sterling.

moustache, disputing about payment of tithes and alms, atonement for wrongs¹, Imám's money, and the like, for the determination of which things even it does not suffice? Yet so heedless are they that they do not perceive that most of these divines originally spring from the rustic population or the scum of the towns. They enter our cities and colleges with a smock and a staff, and feet full of sores encased in coarse socks and canvas shoes. There, by the alms and votive offerings of the people, by begging from this one and that one, by prayers and fastings paid for at the rate of two *tímáns* a year, by reading through the whole *Kur'án* for a *krán*, and by fees obtained for the performance of devotions, they manage to live in extreme wretchedness and poverty. After reading a few books, learning Arabic, filling their minds with all manner of doubts, hesitations, and vain scruples, and developing their obsolete superstitions and prejudices, they leave college, take their seats in the chair of the Law and the *Imámáta*, and forthwith become the absolute arbiters and law-givers of the nation, the controllers of all men's lands and possessions, the owners of horses, mules, gold, and silver. They then think themselves entitled to set their feet on the necks of all mankind, to lord it over the noble, to maintain troops of horses and retinues of servants, to claim to be the vicegerents of the Imám, to receive his tithes, and to make atonements for wrongs. They account themselves the most noble amongst all creatures and the most perfect, the generality of men as "like cattle", and the common folk as "even more astray"². They become dead men's heirs, consumers of endowments, and collectors of tithes and "thirds", and usurp the station of "the One,

¹ See the foot-notes on p. 77 *supra*.

² *Kur'án*, vii, 178; xxv, 46.

³ *Ibid*.

the Dominant" "to whom belongeth dominion"¹. Well says Ḥāfiẓ,

"These preachers, who, when in their pulpits, of virtue make
such a display,
Behave, I assure you, in private in quite a dissimilar way.
That they put any faith in the Judgement they preach one
can scarcely believe
When Him who shall judge them they daily attempt to out-
wit and deceive."²

Most people, however, have not sufficient sense to perceive from what sources all these luxuries, powers, shops, villages, lands, aqueducts, possessions, and moneys which the clergy possess are derived. Have they skill in working mines? No. Do they traffic in the merchandise of India, China, America, or Europe? No. Do they traverse land and sea, or cultivate fields which lie waste? No. Have they amassed their wealth by the discovery of new arts? No. This luxury and opulence results, as all, wise or simple, may plainly see, from the plunder of rich and poor, from payments for legal decisions written or pronounced, from the profits of writing, "I decree this", or saying, "I am witness to this" and "it is thus and thus", and from the hire obtained for the use of their honourable seals. Such being the case, what folly it is to take as guides men so notoriously evil and hypocritical, to follow their opinions, to be governed by their decisions, to cringe to them, flatter them, beseech their favour, and reckon them, forsooth, as the repositories of learning! For mystics and thinkers alike recognise three degrees of knowledge and three classes of learned men, corresponding to the Truth, the Path, and

¹ Ḳur'án, xl, 16.

² For the original text of these verses, see Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition of the *Diwán of Ḥāfiẓ*, vol. i, p. 342, first and fourth couplets.

the Law¹. Knowledge obtained by divine illumination through the fulness of God's grace, without effort or study on the part of the recipient, is called "Imparted" or "Immediate Knowledge". Knowledge revealed after long search and striving on the part of the recipient, but not arrived at by induction or reasoning, is called "Ecstatic" or "Disclosed Knowledge". Of neither of these kinds of knowledge have the clergy any share. As to the third kind of knowledge, obtained by toil and study, it is known as "Acquired" or "Ordinary Knowledge", and comprises knowledge of the Law, and of the means whereby happiness in the life to come and disregard of worldly objects may be secured. By it are the faulty perfected and the erring guided. By it are men taught the way of salvation and the mode of performing acceptable service to God. By it are they rescued from the abyss of error and led to the loftiest heights of sanctity and blessedness. Those who have this knowledge are also divisible into three classes. The first class are such as put it into practice, regulate their conduct by it, and thus secure the results above enumerated. To call in question the conduct of such as these is downright infidelity, and he who does so is an unbeliever

¹ *Ḥaḫīkat*, *Ṭarīkat*, *Sharʿat*. The Law is incumbent on all believers, and contains the commandments revealed as necessary for the direction of their conduct. The Path is the higher ethical and moral standard to which such as would know the Truth—the inward mystery of Being—must conform. "Live the life," says a well-known aphorism of the mystics, "and thou shalt know the doctrine."

² *ʿIlm-i-valḥī* or *ladunī*. This is the knowledge of the prophets.

³ *ʿIlm-i-ṣawḫī* or *kashfī*. This is the knowledge of the mystics, saints, and Ṣūfīs.

⁴ *ʿIlm-i-kasbī* or *rasmī*. This is the knowledge of divines, doctors, and scholars.

and an atheist. The second class are trees without fruit, wise in theory but not in practice. These also, although they have no real eminence, and reap none of the fruits of their knowledge, should still, in consideration of the form of wisdom which they possess, be treated with respect and deference, and to speak slightingly of them is a grave fault. As to the third class, who deliberately disobey God's commands, and act contrary to what they know and teach, it can be easily seen that they are no better than thieves and traitors clad in a garb of knowledge, who pollute the whole world with their foul deeds and words, use their science as an instrument for plundering mankind, and make of legal quibbles and fictions of their own devising steps to secure their own advancement. The wickedness of their nature prompts them to practise every species of treachery and deceit, to give free rein to their wicked lusts, and to yield an unreserved allegiance to the devil. These are in very truth hypocrites and liars, inasmuch as their outward appearance is at variance with their actual life, and their hearts agree not with their lips. God hath called the hypocrites accursed and rejected in all the sacred books, and so, wherever in this history allusion is made to their evil qualities, it applies only to this third class, and no general condemnation of learned doctors is intended. A true divine was the late Sheykh Murtazá¹ (whose station may God exalt!), for he renounced all worldly pomps and luxuries, would not on any pretext take from anyone a single *dínár*, and [during the earlier part of his life] lived contentedly in poverty * [such that at his death the total value of all that he possessed did not amount to two and

*[although in his later days the fees paid to him for his

¹ See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 86 and footnote, and p. 129.

twenty *túmáns*']*. So also, when I was in Isfahán, one of my friends told me of the piety and virtue of a lately deceased divine's brother, whose honoured name has through lapse of time escaped my memory. For when the people besought him with much importunity to accept the position rendered vacant by his brother's death and to act as their spiritual director and leader in prayer, refusing to accept his apologies and excuses, and finally compelling him by their urgency to accede to their request, he stipulated for three days' grace. When these had elapsed he repaired to the mosque and assumed the functions thrust upon him. One of his intimates enquired of him the reason why he had demanded the three days' grace. He answered, "I had in my house fifteen maunds of barley. Generosity and justice alike forbade that I should have by me provision for fifteen days while some lacked for two days' food. During those three days I distributed this barley amongst the deserving poor, and only when I had done this did I feel myself entitled to perform divine service."

Men such as these one may indeed describe as earnest and learned divines, but not those who in a year of famine daily saw a thousand dying for want of a morsel of bread, and yet refused to sell the corn hoarded in their granaries for forty *túmáns* a *kharvár*. Such was actually the case in Teherán, where one of the clergy living in odour of sanctity and enjoying universal respect had in store enough corn to satisfy all the people of the city, the season for a new harvest being, moreover, nigh at hand. The King wished to buy his corn at forty *túmáns* the *kharvár* and sell it at a cheap rate to the people, so that they might not perish

lectures enabled him to live on a somewhat more liberal scale.]*

¹ At the present rate of exchange less than £7.

of hunger. But this reverend, religious, righteous exponent of the Law withheld the people's food in the hope that its value might rise above forty *túmáns*! May such as these be the sacrifice of Vátíl the Armenian merchant, who, some years ago, during the famine at Hájí Tarkhán, procured through his agents in neighbouring countries a sufficient quantity of corn at twenty-five roubles per sack of five poods¹, imported it to Hájí Tarkhán, and sold it to his fellow-townsmen for ten roubles the sack rather than suffer them to know the meaning of famine.

Men of sense are fully alive to the wickedness of these hypocrites, and well know that the existence of such a body is a menace to the order and well-being of the community and the stability of the government; but the fear of forfeiting their position, their property, or even their lives, keeps them silent. Let none take exception to what we have alleged, or shall hereinafter, as occasion arises, allege as to the malign influence of this body on the government, and let all know that herein no particle of blame attaches to His Most Sacred Majesty the King, although in general kings are held accountable for all that takes place within the scope of their authority. But these clergy, by reason of their evil nature and their anxiety to retain the authority which they now enjoy, are continually seeking to impair the strength of the government and to encroach on the sovereign's powers, and though they describe themselves as "praying for the continuance of the state," there are in truth none who wish it so ill. They are ever bent on securing sole and supreme sway, becoming dominant in every department of affairs, and absorbing every prerogative of the king, even as they already regard their own decisions as superior in authority to those of the civil courts, dis-

¹ The Russian pood is equivalent to about 36 lbs.

regard the commands and prohibitions of the functionaries of the state, and stigmatize all government officials as tyrants and oppressors. Yet the respect and consideration which they enjoy are in truth theirs only through the King's bounty, and they are but one class of his servants, differing from others only in this, that while all others perform services commensurate with the wages which they receive, and exhibit gratitude and devotion proportionate to the favours bestowed upon them, they do but devour the public wealth and substitute treason for service.

During the quarrel which arose in the reign of the late King Fath-'Alí Sháh between the Persian and Turkish governments and the war consequent thereon¹, His Highness the late Ná'ibu's-Saltána was engaged on the frontier in repelling the attacks of the Ottoman forces. The clergy of Tabriz, regarding his absence as their opportunity, began to stir up sedition and create disturbances. The Ná'ibu's-Saltána wrote to his deputy a letter expressing his views of their conduct, part of which we shall quote as bearing on the subject before us.

[Copy of the Ná'ibu's-Saltána's letter to his deputy.]

"It is your pilaws of sugar and beans and bowls of broth and syrup which have made these gentry so vicious. The Arab steed will not eat more than its due measure of barley, and the Cossack gelding, though it should eat ten maunds of corn at a feed, does not go mad with exuberance; but the wretched pack-horse, if it gets a trifle more barley

¹ i.e. the war of A.H. 1237 (A.D. 1822). It was in May of that year that 'Abbás Mírzá the Ná'ibu's-Saltána marched from Tabriz against the Turks.

than usual, or is allowed to graze unhindered in the paddock, first bites or kicks the groom who tends it.

'The gardener's feast, O rose-bud sweet,
Were the first to feel thy thorn!'

"From the time of the Moghul invasion, when the Sheykhul-Islám [of Tabriz] declared it to be expedient for the Musulmáns to take oaths of allegiance, until to-day, whether under Jihán-Sháh, the Muẓaffars, the Šafaví Kings, Nádír Sháh, Karím Khán, the Deylamís, or Ahmád Khán, never have the clergy of Tabriz and of Persia generally enjoyed so great a measure of respect, honour, consideration, and power. It is through our fortune and by our favour that they have waxed so great; and now for that good they return us this evil; for to-day, when we are arrayed against a hostile army, leaving our unguarded property to the care of the people of Tabriz, they create disturbances, close the shops and bazaars, go off to Seyyid Hamza and the Bágh-i-Mísha, and furthermore publish abroad their exploits, some in the Russian dominions, some, like Šaff Khán, at the Court, others in Turkey. The faces of the people of Tabriz are indeed whitened! Had Fath-'Alí Khán possessed a particle of self-respect, or the elders of the city a grain of manhood, an ignorant fellow like Fattáh would never have dared to act thus. That these gentry should not be sated with broth and pilaw is only natural, but how is it that you have not yet had enough of the hypocritical piety of these *mullás*? Books enough have been written about religious warfare; the divine mission of Muḥammad has been sufficiently demonstrated; we are tired of the wrangling of the colleges;—

'Yet still to your darling you render
The worship and service of yora.'

If one-hundredth part of all this talk about religious war-

fare had been addressed to armed men instead of to peaceful citizens, by this time there would not be a single infidel left to necessitate champions for the true faith. Henceforth, at all events, you had best invite to your Thursday and Friday banquets the elders of the city, the magistrates of the different quarters, persons worthy and honourable, and men of position and sense. Away with tables spread for hypocrisy and cant! Learn to recognize base and spurious coin!

‘Coin which bears the Şúfí superscription
Is not always pure and unalloyed;
Many a dervish-cloak is only worthy
In the blazing fire to be destroyed.’¹

“Hitherto no advantage has accrued to us from our perusal of this page or our pursuance of this path; on the contrary, all these troubles which beset us are the outcome of the Friday prayers and Thursday evening devotions of these *mullás*. If you desire the society of the learned, have you not in your city accomplished scholars like Hájí Fázil and Hájí Razzák Beg, who work much, eat little, and live reasonably, honestly, and soberly? God is our refuge! Where ten *mullás* are met together, there is God! However often you ask, ‘Art thou full?’ they answer ‘Is there any more?’ like lazy over-fed pack-horses, which are consumers of chaff and demolishers of barley. May they be the sacrifice of the Turkish Efendís and the Frankish priests! They have neither learning enough to write a confutation of the latter, nor zeal and enthusiasm enough to decorate their mosques and roads with bunches of flowers like the former. Let them call upon the people to defend their country and protect their faith, in like manner as they were wont to do in our presence. But when they do

¹ *Háfiz*, ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, vol. i, p. 474, first couplet.

² *Kur’án*, i, 29.

muster up courage to unsheathe the sword, it is not against the Ottoman troops, but against Mírzá Amín of Isfahán ! To hunt tame animals and conduct themselves like mad-men seems to be their creed. But since they are grown so bold, and have armed themselves with clubs and swords, let them at any rate be good enough to employ their weapons against rebels. Herein we delegate to you our authority by these our letters, and empower you to act as you may think best in all matters. Farewell."

If these clergy, who make such pretensions to learning, who regard themselves as the wisest and most competent of men, who have obtained the control of every department of state, who give effect to every command which they issue, and who consider all men bound to submit to their decisions, were even men of sense and intelligence, who would educate and develop the people instead of reducing them to beggary with their legal quibbles and tricks of priest-craft, it would not so much matter. But, as a matter of fact, their stupidity, ignorance, and folly are absolutely unparalleled; though the common people, sunk as they are in brutish ignorance, give them credit for faithfulness and virtue. Thus it is related that a thief was brought before a certain eminent divine of Isfahán, and made confession of his crime, saying, "I went to the man's house a little while before midnight with the intention of robbing it. Till near dawn I was occupied in forcing the doors of rooms and wrenching open boxes. When the day began to dawn the occupants of the house discovered my presence and effected my capture." "Accursed wretch!" exclaimed the learned divine, "If thou wert engaged in theft from midnight until morning, when and where didst thou perform the night-prayer?" . . ! The atmosphere of the college and cloister had so disordered the poor divine's

brain that he did not so much as perceive that thieves are not in the habit of paying much attention to their devotions, and that they do not as a rule perform the obligatory prayers of the day, much less the supererogatory prayers of night !

“Never hath college or cloister yielded a man of sense ;
Perish these homes of folly, whose learning is all pretence !”

A certain wise and learned Persian has unsparingly exposed the evil lives and vicious practices of these *mullás*, supporting his assertions with forcible proofs and eloquent arguments, and shewing that the disordered state of Persia, the decay of its government, the wretchedness of its people, and the decline of religion are directly traceable to them. He points out, amongst other things, that religion has been brought into contempt by the mass of spurious traditions and absurd fables which they have fabricated, whereby other traditions which are authentic are brought into disrepute. Thus they assert in their books that the sun turned back in its course thirteen times for His Holiness the Chief of believers¹, in support of which assertion they adduce a thousand traditions, being too ignorant of science and too devoid of sense to understand that such retrogression of the sun is an absolute impossibility, and that furthermore, even could such an impossibility have taken place, all men would have observed it, and would have sought to discover its cause. For assuredly, had so incredible a prodigy occurred, all would, without further hesitation or delay, have embraced the religion of Islám, and at least they would not have failed to record in their chronicles so remarkable an event.

So again they do not hesitate to attribute to his Holiness the Chief of believers¹ the same neglect of religious

¹ ‘Alí ibn Abí Tálíb, the first Imám.

duties which characterizes themselves. For they say that one day he overslept the season of mid-day prayer, and did not awake till sundown to discover his neglect. Well says Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí in answer to this absurd and senseless fiction—

“A wakeful heart a hundred sights espies,
Though alumber overcome the weary eyes.
The Prophet said, ‘My eyes are closed in sleep,
Yet my heart faileth not its watch to keep’.
Of this heart-watch to tell the meaning true
A thousand *Masnavis* were all too few.”⁵

Notwithstanding all their toilsome studies and pretensions to profound learning, they do not yet understand that for the sun there is neither rising nor setting, but that evening becomes morning and day night by the movement of the earth, so that the day of Persia is the night of America, and *vice versa*. For the sun has a motion of its own, but not round this earth; rather its attraction causes the earth to revolve continually round itself at a speed of sixty thousand miles an hour. For it to turn back in its course, then, the earth would need to perform a retrograde movement until it reached the point which corresponds to the post-meridian.

So also they say in their books that on the day of the ‘*Áshúrá*’ noon lasted seventy-two hours, never perceiving that every man of sense and sound reason must deride such an assertion, and will suppose all the rest of their traditions to be as false as this. For it is perfectly evident to every rational being that had the forenoon of that day really been prolonged to seventy-two hours the whole order of the world would have been disturbed, and all men must needs

⁵ The tenth day of Muharram, on which the battle of Kerbelá was concluded, and the martyrdom of Imám Huseyn and his companions consummated.

have observed it and recorded it in their histories. Secondly, as is plain to the most simple, were an Arabian sun to shine continuously for seventy-two hours the sand on the plain would become like fire, the blood would boil in the veins, and no living thing could survive. Thirdly, men of science have ascertained that anyone deprived of sleep for seventy-two hours of necessity dies, more especially if, in addition to this, he partakes of no food. How then could that host of horse and foot burdened with their harness and weapons of war continue to fight for seventy-two hours in that scorching Arabian desert without eating, sleeping, or drinking? No man could do this; and these were not Imáms whose holy nature might endow them with miraculous powers of endurance.

*[In truth, any man of discernment has but to consider attentively the sayings and doings of these *mullás* to perceive that their folly exceeds all bounds and surpasses all conception. When, for instance, in the reign of Sultán Huseyn the Šafaví, in the year A.H. 1135, the Afghans, led by Mír Maḥmúd Ghilzá'í, invaded Persia, and drew near to Isfahán (at that time the capital), the clergy reassured the king, promising to proclaim a religious war, and declaring that, fortified by the Holy Law and their own sanctity, they would not suffer a single Afghan to escape with his life. When the Afghans had encompassed Isfahán and laid siege to it, the clergy assembled to drive them away with cries of "Verily there is no god but God", and these cries were the sole outcome of their religious war. It is indeed a matter for astonishment that notwithstanding their excessive folly these people dare lay claim to be spiritual guides and representatives of the Imáms, and consider themselves the most discerning and virtuous of mankind.

[So, too, in the reign of the late King Faṭḥ-'Alí Sháh, in

the year <A.H. 1241>¹, when strife was impending with Russia, the clergy urged the government to make war. Sheykh Ja'far the Arab and Mírzá Mas'û were most importunate in this matter, saying, "We will proclaim a religious war, and our courage shall rend asunder the veil of Russia's honour; we will invade and occupy the whole of that prosperous kingdom, and, fortified by our Holy Religion, will take captive all their soldiers, or make them food for the mace and the sword." But in the end their religious war resulted only in disgrace and humiliation to Persia, while the Russian troops occupied the whole province of Ázarbaiján and its dependencies, and advanced as far as 'Turkmán-cháy, which is but a few stages from Teherán. Had the Persians not concluded a peace and agreed to all the Russian demands, the Russians would have occupied Teherán, and perhaps the whole of Persia. Indeed it was only the attitude of the English government (which will not allow Russia to interfere with Persia, because they regard it as a barrier between the Russian territories and their own) that induced Russia to consent to peace, because, had she not done so, she would have been obliged to fight the English. Whoever reads with attention the articles of the treaty concluded at Turkmán-cháy will be filled with pity for the utter helplessness of Persia and her readiness to make any concession for the sake of peace. Thus a religious war kindled by a few ignorant wretches resulted in the loss of the half of Persia and the destruction

¹ A.D. 1826. The date is left blank in the ms., and is supplied by myself from the *Násikh-u't-Tawárikh*, in which, under the year A.H. 1241, a full account of the rash folly of the mullás in provoking the war will be found. See also Watson's *History of Persia from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century till the year 1858*, pp. 208—200; and my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 118—119, and n. 3 on the former page.

of her power ; whereas, had Persia not entrusted her honour to these dolts, and had she first cast out the foe within, the foe without would not have ventured on such high-handed aggression, she would not have been so humbled before her neighbours, and foreigners would not have leagued together to take possession of her land. But these household foes have now waxed so strong that, if matters continue as they are, God only knows what disaster may befall Persia through them.]*

[How His Supreme Holiness (the lives of all beside him be his sacrifice !) made known his religion ; how he sent faithful converts into the regions round about to announce his mission ; how he bade Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb go to Isfahán ; how Jenáb-i-Mukaddas of Khurásán, who was a professor at Isfahán and a leader of divine worship, believed on seeing God's revealed verses ; how he was sent to Yezd and Kirmán, that after preaching the doctrine there he might come to Shíráz ; and how His Holiness proceeded to Mecca and returned thence to Bushire.]

Now in the year A.H. 1261¹, when the appearance of His Holiness the Báb (whom the Bábis call "His Supreme Holiness") had, by means of those learned men who had

[At all events it is best for us to cease from this discourse, and to narrate in detail the history of His Supreme Holiness (may the life of all Contingent Being be his sacrifice !). And our sole object is to set forth the truth of the matter.]

¹ A.D. 1845. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 251—252, where I have striven to fix the dates of this and other events connected with the earlier portion of the Báb's mission as nearly as possible.

charged themselves with the promulgation of his doctrines, been noised abroad throughout all the provinces, and had in Shīrāz especially obtained the fullest notoriety, His Holiness returned from Mecca, whither he had gone to proclaim his religion, to the end that the fame of the Manifestation might be more fully diffused through all countries. Thus writes the late Hájí Mírzá Jání¹:—"A certain pious and trustworthy person belonging to the mercantile class, and noted for his virtue and sincerity, on his return from Mecca related as follows: 'I beheld the Lord of the world performing the ceremony of circumambulation at the Holy Mosque with such an air of solemn ecstasy, reverence, and humility as filled me with amazement, so that I knew for a surety that this must be either He who is to arise out of the family of Muḥammad², or else one of the Guardians³ who shall accompany him. On returning to my lodging I related what I had seen to my companions, confirming it

¹ The discovery of this passage on ff. 86^b—87^a of the Paris ms. (*Suppl. Pers.* 1071) first led me to suspect that it might contain the actual text of Hájí Mírzá Jání's history. The merchant whose narrative is quoted is there described as a "fellow countryman" of the author of the history (ز لعل ولایت ابن طهر روده). A marginal note added in another hand gives his name as Hájí Muḥammad Rīfá, the son of Hájí Raḥīm the velvet-maker (مخمل باف), and states that he lived for twelve years after his conversion, suffered much at the hands of the unbelievers, was repeatedly imprisoned, and finally died in the year A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1857—8). Šubḥ-i-Ezel, whom I questioned on the subject, wrote to me that the person intended was probably Hájí Muḥammad Rīfá of Isfahán, merchant, who died in prison about the year A.H. 1270. It was given out by his gaolers that he had committed suicide by strangling himself.

² i.e. the Mahdí.

³ Concerning the "Guardians" (مُؤَدِّبَان), see *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 303—4.

with an oath, because of the fullness of my conviction. I subsequently enjoyed the privilege of meeting him at Medina, where, according to the measure of my fitness, I saw what I had to see, drew from it my own inference, and confessed the sufficiency of the proof revealed by His Holiness.'"

To be brief, His Holiness returned by sea to Bushire. †[He despatched a letter to *Jenáb-i-Muḩaddas* of Khurásán, bidding him perform divine worship in the Sword-maker's Mosque at Shíráz and insert these words in the call to prayer:—"I bear witness that 'Alí <Muḩammad> His servant is the Remnant of God'." This was at the time when *Jenáb-i-Muḩaddas*, having met *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* at Isfahán², and having been converted by an examination of the sacred verses and prayers, had been commissioned by His Supreme Holiness to go to Yazd and Kirmán. There he attempted to convert Hájí Muḩammad Karím Khán³, who, by reason of his overweening pride and presumption, repelled his attempts, and issued orders for him and Mullá 'Alí Akbar of Ardistán, who was in his company, to be killed. But the government protected them, as did also Áḩá Seyyid Jawád the *mujtahid*⁴, and they escaped to Níríz, and came

¹ See Kazem-Beg's last article on the Bábís in the *Journal Asiatique* for December 1866, pp. 486—488, especially lines 8 and 9 on the last page.

² See pp. 40—42 *supra*.

³ The chief of the modern Sheykhí school. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 241—244.

⁴ Áḩá Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, a prominent member of the clergy at Kirmán, was himself a Bábí. When the schism between Şubḩ-i-Ezel and Behá'u'lláh took place, he followed the former. To his care were many of Şubḩ-i-Ezel's books and papers entrusted. (See *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 342, n. 2.) He was, as I have lately learned, the author of both volumes of the

thence to Shíráz, where they awaited the arrival of His Holiness. As he had been commanded, *Jenúb-i-Muḩaddas* used there to perform the prayers in the mosque which is situated near to the Báb's house in the sword-maker's bazaar, and Mullá 'Alí Akbar used to act as *mu'ezzin* and to insert the new clause in the call to prayer. The clergy, greatly incensed, went before the governor and complained. He accordingly sent to summon the *mu'ezzin* into his presence, but *Jenúb-i-ḩuddús*¹ came first, and held a protracted discussion with him. The governor at length ordered him to be smitten with many blows and to be cast into prison. When the *mu'ezzin* was brought into the governor's presence, he saw them leading away *Jenúb-i-ḩuddús* with a night-cap² on his head to prison. On entering, he saw a number of the clergy and merchants sitting round. He took his seat on the bare ground without a carpet. The governor loaded him with reproaches, and bade him repeat the clause which he had inserted in the call to prayer. He did so. The governor then bade his servants lead him forth from the assembly, bind him to the triangle, and scourge him. So Mullá Muḩammad Šádiḩ received four hundred lashes with the whip³. One

Hašt Bihišt. (See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 351—364; and my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 680—697.) The comparative strength of the Ezelfs at Kirmán is probably largely due to his influence. He died about 1884.

¹ For this and what follows cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 5—6.

² Cf. the account of the Báb's execution at p. 321 of my *Traveller's Narrative*. The *shab-kuláh*, or night-cap, serves also by day as a basis for the turban, which is wound round it. The removal of the turban is a mark of disrespect.

³ This is the ecclesiastical method of inflicting castigation (*ḩadd*). The bastinado on the soles of the feet is the form of punishment generally resorted to by governors and civilians.

of his friends named Mullá Abú Tálíb, who had come to the garden¹ to see what was taking place, was also seized, and scourged with four hundred lashes. Then they tied up Mullá 'Alí Akbar and inflicted on him two hundred lashes, when, on the intercession of a certain merchant, they desisted. Then the governor ordered a lighted candle to be held under the beard of Mullá Abú Tálíb (which was of great length and thickness) till it was burned, whereby his chin also was severely scorched². They likewise burned the beard of *Jenáb-i-Mukaddas*, which was also very long. Then they were committed to prison.

[Next morning four executioners led them forth from the prison, so that they were convinced that their martyrdom was at hand. Leading-ropes³ were attached to them, and, in the very height of summer, they were led barefoot round the bazaars and the different quarters of the town from morning till night, while the people spat on their faces. They were then expelled from the city, and twelve horsemen were sent by the governor to bring His supreme Holiness from Bushire.]† His Holiness had already started from Bushire, and fell in with them on the road one dark night. They did not recognize him, and would have passed

†[At this time Huseyn Khán the governor <of Fars> sent several horsemen to Bushire to seek out <the Báb>.]†

¹ Probably the same garden to which the Níríz captives were brought, as described at p. 126 *supra*. It adjoins the governor's palace, and in it is situated the summer-house called *Kuláh-i-Firangí*.

² Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 5—6.

³ *Mahár* is the leading-rope attached to the nose of a camel. It is not clear whether the noses of the Bábí missionaries were pierced, or whether the ropes were attached in some other manner, as, for instance, round their necks.

him by, but he called to them, saying, "Since you have come in search of me, turn back, and let us go together." So the horsemen, observing his behaviour, escorted him with all respect to Shíráz, and made known all that had happened to the governor, who, abandoning certain ideas which he had entertained, issued orders that after three days all access to the Báb should be denied to his friends, and that he should be prevented from writing or receiving any letters. But however men may strive to hide the Sun of Truth with the clouds of formal restrictions, its radiance becomes but the more apparent; even as these people¹, the more they are arrested and slain, do but continue to multiply the more. So, although to all appearance the believers were denied access to their Master, they still continued to submit to him their questions and difficulties, and to receive replies, for it is incumbent on the generous to answer him who asks², more especially when his questions refer to religious matters, and his demands are for guidance and direction into the path of salvation. A number of people from the surrounding country also came to enquire into the matter, and these likewise submitted their questions, and received, each according to his own capacity, full and satisfactory answers, whereby they too were brought to believe.

The opponents of the Truth, however (according to the verse, "*Verily the devils inspire their friends*"³), became cognizant of this, and informed the governor, who issued orders for the Báb's arrest; and on the eve of Ramaẓán

¹ i.e. the Bábis.

² *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 87^b et seq. From this point onwards the correspondence between the Paris ms. history and the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* is very close.

³ *Qur'án*, vi, 121.

21st <A.H. 1261>¹ some of them §[attacked]§ his house, seized him and his venerable uncle *[Hájí Seyyid 'Alí' (an old man eighty years of age, very pious and enlightened, and greatly respected amongst his fellow merchants), and brought them before the governor².]* The governor addressed them most discourteously, confiscated all the Báb's property and household goods, and inflicted the bastinado on his uncle.† Then he committed His Holiness to the custody of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd Khán the chief constable³.

Now at this time the Ocean of the Divine Wrath was stirred for the warning and awakening of men, and a grievous pestilence, which raged with especial fury in Shíráz, fell upon the land of Persia. Great multitudes perished; and a prophecy handed down by tradition foretelling the "White Plague"⁴ and the "Red Plague" as signs of the new Dispensation was fulfilled. For the

§[scaled the wall of]§

*[and brought them to the house of Ḥuseyn Khán *Nizámu'd-Dawla*]*

†[So likewise he inflicted many stripes on *Jenáb-i-Kuddús*, *Muḥaddus-i-Khurúsání*, and Mullá 'Alí Akbar of Ardistán, caused them to be led through the bazaars with leading-ropes, and expelled them from the city.]†

¹ Sept. 23rd, A.D. 1845. See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 10—11, and 262.

² See my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 2 and 6, and Note B at end.

³ This person I have in my translation generally designated "the governor" (*Sāhib-ikhtiyār*), by which title he is generally mentioned in L., nor have I deemed it necessary to note every place where C. substitutes his name, Ḥuseyn Khán, or his other title, *Nizámu'd-Dawla*.

⁴ *Dárúgha*.

⁵ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 88^a.

"White Plague" was what they now experienced; and the "Red Plague", which signified sword and bloodshed, appeared in Mázandarán and Zanján and Níríz. And it chanced that the son of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd Khán the chief-constable fell sick of the pestilence and came nigh to death's door, and 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd besought the Báb, who prayed for him, and he recovered. When 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd Khán beheld such evidence of spiritual power, he believed, and said to the Báb, "Depart whithersoever your holy inclinations may lead you, and I, so far from hindering you, will assist you in every way that lies in my power." So His Holiness §[¹ summoned Áká Muḥammad Huseyn of Ardístán, and gave him fifty *tímáns*, saying, "Go to the market-place, and there buy three horses with such-and-such marks and distinctive qualities; and when you have bought them, take them to the Mausoleum of Háfiz, and bring word to me." Muḥammad Huseyn was somewhat surprised and puzzled at this precise description of the horses, wondering what he should do if three such horses should not be immediately forthcoming, or if they should refuse to let him have them for fifty *tímáns*, and why their signs should be thus specified. In this state of wonder he went to the market-place, and saw a man with three horses exactly such as had been described to him. These he bought and brought to the Mausoleum of Háfiz. Then the Báb, having bade farewell to his wife and his relations, repaired to the *Háfiziyya*, and thence]§ set out for Isfahán.

§[in company with Áká Muḥammad Huseyn of Ardístán, who was one of his disciples,]§

¹ This passage, omitted in C., is found in *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 88^v.

'The late Hájí Mírzá Jání writes':—"When His Supreme Holiness was at Máku, the afore-mentioned Áká Muhammad Huseyn was an old man with a white beard, enfeebled and bowed down with extreme age. When I met him he was proceeding on foot to Máku, and, notwithstanding his age and debility, such was his extreme love and enthusiasm that his countenance betrayed no sign of distress, weariness, or fatigue, but rather excessive joy and ecstasy. In the course of our conversation I questioned him as to the incidents of the journey to Isfahán, and he related to me as follows:—"At one part of our road we came to a place notorious as a haunt of robbers, whereby none dared to pass save with a large company. No sooner had we reached it than we saw a number of robbers waiting on the side of the hill. I was overcome with fear, for I made sure that they would strip us and perhaps inflict on us some injury. It chanced to be the time for the noon-day prayer, and His Holiness alighted from his horse and engaged in his devotions, which he protracted to an unusual length. I was so preoccupied with anxiety that I forgot to replace my socks and garters¹ (which I had removed for the performance of my ablution), and instead placed them in my pocket. When His Holiness had again mounted, and we were some considerable distance from the robbers, he turned his blessed countenance towards me and said, "Why have you not put on your mittens?" I answered that I had lost them. "You have not lost them," said he, "but through excessive terror you put them in your pocket, being overcome with fear. Yet you see that the thieves did not strip you."

¹ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 88^a.

² *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 88^b, l. 2.

³ *Much-pich* (مُچ-پِچ). I am indebted to my friend Mírzá Huseyn-Kulí Khán for the explanation of this word.

“So 'on another occasion, it being an extremely dark night, sleep overtook me on the road. When I awoke, I missed His Holiness. I urged on my horse for some considerable distance, but, advance as I might, I could discover no trace of him. After proceeding some way, I saw Áká Seyyid Kázim [and] the muleteer, who had also been overcome with sleep. I awoke them and asked them about His Holiness, but they too knew not what had become of him. I was much amazed and disquieted, but, even as I wondered, I heard the voice of His Holiness over against me, saying, “Áká Muḥammad Ḥasan, why are you troubled? Come!” I looked, and saw the form of His Holiness erect in the saddle like the *Alif* <which is symbolical> of the Divine Unity, [while a continuous flow of light hung like a veil round about him and rose heaven-wards. And this light so encompassed him, forming, as it were, a halo round about him, that the eye was dazzled by it, and] a state of disquietude [and perturbation was produced. On beholding this, Áká Seyyid Kázim]¹ uttered a loud cry and swooned away. The muleteer, however, observed nothing. Then His Holiness dismounted and said, “Make some tea.” And he took Áká Seyyid Kázim's head on his bosom, and fed him with the tea until he was somewhat recovered; yet he was never again the same as before, and continued thus fey, until, as the effect of that vision of glory, he yielded up his spirit in Isfahán to Him who is the Lord of Glory. His Supreme Holiness was present at his funeral, and alone read the prayers over him.’”

This same Áká Muḥammad Ḥuseyn [took part] in the Mázandarán war [, joining himself to the people of truth,

¹ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 69^a.

² C., by an obvious error on the part of the copyist, omits the words enclosed in brackets, so that its text gives no meaning.

and] fell wounded by a bullet on the field of battle. Being carried to the royalist camp and interrogated¹ as to the state of the garrison of the Castle, he refused to give any information. At length they said, <“If you do not tell us> we will kill you.” “How great an honour,” answered he, “and how great a happiness!” They asked him in what way he would be slain. He answered, “In whatever way is most painful.” Then they put the muzzle of a gun to his right eye and fired. Thus did he attain to martyrdom.

Now when His Holiness reached the outskirts of Isfahán, he sent a message to <Mintchihr Khán> the *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla* saying,² “If you will grant me permission, but not otherwise, I will tarry for a little while in your government.” His Excellency the *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*, who was a statesman wise in the affairs of the world, actuated alike by his own goodness of disposition and the dictates of wisdom, sent word to the *Imám-Jum'a* saying, “He who claims to be the Gate to the Imám (upon whom be peace) has come to this country; send servants to wait upon him and convey an invitation, that perchance he may come to your house.” The *Imám-Jum'a* did so, and His Holiness alighted at his abode and tarried there forty days, during which time the *Imám-Jum'a* behaved towards him with every appearance of friendship and respect. Many persons, gentle and simple, enjoyed the honour of meeting him, and propounded to him hard questions, to which they received full and satisfactory answers easy to understand, so that many accepted his doctrine. His Excellency the *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla* also came to see him, and His Holiness returned the visit. The *Imám-Jum'a* had demanded of

¹ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 90^a.

² Cf. *Kazem-Beg*, i, p. 352 and n. 2; and *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 263—4.

him, "By what sign do you establish the truth of your claim?" "By verses," answered he, "for, without pause of the pen, I can, in the space of three hours, write a thousand sentences on any subject that I please." "But," objected the *Imám-Jum'a*, "you may have considered the matter previously." "I will write," replied he, "on any subject you like." "Then," said the *Imám-Jum'a*, "write for me a commentary on the *súra* beginning *Wa'l-'aqr'*, even as you wrote for Áká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb a commentary on the *Súratu'l-Kawthar*¹." So His Holiness began to write, and in three hours wrote a thousand verses. Then the *Imám-Jum'a* was convinced that such power was from God, being beyond the capacity of man.

The late *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla* likewise requested a treatise on the Special Prophetic Mission of Muḥammad, which, accordingly, the Báb wrote in such fashion as to excite the wonder of scholars and men of learning.

Now when His Holiness returned the visit of the *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*, Áká Muḥammad Mahdí the son of the late Hájí Muḥammad Ibrahím Kalbásí, and the son of Mullá 'Alí of Núr chanced to be present in his house. These put forward many hard questions touching the nature of the Divine Unity and other problems of philosophy, to all of which they immediately received full and conclusive answers; wherefore they were wont for some while to speak of His Holiness to their associates in terms of the highest praise. But when they saw the people disposed to admit the truth of his claim, then, fearing to lose their authority, they began to disparage him, tore up his writings, and strove to stir up opposition. Then the

¹ *Kur'án*, ciii. See my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 637—640.

² *Kur'án*, cviii. See my *Catalogue* *etc.*, pp. 642—8.

Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla sent them a message, saying, ¹ "Wherefore do ye now hate, envy, and malign one in whose praises ye were formerly so loud? It is unreasonable to reject a doctrine into which you have not enquired. If ye be indeed seekers after truth in matters of religion, then meet the Báb, either in the *Imám-Jum'a's* house, or in my house, or in the *Masjid-i-Sháh*, and confer with him. If he can satisfactorily establish the validity of his claim, then you shall acknowledge it, so that the clergy of Persia shall not oppose it causelessly, nor, without reason, turn aside from the truth. If, on the other hand, he fail to make good his claim, then shall you be the first to refute it, whereby dissensions shall cease and the world be at rest. But it is a stipulation that I myself be present at the discussion and that only one of you speak at a time, for, if wrangling and clerical wiles be resorted to, the matter will only be obscured."

The clergy very unwillingly agreed to this proposal, and arranged that the conference should take place on a specified day in the *Masjid-i-Sháh*. Ere the appointed day, however, one of their principal men sent a message to his colleagues to this effect:—"We have committed a great mistake in consenting to this arrangement, for this man pretends to be the Proof, and declares his verses to be evidence of the truth of his claim, saying, '*Produce the like of this if ye speak truly*'. Now there is none among us who can do this, wherefore, our inability becoming evident, his claim will be established. Should we then still withhold our belief, the people will raise a clamour against us; while if we make confession of faith how shall we answer to the King and to such as do not believe?"

¹ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 91^a.

² Cf. *Kur'án*, ii, 21.

These reasonings seemed to the rest sound and forcible, and so, when the appointed day came, they, with their usual dishonesty, and in violation of their agreement, began to wrangle and dispute contentiously. When the Báb perceived this, he charged them with deliberately intending to suspend the discussion, and proposed that both sides should conjointly invoke God's curse on whichever of them was in error. This, however, men afraid of fair argument naturally declined to do; and, to be brief, these learned doctors, instead of enquiring into the matter, addressed to Hájí Mírzá Ákásí an appeal, wherein the facts of the case were grossly misrepresented, and the most unseemly charges were advanced against that Sun of Holiness. To such a pass did they bring matters that the *Mu'tamad-u'd-Dawla*, actuated solely by a desire to avert the possible consequences of their malice, transferred the Báb to the royal Palace of the Sun', continuing to shew him every attention, and striving in every way to protect and shield him. So steadfast, indeed, was his devotion that he paid no heed to Hájí Mírzá Ákásí's demands for the surrender of the Báb, to whom he repeatedly made the following proposal. "If," said he, "[your religion needs the support of the sword for its advancement, I will assemble more than fifty thousand men, both horse and foot, of the Sháh-sevan and other tribes devoted to my interests, and will march with all speed on the capital to make war against the King of Islám, should he persist in rejecting your mission. If, on the other hand,] the propagation of your religion is to be effected by policy, I will accompany you to Teherán, and will so explain the nature of your mission and doctrine to His Majesty that he shall accept them and bestow on you one of his daughters in marriage. Your position being

¹ *Suppl. Pars.* 1071, f. 92^a. Cf. my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 13, n. 2.

thus strengthened by an alliance with the Royal Family, you may safely make public announcement of your claims." He likewise placed at the Báb's disposal his treasure-chests and all else that he possessed, [remarking, "I have no children, and '*whatsoever the hands of the slave possess belongs to his master.*'"]]

To these proposals His Holiness replied as follows :—
 "The diffusion of God's truth cannot be effected by such means, but rather by the faithfulness and constancy of His servants, who, disregarding alike hopes of gain and fear of loss, shall support the faith, proclaim God's Word, and, with eyes averted from all worldly objects, walk in the way of the Lord, for Him, and in Him. Thus shall these holy spirits continue to bear witness to the Truth, until the sincerity of their belief shall be attested by their martyrdom.
 ' . . . The Lord is able to cause His religion to prevail and to defeat the devices of the froward : we await His will and His good pleasure, and seek help from none other : we carry our lives in our hands [[and stand steadfastly confronting our enemies and awaiting martyrdom]]. And for you also the time to quit this low world is nigh at hand."²

¹ A tradition describing the attributes of God's saints is here quoted from the *Lawḥ-i-Fāṭima* (see my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 123, n. 1), but the text is so corrupt that I have been compelled to omit it.

² Hájí Mírzá Ján's history (*Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 92^b—93^a) here inserts an account of the miraculous transmutation of a metal pipe-cover (*sar-púsh-i-ḡalyán*) into gold at the Báb's touch, and adds that the Báb foretold Minúchihir Khán's death 19 days before it took place to two of his disciples, one of these being Áká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb, who was then in Yezd. Then follows the author's narrative of his meeting with Áká Seyyid Yahyá, and the account given by him of his conversion. (See p. 113 *supra*.)

A few days after this, even as the Báb had announced, the *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla* quitted this transitory abode for the mansions of eternity.

After this, Mírzá Gurgín Khán¹ the Deputy-governor, anxious to perform some service pleasing to Hájí Mírzá Ákásí, in return for which the government of Isfahán might be bestowed on him, and forgetful of the injunctions of his benefactor, spoke to the Báb as follows:—"The clergy are bent on opposition and strife. Should I deliver you into their hands, I should betray the trust reposed in me by my benefactor, and bring injury on one whom he held dear. If, on the other hand, I refuse to surrender you, they will write to Teherán, Hájí Mírzá Ákásí will demand you at my hands, and I shall have no choice but to submit, seeing that I have not strength to resist like the *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*. So the best thing is that you should leave this place, and, if such be your wish, withdraw to Khurásán." And in his letter to Hájí Mírzá Ákásí he set forth what he had done, and strongly emphasized the value of the service he had rendered in sending the Báb away. But His Holiness, being well aware of his treachery, said, "Please God, thou wilt fail to attain what thou desirest;" as in fact eventually happened.

His Holiness, therefore, left Isfahán with an escort of *[seven]* horsemen. When he reached Káshán, two believing brothers [, Hájí Muḥammad Isma'íl surnamed *Zabih*, and Hájí Mírzá Jání,]*, men widely respected and noted

[six]

¹ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 96^a.

² C. omits these words, which enable us (provisionally) to identify the *Zabih* previously cited in the account of the siege of Zanján (p. 139 *supra*) with Hájí Mírzá Isma'íl, concerning whom see my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 332.

for their piety, being informed of his arrival went and saw the horsemen, and, by means of bribes, obtained permission for Hís Holiness [accompanied by five of the escort] to be a guest at their house. Hájí Mírzá Jánf gives in his book a full description of all the wonderful things which they witnessed in those †[two]† days and nights, at the conclusion of which he says, "If I should seek to narrate in detail all that took place during those †[two]† days and nights, it would fill a large volume." [This is the exact expression of which he makes use in his book.]¹ Since <however> the object is not to describe wonders and miracles §[it is sufficient to mention one incident.

[Mfr 'Abdu'l-Báki the Principal of the Madrasa-i-Sháh, a scholar of eminence, and a man of remarkable sanctity and learning, was a believer in the Báb. <Hájí Muḥammad Isma'íl surnamed > *Zabih* craved permission from His Holiness to acquaint him with his arrival. This was granted, on condition that he should not be informed who would be present. "We invited the reverend doctor to supper",

†[three]†

§[he has omitted all mention of the events of those two

¹ I include in the body of the text the additional particulars given by L. merely as a matter of convenience, for all that Hájí Mírzá Jánf actually says about the Báb's stay at Káshán (*Suppl.*

Pers. 1071, f. 96*) is as follows:—و دیگر غذا میل نفرمودند الا در—

كاشان و دو روز و دو شب هم در كاشان تشریف داشتند آثار غریب و عجیب از آن

شمس حقیقت به ظهور رسیده شرح آن کتابی میشود * "And he [i.e. the Báb] did not again eat food save only in Káshán. And in Káshán he abode two days and two nights. Wondrous and marvellous signs were shewn by that Sun of Truth. A full description of these would form a book by itself." It is the last sentence to which allusion seems to be made in C.

< says the narrator > " but told him nothing till the night when he met His Holiness, who had exchanged his turban for a lamb-skin hat, and ceded the corner-seat to his companions, *Jenáb-i-'Aẓm*', Áḳá Seyyid Huseyn the amanuensis, and Mullá Muḥammad '*Mu'allim*'. In consequence of this, Mír 'Abdu'l-Báqí failed to recognize him, walked straight to the corner of the room, and seated himself by the side of *Jenáb-i-Shaykh-i-'Aẓm*'. After the customary greetings had been interchanged, His Holiness turned towards Mír 'Abdu'l-Báqí and said, 'I hear that you believe in the author of these doctrines, and publicly expound them in the mosque.' On receiving an answer in the affirmative, he continued, 'By reason of what sign have you believed in him?' 'By reason of his verses,' answered the other. 'I too,' replied His Holiness, 'can write verses.' 'By reason of his commentaries and supplications and homilies,' said the divine. 'These too I can write.' 'By reason of his exegetic knowledge, then,' said Mír 'Abdu'l-Báqí. 'You may ask of me what you please,' said His Holiness, 'and I will answer you.' The learned doctor was overcome with amazement, but did not fall down in adoration saying, 'Thou art the man!' All he said was, 'I know of none under heaven more learned than myself, and I know not who amongst those here present wields that spiritual power which has taken from me what I had'. For since His Holiness had said, 'He shall not know me', he departed without having recognized him, notwithstanding all the hints whereby we, ignoring the fact that this Word had

days and nights during which the Báb was in Káshán, lest it should result in prolixity. And during those two days

¹ i.e. Mullá Shейkh 'Alí.

² Compare a similar experience of Mullá Huseyn's, p. 36, *supra*.

been created an active force, strove to apprise him of the truth. On his way home, however, the truth suddenly flashed upon him. He wished to return, but decided not to do so, because of the lateness of the hour. Next morning he came as soon as he had left the mosque, but our visitors had already departed. Then was he very sorry when sorrow was of no avail. And he was a man of great learning and ascetic life, thoroughly versed in the doctrines of Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í.

"Now since that Holy Being was, as it runs in the tradition, '*a dark, dreadful, dire calamity*',¹ on the day of his arrival at Káshán he had said, 'If one could deliver me from these guards it were not amiss.' So after the two days, when he was about to depart, *Zabíḥ* said to him, 'It would be possible to bring you forth from hence; we pray you therefore to accord us permission,]§ and you can go whithersoever you please, and we will attend and accompany you wherever it be; for we will thankfully and gladly give up our lives, our wealth, our wives, and our children for your sake.' But he answered, 'We need the help and support of none but God, and His will only do we regard.'"²

After leaving Káshán, the Báb came to Khánlíḳ³, a village distant about [five or] six parasangs from Teherán which had belonged to the late *Mu'tamad-ud-Dawla*. Thence the escort sent word of their arrival to Hájí Mírzá Áḳásá. Now the late king Muḥammad Sháh was desirous

and nights they repeatedly entreated His Holiness to flee, saying, 'It is now possible,]§

¹ فتنه "بصا، صفا، صفا"

² A quotation from the *Masnawí* is here omitted.

³ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 96^a. Khánlíḳ is there described as "near Kinár-i-gird".

of an interview with His Holiness, but the Hájí, influenced by certain absurd fancies (for he regarded the Báb as [a magician] skilled in gaining sway over men's hearts), and actuated by considerations of self-interest, would not suffer it. For he feared that in a single interview the Báb might bewitch the King, or that his followers might determine on revolt and raise an insurrection. He therefore appointed twelve horsemen to conduct him to **[Ázarbaiján]**. But while he was still at Khánlik many persons of note visited him. Amongst these were His Holiness BAHÁ (may the lives of all beside him be his sacrifice !), Rízá Khán the son of Muḥammad Khán the Turcoman, and many others. A full account of all that took place on this occasion would form a narrative of surpassing strangeness, but would transcend the comprehension of common folk, besides involving undue prolixity¹.

The late Hájí Mírzá Jání writes :—"The chief of the twelve horsemen appointed to conduct His Holiness to Máku was Muḥammad Beg *Chápúrchí-báshí*", whom I subsequently met on his return from that journey. He was a man of kindly nature and amiable character, and so sincere and devoted a believer that whenever the name of His Holiness was mentioned he would incontinently burst into tears, saying,

'I scarcely reckon as life the days when to me thou wert all unknown,
But by faithful service for what remains I may still for the past atone.'

[Máku]

¹ L. here inserts some verses from *Mamari*.

² Chief postman or courier. This narrative occurs on f. 96^o at seq. of *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, and corresponds almost word for word with that here given.

In the course of conversation I enquired concerning what passed during the journey, whereupon he related as follows.

“When I received orders to escort His Holiness to Tabriz under guard of a company of horsemen, I was very reluctant to undertake the duty, for, though I had not as yet recognized the truth of his claim, I had heard that he was a Seyyid of distinguished merit. I therefore feigned illness for two or three days, hoping that perhaps this duty—in truth a blessing, though in appearance an affliction—might be delegated to another. For I little knew how signal a blessing the Divine Bounty had apportioned to one so unworthy as myself. My excuses, however, did not meet with acceptance, and I, much against my will, was compelled to set out.

[“The horsemen placed at my disposal had already gone to take charge of His Holiness the night before I joined them. And since such men, inured to deeds of violence, are accustomed, especially at the outset, to adopt a harsh manner, calculated, in their opinion, to inspire respect, they acted on this occasion with undue rigour. One of them locked the door of the room occupied by His Holiness on the outside, lest perchance that Central Point of the universal circle might effect his escape. In the morning he saw the door which he had locked standing open, and the Báb tranquilly performing his ablutions by the brink of the stream, whereupon he cried out angrily and discourteously, “By what means did you open the door which I locked?” “I did but lay my hand upon it,” answered the Báb, “and it opened.” The other then began to behave with violence, when all of a sudden he was attacked with so sharp a pain at the heart that even he was admonished, and rolled in the dust demanding pardon. Thereupon His Holiness consented to overlook his fault, and he was at once restored to health. On my arrival

I heard of this event, and,]' according to the measure of my insight, I perceived the signs of the glory and greatness of His Holiness, towards whom I continued to act deferentially until the day when we reached the [stone] caravansaray †[at]† Zanján, where we halted. For our instructions were to avoid bringing His Holiness into any city; therefore did we halt at that caravansaray outside the town. We were wearied after a long day's march, and I had many matters to attend to, when a messenger came from the governor of Zanján [bringing word that he wished to see the Báb. I was so busy that I omitted to convey this message, and it subsequently passed from my mind.

[" 'As soon as the people of Zanján became aware of the Báb's arrival]' they began to approach in companies, with a reverence and respect which baffle description, to wait upon His Holiness. [His Reverence Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí had addressed to him a letter, and concealed it inside a cucumber, which he placed in a basket full of cucumbers. His messenger brought the cucumbers to deliver them to His Holiness. The guards would have taken them from him, but he refused to give them up. While they were disputing, His Holiness cried out from his cell, "Give up the basket of cucumbers, and come hither." So the messenger surrendered the basket to the guards and was admitted to the presence of His Holiness, who had written an answer as follows :—"It is not expedient. This very night a horseman will come to take you to Teherán. Such is your affair."']".

†[outside the town of]†

¹ C. omits this passage, which, however, occurs in Hájí Mírzá Jání (*Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 96^b).

² C., by an evident slip, omits these words.

³ This incident, omitted in C., has been already related some-

“‘Now the guards, with a view to their own profit, were contesting the entrance of all who approached, and these <to secure admission> were giving ungrudgingly such sums of money, copper, silver, and *túmáns*, as they had upon them. And when the press and throng of people had waxed very great, the governor, being alarmed, sent a message to me, saying, “You must proceed on your journey at once, for if you remain here to-night a general rising will assuredly take place.” Hard upon this messenger came another, urging us to mount with all speed. I was therefore obliged to inform His Holiness that, although neither he nor the guards were yet rested from the fatigues of the road, there was no choice but to go on. He arose, saying, “O God, be Thou witness of how they are dealing with the descendant of Thy Prophet!” Then he repeated the message which I had forgotten [to give him], saying, “This, notwithstanding the message which he sent on my first arrival! What is his present action, and what does it mean?” Thereat was I exceedingly ashamed and confused, because I had neglected to deliver the message; and thenceforth, perceiving that he knew all men’s thoughts and could read their minds, I continually exercised the most unremitting vigilance lest I should be guilty of any overt or covert disrespect towards him.

“‘So we mounted and rode on till we came to a [brick] caravansaray distant two parasangs from the city. Thence we proceeded to Mílán, where many of the inhabitants came to see His Holiness, and were filled with wonder at the majesty and dignity of that Lord of mankind. [In the morning, as we were setting out from Mílán, an old woman brought a scald-headed child, whose head was so covered

what more clearly and circumstantially in connection with the siege of Zanján. See pp. 137—8 *supra*.

with scabs that it was white down to the neck, and entreated His Holiness to heal him. The guards would have forbidden her, but His Holiness prevented them, and called the child to him. Then he drew a handkerchief over its head and repeated certain words ; which he had no sooner done than the child was healed.] And in that place about two hundred persons believed and underwent a true and sincere conversion. In short [our object in entering into so prolonged and detailed an account was to narrate how, on leaving Mílán, while we were on the road His Holiness suddenly urged his horse into so swift a gallop that all the horsemen composing the escort were filled with amazement, seeing that his steed was the leanest of all. We galloped after him as hard as we could, but were unable to come up with him, though the horsemen were filled with apprehension lest he should effect his escape. Presently he reined in his horse of his own accord, and, so soon as we came up to him, said with a smile, " Were I desirous of escaping, you could not prevent me." And indeed it was even as he said ; had he desired in the least degree to escape, none could have prevented him, and] under all circumstances he shewed himself endowed with more than human strength. For example, we were all practised horsemen inured to travel, yet, by reason of the cold and our weariness, we were at times hardly able to keep our saddles, while he, on the other hand, during all this period shewed no sign of faintness or weariness, but, from the time when he mounted till he alighted at the end of the stage, would not so much as change his posture or shift his seat.

" The instructions which I had received were to convey His Holiness to Tabriz, whence Prince Bahman Mírzá was to send him to Máku. Now I hoped that the Prince would keep him at Tabriz, and that, should he decide to send him to Máku, I might be permitted to attend him thither.

I made known this inward desire to His Holiness, who replied, "I do not wish that you should accompany me beyond Tabriz. I did desire inwardly that you should come from the capital to Tabriz, but from thence to Máku I desire it not, for it will be a journey of wrong, and I like not that you should enter into the company of the wrong-doers.[" Then he continued, "]" On our arrival within one stage of Tabriz [do thou go on before us and explain the matter to the Prince, for if he can keep me in Tabriz it is better, while, if he will send me to Máku, God will take vengeance on him." Now when we were come within one stage of Tabriz]" I had a severe attack of fever, and while I was thus prostrate His Holiness summoned me and said, "Go on to Tabriz." I replied, "I cannot move while the fever in me runs so high." His Holiness, who was drinking tea, handed me his cup, saying, "Drink this." No sooner had I drunk it than I was restored to health. So I went that very night to Tabriz, and laid the whole matter before Prince Bahman Mírzá, who replied, "It has nothing to do with me; you must act according to the orders which you received in the capital." I therefore turned back to meet His Holiness with a heart exceeding sorrowful, and told him all that had happened. He heaved a deep sigh and said, "I acquiesce in God's decree, and submit to His command."

"I brought His Holiness to my own house, situated outside the town, and there he tarried for some days. On the day fixed for his removal to Máku the horsemen appointed to attend him thither came to him, saying, "Come, mount!" He answered, "Let Muhammad Beg go once again to the Prince and complete the proof to him, telling

¹ L. omits, probably by a mere slip resulting from homœoteleuton.

him that I do not wish to go to Máku, §[and bidding him fear God and not persist in this determination].§” I accordingly went as he bade me, and represented the state of the case, but the Prince again refused to incur any responsibility, and I returned so grieved at heart that on reaching home I was once more prostrated with fever. The horsemen continuing to press for an immediate departure, His Holiness came into my private apartment to bid me farewell, and then mounted. I wept much at his departure, and was ill for two months.

“After this I went to Máku for the express purpose of visiting His Holiness. On entering his presence I fell at his feet to ask for pardon, for I had seen how both Ashraf Khán the Governor of Zanján and Prince Bahman Mírzá, because they had been guilty of some slight disrespect < towards him >, had in a little time been visited with severe punishment. Therefore was I much troubled, and entreated His Holiness, saying, “If I have inadvertently been guilty of any shortcoming in my service, or committed any fault by reason of which I merit reprobation and chastisement, forgive me!” He replied, “Muḥammad Sháh and his minister¹ have dealt with me thus unjustly, yet have I not cursed them. I desire not evil for mine enemies, much less for my friends.”

“He then questioned me concerning Ashraf Khán the Governor of Zanján, and I related to him in detail the indignities to which he had been subjected by the people of Zanján. In brief, the history of these is as follows. Ashraf Khán had conceived a passion for a certain woman of Zanján, and sent men to carry her to a place which he

§[and let him press his suit urgently, and threaten him with God's vengeance].§

¹ i.e. Hájí Mírzá Ákásí.

had appointed. Her husband, being apprized of this, informed his relations and friends, who assembled in full force, attacked Ashraf Khán's house, and carried off as plunder the furniture and ornaments. Ashraf Khán himself, who was fair of skin and smooth of cheek, they entreated most foully, even making use of sticks;¹ then they blackened his face, put a paper cap on his head, mounted him on a bare-backed ass, and thus ignominiously expelled him from the city. When His Holiness had heard this, he said, "I did not wish that it should be thus, or that he should be so grievously shamed." Then I related to him the punishment which had overtaken Bahman Mírzá, and his disgrace, whereon he remarked, "The True Avenger will sooner or later, as His wisdom determines, take vengeance on such as condemn the 'Truth and slight or injure God's servants.'"

Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb related as follows:—"During the journey to Ázarbaiján I, together with Mullá Muhammad 'Mu'allim', and Áká Seyyid Hasan, the brother of Áká Seyyid Huseyn the amanuensis, accompanied His Holiness with circumspection, following him, according to his instructions, at a distance of some two thousand paces. [And when we reached our halting-place, we used to take up our quarters near to his, but elsewhere.] But Áká Seyyid Huseyn and Áká Seyyid Murtazá with the twelve"

¹ This passage, which differs somewhat in the two texts, I have slightly modified in my translation. The text of L., which is the more explicit, runs as follows:—"Chán safid-andám va sáde-rukhsár búd, ba'd as liváf kardan bá ishán, bi-'aláva chébi ham bi-ma'f'ad-ash firú kardand" . . . &c. Háji Mírzá Ján's version, substantially identical with that here given, occurs on ff. 100^b—101^a of *Suppl. Pers.* 1071.

² C. has the absurd and obviously erroneous reading "twelve thousand".

mounted guards always rode by him. And we, on reaching the end of our day's journey, used always to contrive some fresh excuse or pretext for approaching him, so that Muḥammad Beg the *Chápárchí-báshí* and the other horsemen composing the escort might not notice it or perceive that we were the devoted followers of His Holiness. When we were within two or three stages of Tabriz, however, Muḥammad Beg, who had charge of the escort, discovered by divers indications, both overt and covert, our deep devotion to the Master. One day, therefore, in the course of conversation he observed, 'During this journey I have come to regard myself as worse than Shímr and Yazíd.' 'Why,' I asked, 'do you think thus, and *[[in what connection do you say it?]]*' 'Because,' said he, 'they have commissioned me to do their work, and because I have witnessed on the part of this holy man things so passing strange that they cannot be uttered or heard.' ['What new thing have you seen,' I demanded, 'to cause you such astonishment?'] He replied, 'Amongst other things which I have witnessed during these days was this. When we set out from the capital he entrusted to my keeping a box of *gez*', which I consigned to the care of one of my men. Every morning he asks for it, and gives a piece to each of the escort, and to his own companions, and to my servants, in addition to which he generally bestows a piece on each of you. And throughout the whole journey that same box has been in my keeping!'"

[*Áká Mírzá Muḥammad* 'Alí the martyr, who consummated his martyrdom in the presence of His Holiness at Tabriz, related as follows :—"When His Holiness reached

[why do you say what you should not say?]

¹ A sweetmeat made from the manna yielded by the tamarisk. The best quality is manufactured at Isfahán.

Tabríz he took up his abode in the house of Muḥammad Beg, whose next-door neighbour had a garden adjoining his dwelling. One day His Holiness desired to take his afternoon tea in this garden. When, in accordance with the permission readily granted to him by the proprietor, he had gone thither, one Mash-hadī 'Alī by name entered the garden in a state of great trouble, saying, 'Three of my family are sick, and I despair of the lives of two of them, since there is no hope of their being restored to health; but the third, whose recovery appears possible, I pray you to heal.' 'Be of good cheer,' answered His Holiness, 'all three will get well.' After a while the man departed, but next morning he came to me, saying, 'On arriving at my house I beheld all three sitting up in perfect health, as though they had never been ill.' This man became a sincere believer, and was converted, and set himself to perform humble and devoted service. So likewise others who heard and understood were amazed at the might and spiritual virtues of His Holiness."

[In short, we wish to make it clear that though in appearance His Holiness was compelled to go to Tabríz and Máktú, in reality he only did so of his own free will for the accomplishment of God's plan and purpose, being fully able to effect his escape had he so pleased. We have already mentioned¹ how on the way he put his horse into a gallop, how the horsemen of the escort pursued him, how not one of them could come near him, and how he could without difficulty have got away had he desired. Again, when, as we have described², he arrived at Kháuliḳ, Rīzā Khán and Mírzá Kurbán-'Alī, both men of unrivalled courage, each of whom was equal to a hundred horsemen, waited upon him with several brave and skilful mounted men, saying, "We

¹ See p. 221 *supra*.

² See pp. 96 and 216—7 *supra*.

will convey you to whatever place you please, as you may command." But he refused their offer, saying, "The mountain of Āzarbaijân, too, has its claims." So likewise on the road five of his most trusty followers, whose names have been mentioned, bore him company; and it is evident that five such persons are equal to a hundred others, and could, at the merest hint from His Holiness, have so utterly annihilated and destroyed those twelve guards that no trace of them should be seen and no tidings heard in the world.] So, too, had he made the least sign to the believers of Zanjân, Mîlân, and other places, they would not have given the guards time even to draw breath; for, as we have mentioned, three hundred and sixty of them held their own for nine months against thirty thousand regular soldiers and nineteen guns, continually inflicting defeat and coming off victorious.

[But apart from all this, what need of outward means has one endowed with inward power and spiritual virtue so perfect that, as has been mentioned¹, a door bolted and locked could not prevent his entrance or exit, but opened and shut at his slightest command? Such an one is able to do what he wills, for his will is identified with God's will, and, in all essential respects, he mirrors the Divine Essence, and shews forth the Names and Attributes. When you look at his outward appearance he is "*a man like unto you*," but when you regard him truly he is <one of whom it may be said> "*I have times with God wherein neither angel of the Presence nor prophet of plenary authority can approach me*,"². . . But better than all the proofs which we have mentioned is the fact that]

¹ See p. 218 *supra*.

² Qur'ân, xxiii, 34, 36.

³ A well known traditional saying of Muḥammad. Three couplets from the *Masnawî* which follow here are omitted.

the very horsemen who were his guards actually beheld in him during the course of the journey proofs of so wonderful a power that most of them sincerely believed in him, and, like Muḥammad Beg their chief, shewed him every service which was in their power. They even declared that they would readily risk their lives to convey him to any part of the world which he might choose, but he refused their offer, saying, "Your readiness is in itself an accepted offering." And now not only those horsemen, but many of their children and grandchildren, are so clad in the raiment of faith that not even the hope of sovereignty could tempt them to lay it aside. This is the meaning of "the humblest of you shall be the most exalted, and the most exalted shall be brought low."

For men are divisible into three classes. The first includes kings, courtiers, governors, and their retainers, all of whom the clergy regard as men of violence, and call tyrants. These have no thought save for maintaining and extending their sway, and are engrossed in love of power and pleasant living; neither do they greatly heed the ordinances of religion. For men of this class to believe and to disregard all worldly ties—wealth and life, child and wife—is a wonderful thing. If one should carefully consider the circumstances of the heroic *[deaths]* of Hájí Suleymán Khán †[and Rízá Khán, both of whom were nobles]† of high position, he will easily perceive that thus readily to abandon all that men do most prize, and eagerly to court a martyr's death, is a thing transcending human capacity. And it is evident that had not their eyes clearly beheld the object of their search, they would not thus readily have laid down their lives. When they arrested Suleymán Khán, and strove, in consideration of his faithful service and

[death]

†[who was a noble]†

loyalty, to induce him by promises of rewards from the King to abandon the creed which he had adopted, he would not consent, but answered firmly, "His Majesty the King has a right to demand from his servants fidelity, loyalty, and uprightness; but he is not entitled to meddle with their religious convictions." In consequence of this boldness of speech it was ordered that his body should be pierced with wounds, and that into each of these wounds a lighted candle should be inserted as an example to others. [Another victim¹ was similarly treated. In this state, with minstrels and drummers going in advance,] they led him through the bazaars, and he, meanwhile, with smiling countenance, kept repeating this verse—

"Happy he whom love's intoxication
So hath overcome that scarce he knows
Whether at the feet of the Beloved
It be head or turban which he throws!"²

Whenever one of the candles fell from his body, he would with his own hand [pick it up,] light it from the others [and replace it]. The executioners, seeing in him such exaltation and rapture, said, "If thou art so eager for martyrdom, why dost thou not dance?" Thereat he began to leap, and to sing, in verses appropriate to his condition,—

"An ear no longer dulled with ignorance
And self subdued entitle one to dance.
Fools dance and caper in the market-place;

¹ Mullá Fathu'lláh of Kúm, one of the three Bábis who made the attempt on the Sháh's life.

² See the account of the "Seven Martyrs" given a little further on, where this verse is, with much greater probability, placed in the mouth of Mírzá Kurbán-'Alí the dervish. For an account of Suleymán Khán's martyrdom, see my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 332—334, where the verses recited by him at his execution are given.

Men dance the while their life-blood flows apace.
When self is slain they clap their hands in glee,
And dance, because from evil they are free."

[In such fashion did they lead these two forth through the gate of Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím.] When they were preparing to saw that brave man asunder, he stretched out his feet without fear or hesitation, while he recited these verses :—

"I hold this body as of little worth;
A brave man's spirit scorns its house of earth.
Dagger and sword like fragrant basil seem,
Or flowers to deck death's banquet with their gleam¹."

Is it possible that such heroism and self-devotion, such readiness to forsake the world and all that is therein, should be vain and causeless? Rather what better proof could be adduced for the reality of the cause? And moreover this man was by birth and training one of those whom the clergy and common folk are wont to call "tyrants" and "men of violence"!

The second class consists of divines, doctors, philosophers, scholars, and the like. Of these such as were wise and earnest in the search after truth, and possessed true religious feeling, sought without prejudice to distinguish the true from the false. To these, agreeably to the promise "*Fear God, and God will teach you*," the Lord opened the gates of Eternal Wisdom and made known the

¹ These two couplets are from the *Mamaví*, and will be found on p. 101 of 'Alá'ud-Dawla's *Tohorán* edition, ll. 26 and 27. C. adds two more, which appear to be improvised for the occasion. These are as follows :—

جان فدای ربّنا الاعلای من * ای نو صد جان بود پاران را بن
تا که مگردم فدای انجمل * ایندووند قدم نو اجمال

² *Kur'án*, ii, 282.

truth ; for "*Knowledge is a light which God putteth into the heart of whomsoever He pleaseth.*" And when the Sun of Wisdom dawned within them, and Divine Ideals became mirrored in their souls, they ascended from the abyss of doubt, and, with the wings of renunciation, soared aloft to the heights of certainty, even as it is written, "*O peaceful soul ! Return unto thy Lord well pleased and well pleasing.*" So they aspired to trample under foot all worldly considerations, and to proclaim without fear or reserve the manifestation of God's truth. And inasmuch as they regarded their earthly frames but as a barrier withholding them from union with the object of their hopes and longings, they were eager to divest themselves of the cloak of corporeal form, and continued to press on towards martyrdom, until at length they obtained that which they sought. For "*Whosoever strenuously seeketh aught assuredly findeth it.*" Of this class more than four hundred accepted the New Dispensation, and attained the lofty rank of martyrdom. Amongst these were :—Mullá* Huseyn of Bushraweyh, and Áká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb* (both divines of uncontested eminence); Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján [whom men used to call '*the Proof of Islám*'; Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Mázarán, on whom the title of *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* was conferred]; Mullá 'Alí of Bisṭám; Mullá Sa'íd of Bárfurúsh; Mullá Ni'matu'lláh of Mázarán; [Mullá 'Abdu'l-Kháliq of Yezd, one of the dis-

[Muḥammad]

¹ Kur'án, lxxxix, 28, 29.

² L. adds, "commonly known as *Kashf* (the expounder)", but this is an error, the title in question belonging to Seyyid Yahyá's father Seyyid Ja'far. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 7, 8, 183, and 254; and p. 111 *supra*.

ciples of Sheykh Aḥmad, and a most illustrious theologian;] Mullá Yūsuf of Ardabíl; Mullá Maḥdí of Khúy; Áká Seyyid Ḥuseyn of Turshíz; Mullá Muḥammad of Maḥallát¹; Mullá Maḥdí of Kan², Mullá Bákir * [his brother]³; Sheykh Abú Turáb of Ashtahárd [who was unique in his time]; [Hájí] Mullá 'Abdu'l-Báki of Káshán; [Áká Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Báki, Head of the College]; Mullá Ja'far of Káshán; Mullá Muḥammad Šádiḳ of Khurásán⁴; [Mullá 'Alí of Burḳán;]⁵ Mullá Yūsuf 'Alí of Khúy; † [Mírzá Muḥammad Bákir]† of Khurásán; Hájí Mullá Isma'íl of Kum; Mírzá Kurbán-'Alí [the philosopher]⁶; Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥuseyn [the philosopher]⁶ of Kirmán; Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí *Nehrí* of Isfahán; Mullá Muḥammad Taḳí of Isfahán; Mullá Jalíl of Urúmiyya; Áká Seyyid Aḥmad of Semnán; [Áká Seyyid Ḥuseyn of Tabriz]; Mullá Sa'id of Zirih-Kinár; Mírzá Muḥammad Bákir of Herát; the Sheykh [Aḥmad] of Ma'múra; Mírzá Aḥmad of Azghand; [Mírzá Muḥammad Bákir of Kán in Khurásán]; Mullá Áká of Herát; Hájí Mírzá Ḥasan *Rizaví*; Mírzá Muḥammad of Juveyn; Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Báki of Gílán; [Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Khurásán;] Hájí [Mírzá] 'Abdu'l-Majíd of Níshápur; [Hájí Mírzá Jání of Káshán, and his brother *Zabíḥ*]; Mullá

* [of Kan] *

† [His Reverence Mullá Muḥammad Šádiḳ] †

¹ Both MSS. have ملا میرزا محمد محولانی.

² C. كندی; L. كنى.

³ C. here inserts the name of Mullá 'Abdu'l-Kháliḳ of Yezd.

⁴ Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn's uncle. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 197, 310.

⁵ حکمی.

⁶ The title *حکمی* or *حکمی* is added after *Zabíḥ*, but as I am uncertain as to the true reading I omit it.

Aḥmad of Ḥiṣār; Mullá 'Abdu'lláh of Maḥallát'; [Mullá Muḥammad of Maḥallát'; Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí the son of Mullá Aḥmad of Maḥallát']; Mullá Ḥasan of Maḥallát' [the son of Mullá Muḥammad Rīzā]; Mullá Ḥasan [the son of Mullá Muḥammad]; *Jenáb-i-Sheykh-i-'Azím*'; Mullá Najaf-'Alí of Ṭabas; Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí of Kirmán]; and more than four hundred such others, including many whose names, since they are still alive, I have not considered it expedient to mention.

It seems a strange thing that, whereas in the eyes of the ecclesiastical and civil law any case is deemed to be sufficiently proved by the evidence of two righteous men, while on the testimony of four veracious witnesses the administrators of these laws unhesitatingly pronounce sentence—even of death—on one charged with heresy or brought within the operation of the *Lex talionis*, these same people are so steeped in heedlessness and prejudice that in this matter they disregard the testimony of four hundred witnesses of such virtue, integrity, and learning. Great heavens! More than four hundred eminent divines, remarkable alike for the soundness of their judgement and the extent of their learning, bear witness to the truth of His Holiness the First Point¹, and, for the awakening of their fellow-men, sever all worldly ties, and willingly quaff the draught of martyrdom; and still these perverse and froward men continue to demand a sign, saying, "By what evidence can you shew that this man was the promised

¹ As before, both MSS. have مولای. Mullá Muḥammad of Maḥallát has been already mentioned.

² i.e. Mullá Sheykh 'Alí. L. adds "of Khurásán". C. here inserts "Aká Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Turahís", who would seem to be identical with the "Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Khurásán" before mentioned in L.

³ *Ḥaṣrat-i-Nuḡṣa-i-Úlá*, one of the titles of the Báb.

Proof?" Why, what evidence could be more conclusive than the mere existence of such witnesses? Whoever shall consider without prejudice the circumstances of these people, their earnest strivings after truth, the sublimity of their heroism and self-devotion, and what they wrought and suffered in Mázarán, at Níríz, and at Zanján, will be convinced that there could be no testimony more conclusive, no argument more eloquent. Any unbiassed seeker after truth who will but meditate on these things in the spirit of the tradition, "*Seek a decision from thy heart, even though he who is in error condemn thee,*" will unfailingly be illumined by the light of God. . .¹ But such divines as sought only preferment and authority, and were blinded by their own vain imaginings, refused to recognize the promised Proof, demanding why a face had not appeared in the disc of the sun to announce the Manifestation, or why the ass of Antichrist had not come forth from the well in Isfahán; and these, in their blind prejudice and self-conceit, failed to apprehend alike the meaning of the signs and the true nature of the thing signified. . . . So, merely because the ass of Antichrist had not appeared, they denied the Manifestation of God Most High; and, on no better ground than the unfounded calumnies fabricated by froward and perverted men to the effect that the Bábís allowed nine husbands to one woman, and accounted things prohibited by the religion of Islám as lawful and right, pronounced virtuous and holy men to be sinners and heretics without further enquiry. Thus did they remain in darkness themselves, and also keep back the common folk from participating in the grace of God.²

¹ Here follows a page or so of eulogies on the afore-mentioned martyrs, which, as it does but repeat what has been already said, I omit.

² Three couplets from the *Masnáví* are here omitted.

The third class comprises the common folk, of whom such as considered the matter with even a little intelligence became convinced that one who, alone and unfriended, dared proclaim God's message to all with such unwavering courage and steadfastness, while well knowing that he was destined to fall a martyr to the malice of his adversaries in the very prime of manhood, must assuredly be sent and supported by God. For he himself foretold his own martyrdom in the following words¹:—" *It is as though I heard one crying within my soul, 'The most pleasing of all things is that thou shouldst become a ransom in the way of God, even as Huseyn (upon whom be peace) became a ransom in my way.'* And were it not that I have regard to this mysterious truth, by Him in whose hand is my soul, were all the kings of the earth to unite together they could not take from me a single letter, much less could my servants, who are of no such account that they could attempt this, and who are indeed rejected . . ." until he says, ". . . that all may know the extent of my patience, and contentment, and self-sacrifice in the way of God." For, were it otherwise, so great a multitude of expert doctors and devout seekers after truth would assuredly not have accepted him as a Divine Manifestation, nor rapturously laid down their lives for love of his surpassing beauty and longing for union with him. For all must admit that these pious divines occupy the position of a touchstone or measure for the proving of his words, which touchstone or measure distinguishes base metal from true with unswerving and un-

¹ This passage is also quoted in the *Íkân* as occurring in one of the *Commentaries* written by the Báb, and will be found in the description of that work published by Baron Rosen in vol. iii of the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*, pp. 43-44. The text as there given, however, differs slightly from that which is here translated.

biased fidelity. So men of this class, influenced by such considerations, fell to making enquiry, and, according to the verse—

“Who seeks with diligence shall surely find,”

were ere long brought to a knowledge of that for which they sought. For God guideth such as enquire after truth and delivereth them from doubt, according to His promise, “*Those who strive strenuously for Us, We will assuredly direct them into Our ways*’.” And such as have once been brought to embrace this wondrous faith do forthwith perceive for a surety that all the calumnies which they were wont to hear are devoid of foundation and originate solely in the malice of enemies, and that the Bábís are remarkable only for their devotion, charity, kindliness, purity, godliness, rectitude, sincerity, integrity, generosity, chastity, and strict avoidance of all forbidden things and actions injurious to their fellow-men. Thus it is that no one who hath once entered on this path can be diverted from it, even though all men should combine against him, or all the kingdoms of the world should be offered him as an equivalent. But such as slavishly follow formalist divines, and ignorantly await the fanciful appearance in the sun’s disc of a form which shall cry, “*O believers, be gladdened with the tidings of the Mahdí’s advent!*” wot not that while they lie lapped in careless slumber the Sun of Truth hath arisen and hath reached the zenith. Even so was it when the Sun of Jesus had filled the whole world with light, and such of the Jews as had eyes to see had followed and confessed Him, while others, learned and ignorant, rejected Him, saying, “Nct so did Moses foretell the signs of his return ; for he said, ‘I will come down to you from the roof-top on a Friday night, and if I bid you

¹ Kúr’án, xxix, 69.

not observe the eve of Saturday, receive me not.'” So, because of the non-appearance of the expected tokens, they remained cut off from the knowledge of him betokened, and continue till this day to wander erringly in the abyss of careless denial, while their exceeding wickedness and folly prompted them to inflict on that Incarnation of the Spirit cruelties too notorious to stand in need of enunciation. And so in like manner when the Sun of Muḥammad’s Truth shone forth from the heaven of Divine Grace, and all in whose hearts gleamed even a spark of the light of wisdom advanced to welcome him, the majority of the priests and laymen of that time rejected him, and demanded a sign, saying, “The Lord Jesus hath declared in the Gospel that He will descend from heaven” (after a certain fashion which they defined and conditioned), “and He must come riding on a cloud, and in His hand there will be a spear of light, and His head will be of gold, and His feet of molten metal;” and these are still expecting Christ to appear in such fanciful fashion as has just been described. So, in like manner, these clergy and laymen of the present day expect the appearance of the Ass of Anti-christ and sundry other things which they have fondly imagined, thus remaining, like their predecessors, veiled from the appearance of the Sun of Truth by a parcel of fond superstitions, even as Mawláná Jalálu’d-Dín Rúmí says¹—

“O foolish man! Herein the mischief lies:
God’s saints appear mere mortals in thine eyes.
E’en as accursed Iblís thou dost say,
‘I am of fire, and Adam naught but clay!’”

¹ The imperfect St Petersburg MS. of the *Tārīkh-i-Jadīd* ends abruptly here. See vol. vi of Baron Rosen’s *Collections Scientifiques de l’Institut des Langues Orientales*, p. 244, and my *Traveller’s Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 192, n. 1.

² Of the four couplets here quoted I translate only the first

To pursue this topic further would, however, unduly prolong our history, so we must return from the digression into which we were led by a consideration of the sincere devotion and faith of certain of the horsemen who formed the escort of His Holiness. To continue, then. The guards who conveyed His Holiness to Máktú returned as soon as they had accomplished their duty. Hájí Mírzá Ákásí had written to 'Alí Khán the warden of Máktú charging him to keep His Holiness the Báb in the closest custody, and not to suffer him to communicate or correspond with anyone. His Holiness was therefore lodged in the Castle of Máktú, which is situated on a mountain, and none were permitted to approach him. Yet, notwithstanding this, whenever His Holiness desired to see anyone, sentinels and gaolers were alike powerless to thwart the accomplishment of his wishes, and numbers who flocked in from every quarter were honoured by admission to his presence. Even 'Alí Khán, who was remarkable for his dulness and lack of apprehension, used to wait on him daily, though the steepness of the ascent from his house to the Castle was such that it was necessary to go on foot. And whenever he was questioned about the Báb, he would answer, "I am too dull to comprehend his words fully, but I am filled with wonder at his dignity, for whenever I go to see him the majesty and glory of his presence so profoundly affects me that, though he is a prisoner committed to my charge, I am involuntarily compelled to withdraw."

So great multitudes continued to come from all quarters to visit the Báb, and the writings which emanated from his inspired pen during this period were so numerous that they amounted in all to more than a hundred thousand verses.

two. The verses will be found at p. 252 of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla's Teherán edition of the *Mamari*, l. 20 *et seq.*

[Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Khurásán, who was subsequently known as Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Jawád, made the following statement:—"While His Holiness was dwelling at Máku we reckoned up the verses, epistles, prayers, supplications, homilies, treatises in Arabic and Persian, commentaries on the Kur'án, and forms of visitation, and found that they exceeded a million verses."]

For nearly three years the Báb abode at Máku¹. But at length Hájí Mírzá Ákásí discovered that he was still visited by his followers, and that his writings (comprising exhortations, admonitions, proofs of the truth of his doctrines, homilies, and prayers) continued to circulate, some of them even finding their way to himself and to the king. In some of these last, moreover, complaints were made of his attempts to suppress the preaching of the Word. One of these complaints is known as "the Sermon of Wrath," and whoever shall peruse it will apprehend the true meaning of spiritual power.

So, to be brief, Hájí Mírzá Ákásí wrote to 'Alí Khán strictly enjoining him to keep a most diligent watch over the Báb and not to allow him to send out any more of his writings. But all attempts to prevent this proved futile, and at length 'Alí Khán wrote to Hájí Mírzá Ákásí declaring his inability to carry out his instructions. So orders were issued by the Minister of His Majesty the Vicar of God for the removal of His Holiness to the Castle of Chihrik and the custody of its warden Yahyá Khán. Just as the Báb was mounting the horse provided for his conveyance thither, 'Alí Khán came out to make his apologies. "I never desired this change," said he, "for I am

¹ This is certainly a mistake. The Báb seems to have remained at Máku for only six months. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 277.

² *Khuṭba-i-fahriyya*.

loth to be debarred from the privilege of waiting upon Your Holiness." "Wherefore dost thou seek to deceive me?" answered the Báḥ, "thou didst thyself write <to Hájí Mírzá Ákáśi>, and dost thou now seek to excuse thyself?" Then he set out for the Castle of Chihrík.

The Castle of Chihrík is situated not far from the town of Urúmiyya, of which place Yahyá Khán was at this time the governor. Some time before his removal thither was decided upon, the Báḥ had instructed <Mullá> Sheykh 'Alí (better known as <Jenáb-i-> 'Aẓím) to proceed to Urúmiyya, and there to abide. After it had been arranged that His Holiness should be transferred to Chihrík, on the very night which preceded the day of his arrival, Yahyá Khán saw His Holiness in a dream. Next morning he made known this matter to Sheykh-i-'Aẓím, adding, "If when I see His Holiness I find that his appearance and visage correspond with what I beheld in my dream, I shall be convinced that he is in truth the promised Proof." His Holiness chanced to arrive that very day, and, at the first glance, Yahyá Khán instantly recognized him as identical with the saint whom he had beheld in his dream. Involuntarily he bent down in obeisance and kissed the knee of His Holiness, whom he then brought in to his own house. Thenceforth he would never seat himself in the Báḥ's presence until he had received permission, and when His Holiness had been to the bath he bought the water in which he had washed for eighty *túmáns*.

Notwithstanding the rigorous prohibition of Hájí Mírzá Ákáśi, the followers and friends of His Holiness continued to hold communication with him, even after his removal to Chihrík, and many persons in the surrounding district were converted to his doctrines. And Yahyá Khán, so long as he was warden, maintained towards him an attitude of unvarying respect and deference.

It was during his sojourn at Chihrík, too, that the Báb, having due regard to the exigencies of the time, the dictates of expediency, and the capacity of men, declared himself to be the *Ká'im*¹; though some think that he made this declaration during the latter days of his residence at Máku. At all events, this announcement was proclaimed through the region of Turkistán² by the "Indian believer," concerning whom Hájí Mírzá Jání has written a long account³, whereof the substance is in brief as follows. He belonged to a noble Indian family, and was remarkable alike for his sober and abstemious habits, his piety, and his manifold virtues. He was diligent in all good works enjoined in sacred tradition, and at length, in the course of his search after truth, came to Persia. No sooner did he hear tidings of the Manifestation of His Holiness than he set out for Chihrík to enquire into the matter. This occurred at the time when the Báb had declared himself to be the *Ká'im*, and when such radiance of might and majesty streamed from his countenance that none could bear to look upon the effulgences of his glory and beauty. Áká Seyyid Hasan, the brother of Áká Seyyid Huseyn, was unable to gaze upon the splendours apparent in the visage of His Holiness, while even Seyyid Huseyn himself would not eat before him nor enter the blessed Presence without first asking permission. Nor was it an uncommon occurrence even for unbelievers involuntarily to bow down in lowly obeisance on beholding His Holiness; while the inmates of

¹ i.e. the Imám Mahdí.

² It seems hardly possible that what is ordinarily called Turkistán can be here intended. The term probably denotes in this case the Turkish-speaking provinces of Persia, that is to say, Ásarbáiján and its dependencies. Cf. my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 89, n. 2.

³ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 153^b et seq.

the castle, though for the most part Christians¹ or Sunnis, reverently prostrated themselves whenever they saw the visage of His Holiness appear resplendent over the walls of the building. In short, at no previous time had the serene and awful beauty of that noble countenance exercised so irresistible an attraction over all who came within the sphere of its influence. No sooner, then, did the "Indian believer," as he approached the building, catch sight of the face of His Holiness, than he involuntarily exclaimed, "*This is my Lord!*" and fell swooning on the ground. On coming to his senses he wept much, and, the glory of that divine apparition irradiating a heart clear and receptive as a mirror, began to chaunt the words, "I am the *Kā'im* become manifest," and, like Mansūr², to cry out, "I am the Truth!"

"E'en as the ruby, which, at first a stone,
Sunlike by drinking in the sun hath grown.
It grows in light; its stony nature goes;
Throughout its substance light and sunshine flows⁴."

¹ The text has *Arāmīna* (Armenians), a term often loosely applied by Musulmán Persians to other Oriental Christians, such as the Nestorians of Urūmiyya, who are probably intended here. Compare M. Mochenin's memoir, quoted by Kazem-Beg (i. p. 371), and *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 276.

² Kur'án, vi, 76, 77, 78.

³ Huseyn ibn Mansūr-i-*Ḥallāj* (the wool-carder), called also Abū'l-Mughśh, who was born at Beyza in Fārs, and, after a life spent in teaching the most exalted mysticism, was put to death for crying out in one of his raptures "I am the Truth" (i.e. God), by command of the Muhammadan doctors of religion. His execution took place at Baghdaḍ on the 24th of Zī'l-Qa'da, A.H. 309 (March 26th, A.D. 922).

⁴ These verses will be found on p. 484 of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla's Teherán edition of the *Masnawī*, lines 10 and 11. L. substitutes another quotation of three couplets from the same poem. C. adds another verse occurring a few lines lower, which I omit. It

Now when the "Indian believer" returned to his lodging in this state of rapture and exaltation, his companions saw that—

"An atom to a radiant sun was changed,"

whereat they marvelled much, and sought to do him service in all humility. In his company they went to Salmás; and to so lofty a degree of spirituality did they attain that they found themselves able to dispense with solid food, and, for a period of forty days, took no nutriment save a little rose-water and sugar. He, meanwhile, continued to expound the most subtle mysteries of the Divine Unity, and the nature of the *Kā'im*, in so transcendental a manner that the keenest intellects were unable to follow his thought. Not only mystics, but learned scholars, overcame with wonder at his condition, submitted to the influence of his attraction.

When tidings of this reached the governor of Khúy, he, fearful of a popular tumult, and the censure which such an event would bring down on him from the king, caused the "Indian believer" to be arrested and brought before him, together with two of his companions, Sheykh Sâlih the Arab and Mullá Huseyn of Khurásán, both of whom were disciples of His Supreme Holiness. Yet still the "Indian believer," like Manṣúr, ceased not to cry, "I am the Truth," and to declare his intention of preaching and proclaiming

is commonly believed in the East that rubies and cornelians are slowly formed from common pebbles by the action of the sun. Thus the well-known verse:

صرنا باید که تا يك سنگ اصل ز آفتاب *

اصل گردد در بدخشان یا علق اندر يمن *

"It needs ages ere one primitive stone can, by the action of the sun, become a ruby in Badakhshán or a cornelian in Yaman."

the new faith. At length, by order of the governor, these upright men were cast down in the dust of tribulation, and blows were rained on the feet which had walked so steadfastly with the rods which are the portion of faithful lovers, until Sheykh Şálih the Arab yielded up his spirit to Him who is the Creator of souls. But though they continued to beat the others in hopes of making them deny the faith which they had confessed, they persistently refused to do so, saying, "We are not such hypocrites that suffering and torture can make us deny the truth." So at length they shaved the heads of those chiefs of the children of wisdom, mounted them on asses, and paraded them through the town, crying, "This is the recompense of seekers after truth, and of such as would attain to union with the True Beloved, who shut their eyes to all other considerations, and erase name and fame from the tablet of their being : be admonished, therefore, O people of discernment !"

[Account of Jenáb-i-Başír, a saintly and noble mystic of India, endowed with wonderful and miraculous powers and faculties.]

Another Indian convert was Seyyid Başır, a man of unequalled virtue and learning, endowed with many wonderful gifts and miraculous faculties. Many were the souls whom he awoke to life and directed into the right way, and many the perverted scoffers whom he persuaded to accept the truth and raised to the degree of perfection ; for he drew to him like a magnet all such as were susceptible to his holy influence. Although the late Hájí Mírzá Jání has written but a brief summary of his virtues, even one tenth part of what he has written would suffice to form a separate volume. The substance of the matter, however, is as follows. His Reverence was of the family

of Áká Seyyid Jalál the Indian, an eminent and holy mystic, to whom the Dághdári' dervishes (who are represented even within the confines of Persia) trace back their order. This family enjoys a high degree of consideration in India, for from of old the saints of the aforesaid order have always sprung from them, and the number of their disciples is enormous.

From his childhood Seyyid Başır shewed signs of the wonderful faculties which he afterwards manifested. For seven years* he enjoyed the blessings of sight, but then, even as the vision of his soul became clear, a veil of darkness fell on his outward eyes. From his infancy he had displayed his good disposition and amiable character both in word and deed; he now added to this a singular piety and soberness of life. At length [at the age of twenty-one] he set out with great pomp and state (for he had much wealth in India) [to perform the pilgrimage]; and, on reaching Persia, began to associate with every sect and party (for he was well acquainted with the doctrines and tenets of all), and to give away large sums of money in charity to the poor, submitting himself the while to the most rigorous religious discipline. And since his ancestors had foretold that in those days a Perfect Man should appear in Persia, he was continually engaged in making enquiries. He visited Mecca, and, after performing the rites of the pilgrimage, proceeded to the holy shrines of Kerbelá and Nejef, where he met with the late Hájí Seyyid Kázim, for whom he conceived a sincere friendship. He then returned to India; but, on reaching Bombay, he heard that

[for seven is the number of action]

¹ The name of the order is uncertain, this reading being a conjecture of mine. L. has apparently درغدری and C. واعدری, the word being indistinctly written in both cases.

one claiming to be the Báb had appeared in Persia, whereupon he at once turned back thither.

On reaching Persia <for the second time>, he found that His Holiness had gone to Mecca'. Impatient of further delay he followed him thither, and at length enjoyed the privilege of meeting him in the Holy Sanctuary. Blind as he was, the eye of his heart saw for a surety that the Báb's claim to be the *Kā'im* was a true one, and he ascended to the most sublime heights of faith and assurance.

After a while he returned by sea to Persia, through which he travelled, preaching God's Word with due circumspection and caution, perfecting the defective, and directing the erring. His words went home to the hearts of all seekers after truth, for he was as remarkable for his learning as he was for his virtue, and was well versed in Medicine, Astronomy, Divination, and other sciences*. He was also thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of the mystics, and proficient in several languages. So, in every town and hamlet which he visited, his influence brought many learned and pious persons into the way of salvation, for he exercised a marvellous power of attraction over all with whom he came in contact [including the author]; and so numerous were the prodigies and miracles which he wrought that one may say without exaggeration that his every action was in some sort a miracle. [Thus, amongst other things, he paid no heed to the attempts made to

[In spite of his blindness, if he wanted any passage found in the Kur'án, and if the seeker failed to find it quickly, he would take the Kur'án from him, open it, find the verse, and give it back to him; or he would himself repeat it.]

¹ See pp. 198—9 *supra*.

win over the faithful to Ezel, who was a mute¹, and believed in Behá' (the soul of the universe be his sacrifice!) before he revealed himself.]^{*}

When the strife waxed hot in Mázandarán, Seyyid Başír proceeded to the district of Núr, intending to join * [the martyrs ; but, because of the close investment of the Castle, and because, moreover, his time to die was not yet come, he was unable to carry out his design. After the catastrophe he went to 'Irák, preaching the doctrine everywhere, until he was arrested in Burújird by the Prince-Governor, who, because he was so ready of speech and eloquent in discourse, first ordered his tongue to be cut out, and then put him to death.]^{*}

In such devoted and faithful believers as these one may indeed say that the blessed verse, "*Invokes death then, if ye be faithful*"² finds its fulfilment; for they, being at the time of their capture no more than 313 in number, saw the whole power of the King directed, with the sanction of the clergy, towards the extermination of all who professed the faith which they held ; saw themselves girt about by thousands of blood-thirsty soldiers provided with death-dealing artillery and all munitions of war ; saw every avenue of escape closed, and themselves made targets for

^{*} [[the defenders of the Castle ; but, since it was otherwise ordained, he failed to accomplish his design]].^{*}

¹ *صامت*, the opposite of *ناطق*, i.e. one who does not utter revelations. Cf. de Sacy's *Religion des Druses*, vol. i, pp. ciii, n. 1 ; and civ, n. 1.

² *طلعت ابهى*.

³ C. omits this remarkable passage, which is very probably an interpolation by some ardent Behá'í scribe. It is rather corrupt, but I believe that the above translation correctly represents its general sense.

⁴ *Qur'án*, ii, 88 ; lxii, 6.

the shots of their ruthless enemies ; and yet continued without abatement or remission to hurl themselves on destruction, and to court the fate which had already overtaken their comrades. Such courage, steadfastness, devotion, and eager striving after martyrdom appear to some persons easy enough, so long as it is only a question of talking about them ; and those whom prejudice has blinded regard this heroic episode as they would a mere idle tale or childish game ; whereas, could they have actually witnessed the deeds of these men, it would have been clear and evident to them that such courage and endurance transcend the power of all men save the greatest prophets and saints. The illustrious companions of the Prophet, seeing 'Alī wronged and robbed of his rights, repeatedly urged him to assert his claims, saying, " Why, in spite of your signal courage and brilliant abilities, do you suffer others to usurp the Caliphate, and to do injury to the faith and the law, while you sit quietly at home ? " 'Alī answered, " As you have determined to devote yourselves to God's cause and to give me your help, come to me to-morrow with your heads shaven and your drawn swords over your shoulders, that we may fight with unflinching courage for God's cause and our own rights." His companions, who were the very best of the people of that time, were ready enough in word, and were so full of hope and confidence that they declared themselves ready to die for one before whom they accounted themselves as nothing. But when it came to deeds and they were put to the proof, all their pretensions proved vain, and it became apparent that their devotion was only verbal, not actual. Four of them, however, did actually come in obedience to 'Alī's command. Of these, three had shaved off a little of the hair at the sides of their heads, and concealed the rest under their turbans ; while Salmān, though he had shaved his whole head, had girded on his

sword under his cloak. When 'Alí saw this, he said, "How can you, who would not even give up the hair on your heads, forsake life, possessions, wife, and children? The reason why I sit silent in my house and bear all these slights and injuries while others usurp the Caliphate is that I have no friend on whom I can rely, and see devotion and constancy in none of my adherents. In word they are ready enough; but when it comes to deeds they flee as they have done to-day, and will not sacrifice even a hair of their heads!" Yet these same disciples regarded themselves as incontestably superior to all peoples and nations, even accounting themselves more excellent than the prophets of olden time. Anyone who will put aside prejudice, and fairly weigh their deeds with those of the Bábís, will perceive that they differ as earth from heaven, or truth from fiction. Of such persons <as the Bábí champions> it may indeed be said, "*The doctors of my church are more excellent than the prophets of the Children of Israel,*" for they are the very crown of creation, bright gems of God, the desire of the saints, the elect of the prophets, such as were intended by the holy Imáms when they said, "Had we but seven (or, according to other traditions, seventeen) helpers, we would publicly advance our claim!"

[But let us proceed to narrate the history of the Seven Martyrs, each of whom represented a different class, to which his martyrdom was the completion of the proof, and all of whom were conspicuous for their piety and virtue.]

[A full account of the circumstances of Seyyid Baṣír and the manner of his martyrdom would here result in undue prolixity. Should fortune favour us we will, please God, insert it in the second volume.]

< *The Seven Martyrs.* >

The death of the Seven Martyrs' took place after the episode of the Indian Believer, and blotted out from the hearts of friends all recollection of [previous] events.

"Love's sorrow came and swept away the sorrow of the world."

Their faithfulness, constancy, and devotion, apart from all other proof or evidence, was a worthy and sufficient demonstration of the truth of that for which they suffered; by their actions the very essence of love was made manifest in the world; and in their martyrdom the true meaning of faith and devotion was revealed to all discerning persons. In pure spite the enemies of God would have quenched the lamp of believers and friends by means of the blasts of persecution, but, according to the verse, "*They desire to put out the light of God with their mouths, but God will not have it but that we should perfect His light, averse though the misbelievers be*," their devilish designs had the opposite effect to what they intended.

"A foeman's act may turn to good, if such be God's design."

So God, in despite of these malicious enemies, made these men as it were a candle of guidance and wisdom, which burned but the brighter for decapitation¹, and was preserved by extinction²; for the drops of their blood were as

¹ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 156^a, *et seq.*

² *Kur'án*, ix, 32.

³ The snuffing of a candle is often compared by the Persians to decapitation.

⁴ Literally "by killing". "To kill a candle" is the ordinary expression in Persian for "to put out a candle." The writer means to say that just as a candle burns the brighter for being "beheaded" (snuffed) and lasts the longer for being "killed" (extinguished), so it is with the persecuted faith of the Báb.

seed for the extension of the faith, and from each drop which fell to the ground sprung forth a tree, whose leaves were the children of wisdom, and its fruit believers in the Divine Unity.

“Still, however many be the lovers
His incomparable beauty slays,
Ever there appears another cohort
Ready from the dust their heads to raise.”

To proceed with our narrative. Certain malicious and evilly-disposed persons represented to Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí Khán the Prime Minister that the Bábís were meditating a fresh rebellion. He, remembering the Mázarán insurrection and the stubborn courage which the Bábís then displayed, was filled with apprehensions, and ordered suspected persons to be arrested. His myrmidons poured forth in every direction on their cruel errand, and, after infinite exertions, succeeded in capturing thirty-eight persons, some of whom were only suspected of sympathizing with the Bábís. Without stopping to reflect that so small a number of men could not possibly raise an insurrection, the Minister cast them all into prison.

After some days it was decided, by his command, that such of the prisoners as would renounce the Bábí faith and speak evil of its Founder should be released, while such as confessed it should forthwith suffer death. When word of this was brought to the prisoners, Hájí Mullá Isma‘íl of Kúm, a divine of Kerbelá conspicuous for his virtue and learning, who was accounted one of the chiefs of the faithful and had been most strenuous in the service of God’s cause, on whose part, moreover, many strange matters had been witnessed at the Meeting of *Badasht*¹, thus addressed his companions :—“ I, for my part, am resolved to confess my

¹ See Gobineau, pp. 180—4; and *Traveller’s Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 176, 189, 212, and 312.

faith and lay down my life; for if we fail to proclaim the advent of the *Ká'im*, who else will proclaim it? And if we fail to direct men into the right way, to tear asunder the veils of their heedlessness, to arouse them from the slumber of sloth, to demonstrate to them the worthlessness of this transitory world, and to give active testimony to the truth of this most high and most ineffable faith, who else will do so? Let everyone, then, who is able to acquit himself of this obligation come forth in all steadfastness and bear me company; while such as are hindered by private reasons, and such as are falsely suspected <of holding our faith> are excused, and may act as seems to them right." Therefore six, who were faithful believers, said, "We will bear you company on this journey;" while the rest, some of whom were not perfect in faith, and some of whom, being falsely suspected, were excused, determined to adopt a course of concealment¹. And these seven faithful lovers and loyal friends [, who were the <seven hornless> goats of the much-wronged Lord of the Age,] <were> Hájí Mullá Isma'íl of Kúm, Hájí Mírzá Seyyid 'Alí, the maternal uncle of His Supreme Holiness, Mírzá Kurbán-'Alí the dervish, Áká Seyyid Huseyn [[the *mujtahid*]] of Turshíz, [Hájí] Mullá Takí of Kirmán, Mírzá Muḥammad *[[Huseyn]]* of Tabríz, [and another, a native of Marágha.]

So †[those who recanted were set free, while those who made confession of their faith]† were led forth on the morrow to the square² to die. On their way thither the

[Hasan]

†[[they]]†

¹ *Ketmán*, the word applied especially to the concealment of religious opinions dictated by prudential motives, also called *takiya*. See Gobineau, *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 15—21.

² Their execution took place either in the Meydán-i-Sabz or

spectators reviled them and cast stones at them, saying, "These are Bábís and madmen !" Mullá Isma'íl answered, "Yes, we are Bábís, but mad we are not. By Alláh, O people, it is to awaken and enlighten you that we have forsaken life, wealth, wife, and child, and have shut our eyes on the world and such as dwell therein, that perchance ye may be admonished, may escape from confusion and error, may be led to make enquiry, may rightly apprehend the truth, and may no longer remain veiled."

Now when they were ready to begin their <work of> decapitation and slaughter, and it was Hájí <Mullá Isma'íl>'s turn <to die>, one came to him saying, "Such an one of your friends will give such-and-such a sum of money to save you from death, on condition of your recanting, that thus they may be induced to spare you. In a case of dire necessity, when it is a question of saving your life, what harm is there in *[[merely]]* saying, 'I am not a Bábí,' so that they may have a pretext for releasing you?" †[He replied, "Were I willing to recant, even without money none would touch me." Being]† further pressed and greatly importuned, he drew himself up to his full height amidst the crowd, and exclaimed, so that all might hear,—

"Zephyr, prythee bear for me a message
To that Ishmael¹ who was not slain,
'Living from the street of the Beloved
Love permits not to return again'."

[having recourse to prudential concealment, and]

†[He would not consent. When]†

the Meydán-i-Sháh. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 213, n. 1.

¹ i.e. Ishmael (Isma'íl) the son of Abraham. According to the Muhammadan belief it was he, not Isaac, whom Abraham was commanded to offer up. The singular appositeness of these verses which Mullá Isma'íl addresses to his namesake and proto-

Then he removed his turban from his head and said to the headsman, "Do thy work"; and the headsman, filled with wonder, made him quaff the cup of martyrdom.

Mírzá Kurbán-'Alí was famous amongst mystics and dervishes, and had many friends and disciples in Teherán, besides being well known to most of the nobles and chief men, and even to the Sháh's mother'. She, because of her friendship for him and the compassion she felt for his plight, said to His Majesty the King, "He is no Bábí, but has been falsely accused." So they sent and brought him out, saying, "Thou art a dervish, a scholar, and a man of learning; thou dost not belong to this misguided sect; a false charge has been preferred against thee." He replied, "I reckon myself one of the followers and servants of His Holiness, though whether or no he hath accepted me as such I wot not." When they continued to persuade him, holding out hopes of a pension and salary, he said, "This life and these drops of blood of mine are of but small account; were the empire of the world mine, and had I a thousand lives, I would freely cast them all at the feet of His friends—

'To sacrifice the head for the Beloved
In mine eyes appears an easy thing indeed;
Close thy lips, and cease to speak of mediation,
For of mediation lovers have no need.'

So at length they desisted in despair, and signified that he should die. When he was brought to the foot of the execution-pole, the headsman raised his sword and smote him on the neck from behind. The blow only bowed his head,

type of old will not escape the reader. The Persian original will be found at p. 213, vol. ii, of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

¹ *Mahd-i-'ulyá*, "the Supreme Cradle", is the title conferred on the Queen-mother.

² i. e. Nápiru'd-Dín, the present Sháh.

and caused the dervish's turban which he wore to roll some paces from him on the ground. Immediately, as it were with his last breath, he sent a fresh pang through the heart of every one capable of emotion by reciting this verse—

“Happy he whom love's intoxication
So hath overcome that scarce he knows
Whether at the feet of the Beloved
It be head or turban which he throws!”

When the spectators saw and heard this, a murmur of sympathy arose from them, and the headsman with all haste smote him another blow which severed his head from his body.

[*Account of Ákú Seyyid Huseyn <of Turshíz>, the mujtahid.*]

Now as to Ákú Seyyid Huseyn [the *mujtahid*], he had but recently returned from Kerbelá; and all the divines of that place had testified in writing that he had duly qualified himself for the rank of *mujtahid*. So, after an absence of several years, he set out <thence> for his native land to visit his relations and family. In Teherán, however, he met with the “Brethren of Purity;” became their fellow-traveller, returned to his true home in the Eternal World, forsook all hope of revisiting his home and kindred, and eagerly quaffed the draught of martyrdom.

[*Account of <the death of> Ákú Seyyid ‘Alí, who was the maternal uncle of His Supreme Holiness, and who laid down his life in Teherán.*]

Now as to the Báb's uncle, he, with his aged hands, removed the turban from his head, and, raising his face

¹ See p. 229 *supra*.

² *Ikhwānu's-safá*. This title is not unfrequently applied by the Bábís to such as hold their faith.

towards the heaven of God's justice and glory, said, "O God, Thou art witness how they are about to slay the son of Thy most noble Prophet [, and how they kill Thy faithful servants as infidels, themselves claiming to be the votaries of religion]."

A certain merchant offered to give three hundred *shú-máns* if they would spare his life and set him free, but he would not consent, saying, "My sole desire is martyrdom, and the attainment of this happiness. The bonds of our service and devotion are too firm to be severed by the swords or the threats of tyranny, and the chain of our steadfast love is too strong to be snapped by such jerks as these." Then he turned his face towards the headsman and said,

"I am already dead with parting's pain;
Kill me, that love may make me live again!"

[*Account of the slaughter of the other three, and how 'Alí Khán the Hájibü'd-Dawla sought to persuade that comely youth <to recant> by the promise of a pension and the offer of his daughter's hand.*]

Then they caused the other three victims to attain their desire in like manner. Hájí 'Alí Khán the *Hájibü'd-Dawla*¹ thus described what took place to one of his intimate friends, with many expressions of astonishment:—

"His Majesty the King, in view of certain contingencies, instructed me to be present at the execution of these persons. When I reached the spot appointed for the exe-

¹ This quotation is from the *Mamaví*, and is quoted in the original, with reference, at p. 215, vol. ii, of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

² Concerning this atrocious wretch, see Polak's *Persien*, vol. i, p. 352, and my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 52, n. 1.

cution, I noticed amongst the seven prisoners a young Seyyid of comely and pleasing countenance'. So fair of face and attractive of aspect was he, that my heart was moved to pity at his plight, and I fell to wondering whether it were possible in any way to save him from death, and, for God's sake, to prevent him from being thus cut off in the prime of his youth. [So, when four or five of the others had been put to death,] I called him to my side and whispered in his ear, 'Come, recant; for I swear by the crown' of His Majesty the King that <if you will but do so> naught that you can desire or hope for shall be withheld from you. I will present you to His Majesty the King and will obtain for you <from him> a pension and allowance of five hundred *túmáns* a year.' I saw him look wonderingly at me, and I continued, 'If you will instantly forsake this path, I will buy for you a fine house, and will give you my daughter in marriage, together with much riches.' Having listened to all these inducements, he answered, 'Tempt me not with your beautiful daughter and the perishable wealth of this world; we readily relinquish the world and the things thereof to you and such others as seek after them. For us it sufficeth to drain this draught of martyrdom in the way of the Beloved—

"The thought of the Beloved fills my Spirit,
There is not left for aught beside a place;
Let the foeman take the Here and the Hereafter;
Enough for me to see the Loved One's face!"

[When I heard him speak thus, and] saw that he

[I could not but admire the boy's spirit and courage, yet, since I]

¹ Subh-i-Esál informed me that the name of this young Bábí was Mullá Sádíq-i-Turk. He would therefore appear to be identical with the "man of Marágha" mentioned at p. 252 *supra*.

² "*Bi-jika-Á'á-Hárat-i-Kibla-i-'Álam*", literally "by the

N. H.

17

was not to be persuaded, I smote him on the mouth, and bade them kill him before the rest."

Now <when all was over> the heedless rabble foully entreated the lifeless corpses of those holy martyrs, spitting upon them, casting stones at them, and reviling them, saying, "This is the reward of lovers and pilgrims on the path of wisdom and truth!" Neither would they suffer them to be buried in the cemetery; wherefore they dug a pit hard by the solitary brick tower which stands outside the Gate of Sháhzáde 'Abdu'l-'Azím, so that one sign marked the spot where those seven planets had set¹.

All persons of intelligence and discernment who attentively and fairly consider the matter will admit that never in any previous age has the like of this event taken place, and that in no history is so remarkable an episode recorded, to wit that seven men should thus readily and eagerly agree and consent to lay down their lives for the diffusion of God's Word. I glory in Him whose controlling power could obtain so absolute a sway over the hearts of these men that they were brought to regard all in the world save His countenance as transitory and unreal; and who so intoxicated them with the wine of Divine love and wisdom that they forgot all beside Him! For concerning the *[defenders of <Sheykh> Tabarsí and Zanján]* certain of the

[[believers of Mázarán]]

agrotte of His Majesty the Kibla of the Universo." Cf. p. 107, n. 2, *supra*.

¹ In the original آن كواكب سبعه در يك برج مخفی نمودند. I have slightly turned the phrase to preserve the double relation between برج (a sign of the zodiac; also a tower) and the "seven planets" to which the Seven Martyrs are likened. L. here inserts two couplets from the *Mamaví*, which I omit.

malignants asserted that they aimed at the supreme power, and being, as it were, caught in a trap, had no choice <but to fight>. * [And concerning the "Indian believer," likewise, some captious sceptics say that he was by habit a dervish, and was intoxicated and crazy with opium]*. Therefore did He who orders the courses of the worlds determine a design whereof the waters of doubt should be unable to obliterate a single letter, and cause these seven to consent and combine with one accord in bearing active testimony to the truth of His doctrine and the reality of His revelation. The witness which they bore was without flaw or fault. They unflinchingly consummated their martyrdom in the Royal Square' of the Capital of Persia, wherein reside representatives and ambassadors of every state and sovereign, through whom true accounts of the matter would reach all nations and governments; and they were one and all men of mark and chiefs in their respective classes. This was in order that the proof might be fulfilled to all peoples, and that room for objection might remain to none.

Thus Hájí Mullá Isma'íl was one of the most learned divines of Kúm, noted everywhere, but especially in Kerbela, for his austere and virtuous life, so that those who knew him were wont to declare that such godliness, self-restraint, piety, and integrity they had observed in no one else. They also narrated many instances of the wonderful powers which he could exert over objects, and the prodigies which

* [Our reply to this is that, > first of all, why did they, being so strong, suffer themselves to be besieged in the Castle? Secondly, how should one who has forsaken life, wealth, and wife, and who foretells his own martyrdom, care for worldly sovereignty?]*

¹ *Meydán-i-Sháh*. See, however, note 2 on p. 252 *supra*.

they had seen him perform. He foretold the manner of his martyrdom some time before it took place, and used to sleep no more than two hours each night, being engaged until morning in supplications and supererogatory prayers which he would never omit. He had many disciples, and, without being constrained by lack of means, travelled eighty stages on foot to proclaim the doctrine of His Holiness.

Mírzá Kurbán 'Alí was an aged dervish, who had travelled much, seen the world, and mixed with all classes and sects, until he had completed his experience, and become thoroughly acquainted with all. Thus strenuously pursuing his enquiries, he had at length found in this faith that for which he sought. He had disciples of every nation and every sect; his temperament was as enthusiastic as his judgement was sound; his virtues equalled his accomplishments; and, alike in morals and manners, he was incomparable. Many strange virtues and powers were witnessed in him, and during the few days which he passed in the prison he won the devotion and praise of most of his fellow-captives. On the last night preceding his death he remained awake till morning, continually reciting verses appropriate to the occasion, amongst which was the following :—

“Thou’rt interminable, sombre, and disordered,
Night of Parting, like the tresses of the Friend;
Art beyond the reach of Time, O Night of Parting?
For Time and Life speed onward to their end.”

In short, during that night he continued in a state of ecstasy and exaltation which baffles description, and filled all who witnessed it with boundless wonder.

Ākā Seyyid Huseyn of Turshíz was an eminently learned and pious divine, who united knowledge with practice, and was endowed with all the characteristics of virtue. Most jurisconsults [and grammarians] have given some

account of his circumstances <in their books>, and all men of learning admit his scholarship, which, indeed, can no more be denied than his virtue. <This was so ordained in order> that he might be a witness to the clergy, and that they should not be able to say, "He was but a common man, who, through ignorance and lack of judgement, fell into error and heresy." [He likewise shewed a degree of disinterested devotion which plunged all thoughtful persons in amazement, in that, after years of study, he disregarded love of home, worldly ambition, authority, wealth, and position, and willingly quaffed the draught of martyrdom.]

Hájí Seyyid 'Alí, the maternal uncle <of the Báb>, was an aged merchant who had seen the world and enjoyed universal respect, for he was famed for his piety and godliness, [besides being a descendant of the Prophet, and the uncle of His Supreme Holiness. When he decided to set out from Shíráz and Yezd to lay down his life for the sake of God and for love of the Beloved of the World, he examined all his accounts, and went in person to the houses of all to whom he owed money to pay them their dues, demand quittance and absolution, and bid them a last farewell. So, in like manner, did he take leave of all his friends and relatives one by one, after which he set out for the capital, intending to proceed to Ázarbaiján to wait on His Holiness.] So he sacrificed life and wealth in the service of His Holiness, [and in his old age suffered death for the Beloved's sake,] that his act might serve as a witness to all merchants, and that they might know that he, having watched over and tended the Báb from infancy to boyhood, and thence onwards until the Manifestation was vouchsafed, had beheld in him virtues and powers never before seen in man, whereby he was led to devote himself to his service, and lay down life for his sake; else would

he never have courted death with such readiness, or met it with such fortitude. It is, therefore, certain that he was irresistibly drawn to His Holiness by beholding the miraculous faculties which he constantly displayed.

[Thus at the moment of his birth he exclaimed, "The Kingdom is God's". And in his boyhood they sent him to be taught his lessons by Sheykh 'Ábid, an accomplished scholar and a godly man, who was one of the disciples of Sheykh Aḥmad <of Aḥsá>, and subsequently became an ardent believer in His Holiness. Amongst other anecdotes of the Báb's boyhood which he used to relate, one was as follows. "The first day that they brought him to me at the school, I wrote down the alphabet for him to learn, as is customary with children. After a while I went out on business. On my return, I heard, as I approached the room, someone reading the Qur'án in a sweet and plaintive voice. Filled with astonishment, I entered the room and enquired who had been reading the Qur'án. The other children answered <pointing to His Holiness> 'He was.' 'Have you read the Qur'án?' I asked. He was silent. 'It is best for you to read Persian books,' said I, putting the *Háḡḡu'l-Yaḡín*² before him, 'read from this.' At whatever page I opened it, I saw that he could read it easily. 'You have read Persian,' said I; 'Come, read some Arabic; that will be better.' So saying, I placed

¹ اهل البيت.

² Two celebrated works bear this title. One is a compendium of Shi'ite doctrine composed by the eminent theologian Muḥammad Bákir Majlis in the year A.H. 1109 (A.D. 1696) in the reign of Sulṭán Ḥuseyn the Šafaví, and it is probably to this work that reference is here made. The other *Háḡḡu'l-Yaḡín* was written in the 8th century of the *hijra* by Sheykh Maḥmúd Shabistarí (better known as the author of the *Gulshan-i-Rás*); and treats of Šáfi doctrine.

before him the *Sharḥ-i-amthila*¹. When I began to explain the meaning of the *Bismi'llāh* to the pupils in the customary manner, he asked, 'Why does the word *Raḥmān* include both believers and infidels, while the word *Raḥīm* applies only to believers?' I replied, 'Wise men have a rule to the effect that <extension of form implies>² extension of meaning', and *Raḥmān* contains one letter more than *Raḥīm*.' He answered, 'Either this rule is a mistake, or else that tradition which you refer to 'Alī is a lie.' 'What tradition?' I asked. 'The tradition,' replied he, 'which declares that King of Holiness to have said :—"The meanings of all the Sacred Books are in the *Qur'ān*, and the meanings of the whole *Qur'ān* are in the *Sūratu'l-Fātiḥa*, and the meanings of the whole *Sūratu'l-Fātiḥa* are in the *Bismi'llāh*, and the whole meaning of the *Bismi'llāh* is in the <initial letter> B, and the meaning of the B is in the point <under the B>, and the point is inexplicable.'" On hearing him reason thus subtilely I was speechless with amazement, and led him back to his home. His venerable grandmother came to the door. I said to her, 'I cannot undertake the instruction of this young gentleman,' and told her in full all that had passed. Addressing him, she said, 'Will you not cease to speak after this fashion? What business have you with such matters? Go and learn your lessons.' 'Very well,' he answered, and came and began to learn his lessons like the other boys.

¹ *Commentary on Grammatical forms.* There is a work of this name by Surūrī (see *Cat. Cod. Orient. Mus. Brit.*, pars ii, *Cod. Arab.*, p. 235, top of first column), but I am not sure whether this is the one here intended.

² These words are not in the original, having evidently been omitted accidentally. They are necessary to complete the sense.

³ كثره الباء. كل على زيادة المعنى غالباً. See Palmer's *Arabic Grammar*, p. 33, n. 1.

He even began with the alphabet, although I urged him not to do so. One day I saw him talking in a whisper to the boy who sat next him, but when I would have listened he was silent. Then I pretended to pay no heed to what he was saying, though in reality I listened attentively, and I heard him say to the other boy, 'I am so light that, if I liked, I could fly up beyond the Throne'; would you like me to go?' So saying, he made a movement from the ground. As he said 'would you like me to go?' and made this movement, I smiled in wonder and bewilderment, and as I did so he suddenly ceased speaking. So likewise, before he had begun to practise writing, I observed that every day he used to bring with him a pen-case and engage in writing something. I thought to myself, 'He sees the other boys writing, and, wishing to write too, draws lines like them, and scribbles on the paper.' For several days he continued to act thus, until one day I took the paper from him to see what he was doing. On glancing at it I saw that he had actually written something. Wondering how, without having practised, he could write, I proceeded to examine what he had written, and found it to be a dissertation on the mystery and knowledge of the Divine Unity, written in the purest and most eloquent style, and so profound that the keenest intellect would fail to penetrate its <whole> meaning." *Ākā Seyyid Yahyá and Jenáb-i-Aẓm*¹ saw these writings in the possession of the aforesaid <Sheykh 'Ábid>, and declared that they contained nearly four thousand verses, which differed in no respect from what was written after the Manifestation.]

Thus, even in his childhood, signs of the Báb's holiness, majesty, and lofty rank were apparent, [so that, for instance,

¹ '*Arsh*', the throne of God, situated above the highest heaven.

² Mullá Sheykh 'Alí.

as a boy he used to predict of pregnant women whether they would bring forth a male or a female infant, besides foretelling many chance occurrences, such as earthquakes and the ruin of certain places, as they actually took place, to relate which things fully would lead us too far from the matter in hand.] Our chief point, however, is that persons so virtuous and reasonable <as these> would not have been so convinced <of the truth of the Báb's claim> as thus willingly and joyfully to forego life, wealth, fame, name, wife, and child, unless they had observed in that Proof of God the clearest evidences of Divine powers and qualities. This especially applies to the <Báb's> maternal uncle <Hájí Seyyid 'Alí>, who, though filled with wonder at the miraculous powers which he observed in His Holiness even as a child, did nevertheless pause to make earnest and diligent enquiry after the Manifestation took place ere he became fully convinced of its truth. But this conviction, once attained, was so firm that, as has been mentioned, his steadfast resolve to devote his life to the cause could not be shaken, though one would have given three hundred *túmáns* to save him from death; but he would not consent, and said, "I regard martyrdom as the greatest happiness and honour to which it is possible for me to attain, and my utmost ambition is to lay down my life in the way of the Beloved".

Hájí Mullá Taqí, who was both a merchant and a scholar, was a man of remarkable piety and a native of Kirmán, where his godliness, integrity, intelligence, virtue, and wisdom were admitted by all, and where he had not a few devoted admirers. His testimony, therefore, appeals especially to all devout and godly persons.

As for the two others, one *[was Mírzá Huseyn of

¹ Two *bayts* from the *Masnawi* here inserted by L. are omitted.

'Tabriz, the comely and devoted youth whom Hájí 'Alí Khán sought to tempt', and his testimony was a proof to courtiers and government officials;]* and the other belonged to the class of tradespeople, and was a witness to all such. And one cannot assert that these seven were madmen devoid of understanding and sense; or that they aimed at the supreme power; or that they were entrapped without means of escape; for, had they not voluntarily confessed, they would have been spared, and, even after they had made confession, each one, as has been described, was offered a chance of deliverance, and all alike refused it. So they wrought a deed such as human endurance had never before compassed; yet, notwithstanding this, men blinded by prejudice and passion charge them with heresy and error, not reflecting that no one abandons life and wealth, and disregards fame, repute, consideration, wife, and children without good cause and reason! The disciples of 'Alí', as has been already mentioned, were not willing to abandon the hair of their heads, much less their lives. Wherein did these men, who had for five consecutive years striven after truth, fall short in endeavour? Did they not go from town to town, seeking knowledge of that promised Proof? Did they not endure the hardships of exile, and the persecution of foes? Did they not bear patiently every kind of affliction, trouble, and sorrow? And, when they had learned the truth, did they not, unlike those who would not give up so much as the hair upon their heads, sacrifice all, even life itself, for the

[[belonged to the class of government officials and servants of the state]]

¹ See, however, note 1 at the foot of p. 257 *supra*.

² See pp. 248—9 *supra*. C. repeats the whole story in full, and I therefore follow L. without further notice of the variants.

Beloved of the World? If these were not rightly guided by God's grace, then no one in the world deserves to receive guidance; and if God did not direct seekers so strenuous and so sincere as these, then (God forgive us for speaking thus!) He would have broken His promise, and "*God breaketh not His promise*". For it is incumbent on His grace and mercy to deliver souls so strenuous in the search after truth from doubt and error, to guide them into the way of salvation, and to raise them to the highest degree of certainty and knowledge. So, after the death of these Seven Martyrs, all wise and discerning persons, who heard what fortitude and steadfastness they had shown in their captivity and martyrdom, clearly perceived that devotion such as this could not exist without a sufficient reason, and that an event of such magnitude could not be regarded as a trivial matter. Such persons, therefore, fell to making enquiry; and a great number of them crossed the bridge¹ of doubt, reached the haven of assurance, were invested with the robe of faith and right guidance, and, in turn, effected the conversion and salvation of many others. But in others, by reason of their lack of fairness, was realized the meaning of the verse, "*They recognize the favours of God, and yet they deny them*".

Now these seven saints were the seven hornless goats which, agreeably to a well-accredited tradition, are to appear in Mecca before His Holiness <the Imám Mahdí>.

¹ Kur'án, xxx, 5.

² *Sirdá*, the bridge "finer than a hair and sharper than a sword" which, according to the Muslim belief, spans the gulf which surrounds Paradise. The allegorical meaning of this image is treated of in the twelfth chapter of the second *Váhid* of the Persian Beyán. Cf. B. ii, p. 930; and n. 1 at the foot of p. 46 *supra*.

³ Kur'án, xvi, 85.

And, since these are a sign of the Manifestation, therefore such as were anxiously expecting its advent truly and sincerely believed with great joy. For the holy Imáms (upon whom be peace) have said, "*Naḥnu'r-rá'í, wa shí'átuná ghanam,*" that is to say, "We are the shepherd, and our followers are the flock, which we pasture in the spacious meadow of wisdom, and preserve from the claws of the wolf of ignorance and folly." [Now the interpretation of this saying, that His Holiness the *Ká'im* shall cause his flock to appear in the land of Mecca, is that by *Mecca* the land of Belief in the Divine Unity is intended; for this it is which especially appertaineth to God. And the source and home of this belief is the heart, even as God says:— "Neither my earth nor my heaven sufficeth for me, but only the heart of my faithful servant." So the true House of God is the heart; it is the mirror of God, and in it Divine Inspiration appears. This subject requires a lengthy explanation, which will be given in its proper place.] And what is meant by their saying "the goats have no horns" is, briefly, that they suffer wrong, that is to say that they neither struggle nor resist. The sayings of the Imáms contain many meanings which these formalist doctors are unable to penetrate, even as they have failed to comprehend this tradition; wherefore, through lack of sense and discernment, they do both keep the unfortunate laity in expectation, and themselves expect that His Holiness shall appear in the desert of Mecca, in the guise of a shepherd driving seven goats, which are animals devoid of reason, before him. A fine and honourable occupation do they assign to their Master! Yet they themselves are entirely unconscious of the evilness of their assertions and beliefs: and if some poor fellow would explain the true meaning of such traditions, they dub him an infidel, because he interprets the words of the Imám in a manner

contrary to their preconceived ideas. For their pride and arrogance make it seem to them a hard thing to prefer the assertion of another to their own vain fancies, and, even though they be inwardly compelled to assent, and to allow that his words accord with reason and truth, their self-conceit makes it impossible for them to admit this explicitly. Thus Hájí Mullá Šálih, for all his piety, sanctity, scholarship, and show of religion, repeatedly said to his daughter *Jenáb-i-Táhira*, better known as *Kurratu'l-'Ayn**, "If you, with all the learning, scholarship, and intelligence which you possess, were to claim to be the Báb, or even more than that, I would readily admit and allow your claim; but what can I do when you choose to follow this Shírázî lad?" Great heavens! Such is the arrogance and prejudice of these persons that the imagination can scarcely conceive the least of its developments! Here was one who saw that his daughter, notwithstanding her talents and accomplishments, regarded herself but as dust in comparison with that Sun of Truth, and publicly said, "With the knowledge which I possess it is impossible that I should be mistaken in the recognition of Him who is the Lord of the World, whom all peoples anxiously expect: I have duly recognized Him by the proofs of reason and the evidences of knowledge, though this knowledge and these attainments of mine are but as a minute drop beside that vast and all-

[as did also her uncle Hájí Mullá <Muhammad> Taqî 'the murdered,' who was a learned scholar, and, indeed, in his own opinion, the most learned doctor of his time]

¹ Concerning *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, her father Hájí Mullá Šálih, and her uncle Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taqî (called by the Shi'ites "*Shahid-i-Thálith*") see my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 309—316.

embracing ocean, or as an insignificant mote beside that mighty and radiant luminary ;" yet, notwithstanding this, he answered, "Though you regard your excellence and learning as of such small account in comparison with <the virtues of> that Shírází lad, still, had you been my son <instead of my daughter>, and had you put forward this claim, I would have accepted it." . . .

"Wine still is wine, the rose is still the rose,
Where e'er that ripens, and where e'er this grows.
Though from the West its course should be begun
The sun's the sun, and nothing but the sun."

<Account of *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*.>

Now, since occasion hath arisen, it behoves us to say somewhat concerning *Jenáb-i-Táhira*. She, as has been already stated, was the daughter of Hájí Mullá Šálih of Kázvin, was a sincere friend and admirer of [the late Sheykh <Ahmad Ahsá'í> and] Hájí Seyyid Kásim <of Resht>, and in virtue, piety, and learning had no equal. It was from the late Seyyid¹ that she received the title of *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*. And since he had, before his death, gladdened his chosen disciples with tidings of the approaching manifestation of the promised Proof², therefore was she also one of those who were anxiously expecting the appearance of the Truth, and seeking, with prayer and fasting, knowledge and faith. So, when Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who was <subsequently> entitled *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, fell to making enquiry, and resolved to set out from Nejef the holy to prosecute his search, she wrote a letter expressing in general terms her devotion to, and

¹ This statement, together with most of what is here related concerning *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, is taken from Hájí Mírzá Ján's history (*Suppl. Pers.* 1071, ff. 107^b—110^b).

² See pp. 31—33 *supra*.

belief in, the subsequent Manifestation. And when *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* at length attained to the honour of meeting His Supreme Holiness, and had recognized his true nature, he presented her letter, and she became included amongst the Letters of the Living¹, and reached the loftiest degree of truth and knowledge. A little time after this, she enjoyed opportunities of perusing some of the verses, exhortations, devotional works, and doctrinal treatises of His Holiness, by which her conversion was definitely effected. So steadfast in faith did she become that [although she was both rich and noble] she disregarded wealth, child, name, and position for her Master's service, and set herself to proclaim and establish his doctrine with clear proofs and demonstrations. So subtly did she expound the mysteries of the Divine Unity that even of the late Seyyid <Káẓim>'s disciples, who were the elect of the age, the most part were unable to follow her thought. [After the death of the late Seyyid, at the time of her conversion²] she instituted a course of lectures, in which, seated behind a curtain, she instructed the *[Sheykhís]*^{*}. Her followers submitted themselves to a religious discipline

[people]

¹ Cf. Gobineau, p. 328.

² In the text, "*hangámí ki musharraḥ shudé báḍ*", literally, "at the time when she" [or "he"] "had been honoured." The implied pronoun appears to refer to Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn rather than to Seyyid Káẓim; and therefore, as she appears never to have actually met the Báb (cf. Gobineau, p. 310), we must understand "*musharraḥ*" as equivalent to "*musharraḥ bi-sharaf-i-imán*" ("honoured with the dignity of belief"), which is a common expression among the Musulmáns. With the Bábis the word more often signifies "honoured with an actual interview." Cf. my first article on the Bábis in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, p. 519.

so severe that they were brought nigh unto death, while [so scrupulous were they that] for the most part they would not eat victuals prepared in the bazaars, especially cooked meats and butcher's meat. Such scrupulousness and caution on their part soon attracted attention, and was reported in various shapes to the governor, who determined to arrest Kurratu'l-'Ayn. She <being apprized of this> sent to him the following message :—"I advance no claim save a claim to learning. Assemble the doctors, both Sunnî and Shi'ite, that we may confer and dispute, so that the truth and falsity of either side, and the wisdom and learning of both parties, may be made apparent to all persons of discernment." Thereupon it was decided that she should not leave Kerbelâ until a definite reply to this request should arrive from Baghdad. As, however, this reply was delayed, she left the town without a passport, in such wise that none of the gate-keepers or officers appointed for the supervision of passports saw or stopped her. On reaching Baghdad, she proceeded to the house of the chief Muftî, with whom she held a discussion wherein she obtained a manifest advantage. [The Pâshâ of Baghdad forwarded to the Sublime Porte a detailed report of her case, including this discussion, and asked for instructions as to the course which he should pursue. In reply, there came an order that she should remain no longer in 'Irâk <-i-'Arab>, but that <the Pâshâ> should make his excuses to her for sending her back to Persia, and that she should there abide.]]

Accordingly she set out for 'Irâk[[-i-'Ajam]]. On her way thither she proclaimed in the clearest and most explicit manner certain subtle mysteries of the Divine Unity to which but few ears had been privileged to listen, and which most of the profoundest philosophers had hesitated to formulate and divulge. <Some of her companions,>

such as the late Sheykh Ṣálih the Arab, Sheykh [Ṭáhir] the Preacher, Mullá Ibráhím of Maḥallát, [the late Sheykh Sulṭán the Arab,] and some others, who were endowed with the requisite capacity and understanding, comprehended these lofty themes; but others, unable to grasp them, raised objections, and wrote a letter to His Supreme Holiness complaining of her. To each was returned an answer adapted to his capacity and understanding, the substance of this answer being <in each case> that her homilies and dissertations on the Divine Unity were divinely inspired, and that her name should henceforth be called *Ṭáhira*¹. * [After this, those same persons who had raised objections,]* being made acquainted with the inner meaning of her words, began to ask her pardon and to make their excuses.

So that Blessed Leaf² went to Kirmánsháhán, where she thoroughly preached the doctrine. Thence she proceeded to Hamadán (where also she converted many), intending to visit the capital, and to acquaint His late Majesty Muḥammad Sháh with the truth [of the matter]. Her father, however, being made aware of <her movements>, sent and brought her to Ḳasvín, where he talked much with her, and, as has been already mentioned, said, "Any claim which you, with your learning and intelligence, had put forward I should have accounted worthy of full acceptance; but how can I accept the word of this Shírází

[<So they, >]

¹ "The Pure."

² As the Báb is often styled "The Tree of Truth" (*Shajara-i-Haḳíqat*), so those who believe in him are sometimes called "Leaves". The title of *Waraka-i-'Ulyá* ("The Supreme Leaf") was conferred by Behá'u'lláh on one of his wives. See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 361.

lad?" To such speeches, however, she refused to listen; nor, do what they might, would she consent to be reconciled with her husband Mullá Muḥammad, who was the son of Hájí Mullá <Muḥammad Taqí>, [and was accounted her cousin]. <In reply to all such proposals of reconciliation> she answered, "He, in that he rejects God's religion, is unclean, while I am 'Pure': between us there can be naught in common [nor any equality]." So she refused to be reconciled to her husband.

After this befell the catastrophe of Hájí Mullá <Muḥammad> Taqí's murder. Now the cause of this was that [in every assembly and gathering] he was wont to curse and revile the late Sheykh Aḥmad <of Aḥsá>, displaying herein the most obstinate pertinacity. A certain Mírzá Šálih, [who was a native of Shíráz and] one of the Báb's followers, formerly devoted to the late Sheykh Aḥmad, had heard [in Kárvín] that Hájí Mullá [Muḥammad] Taqí regarded the late Sheykh as an apostate and a heretic, and was in the habit of cursing him. He therefore waited upon the Hájí *[after the performance of public prayer],* and enquired his opinion of Sheykh Aḥmad. The Hájí cursed and reviled him [exceedingly]. Thereupon Mírzá Šálih (agreeably to the tradition handed down from the Imáms "whosoever curseth our followers hath cursed us, and whosoever curseth us hath cursed the Apostle of God, and whosoever hath cursed the Apostle of God is an infidel") knew him for an evil man and an apostate, and, in accordance with the tradition above quoted, became assured of his infidelity, and deemed it incumbent on himself to slay him. So, without communicating his

[in the place of prayer]

¹ *Táhirá*. See the end of the preceding paragraph.

design to anyone, he went by night, and, by the altar¹, inflicted on him several <mortal> wounds. And this thing was the consequence of the Hájí's conduct on the occasion of the Báb's passing through Kázvín. For His Holiness, as he passed through Kázvín, had, with the design of proving others and admonishing them by this transaction, written <a letter> to him, saying, "I am of the offspring of the Prophet; I am wrongfully entreated; and I have come to your city. How would it be if you were to afford me some succour?" But the Hájí tore the letter in fragments and made several unseemly remarks. When they reported this to His Holiness, he said, "Was there no one to smite him on the mouth?" Wherefore the Lord brought it to pass that he was smitten in the mouth with a spear-head, that he might no more speak insolently of the saints of religion².

Now after the attack on Hájí Mullá MuḤammad Taqí, a great disturbance arose in Kázvín. For the people attributed this deed to *Jenáb-i-Ṭákira*, and suspected her followers, though neither she nor they were privy to it. So they arrested *[nearly seventy]* persons, and, though Hájí <Mullá MuḤammad Taqí>³ said of each one brought before him, "It was not he," cast them into prison and tormented them in divers ways. Amongst others they beat Sheykh Šálih the Arab with many stripes, and would have branded him. [They also brought *Jenáb-i-Ṭákira* to the govern-

[a great number of]

¹ *Mihráb*, properly the niche or alcove in the mosque which shews the direction of Mecca.

² Some verses from the *Masnavi*, differently given in C. and L., are here omitted.

³ The wounds inflicted on Hájí Mullá MuḤammad Taqí did not at once prove fatal. According to the *Kiṭāb-i-'Ulamá* he survived the attempt on his life by several days.

ment house, along with one of her servants, and fell to tormenting her, thinking that perhaps she might make some statement; neither would they believe her, though she declared on oath that she had absolutely no knowledge of this event. For the heirs of the murdered man, amongst whom was *Jenáb-i-Táhirá's* husband Mullá Muhammad, persisted in affirming that this deed had been committed by her followers and with her consent. And she meanwhile was engaged in tearful and humble prayer to Him who is the Fulfiller of all needs.]

Suddenly Mírzá Šálih of Shíráz [seeing the torments to which a number of innocent and virtuous persons were being subjected, could no longer maintain silence, but, impelled by common fairness and uprightness, devotedly] advanced the foot of manful courage, and made full confession, setting forth in detail the motives which had impelled him to commit the murder, and adding, "I considered myself obliged by the duty which I owe to Religion and the Sacred Law to do this deed." In such wise did he express himself that <even> the governor of Kázvín applauded his eloquence and boldness. [When they reproached him, saying, "Why didst thou act thus towards so learned a divine?" he replied, "Who, then, was he but one who had culled from the garden of Abú Hanífa¹ a single nosegay, in virtue of which he claimed to be a learned divine?" The people were amazed at the readiness of his replies; but the heirs <of Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taqí> and those who were specially prejudiced against Kurratu'l-'Ayn and the others arrested on this charge, and who bore them an invincible hatred, not anticipating such truth, loyalty, fairness, and courage from an assassin, refused to

¹ Abú Hanífa, Málik, Sháfi'í, and Ibn Hanbal were the founders of the four orthodox schools or sects of the Sunnites; learned theologians, no doubt but of little account in Shi'ite, much less in Bábi eyes.

credit this confession, or to pay any heed to it. But the youth adhered to his statement, and, on their refusing to believe it, described in detail the manner in which he had done the deed, adding, "If you desire to verify my statement, go, and take out the spear-head wherewith I slew him from beneath the stool¹ under which I cast it, that you may know that my account is a true one." So they went and took out the spear-head from under the stool, and the truth of his statement was <thus> conclusively proved. They therefore cast him into prison and put him in fetters, and the sons of the murdered Hájí Mullá <Muḥammad> Taḳí went to the prison to vex and revile him. Mírzá Šálih, losing control of his temper, cried out, "I have sent him to hell, and I will now send you after him." So saying, he sprang forward with such energy that he dragged his chain, wrenched out from the ground the long iron staple to which it was attached, and hurled it at them with such vigour that they fled in terror in all directions. The long staple struck the door of his cell and pierced it; whereat the prison warders were so greatly alarmed that they shut the door upon him and locked it.

[Notwithstanding all this² they would not release those others <whom they had arrested>, but, anxious only to establish a reputation for filial piety, continued to account them accomplices and accessories.] And although Hájí <Mullá Muḥammad Taḳí> had declared with his dying breath that he forgave his murderer³, *[Mullá Muḥammad]*⁴

[still]

¹ This word is doubtful. It appears to read كرمى to which I can assign no suitable sense. I therefore conjecture كرمى.

² i.e. the confession of Mírzá Šálih.

³ Hájí Mírzá Jání adds that Mullá Muḥammad himself made this statement.

his son caused *[five]* of the prisoners to be sent in fetters and chains from Kāzvin to Teherán in the bitter cold of the winter season. Amongst these *[five]*, one was an old man of ailing health [named Hájí Asadu'lláh]; whom, though he was perfectly innocent, and ignorant <of the charge preferred against him>, they dragged from a bed of sickness and led away; and who, on reaching Teherán, expired [in prison] from his illness and the fatigues of the road. But Mírzá Šálih, the actual murderer, [who had himself confessed, and whom Hájí Mírzá Ákásí had consigned to the custody of Mírzá Shafí' the *Šāhib-díván*,] escaped from prison by night, [and, making straight for the Castle of <Sheykh> Tabarsí, joined himself to the people of God, amongst whom he attained to martyrdom'.]

Those †[three]† innocent persons remained in prison, but though the son of Hájí Mulla [Muḥammad] Takí made the most strenuous efforts to obtain from the administrators of the Sacred Law in Teherán an order for the execution of one of the prisoners, he was not successful. Then he accused the Bábís of being this and that; and His Majesty §[Muḥammad]§ Sháh ordered the learned *mujtahid* Ákásí Maḥmúd of Teherán, ‡[the son of Ákásí Muḥammad 'Alí of Kirmán-sháhán,]† to investigate and ascertain their tenets. So ||[they brought them* before him, and when he had]|| met

[six] †[four]† §[Násiru'd-Dín]§
 ‡[who was unrivalled in his time]†
 ||[he]||

¹ See p. 82 *supra*. That the Sheykh Šálih there mentioned is identical with this Mírzá Šálih is clearly shewn by Hájí Mírzá Ján's account of his death, in which he is described as "the murderer of Hájí Mullá Muḥammad Takí of Kāzvin."

² This appears to be an anachronism. Hájí Mírzá Ján only says "the King."

³ i.e., as it would appear, the three remaining prisoners.

[and conversed much with] them* the falsity of Mullá Muḥammad's assertions [concerning this sect] became evident. Finally <Mullá Muḥammad> went before His Majesty the King, and rent his shirt, and began to weep, saying, "They have slain Hájí Mullá [Muḥammad] Takí, †[and shall no one's blood be shed <in atonement> ?]†" The King answered, "The murderer, who has himself confessed, has escaped [from prison]. If thou desirest the lawful application of the *lex talionis*, then no administrator of the Sacred Law will sentence an innocent man to suffer death instead of the escaped murderer. But if thou seekest for illegal retaliation, then why dost thou introduce the name of law? Go, kill one <of them>." So they took Sheykh Šálih the Arab, a godly man, endowed, as was proved in several ways, with a pure heart¹, and consummated his martyrdom [by blowing him from a gun].

Then <Mullá Muḥammad> prayed that he might be permitted to take the §[two]§ other prisoners [one of whom was Sheykh Táhir of Shíráz the preacher, and the other Mullá Ibráhím of Maḥallát,] to Kásvín, in order that he might do honour to his father's memory by causing them to walk round his grave, after which he would let them go. To this His Majesty the King agreed [not guessing the extent of his godlessness and priestly cunning]. So <Mullá Muḥammad> took †[them]† with him to Burkán, and on

[and]

†[how can it be right that his murderer should not be slain ?]†

§[three]§

‡[the three men]‡

¹ Hájí Mírzá Jání says that Sheykh Šálih was believed by some (of the Bábis) to be (a re-incarnation of) "the Pure Soul" (نفس زكیه); concerning whom see *al-Fatḥat* (ed. Ahlwardt), p. 196 *et seq.*

the way thither inflicted on them all manner of hurts and torments. After this he took them to Kāzvin [On the day when he was taking them] to make them walk round his father's grave,* he made known his intention† to the whole populace, ‡[that they might make]‡ a general attack <on the prisoners>[. So, as soon as they brought them forth to make them walk round the grave, Sheykh Ṭāhir] and Mullá Ibrāhīm§ ||[were]|| done to death with a cruelty surpassing all imagination. [Sheykh Ṭāhir was bound to a tree and tortured to death by his assailants, and a number of the mob brought leaves and set fire to the foot of the tree.] And the body of the poor victim was consumed with fire. [Then they bore both the bodies out of the city gates and cast them into a hollow, and only after some days did they allow a grave to be dug in that place and the corpses to be laid therein.]

So the heirs <of Hájí Mullá Muḥammad Taḳí>, being of a highly-considered family of divines and administrators of the Sacred Law, and regarding themselves as the authorized representatives of this Law, and the exponents of Religion, in retaliation for the death of one person slew ¶[four]¶¹ innocent men who had no complicity in the matter; although the actual murderer had before his flight declared that, in accordance with <what he regarded as>

[and]	†[and gave his directions]†
‡[who made]‡	§[and the other prisoner]§
[was]	¶[three]¶

¹ C. has "three" here, but, like L., "four" in the next sentence. Mírzá Asadu'lláh, the old man who died of cold and exposure, seems to be reckoned as the fourth victim. I am by no means certain, however, that there was not another victim (unnamed), for the higher numbers, which I have relegated to the foot of the page, are confirmed by Hájí Mírzá Jání.

his religious obligation, he had on his own account done this deed without the complicity of any one else. And these four innocent and unwitting men they slew thus shamefully and cruelly with the knowledge of His Majesty the King and all the Musulmán clergy and laity ; nor did one of all these pious divines and Muslims ask by what religion and what law such a sentence was ever ordained or sanctioned. Assuredly from the first creation of the world until now never in any one of all these different creeds was such a thing done ; [never according to any law, civil or ecclesiastical, was such a sentence pronounced ;] and never in any age has such a deed been heard or seen. Nor is it likely that such a sentence should be pronounced or such a deed sanctioned in the name of any religion at any future time, unless it be by these same occupants of the seat of authority and <self-styled> executors of the Holy Imám ¹

To resume. After these events *Jenáb-i-Ṭáhira*, *[[to escape from the reproaches, rebuffs, suspicions, and unkind treatment of her relations, set out secretly for Teherán ; whence, intending to preach God's religion, and to join herself to *Ḥaẓrat-i-Kuddús*², Mullá Huseyn *Jenáb-i-Bábu-'l-Báb*, and the other believers in Khurásán, she]]* proceeded to Khurásán. Near Sháhrúd³ she met *Jenáb-i-*

*[having procured a divorce from her husband Mullá Muḥammad,]⁴

¹ About a page of similar diatribe is here omitted.

² See n. 1 at the foot of p. 95 *supra*.

³ *Suppl. Pers.* 1071, f. 110^a. The event described is there referred to the "third year of the Manifestation", "wherein," says Hájí Mírzá Jání, alluding to a tradition of Kurneyl, "was revealed the meaning of *هاتك امر لظنه امر*." See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 352, n. 1.

Kuddús *[and his followers, whose number amounted to three hundred and thirteen men. *Haṣrat-i-Kuddús* became the Tongue of the *Ká'im*, and, ere His Supreme Holiness had laid claim to this rank, formally announced himself as the *Ká'im*, even as tradition runs; and, in brief, spoke that word which the *Ká'im* must speak. His followers hesitated <at first> to admit <his claim; but afterwards>, having searched every realm of their being and found no truth but His Holiness, they listened and confessed'. Then *Jenáb-i-Táhirá* ascended into a pulpit and exhorted the believers', setting forth the mysteries of the Divine Unity and the renewal <of all things>. Thereafter so great a mass of writings, comprising prayers, homilies, and doctrinal treatises

*[An account of her subsequent history until the time when she attained to the rank of martyrdom, together with an appendix containing some of her exhortations, prayers,

¹ These two sentences are so ambiguous, especially as regards the pronouns, that I give them in the original:—

حضرت لدوس لمان لائم شدند قبل از آنکه حضرت اعلیٰ اظهار لائمت خود را نماید
 اظهار لائمت فرمودند و لائم بدان شدند که در حدیث بود خلاصه تکیله، که لائم
 مگوید ایشان فرمودند و اصحاب ایشان حمل نشدند تأمل نمودند دوره وجود خود را
 سائر کردند غیر حضرت را حلی ندیدند مدعی و معترف شدند *

It is abundantly clear from Hájí Mírzá Jání's history that *Haṣrat-i-Kuddús* advanced the most extravagant claims, and that many of the Bábís were disposed to regard him as superior to the Báb. He not only declared himself to be Christ come back to earth, but even went so far as to say, "*Whosoever hath known me is become a polytheist, and whosoever hath not known me is become an infidel, and whosoever asketh 'why,' or 'wherefore,' or 'how' concerning me is become a reprobate.*"

² Cf. Gobineau, pp. 181—4.

tises, emanated from that much-wronged woman that the eye of time has never beheld anything like it. Thus, for instance, Mullá 'Abdu'l-'Alí and Mullá Jawád of the Sheykhí sect addressed certain questions to His Supreme Holiness (the soul of the world be his sacrifice!). He replied to them; but they, not understanding <his answer>, made objections. *Jenáb-i-Táhirá*, being apprized of this, wrote two or three thousand verses to confute their objections and to establish the thesis of His Supreme Holiness. This she did in such wise as to fill all persons of learning with wonder and astonishment at her scholarship, for she proved the utterances of His Holiness in every point by verses from the *Qur'an* and traditions of the Imáms. On the dispersal of <the assembly at> *Badasht*, she was taken prisoner and conveyed to *Teherán*¹. For some while she was in the house of Maḥmúd Khán the *Kalántar*², where she exhorted and counselled the women of the household³, till one day she went to the bath, whence she returned arrayed in white garments, saying, "Tomorrow they will kill me." Next day the executioner came and

and teachings, will be written in another place; so that the extent of her virtue, chastity, godliness, and purity, as well as the services which she rendered to the Desired Appearance [*Ta'at-i-Maḥṣúd*, i.e. Behá'u'lláh], (who, at that time hidden behind a veil, was <only> known as

¹ It was, apparently, only after the fall of Sheykh Ṭabarsí that she was given up to the authorities by the people of Núr, where she (together with Subḥ-i-Ezál, as Hájí Mírzá Jání states in his history) had taken refuge. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 312—3. It is worth noting that Hájí Mírzá Jání calls her "the Mother of the World" (ان مادر جهان).

² See Gobineau, pp. 292—5.

³ See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 31.

took her to the Nigáristán¹. As she would not suffer them to remove the veil from her face (though they repeatedly sought to do so), they applied the bow-string over her veil, and thus compassed her martyrdom. Then they cast her holy body into a well in the garden². Her words shall be recorded in another place, so that the extent of her virtue, chastity, godliness, and purity may become known to all persons of discernment.]* For her utterances conclusively prove that she was divinely inspired and fortified, such eloquence and grace of speech [and such comprehensive knowledge] being unattainable and inconceivable [even for men]. We must, however, return to our previous topic, lest the thread of our proper narrative be unduly prolonged.

After His Holiness the Primal Point (the souls of all beside him be his sacrifice !) had arrived at the Castle of Chihrišk and dwelt there for some time, Hájí Mírzá Ákásí wrote to His Majesty Násiru'd-Dín Sháh, who was at that time Crown-Prince and Governor of Ázarbaiján, directing him to summon that Sun of the Heaven of Truth to Tabriz, convene an assembly of the clergy there, dispute with him, and determine the validity or falsity of his claim. But <Hájí Mírzá Ákásí's> real object was not to ascertain the truth or sift the matter, [else he would have summoned <the Báb> to Teherán and caused him to be examined in

Jenáb-i-Behú) and the wisdom and excellence whereunto by his help she attained, may become known to all persons of discernment.]*²

¹ A palace in Teherán built by Fath-'Alí Sháh. It derives its name from the pictures and portraits wherewith the walls of several of its rooms are ornamented, and is situated in the northern quarter of the city, not very far from the English Embassy.

² Cf. my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 313—4.

his own presence]. For he was certainly well aware that the clergy would never relinquish their material authority; that their overweening arrogance and clerical pride would never suffer them to acknowledge the truth of the Báb's claim or the reality of his mission; and that it was impossible for them <voluntarily> to abandon their mastery and to adopt an attitude of submission and obedience, more especially since he had heard how most of them regarded <the Báb> as a madman. For some of them declared that his brain was disordered, and that his writings consisted of '*fables of the ancients*' set forth in incoherent words;* while others asserted that His Holiness did not really claim to be the Báb, but that Mullá Ḥuseyn of Bushrawoeyh, a man of unrivalled scholarship and virtue, was the actual claimant, and that all these teachings and writings emanated from him¹.

So they summoned His Holiness to Tabriz², and convened an assembly <of the clergy>, which was attended by Mullá Muḥammad Mámaghání, Hájí Mullá Maḥmúd *Mullá-báshí*, a number of divines of the Sheykhí party, and a few state functionaries. They <further> agreed that, should His Holiness, not being of unsound mind, claim to be the Báb, they would pronounce sentence of death against him. After a while that Full Moon of the Heaven of Saintship

*[whereas the Kur'án contains <only> eight thousand verses, while the Báb had produced more than a million, <so that, according to them,> the branches exceeded the root.]³

¹ Kur'án, vi, 25; viii, 31 &c.

² Hájí Mírzá Jání also refers to these opinions. Cf. Mírzá Kasem-Beg, ii, p. 394; and my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 230.

³ He was lodged, as Hájí Mírzá Jání adds, in the house of Mírzá Aḥmad the *Imám-Jum'a*.

entered the assembly with a calm and dignified mien, being freshly come from the bath, perfumed with scent, his hands passed through the sleeves [of his cloak]¹, a staff in his hand, and his tongue engaged in commemorating the Divine Friend. <As he entered> he saluted <those present>, who returned his salutation, but did not indicate a place for him to sit, they themselves having <already> occupied the places of honour. His Holiness remained standing for about a minute, and then silently sat down in the lowest place of the assembly without uttering a word. Then Mullá Muḥammad said, "Sir Seyyid, certain writings are in men's hands which are currently attributed to you. We for our part do not believe or credit this. Is it so or not?" This he said anticipating a denial; but His Holiness answered, "Yes, those writings are the words of God emanating from my pen." "We have heard," continued they, "that you claim to be the Báb." "Yes," replied he. "What," demanded Mullá Muḥammad with a scornful smile, "does 'Báb' mean?" "The same," answered His Holiness, "as in the holy saying <of the Prophet>, 'I am the City of Knowledge, and 'Alí is its Gate'." "On what night," continued the other, "wert thou thus favoured", and who assigned this name to thee?" His Holiness answered, "I am He whose advent ye have been expecting for one thousand two hundred [and sixty] years², and whom

¹ The concealment of the hands in the sleeves is a mark of humility, and a tacit confession of inferiority and subserviency, unsuitable to the rank of a messenger of God, even in the presence of princes.

² Hájí Mírzá Janí reports a much fuller dissertation on the title *Báb*, which the compiler of the *New History* has omitted.

³ In the original کی شب بخت نمودی.

⁴ Hájí Mírzá Janí has "for one thousand years," which

ye now deny." They said, "We are expecting Him who is to arise of the kindred of Muḥammad, to wit, Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥasan, whose mother is Narjis Khátún, and who is of the Arabs; thy birthplace is Fárs, thou art of the Persians, and thy father and mother, too, are known¹." "By just such nominal considerations was it," he replied, "that all <former> peoples were veiled from knowledge of the prophet of their time; you too are veiled, else I am indeed He." "Whence," asked they, "shall we recognize you?" He answered, "By the evidence of the verses <revealed through me>."

Then said one of those present², "Repeat some verses concerning thy staff." He began to do so, but another interrupted him, saying, "We do not understand the verses." "How then," asked His Holiness, "can you understand the proof of the Kur'án?" "I too," remarked an officer³ <who was present>, "can reveal verses"; and forthwith he began to repeat a string of incoherent words. In short from the first those who composed the assembly had no other design than to mock and to cavil, wherefore each strove to excel his fellows in displaying in the clearest manner his self-conceit. One asked about the rule in cases of doubt between two and three <prostrations in prayer>⁴;

is a much better reading, since the Shi'ites could not begin to expect the return of the Twelfth Imám till after his Occultation. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 297 and foot-note.

¹ i.e. "there is no mystery about your birth and parentage." The Imám Mahdí, it must be remembered, is believed by the Shi'ites never to have died, but to be hidden in one or other of the fabulous cities Jábulká and Jábulsá. See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 296—301.

² Amír Aslán Khán, the maternal uncle of the Crown-Prince, according to Hájí Mírzá Jání.

³ See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 235, and n. 1 thereon.

another called for the conjugation of the verbs *kāla* and *dahraja* ; and, in brief, one and all fell to asking the most senseless and impertinent questions'. When His Holiness perceived this, and saw that from the first all were unanimous in adopting a tone of mocking raillery, he ceased to concern himself about answering any of them, and, with dignified anger, left the assembly.

All discerning and unprejudiced persons will perceive that such behaviour and such style of controversy are not those adopted by earnest enquirers after truth, and that all who seek to determine the truth or falsehood of any question ought wholly to lay aside all prejudices and preconceived notions, and to observe the utmost fairness and courtesy in discussion. Their questions and answers should be entirely free from contentiousness and mockery ; for, if so much as a suspicion of fanaticism or prejudice be observable in their actions or words, *firstly* the question will not be <properly> determined ; and *secondly* they cannot be called true and impartial enquirers, and consequently their conclusions, whether they be in the affirmative or the negative, will not merit the slightest attention or consideration. It is clear, at all events, that those 'enquirers' who composed this honourable assembly, and who pretended to be expecting the advent of the promised Proof, made manifest the utter falsity of their pretensions at the very outset of the discussion. For, if they were really in expectation of this advent, they should have been ever on the watch to see from what region of the world a voice would arise ; and when, after one thousand two hundred and sixty years, they heard that one had arisen boldly and unwaveringly proclaiming to all peoples that he was the promised Mani-

¹ Hájí Mírzá Jání adds that the Crown-Prince, whom he dubs "a young wretch" (حرامزاده), rolled a globe towards the Báb, bidding him explain the structure of the earth.

festation, such condition of expectancy demanded that they should gladly and thankfully hasten to meet him, postponing all private affairs, and earnestly hoping that his claim might prove to be true. And, a meeting being secured, they should have carefully observed the rules dictated by courtesy and respect; should, when engaged in discussion, have avoided all contentious disputation; and should have laid aside all selfish interest and foolish prejudices, the better to understand the matter. But these persons acted in a manner exactly contrary to this, their whole behaviour being prompted by self-conceit, based on self-interest, and opposed to equity and fairness. For, on <first> hearing the news of the Manifestation, not only did they display no inclination to enquire into and investigate the matter, but, without search, discussion, or enquiry, they were instrumental in bringing about the captivity and confinement of His Holiness. And when, after a long while¹, His Majesty the King appointed a council of enquiry and investigation, they decided, even before His Holiness had appeared or spoken, and ere they had apprehended or understood one jot of his words and teachings, that, should he claim to be the Báb, they would pronounce sentence of death against him. This alone so clearly and conclusively demonstrates their malice and self-conceit that there is no need to seek for any external proof. God, whose wisdom is absolute, thus exposed their prejudice before the discussion began, that it might be a warning to all men of discernment, who should thus know that these were not enquirers after truth, but its malicious opponents.

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¹ Hájí Mírzá Jání says "four years."

² Here follow about four pages of similar tirade, which, as

Now since the martyrdom of His Holiness was not predestined or fore-ordained to take place in that year, and God willed not that the sentence of the doctors charged with this inquisition should prove effective, they agreed together to dishonour him by the infliction of stripes. The Crown-Prince's *farrúshes*, however, refused to execute this disgraceful mandate¹; wherefore, on the following day, the Sheykhul-Islám charged himself with this hateful task, summoned the Báb to his house, and instructed a certain Seyyid to inflict on the soles of his feet *[eighteen]* blows with a rod [according to the number of the "Letters of the Living," to explain the subtle mystery of which would here be out of place]. And His Holiness had <previously> foretold to his companions at Chihrík how these people, in their exceeding heedlessness and folly, would commit this vile deed, and suffer the punishment merited by their actions; wherefore, about this time, occurred the disgrace of the Sheykhul-Islám and the death of Mírzá Ahmad. For when His Holiness was on his way from Chihrík, Mírzá Ahmad, by whose house he passed, refused to afford him countenance or protection, fearing to injure his own position; besides which he declined to be present at the conference, and acted in a proud and presumptuous manner.

After this, they again sent His Holiness to Chihrík. Soon afterwards, His Majesty Muḥammad Sháh passed

[several]

they contain little of value which has not been sufficiently said elsewhere, I omit.

¹ According to Hájí Mírzá Jání, the Crown-Prince gave this order, but his *farrúshes* declared that they would rather throw themselves down from the roof of the palace than carry it out. Thereupon the Sheykhul-Islám charged himself with its execution.

away to the mansions of Paradise¹; and the late Hájí Mírzá Ákásí [fell into disgrace, was reduced to beggary, and finally] took refuge in Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Apím² [where he had to listen to the taunts and gibes of friend and foe and the recriminations of man and woman, thus obtaining the recompense of his actions]. But when His Majesty Násiru'd-Dín Sháh had ascended the throne, <Mírzá Taqí Khán> the *Amír-i-Kabír*, notwithstanding that he had witnessed the disgrace, abasement, and humiliation of Hájí Mírzá Ákásí, failed to apprehend the true cause and reason thereof, and fell upon the Bábís in like manner, till he too fell. Neither did the True Avenger long delay His vengeance. <Ere a great while had elapsed, the *Amír*> reaped the fruits of what he had sown, and received the recompense of his actions; for never will good fall to the lot of the evil-doer, nor will he who sows barley gather wheat. He desired [according to his vain thought and fancy] to quench God's light; but God made manifest His light and proclaimed His Manifestation, while he was numbered amongst the losers.

[To be brief, when the reduction of Zanján had been effected³, after the custom of these Musulmánas, by false oaths sworn on the Kūr'án (as had been done in Mázan-darán and Níríz also) <Mírzá Taqí Khán> the *Amír-i-Kabír*, exasperated at the loss of so many distinguished officers and such vast numbers of soldiers, one day ad-

¹ "Went to hell" is Hájí Mírzá Ján's expression. He adds that, shortly before Muḥammad Sháh's death, Prince Mabdí-Kulí Mírzá dreamt that he saw the Báb shoot the King in full audience.

² The celebrated shrine and city of refuge situated about a league and a half to the south of Teherán.

³ This is an evident anachronism, for the Báb was put to death during the progress of the Zanján siege. Cf. p. 156 *supra*.

dressed His Majesty the King as follows:—"Although, agreeably to the tradition '*The just to God, and the unjust to me,*' it appears an unseemly and unblessed, if not an unlawful, act to kill this Seyyid (so conspicuous for his singular sobriety, holiness, godliness of character, patience, dignity, learning, and meekness) who advances this claim, even though all the clergy were unanimous in pronouncing sentence of death against him, yet what can I do? For it is as clear to Your Majesty as it is to myself that the cause of these insurrections, disorders, and bloody wars in Zanján, Mázarán, Níriz, and other places is this sect, and that all of them are actuated in what they do by their unbounded devotion to this Seyyid, who advances so high a claim, and in whom such strange powers and faculties are witnessed. So long as he is alive, even though he be a prisoner, his followers and admirers, whether of the clergy or the laity, will never rest, but will continually rear up the standards of insurrection; and I fear that this may gradually culminate in a general revolution and the overthrow of the present dynasty. Wherefore, if you desire the tranquillity of your realms and the security of the State, there is nothing for it but that you should give me your consent and permission to strike at the root of the evil. You saw with what trouble to ourselves, what loss to the state, the country, and the people, and what sacrifice of officers and men, we succeeded at Zanján in subduing a handful of peasants and artisans led by one of the clergy who had believed in the claim advanced by this person."

[His Majesty the King, being accustomed to confide all affairs of state and all measures designed to secure the honour of the Crown and the tranquillity and order of the

¹ It need hardly be said that no trace of this extremely improbable speech occurs in Hájí Mírzá Jání.

realm to the absolute discretion of the minister, in whose soundness of judgement, sagacity, wisdom, and loyalty he had implicit confidence, necessarily heard these representations in silence, acquiesced in the *Amir's* views, and gave him full authority to act in this matter in whatever way might seem to him best.]'

So <Mīrzā Takī Khān> despatched a special messenger from the capital, and, according to one account, wrote to Prince Ḥamzē Mīrzā instructing him to summon the Bāb from Chihriḳ to Tabriz, and [, after making plain his heresy to the people,] to put him to death [by warrant of the clergy]. So they brought that promised Proof to Tabriz.

[According to the account of a certain man of position and probity who was the confidential attendant of Prince Ḥamzē Mīrzā (which account he had from the Prince's own mouth, and which is further corroborated by the narrative of an honoured initiate¹ who was in the Prince's service at Tabriz and was actually present at the examination, and into whose hands the Prince entrusted the blessed writings and autograph letters of His Holiness, which writings I, the reviser of this history, Nabīl, a native of 'Ālīn', have

¹ This passage, entirely omitted in L., I have somewhat abbreviated.

² In the original, شخص عارف محترمی, which expression, as I have little doubt, signifies that the narrator in question was a Bābī.

³ As *Nabīl* is a fictitious substitute for *Muḥammad* (with which its numerical value, according to the *abjad* notation, is identical), so 'Ālīn may very probably be a fictitious substitute for the name of some town or village numerically equivalent to it. The celebrated Nabīl (*cf.* p. 131 *supra*) was of Zarind (= 261), but this does not give the same numerical value as 'Ālīn (= 161).

The words of the text are :—واین بنده صاحب تارق بیل لعل عالین

seen in his possession), what took place was as follows. "When the Báb was come to Tabriz, one night, to satisfy our curiosity as to his character and demeanour, we assembled in a room well-lighted with lamps, and summoned him to attend. On his entry, I observed towards him so much respect as to advance some distance down the room to meet him, although the messenger from Teherán had brought him thither in disrespectful fashion, to wit without turban or coat, and clad only in his under-coat¹. I seated him on the dais, which was the place of honour, opposite to myself; while his amanuensis Áká Seyyid Huseyn, who was suffered to remain in attendance on him as his single confidential friend, sat between us. I then demanded of him, 'Sir, what doings are these which you have brought about in the world, causing all this trouble and the shedding of the blood of God's servants?' 'What,' said he, 'have I done, save that I am wrongfully a prisoner and in bonds? I am not responsible for the deeds of others: "*no bearer shall bear the burden of another*."'" Then I said, 'Very well; but what do you teach and what do you intend? After all, these people claim connection with you, and it is for love of you that they have adopted this attitude.' He replied, 'I have done nothing and said nothing save that I have declared, as I do still declare, that I am that promised deliverer for whom ye have waited one thousand two hundred and sixty years, to wit the *Ká'im*.' 'Very good, Sir,' answered I, 'but your bare assertion is not sufficient: by what proof, warrant, or sign can you make good this claim?' 'By the same proof and sign,' replied he, 'to which the Prophet of God appealed, namely my verses and

¹ In the original, *arkhálit*, a garment shaped like the *fabá* (coat) and worn beneath it. Cf. n. 2 on p. 201 *supra*, and p. 299 *infra*.

² *Kur'án*, xvii, 16, &c.

writings, which are in the hands of all.' 'Good;' said I, 'repeat and make known to me some of those verses.' As, however, I was inwardly somewhat apprehensive that he might repeat verses appropriate to the topics under discussion which he had previously composed and committed to memory, and that so the matter might remain doubtful, I added a request that he would repeat verses bearing reference to the lamps and illumination of the room. He was silent for a while; then, assuming an attitude at once dignified and respectful, he pronounced the '*Bismi'lláh*,' opened the *Súra*, and, in a sweet and melodious voice, began to recite, and continued without pause or hesitation for about an hour, when he ceased. Now I had previously instructed my secretary who was present to provide himself with blank paper, and rapidly to take down in writing all that he said. Of this task the secretary acquitted himself precisely as I had desired. <I took from him the paper, and saw that written thereon> were verses in the style of the *Chapter of Light*¹ containing allusions to light, lamps, sconces, globes, lanterns, and crystal, and embodying the views which he held concerning the Unity of God, saintship, and the 'Manifestation' <set forth> in such wise that astonishment overcame me and I could find no ground for objection. But again I doubted, and another test occurred to me. I said to him, 'I desire you to repeat again what you have just now recited.' Again he was silent for a while; then, pronouncing the <initiatory> '*Bismi'lláh*,' he proceeded with the repetition of the verses. Once more I made a sign to the secretary to take down in writing what was uttered, until the Báb again paused and was silent. Then I asked for this copy, and, on comparing it with the first, perceived that the latter verses were not identical]

¹ *Súra-i-Núr*, the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Kur'án*.

with the earlier ones. . . I said, 'Sir, I asked you to repeat what you recited before, and this is not identical with that, but differs from it.' He <only> replied, 'Thus was it revealed'.

· ["Now since this plan and idea of mine had miscarried, I <once more> began to doubt; so, not being clear as to how I ought to act, I said to the Báb, 'Go now to your lodging, and rest.' Thereupon he got up, and again I accompanied him as far as the door of the room.

["Next morning I said to the delegate <sent from Teherán>, 'I will in no wise meddle further in this affair; it is for you to decide; act as you think best, and in accordance with the instructions which you have received, and apply to the clergy in this matter.' So the delegate, with a great throng and crowd of people, dragged the Báb, with every circumstance of indignity, to the houses of two or three well-known members of the clergy. These reviled him; but to all who questioned him he declared, without any attempt at denial, that he was the *Kā'im*. At length Mullá Muḥammad Mámaghání, one of the Sheykhí party, and sundry others, assembled together in the porch of a house belonging to one of their number, questioned him fiercely and insultingly, and, when he had answered them, explicitly condemned him to death."]¹

¹ Şubḥ-i-Ezel admitted that the verses were given differently on the second recital; "for," said he, "they flowed forth ever fresh, like the water from a fountain from which the same jet cannot issue twice."

² The whole of this narrative, which appears to have been added to the original text by its reviser Nabíl, is lacking in L. I am not sure whether the last three sentences really form part of Prince Ḥamzé Mírzá's account of this transaction, but have thought it best on the whole to include them in the inverted commas.

So they imprisoned him who was athirst for the draught of martyrdom¹ for three days, along with Āḳá Seyyid Huseyn <of Yezd>, the amanuensis, and Āḳá Seyyid Hasan, which twain were brothers, wont to pass their time for the most part in the Báb's presence.

Now before this event the Báb had, to complete the proof, sent to the clergy of Tabriz, by means of Āḳá Seyyid Aḥmad of Tabriz (known as "the Scribe"), Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí of Tabriz, and two other persons, sundry epistles containing exhortations, admonitions, and declarations of his truth. When these epistles were presented, one of the clergy had wished to express his contempt and scorn for the blessed writing. These forerunners of the field of courage advanced the foot of fortitude to prevent this, and, their dispute ending in strife, were incarcerated in the prison of His Highness Prince Ḥamzé Mírzá. There, as is currently reported, two of them would seem to have been poisoned, though according to another account the Prince released them without the cognizance of the clergy. But Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí remained in the prison till such time as His Supreme Holiness was brought thither, and there enjoyed the honour of meeting him.

On the night before the day whereon was consummated the martyrdom of that Gem of created essences², he said to

¹ i.e. the Báb. This passage will be found translated at pp. 319—321 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

² In the footnote on p. 320 of my *Traveller's Narrative* I have suggested that this title of 'the scribe' is here wrongly applied to Āḳá Seyyid Aḥmad of Tabriz, whom the author may have confounded with Mullá 'Abdu'l-Karím of Kásrín, known amongst the Bábís as "Mírzá Aḥmad-i-Kátib". Hájí Mírzá Jání, however, agrees with the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, for he

speaks of *ابن احمد تبریزی که حروف بکاتب حضرت گردیده*.

³ i.e. the Báb.

his companions, "Tomorrow they will slay me shamefully [and with boundless indignity]. Let one of you now arise and kill me, that I may not have to endure this ignominy and shame from <my> enemies; for it is [far] pleasanter to me to die by the hands of friends than of foes." His companions, with expressions of grief and sorrow, sought to excuse themselves, with the exception of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, who at once made as though he would obey the command. His comrades, however, anxiously seized his hand, crying, "Such rash presumption ill accords with an attitude of devoted service!" "This act of mine," replied he, "is not prompted by presumption, but by unstinted obedience, and desire to fulfil <my Master's> behest.

['If the grace of the Beloved dooms his lovers
To hell, I were a craven if my eyes
Should so much as turn towards the stream of Kawthar,
Or the gardens and delights of Paradise.']

After giving effect to the command of His Holiness, I will assuredly pour forth my life also at his feet." *His Holiness †smiled <approvingly>, and, applauding his faithful devotion and sincere belief, said, "Tomorrow, when you are questioned, repudiate <me> and renounce <my doctrines>, for thus is the command of God now laid upon you, especially on Áká Seyyid Huseyn, in whose keeping are the gems of wisdom', which he must convey to God's people, and to such as seek after the way of true guidance." The <Báb's> companions agreed <to this>, with the exception of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, who fell at the feet of His Holiness and began to entreat and implore, thus praying

*[*How the disciples, especially Áká Seyyid Huseyn and Áká Seyyid Hasan, were bidden to deny their faith*]*

†[after <witnessing> this action of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí]†

¹ i.e. the Báb's last words and instructions.

with utmost self-abasement :—"Debar not this thy faithful servant from the blessing of thy presence, and graciously accord permission to me, who am but an insignificant mote or a handful of dust, to lay down my life <along with thee>." So earnestly did he urge his entreaties that His Holiness, though <at first> he strove to dissuade him, at length graciously acceded <to his request>.

Now when a little while had elapsed after the rising of the sun, they brought them, without cloak or coat, and clad only in their under-coats and night-caps¹, to the Government House, where they were sentenced to be shot. Ākā Seyyid Huseyn the amanuensis, and his brother Ākā Seyyid Hasan, recanted, as they had been bidden to do, and were set at liberty ; and Ākā Seyyid Huseyn bestowed the gems of wisdom treasured in his bosom upon such as sought for and were worthy of them, and, agreeably to his instructions, communicated certain secrets of the faith to those for whom they were intended. He <subsequently> attained to the rank of martyrdom in the Catastrophe of Teherán².

But since Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī, athirst for the draught of martyrdom, declared <his faith> in the most explicit manner, they dragged him along with that <Central> Point of the Universal Circle to the barracks situated by the citadel³, and, opposite to the cells on one side of the

¹ Cf. n. 2 on p. 201 *supra*. The night-cap (*shab-kulāh*), which is of such shape and size as to adapt itself closely to the head, is often worn by itself in the house, even during the day-time, the turban, which at other times is wound round it, being laid aside.

² Here ends the portion of this account translated at pp. 319—321 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

³ I visited the citadel (*arg*) of Tabriz on November 4th, 1887. It is of great height, and formerly criminals condemned to death used sometimes to be thrown from the summit into the moat

barrack, suspended <him> from <one of> the stone gutters erected under the eaves of the cella. Though his relations and friends cried, "Our son is gone mad; his confession is but the outcome of his distemper and the raving of lunacy, and it is unlawful to inflict on him the death-penalty," he continued to exclaim, "I am in my right mind, [nay, rather I am a lover who has soared above reason], perfect in service and sacrifice." The bystanders bade him not to compass his own destruction, but to [repent and] recant, that he might escape, and not suffer this ignominious death; but he only answered, "To repent and recant is for you, liars and hypocrites in faith and doctrine that ye are, not for me, who attest my sincerity by courting death, and am enamoured of self-sacrifice and martyrdom in the service of the Beloved.

['I still adore him, be he harsh or kind;
Unequal moods an equal welcome find.
I cry, yet fear lest he may heed my cry,
And, pitying, abate his cruelty.'¹"]

Now he had a sweet young child; and they, hoping to work upon his parental love, brought the boy to him, that <perhaps, at the sight of him,> he might renounce his faith. <But> he <only> said,

"Begone, and bait your snares for other quarry;
The 'Ank's' nest is hard to reach and high."²]

below. The building appears to have been originally a mosque, and the spacious *mihrāb* is still visible in the wall facing the barrack-square. On the left of one entering this square is the staircase which leads to the summit of the citadel, while on the right are the barracks and store-rooms (*unbār*), which were probably originally designed for a college.

¹ Three more lines are omitted.

² A mythical bird similar to the phoenix.

³ C. omits this touching incident, which, however, is mentioned by Gobineau (p. 269), though not by Hájí Mírzá Jání.

So they shot him in the presence of his master¹, and laid his faithful and upright form in the dust, while his pure and victorious spirit, freed from the prison of earth and the cage of the body, soared to the branches of the '*Lote-tree beyond which there is no passing*,' and there rested with the Beloved. *¶ Thus did he attain to peace after travail, and enjoy the fruits of his heroism.

*¶ Says the reviser²:—Proof of the devotion and steadfastness of this noble man (upon whom be the splendour of God³ and His approbation) is afforded by a letter in his own blessed writing which was in the possession of his brother Mullá 'Abdu'lláh, who still lives in 'Tabriz. This

¹ It is clear from this, as well as from Hájí Mírzá Ján's account, that the first volley of the firing-party was aimed at Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí alone, and not, as Gobineau (p. 270) and the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, pp. 55–56; vol. ii, pp. 43–44) imply, at the Báb also. Three volleys were fired in all (as appears from Suleymán Khán's narrative on p. 310 *infra*), but only two at the Báb. Hence the erroneous statement (opposed to Hájí Mírzá Ján's account) on pp. 306–7 *infra* that the Báb twice escaped the shower of bullets.

² Qur'án, liii, 14. Hájí Mírzá Ján adds that the Báb, as the body of his disciple fell bleeding at his feet, smiled, and said, "Thou shalt be with me in Paradise" (أنت في الجنة معي). Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 322.

³ The reviser who supplies us with this interesting addition to the original history may not improbably be in this case also Nabíl. See pp. 131 and 293 *supra*.

⁴ This formula—'*aleyhi beḥá'u'lláh*'—was and is the common form of benediction amongst the Bábis for absent or deceased believers. I am not certain, however, whether it is still used by the Esáfi, who, though they declare that the title *Beḥá'u'lláh* originally belonged to Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezol* (see my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 353), cannot but associate it now with his great rival Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí.

letter he wrote from the prison three days or two days before his martyrdom in reply to his brother, who had written to him counselling him to turn aside from his devotion and thralldom ; and therein he makes his apology. And since the martyr was the younger <of the two brethren>, therefore he adopts a respectful tone in his letter. The text of this letter of reply is as follows :—¹

"He is the Compassionate.

["O my *Kibla*!"

["Thanks be to God, I have no fault to find with my circumstances, and '*to every travail rest succeeds.*' As to what you wrote, that this matter hath no end, what matter, then, hath an end? We, at least, have no discontent therein ; being, indeed, unable sufficiently to express our gratitude for this blessing. At most we can but be slain for God's sake, and O, what happiness were this! The Lord's will must be accomplished on His servants, neither can prudence avert predestined fate. *What God wills <comes to pass>: there is no strength save in God.*

["O my *Kibla*! 'The end of <the life of> the world is death: '*every soul shall taste of death*.'" If the appointed destiny which the Lord (mighty and glorious is He) hath decreed should overtake me, then God is the guardian of my family, and thou art my trustee ; act in such wise as accords with God's good pleasure. Forgive any failure in the respect or duty owed to an elder brother

¹ Both the text and translation of this letter I published in the October number of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889. The former will be found at p. 938, the latter at p. 992.

² *Kibla*, the point towards which one turns to pray. *Kiblagah* (*Kibla*-place) is a formula often used in letters in addressing elder relatives.

³ *Kur'án*, iii, 182 ; xxi, 36 ; xxix, 57.

of which I may have been guilty, seek pardon for me from all those of my household, and commend me to God. God is my portion, and how good is He as a guardian !”

[If anyone will rightly consider the contents and purport of this letter, he will not fail to appreciate the nobility of the writer's character, and the true sublimity of his devotion.]*

Now after this, when they had suspended His Holiness <in like manner>, the Shaḩáḩí regiment received orders to fire, and discharged their pieces in a single volley. But of all the shots fired <none took effect, save> two bullets <, which respectively> struck the two ropes by which His Holiness was suspended on either side, and severed them. The Báḩ fell to the ground [and took refuge in the <adjacent> room']. As soon as the smoke and dust of the powder had somewhat cleared, the spectators <looked for, but> did not find, that Jesus of the age on the cross.

[Suspension of the Blessed Appearance.]

¹ The barracks in the citadel at Tabriz, like all similar buildings in Persia, consist of a series of rooms or cells (*ḩuḩra*), exactly like those in a caravansaray, opening by a single door on to the platform (*saḩá*) which fronts the building. From the description of the execution here given, it appears that the Báḩ and his companion were suspended by double ropes (attached, probably, to either arm) from the parapet or rain-gutter running along the face of the building over these doors. When, therefore, the Báḩ was thus unexpectedly released by the breaking of the ropes, he would naturally fall on the stone platform on which the cells open, and a few steps at most would enable him to reach one of them.

² By “the Blessed Appearance” (*Ta’at-i-Mubárak*) the Báḩ is meant. So Bohá’u’lláh is called *Ta’at-i-Abhá*. Cf. n. 1 on p. 139, and n. 2 on p. 247, *supra*.

<Thereat> a great clamour brake forth amongst them. Some said, "He has disappeared!" Others, "He has gone up to heaven!" Search being made, they <presently> perceived him in the cell [writing this verse on the wall with a fragment of charcoal :—

"I bid thee not be moth or salamander,
But, an thou 'rt bent on burning, be a man!"]

Such, however, was their heedless presumption and folly that they did not so much as perceive *[that no sign or marvel could be imagined transcending this]* that of all those bullets not one should touch the [[blessed]] body of His Holiness, but that they should <instead> strike those slender cords. †[[God was pleased <thus> to manifest His]]† sovereign power to those foolish men. §[[For if His will and purpose ordain not martyrdom and affliction for His saints and for such as manifest His Spirit, to prove the hard-heartedness, sinfulness, obduracy, and rebelliousness of the wicked, or the patience and meekness of just and saintly men, and their resignation to whatsoever the Pen of Destiny may award; if <in short> the purpose of mankind accord and agree not with <God's> sovereign will and supreme pleasure, though]]§ all the inhabitants of earth should set themselves to contend and oppose, their carefully-planned shots and well-aimed darts will every one fall wide <of the mark>. ‡[[For it is evident that those who fired the first volley at the Blessed Figure <of the Báb> pur-

[[what was the reason and wherefore it was]]

†[[His Holiness, by this display of might and control, desired to manifest his]]†

§[<as though to say,> "If we submit and consent not, nor acquiesce in the Divine ruling, ye can of your own will effect naught;" for though]]§

‡[[Even so twelve thousand arrows were fired simultaneously at <Imám Huseyn> the Chief of Martyrs, of

posed naught else than to effect his martyrdom, but that time he did not endorse their purpose, and did not, as on the second occasion, will what they willed. <This he did> for the shewing forth of his power, the accomplishing of his will, the perfecting of his grace, and the fulfilling of his proof, to confirm his servants and to corroborate the truth of His' word—'*But ye shall not will, unless God willeth,*' and His word—'*Thou willest, and I will ; but there shall not come to pass save that which I will*.' But on the second occasion, when all these results were accomplished, in accordance with <the verse> '*We will cause him to obtain that to which he is inclined*', <Divine> Grace constrained him to endorse and give effect to the choice of

which not <even> one touched his blessed form, because on that occasion he was pleased to exert his <supernatural> power. But when he resigned himself <to the divinely-appointed fate>, Ḥarmala' took aim at his forehead, and his shot missed not its mark ; and this thing was a proof of <Imám Ḥuseyn's> perfect service <to God>, not

¹ i.e. God's word (Kur'án, lxxvi, 30). It is impossible to determine at what previous point the pronouns cease to refer to the Báb and begin to refer to God. But after all, since the Báb is regarded as a 'Manifestation' of the Divine Essence, the question would to a Bábí be of trivial import.

² I cannot find in the Kur'án such words as these.

³ Kur'án, iv. 115.

⁴ Ḥarmala b. el-Káhin. In none of the histories or Shi'ite martyrologies which I have consulted do I find this man credited with a direct share in the death of Ḥuseyn. He it was, however, who shot Ḥuseyn's little nephew 'Abdu'lláh b. el-Ḥasan (Tabarí, series ii, vol. i, p. 387, ll. 8—9), also called 'Alí Aghar, the circumstances of whose death are detailed in the *Rawṣat's-Saḥádat*, and in Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, vol. ii, p. 175. Hájí Mírá Jání makes a more correct allusion to the incident in a different connection.

<those who were in truth> his servants. The Will of God accepted what they willed and do will, and that happened which happened. But men, in their exceeding folly and blind heedlessness, did not then apprehend this point, and]† were not warned, and did not recognize <the truth on seeing> that a bullet struck and severed that slender rope, <nor marvel> how it could be, and what might be the reason, that, notwithstanding its proximity to all those bullets, that Blessed Figure was not struck by one. So, notwithstanding this <miraculous escape>, they again suspended His Holiness, and gave orders to fire another volley. The Musulmán soldiers, however, made their excuses and refused. Thereupon a Christian regiment¹ was ordered to fire the volley, and <with this order> they were obliged to comply. According to the account written by the late Hájí Mírzá Jání, on this second occasion also no hurt accrued to the Blessed Figure of His Holiness²; but at the

of his powerlessness <to save himself>. But those men, by reason of their exceeding folly, did not at that time recognize so signal a manifestation of power, just as in this time also they]†

¹ Cf. Gobineau, p. 270, and the *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. i, pp. 55—57, and vol. ii, pp. 43—45. Hájí Mírzá Jání confirms this detail.

² This is incorrect, for Hájí Mírzá Jání says that the second volley proved fatal to the Báb. His words are as follows:—

فانّا ان جوهر مظلومان را بمحلّ قتل رسد و تبر باران نمودند سه تبر بجم
 مبارك گرفته بعد اسم على كه حامل ركن ولايت است بعد از ان روح لطيفش
 باستفرا در فوق عرش روحانيان ملّ نموده و جم شريفرا وداع نموده شمال فھر
 لہزي در صحنہ جهان ورزیدن آغاز نمود

Cf. n. 1 on p. 301 *supra*.

third volley three bullets ***[struck]*** him, and that holy spirit, escaping from its gentle frame, †**[ascended to the Supreme Horizon.]**†

[This event took place on Thursday the 27th of the month of Sha'bán, in the year one thousand two hundred and sixty-six of the *hijra*¹, being the seventh year of the "Manifestation"²; and thus did these <pretended Musulmáns> seek to cleanse and purify themselves for entering upon the blessed month of Ramazán, and to secure the acceptance of their daily fastings and devotions and their nightly services by the murder of an heir of the Prophet, the darling of our Lady of Grace³! Cursed be that people which slew the son of their Prophet's daughter in his <own special> month, and their promised and expected deliverer in his time, after they had long awaited him; and which made this deed a preparation for prayer for the month of God, and a means of approach and access <to God>! May

[were permitted to strike]

†[ascended to the zenith of the Realms of Holiness, and to the station of 'two bow-shots or less'.]†

¹ July 8th, A.D. 1850, which, however, appears to have fallen on a Monday. In the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, p. 57; vol. ii, p. 44) the date is given as Sha'bán 28th, but Subh-i-Ezál's statement corroborates the *New History*.

² The Báb's "Manifestation" took place on Jamádi-ul-Úlá 5th, A.H. 1260 (May 23rd, A.D. 1844), but the Bábí era, as I have shewn at p. 425 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, is reckoned from the preceding Nawrús (Wednesday, March 20th, A.D. 1844).

³ *Sayyida-i-Batúl*, i.e. Fátima, the daughter of the Prophet and wife of 'Alí. *Al-Batúl* is the name given by Arabic-speaking Catholics to the Virgin Mary.

⁴ These words, occurring in *Kur'án*, liii, 9, describe Muḥammad's near approach to God on the occasion of his night-journey to heaven (*mi'rāj*).

their predecessors curse them even as they curse their predecessors¹!]

O wonderful! The Kings of Europe in general, and [as runs in my mind] those of England in particular, <have this custom, that> when the worst imaginable crime has been proved against and brought home to a criminal in the most conclusive and indubitable manner, and when, in accordance with the laws of justice, he is ordered to be hanged, if the bolt² fail to do its work in the first instance, they not only pardon the convict, but entreat him respectfully, saying, "Since God spared him and was not willing

¹ This, I think, is the proper rendering of the words *فمن آوّلها* *آخرها كما لمن آخرها آوّلها*, the meaning being that as they curse those who slew the Imám Ḥuseyn in the early days of Islám, such as Shimr and Yazid, so may these in turn curse them for their greater obduracy and wickedness.

² Literally, "if the shot first fired at him misses". I have here attempted, by an *equivogue* which could not be maintained in the next sentence, to bring the author's idea of the method of inflicting capital punishment employed in England into closer correspondence with the reality. He evidently supposes that it is customary to suspend the condemned man and then shoot him, exactly as was done in the case of the Báb. The whole passage affords a curious example of the strangely distorted though partially true conceptions formed by the Persians of things European. Many of those who read this passage will, however, call to mind the case of John Lee, convicted of the Babbicombe murder, which created so great a sensation at the time. Three times in succession was the condemned man placed on the drop, but in each case it remained fixed after the withdrawal of the bolt, nor could the stampings of the executioner effect its displacement. In consequence of this, and the awful suspense and mental agony which the unfortunate man must have suffered, a reprieve was granted, and the capital sentence was finally commuted to penal servitude for life.

that he should be slain, how should we kill him?" And supposing that the bullet should strike the rope wherewith he is bound and sever it, and he should fall <to the ground>, if he has suffered any hurt by his fall, they will at once procure a doctor, and set about the alleviation of it. And, even though he be not hurt, still they will [then and there] summon a medical man <specially appointed> on the part of the State, who will administer to him a cordial, so that, should he have been afraid, no harm may come to him from excessive terror. Such are the generosity, wisdom, and justice of those who, in the opinion of the doctors of Islám, are infidels; while as for the justice of these devout and religious Musulmánas, it is so self-evident as to need no comment.

['What need of explanation for a thing already plain!']

[Hájí Mírzá Jání writes:—"Hájí Suleymán Khán, concerning whom somewhat has <already> been said, related <to me as follows>:—"Six months before this culminating catastrophe took place, His Supreme Holiness (the souls of all beside him be his sacrifice!) graciously favoured me with a letter. On opening the letter, I saw inside it an envelope sealed and fastened down. In the letter he had written, "Thou art not permitted to open the enclosed writing until such time as some sorrow and affliction, than which thou canst conceive none more grievous, shall befall thee. At that time open the writing, and act in accordance with what is therein contained." Being so strongly enjoined not to open this document, I did not venture to do so, but kept it till the time when His Holiness made his second journey from Chihriq to Tabriz. On his arrival I enjoyed the honour of waiting upon him. No sooner had I entered his presence than he said, "Do thou go at once to thy house and there remain; thou art not permitted to come forth

from thence, nor to hold intercourse with any one. Come not to me either; and whatsoever thou may'st hear of hurts and injuries inflicted upon me, thou art not permitted to utter a word, much less to attempt a rescue." Thus peremptorily did he send me to my house, where, agreeably to his orders, I remained, and whence I came not forth; though I continued in a circumspect manner to acquaint myself with his condition. At length one day I was told that that very day they would make His Holiness a target for their cruel bullets. In extremity of anguish I paced up and down my house, sometimes ascending to the roof and straining my eyes in all directions, till suddenly I heard the report of a volley of many muskets. This was repeated three times. Then I knew that they had done that which they ought not to have done, and I was overcome with a grief and sorrow so great that none could possibly be conceived as surpassing it. At that moment the contents of that blessed Epistle passed through my mind, and I said to myself, "No grief can be greater than this, and no affliction more grievous." I withdrew to a private chamber and opened the sealed letter, wherein I read as follows:—"Six months from the time of writing this, on such-and-such a day, I shall suffer martyrdom in Tabriz along with one named Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí. Be it incumbent on thee <to observe an attitude of> patience and self-restraint, neither must thou contend with anyone. Two nights after my martyrdom thou must go, and, by some means or other, buy my body and the body of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí from the sentinels for four hundred *tí-máns*, and keep them in thine house for six months. Afterwards lay Áká Muḥammad 'Alí with his face upon my face, place <the two bodies> in a strong chest, and send it with a letter to *Jenáb-i-Behá* (great is his majesty!)¹.

¹ That Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí *Behá'u'lláh* should be dignified only

There is nothing else for thee to do. The clothes which I wore are thine." When I looked at the date, I saw that it was exactly six months past that very day, just as he had written.'"]

To be brief, two nights later, when they cast the most sacred body [of His Holiness] and that of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí into the moat, and set three sentries over them, Hájí Suleymán Khán* and three others, having provided themselves with arms, came to the sentries and said, "We will ungrudgingly give you any sum of money you ask, if you will not oppose our carrying away these bodies; but if you <attempt to> hinder us, we will kill you." The sentinels, fearing for their lives, and greedy for gain, consented, and <as the price of their complaisance> received a large sum of money. [But, as would appear, they obtained another dead body, and cast it down in the same place, so that others might not perceive <what they had done>.]

So Hájí Suleymán Khán bore those holy bodies to his house, shrouded them in white silk, placed them in a chest, and, after a while, transported them to Teherán, where they remained in trust¹ till such time as instructions for their interment in a particular spot were issued by the

[concerning whom somewhat has <already> been said]

with the inferior title of *Jendb* (Excellency) instead of the higher one of *Ḥayrat* (Highness or Holiness) accords as well with the supposition of the genuineness of this letter as the parenthesis following the name does ill; for, as we learn from Gobineau (p. 277), he was only known as *Jendb-i-Beká* in the days of *Ḥayrat-i-Esá's* undisputed supremacy. Concerning the Báb's last dispositions, cf. my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 41—2, and n. 1 at the foot of p. 46.

¹ See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 46, n. 1.

Source of the Will of <God's> Eternal Beauty, [the Supreme Manifestation in this last cycle, that Most Glorious Appearance¹ described in the language of the First Point² in the books and epistles as "He whom God shall Manifest."] [Several persons charged with the transfer and burial <of the bodies>, on proceeding <to the place where they lay>, saw that absolutely no change had taken place in them, but that they were <still> perfectly sweet and fresh, as though they had fallen asleep. One or two <of those entrusted with their removal> were so overcome with fear and astonishment <at this sight> that for some time they suffered from an acute fever³. But, notwithstanding this, the malignants, <blinded> by their excessive prejudice, proclaimed that the Bab's holy body had been cast out into the moat and devoured by the wild beasts.]⁴ * *

END OF THE NARRATIVE.

¹ *Tal'at-i-Abhá*, a title not uncommonly applied to Behá'u'lláh by his followers.

² *Nuṭqa-i-Ūlá*, i.e. the Báb.

³ The removal of the Báb's body was effected by Behá'u'lláh against the will and without the knowledge of Šubh-i-Ezel, who was unable to ascertain whither it had been transferred. An interesting Muḥammadan parallel to the miracle here recorded will be found alluded to in a footnote on p. 240 of the second volume of Sir Richard Burton's *Pilgrimage to el-Medina and Mecca*.

⁴ Here follow some twenty pages of controversial matter. Of these, as well as of another portion of the conclusion which I have not thought worth translating, an epitome is given in Appendix A.

Now when I¹ had heard this narrative, my astonishment was increased beyond measure, and I was filled with wonder; and since the narrator was a man of unquestionable integrity, honesty, wisdom, and intelligence, and had, moreover (as I learned from other sources), on first embracing this faith, bestowed all the great riches which he possessed on his fellow-believers, and was, so far as I could see, animated by no interested motive, I continued eagerly to court his society, and to strive with increased assiduity to arrive at the truth of this matter. At length, by his instrumentality, I was fortunate enough to obtain an introduction to a certain illustrious Seyyid, who excelled in all branches of learning and scholarship, was well versed alike in traditional and philosophic lore, and was universally accounted a theologian of unrivalled merit. In this holy and beneficent being², whose age was nigh upon eighty, I perceived a certain radiance, spirituality, and beauty of character which I had never before encountered in Persia.

¹ Here Mánakjī again speaks in his own person, for, it must be remembered, the whole of the narrative proper is supposed to be related to him by his Bábī friend. See p. 30 *supra*.

² The original text runs as follows :—

و سن شرفش لرهب پنهان [و در معلومات مدبأ و معاد مسلم من فی البلاد بود]
و يك نوع نورانيت و روحانيت و حسن اخلاقی در آن وجود جود طمس ملاحظه
نمودم كه در ايران ابدآ ندهد بودم *

The use of the word *jawād* (generous, beneficent) suggests it as a possible hypothesis that allusion is here made to Aká Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, who, according to the statement made by Mírzá Abd'ul-Faḡl of Gulpáyagán to Lieutenant Toumanaky (see my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 443—4), undertook the final recension of the *New History*. The description here given, at any rate, would be applicable to him.

For him, therefore, I conceived a most devoted admiration; and one day he favoured me with so lofty and lucid an exposition of the real nature of this Manifestation that I cannot attempt in these imperfect pages to reproduce the transcendental theses which he then enunciated. In the course of conversation, too, I heard from him certain arguments and proofs which filled me with astonishment and admiration, and which appeared to me absolutely unanswerable.

I could not help wondering why this eminent scholar refrained from discussing these matters with the Shi'ite clergy, so that dissensions might be removed, and men might no longer be a prey to doubts. For a long while I thus marvelled, and several times I communicated my thoughts to others, but they replied, "You speak truly, always presupposing that they would lay aside prejudice and bigotry, seek to understand the matter, and strive to discriminate between the true and the false. Then it would be possible to discuss the question with them, to prove our contention, and to remove dissension from our midst; but the practice of these divines is, in their overweening arrogance and presumption, to dub their opponents infidels and declare them worthy of death so soon as they find themselves unable to reply to their arguments, so that their own incapacity may not become apparent. . . . This is why we have had to suffer in silence these afflictions and persecutions for so long a time¹."

* * * * *

¹ Here follows the account of a discussion which the author succeeded in provoking between one of his Bábi friends on the one hand and a Shi'ite doctor on the other. This discussion, though not without interest, is so full of wearisome iterations that I have decided to omit it in this place, and to notice only its more important features in Appendix A.

After this I thus spake to my Bábí friend, questioning him :—"I have examined the doctrines and practices of every sect, and have studied the tenets and ethics of all faiths and religions. In your words and deeds I have seen nothing but what is good, and in your sincerity, integrity, charity, and godliness I have detected no flaw, all being in accord with philosophy, humanity, and civilization. Yet at one thing I greatly marvel, namely at the attempt to assassinate His Majesty the King ; for how could One who regards himself as embodying the universal Reason, and who is endowed with spiritual powers and divine faculties, countenance such a deed as this, which is repugnant to the dictates of wisdom ?"

"It is even so," replied the Bábí, "but I swear by the truth of Him in the grasp of whose control lie all the worlds that never was this evil deed sanctioned or commanded by the Supreme Authority. But in every class are found both wise and foolish ; and here also two or three ignorant and uninstructed men, impelled by the promptings of the Devil and their own selfish passions, and constrained by the distress which weighed them down and the peril which encompassed them, wrought this vile deed without the knowledge of a single one of their more reasonable co-religionists. And this deed was in the highest degree displeasing to our Master, and resulted in the repudiation of those who were concerned in it, since they were accountable for the slaughter of many innocent persons. . . . And after its occurrence a prayer for the safety of His Majesty the King was, for the admonition of men, promulgated by the Source of Command, and its recital thrice each morning made obligatory on all ; for we hold it incumbent on ourselves to repeat it after the appointed daily prayers. And this prayer is as follows :—

'He it is who is able to do that which He willeth.

'In His Name the Protecting, which is above all the Names.

'O merciful God, who hast power over all the universe, I conjure Thee by Thyself to protect the King: and after this I ask Thee not to regard his errors and those of his predecessor in power¹, but only the Ocean of Thy Bounty, and the Firmament of Thy Grace, and the Sun of Thy Favour. O Lord, keep from him the hands of evil by that Hand which Thou hast placed over the hands of men. Verily Thou art the Potent, the Exalted, the Knowing, the Wise.'

"Now the purport of this prayer clearly shews that the deed in question was done without the countenance or sanction of the Source of Command. Consider what a height of generosity it is that, notwithstanding all the injuries and hurts inflicted upon this people, He^a should command them to pray <for their persecutor>, and, in place of cursing, to be patient and thankful! And in all His epistles He says, 'If ye desire to please the Friend, and seek for God's approbation, strive to do good in whatever way you can, and, so far as may be possible to you, to shew charity and kindness to all men, even though the whole world set themselves to torment you and do you

¹ Muḥammad Sháh, the father of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh the present King.

² The text of this prayer is as follows :—

هو المظدر على ما شاء باسمه المهيمن على الاسماء يا الهى الرحمن والمظدر
على الامكان اسئلك بضعك بان تحفظ السلطان ثم اسئلك بان لا تنذر اليه وجره
من سبه في الملك بل الى بحر جودك وساء فضلك وشمس الطافك اى رب كلف عنه
اكتف قمو. بالذاتى جفها فوق ابادى الحق لك انت المظدر المتعالى العظيم الحكيم *

³ i.e. Behá'u'lláh, the "Source of Command" (مصدر امر).

wrong.' Wherefore, though all mankind stretch out hands of violence to hurt and to vex us, we, in obedience to God's command, and in the desire of doing that which is well-pleasing to the Beloved, stand steadfast in resignation and submission, without so much as opening our lips in complaint. . . . And some foolish and unthinking men, seeing us in no wise downcast or fearful in affliction and trial, suppose, and give currency to the supposition, that we believe that if we die or are slain we shall after forty days come to life and return to earth, not understanding that we are so weaned from the world as to care nothing for the things thereof, but are rather intent on departure, and, unlike those who have made it their home, are eagerly desirous of quitting this old hostelry', which is the abode of toppers and libertines. 'Therefore, in accordance with the text, '*Desire death then, if ye be sincere*',' we ardently long to take flight from the cage of the body, to transfer our possessions from this transitory world, and to enter upon everlasting life."

After this we conversed for some while longer on spiritual things, which conversation did but serve to strengthen my conviction; for I put to my friend sundry other questions, to all of which I received full and satisfactory replies, which lack of space prevents me from including in this volume. If, however, I should continue to enjoy health and leisure, they shall, please God, be inserted in a second volume.

To conclude. What has been set forth in these pages was compiled from memoranda taken during the progress of the conversations to which I listened, some of the more essential portions being hastily written down, and the rest committed to memory, and all, so far as I remembered

¹ Cf. p. 46, n. 2, *supra*.

² Kur'an, ii, 88; lxii, 6.

them, being recorded in an abridged and compendious form. Let not my readers find fault if my style lacks grace and elegance; for firstly, the language in which I write is not my mother-tongue¹, nor have I enjoyed opportunities of perfecting myself therein, while my leisure has been but scanty, and I aimed but at fulfilling a need. And secondly my sole object was to record facts, not to make a display of eloquence or rhetoric. The subject has been presented in a better and more attractive form in a treatise written in French (my own language), which may be consulted by those who are learned in that tongue². A further account of this sect, giving particulars of their principles and observances, explanations of certain points of transcendental philosophy, and a detailed description of their virtues, their ethics and rules of conduct, and the sincerity and single-

¹ This statement is quite true, so far as Mánakjī is concerned, for he was a Pársī of Bombay, and probably only learned to speak Persian after his arrival in Persia. At any rate, as Mírzá Abul-Faẓl of Gulpáyagán, his secretary and co-adjutor, informed Lieutenant Toumanaky, he was unable to write the Arabic character with ease. Cf. my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábi MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 443; and also n. 2 on p. 17 *supra*.

² In the original :—

و لیکن رساله، که بیان خود بخط فرانسه نوشته [شده] طالب شهرین تر و بهتر
بطریقی محبوب و مرغوب ادا گشته است که هر دلائمان آن سان مشهود خواهد

شد *

I do not know whether allusion is here made to Gobineau's monumental *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale* or to Kazem-Beg's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1886; or whether (as seems to me on the whole more probable) this "treatise in the French language" is a mere fiction of the author's, intended to give further colour to his pretended European nationality.

heartedness which I have myself observed in them, will, if God so please, and if I be spared, be given in a second volume.

"In words more plain and nearer to the mark
Than these veiled hints and utterances dark,
Some permit fresh perchance may make me bold
New mysteries hereafter to unfold."

HERE ENDS THE NEW HISTORY.

APPENDIX I.

NOTE ON THE UNTRANSLATED PASSAGES OF THE NEW HISTORY.

ALTHOUGH I have throughout my translation condensed and curtailed the long and rather wearisome digressions into which, on every opportunity, the author loves to plunge, and wherein he displays in an exaggerated form that verbosity and iteration which are so often the bane of Persian writers, in only two places have I entirely suppressed passages of any considerable length, which, though not of sufficient interest to merit full translation, nevertheless present some features deserving of notice. Both of these omitted digressions occur in the concluding portion of the book. The *first*, indicated by the asterisks on p. 312 *supra*, consists of a review of previous prophetic dispensations, a comparison of them with the Bábí dispensation (greatly to the advantage of the latter), an attempt to discredit miracles and their evidential value, refutations of certain calumnies against the Bábís, and, of course, the inevitable diatribes against the ignorance, worldliness, and unfairness of the Shi'ite clergy. The *second*, indicated by the asterisks on p. 314 *supra*, contains an account of a religious discussion which Mánakjî succeeded in provoking between one of his Bábí friends and a Shi'ite divine. The character of these digressions, and the points of interest which they present, can, I think, be sufficiently indicated by a table of contents of that portion of the book which they occupy, enlarged, where necessary, by abstracts. The pagination refers to the British Museum MS. (Or. 2942), which affords the most convenient standard.

*Abstract of first omitted digression (Or. 2942,
ff. 147^b—160^a).*

Ff. 147^b—148^b. Review of previous prophetic dispensations—Noah—Húd—Moses—Jesus—Muhammad—‘Alí—Indifference with which their preaching was at first met—Lukewarmness of many of their followers—Apostasy of most of those who had professed Islám on the death of Muhammad.

Ff. 149^a—149^b. In strong contrast with this is the rapid advance of the Báb's doctrine, its eager acceptance by a great number of men of all classes, especially the more cultivated, and the tenacity with which, in spite of *thirty-five years of persecution* [*thirty* in my MS.], his followers still cling to it.

Ff. 150^a—151^a. The object of no prophet has been to compel men by miracles to believe—Vulgar beliefs of the Shi'ites as to the advent of the Imám Mahdí—The absurdity and impossibility of the signs and portents which they expect—Their conception of the manner of his advent—Inefficacy of any conceivable miracle to convince the Shi'ite clergy, or induce them to abandon the position and authority which they enjoy.

Ff. 151^b—154^b. The *mullás* care nothing for the central truths of religion, but only for dead formulæ, rites of purification, and legal subtleties—They do not yet understand that it was in a spiritual sense that Jesus restored the dead to life, else why did most of His contemporaries disbelieve in Him, and why did His own disciples die?—Ability to converse with the dead, even if established, would prove nothing and merit little admiration, for in these days there are persons in Europe who hold conversation with walls, tables, chairs, dead persons, and animals. [The author evidently alludes to spirit-rapping.]—The object of Jesus was rather to awaken the dormant spiritual potentialities of mankind, and to lead them towards perfection—It is in this sense also, and in this sense only, that the Mahdí restores the dead to life, but though the promised advent of the Mahdí has taken place,

and the Sun of Truth glows in the middle of the firmament, these blind formalists and tradition-mongers reject him.

Ff. 155^a—156^b. The wickedness, worldliness, greed, and selfishness of the clergy are incurable—They were at no pains even to investigate the claims advanced by the Báb, as proved by their behaviour at the conferences of Tabriz and Isfahán.—[Of the Tabriz conference no particulars are added, but a short account of the Isfahán conference is given, the whole material portion of which is incorporated in the notes at the end of vol. ii. of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 264—5. Mírzá Abú'l-Faḡl <of Gulpáýagán> is given as the authority for this narrative.]

Ff. 157^a—157^b. Ignorance and presumption of the *mullás*—The truth of these charges is proved by an experiment made by a Bábí at Shíráz, who copied out one of the Báb's epistles and one of the less well-known homilies of the Imám Rízá, using black ink for the former, and red ink for the latter, and submitted them to an eminent member of the clergy, demanding his verdict on them. He, having heard that the Bábís used red ink for the transcription of their sacred books, wrote on the margin of the Imám Rízá's homily, "The words of this homily are nonsense, and it is replete with errors; the ideas expressed are heretical, atheistical, and blasphemous; and the author is an infidel and apostate deserving of death." The Báb's epistle, on the other hand, he endorsed with a note expressive of the most unqualified approval, declaring the author to be "without doubt an Imám, and the representative of God."

Ff. 158^a—160^a. Calumnies and absurd statements about the Bábís credited by the *mullás* and such as follow them, *e.g.* that they sanction polyandry, allowing one woman to have nine husbands; that they have all things in common, regarding their wives and wealth as "God's wives" and "God's wealth" (مال الله و عيال الله); that they hold lawful things forbidden by Islám; and that they give enchanted dates or tea to such as visit them, on partaking of which these also become Bábís—The absurdity of the last belief is evident from this consideration alone,

that if the Bábís could thus bewitch men, they would buy quantities of tea and dates, repeat over them the appropriate incantations, and then distribute or sell them to the public—As a matter of fact the Bábís are very reticent about their views, and do not seek to convert anyone of whose worthiness and aptitude they have not first convinced themselves—Even their parents and children are often ignorant of their beliefs—Many who are fitted to receive the doctrine are kept back by the malicious calumnies fabricated by the clergy.

The translation is resumed at the top of f. 160^b (p. 313 *supra*).

*Abstract of second omitted digression (Or. 2942,
ff. 161^a—175^a).*

Ff. 161^a—162^b. One day fortune favours the author, and gives him an opportunity of listening to a discussion between a Bábí and one of the Shi'ite clergy—While the author is conversing with two of his Bábí friends, a *mullá*, who has business with him, calls unexpectedly and is admitted—The *mullá* looks askance at one of the two other visitors, who is notorious as a zealous adherent of the new faith—The author, anxious to provoke a discussion, addresses the *mullá*, and, after reviewing at some length the beliefs of the Jews, Zoroastrians, and Christians relative to the advent of their respective Messiahs, and the signs and portents by which they expect the advent to be heralded, asks the *mullá* whether they did well to reject the subsequent "Manifestation" because of the non-appearance of these signs. In the course of this address the author quotes two or three times from the apocryphal *Desátír* (published, with English translation, at Bombay in 1818 by Mullá Fíruz).

Ff. 162^b—164^a. The *mullá* replies that they did very ill to be thus blinded by their traditions—The author begs him not to forget or subsequently deny this admission—The Bábí, no longer able to contain himself, joins in the colloquy, and demands why the Muhammadans do exactly the same as the peoples of yore whom they condemn,

refusing to admit the truth of the new "Manifestation" merely because the impossible signs and wonders, by which, as they suppose, it will be ushered in, have not appeared—The *mullá* angrily asks what proofs there are that the Báb was the promised Mahdí—These are discussed, the Báb maintaining that the signs foretold are of two classes, according as their literal fulfilment is possible or impossible; and that the former have appeared, while the latter must be understood allegorically. Thus the world is filled with injustice and falsehood; nothing remains of the religion of Islám save a name and a form; and the clergy and laity are respectively engrossed with arbitration and litigation—Three prophecies describing the last days of Islám are quoted by Mánakjī from the *Desúúr* (vol. i, pp. ২৭২, ২৭৩, ২৭৪; vol. ii, pp. 195, 196, 202, verses 67, 73, and 31).

Ff. 164^a—165^b. The *mullá*, unable to deny these signs, falls back on the miraculous portents, such as the appearance of a figure in the Sun to announce the advent of the Mahdí, and the appearance of Antichrist and his ass, which he describes—Mánakjī and the Báb deride these beliefs and demonstrate their absurdity, though the latter admits that they have an allegorical meaning, which, however, he refrains from expounding—The *mullá* demands whether God is not able to cause such signs to appear—The Báb answers that God is Almighty, but that His Infinite Wisdom works according to eternal and unchanging laws; that He could, for instance, had He so pleased, have given to His prophets and messengers a supernatural form which would have ensured their acceptance by the peoples to whom they were sent, but that His purpose was not to compel men to receive truth or adopt virtue, but rather to separate the good from the wicked, and to draw to Himself such as possessed a natural fitness and aptitude. This object would not be furthered, but rather frustrated, by prodigies and portents which compelled belief and overawed opposition.

Ff. 166^a—168^b. Definite and unambiguous prophecies fulfilled in the Báb's appearance. The following are quoted from the books of tradition :—

اذا ظهرت راية الحق لعنبا اهل الشرق والغرب—يظهر
 من بنى هاشم صبي ذو احكام جديد يدعو الناس فلا
 يجيبه احد و اكثر اعدائه العلماء فلذا حكم بشي؛ لم
 يطيعوه و يقولون هذا خلاف ما عندنا من ائمة الدين—
 عليه كمال موسى و بهاء عيسى و صبر ايوب فيدل اولياؤه
 في زمانه و تنهادى رؤوسهم غضبا تنهادى رؤوس الترك
 و الديلم فيقتلون و يحرقون و يكونون خائفين مرعوبين
 و جلين تصبغ الارض بدمائهم و يفسد الويل و البرقة في
 نسايم اولئك اوليائي حقاً—

The *Ḥān* (from which, indeed, nearly all these arguments are taken) is referred to explicitly—What is meant by the “sun rising in the west”—Accomplishment of other signs, such as the appearance of a redness in the sky, the outbreak of a grievous famine, the “bringing together of distant lands” by means of the railroad and the telegraph—The Imām Ja‘far-i-Ṣādiq foretold that the appearance of the promised Deliverer would be “in the year ‘60’

(في سنة الستين), and the Báb actually appeared in the year A. H. 1260—Another traditional saying of the same Imām runs as follows:—

يظهر صبي من بنى هاشم و يأمر الناس ببيعته و هو
 ذو كتاب جديد على العرب شديد فان سمعتم منه شيئاً
 فاسرعوا اليه—

F. 169*. Other similar traditions are quoted—The Báb was not 24 years of age when he proclaimed his mission, and was only 31 [L.] or 32 [C.] when he suffered martyrdom at Tabriz in A.H. 1266—The following tradition is quoted from the *Bihārul-Anvār*:—

ان في قائمنا اربع علامات من اربعة نبي موسى وعيسى
 و يوسف و محمد اما العلامة من موسى الخوف و الانتظار
 و اما العلامة من عيسى ما قالوا في حقه و اما العلامة من
 يوسف السجن و التقية و اما العلامة من محمد انه يظهر بأثار
 بمثل الفرقان—

As foretold in this tradition, the Báb did produce "verses like the Kur'án," to wit the *Bayán*, which "sums up all sacred books."

Ff. 169^b—175^a. The *mullá* returns to the subject of miracles—The "cleaving of the moon"—Mánakjî explains the ideas as to the nature of the sky and heavenly bodies which prevail in Europe, scouts those entertained by the *mullá* on the same subject, and pours contempt on the so-called science of his class—The *mullá* asserts his scepticism as to the value of the telescope—Mánakjî defends European science and lauds its results, and condemns the superstitions prevalent in Persia as to eclipses and the like—He pronounces a panegyric on the industry, enterprise, and learning of Europe, to which so many wonderful and beneficial discoveries and inventions are due; and laments the decay of learning and enterprise in Persia, and the miserable and enfeebled condition to which it is now reduced—He returns to his astronomical explanations, and proves the absurdity of the orthodox Muslim conceptions of the heavenly bodies—He mentions certain signs foretold by Zoroaster and Christ as heralding the new dispensation, declares the literal accomplishment of these to be impossible, and suggests the theory that, unless such prognostications are to be understood allegorically, they were merely intended to act as a deterrent to vain pretenders—He concludes by telling the *mullá* that, inasmuch as every one of the prophets has described such miraculous portents as the concomitants of the next dispensation, and inasmuch as no such portents have ever appeared, he has logically but two courses open to him: either to revert to the oldest extant religion, that of the Hindoos; or to accept the

latest, that of the Bábis—The *mullá* cries out that he has "foregathered with two infidels, who strive to make good their infidelity by proofs and arguments"—The Bábi triumphantly points out to Mánakjí that his assertion as to the behaviour of the clergy when worsted in discussion is proved.

The translation is resumed in the middle of f. 175^a (p. 315 *supra*).

APPENDIX II.

ON HÁJÍ MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ'S HISTORY, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PASSAGES SUPPRESSED OR MODIFIED IN THE TÁRÍKH-I-JADÍD.

THE general relations which subsist between the *Táríkh-i-Jadíd*, or "New History," and the older, more faithful, and much more instructive work composed by Hájí Mírzá Jání of Káshán, and called by him *Nuqtatu'l-Káf*, have been already pointed out in the Introduction. In this appendix I propose to give a full account of those portions of his work which the author or authors of the "New History" have, for reasons generally not hard to divine, deemed it expedient to suppress, as well as of other passages which appear to have been omitted accidentally. In so doing, I shall follow the order of narration observed by Hájí Mírzá Jání, not merely as a matter of convenience, but because it is chronologically more accurate than that which the authors of the "New History" have seen fit to introduce; and, taking the different episodes in this order, I shall include under each the additional particulars with which the older history supplies us.

It is, unfortunately, impossible for me to discuss fully within the limited space of an appendix the doctrinal portion (more than a third of the whole) of Hájí Mírzá Jání's work, which, though of singular interest and value, and calculated to throw quite a new light on the early

theology of the Bábís, affords materials too copious, and raises questions too complicated, to be thus perfunctorily disposed of. Nevertheless, with a view to supplying the reader with an outline of the more salient features of the Bábí doctrine, and rendering more apparent the very intimate relations subsisting between it and the Sheykhí school of theology, I shall here attempt to sketch in as concise and summary a manner as possible the theory of Divine Manifestations or Theophanies laid down by Hájí Mírzá Jání.

"I was a Hidden Treasure and I desired to be known, therefore I created creation that I might be known." In these well-known and oft-quoted words does God declare His purpose in calling into existence this Phenomenal World. He was a "Hidden Treasure," and He desired that others should participate in that Treasure; herein lies His Bounty, and herein is contained the Mystery of Creation. Wherefore it is said:—

أول الجود هو الوجود و الوجود هو المعلوم و المعلوم
هو نفس العلم و العلم هو المشية و المشية هو المحبة *

"The first Bounty was Being, and Being is the Known, and the Known is identical with Knowledge, and Knowledge is Will, and Will is Love." Love, therefore, is the cause of creation, and its fruit is knowledge; love impelled God to exercise His creative power, and His creatures fulfil the purpose of their being only in learning to love and adore Him. Now adoration of the Beloved cannot exist without knowledge of His Beauty (جمال), and knowledge of His Majesty (جلال); and of knowledge there are four kinds, to wit, (1) when the knower transcends and excels the known; (2) when the knower and the known are equal in station; (3) when the knower and the known are united; (4) when the known transcends and excels the knower. This last is called "the Shadow-plane" (مقام ظلية), because it is typified by the relation subsisting

¹ This is one of the doctrines especially insisted on by Mullá Sadrá. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 270.

between the shadow and the light which casts it, and it is this relation which man bears to God.

Now although certain knowledge is essential to happiness, its attainment is of all things most difficult, even to the favoured companions of God's saints. Thus Kumeyl ibn Ziyád', one of 'Alí's chosen disciples, once demanded of his Master, behind whom he was seated on a dromedary, "What is Truth?" "What hast thou to do with the Truth?" answered 'Alí, "for verily it is one of God's mysteries, and a jewel out of His treasure-house." Then said Kumeyl, when 'Alí had spoken for some while after this fashion, "O my Master, am I not worthy to share thy secret?" "Yee," answered 'Alí, "but the matter is a great one." "O my Master," said Kumeyl, "dost thou desire those who beg at the door of thy bounty to be turned away?" "Nay, verily," answered 'Alí, "I will answer the call of such as are troubled, and will sprinkle upon thee somewhat of the overflowing fulness of the Station of the Truth; receive it from me according to thy capacity, and conceal it from such as are unworthy to share it. O Kumeyl, the Truth is the revelation of the splendours of Divine Majesty without a sign." "O my Master," said Kumeyl, "I understand not thy meaning; explain it to me further." "*The effacement of the conjectured, and the clearing of the known,*" continued 'Alí. "Explain more fully," demanded Kumeyl. "*The rending of the veil by the triumph of the mystery,*" said 'Alí. "O my beloved Master," rejoined Kumeyl, "tell me more." "*The attraction of the Divine Unity through the nature of the apprehension of its Oneness,*" added 'Alí. "Tell me more clearly," repeated Kumeyl. Then said 'Alí, "*A light shining forth from the Morning of Eternity and irradiating the temples of the Unity.*"

I have given this tradition in full because the Bábs attach a special significance to it, regarding each of these five obscure utterances of 'Alí as typifying one of the first five years of the Báb's "Manifestation." The text of the tradition, taken from the Báb's "Seven Proofs" (*Dalá'il-i-sab'a*) will be found in the footnote on p. 352 of the second

¹ See *Ibn Waḡhīb* (ed. Houtsma), vol. ii, pp. 242—4.

volume of my *Traveller's Narrative*. Its application is given by Mírzá Jání himself in describing the strange outburst of wild pantheism and antinomian ecstasy which characterized the gathering at Badasht, and proved, as it would appear, a cause of offence to not a few of the brethren. "*The revelation of the splendours of Divine Majesty without a sign*" denotes the first year (A.H. 1260—1) of the "Manifestation," wherein the Báb revealed himself, and declared mysteries transcendental and ineffable. "*The effacement of the conjectured, and the clearing of the known*" indicates the second year, wherein the doctrine was proclaimed in a simpler and less transcendental manner, because of the weakness of mankind, and wherein orders were issued by the Báb for the effacement or obliteration of the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf* which he had written'. "*The rending of the veil by the triumph of the mystery*" describes the third year, remarkable for the Badasht conference above alluded to, and the sovereign claims advanced by *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* (and evidently admitted by many of the Bábs, including Hájí Mírzá Jání) which are adverted to on p. 282 *supra*. "*The attraction of the Divine Unity through the nature of the apprehension of its Oneness*," which denotes the fourth year of the "Manifestation," is not, I think, explained by Mírzá Jání, but perhaps we may associate it with the appearance of the "Indian Believer" (pp. 242—4 *supra*). As for the fifth year, therein appeared Mírzá Yahyá to console the faithful for the loss of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* and *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, and to assume the position of vicegerent to the "Point," by whom, in allusion to the promise connected with this year, he was entitled *Subh-i-Ezel*, "the Morning of Eternity". In this cycle of five years, also, there is a mystery, for 5 is the numerical value of the word *Báb*, and also of the letter *h* (ه) which stands for *Huwiyyat* (هویت),

¹ Cf. *J. R. A. S.* for April, 1892, pp. 267—8.

² Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 352, and note 1 thereon. The fact that Mírzá Yahyá was a native of *Núr* in *Mázandarán*, and that *Núr* means "Light," certainly did not escape the Báb's notice.

the Divine Ipseity or Unmanifested Unity, to a knowledge of which man may attain only through such *Báb* or "Gate," as it is said, "*Enter houses by their gates*¹."

For, as has been said, man cannot know the Eternal Essence of God, but only the "Manifestation" of the Divine Will, which, from time to time, arises in the spiritual, as the sun in the material, firmament, to dispel the darkness of ignorance and separation. For knowledge implies the establishment of a relation between the knower and the thing known, and for man to attempt to establish such relation between himself and God, as the *Şúfis* do, is sheer presumption, rendering him guilty of the sin of *shirk* (attributing a partner to God). Wherefore, whenever in the *Kur'án* or elsewhere mention is made of "the meeting with God" (لِقَاءُ اللَّهِ), and the like, what is meant is the meeting with one of the "Manifestations" or embodiments of the Divine Will (مَشِيَّة). This Primal Will, from time to time incarnating itself, now in Abraham, now in Moses, now in Jesus, now in Muḥammad, forms, as it were, an intermediary between man and God. It can be known by man, and It knows God: indeed in one sense It is identical with God, wherefore it is said in a tradition, "*Whoever visiteth Huseyn in his tomb is as one who hath visited God on His Throne.*" So likewise the *Báb* said, "*O 'Alí! None hath known God save I and thou; and none hath known me save God and thou; and none hath known thee save God and I.*"

Now all these Theophanies, as I shall henceforth call them, are identical in essence, and differ only in circumstance, just as the sun which shines to-day is the same as that which shone yesterday, or that which will shine to-morrow. We, for the sake of convenience, and having regard only to the accidents of time and place, may speak of Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad as different persons, but they are in fact not less identical than the sun which shines to-day and the sun which shone yesterday. These lights of the firmament of Prophethood and Saintship, like the celestial luminaries, have a rising and a setting, a "Manifestation" and an "Occultation."

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 227—8.

Violent transitions from light to darkness or from darkness to light are, however, contrary to God's plan, alike in the spiritual and the material worlds. Just as dawn forms a transition between day and night, and twilight between night and day; just as spring ushers in summer, and autumn heralds winter, so in each Divine "Manifestation" two *barzakhs* or "intervals" separate the full blaze of the Theophany from the comparative darkness of the period of Occultation. The period in each cycle during which the Prophet and the Imáms or Saints who succeed him are visible to mankind constitutes the theophanic day, *Zuhúr-i-Kubrâ*, or "Major Manifestation." This day is separated from the night of the *Gheybat-i-Kubrâ* or "Major Occultation" by the twilight of the *Gheybat-i-Sughra* or "Minor Occultation," during which the last Saint or Imám of the cycle, though invisible to his followers, still lives amongst them in concealment, and communicates with them by means of the "Gates" or "*Bábs*" (*Abwáb*) whom he appoints to act as intermediaries between himself and his church. When the faithful have become accustomed to receiving the commands of the Imám thus indirectly, and to being debarred from seeing him, the series of "Gates" is terminated, and the full night of the "Major Occultation" supervenes. As, however, the time for a new "Manifestation" approaches, one or more of the "Gates" reappears or "returns" to prepare mankind for the fuller light which is soon to burst upon them. The period of these precursors or harbingers of the Theophany is called *Zuhúr-i-Sughrá*, "the Minor Manifestation," corresponding to the "True Dawn" (*Subh-i-Šádik*), when, though the sun has not yet risen, its light is apparent in the sky. The "Minor Manifestation" of the Christian cycle was John the Baptist; of the Muhammadan, Waraka ibn Nawfal and the other *Ḥanífis*; of the Bábí or Beyáníc, Sheykh Ahmad of Aḥsá and Seyyid Kásim of Resht.

Now let us pass from the general to the particular. The "Major Manifestation" of the Islámic cycle, heralded, as above said, by the appearance of the *Ḥanífis*, was maintained during 262 years by fourteen "Suns of Purity" (the

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 232—3.

Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima, and the twelve Imāms, called "the fourteen Immaculates" (*chahārdah ma'ṣūm*). The last of these, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan el-'Askarī, generally called the Imām Mahdī or *Kā'im*, was born, according to Hājī Mīrzā Jānī¹, in A.H. 256, which, as he points out, is numerically equivalent to the word *Nūr* (Light)². The period of the "Minor Occultation" began when he was in his seventh year (i.e. in A.H. 262—3), and lasted for seventy years, during which time four "Gates"³ maintained communications between him and his followers, who were thus provided with a means of solving their doubts and difficulties. But when this series of "Gates" came to an end, and the faithful were overtaken by the night of the "Major Occultation," schisms began to appear, and by the time that, after the lapse of more than nine centuries, the dawn of the "Minor Manifestation" of this cycle (that is, the teaching of Sheykh Aḥmad and Seyyid Kāsim) had begun to brighten the spiritual horizon, the sect of the Shī'a, *Ithnā-'ashariyya*, or Church of the Twelve Imāms, was divided as regards the essentials or principles of religion (*uṣūl*) into three main parties besides the Sheykhīs, to wit, the *Bālā-sarīs*⁴ or ordinary Shi'ites, the philosophers (*Hukamā*), and the Sūfis or mystics ('*Urafā*'); while, in matters of practice, or application of principles (*furū'*), the *Akhbārīs*, *Uṣūlīs*, *Fuṣṭakā*, and *Ishrāqīs* made another four-fold division.

Now this multiplication of sects and schisms is one of the signs that a new "Manifestation" is at hand, for it is just before the dawn that the night is darkest. Other signs, too, were not wanting: even the year of the "Manifestation" had been foreshadowed in certain poems of the

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 297 and n. 1.

² ن = 50; و = 6; ر = 200. Total, 256.

³ The names of these *Abwāb*, and some account of one of them, Ḥuseyn ibn Rāḥ, will be found at pp. 298 and 301—2 of the second volume of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

⁴ So called because, in performing the "visitation" to the shrines of the Imāms they stand "over the head" of the tomb (*bālā-yi-sar*), and not like the Sheykhīs at a respectful distance.

Šúfis¹, and was contained, for such as had eyes to see it, in the very words "*Yá Zukura'l-Hakk*" ("O Manifestation of the Truth")! Moreover there are traditions to the effect that the "Occultation" will not last longer than the period of Noah's prophetic mission, which has been fixed by some historians at 950 and by others at 1000 years, wherefore the new Theophany could not be long deferred. Indeed since the "Minor Occultation" of the Twelfth Imám began, according to many theologians, in A.H. 260, exactly a thousand years had elapsed when, in A.H. 1260, the Báb appeared².

So much for the general doctrine of Prophetic Cycles held by the Bábís. It remains to advert to one development of this doctrine which plays a large part, not only in Hájí Mírzá Jání's history, but in all the earlier writings of the sect; I mean the views held by them concerning the "Resurrection" (*Kiyúmat*) or "Return" (*Rij'at*), which have caused them to be likened by some to the Sadducees, and to be credited by others with a belief in the transmigration of souls. Thus of the first *váhid*, or group of 19 chapters, in the Persian Beyán, 18 chapters are devoted to this doctrine of the "Return" or "*Rij'at*," and it is asserted that Muhammad, Fátima, the Twelve Imáms, and the Four "Gates" "have returned to the Life of the World with such as believed in them, and such as did not believe"; while in the second *váhid* it is taught that by the Resurrection is meant the new "Manifestation," or arising of the Sun of Truth; by the "Questioning of the Tomb," the tidings of it brought by its "angels" or messengers to those who slumber as the dead in the tombs of ignorance and heedlessness; by the "Raising of the Dead" the awakening of those who lie thus dead in ignorance; by the sharp narrow "Bridge" over which only true believers can pass,

¹ Cf. n. 1 at the foot of p. 141 *supra*.

² *يا ظهور الحق* = $(10 + 1 + 900 + 5 + 6 + 200 + 30 + 8 + 100)$ = 1260. The *alif*-*l-waql* in *الحق* is not counted because it is not pronounced, else its enumeration would raise the total to 1261.

³ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 297—8, and n. 1 on the former.

the difficulty of accepting the new "Manifestation" and so passing over into the "Paradise" of belief; and so on. It is further laid down definitely and explicitly that these terms have no real meaning apart from this; and that the ideas which prevail concerning a corporeal resurrection, a material heaven and hell, and the like, are mere figments of the imagination.

Now all this, though it may entitle anyone whom it so pleases to compare the Bábís to the Sadducees, does not by any means prove that the Báb taught, or that his followers held, the doctrine of Metempsychosis (*tanásukh-i-arwâh*), a doctrine so vehemently repudiated even by those Muḥammadan sects who appear to approach most closely to it. The essence of the man is the Idea which he "manifests" or incarnates, just as the essence of the mirror is the image which it reflects. An unpolished plate of steel reflects nothing: let the same plate be polished and purified, and it will reflect star, moon, or sun. The prophet of a cycle is naught but a reflection of the "Primal Will" (*Mashīyat-i-ʿilā*), the same sun with a new horizon; wherefore it is perfectly correct to say that Moses is identical with Jesus, or Jesus with Muḥammad. Moreover, as the same mirror may at different times reflect different objects, so the same individual may successively become the "return" of different prototypes. This point comes out very clearly in certain parts of Hájí Mírzá Jání's history. It has been said that the four "Gates" returned during the "Minor Manifestation" of this cycle: Sheykh Aḥmad and Seyyid Kázim were the first and second, but who were the third and fourth? This was a question which I was unable to solve in the note on the meaning of the term *Báb* which I appended to the second volume of my *Traveller's Narrative* (pp. 226—234, especially p. 233). The solution is made plain by Hájí Mírzá Jání. Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad himself was the third *Báb* or "Gate," and, while he thus continued, Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh was the *Bābu'l-Báb* or "Gate of the Gate." But when Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, speaking more freely as his followers became more receptive of divine mysteries, declared himself to be the *Nuṭṭa* or "Point" (i.e. the Manifestation of the Primal Will), Mullá Huseyn ceased to be only the

"Gate of the Gate" and became the actual "Gate" or Báb; and, when he was killed, his brother, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan, in turn received this title'. But this is not all. Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad was first of all Báb or "Gate"; then *Zikr* or "Reminder"; then *Nuḡṭa* or "Point." For a while, however, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh, called by the Bábís *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús*, became the "Point," and Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad relapsed into being his Báb or "Gate," and, during this period, wrote nothing! This extraordinary and novel doctrine is clearly set forth by Hájí Mírzá Jání as follows:—

"So the Religion of God is One, though the Theophanies differ: and the 'Point' is at all times one individual, while the other Theophanies are its 'Letters of the Living.' Sometimes it happens that the 'Point' becomes quiescent in effulgence, and that this effulgence becomes manifest in its 'Gate,' just as the Apostle of God did not in appearance wield the sword, but his wrath was made manifest in the form of 'Alí. But after the death of God's Apostle, 'Alí became the 'Point' and the Heaven of Will, and Ḥasan became the 'Gate' and the Earth of Devotion, while Huseyn and Salmán and the rest were the 'Letters of the Living.' Now in this cycle the original 'Point' was *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús*, and the 'Reminder' [*Zikr*, i.e. the Báb]

¹ The passage in Hájí Mírzá Jání's history which is here alluded to runs as follows:—

خلاصه جناب ذکر در سنه اول ادعای بابیت نمودند
و در سنه دوم که ادعای ذکریت فرمودند مقام بابیت
خود را مفوض به جناب آخوند ملا محمد حسین نمودند
لهذا ایشان باب گردیدند و در سنه اول باب الباب
بودند و بعد از شهادت ایشان مقام بابیت و رکن
رابع بودند و منصب سید الشهدائی به جناب حسن رسید *

* Cf. *J. R. A. S.* for April, 1892, p. 303, n. 1. Hájí Mírzá Jání constantly calls the Báb *Zikr* or *Zikru'lláh*.

was his 'Gate'; but inasmuch as it was the 'Cycle of Return' [*daura-i-rij'at*], and Saintship [*vilāyat*]¹ took precedence of Prophet-hood [*nubuwwat*], in manifestation, therefore the 'Reminder' first appeared, and for three years, according to the number of the letters in 'Alī, summoned men to God . . ."

So likewise, in speaking of the Islāmic cycle, Hájí Mírzá Jání says that, so long as Muḥammad was alive, 'Alī declared himself to be only "a servant amongst his servants"; but that "so soon as the Prophetic Mirror (by which is meant the sovereign form of Muḥammad) was shivered in pieces, in less time than the twinkling of an eye it [*i.e.* the Sun of Truth] arose in the Mirror of Saintship," so that 'Alī, thus become the "Mirror" or "Manifestation" of the Primal Will, and the "Proof" of God upon earth, was able to say, "*I am Adam, and Noah, and Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus, and Muḥammad.*"

Hence it is that Hájí Mírzá Jání, in describing the events of this cycle, speaks of Teherán as "Damascus," the Kájár rulers as "the family of Abú Sofyán," Barfurúsh as "Kúfa," Mullá Huseyn as "the Chief of Martyrs" (*Seyyidu'sh-shuhadá*), and Tabarsí as "Kerbela"; "for," says he, "wherever the banner of the Truth is set up, summoning men to defend it, and the people of Truth are gathered together, and the word of Love and Emancipation (*foná*) is spoken, there is the land of Kerbelá." This "return," he adds, may be conceived of in many different ways, to explain which would require a long dissertation. He defines it negatively, as being "neither incarnation (*kulúl*), nor absorption (*ittihád*), nor transmigration (*tanásukh*)," but it appears doubtful whether he himself exactly understood its nature, for he says:—

¹ The Saint or *vālī* (typified in Khizr or 'Alī) represents the *esoteric*, as the Prophet or *nabí* (typified in Moses or Muḥammad) represents the *esoteric* aspect of religion. In this cycle the inner preponderated over the outer, the spirit over the form: hence, says Mírzá Jání, the Báb, who first appeared, was named 'Alī Muḥammad, while *Ḥaqqat-i-Kuddús* (whom, as we have seen, he regards as the "Point," or representative of the Prophetic Function) was named Muḥammad 'Alī.

نه حلول است و نه تناسخ و نه اتحاد بل هو هو کبا
هو هو میباشد لا یعلمها آلا اهل رجعت

"it is as it is, and none knoweth it save those who have returned."

Yet after we have well considered all these illustrations, these theories of "Mirrors," "Manifestations," and the like, there remains a residuum of facts which makes it very difficult to believe that the Bábí doctrine of "returns" did not at times approach very closely indeed to what we understand by transmigration of souls, or metempsychosis. What, for instance, can we make of the following illustration of Seyyid Baṣír's spiritual insight and knowledge of hidden mysteries given by Hájí Mírzá Jání?—

بعد از آن بارض قاف تشریف فرما شده و جمعی مجذوب
جرات (!) ایشان گردیده و از اخبار سَرّی مستمع گردیده
من جمله شبی يك سَك فریاد مینمود فرموده بودند که
این سَك رجعت فلان شخص میباشد که خداوند او را
بواسطه گناهان او معذب نموده و خانه او را نشان داده
که هفده خانه از این منزل ما دور میباشد و چند اولاد
دارد بفلان فلانی نشانهای قول من صدق میباشد من
بعد از آنکه تفحص نمودند آن علامات صدق بوده *

"After that he [*i.e.* Seyyid Baṣír] went to the land of Káf [Kum or Kazvín], where a number of persons were attracted by his influence, and heard from him secret mysteries. Thus, amongst other things, one night a dog was howling, and he said, 'This dog is the "return" of such an one, whom God has thus punished for his sins.' Then he indicated the house which had been his, saying, 'It is seventeen doors off this lodging of ours; and he has several children: by such and such tokens ye may know that I speak truly.' They subsequently made enquiries, and those tokens were verified."

If this be not transmigration, it is hard to say what is. Here, however, I must leave the matter for the present, and, without further discussing the doctrines of the Bábís, return to the record of new facts connected with their history wherewith Hájí Mírzá Jání supplies us.

1. *Sheykh Aḥmad and Seyyid Kázim.*

(*Cf.* pp. 31—33 *supra*; *Trav. Narr.*, vol. ii, pp. 234—244; and *B.* ii, pp. 888—892.)

Sheykh Aḥmad Zeynu'd-Dín Aḥsá'í (or, as Hájí Mírzá Jání, in common with Şubḥ-i-Ezol and other authorities, has it, *Lakḥá'í*), whose appearance marked the beginning of the "Minor Manifestation" of the Beyánic cycle, was chosen out from amongst the Shi'ites by God to prepare men's hearts for the reception of the new Truth shortly to be divulged, and to expound the mysteries of the Doctrine of the Divine Unity (*tawḥíd*). Therefore was it that he came from his own country to Persia, visiting its chief towns, and expounding the doctrines which he was commissioned from on high to teach; therefore also was it that he used repeatedly to say, "Thus and thus have I heard from the Proof" (سمعتُ عن الحجة كذا كذا). He composed numerous works on philosophy and other sciences, amongst them the *Sharḥ-i-Ziyárat-i-jámi*; but although he knew that he was the "Gate" to the Imám Mahdí, whose return was now at hand, he did not openly declare this, the time being not yet ripe, and men still unprepared. He gathered round himself many disciples, encountered fierce opposition from the unregenerate, and, when about to die, nominated Hájí Seyyid Kázim of Resht as his successor and vicegerent.

Seyyid Kázim, the "Second Gate," carried on the work begun by his predecessor, disputed with the orthodox clergy at Baghdad, answered the questions addressed to him by enquirers of all classes, and composed numerous works, including the *Sharḥ-i-Kaṣída* (wherein, by implication, he made known the doctrine of the "Gatehood" or *Bábiyyat*)

and the *Hujjat-i-Báligha* or "Conclusive Proof," wherein he treated of the signs whereby the representative or vicegerent of the Imám might be recognized—signs, adds Mírzá Jání, which found their realization only in "the Sun which rose in the Land of the Fára," i.e. Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad. He also hinted at the youth of his successor in some of his poems, as in the following verse:—

یا صغیر السن یا رطب البدن
یا قریب العهد من شرب اللبن

"O tender in years, O fresh of body, O scarcely weaned from the drinking of milk". He even designated Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad more specifically as the expected "Proof." "One of his disciples," says Mírzá Jání, "a man deserving of all reliance, related as follows. 'One day we were in the company of the late Seyyid when some one asked about the manner of the Manifestation which was to succeed him. "After my death," replied he, "there will be

¹ My transcript has غریب in the second *misrâ'*, but ق and غ are so constantly interchanged and confounded throughout the text that I have not hesitated to make an emendation which appears to be necessary. This somewhat exaggerated description of extreme youthfulness is common in Persian: e.g. Firdawsí says, in speaking of Sohráb's tender age:—

هنوز از دهن بوی شیر آیدش *

"The smell of milk (i.e. his mother's milk) still comes from his mouth."

So also Ḥáfiz:—

ای نازنین پسر تو چه مذهب گرفته.
گفت خون ما حلالتر از شیر مادرست *

"O sweet boy, what creed hast thou adopted that our blood appears more lawful to thee than thy mother's milk?"

The first *misrâ'* of the verse here attributed to Seyyid Káşim occurs near the beginning of the second book of the *Masnavi* (ed. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, p. 106, l. 13).

a schism amongst my followers, but God's affair will be clear as this rising sun." As he spoke he pointed to the door, through which streamed a flood of sunlight; and, at that very moment, Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad crossed the threshold and entered the room. We did not, however,' continued the narrator, 'apprehend his meaning until His Holiness was manifested'."

Another of Seyyid Kázim's disciples related as follows:—"One day I entered the Seyyid's private apartment, and saw His Holiness the Pole of the Universe, generally known as 'the Most Great Gate of God' [*Bábu'lláhu'l-a'ẓam*], seated in the place of honour, while the Seyyid was overshadowed by the shadow of His Holiness, who was saying to him, 'Have you communicated the matter to mankind?' 'Yes,' answered he, humbly and deferentially, 'I have communicated what you commanded, and composed treatises thereon.' He was further describing what he had done when I entered, whereupon he at once changed his manner. But I marvelled greatly at this reverence which he shewed to his Holiness, whom I had repeatedly seen enter his presence without receiving any special mark of attention."

So likewise Mullá Yúsuf 'Alí, who subsequently "burned himself like a moth in the flame of Love in the Land of B." (i.e. Bárfurúsh), addressed a letter to his master Seyyid Kázim requesting him to specify some of the signs whereby the "Gate of the Imám" might be known. Seyyid Kázim in response to this request wrote a long list of these signs, and sealed it with his seal. This document remained in Mullá Yúsuf 'Alí's possession for three years, till the "Manifestation" of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad; whom, because in him these prognostications were fulfilled, Mullá Yúsuf 'Alí accepted as the promised Proof. In Medína also Seyyid Kázim promised one¹ who questioned him on the matter that he should meet the "Gate of the Imám, mentioning his name and the tokens whereby he might be known, and adding, "Convey my salutations to him."

¹ Probably Suleymán Khán. Cf. the bottom of p. 31 and top of p. 33 *supra*, where allusion seems to be made to the same tradition. Hájí Mírzá Jání says that he had this from the person to whom this promise was given.

Seyyid Kázim, like Sheykh Ahmád, met with much hostility and opposition from the "Bálásarí" Shi'ites. Once his turban was plucked from his head while he was at his prayers. On another occasion, as he was walking in the street, a fanatic spat in his face; an insult which he only noticed by wiping his face with his hand and saying with a smile *فَرْتُ بِرَبِّ الكعبة*, "*I have attained to the Lord of the Ka'ba*"; for there is a tradition to the effect that no one attains to the highest degree of faith ere he is spat on and cursed as a heretic by seventy persons. His followers, too, were continually exposed to insults and annoyances of one sort and another. Thus Mullá 'Abdu'l-Khálík of Yezd¹, notwithstanding his undisputed learning and piety, was forbidden to preach in Mesh-hed, was regarded by the fanatical "Bálásarís" as unclean, and was forbidden to go to the public baths or visit the tomb of the Imám Rizá. Hájí Mírzá Jání adds that he saw one fanatic in Mesh-hed who refused to perform the "visitation" of the shrine because he considered that it had been contaminated by the approach of Mullá 'Abdu'l-Khálík; while an acquaintance of his was treated as unclean by another equally unreasonable "Bálásarí" because he had listened with pleasure to a discourse on the woes of the Holy Family delivered by the aforesaid Mullá.

To what extent Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad studied under Seyyid Kázim is, says Mírzá Jání, a debateable point. He remained for about a year in the neighbourhood of Kerbelá and Nejef, of which three months were passed at the former place; and during this time he used occasionally to frequent the lectures of Seyyid Kázim. That this was not for purposes of study Mírzá Jání is careful to explain,

¹ Concerning Mullá 'Abdu'l-Khálík we learn the following particulars from Mírzá Jání. His father was a Jew who was converted to Islám. He himself followed the Sheykhí school till, on the appearance of the Báb, he became a Bábí. His son Sheykh 'Alí, a youth twenty years of age, was killed amongst the Bábís (apparently at Sheykh Ṭabaraf), whereupon Mullá 'Abdu'l-Khálík seems to have grown lukewarm in the faith, if he did not actually forsake it.

for Seyyid Kásim, says he, was "helped" by his mere presence; "and this," he adds, "is a thing whereof men wot not."

The substance of what is related in the *New History* concerning Seyyid Kásim's death, and the prophecies there uttered by him, is also given by Mírzá Jání, but he omits the narrative from the C.-codex which occupies the greater part of pp. 31—2 *supra*, and adds a few unimportant particulars. The retirement of his disciples for forty days' prayer and fasting to the mosque of Kúfa (p. 33 *supra*) is also mentioned, but while on the one hand Mírzá Jání records the substance, if not the form, of their prayer for help and guidance, he suppresses their names, probably because he did not wish to mention needlessly the names of persons most of whom were still living when he wrote.

2. *The Báb's youth, and the earlier period of his mission.*

(Cf. *Trav. Narr.*, vol. ii, pp. 249—251; and *supra*, pp. 33—39.)

Concerning the Báb's career previously to his "Manifestation" Hájí Mírzá Jání gives some particulars which are wanting in the other histories. Allusion is made to the miraculous faculties which he possessed even as a child, and the story of his having exclaimed at his birth "*El-mulk li'lláh*" ("The Kingdom is God's"), given at p. 262 *supra*, is noticed. Mírzá Jání further relates that one day when he was at the bath with his father he exclaimed suddenly, "Arise, and let us depart, for the earth is going to move, and such-and-such a bazaar will be destroyed," which thing actually came to pass. Of his childhood no further particulars are given, but it is stated that he was "*ummi*" (illiterate) and had no right knowledge of Arabic grammar (cf. pp. 262—4 *supra*). He left Shíráz for Búshíre at the age of 17, and remained there for 5 years engaged in commercial pursuits. During this time he won the esteem of all the merchants with whom he was brought in contact by his integrity and piety. He was extremely attentive to his religious duties, and gave away large sums

in charity. On one occasion he gave 70 *tímáns* (about £22) to a poor neighbour. On another occasion a customer came to negotiate for the purchase of a quantity of indigo which had been consigned to him. He happened at the time to be engaged in his devotions, and so told the intending purchaser to wait for a while till he should be free to attend to him. The customer at first consented; but afterwards, being tired of waiting, departed without buying the indigo. The price of indigo fell within the next few days, and Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad had to sell his stock at a loss of 70 *tímáns*, all of which he bore himself. The stories of his having practised austerities and put himself under the guidance of a spiritual director (*murshid*) are flatly contradicted by Mírzá Jání, who characterizes them as "absolute calumnies and sheer falsehoods."

When Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad had been engaged in commerce for 5 years (according to the number of the letter *há* and the word *Báb*'), and had sufficiently demonstrated his capacity for the conduct of practical affairs, that men might not afterwards be able to say that he was a mere dreamer, he left Bushire to visit the Holy Shrines of Nejef and Kerbelá, remaining for about a year at the former, and for about three months at the latter. It was during this time that, as has been already mentioned, he foregathered with Seyyid Kázim of Resht. Having completed these "visitations," he returned to Shíráz.

On the death of Seyyid Kázim and the dispersion of his disciples, Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh came to Shíráz. The account of his conversion given by Mírzá Jání agrees substantially, and often word for word, with that given in the *New History* (pp. 33—39 *supra*).¹ As Mullá Huseyn is universally called "the First who believed" (*أول من آمن*), there seems to be no doubt that it was in Shíráz that the Báb first declared himself; indeed Mírzá Jání expressly

¹ See p. 330 *supra*.

² It is worth noting, however, that Hájí Mírzá Jání does not give the *únád*, or channel by which Mullá Huseyn's account of his conversion reached him, as the *New History* does (p. 34 *supra*).

states that "he concealed the mystery of his mission from mankind till such time as Seyyid Kásim passed away to God's mercy, and Mullá Muhammad Huseyn of Bushraweyh came to the *Land of Fā*" (i.e. Shíráz, the capital of Fárs). The only thing added by Mírzá Jání in this place is that the Báb cured Mullá Huseyn of the palpitation of the heart from which he suffered with a spoonful of sherbet.

3. *History of the Báb from the time of his pilgrimage to Mecca till the death of Minúchikr Khán.*

(Cf. pp. 198—213 *supra*; and *Trav. Narr.*, vol. ii, pp. 249—253, and 262—8.)

Having made several important converts in Shíráz, and despatched missionaries provided with copies of the new sacred books, on the verses or "signs" (*áyát*) of which he based his claim, to the King and clergy of Persia, as well as "to all parts of the Muhammadan world," the Báb set out for Mecca. It appears from Mírzá Jání's explicit statement that his original intention was, as asserted by the Muhammadan historians, to "make known his affair at the back of Kúfa," that is to say, to declare himself as the long-expected Imám Mahdí. As, however, the Muslim world shewed no great readiness to respond to such a call, while many of the missionaries sent out to proclaim the "Manifestation" met with disrespectful and even cruel treatment, he changed his plan, and declared himself instead at Mecca, where his claim soon became generally known. Mírzá Jání here gives the narrative of one who saw him there, cited from his work in the *New History* (pp. 199—200 *supra*). The narrator is described by Mírzá Jání in the text as "a fellow-townsmen," but a marginal note added in another hand gives his name, and a brief sketch of his career (see n. 1 at the foot of p. 199 *supra*).

The account of the Báb's history after his return from Mecca to Shíráz given by Mírzá Jání runs very closely parallel to the version of the *New History*, and I shall therefore only notice the divergences. The arrest of the Báb on the road between Bushire and Shíráz, his confine-

ment to his house, the attack on his house on Ramaẓán 21st, and the punishment inflicted by the governor Huseyn Khán on his uncle Seyyid 'Alí (known as *Hayrat-i-Habíb*, "the Friend") and his missionaries Mullá Muḥammad Šadiḳ of Khurásán and Mullá 'Alí Akbar of Ardistán are the same in both histories, except that Mírzá Jání has not got the narrative of the L.-text translated at pp. 200—202 *supra*. The account of the circumstances which enabled the Báb to escape from Shíráz is evidently copied almost *verbatim* from Mírzá Jání, as also are the miracles related on the authority of Áká Muḥammad Huseyn of Ardistán at pp. 205—207 *supra*, and the account of his martyrdom. The price paid by him for the three horses is, however, given as fifty-five instead of fifty *túmáns*. Two other incidents of the journey to Isfahán, related by Mírzá Jání on the same authority, are omitted by both *msa.* of the *New History*. To whichever of the three horses the Báb rode, says Mírzá Jání, a peculiar virtue seemed to be communicated, so that it went more smoothly and swiftly than the other horses, and, so long as it bore him, forbore from voiding its excreta. Again, as Mírzá Jání relates, at one stage where they halted an old tribesman met them, and, on beholding the Báb (though he knew not who it was), became affected with so strong an emotion that he wept till he was like to die. In the account of the death of Áká Seyyid Kázim, as a result of the awe produced in him by witnessing the Báb's transfiguration, Mírzá Jání says that Mullá Muḥammad Taḳí of Herát read the prayers over his body, which was subsequently sent to Kerbelá for interment.

Concerning the Báb's residence at Isfahán, Mírzá Jání adds the following particulars. The *Imám-Jum'a*, whose guest the Báb was for a time, at first shewed so much respect to his visitor that he would bring the basin for him to wash his hands at meals. The name of the son of Mullá 'Alí of Núr (p. 209 *supra*) was Mírzá Hasan. The tribesmen whose services Minúchihr Khán offered to place at the Báb's disposal in case he was disposed to make war with Muḥammad Sháh were Bakhtiyáris, not Sháh-sevans (p. 211), and their number is given as 5000, not 50,000. The *New History* seems to be guilty of another

similar exaggeration with regard to the speed wherewith the Báb wrote down his "verses"; a thousand verses in *sia*, not in *three* hours, being twice mentioned by Mírzá Jání. The transmutation of a metal pipe-cover to gold at the Báb's touch, as well as his foretelling Minúchihr Khán's death 19 days before its occurrence to Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb, is referred to in n. 2 on p. 212 *supra*. Minúchihr Khán's sincere devotion to the Báb is brought out even more strongly by Mírzá Jání than in the *New History*, and, according to him, the Báb used repeatedly to say after his death, "*Khudá rahmat kunad Mu'tamad-rá*" ("May God shew mercy to the *Mu'tamad*"). Mírzá Jání also adds that after his death the Báb wrote to the prime minister, Hájí Mírzá Akásí, stating that the late *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla* had made over to him all his goods and possessions, and demanding that these should accordingly be handed over to him; a request to which the minister paid no attention whatever.

4. Conversion of Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb.

(Cf. pp. 111—115 *supra*; and *Trav. Narr.*, vol. ii, p. 254.)

The account of Seyyid Yahyá's conversion, cited in the *New History* in connection with the Níriz war, is introduced by Mírzá Jání in this place. The narrative, which Mírzá Jání heard directly from Seyyid Yahyá, is correctly quoted in the *New History*, except that the following passage, which concludes it, is suppressed. "I enquired of him," writes Mírzá Jání, "saying, 'O Unique One' of the Age! What says your noble father concerning His Holiness the Truth (*Haḡrat-i-Haḡḡ*)?' He answered, 'He professes himself undecided.' Then he added, confirming his words with an oath, 'By the Truth of God's Holy Essence, should my father deny this most luminous Manifestation, I would assuredly, notwithstanding his conspicuous virtues and eminent position, slay him with my own hand for the

¹ I have elsewhere pointed out that *Waḡid* is numerically equivalent to Yahyá. Hence not only Mírzá Yahyá *Subḡ-i-Kaḡ*, but also Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb enjoyed this title.

sake of the Beloved; and this although such a father as he and such a son as I are seldom met with under the Heaven of the Moon."

5. *History of the Báb, continued till his Examination at Tabriz.*

(*Cf.* pp. 213—228, 238—240, and 284—288 *supra.*)

The points wherein MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ corrects or supplements the passages of the *New History* above referred to are as follows. On the death of Minúchihir Khán, Gurgín Khán, the acting governor, sent a message to the Báb expressing his intention of calling on him; but afterwards sent a second message, saying that he was prevented from carrying out this intention, and requesting the Báb to visit him. When, agreeably to this invitation, the Báb came to his abode, he thus addressed him. "Seeing that the people have become aware of your being in this place, they, and especially the clergy, will assuredly make some attempt to molest you. Should I deliver you over to them, I should be acting as a traitor towards my benefactor, inasmuch as I should be injuring one whom he held dear. If, on the other hand, I should refuse to surrender you, they will write to Teherán, the Hájí [*i.e.* Hájí MÍRZÁ AKÁSÍ] will demand you at my hands, and I shall be obliged to submit, since I have not the strength of the late *Mu'tamad-ud-Dawla*. It is therefore best that you should depart, to Teherán, if it so please you, or, according to your original intention, to Khurásán." The Báb at once expressed his willingness to accede to this proposal. "You must start to-night," continued Gurgín Khán. The Báb objected that he had made no preparations for so sudden a departure. "I have men ready to escort you," said Gurgín Khán; "and you must set out at once." The Báb was accordingly obliged to mount, all unequipped for travel as he was, and was not even permitted to bid farewell to the wife whom he had recently married in Isfahán. So incensed was he at this treatment that he determined to eat nothing till he arrived at Káshán (a journey of five stages), and in this resolution he persisted, in spite of the remon-

strances of the six horsemen composing his escort, till he reached the second stage, Múrché-Khúr. There, however, he met Mullá Sheykh 'Alí, called "*Jenáb-i-'Azím*," and another of his missionaries, whom he had commissioned two days previously to proceed to Teherán; and these, on learning from his guards how matters stood, succeeded in prevailing on him to take some food.

Concerning the Báb's stay at Káshán, it is very remarkable that Mírzá Jání, whose guest he was, says nothing beyond what is given in the footnote on p. 214 *supra*, notwithstanding the assertion of the *New History* that he "gives in his book a full description of all the wonderful things which they witnessed in those two days and nights." The only other reference to this halt occurs in the narrative of Muḥammad Beg *Chápárchí-báshí*, who remarks incidentally that both in the journey to Khánlík and in the journey thence to Tabriz, the Báb's escort as far as possible avoided all large towns, such as Kúm and Kazvín, and that the Báb's entry into Káshán was only "by reason of the sincere devotion of one of his friends and servants, who desired to give himself this honour." The halt at Khánlík is briefly noticed by Mírzá Jání as in the *New History*, except that he says nothing about Behá having visited the Báb there. Hájí Mírzá Ákásí he bitterly describes as "the Haman of the age" (هامان عصر).

The narrative of Muḥammad Beg *Chápárchí-báshí* stands almost exactly the same in both histories, except that, in describing the halt at Zanján, it is interrupted by the following account given to Mírzá Jání by Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján ("*Jenáb-i-Hujjat*") of his conversion. "I met him," says Mírzá Jání, "in Teherán, in the house of Maḥmúd Khán the *kalántar*, where he was confined because of his devotion to His Holiness. He said, 'I was a *mullá*, so proud and masterful that I would abase myself to no one, not even the late Hájí Seyyid Bákir of Resht, who was regarded as the "Proof of Islám" and the most learned of doctors. My doctrines being after the Akhbárfí school, I differed in certain questions with the mass of the clergy. People complained of me, and Muḥammad Sháh summoned me to Teherán. I came, and he perused my books and informed himself of their purport.

I asked him to summon the Seyyid [*i.e.* Seyyid Bákir of Resht] also, that we might dispute. At first he intended to do so, but afterwards, having considered the mischief which might result, suspended the proposed discussion. To be brief, notwithstanding all this self-sufficiency, so soon as news of the Manifestation of His Holiness reached me, and I had perused a small page of the verses of that Point of the Furkán, I became as one beside himself, and involuntarily, yet with full option, confessed the truth of his claim, and became his devoted slave; for I beheld in him the most noble of the Prophet's miracles, and, had I rejected it, I should have rejected the truth of the religion of Islám. Therefore did I make confession of faith, take upon my neck the yoke of his service, and devote myself to the furtherance of the religion of that Lord of the World. Amongst other things, I circulated his "Seven Works" (*Áthár-i-sab'a*), and forbade the smoking of the *kalyán*. Many followed me; and the True Religion waxed so strong that the unbelievers no longer dared to smoke the *kalyán* in the bazaars. So my support of the Bábí doctrine became notorious, and was represented to the King and his Minister, who, knowing my power and influence, and that two or three thousand families in the Khamseh¹ were wholly devoted to me, feared lest I might deliver His Holiness out of the hands of the escort². They therefore sent fifty horsemen, who, ere I was aware of it, surrounded my house. These brought a royal mandate bidding me, in the most absolute and peremptory terms, to come to Teherán, whatever might be my condition. Being at the time in bad health, I considered with myself whether I should do better to go to Teherán, or to resist them. His Holiness, however, bade me go, so I came, and it is now some while that I have been in confinement. As soon as His Holiness reached Máh-kú³, he honoured me with one

¹ I do not know whether the work generally called the "Seven Proofs" (*Dalá'il-i-sab'a*) is here intended, or simply seven of the Bábi's earlier works.

² The district of which Zanján is the capital.

³ *Cf.* pp. 137—140 *supra*.

⁴ So Mírzá Jání generally writes Mákhú, as though he would

of his most blessed Epistles, wherein he wrote, "I swear by the Truth of God that thy questioning me in the Land of Zanján concerning the duty incumbent on thee was more excellent than the worship of the two grosser races!" " "

The continuation of Muḥammad Beg *Chápárc̄hi-báshí's* narrative as given by Mírzá Jání differs from the version in the *New History* only in a few points of any consequence. Thus (p. 220 *supra*, l. 3) the Báb says, "I am so tired!" a remark which is probably suppressed in the *New History* as conflicting with the concluding sentence of the first paragraph on p. 221. Again, after the account of the healing of the scald-headed child at Mílán, and the conversion of 200 of the inhabitants of that place (p. 221 *supra*, l. 8), Mírzá Jání adds:—"And His Holiness remarked, 'Mílán is one of the regions of Paradise.' Now when we were come nigh to Tabríz, one day he said while on the road, 'It would be very nice if we could have some roast lamb to-day.' No sooner had we reached our halting-place than one brought a lamb, which we roasted. The mounted guards, having heard some remarks about the wealth of His Holiness, one day seized him by the collar and demanded money. He replied, 'I have no money.' When those accursed ones importuned him yet more, he at length produced a purse of dollars amounting in value to ten or twenty *túmáns* (I do not at this moment recollect the exact sum), and angrily cast them on the ground. I was much astonished, knowing that His Holiness had no money." "It would appear," adds Mírzá Jání, as a parenthesis to Muḥammad Beg's narrative, "that this took place between Teherán and Kasvín." Again, at the end of the first paragraph on p. 222, Mírzá Jání makes the Báb add, "O God, do Thou judge between me and these creatures of Thine!" A few lines lower, Muḥammad Beg, in speaking of the Báb's sojourn in his house, adds that they were in the habit of using the water in which he had washed his hands as a cure for divers maladies, and that it proved

make it signify "the dwelling of the Moon"; for he frequently speaks of the Báb as "that Moon of Saintship" (آن قمرولایت).

¹ i.e. Men and genies.

most efficacious. Again, in the instructions which the Báb gives to Muhammad Beg at the bottom of p. 222, he is made by Mírzá Jání to say, "Tell him [*i.e.* the Prince] that I will not move unless they kill me and then take me"; and it is further stated that actual violence was resorted to by the new escort ere he could be induced to leave Tabriz. Muhammad Beg also adds, in describing his visit to Mákú, that the Báb kissed him on the face as he raised him from the ground, on which he had cast himself in supplication. The account of Ashraf Khán's disgrace is, as already remarked in the foot-note on p. 224, substantially the same in Mírzá Jání, but a marginal note adds that he "reached hell through the malady of insanity." The remark made by the Báb on hearing of Bahman Mírzá's disgrace is also somewhat differently reported, as follows:—"Yes, since he would not help the Truth [or God, "*Hakk*"], and consented to the abasement thereof, God naturally brought about his abasement."

The narratives of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb and Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí, together with the long dissertation on the different classes of believers, the list of eminent converts to the Bábi faith, the account of Suleymán Khán's martyrdom, &c. (pp. 224—239 *supra*), are all entirely omitted by Mírzá Jání, the last for the obvious reason that he and Suleymán Khán suffered death on the same day. The account of the Báb's confinement at Mákú is substantially the same in both histories, but the following additions and variants occur in the older narrative. The Báb used to descend from the hill on which stood the castle in which he was confined to go to the bath, and on these occasions he would also visit the warden 'Alí Khán, whose family shewed him many attentions. The number of the Báb's "verses" in circulation at this time is estimated by Mírzá Jání at a hundred thousand, not a million. It is also stated that when one day the principal *mullá* of Mákú came to see the Báb, and, in the course of their conversation, behaved somewhat disrespectfully, the Báb struck "the unclean form of that foul creature" so violently with his staff that it broke in two. He is also made to address 'Alí Khán in his parting speech as "O accursed one" ("*Ey mal'ún*")!

As regards the Báb's sojourn at Chihrík (p. 240 *supra*), it is worth noticing, though natural, that Mullá Sheykh 'Alí of Khurásán, entitled *Jenáb-i-'Azím*, is spoken of by Mírzá Jání as still living. He is also entitled *Báb-i-Khátam*, and it is stated that the Báb wrote a treatise explaining why his name 'Alí was equivalent to 'Azím. It appears from Mírzá Jání that Yahyá Khán, when removed from the wardenship of Chihrík, was imprisoned at Tabriz, but it is not quite clear whether this was brought about by his devotion to his prisoner, or by some other cause.

We now come to the Báb's examination before the Crown-Prince at Tabriz, the account of the "Indian believer," inserted here in the *New History*, being placed later in Mírzá Jání's work. In the account of this examination it is worth noting that every expression of Mírzá Jání's which reflects on the conduct of the Crown-Prince (the present Sháh) is carefully suppressed in the *New History*. Thus Mírzá Jání remarks with evident disapproval that the Crown-Prince sat in the place of honour (which he clearly thinks should have been left for the Báb); calls him a "wretch" (*karámxáda*) for disrespectfully rolling a globe towards the Báb and bidding him explain its structure (p. 288, n. 1, *supra*); and makes it clear that it was in the first instance he, not the clergy, who ordered the bastinado. Concerning the actual discussion, the following passage is the only thing of importance added by Mírzá Jání. "'What,' said Mullá Muḥammad" (there is no mention of the "scornful smile" with which the narrative is embellished in the *New History*), "'does 'Báb' mean?' 'How,' replied the Báb, 'dost thou understand the holy saying <of the Prophet> 'I am the City of Knowledge, and 'Alí is its Gate'? Hast thou not considered thine own face, how it has four organs of perception situated on one surface, which makes five in all, according to the number <of the word> *Báb*', which accords also with the number of the *hú* in *Huwiyyat*? Now these four organs of perception are the Eye, which tells of the "Station of the Heart" (*Makám-i-Fu'ád*), is maintained by the "Support of the Divine Unity" (*Rukn-i-Tashád*),

¹ See pp. 330 and 344 *supra*.

and is the location of the Will (*Mashīyyat*); the Ear, which tells of the "Station of Reason" (*Akl*), is maintained by the "Support of Prophethood" (*Rukn-i-Nubuwwat*), and typifies Devotion (*Irāda*); the Organ of Smell, which tells of the "Station of the Soul" (*Makām-i-Nafs*), corresponds to the "Support of Saintship" (*Rukn-i-Vilāyat*), and holds the position of Providence (*Kadar*); and the Mouth, which tells of the "Station of the Body" (*Makām-i-Jism*) and the "Support of the Perfect Believer" (*Rukn-i-Shī'a*), and corresponds to Predestination (*Kazā*).¹ One of those present (it would appear to have been Hájí Mullá Maḥmúd) said, 'Sir Seyyid, the eyes, the nostrils, and the ears are each double; why do you count them as one?' He replied, 'O my dear friend, they are each reckoned as one. Yea, though the ear has two channels, it hears but one voice.' Then he added, 'Give ear.' For it appears that at the beginning of the conference they had agreed that not more than one person should speak, and that that one should be Mullá Muḥammad. Therefore it was that His Holiness said, 'Give ear,' intending thereby to signify two things; *firstly*, 'You agreed to be as the ear, not as the tongue, so you have contravened your agreement'; *secondly*, 'Open the ear of the heart, and understand the things of Truth; thus, and not by argument, will your cravings be fulfilled.'" Mírzá Jání further adds that the Báb requested that a physician might be allowed to feel his pulse and

¹ The extent to which the classification of things into groups of four prevails throughout Mírzá Jání's work is very noticeable. Indeed this number is brought much more prominently forward in his book than the number 19, probably owing to the predominant influence of the Sheykhí doctrine of the "Four Supports" (*Arkān-i-arba'a*) here alluded to. It will be seen that these "Four Supports" are given by Mírzá Jání (and this holds good throughout his work) as above, viz. *نُبوت، ولایت، ركن شیعہ کامل*, and the *ركن شیعہ کامل*, or *بابیت* (these two being, apparently, only different views of the same *ركن*), not as on p. 243 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

certify to his perfect sanity, which (p. 285 *supra*) had been called in question.

To the account of these proceedings Mírzá Jání appends the following curious narrative. About forty days before the death of Muḥammad Sháh, Prince Mahdí-Kulí Mírzá dreamed that he was attending a levee at the court, when suddenly a young Seyyid entered and rapidly approached the royal throne. As soon as the King saw him, he shewed signs of extreme disquietude, and cried out, "O my lords, this is the Seyyid Báḥ; seize him, for he purposeth my destruction!" No one paid any heed to his words, and the young Seyyid continued to approach the King, till, when he was close to him, he suddenly drew forth a pistol and shot him dead. The levee at once broke up in disorder; "and," continued the Prince, "if any harm befall the King in these days, I shall know for a surety that the Báḥ is of a truth from God."

6. *Kurratu'l-'Ayn, and the Sháhrúd or Badašt Conference.*

(Cf. pp. 43—44, and 270—282 *supra*.)

Having carried the history of the Báḥ to this point, Mírzá Jání, observing a truer chronological sequence than the *New History*, proceeds to speak of the events which immediately preceded the Mázarán insurrection. In the course of this he relates the history of Kurratu'l-'Ayn (omitting, of course, all reference to her martyrdom, which had not taken place when his book was composed), and describes with some fullness of detail the Badašt or Sháhrúd Conference. As before, I shall only notice the points wherein Mírzá Jání corrects or supplements the *New History*.

The passage cited from Mírzá Jání in the *New History* (from p. 43, l. 5 to the word "Khurásán" at the beginning of l. 18 on p. 44) agrees very closely with the original, the only additional items of information contained in the latter being that Mullá Muḥammad Huseyn of Bushraweyh (thus he is always named by Mírzá Jání) stayed with *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* at Bárfurúsh; that the commentary on

the words "God the Eternal" written by the latter comprised not 3000, but 20,000 verses; that the former, just before his departure into Khurásán, received from the latter (not, as stated on p. 44 of the *New History*, from the Báb) the epistle known as "the Eternal Witness," together with a white robe (*kabá*) and a turban; and that *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* was expelled from Barfurúsh by the *Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá*.

Having reached this point, Mírzá Jání, as a preliminary to his very remarkable account of what took place at Badasht, introduces Kurratu'l-'Ayn to the reader. The author of the *New History* has evidently considered it desirable to suppress the Badasht episode altogether, and, there being no other reason for mentioning Kurratu'l-'Ayn at this point of the story than the prominent part which she took in this conference, continues the narrative of the Mázandarán insurrection without interruption.

Concerning Kurratu'l-'Ayn, Mírzá Jání adds the following particulars to those given on pp. 270—282 *supra*. Her lectures at Kerbelá (p. 271) were attended by women as well as men, the former being admitted within the curtain which separated her from the male portion of her audience. It appears that it was not so much the scruples entertained by her and her followers as to the legality of meats procured from the bazaars (p. 272) that attracted the attention and called down the disapprobation of the Turkish Government, as the claim advanced by Kurratu'l-'Ayn that she was a "manifestation" (*mazhar*) of the Prophet's daughter Fátima, and that any unclean thing was rendered pure by being submitted to her gaze. It appears also that (probably in consequence of these pretensions) the chief Muftí of Baghdad nearly determined to put her to death. That she received the title of *Táhira* ("the Pure") from the Báb (p. 273) and was included amongst the "Letters of the Living" is also stated by Mírzá Jání.

Mírzá Jání's description of the meeting of Kurratu'l-'Ayn with *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* at Sháhrúd or Badasht (which latter Mírzá Jání in one place fancifully calls ارض بدع دشت "the Land of the Plain of Innovation") is chiefly remarkable for a long homily on certain points of Bábí doc-

trine, of which the tradition of Kumeyl referred to at pp. 329—330 *supra* forms the text. Unfortunately the ms. is rather corrupt at this point, so that it is not quite clear whether this is intended to be a report of the address actually delivered by Kurratu'l-'Ayn (see Gobineau, p. 181), or of an address delivered by *Ḥaṣrat-i-Kuddūs*, or whether it is merely one of Mīrzā Jānī's own dissertations on doctrine. Its length, and the amount of commentary which would be required to make clear certain obscure points of doctrine which it raises, render it impossible for me to attempt a full translation of it here, but certain points demand notice. The doctrine of "Return" (*ri'at*) is treated of at some length, and the manner in which it is explained gives at least some colour to the oft-repeated allegation that the Bábīs believe in Metempsychosis (see pp. 334—9 *supra*). The outward forms of religion (prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and alms) are explained allegorically, after the fashion of the Isma'īlīs. All men's goods are declared to be the property of the "Point" (*i.e.* the Báb). The abrogation of the laws of the previous dispensation is announced, and laws in general are declared to be necessary only till such time as men have learned to comprehend the "Doctrine of the Unity" (*Tawḥīd*), by which is meant the recognition of the true nature of the "Point," or Divine Manifestation of the age. Here is a translation of a typical passage from the concluding portion of the homily:—

"It is declared in many traditions touching the religion of the *Kā'im* that it shall abrogate all [previous] religions, for '*the perfection of the doctrine of the Divine Unity is the negation of [all] predicates from Him,*' and '*mankind shall become a single church,*' and He will make all religions one. Now His ordinances are esoteric ordinances, and when the esoteric comes, the exoteric order must needs depart. Thus it is to be understood from certain traditions that, under the rule of Him who is to arise of the Family of Muḥammad, men will go to the bazaars, invoke blessings, and take [as an equivalent] whatever they please from the shops; which thing should one do now, he would, according to the Law of the Prophet of God, forfeit his hand. In short, the ordinances of the religion of the *Kā'im* (upon whom be peace) are the ordinances of Unity: all

goods are His goods; all men are His servants; and all women are His handmaidens, whom He giveth to whomsoever He pleaseth, and taketh from whomsoever He pleaseth, according to the purport of the holy text, '*Say, "O God, Lord of the Kingdom! Thou givest the Kingdom to whomsoever Thou pleasest, and strippest the Kingdom from whomsoever Thou pleasest."*' There is likewise a tradition to the effect that His Holiness [the *Ká'im*] will change wives and husbands, even as the Master¹ who hath given his servant and his handmaid² to one another [, hath done]. And this is assuredly sanctioned by the Holy Law, for our Master hath certainly as much authority as every master hath over his slaves and his handmaidens. The essence of His religion is the Doctrine of Unity, and Wisdom, and Love: all around us is the *Kibla*³, and this is the meaning of '*Whithersoever ye turn, there is the Face of God*,' and the realization of '*He it is who is manifest in every manifestation*'; although His manifestation will be the last, as, for instance, '*O God, verily I pray Thee of Thy Splendour [Bahá], whereof the Gate is Há, in which is all Thy Splendour; O God, I pray Thee by all Thy Splendour*' ... to the end of the prayer, is nineteen Gates [*Báb*]⁴, which is the number of the Unity [*Váhid*]. And should men not be able to receive the doctrine of the Unity at the beginning of the Manifestation, ordinances and restrictions will again be prescribed for them, till they acquire such power, when these in turn will be abolished. But during the continuance of the Return⁵ the veils will gradually be lifted, till the verities [of religion] be established, and men learn to explore the Prophetic Mystery, which is the Paradise of Primal Unity [*Jannat-i-Ahadiyyat*]. Of this there is no occasion to speak at present, and I have only submitted to you these remarks that, when people say, 'A company [of Bábís] went to Badasht and conducted

¹ *Kur'án*, iii, 25.

² i.e. the *Báb*.

³ i.e., as it would seem, *Haṣrat-i-Ḳuddús* and *Ḳurrat-ul-'Ayn*.

⁴ The point towards which one turns in prayer.

⁵ *Kur'án*, ii, 109.

⁶ See pp. 330 and 353 *supra*.

⁷ Or 'clauses.'

⁸ See pp. 334—8 *supra*.

themselves in an unseemly fashion', you may know that they were persons of no mean quality, but the elect of the world; that they did a great work; and that when men heap curses and censures on them, it is because of their own benighted condition. For there is a tradition that, 'when the standard of the Truth appears, the people of the East and of the West shall curse it....'

Mírzá Jání then alludes to another tradition about the "four standards" which shall represent the Truth, to wit, the "Standard of the South" or "of Yaman" (*Ráyat-i-Yamání*), which is the Báb or "*Zikr*"; the "Standard of Huseyn" (*Ráyat-i-Huseyní*), which is *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*; the "Standard of Khurásán" (*Ráyat-i-Khurásání*), which is Mullá Huscyn of Bushraweyh; and the "Standard of 'Alíkhán" (*Ráyat-i-'Alíkhání*), which is Kurratü'l-'Ayn. Opposed to these stands the "Standard of Abú Sofyán" (*Ráyat-i-Sofyání*), which is the royal ensign of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh.

It was at Badasht, as would appear from Mírzá Jání's narrative, that Mullá Muhammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh took the title of "*Kuddús*," by which, as is explained, he intended to signify that he was a "return" of the Prophet Muhammad. This announcement, together with other "sprinklings from the Ocean of the Doctrine of Unity," and, as it would seem, a certain apparent lawlessness which characterized the assembly, proved a cause of stumbling to no few of the Bábs, some of whom withdrew. The continually increasing noise and clamour presently attracted a number of the inhabitants to the spot, and these attacked the Bábs (who offered no resistance) and plundered them. The assembly then broke up in disorder; some of the Bábs, as has been said, withdrew; while the remainder made their way in small bands to Ashraf, Ámul, Bárfurúsh, and other places in Mázandarán'. Rumours of what had taken place at

جمعى در بدشت رفتند و هرزگى نمودند¹

¹ A great deal of what Mírzá Jání says concerning the Badasht conference agrees pretty closely with the account given in the *Násikhü't-Tawárikh*. The expression "the Sun and Moon are in conjunction," wherewith the Bábs hailed the meeting of

Badasht, "partly true and partly false," had, however, preceded them, and from most places where they desired to halt they were expelled by the inhabitants. *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús* made his way secretly to Bárfurúsh, but his inveterate enemy the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá*, becoming aware of his arrival, informed the governor of Sárl, who sent *far-rúshes* to arrest him and bring him thither. *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, meanwhile, withdrew to Núr, taking with her, as we learn from another passage of Mírzá Jání's history, Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezel*.

7. *The siege of Sheykh Tabarsí.*

(*Cf.* pp. 44—110 *supra*.)

Mírzá Jání's narrative now re-unites with the *New History* (p. 44 *supra*), which omits all the details above recorded. Of Mullá Huseyn's expulsion from Mash-had, however, a somewhat fuller account is given. After the departure of *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús* from that city, he continued there for some while. One day he visited the shrine of the Imám Rizá in company with seventy of his followers, intending afterwards to leave Mash-had for Mázandarán. A collision occurred between his followers and some of the townsfolk. Prince Hamzé Mírzá, who was then encamped at Rádagán, being informed of this, sent and brought Mullá Huseyn to the camp, and there detained him for several days, treating him, however, respectfully. After a few days Mullá Huseyn was released, whereupon he collected his followers (amongst whom a certain major of artillery named 'Abdu'l-Muhammad Khán subsequently distinguished himself by his devotion and faithful service), and set out westwards. At Miyámí he was reinforced as described in pp. 44—5 *supra*.

On reaching the confines of Mázandarán, Mullá Huseyn and his companions fell in with a body of troops under the command of the Prince-Governor of the province, who stopped the Bábis, and enquired whence they came and

Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús and *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, occurs, for instance, in both versions. *Cf. Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 176.

whither they were going. "From Khurásan," replied they, "and we are going to Kerbelá." The Prince was at first inclined to dispute their passage, but they presented him with a sum of two hundred *túmáns*, whereupon he suffered them to proceed. A few days later came the news of Muhammad Sháh's death (p. 45 *supra*), on receiving which Mullá Huseyn halted his followers at Pírzúkúh, and delivered to them the address which, in a somewhat embellished and expanded form, occupies pp. 45—47 *supra*. It appears that at this time Mullá Huseyn was disposed to censure the conduct of the Bábís at Badasht (not knowing, probably, that *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* had been responsible for what took place), for he expressed his intention of chastising them.

The entry of Mullá Huseyn and his Bábís into Bár-furúsh, their skirmishes with the Musulmáns, and the events which led them to take up their quarters in Sheykh Tabarsí, are described by Mírzá Jání as in the *New History*, with the following additions. In the first affray, seven Musulmáns, including the baker whom Mullá Huseyn "sliced in two like a fresh cucumber" (see p. 49, *supra*, and footnote), were killed. It is not true, says Mírzá Jání, that the Bábís, as asserted by their enemies, deliberately slew several children, but one child was killed accidentally with its father, a dervish, whom they slew because he purposely gave them a misleading answer to a question which they put to him as to their road. One of the Bábís who was taken by the townsfolk was buried alive by them in a well. 'Abbás-Kulí Khán is described as having been on bad terms with the Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá, and disposed at first to look favourably on the Bábís and their doctrine; and even after ambition and self-interest, as well as unwillingness to adopt the principles of fraternity¹ which prevailed with them, had caused him to abandon the idea of joining them, he was very unwilling to fight against

¹ Certain remarks of Mullá Huseyn's concerning the community of property recommended to the garrison of Tabarsí, taken in conjunction with this passage, and certain passages in the address at Badasht, certainly do suggest some ground for the ascription of communistic principles to the early Bábís.

them. His son-in-law, Sa'ádat-Kulí Beg, is described as being actually a believer'.

The skirmish described at pp. 58—59 *supra*, which resulted in the sack of a village called Dih-i-Nazar Khán, wherein the enemy had entrenched themselves, concluded, according to Mírzá Jání, with a massacre of the soldiers and villagers alike to the number of a hundred and thirty. This severity on the part of the Bábis, explains the author, was due to the fact that the villagers had previously made professions of friendship, if not of actual faith; for which reason they were punished as renegades.

The letter written by *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* to the Prince, as reported by Mírzá Jání, is much shorter and more forcibly worded than the version given in the *New History* (pp. 59—63 *supra*), and indications of a most uncompromising attitude towards the established government on the part of the Bábi leader are not wanting. "We," says he, "are the rightful rulers, and the world is set under our signet-ring." "Be not thou, O Prince," he says in the concluding passage of his letter, "misled by worldly glory and the pride of thy youth; know that Násiru'd-Dín Sháh is no true king, and that such as support him shall be tormented in hell-fire." The capture of Mullá Yúsuf 'Alí of Khúy and another by the royalists at Bárfurúsh (p. 64 *supra*) is duly recorded by Mírzá Jání, but the passage relating to his arrest with Behá, cited as from his work by the *New History* (pp. 64—65), appears to be a forgery, as no trace of it exists in the original. In Mírzá Jání's account of the night attack on Mahdí-Kulí Mírzá's quarters, Aká Rasúl is called, as in the C.-codex of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, "Bahmízi" (see footnote on p. 67 *supra*), and it is added that the Mázandarání patois in which he and his comrades conversed served to put the royalist troops off their guard by making them imagine that their visitors were a detachment of 'Abbás-Kulí Khán's troops. Prince Mahdí-Kulí Mírzá is reported (for what purpose does not clearly appear) to have shot his own servant before effecting his escape from the burning building.

The death of Mullá Huseyn is said by Mírzá Jání to

¹ See footnote on p. 53 *supra*.

have taken place on *Rabī'u'l-avval* 9th [A.H. 1265 = January 2nd, A.D. 1849], and it is stated that he died in his saddle as his horse entered the gates of Shейkh Ṭabará. His death appears to have profoundly discouraged the Bábis: "the back of their courage was broken," says Mírzá Jání, "and many of them dispersed from the Castle into the surrounding country." We can hardly wonder at this, for, judged from an external standpoint, *Ḥaẓrat-i-Kuddús* seems to have been in every respect his inferior. Of the boastful tone which he adopted several instances have been already given. Of his egotism the following anecdote recorded by Mírzá Jání affords evidence. A few days before Mullá Ḥuseyn's death, *Ḥaẓrat-i-Kuddús* was walking with him in the enclosure of the Castle, resting his hand on his shoulder. In the enclosure were some lambs whose mothers had been carried off by the enemy, and these, deprived of milk, were bleating piteously. One of the Bábis, moved to pity by their evident distress, approached *Ḥaẓrat-i-Kuddús* and said, "These accursed men have wronged these poor beasts, and how great is the wrong done them!" Thereupon the eyes of *Ḥaẓrat-i-Kuddús* filled with tears, and he replied, "No, by God, it is not they who are wronged so much as we." Then he raised his hand and clapped Mullá Ḥuseyn on the shoulder, adding, "By God, this is Ḥuseyn the much-wronged, and no Antichrist." The narrator adds that he subsequently came across a tradition in the *Biḥáru'l-Anvār* to the effect that the Imám Ḥuseyn will one day return to Kerbelá in company with the Mahdí or *Ká'im*; that the army of the unbelievers will also return, and will declare the former to be Antichrist; that the *Ká'im* will deny this with an oath; that the unbelievers will pay no heed to this, but will kill Imám Ḥuseyn; that the *Ká'im* will demand his blood at their hands; and that forty days after his martyrdom all things will be plunged into confusion.

Grievous as was the loss incurred by the Bábis in the death of Mullá Ḥuseyn, its full results did not at once become apparent. His younger brother, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan, a youth of 18 or 19 years of age, was made captain in his place. (His biography, which Mírzá Jání inserts here, will be found at pp. 93—95 *supra*.) The royalists,

moreover, did not discover for some while that the heavy losses which they had sustained on the night of Rabí'u'l-Avval 9th had not been without their equivalent. At length, however, when the stores of the garrison were running low, and they were reduced to eating horse-flesh, as recorded at pp. 80—82 *supra*, one of them named Mírzá Muhammad Huseyn of Kúm, finding his courage and his faith failing him, asked permission of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* to withdraw. "Very well," answered he, "depart if you can." So the deserter went forth from the Castle to the royalist camp, at the outskirts of which he halted and called out, "I am such an one; take me before the Prince." This was done, and the Prince accorded him a gracious reception; whereupon he gave full information as to the distressed condition of the Bábís and the death of Mullá Huseyn. Subsequently he seems to have repented of his disloyalty, for at times he would praise his late companions and curse his own weakness in abandoning them, so that the Prince became suspicious as to his real sentiments, and, thinking that he might be a spy, sent him as a prisoner to Sári.

Shortly after this occurred the desertion of Ákâ Rasúl of Bahmáz, together with thirty of his Mázandarání Bábís. He too was at first received graciously by the Prince, but 'Abbás-Kulí Khán ordered him to be shot, and caused his followers to be beheaded, ten at Ámul, ten at Sári, and ten at Bárfúrúsh'. "God curse Ákâ Rasúl," exclaimed these, as they were led out to die, "who has deceived us, and debarred us from the service of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*." But the latter said, when tidings came to him of Ákâ Rasúl's fate, "We have forgiven him his fault, and God hath pardoned him."

It is after the capitulation that *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* appears in his worst light. When questioned by the Prince as to his object in fomenting so great a disturbance, he, "knowing that the purpose of that accursed one was not to enquire but to find fault, spoke in a manner calculated to prove a stumbling-block (*bi-naḥw-i-fitnā*), and this was what he said:—"The cause of all this disturbance was

¹ Cf. Gobineau, pp. 225—6, where a different account of Ákâ Rasúl's death is given.

Mullá Muḥammad Ḥuseyn, not I: I went thither only to make enquiries, and so fell into his clutches.” “It is even said,” adds Mírzá Jání, “that he cursed Mullá Ḥuseyn. Such as have understood the secret of what passed between *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús* and *Jenáb-i-Táḥira* at Badasht, and their real natures, and what they meant, may understand the true meaning of this saying also, but not otherwise.”

It appears from what Mírzá Jání says that the Bábis, so far from laying aside their weapons “cheerfully and willingly” (p. 86 *supra*), were very loth to part with them. *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús* had said to them before setting out for the Prince’s quarters, “If a message comes from me bidding you lay down your arms, do just as you feel inclined: if you like, cast them away; if not, keep them.” When, therefore, such a message came, some of the Bábis laid down their arms, while some retained them. Word of this was brought to the Prince, who again urged *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús* to command his followers to disarm. Another message was accordingly sent by Mullá Yúsuf ‘Alí of Kháy, who, supposing that *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús* really wished the Bábis to lay down their weapons, prevailed upon them with some difficulty to do so, whereupon ensued the massacre described at p. 87 *supra*. It appears, however, that all this took place on the day after the surrender, and that supper had been provided for them on the previous night, so that they did not die fasting as asserted in the *New History*. Their bodies were left unburied, and were eaten by wild beasts or disintegrated by the elements. The fate of the Bábi chiefs, and the accounts of Rízá Khán, Murshid, and the youth who voluntarily gave himself up to death (pp. 96—103 *supra*) are given by Mírzá Jání as in the *New History* with a few additional particulars. It is uncertain whether Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan (the brother of Mullá Ḥuseyn of Bushraweyh), Hájí Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán, and Mullá Muḥammad of Núr entitled “*Mu’allim*” (“the Teacher”) were slain in the camp or afterwards. Concerning Rízá Khán, Mírzá Jání adds that he was present at the Badasht conference, “but,” says he, “I have heard that he did somewhat backslide on that occasion, so that *Ḥazrat-i-Kuddús* wounded him on the head, but afterwards forgave him.”

The execution of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* took place, according to Mírzá Jání, on the last night of Jamádí-uth-thání [A.H. 1265 = May 22nd, A.D. 1849], agreeably to a saying ascribed to 'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb :—

العجب ثم العجب بين الجمادى و رجب

"Wonder, and yet more wonder between Jumádá and Rajab."

Some curious particulars, wanting in the *New History*, are given about his life. Thus it is said that when his mother married his reputed father Áká Šálih she was three months gone with child, and that she gave birth to her son six months after her marriage, wherefore his enemies subsequently questioned his legitimacy, but his friends interpreted the matter in a favourable manner, recalling the circumstances of the birth of Christ. Again, while Prince Mahdí-Kulí Mírzá was besieging the Castle of Sheykh Tabarsí, and could in no wise prevail against it, it occurred to him to summon Áká Šálih and his wife and daughter to the camp. When they were come, he said to Áká Šálih, "What is all this disturbance which this son of yours is making, and what is the claim which he advances?" The father answered with an oath, "I know not, and I am filled with amazement at his conduct." "Go then," said the Prince, "and admonish thy son." So Áká Šálih went to the Bábí stronghold, but when he was brought in before his son he was so overwhelmed with awe that he could not speak. *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*, however, treated him with the utmost kindness, and gradually elicited from him an account of what the Prince had done, and the message he had sent. Then he said, "As for the wrong done you, God will recompense you for it, and to be wronged is a high dignity. But as for your admonitions to me, know that I am not your son, and that your son lost his way behind a stack of fire-wood on such-and-such a day whereon you sent him on an errand, and is now in such-and-such a city, while I am the Lord Jesus who have appeared in the form of your son, and, for a wise purpose, have elected you as my reputed father. Go, and tell this to the Prince."

Áká Sálîh did as he was directed, and, after a few more days of detention, was set free.

The following anecdote is also related by Mîrzá Jání. On the eve of the festival of the Naw-rúz or Persian New Year's Day (March 19th, A.D. 1849) it was represented to *Ĥazrat-i-Kuddús* by some of his followers that their gunpowder was all used up. He replied, "To-morrow I will give you a New Year's present of gunpowder." The Bábís supposed that he had promised them a victory over their enemies whereby they should obtain possession of the ammunition stored in the camp, and accordingly were filled with joy at the anticipated triumph; but *Ĥazrat-i-Kuddús* smiled to himself. Next day they were subjected to an unusually heavy bombardment from the enemy, and showers of bombs and cannon-balls fell amongst them. In the midst of this *Ĥazrat-i-Kuddús* came out from his quarters and said, "My men, this is God's New Year's gift, which He hath sent down from the heaven of glory and trial for you much-suffering ones." Then he added, "Affliction is love's portion," and recited the following verses :—

ما بلارا بكس عطا نكنيم تا كه نامش ز اوليا نكنيم¹
 اين بلا گوهر خزانۀ ماست ما بهر كس گهر عطا نكنيم

"We vouchsafe affliction to none till we have inscribed him amongst the saints.

This affliction is the jewel of our treasure-house: we do not bestow jewels on every one."

Then he instructed them to pour water over the shells as soon as they touched the ground, and, having thus extinguished the fuses, to extract the powder with which they were filled. "This," added he, "will suffice you, for soon you will need no more powder." These words were understood by those most advanced in faith as signifying that their martyrdom was at hand; but the weaker brethren imagined that a speedy triumph was promised to them.

Mîrzá Jání adds a good deal more concerning the spiritual rank occupied by *Ĥazrat-i-Kuddús*, making it

¹ My transcript has نهریم, which the rhyme forbids.

quite clear that he regards him as the *Ká'im*, and as supreme in the spiritual hierarchy, even above the Báb himself, who, as is further stated, refrained from writing or circulating anything during the period of the 'Manifestation' of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*, and only after his death claimed to be himself the *Ká'im*.

It was on the death of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* also that Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezel* first rose to prominence, this being the fulfilment of the sign of the fifth year of the Theophany "a Light shining forth from the Morning of Eternity". For nineteen days after the tidings of the death of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* came to him, the Báb mourned unceasingly for him and the other martyrs of Mázarán, weeping night and day, and hardly tasting food. Then he wrote a form of "visitation" to be used by pilgrims visiting the scene of their sufferings¹, and, being himself a prisoner, sent one of his followers called "*Sayyáh*" ("the Traveller")² to perform his visitation by proxy, requesting him to bring back a handful of earth from the spot as a present, and adding that in a short while lofty buildings would be erected there in honour of the martyrs, and that from all quarters of the world crowds of believers would flock to visit Sheykh Tabarsí.

8. *The Báb as Ká'im; the "Indian Believer"; and the "Seven Martyrs."*

(Cf. pp. 241—244; 250—262, and 265—268 *supra*.)

According to Mírzá Jání, the Báb first announced himself as the *Ká'im*³ in a letter which he addressed to

¹ See pp. 329—330 *supra*.

² A copy of this is in my possession. See my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 474—6.

³ Perhaps the same Sheykh 'Alí *Sayyáh* who was subsequently exiled to Cyprus, and there died. See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 352, 361, 380—2, and 386—7.

⁴ This is inconsistent with the accounts of the Báb's exami-

Mullá Sheykh 'Alí (better known as "*Jenáb-i-'Azím*") at about this time in the following words :—

ان يا على انا قد اصطفيناك بأمرنا و جعلناك ملكاً تنادي
بين يدي القائم بآته قد ظهر باذن ربّه ذلك من فضل
الله عليك و على الناس لعلمهم يشكرون *

"O 'Alí, verily we have chosen thee for our work, and have made thee an angel to cry before the *Kū'im* that he hath appeared, by the permission of his Lord: this is of God's grace towards thee and towards mankind, that perchance they may be thankful."

Here follows the history of the "Indian Believer," which agrees very closely with the account given in the *New History* (pp. 241—4 *supra*), save that he is stated to have said, when brought before the Prince-Governor of Kháy, "I am one who with the blows of my sword will do thus and thus," and to have subsequently gone to Turkey and there gathered round himself many disciples.

In the account given of the "Seven Martyrs" Mírzá Jání corrects or supplements the *New History* in the following points. A rising of some sort was actually meditated by the Bábís of Teherán, though not on so extensive a scale as was believed by the government (*cf.* p. 251, *supra*). The project, whatever it was, was betrayed by one of themselves, and thirty-seven persons were arrested and cast into prison. The names of the seven who determined to die rather than renounce their faith are given as in the *New History*, save that the *mujtahid* of Turshíz is called *Áká Seyyid Muḥammad Huseyn*. The prisoners remained in confinement for a week, and during this time Mullá Isma'íl of Kūm ate scarcely anything till the night before his execution, when, though most of his companions could hardly touch the food set before them, "some for fear, some for bewilderment, and some for ecstasy," he made a very hearty supper.

nation at Tabríz (see pp. 286—7 *supra*, and *Trav. Narr.*, vol. ii, pp. 20, 24, and 288—9), which took place during Muḥammad Sháh's life-time.

As regards the execution of the "Seven Martyrs," Mírzá Jání adds the following particulars. As Hájí Mullá Isma'íl was led out from the prison, he heard some of the bystanders saying to one another, "This is one of the Bábís," whereat he laughed, and said, "Yes, I am a Bábí, and I am going to die for you." The second *miṣrā* of the verse which he recited just before he was killed is given somewhat differently as follows:—

زنده بر گردد کسی از کوی قربانگاه دوست

Mírzá Kurbán-'Alí's dying words are also given somewhat differently as follows:—"Know that this man [*i.e.* the Báb] is He who is to arise of the family of Muhammad, and we are his servants. Were I possessed of a thousand lives, I would sacrifice them all for him. I will return in the Returns of that Lord of men, and for us is reserved everlasting dominion and an eternal mansion, while your dominion and glory shall pass away, and the end thereof shall be sorrow and remorse." Hájí 'Alí Khán's account of one incident of the execution (pp. 256—8) does not occur in Mírzá Jání's history. The reflections on the whole episode which occupy pp. 258—261 and 265—268 *supra* agree almost exactly with the text of Mírzá Jání, but the account of the Báb's precocious wisdom contained in the L-codex of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* (pp. 262—5 *supra*) is wanting. Mírzá Jání adds that the Báb was not informed of the matter at all, inasmuch as he had declared the very mention of painful and distressing occurrences to be unlawful amongst believers.

9. *The Niriz Episode.*

(*Cf.* pp. 115—124, and the second paragraph on p. 128.)

The account of Seyyid Yahyá's conversion given by Mírzá Jání has been already compared with that given in the *New History* (pp. 111—115 *supra*) at pp. 347—8 *supra*. His account of the Niriz war, properly inserted in this place, presents the following points of divergence from the version contained in the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*. On his arrival

at Shíráz on his way from Yazd to Níríz, Seyyid Yahyá received by the hand of Seyyid 'Abdu'l-'Azím of Marágha a letter from the Báb, together with a talismanic figure (*keykal*) of remarkable size. When requested by the governor to leave Níríz, he answered in less moderate fashion than is implied in the first paragraph on p. 118 *supra*, and only withdrew from the town, "because he saw the outward might and power of his enemies, and the weakness of his followers." In his address to the congregation in the mosque he warns all who refrain from helping him that they will be deprived of the intercession of his ancestor Imám Huseyn in the Day of Judgment. Kúchak 'Alí Beg's narrative, quoted in the *New History* (pp. 124—8 *supra*) as from Mírzá Jání, is wanting in the text before me, as, of course, is the account of the second Níríz war, which did not take place till about the time of Mírzá Jání's death (A.D. 1852). The only other points worth noticing are that the confusion between Farhád Mírzá and Fírúz Mírzá already exists in Mírzá Jání (*cf.* p. 120 *supra*, and n. 1), and that in place of the expression "had lost two brothers in the earlier part of the war" on p. 123 *supra* he has "whose brother had gone to hell."

10. *The Zanján Episode.*

Of Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján himself, an account given by Mírzá Jání in an earlier part of his work has been already noticed at pp. 349—351 *supra*. His narrative of the Zanján siege, though comparatively brief, differs widely from that given in either codex of the *Táríkh-i-Jadíd*. The gist of it is as follows. The Báb wrote to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí authorizing him to perform public prayer on Friday in the mosque, which he had for a while ceased to do on learning that the Báb had declared it unlawful for any one to officiate at public worship without his express permission. But when Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, agreeably to these instructions, repaired to the mosque, his entry was opposed by the orthodox. Thereupon a conflict ensued between the Bábs and the Musulmáns, in which the former finally prevailed over the latter, and installed

their leader in the pulpit. The matter was reported to the governor, who invited Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí to confer with him at his residence. As they could not come to an agreement, the latter presently rose to depart, but was prevented by the governor's myrmidons. The Bábis, hearing of this, and knowing that if their leader were sent to Teherán he would be put to death for having returned to Zanján in spite of the Sháh's prohibition, attacked the governor's house and rescued Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, who thereupon occupied the citadel and the adjacent quarter of the town, where his followers entrenched themselves as described in the second paragraph on p. 157 *supra*. Troops soon began to arrive from Teherán, and, as the position of the Bábis grew more critical, some of the weaker ones began to desert, till only about three hundred and odd were left; but these were all men of proved courage "each one of whom," as Mírzá Jání says, "could have held his own against forty." Their wives and children also took part in the war, crying out "*Yá Sáhibu'z-zamán*," and attacking the foe with slings and the like. The refusal of Mír Seyyid Ḥuseyn Khán of Fírúz-Kúh and Ja'far-Kulí Khán, brother of the *Itimad-ud-Dawla*, as well as of some of the tribesmen belonging to the 'Alí Iláhi sect, to act against the Bábis is recorded by Mírzá Jání as in the *New History*. The number of troops finally brought against the Bábis is estimated at 30,000, with 19 pieces of artillery.

That Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí did actually during the course of the siege address a letter to Mírzá Taqí Khán, the Prime Minister, is confirmed by Mírzá Jání, but the tone of this letter, as reported by him, is by no means so conciliatory as is that of the version given at pp. 169—170 *supra*, though the substance is the same. But Mírzá Jání adds that when the Amír replied "There is nothing for it but to kill you," Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí addressed several letters to the ambassadors of foreign powers resident in Teherán, requesting their good offices on his behalf. These accordingly remonstrated with the Prime Minister, but to no purpose. "I have heard," adds Mírzá Jání, "that one of the things for which the Emperor of Russia found fault with the Amír, and which resulted in his dismissal, was this same massacre of this much-wronged people. The

ambassadors of Russia and Turkey subsequently came to see His Holiness 'the Proof,' and conversed with him; and he made the following explanation to them:—"We have no political contention, but only apprise the Muslim world of the appearance of that Imám who vanished from us, and whose return we expect. We say that he has now appeared, and they answer that we are liars. We reply, "By that same proof for which you have accepted Islám, the proof of which is the Kur'an, accept this person also." This they refuse to do. We further say, "Examine the traditions concerning his Manifestation handed down from the Imáms, and accept them." Still they heed us not. We further say, "Consider the multitude of those who have believed, and their godliness, piety, and self-renunciation." They return us no answer. We further say, "Come, let us curse one another!" They reply that this is not permitted in their law. We say, "Come, let us kindle a fire, and go together into the midst thereof." They answer, "You are mad." We say, "We have witnessed miracles on the part of this man." They retort, "He is a sorcerer." In short, whatever we say, they answer beside the point."

The death of Mullá Muhammad 'Alí thirty days after he had been wounded on the ramparts, whither, contrary to his usual custom, he had ascended, and his burial in a deep grave by a well, are briefly recorded. His followers, however, though deeply afflicted by his loss, did not lose heart, and continued to fight with a courage which amazed their enemies, "who knew not," says Mírzá Jání, "that Almighty God Himself was their Captain, nor had read [to any good purpose the text] '*Verily God is with the well-doers*'." The treacherous promises whereby the Bábis were induced to capitulate, and the fate which they thereby incurred, are very briefly described. The men were killed, some few being sent to "Damascus" (*i.e.* Teherán) to suffer death; the women and children were sold into slavery; the houses and property of the Bábis were given over to plunder; and their dead were exhumed and burned. The elaborate details of the siege given by Haydar-Beg in the L.-codex of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* are entirely wanting in Mírzá Jání.

¹ Cf. p. 61 *supra*.

² Kur'an, xxix, 69.

11. *Subh-i-Ezel and Behá.*

We now come to what is without doubt the most interesting and most important portion of Mírzá Jání's history, to wit the account of the appearance of Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezel*, his election as successor and vicegerent to the Báb, and his relations to his half-brother and subsequent rival Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí *Behá'u'lláh*. This portion, needless to say, has been entirely suppressed by the compilers of the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*, whose sympathies, as has been already shown, were entirely with Behá; and it more than any other cause has probably conduced to the extreme rarity of Mírzá Jání's most precious history, even amongst the Bábís; for we can hardly doubt that the Behá'ís would do all in their power to suppress a book which would place so formidable a weapon in the hands of their opponents the Ezelís. This portion, then, I propose to translate in full, with as much accuracy as the occasional corruptness of the transcript on which I am compelled to work will admit of.

"Now the remainder of the history of His Holiness 'the Reminder' [*Zikr*, i.e. the Báb] (may my life be his sacrifice) is as follows. After the martyrdom of *Hazrat-i-Kuddus* and his companions, the Master was filled with sadness, until such time as the writings of *Jenáb-i-Ezel* met his gaze, when, through the violence of his delight, he rose up and sat down several times, pouring forth his gratitude to the God whom he worshipped. As for *Jenáb-i-Ezel*, the following is a brief epitome of much that might be said. He is a scion of one of the noble families of Persia. His father was accomplished, wealthy, and much respected, and enjoyed the high consideration of the King and nobles of Persia. His mother died when he was a child, she being also of distinguished parentage¹. His father thereupon entrusted him to the keeping of his honourable spouse²,

¹ و والده. ایشان خاصه بود. So I understand the words though they may perhaps signify that she was the first, chief, or favourite wife of Subh-i-Ezel's father.

² آن کوچ محترمه‌اش i.e. his second wife, or rather, as

saying, 'Do you take care of this child, and see that your handmaids attend to him properly.' The concubine, actuated by a sense of her own importance, paid no attention to this; until one night in the World of Actuality¹ she saw His Holiness the Apostle of God and the King of Saintship [i.e. 'Alf ibn Abí 'Tálib] enter her house with all dignity and majesty, and bid her bring the child to them. When she had brought him, they kissed him and placed him in her hands, saying, 'This child is ours: guard him well, that he may come to the hands of our *Ká'im*.' This believing woman thus continued the narrative. 'When it was morning, and I arose from this dream of bliss' and sought the child, I perceived that such a love for him had arisen in my heart as I had never experienced towards my own children. So I continued to minister to the child with the utmost faithfulness and reverence, until he reached his fourteenth year, when the Manifestation of His Holiness [the Báb] took place.'

"This woman's beatified spirit in that same year was joined to God's mercy, and this narrative [above given] was related by *Hayrat-i-Ezel*'s brother, who was her son. He too is a man of excellence, thoroughly versed in the Doctrine of the Divine Unity, endowed with all good qualities and laudable attributes, and entitled *Jenáb-i-Behá*. In brief he related as follows. 'I busied myself with the instruction of *Jenáb-i-Ezel*. The signs of his natural excellence and goodness of disposition were apparent in the mirror of his being. He ever loved gravity of demeanour, silence, courtesy, and modesty, avoiding the society of other children, and their behaviour. I did not, however, know that he would become the possessor of [so high] a station. He studied Persian, but made little progress in Arabic. He wrote, however, a good *nasta'liq*

appears from what immediately follows, his lawful concubine (صیغه).

¹ از بابت عظمت شأن.

² i.e. the World of Dreams (عالم واقع).

³ Cf. Gobineau, p. 277.

hand, and was very fond of the poems of the mystics and initiates of the Doctrine of the Divine Unity.'

"I, the author of this book, once met him. He appeared to me an amiable child. I subsequently enquired his experiences, and asked him, 'How was it that you were first drawn towards this society?' He replied, 'The announcement of the mission of His Holiness took place when I had just reached the age of puberty. Not liking to follow blindly any one of the doctors of religion, I made enquiries about him. At the time when my honoured brother used to bring the followers of His Holiness to the house, and converse with them by night, and read his writings, I too used to listen to what passed, till one time when they were reading a prayer of his in which the expression "*Fu'áh áh, yá Iláhi*"¹ occurred very frequently, the attraction of the spirit of this word enthralled my heart, and love for him [whose words these were] established itself firmly within me. Afterwards I saw his [explanations of the] Traditions of the Imáms and other perspicuous signs, and believed with full assurance.' Although at the time when I met him he had no very evident learning or excellence, yet his love was very beautiful. So great, indeed, was it, that when the order was issued by His Holiness the Supreme Lord, that is to say the 'Reminder',² for his followers to proceed to Khurásán, he [*i.e.* Ezel] also resolved to go thither. So, having made for himself a knapsack, and got together a few necessities, he advanced the foot of emancipation from the realm of Plurality into the plain of Unity, and set out. Although he was not then more than fifteen years of age, and had never travelled, and was ignorant of all the customs of the road, he went forth with perfect trust in his Beloved; and in obedience to his command. But when his brother³ was informed of this, he sent and prevented him.

"After a little time had elapsed, his relations journeyed into Mázandarán, and he too set out in their company, and

¹ "O, O my God!" (فآه آه يا الهى).

² جناب ذكر, *i.e.* the Báb.

³ *i.e.* Behá.

went to Mázandarán, that perchance he might proceed thence to Khurásán, though he had no equipment for such a journey. After this his brother [*i.e.* Behá] set out for the Most Holy Land [*i.e.* Mash-had], and on the way thither met with *Jenáb-i-Tákira*¹, with whom he tarried, doing her much service both there and at Teherán, and, indeed, providing her and her companions with the means of continuing their journey, and bearing all their expenses, which certainly did not amount to less than five hundred *timáns*. In short, he remained in Sabzawár till *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* came thither, on whom he had the honour of waiting, and for whom he entertained the truest devotion. He became one of the most illustrious of the believers, was present at the disturbance at Badasht, stood firm in his love, expended large sums of money, and helped the faithful in every way.

"After the collapse of the Badasht conference, which we have already briefly described, *Jenáb-i-Ezel* came to Bárfurúsh, and on the way thither had the honour of being admitted to the presence of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*. The narrator says:—'No sooner did *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* see him than he rejoiced exceedingly, and, taking with him *Jenáb-i-Ezel*, for whom he manifested much kindness and affection, he withdrew some little distance apart from the crowd to converse with him, addressing to him an exhortation in those sweet tones by the spirit of which the breath of Jesus was inspired so that it was able to restore the dead to life. Thus did *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* sow the seed of his love, which was the Paradise of the Doctrine of the Divine Unity, in Ezel's heart, inscribe on the tablet of his spirit the image of devotion and emancipation, constrain and attract him by the breaths of his inward and outward influences, and intoxicate him with a wine of alchemic virtue, which made him glorious in his time². Yes,

¹ It is worth noting the expression in the original, خدمت چناناب طاهره رسیدند, as it shews that in Mírzá Ján's eyes *Kurrat-ul-'Ayn* held higher rank than Behá. Cf. p. 283 *supra*.

² I am not certain as to the correctness of these last few words of the sentence. The original has:—

و از شراب کیمیا الری سرمست و مانگر در دهرش نموده.

'It needs a substance pure to be receptive of the light;
Not every stone or clod can change to pearl or coral
bright.'

At all events he filled him to his fullest capacity with sustenance of light, and *Ezel* attended him to Bárfurúsh, and there was presented to *Jenáb-i-Táhira*, whom, at the command of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*, he conducted to a place appointed, after which he did not, to outward appearance, again enjoy the honour of meeting *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*, though the palate of his affection was continually refreshed by the sweet breaths of his influences, while the eye of his holy heart was so illuminated by the effulgences of his secret splendours that from that day forth the signs of Beauty and Majesty became apparent in his august countenance, so that all the believers understood.

"In short he was often with *Jenáb-i-Táhira*, and that Mother of the World fed the child *Ezel* like a nurse with '*milk whereof the savour altereth not*,' rocked him in the cradle of godly conversation and laudable qualities, and taught him to walk in the garb of conduct assumed by people of upright disposition, until his frame gathered strength. When *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*, being then [besieged] in the Castle [of Tabarsí], demanded help, *Jenáb-i-Ezel* with his brother [*Behá*] and several others¹ set out in response to this summons. On their way, however, they were arrested by the governor of Amul, and brought thither. One of the faithful known as Hájí Káshání² related as follows:—'I was with them. That night *Hazrat-i-Ezel* disappeared. They brought us to Amul and despoiled us of our goods. Next morning they captured *Hazrat-i-Ezel* and brought him to the city. The townsfolk offered him many

¹ Kur'án, xlví, 16.

² Cf. pp. 64—5 *supra*, where, of course, all mention of *Subh-i-Ezel* is suppressed.

³ This allusion might tempt some to doubt whether this history, though unquestionably the work quoted as Mírzá Jání's in the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, was really composed by him. But I think it probable on the whole that Mírzá Jání either chooses to speak of himself in the third person, or that he alludes to his brother Hájí Mírzá Isma'íl of Káshán.

insults as he passed through the streets and bazaars. When he arrived I beheld him joyous and wreathed in smiles. I enquired how it had gone with him. He replied, "As they were capturing you I concealed myself in a certain place. I did not sleep till morning, and when morning was come the people of a neighbouring hamlet found me out and captured me. They took me to a certain artilleryman who was the head-man of that village, changed my clothes for others, frightened me a little, and threatened to kill me. At length he [*i.e.* the artilleryman] said, 'Take him to Ámul.' I beguiled the way to the city, a distance of two parasangs, now with prayers in the Arabic language, now with the recitation of poems in Persian; and so ardent was I in communion and supplication with my Beloved that I heeded not a whit my bondage in the hands of the foe. When we reached the city, the people cursed me, threw stones at me, and spat on me, while I looked on indifferent."

"At all events, they brought him and his brother [*Beká*] before the *mullás*, who, according to their belief, inflicted the legal castigation, besides which they suffered all manner of annoyances at the hands of the townsfolk, all of which they welcomed for the Beloved's sake. But *Jenáb-i-Ezel* and *Hájí Káshání* were not beaten. They were imprisoned for a while, but subsequently God, the Gracious and Loving, brought about the deliverance of each by some means. They continued for a while after this in the confines of *Másandarán*, and then returned to their own homes.

"*Hájí Káshání* says:—'I was in attendance on *Jenáb-i-Ezel* in *Másandarán*, night and day, for four months or more, both before and after his imprisonment. He shewed me particular kindness, and I was one of his most intimate friends, and had full knowledge of all that concerned him. As for what I certainly knew of him, he was filled with ardour and ecstasy, and I found him ever disposed by nature to devotion and emancipation such that he utterly disregarded the world and its circumstance, being wholly absorbed in love and self-annihilation, and occupied with praise. He shewed a wonderful attachment to *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*, and used often to read aloud with sweet utterance the homilies and prayers of that Master of the World,

intoxicating his hearers with frequent life-giving draughts from the cup of his influence. He himself used also to repeat and write original verses and prayers, but he advanced no claim to be a "Proof." Sometimes he would question me about matters relating to the Doctrine of the Unity, or enquire the inner meaning of certain verses of the Holy *Kur'án*; but he loved brevity and subtlety in explanation, and his delicate nature was distressed by any tendency to elaboration and prolixity, so restless was the steed of his understanding, and so swift in its sure and steadfast course.'

"To be brief, his brother [*Behá*] fell under suspicion, and it was said that he not improbably harboured designs of setting up a standard [on his own account], and so creating further disturbances in those regions. Therefore the notables of the district, such as Mírzá Hasan the *I'timádu'd-Dawla's* brother, considered it expedient to send him to the capital. About forty days after his departure the news of the martyrdom of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* came to *Jenáb-i-Ezel*. I have heard that after receiving this news he suffered for three days from a violent fever, induced by the burning heat of the fire of separation; and that after the three days the signs of holiness (*áthár-i-kudsi*) appeared in his blessed form¹, and the mystery of the 'Return' was [once more] manifest. 'This event took place in the fifth year of the Manifestation of the Truth, so that *Jenáb-i-Ezel* became the blessed Earth of Devotion, and His Holiness 'the Reminder' [i.e. the Báb] appeared as the Heaven of Volition. And it was under this dispensation that the catastrophes of 'the Seven Martyrs,' of *Hazrat-i-Wahíd* [i.e. Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb]², and of Zanján took place.

¹ By the appearance of these *áthár-i-kudsi* (آثار قدسی) the writer means that the virtues and gifts of the martyred saint *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* were transferred, according to the doctrine of the "return" or *rij'at*, to *Subh-i-Ezel*.

² The title of *Wahíd* ("the One") is numerically equivalent to *Yahyá* (=28), and was consequently bestowed both on Áká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb (called "the first *Wahíd*," "*Wahíd-i-*

"Now when the letters of *Jonáb-i-Ezel* came to His Holiness 'the Reminder' [i.e. the Báb], he rejoiced exceedingly, and thenceforth began the decline of the Sun of 'the Reminder' and the rising of the Moon of Ezel'. So he [i.e. the Báb] sent of his own personal effects, such as pen-cases, paper, writings, his own blessed raiment, and his holy rings, according to the 'Number of the Unity' [*Váhíd* = 19], that the outward form might correspond with the inward reality'. He also wrote a testamentary deposition, explicitly nominating him [i.e. *Ezel*] as his successor [*Wáfi*], and added, 'Write the eight [unwritten] *Váhids* of the Beyán', and, if "He whom God shall manifest" should appear in His power in thy time, abrogate the Beyán; and put into practice that which we shall inspire into thine heart.' Now the mystery of his bestowing his effects on *Ezel* according to the 'Number of the Unity' is perfectly evident, namely that he intended the inner meaning thereof, that it might be known to all his followers that after himself *Ezel* should bear the Divine influences. And his object in explicitly nominating him as his successor also was to re-assure the hearts of the weak, so that they might not be bewildered as to his real nature, but that enemies and friends alike might know that there is no intromission in God's grace, and that God's religion is a thing which must be made manifest. And the reason why [the Báb] himself refrained from writing the eight [unwritten] *váhids* of the Beyán, but left them to *Ezel*, was that all men might know that the Tongue of God is one, and that He in Himself is a sovereign Proof. And what he meant by 'Him whom God should manifest' after himself was *Hazrat-i-Ezel* and none other than him, for there may not be two 'Points' at one time. And the secret of the Báb's saying, 'Do thus and thus,' while *Ezel* was himself also a

arval") and on Mírzá Yahyá, *Subh-i-Ezel* (called "the second *Wáhíd*," "*Wáhíd-i-thání*").

¹ بنای غروب شمس ذکرته و طلوع قمر ازلیه شده.

² Cf. Gobineau, pp. 319—322.

³ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 353—4, and n. 4 on the former.

'Proof,' was that at this time His Holiness 'the Reminder' was the Heaven of Volition, and *Ezel* was accounted the Earth of Devotion and the product of purified gifts, wherefore was he thus addressed.

"In short, as soon as the time had come when the 'Eternal Fruit' [*Thamara-i-Ezeliyyé*] had reached maturity, the Red Blossom of Reminder-hood [*i.e.* the Báb], casting itself from the branch of the Blessed Tree of the *Ká'imats* (which is 'neither of the East nor of the West') to the simoom-wind of the malice of foes, destroyed itself, and prepared to ascend from the outward and visible 'World of Dominion' to the inward realm of the Mystery of Godhead. Wherefore it was that the accessories of his martyrdom appeared in the world; for it is sufficiently obvious that, had he not himself been content with martyrdom, none would have had power to harm him."

12. *The Báb's martyrdom.*

(*Cf.* pp. 293, 297—312 *supra*.)

Here follows the account of the Báb's martyrdom, which differs from that given in the *New History* in the following points. The long narrative of "a certain man of position and probity who was the confidential attendant of Prince Hamzé Mírzá" (pp. 293—296 *supra*) is omitted by Mírzá Jání. Concerning the four Bábís imprisoned at Tabriz (p. 297 *supra*) before the Báb and his two intimate disciples, Áká Seyyid *Muhammad* Huseyn, called 'Azíz ("the Dear One"), and Áká Seyyid Hasan of Yezd, were brought thither from Chihrík, Mírzá Jání thinks that all except Mírzá (or Mullá) *Muhammad* 'Alí of Tabriz (the Báb's fellow-martyr) were liberated, and not, as asserted by some, poisoned in the prison. The Báb's request to his fellow-prisoners that they should kill him, and the manner in which the request was received by them is described as in the *New History*, but no mention is made of the letter written by Mírzá *Muhammad* 'Alí to his brother. The Báb, it is added, was paraded through the town on an ass

¹ *Kur'án*, xxiv, 35.

previously to his execution. Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí was first tied up to be shot, and, just after this first volley was fired, the Báb exclaimed, as the body of his faithful disciple fell at his feet, *انت في الجنة معي*, "*Thou art with me in Paradise*." Three volleys were fired in all; the first was not aimed at the Báb; the second severed the ropes by which he was bound without injuring him; the third proved fatal, three bullets ("according to the <number of the letters in the> name 'Alí, which bears the 'Support of Saintship'"') entering his body. According to Mírzá Jání, the Báb exclaimed, when he was seized by his executioners after his almost miraculous escape from the first volley, "O people, am I not after all the son of God's Apostle? Do not approve such injustice and cruelty towards me! Fear God, and have some shame before His Apostle! What is my crime, save that I have invited you to the knowledge of God, and called you from the world of Plurality to the Kingdom of Unity, and cast myself into affliction and suffering for your sake?" "And," adds Mírzá Jání, "he uttered many such pathetic and moving words for the completion of the Proof; but they produced no effect on the hearts of those cruel men."

The bodies of the two victims were exposed for two days, after which they were buried. Some of the Bábís (not named by Mírzá Jání) exhumed them, wrapped them in white silk, and, according to the Báb's own instructions, brought them to *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel* ["*Ḥaẓrat-i-Wahíd-i-Thání*"; see p. 380 *supra*, n. 2], who, with his own hands, buried them in a certain spot mentioned in a tradition handed down from the Imáms as the last resting-place of the *Ká'im*. "This matter," adds Mírzá Jání, "is at present kept secret, and it is unlawful for anyone who has knowledge of it to divulge it till such time as the Lord may see fit to make it known."

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 322, and n. 2 on p. 301 *supra*.

² Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 46, n. 1; and p. 110, n. 3.

³ i.e. the site of the Báb's grave.

13. *Events of the period intervening between the Báb's death and the Massacre of Teherán.*

Of the attempt on the Sháh's life and the fearful persecution of the Bábís to which it gave rise MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ'S history naturally contains no account, since the author himself was one of the victims of the fatal summer of 1852. But of the two years' period of transition—I had almost said of chaos—which intervened between the Báb's death and this, and of the numerous claimants to supreme authority in the Bábí church which it produced, he gives a most valuable notice, which contains numerous data of great interest, omitted, so far as I know, by all other histories, save the *Hasht Bihišt*, which alludes briefly to certain of the pretenders about to be noticed. Amongst these is Seyyid Baqír the Indian, whose history, shorn of those details deemed unedifying, occurs at pp. 244—7 *supra*. Of this portion of MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ'S history I shall translate the more interesting passages, and give an abstract of the remainder.

"After the setting of the Sun of Unity," continues MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ, after a digression of one or two pages, "the Sun of Eternity [*Shams-i-Ezeliyyat*, i.e. *Šubh-i-Ezel*] rose to the meridian; the illumination of the rays of his bounty beamed on the 'Temples of the Unity' [i.e. the believers in the Bábí doctrine]; sturdy branches grew forth from that Blessed Tree'; signs of manifestations fructified; writings of new verses were inscribed on its leaves; melodious birds circled round it with warblings of ecstasy; the face of the earth of existence was decked and adorned; and the stain of ignorance was cleansed from hearts endowed with natural capacity. And in the year '67" occurred the conjunction of the Seven Stars in one sign", and the fiery blaze of sedition appeared in the world. The full detail of these 'Manifestations' is more than much, but the following is a brief epitome.

¹ See n. 2 on p. 273 *supra*.

² i.e. A.H. 1267 (A.D. 1850—1).

³ The death of the "Seven Martyrs" is probably alluded to. Cf. p. 258 and n. 1.

"The first 'Manifestation' which took place in the seventh year [of the Báb's mission, *i.e.* A.H. 1267], and which was a branch growing forth from the blessed communion of Ezel¹, was a youth seventeen or eighteen years of age, whose name was *Zabíh*², and whose trade was that of a confectioner [*kannád*], from the reed-bed of whose wisdom grew sugar-caues of affection, and by whose sweet qualities the palates of the Children of the Spirit were gratified. So far as outward knowledge went, however, he was quite illiterate. The means whereby his 'Manifestation' came about were such as he thus described. 'One day I was passing along a road when my eyes fell on a youth whose beauteous countenance was wonderfully charming and life-inspiring. I knew not who he was, nor what his sweet name might be, but this much I knew, that he was a saint of high degree and a prince of noble character. His cypress-like form was a manifestation of the *Alif* of Unity³; his majestic eyes were as God's all-seeing Eye, which discriminates between every good and evil thing; his eyebrows were a noose to ensnare pilgrims on the Path of Truth; his delicate ears had received the attribute of God's Hearing, that they should hear no voice but his own; and his sweet tongue might be called the Speaking Tongue of God, that it might judge rightly as to the right. By his sweet smile he introduced a new joy into the very Essence of Heavenly Bliss, while by the angry contraction of his brows the seven stories of hell were set ablaze. Each hair of his head was a fetter for the heart of one of his subjects, and a hope at which a sinner might clutch. His walking was the Glory of God, his looking the Influence of God, his silence Wisdom, his speech Mercy. By his rising up he established a Resurrection, and by his movement he accomplished the creation

¹ In the original, *شرکهء مبارکهء ارلئه*, by which, I suppose, is meant the band of Ezel's chosen and intimate disciples.

² Cf. pp. 139, and 213, n. 2, and *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 332.

³ The letter *alif* stands for 1 in the *aljad* notation, and is also the initial of the word *Ahad* (one).

of a New World. I said to myself, "Glory be to God! Who is this youth, beside whom the youths of the world would be as aged men, and before whose beauty the Sun in heaven would flee away in shame; whose best description is in refraining from description, and whose praise is acceptable only in his absence?" This much I knew, that he had taken from me whatsoever I had in the hand of my being, and vouchsafed to me a draught of the wine of Annihilation. In this world of Annihilation I knew that he was [God] the Self-Subsisting, and he the Manifestation of the Everlasting; the Mystery Uncreate; the Eternal Essence; that he it was whose will was the Will of God, that "*when He willeth aught, He doth but say 'Be,' and it is*." In short, after the moist mist of my selfhood had been dried up by the heat of that Effulgence, and I had won to the mystery of his Emancipation and Perfect Service, the signs of his Eternal Godhead became manifest in the mirror of my being; my tongue was loosed in verses and supplications at his Court; and from him to him I continued to cry, "*Verily I am God! There is no God but me!*"

"When the other brethren heard this cry they were vexed and distressed, for, because of the benighted condition of their own souls and the duality of their standpoint, they heard it as the voice of another¹, and so opened their lips in repudiation of his [*i.e.* *Zabih's*] words, and carried their complaint of him before his Holiness [*i.e.* *Ezel*], who said, 'I know him not,' that is to say, 'There is no Truth but me, and I am all the Truth. Wherever the voice of the Truth arises, I am he who crieth, since I behold none save myself. Therefore do I say, "I know him not."' For in the beginning of his 'Manifestation' he [*i.e.* *Ezel*] had said, '*Ask me not concerning aught, for this is forbidden unto you,*' that is to say, 'It is the Cycle of Manifestation: open Truth-seeing eyes, and, wherever the Truth becomes manifest, there prostrate yourselves in adoration, and understand the meaning of "*He it is who is manifest*

¹ Kur'an, ii, 111; iii, 42 &c.

² *i.e.* as the voice of one who still abode in his own selfhood and had not reached the state of "Annihilation in the Beloved."

in every Manifestation," and know that the root [of the matter] is in the Theophany itself, and in the claim "*Verily I am God*" on the part of every soul. For the sign of the Unity and the exemplification of "*I will make thee like unto myself*" is in all things; whosoever performeth faithful service, the tongue of his Godhead will be loosed, while whosoever is veiled must continue afflicted with his own sickness. . . ."

In short, MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ considers that Şubh-i-Ezel, though outwardly disavowing the several 'Manifestations' which took place in his time, really approved of them, regarding them as enhancing the glory of the Theophany centred in himself. "'He advances a claim,'" says MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ speaking for Şubh-i-Ezel, "'and we love such as advance claims, provided that they be sincere in their claims. And the proof of such sincerity is that if the claimant be not a 'Point' [*Nuқта*], but only one of the 'Letters of the Living,' he must take upon his shoulders the yoke of service of the 'Point' and of the Manifestation superior to himself in excellence, and speak only of his love towards them.'" "Certain of the brethren, however," continues MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ, "who lacked understanding, not apprehending *Hazrat-i-Ezel's* meaning, again complained to him of *Hazrat-i-Zabíh*. He again said 'I know him not;' whereupon the brethren began to speak ill of him. Then *Hazrat-i-Ezel* wrote three *míms* for *Jenáb-i-Zabíh*, who said, 'He means "Speak not [*ma-gú*], write not [*ma-nivís*], and consort not [*ma-nishín*] with the brethren.'" I consent, and shut the door of my grace in the faces of mankind, because of the perversion of the perverted.' This was the first wrong that the people of the *Beyán* did to the Manifestations of the Blessed Tree of the Eternal¹, not understanding that the more branches and leaves a tree bears, the greater is its perfection, and the more abundant its fruitfulness, and supposing, poor unfortunates, that a tree's perfection is in the lack of branches and leaves. Such wrongs, at all events, are more grievous than the injustice of foes, since the injustice of foes conduces to the exal-

¹ *Shajara-i-mubdraka-i-Esaliyyé*, i.e. Şubh-i-Ezel. See n. 2 at the foot of p. 273 *supra*.

tation of the Word of Truth, while the injustice of friends causeth its extinction. . . .

"Now the second of the Manifestations of the Blessed Tree of the Eternal which took place in the seventh year was the Manifestation of the Indian Seyyid, whom *Haḡrat-i-ʿEzel* named *Jenáb-i-Baṣír*. A full account of his history would require much space, but the gist of it is as follows." Here ensues an account of *Jenáb-i-Baṣír* which agrees very closely with that given at pp. 244—7 *supra*. My conjecture as to the name of the dervish order (*Dághdará*) with which he was connected is confirmed by MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ. His age at the time he quitted India is given as twenty. There is no other material divergence between the two accounts till we reach the point where the L-codex of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* (pp. 246—7 *supra*) inserts an evidently spurious passage describing *Jenáb-i-Baṣír's* disregard of *Ṣubḥ-i-ʿEzel* and devotion to Behá, which passage is, of course, wanting in MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ. *Jenáb-i-Baṣír's* journey to Núr in Mázarandarán, and his unsuccessful attempt to join the Bábis besieged at Sheykh Ṭabarsí are briefly described by MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ. At this point the two accounts diverge entirely, for while on the one hand MÍRZÁ JÁNÍ omits the account of *Jenáb-i-Baṣír's* death given in the L-codex of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, on the other hand he gives a long description of his conduct and the claims he advanced which has been suppressed, evidently not by a mere oversight, in the later history. This account runs as follows.

"For some while [after his failure to reach Sheykh Ṭabarsí] *Jenáb-i-Baṣír* was in the company of the *Name of the Most Mighty, the Most High*¹. In his blessed form he beheld the signs of love, wisdom, and annihilation of self; and, having apprehended the effulgences of the lights of Godhead from that Essence of the Light of Apprehension, he was attracted to him, quaffed successive draughts of love from the bowl of his regard, and continued thus intoxicated with the wine of gladness till such time as the banquet of the garrison of the Castle [of Ṭabarsí] was

¹ *ʿIsm-i-ʿAṣam-i-Aʿlā*, or *ʿIsm-i-ʿAṣm* was the title borne by Mullá Sheykh ʿAlí.

broken up in confusion, and the thread whereby that little knot of believers was bound together was broken asunder. Then *Jenáb-i-Başír*, in company with Mírzá Mustafá the Kurd (who was habited in the garb of a *Kalándar*, and claimed to belong to the World of Emancipation; beside whom Majnún would have appeared the sanest of men; whose tongue was ever rapturously reciting new and wondrous poems; who wandered continually in the deserts and mountains seeking for his Leylá¹; and who had become the devoted admirer of *Jenáb-i-Başír*, and girded his soul with the girdle of a sincere attachment to him), set out for the province of Gílán, from the inhabitants of which they suffered much harsh treatment, so that the people of Kuzelí² thrust them forth violently by night from their town, and none would give them bread or water. So their burning sighs flew forth as sparks, and in a little while many of the people's houses were utterly destroyed in a conflagration wherein much of their wealth perished.

"Then they [*i.e.* *Jenáb-i-Başír* and Mírzá Mustafá the Kurd] came to the land of Kázvín, where they made many disciples, as well as many enemies, for these, like the darkness of night, penetrate everywhere Then they set out for the 'Land of Holiness' [*Arz-i-Kuds*, *i.e.* Teherán], so as to be near *Haẓrat-i-Wakíd*³, and he [*i.e.* *Jenáb-i-Başír*] obtained the honour of admission to the glorious presence of the 'Splendour of the World' [*Behá'u'l-smkán*, *i.e.* Behá'u'lláh]. On his arrival, *Haẓrat-i-Behá*, to try him, began to display his fire and his wrath, ostensibly shut the door of regard in his face, and absolutely forbade his admission. But as he, placing the foot of sincerity on the carpet of intercession, drained with affection the goblet of affliction without suffering one sigh of complaint to rise from his patient heart, Behá, seeing him thus sincere in the path of love, and thus observant of the rule of constancy, removed the veil from the face of his compassion, and disclosed the countenance of his mercy.

¹ The maiden for love of whom Majnún became "the Mad."

² The chief Persian port on the Caspian, and the harbour of the town of Resht.

³ *i.e.* Şubh-i-Esál. See n. 2 on p. 390 *supra*.

And the effulgences of Godhead from that 'Splendour of Paradise' [*Behá-i-Rizván*, i.e. Behá'u'lláh] became reflected in his [i.e. *Jenáb-i-Bašír*'s] body of servitude.

"Thereafter *Hazrat-i-Zabíh* one day entered his presence, and, though they were to all outward appearance unacquainted, and *Zabíh* was but a man of the people, nevertheless he had no sooner entered and spoken a few words than the breath of his influence so played upon the palate of *Jenáb-i-Bašír*'s heart that it took possession alike of his spirit and body, seized him in the grasp of the power of its loveliness, cleansed the mirror of his being from every stain of not-being, and cast thereon the image of its sublime beauty, so that *Jenáb-i-Bašír* recognised with the Eye of God the Glory of God and knew Him through Himself, according to the purport of—

'I see the Loved One with the Loved One's eyes,'

and of '*O thou whose Essence sheweth Thine Essence, and who art exempt from all community of nature with Thy creatures.*'

"In short, *Jenáb-i-Bašír*, impelled by his perfect justice, took his stand in the station of Annihilation [of Self] and transmuted the poisons of affliction by the alchemy of love, till he was able to pour the honey of Permanence [in God] from the brimming bowl of the Theophanies into the mouth of Union, and the Essence of *Zabíh*'s Godhead became manifest in the alembic of his Servitude. Then he announced himself to be a 'return' of [the Imám] Huseyn, which claim was substantiated by the production of verses, homilies, and prayers; and he wrote letters to *Hazrat-i-Ezel* and *Jenáb-i-Behá* concerning his manifestation. *Hazrat-i-Ezel* in reply honoured him with an epistle expressing his regards and his pleasure, as the superscription of which he wrote '*In His name, the Most Discerning, the Most Discerning*' (بسمه الابصر الابصر), and in the course of which he said, '*O Friend, we have elected thee from amongst mankind*' (يا حبيب قد اصطفيناك بين الناس)."

Here follows the passage already quoted at p. 338 *supra*, describing how *Jenáb-i-Bašír*, while in the '*Land of Káf*' (*Qazvín* or *Qum*), whither he went on leaving Teherán,

pretended to recognize in a dog which was howling outside the house the 'return' of a certain unbeliever. "After that," continues Mírzá Jání, "he went to the '*Land of Káf*' (Káshán), where he alighted at the house of *Jenáb-i-Nuḥṭa-i-Káfí* ('His Excellence the Point of Káf,' i.e. 'of Káshán'), because for four months they had [both] been gladdened by attendance on *Ḥaṣrat-i-Wahíd* [i.e. Subh-i-Ezel] and *Jenáb-i-Beká* in the Land of Núr [in Mázan-darán], had tasted of the wine of one another's affection, and had so intertwined the cords of friendship that no sword of deceit could sever them.

"Now 'His Excellence the Point of Káf' had supposed himself to be superior in station to *Jenáb-i-Başír*, but when he came within the sphere of his influence he was attracted by him. And the symptoms of such attraction and illumination are as follows. Firstly, that when [two believers] come to speak of the subtle points of the Doctrine of the Divine Unity, his rank is highest whose range has been greatest. Another way is that they should engage in a competition of affection, wherein whichever attracts the other has the greater force of spirit. A third way is that they should become angered one with the other, when he who is subdued is proved the weaker. To be brief, although 'His Excellence the Point of Káf' was by far the more eminent and learned as regards outward accomplishments and power of exposition, yet so fair-minded was he that so soon as he recognized the illumination and superior

¹ I confess that I am unable at present to identify this 'Point of Káf.' Since Káshán is called "the Land of Káf" (*Arṣ-i-Káf*), it would seem probable that he was a native of that town; and since Mírzá Jání entitles his book *Nuḥṭatu'l-Káf*, "the Point of Káf," it would appear probable that some relation existed between the two. Hájí Mírzá Jání had two brothers who were Bábís, Hájí Mírzá Isma'íl (*Trav. Narr.*, vol. ii, p. 332) entitled *Zabáb* (p. 212, n. 2 *supra*), who died in Teherán; and Hájí Mírzá Aḥmad the Eselí, who was killed at Baghdad by the Behá'ís. It seems possible that the former may here be intended, in which case he is identical with the *Zabáb* whose manifestation is described at pp. 385—390 *supra*.

station of *Jenáb-i-Baṣír* he became entirely annihilated in him, although many of his actions were [in appearance] of an extremely mischievous character, and the very essence of 'dark, dreadful, dire calamity'¹ was apparent in his words and deeds, inasmuch as he was a type of '*the Gate which is inwardly Mercy and outwardly of the nature of Torment*.' For this reason most of the brethren fled from him, notwithstanding which 'His Excellence the Point of Káf' was steadfast in devotion to him, by God's help, shutting his eyes to the strictures of the benighted, especially on the occasion of the quarrel between *Jenáb-i-'Azín*² and *Jenáb-i-Baṣír*, whereby the hearts of the brethren were torn [with conflicting sentiments].

"Now the cause of this difference was that *Jenáb-i-A'zam* (*sic*) said, 'I am the Gate of the two Masters', and the friend of "the Fruit of the Eternal" (*i.e.* *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel*), and King Manṣúr', and this by many explicit declarations [on their part]; wherefore I should be obeyed by you and all the brethren, and it is incumbent upon all in every case to humble themselves before me.' To this *Jenáb-i-Baṣír* replied, 'You speak truly and rightly, but those things which form the basis of your greatness before His Holiness 'the Point' are two: firstly, that you claim the position of Perfect Service and Proximity to him; secondly, that you assert that the true signs of the Sun of his Godhead are manifest in the Mirror of Service in your soul. Both of these claims of yours are true, and you have,

¹ See p. 216, *supra*, and n. 1.

² *i.e.* Mullá Sheykh 'Alí.

³ باب حضرتین. I suppose that the Báb and Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel are meant.

⁴ I do not know who is meant by "King Manṣúr" (سلطان منصور). I suppose that there is an allusion to *Manṣúr-i-Hallíj* the Ṣúffí, who suffered death for his words "*And-'l-Haqq*" ("I am the Truth"), and that this title was given to one of those who claimed to be Divine Manifestations after the Báb's death. I think that I heard Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel once allude to "Sultán Manṣúr," and it runs in my mind that Ḥuseyn of Mílán (see *Trav. Varr.*, vol. ii, p. 357) was so designated.

moreover, explicit declarations [in support of your claim]; but I advance the same claim, and this standard holds good [in my case also], and I think that I recognize my service and self-annihilation before the Glory of that Sun of Might as superior to yours. Therefore the signs of His (indicated, to wit verses spontaneously uttered [*áyyát-i-fírf*]), which are the greatest of all signs, flow from my lips.

"*Jenáb-i-'Azím*, however, hesitated to admit his claim, either from considerations of expediency, or as a trial [to test the faith of the brethren], or because the contest was left undecided. At all events, as the conduct of *Jenáb-i-Başír* was the greater stumbling-block (it being inwardly inspired by the Doctrine of the Unity, but ostensibly opposed thereunto), therefore some of the brethren complained of him to *Hazrat[-i-Ezel]*, saying, 'The blind Seyyid' has put forward certain claims, and acted thus and thus.' So *Hazrat[-i-Ezel]*, seeing that in a time of apparent impotence¹ it was his duty to make 'apportionment to every claimant of his rights', issued a manifesto designed to put men to the trial, so that the state of every soul might become known to him, whether they possessed spiritual vision, or were impelled by a mere blind conformity. No sooner was this manifesto issued than differences arose amongst the brethren, especially in the 'Land of Şád', where many believed, but some few remained veiled. And these differences endured for a space of six months, after which they passed away, and the brethren were greatly

¹ By سید اعمی, "the blind Seyyid," Seyyid Başír is of course meant, for we learn from p. 245 *supra* that he lost his sight in his youth. He was called *Başír*, "the Seeing" or "Discerning," because of his spiritual enlightenment, and it was no doubt because the Bábís regarded the claim which he now advanced as the sign of a benighted condition of soul that they thus renamed him.

² i.e. during a period of 'Minor Occultation' when the 'Sun of the Theophany' was no longer visible.

³ اعطاء كل ذي حق حقه.

⁴ i.e. Isfahán.

edified, having apprehended the mysteries of the Doctrine of the Unity, and understood the Essence of the Trial.

"And besides these two 'Manifestations' which His Holiness 'the Reminder' [*Jenáb-i-Zikr*, i.e. the Báb] and *Jenáb-i-'Azím* had foretold, saying, 'After me there will be two Manifestations, one the Manifestation of Huseyn, and the other the Manifestation of Yahyá, and neither will remain in the womb more than six months,' there were many other 'Manifestations,' one in the 'Land of Tá' [i.e. Tabriz]¹; one in the 'Land of Fá' [i.e. Fars]; one in Baghdad, to wit he whom they call *Seyyid-i-'Uluvv*²[?]; and one Aká Muḥammad Karáví³[?], besides others like unto them, each of whom revealed verses and exercised powers of influence."

We, in reading these pages of Mírzá Jání's history, cannot but marvel at the chaos of 'Theophanies' which he describes; but he, so far from lamenting the appearance of all these claimants, sees therein only a fresh proof of the greatness and dignity of the 'Manifestation,' and calls upon the '*people of the Furkán*' (i.e. the Musulmáns) not to "account as a slight thing" a religion which could produce such effects. That the state of things which he depicts actually existed is proved by other evidence, to wit by Şubḥ-i-Ezel's own reminiscences (*Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 331), by the explicit declaration of the *Hasht Bihisht* (*Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 357—8), and by the testimony of certain poems still current amongst the Bábís, from which I cite as an illustration this verse only:—

بظهورِ آن مهِ ماله باسِتِ آن شهِ آله
همه آله شده واله بتغیاتِ بلی بلی

¹ Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Tabriz, called "*Deyyán*," is probably meant. Cf. Gobineau, pp. 277—8, and *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 357 and 365.

² In the original سید علو, which seems so unlikely a title that I suspect the text is corrupt, though I cannot see my way to emending it.

³ آ محمد کراوی

"By the Manifestation of that Beauteous Moon, by the '*Am I not?*'¹ of that King of Gods,
All the Gods are gone mad with chantings of '*Yea, yea.*'"

So likewise the author of the *Hasht Bihisht* complains of Bahá that he was not content with being God, nor even with being a Creator of Gods, but that he regarded the least of his servants as a Creator of Gods. In support of this assertion he quotes the two following passages from the poems of Nabíl of Zarand :—

الوہیت بصرای گمالت سینہ چاک آمد

"Divinity entered the plain of His Perfection with lacerated bosom ;"

and :—

خلق گویند خدائی و من اندر غضب آیم
بروہ برداشته مہمند بخود ننگِ خدائی

"Men call Thee God, and I am filled with anger thereat :
Withdraw the veil, and consent not to bear the shame
of Godhead !"

Well says Gobineau (p. 337), speaking of the Bábí doctrine, "Personne ne saurait se laisser aveugler par le dogme unitaire au point de croire que le polythéisme n'est pas là en germe, et en germe patent ;" but even he could scarcely have seen cause to apprehend such developments as these !

In the few remaining pages of Mírzá Ján's history only one or two points demand notice. "The Emperor of Russia," he says, "sent to the [Russian] consul at Tabriz, bidding him fully investigate and report the circumstances of His Holiness [the Báb]. As soon as this news arrived, they [*i.e.* the Persian authorities] put the Báb to death. [The Russian consul] summoned Aká Seyyid Muḥammad Huseyn, the Báb's amanuensis, who was imprisoned at Tabriz, into his presence, and enquired concerning the signs and circumstances of His Holiness. Aká Seyyid Huseyn, because there were Musulmáns present,

¹ *i.e.* '*Am I not your Lord?*' (اَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ). Cf. Ku'rán, vii, 171.

dared not speak plainly about his Master, but managed by means of hints to communicate sundry matters, and also gave him [the Russian consul] certain of the Báb's writings'.¹ That this statement is, in part at least, true is proved by the testimony of Dorn, who, in describing a MS. of one of the Báb's *Commentaries on the Names of God*" (which he calls "*Koran der Baby*") says, at p. 248 of vol. viii of the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, that it was "received directly from the Báb's own secretary, who, during his imprisonment at Tabriz, placed it in European hands".

To this circumstance, as indicative of friendly interest on the part of Europeans, Mírzá Jání evidently attaches no small importance; and this interest he attributes to the fulfilment of certain signs by which the Christians expect the new 'Manifestation' to be ushered in. He adds that the Bábí faith is not confined to Persia, but that, as he has heard, it has many votaries in Turkey, India, Turkistán, and other countries, and that in Constantinople especially it counts numerous adherents. "I have seen a tradition," he further remarks, "to the effect that the Europeans will avenge the blood of His Holiness in the year '80 or '90 [*i.e.* A.H. 1280 or A.H. 1290] from the quarter of the Turkish dominions." As to the final triumph of the faith for which, a few months only after he had concluded his book, he died a martyr, he has no misgivings. The Shi'ite doctrine of Islám was the true one, but it was not till the time of the Šafavis that it obtained the protection and support of a powerful dynasty. "The just shall inherit the earth," and, though it be after a thousand years, the Bábís shall in the end triumph over their enemies.

¹ Mírzá Jání adds that, in consequence of this, Áká Seyyid Muḥammad Ḥuseyn was removed by the Persian authorities from Tabriz to Teherán, and there subjected to a most rigorous imprisonment.

² Cf. my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 649, and 650, n. 1.

APPENDIX III.

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT OF THE BĀBÍ MOVEMENT WRITTEN BY MÍRZÁ YAḤYÁ ŠUBḤ-I-EZEL.

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION.)

(For Persian text, see end of volume.)

"HE IS GOD, THE ONE, THE SINGLE, THE LIVING,
THE EXALTED.

"Praise be to God who is unconditioned and unmatched, who abideth ineffable and unchanging, who endureth unceasingly for everlasting. Glory be to Him: He knoweth best the beginning and the conclusion, and He is the Omniscient, the Glorious.

"From the humblest and least [of mankind] to the most noble and illustrious doctor (may God preserve him from sorrows and sickness).

"The letter reached me from your Excellency, and the heart rejoiced at that whereof it took cognizance in the burden of the discourse. Praise be to God in the beginning and in the end, for that He hath rendered attainable this good thing. From Him is the beginning, and unto Him is the return. He is the First, and the Last, the Apparent, and the Hidden: no associate hath He in essence or in attributes, and He is the Protector, the Praised.

"The first antecedents of this Insuperable Matter. Some years before the Manifestation, His Reverence the late departed Sheykh Ahmad of Lahsá¹, who had for several years dwelt in a garden at Bagra, having provided himself with certificates of proficiency from doctors of repute in

¹ More commonly, and apparently more correctly, Aḥad. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 234; and p. 339 *supra*.

every part of the country, went thence to Kerbelá the Exalted, and there began to teach and to lecture. Now when he had inaugurated his work and teaching, a great multitude gathered round about him; and, since he differed from the Shi'ite doctors on certain religious questions, the Sheykhí School¹ came into existence. The signs and tokens of this Matter² were clearly set forth in his treatises and books, in which also were contained certain transcendental foreshadowings.

"After his decease, His Reverence Hájí Seyyid Kázim of Resht became his successor in his stead. The foreshadowings and declarations which he uttered concerning this Matter are recorded amongst his sayings³; and in the latter time he was even wont to exclaim, 'Do ye not desire me to depart, so that the Truth may become manifest?' Thus was it till he departed, and the further development of the Matter was witnessed. And these two reverend men are known as the 'Two Gates' (*Báb*)⁴, and bear the appellation of 'Initiatory Gate of God' (*Bábu'lláhi'l-Muqaddam*), for thus it is written in the verses of the *Best of Stories*⁵:—'in the former time we did send two Gates, Ahmad and Kázim,' as you may see in that place.

"Now when the time of the Manifestation was come, the Lord⁶ did reveal himself from the land of Fárs. For

¹ Concerning the Sheykhí doctrines, see my second paper on the Bábís in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, pp. 888—892; and vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 234—244.

² i.e. the approaching Theophany, or Manifestation of the Báb.

³ Cf. pp. 339—341 *supra*.

⁴ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 232—3; and pp. 332—3 and 335—7 *supra*.

⁵ *Ahsanu'l-Kifas*, another name for the Báb's *Commentary on the Súru-i-Yúsuf*, also called *Kayyúmu'l-Asmá*. See my *Remarks etc.*, and *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 261—8 and 699—701.

⁶ Thus, throughout this narrative, do I translate the title *أنحضرت*, which hitherto I have generally rendered "His Holiness."

after that His Reverence the Seyyid [Kāsim] was departed, His Holiness the Gate (*Jenáb-i-Báb*), who is Mullá Muḥammad Ḥuseyn [of Bushraweyh], came to Shíráz with certain persons who were in appearance his disciples, and there began to teach. To that place before the Manifestation would His Holiness the Point sometimes come; until one day, when His Excellence the Gate introduced this very subject, saying, 'Such an one must appear, and these will be his tokens,' and proceeded to describe the conditions of the Manifestation, His Holiness the Point said, 'Look whether these tokens be in me or not.' At this saying alone His Excellence the Gate understood, and, after seeing and hearing, believed in the First Book¹; and for a while, in the words of the Book, 'None believed in the *Bá* save the *Sín*.' Thus it was that he, winning priority in faith, became 'the First to believe' and 'the Most Mighty Letter of the Book.' For he was indeed a soul comprehending all spiritual degrees, and possessed of renunciation, learning, and worship; while outwardly, too, was no defect in his nature, and no doubt as to his virtues and wisdom. From first to last he fulfilled all conditions.

"At length, little by little, the 'Letters' were completed, the last to enter being His Holiness the Sacred (*Jenáb-i-Quddús*), in addressing whom His Holiness the Point thus speaks:—'O Name of the First and the Last, the Apparent and the Hidden!...&c. If God please, your understanding shall be with fullness of insight in the spiritual world. And this body of 'Letters' is called in the Beyán 'the First Unity.'

"As for the much-wronged *Táhira*², she likewise believed according to her degree, even as you have written. His Excellence Áká Seyyid Yaḥyá [of Dáráb], His

¹ i.e. the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yásuf* above mentioned.

² i.e. "None believed in the *Báb* save Mullá Ḥuseyn." The "Letters" of the Bábí hierarchy correspond to the letters of the formula "*Bismilláhi'r-Raḥmání'r-Raḥím*" ("In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement"), of which the first and second are ب (*Bá*) and می (*Sín*).

³ i.e. *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, called "Her Holiness the Pura."

Excellence 'the Mighty', and His Reverence Áká Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján, who was one of Persia's greatest divines, are to be mentioned in another category'. Áká Seyyid Yahyá's accomplishments and virtues were beyond all bound and limit, and the case is not as that historian¹ has written. I take God and His Spirit to witness that it is sheer falsehood which he has written. Most of the people of Persia acknowledged his [Áká Seyyid Yahyá's] accomplishments and virtues. I myself in my youthful days met him on several occasions at night in my own house and elsewhere, and have beheld his virtues: apart from what His Holiness the Point hath said, I have beheld with my own eyes. So too His Holiness the Sacred (*Jenáb-i-Kuddús*), in whose eyes I saw that the whole world was but as a handful of dust. Some of the brethren in Mázarán differed², accounting His Holiness nobler than all others; but this is another matter. And that much-wronged 'Táhirá was to all appearance perfect, endowed with virtue and learning, and [favoured with Divine] inspirations; but men uttered against her divers slanders, giving vent to falsehoods and calumnies of their own devising. I, for my part, beheld in her naught but goodness and virtues. The late Hájí Suleymán Khán was, like his father and grandfather, of those who frequented the gate of the King's palace; and he possessed the utmost self-devotion, excellence, virtue, and loyalty. He spent many months with me, and accompanied His Holiness the Point and His Holiness the Sacred on the pilgrimage, and was with the Lord at the time of the pilgrimage. His renunciation was complete, and he attained, as you have heard, to the rank of martyrdom, wherein he endured with superhuman

¹ *Jenáb-i-'Aẓm*, i.e. Mullá Sheykh 'Alí.

² i.e. they were not included amongst the "Letters," but occupied a less exalted position.

³ i.e. Mirza Kazem-Beg, whose views on the character of Seyyid Yahyá (*Journal Asiatique* for 1866, série vi, tome viii, p. 239) I had communicated to Subḥ-i-Ezel with the object of obtaining his opinion.

⁴ Cf. pp. 282 and 336—337 *supra*, and the foot-notes thereon.

fortitude the darts of affliction and trouble. *May God slay those who slew him; evil was that which they wrought, and evil what they decreed!*

"After the promulgation of the Matter and the affirmation of the 'Letters,' the Lord set out on the pilgrimage; as it is written in their Law in the books that the Lord shall appear from Mecca and Medína and beyond Kúfa, and his banners from Khurásán. And His Excellence the Gate, who was the bearer of the Book', and the rest of the 'Letters' journeyed forth in divers directions and began to preach. Thereupon did many afflictions and wrongs become manifest. For some they did bridle through the nose (among these being His Holiness the Sacred), grievously tormenting them'. His Excellence Mullá 'Alí of Bistám, noted for his sanctity (for he is 'the Saint of Khurásán'), set out for Turkey, but was seized and cast into prison at Baghdad. Afterwards, by order of the Muftí, they sent him towards Constantinople, but martyred him with poison in a place nigh unto Baghdad which is called Bad-rá'í'. His Excellence the Gate departed another way, and His Excellence Áká Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd, bearing 'the Best of Stories', went to preach at Teherán.

"The Lord set out with His Holiness the Sacred to perform the pilgrimage, and on the way Hájí Suleymán Khán joined himself to them until the time of their departure and return to Shíráz. [There] Huseyn Khán the governor and the doctors of that place did greatly afflict and oppress them, working manifold wrongs, even to decreeing the imprisonment of the Lord for a while. As his own words testify, on the 'Night of Worth', when no

¹ Cf. Gobineau, p. 158.

² See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. i, p. 7, vol. ii, pp. 5—6; and p. 302, n. 3, *supra*.

³ See Sir H. Layard's *Early Adventures &c.*, vol. ii, pp. 334 and 337.

⁴ See n. * at the foot of p. 398 *supra*.

⁵ *Leylati'l-Qadr*, the night on which Muḥammad received his first revelation, generally believed to be one of the last ten nights of Ramaḡán, though which of them it may be is not

[such] thing is lawful, they fell upon his house and despoiled it; and Huseyn Khán wrought such wrong and hurt as he was able, until he was reproved in letters from the *Mu'tamad*¹ of Isfahán, who demanded by what right he molested a Seyyid. So at length they thrust forth the Lord, who set out towards Isfahán, intending to go to Khurásán. There the *Mu'tamad* (on whom be the mercy of God) developed a firm faith in him, rendered him the utmost service, and asked of him many questions, to which he received answers. Amongst other things, he requested [a treatise on] the 'Special Mission' [of Muḥammad] and [divers] Commentaries. He also wrote to the King, saying, 'It is not seemly for the State to fall foul of one individual and contend with him.' He made a feint of sending the Lord to Teherán, but in reality caused him to re-enter [the city] by another gate, and placed him in the '*Imárat-i-Sadr*'; and he continued to manifest the most sincere attachment to him, and offered him all his riches, saying, 'They are yours, and belong to the Inám,' so that he even took off the rings which were on his own hand; but the Lord returned them, and would not accept them.

"At length the *Mu'tamad* died, and his heirs who were of his kindred succeeded him, and sent the Lord to Teherán. But when he was come nigh unto Kazvín, news [of his arrival] was brought thence to the Vazír Hájí Ághásí, who sent an escort under an appointed officer, to wit a post-master named Muḥammad Beg with ten horsemen. So these escorted the Lord to his prison at Máku, and delivered him over to 'Alí Khán the Governor. But on the way thither Muḥammad Beg became sincerely attached to him and believed, of which thing he was wont to speak often'. Now on the way to Máku His Excellence 'the Mighty' (*Jenáb-i-'Azím*), and the 'Teacher of Núr' (*Mu'allim-i-Núrí*), and His Holiness Áká Seyyid Huseyn accompanied him. [And he abode at Máku] till the matters there made certainly known. Cf. vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 10—11 and 262; and pp. 203—4 *supra*.

¹ Mindchihr Khán, *Mu'tamad-u'd-Dawla*.

² See his account of the journey to Tabriz, quoted at pp. 217—224 *supra*.

manifest were noised abroad, and the Word was loudly proclaimed; whereupon [the administrators of the State], foreseeing detriment to their affairs, sent the Lord to Urúmiyya, whence they sent him a prisoner to Chihriřk. Thus he calleth Mákn 'the Open Mountain,' and Chihriřk 'the Grievous Mountain'; for there the place of his captivity was a house without windows and with a doorway of bare bricks; and at night they would leave him without a lamp, treating him with the utmost lack of respect, although this was not customary. For a while, indeed, they dealt so harshly with him that they would not even grant him permission to shave his head. [So matters continued] until the present King came to Tabriz while he was Crown-Prince. There he made an assembly unto which he summoned the Lord, and there likewise they entreated him shamefully, until the Sheykhul-Islám led away the Lord to his house, and, with a company of Seyyids, inflicted on him what he termed 'legal chastisement.' And [the Lord] made known the ordering of this in the Place of the Blow. *Shall not the curse of God rest upon the oppressors?* Thence they sent him back again to Chihriřk.

"*The first bloodshed which took place in Persia.* A certain person named Şálih Táhir, one of the followers of the late Sheykh [Ahmad of Ahsá], slew one of the doctors of Kásvín*, whom he regarded, according to his own religious views, as deserving of death. Suspicion fell on this sect, of which many members were arrested and greatly tormented. At length the murderer came and confessed, saying, 'I slew him; what have you to do with others?' Notwithstanding this, three others were sent to Teherán along with that person. Amongst these was one Hájí Muḥammad 'Alí by name, a man of great excellence, who had several times performed the pilgrimage on foot; one Mullá Ibrahim by name; and one called Sheykh Şálih the Arab.

¹ جبل شديد and جبل باسط Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 276.

² i.e. Tabriz. This rather obscure passage is translated in accordance with an explanation given by Şubh-i-Ezel in a subsequent letter.

³ Mullá Muḥammad Taqí. See pp. 274—5 *supra*.

All four of these they imprisoned at Teherán, until Áká Šálih Táhír, who was a native of Fárs, fled with his fetters and bonds, and they found him not. After that, with the compliance of the Šadr of Kázvín¹ and by his maintenance, they beheaded Sheykh Šálih the Arab in Teherán. And they brought Háji Muḥammad 'Alí and Mullá Ibrahim to Kázvín, and there bound them to a tree. And all the people assembled, and each inflicted on them a wound, martyring them in the worst of ways. This was the first occasion of slaying.

"After this His Holiness the Sacred (*Jenáb-i-Kuddús*) appeared in Mázandarán, and His Excellence the Gate likewise at the Lord's command set out for Khurásán and traversed Mázandarán. There they met; and [His Holiness the Gate] used to sit above His Holiness the Sacred until one day he came and sat below him. The friends who were there noticed this, and all tendered allegiance to His Holiness the Sacred, until this matter was noised abroad, and the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulamá*, a divine of that diocese, together with a myrmidon of the Minister Háji Aghásí named Muḥammad, raised a tumult, and expelled him from thence. So he set out for Khurásán and went to Mash-had, where the supreme power was vested in the Sálár, who made display of friendship until such time as His Holiness the Sacred turned back from Mash-had, whence he came forth on foot. Afterwards he obtained a horse, and was joined by some of the brethren. His Excellence the Gate departed subsequently, and at every stage some of the friends joined themselves to him. So at length His Holiness the Sacred came to Bárfurúsh, where the malignants again raised a tumult. Khánlar Mírzá, the King's uncle, while coming to take the government of Mázandarán, foregathered on the way with His Excellence the Gate, who was entering

¹ In reply to a question about this person, Šubḥ-i-Ezel sends the following note:—"The Šadr of Kázvín, to whom allusion was made, was one of the dignitaries of the reign of Muḥammad Sháh, and a government official. His proper title was *Šadrul-mamálík*, and he was a native of Kázvín. I have never heard his foul name, though he [afterwards] lived in Teherán, until at length he was driven into banishment."

Mázandarán with over three hundred horsemen. Muḥammad, the aforesaid malignant, who chanced to be there, set the mischief afoot. On hearing [of the matter, Khánlar Mírzá] asked, 'Whither are these people going?' They replied, 'To visit Kerbelá'. He answered, 'Let them give a present, and go by some other road.' To this [the Bábis] agreed, and, having given a present of horses, swords, and money, they turned back to Chashmé-i-'Alí. When the governor [Khánlar Mírzá] reached Sárf, he gave orders to summon His Holiness the Sacred from Bárfurúsh. So the state messengers brought him to Sárf; but mid-way, on their arrival at 'Alí-'Ábád, a heavy rain came on, and they halted there. When the rain ceased, and the weather became fair, they again set out on the road; but even as they reached Sárf the post arrived from Teherán bringing the news of the King's death. Thereupon the governor, concerned about his own continuation, departed for Teherán; and His Holiness the Sacred took up his abode in the house of Mírzá Taqí the divine. His Excellence the Gate set out for Bárfurúsh. On his arrival there the people of Bárfurúsh barred his way with guns and weapons of war. A fierce conflict ensued. A certain marksman discharged a gun at him, the shot wounding his face and hand, and also inflicting a wound on his horse, and then fled. His Excellence pursued him with drawn sword, and he took refuge in a narrow lane where the horse might not pass, making his gun a guard to avert the sword of His Excellence, who, however, smote him through the waist so that he was cleft asunder even to the other side. Thus the people of Bárfurúsh suffered a shameful defeat, and fled with one accord. They closed their market and shops and houses, and suffered none to enter. His Excellence alighted with his companions at a caravansaray. Twice the people of Bárfurúsh attacked him, firing on every side of the caravansaray from all directions. His Excellence sallied out with his companions, and the fighting was renewed. Here again great deeds were done, and there were [many] wounded and slain. Once more the enemy were routed and betook themselves to flight.

¹ Cf. pp. 300—1 *supra*.

"At this juncture the Governor-general of the province¹ arrived with his horsemen. He enquired into the matter, and arranged a truce, whereby it was agreed that His Excellence should withdraw. One who was the General's son-in-law² went with him as an escort, and His Excellence departed with his companions. Now the day being far spent they alighted at Sheykh Tabarsí, and there halted; and, the time of prayer being come, they arose to pray. But a certain rogue of Kádí-kalá named Khusraw, who had followed them with his band, came up and demanded their horses and swords. 'Be patient in this matter,' said they, 'and wait;' and so they again turned to their prayers. While they were in the midst of their prayers, however, he again ungraciously interrupted them. At length the patience of the brethren was exhausted, and they awaited but permission [to strike]. Having obtained permission, they severed his neck with the sword and drew their blades on his followers. These all betook themselves to flight. Some were drowned in the river Bábul; another portion were dispersed through the forests and there perished; while some effected their escape [and lay hid] till the time of their return and the conclusion of the matter.

"[Meanwhile] other evilly disposed persons assembled from every quarter and carried off all the possessions of the Exiles and Allies³ as a booty, so that when these returned they found nothing save the garments they wore and what they had with them. So they were compelled to tarry at Sheykh Tabarsí, and there they abode. And the officers of the troops for the most part did homage and made a show of friendship. After this event, His Holiness the Sacred, who was in Sári, came to Tabarsí.

"At this time the coronation of the King took place in

¹ The Sardár 'Abbás-Kulí Khán of Lárján.

² Sa'adat-Kulí Beg. See p. 53 *supra*, and n. 1 at the foot thereof.

³ Of these terms, *Muhájirín* and *Anṣár*, originally applied by the Prophet Muhammad to his adherents of Mecca and Medina respectively, the latter here denotes the Bábís of Mázan-darán, and the former those from other parts of Persia who had come thither with *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* and *Ḥaṣrat-i-Ḳuddús*.

Teherán, and the chief officers went thither and came before the King. There it was arranged that war should be waged on these people, and a certain 'Abdu'lláh Khán, one of the best marksmen of Mázarán, was appointed to conduct the war with his followers. [So one day] at noon, at a time when there was a truce, and they were at peace with all, and there was no war, these came to do battle, and entrenched themselves in the villages opposite. His Holiness the Sacred had ridden out, and was there standing; and His Excellence the Gate, on horseback, accompanied by a band of men on foot with drawn swords hastened to fight with the enemy. The leader of the malignants was slain, together with a great number of his followers; and the rest fled without halting. On the side of the brethren one had his shoulder slightly grazed by a musket ball, but no other was wounded. They left the corpses of the foe as a portion for the beasts of prey; and, as it was perceived that the enemy would receive assistance on all sides from the neighbouring villages, that [their inhabitants] would join in the war, and that the buildings round about would be made into entrenchments for guns and musketry, therefore they destroyed such villages as were near, and began to dig a trench, to construct towers and walls, and to collect munitions of war and men.

"News of this was brought to Teherán, and the King's uncle, Mahdí-Kulí Mírzá, was appointed to the command [of the army] and government [of the province], and took up his quarters in Váskas¹ with an army several thousand strong. One night His Excellence the Gate came out and exhorted and counselled all the brethren, the original number of whom, Exiles and Allies, had at first been somewhat over three hundred, but had little by little, by successive reinforcements, mounted up to about seven hundred, or somewhat less. Another time on a favourable night His Excellence the Gate arose, when several watches had elapsed of the night, with the determination of conquering Váskas, which place he seized and occupied, disarming the garrison. The survivors took to flight, and the governor, bare-footed and naked, fled to Sári, and there for the second

¹ See p. 104, n. 1 *supra*.

time began to collect an army. But in this second engagement the enemy fired a shot at His Holiness the Sacred which wounded him somewhat. His Excellence the Gate on hearing of this, manifested the deepest sorrow, and determined to exact retribution; and countless numbers of the army of the malignants were slain [by him].

"At length [the governor], having again completed his preparations, once more, with seven thousand soldiers of Mázandarán, set his face towards Sheykh Tabarsí for battle, and pitched his camp over against it. On the night of *Rabí'u'l-Awwal* 9th His Excellence the Gate, with all his own followers on horseback, and a number of the Allies on foot, went out armed to fight. The battle took place before day-break, and several thousands of the enemy were slain; for in their terror they shot one another down. Of the friends [only] forty men fell martyrs, and ninety were wounded. Now of the manner in which the death of His Excellence the Gate took place there are different accounts, and some said that he brought it about intentionally. At all events 'Abbás-Kulí Khán, who was the chief of Láriján, hid himself amidst the bushes of the forest and fired three shots at His Excellence. In his own words he said, 'I fired three shots, and two certainly hit; yet that brave man did not fall, whereat I am astonished'; for His Excellence was of slight build and delicate. At all events, two of the shots of that godless man took effect, and His Excellence fell a martyr; yet, with a last effort, he came back to the castle, and when he re-entered it he still held his sword in his hand, neither had he fallen from his horse; but some of the friends had borne him company. His Holiness the Sacred commanded that he should be buried in a certain place, and there was he interred. His brother also¹, whose age was somewhat over twenty, fell a martyr in that same place.

"After this disgraceful defeat, whereat all men were stricken with panic, so that the people of Bárfurtsh carried away their possessions into the forests, the army of the enemy again collected a force of several thousand men, and

¹ i.e. Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan, concerning whom see pp. 87, 93—5, and pp. 336, 363, and 365 *supra*.

made covered ways afar off, and built a tower of wood and other defences, and compassed themselves round about with a trench. And these contests were prolonged for several months, or [as some say] for eleven months, the difference extending [even] to fourteen; while ever and anon a trifling skirmish would take place. But [the enemy] guarded the roads on all sides and prevented supplies from being sent in, and no man whatsoever might pass, and they made arrests all round about. At length a truce was concluded and they made peace, since by their own guns and musketry they gained naught save only defeat. Now on the side of the fortress of the Friends the [only] competent general had been lost, the munitions of war were completely used up, and for seventeen days or more none had eaten anything, so that they were all hungry. In spite of this, however, [the enemy] quaked and trembled at those swords of theirs which clave men in twain, and dared not fight. So at length His Holiness the Sacred and the others came forth in peace and under a truce, and the enemy treated them with the utmost respect, and observed all courtesy towards them, pitching tents specially for them, and making preparations for their comfort. But, after shewing them all this respect and hospitality, they had recourse to guile, and said to the brethren, 'Your chief commands that, having regard to the fact that the officers and soldiers are apprehensive, you shall give up your weapons and depart in peace.' And so the band of faithful ones, being deceived, yielded up their arms to the enemy. The Lârijân regiment, which, on their own admission, had certainly lost two hundred brave men and valiant youths out of the thousand soldiers composing their force, without reckoning camp-followers, opened a way through their midst and allowed them to pass; but all at once fired on them and slew a great number, causing them to drink the cup of martyrdom. Those who survived they divided amongst the different parts of Mázandarân, and martyred them at Sâri, Bárfurûsh, Amul, and other places, all save some few children of tender years, whom they let go. They brought His Holiness the Sacred to Bárfurûsh, and first of all the *Sa'idu'l-'Ulumâ* tormented him with his own hands, and then the state executioner cut off his

head. *May God slay them wheresoever they turn away!* And after his martyrdom they set fire to his body with naphtha, but it would not burn; and one concealed the body in a mound opposite to the house [of His Holiness]. But another relates that they buried it in the mosque of Aká Zaki, in the midst thereof. But the other martyrs lay as they fell in the midst of plain or forest. *Their Lord is their portion, and God our Lord is our portion, and good is He as a guardian!* Thus did many afflictions befall the dwellers on earth. Wherever there was a poor unfortunate man they arraigned him on some charge, and he was made a prisoner to men's tongues until what was accomplished was accomplished.

"At length the [Prime] Minister issued a fresh command in Teherán, and imprisoned a number of persons, of whom they beheaded seven selected victims at the foot of the gallows'. Amongst these were His Reverence Háji Aká Seyyid 'Alí, the maternal uncle of His Holiness the Point; Mírzá Kurbán-'Alí, a well-known dervish, who was a great religious teacher; Aká Seyyid Huseyn of Turshíz, a great divine; Mullá Sádik the Turk; a man of Tabriz; Háji Mullá Isma'íl of Kum, known as 'the divine;' and Háji Muḥammad Taqí of Kirmán the merchant.

"After the occurrence of these events, the episodes of His Excellence Aká Seyyid Yahyá [of Dáráb] and His Excellence Aká Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján took place. Aká Muḥammad 'Alí had been formerly a divine of great eminence, and took a very prominent part in this Matter. Háji Akási, because of his fear of the doctors, summoned him to Teherán, and ordered him there to remain. After the death of the King, however, he returned to Zanján, and there abode in his own house. One of the doctors of that place, however, who was the originator of the mischief, and loved him not, so brought matters about that His Excellence was compelled to fight. Several times a peace was concluded, but at length officers and troops came from Teherán and made war for a long while, even for several months, while His Excellence Aká Muḥammad 'Alí, sup-

¹ Or rather the execution-pole on which the heads and limbs of those who have suffered capital punishment are exposed.

ported by his followers, held his own with the utmost courage and bravery till he fell a martyr. Many others, too, were slain, and the rest were taken captive or dispersed. Of the soldiers also very many were killed, even, as they say, countless numbers. One of the captains of Zanján was Farrukh Khán, brother of the late Hájí Suleymán Khán, who had pretended friendship [for the Bábí cause]. Although the Khán forbade him to take part in the war, he refused to agree to this, and went and entered in there. In appearance he was a brave youth; and while in a state of intoxication he attacked the Friends, who dealt with him as he deserved¹.

"During the course of this war took place the episodes of Yeẓd and Níríz. His Excellence Aká Seyyid Yahyá with a band [of his followers] became embroiled with a treacherous host at Níríz, but the cause of the war did not transpire. At length defeat befell the King's army, and the enemy proposed a truce, swearing on the Kur'án [to observe it], and taking solemn oaths after their wont. So His Excellence came forth; but, after [thus] concluding a peace, they severed his head from his body. Now his martyrdom took place on the 28th of Sha'bán², one day after the martyrdom of the Lord. For the rest, it is well known what took place at Níríz. The *Amír-Nizám*, who was the Minister of the Court, stirred up all this mischief; until [at length] he sent Suleymán Khán Afshár to Tabriz, and summoned the Lord thither from Chihrík. There, so far as could be ascertained on reliable authority, Hasan Khán the accursed, the brother of the [Prime] Minister, arraigned him, and displayed such cruelty and injustice as was natural to him. As you have heard, they imprisoned the Lord with several others, after they had greatly tormented him. Aká Muḥammad 'Alí the merchant made entreaty, saying, 'I desire to accompany you in this journey'; and though [the Lord] had said, 'Let all have regard to their own safety, for the continuance of friends is most to be desired,' nevertheless he cried in a

¹ See pp. 154—5 *supra*, and n. 1 on the latter.

² In the year A.H. 1266 (July 9th, A.D. 1850). See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 45, n. 1, and 253—4.

loud voice, '*Verily Muḥammad 'Alī shall be with us in the Highest Paradise*.' So when they would have bound them to the wall before the soldiers, his relatives said to him, 'Recant, and say, "I am not of them," and we will deliver thee.' But he would not consent, and said, 'If you love me, bind me opposite to the Lord.' Then they bound him, together with His Holiness the Point, and the soldiers discharged their muskets. Aká Muḥammad 'Alī fell a martyr, but no hurt came nigh the Lord. Again they bound him, and wrought what they would. The late Hájí Suleymán Khán also was amongst the people with sword girt on, waiting [for an opportunity] to effect a rescue, when he felt in himself a faintness such that he became weak and insensible, and sat down for a while amidst the crowd¹. When he came to himself and returned to his senses, he saw that all was over and everyone had gone, while the body of the Lord was left with the guards. His Excellence Aká Seyyid Huseyn, and one Aká Seyyid Ahmád by name, both continued in prison. Aká Seyyid Huseyn, by the command of the Lord as it would appear, recanted, saying, 'I am not of them'; but after the martyrdom he was filled with remorse, and desired to compass his own martyrdom. The other friends, however, prevented him, saying, 'That time has gone; wait for the present.' Even thus did he himself write in certain supplications which he sent to me:—'At all events thus did the Divine ordering take place; [let us wait and see] where it will finally end.' And during his imprisonment the Lord said, '*Verily [Subḥ-i-] Ezel must preserve himself, even though none in the worlds believeth in him.*' It is not because I cared for myself [that I avoided death], but thus was it ordained, that the things of God might be established and pretenders might appear, and hearts be made known.

"Now after the catastrophe above described, Hájí Suleymán Khán sent certain persons to obtain possession of that holy body, together with [the body of] the departed Aká Muḥammad 'Alī, and to deliver these over to him. And, because they had been commingled by the blows of

¹ Cf. pp. 301, n. 2, and 383 *supra*.

² Cf. pp. 309—311 *supra*.

the bullets, they placed them in one coffin, and so shrouded them. For this reason I also refrained from disturbing them, [and the other body] was deposited in the same place and in the same coffin with the Lord, until [both] were stolen'. So far as is known, they had removed their shirts and clothes, as is the custom of the Persians, unlike the Jews, who cast lots for a shirt. And their underclothing which they had on, and which had been pierced by the bullets, Hájí Suleymán Khán brought away. Such, briefly told, was the Catastrophe of Tabriz.

"The martyrdom of the Lord and the events at Níríz took place during the Zanján war, until all was concluded. After this Catastrophe and these events, as well as before them, they continued to destroy the brethren singly in divers places, till men were altogether afraid, and the matter became complicated, until it came to the affair of 'Teherán'. After the events in Mázarán that much-wronged one [Her Holiness the Pure] went to Núr, and the people of Núr brought her forth, and sent her to Teherán. The King would not suffer her to be hurt¹, so they imprisoned her until the [time of the] events which took place in Teherán; for men were made desperate by oppression. And such things were done that, as [the King] himself wrote in his journal, 'they slew them' (to use his own expression) 'as they would not slay any infidel.' And they brought forth that much-wronged Táhira from prison by night and compassed her martyrdom, [in different manners] according to different accounts, even as you have heard. The truth of the matter is known only to the executioners, and to the actual rulers of that time, who were the King's mother, the Chief of the *farrúshes*², and the Prime Minister. You are doubtless aware of the differences [in detail existing in the accounts of the events] of former days, and it is even so in these days. One cannot

¹ By the Behá'ís. See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 46, n. 1.

² i.e. the attempt on the Shah's life and the subsequent massacre of Bábís in A.D. 1852.

³ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 313.

⁴ Hájí 'Alí Khán *Hájibü'd-Dawla*. See n. 2 on p. 256 *supra*.

set forth with certainty the truth of any matter, since [different witnesses] describe it in different ways ; as [in this case] some have related that they bound a rope round her neck and strangled her in a garden. At all events such are the affairs of the world. Though [the administrators of the Persian Government] were forbidden by the Russian and English Legations [to commit these cruelties], yet it was of no avail. The like [fate] befell His Excellence the Mighty, whose name was Mullá Sheykh 'Alí of 'Túrahíz, notwithstanding that he was widely known and respected, and was an eminent divine, in whose family men reposed confidence. The *Hájibu'd-Dawla*, Chief of the *farráshes*, and one of the clergy of that place inflicted the first blow on him, and [then others] tore him in pieces. So likewise did they rend in pieces His Excellence Aká Seyyid Huseyn ; and the remainder of the friends whom they found they brought by divers methods to the rank of martyrdom.

"This recluse, because the oppression of the enemies had previously reached the highest limit, and because that wicked noble¹ entertained [towards me feelings of] the utmost enmity, used at times to withdraw to Núr ; for although my place of residence was in Teherán, yet, since I was originally a native of Núr, I thither transferred my abode. One of my relatives² [afterwards] occupied the position of Chief Minister ; and I likewise had an uncle there who acted unrighteously, and sent a declaration to the King, saying, 'Such an one has collected a great company to the number of a thousand, and claims to be the Mahdí and to exercise sovereign powers.' This the King credited ; and the Chief Minister, who was one of my relatives, and who had from of old inwardly cherished feelings of enmity [towards me], sent a special officer from Teherán with an army two thousand strong [composed] of two large tribes, while all Núr sent auxiliaries of its inhabitants. Several thousand persons attacked a place which contained not more than sixty households, and set themselves to kill and to plunder. But since [most of]

¹ i.e. Mírzá Taqí Khán, the Prime Minister.

² Mírzá Aká Khán, the *Šadr*. See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 374—6.

the inhabitants had fled, and I, moreover, was not there, and all these accusations were false, certain officers had, ere the looting of the place began, striven to prevent it. Yet the nephew of the Prime Minister, whose sister was in the house of my elder brother', and who was the chief officer of the tribe, would not acquiesce, and commanded the place to be looted and destroyed. So the soldiers fell upon it, and laid low what had been high, and plundered all the inhabitants. The officers took up their quarters in my house and confined my wife in an upper chamber, where she remained for some days. They dragged men from the mountains in chains and bonds, and martyred two persons there, and carried off a number of divines, squirea, and others of the country-folk in chains to Tehcrán into captivity, together with my wife; and the men they brought in chains and on foot. Although it was known to the King also that there had been no fault committed, that none had interfered with another, and that there had been no conspiracy, yet, for his own ends, he enquired of naught, neither demanded what had happened, but only said, 'I give over the Núrí to the Šadr.' The Šadr too, by reason of his enmity, said nothing; so that they cast nigh upon thirty persons into prison. Some few [of these] survived and were released, but the rest there quaffed the cup of death. And my wife whom they took captive has by now grown old in Persia without an interview being possible; while a child who was at the breast died from lack of milk. One would say that compassion had been taken away from amongst this people, and that they concern themselves not at all about any matter.

"So once more fresh troubles arose in all parts of the country, and some they took captive, and some they slew, carrying off their possessions; until at length they again made an assault on Núrí. For after the martyrdom of His Excellence Áká Seyyid Yahyá the people of Núrí despatched the governor, who was the originator of the mischief, to the bottomless pit. Quarrels arose anew, until at length a pacification was effected. In the end they brought so many prisoners from Núrí to Shíráz that [their number]

¹ That is, as it would appear, she was married to Bohá'u'lláh.

was beyond all limits. And that crowd of captives they brought in to Shíráz in this wise : numbers of women and men, aged and young, bound in chains and bonds ; and the soldiers with the heads of the slain set on spears, amongst these being the head of His Holiness Aká Seyyid Yahyá, which they had brought from Kerbelá' in such wise as you have heard. Thus did they bring these poor people into Shíráz, whence they conveyed them to Isfahán and Káshán, and [finally] brought them to 'Teherán to the sound of drums and trumpets, as they themselves related. It may be imagined what the sufferings of these women and men were ere the end of the matter ; such as seek for the truth will assuredly hold them in regard of their lofty view.

"This is an epitome of the events connected with these matters ; but during the course of the war sufferings of all kinds, beyond all limit and computation, came upon all men. Had the doctors of the age not differed at first, the matter was not of such a nature that events should have been thus protracted, or that the affairs of the world should have been thus disordered. This is nothing else than what God (to Him be glory) did purpose and will accomplish. *God is our portion, and good is He as a Guardian.*

"In brief the people of Núr also are notorious for qualities of injustice. They wrought their own deeds and left for themselves a name. It is strange that all troubles should occur through a man's own relatives, even as the troubles of Núr were from Núr, and those of Mázarán from thence ; and so likewise in Shíráz, Zanján, and other places all the troubles were from the relatives of such as believed. The troubles of Persia in the first instance were for the most part from Hájí Aghásí, and the deeds and actions from the Amír Nizám. The latter, indeed, did not fall short in cruelty, oppression, and rejection of the truth. He continued for three years, and his brother also wrought great injustice, for he it was who effected the Lord's martyrdom, until at length he entered into everlasting hell and fire eternal. *All this [was done] for the sake of a*

¹ I suppose that the name "Kerbelá" is here used metaphorically for Níríz, the place of Seyyid Yahyá's martyrdom, just as by Mírzá Jání it is used for Tabarsí. Cf. p. 337 *supra*.

few brief days or for [transitory] wealth and provision ; 'but the life of the world is naught but a [precarious] provision compared to the Hereafter' ; and the decision resteth with God, the Lord of the worlds.

"A copy of the verses which were obliterated from the first and second pages" is forwarded [herewith] to Your Excellency. Please God it will be found correct. As to what you spoke of touching that much-wronged one¹, it is the writing of Her Holiness the Pure and her letter. That you may not be disappointed, an Epistle in the blessed writing of His Holiness the Point is [herewith] sent². Please God you will preserve it carefully. As for the Letters of the Living, concerning whom you asked, most of them were martyred in Mázandarán ; but some few, as it appears, were excepted, and did not suffer martyrdom there. But the matter is established in the Name of the First and of the Last, and is sufficiently represented by the word *Hayy* [Living]. The full elucidation thereof is not contained in the Beyán³. As for the histories which have been written, their truth and falsehood will be apparent in their attitudes. In every Way it is thus, and in every Path and Law there appear many differences whereof the removal is difficult ; neither were the events of this matter so circumscribed [that it should be otherwise in this case]. Naturally a movement whereof the incidents extend over many years needs many historians to collect the facts, and the [different] accounts of [different] men, so that the false

¹ Qur'án, xiii, 26.

² Of a MS. which had been sent to me a short time previously by Şubh-i-Ezel, and which had suffered a trifling injury.

³ i.e. Kurratü'l-'Ayn. Allusion is made to a letter from her to Jenáb-i-'Asım which Şubh-i-Ezel had sent to me, and of which a fac-simile is contained in this volume. I at first supposed it to be the Báb's autograph : hence Şubh-i-Ezel's expression "that you may not be disappointed."

⁴ Of this also a fac-simile is contained in this volume.

⁵ I had asked for a complete list of the 18 "Letters" who, with the Báb, constituted the hierarchy of 19 known as the "First Unity" (*l'dhíd-i-avval*).

and the true may become known. *And God knoweth best in the worlds.*

"As for the visitation of which you spoke¹, the special act is completed in the intention; even as you did outwardly intend it, so was it inwardly accomplished, and the virtue of desiring is more excellent than attaining. Assuredly you are exalted [thereby]; *there is gain in your traffic and blessing therein.* Having reached Tabarsī, it is as though you had visited all other places. The prayer of visitation especially intended for that place is written in the book² which will reach you this time; peruse it.

"Yes, had men possessed discernment they would not have been like the Jewish people that they should hang Him whom they sought, and do those deeds [which they did]. *May God curse them for their unbelief, and slay them!* As for the dispositions which [His Holiness the Pōint] made, at all times, even from the beginning, certain hints were current, but at first [many] sayings were uncomprehended, though some were understood. But after his ascension³ it became evident what was intended: *and this God witnesseth and knoweth.* Thus in certain passages of the Persian Beyān it was signified that he was not far from his ascension. Assuredly if you search all his writings these things will become clearly known, and the sublime foreshadowings of the Lord will be apparent. Should it be so decreed, a portion of the writings of His Holiness the Sacred will be sent for you to peruse⁴. Please God you will continue enthroned in the heights of glory and wisdom, and will under no circumstances expunge this pilgrim of the land of affliction from the regard of your sight, but will ever remember him with letters. This recluse also will not

¹ i.e. the visitation of the Bāb's house at Shīrās, from which, by an unfortunate accident, I was debarred.

² See my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bābī MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 471 and 474—6.

³ i.e. his martyrdom.

⁴ These were subsequently sent. See my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bābī MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 483—7.

forget your illustrious person until *God shall accomplish what He will, and shall effect what He purposeth*¹. To each one is an appointed time with thy Lord, and God wotteth best of those rightly directed. Verily there is no power save in God, to Whom be glory: unto Him is the passing of all on a day near at hand. A day whereon it shall be decided according to the right, and whereon judgement shall be pronounced according to justice. Glory be to Him! To Him belongeth dominion and decree, and verily He is Mighty, the Witness of all things. He knoweth what is in the heavens and the earth, and what is betwixt them; He witnesseth everything; and with Him is a Record kept. In His hand are the destinies of all things, and verily thy Lord is Powerful, All-encompassing. And verily He is Wise and Informed. Whosoever seeketh help from Him, it sufficeth him; and He raiseth up whom He willeth to a lofty height. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds.

He who prayeth [for you]

ŞUBH-I-EZEL.

[P. S.] "One Hasan by name, who, with his regiment, effected the shooting of the Lord, was appointed to Muhammara in the Anglo-Persian war. Although he shattered the war-ships with cannons and bullets, at length some of the English gunners struck his head with a cannon-ball and despatched him to hell. This help, too, was from the English. And the final victory is to such as strive [for God]."

¹ i.e. until I die.

APPENDIX IV.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND FAU-SIMILES.

THESE fac-similes, reproduced with admirable fidelity from the original documents in my possession (for all of which I am indebted to the kindness of Şubh-i-Ezel) by the Cambridge Engraving Company, under the supervision of my friend Mr A. G. Dew-Smith of Trinity College, will enable all who are interested in the history of the Bábi religion to satisfy their curiosity as to the style and script of its Founder, of his amanuensis and most intimate disciple Aká Seyyid Huseyn of Yazd, of his successor Mírzá Yahyá *Şubh-i-Ezel*, and of the immortal poetess and heroine Kurratu'l-'Ayn. I account myself singularly fortunate in being the possessor of treasures so priceless, and I rejoice to think that should the originals, by some evil chance, perish by one of those accidents to which all documents are more or less liable, their form at least will be preserved in these pages.

With regard to the documents in question, their reproductions in type, and the translations which I have attempted to make of them, a few words are necessary.

No. I, the Bábi's epistle to Mullá Sheykh 'Alí *Jenáb-i-'Azím*, was sent to me by Şubh-i-Ezel in December 1889, enclosed in the letter translated above. Its authenticity is certified not only in the concluding portion of this letter, but also in Şubh-i-Ezel's endorsement. In the decipherment of this document (which, compared to Nos. III and IV, is legibility itself) I have had to trust to my own unaided powers, and, though I have done my best, and spent no small pains on it, I am not perfectly satisfied as to the correctness of either my text or my translation.

No. II, Şubh-i-Ezel's copy of the document wherein the Bábi nominated him to the succession, is so legible that it would have been superfluous to print the text, besides which I have already published both text and translation

at pp. 996—7 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1889. This document was enclosed in the first letter which I received from Captain Young (till lately Commissioner of Famagusta in Cyprus), dated July 29th, 1889.

No. III, Seyyid Huseyn's letter to "the Name of the Supreme" (apparently Hájí Seyyid 'Alí, the Báb's uncle) was given to me by Şubh-i-Ezel during my visit to Famagusta in April 1890. Its decipherment proved so difficult that I sent a photograph of it to Sheykh A——, my Ezel correspondent in Constantinople, and requested him to supply me with a legible transcript, which he was kind enough to do. This transcript, which I have ventured to deviate from in only two instances, both of which are noted in their proper place, has enabled me easily to follow the original. For explanations of certain difficult expressions and allusions given in the foot-notes I am indebted to Şubh-i-Ezel, to whom I addressed enquiries which he answered in a letter dated Muḥarram 12, A.H. 1309 (Aug. 18, A.D. 1891).

No. IV, Kurratu'l-'Ayn's epistle to "*Jenáb-i-'Azím*," is perhaps the most difficult both to read and to understand. Şubh-i-Ezel, however, recognizing the first of these difficulties, enclosed with it, in the letter of October 1889 which accompanied it, a perfectly legible transcript, which I have followed, comparing it word by word with the original. Some, but not nearly all, of the difficult expressions with which it teems were further explained by him, as set forth in the foot-notes to the translation, in the letter of August 18, 1891 above referred to. Kurratu'l-'Ayn's letter consists of two parts, of which the second, beginning at the words جواب ورقه ثانی ("Reply to the second sheet"), is even harder to understand than the first; so much so that I have despaired of rendering it into English, and accordingly offer as a sufficient specimen of Jenáb-i-Táhir's epistolary style a translation of the first part only, which, besides being relatively intelligible, appears, from certain expressions which occur in it, to refer to some crisis which gives it a special interest.

As regards the translations, I must crave the indulgence both of the scholar and of the ordinary reader; of the former, for the inaccuracies which I cannot hope to

have altogether escaped; of the latter, for the cramped and awkward English which I have found it impossible to avoid without departing further from the originals than appeared to me permissible. Almost all Bábí writings, save those intended for circulation beyond the limits of the Bábí church, are more or less obscure. This obscurity, especially in the case of their Arabic writings, arises in part from a certain want of dexterity in the manipulation of the language¹, but it is in large measure intentional, and is designed to prevent the uninitiated reader from penetrating the true sense of the words he reads. In the case of letters such as those which I now publish the difficulty is enormously increased by our total ignorance of the particular circumstances under which they were written; for whereas a general epistle would presumably at least be comprehensible to any learned Bábí, a private letter might easily contain expressions and allusions which none could understand save the person addressed, or such as were

¹ The profound contempt for grammar entertained by the Báb and his earlier followers is shewn not only by the writings themselves, and by a passage in the *Persian Beyán* cited by Baron Rosen at the foot of p. 3 of vol. iii of the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales (Manuscripts Persans)*, but by the following passage from the *Hasht Bihisht*:—

هَارُوت و مارُوت دو ملکه. راسخه است که از عالم
علوی تنزل کرده در چاه طبیعت اسیر شده اند و
بمردمان سحر میآموزند و این ملکه عجزتند از نحو
و صرف که در ظهور بیان قید از آنها بر داشته شد *

"*Hárút and Márút*" [the names of two angels believed by the Muhammadans to be imprisoned in a well at Babylon] "are two fixed habits, which, descending from the superior world, have become imprisoned in the well of the material nature, and teach men sorcery. And by these [two] habits are meant *Accidence* and *Syntax*, from which, in the Bábí Dispensation, all restrictions have been removed."

intimately familiar with his condition and circumstances. Let these considerations not be altogether lost sight of by anyone who may detect an error in this portion of my work.

NO. I. LETTER FROM THE BĀB
TO MULLĀ SHEYKH 'ALÍ "JENĀB-I-'AZÍM."

(TEXT OF LETTER.)

هُوَ الْاَكْبَرُ

شَهِدَ اللهُ اَنَّهُ لَا اِلَهَ اِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْمَحْبُوبُ

هُوَ الْاَعْظَمُ

بِسْمِ اللهِ الْاَمْنَعِ الْاَقْدَسِ شَهِدَ اللهُ اَنَّهُ لَا اِلَهَ اِلَّا هُوَ
لَهُ الْخَلْقُ وَ الْاَمْرُ يُحْيِي وَ يُمِيتُ ثُمَّ يُمِيتُ وَ يُحْيِي وَ
اَنَّهُ هُوَ حَتَّى لَا يَمُوتَ فِي قَبْضَتِهِ مَلَكُوتُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ يَخْلُقُ
مَا يَشَاءُ بِاَمْرِهِ اَنَّهُ كَانَ عَلَيْكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرًا وَ اَنَّمَا الْبَهَاءُ
وَ الْقُوَّةُ مِنَ اللهِ فِي اَصْحَابِ الْهَدْيِ ثُمَّ لِعَظَمَتِهِ كَلِمَتُهُمْ
اَجْمَعِينَ وَ لَقَدْ قَدَرْنَا لِكُلِّ وَاحِدٍ هَيْكَلٌ عَزَّزْنَا مِنْ لَدُنَّا لَهُ
يَزُلُّ حَرْفًا مِنْهُ كُلُّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَ تَتَوَصَّلُنَ الْبَهْرُ فِي حَبْنِ
هَمَّ كَانُوا ظَاهِرِينَ اِنْ تَدَبَّرْنَ ثُمَّ تَنْظُرْنَ اَرْضَكُمْ خَيْرَ عَمَّا
تَصْعَدُونَ حَرْفٌ وَاحِدٌ يَغْلِبُ كُلَّ الْاَحْرَافِ لَهُ بِهَا قَدْ قَدَّرَ
اللهُ فِيهِ مِنَ الْحَقِّ وَ اللهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ
حُرُوفُ اِلَّا اللهُ

(SUBH-I-EZEL'S ENDORSEMENT.)

هو الرقيب

توقیعی است که بهجناب عظیم خطاب فرموده اند و
 من اجل او نازل شده است
 یادگار از جهة سرکار فرستاده شد انشاء الله بدرستی
 و حفظ برسد
 کتاب معهود (۲۰ جزو) فرستاده شد انشاء الله بدرستی
 مشهود آید

('TRANSLATION OF LETTER.)

"He is the Most Great.

*"God witnesseth that there is no God but He, the Mighty,
 the Beloved.*

"He is the Most Mighty.

"In the Name of God, the Most Unapproachable, the Most Holy. God witnesseth that there is no God but He: to Him belongeth creation and command. He quickeneth and causeth to die: then He causeth to die and quickeneth; and verily He is the Living, who dieth not. In His grasp is the dominion of all things: He createth what He pleaseth by His command: verily He hath power over all things. And the Splendour and the Power from God, as likewise His Might, are only amongst the people of Right Guidance, the whole of them, and all. Verily We have assigned to each one a Form of Might on Our part, whereof not one letter shall all the worlds cause to pass away. This shall be joined unto them at such time as they become manifest. Consider well: then purify thyself. Your land is good: for what would ye journey forth? One Letter shall subdue to itself all the Letters by virtue of that which God hath

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله رب العالمين
 والصلاة والسلام على
 سيدنا محمد وآله
 وبعد
 فإني قد تلقيت
 من حضرت آية الله
 العظمى الخميني
 قدس سره
 رسالة
 في بيان
 حقيقة
 مذهب
 بابي
 وطلب
 مني
 أن
 أكتب
 في
 بيان
 حقيقته
 وأما
 جوابي
 فلهذا
 ما
 بين
 يدي

درگاه
 حضرت آية الله العظمى الخميني
 قدس سره

*Fac-simile of the Báb's autograph,
 received from Subh-i-Ezel.*

درگاه
 حضرت آية الله العظمى الخميني
 قدس سره
 درگاه
 حضرت آية الله العظمى الخميني
 قدس سره
 درگاه
 حضرت آية الله العظمى الخميني
 قدس سره

*Subh-i-Ezel's endorsement and
 description of the same.*

accorded to it of The Truth; and God hath power over all things.

"The Letters of 'ILLA 'LLÁH'".¹

(TRANSLATION OF ENDORSEMENT.)

"He is the Watchful.

"This is an Epistle which He [i.e. the Báb] addressed to Jenáb-i-'Aqím, and which was revealed on his account.

"It is sent as a keepsake for your Excellency. Please God it will arrive in safety and good preservation.

"The book promised (20 sheets) has been sent. Please God it will be found in good condition."

¹ I am not certain as to the reading of these words, nor their meaning, nor their proper place; but I think that they stand for a signature. The *Kalima-i-Shahádat*, or Profession of belief in the Divine Unity (الله لا اله الا الله), is regarded by the Bábís as consisting of two parts or clauses, a negation ("Lá iláha," "There is no god"), and an affirmation ("illa 'llá," "save God"). The five letters composing the first clause are called "*Ḥurúf-i-nafy*" ("Letters of Negation"), the seven composing the last clause "*Ḥurúf-i-illádat*" ("Letters of Affirmation"). Thus are combined in this formula the antitheses which must co-exist in every Manifestation—the "Yes" and the "Nay," the Light and the Darkness. The Báb is constantly called "He of the Seven Letters" (ذات حروف السبع) which title, perhaps, may contain an allusion to this Clause of Affirmation as well as to the number of letters composing his name, 'Alí Muḥammad. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 230, 231, and 421—2.

No. II. NOMINATION OF ŞUBĤ-I-EZEL AS THE BÂB'S SUCCESSOR.

(Copied by Subh-i-Ezel from the original document in his possession, which is in the Bâb's handwriting. See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1889, pp. 996—7.)

(TRANSLATION.)

"God is Most Great with the Uttermost Greatness.

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

"Say, 'All originate from God.' Say, 'All return unto God.'

"This is a letter from 'Alî before Nabî', God's Reminder unto the Worlds, unto him whose name is equivalent to the Name of the One [Wahîd = 28 = Yahyâ, Subh-i-Ezel's name], God's Reminder unto the Worlds.

"Say, 'Verily all originate from the Point of Revelation.'

"O Name of the One, keep what hath been revealed in the Beyân, and what hath been commanded, for verily thou art a Mighty Way of Truth."

[Signature.]

¹ *Nabî* is numerically equivalent to *Muḥammad*, the sum of each, according to the *abjad*, being 92; so that "'*Alî before Nabî*" is simply another way of saying "'*Alî Muḥammad*."

الله اكبر تكبيرا كبيرا

الى الله المهيمن القوي
فل كل من الله مبدون

هذا كتاب من عند الله المهيمن القوي
فل كل من الله مبدون

الى من بعد اسمه اسم الوحيد
ان باسم الوحيد حافظا من الدنيا
وامر به فاك له احق عظيم

هذا كتاب من على من انزل في ذكر الله العالم
فل كل من فقطرة البيان لينون

هذا

Fac-simile of transcript
made by Şubh-i-Ezeli of the document
nominating him as the Báb's successor
(Original written by the Báb)

(To face p 426)

NO. III. LETTER FROM THE BÁB'S AMANUENSIS,
 ÁKÁ SEYYID HUSEYN OF YEZD, TO
 THE 'NAME OF THE SUPREME'.¹

(ON BACK OF LETTER.)

اسم الله العلى الاعلى
 مطالعه فرمايند

(TEXT OF LETTER.)

هو الرفع الاعلى

بسم الله المتعالى المتعالى سبحانه الكبر يا الهى و
 اله كل شئ و ربى و رب كل شئ و خالقى و خالق
 كل شئ و رازقى و رازق كل شئ و ميمنى و ميمت
 كلشئ و محبى و محبى كل شئ و بارئى و بارئ
 كل شئ و مصورى و مصور كل شئ لاشهدتك و كل
 شئ بانك انت الله لا اله الا انت لك الملك و الملكوت
 و لك العز و الجبروت و لك القدرة و اللاهوت و لك
 القوة و الهاقوت و لك السلطنة و الناسوت و لك العزة و
 الجلال و لك الطلعة و الجمال و لك الوجهة و الكمال
 و لك القوة و الفعال و لك الرحمة و الفضل و لك
 السطوة و العدال و لك كل ما خلقت و تخلق من كل

¹ By "the Name of the Supreme" ("Isma'íl-'Alí") Hájí Seyyid 'Alí, the Báb's maternal uncle and guardian, appears to be meant. Cf. my *Catalogue and Description of 37 Bábí MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 480.

(From verso)

المسرح

[illegible]

*Fac-simile of a letter
from Akā Sayyid Huseyn of Yazd to
Ismu 'Ulāhi 'l-'Alī.*

NO. III. LETTER FROM THE BĀB'S AMANUENSIS,
 ĀKĀ SEYYID ḤUSEYN OF YEZD, TO
 THE 'NAME OF THE SUPREME'.¹

(ON BACK OF LETTER.)

اسم الله العلى الاعلى
 مطالعه فرمایند

(TEXT OF LETTER.)

هو الارفع الاعلى

بسم الله المتعالى المتعالى سبحانه الكبر يا الهى و
 اله كل شئ و ربى و ربّ كل شئ و خالقى و خالق
 كل شئ و رازقى و رازق كل شئ و مميتى و مميت
 كل شئ و محيى و محيى كل شئ و بارئى و بارئ
 كل شئ و مصورى و مصور كل شئ لا شيدتك و كل
 شئ بانك انت الله لا اله الا انت لك الملك و الملكوت
 و لك العزّ و الجبروت و لك القدرة و اللاهوت و لك
 القوة و الهاتوت و لك السلطنة و الناسوت و لك العزة و
 الجلال و لك الطلعة و الجمال و لك الوجهة و الكمال
 و لك القوة و الفعال و لك الرحمة و الفضل و لك
 السطوة و العدا و لك كل ما خلقت و تخلق من كل

¹ By "the Name of the Supreme" ("Isma'il-'Alī") Hājī Seyyid
 'Alī, the Bāb's maternal uncle and guardian, appears to be meant.
 Cf. my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bābī MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.*
 for 1892, p. 480.

شئ لا يغرب من علمك من شئ و لا يعجزك من شئ
 لا في ملكوت امرك و لا في جبروت انشاءك و انك
 كنت بكل شئ علماً و انك كنت على كل شئ قديراً
 لا تسلك بان تصلين على من يظهره الله ثم على ادلائه
 بكل حى قد احطت به علماً انك كنت على ذلك مقتدراً
 قديراً * و بعد * بزيارت صفحه ثانی نكاش شده از
 ارض ق مشرف شده و بقرائت آن مستهيج گردیده الله
 الحمد على ما قد آتاكم و وفقكم للسیر فی اسفار حبه
 و رضائه مرة من خلقه الى فناء قدسه و مرة عن¹
 ذروة عرشه الى جانب خلقه فطوبى لمن يسلك فى سبل
 محبوبه و انقطع عن حب دون مقصوده فيها شوقه الى
 رؤية جمالكم فى ظل جمال محبوبكم و ما اسئل الله
 من ربى الا ما قد سئلتهم من ربكم و ما اردت الا ما
 قد اردتم من مقصودكم ارجو من فضل ربى ان يقدر
 النصر لاوليائه بما قد ظهر من نصره و به يفرح قلوب
 اوليائه و يبرد افئدة احبائه الا ان ذلك لهو النصر القريب
 و الصبح الحبيب الحمد لله على ما اشرق و الشكر
 لله على ما ابرق و المجد لله على ما ابرز و اسطع و
 تشعشع من نور ذاته و مرأت كينونيته ليستيقن الكل
 على انه لا اله الا هو العزيز المحبوب و انه لا اله الا
 هو المهيمن القيوم و آنچه مرقوم فرموده بودید کل

¹ Sheykh A——'s transcript has من, but the original document does not seem to me to justify this reading.

بعرض ذروه. قدس اعلى مستعرض گشته و آنچه خیراست
از برای محبتین باولیا. خود مقتدر خواهد فرمود و هنوز
بزیارت کتاب اول که قبل از این کتاب ارسال فرموده
بودید مشرف نشده و پس از یوم حرمان¹ دو کتاب
بخط حضرت محبوب لمر یزل و دو کتاب بخط ابن ذره
با اسمائی چند لادلاء الحق ارسال شده و لکن در
سبیل لاجل حرکات مانعی واقع شده آنچه شده و الی
الآن در عهده تعویق واقع گردیده و لکن بهضمون لا
یمسه الا المطهرون کتب محفوظ است الی ان یبلغها الله
الیکم و سبیلغ اذا شاء انه کان مقتدراً قدیراً و ذکر
احباب آن ارضرا نموده سیما والد شهید اکبر علیه البهاء
آنچه مقتضای فضل و جود باشد بر ایشان نازل خواهند
فرمود و در باب عدد معین از ذهب همان قسمی که
شما اشاره فرموده بودید از اشارات کلمات باهر شد و
لکن ذکر دیگر نشد تا عرض شود و الله ولی المتقین
و همواره شرح احوال را قلمی خواهید فرمود و تکبیر هر
کمال مکبرین خواهید فرمود سیما من یکن حاضراً عندکم
سبح الحق علیه بهاء الله و احمد الله ربی رب کل
شیء رب ما یری و ما لا یری رب العالمین فی کل

¹ The transcript made for me in Constantinople by Sheykh A—— has چریان, but as I can extract no meaning from this, and as it appears to me that the original may equally well be read حرمان, I have ventured provisionally to adopt the latter reading.

حين و قبل حين و بعد حين و قد نزل عليك كتاباً
 من ربك و ارسل الى مؤمن ارض الصاد حتى يوصل اليك
 او الى اخيك بجهة اطلاع عرض شد و الحمد لله رب
 العالمين

(TRANSLATION.)

"Let the name of God the High, the Supreme, peruse it.

"He is the Most Exalted, the Supreme.

"In the Name of God the Sublime, the Sublime. Glory be to Thee, O my God and the God of all things, my Lord and the Lord of all things, my Creator and the Creator of all things, my Provider and the Provider of all things, He who causeth me and all things to die, He who causeth me and all things to live, my Maker and the Maker of all things, my Limner and the Limner of all things. Verily I and all things bear witness that Thou art God, there is no God save Thee. To Thee belongeth the Dominion and the Kingdom; to Thee the Glory and the Power; to Thee Might and Godhead; to Thee Strength and the Universal Soul¹; to Thee Sovereignty and the World of Men; to Thee Majesty and Splendour; to Thee Effulgence and Beauty; to Thee Comeliness and Perfection; to Thee Power and Deed; to Thee Mercy and Bounteousness; to Thee Awfulness and Justice. To Thee belongeth whatsoever Thou hast created or shalt create, be it what it may; naught disappeareth from Thy Knowledge, and naught baffleth Thee, neither in the Kingdom of Thy Command, nor in the Power of Thy Creation; verily Thou hast Knowledge of all things, and

¹ So I translate *Yāfūt*, which seems to be used in this sense by the mystics. See Jurján's *Definitiones*, ed. Flügel, p. 279, s.v.

الباقوتة الحمراء. So *Mulk* ("Dominion") means the Material World; *Malakūt* ("Kingdom") the Angel World; *Jabarūt* ("Power") the Spirit World, &c.

verily Thou hast power over all things. I pray Thee to bless Him whom God shall manifest, then his Proofs, with every salutation which Thou comprehendest in Thy knowledge: verily Thou art able and powerful to do this.

"But after this. You have written of the receipt of the second epistle, wherewith you were honoured from the Land of Káf', and by the perusal of which you were gladdened.

Praise be to God for that which he hath conferred on you, and for having furthered your pilgrimage in the journeys of His love and His good pleasure, now from His Creation to the annihilation of His Sanctity, and now from the highest pinnacle of His Throne towards His Creation. Well is it with him who journeys in the paths of his Beloved, and severs himself from the love of all save the Object of his desire. O how great is our longing to behold your beauty overshadowed by the beauty of your Beloved! I also ask not from my Lord aught else than that which you ask from your Lord, neither do I desire aught save that which you desire from the Object of your devotion. I hope of the Grace of my Lord that He will vouchsafe help unto His Saints according to what hath already appeared of His help, whereby He rejoiceth the hearts of His Saints, and refresheth the souls of His friends: is not this indeed the Victory near at hand, and the Morning ardently desired? Praise be to God for the Light which he hath vouchsafed, and thanks be to God for the blaze which He hath flashed forth, and glory be to God for what He hath displayed and caused to shine and gleam forth from the Light of His Essence and the Mirror of His Nature, that all may be assured that there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Beloved, and that there is no god but He, the Protecting, the Self-Existent!

"As for what you wrote, all was submitted to the notice of the Zenith of Supreme Sanctity", who will apportion to his saints what is best for those who love him. We have not yet been honoured by receiving your first letter, which you wrote before this. Subsequently to the

¹ i.e. Kávin, as explained by Subh-i-Ezel in his letter of Muharram 12, A.H. 1300 (Aug. 18, A.D. 1891).

² i.e. the Báb.

Day of Deprivation' two letters in the handwriting of His Holiness the Eternally-Beloved, and two letters in the handwriting of this insignificant mote, together with several 'Names', were sent to the 'Proofs of the Truth', but, such obstacles having arisen on the way as have arisen by reason of certain movements, the communication thereof has hitherto been deferred; though, in accordance with '*None shall touch it save the pure*', the writings are in safe keeping until such time as God shall convey them to you; and He will convey them to you; and He will convey them when He pleaseth: verily He is Able and Powerful.

"He" maketh mention of the Friends of that land, especially the father of the Chief Martyr" (*upon him be the*

¹ That is, as I suppose, the day when the person addressed in the letter was parted from the Báb.

² i.e. Sections of the '*Book of Divine Names*.' See my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 648—659.

³ i.e. the 18 chief disciples of the Báb, called also "Letters of the Living" (حروفات حى), and "Proofs of the Living" (ادلة حى), which latter term is thus explained in the *Hasht Bihisht*.

⁴ Kur'án, lvi, 78.

⁵ That is, as I understand it, the Báb; but the words are ambiguous.

⁶ In answer to my enquiries, Şubh-i-Esál thus explained this expression in the letter referred to on pp. 421, and 431, n. 1 *supra*. "[The term] 'Chief Martyr' [*Shahid-i-Akbar*] is applicable to all the 'Letters,' but here his [i.e. Áká Seyyid Huseyn's] father Áká Seyyid Áhmad is intended, who, notwithstanding his extreme weakness and old age, sacrificed himself and his little child Seyyid Muḥammad 'Alí [see pp. 82—3 *supra*]. Two of his other sons, His Excellence Áká Seyyid Huseyn [of Yazd, the writer of this letter], and Áká Seyyid Ḥasan, both lost their lives in the Cause. These had another younger brother, but whether he still lives, or in what condition, is unknown. The father of these is [here intended by the term] 'the father of the Chief Martyr'."

Splendour !); and He will reveal unto them whatsoever may be dictated by His Grace and Bounty.

"With respect to the sum of gold specified¹, the implication of the words appears to be as you suggest, but no further indication has been given which I can offer to you. *And God is the Protector of the pious.*

"Continue always to write accounts of your condition. You will convey *takbirs* to all such as give greeting with the *takbír*", especially to him who is [now] present beside you, the Traveller of Truth (*upon whom be the Splendour of God !*).

¹ Subh-i-Ezel's note on this passage in the letter referred to in the last foot-note is as follows:

عدد متعین از ذهب نقدی است که یکی دوستان قبل
باسم کیمیا سازی از او ضایع نمود و فرار کرده است و
قدری دوا نزد او مانده بود و گمان مینمود که این
بقیه از مبلغ نقد او است و از میان رفته بود این
است حال کسانی که از مروت و انصاف بیرون رفته اند
و هیچ ترحم بنفسی نمی نمایند زاده الله بعداً او پندیر
آله ثواب رحیم*

"The sum of gold specified was a sum of money which a former friend had squandered for him on pretence of finding the Philosopher's Stone. This man then ran away, leaving with him some chemicals which he supposed to be the residue of that money of his, which had disappeared. Such is the condition of those who forsake generosity and justice, and shew mercy unto none. *May God increase their remoteness, or direct them aright: verily He is quick to repent and merciful.*"

² The Bábís used to salute one another with the *takbír*, i.e. the formula "*Alláhu Akbar*" ("God is Most Great"). *Takbír* in this place therefore means "greeting"; while by "such as give greeting with the *takbír*" all believers in the New Revelation are intended.

"I praise God, my Lord, and the Lord of all things, the Lord of the Visible and the Invisible, the Lord of the Worlds, at all times, and before a time, and after a time. He' hath revealed for thee an epistle from thy Lord, which hath been sent unto the faithful believer in the Land of Šád', that it may reach thee, or thy brother. This is mentioned for your information. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!"

NO. IV. LETTER FROM ḲURRATU'L-'AYN "JENÁB-I-ṬÁHIRA" TO MULLÁ SHEYKH 'ALÍ "JENÁB-I-'AZÍM."

(ṢUBḤ-I-EZEL'S ENDORSEMENT.)

بجناب عظیم نوشتہ اند اصل خط آن مظلومہ است

(TEXT OF LETTER.)

انت الاحب الاعظم من التوصیف
فی مرکز البیان سوہا

اشہد الله الحی الاحد الفرد فی هذه الورقة البیضاء ان
اسمه العظیم قد کان هیکلاً طلسمياً و هو قد کان
من احرف وجهه الحی لا اله الا هو فی سماء العز
ضوئاً فقد طهره الله من کل ما هو من نشات الظلمة
نشئاً و اصطفاہ للمقام مقامه الحی الارفع الاعلی علیاً
الله هو اعظم من تعظیم اهل الانشاء کلیاً و اعلی من
بہاء اهل الثناء جمیعاً فقد صدق وعده و اتی ببعض

¹ i.e. the Báb.

² Isfahán.

(From verso)

Fac simile of a letter
from Muhammad 'Ali to Mustafa Sa'ad 'Ali.

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آيته حتمياً و اشرق الارض بنور وجهه و جعلها مرآة مصفياً
 فيها من اشده الله خلق البديع بدعيأ و اتخذده لاقامة
 ركنه رفيعاً فقد كان الله جذبة سرك و هو بنفسه الحق
 قد يتجلى عليك في كل آن دورها ضوئاً ما للشئونات
 الوصفية و البهوان لوصفك و ما للاشارات النعتية و التبيان
 لشأنك فانت انت انت بنفسك الحق قد كنت في سرائر
 القدس عظيمأ عليأ رفيعأ مضئأ فقد فرج قلب الزأ و
 نشطت حرف الفأ و اشرحت صدر الطأ لها رأت آياتك
 من ورقة الحمراء طليعأ و هذه من فضل الله العظيم
 علي و ان فضل الله على الشجرة قد كان عظيمأ فيها
 نور النار و سر الاستبداد و حقيقة القوار الى متى تأمرني
 بالاصطهار فقد ظهر الامر زهريأ و وصل الحكم حتمياً بحقك
 العظيم الاعظم يا طلسم مكرم و رمز منمنر قد تم الصبر
 و القرار و ما بقى إلا الزجر و الانلجار في هذه الآن
 العدلية قهرتأ يا احب المحبوب و يا جذبة الحبيب
 الى متى تشفع في حق هؤلاء السكروون و البهيمون
 جميعأ بحقك لن يؤمنوا بالآيات و ما ينفعهم النصح
 تخويفاً فقد شاء الله الحق ليرى الشجرة بالذلة الاكبر
 على ارض الغبراء طريحأ و من كل في كل بكل
 قطعأ فحينئذ الامر امره و الحكم حكمه حكماً بعضياً
 حرقياً جزئياً فوعزتلك يا جذبة السر و سر الامر في مركز
 البدأ و كيف يكاد ان اشكو الى ربى من اهل الخمود
 و الجمود جميعأ فقد نسوا سنة الله و اخلدوا الامر جزئياً

فلولا شفاعتك يا عين الكرم و لو ما عنايتك يا وجه
 القدم لاخضر الله بفقد حرف الزاء من هذه الارض الغبراء
 اياماً قبل هذا غرمياً فيها يا ها انهم ما يستقرّون ولايات
 الله ما يخضعون فيرحمهم الله برحمته و يدخلهم في جنة
 قره حتمياً *

جواب ورقه ثانی * فقد استقرّ قلب الزاء بورودك و
 اطمأن نفسها بوفودك فانت انت الحق القائم بامر
 الحق قوياً فمنك السلام و انت السلام لاهل الاسلام
 جميعاً بلغ السلام المتظهر من حقيقتك الصافية على كلّ
 اهل السلام في هذه الآن الاعظم عظمياً فانّ سلامك
 يصعد و يرقع و يستقرّ و يشعشع على الواح المصفية
 بنور الربّ بدعياً فونور المشعشع من وجه الاختصاص
 لو ينظر احداً من اهل الاختصاص بعين الله المودعة
 فيه في مقام الاقتباس ليرى في رجلك آياتا على الحق
 بعين الحق مشهوداً فقد ظهر سرّ القيام و جاء آن
 النظام من اسماء عزّ عظام الذين بقيامهم يحيى الله
 العظم رسمياً فانت انت يا احبّ الحبيب اسم الاعظم
 و النور المننير المنور للظلم و مفرج الهمّ في هذه القيام
 القائمة الربعية الرجعية حتمياً بهائيات القمصيات تطلع
 منك شرقياً و هويات الطلعبات تظهر عنك غربياً و
 كؤسات الخمريات تدور بك زجاجياً و لحيات الشعريات
 تكور لك حقياً و سرائر الرفعات ترفع لك شععياً و
 مراكز الحقيقات تستقرّ بامرك نورياً فيها من حبّه عالية

و وجهه دالية و قربه و حليته و جذبه حقيّة و غمزه
 سكرية و نشطه و لهبة و سكنته جلالية و طلعتة جمالية
 و حركته وصالية و قامته سوائية و منطقته روحانية ان
 الله هو الحقّ الآتى بوعده الحقّ فى آن انقطاع الاكبر
 من الكل حقياً فيها احبّ الحبيب لا تنسى الشجرة فى
 كلّ الحالات و اذكرها بالورقات السطريات سرّاً جذباً
 عياناً خفائياً فان الامر قد رشحت من مكفبرات الكورية
 عليها صعباً و ضاقت قلبها من اشارات البعدية جهتياً
 فمن الحقّ الاحد اطلب بلسانه الحقّ العظيم الاعظم
 ليفرج عنا فى هذه الآن بالنظر الى وجهه الحقّ وصلياً
 لله الحمد قد صدّقنا وعده و اورثنا الارض و هو الحقّ
 قد كان عطوفاً فحينئذٍ تقولون لله الحمد قد صدّقنا
 وعده و اورثنا الجنة الاخيرة كلياً *

(TRANSLATION OF ENDORSEMENT.)

"She wrote it to Jenab-i-'Asīm. It is the original writing
 of that much-wronged woman."

(TRANSLATION OF LETTER.)

"Thou art the Most Beloved, Most Mighty beyond all de-
 scription, equably established in the midst of the Beyān.

"I take to witness in this white leaf' God, the Living,
 the One, the Single, that his Name 'the Mighty' is a

¹ i.e. this letter. Şubh-i-Esāl writes:—

ورقه بعضا همان لوح مرسل است

² i.e. Mullá Sheykh 'Alí of Khurásán, "the Name of the

Talismanic Form; and that he is of the Letters of the Face of Him, the Living, than whom there is no other god, resplendent in the Heaven of Glory; and that God hath purified him from all that taketh origin from the Shadow-Plane¹, and hath chosen him to stand sublime in the place of Him, the Living, the Most High, the Supreme.

"God! He is Mighty beyond the magnification of all creatures, and Supreme above the glorification of all worshippers; and He hath faithfully observed His promise, and hath brought somewhat of His signs for a surety. He hath illumined the earth with the Light of His Face, and hath made it a Mirror brightly polished.

"O thou whom God hath displayed as a new wonder to His New Creation, and hath taken for the upraising of His Support on high, God is the constraining attraction of thine inmost soul, and He, in His own Living Person, hath shone forth upon thee every moment, all-encompassing, resplendent. It is not given to descriptive powers or utterance to describe thee, nor can thy state be reached by any implications of praise or any explanation: thou art thou, thou in thyself the Living, enthroned in holiness, mighty, lofty, sublime, splendid.

"The heart of the Zâ was gladdened, and the Letter Pî

*Mighty" (Imw'l-'Asm), or "His Excellence the Mighty" (Jendb-i-'Asm), to whom the laudatory expressions which follow are addressed. See the first paragraph on p. 353 *supra*.*

¹ i.e. the Bâb, one of whose titles was *Wajihullâh* ("The Face of God").

² See pp. 328—9 *supra*. Subh-i-Esâl writes:—

نشأ الظلمة همین عالم ظاهری و در بعضی موارد
کسی است که مقابل حق می ایستد و نفس نفی و
ظلمت است *

"Nash'atu'dh-dhiliyat. This phenomenal world; or, in some passages, one who stands opposed to the Truth and is the Incarnation of Denial and Darkness."

rejoiced, and the bosom of the *Tá'* was elated for that she saw thy signs from the red leaf² arising. This is of the Grace of God the Mighty unto me, and verily the Grace of God unto this Tree³ hath been great.

"O light of the Fire, and Mystery of Revolution⁴, and Essence of Stability, how long wilt thou enjoin on me patience, when the Cause hath appeared resplendent, and the Order hath come determined? I conjure thee by thy Truth, the Mighty, the Most Mighty, O venerated Talisman, and O Enigma bearing on thyself the imprints of the Spirit⁵! Patience and endurance are at an end, and there remaineth not aught save reprimand and self-reproach dominant in this moment of just retribution. O most beloved of the Beloved, O influence of the Friend, how long wilt thou make intercession for these drunkards and brutes⁶, all of them?

¹ By "*the Zâ*" (*Zahrâ*, "the Bright"), "*the Letter Fâ*" (*Fâṭima*, the daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, who, as the Bábís say "returned" in *Ḳurratü'l-'Ayn*), and "*the Tá*" (*Tâhira* "the Pure"), *Ḳurratü'l-'Ayn* herself is meant, as explained by Ṣubḥ-i-Esâl.

² A letter sent on a former occasion is referred to (*Ṣubḥ-i-Esâl*).

³ By "*the Tree*" also *Ḳurratü'l-'Ayn* is meant. Cf. n. 2 on p. 273 *supra*.

⁴ The word استهدار cannot, of course, be really derived from the root دور, but should come from the root ودر. In face of the splendid contempt for grammar manifested by the early Bábís, however, one has to look not so much to the actual meaning of the words employed as to the sense which the writers appear to have attached to them.

⁵ The word *munammam* (منمّم), which I thus translate, is properly applied to sand striated and blown into small ridges by the action of the wind.

⁶ That is, "these unbelievers who are intoxicated with the wine of heedlessness and sunk in brutish indifference." On this passage Ṣubḥ-i-Esâl made the following observation:—

گلهائی که چناب عظیم نوشته اند شاعت از بعضی

By thy Truth, they will not believe in the signs, neither will admonition profit them as an intimidation. God the True hath willed to see the Tree cast down on the dusty earth in most great abasement¹, and from all, in all, by all cut off: His, then, is the command, and His the decision, universally, partially, particularly, all-consuming.

"Now by thy Glory, O Attraction of the inmost soul, Mystery of the Cause, standing immovable at the Centre of

نموده اند که معفو گردند جواب چنین نوشته شده است

الی متی تشفع الخ

"The words written by *Jenāb-i-'Aṣṣm* contained intercession for certain persons, that they should be pardoned. The answer was written thus:—'*How long wilt thou make intercession*'...&c."

¹ By "the Tree", as before, *Ḳurratū'l-'Ayn* is meant. On this passage *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel* remarks:—

فقد شاء الله ليرى الشجرة بالكبرية الاكبر چنانچه در
حس و سجل خویش البته اذیتها دیده اند تا آنکه شهید
شده اند چنانچه ناطق است علی ارض الغبراء طریحا
افکنده بر روی خاک و مراد ارض ظاهری است که پس
از شهادت بروی خاک افکندند در زمینی خاکزار در اینمقام
شجره همان مظلومه است و ارض غبراً محلّ شهادت
و افتاده شدن بروی خاک است

"God hath willed to see the Tree cast down on the dusty earth in greatest abasement,' even as she did certainly in her prison and bondage experience many sufferings ere she suffered martyrdom, as she says, 'cast down on the dusty earth,' thrown on the face of the earth. The earth is to be taken literally, for after her martyrdom they cast her on the earth in a dusty plot of ground. 'The Tree' in this passage is that same much-wronged woman, and 'the dusty earth' is the place of her martyrdom, where she was cast in the dust."

the New Dispensation, I am nigh making complaint to my Lord of a people chilled and soulless, all of them, for that they have forgotten the Way of God, and have taken the Matter as a thing of little account. Were it not for thy intercession, O Essence of Generosity, and thy grace, O Face of the Eternal, God would assuredly have punished them with the loss of the Letter Zâ' from this dusty land many days before this as a retribution. Ho, then, O Hâ! Verily so long as they continue to sojourn in the lands of God² they will not humble themselves. May God in His Mercy compassionate them, and compel them to enter into the Paradise of His Proximity!"

(Here ends the first part of Kurratu'l-'Ayn's letter, which alone is translated.)

¹ i.e. Kurratu'l-'Ayn (*Zakrâ*, "the Bright"), as already explained.

² According to the law contained in the *Bayân*, unbelievers are not suffered to remain in the *Lands of Fâ* (*Fârs*), *'Ayn* (*'Irâk*), *Alîf* (*Âzarbaijân*), *Kâf* (*Khurâsân*), and *Mîm* (*Mâsan-darân*). See my second paper on the Bâbîs in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, p. 927. It would appear that Kurratu'l-'Ayn advocated an attempt to give immediate effect to this law, which was deprecated by Mullâ Sheykh 'Alî *Jendb-i-'Asmâ*.

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شخصی حسن نام که با فوج خود مباشر تهر انداختن
 بحضرت بود در محاربه. انگلیس و ایران بمحمره مأمور
 بود اگرچه گشتیهای جنگی را شکسته بود از قوه. توپ
 و گلوله عاقبت از تیراندازان انگلیس سر اورا بگلوله.
 توپ زده بجهت واصل نمودند این نصرت هم از انگلیسان
 شد و العاقبة للمجتهدین *

علیم حتی در بیان فارسی هم در بعضی مکانها اشاره شده است که نزدیک ارتفاع است البته هرگاه در جمیع نوشتها غرض فرمایند این مطالب بوضوح معلوم است و اشارات عالمیات آن حضرت مشهود هرگاه تقدیری شود جزوی هم از آثار قدوسیّه ابلاغ خواهد شد تا آنکه ملحوظ نظر فرمایند انشاء الله بر سرائر اوج عزّت و معرفت بوده این سالک ارض محن را در هیچ شأن از تلقای نظر محو ندارند و همیشه آیام با الواحی یاد آوری فرمایند این منزوی ذات منیف عالی را فراموش نخواهد نمود الی ان یجری الله ما یشاء و یقضی ما یرید لکلّ اجل عند ربّک و الله اعلم بالمبتدین أنّه لا قوّة الاّ بالله سبحانه الیه مصیر الكلّ فی یوم قریب یوم یقضی بالحقّ و ینزل الامر بالعدل سبحانه له الملك و الامر و أنّه لقوی بکلّ شیء شهید یعلم ما فی السموات و الارض و ما بینهما یشهد علی کلّ شیء و عنده کتاب حفیظ بیده مقادیر کلّ شیء و انّ الله ربّک قدیر محیط و أنّه علیم خبیر بکلی من انتصر به و یرفع من یشاء الی اوج رفیع و الحمد لله ربّ العالمین

الداعی

صبح ازل

مازندران شهید شده اند ظاهراً چند نفری خارج مانده است که در آنجا شهید نشده اند لیکن امر محکم در اسر اوّل و آخر است و بلفظ حقّ کافی است شرح آن خارج از بیان است تاریخها که نوشته اند راست و دروغ آن در مقامات آن معلوم می شود در هر طریقه چنین است و در هر منہاج و شرعہ اختلافات بسیار روی میدهد و رفع آن مشکل است و امور این امر بدین مختصرها نیست البتہ امری که سالیست وقایع آن رواة بسیار میخواهد که جمع امور و اقوال ناس نماید و دروغ و راست معلوم شود و الله اعلم بالعالمین در باب زیارت که فرموده اند عمل خاصّ به نیت تمام است چنانچه در ظاهر نیت فرموده در باطن جاری است و فضل رشک بردن افضل از رسیدن است البتہ مرتفع باشند الريح فی تجارتکم و الغبطة فیها در طبری که وارد شده اند چنان است که همه جا رسیده اند زیارتی که مخصوص از جهة آنجاست در این کتاب که این نوبت میرسد مسطور است ملاحظه فرمایند ہلی ہرگاہ مردم شعوری داشتند چون قوم یہود نمی بودند کہ مقصود خود را بیاویزند و آن کارها کنند لعنہم الله بکفرہم و قاتلہم وصّیہا کہ فرمودہ اند ہمیشہ اوقات از ابتدا ہر بعضی سخنان در میان بود لیکن از نخست حرفها مجهول بود و بعضی از ان معلوم پس از ارتفاع مشہود گشت کہ مراد چه بود و الله علی ذلک شہید

گونه بلیات وارد شده است هرگاه از نخست علمای عصر اختلاف نمی نمودند امری نبود که باین تطویل اموری جاری شود و اوضاع عالم برهم خورد نمیباشد این مئثر آنچه حق سبحانه اراده فرموده و جاری خواهد فرمود حسنا الله و نعم الوکیل مختصر اهل نور هم بصفات غیر عدل معروفند فعل خود را نموده اسمی از جهة خود گذاردند عجب است که جمیع فتن از بستگان انسان رو میدهد چنانچه فتنه نور از نور و فتنه مازندران از آنجا و هکذا شیراز و زنجان و سایر اماکن جمیع مفسد از بستگان نفوس مؤمنه بود و مفسد ایران بیشتر نخست از حاجی آغاسی و افعال و عمل از امیر نظام الحق امیر از جور و ستم و تبراً از حق کوتاهی نموده و سه سال دوام کرد و برادرش نهایت ظلم نمود و شهادت حضرت را او جاری ساخت و عاقبت بهحیم ابدی و نار لم یزلی داخل گشت کل ذلك لاجل آیام معدودة او مال و متاع و ما الحیوة الدنیا عند الآخرة الا متاع و الحکم الله رب العالمین آیتها که از صفحه اول و ثانی محو شده است سواد آن ابلاغ محضر عالی گردید انشاء الله درست خواهد شد در باب مظلومه که فرموده اند خط جناب ط است و نوشته ایشان است نظر بآنکه محزون نگردند لوحی از خطوط مبارکه حضرت نقطه ارسال گردید انشاء الله محفوظ دارند حروفات حی که سوال فرموده اند اکثر در

بعداوت خود چیزی نگفته تا آنکه قریب سی نفر کمتر بحبس
برده چند نفری مانده که رها گردیده باقی جام موت
در آنجا نوشیدند و تا حال عیال حقیر که اسیر نموده
در ایران بستن پیری رسیده اند و دیدار میسر نشده و
طفل شیرخواره از بی شیری رحلت نموده گویا شفقت
از میان این قوم بر داشته شده مطلق از هیچ امور
پرسی ندارند و هکذا از سر نو در جمیع بلاد فتنه‌ها
نموده و مردمی اسیر گردانیده و نفوسی گشته و مالها
برده تا آنکه باز بر نهریز هجوم نمودند پس از شهادت
جناب آقا سید یحیی اهل نهریز حاکمرا که مؤسس فتنه
بود بدرک فرستادند دهوا از جدید فراهم آمد تا آنکه
بمهاله انجامید نهایت اینقدر اسیر از نهریز بشیراز برده
که از حد بیرون است و آن جمع اسیررا باین نحو
بشیراز داخل نمودند جمعی زنان و مردان و پسران و
چوان بزنچیرها و بندها بسته و لشکریان سرهای گشتگان
به نیزه نموده و رأس جناب آقا سید یحیی در میان
باین تفصیل که شنیدند از گریلا نموده آن بهچارگانرا
بشیراز داخل نمودند و از آنجا باصفهان و کاشان برده
وارد طهران با کوس و گریلا نمودند چنانچه خود مذکور
داشته معلوم است حال این زنان و مردان تا انتهای
کار چه شده البته اهل حقیقت در علو بصیرت ملحوظ
نظر خواهند داشت این مختصر وقایع امور است و الا
در موارد حرب بی حد و اندازه بر جمیع ناس از هر

آنجا هر عموی داشته و او بی دینی نمود و استشهادی
 بشاه فرستاده که فلان جمعیتی بسیار نموده بمقدار الف و
 مدعی مهدویت و سلطنت است شاه هر قبول نموده صدر
 هر که از خویشان حقیر بود و باطن از قدیم دشمنی
 داشت از طهران مأموری مخصوص و دو هزار لشکر از دو
 طائفه بزرگ و تمام نور ردیف از اهالی فرستاده در محلی
 که شصت خانه وار بیش نداشته است چند هزار نفر
 ریخته بقتل و غارت پرداختند نظر بآنکه مردم فرار نموده
 بودند و حقیر هر که در آنجا نبود و جمیع این امور
 کذب بوده قبل از تاراج محلّ بعضی از سردارها منع
 نموده برادر زاده صدر که همشیره او خانه اخوی بزرگ
 این عهد بود و سردار بزرگ قوم بود قبول نموده امر
 بتاراج و خرابی محلّ داده لشکریان هجوم آور شده عالی
 آنرا سافل گردانیدند و جمیع مردمرا تاراج نموده
 سرداران در خانه حقیر اقامت نمودند و عیال حقیر را در
 غرفه توقیف نموده چند روزی ماند و از کوهها مردمرا
 بزنجیر و بند کشیده دو نفر را در آنجا شهید نموده و
 جمعی از علما و ارباب ملک و غیره از رعایا اسیر نموده
 با عیال حقیر و بطهران باسیری بردند مردان را پیاده با
 زنجیر برده با وجود آنکه هر شاه هر معلوم شده بود که
 قصوری نیست و کسی را با کسی کاری نه و فساد
 نی از عاقبت جوئی خویش نپرسیده که چه واقع است
 همینقدر گفته که نوری را بصدر بخشیدم و صدر هر نظر

قراریکه خود در روزنامه خود نوشته هر یک را بطریقی
گشتند که بقول خود هیچ کافری را نخواهند چنین نمود
و آن مظلومه ط را از حبس شب طلبیدند و بهمین
اختلاف رواة چنانچه شنیده اند بشهادت رسانیدند اصل
آن نزد مباشرین است و حکم دهندگان آن آیام والده
شاه و فرّاش باشی و صدر اعظم بودند البته اختلافات
سابق ایامرا میدانند هکذا در این آیام هر چنین است
محقق امری بیان نتوان نمود چراکه باختلافات میگویند
چنانچه بعضی روایت نموده که در باغی ریسمان
بمعلقومش بسته گشیدند بآی حال امور عالم این است
اگرچه از سفارت روس و انگلیس منع شدند لیکن فائده
نبخشود جناب عظیمرا که بنام ملّا شیخعلی توشیزی
بود و بسیار معروف و معتبر و عالم بزرگ و از تهره که
بدودمانشان اعتقادی داشتند با وجود این چنان شد و
اول ضرورت باو حاجب الدوله فرّاش باشی و یکی از
ملّاهای آنجا زده و او را ریز ریز نمودند و هکذا جناب
آقا سید حسین را ریزه ریزه گردانیدند و باقی دوستان را
که یافتند باقسام بدرجه شهادت رسانیدند این بنده
منزوی نظر بآنکه سابق ظلم دشمنان بنهایت رسیده بود و
آن امیر شقی نهایت دشمنی داشت گاهی بسمت نور
مهاجرت می نمود اگرچه محلّ سکنا طهران بود ولی نظر
بآنکه اصلاً از مردم نور بوده رحل اقامت بنور گشیده
بودم و شخصی از خویشان حقیر بصدارت نهسته بود در

آنحضرت فرمودند ان الازل يحفظ نفسه و لو لم يؤمن به احد من العالمين حقیر نه این است که خود را دوست داشتیم لیکن چنین جاری شد تا آنکه امور حق ثابت شود و مدعیان آشکار شوند و باطنها بشهود آید پس از واقعه مذکور حاجی سلیمان خان اشخاصی را مهیا نمود که آن جسد مطهر را با مرفوع آقا محمد علی بر داشته تفویض باو کنند نظر به آنکه از ضرب گلوله با هم آمیخته شده بود در يك صندوق نهاده و پیچیدند بدین واسطه حقیر هم تصرفی ننموده در همان صندوق با حضرت در یکجا بامانت بود تا آنکه در دیدند از قرار معلوم پیراهن و لباس ایشان را گنده بودند چون عادت ایرانیان است بر خلاف یهود که قرعه به پیراهنی زدند و زیر جامه که با ایشان بود و نشانه تبر شده بود حاجی سلیمان خان آورده بود این است قضیه تبریز بنحو اختصار شهادت حضرت و امور تبریز در بین محاربه زنجان بود تا آنکه همگی ختام پذیر شد پس از این واقعه و امورها و قبل از این در بعضی اماکن دانه دانه اصحابی را تلف می نمودند تا آنکه بالمره مردم خائف و امر پیچیده شد تا آنکه بهادری طهرانی کشید پس از وقعه مازندران آن مظلومه ط در نور رفته بود اهل نور او را آورده بطهران سپردند شاه قبول اذیت او نکرد و او را حبس نمودند تا آنکه امور طهران واقع شد چنانچه مردم از ظلم به تنگ آمده بودند و امور چنین شد از

حفظ خود را ملحوظ دارند که بقای دوستان احبّ است
 با آواز بلند فرمودند ان محمد علی معنا فی الجنة الاعلی
 پس از آنکه خواستند روبروی لشکریان بدیوار بسته باشند
 با و گفتند خوبشان او که انکار نیا و بگو نیستم ترا
 نجات خواهی داد قبول ننموده گفته بود هرگاه مرا
 دوست دارید روبروی حضرت به بندید سپس او را بستند
 با حضرت نقطه و لشکریان تلفنگهای خود خالی نمودند
 آقا محمد علی شهید شده بودند لیکن آسیبی بحضرت
 نرسید نوبت دیگر بستند و آنچه خواستند نمودند مرحوم
 حاجی سلیمان خان هم در میان قوم شمشیر بسته و
 انتظار یاری نموده^۱ بود چنانچه حالتی بخود دیده بود که
 سست و بیخود شده ساعتی در میان جمع نشسته بود
 پس از با خود شدن و باز گردیدن بحالت خود دید
 که امور گذشته و مردم رفته اند و لعش آنحضرت با
 مستحفظین مانده جناب آقا سید حسین و آقا سید
 احمد نام هر دو بحس ماندند و ظاهراً بدرمایش حضرت
 آقا سید حسین تبراً جست که من نیستم و پس از
 شدت پشیمان گشت و خواست اسب شهادت خود مهیا
 کند باقی دوستان ممانعت نمودند که آنوقت منقضی
 شد حال را تأمل دارید و همچنین خودش در مناجاتی
 نوشته نزد حقیر فرستاده بود بهر حال قضای الهی چنین
 جاری شد تا انتها بکجا منتهی شود و در میان حس

^۱ نمون MS.

شکریان هر بسیاری گشته شده چنانچه بی حساب
 گویند یکی از سرداران زنجان فرّخ خان برادر مرحوم
 حاجی سلیمان خان بود و دعوی دوستی می نمود با
 آنکه خان او را منع از محاربه نموده بود قبول ننموده
 رفته تا در آنجا واصل شد و ظاهر جوان رشیدی بود و
 در حالت مستی تاخت بر سر دوستان آورده سزای او
 دادند در این مهانه حرب اوضاع یزد و نیریز بر پا
 شد جناب آقا سید یحیی در نیریز با جمعی گرفتار جمع
 غدار شده و سبب جنگ معلوم نگشت تا آنکه شکست
 باردوی شاه آمده دشمنان بمصالحه پیش آمده قرآن مهر
 نموده و سوگندهای مغلظه بقانون خورد و آنجناب بیرون
 تشریف آوردند پس از صلح سر ایشان را جدا نموده و
 شهادت ایشان بیست و هشتم شعبان يك روز بعد از
 شهادت حضرت واقع شد دیگر معلوم است به نیریز چه
 واقع شده است امیر نظام که وزیر دربار بود تمام این
 فتنه را بر پا نمود تا آنکه سلیمان خان افشار را به تبریز
 فرستاده حضرت را از چهریق به تبریز طلبیدند و در آنجا
 آنچه محقق استماع شده برادر امیر حسن خان ملعون
 وارد نمود و آنچه از او از ستم و جور ذاتی خویش بود
 ظاهر گردانیده چنانچه شنیده اند حضرت را با جمعی
 پس از اذیت بسیار حبس نموده آقا محمد علی تاجر
 خواهش نمود و عرض کرده که در این سفر آرزوی این
 دارم که با شما باشم با وجودیکه فرموده بودند همگی

الوکیل بدین سبب بسیاری از بلیات بمردمان عالم روی داد هر جا که فقهی بود بتهمتی متهم و اسیر زبان مردمان می شد الی ان قضی ما قضی تا آنکه در طهران وزیر امری دیگر داده جمعی را زندان نموده و از آن جمع هفت نفر منتخب را پای دار گردن زدند از جمله جناب حاجی آقا سید علی خالوی حضرت نقطه و میرزا قربانعلی درویش معروف که مرشد بزرگ بود و آقا سید حسن ترشیزی از علمای بزرگ و ملّا صادق ترک و شخصی تبریزی و حاجی ملّا اسمعیل قمی معروف بمجتهد و حاجی محمد تقی کرمانی تاجر پس از این امورات جاریه مآذّه جناب آقا سید یحیی و جناب آقا محمد علی رنجانی جناب آقا محمد علی سابقاً مجتهد بزرگ بودند و در این امر کمال ارتفاع نمودند حاجی آقاسی نظر بترس خود از علما ایشان را بطهران طلبیده امر بقعود نموده بود پس از فوت شاه بزنجان تشریف برده در خانه خود بودند شخصی از علمای آنجا که مؤسس فتنه بود و با ایشان خلوصی نداشت اسبابی فراهم نموده که آنجناب مجبور بجدال شوند چند نوبت بصلح انجامید عاقبت از طهران سرداران و لشکریان رفته مدّتها بچندین ماه جنگ و جدال نموده تا آنکه جناب آقا محمد علی مع اتباع خود در کمال بسالت و شجاعت پاداری نموده تا آنکه شهید شدند و جمعی دیگر هر گشته شده باقی اسیر و متواری گشتند و از

زیاد نموده رعایت حرمت مرعی داشته چادرهای مخصوص زده اسباب آسایش فراهم نمودند پس از احترامات خود و مهمان نوازی که بکار برده مکرری نموده باصحاب گفته بودند که رأس شما میفرماید نظر بآنکه سرداران و جنگاوران حائضند سلاحهای خود را داده سلامت روید زمره صادقین هم فریفته شده سلاح خود بدشمن سپردند فوج لاریجانی که محقق باقرار خود از هزار نفس لشکر آنها که مردان جنگی بودند دوپست آدم شجاع و جوانان دلیر غیر از بیکارها گشته شده بود در میانه خود راه گشوده آن جمع را روانه نموده بیکنوبت تفتشهای خود را خالی نمودند جمع گشیر را شهید نموده جام شهادت نوشانیدند و باقی آنچه مانده بود باطراف مازندران قسمت نموده بساری و بارفروش و آمل و اماکن دیگر بدرجه شهادت رسانیدند مگر بعضی از اطفال که کوچک بوده رها کرده بودند حضرت قدوس را بارفروش برده اول سعید العلماء بدست خود اذیت نموده سپس مأمور حکومت سر ایشان را جدا نموده بود قاتلهم الله انی یؤفکون و پس از شهادت بنفت جسد ایشان را آتش زده لیکن نسوخته بود و آن جسد را شخصی رو بروی خانه ایشان در تکی مخفی نموده بود و شخصی دیگر روایت کرده بود که در مسجد آقا زکی میانه آن مدفون شدند اما سایر شهداء در میان صحرا و جنگل بحالت خود ماندند حسبهم رتبه و حسبنا الله رتبه و نعم

گرددند ولی هنگام مراجعت شمشیر بدست داشته با حالت آخر قلعه باز گشت فرموده از اسب نرفته بودند ولی بعضی از محبان همراهی نموده حضرت قدّوس ایشان را در محلّ مخصوص امر بدفن داده در آنجا مدفون گردیدند اخوی ایشان هر در همانجا شهید شدند و از سنّ بیست تجاوز نموده بودند دو باره لشکر دشمنان پس از شکست فاحش که جمیع ناس ترسان شده و اهل بارفروش اموال خود بچنگلها برده تپّه چندین هزار عسکر دیده از دور کوچهای سلامت ساخته قلعه از چوب و آلات و حفر خندق بر دور خود کشیدند و این محاربات متّده از چندین ماه با آنکه بیارده ماه و اختلاف بهارده^۱ کشید گناه کفّالی چنّد مختصری واقع می شد و لیکن راهبازا سدّ نموده منع آذوقه از هر جهت می نمودند و مطلق کسی راهی نداشته و از اطراف مردمرا میگردتند عاقبت بمصالحه انجامید و صلح نمودند چون از توپ و تفنّد خود جز شکست خود حاصلی ندیدند و از طرف قلعه دوستان سردار کامل از میان رفته بود و مهمّات لشکری بالمره تمام شده و هفده روز یا بیشتر هیچ پلک چیزی نخورده و گرسنه مانده با وجود این از شمشیر ایشان که شخصرا دوتا می نمود خائف و لرزان بوده جرأت بجدال نداشتند تا آنکه حضرت قدّوس با سایرین بمسالمت و صلح بیرون آمده دشمنان احترام

^۱ بهارده MS.

تسخیر و ازگس چند پاسی از شب گذشته در شبی از شبهای نیک قیام فرموده آن مکان را ضبط و استیلا فرموده لشکریان را پراچین فرمودند بقیه آنها فرار نموده و حاکم پای برهنه و عریان فرار بساری نمود و در آنجا بتهیئه لشکر در ثانی پرداخت و در این معرکه ثانی تیری دشمن بحضرت قدّوس انداخته قدری مجروح شدند جناب باب پس از استماع کمال اندوه فرموده بنیت عوض مصمّم بودند و از لشکریان معاندان بی حساب کشته شد تا آنکه باز تهیئه دیده با هفت هزار لشکر مازندران دو باره بمحاربه رو بشیخ طهرسی نهادند و لشکرگاه خود روبرو بر پا نمودند جناب باب بعزم جهاد با سایر اصحاب خود سواره و جمع انصار پیاده در شب نهم ربیع اول با سلاح شتافتند و این محاربه قبل از فجر بوقوع پیوست و چندین هزار از دشمنان تلف گردیدند و خود از بیم یكدیگررا به تیر تفنگ از پا در آوردند و از دوستان چهل نفر شهید و نود نفر مجروح بوقوع آمد و شهادت جناب باب باختلاف روایت گردید بعضی گفتند که تعمّد فرمودند بهر حال عباسقلی خان که سردار لاریجانی بود خودرا میان خارهای جنگل مخفی نموده و سه تیر بآن جناب افتند بگفتار او میگفت سه تیر زدند و دو تیر یقیناً خورد ولی آن شیر مرد نیفتاد و از این متعجبم و آنجناب شخصی ضعیف اندام و نحیف بودند بهر حال دو تیر آن بی خدا کارگر شده آنجناب شهید

آنجا اسبابی مهیا شده که با حضرات باید جنگ نمود
 عبد الله خان نامی از تهر اندازان خوب مازندران با
 اتباع او به جنگ مأمور شدند هنگام ظهر وقتی که با
 همه جا مصالحه بود و آشتی داشتند و جنگی نبود دهات
 روبرورا سنگر نموده بعزم جنگ هجوم آوردند در اینجا هر
 حضرت قدوس سواره بهیرون آمده ایستادند جناب باب
 سواره با جمهوری پیاده با شمشیرهای برهنه در جنگ
 دشمنان شتافتند سردار منافقین با جمعی کثیر از اتباع
 آن گشته شده باقی فرار بر قرار اختیار نمودند و از
 سمت اصحاب شخصی شانه، او قدری از تهر تفرنگ
 خراشیده بود دیگر مجروحی واقع نشده جسد های
 دشمنان را برای درندگان میراث گذاردند و ملاحظه شد
 که از دهات اطراف از هر شطری اعانه دشمنان خواهد
 شد و جنگ خواهند نمود و این بناهای اطراف سنگرهای
 توپ و تفنگ لشکر خواهد بود لهذا دهات نزدیک را خراب
 نموده بحفر خندق و برج و بارو ساختن و جمع آوری
 مهمات لشکری و نفوس مشغول گردیدند خبر بطهران
 برده عموی شاه مهدی قلی میرزا سرداری و حکومت
 تعیین شد و با چند هزار لشکر در وارکس طرح اقامت
 افکند شعی جناب باب بهیرون آمده موعظه و نصایح
 بجمع اصحاب فرمودند و جمعیت که سابق بود از مهاجر
 و انصار سیصد متجاوز و اندک اندک باختلاف تواتر قریب
 هفتصد یا کمتر شدند نوبتی دیگر جناب باب بعزم

سردار ملك با سواران او رسیدند پرسش نمودند و مصالحه دادند بنا شد كه جناب تشریف برده باشند شخصی كه داماد سردار بود به پیش آهنگی همراه شده آنجناب مع دوستان تشریف بردند و روز تمام شده بود بشیخ طبرسی فرود آمدند و در آنجا رحل اقامت بر زمین افكندند هنگام نماز شد بنماز ایستادند خسرو نامی از اوباش قادی كلاً با جمعیت رسید و تعاقب نمود و خواهش اسب و شمشیر ایشان نمود فرمودند صبر نما در كار و تأمل كن و بنماز ایستادند مكرّر در میان نماز بنای ناسپاسی گذارد عاقبت اصحاب به تنك آمده منتظر اذن بودند و رخصت طلبیده گردن او را بشمشیر جدا نمودند و شمشیر باتباع او كشمیدند همگی راه فرار پیش گرفته بعضی بآب بابل غرق شدند و جمعی دیگر بچنگلها پریشان و تباه گردیدند و برخی گریختند تا هنگام مراجعت و ختام امر مفسدين دیگر از هر سمت جمع شده آنچه اموال مهاجرین و انصار بود جمعاً را بتاراج بردند پس از رجوع خویش جز لباس بدن و آنچه با خود داشتند چیزی نیافتند ناچار رحل اقامت بطبرسی افكندند و در آنجا ساكن گردیدند حضرات سرگردگان عسكریّه اكثر بیعت نمودند و اظهار خلوص می نمودند و حضرت قدّوس در ساری بودند پس از آن واقعه بطبرسی تشریف فرما شدند در این هنگام جلوس شاه بطهران واقع شد سر عسکران بطهران رفته بحضور شاهی رسیدند در

احضار نمود غلامان حکومتی آن جنابرا بساری بردند در نیمه راه بعلی آباد رسیده بازاران شدید گرفت در آنجا رحل اقامت افکندند پس از ختام بازاران و خوبی هوا براه افتادند هنگامیکه وارد ساری شدند چاهار طهران رسید و خبر فوت شاهرا آورد حاکم بمحافظت خود پرداخت و پس از آن بطهران رفت و حضرت قنّوس بخانه میرزا تقی مجتهد منزل فرمودند جناب باب بعزم بارفروش حرکت فرموده هنگام ورود اهل بارفروش با آلات جنگ و تفنگ راه بر ایشان گرفتند محاربه شدیدی واقع شد شخصی تهر انداز تفنگی بایشان خالی نمود صورت و دست ایشانرا از زخم تهر مجروح نمود و اسبها هم زخمی گردانید و خود فرار نمود آنجناب بتعاقب او با شمشیر برهنه قیام فرمودند بکوچه تنگی پناه برد که اسب نرود و تفنگ خودرا سهر نمود که شمشیر آنجناب کارگر نشود ایشان هم از گمر او شمشیر زده از سمت دیگر دوتا گردید بدین واسطه شکست فاحش بآهل بارفروش دست داد جمیعاً فرار نموده بازار و دکان و خانههای خوبشرا بستند و بجائی راه ندادند آنجناب مع اصحاب بخانی پیاده شدند دو باره اهل بارفروش هجوم آور شده باطراف خان و از هر سمت تهرها می انداختند آنجناب با اصحاب بیرون آمده جنگ دو باره شد در اینجا هم اموری واقع شده مجروحین و کشته واقع شد باز دشمنان فرار نموده راه گریز پیش گرفتند در این اثنا

جناب باب هر بامر حضرت عازم خراسان شده از سمت مازندران مهاجرت فرمودند در آنجا ملاقات نموده و مقدم بر حضرت قدّوس می نشستند تا آنکه روزی وارد شده و مؤخّر نشستند سایر دوستان که بوده ملتفت شده همگی تصدیق حضرت قدّوس نمودند تا آنکه انتشار یافته از علمای بلد سعید العلماء و محمّد نامی از تبعه حاجی آغاسی وزیر شورش نموده آنجناب را از آنجا بیرون نمودند و ایشان بعزم خراسان بمشهد تشریف بردند در آنجا هر حکومت منتهی بسالار بود اظهار اخلاصی می نمود تا آنکه حضرت قدّوس از مشهد مراجعت فرموده و پیاده بیرون آمدند بتعاقب اسب رسانیده و بعضی اصحاب ملحق شدند جناب باب با چند سوار بتعاقب ایشان مهاجرت فرمود و در هر منزل بعضی از دوستان ملحق می شدند تا آنکه حضرت قدّوس بهار فروش رسیدند در آنجا مفسدین باز بنای شورش گُذارند عموی شاه خاندان مهرزا بحکومت مازندران رفت و در نیم راه بجناب باب برخورد که با سیصد و چند سوار بمازندران داخل می شوند محمّد نام مذکور مفسد در آنجا بود فتنه نمود پس از اجتماع گُفته بود حضرات بکجا میروند گُفته بودند بعزم زیارت کربلا جواب داده بود پیشکش بدهند و از راه دیگر بروند قبول فرموده از قبیل اسب و شمشیر و زر هدیه نموده بچشمه علی مراجعت فرمودند هنگام ورود حاکم بساری امر داده حضرت قدّوس را از بار فروش

بخانه. خود برده با جمعی سادات تعزیر شرعی بقول خود نمود و در محلّ ضرب احکام آن را بیان فرموده اند الا لعنة الله على الظالمين از آنجا دو باره بچهریق بحسب بردند. اول مادّه قتلّی که در ایران بظهور آمد شخصی صالح^۱ طاهر نام از اتباع شیخ مرحوم یکی از علمای قزوین را بدین خود موجب قتل دید و او را بکشت تهمت باین طائفه افتاد جمعی را گرفتند و اذیتهای بسیار نمودند عاقبت شخص قاتل بیامد و اقرار نمود که من قاتلم از مردم چه میخواهید با وجود این سه نفر دیگر را با آن شخص بطهران فرستادند از جمله آنها حاجی محمد علی نامی بود بسیار فاضل و چند نوبت پیاده بحجّ رفته بود و ملّا ابراهیم نامی و شیخ صالح نامی عرب و هر چهار را بطهران حبس نمودند تا آقا صالح طاهر قاتل که از اهل فارس بود با کننده و بند خویش فرار نمود و او را نداشتند پس از آن بدستگیری صدر قزوینی و ایستادگی. او مرحوم شیخ صالح عرب را در طهران سر بردند و حاجی محمد علی و ملّا ابراهیم را بقزوین برده در آنجا بدرختی بستند و تمام اهالی جمع شده هر يك زخمی زده بهدترین طریقها شهید نمودند این مرحله نخست بنای گشتن بود تا آنکه در مازندران جناب قدّوس آشکار شدند و

^۱ MS. inserts و. In this case the sense will be "a just man named Tâhir," or "a man named Sâlih and Tâhir." As, however, his name occurs eight lines lower as "A'kâ Sâlih Tâhir," I am inclined to regard this و as a slip of the pen.

باب دیگر داخل نموده بعمارت صدر جای داد و کمال خلوص بکار برده و اموال خود تماماً را عرض نمود مال شماست و از امام است حتی خاتمهای دست خود بیرون نموده لیکن آنحضرت باو رد فرمودند و قبول نفرمودند تا آنکه مرحوم معتد مرحوم شدند از ورثه او که از خویشان او بوده جانشین او شده حضرت را بطهران فرستادند تا آنکه به نزدیکی قزوین رسیدند از آنجا خبر بحاجی آقاسی وزیر رسیده غلام و مأموری فرستاده محمّد بیگ نامی نایب چاپار با ده نفر غلام و آنها بملازمت حضرت را بماکو بحبس برده بعلی خان حاکم سپردند و در نیم راه محمّد بیگ کمال خلوص بشهود آورده مؤمن گردید و حکایات چند می نمود در بین راه تا ماکو جناب عظیم و معلم نوری و جناب آقا سید حسین همراه بودند تا آنکه در آنجا امور ظاهر انتشار یافت و کلمه بلند صدريد دیدند بامور آنها خللی است حضرت را بارومیه فرستادند از آنجا هم بهپریق محبوس گردانیدند چنانچه ماگورا جبل باسط و چهریق را جبل شدید فرمودند و محلّ حبس را خانه بی پنجره و در از خشت خالص و شب بی چراغ کمال خفت داده اند با آنکه عادت این نبود چندی هم بحدی سخت نموده که اذن سرتراشی هم نمیدادند تا آنکه شاه حاضر بولیعهدی، خود بحکومت تبریز رفت در آنجا مجمعی نموده حضرت را طلبیدند در آنجا هم خفت بسیار داده تا آنکه شیخ الاسلام حضرت را

بسطامی که بقدرش خویش معروف است و مقدّس خراسانی
 او است بهست روم تشریف برده در بغداد مقررته حبس
 نموده پس از آن بفتوای مفتی بهست اسلامبول حرکت
 داده نزدیکی بغداد در مکانی که بهدرائی مذکور است
 مسموم گردانیدند و شهید نمودند جناب باب بهست
 دیگر حرکت فرموده جناب آقا سید حسین یزدی بطهران
 با احسن القصص به تبلیغ رفتند و حضرت با حضرت
 قدّوس بعزم حجّ مهاجرت فرمودند و در بین راه حاجی
 سلیمان خان بخدمتگذاری رسیدند تا زمان مهاجرت بشهرار
 و معاودت ایشان حسین خان حاکم و علمای بلد کمال
 الاثمت و ستم وارد نموده ظلمها نمودند و چندی هم
 بحبس آنحضرت امر دادند چنانچه عبارات آنحضرت شاهد
 است در شب قدر که هیچ جایز نبوده در خانه آنحضرت
 ریختند و غارت نمودند و حسین خان آنچه توانست از
 ظلم و اذیت وارد نمود تا آنکه از جانب معتمد اصفهان
 تکدیور در مکاتیب نسبت باو شد که بسادات چه رجوع
 داری بالآخره حضرت را بیرون نمودند و ایشان بعزم
 خراسان بهست اصفهان تشریف بردند و آنجا معتمد
 رحمة الله علیه کمال وثوق پیدا نموده و کمال
 خدمتگذاری نمود و سؤالیهای بسیار نموده جوابها مقررته
 از جمله نبوت خاصّه و شرحها سؤال نموده و بشاه نوشت
 که دولت را لایق نیست که بهک شخص در اقتد و نزام
 کند و ظاهراً حضرت را روانه طهران نمود و باطناً از

دیده‌ام و هکذا حضرت قدّوس که عالم را نزد ایشان مشت
 خالک دیده‌ام و بعضی اصحاب مازندران اختلاف نموده‌اند
 و آنحضرت را اشرف از همه دانسته‌اند و این مطلبی
 دیگر است و آن مظلومه ط در ظاهر تمام و صاحب
 فضل و دانش و اشراقات بوده‌اند و مردم بهتان‌ات چند
 بایشان زده و کذب و التراهای خود جلوه داده‌اند و
 این حقیر غیر از خوبی و کمالات از ایشان ندیده‌ام
 مرحوم حاجی سلیمان خان از اهالی درب خانه شاهی ابا
 جدا و کمال انقطاع و فضل و خوبی و صداقت داشته‌اند
 و ماها با حقیر بسر برده‌اند و در حجّ با حضرت نقطه
 و حضرت قدّوس برابر رفته‌اند و در آنجا هنگام حجّ با
 حضرت بوده‌اند و انقطاع ایشان تمام است چنانچه
 شنیده‌اند بدرجه شهادت رسیده‌اند و فوق امکان هم
 تحمّل تیر بلایا و مصائب نموده‌اند قاتل الله قوماً
 قتلوه و ساء ما هم یعملون و ساء ما یحکمون پس
 از اظهار امر و تصدیق حروف حضرت عزم حجّ فرمودند
 چنانچه در شرح آنها در کتابها مسطور است که آنحضرت
 از مکه و مدینه و ظہر کوفه ظاهر خواهد شد و رایات
 از خراسان و جناب باب حامل کتاب و سایر حروف
 بجهات عدیده مسافرت فرموده و بنای تبلیغ گذاردند
 در آنجا ادبتهای بسهار و ستمها آشکار گردید بعضی را در
 بینی مهار نموده در کوچه و بازار گردانیدند از جمله
 حضرت قدّوس را و ادبیت بسیار نمودند جناب ملا علی

ملفت گردیدند و بکتاب اول پس از دیدن و استماع ایمان آوردند و تا چندی بنصّ کلام مؤمن بها غیر از سبّ نبود این است که سبق ایمان فرموده اول من آمن و حروف اعظم از کتاب شدند و خود بنفسه نفسی دارای جمیع مقامات و انقطاع و علم و شرف بودند و در ظاهر هر نقصی در وجود ایشان و شبهه در کمالات و معارف ایشان نبوده اول و آخر دارای جمله شئون بودند تا آنکه کمر کمر حروف بنهایت رسید و حضرت قدّوس در آخر داخل شدند و در خطاب بایشان از حضرت نقطه چنین است ان یا اسم الاول و الآخر و الظاهر و الباطن الخ انشاء الله در علو بصیرت و عوالم روحانی ملفت خواهند شد و این جمع حروف را در بیان واحد اول فرموده اند و آن مظلومه ط هر چنانچه نگارش فرموده اند در مقام خود تصدیق نموده اند جناب آقا سید یحیی و جناب عظیم و جناب آقا محمّد علی رنجانی که از مجتهدین بزرگ ایران بود در رتبه دیگر مذکورند و فضل و کمالات جناب آقا سید یحیی از حدّ و حصر بیرون است نه چنان است که آن شخص مؤرّخ نوشته‌اند اشهد الله و نفسه که کذب صرف نوشته اکثر اهالی ایران بفضل و کمالات او معترف و این مفتقر در زمان صباوت چند نوبت شبها در خانه خود و غیره ملاقات نموده کمال الفضل و کمالات ایشان را دیده‌ام گذشته از آنچه حضرت نقطه فرموده اند برّوس الاشهاد

و کتب ایشان آثار و علامات این امر هویدا و اشارات
 عالیات مندرج شده است پس از ارتفاع ایشان در حوزه،
 ایشان جناب حاجی سید کاظم رشتی جانشین ایشان شده
 اشارات و امارات که در این امر فرموده اند در کلمات
 آنجناب مسطور است حتی آنکه در زمان آخر میفرمودند
 نمیخواهید من بروم و حق ظاهر شود تا آنکه عروج نموده
 و ارتفاع امر مشهود شد و آن دو جناب بدو باب معروف
 و باب الله المقدم مذکورند و در آیات احسن القصص
 چنین مسطور است که در زمان سابق دو باب فرستادیم
 احمد و کاظم در آنجا نظر فرمایند و چون هنگام
 ظهور رسید آنحضرت از ارض فارس تجلی فرمودند پس از
 آنکه جناب سید مرفوع شدند جناب باب که جناب ملا
 محمد حسن باشند با بعضی اشخاص که ظاهراً تبع^۱
 ایشان بودند بشیراز تشریف فرما شدند و در آنجا بنای
 درس گذاردند و در آن محل حضرت نقطه قبل از ظهور
 گاه گاهی تشریف منہف میبردند تا روزی که جناب
 باب همین مطلب را عنوان فرموده که باید چنین شخصی
 آشکار شود که علامات او این باشد و امارات ظهور را
 بیان میفرمودند حضرت نقطه فرمودند به بینید که این
 علامات در من هست یا نه بهمین کلام جناب باب

¹ Or *tashdid*, for, since the *tashdids* and *tanwins* are frequently omitted in the original, the words can be read either way.

هو الله الإحد الفرد الحى المتعال

الحمد لله الكائن بلا كيف و لا مثال و الباقي بلا ذكر و لا انتقال و الدائم لم يزل و لا يزال سبحانه هو اعلم بالمهد و المأل و هو الخبير المتجال من احقر الازل الى العالم الاعز الاجل حفظه الله عن المنكاه و العلل قد بلغ الكتاب من ذلك الجناب و فرح القلب بما اطلع فى فصل الخطاب الحمد لله فى المهد و المأب بما وفق ذلك المستطاب الهد منه و العود اليه اول و آخر و ظاهر و باطن اوست لا شريك له فى الذات و الصفات و هو الولي الحميد نخست مقدمات ابن امر منيع قبل از ظهور بهند سال جناب مرفوع مرحوم شيخ احمد لخصائي كه سنوات چند در بصره در باغي ساكن بودند از آنجا بعزم اجتهاد استشهادي از علمای موثق كه در همه جا بودند بهمراه آنها كُفرتة و تشریف بكربلاي معلّا بردند و بنای اجتهاد و تدريس كُذارده جمعی كَشير در حول ایشان جمع شده در بعضی مسائل دينيه با علمای شيعه اختلاف فرمودند و طريقه، شيعه اعلا شد در رسايل

o

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT
OF THE
BÁBÍ MOVEMENT

WRITTEN BY
MÍRZÁ YAHYÁ *SUBH-I-EZEL*.

(PERSIAN TEXT.)

*(For the English translation see Appendix III,
pp. 397 et seq.)*

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Natural, which exceeds ANSI
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1993**

