

New History of Mirza Ali-Muhammed Bab, The

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EDWARD G. BROWNE

SUBH-I-EZEL,
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY CAPTAIN YOUNG.

THE NEW. HISTORY
(TARiKH-I-JADiD)
OF MfRZA ALI MUIjAMMED, THE BAB
BY MiRZA HUSEYN, OF HAMADAN, COMPOSED A.D. i88o,
BEING AN ACCOUNT
OF THE ORIGINS AND GROWTH OF THE BABI RELIGION
AND ITS FOUNDER
TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN AND EDITED WITH EXPLANATORY
NOTES, AND APPENDIXES,
CONTAINING SUBH-I-EZEL'S NARRATIVE, PERSIAN AND ENGLISH,
MfRZ,k JANI'S HISTORY, AND
OTHER DOCUMENTS, PRECEDED BY AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,
AND AN INDEX
WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE BY MICHAEL BROWNE

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E. G. BROWNE:

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.'

Edward Granville Browne was born in Gloucestershire in 1862 and passed his youth in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He was educated at Eton, (where he found the classical curriculum then in force boring and impossible), ~ Glenalmond and Pembroke College Cambridge. His interest in Oriental matters was first aroused by the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 and at Cambridge

he read Oriental languages as well as medicine. His father, a successful engineer, insisted that a knowledge of Oriental languages was too hazardous as a profession and that he must qualify as a doctor; this he did between going down from Cambridge in 1884 and undertaking his only long visit to Persia in 1887-8.

It is this visit which was the subject of *A Year amongst the Persians* and, as appears from that book, one of his main purposes was to make contact with the Babis and to obtain any of their books which he could; the present volume is one of those he obtained.

He returned to Cambridge to take up a fellowship at Pembroke and, except for comparatively short visits to Turkey, Egypt and North Africa, never left Cambridge again.

E. G. BROWNE: BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

However, he remained in very close touch with Persia through a host of friends and correspondents, and not only produced the *Literary History of Persia* but was also closely concerned in the events following the Persian revolution of 1905. There was a real threat that Persia might be partitioned between Great Britain and Russia, and it was widely believed that his Persia Committee was the decisive factor in the preservation of Persian independence. His private fortune enabled him to help many Persian and other political exiles.

He married in 1906 and died in 1926, leaving two sons. His memory is still green in Persia, and within the last decade one of his granddaughters who spent a year there received much kindness, not only from his old friends and pupils, but also from strangers who felt for him the same kind of affection that the Greeks feel (or till recently felt) for Lord Byron. His statue in Teheran is said to have been the only statue of a European which was spared during the rule of Dr Mossadegh.

London 1974.

MICHAEL BROWNE.

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INTRODUCTION.

HALF a century has not yet elapsed since MÕrzà 'Ali Muhammad, the young Seer of Shfrdz, first began' to preach the religion which now counts its martyrs by hundreds and its adherents by hundreds of thousands'; which seemed at, one time to menace the supremacy alike of the- KAjAr

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

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(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 Babi movement cannot fail to attract the atten-

See Curzon's Persia, vol. i, p. 499. The lowest estimate says he, 11 places the present number of Babis 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

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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 portray 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 inexpressible 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

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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 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

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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 records 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 incidents which a later and more critical generation of believers would be strongly tempted to suppress or to transfigure. When Ibn Hisham came to re-write Ibn Is'hak's biography of the Prophet Muhammad, 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 Muslim, like Syed Ameer Ali, composes a history of Islam for English readers, he is tempted to touch very lightly on certain matters which Ibn Hisham 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. 9 So far as my knowledge goes, it never has happened save in

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

Fifty years ago Persia be ' longed 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

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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 BAb, 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 Ba'b ("Gate") had been already assumed, not only by the four intimates of the Twelfth Imangi, but by a heresiarch who was put to death in the tenth century of our era by the Caliph er-RAdhf Bi'llAh. The theories advanced by Mirzi 'Ali Mul ' iammad concerning the successive incarnations of the Universal Reason, thb allegorical interpretation of Scripture, and the symbolism of every ritual form and every natural phenomenon, differ in no essential particular from those hel& by the Isma'fls. 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 Muhiyyu 'd-Din ibnu'l-'Arabf, a renowned Sftff teacher who flourished in tge twelfth century of our era!. The personal influence of the BAb ; the extraordinary steadfastness and devotion of his followers under perse See Traveller's iYarrative, vol. ii, p. 229. See J. R. A. S. for 1889, pp. 909, n. 2, and 919-920.

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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, LiS621117-14fulk and Rizi-Kulf KhAn', till such time as the scarcely more impartial .Traveller's Narrative%" 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 Bdb was a certain merchant of KAshAn, HAjf MÕrzà Jdnf by name, who, together with two of his three brothers, HAjf MÕrzà

IsmAT and HAJf MÖrzà Ahmad', was remarkable for his enthusiastic devotion to the new religion. When, in the year 1847, the BAb passed by KAshdn on the way to his prison at MAK* ' MÖrzà JANf bribed the escort to allow their illustrious captive to be a guest in his house for two days I 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 EDglisH translation, Introduction, and Notes, by the Cambridge University Press in 1891.

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

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and nights'. While the MizandarAn insurrection 'was in progress (A.D. 1848-9), he, in company with BehAV114h, Subh-i-Ezel, and several other prominent BâbÖs', attempted, but failed, to join the garrison of Sheykh Tabarsf, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was imprisoned for some while at A'mul. We find him, always impelled, as it would appear, by religious zeal, now at BARfurAsh, now at Mash-had, now at TeherAn. He appears to have been personally acquainted not only with the BAb, Subh-i-Ezel, and BehA'u'llAh, but with HAJf SuleymAn KhAn, Mulla Muhammad 'Alf of Zauj An, Seyyid YahyaA of DArAb, Mulla Sheykh 'Alf " Jena'b-i-'Az11'M," Kurratu'l-,Ayii, " ffa;rat-i-

Kudd,(ts," and almost all the early apostles of the BâbÖ religion. Finally, in company with twenty-seven -of his co-religionists, he suffered martyrdom for the faith at TeherAii on September 15th, 18521. He was therefore heart and soul a BâbÖ ; lie 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); ZD

and lie 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, lie gave the rather fanciful name of Nuktatu'l-Kdf ("The Point of KAf," i.e., as it would appear, "of KAshAn")1, on the doctrines and hiastory

I See pp. 213-216 infra, and footnotes.

2 Cf. pp. 64-5 and 378-9 infra.

3 See Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 323-334.

4 Of. pp. xxxix and 57 infra.

6 See n. I on p. 391 infra. The passage in which the title of

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

It is superfluous to say that MÖrzà JAni'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 KAshAnf merchant. The BâbÕs 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

Z3

as follows:-

a Heaven of Glory, a far-distant Millennium, or " the Most Great Peace" on which BehA and his followers love. to dilate'. They did not make any profession of loyalty to, or love for, the reigning dynasty; nor did they attempt to exonerate the ShAh from the responsibility of the persecutions -which they suffered at the expense of his ministers or tge MusnImAn divines, as later BâbÕ historians have doDe'. They hated the Muhammadan clergy, it is true, with an intense and bitter hatred, and MÖrzà JAnf anticipates with exultation a day whereon the KA'im, or Messiah, of the Family of Muhammad shall behead seventy thousand mull4s "like clogs"; but they entertained for the KAjAr rulers an equal hatred, which MÖrzà JAnf is at no pains to disguise. To N6siru'd-Din, the present ShAh, and to his father, Muhammad ShAh, such terms as "tyrant", "scoundrel" unrightful king"

(J.61y :)Uo.U), and "progeny of Abfi SofyAn (~j I J I are freely applied. Teherin is compared- to.-

Daulaasevis, the capital of the wicked Mu'iviya and his yet more wicked son Yazid; while Mul1A Huseyn is likened to the martyred ImAm Huseyn, Sheykh Tabarsf to the immortal plain of KerbelA, and BARfurAsh, whither the BâbÕ captives,

were brought after the conclusion of the siege, to I(Afa.

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The battle-cry of the royalist soldiers, " Y6 N6siru'd-Dlhi

Sh'A i described as " a foul watch-word

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the death of Muhammad ShAh is noted in the words when Muhammad Sh6h went to hell³"; 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. A

2 Cf. Traveller's Narrative, Vol. ii, pp. xlv-xlvi; and, amongst many other similar passages in this book, pp. 172, 180-182, 189-190, 278-279, 291-293, and 315-316.

3 See n. I on p. 291 infra.

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the authority of the existing rulers and governors, and recognition and homage of the whole Bâbî community'.

will subdue the world for the benefit of NAsiru'd-Dfn Till the catastrophe of September 1852, which proved fatal,

ShAh. not only to MÛrzâ Jinf, but to nearly all the principal

Now if this were all, MÛrzâ JANf's history, though it apostles of the new faith -who had survived the earlier

would certainly have been destroyed as far as possible by persecutions, he remained for the most part in the neigh-

rAn in the summer, and in the district of

the Muhammadans and the royalists, might well, with borough of Tehe

sundry emendations and expurgations, have been preserved NAr in MdzandarAn in the winter, actively occupied in

almost intact, like many other proscribed books, in the iDg, transcribing, and circulating the Bâbî books,

arranged at

bosom of the BA-bf Church. But it is not all. Events preaching and expounding the Bâbî doctrine, and com-

which I have elsewhere discussed at length', and shall here, fortifying and edifying the Bâbî Church'. It was during this

period, and, as internal evidence renders probable, during

for the benefit of the general reader, briefly recapitulate, 3

brought about the seemingly strange result that a lar(Te the year A.H. 1267

(Nov. 1850-Oct. 1851) that Mirzi

majority of the BAbias themselves came to have a direct Jdn' composed his work, in which, as was only natural, he

interest in the suppression of this precious record. One inserted a long notice

on Subh-i-Ezel⁴, whom he most
 of the chief doctrines of the BAb, one which lie never certainly, and his
 contemporaries in the faith most probably,
 wearies of repeating and emphasising, is that his revelation believed to be
 none other than " He whom God shall
 is not final; that he is not the last of the Theophanies manifest'." The
 evidence that at this period, and for
 which, at longer or shorter intervals shine- forth in the some considerable
 time afterwards, Subh-i-Ezel, now living
 Phenomenal World for the guidance of mankind; and in almost solitary exile at
 Famagusta in Cyprus, a pensioner-
 that after him a greater Revealer, whom lie calls Man
 I Cf. Gobineau's *Iteligions et Pljilosophies dans IAsie, Centrale,*
yudli-Airulitt'1161i ("He whom God shall nhianifest "), shall
 pp. 277-8~
 appear for the consolation of his followers. Now a year 2 See Traveller's
Xarrative, Vol. ii, p. 374.
 before his martyrdom, on the fall of Sheykh Tabarsf and 3 The clearest
 allusion in Mfrzi idnif's work to the date of its-
 the death of H4rat-i-Kuddits (July or August, 1849)¹, composition is contained
 in the words (occurring on f. 48r of
 the BAb nominated Mfrzi YahyA (then a lad of nineteen³)
Suppl. Pers. 1071, and f 335 2- of *StTpl. Pers.* 1070) 4-r=
 to succeed him under the title of 8ubh-i-Ezel ("the Morn-
 ing of Eternity"), or Ilazrat-i-Ezel ("His Holiness the
 "To day, when one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven
 Eternal"). The nomination was explicit and notorious,
 years have elapsed since the Mission
 and, on the death of the Founder in July 1850, the youth- of God's Apostle "
 The BábŌs generally date not from the hijra
 b
 ful vicegerent at once received the almost unanimous
 or Flight of the Prophet, but from his Call (ba'that), which they
 p
 place ten years earlier. Hence this date corresponds to A.H.
 I Traveller's *Yarrative*, Vol. ii, pp. xv-xviii and 349 et seq. 1267.
 4 See pp. .374-394 *infra*.
 I See pp. 380-2 *infra*.
 3 See Traveller's *Narrative*, Vol. ii, p. 373 and note. 5 See pp. 381-2 *infra*.

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of the British Government, held undisputed and absolute
 sway over the BábŌ Church is absolutely conclusive.
 Immediately after the great persecution and massacre
 of 1852, Subh-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 1853) he was followed by his half-brother, Mirza Huseyn 'Alf BeWt'u'l16h, 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) Behi'í'íldh was, as his own writings prove, to all appearance as loyal a follower of Subh-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 Subh-i-Ezel, and its members no doubt continued to read with edification the pages of Mirza Jani'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 Taji,az,elle?, '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.

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into two hostile sections, the one headed by Behi'u'lhih, the other by Subh-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 Bábí, 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 ex-

ternal action, is pent up within limits too narrow for its free exercise, requires a firm hand to control and direct its energies. Such firmness Subh-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 Behi'u'llAh', 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 BehAVIIAh continued to do all that he did in the name, and ostensibly by the instructions, of Subh-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 wlioa,3e destinies he controlled. It was not, however, till 1 See Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 356-8.

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the BâbÕs had been for two or three years at Adrianople that, most probably in the summer of 1866', lie threw off all disguise, publicly proclaimed himself to be " Him whom God shall manifest," and called upon Subli-i-Ezel and -all the BâbÕ 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 BâbÕs the effect of this announcement (for which, no doubt, the way had been already prepared) ivaas little short of stupendous. From Constantinople to KirmAn and from Cairo to KhurAsAn the communities of the faith-, ful 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 BehA complete. Subh-i-Ezel was so completely deserted that, as lie himself informed me, he and his little boy had to go themselves to

the bazaar to buy their food. Elsewhere, though active and astute emissaries' were at once despatched in all directions by Belia, 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 I See J. R. A. S. for 1892, p. 304.

2 Cf. J. R. A. 8. for 1892, pp. 311-312.

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heart-searchings, and the bitterest dissensions), but~l 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 BAb 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. BâbÕs 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 Behi 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 Beyan: "Thou takest Divinity from whomsoever Tlwu pleasest, and givest Divinity to whomsoever Tliou pleasest: verily Thou art the Almighty, the Wise."

How long the contest was maintained by the Ezelfs, or old Bibfs, 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 Bábīs, including even several "Letters of the Living" and personal friends of the Báb, adhered faithfully to Subh-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 Muhammad of Isfahán, one of the Báb's "Companions" (aqádb), MŌrzà Rizá-Kulf and his brother MŌrzà Naqrŭ'lláh of Tafrish).⁴⁶ Ján Beg of Káshán, and other devoted Ezelis, were stabbed or poisoned at Adrianople and Acre. Two of the Letters

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of the Living," Seyyid 'Alf the Arab, and Mulhi manifest" to abrogate, change, cancel, and develop the earlier Rajab 'Alf Icahh-, were assassinated, the one at Tabriz, doctrines. ' His chief aim seems to have been to introduce the other at Kerbelá. The brother of the latter, Aká 'Alf a more settled order, to discourage speculation, to direct Muhammad, was also murdered in Baghdad; and, indeed, the attention of his followers to practical reforms pursued in a prudent and unobtrusive fashion, to exalt ethics at the more prominent 134bis who espoused the cause, of Ezel, Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá (who died at Kirmán about the expense of metaphysics, to check mysticism, to con- 1884)1 seems to have been almost the only one, with the ciliate existing authorities, including even the Sháh of exception of Ezel himself, who long survived what the Persia, the Nero of the BábŌ faith, to abolish useless, unpractical, and irksome regulations and restrictions, and) Ezelfs call "the Direful Mischief" (fihia-i-saylanz). From in general, to adapt the religion at the head of which he that time forwards, while the Belid'fs have been ever waxing now found himself to the ordinary exigencies of life, and in power and influence, so that their numbers now probably reach or even exceed half a million souls, the Ezelis have to render it more capable of becoming, what he intended been ever waning, until at the present time it is doubtful to make it, a universal system suitable to all mankind'. A whether in all they amount to more than a few hundreds. remembrance of all the wrongs which he and his co-religi- It is even doubtful whether the recent death of Belíá will onists had suffered at the hands of the Musulmins further contribute in any sensible measure to the restoration of caused him gradually but steadily to eliminate the tinge

their failing fortunes, though Ezel still lives, and numbers of Muhammadan, and more especially of Shi'ite, thought amongst his supporters at least one or two men of energy which the Báb's doctrine still maintained, while ever seeking a better understanding with the -Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians with all of whom he recommended his followers. At the present day, therefore, the vast majority of the Bábis are Behá'ís, whose doctrines, sentiments, and ideals lowers to consort on friendly terms. Now once admitting Behá's right to assume this position are already far removed from those of the primitive Báb's of supremacy at all, there can be no question that or modern Ezéls. No sooner was Behá. firmly established these changes were beneficial and salutary. The original in his authority than he began to make free use, of the privilege accorded by the Báb to " Him whom God shall See especially the summary of contents of the Kitáb-i- Akdas at pp. 972-981 of the J.R.A.S. for 1889; and the Lawh-i- Cf. J. R. A. S. for 1892, pp. 443-4 and 684; and Traveller's Bashdrdt, of which the text (with the exception of the 15th and Al'arrative, vol. ii, p. 342, n. 2. That Seyyid Jawaíd was a follower last clause, recommending constitutional government, which the of Ezel is, however, categorically denied by Mfrzi AbA'I-Fazl of Behá's appear to have thought it expedient to suppress in the copy of the tract forwarded to Russia) has been published by GuIpAyagAn in a letter addressed to M. Touniansky, the text of which will be found on pp. 44-5 of vol. viii of the Zapiski of Baron Rosen with a Russian translation at pp. 183--192 of vol. the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological vii of the Zapiski of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Societ . As, however, this is affirmed equally positively by ~ubh_ Archaeological Society (St Petersburg, 1893). The substance y of this latter document has been stated in English by myself at i-Ezel and Sheykh A- the Ezélf, I have allowed these words to stand. pp. 678-9 of the J. R. A. & for 1892.

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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 incompre-

hensibility. 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 them'.

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 Bábí books, many works, see pp. 911-933 of the J. R. A. S. for 1889.

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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 BAbis as priceless gems. Of this enthusiastic devotion BehA 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 Behi'f 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 BehA'fs; but the Ezelfs,' to whom the old books still retained their pristine value, were few in number, isolated, fearful alike of the Muhammadaus and the Behi'fs, and altogether incapable of

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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 BâbÕ 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 BehA, 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 BehA'fs in Persia the loan or gift of BâbÕ 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 Ezelfs believe to have overtaken them.

The history composed by Hiji MÕrzà JANf, 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 Behi, as any one may see by referring to Appendix 11 of this volume. Its

to-ne towards all beyond the pale of the BâbŌ Church, and more especially towards the ShAh of Persia and his government, was irreconcilably hostile. The doctrines set forth in it, though undoubtedly those held by the early BâbŌ.9, were eminently calculated to encourage mysticism and metaphysical speculation of the boldest kind, and to maintain in full activity that pantheistic fermentation which BehA was so desirous to check. Worst of all, it supplied the Ezelfs 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 BâbŌ literature. To

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suppressit and withdraw it from circulation, at any rate while thoser on whom had been thrown the glamour of the young ShirAzf Seer and of the beautiful Kurratu'l-'Ayn, the martyred heroine and poetess of Kazvfn, 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 Muhammad composed by Ibn Is-hAk was superseded by the recension of Ibn Hishŏm., so should MŌrzà J&nf's old history of the Bib and his Apostles be superseded by a revised, expurgated, and emended "NEW HISTORY" (Tdrikh-i-Jadid), which, while, carefully omitting every fact, doctrine, ahnd expTeSSiOn calculated to injure the policy of BehA, 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 TeherAn 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 Bábí are concerned, were a masterly sketch of their history and doctrines in his classical *Religions et Philosophies* dans

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L'Asie Centrale, and a small but most precious collection of Bábí 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 Hájf Mórzá Jánf'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 Bábísm.

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

11 Why," he may ask in the first place, " have you chosen to translate this later 'New History' in preference to Mfrzd Jánf'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 Mórzá JAW'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

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transcript was made for me by my friend Ahi~ed 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 BâbÕism. is to be seriously studied, the text of MÕrzà JANfs 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 t' he great expense which the publication of the text of the TdrUk-i-Jadid would have involved.

The second question which may be asked is this.
C(What relation exists between the history of the BâbÕ religion entitled 'A Traveller's Narrative written to illustrate the Episode of the B(tb,' 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 BehA'ullAh's son 'AbbAs Efendf so recently as A.D. 1886, represents a further development of the tendency, to which I have already alluded, to glorify BehAu'llAh and his Neo-BâbÕ doctrine at the expense of the BAb and the primitive BAbI theology. In the New History it is still the BAb 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 Bebi'u'llih who is the hero, and it is his words and precepts which are quoted with admiration and reverence, while the BAb has been reduced from his high station of I Point, " I I KA'im, "

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and " ImAm Malidi " to that of a more precursor and harbinger of a more perfect dispensation'. Having now, as I trust, made sufficiently clear the relations which subsist between these three histories, to wit, the Nuktatu'I-K(if composed by MÕrzà JANf in A.D. 1851; the irtrikh-i-Jadi'd, or "New History," composed

(as will presently be set forth in greater detail) -under the supervision of MANakj the Zoroastrian by Mfrzi Huseyn of HamadAn, assisted by TAlfrzA Abii'l-Fazl of GulpAyagAii, in A.H. 1297-8 (A.D. 1880); and the 14fakaila-i-shaklist' 'k or "Traveller's Narrative," coniposed by BehA'u sayya. ,

'lIAh's son 'AbbAs Efendi in or about the year A.D. 1886, I shall now discuss iihore 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 froiigi internal evidence. As to the date, the allusion to the Jkabi. on p. 26 proves that the New History was written subsequently to that work, which was composed in A.D.,18582; the allusion to BehAVIIAWs " Manifestation " on p. 64 carries the date down to A.D. 1866; while the reference to the ShAh'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 BãbÕs 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.

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p. 321 this number is raised to thirty-five byh one manu-7 script. 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 BãbÕ 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) show 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 Nfrz war (pp. 128-131) and the ZanjAii siege (pp. 139-168) attributed respectively to Nabil and Zabfh.

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 BâbÕs of 'IslikdbAd science owes so much, a full account of the circumstances which gave rise to the composition of the New History, and gthe manner in which its composition was effected, has beer obtained from one of the -three persons (the only one still living) concerned therein, to wit., MirzA AbU"I-Fazl Muhammad ibn Muhammad RizA of GulpAyagAn, whose acquaintance M. Toumansky made at 'IshkAbAd. The

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,substance of what M. Toumansky learned from Mfrzi Abfi'I-Fazl 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 Trtri'kh-i-Jadid in my Catalogue and Description of 27 Baibi'MSS. published in the July and October numbers of the J. R. A. S. for 1892, where, at pp. 442-3, Baron Roseii'as 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 AkA 'Azfzu'llAli, a BâbÕ, and a friend of MirzA Abu"I-Fazi. In answering one of his letters I asked several questions, one of which referred to the composition of the TrtrW-i-Jadi'd. He promised to refer this question to Mirzi Abu"I-Fazl, and there for the time the matter dropped.

It now appears, however, that my questions were duly transmitted to Mfrzi AbA'I-Fazl, who thereupon composed in reply to them a treatise which lie entitled Rist'W'li-likandariyya (" the Epistle of Alexander") in lionour of M. Alexander Touniansky, 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 Zopisski of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Of this article Baron Rosen, with his usual kindness, has sent me the proofas, from which I shall now tradaslate what MÖrzà

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0 nd authorship of

Abfi'l-Faz says about the comp sition a' the Tdri'kh-i-Jadi'd.

The copy of the treatise in question forwarded to M. Toumansky bears the following inscription: "TIM Epistle of Alexander was compiled and composed as a gift to His .116st flonottrable -Excelle2icy Mirza' Alexander Toumansky (may God Almighty prolong the days of his glory and his fortune P). " 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 HamadAn in the yearA.H. 1305 (A.D. 1887-8), I wrote, at the request

of certain elders of the Jews, a treatise entitled Risdhr-i-Ayy7ibiyay1 ('The, Epistle of Job'), copies of which were disseminated everywhere. Some while ago, when Ak4 'Azfzu'll;ih was in Bombay, a copy of this treatise fell into the hands of Mr Browne, who wrote to .44 'Azizu'llih, saying, 'Since you are in correspondence with MÖrzà_Abfi'l-Fazi, 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 Behi'-

1 Zapiscki,'loc. cit., p. 33, n. 1.

2 This is tb e work described on pp. 701--- 5 of the J. R. A. S. for 1892 under the title IstidIdliyyd

3 The objection which I raised to MÖrzà Abu'l-Fazl's chrono-

logy is neither very clearly nor very accurately stated here. His contention was that the 2300 days (ie. 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 Behi'llah's "Manifestation" in A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1868), and the question raised bore reference to the terminus a quo.

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u'llili (may the life of all the delliZeIIS Of the world be his sacrifice!); for the date wliiQli lie asasiis in his treatise to the Blessed Theophany is A.H. 1285, whereas in the Traveller's Ncirrative it is given as A.H. 12691. Tkirdly, who is the author of the T6grkli-i-Jadid ("New History"), for some ascribe it to Mirzi Ab-h'I-Fazl, others to MAnakjf? 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 AkA 'Azfzu'llAh, 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. Toumansky when I was present with him, and therefore is it named after his name. And the cause of this delay 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 Horizon'; one for transmission to Bombay, that it might thence be forwarded to Mr Browne; and one for M. Toumansky; while one must needs remain in my possession.

The text of the reply to the third question (touching the authorship of the Trtrikh-i-Jadi'd) is given in full by M. Toumansky (loc. cit., pp. 36-8); and, before proceeding to translate it, it only remains to observe that the transcription of his manuscript by MirzA AbA'I-Fazl was concluded on the 11th of JumAdA 11, A.H. 1310 (=Dec. 31st, A.D. 1892)-

I 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, D. 1.

2 ie. to Behi'u'llah at Acre.

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11 T14rd Question.

" Enquiry was made touching the author of the Tdrtkh-i-Jadid (New History). The writer and author of the Tdrikh-i-Jadi'd was the late MÖrzà Huseyn of HamadAn. He was -a youth of the kinsfolk of Riz6 Khdn the son of Muhammad KhAn the Turcoman, who is reckoned amongst the martyrs of the Castle of Sheykh Tabarsf, and whose name is recorded in the T(irikh-i-JadU . 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 Nisiru'd- Dfn Shdh's first journey to Europe he too visited those countries in

the Royal Suite. On his homeward journey lie 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 AkA JemAl of Burujird was committed to the prison of His Majesty the King after his dispute with the clergy of Tellerin'.

" After his release from the prison of Teherin, he obtained employment in the office of MAnakjf the Zoroaastriail, well known as an author and writer'. Mdiakjf treated I See pp. 96-101, and 365 iTVra.

2 A full account of this discussion will be found at pp. 170-180 infra. This account, as appears from 1). 172, last paragraph, was originally written by -W Jemil himself in Arabic, and translated by MÖrzà Abd'l Fazl of GulpAyagin into Persian. The conjecture which I hazarded in n. I on p. 170 as to the identity of " the Letter J " proves to be correct.

3 The full name of Minakjf, late Zoroa8trian Agent at TeherAD, was Minakji' the son of Lfmjf H~ishang Hftaryirf Kiy6nf, surnamed Darvish-i-Fdni (a)~!Jkjb 'a.

&U L;~!-j._9jJJ Tbusitisgiven by himself in N. If. d

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Sith great respect, for had he not become notorious him as a BâbÖ, he would never have engaged in this work. Now

it chanced one night that he and Muhammad Isma'fl KhAn the Zend, who was a writer skilful in Persian composition, were MAnakjf's guests at supper ; and MAnakjf 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 Muhammad Isma'fl
Khdn to write a history of the kings
of Persia, and begged MŌrzà Huseyn to compile a history of the BābŌs.
" To be brief, Muhammad Isma'fl KhAn wrote the book called _Viraizisfifn, on
the ancient empire of Persia from
Mah-AbAd till the fall of the SAsAnians, in pure Persian, which, as a matter of
fact, he made a veritable ragbag of
legends and myths from the Sliah'hwilma, the Cliah(tr Chiman, and the Dasait'r.
But Mimi 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 Theopliany, to collect and compile the
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the preface which he wrote to the Farh ang-i-Anjuman-dr(t-yi
Mtsiri of RizA-Kulf KhAn Ld ldt-bdshi,, and at the beginning of the
Persian translation of the account of his travels in Persia published
under the title ;tVJ6l -dJL~; 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
Briffil travelled with him, his son Ormazdjf, a Mulbad or Zoroas-
trian priest, a secretary named Key Khusraw, and a cook named
ShApArjf, from Shfriz to Yezd in July of that year. (See an
article by F. Justi on the dialect of Yezd in the Z. A M. G. for
1881, vol. xxv, pp. 327-8, and a foot-note on p. 328, according
to which MANakjf acted for a while as French consul at Yezd.)
He died a year or two ago.

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various episodes thereof in a fitting manner is a very difficult matter. For
what Sipihr and Hiddyatl have written
touching its circumstances is, by reason of their extreme, obsequiousness 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 HAjf Mfrz;A Jilif of KishAn, who was
one of the martyrs of TeherAn, 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-
fearilig 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

Ndsikhu't-Tawairikh and the appendices of the Rawzatu's_A~af(t,; and, having incorporated these in your rough draft, read over each sheet to His Reverence Hijf Seyyid JawAd of KerbelA (whose name has been repeatedly mentioned in these pages), for he, from the beginning of the Manifestation of the First Point [i.e. the Balb] until the arrival of His Holiness Behi'ullAh 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 Sipih (better known as Lisdme-1-3fulk) and Hiddyat (Rizi-Kulf KhAn Lldd-bashi), and their histories, the Ndsikhu't- Tawdrikh and the supplement to the Rawzates- Safei, see Vol. ii of my Traveller's.Yarrative, pp. 173-192.

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tory preface, and so open for him the path of composition.

So 1, agreeably to his request, wrote two pages at the ginning of that book, and embellished this introduction th prefatory exhortations a ' nd incitements to strive after truth'. 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 BAb], and the second volume about the circumstances of the Most Holy and Most Splendid Dawn'. But after he had completed the first volume, fate granted him no further respite, for lie died in the city of Resht in the year A. H. 1299 [= A.D. 1881-2].

" But MAnakjf would not suffer this history to be finished in the manner which the writer had suggested, but compelled the chronicler to write what lie dictated. For MAnakJV's custom was ti) 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 lie had made in accordance with his own taste and agreeably to the canons of good style; and then, after Mdiakjf had made additions here and excisions there, and had docked and re-arranged the matter, he used to make a fair copy. And since MAnakif had no great skill or science in the Persian tongue, the style

of most of the books and treatises attributed to him is discolored 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 Mfrza' AbA'I-Fazl extends from the beginning to 1. 3 of p. 3 infra.

2 See pp. 318-319 infra.

ession (,~l

3 By this expr 4JJo) the Manifestation of Bebi)_~IIAh is meant.

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illiterate -writers have, in accordance with their own fancies, so altered the Tirikl-i-Jadid' 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 Hiji MŌrzà JAni of KAshAn, he was ODe Of the most highly respected merchants of that town, and believed in the blessed mission of the First Point [i.e. the BAbJ at the very beginning of the Theophany. He was brother to Jewltb-i-Zab~k (who is mentioned in the Lawk-i-Ra't's', and was honoured with the title of Ant's). He it was who, when the First Point (exalted be his Supreme Name 1) was

being conveyed, by command of Muhammad ShAh, from Isfahdn to TeherAn, entertained His Holiness for three nights in his house at KAshdn'. Some while afterwards he came from KishAn to TeherAn, and abode in ShAh 'Abdu'l-'AzfM4, 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 Belid'u'llih, 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 indei., s.v. Zabih - and the J. R. A. S. for 1892, p. 311, where my conjecture as to the identity of Zabih 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 Teherin to the south.

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

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But of his history 1, the writer, cannot now procure a copy; for from Samarkand to Teherin is very far, and fortune frowns on the People of BehA, and is beyond measure jealous of them.

" God Alm lity best knoweth the truth of all matters.

" Written tin the twenty-first day of the month of Rabru'th-thainf A.H. 1310, corresponding to the thirty-first of Tashrin-i-avval [October]' A.I). 1892, by the pen of the author of this treatise, Abft'I-Fazl Muhammad ibn Muhammad 1146 of GulpAyagin."

This full and detailed account of the authorship and composition of the T6rikh-i-Jadt'd, for which both Mfrz6 AbAI-Fazl 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 Rig-rkh-i-Jadid ' which would undoubtedly have gained much more from the co-operation of MÖrzà Abu'l-Fazl than it has from that of MAnakjf. One point, however, I must again briefly allude to : I mean the share iing the work here ascribed to Seyyid JawAd of Kerbeli. In my Catalogue and Description of 27 Bdb11'H8S. (J. R. A. S. for 1892, pp. 443-4 and 683-5) I expressed a doubt as to the correctness of this-portion of MÖrzà Abu'I-Fazl's statement, my grounds for this doubt being the ascription to Seyyid JawAd of the Hasht Kihisht, a controversial work of strongly-marked Ezelf proclivities, and assurances given to me by ~ubl ' i-i-Ezel to the effect that Seyyid JawAd was one of his staunchest This date is given according to the old style prevalent in Russia. The corresponding date according to our style ias November 12th.

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adherents'. What I wrote on this matter was shown by M. Toumansky to MÖrzà Abft'l-Fazl, who, in letters published in the article in the Zapiski already cited, categorically and absolutely denies that Seyyid JawAd was

an Ezelf, or was other than a most devoted and loyal adherent of BehA. I have not space to quote either the interesting biographical details about this illustrious man, nor the epistle addressed to him by BehA'u'ldh, nor the denial of his sympathy with the Ezelfs made by Mirzi Ab,h'I-Fazl to M. Toumansky, and published by the latter in Vol. viii of the Zapiski (pp. 41, ahnd 43-5), to which I refer such as desire fuller information. The sum of the matter is this: Seyyid JawAd was a man equally remarkable for his illustrious descent, his learning, and his

piety; he was brought up in the Sheykhf doctrines, followed the lectures of Seyyid KAzim, and was one of the earliest believers in the BAb, whom he knew personally. His nature was so gentle and temperate that, according to MÕrzà AbiYI-Fazl, 11 he would speak ill of no one, mentioning all religious opinions, whether of Hindoos, Jews, Christians, MusulmAns, Ezelfs, or BehA'fs, with respect." BoththeEzelfs and the BehA'fs 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 Mfrz& AhA'l-Fazl is the equally clear and equally explicit testimony of Subh-i-Ezel and his partisan Sheykh A -.

I now pass to my own connection with the Tdrikh-i-Jadi'd. 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 BâbÕs for the British I Traveller8 Narrative, Vol. ii, p. 342, n. 2.

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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 TdrWi-i-Jadid at SlifrAz on March 30th, 1888, from some of my BA]f 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 appropriate 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 Shiraz I read a considerable portion of it. When I left Shiraz hurriedly for Yazd, 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' 0188. (J. R. A. 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 *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 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 *Tárikh-i-Jadid*. 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, Subh-i-Ezel

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 of the *Journal*), which, in accordance with the pleasure of the Syndics of the University Press, I published in

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ae_Sifijile a with an English translation and notes. Till the appearance of these volumes in February 1892, I had little leisure to give to the T6rrkh-i-Jad-rd, 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.

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aid, to publish

My original intention was, as T have s, to bear the expenses of publishing the translation, but

both text and translation of a work which I regarded as of i expressed a disinclination to undertake the text as well.

capital importance for the proper understanding of the BâbÕ religion. It was clear, however, that the partial This decision, although it did not surprise me, caused me

translation which I had made would have to be entirely at the time some little disappointment; for it is not in

rewritten in the fuller light of the collated and corrected human nature, when one has laboured long and diligently

text. The work of translating the Traveller's Narrative at the reconstruction of a text, to learn without a shadow

had somewhat modified my views as to the manner in of regret that it will never be anything more than a manu-

which Eastern bookai should be done into English. I had script. Yet I deem it now a most fortunate circumstance

made that translation as literal is possible, and, owing that the Syndics arrived at this decision, for the discovery

of H&jf MfrJA JAnf's history in the Biblioth'que Nationak to the concise and clear style of the original, this was not

so difficult as in the case of the diffuse, wordy and dis- puts an entirely new complexion on the matter, and it is

evident that it has a far stronger claim to publication than

cursive New History, which abounded in re-iterations, the T&z'kk-i-Jadz. digressions, and irrelevant diatribes. Yet even the trans- The -determination

arrived at by the Syndics decided

lation which I had made of the Traveller's Narrative did not wholly satisfy me, for I felt that, notwithstanding all on two points. I had learned from Baron Rosen that an incomplete manuscript of the TdrWW-Jadt'd had been my pains, it was at best laborious and wearisome reading obtained at 'IshkAbad and forwarded to St Petersburg by in English. How, then, would- it be with the New Lieutenant Touinansky in the summer or autumn of 1890'. History ? Had it been decided to publish the text, I should- have Before finally decidin on the course which I should 9 had to make a further collation of this manuscript with adopt, I again applied to the Syndics of the University my restored text. As the translation only was to be pub- Press with a view to ascertaining whether they were lished, this'seemed to me no longer absolutely necessary, disposed to accept the text and translation of the book, my text being sufficiently good for this purpose. I was, or either of them, for publication. I ventured to urge the ignoreover, enabled to form a clearer conception of the lines publication- of the translation, but did not feel justified in on which my new translation must be made. Of the plan insisting very strongly on the importance of printing the which I elaborated and have carried out in the following text as well ; for to print so extensive a text in the Arabic pages I shall now proceed to speak. character would, I knew, be a very costly undertaking, The facts with which I had to reckon were these : a and, seeing that of such texts the total number which work wherein historical matter of great interest and im- can be published in Europe is necessarily limited, it portance was mingled with prolix digressions of little value; is incumbent on the scholar to consider what text is a text based on two manuscripts each of which contained most indispensable, lest haply lie fail to use to the I See Collections Scientifiques de Unstitut de8 Langues Orien- best advantage the facilities placed at his disposal. In reply to my application, the Syndics enerously consented tales de St Pe'tersbo urg, Vol. vi, p. 244 and the J. R. A. S. for 9 1892, pp. 318-'319.

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several important and lengthy passages omitted in the being actually introduced

by the words "thus says ~ the other; and a style generally concise and clear in the reviser of this history," or "thus says the transcriber'."

narrative portions of the book, but florid, redundant, and It was evidently most important to preserve all these diffuse in the digressions, The object which I had in view narratives, to indicate at the same time the Codex in was to produce a readable rendering of this work in English, which they occurred, and, in the case of episodes differently which, while embodying everything in the least degree narrated in the two Codices, to give the two versions for calculated to throw light on the history and development comparison one beside the other.

of the Bible religion, a, should omit most of the irrelevant The way in which I have done this is as follows. Passages mixed up with it in the original, preserving only passages occurring only in L. (the London Codex) are enclosed such specimens of the digressions, diatribes, and somewhat in single square brackets and passages occurring trite reflections of the author as might suffice to give a only in C. (the Cambridge Codex, i.e. my own MS.) in correct idea of his style. double brackets When such passage is a simple Now in the case of a classical or ancient text, which insertion, and, has nothing corresponding with it in the has an interest mainly literary, our endeavour must be to find out, so far as possible, what the author ever, truly wrote, and to eliminate and discard all interpolations made (whether this consist of a few words only, or of a different by later hands. No one, for instance, who proposed to narrate of almost equal length), the two versions are edit the Jlasnavl' would wish to retain in the text the placed one above the other (the longer, as a rule, in the many spurious, lines which have been added by ingenious body of the page, the shorter at the foot), and the same copyists in the course of ages; therefore, having satisfied typographical mark (an asterisk, a dagger, or the like) is himself that a given passage rested on no good manuscript placed outside the enclosing brackets of both, so that their script authority, lie would without compunction excise correspondence may be at once apparent. In this way it. But this does not apply to a book like the Tārīkh-i- both versions are preserved, and the translation of either Jadid, which was written only thirteen or fourteen years ago) -which is essentially a compilation made by two or As instances I will only cite Kāchak 'Ali Beg's-narrative of

the entry of the Nfrfz captives into ShfrAz (pp. 124-8 infra), three persons acting in coihicert, and which, moreover, ia3 which is much fuller in L. than in C.; the different accounts of interesting less from a literary than from a historical point the second Nfrfz insurrection in the two MSS. (pp. 128-131) ; of view. In this case the interpolations may be just as the extensive particulars of the ZanjAn siege given in L. on the valuable as the original text, for no one but a BâbÕ would copy the book, and such an one might well add from his owl, authority of Haydar Beg, the son of Mulli Muhammad 'Alf's lieutenant Din Muhammad (pp. 136-161, and 163-8); ~,abfh's knowledge new and important facts of which the autlioras narrative of Mir 'Abdu'l-BAkf's meeting with the BAb at K6shAn were not cognizant. Indeed, as a matter of fact, some of (pp. 214--216) in L.; the text of MÕrzà Muhammad 'Ali's letter the most interesting portions of the Tdrikh-i-Jadrd are to his brother (pp. 301-3) in C.; and SuleymAn Kh6n's account evidently interpolations of this sort, several of them of the Nib's execution in L. (pp. 309-311).

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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 oil 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 MÕrzà Abii'l-Fazl'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 noil-historical portions, where I felt that a greater latitude in treatment was admissible.

It now only remains for me to speak of the supplementary 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 Subh-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 Tabarsf and the sketch of the ZanjAn 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 Bib, Seyyid Huseyn, Mulla Sheykh 'All Jena&i-'Aztm) and Kurratu'l-'Ayn I am indebted to the kindness of Subh-i-Ezel. Fac-similes of these, with their translations and reproductions in the printed character, form Appendix I, to which the reader is referred for further information. All these illustrations and fac-similes have been executed by the Cambridge Engravillg 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 HAJf MŌrzà JANf's history, an account of which forms Appendix II of this volume, I owe a great deal. Appendix I is not included, because it merely contains an abstract of certain portions of the Tdrikh-i-Jadid which did not seem to me worth translating in full.

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debt of gratitude to the *Littloritica* 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 Ahmed 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 *Bibl' Jfovement*," 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 *~ubh-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 Islam told by 'Ali ibn Abf Talib. 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 Toumansky 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.

I

I I I

THE TARIKH-I-JADID,

OR

NEW HISTORY

OF

I

MIRZA 'ALf MUIJAMMAD THE BA'B.

N. H.

I I

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 allwise 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 footsteps." 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 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 Kur'àn, xliii, 22.
2 Kur'àn, vii, 149.
1

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2 THE NEW HISTORY. I

view to obtaining power, and who make their austere and enquiry to his fellow-men, that they also may be delivered ascetic life a snare wherewith to delude the ignorant. [For from doubt and uncertainty. For this reason did the the Prophet bath said, "All men shall perish save the writer of this book deem it incumbent on himself to set wise, and all the wise shall perish save such as make use of forth in these pages in a concise and narrative form such their wisdom, and all such as make use of their wisdom information as he acquired during his travels in Persia shall perish save those who are sincere, and even the concerning the different sects of the MusulmAns, hoping sincere are in dire peril." This is also implied in the that thereby certain current misapprehensions may be saying, "The true believer is rarer than the philosopher's dissipated, and that

sundry baseless calumnies and false
stone, and harder to find than pure gold" ; while the same accusations which
lead men to deem their fellow creatures
fact is eloquently set forth by Christ where he, says that infidels meet only
to be slain and despoiled, whose very
men of every kind shall assemble at the wedding-feast, but touch is a
contamination, may be disproved. In this way
that the chosen are few.] the enmity and discord which are the ruin of this
people
But inasmuch as the Merciful God hath made every way perchance be abated, so
that they may meet and
soul a mirror capable of illumination by the Sun of discussion amicably with a
view to the removal of their
Wisdom, in such wise that whosoever will inay thereby differences, and may no
longer continue to regard each
apprehend divine verities, and so become endowed with other as infidels and
unbelievers without having clearly
true humanity and unselfishness, it behoves every one to apprehend that
wherein they are at variance.
renounce all self-seeking and egotism, to avert his gaze To be brief, after
travelling for some time in all parts -of
from passion and desire, and earnestly to endeavour to Europe and India and
observing the races and religions of
follow the path of God, looking to Him and trusting in those regions, I chanced
to visit Persia. Although I had
Him. So with steadfast feet shall he pursue the path of not meditated a long
sojourn in that country, nevertheless
righteousness, and enter with all sincerity and singleness of events so shaped
themselves that I remained there for a
heart into the highway of enquiry, until lie at length win considerable period,
mixing in familiar conversation with
to a state where God shall be gracious unto him and shall all sorts of people,
and making friends and acquaintances
guide him unto the recipient of divine revelation and the amongst every class.
Some of these invited me to ex-
saint of that age. Thus may the seeker realize the pro- change the Christian
faith for the religion of Muhammad;
mise of the blessed word, "Those who strive for us we will others regarded me
as one of themselves; others again
assuredly direct into our ways'." received me not. Yet such was the divergence
of opinions
Now whosoever hath been brought to this state and led and such the multiplicity
of sects which I beheld in this
to apprehend this truth is bound by the gratitude which so religion- Sheykhfs,
Mutasharri's, SAffs, Sunnfs, mystics,
signal a blessing should inspire, as well as by the dictates metaphysicians,
dervishes, Nuseyris', devotees, and BâbÕs-

of common humanity, to communicate the results of his that, though my inclination prompted me to advance, my reason bade me stand still. For if the Kur'-An be one and Kur'a'n, xxix, 69. contain the commands of God, whence come all these 1-2

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differences of opinion and contradictory judgements ? Seek as I might, I could discover no agreement between the treatises of two vml6s, or the decisions of two muitallids. 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 inen 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 IslAni be what in the world appears, Well may sceptics mock the faith of Islaim with a thousand sneers ! "

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

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,

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

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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."

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Yet in their books of tradition it is stated on good authority that certain persons demanded of the Imam Ja'far-i-Sadik, "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, Muhammad, 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 kitfir (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 k6fir (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

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likewise the devout Muslim. An 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 Muslims! Could some men but regard them-

selves impartially and discern their own inward unbelief, they would never again ascribe infidelity to another 1
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 Muhammad 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 repro-, bate 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;
Wi thin o'ershadowed by the wrath divine;
The life of Bdyazfdl their lips defame -,
Their hearts Yazfd2 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 BAyazid of Bistim, a celebrated SAff saint who flourished in
the third century of the hijra.

2 Yazid b. Muliviya, the second Omayyad caliph and mur-
derer of the Imim Huseyn. He reigned from A.H. 60 to 64. ,

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possible, these foolish itgicii do nevertheless attempt to
cheat Him who is " the Bost Deviser of Stratagems'," and
to explain away the ordinances and commandinents of
Muhammad, 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 tgheir 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. thou-
sand tu'm6nis dowry from her husband, or a sister the like
sum as a legacy from her brother, and if, after the, con-
clusion of the legal formalities and proceedings, she be
unabl-I to enforce her just claims and be compelled to
effect a compromise at one hundred tu'vzains, have those
other nine hundred ta'mdns 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 tfinza'ns of tithe' be
So is God termed in two passages in the Kur'6n: iii, 47; and
viii) 30.

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

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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 tu'ma'??s 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 tt'im(g't~t to a poor Seyyid on condition that he accept it as a hundred tq'tnubis. By such quibbles do they mock God, and account themselves free of blame in their usurpation of men's wealth. By the more 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'. lie assented, and sallying forth from his house at midnight lay in wait at the end of a road. By chance lie 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 lie discovered several yards of linen, whereat lie rejoiced and gave thanks, saying, "Praise be to God who hath not suffered me to return disappointed and ashaiiied to my mother!" Then he fell to beating the owner of the linen with all his might, crying, "Make this linen lawful to ngie with thy the descendants of the Prophet are entitled. See Querry's Droit Musulman, vol. i, p. 175 et seq.

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whole heart 1 " On his return lie 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 I in., father, until, when it is well y t,

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

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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 kindness, 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

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endeavouring to remove their own faults, seek only in their folly to discover blemishes in others 1 " Such an one," say these, " is unsound in his religio'Lis beliefs " ; " So-and-so is a reprobate and accursed"; "The to-Lich of Zeyd is a, pollu-tion"; "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 ligiost 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, lie 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 'ImrAn, hadst thou brought that dog one

step further thou wouldst have forfeited thy rank of prophet 1 "

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

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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

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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 1 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

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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 freed I I"

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 compatriots', 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 Minakjif, the late Zoroastrian agent at TeherAn, wrote, or caused to be written, this history.

2 It must be borne in mind that throuohout this work the

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author maintains the fiction of his European nationality.

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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 stiffer them to open their eyes and ears, or learn to discriminate between good and evil. After establishing this thesis by conclusive arguments, lie 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!"

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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

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ytic on, ee e peop e 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 t6mrins 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 causa. 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 stiffer 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

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it as obligatory on every MusuhnAn to drink your blood abasement is the prevailing lack of justice and absence and eat your flesh, and if one should so much as mention of generous feeling. Not that they have not a certain your name they declare him an infidel deserving of death. kind of justice of their own, but it is like the piety of That they would not suffer~ you to remain in this country the Hindoos and Jews', which doth but conduce to their for a single moment is also nothing, for wherever they greater error. Nor are they devoid of all social instincts recognize one of your friends and admirers they slay him and power of combination, but their concord is the concord without a moment's respite. They regard all Europeans as, of wolves, who appear friendly while face to face,'but, so enemies who inay be lawfully plundered and slain solely soon as one relaxes his attention in the least degree and because of the love which these bear you. The massacres suffers sleep to overcome him, they tear him in pieces. So and persecutions of the B`ab`Os-a sect so remarkable for do they combine to

plunder, but afterwards quarrel over
 their steadfastness and earnestness of purpose-were also the spoil.
 brought about entirely by their devotion to you; else why How much better have
 the people of Europe ap-
 do the MusulmAns refrain from interfering with the Nu- prehended the true ideal
 of friendship! Some years ago
 aseyrfs and GhAlis (whom their clergy regard as utter they announced in all
 their newspapera-, that in the opinion
 heretics), the KhArijfs, the eleven unorthodox sects of of experts all the
 coal-miDes in the world would be ex-
 ImAmites, the SAdikfs and Ni'u'sfs (who hold that the hausted in a thousand
 (or, as others maintained, in less
 linAmate ceased with the ImAm Ja'far-i-SAdik, and regard than four hundred)
 years; that then all the railways and
 him as the promised Mahdf), and the MukhtArfs' (who factories in the world
 which are worked with coal would
 assert that Muhammad ibiih Hanafiyya was the expected be brought to a
 standstill and rendered useless; and that
 ImAm), all of w,hom are a hundred thousand times worse any one who should
 succeed in devising some substitute
 than the BâbÕs?" It for coal would confer a benefit upon his own and all
 What the learned author of this tract wished to shew nations, and would receive
 a pension for himself and his
 was that these people have neither care nor compassion for heirs in perpetuity.
 Such people, who concern themselves
 their agiibor(linates, being concerned only about the pre- about the welfare of
 those who shall come into the world
 servation of their own power, and not at all about the several hundred years
 hence, may indeed be said to have
 protection of those committed to their charge. Had it grasped the true meaning
 of affection 1 This is why they
 been otherwise, the people would never have sunk into have made, and still
 continue to make, countless dis-
 ago degraded a condition nor have become so despicable coveries in the
 application of electricity, compressed air,
 in the eyes of foreign states, for the cause of this national and the like.
 Accounts of these sects will be found as follows i When I was on my way to
 Persia I met in Alexandria
 n
 one of my friends who had reasided for some while in that
 Shabrist~ufs Ifit(ibit'l-9nilal (ed. Cureton):-the Nuseyriyya, p.
 143; the Ghulit or Ghiliya, p. 132; the Khirijiyya, p. 85; the
 Iminiiyya, p. 122; the S6dikiyya or Ja'fariyya, 1). 124; the C. reads
 "Alagians," but it seems unlikely that Aldnakjf
 MYIsiyya, p. 126; the Mukhtiriyya, p. 109. 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 I observed the second condition, and, by means of fair- dealing was exactly what I myself afterwards observed. it is this dissension, remove dissent from their religion, so that concord and peace may be established and succeed all this dissension their fellow-men, and thereby to cut themselves off from and strife. the possibility of happiness and progress. So, in course of time although there are amongst the Muhammadans time, these misunderstandings and differences which have more than seventy different sects, each of which is further
 are brought about their ruin. These, and the government was split up into several subdivisions, these, though they may thus enabled to usurp a tyrannous sway. Now until they hold aloof from each other, are not at enmity and strife; they make the recovery of this concord and harmony the for ages have elapsed since their differences first appeared. object of their endeavours it is impossible for them to But in the case of the Bedouins, who are of recent origin, they make any progress in civilization. And the conditions make the most strenuous and persistent efforts to harass under which the attainment of this end is possible are and hurt them in every way, seizing, imprisoning, and two. The first is that they should follow the example of slaying them with unremitting energy and this notwithstanding -
 O ye) European nations, and refrain from interfering in any way standing that they know nothing of their beliefs, and with the religious opinions of their fellows, regarding all as declare them infidels solely on the misrepresentations of God's creatures, and acting towards all with kindness as certain ignorant and malicious persons. Wherefore since and charity. For the people of Europe became civilized the writer, during his travels in Persia, became fully when they abandoned all attempts to constrain any man ignorant of the history and doctrines of this sect, he felt matters concerning himself alone (of which matters is the himself impelled by sympathy and common humanity to choice of a creed and the manner of its observance), and compose this book, that perchance by its instrumentality confined themselves to the suppression of actions hurtful these discords and blind enmities may be removed, and hurt to the community, such as lying, breach of contract, and men be led to pursue

the paths of amity and concord,
 evil-doing. So in matters of conscience they compel no whereby they shall
 become generous, humane, earnest,
 one, nor do they say, "You must accept such-and-such a magnanimous, and noble;
 cease to appear vile and con-
 creed and obey such-and-such a divine." Indeed in Europe teinptible in the
 sight of other nations ; and be no longer
 people who claim to be civilized never question anyone as a by-word throughout
 the world for lack of virtue, misery,-
 to his religion, nor do they consider themselves entitled to folly, and
 uncharitableness. As God is my witness, though-
 make such an enquiry, lest their own taste be questioned I be not of this
 nation', whenever I reflect on the former
 by people of culture. As, however, it appears impossible greatness of this
 people and their present abasement my
 that the ecclesiastical authorities in Persia should suffer eyes involuntarily
 overflow with tears and my heart is filled
 with sorrow.

* those wolves in sheep's clothing who are the heads
 of church and state were enabled]* -1 1 Cf. n. 2 at the foot of p. 17, supra.

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About the time of the appearance of Seyyid 'Alf
 Muhammad the BAb, 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 BAbis were everywhere hunted down, and, where-
 ever found, doomed to death, without enquiry or exami-
 nation, 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, ShfrAz,
 Tabriz, Nfrfz, MAzandarAn, and ZaiijAn there was strife,
 bloodshed, massing of troops, and slaughter of the people.
 None were spared. Those who bore a grudge against any-
 one, as well as bands of scoundrels bent on plunder, had
 now their opportunity, for whomsoever they pointed out
 to the fm-raishes as a BâbÕ 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 turngioil, 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 couclil Yet withal they neither repent) nor dissimulate, nor seek to preserve themselves,

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PREFACE.

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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 BAb to be the ImAm Mahdf ; held their wives and posses-

sions 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 IslAm; 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 MU-114 Uuseyn of Bushraweyh, A'kA Seyyid YahyA of DARib, MU114 Muhammad 'Alf of ZaniAn, and the rest. My astonishment was increased by finding such persons amongst the BábŌs, " 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

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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.

As much 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 Bey's, the King's, 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 endow'd 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 imaginations, 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 Salsabil."

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

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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 BAb? 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, " . . . ; . . . it '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

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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 Bdbfs are no -worse than these, nor than the Nuseyrf, GhAlis, KhArijfs, Nisibfs', materialists, and sceptics, but are, on the contrary, remarkable for their superior huihiaiiity, 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-country-neii.

I therefore requested my friend to visit me at my I See note at the foot of p. 20, supra. The Nisibis (ahlu'n-nasb, ndsibiyga) are a sect who make it a matter of religious obligatioii to bear a violent hatred to 'Alf b. Abi TALib, the first IniAm. of the Shi'ites. See Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon, vol. viii, p. 2800, third column.

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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 hear-' say, 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 Imam Riza at Mash-had in company with Hajf Mir 'Abdu'l-Wisi' 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 Kurbasn he met with Mulla Ni'liatu'llah of Ardabil, Mulli-Yihusuf 'Alf of Khuy, and Mulla 'Abdu'l-Khalik 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

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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 **BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE.**

so happened that a long discussion took place in my lodging between him and a certain divine, wherein the *EI -visited the holy shrines of Kerbeli and Nejef

latter was signally worsted, though he continued as long shortly after the death of H. Iji Seyyid Kazim, and learned

as possible to raise objections and demand further proofs, from his disciples that during the last two or three years

and was finally reduced to silence rather by necessity than of his life he had

spoken in lecture-room and pulpit of
by a sense of justice. little else but the approaching advent of the promised
I am now convinced that my friend is right, and that Proof, the signs of his
appearance and their signification,
my book could serve no good purpose if I excluded from and the attributes by
which he would be distinguished,
it all reasonings and arguments. Neither could these be declaring that he would
be a youth of the race of 116shim,
kept apart from the historical portion of the work and set untaught in the
learning of men. Sometimes he used to
down in order as they came up in the discussions between say, "I see him as the
rising sun." During his last pil-
him and the divine, else would the book be unduly en- grimage to
Surra-man-ra'a, while lie was returning thence
larged. In accordance with his wish I have therefore in- to Baghdad by way of
Kdzimeyn, he was, entertained by
serted such of them as appeared most pertinent in the one of his friends and
disciples, about a dozen others
course of my narrative. Furthermore, whenever I have being present. All of a
sudden an Arab entered, and,
had occasion to mention that illustrious Seyyid', I have, still standin , said,
"I have seen a vision touching your

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for several reasons, alluded to him in terms of the iitugiost Reverence."
Permission to speak having been accorded
respect, making use of the titles used by his own followers. to him, he related
his dream; whereupon Seyyid KAzim
For, in the first lace, the claim which lie advanced was appeared somewhat
disturbed, and said, " This dream sig-

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a great one, and lie was of an illustrious descent and a nifies that my
departure from the world is near at hand."
Seyyid of the people; secondly lie suffered martyrdom by Hearing this, his
friends were greatly troubled, but he
reason of his love for his nation and his attempts to ad- turned to them,
saying, " Why are ye grieved and troubled
monish and regenerate them. And in Europe the name at my approaching death?
Desire ye, not that I should
of such a man is not mentioned slightly, but is ac- depart and that the
Truth should appear?"

counted worthy of all lionour. EThis is the account which I have heard from
Miji

Here follows what my learned friend narrated to me. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib of IsfahAn
and HAJf SuleymAn KhAn',

I i.e. the PjaM

C. has, "Suleyma'n KhAn Afshir of SA'in-Kal'a," an evident
error, as Suleymin KhAn Afshir was one of the most determined

who were present on the occasion alluded to. The latter
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further added, " Seyyid KAZini 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 KAZim.

Mulla H-Useyn of Bushraweyli, a most eminent divine who enjoyed great intimacy with Seyyid KAZim, 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 KerbelA and Nejef shortly after the death of Hajf Seyyid KAZim, 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 Prophet

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persecutors of the BABis. Hajf Suleymin Khan of Tabriz, the son of Yabyi Kh-An, is without doubt intended. See my Traveller's Narrative, p. 239 and foot-note.

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

DEATH OF SEYYID KAZIM.

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 K-ftfa, and there abode for a

time engaged. in the performance of certain spiritual exercises which I had undertaken. Here I saw Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh, Mulli 'Alf of Bistim, HAjf Mulla Muhammad 'Alf of Bdrfur6sh, AW 'Abdu'l-Jalfl the Turk,

Mimi 'Abdu'l-Hidf, MÖrzà Muhammad HAdf, AkA Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd, Mulla Hasan of NajistAn, MU114 Bashfr, Mulli BAKir the Turk, and Mulla Ahmad AbdAll, 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 fi I nd2,"

aso God did direct their steps in the path of search until

they came to ShfrAz. To Mulli Huseyn of Bushraweyli

I L. is corrupt here, interrupting the continuity of the narrative with a verse of poetry bearing reference to Seyyid Ka'zim'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 ffasnavi, 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 Teherin edition of 'AIA'ud-Dawla.

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CONVERSION OF MULL~k I-IUSEYN. 35

was granted the happiness of first coming to His Supreme Then he opened the door. [It did not at the time, strike

me]low strange it was that without havi he

Holiness, and he became " the first who believed'." ing seen me

The late H6jf MÖrzà JMif, one of the most respected of ashould know I was there.] When he *[had opened'the

the inhabitants of K6sh6n, who was remarkable for his self- 4loor]* he smiled and said, 'All day I have felt disinclined

devotion, virtue, and purity of heart, who had with his own to 90 to the

caravansaray, and now I know that it was eyes witnessed all the most important events of the Mani- because of your coming.² So we entered the house and sat festation, and who for his zeal finally suffered martyrdom down, and after we had exchanged the customary enquiries (whereof he foretold all the circumstances a-oiigic while before he said, 'Do not you Sheykhfs believe that soine one must take the place occupied by the late Seyyid KAZim? Five their occurrence to certain of his acquaintance), wrote a inoiithas have now elapsed since his death. Whom do you book describing the coirase of events and setting forth argu- now recognize as you ments in support of the faith. In this work lie recorded r Master? ' 'As yet,' I replied, 'we have recognized no olle.² 'What manner of man,' as all that lie was able to ascertain [from firast to last, by ked diligent enquiries iigiost carefully conductedd about each of lie, 'must the Master be?' Thereupon I enumerated some the chief disciples and believers. Concerning Mulla Hu- of the requisite qualifications and characteristics. 'Do you observe these in me?' he asked. Now during the two seyn s conversion he writes as follows :- " I igi myself heard directly from MŌrzà 'Abdii'l-WallhAb of I months he abode at KerbelA I had not observed in him any KliurAa-,Aii, a inoast endlient' divine, the following narrative signs of special knowledge, and I knew that he had not (f this event:- astudied in the colleges nor attended the lectures of any I enquired' (said lie) 'of Mulli Iltiaseyii concerning teacher, so I answered, 'I see in you none of these quali- the manner of his conversion. He replied, " After the tieas.' To this he replied nothing. After a while I observed death of Seyyid KAZim I became afflicted with great per- aseveral books lying on a shelf. I picked up one of them, turbation of mind, an'd, in the course of my iihieital struggles, and found it to be a commentary on the Sfiratit'l-Bakaral. went from KerbelA to Shfrdz in the hope of benefiting a After reading a little I perceived it to be a commentary of palpitation of the heart from which I suffered. And since remarkable merit, and demanded in astonishment who the the Seyyid 'Alf Muhammad had lionoured me with his author might be. 'A mere youthful beginner,' answered friendship during a journey which we made. together to the he, 'who nevertheless lays claim to a high degree of know- Holy Shrines , I at once on reach- ledge and greatness.' I again asked who and where the ing ShfrAz sought out his abode. As I approached the writer was. 'Thou seest him,' he replied; but I did not

door I desired inwardly to tarry there some few days. So at the time apprehend his meaning, and continued to read

I knocked at the door. *[Before he had opened it or seen *~had seen and recognized mej*]

mej heard his voice exclaiming, 'Is it you, MullAHuseyn?']*

T. As it chanced he came to the door in persoiij

I See Traveller's ill"arrative, vol. ii, pp. 241, 250.

I See my Catalogue of 27 Betbi X88. in the J. R. A. S. for 1892, where the text of this passage is quoted in a description of the work in question.

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on till I came to a passage where it was written, 'the explanation of the inmost of the innost.' This appeared to me to be an error, and I remarked, 'Here it should be " the inmost," and " the inmost of the innost " is written.' I 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 Sheykhis and merchants who had been informed of my arrival came to see me. In the course of conversation they, supported by MÖrzà'Alf Muhammad, made me promise to deliver a lecture, and arranged to assemble on the morrow in the IlkhAuf 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. Mfrzd 'Ali Muhammad said,
'Let the rest of our friends go to their own houses, and do
C.ONVERSION OF XULU HUSEYN, 37
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 f Knowledge, which
wisdom of past and
is the source and centre of all the 0
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 harbouriDg 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 dis-
cussed and cannot answer, so that he may be turned aside
from his vain imaginings.' I therefore put to him a ques-
tion which appeared to me very difficult of solution, and
which had always been in my mind during the life-time of
the late Seyyid --

Amongst the garrison of the Uastle 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

1~ur'An, Murshid was amongst those whom they brought
bound before the Prince. Now SuleymAn KhAn' 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 perit? 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." Suleymin KbAn,

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 I.e. Suleymān Khān Afshār, who was sent to supersede Prince Mahdī-Kul Mirzā in the actual command of the besieging force. See p. 85 supra.

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sort and condition, and -

„ought to fitthoin, every creed, but

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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 ngiy closing breath."

So he would not stiffer himself to be moved by Suleymān Khān'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 Suleymān Khān and the other officers were amazed beyond description at his asteadfastness.

So in like manner there was another, a mere youth, whom the a-,ol(liers had hidden to save from death, [that advantage might accrue to them from his family.] But

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when his eyes fell on Jen t -i-Kuddiis, whom they were leading away in fetters and chains, he was overcome with grief and cried Out, Would that I were uncontrollable motion, ,

blind, that I might not see you thus Then he began to weep and cry out, saying, " Lot me go to my master; " and though they bade him hold his peace and not make known his connection with the BābŌs, 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. r:-4-1-ful -41- were. le

Now as to the remnant of the
 alive, they brought them in fetters and chains to BARfurAsh.
 Some of them they sold, such as *EMulla Muhammad
 BIOGRAPHIES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MARTYRS. 103
 ~idikj* of Kliurdsin, AkA Seyyid 'Aem the Turk, HAji
 [MÕrzà] Nasfr of Kazvfn, and MÕrzà Huseyn of Kum'.
 Several were sent to Sirf, and there suffered martyrdom ;
 others were put to death at BARfurfisli; while two more
 Of these latter, ne was Mull.4 Ni'-
 were sent to AmuL 0
 iiiatu'llAh of Amul, a man skilled in philosophy and science,
 and endowed with singular virtues; the other was MÕrzà
 Muhammad BAKir Tof KA'inj of KhurAsAn, Nvho, 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. Mulla Ni'-
 iiiatu'l1411 was first slain with every circumstance of cruelty
 and indignity, but when the headsman would have killed
 MÕrzà BAKir and began to mock and revile him, his anger
 blazed forth, and, calling to mind the Beloved of the worlds,
 lie broke the bonds which confined his arms, plucked the
 knife from the headsmait'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 lie had fallen, they searched his pockets and
 found therein a little roasted horse-fiesh +[which had be-
 come too dry for him to eatj t and many a heart was moved
 at the thought of his courage and his afflictionS2.

* [JenAb-i-Mukaddas] *

t ~wliich he had not be"en able to eatj t

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

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

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[Account of Akd Se id Alimad of Semnin and his

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circumstances.]

Of the number of those brave warriors of truth who were most eminent for their attainments was AkA Seyyid Ahmad of SeminAn, a preacher of incomparable eloquence and rare powers of diction and delivery, well known throughout all Mizandarin for his godliness, simplicity of life, virtue, and piety. When he saw the faithful beleaguered in the Castle of Tabarsf, 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 Sh.,gth-Mirzi and Dasak-sar, 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:-" Mirz6 Bikir, who had been half-starved, and had had his nose cut off, was shot on the bridge at ~mul, but not till he had -wounded several of his foes with a kDife."

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 j- tL,3; in L. as a_j; but in either case the first letter may be a 5 instead of a ., . Perhaps it is the same village as that called in the Rawzatu's-6afd in the Ndsikhu't-Taw6rikh and by Gobineau (p. 202) Daskk In the TraveZle?s Narrative (vol. ii, pp. 177 and 190) I have transliterated this name as Vdsaks, but this is merely conjectural.

1310GRAPHIES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MARTYRS. 10

Tabarsf, moved by the same considerations as had influenced AkA Seyyid Ahmad, 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 B`ab`Os, much less go to their stronghold and converse with them, AkA Seyyid Ahmad, 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 Ak6 Seyyid Ahmad, 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 Je)za'b-i-Kuddfts 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.'

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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 'Abbia-, -Kulf KhAn, with many expressions of admiration, to Prince Ahmad MÖrzà. The late HAji MÖrzà JMif writes :-" About two years after the disaster of Sheykh Tabarsf I heard one, who, though not a believer, was honest, trathful, 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 Hazrat-i-Kudd~isl and Je)?a'b-i-Ba'bu'l-Ba'b. Prince Ahmad MirzA and 'AbbAs-Kulf Kli6igi were amongst the company. The Prince questioned 'Abbis-Kulf Khdn -about the matter, and he replied thus :-" The truth of the

matter is that anyone who had not seen Kerbeli would, if he had seen Tabarsf, not only have comprehended what there took place, but would have ceased to consider it'; and had he seen Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh he would

1 See n. 1 on p. 95 mpra.

2 i.e. the courage displayed by the Babes at Sheykh Tabarsf and the afflictions endured by them resembled, but far surpassed, the fortitude and the sufferings of the Imam Juseyn and his followers at Kerbeli.

A TRIBUTE OF PRAISE FROM THE FOE.' 107

have been convinced that the Chief of Martyrs' had returned to earth; *Tand had he witnessed my deeds he would assuredly have said, 'This is Shinir come back with sword and lance.' * I swear by the sacred plume of His Majesty the Centre of the Universe that one day Mulla 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

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visibly affected. Fearing that the army might be seduced from their allegiance, I again ordered them to fire and shout. Then I saw Mulla 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

PA bbris-ICuli' Kluin's description of 111.11116 Ruseyn's entry into the field of battle.]

t that his voice was raised!

I i.e. the Imam Vuscyn.

2 Jika, properly the aigrette worn by the Shah in the front of his turban.

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wise as transcends the power of man. Only the horsemen of MAzandarAn held their ground and refused to flee. And when Mulla Huseyn was well warmed to the fray he overtook a - to austeri-

[knowing it to be the blow of Iias hand]

I i.e. be cut each of them in two.

2 (Ali b. Abf Tdlib, the first Imim.

REFLECTIONS ON THE SIEGE OF TABARSf. 109

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 olgily 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 his-

torian been called upon to record events so wondrous or afflictions so dire as those which befell these devoted believers in Mizandarin. And withal these men were for the most part lionourable 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 sudh long stress of hunger that they were content to eat grass and the flesh of horses and to drink each day 4 single cup of warm water. Yet, so far from complaining or *ubh-i-Ezel informed me that on one occasion, when some

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of the cle~gy of Mr began to revile Mullh Huseyn in the resence of 'AbbAs-J~ulf Khdn, he said-

..U ..tr ~ :~ ,y. J6~_' ijla; U

"There is no occasion for reviling: he was a brave man, who

slew and was-slain."

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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 aihid 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 fifth' 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].

C. has "third". The fifth year of the Manifestation beoan on the Nawr~iz Of A.H. 1264 (about March 21St, A.D. 1848). Cf. Traveller's Yarrative, p. 425.

2 C. has "A.H. 1263". The troubles in Mizandarin began towards the end of the year A.H. 1264 (autunin Of A.D. 1848) and lasted till Ramaz'n or Sbawwa' A.H. 1265 (July or August

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1849).

CONVERSION OF SEYYID YAHY-k OF Mkltil. III

[Account of the Episode of the learned, virtuous, and incom-
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parable Aka Seyyid Ya~ya', the possessor of divine gifts of the highest order, the strenuous striver ater knowledge, who went to Feirs to seek after the truth, and proved His Supreme Holiness, until at length he reached the haven of faith ; and how he went thenice to Yezd, and there set up the standard, and thence to Ni`r~-; and of the circumstances incidental to all this.]
Yet more wonderful than the MAzandardn episode is that which befell Aka Seyyid YahyA of Ddrgb, son of the

late AkA Seyyid ia'far-i-Kashff. 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 Shfriz 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 Báb >, 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 ShfrAz. He was eager to obtain forthwith an interview with the BAb, but permission was for sundry reasons deferred, and Seyyid YahyA spent this interval in examining some of the sacred

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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.""

So AkA Seyyid YahyA 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 AkA Seyyid YahyA 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 day. This quotation is from the .1fasnavi.

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CONVERSION OF SEYYID YAHYK OF DkRkB. 113

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

When, therefore, AkA Seyyid YahyA 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 HAJF MŌRZĀ JANF writes, " AkA Seyyid YahyA, agreeably to the behest of His Supreme Holiness, came from Yezd to TeherAn, 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 ShfrAz 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 i.e. the BAB.

N. 11.

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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, I, 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 he once took a pen, and, without reflection or hesitation, wrote, as fast as pen could travel, answer-, 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

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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 AkA Seyyid YahyA in Teherin, 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 I

So AkA Seyyid YahyA, after he had believed and made submission, took leave of the Bib, and set out from Shiriz

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

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

11 Prudence and love can ne'er walk hand in hand,"

and the Yerse-

"Love htiid fair fai-ne nitist waue eternal war;

0 10A,er, halt not at the loved one's door

lie began openly to proclaiiii 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 agyinpatliy. At length, through the officiotisigiess of certain lihieddlesome 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 Yal~yA. A trifling collision occurred between the two parties, and thereupon the governor prepared to effect his capture by force of arms.

Seyyid YaliyA 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 Jof the governor's men and the roghlies and vagabonds of the city who had joined them were killed, while sevenj of AkA Seyyid Yahy6's followers [were also slain. and the rest were besieged for soi-ihie time, till some], unwilling to endure ffirther disaster, dispersed. Seyyid YahyA therefore determined to set out for ShfrAz, and said one night, " If one of you could manage to lead out my liorase, so that I might escape this disaster, and convey myself to some other place, it were not amiss."

One Hasaii by name, who bad been for some time in

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SEYXID YAHYX RETURNS TO NfrfZ. 117

attendance on Seyyid Yahya4, and had displayed in his service the utmost faithfulness and devotion (having witnessed on the part of his august master inany 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 Ya~y& " That,"

rejoined Hasan, "is easy to bear, if it be for I love of YOU2 and I have no ambition beyond it." So Seyyid YahyA .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, lie 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 YaliyA, however, succeeded in effecting his escape from the citadel with one other, and set out gfor .SllirAz, whence he proceeded to Nfriz. 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 YahyA was come to Nfriz, where was the abode of his family, and where lie had many adherents (some of the country-folk being believers, others deniers, and many halting undecided), the governor of that district, though lie 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 lie sent word to Seyyid Yahyi saying, " I do not consider it expedient that you should continue any longer in this

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province. It is best that you should depart with all speed to some other place." To this Seyyid Yahy& 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 illy 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 sliame before His, apo stle "

aw that Seyyid YaliyA heeded.

So when the governor s(

not his words and answered him sharply, lie was filled with obstinate spite, and strove to raise a popular tumult, inciting si-icgli men of every class and kind as were most,

,vicked and mischievous to make a disturbance and drive out Seyyid YahyA, 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 lie whose opinions and prescriptions ye were, wont to follow in all religious questions ? In your need& and trials, as well as in all matters of doctrine and practice, 'used ye not to prefer illy word to that of any other ? Waas~ not lily belief, and the judgement which illy studies had led me to form, the criterion of all your actions ? What has-, collie to you that you meet iiii now with opposition and eninity? What forbidden thing have I sanctioned, or what lawful thing have I forbidden, that you thus without reasoia charge me with heresy and error ? I stand liere anioligst, 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, THE NEW HISTORY.

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BEGINNING OF THE NfRfZ WAR.

whatsoever lie does, lie does in regard to illy 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 YahyA 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 lie had left the city his malicious and ngiischievous persecutors ceased not from their evil designs, for they followed bim with a great inultitude, scouring the country in all directions until they discovered his retreat. Thereupon they laid siege to the castle and opened hostilities. Then Seyyid Ya~iyA 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 igne to be the pioneer of this nheucl-wronged band and to precede illy comrades in martyrdom." And Seyyid YahyA 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 Yezdi lad, even as his master had foretold, and he had himself desired, drained the draught of martyrdom, escaped from the bonds of earth's deceits, and gained the everlasting world and the life eternal, But the rest returned victorious, having learned the

1 (Alf b. Abf Talib the first Imam, im.

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

At the very time when these events were in progress, Prince Firiz Mirza' came to assume the government of Shiraz, and was informed of what had taken place. He at once collected a considerable force, which he despatched under the command of Mirza 'Ali Khan son of Hajj Shukru'llah Khan of Nafir, and Mustafi-Khan Karagizli, colonel, to subdue and take captive the insurgents. When this force reached the castle, the number of Seyyid YahyA's followers had increased to seventy. Several encounters took place between the two forces, and on each occasion the Bábīs routed and dispersed their opponents and obtained possession of a goodly spoil. And all this while the devotion, faith, and love of Seyyid YahyA'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 YahyA 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 YahyA 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 * [DfvAn-Begfl *

I Both C. and L. have 11 Prince Farbdd Mfrza'," an obvious error. Cf. my Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 183, and 257--8.

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SURRENDER OF SEYYID YA1-IYA. 121

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

So Seyyid YaVyA, out of respect for the Kur'an , 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 Kdfa'. No reliance can be placed on their oaths and promises, neither ought you to believe their asseverations." To this Seyyid YahyA replied, ic By God, I clearly perceive their perfidy, faithlessness, and treachery, and I know it as well as my saintly ancestor' knew the perfidy of the men of Ku'fa. 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 Kur'Aii to perform, it is incumbent on me to go and complete the proof Do you abide here till you receive my written instructions." +TThen, having wept a while with them, he mounted his horse and rode forth.j+

So Seyyid Ya~yA came to the royalist camp, and there alighted. And at first they treated him with all respect and deference, [such respect as Ma'm-hn observed towards the holy lm4,m 'Alf ibn Mfisi er-RizA while inwardly bent on his death.] And they agreed to postpone all discussion t[I'lien lie 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.] t

1 The people of KUM by their promises of support induced the ImAni Huseyn to take up arms, but failed him in the day of need.

2 ImAni Huseyn, from whom, as a Seyyid, Seyyid YahyA claimed descent.

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of teriihis till the morrow, a,,iuid 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 Yah.),A'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 lie, "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; aihid 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 coihie thither than their foes attacked their houses, captured them singly, carried off their goods as spoil, destroyed their dwellings,,

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EXECUTION OF SEYYID YAHY~k. 123

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

Now there was with Seyyid YahyA a certain believer of Yezd who had served him faithfully both at Yezd and L'Irfz, 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 YahyV,

this man began to make great lamentation. But his illustrious master said, " It is thee, not me, whom this headman 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 .1) as-;

me is now come Shortly after this, a party offarr' he. arrived and led out Seyyid YahyA and the Yezdf from the tent. Then the headsmain, just as Seyyid Yahyi had foretold, administered to the youth the draught of martyrdom but, when his glance fell on Seyyid Yal.iyA, 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 Yahyi 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 ShirAz. And they sent an announcement of their, victory I L. has ein wqjh-i-_Rabb, "that Face of the Lord," ie. "that apparition of the Divine." Wajlb (face, ngiask, apparition) was a title assumed by the BAB, Ml'rzA YahyA &bli-i-Ezel, and, I think,, others of the chief Bibis.

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and triumph to Prince Nusratu'd-Dawlal, and fixed a day for their entry . And when on the appointed day they drew near, the city was decorated, and the people were busy enjoying themselves as if making merry, most of them having come out from the town to greet the victorious troops and gaze on the captives.

The late HAJI Mfrzi Jilif writes :-" One Kfichak 'Alf -, the head-man and chief of the Bisirf' tribe of ShfrAz, related as follows :-'After they had slain AKA Seyyid YahyA, 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 the tribe at night and came to Slifraz, 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 Slifraz, 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 Shfraz 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 Ffraz Alfriz previously mentioned. L., constant in its error, substitutes " Jfu'tamadn'd-Daula ", the title of Prince Farhid Alfriz, but this, as already observed, is a mistake.
2 L. omits, and C. reads "Nik", 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.

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3 The BASirf is one of the Xhamsa (Arab) nomad tribes of Fars and Ldriz. See Curzon's Persia, vol. ii, p. 114.

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THE Mkb CAPTIVES ENTER SHfRAZ. 125

came forth from the gate, I heard an old man asking another person

" 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'di's gate," answered the other.

["He was a wise old man," continued Kihchak 'Alf 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 Si'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 SA'At.'" I was much struck by

I The narrator means, I suppose, to imply that the old man, struck by the resemblance between the episodes of Nfrfz and Kerbela', 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'ziya⁸ belonging to the University Library of Cambridge (Add. 423, f. 631):- "It is related on the authority of Ibn 'AbbAs that Sahl-i-Silidf 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 drams 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

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the coincidence, and my wonder increased. When I had gone asompwliat further,] I saw such feastings 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. TMany of the soldiers bore on their spears the severed heads of the men they had slain.J And till this time the, towns-folk had been busy with their nierry-makings, but no sooner did their eyes fall on the severed heads borne aloft on spears and the captives-set on bare-backed carnels than they incontinently biirast into tears. cc C 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 hold-im, a pleasnre-party in the surnmer-liouse called KuNih-i-Firangt` and the garden adjoining it, lie sitting on a chair, and the nobles and magnates of the city standing. On one [Aiid by the side of each camel and captive was a severed head stuck on the point of a spear.] ,ans am Salil-i-Silid' , m an our , wered, " I i, and one of the co p ions of 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 Ibn-6tin Hlseyii which they of 'Indtk have sent to Yizfd." I said, " From which gate of the city will they bring forth that head?" He answered, "From the Gate of S6'At."..."

I "The European's bat." This summer-house was still standing, when I was at Shfriz in the Spring of 1888.

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THE B~klif WOMEN BEFORE THE PRINCE 127

side was drawn a curtain, behind which the women of the a,

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 'Alf Khin, MÖrzà 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 ex-

ception 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 MarjAna', hast thou no fear of God and no shame before my ancestor' that thou thus lookest on -his offspring before all these strange men?'" Here K-ftchak 'Alf 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 *JThen they dismissed the captives from the Prince's presence, and, as it would seem, appointed them lodgings in a caravansaray.¹

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

² i.e. Shimar ibn Jawshan, one of the murderers of IMAM JUuseyn. See Sir Lewis Pelly's Miracle Play of Hasan and Huseyn, vol. ii, p. 258, and Tabarf's Annales, series ii, vol. i, p. 377,1. 6.

³ The Prophet Muhammad, or his cousin and son-in-law 'Alf b. Abi Talib, from whom the woman, as belonging to a family of

Seyyids, claimed descent.

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

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the sight-seers and townfolk 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 and they were taken captive, twelve persons had succeeded in effecting their escape. These, however, were subsequently captured in the neighbourhood of Isfaliki and brought to Shfriz, 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, who, because of the cruelties and exacting demands 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 "Y6 8611 ib it'z-zamcitrn 1 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 t. '

,~after a time

Plie BABis ~~,o)Tjllallt most gallantly and were always victorious, until it of length, after a desperate resistance, they were overcome, and suffered martyrdom. Their persecution Lord of the Age!"(Cf.jj).69and7d4,s?ip?,a. tree trunk and fire it morning and evening against the camp. At other times they would make night-attacks on certain suburbs of Nfriz 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.

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TNOW Zeynu'l-'Abidfn Khin the governor of Nfriz had taken the chief part in bringing about all these troubles. He it was who had compassed the death of the much-wronged Seyyid Ya~yA in the first war; he it was who devised most of the stratagems, tactics, dispositions, and arrangements of the army; lie 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

BAbis 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 baffi and slew him.

TBut reinforcements of men and guns sent in rapid succession by Prince TalimAsp MÕrzà (at that time governor of FArS) 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 naptitha 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

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them. Even in their camp they were ill at ease because of the night-attacks and sudden onslaughts made UPOD 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 SAbAuAt, DArAb, and the other 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 lie was not dead. Din Muhammad 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 11 Iajdit'd-Dawla, who, however, paid no heed to their suit. So the BABis went to Mulli Muhaiigiiiiid 'Alf and said, "Because you remain within your house and go not to the mosque, our eneiniies have waxed bold." He answered, "Tell the believers to muster in force tomorrow, that I may eoihnplete the proof, and afterwards go to the mosque." So his friends asseiiibled. Then lie 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 TelierAii, 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 iii the war, which thing they declared themselves unable to do. And they said, " In siibsequent conflicts, when the framework of your religion sliall have gathered strength, we will help you." In short, when the officers of the army perceived in their opponents naught but devotion, godliness,
WAR BREAKS OUT AT ZANJIN. +143 g
public prayer on Friday is obligatory.'" So they bade them ; and about four or five thousand asa-,emblem and sacrificed about a hundred head of beasts'. Thus hoiiorably did Mulla Muhammad 'Alf come to the mosque. And when prayers were concluded he preached to them, - and then returned to his house. And His ExcellencyOfajdu'dDawla and the'clergy were filled with apprehensions. h [One day one 'Abdu'l-'Alf by name, a Bibi, 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 taking with him nineteen men, went to'the rampart of the

continue to act with the other officers, lest hurt come to Akliu'nd's Mosque. Ascending the minaret he cried out, you. Act with prudence : God will cause you to attain to Bring pick-axes, and let us destroy this." One Huseyn His Supreme Grace." by name went up on to a roof, took aim at ' Akal Ahmad) and [On the following night ngiade an attack on all four sides, and fought on until the morning, the still for a long while (six month.-, according to one account, strife continuing into the day until noon ; but at length e inonths after another version) the, citadel held out, they were defeated, and fell back. In that day and night'a,3 though its defenders were only three hundred and, sixty fighting twenty-eight of the friends fell martyrs, and three A similar device is mentioned by Ferrier (Journeys in hundred of the opposite side perished. A l'ersia and Afglianistan, London, 1857, p. 156) as follows:-6'He [Again applied to Teherdn for re inforce [Yir Muhammad Khan] mentioned, however) in high terms ~the ments, and for three or four days abstained from fighting. bravery of the [Persian] troops, and furnished me with much On the fifth of the blessed month I they curious information respecting the siege [of Herit]; his mode of ascertaining the direction in which the besiegers were carrying made a mine under the ramparts. 2~kA Fathu'llih, who was in an upper room, informed Din Mu'~ainiiad, who came 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 set out, brincyinu with him fierce soldiers and murderous under which it was presumed the sappers were at work; and, in guns. But tfiough the besiegers had now more than thirty thousand horse and foot and nineteen pieces of ordnance, spite of all their precautions, the least concussion or blow from a spade or pick brought down a few grains from the heap, and I Ramaz6n 5thl A.H. 1266=July 15tb, A.D. 1850. discovered their position."

DEATH OF AKi ARMAD.

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shot him, so that he fell from the minaret. The foe charged, but the friends also charged, and the attack was repelled.

AkA Ahmad's bones were broken . The BâbÔs,

with a thousand difficulties, succeeded in obtaining possession of his body, which they buried. But Din Muhammad rejoiced greatly, and the other Bābīs 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 when Suley-
mAn KhAn arrived with five regiments of infantry, four guns, and six thousand cavalry. The cavalry remained outside, while the regiments entered the city. Eii-
counters took place daily ; and if, for example, a hundred Bābīs 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 . The Bābīs seized her, and then discovered that she was really a man . They asked him what lie was doing. He answered, " The clergy of the town have repeated spells over this water for forty days, and have given me twenty tu'nzeins to sprinkle it, so that people may be dispersed." Then they brought him before Mulla Muhaiiignad 'Ali, to whom lie said, " Six of the clergy have, read prayers over this water for forty (lays and given it to me to bring and sprinkle here." Said Mulla Muhammad 'Ali, " Their wickedness stands revealed, but no blame attaches to a messenger." Then lie gave the man a present, and dismissed him.

[The clergy daily sent letters saying, " Come, let us make peace." Mulla Muhaiiignad 'Ali's reply to these was, men, all divines or artisans, 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
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ARRIVAL OF MUHAMMAD KHAN. ' 151

My answer is the sword." The clergy and the governor wrote to Teheran bringing malicious accusations against
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KAsim. KhAii, whom they accordingly summoned thither. On his arrival they secretly put him to death. But his two regiments continued to render services 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 BAbi 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 Báb's sixty-seven men fell, and the besiegers were utterly routed. They again wrote to Teheran saying, "They have finished us." Muhaimmad Khan, 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 some of the towers, on which they planted a standard. Haydar Beg had remained beneath the tower. The Bábhis made a charge and drove down the enemy from the top of the tower. Din 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 Din Muhammad made intercession with Mulli Muhammad 'Ali 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,

152 THE NEW HISTORY. RESCUE OF THE HOSTAGES. 153

in prison, and let them go. When they were gone, one put the Kur'an in their hands, and sent them to the camp, of them, by name Kalb 'Alf, went to the camp, waited on ordering the ramparts, meanwhile, to be well guarded.

The Brigadier-General, talked with him, and obtained his [Ass soon as the old men were come to the camp they

consent to conclude a truce. Then he came back to Mulli seized them, thinking them to be the chiefs of the Báb's,

Muhammad 'Alf and submitted to him :- "You shall give five crores", and some of your old men, with a few child-shots, to which they replied with guns and camel-guns.

Then, shall take the Kur'an, and go and sit beneath one of The fight was

fierce, but at length the troops were forced

to give up the guns'. Then the Brigadier-General will send a de-

spatch to the Government to say that these have thrown to beat a retreat. It was ascertained that ~ on that day

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themselves on its clemency. Then they will carry the nine hundred soldiers were slain.

He presented before His Majesty the King, and the common [But the old men whom they had taken captive they

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folk can go their own way. Dfn Muhammad carried ded and cast intog the sun ' and

this proposal before Mulla Muhammad 'Alf, who replied, there they lay, crying out continually for the thirst which

"You are a free agent; act in whatever way you think was upon them. When Mulla Muhammad'Alf heard this, he

best." So Dfn Muhammad chose out sixty old men Of summoned D'D Muhammad and said, " I require of you the

eighty or ninety years of age and a few children, and i hostages." " With all my heart," answered he. So when

was night he took four hundred men, removed the earth

and ap ears little short of miraculous. For, while they with which they had stopped up the gates, opened the

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thus triumphed, an incomparable cavalr , trained to war- gate, issued noiselessly forth,' and made a sudden attack

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fare, and accustomed to victory, was continually put to

on three different points. When the besiegers became

aware of what was taking place, they loaded their cannon

i.e. 250 Mondns, or about X76, according to the present

0 with small shot and fired. The BâbÕs lay down, and, -when

rate of exchange. It seems incredible that five crores (two and the shot had passed, sprang to their feet and rushed for-

a, half millions) of any larger unit than the dind?, could even be

demanded by the royalist general. wards, scattering an army of thirty thousand. - They gave

ary (bast) are still accorded in

2 The privileges of sanctu, water to the hostages, set them free, seized all the weapons

Persia to wrong-doers of any class who take refuge either in a and provisions on which they could lay their hands) and

holy city or shrine (such as Kum or Shih 1Abdu'l-1Azl'm), in the returned .

Seyyid RamazAn suc-

royal stables, or in certain 'other places and objects specially

ceeded in carrying off a cannon, which he mounted on a

associated with royalty. A certain large gun which stands in gun-carriage lie had made. They also I brought back many

one of the squares of Teberain is "bast." The same virtue Muskets.

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 BAbi chief Mulla Muhammad 'Ali', or his lieutenant Dfn flight, although its leader was a soldier inured to battle,

Mubanimad is intended. brave, experienced, and capable, who had control over the

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again applied to TeherAn, and continued

[The enemy ,

to devise schemes for the capture of the BâbŌs, until one night Farrukh KhAn (the son of YahYA KhAn , and the brother of SuleymAn KhAn) Lieutenant-Colonel, resolved to come and take captive Mulla Muhammad 'Alf. So he took with him two others clad in helmets and coats of mail, and two of the enemy, who had been in prison and had escaped, as

guides. And about twenty thousand soldiers, whom Farrukh KhAn and the other officers had maddened with drink, took part in the attack. They first attacked HAJf Bann.4'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.

[Ijaydar Beg relates as follows:-" While we were going the rounds with Mulla Muhammad 'Alf 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 MŌrzà Jalfl came up with nineteen men, and my father also with a number of others. We besieged that house, where a number 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 KhAn alone remained. Notwithstanding all we could do, he would not come out. treasury of His Holiness the Eighth ImAill', 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 Imim RizA, to whom Alash-had owes its sanctity.

CAPTURE AND DEATH OF FARRUKH KHkN. 155

One of the faithful named 'Alf Akbar entered the room.

Farrukh Kh6n 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 Mulli Muhammad 'Alf. 'By gcommand of what prophet,' said he, 'do you madden 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 Mulla Muhammad 'Alf, who, rewarded us with increase of rank and robes of honour.

["Two days after this, Mulla Muhammad 'Alf ordered tile to go to the Castle of 'Alf MurAd KhAn and bring to him KerbelA'f HaYdar and. & k6 Fath-'Alf. 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

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wished to know whether you would discover it or not.' - So was disgraced, and met with the unishment which his actions merited. And these three hundred and odd men, who were no soldiers, who had neither treasure, nor artillery - According to Subh-i-Ezel, Farrukh KhAn was, or pretended to be, a BAW ; and it was, no doubt, for this reason that he was put to death so cruelly, being first skinned alive and then roasted. (Cf. Kazeni-Beg, ii, pp. 217-220). His horse and sword were brought to his brother YahyA KhAn, by whom they were offered to Subh-i-Ezel.

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Mulli Muhammad 'Alf commanded them to be imprisoned; and there were thirty-five of them'. Then he placed ten other believers in the Castle . With them were his wife' and children, several old men, and their own wives. The rest of the BABis were in their own houses. The soldiers poured into the houses, stripped the men, and carried off the women which these had with them. HaydaT Be, relates:- " I and my father Din Muhammad were in a room tin which was an ice-cellar wherein the BANS had stored all the money and goods which they had securecht'. The women they had assembled in the house of Huseyn PisiA. A regiment of soldiers surrounded them, veiled as they were, and bore them off to the house of Mfrzi Abu'l-KAsim. the nutitakid, to whose custody they conilitted them. Another regiment marched Din Mtihtiigima(l

with fifteen others out of the city to the caravansaray of
in most cases burned their bodies, all save some few ii'lioiii
they led forth in chains and fetters to be carried before the
Ami'?. Then they fell upon their houses and seized all
that they had as spoil, took captive their women and chil-
dren, whom they sold for a small price, and exhumed the
corpse of His Holiness the Proof from the spot where it was
i.e. the HamadAni 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 AIS.

UA ;j .1,1L A_~ L5j 45- LSy.1 5 &A 4s- ,~j~, a!J,
.9 lj4.z yLl 5 aL eS' J + 11
6~ 44;J_ ~)L. ;.)L, L lj101 CjS~ 5 U 4

I

EXHUMATION OF THE MkbF LEADER'S CORPSE. 165;
His Holiness Mulla Muhammad 'Alf, stripping them,' so
that they had nothing but their shirts and drawers. The
rest of the, BâbÕs they left in the city, maakilig them find
sureties -.

[" Next day at sundown they sent and brought Din
Muhammad before the Brigadier- General, who said to him,
'Tell me where they have buried the corpse ' 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 com-
panions, Jeia'b-,i-'Azgl'?n', ikA Seyyid Huseyn the amanu-
ensis, and Mull.4 Muhammad 'Hu'allim'. In-consequence
of this, Mir 'Abdu'l-B.Aki failed to recognize him, walked
straight to the corner of the room, and seated himself by
the side of Jena'b-i-8heykh-i-'A_tM'. After the customary
greetings had been interchanged, His Holiness turned to-
wards Mir 'Abdu.'1-134~f 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, I answered the other.

'I 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.' 'I By reason of his
exegetic knowledge, then,' said Mir 'Abdu'l-BAlki. - '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 wielded 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 9 days and nights during which the BAb was in KAshAn, lest it should result in prolixity. And during those two days ie. Mulli Sbeykh 'Alf.

milar experience of Mulld Huseyn's, p. 36,

2 Compare a si
suprcit.

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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 Ahmad Alisd'f,

C' Now since that Holy Being was, as it runs in the tradition, 'a dark, dreadful, dire calamity', on the day of his arrival at KAshdu he had said, 'If one could deliver me from these guards it were not amiss.' So after the two days, when lie was about to depart, 7,abi'li said to him, 'It would be possible to bring you forth from lience - 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.' " ~

After leaving KAsliAn, the BAb came to KhAnlik', a village distant about Tfive or~ six parasangs from TeherAn which had belonged to the, late 310amadu'd-Dawla.

Thence the escort sent word of their arrival to HAJI Mfrzd AkAsf. Now the late king Muhammad ShAh was desirous and nights they repeatedly entreated His Holiness to flee, saying, ' It is now possible,J

2 A quotation from the Jfasnavi is here omitted.

3 Sitppl. Pers. 1071, f. 96". KhAnlik is there described as ((near KinAr-i-gird".

I

of an interview with His Holiness, but the-114ji, influenced by certain absurd fancies (for he regarded the BAb 'as ~a magicianj 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 BAb 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 *TAzarbaij4nJ*. But while he was still at KhAnlik many persons of note visited him. Amongst these were His Holiness BEiik (may the lives of all beside him be his sacrifice 1), RizA KhAn the, son of Muhammad KhAn 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 prolixity'.

The late HAjf Mirzi JANf writes :-" The chief of the

twelve horsemen appointed to conduct His Holiness - to MAkfi was Muhammad Beg Cha'Pairchi4a'sht", whom I subsequently met on his return from that journey. He was I 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 scarcelv reckon as life the days when to me thou wert all unkno~vn,

But by faithful service for what remains I may still for the past atone.'

[M,iku']

1 L. here inserts some verses from Jlfasnavi.

2 Chief postman or courier. This narrative occurs on f. 966 et seq. of Suppl. Pers. 1071, and corresponds almost word for word with that here given.

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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 know 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 BAb 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 BAb, " 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

THE BIB AT ZANJIN.

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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 Estonel caravansaray fEatjt ZanjAn, 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 ZanjAn [bringing word that he wished to see the BAb. I was so busy that I omitted to convey this message, and it subsequently passed from my mind.

11" As soon as the people of Zanj An became aware of the

Bib's arrival]" they began to approach in companies, with a reverence and respect which baffles description, to wait upon His Holiness. [His Reverence Mulli Muhammad 'Ali 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 Teheran. Such is your affair."].

[outside the town of

I C. omits this passage, which, however, occurs in Hajf Mfrzi JANf (Suppl. Pers. 1071, f. 96b).

2 C., by an evident slip, omits these words.

3 This incident omitted in C., has been already related some-

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" Now the guards, with a view to their own profit, were contesting the entrance of all who approached, and these were giving ungrudgingly such sums of money, copper, silver, and thmins, as they had upon them. And when the press and throng of people present had waxed very great, the governor, being alarmed, sent a messenger 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 Jilin], saying, " This, notwithstanding the message which he sent me in first arrival! What is his present action, and what does it mean ? 11 Thereat was I exceedingly astonished and con-

fused, because I had neglected to deliver the message ; and thenceforth, perceiving that lie knew all iien'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 oil till we came to a ~brickj caravansaray distant two parasangs from the city. Thence we proceeded to MflAn, where iigiany 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 Mfl6n, -in old woman brought a scald-headed child, whose head was so covered what more clearly and circumstantially in connection with the siege of Zanjin. See pp. 137--8 suy)ra,

THE B-kB HEALS A CHILD AT Mfl,,~N. 221

with aseabs 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 all account was to narrate how, on leaving Mildii, while we were oil 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 lie 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 lie 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 lie mounted till he alighted at the end of the stage, would not so much as cliallgO his posture or shift his seat. s

" ' The instructions which I had received were to convey His Holiness to Tabriz, whence Prince Bahman Mfrz6 was to send him to Aldkii. Now I hoped that the Prince would keep him at Tabriz, and that, should he decide to send him to M6ku', I might be permitted to attend him thither.

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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 MAU 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. 1" Then he continued, "I On our arrival within one stage of Tabriz Tdo 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 MAU, 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 MÖrzà, 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 MAkfi 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 leuton.

I L. omits, probably by a mere slip resulting from homceote-
THE BILL REMOVED FROM TABRIZ TO XIKI~. 223
him that I do not wish to go to MAk-6, Eand bidding him fear God and not persist in this determinationl. " 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 M.Aku' 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 KhAn the -Governor of Zanj An and Prince Bahman MÖrzà, 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, "Muhammad ShAh and his minister' 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 KhAn the Governor of ZanjAn, and I related to him in detail the indignities to which he had been subjected by the people of ZanjAn. In brief, the history of these is as follows. Ashraf KhAn had conceived a passion for a certain woman of ZanjAn, 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].
ie. HAJf Ilfrz6 AkAsi.

i

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had appointed. Her husband, being apprized of this, infuriated his relations and friends, who assembled in full force, attacked Ashraf KhAn's house, and carried off as plunder the furniture and ornaments. Ashraf KhAn himself, who was fair of skin and smooth of cheek, they entreated most foully, even using sticks; 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 MŌrzà, and his disgrace, whereon lie remarked, " The True Avenger will sooner or later, as His wisdom determines, take vengeance on such as contemn the Truth and slight or injure God's servants." ' ' "

MŌrzà 'Abdu'l-Wahhdb related as follows:-" During the journey to Aizarbaijdnl, together with Mulld Muhammad 'Jht'allim', and Akd Seyyid Hasan, the brother of AkA Seyyid Huseyn the amanuensis, accompanied His Holiness with circumspection, following him, according to his instructions, at a distance of some two tlioua,~and paces. [And when we reached our halting-place, we used to take up our quarters near to his, but elsewhere.] But AkA Seyyid Huseyn and Akd- Seyyid Murtazi with the twelve 2
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 :-'ICK(ob safid-anddign va sd&-rukhsdr bfid, ba'd az lizodit kardan bd islidn, bi-'aldva ekkbi ham bi-qnak'ad-aA firri kardand " . . . &c. Hijf Mfrzi JANf's version, substantially identical with that here given, occurs on ft. 1006-10111 of Suppl. I'ae2-s. 1071.

1 C. has the absurd and obviously erroneous reading 11 twelve thousand".

THE B.~B'S JOURNEY TO MkKU". 225

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 hii-D, so that Mu-a Z_ Z

hammad Beg the Cka'P,rch'bdsh' 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, Muhammad 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 Shinir and Yazfd.' 'Why,' I asked, 'do you think thus, and *~in what connection do

you say it?~*' 'Because,' said lie, '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 tliiDg have you seen,' I demanded, 'to cause you such astonish m-ent V 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 gezl, 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. i And throughout the whole journey that same box has been in my keeping 1'''

[AkA MŌrzà Muhammad 'Ali 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?]*

A sweetmeat made from the manna yielded by the tamarisk.

The best quality is manufactured at IsfahAn.

N. H.

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i

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Tabriz he took up his abode in the house of Muhammad 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-hadf 'Ali 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 morniDg 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, :ii-id 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 Tabriz and M&kft, 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 mentioned' 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 described', he arrived at KhAnlik, RizA Kh4n and MirzA KurbAn-'Alf, 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 I See p. 221 supra.

2 See pp. 96 and E16-7 s?Tra.

ESCAPE POSSIBLE TO THE BAB. 227

will convey you to whatever place you please, as you may command." But he refused their offer, saying, " The mountain of Azarbaj.4n, 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 ZanjAn, MflAn, 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 mentioned', 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 lgike 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,". . . But better than all the proofs which we have mentioned is the fact that]

I See p. 218 supra.

2 Kura'n, xxiii, 34, 36.

3 A well known traditional saying of Muhammad. Three couplets from the Masnavi 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 4-1, + ncf nf thpIII sincerely believed in him, and, a powel It III

like Muliaminad 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 well 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 Hajf SuleymAli I-~-Ii, An t [and Rizi KhAii, 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 Suleyinin Khan, and strove, in consideration of his faithful service and a noble t

TdeatU t Twho was

-MARTYRDOM OF SULEYMAN KIIK. 229

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 victim' 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!21'
Whenever one of the candles fell from his body, he would with his own hand [pick it up] light it from the others
T, 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 lie 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;

I Mulli Fatliu'lla'h of Kum, one of the three Bibfs who made the attengipt on the ShAh'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 Mfrzi Kurbin-'Alf the dervish. For an account of Suleymn XhAn's martyrdom, see my Travellers Yarrative, Vol. ii, pp. 332-334, where the verses recited by him at his execution are given.

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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 ShAh 'Abdu'l-'Azfm.] When they were preparing to saw that brave man asunder, he stretched out his feet without fear or hesitation, while lie 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 gleam'."

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 more-

over 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" I

The second class consists of divines, doctorag, 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 I These two couplets are from the Jfasnavi, and will be found on P. 101 of 'AIA'ud-Dawla's TeherAn edition, 11. 26 and 27. C. adds two more, which appear to be improvised for the occasion.

These are as follows:-

2 Kur'àn, ii, 282.

ENUMERATION OF EMINENT BELIEVERS. 231

truth ; for " Knowledge is a light which God putteth into the heart of whomsoever He pleaseth." gand 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:-Mulli* Huseyn of

Bushraweyh, and Aka Seyyid YahyA of DARlb' (both divines of uncontested eminence); Mulli Muhammad 'Alf of ZanjAn [whoin men used to call 'the Proof of Zslam'; Mulla Muhammad 'Alf of MAzandarin, on whom the title of Jenrtb-i-Kuddiis was conferred]; Mulla 'Alf of Bistim; Mulli Sa'fd of BARfuru'sh; Mulla Ni'matu'llAh of MizandarAn; [Mulli `Abdu'l-KhAlík of Yezd, one of the dis-
[Muhammad]

I Kur'àn, lxxxix, 28, 29.

2 L. adds, It commonly known as Kashfz (the expounder)", but this is an error, the title in question belonging to Seyyid Ya~yA's father Seyyid Jalfar. See my Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 7, 8, 183, and 254; and p. Ill supra.

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principles of Sheykh Ahinad, and a most illustrious theologian;] Mulla Ylisuf of Ardabil; Mulld Mahdf of KhAy; AkA Seyyid HUseyñ of Turshiz; Mulla Miihaihihimad of Maliallit'; Multi Mahdf of Kan', Mulld BAKir *[his brother]*; Sheykh Abu TurAb of Ashtah6rd [, who was unique in his time]; JHAjQ Mulli 'Abdu'l-Biki of KASlidn , [A'kA MirzA 'Abdi'l-BAkf, Head of the College]; Mulla Jafar of K6shAn; Mulla Muliaininad Sidik of KhurAsAn'; TMulla 'Alf of Burkin ;l' Mulla YASuf 'Alf of Khfiy; t [Mf rzi Muliammad Bikir]t of KhurisAn; HAjf Mulli Isi-na'il of Kuni; MÖrzà Kurbin-'Alf [the philosopher]'; Mfrzi Muliarniad Huseyn [the philosopher]' of KirinAn; Mfrz., 't Muliainiiigiad 'Alf Nehrl' of IsfaliAn; Mulli MulPaminad Tal~-f of IsfahAn; Mulli Jalfl of Ur~nniyya; A'ki Seyyld Alimad of Seinnin; l,~ki Soy-yid Huseyn of Tabrfz]; Mulli Sa'id of Zirili-KinAr; MÖrzà Mullaminad BAKir of Herit; the Sheykli ~Ahmad~ of Ma'nlu'ra; Mirzi Alimad of Azghand; TMÖrzà Muliammad

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Bikir of Kin in KhurisJuil; Mulli Al.~i of Herit; IIAjf MÖrzà Hasan Rizavl'; MÖrzà Miihaiigimad of Juveyn ; MÖrzà 'Abdu'l-BAkf of GfUn; [MirzA 'Abdu'l-WahliAb of KliurAsinJ HAjf [MÖrzà] 'Abdu'l-Mijfd of Nfshipu'r; [HAjf Mirzi JAW of K~ta~Iiin and his brother ZaUhl Multi *Tof KanI

t THis Reverence Mulli -NInly-tininad SAdik~ t Both MSS. have

2 C. j~; L. s

3 C. here inserts the name of Mulli 'Abdu'l-KIi-Mik of Yezd.

4 Kurratu'l-'Ayn's uncle. See my Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 197, 310.

5 " ~ .

1, The title j~ or j~ is added after Zabfh, but as I am uncertain as to the true reading I omit it.

0

i

OBSTINACY OF UNBELIEVERS. 1 233

Alimad of HisAr ; Mulli 'Abdu'llih of MahallAt'; JMulla Muhammad of Mal alhit'; MUIIA Muhammad 'Alf the son of Mulla Ahmad of Mahallit'j; Mulla Hasan of MaliallAt'

The son of Mulla Muliammad Rizaj; Mulla Hasan The son of Mulli Muharnmadj; Jen6b-i-8heyk1i-i-'Az1'M'; Mulla Najaf-'Alf of Tabas; MÖrzà Muliammad Taki of KirmAn]; 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 (teemed to be sufficiently proved by the evidence of two righteous men, while on the testiinolgij of four veracious witnesses the administrators of these laws -LinhesitatiDgly pronounce asen-

tence-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 heaveDs! 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 Point', 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 inen continue to demand a sign, saying, " By what evidence can you shew that this man was the promised As before, both MSS. have j i 'iN In 11 'i Muhammad IMahallAt has been already mentioned.

2 ie. Mulli Sheykh'Alf. L. adds "of KhurAsin". C. hereinserts "46 Mfrzi 'Abdu'l-WahhAb of Turshiz", who would seem to be identical with the I'Mfrz~i 'Abdu'l-WabhAb of Khurdsón" before mentioned in L.

3 Jla~rat-i-Xukta-i- 67d, one of the titles of the Bab.

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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 MAzandarAn, at Nfriz, and at ZanjAn, 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 asiin to announce the Manifestation, or why the ass of Antichrist had not come forth from the well in Within ; and these, in their blind prejudice and self-conceit, failed to apprehend alike the meaning of the signs and the trite nature of the thing signified. ... So, ngierely because the ass of Antichrist had not appeared, they denied the Manifestation of God Most High; and, on no better ground than the unfounded calumiiiies fabricated by froward and perverted men to the effect that the BâbÕs allowed nine husbands to one woman, and accounted things prohibited by the religion of IslAm 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 ala-,o keep back the common folk from participating in the grace of God'. I Here follows a page or so of eulogies on the afore-mentioned 0

martyrs, which, as it does but repeat what has been already said, I omit.

2 Three couplets from the Masnavi are here omitted.

THE BSB ANTICIPATED MARTYRDOM. 235`

. 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 words:-" 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 (ugpmt 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-

This passage is also quoted in the *Indo* as occurring in one of the *Coviniaries* written by the *Bib*, 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.

I

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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 straightly for Us, We will assuredly direct them by 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 *Bibis*, are remarkable only for their devotion, charity, kindness, 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 dorns 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 glad with the tidings of the Xahd'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 Iliihi, while others, learned and i(Mormit, rejected Him, sayiric,, " Not so did Moses foretell In

the signs of his return ; for lie said, 'I will come down to you froitgi the roof-top on a Friday night, and if I bid you 1 Kur'iii, -xxix, 69.

PRETEXTS FOR UNBELIEF ALWAYS THE SAME. 237
not observe the eve of Saturday, receive me not."! So,
c

because of the non-'appearance of the expeted tokens, they remained cut off from the knowledge of him betokened, and continue till this (lay to wander erringly in the abyss of careless denial, while their exceedin., wickedness and folly prompted them to inflict on that Incarnation of the Spirit cruelties too notorious to stand in need of enuncia-tion. And so in like manner when the Sun of Muhammad'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 de- manded a sign, saying, " The Lord Jesus liath declared in

the Gospel that He will descend from heaven " (after a certain fashion which they defined and coDditioned), "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 inolten metal ;" and these are -still expecting Christ to appear in such fanciful fashion as has just been described. So, in like iigianner, these clergy and laymen of the present day expect the appearance of the Ass of Anti-christ and a~undry 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 folid superstitious, even as Mawldni Jaldlu'd-Dfn Rfimf says'-

110 foolish man! Herein the mischief lies:

Grod's saints appear mere mortals in thine eyes.

Fen as accursed Iblfs thou dost say,

'I am of fire, and Adam naught but clay!'"

I The imperfect St Petersburg MS. of the Tdrikh-i-Jadid ends abruptly here. See vol. vi of Baron Rosen's Collections Scientijiques de 172istitut des Langues Orientales, p. 244, and my Travellei-'s Narrative, vol. ii, p. 192, n. 1.

2 Of the four couplets here quoted I translate only the first

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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 MAk-h returned as soon as they had accomplished their duty.

1TAjf MÕrzà A~Asf had written to 'Ali KhAn the warden of MAku' charging him to keep His Holiness the Bib in the closest custody, and not to suffer him to communicate or correspond with anyone. His Holiness was therefore lodged in the Castle of MAkh, 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 'Ali KhAn, 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 BAb, 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 Bib, 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 verseai will be found at p. 252 of 'Ala"u'd-Dawla's Teherón edition of the Masnavi, 1. 20 et sey.

I

THE BkB REMOVED TO CHIHRfK. ~ 239

~Mfrzi 'Abdu'l-WahhAb of Khurdsin, who was `subse'que~tly known as MÕrzà 'Abdu'l-JawAd, made the following state-

I

ment:-" While His Holiness was dwelling at MAku we reckoned up the verses, epistles, prayers, supplications,

homilies, treatises in Arabic and Persian, commentaries on the Kur'ân, and forms of visitation, and found that they exceeded a million verses."I

For nearly three years the Bib abode at MAkA'. But at length HAjfi MirzA Akisf 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, HAjfi Mfrzi AkAsf wrote to 'Alf KhAn strictly enjoining him to keep a most diligent watch over the BAb and not to allow him to send out any more of his writings. Bi-It all attempts to prevent this proved futile, and at length 'Alf KhAn wrote to Hijfi MÕrzà Akisf 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 Chihrfk and the custody of its warden YahyA Khin. Just as the Bib was mounting the ho 'rse provided for his conveyance thither, 'Alf KhAn came out to make his apo'-logies. " I never desired this change," said he, " for I am I This is certainly a mistake. The, Bib seems to have remained atMikd for only six months.- See my Traveller's.Xarrative) Vol. ii, p. 277.

2 IfAutba-i-kaltrinla.

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loth to be debarred from the privilege of waiting upon Your Holiness." " Wherefore dost thou seek to deceive me answered the BAb, "thou didst thyself write , and dost thou, now seek to excuse thyself 2

Then he set out for the Castle of Chihrfk.

The Castle of Cliitirfk is situated not far from the town of UrAmiyya, of which place Yahyi KhAn was at this time the governor. Some time before his renhioval thither was decided upon, the BAb had instructed Sheykh 'Alf (better known as -:~Jendb-i-> 'A;Z)n) to proceed to Urlimiyya, and there to abide. After it had been arranged

that His Holiness should be transferred to Chihrik, on the very night which preceded the day of his arrival, YaliyA KhAn saw His Holiness in a dream. Next morning lie made known this matter to Sheykh-I-'Azim, adding, " If when. I see His Holiness I find that his appearance and visage correspond with what I behold in my dream, I shall be convinced that lie is in truth the promised Proof." His Holiness chanced to arrive that very day, and, at the first glance, Yah i 17"liiii instantly recognized him as r3 y V

identical with the saint whom lie had beheld in his dream. Involuntarily lie bent down in obeisance and kissed the knee of His Holiness, whom lie then brought to his own tiouase. Thenceforth he worshipped himself in the BAb's presence until lie had received permission, and when His Holiness had been to the bath lie bought the water in which lie had washed for eighty G'On&ns. Notwithstanding the rigorous prohibition of 114jf Mfrz6 A~6sf, the followers and friends of His Holiness continued to hold communication with him, even after his removal to Chihrik, and many persons in the surrounding district were converted to his doctrines. And Yahyd KhAn, so long as lie was warden, maintained towards him all attitude of unvarying respect and deference.

THE BAb CLAIMS TO BE THE K~k'IM. 241

It was during his sojourn at Chihrik, too, that the BAb) having, due regard to the exigencies of the time, the dictates of expediency, and the capacity of men, declared himself to be the KtViml; though some think that he made this declaration during the latter days of his residence at Mikfi. At all events, this announcement was proclaimed through the region of Turkistdn' by the " Indian believer," concerning whom HAJf Mirzi J6nf has written a long account', 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 lie hear tidings

of the Manifestation of His Holiness than lie set out for Chihrik to enquire into the matter. This occurred at the time when the BAb had declared himself to be the K6 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. & AkA Seyyid Hasan, the brother of AkA 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 I i.e. the ImAm MAR

2 It seems hardly possible that what is ordinarily called Turkistin can be here intended. The term probably denotes in this case the Turkish-speaking provinces of Persia, that is to say, Jkzarbaijin and its dependencies. Cf. my Traveller's Yarrative, Vol. ii, p. 89, n. 2.

3 Suppl. Pers. 1071, f. 1536 et seq.

N. H.

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the caastle, though for the most part Christians' or Sunnfs, reverently prostrated themselves whenever they saw the Now when the " Indian believer" returned to his visage of His Holiness appear resplendent over the walls of lodging in this state of rapture and exaltation, his companions saw that the building. In short, at no previous time had the serene and awful beauty of that noble countenance exercised so "An atom to a radiant sun was changed," irresistible an attraction over all who came within the whereat they marvelled much, and sought to do him service Sphere of its influence. No sooner, then, did the " Indian in all humility. In his company they went to Salm4s; believer," as lie approached the building, catch sight of the and to so lofty a degree of spirituality did they attain that face of His Holiness, than lie involuntarily exclaimed, " This they found themselves able to dispense with solid food, is my Lord!" and fell swooning on the ground. On coming and, for a period of forty days, took no nutriment save a to his senses lie wept much, and, the glory of that divine little rose-water and sugar. He, meanwhile, continued to apparition irradiating a heart clear and receptive as a expound the most ' subtle mysteries of the Divine Unity, inirror, began to chaunt the words, " I am the Kd'i7n be- and the nature of the KeFim, in so transcendental a man- come manifest," and, like Mans~ir-, to cry out, " I arn the ner that the

keenest intellects were unable to follow his
 Truth 1 thought. Not only mystics, but learned scholars, over-
 Fen as the ruby, which, at first a stone, come with wonder at his condition,
 submitted to the in-
 Sunlike by drinking in the sun bath grown. fluence of his attraction.
 It grows in light; its stony nature goes; When tidings of this reached the
 governor of Khfiy, he,
 Throughout its substance light and sunshine floWS4.1'
 fearful of a popular tumult, and the censure which -such an
 The text has Aramina (Armenians), a term often loosely
 i event would bring down on him from the king, caused the
 applied by Musulthnin Persians to other Oriental Christians,
 such as the Nestorians of Urilmiiyya, who axe probably intended 'aIndian
 believer" to be arrested and brought before him,
 here. Compare M. Moclienin's nienioir, quoted by Kazeni-Beg together with two
 of his companions, Sheykh SALih the
 (i, p. 371), and Traveller's -Yarrative, Vol. ii, p. 276. Arab and Mulla Huseyn
 of KliurAsAn, both of wh, oin- *were
 2 Kur'àn, vi, 76, 771, 7 8. disciples of His Supreme Holiness. Yet astill the
 " Indian
 believer," like Mansiir ceased not to cry, "I am the Truth
 3 Ijuseyn ibn Mans~ir-i-Hull(~j (the wool-carder), called also
 AbO-Mughfh, who was born at Bey~a in FArS, and, after a life and to declare
 his intention of preachin and proclai
 9 MIDg
 spent in teaching the most exalted mysticism, was put to death
 is commonly believed in the East that rubies and cornelians are
 for crying out in one of his raptures "I am the Truth" (ie. God),
 by command of the Muhamrnadan doctors of religion. His execti-
 slowly formed from common pebbles by the action of the Sun.
 tion took place at Baghdad oigi the 24th of Zfl-Kalda, A.H. 309 Thus the
 '%vell-known verse:
 (March 26th, A.D. 922).
 L; -S~ tL 6
 4 These verses will be found on p. 484 of 'Ali'u'd-Dawla's
 Teberin edition of the.Jfasnavi, lines 10 and 11. L. substitutes
 j-d Jax- jj
 another quotation of three couplets from the same poem. C.
 It needs ages ere one primitive stone can, by the action of the
 adds another verse occurrino, a few lines lower, which I omit. It
 sun, become a ruby in Badakbsbin or a cornelian in Yanian."
 16-2

the Indian, an eminent and holy upright men were cast down in the dust of tribulation, and mystic, to whom the Daghder dervishes (who are represented) blows were rained on the feet which had walked so steadfast even within the confines of Persia) trace back their fastly with the rods which are the portion of faithful lovers, order. This family enjoys a high degree of consideration until Sleykll Salih the Arab yielded up his spirit to Him in India, for from of old the saints of the aforesaid order who is the Creator of souls. But though they continued have always sprung from them, and the number of their to beat the others in hopes of making them deny the faith, disciples is enormous.

which they had coiffed, they persistently refused to do From his childhood Seyyid Basfr slewed of the so, saying, " We are not such hypocrites that suffering and wonderful faculties which he afterwards manifested. For torture call make us deny the truth." So at length they seven years* he enjoyed the blessings of sight, but then, shaved the heads of those chiefs of the children of wisdom, even as the vision of his soul became clear, a veil of dark-mounted them on asses, and paraded them through the wilderness fell on his outward eyes. From his infancy he had town, crying, "This is the recompense of seekers after cy displayed his good disposition and amiable character both-truth, and of such as would attain to union with the True in word and deed ; lie now added to this a singular piety Beloved, who shut their eyes to all other considerations, and soberness of life. At length [at the age of twenty-one] and erase name and fame from the tablet of their being lie set out with great pomp and state (for lie had much be admonished, therefore, O people of discernment wealth in India) [to perform the pilgrimage]; and on reaching Persia, began to associate with every sect and party [Account of Jewitb-i-Basfr, a noble mystic of (for lie was well acquainted with the doctrines and tenets India, endowed with wonderful and various powers. of all), and to give away large sums of money in charity and faculties.] to the poor, submitting himself the while to the most

I rigorous religious discipline. And since his ancestors had Another Indian convert was Seyyid Basfr, a man of foretold that in those days a Perfect Man should appear unequalled virtue and learning, endowed with many wonderful faculties. Many were the souls, He visited Mecca, and, after performing the

9 rites of the

whom lie awoke to life and directed into the right way, pilgrimage, proceeded to the holy shrines of KerbelA and and many the perverted scoffers whom he persuaded to Nejef, where he met with the late HAjf Seyyid KAZim, for accept the truth and raised to the degree of perfection ; whom he conceived a sincere frieildaship. He then re- for lie drew to him like a magnet all such as were sus-g turned to India; but, oil reaching Bombay, lie heard that ceptible to his holy influence. Although the late HAjf MirzA JAW has written but a brief summary of his virtues, *[for seven is the number of action] even one telith part of what lie has written would suffice, to form a separate volume. The substance of the matter, The name of the order is uncertain, this reading being a conjecture of mine. L. has apparently and C. however, is as follows. His Reverence was of the family the word being indistinctly written in both cases.

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one claiming to be the Bib had appeared in Persia, where- upon he at once turned back thither.

On reaching Persia -, he found that His Holiness had gone to Mecca'. Impatient of further delay he followed him thither, and at lengthen-joyed the privilege of meeting him in the Holy Sanctuary. Blind as he was, the eye of his heart saw for a surety that the Bib's claim to be. the Kd'im was a true one, and he ascended . to the most sublime heights of faith and as- surance.

After a while he returned by sea to Persia, through which he travelled, preaching God's Word with due circum- spection 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 learn- ing as lie was for his virtue, and was well versed in Medicine, Astronomy, Divination, and other science-, ". He was also thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of the mysticas, and proficient in several languages. So, in every town and hanilet which lie visited, his influence brought many learned and pious persons into the way of asalvatioii, for lie exercised a marvellous power of attraction over all with whom lie came in contact [including the author] ; and so numerous were the prodigieas and miracles which he

wrought that one may say without exaggeration that his, every action was in some sort a miracle. [Tliias, 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'an, and if the seeker failed to find it quickly, he would take the Kur'an from him, open it, find the verse, and give it back to him; or he would himself repeat it. I*

I See pp. 198-9 supra.

SEYYID BASFR THE INDIAN.

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win over the faithful to Ezel, who was a mute', and believed in BehA' (the soul of the universe be his sacrifice!) before he revealed himself.]'

When the strife waxed hot in MAzandarain, Seyyid Basfr proceeded to the district of NAr, 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 'Irik, preaching the doctrine everywhere, until he was arrested in Burfijird 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, "Invoke death then, if ye be faithful" 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. the opposite of .5L4, ie. one who does not utter revelations. Cf. de Sacy's Religion des Drums, vol i, pp. ciii, n. 1; and civ, n. 1.

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3 C. omits this remarkable passage, which is very probably an interpolation by some ardent BehV scribe. It is rather corrupt, but I believe that the above translation correctly represents its general sense.

248 THE NEW HISTORY. LACK OF DEVOTION IN 'ALF'S FOLLOWERS. 249

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 'Alf 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?" 'Alf 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 'Alf'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 Salm4n, though he had shaved his whole head, had girded on his sword under his cloak. When 'Alf 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 BAbis, will perceive that they differ as earth from heaven, or truth from fiction. Of such persons

it may indeed be said, " The doctors of Inzy ckurck are more excellent than the prophets oJ' the C141dren 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 Imims 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.]

* JA full account of the circumstances of Seyyid Basfr and the manner of his martyrdom would here result '*I undue prolixity. Should fortune favour us we will, please God, insert it in the second volume.1 *

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< I'lie Seven. 31'artyrs. >

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 Tpreviousj events.

11 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 inouths, 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 foemaD'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 decapitation', and was preserved by extinction'; for the drops of their blood were as

I Suppl. Pers. 1071, f. 15611, et seq.

2 Kur'àn, 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 BAK 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 ngiany 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 MÖrzà Muhammad Taki KhAn the Prime Minister that the BAN s were meditating a fresh rebellion. He, remembering the MdzandarAn insurrection and the stubborn courage which the BABis 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 sympa

thizing with the BàbÖs. Without stoppin t're ect t at so small a number of men could not possibly raise an insurrection, the Minister cast them all into prison. I _ . After some days it was decided, by his command, that such of the prisoners as would renounce the BàbÖ faith and speak evil of its Founder should be released, while such as confessed it should forthwith suffer death. Whenwordofthis was brought to the prisoners, HAJf Mulla Ismalil of Kum, a divine of KerbelA 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', thus addressed his companions :-" I, for my part, am resolved to confess my I See Gobineau, pp. 180-4; and Travellers iVarrative, vol. ii, pp. 176, 189, 212, and 312.

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faith and lay down my life; for if we fail to proclaim the advent of the K,~t'igni, who else will proclaim it g? 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 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 concealment'. And these seven faithful lovers and loyal friends [, who were the goats of the inuch-wronged Lord of the Agej HAjf Mulli Isma'fl. of Kum, HAjf MÕrzà Seyyid'.Alf, the maternal uncle of 'His Supreme Holiness, Mfrzi KurbAii-'Alf the dervish, AkA Seyyid FIUseyn ~the majtakid~ of Turshfz, [HAjf] Mulla Takf of KirmAn, MÕrzà Mulianiniad *TUu-seynj* of Tabrfz, land another, a native of Marlgha.~ So t [those who recanted were set free, while those who made confession of their faith] t were led forth on the morrow to the square' to die. On their way thither the * [Ijasaii] I'- t ~tbeyj t

1 Ketmdn3 the word applied especially to the concealment of religious opinions dictated by prudential motives, also called takiya. See Gobineau, Religions et Philosophies clans l'Asie Centrale, pp. 15-21.

2 Their execution took place either in the Meyda'n-i-Sabz or THE SEVEN MARTYRS.

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-spectators reviled them and cast stones at them, 'Saying,

" These are Bibfs and madmen 1 " Mulla Isma'fl answered,,
Cc Yes, we are BâbŌs, but mad we are not. By A116,h, 0
people, it is to awaken and enlighten you that we have
forsaken life, wealth, wife, and child, and have shut our
eyes oil 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 de-
capitation and slaughter, and it was HAjf , the

z

nutjtakid.]

Now as to AkA Seyyid Huseyn Ithe muitahidl, he
had but recently returned from KerbelA; and all the
divines of that place had testified ill writing that he had
duly qualified himself for the rank of 9nuitahid. So, after
an absence of several years, he set out for his
native land to visit his'relations and family. In Teherin,
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.
[Accoant oj' < the death of> Afka Sevilid 'AU, who was the
maternal uncle of His Supreme Holiness, and who laid
down his life in Teheran.]

Now as to the BAb's uncle, he, with his aged bands,
removed the turban from his head, and, raising his face
1 See p. 229 supra.

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2 Ikhwdint's-s . This title is not unfrequently a,pplyed by
the BAbis to such as hold their faith.

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f

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towards the heaven of God's justice and glory, said, " O
God, Thou art witness how they are about to slay the asoi
of Thy most noble Prophet [, and how they kill Thy faith-
ful servants as infidels, themselves claiming to be the
votaries of religion]."

A certain ngierchant offered to give three hundred t~t-
inans 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 'AU Kh6n the Y,4jibu'd-Dawla soaght to persuade that comely youth ~?f the promise of apension and the ofer of his daughter's hand.]

Then they caused the other three victims to attain their desire in like manner. HAif 'Ali Klidn the llajibu'd-Dawla' thus described what took place to one of hias 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 tbease persons. When I reached the spot appointed for the exe-
1 This quotation is from the Masnavi, and is quoted in the original, with reference, at 1). 215, vol. ii, of my Travelle7"s Xarrath7e.

2 Concerning this atrocious wretch, see Polak's Persien, vol. 1, p. 352, and my Traveller's Yarrative, vol. ii, p. 52, n. 1. cution, I noticed amongst the seven prisoners a 1 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,J I called him to my side and whispered in his ear, 'Come, recant; for I swear by the crown 2 of His Majesty the King that naught that you can desire or hope for shall be with- held from you. I will present you to His Majesty the King and will obtain for you a pension and allowance of five hundred Wmains 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 Belovedh-

"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!"

'TWben I heard him speak thus, andJ* saw that he

*[I could not but admire the boy's spirit and courage, yet, since 1] *

1 Subh-i-Ezel informed me that the name of this young BábŌ was Mulli \$Adik-i-Turk.. He would therefore appear to be identical with the "man of MarAgha" mentioned at p. 252 supra.

2 '~Bi-jika-Allid-Hazrat-i-IiCibla-i-'Alant" literally "by the N. H..

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was not to be persuaded, I smote him oil the mouth, and bade them kill him before the rest."

Now , and all men~

of learning admit his scholarship, which, indeed, can no more be denied than his virtue. 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 amazemeigit, in that, after years of study, he disregarded love of home, worldly ambition, authority, wealth, and position, and willingly quaffed the draught of martyrdom.]

HAF Seyyid 'Alf, the maternal uncle , was an aged merchant who had seen the world and enjoyed universal respect, for he was famed for his piety and godli-

ness, lbesides being a descendant of the Prophet, and the -uncle of His Supreme Holiness. When lie decided to set out from SlifrAz 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 Azarbaijan to wait on His Holiness.¹ 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 BAb 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

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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 'Abid, an accomplished scholar and a godly man, who was one of the disciples of Sheykh Alimad , and subsequently became an ardent believer in His Holiness. Amongst other anecdotes of the BAb'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 Kur'an in a sweet and plaintive voice. Filled with astonishment, I entered the room and enquired who had been reading the Kur'an. The other children answered 'He was.'

'Have you read the Kur'an ?' I asked. He was silent. 'It is best for you to read Persian books,' said I, putting the 'Hdkku'l-Yakhi' 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 4 a-I.

² Two celebrated works bear this title. One is a compendium of Shi'ite doctrine composed by the eminent theologian Muhammad Bikir Jfajlisi in the year A.H. 1109 (A.D. 1698) in the reign of Sultan Huseyn the Safavi, and it is probably to this work that

reference is here made. The other Hakku'l-Yakin was written in the 8th century of the hijra by Sheykh MahmAd Shabistari (better known as the author of the Gulshan-i-kdz); and treats of S~iff doctrine.

THE BU'S CHILDHOOD.

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before him the 81iar7w_a7ntjjja,!. When I began to explain the meaning of the Bismi'lltih to the pupils in the customary manner, he asked, 'Why does the word Rahmain include both believers and infidels, while the word Raht'n applies only to believers?' I replied, 'Wise men have a rule to the effect that 2 extension of meaning', and _Rahma'n contains one letter more than Raltz'M.' He answered, 'Either this rule is a mistake, or else that tradition which you refer to 'All is a lie.' 'What tradition?' I asked. 'The tradition,) replied he, ' wh ich declares that King of Holiness to have said : -" The meanings of all the Sacred Books are in the Kur'àn,-and the meanings of the whole Kur'6ii are in the 8~69-cttu'l-

144tilia, and the meanings of the -whole 862-atu'l-Ritiha are in the Bismi'lVik, and the whole meaning of the Bismi'llrth is in the B, and the meaning of the B is in the point , 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,' an4 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 2 Go and learn your lessons.' ' Very well,' he answered, and came and began to learn his lessons like the other boys. Commentary on Grammatical forms. There is a work of this name by Surilrf (see Cat. Cod. Orient. Hus. Brit., par8 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 UL~ See Palmer's Arabic Grant-

.*jl j.,L) jp jS . LjI 3,g'.

Mar, p. 33, n. 1.

He even began with the alphabet, although I urged him not to do so. One day I saw lifin 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 V and made this niövemeDt, I smiled in wonder and bewilderment, and as I did so lie suddenly ceased speaking. So likewise, before lie had begun to practise writing, I observed that every day lie 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 lie 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 meaning." A' ~A Seyyid Yahyd and Je)z('tb-i-A;919n' saw these writings in the possession of the aforesaid as thus willingly and joyfully to forego life, wealth, fame, naine, 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 , 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 tu'ma'ns to save him from death ; but he would Dot 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

Haji Mulla Taki, who was both a merchant and a scholar, was a man of remarkable piety and a native of KirmAn, 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 MÖrzà Huseyn of

I Two beyts from the ffasnavi here inserted by L. are omitted.

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Tabriz, the comely and devoted youth whom 1-16ji 'Alf KhAn 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 'Alf 2 , 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~*

I See, however, note I at the foot of p. 257 supra.

2 See pp. 248-9 sitpra. C. repeats the whole story in full, and I therefore follow L. without further notice of the variants.

THE "SEVEN HORNLESS GOATS." 267

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 shewn 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 bridge" 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 .

1 Kur'an, xxx, 5.

2 ~irdt, 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 VdAid of the Persian BeyAn. Cf. B. ii, p. 930; and n. I at the foot of p. 46 supra.

3 Kur'* xvi, 85.

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And, since those are a sign of the TAIlanifestation, therefore astieli as were anxiously expecting its advent truly and sincerely believed with great joy. For the holy liuAms (upon whom be peace) have said, "Nabyzet'r-r6"I" wa, shP6tu9id ghananz," 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 froign the claws of the wolf of ignorance and fally." [Now the interpretation of this saying, that His Holiness the JCrt'im sliall cause his flock to appear in the land of Mecca, is that by Xecca 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 I-louse of (O)rod 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 Im6ms contain many meanings which these formalist doctors are unable to penetrate, even as they have failed to coinprehend this tradition ; wherefore, through lack of sense and discerniihent, they do both keep the unfortunate laity in expectation, and themselves expect that His Holiness
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KURRATU'L-'AYN.

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contrary to their preconceived ideas. For their pride and arrozoD,ance make it seem to them a hard thing to prefer the as-
 sertation 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 116ji Mulla SAliah, for all his piety, sanctity, scholarship, and show of religion, repeatedly said to his daughter Jenaib-i- Ttikii-a, better known as lCurratu'l-'A Y. 2P*, " If you, with all the learning, scholarship, and intelligence which you possess, were to claim to be the BAb, or even more than that, I would readily admit and allow your claim; but what can I do when you choose to follow this SlifrAzilad?" Greatheavens! 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 niinute drop beside that vast and all-

pp I eser o ecca, in the guise of a *~as did also her uncle HAJf Mulla shepherd driving seven goats, which are devoid of Ta'kf 'the murdered,' who was a learned scholar, and, reason, before him. A fine and honourable occupation do e, indeed, in his own opinion, the most learned doctor of his they assign to their Master! Yet they themselves are til-nel* entirely unconscious of the evilness of their assertions and beliefs: and if some poor fellow would explain the true 1 Concerning Qurratu - T'Ayn, her father Hdjf Mulli Sdlih, meaning of such traditions, they dub him an infidel, be- and her ancle H6jf Mulli Muhammad Takf (called by the Shi'ies cause he interprets the words of the ImAm in a manner Shahid-i- Pidlith ") see my Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 309 -316.

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embracing ocean, or as an iiiagigiificaiit mote beside that mighty and radiant luminary ; " yet, notwithstanding this, lie answered, "Though you regard your excellence and learning as of such small Account in comparison with - that SlifrAzf lad, still, had you been my son , 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."

ZI)

] *

I "The Pure."

2 As the Bib is often styled " The Tree of Truth " (Shajara-i-flakikat), so those who believe in him are sometimes called " Leaves". The title of Waraka-i-'Ulyd ("The Supreme Leaf") was conferred by Bebi'u'116h on one of his wives. See Traveller',,; Narrative, vol. ii, p. 361.

N. H.

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lad?" To such speeches, however, she refused to listen; nor, do what they might, would she consent to be reconciled with her husband Mulla Muhammad, who was the son of HAJf Mulli , land was accounted

her cousin. she answered, " He, in that he rejects God's religion, is unclean, while I am I 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 HAJf Mulla Takf's murder. Now the cause of this was that

in every assembly and gathering~ he was wont to curse and revile the late Sheykh Ahmad, displaying herein the most obstinate pertinacity. A certain MÖrzà Sd,lih, Twho was a native of Slifrdz andl one of the BAb's followers, formerly devoted to the late Sheykh Ahmad, had heard lin Kazvfnl that HAJf Mulld [Muhammad] Takf regarded the late Slieykh as an apostate and a heretic, and waa-, in the habit of Cursing him-. He therefore waited upon the HAJf *After the performance of public prayer~,* and enquired his opinion of Sheykh Ahmad. The HAJf chlrised and reviled him Texceedingly~. Thereupon MÖrzà SAlih (agreeably to the tradition handed down from the linAms " whosoever curseth our followers liath cursed us, and whosoever curseth us hath ciirased the Apostle of God, and whosoever hath curased 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 Tdthira. See the end of the preceding paragraph.

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MURDER OF MULI,JK MUHAMMAD TAKf. 2 7 at' design to anyone, he went by night, and, by the ~ altar' ' inflicted on him several wounds. And this thing was the consequence of the HAJi's conduct on the occasion of the BAb's passing through Kazvfn. For His Holiness, as he passed through l~azvfn, had, with the design of proving others and admonishing them by this transaction, written 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 Hijf tore the letter in fragments and made several unseemly remarks. When'they reported this to His Holiness, lie

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 Hiji Mullk Muhammad Takf,
 a great disturballice arose in, Kazvfn. For the people attri-
 buted this deed to Jen6b-i-TdItira, and suspected her fol-
 lowers, though neither she nor they were privy to it. So
 they arrested *[Dearly seventy]* persons, and, though H6jf
 ' 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
 SALih the Arab with inany stripes, and would have branded
 him. TThey also brought Jenaib-i-Tdhira to the govern-
 Ja great number oQ
 Xilirdb, properly the niche or alcove in the mosque which
 shews the direction of Mecca.
 2 Some verses from the Xasnavi) differently given in and
 L., are here omitted.
 3 The wounds inflicted on H6ji Mulla Muhammad Takf did
 not at once prove fatal. According to the Kismm'I-Wla"01 be
 8urvived the attempt on his life by several days.
 18-2

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melit 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 Jena'b-i-T(iltira's husband Mulli 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 Mf rzA S411h of Slif rAz T, 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 con-
 fession, setting forth in detail the motives which had
 impelled him to commit the murder, and adding, " I con-
 sidered myself obliged by the duty which I owe to Reli-

gion and the Sacred Law to do this deed." In such wise did he express himself that the governor of Kazvfn 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 a, I

one who had culled from the garden of Abu Hanffa' 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 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 AbA Hanffa, Milik, Shifi'if, 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 Shilite, much less in Babi eyes.

CONFESSION OF THE ASSASSIN. 277

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 stool' 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 conclusively proved.

They therefore cast him into prison and put him in fetters, and the sons of the murdered Hdjf Mull.4

Takf went to the prison to vex and revile him. Mirzi ~Alih, losing control of his temper, cried out, " I have sent him to liell, and I will now send you- after him." Sosaying 0)

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 Yigour that they fled 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 this' they would not release those others , but, anxious only to establish a reputation for filial piety, continued to account

them accomplices and accessories.¹ And although -HAjf < Mulla Muhammad Takf > had declared with his dying breath that he forgave his murderer', *[Mulla Muhammad]*
Tstill

I This word is doubtful. It appears to read &,,S~ to which I call assign no suitable sense. I therefore, conjecture

2 ie. the confession of Mfrz6 SALih.

3 HAjf MÖrzà JANf adds that Mulli Muhammad himself made this statement.

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his son caused *[five]* of the prisoners to be sent in fetters and chains from Kazvfn to TeherAn in the bitter cold of the winter season. Amongst these *[five]*, one was an old man of ailing health ~named HAjf Asadu'IAh~; whom, though he was perfectly innocent, and ignorant, they dragged from a bed of sickness and led away; and who, on reaching Teherdn, expired in prison from his illness and the fatigues of the road. But MÖrzà SALih, the actual murderer, Twho had himself confessed, and whom Hdjf MÖrzà AkAsf had consigned to the custody of MÖrzà ShafV the S4hib-d,~vdq?.J escaped from prison by night, Tand, making straight for the Castle of Tabarsf, joined himself to the people of God, amongst whom lie attained to inartyrdom'.I

Those tTthreelt innocent persons remained in prison, but though the son of HAjf Mulla [Muhammad] Takf made the most strenuous efforts to obtain from the administrators of the Sacred Law in TeherAn an order for the execution of one of the prisoners, he was not successful. Then he accused the BâbÕs of being this and that; and His Majesty TMuhammadI ShAh ordered the learnednziitakgidAkA Mahnifid of TeherAn, -1-Tthe son of AkA Muhammad 'Alf of KirminshAhAnJ+ to investigate and ascertain their tenets. So

11 [they brought them' before him, and when he had]JI nhiet

~sixj t[fourJt [Ndsirti'd-Dfn]~, 2

,[who was unrivalled in his time]++

JJheJJ

See p. 82 supra. That the Sheykh Silih there mentioned is identical with this Mfrzi SALih is clearly shewn by Haif Mfrzi Jinf's account of his death, in which he is described as "the murderer of HAjf Mulki Mul' iammad Takf of Kazvfn."

2 This appears to be an anachronism. Haijf Alfrzi Ja'nf only says "the King."

3 ie., as it would appear, the three remaining prisoners.

I i

land conversed much with] them* the falsity of Mulli Muhammad's assertions [concerning this sect] became evident. Finally went before His Majesty the King, and rent his shirt, and began to weep, saying, "They have slain Hajf Mulli [Muhammad] Taki, and shall no one's blood be shed ?It" 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 ." So they took Sheykh Sdlih the Arab, a godly man, endowed, as was proved in several ways,

with a pure heart', and consummated his martyrdom by blowing him from a gun.

Then < Mullal Muhammad> prayed that he might be permitted to take the two other prisoners, one of whom was Sheykh Tahir of Shirk the preacher, and the other Mulli Ibrahim of Mahallit to Kazvin, 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 < Mullal Muhammad> took them with him to Burka, and on *Tandl*

[how can it be right that his murderer should not be slain?]

[three] [the three men]

Haji Mirza Jafar says that Sheykh Sdlih was believed by some (of the Bdbfs) to be (a re-incarnation of) "the Pure Soul concerning whom see el-Fakhri (ed. Ahlwardt), p. 195 et seq.

THE NEW HISTORY.

The way thither inflicted on them all manner of hurts and torments. After this he took them to Kazvin. 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 [. So, as soon as they brought them

forth to make them walk round the grave, Sheykh TAhir] and Mulla Ibrilifm 11[were]ll done to death with a cruelty surpassing all imagination. ~Sheykh TAhir 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.1 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.1

So the heirs known as

1 It was) apparently, only after the fall of Sheykh Tabaraf that she was given up to the authorities by the people of Nfir ' where she (together with Subh-i-Ezel, as HAjf Mimi JAni states in his history) had taken refuge. Cf. Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 312-3. It is worth noting that HAjf MÖrzà JANf calls her "the Mother of the World" (, real object was not to ascertain the truth or sift the matter, [else lie would have suigiiiiioiecl to TelierAii and caused him to be examined in Jenaib-i-Veluii) and the wisdom and excellence whereunto by his help she attained, may become kDOW11 to all persoia3 of discernment.J*

I A p--llace in Teheran built by Fath-'All Shih. It derives its name from the pictures and portraits wherewith the walls of several of its rooms are ornameDted, and is situated in the northern quarter of the city, not very far from the English Embassy.

2 Cf. my Traveller's Jarrative, vol. ii, pp. 313-4.

EXAMINATION OF THE BAB AT TABRIZ. 285

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 Bib's claim or the reality of his mission; and that it was impossible for them to abandon their mastery and to adopt an attitude of submission and obedience, more especially since he had heard how most of them regarded ,is a madihnan. For some of them declared that his brain was disordered, and that his writings consisted of 'fables of t7te ancients" set forth in incoherent words;* while others asserted that His Holiness did not really claim to be the Bib, but that Mulla Uuseyn of Buslirawayh, a man of unrivalled scholarship and virtue, was the actual claimant, and that all these teachings and writings emanated from him'.

So they summoned His Holiness to Tabriz', and convened an assembly, which was attended-by MU114 Muhammad MAmaghAiif, HAjfi MuIIA MahmAd MuldbaisU, a number of divines of the Sheykh party, and a few state functionaries. They 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 'Bismillah', 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 B4b 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 &ra-i-NAr, the twenty-fourth chapter of the Ku?An.

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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 replied, 'Thus was it revealed'.

"Now since this plan and idea of mine had been carried, I began to doubt; so, not being clear as to how I ought to act, I said to the Bib, '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, '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 Bib, 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 Kti'im. At length Muldd Muhammad Mdmaglidnf, one of the Sheykh 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."

Subh-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 frongi 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 Nab41, is lacking in L. I am not sure whether the last three sentences really form part of Prince Hamz6 MÖrzà's account of this transaction, but have thought it best on the whole to include them in the inverted commas.

i

THE BKB'S LAST NIGHT ON EARTH. 297

So they imprisoned him who was athirst for the draught Of martyrdom for three days, along with A'kA Seyyid Huseyn , the amanuensis, and AkA Seyyid ftasan, which twain were brothers, wont to pass*their time for the most part in the Bib's presence.

Now befor- w~. I-]-

even e Bib had, to complete th

proof, sent to the clergy of Tabriz by means of Aki S yyi

l e "), Mirzd Muhani

Ahmad of Tabr'z (known as " the Scrib is

mad 'Ali of Tabriz, and two other persona3, sundry epi* tles 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 writirig. 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 Hainzd MÖrzà. 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 Mfrzi Muhammad 'Alf 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 essences') lie said to l ie. the Bib. This passage will be found translated at pp. 319-321 of vol. ii of my Traveller's Aarrative. h I .

2 In the footnote on p. 320 of nhiy Travellers Xarrative I have suggested that this title of I the scribe' is here wrongly ~gipplied to Aki Seyyid Ahmad of Tabriz, whom the author may have confounded with Mulli 'Abdu'l-Karfm of Ka7vfn, known amongst the Bibfs as " Mfrzi Ahrnad-i-lfdtib". HAJf

Mfrz,i JiDf, however, agrees with the IVtrikh-i-Jadid, for he speaks of -j< t jg.,,u a-f- is-~ " a.,
3 ie. the ~hb.
r, U

t

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his companions, " Tomorrow they will slay me shamefully
land with boundless indignityl. Let one of you now arise
and kill me, that I may not have to endure this ignoMin3r
and sharne from enemies; for it is Ifarl 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 MÖrzà Muhammad
'Alf, 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 1 " " This act of mine," replied
he, " is not prompted by presumption, but by unstinted
obedience, and desire to fulfil companions agreed , with the excep-
tion of Mfrzd Muhammad 'Alf, who fell at the feet of His
Holiness and began to entreat and implore, thus praying

I

*[Ilow the disciples, especially Akeit Se~yyid fIUseyh and
A~d Seyyid Hasan, were bidden to deny tkeirf2th]*
f [after this action of MÖrzà Muhammad 'Alijt
I i.e. the Bib's last words and instructions.

MARTYRDOM OF THE B~k&

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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 ." So earnestly did he urge his
entreaties that His

Holiness, though he strove to dissuade him,
at length graciously acceded .

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-caps', to the
Government House, where they were sentenced to be shot.
AkA Seyyid Huseyn the amanuensis, and his brother Ak6
Seyyid Hasan, recanted, as they had been bidden-to do,

and were set at liberty; and AkA Seyyid Huseyn bestowed

the gems of wisdom treasured in his bosom'upon such
as s
a ought 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 attained to the rank of
martyrdom in the Catas-
trophe of Teherdn'.

But since MÖrzà Muhammad 'Alf, athirst for the draught
of martyrdom, declared in the most explicit
manner, they dragged him along with that Point
of the Universal Circle to the barracks situated by -the
citadel', and, oppoa,,ite to the cells on one side of the
Cf. n. 2 on p. 201-3upra. The night-cap (shab-kuldh), 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, beino,
laid aside.

2 Here ends the portion of this account translated at pp. 319
-321 of vol. ii of my gtravellei,'s Narrative.

3 I visited the citadel (arg) of Tabriz on November 4tb, 1887.
It is of great height, and formerly criminals condemned to death
used sometimes to be thrown from the summit into the moat

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barrack, suspended from lie might renounce his
faith. lie said,

Ilegone, and bait your snares for other quarry ;

The 'Ankd's2 nest is hard to reach and high."1]3

below. The building appears to have been originally a mosque,
'7

,_1

and the spacious vzilirdb 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-roonis (ankir), which were prob-
ably originally designed for a college.

I Three more lines are emitted.

2 A mythical bird similar to the plicenix.

3 C. omits this touching incident, which, however, is men-
tioned by Gobineau. (p. 269), though not by HaJf Mfrza' Jini.

E

MARTYRDOM OF THE B_kB.

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. So they shot him in the presence of his master', 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 . 21

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.

*TSays the reviser':-Proof of the devotion and steadfastness of this noble man (upon whom be the splendour of

God' and His approbation) is afforded by a letter in~ his own blessed writing which was in the possession of, his brother Mulli 'Abdu'llih, who still lives in Tabriz. - :This It is clear from this,- as well as from Hajf Mfrza' JAnf's account, that the first volley of the firing-party was aimed at Mfrz' Muhammad 'Alf alone, and not, as Gobineau (p. 270) a

and the Traveller's Yarrative (Vol. i, pp. 55-56; Vol. ii, pp. 43-44) imply, at the BAb also. Three volleys were fired in all (as appears from SuleyrnAn KhAn's narrative on p.~ 310 infra), but only two at the Bib. Hence the erroneous statement (opposed to Hajf MÖrzà JAnf's account) on pp. 306~7 infra that the Bib twice escaped the shower of bullets.

2 Kur'àn, iii, 14. Ha'j'i Mfrzh Jinf adds that the Bib, as the body of his disciple fell bleeding, at his feet, smiled, and said, "Then shalt be with me in Paradise" a;C j 1 :41

Traveller's Narrative, Vol. ii, p. 322. --b

3 The reviser who supplies us with this interesting addition to the original history may not inprobably be in -this case also Nabil. See pp. 131 and 293 supra.

4 This formula-"aleyhi behd'u'lldh'-was and is the common form of benediction amongst the BábÖs for absent or deceased believers. I am not certain, however, whether it is still used by the Ezelfs, who, though they declare that the title Beltd,u'lld/i, originally belonged to Mfrzi Yahvi Subh-i-Ezel (see my Travellei-Is Yarrative, p. 353), cannot but associate it now with his great rival MirzA 1juseyn 'Alf.

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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, 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 _~Cibla' I

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 : there is no strength save in God.

T" O my Kibla ! The end 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

I Both the text and translation of this letter I published in the Octoter 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. tUbla-gdlb (1~ibla-place) is a formula often used in letters in addressing elder relatives.

3 Kur'àn, iii, 182 ; xxi, 36; xxix, 57.

MARTYRDOM OF THE B-kB.

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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!"

TIf 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.l*

Now after this, when they had suspended His Holiness , the ShakAkf regiment received orders to fire, and discharged their pieces in a single volley., -But of all the shots fired two bullets struck the two ropes by which His Holiness was suspended on either side, and severed them. The BAb fell to the ground Tand took refuge in the - roomll. As soon as the smoke and dust of the

powder had somewhat cleared, the spectators did not find, that Jesus of the age on the -cross.

. *[Suspension of the Blessed Appearance.]*'

I The barracks in the citadel at Tabriz, like all similar buildings in Persia, consist of a series of rooms or cells (4ujra), exactly like those in a caravansaray, opening by a single door on to the platform (sakft) which fronts the building. From the description of the execution here given, it appears that the Bib 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 Bkb 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" (Tal'at-i-Hubdrak) the Bib is meant. So Behd'u'llih is called Tal'at-i-Abhd. Cf n. 1 on p. 139, and n. 2 on p. 247, supra.

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a great clainour brake forth amongst them.

Some said, "He has disappeared!" Others, "He haas gone up to heaven ! " Search being made, they 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 beDt on burning, be a man

Such, however, was their heedless presumption and folly that they did not so much a-, perceive *[that no sign or marvel could be imagined transcending this]* that of all those bullets not one a-,hould touch the ~blessedj body of His Ifoliness, but that they should strike those slender cords. tJGod was pleased to manifest

HisIt sovereign power to those foolish men. TFor 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 meel~nesa-, of just and aintly men and their resignation to whatsoever the Pen of Destihly may award; if the purpose of mankind accord and agree not with 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 power. But when he re-ign,ed himself , Harmala' took aim, at his fore-head, and his shot missed not its mark; and this- thing was a proof of < ImAm Huseyn's >- perfect service < to God >, not I ie. God's word (1~ur'An, lxxvi, 30). It is impossible to determine at what previous point the pronouns cease to refer to the Bdb and begin to refer to God. But after all, since the B6.b is regarded as a I Manifestation' of the Divine Essence, the question would to a B6bf be of trivial import.

2 I cannot find in the Kur'an such words as these.

3 Kur'dn, iv. 115.

4 Harmala b. el-KAhin. In none of the histories or Shilite martyrologies which I have consulted do I find this man credited with a direct share in the death of Huseyn. He it was, however,' who shot Huseyn's little nephew 'ibdu'llAh b. el-Hasan (Tabarl, series ii, vol. i, p. 387, 11. 8-9), also called 'Alf As har, the cir- .9

cumstances of whose death are detailed in the Rawzatu's-Shuhadd, and in Ockley's Histw~y of the Saracens, vol. ii, p. 175. Hijf MÕrzà Jinf makes a more correct allusion to the incident in a different connection.

N. H.

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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, andl-I were not warned, and did not recognize that a bullet struck and severed that slender

rope, 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 , they again suspended His Holiness, and gave orders to fire another volley.

The MusulmAn soldiers, however, made their excuses and refused. Thereupon a Christian regiment' was ordered to fire the volley, and they were obliged to comply. According to the account written by the late Haijf MirzA JA-nf, on this second occasion also no hurt accrued to the Blessed Figure of His Holiness'; but at the of his powerlessness . 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]++

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Cf. Gobineau, 1). 270, and the Traveller's Narrative, vol. j, pp. 55-57, and vol. ii, pp. 43-45. Hajf Mfrzi Jdnf confirms this detail.

2 This is incorrect, for Ha'jf Mimi Ja'nf says that the second volley proved fatal to the B6b. His words are as follows :-

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Cf. n. I on 1). 301 mpra.

MARTYRDOM h OF THE BIB. 307.

third volley three bullets *Istruckl* him, and that holy spirit, escaping from its gentle frame, tI ascended to the Supreme Horizon.lt

EThis event took place on Thursday the 27th of the month of ShaUn, in the year one thousand two hundred and sixty-six of the hijra', being the seventh year of-the "Manifestation,"; and thus did these seek to cleanse and purify themselves for entering upon the blessed month of RamazAD, 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 Grace! Cursed be that people which slew the son of their Prophet's daughter in his 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 meaiia,3 of approach and access ! May *[were permitted to strike]*

f [ascended to the zenith of the Realms of Holiness, and to the station of 'two bow-shots or less'lt

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July 8th, A.D. 1850, which, however, appears to have fallen on a Monday. In the Traveller'i Narrative (vol. i, p. 57 ; vol. ii, p. 44) the date is given as Sha'bAn 28th, but ~ubh-i-Ezel's statement corroborates the New History.

2 The Biblas "Manifestation" took place on Jemddf-ul-tig 5th, A.H. 1260 (May 23rd, A.D. 1844), but the BâbÕ era, as I have shewn at p. 425 of vol. ii of my Travelle?8 Narrative, is reckoned

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from the preceding Nawr'z (Wednesday, March 20th, A.D. 1844).

3 Sey9ida-i-Batfil, ie. FATima, the daughter of the Prophet and wife of 'Ali. Al-Baffil is the name given by Ambic-speakiDg Catholics to the Virgin Mary.

4 These words, occurring in Kur'in, iiii, 9, describe 2NIubam-mad's near approach to God on the occasion of his night-journey to heaven (2ni'rCy).

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their predecessors ciirase them even as they curse their predecessors' 1~

0 wonderful! The Kings of Europe in. general, and ~as runs in my mindl those of England in particular, 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 bolt' 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 f

This, I think, is the proper rendering of the words V51 &-1;

id) the meaning being that as they curse those who slew the Imim Vuseyn in the early days of IslAm, such as Shinir and Yazfd, so may these in turn curse them for their greater obduracy and wickedness.

2 Literally, 11 if the shot first fired at him niisses". I have here attempted, by an equivoque 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. I-To evidently supposes that it is customary to suspend the condemned inaliand then shoot him, exactly as was done in the case of the BAb. 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 siiecesa,3ion was the condemned man placed on the drop, but in each case it remained fixed after the withdrawal of the bolt, i1or could the stampings of the executioner effect its displacement. In coiiia3oqiieiiiec 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, 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

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 Islam, are infidels; while as for the justice of these devout and religious Muslims, it is so self-evident as to need no comment.

['What need of explanation for a thing already plain?']

[Haji Mirza Anwar writes:- "114] Suleyman Khan, concerning whom somewhat has been said, related

:- '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 Chirlik 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

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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 bullets. 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 M'Orzà Mulianimad 'Ali. Be it incumbent on thee 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 M'Orzà Mutiaininad 'Ali from the sentinels for four hundred M.-nuins, and keep them in thine house for six months. Afterwards lay A'kA Muhammad 'Alf with his face upon my face, place in a strong chest, and send it with a letter to Jen(itb-i-Beh(l' (great is his iiajesty!). I That Allfrzi Huseyn 'Alf Behd'u'ldh should be dignified only

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DISPOSAL OF THE BAB'S REMAINS. 311

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 M'Orzà Muhammad 'Alf into the moat, and set three sentries over them, H'ajf Suleymin KhAn* 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 hinder us, we will kill you." The

sentinels, fearing for their lives, and greedy for gain, consented, and 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.]

So HAJI SuleymAN KhAN bore those holy bodies to his house, adorned them in white silk, placed them in a chest, and, after a while, transported them to TeherAN, where they remained in trust till such time as instructions for their interment in a particular spot were issued by the

_* ~concerning whom somewhat has 4 III

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LO a~J, 3 6~.J_tjl .3 ~7

The f~dn (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 " brin ging together of distant lands" by means of the railroad and the telegraph-The InhiArn Ja'far-i-Sddik foretold that the appearance of the promised Deliverer would be "in the year '60 and the Bib actually appeared in the year A. H. 1260-Another traditional saying of the same ImAm runs as follows

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F. 16 ga. Other similar traditions are quoted-The Bib was not 24 years of age when he proclaimed his MiSSiOD, and was only 31 [L.] or 32 [C.] when he suffered martyrdom at Tabrfz in A.H. 1266-The following tradition is quoted from the BiMru'1-Anvair:--

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As foretold in this tradition, the BAB did produce "verses like the Kur'àn," to wit the Beydin, which "sums up all

sacred books."

Ff. 169b_175a. The mullid returns to the subject of miracles-The "cleaving of the moon "-MANakj explains the ideas as to the nature of the sky and heavenly bodies which prevail in Europe, scolds those entertained by the mullid on the same subject, and pours contempt on the so-called science of his class-The mallei asserts his scepticism as to the value of the telescope-MANakj 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 g allegorically, they were merely intended to act as a deterrent to vain pretenders -He concludes by telling the mullid 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

APPENDIX II. MfRZk J~W'S HISTORY.327

latest, that of the BABhs-The mullid cries out that he has " foreg~lathered with two infidels, who strive to make good their infidelity by proofs and arguments "-The BãbÕ triumphantly points out to MANakji that his assertion as to the behavior of the clergy when worsted in discussion is proved.

The translation is resumed in the middle of f. 1754 (p. 315 supra).

APPENDIX II.

ON HAW MfRZk JAW'S HISTORY, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PASSAGES SUPPRESSED OR MODIFIED IN THE TAR&H-I-JAWD.

THE general relations which subsist between the Tdrikh-i4ad&, or " New History," and the older, more faithful, and much more instructive work composed by HAJf MÕrzà

JANf of KdshAn, and called by him Yuktatu'l-KV, have been already pointed out in the Introa*uction. In' this appendix I propose to give a full account of those portions of his work *hich 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 HAJi MÖrzà JAW, 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 Hiji Mfrzi JANf's work, which, though of singular interest and value, and calculated to throw quite a new. light on the early

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theology of the Bibfs, 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 Bibi doctrine, and rendering more apparent the very intimate relations subsisting between it and the Sheyklif 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 HAJf MÖrzà JANf.

"I was a Ilidden, Treasure and I desired to be known, therefore I created creation that I might be kiiown." In these well-known and oft-quoted words does God declare His purpose in calliDg into existence this Phenomenal World. He was a " Hidden Treasure," and He desired that others a-,houlcl participate in that Treasure h; herein lies His Bounty, and herein is contained the Mystery of Crea-tion. Wherefore it is said:-

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" The first Bounty was Being, and Being is the Known, and the Known, is identical with Knowledge', and Know-ledge is lVill, and Will is Love." Love, therefore, is the cause of creation, and its fruit is knowledge; love im-pelled God to exercise His creative power, and His creaturea-,

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 and knowledge of His Majesty 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" (oULD -1414

a.k6), because it is typified by the relation subsisting I This is one of the doctrines especially insisted on by MuM Sadri. See my Travellers Yarrative, vol. ii, p. 270.

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PRIMITIVE B~kBf DOCTRINE.

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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 sainta,3. Thus Kumeyl ibn ZiyAd', One of 'Ali'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 'Ali, "for verily it is one of God's mysteries, and a jewel out of His treasure-house." Then said Kumeyl,

when 'Ali had spoken for some while after this fashion, "O my Master, am I not worthy to share thy secret?" "Yes," answered 'Alf, "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 'Alf, "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 Digviiiie Jljajesty withoUt a sign." " O my Allaster," said Kumeyl, "I understand not thy meaning; explain it to me further." "The e ment of the conjectured, and the clearing of the J4ce

know,??," continued 'Alf. "Explain more fully," demanded Kunieyl. "The ?-ending of the veil by the triumph, of the mystery," said 'Alf. "O my beloved Master," rejoined

Kumeyl, "tell me more." "The attraction of the Divine U711 through the nature of the apprehension of its Oneness, added 'Alf. " Tell me more clearly," repeated Kumeyl. Then said 'Alf, "A light shining forth from the Alorning of Eternity and irradiating the temples of the Unity."

I have given this tradition in full because the BABis attach a special significance to it, regarding each of these five obscure utterances of 'Alf as typifying one of the first five years of the BAB's "Manifestation." The text of the tradition, taken from the Bib's "Seven Proofs" (Dald'il-i-sab'a) will be found in the footnote on p. 352 of the second
1 See Ibn Wadhilt (ed. Houtsma), vol. ii, pp. 242-4,

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volume of my Traveller's Narrative. Its application is given by MÖrzà JAiif 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 Alajesty without a sign" denotes the first year (A.H. 1260-1) of the "Manifestation," wherein the BAb revealed himself, and declared mysteries transcendental and ineffable. " The ey4cement 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 BAb for the effacement or obliteration of the Commentary on the Sqira-i- Yiisuf which lie had written'. " The rending of the veil ~?/ the triziniph oj' the mystery" describes the third year, remarkable for the Badaslit conference above alluded to, and the sovereign claims advanced by t1a;rat-i,k_uddiis (and evidently admitted by many of the BâbÔs, including HAJI MÖrzà JANf) which are adverted to on p. 282 supra. "The (ttractgion of the Divine Unit~y throagh, -the nature of the apprehension oj* its Oneness," which denotes the fourth year of the "Manifestation," is not, I think, explained by Mfrzd JANf, but perhaps we may associate it with the appearance of the "Indian Believer" (pp. 242-4 supra). As for the fifth year, therein appeared MÖrzà YahyA to console the faithful for the loss of Ilazrat-i-Kuddiis and Jen6b-i-a * ~lie position of vicegerent to Xibu'l-BM, and to assume

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 Bdb, and also of the letter h (A) which stands for 11itwiyat I Cf. J. R. A. S. for April, 1892, pp. 267-8.

2 Cf. Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, p. 352, and note I thereon.

The fact that Mfud YahyA was a native of Yfir in MaizandarAn, and that Nfir means "Light," certainly did not escape the BAb's notice.

PRIMITIVE Bkbf DOCTRINE.

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the Divine Ipseity or Unmanifested Unity, to a knowledge of which man may attain only through such Bib or a

"Gate," as it is said, "Enter houses by their gates'."

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 dark-

ness 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 Shffs do, is sheer presumption, rendering him guilty of the sin of shirk (attributing a partner to God). Wherefore, whenever in the Kur'Au or elsewhere:mention is made of "the meeting with God" (d U I W.), and the like, what is meant is the meeting with one of the "Manifestations" or embodiments of the Divine Will This Primal Will, from time to time incarnating itself, now in Abraham, now in Moses, now in Jesus, now in Muhammad, 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, " Whosoever visiteth Huseyn in his tomb is as one who hath visited God on His Pliron'e." So likewise the Bdb said, " O 'Ali! 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.[" 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 Muhammad 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."

I Cf. Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 227-8.

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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 Propbet and the Im4ms or Saints who succeed him are visible to mankind constitutes the theoplianic day, Kubr('t, or "Major Manifestation." This day is separated from the night of the Gheybat-i-Kitbq-a' or "Major Occultation" by the twilight of the Gheybat-i-Sughra or Minor Occultation, during which the last Saint or lindin. of the though invisible to his followers, still lives amongst in concealment, and communicates with them by means of the "Gates" or "Baibs" (Abw6b) whom he appoints to act as intermediaries between himself and his church. When the faithful have become acciiaitomed to receiving the commands of the TmAm thns in-directly, 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 "returnsilp to prepare mail(ind for the fuller light which is soon to burst upon them. The period of these precursors or liar-bingers of the Theopbany is called Zlth4r-i-Sughr(i, "the Minor Manifestation," corresponding to the "True Dawn" (~Ubh-i_86dik), 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 Hanffs; of ihe BãbÕ or BeyAnic, Slieykh A~mad of AhsA aid Seyyid KAzim of Resht.

Now let us pass from the general to the particular. The "Major Manifestation" of the IsIdmic cycle, heralded, as above said, by the appearance of the Hanifs, was maintained during 262 years by fourteen "Suns of Purity" (the 1 Cf. Traveller's Narrative, Vol. ii, pp. 232-3).

i

PRIMITIVE Bkbf DOCTRINE.

Prophet, his daughter FATima, and the twelve ImAms), called "the fourteen Immaculates" ~chahdrdah ma'qu'm).

The last of these, Muliammad ibn Hasau el-'Askari, generally called the ImAin Malidi or KXim, was born, according to IIajf MirzA Jinf% in A.H. 256, which, as he points out, is numerically equivalent to the word N~kr (Light) 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 Ahmad and Seyyid Kizim) had begun to brighten the spiritual horizon, the sect of the Shf'a, Ithna'-'ashariyya, or Church of the Twelve Imdms, was divided as regards the essentials or principles of religion (usm'l) into three main parties besides the Sheyklifs, to wit, the Bdld-sarl's 4 or ordinary Shi'ites, the philosophers (gitkamai), and the SAfis or mystics ('Urafa); while, in matters of practice, or application of principles (f,itrgez't'), the Akhbdr~3, Usul,~s, FukaM, and Isliraiki's 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. L'

2 C.)=50; .3=6;.j=200. Total, 256.

3 The names of these Abwdb, and some account of one of them, Huseyn ibn Rdb, 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 ImAms they stand " over the head " of the tomb (bdld-yi-sar), and not like the Sheykhfs at a respectful distance.

I

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Sulffs', and was contained, for such as had eyes to see it, in the very words 11 Yd Zuh?'Ara'l-Hakk" (" 0 Manifestation of the Truth")! Moreover there were 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 Tbeopliany could not be long deferred. Indeed since the "Minor Occultation" of the Twelfth ImAm began, according to many theologians, in A.H. 260, exactly a thousand years had elapsed when, in A.H. 1260, the Bdb appeared'.

So much for the general doctrine of Prophetic Cycles held by the BABis. It remains to advert to one development of this doctrine which plays a large part, not only in HAJf MÕrzà JAiif's history, but in all the earlier writings of the sect; I mean the views held by them concerning the "Resurrection" (Kiydmat) or "Return" (_Rij'al), which have caused them ~o 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 vdkid, or group of 19 chapters, in the Persian BeyAn, 18 chapters are devoted to this doctrine of the "Return" or "Rii'at," and it is asserted that Muhammad, FATima, the Twelve ImAms, and the Pour "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 v6hid it is taught that by the Resurrection is meant the Dew "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 i-morance 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. I at the foot of p. 141 supra.

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2 L;_S_jl L~ = (10+ 1 +900+ 5 + 6 + 200 + 30+8+ 100)

1260. The alifu'l-wasl in L;aJ1 is not counted because it is not pronounced, else its enumeration would raise the total to 1261.

3 Cf. Travelle7Js Narrative, Vol. ii, pp. 297-8, and n. I on the former.

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PRIMITIVE Bkbf DOCTRINE.

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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 Bdbfs to the Sadducees, does not by any means prove that the BAb taught, or that his followers held, the doctrine of Metempsychosis (tan(tsukh-i-aruiaih), a doctrine so vehemently repudiated even by those Muhammadan sects who appear to approach most closely to it. The essence of the man ~ is the Idea which he (imauifests" 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" the same sun with a new horizon; wherefore it is perfectly correct to say that Moses is identical with Jesus, or Jesus with Muhammad. - 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 HAJf Mirz.4 JAilf's history. It has been said that the four " Gates " returned during the "Minor Manifestation" of this cycle: Sheykh Ahinad and Seyyid KAzim 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 B(ib which I appended to the second volume of my Ti-aveller's Narrative (pp. 226-234, especially p. 233). The solution is made plain by HAJf Mirzi JANf. Mfrz& 'Alf Muhammad himself was the third Ba'b or "Gate," and, while he thus continued, Mull.1 Huseyn of Bushraweyh was the B4bu'1-Ba'b or "Gate of the Gate." But when MÖrzà 'Alf Muhammad, speaking more freely as his followers became more receptive of divine mysteries, declared himself to be the Nukta or "Point" (i.e. the Manifestation of the Primal Will), Mulli Huseyn ceased to be only the

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" Gate of the Gate " and became the actual " Gate " or Bib; and, when lie was killed, his brother, Mimi Muhammad Hasan, in turn received this title'. But this is not all. MÖrzà 'Alf Mul.tammad was first of all B(ib or "Gate"; then Zikr or " Reminder "; then Nukta or I Point." g F or a while, however, Mulla Muliainmad* 'Alf of Birquru'sl!!! called by the BâbÕs Hazrat-i-kztd?~s, became the "Point, and MÖrzà 'Alf Muhammad relapsed into beiDg his B(tib or "Gate," and, during this period, wrote nothing! This extraordinary and novel doctrine is clearly set forth) by HAJf NlirZA Jdnf 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 effiiglgeuce 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 tile form of 'Alf. But after the death of God's Apostle, 'Alf became tile 'Point' and the Heaven of Will, and Hasaii becarrie the 'Gate' and the Earth of Devotion, while Huseyn and SahnAn and the rest were the 'Letters of the Living.' Now in this cycle the original 'Point' was Hazrat-i-K~tddiis, and the 'Reminder' [~ikr, i.e. the B6b] I The passage in Hiji Mfrzi Jilif's history which is here alluded to runs as follows:-

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J W 46

-91 yl~C

JU-JI U\$j

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-AU-4 ciu-0 j, jaxe 3.

2 Cf. J. R. A. S. for April, 1892, p. 303, n. 1. Hijf Mfrzi JANf constantly calls the Bib Zikr or Zikru'lldh.

PRIMITIVE B-kBf DOCTRINE.

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was his 'Gate'; but inasmuch as it was the 'Cycle,-of Return' [dawra-i-ri .1 t], and Saint p [pi t] took pre-.) a shi 16ya

cedence of Prophet-hood [nubuvvat 1 in manifestation, therefore the 'Reminder' first; J, and for three years, according to the number of the letters in 'Alf, summoned men to God

So likewise, in speaking of the IslAmic cycle, H&jf

Mfrzi JANf says that, so long as Muhammad was alive, 'Alf 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 Muhammad) 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 -Alf, 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 Muhammad." Hence it is that HAJf MÖrzà Jinf, in describing the events of this cycle, speaks of Teherin as "Damascus," the Kijir rulers as "the family of Abih SofyAn," Barfurihsh as "Kfda," Mulla Huseyn as "the Chief of Martyrs" -(Segyida'sh-shuhadd), and Tabarsf as "Kerbeli"; "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 (fena') is spoken, there is the land of KerbelA." 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 (~ulQ), nor absorption (ittih6d), nor transmigration (tand-sukh)," but it appears doubtful whether he 'himself exactly understood its nature, for he says :- ,

I The Saint or vali (typified in Khizr or 'Alf) represents the esoteric, as the Prophet or nabi (typified in Moses or Muhammad) represents the exoteric aspect of religion. In this cycle the inner preponderated over the outer, the spirit over the form : hence, says MÖrzà JANf, the Bib, who first appeared, was named 'Ali Muhammad, while Hazrat-i-KuddO (whom, as we have seen, he regards as the "Point," or representative of the Prophetic Function) was named Muhammad 'Ali.

N. H.

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La~ .9A .9A Ju -)6.51 4 .5 C7'w ju

"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 asotils, or metempsychosis. Whatjor instance, can we make of the following illustration of Seyyid Basir's spiritual insight and knowledge of hidden mysteries given by HAJf MirzA JANf?-

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zu

OA5,.; yj.V_* 31 0 E:) &6~, J_tj

;~u C)~W ijls

"After that lie [i.e. Seyyid Basfr] went to the land of K6f [Kuni or Kazvfn], 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."

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SHEYKII ARMAD AND SEYYID K-kzim..339

If this be not transmigration, it is hard to,say what is.h Here, however, I must leave the matter for the present, and, without further discussing the doctrines of the B6bfs, return to the record of new facts connected with their history wherewith H.Iji Mfrzi JAW supplies us.

1. Sheykh Ahmad and Seyyid Kdzim.

(Cf. pp. 31-33 supra; Trav. Nam, vol. ii, pp. 234-244; and B. ii, pp. 888-892.)

Sheykh Ahmad Zeynu'd-Din Ahsi ' i (or, as H.Iji Mfrzi JANf, in common with - Subh-i-Ezef and other authorities, has it, La~sd'i), whose apV ,earance marked the beginning of the "Minor Manifestation 'of the Bey.4nic 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 (tawhid). 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 " (1.L16 , 1.k_16 aza.~1 He composed numerous works on philosophy and other sciences, amongst them the 8harh-i-Ziya'rat-i*-Jdmi1; but although he knew that he was the "Gate" to the ImAm. Mahdf, 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 HAjf Seyyid I(Aziin of Resht as his successor and vicegerent. Seyyid KAZim, 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 Sharh-i-Kasida (wherein, by implication, he made known the doct'r'ine' of the 11 Gatehood " or B(ibigyat) 22-2

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II. MfrZI JAW'S HISTORY.

and the ffujjat-i-Beiligha or " Conclusive Proof," wherein he treated of the signs whereby the representative or vicegerent of the ImAm might be recognized-signs, adds Mfrzi JAW, which found their realization only in "the Sun which rose in the Land of the FArS," i.e. MÕrzà 'Alf Muhammad. He also hinted at the youth of his successor in some of his poems, as in the following verse:-

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0 tender in years, 0 fiesh of body, 0 scarcely weaned from the drinking of milk.'" He even designated Mfrz6 'Alf Muhammad more specifically as the expected "Proof." "One of his disciples," says Mf rzA JAnf, " 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 My transcript has

_j.k in the second misrd', but 43 and

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. Firdawsf says, in speaking of SohrAb's tender age :-

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The -smell of milk (i.e. his mother's milk) still comes from his mouth."

So also HAFIZ:-

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-3,3

O sweet boy, what creed hast thou adopted that our blood appears more laiqlW to thee than thy mother's milk? "

The first misrCt' of the verse here attributed to Seyvid KAZim. occurs near the beginning of the second book of the Masnavi (ed. 'AhVu'd-Dawla, p. 106,1. 13).

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SEYYID KAZIM AND THE BIB.

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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, MÖrzà 'Alf Muhammad 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 KAZim'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' [Bdbu'11dhu'1-a'zam], 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 lie 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 likewi se Mulla Yfisuf 'Alf, who subsequently " burned-

himself like a moth in the flame of Love in the Land of B." (i.e. Bdrfuru'sh), addressed a letter to his master Seyyid Kdzim requesting him to specify some of the 'aligns whereby S

the " Gate of the ImAm" might be known. Seyyid Kizim. in response to this request wrote a long list of these signs, and sealed it with his seal. This document remained in Mulli Yfisuf 'Alf's possession for three years, till the "I Manifestation" -of Mirzi 'Alf Muhammad; whom, because in him these prognostications were fulfilled, P Mulli Y-hsuf 'Alf accepted as, the promised Proof. 1 In Medina also Seyyid K64ini promised one' who questioned him on the matter that he should meet the "Gate of the ImAm, mentioning his name and the tokens whereby he might be known, and adding, " Convey my salutations to him."

1 Probably Suleymin Kh6n. Cf. the bottom of p. 31 and top of p. 32 supra, where allusion seems to be made to the same tradition. Hajf MŌrzà JANf says that he had this from the person to whom this promise was given.

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Seyyid KAzim, like Sheykh Ahmad, met with much hostility and opposition from the " BAIAsarf " Shi'ites. Once his turban was plucked from his head while he was at his prayers. On another occasion, aa-, 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 "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 Mulla 'Abdu'l-KhAlik of Yezd', notwithstanding his undisputed learning and piety, was forbidden to preach in Mesh-hed, was regarded by the fanatical " BAIAsarfs " as unclean, and was forbidden to go to the public baths or visit the tomb of the ImAin RizA. Hajf MŌrzà JANf 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 Mulla 'Abdu'l-KhAlik; while an acquaintance of his was treated- as unclean by another equally unreasonable "BAIAsarf " because he had listened with pleasure to a discourse on the woes of the Holy Family delivered by the aforesaid Mulli.

To what extent MŌrzà 'Alf Muliammad studied under Seyyid KAZim is, says MŌrzà Jinf, a debateable point. He remained for about a year in the neighbourhood of KerbelA 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 KAZim. That this was not for purposes of study MŌrzà JAW is careful to explain, 1 Concerning Mul16 'Abdu'l-Kh6lik we learn the following particulars from Mfrzi J4nf. His father was a Jew who was converted to IslAm. He himself followed the Sheykhf school till, on the appearance of the 136b, he became a Bibf. His son Sheykh 'Alf, a youth twenty years of age, was killed amongst the Bibfs (apparently at Sheykh Tabarsf), whereupon Mulla 'Abdu'l-Khdlik seems to have grown lukewarm in the faith, if he did not actually forsake it.

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for Seyyid KAZim, says he, was 11 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 KAZim's death, and the prophecies there

uttered by him, is also given by Mfrza4 JAnf, 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 Khftfa (p. 33 supra) is also mentioned, but while on the one hand MŌrzà Jinf 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 Buib's youth, and the earlier period of his Mission.

(Cf. Trav. Narr., vol. ii, pp. 249-251; and supra, pp. 33-39.)

Concerning the BAb's career previously to his " Manifestation " H.1jf Mfrz.A JAnf 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 I' El-mulk li'lldh " (" The Kingdom is God's"), given at p. 262 supra, is noticed. Mfrz6 J6nf 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 (I "' (illiterate) and had no right knowledge of Arabic umml

grammar (cf. pp. 262-4 supra). He left Shiriz for Bfishire 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

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in charity. On one occasion he gave 70 Wmdns (about X22) 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 MÖrzà 'Alf Muhammad had to sell his stock at a loss of 70 Wmains, 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 MÖrzà JAnf, who characterizes them as "absolute calumnies and sheer falsehoods."

When Mfrzi 'Alf Mul ' iamngiad had been engaged in commerce for 5 years (according to the nuiliber of the letter M and the word BW), 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 Nejed and KerbelA, 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 KAzim of Resht. Having completed these visitations," he returned to Shfrdz.

On the death of Seyyid Kizim and the dispersion of his

disciples, Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh came to ShfrAz. The account of his conversion given by MÖrzà JANf agrees substantially, and often word for word, with that given in the New History (pp. 33--39 supra)~ AsMullAHuseynis universally called " the First who believed J31), there seems to be no doubt that it was in ShfrAz that the Bib first declared himself; indeed MÖrzà JANf expressly I See p. 330 supra.

2 It is worth noting, however, that HAji MirzA JANf does not give the isndd, or channel by which Mulla' Huseyn's account of his conversion reached him, as the New History does (p. 34 supra).

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THE BSB AT MECCA AND SHFRSZ. 345

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states that " he concealed the mystery of his mission from mankind till such time as Seyyid Kdzim passed away to God's mercy, and Mulli Muhammad Huseyn of Bushraweyh came to the La)jgd of F4 " (i.e. Shlr dz, the capital of Firs). The only thing added by MÖrzà JAW in this place is that the Bdb cured Mulli Huseyn of the palpitation of the heart from which he su6red with a spoonful of sherbet.

3. History of the Bdb from the time of his pilgrimage

to Mecca till the death of Alfinu'chihr Khan.

(Cf. pp. 198-213 supra; and Trav. Narr., vol. ii, pp. 249-253, and 262-8.)

Having made several important converts in ShfrAz, and despatched missionaries provided with copies of the new sacred books, oil the verses or " signs " ((~y(tt) of which he based his claim, to the King and clergy of Persia, as well as "to all parts of the Muhammadan world," the BAb set out for Mecca. It appears from MÖrzà JANf's explicit statement that his original intention was, as asserted by the Muhammadan historians, to " make known his affair at the back of Kilfa," that is to say, to declare himself as the long-expected ImAm Mahdf. 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 ~reatment, he changed his plan, and declared himself instead at Mecca, where his-claim soon became generally known. MirzA JAW 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 MÖrzà

JANf 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 ii. I at the foot of p. 199 supra). The account of the B.4b's history after his return from Mecca to ShfrAz given by MÖrzà JAW runs very closely parallel to the version of the New History, and I shall therefore only notice the divergences. The arrest of the BAb on the road between Bushire and Shfrdz, his confine-

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nient to his house, the attack on his house on Raiiazdn 21st and the punishment inflicted by the governor Huse*yn Kh& on his uncle Seyyid 'Alf (known as flazrat-i-Habib, "the Friend") and his missionaries Mu!14' Muhammad Sddik of KhurAsAn and Mulli,'Alf Akbar of Ardistan are the same in both histories, except that MÖrzà JAW has not got the narrative of the L.-text translated at pp. 200-202 supra. The account of the circumstances which enabled the Bib to escape from ShfrAz is evidently copied almost verbatim from MÖrzà Jitif, as also are the miracles related on the authority of .44 Muhammad Huseyn of Ardistan 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 tftmdns. Two other incidents of the journey to Isfahin, related by Mfrzd Jdnf on the same authority, are omitted by both mss. of the New History. To whichever of the three liorsea-, the Bib rode, says MÖrzà JANf, 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 MÖrzà JANf relates) at one stage where they halted an old tribesman met them, and, on beholding the Bib (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 Aki Seyyid KAzim, as a result of the awe produced in him by witnessing the Bib's transfiguration, MÖrzà JANf says that Mulla Muhammad Takf of HerAt read the prayers over his body, which was subsequently- sent -to KerbelA for interment.

Concerning the Bib's residence at Isfahin, MÖrzà JANf adds the following particulars. The Jmdm-Jum'a, whose guest the Bib 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

Mulla 'Alf of NAr (p. 209 supra) was MÖrzà Hasan. The tribesmen whose services Minftchilir KhAu ocred to place at the Bib's disposal in case he was disposed to make war with Muhammad ShAh were BakhtiyAris, not Slidh-sevans (p. 21i), and their number is given as 5000, not 50)000. The New History seems to be guilty of another

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similar exaggeration with regard to the speed wherewith the Bib wrote down his "verses"; a thousand verses in six, not in three hours, being twice mentioned by MirzA JAni. The transmutation of a metal pipe-cover to gold at

the Bib's touch, as well as his foretelling Minfichilir KhAn's death 19 days before its occurrence to Seyyid YahyA of DArAb, is referred to in n. 2 on p. 212 supra. Minwdchihr Klidn's sincere devotion to the Bib is brought out even more strongly by MirzA JAuf than in the New History, and, according to him, the Bib used repeatedly to say after his death, " Khudd rahmat kunad Mu'tamad-ra` (" May God shew mercy to the Mib'tamad "). MÖrzà JAnf also adds that after his death the Bib wrote to the prime minister, HAJf Mimi Akisf, stating that the late H,Wtamadu'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 Ya6y' o ara

a f D i &

-(Cf. pp. 111-115 supra; and Trav. Narr., vol. ii, p. 254.)

The account of Seyyid YahyA's conversion, cited in the New History in connection with the Nfrfz war, is introduced by Mirzi JAnf in this place. The narrative, which MÖrzà JAnf heard directly from Seyyid Yahyi, is correctly quoted in the New History, except that the following passage, which concludes it, is suppressed. " I enquired of him , writes MÖrzà Jinf, "saying, '0 Unique One' of the Age! What says your noble father concerning His Holiness the Truth (gazrat-i-Hakk)?' He answered, 'Ile 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 I I have elsewhere pointed out that Wahid is numerically equivalent to YahYA. Hence not only Mfrzi YahvA Subh-i-Ezel, but also Seyyid Yahyi of Dirib enjoyed this title.

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sake of the Beloved; and this although such a father as he and such a son as I are soldonhi met with under the Heaven of the Moon."

5. History of the Bab, contivued till his E,,ra?niiiatiogn at Tabrfz.

(Cf. pp. 213-228, 238-240, and 284-288 spr.,)

The points wherein MŌrzà J6nf corrects or shlipplements the passages of the New History above referred to are as follows. On the death of Minu'chihr KhAn, Gurgfn KhAn, the acting governor, sent a message to the Bib 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 Bib to visit hiin. When, agreeably to this invitation, the Bib 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 soine 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 TeherAn, the HAJf [i.e. HAJf Mfrzi AkAsf] will demand you at my hands, and I shall be obiiiged to submit, since I have not the strength of the late J[Wtamadu'd-Dawla. It is therefore best that you should depart, to Telierdn, if it so please you, or, according to your original intention, to KhurAsAn." The Bib at once expressed his willingness to accede to this proposal. "You must start to-night," continued Gurgfn KhAn. The Bib objected that he bad made no preparations for so sudden a departure. " I have men ready to escort you," said Gurgfn KhAn; " and you must set out at once." The Bib 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 Isfalidn. So incensed was he at this treatment that he determined to eat nothing til ' I he arrived at KAshAn (a journey of five stages), and in this resolution he persisted, in spite of the renion-

MULLA MUHAMMAD 'ALF OF ZANJIN. 349 .

strances of the six horsemen composing his escort, till he reached the second stage, MArch6-KhAr. There, however, he met Mulli Sheykh 'Alf, called "Jena'b-i-'Azfm" and another of his missionaries, whom he had commissioned two days previously to proceed to TeherAn; and these, on learning from his guards how matters stood, succeeded in prevailing on him to take some food.

Concerning the Bib's stay at KishAn, it is very remarkable that MÖrzà JANf, 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 Muhammad Beg Chdpairchi'-baishi' who remarks incidentally that both in the journey to Khinlik and in the journey thence to Tabriz, the Bib's escort as far as possible avoided all large towns, such as Kum and Kazvfn, and that the Bib's entry into KASHAn 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 KhAnlik is briefly noticed by MÖrzà JANf as in the New History, except that he says nothing about Behi having visited the Bib there. HAJf MÖrzà Akdsf he bitterly describes as " the Haman of the age'j

The narrative of Muhammad Beg Ch6paircht'-b6ishil' stands almost exactly the same in both histories, except that, in describing the halt at Zanjin, it is interrupted by the following account given to Mirzi JAW by MULLA Muhammad 'Alf of Zanjin ("Jendb-i-t1,ujjat") of his conversion. "I met him," says Mirzi Jinf, "in Teherain, in the house of Mahinfid KhAn the kal4ntar, where he was confined because of his devotion to His Holiness. He said, 'I was a mu114, so proud and masterful that I would abase myself to no one, not even the late HAJf Seyyid BAKir of Resht, who was regarded as the " Proof of IslAm. and the most learned of doctors. My doctrines being after the Akhbirf school, I differed in certain questions with the mass of the clergy. People complained of me, and Muhammad Shdh summoned me to TeherAn. I came, and he perused my books and informed himself of their purport.

1 350 APPENDIX 11. mFRzk J_iNf'S 11ISTORY.

I asked him to summon the Seyyid [i.e. Seyyid BAKir 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 FurkAn, I became as one beside himself, and involuntarily, ye~ 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 IslAm. 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" (-Ath(ir-i-sab'a 1) ' and forbade the smoking of the ~alyain. Many followed me; and the True Religion waxed so strong that the unbelievers no longer dared to smoke the kalydn in the bazaars. So my support of the Bibf 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 Khamsa' were wholly devoted to me, feared lest I might deliver His Holiness out of the hands of the escort'. 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 TeherAn, whatever might be my condition. Being at the time in bad health, I considered with myself whether I should do better to go to TeherAn, 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
1 4

as His Holiness reached MAh-ku , he honoured me with one I I do not know whether the work generally called the 11 Seven Proofs " (Dald'il-i-sab'a) is here intended, or simply seven of the Bib's earlier works.

2 The district of which ZaniAn s the capital.

3 Cf. pp. 137-140 supra.

4 So MÖrzà JANf generally writes Mikii, as though he would

I

THE BIB'S JOURNEY TO TABRfZ. 351

of his most blessed Epistles, wherein he wrote) " I swear by the Truth of God that thy questioning me in the Land of Zanjón concerning the duty incumbent on thee was more

excellent than the worship of the two grosser races'." 2 P)
The continuation of Muhammad Beg Cha'pdrchi-bdsht's
narrative as given by Mfrz~ JANf differs from the version
in the IVew History only in a few points of any conse-

quence. Thus (p. 220 supra, 1. 3) the BAb says, 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 Mflin, and the con-
version of 200 of the inhabitants of that place (p. 221 supra,
1. 8), MÖrzà JANf adds:-"And His Holiness remarked.,
'Mfldn is one of the regions of Paradise.' Now when we
were come nigh to Tabrfz, 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 de-
manded 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 Nmain (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 Mirzi JANf, as a paren-
thesis to Muhammad Beg's narrative, 11 that this took place
between Teherin and Kazvfn." Again, at the end of the
first paragraph on p. 2~2, MÖrzà JAW makes the BAb add,
"O God, do Thou judge between me and these creatures of
Thine! " A few lines lower, Muhammad Beg, in speaking
of the BAb'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 Bib as "that Moon of Saintship"
' ie. Men and genies.

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most efficacious. Again, in the instructions which the Bib As regards the BAb's
sojourn at Chibrik (p. 240 supra),
gives to Muhammad Beg at the bottom of p. 222, he is it is worth noticing,
though natural, that Mulla Sheykh
made by MfriA JANf to say, "Tell him [i.e. the Prince] that 'Alf of Khur4sAn,

entitled Jendib-i-'Azzm, is spoken of by

"I will not move unless they kill me and then take me"; Mirza Janf as still living. He is also entitled Ba'b-i-

and it is further stated that actual violence was resorted to

Khaitam, and it is stated that the Bab wrote a treatise

by the new escort ere he could be induced to leave Tabriz. explaining why his name 'Alf was equivalent to 'Az in. It

if

Muhammad Beg also adds, in describing his visit to Makfi, appears from Mirza Janf that Yah A Khan, when removed

V

that the Bab kissed him on the face as he raised him from from the wardenship of Chihrik, was imprisoned at Tabriz,

the ground, on which he had cast himself in supplication. but it is not quite clear whether this was brought about

if prisoner, or

The account of Ashraf Khan's disgrace is, as already by his devotion to his prince by some other cause.

remarked in the foot-note on p. 224, substantially the same We now come to the Bab's examination before the

in Mirza Janf, but a marginal note adds that he "reached Crown-Prince at

Tabriz, the account of the "Indian

fell through the malady of insanity." The remark made believer," inserted here the New History, being placed

by the Bab on hearing of Bahman Mirza's disgrace is also later in Mirza Janf's work. In the account of this exami-

somewhat differently reported, as follows:- "Yes, since believed on it is worth noting that every

expression of Mirza

would not help the Truth [or God, "Hakk"], and consented Janf's which reflects on the conduct of the Crown-Prince

to the abasement thereof, God naturally brought about his (the present Shah) is carefully suppressed in the New

abasement. History. Thus Mirza Janf remarks with evident disap-

The narratives of Mirza 'Abdu'l-Waliḥ and Mirza prove that the Crown-Prince sat in the place of honour

Muhammad 'Alf, together with the long dissertation on the (which he clearly thinks should have been left for the

different classes of believers, the list of eminent converts to Bab); calls him a "wretch" (~araimzaida) for disrespect-

the Bab's faith, the account of Suleyman's martyrdom,

fully rolling a globe towards the Bab and bidding him

&c. (pp. 224.-239 supra), are all entirely omitted by explain its structure (p. 288, n. 1, supra); and makes it

Mirza Janf, the last for the obvious reason that he and clear that it was in the first instance he, not the clergy,

Suleyman Khan suffered death on the same day. The who ordered the bastinado.

Concerning the actual discussion of the BAb's confinement at MAKft is substantially the same in both histories, but the following additions and added by MÕrzà JAW. "' What,' said Mulld Muhammad variants occur in the older narrative. The BAb used to (there is no mention of the "scornful smile" with which descend from the hill on which stood the castle in which the narrative is embellished in the New History), "' does he was confined to go to the bath, and on these occasions ~iBdb" mean?' 'How' replied the Bdb, 'dost thou under- he would also visit the warden 'Alf KhAn, whose family stand the holy saying "I am the City of shewed him many attentions. The number of the. BAb's Knowledge, and 'Alf is its Gate"? Hast thou not con- cc " in circulation at this time is estimated by MirzA sidered thine own face, how it has four organs of perception verses J6nf at a hundred thousand, not a million. It is also situated on one surface, which makes five in all, according stated that when one day the principal nuilld of MAkA to the number Bb', which accords also a came to see the BAb, and, in the course of their conversa- with the number of the hei in Huwiyat'? Now these tion, behaved somewhat disrespectfully, the BAb struck four organs of perception are the Eye, which tells of the the unclean form of that foul creature " so violently with "Station of the Heart" (Makim-i-Fit'rid), is maintained a his staff that it broke in two. He is also made to address by the " Support of the Divine Unity" (Rukn-i-Tawh~d), 'Alf KhAn in his parting speech as " 0 accursed one

Ey mal'u'n See pp. 330 and 344 supra.

N. H.

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and is the location of flic, Will (J1ash,iyyat); the Ear, l ~) 'i), is maintained which tells of the, "Station of Reasol ('Ak- by the "Support of Prophetlood " (,Rukn-i-Nubavvat), and a Oro-all of Smell, which tells

typifies Devotion (Irdda); the
 of the, "Station of the Soul" (Jlak(im-i-.ATq/s), corresponds
 to the, "Support of Saints" (Rukn-i- ViNyat), and holcl,3
 tile position of Providence (Kadar), and tile Month, which
 tells of the "Station of the iWy " (Aak(tm-i-Jism) and the
 Support of the Perfect Believer" (Ritkn-i-SVa)', and corre-
 sponds to Predestination (Kaz(t). One of those present (it
 would appear to have been'H~jf Mulld Mahmfid) 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
 MwLilla Muliammad. 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' ; seco?ld~y, ' Open
 the ear of the heart, and -understand the things of Truth;
 thus, and not by argument, will your cravings be ful-
 filled.'" Mfrz6 JANI further adds that the BAb 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 Mfrza' Jinf's work is very noticeable.
 Indeed this number is brought much ngiore prominently forward
 in his book than the number 19, probably owing to the predomi-
 nant influence of the Sheykhf doctrine of the " Four Supports "
 (Ark6n-i-arbala) here alluded to. It will be seen that these
 11 Four Supports" are given by Mfrz6 J6nf (and this holds good
 throughout his work) as
 above, viz.
 9.3, " , and
 a'
 the or C,..j ently,
 tj (these two being, appar
 only different views of the same not as on p. 243 of
 Vol. ii of my Traveller's Narrative.
 MAIFIDf-KULf MfrZ~k'S DREAM. 355
 certify to his perfect sanity, which (p. 285 supra) had been
 called in question.
 To the account of these proceedings Mfrzal JANf append
 as
 the following curious narrative. About forty days before
 the death of Mullammad ShAh, Prince Mahdi-Kulf Mirzi

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 BAb; 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 BAb is of a truth from God."

6. Kurratu'l-'Ayn, and the Sluihru'd or Badasht Conference.

(Cf. pp. 43-44, and 270-282 supra.)

Havihl(, carried the history of the Bib to- this point, Mfrz.A JAW, observing a truer chronological sequence than

the New History, proceeds to speak of the events which immediately preceded the MdzandarAn insurrection. In the course of this he relates the history of -Kurratu'l-Ayn (0111 till 18, 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 Badasht or SliAbr,dd Conference. As before, I shall only notice the points wherein MÖrzà Jini corrects or supplements, the New History.

The passage cited from MÖrzà JAW in the New History (from p. 43, l. 5 to the word " KhurisAn " 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 Mulla Mithammad Huseyn of Busbraweyh (thus he is always named by MÖrzà JAW) stayed with tta;rat-i-Kudd4s at BARfurdsh ; that the commentary on 23-2

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the words "God the Eternal " written by the latter comprised. not 3000, but 20,000 verses ; that the fOrllgler, just before his departure into KliurAsAn, received from the latter (not, as stated on p. 44 of the IVen, History, from the 136b) the epistle known as " the Eternal 18" itness, " together' with a white robe (kab(t) and a turban; and that Ha-rat-i-Kuddi'ts was expelled from Barfurtsh by the Ulam6.

Having reached this point, Mirzā Ani, 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 Mazandarān insurrection without interruption.

Concerning Kurratu'l-Ayn, Mōrżā Jānī adds the following particulars to those given on pp. 270-282 supra. Her lectures at Kerbelā (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 Fatima, 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 Mufti of Baghdad nearly determined to put her to death. That she received the title of Tahirah ("the Pure") from the Bāb (p. 273) and was included amongst the "Letters of the Living" is also stated by Mirzā Jānī.

Mōrżā Jānī's description of the meeting of Kurratu'l-Ayn with Hazrat-i-Kuddīs at Shahrīd or Badasht (which latter Mōrżā Jānī in one place fancifully calls "the Land of the Plain of Innovation") is chiefly remarkable for a long homily on certain points of Bābī doctrine.

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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 Hazrat-i-Kuddīs, or whether it is merely one of Mōrżā 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 " (rij'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 B, Ibs 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'fls. All men's goods are declared to be the property of the " Point" (i.e. the BAb). 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 " (Tawhid), 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 Kd'im that it shall abrogate all [previous] religions, for ' the perfection of the doctrine of the Divine Unity is)f 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 Muhammad, 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 Kd'im (upon whom be peace) are the ordinances of Unity: all

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goods are His goods; all men are His servants; and -ill 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 K(Vivz)] will change wives and husbands, even as the Master', who hath given his aservant and his handmaid' 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 liath 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 'Cibla', and this is the meaning of 'I will turn, there is the Face of God', and the realization of 'He is who is manifest in every station',- although His manifestation will be the last, as, for instance, 'O God, veilily I pray Thee of Thy Splendour [Beh(i), whereof the Gate is HV, in which is all Thy Splendour; O God, I pray Thee by all Thy Splendour' ... to the end of the prayer, is nineteen Gates [.B4b]', which is the number of the Unity 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 Return" 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-Ahadiggat]. 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 Bibis] went to Badaslit and conducted 1 Kur'dn, iii, 25.

2 :

Le. the Bib.

3 i.e. I zrat-i-Kuddfts and Kurratu'l-'Ayn.

, as it would seem, Ia.

4 The point towards which one turns in prayer.

5 Kur'in, ii, 109.

7 Or I clauses.'

6 See pp. 330 and 353 supra.

8 See pp. 334-8 supra.

I

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. - "

Mirza JANf then alludes to another tradition about the four standards " which shall represent the Truth, to wit, the " Standard of the South " or " of Yaman " (Reiyat-i-

Yanzainz'), which is the Bib or " Zikr ".,- the " Standard of Huseyn " (Rdyat-i Huseyni'), which is Hazrat-i-Kuddiis; the " Standard of KhurAsin " (Rdyat-i-khurdseini), which is Mulli Huseyn of Bushraweyh; and the "Standard of TilikAn " (R4yat-i-T(ilik6ni), which is Kurratu'l-'Ayii. osed to these stands the " Standard of' Ab' Sofydn

(pp,

(Jedyat-i-Sqfy(ini), which is the royal ensign of NA~iru'd-Din ShAh.

It was at Badasht, as would appear from MÖrzà Jinf's narrative, that MuIR Muhammad 'Ali of BARfurAsh took the title of 'Wuddhs," by which, as is explained, he ifitended to signify that he was a "return" of the Prophet Mullanamad. 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 agtumblng to no few of the Bibfs, some of whom withdrew. The continually increasing noise and clamour presently attracted a number of the inhabitants to the spot, and these attacked the BâbÕs (who offered no resistance) and plundered them. The assembly then broke 'Lip in disorder; some of the BâbÕs, as has been said, withdrew; while the remainder made their way in small bands to Ashraf, Amul, BARfurdsh, and other places in MAzandardn'. Rumours of what had taken place at 2 A great deal of what Mimi JANf says concerning the Badasht conference agrees pretty closely with the account given in the Ndgsikliu't-Tazvdrikh. The expression "the Sun and Moon are in conjunction," wherewith the BâbÕs bailed the meetiDg Of

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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. Hazrat-i-Kudd~s made his way secretly to BARfur*sh, but his inveterate enemy the 8a'?&u'l-'U1ama', becoming aware of his arrival, informed the governor of SA,rf, who sent far-r6shes to arrest him and bring him thither. Kurratu'l-'Ayn, meanwhile, withdrew to NAr, taking with her, as we learn from another passage of MirzA Jini's history, Mfrzi YahyA Subh-i-Ezel.

7. The siege of Sheykli Tabarst'

(Cf. pp. 44-110 supra.).

MÖrzà Jainf's narrative now re-unites with the Nev7 History (p. 44 supra), which omits all the details above

recorded. Of Mulla Huseyn's expulsion from Mash-had, however, a somewhat fuller account is given. After the departure of Hazrat-i-Kuddis from that city, he continued there for some while. One day he visited the shrine of the Imam Rizā in company with seventy of his followers, intending afterwards to leave Mash-had for Mazandān. A collision occurred between his followers and some of the townsfolk. Prince Hamzā Mirzā, who was then encamped at Rādāgād, being informed of this, sent and brought Mulla Huseyn to the camp, and there detained him for several days, treating him, however, respectfully. After a few days Mulla Huseyn was released, whereupon he collected his followers (amongst whom a certain major of artillery named 'Abdu'l-Muhammad Khan subsequently distinguished himself by his devotion and faithful service), and set out westwards. At Miyāml he was reinforced as described at pp. 44-5 supra.

On reaching the confines of Mazandarān, Mulla Huseyn and his companions fell in with a body of troops under the command of the Prince-Governor of the province, who stopped the Bābīs, and enquired whence they came and Vāfrāt-i-Kvaddīm and Kurratu'l-'Ayn, occurs, for instance, in both versions. Cf. Traveller's Narrative, vol. ii, p. 176.

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whither they were going. "From Khurāsān," replied they, ("and we are going to Kerbelā." The Prince was at first inclined to dispute their passage, but they presented him with a sum of two hundred timmans, whereupon he suffered them to proceed. A few days later came the news of Muhammad Shāh's death (p. 45 supra), on receiving which Mulla Huseyn halted his followers at Fārfīzkāh, 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 Mulla Huseyn was disposed to censure the conduct of the Bābīs at Bādāsh (not knowing, y, that Hazrat-i-Kuddis had been responsible for

ok place), for he expressed his intention of chastising them.

The entry of Mulla Huseyn and his Bābīs into Bārfurāsh, their skirmishes with the Muslims, -and the events which led them to take up their quarters in Slīykh Tabārsf, are described by Mirzā JAW as in the New History, with the following additions. In the first affray, seven Muslims, including the baker whom Mulla Huseyn

C' sliced in two like a fresh cucumber " (see p. 49, supra, and footnote), were killed. - It is not true, says Mirz& JAW, that the BâbÕs, 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 BABis who was taken by the townsfolk was buried alive by them in a well. 'AbbAs-Kulf KhAn is described as having- been on bad terms with the Sa'fdu'l'U1ami, and disposed at first to look favourably on the Baibfs and their doctrine ; and even after ambition and self-interest, as well as unwillingness to adopt the principles of fraternity' which prevailed with them, had caused him to abandon the idea of joining them, he was very unwilling to -fight against I Certain remarks of Mulli Huseyn's concerning the community of property recommended to the garrison of Tabarsf, taken in conjunction with this passage, and certain passages in the address at Badasht, certainly do suggest some ground for the 0 ascription of communistic principles to the early BâbÕs.

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1 See footnote on p. 53 supra.

them. His son-in-law, Sa'Adat-Kulf Beg, is described as being actually a believer'.

The askirmish described at pp. 58-59 sitpra, which resulted in the sack of a village called Dili-i-Nazar KhAn, wherein the enemy had entrenched themselves, concluded, according to MÕrzà JANf, with a massacre of the soldiers and villagers alike to the number of a hundred and thirty. This severity on the part of the BABis, 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 tla~rat-i-KuddAs to the Prince, as reported by Mfrz6 JANf, is in~ch 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 Bibf leader are not waiihng. " We," says lie, 4C 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 NAsiru'd-Din ShAh

is no true king, and that such as support hilli shall be tormented in hell-fire." The capture of Mulli Ylisuf 'Alf of KhAy and another by the royalists at BARfurfish (p. 64 sitpra) is duly recorded by MirzA JAnf, but the passage relating to lilas arrest with BehA, 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 MÖrzà JAnf's account of the night attack on Mahdf-Kulf MÖrzà's quarters, AkA -Rasfil is called, as in the C.-codex of the 714rikh-i-J~drd, "Bahmfzi" (see footnote on p. 67 supra), and it is added that the MAzandarAni patois in which lie and his comrades conversed served to put the royalist troops off their guard by making them imagine that their visitors were a detachment of 'Abb(ts-Kulf KhAn's troops. Prince Malidf-Kuh MÖrzà is reported ~for what purpose does not clearly appear) to have shot his own servant before effeCtiDg his escape from the burning building.

The death of Mulla Huseyn is said by MÖrzà JAnf to THE M~kZANDAR~kN INSURRECTION. - 363' have taken place on RabiNt'l-aveal 9th [A.H. 1265 = January 2nd, A.D. 18491, and it is stated that he died in his asaddle as his horse entered the gates of Sheykh Tabarsf. His death appears to have profoundly discouraged the Bdbfs : "the back of their courage was broken," says MÖrzà JAnf, "and many of them dispersed from the Castle into the surrounding country." We ca n- hardly wonder at this, for, judged from an external standpoint, Hazrat-i-Kudd~s seems to have been in every respect his iuf~rior. *Of the

boastful tone which he adopted several instances have been already given. Of his egotism the following anecdote recorded by MÖrzà JAnf affords evidence. A few days ~efore Mull& Huseyn's death, Hazrat-i-Kguddgs was walking with him in the enclosure 4 the Nstle, resting his hand on his shoulder. In the enclosure were some lambs whose mothers had been carried off by the enemy,- and tthese, deprived of milk, were bleating piteously. One of the BàbÔs, moved to pity by their evident distress ' approached Ha;;rat-i-Kuddfts and said, " These accursed inen. have wronged these poor beasts, and how great is the w-rong done them 1 " Thereupon the eyes of Ifazrat-i-Kudd~ts 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 Mu11A Huseyn on the shoulder, adding, "By God, this is Huseyn the much-wronged, and

no Antichrist." The narrator adds that he subsequently came across a tradition in the Bibe'lru'l-Anva'r to the effect that the ImAin Huseyn will one day return to KerbelA in company with the Mahdf or Kd'im; that the army of the unbelievers will also return, and will declare the former to be Antichrist; that the Kd'im will deny this with an oath; that the unbelievers will pay no heed to this, but will kill ImArn Huseyn; that the Kd'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 Bibfs in the death of Mulli Huseyn, its full results did not at once become apparent. His younger brother, Mimi Muhammad Hasan, a youth of 18 or 19 years of age, was made*captain in his g place. ' (His biography, which MÕrzà JANf inserts here, will be found at pp. 93-95 sapra.) The royalists,

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moreover, did not discover for some while that the heavy losses which they had sustained on the night of Rabf'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 sul)ra, one of them named MÕrzà Muliammad Huseyn of Kum, finding his courage and his faith failing liiin, asked *permission of Hazrat-,i-A7,udd,6s to withdraw. " Very well," answered he, " depart if you call." So the deserter went forth frohln the Castle to the royalist canip, at the outskirts of which lie halted and called out, cc 1 am asucli an one ; take me before the Prince." 'This was done, and the Prince accorded him a gracious reception; whereupon lie gave full information as to the distressed condition of the BâbÕs and the death of Mulla Huseyn. Subsequently he seems to have repented of his disloyalty, for at times lie -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 lie might be a spy, sent him as a prisoner to Sõri. Shortly after this occurred the desertion of ~kd RasAl of Balimfz, together with thirty of his MAzandarAnf BABis. He too was at first received graciously by the Prince, but 'Abbds-Kull KhAn ordered hiiii to be shot, and caused his followers to be beheaded, ten at Amul, ten at SAri, and ten at BA-rfurdshl. " God curse Aki llasAl," exclaimed these, as they were led out to die, ' ; who has deceived us,

and debarred us from the service of Hazrat-i-1Cuddfts." But the latter said, when tidings came to him of AkA Rasu'l's fate, "We have forgiven him his fault, and God hath pardoned him."

It is after the capitulation that Hazrat-i-1Cudd,(ts appears in his worst light. When questioned by the Prince as to his object in foinenting so great a disturbance, lie, "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-nalw-i-fitizfl, and this was what lie said:-'The cause of all this disturbance was I Cf. Gobineau, pp. 225--6, where a different account of ~,ka' -Rasu'l's death is given.

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Mulli Muhammad Huseyn, not 1: 1 went thither only to make enquiries, and so fell into his clutches." " It is even said," adds MÖrzà JANf, "that he cursed Mulli Huseyn. Such as have understood the secret of what passed between ga~rat-i-Kudd~ks and Jen6b-i-Tdhira 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 MÖrzà JANf says that the BâbÕs, so far from laying aside their weapons "cheerfully and willingly"

(p. 86 supra), were very loth to part with them. Hazrat-i-tCudd,~s had said to them before setting out for the Piince'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 BâbÕs laid down their arms, while some retained them. Word of this was brought to the Prince, who again urged Hazrat-i-Kudd?is to command his followers to disarm. Another message was accordingly sent by Mulla Yu'suf 'Alf of Khu'y, who, supposing that Hazrat-i-Kuddi~s really wished the Bdbfs to lay down their weapons, prevailed upon them with some difficulty- to do sol 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 previohliis night, so that they did not die fasting as asserted, in the New Historg. Their bodies were left unburied, and were eaten by wild beasts or disintegrated by the elements. The fate of the BâbÕ chiefs, and the accounts of RizA KhAn, Murshid, and the youth who voluntarily gave himself up to death (pp. 96-103 sttpra) are

given by MŌrzà JANf as in the New History with a few additional particulars. It is uncertain whether MŌrzà1 Muhammad Hasan (the brother of Mulla Huseyn of Bushra-veyh), H~jf MŌrzà Hasan of KhurAsAn, and Mulla Muhammad of NAr entitled "JI[Wallim" ("the Teacher") were slain in the camp or afterwards. Concerning RizA KhAn, MirZA JANf 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 Ha_~rat-i-Kuddiis wounded him on the head, but afterwards forgave ~im.,,

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The execution of Hazrat-i-KuddAs took place, according to MirZA J6nf, on the last night of JemAdf-uth-thAnf [A.H. 1265 =May 22nd, A.D. 1849], agreeably to a saying ascribed to 'Alf ibn Abi T41ib:-

TVonder, and yet more wonder between Jumdd6 and Rajab."

Some curious particulars, wanting in the New History, are given about his life. Tliua-, it, is said that when his mother married his reputed father AkA Silih 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 Mahdf-Kulf MŌrzà was besieging the Castle of Sheykh Tabarsf, and could in no wise prevail against it, it occurred to him to summon AkA SALih and his wife and daughter to the camp. When they were come, he said to AkA SALih) "What is all this disturbance which this son of yours is making, and what is the claim which lie 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 adin0DiSh thy SOU." So AkA SALili went to the BÀbŌ stronghold, but when lie was brought in before his son he was so overwhelmed with awe that lie could not speak. Hazrat-i-Kuddfts, however, treated him with the utmost 2ndness, and gradually elicited from him an account of what the Prince had done, and the message he had sent. Then lie 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 in- , 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."

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Aki SALih did as he was directed, and, after a few more days of detention, was set free.

The following anecdote is also related by MÖrzà JANf. On the eve of the festival of the Naw-rfiz or Persian New Year's Day (March 19th, A.D. 1849) it was represented to Hazrat-i-A-udd?is 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 BábÕs 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 Hazrat-i-Kuddgs 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 Hazrat-i-Kuddiis 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

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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.

MŌrzà JANf adds a good deal more concerning the spiritual rank occupied by tlaz~rat-i-Kuddiis, making it 1 My. transcript has_,*~,%,%-.J, which the rhyme forbids.

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quite clear that he regards him as the K(Vim, and as supreme in the spiritual hierarchy, even above the BAb himself, who, as is further stated, refrained from writing or circulating anything during the period of the 'Manifestation' of Yazrat-i-Kztdi-s, and only after his death claimed to be himself the K(t'inz.

It was on the death of H4rat-i-Kuddets also that MŌrzà YahyA Subli-i-Eyzel fir;t 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-Kuddets came to him, the B6b mourned unceasingly for him and the other martyrs of MdzandarAn, 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 sufferings', and, being iimaself a prisoner, sent one of his followers called "Say?161V ("the Traveller" to perform lifs 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 Tabarsf.

The Ba-b as K(Virn; the "Indian Believer"; and the "Seven Aartyrs-"

(Cf. pp. 241-244; 250-262, and 265-268 supra.)

According to MITZ6 J&nf, the BAb first announced himself as the K(t,janZ4 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 Bdbi MSS. in the J. R. A. S. for 1892, pp. 474-6.

3 perhaps the same Sheykh 'Alf Sagyah 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 Bdb's examination.
THE SEVEN MARTYRS.

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Mulla Sheykh 'Alf (better known as "Jena'b-i-'Azz`m") at

about this time in the following words --

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" O 'A If, verily we have chosen thee for our work, and have made thee an angel to cry before the Kd'im that he hath appeared, by the Permission of his -Loid: this is of God's

grace towards thee and towards inagiikigid, 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 Khu'y, " I am one who with the blows of my sword will do thus and tliias," and to have subsequently gone to Turkey and there gathered round himself many disciples.

In the account given, of the "Seven Martyrs" MÖrzà JAW corrects or supplements the New History in the following points. A rising of some sort was actually meditated by the BâbÖs of TelierAn, though not on so extensive a scale as was believed by the government (cJ: 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 Turshiz is called I

AkA Seyyid Muliammad Huseyn. The prisoners remained in confinement for a week, and during this time Mulla Isma'il of Kum 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 Tabriz (see pp. 286-7 supra, and Trav. Narr., vol, ii, pp. 20, 24, and 288-9), which took place during Mubanimad Shah's life-time.

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As regards the execution of the "Seven Martyrs," MÖrzà JANf adds the following particulars. As HiJf Mulli Isma'il was led out from the prison, he heard some of the bystanders saying to one another, "This is one of the BâbÕs," whereat he laughed, and said, "Yes, I am a Bdbf, and I am going to die for you." The second misrii of the verse which he recited just before he was killed is given somewhat differently as follows

MÖrzà KurbAn-'Alf's dying words are also given somewhat differently as follows :-"Know that this man [i.e. the BAb] 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 everlastiDg dominion and an eternal mansion, while your dominion and glory shall pass away, and the end thereof shall be sorrow and remorse." HAif 'Alf KhAn's account of one incident of the execution (pp. 256-8) does not occur in MÖrzà JANf's history. The reflections on the whole episode whic occupy pp. 258-26.1 and 265-268 supra agree almost exactly with the text of MÖrzà JANf, but the account of the BAb's precocious wisdom contained in the L.-codex of the T6rikh-i-Jad,[d (pp. 262-5 supra) is wanting. MÖrzà JANf adds that the BAb was not informed of the matter at all, inasmuch as lie had declared the very mention of painful and distressing occurrences to be unlawfigil amongst believers.

9. The Nt'riz Episode.

(Cf. pp. 115-124, and the second paragraph on p. 128.)

The account of Seyyid YahyA's conversion given by MÖrzà JANf has been already compared with that given in the New Histog (pp. 111-115 supra) at pp. 347-8 supra. His account of the TNfrfz war, properly inserted in this place, presents the following points of divergence from the version contained in the 7,Irt'kh-i-Jadid. On his arrival

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THE NfRfZ AND ZANJ~kN EPISODES. 371

at SbfrAz on his way from Yezd to Nfri Seyyid Yahyi
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received by the hand of Seyyid 'Abdu'l-'Azfm of Mariglia a letter from the BAb, together with a talismanic figure (heykal) of remarkable size. When requested by the governor to leave Nfrz, he answered in less moderate

fashion than is implied in the first paragraph on 118 sgitpra, and only withdrew from the town, "because Le 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 ImAm Huseyn in the Day of Judgment. KU'chaJc 'Alf Beg's narrative, quoted in the New History (pp. 124-8 supra) as from Mfrzi JANf, is wanting in the text before me, as, of course, is the account of the second Nfrz war, which did not take place till about the time of Mfrzi Jinf's death (A.D. 1852). The Only other toints worth noticing are that the confusion between Far .4d Mfrzi and FfrAz MÖrzà already exists in MÖrzà JAW (c.f 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 Zaniain Episode.

Of Mull6 Muhammad 'Alf of Zaniin himself, an account given by Mfrzi Jinf in an earlier part of his work has been already noticed at pp. 349-351 supra. His narrative of the ZanjAn- siege, though comparatively brief, differs widely from that given in either codex of the -TdrikA-i-Jad&.

The gist of it is as follows. The -Bib wrote to Mulli Muhammad 'Alf authorizing him to perform public prayer on Friday in the mosque, which he had .-for a while ceased to do on learning that the Bib had declared it unlawful for any one to. officiate at public worship without his express permission. But when Mulla Muhammad 'Alf, agreeably to these instructions, repaired to the mosque, his entry was opposed by the orthodox. Thereupon a conflict ensued between the Bibfs and the Musulmins, in which the former finally prevailed over the latter, and installed

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their leader in the pulpit. The matter was reported to the governor, who invited Mulla Muhammad 'Ali 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 Bábīs, hearing of this, and knowing that if their leader were sent to Teherān he would be put to death for having returned to Zanjān in spite of the Shāh's prohibition, attacked the governor's house and rescued Mullā Muhammad 'Alī 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 Teherān, and, as the position of the Bábīs 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 "and one of whom," as Mīrzā Jānī says, "could have held his own against forty." Their wives and children also took part in the war, crying out, "Yā Bābī," and attacking the foe with slings and the lance. The refusal of Mir Seyyid Vuseyn Khān of Fīrūz-Kōh and Ja'far-Kulī Khān, brother of the Tānzādī-d-Dawla, as well as of some of the tribesmen belonging to the 'Alī Shīkh sect, to act against the Bābīs is recorded by Mīrzā Jānī as in the New History. The number of troops finally brought against the Bābīs is estimated at 30,000, with 19 pieces of artillery.

That Mullā Muhammad 'Alī did actually during the course of the siege address a letter to Mīrzā Takf Khān, the Prime Minister, is confirmed by Mirzī Jānī, 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 Mīrzā Jānī adds that when the Amīr replied "There is nothing for it but to kill you," Mullā Muhammad 'Alī addressed several letters to the ambassadors of foreign powers resident in Teherān, requesting their good offices on his behalf. These accordingly remonstrated with the Prime Minister, but to no purpose. "I have heard," adds Mīrzā Jānī, "that one of the things for which the Emperor of Russia found fault with the Amīr, and which resulted in his dismissal, was this same massacre of this much-wronged people. The

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MULLĀ MUHAMMAD 'ALĪ OF ZANJĀN. 373

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 apprize the Muslim world of the appearance of that ImAm 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 IslAm, the proof of which is the Kur'àn, accept this person also." This they refuse to do. We further say, "Examine the traditions concerning his Manifestation handed down from the ImAms, 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 a-,ay, "Come, let us kindle a fire, and, go together into the midstthereof'." 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 MullA Muhammad 'Alf 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 ffrave, 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 MÕrzà Anf, "that Almighty God Hima-,elf was their Captain, nor had read [to any good purpose the text] ' Verity God is with the well-doer\$'."

The treacherous promises whereby the BâbÕs 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. TeherAn) to suffer death; the women and children were sold into slavery;; the houses and property of the Bdbf s 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 T(tr-~kk-i-Jadid are entirely wanting in MÕrzà JAnf. I Cf. p. 61 supra.

2 Kur'* xxix, 69.

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11. Subli-i-Ezel and Beh6.

We now come to what is without doubt the most interest- in and most important portion of MÕrzà JAnf's history, to wit'

the account of the appearance of MŌrzà Yahyā Subli-i-Ezel, his election as successor and vicegerent to the Bāb, . and his relations to his half-brother and subsequent rival Mfrz.4

1juseyn 'Alf Beha"u'ldh- This portion, needless to say, has been entirely suppressed by the compilers of the Tdrikh-i-Jadid, whose sympathies, as has been already shown, were entirely with Behi ; and it more than any other cause has probably conduced to the extreme rarity of MŌrzà JANf's -most precious history, even amongst the BābŌs; for we can hardly doubt that the BehA'fs would do all in their power to suppress a book which would place so formidable a weapon in the hands of their opponents the Ezelfs. 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

11 Now the remainder of the history of His Holiness the Reminder' [Z~ikr, ie. the BAb] (may my life be his sacrifice) is as follows. After the martyrdom of Hazrat-i-Kuddgits and his companions, the Master was filled with sadness, until such time as the writings of Jenaib-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 Jenaib-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 parentage'. His father thereupon entrusted him to the keeping of his honourable spouse',

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So I understand the words A-oLd- CjV--1 .3, though they may perhaps signify that she was the first, chief, or favourite wife of Subh-i-Ezel's father.

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2 &IA.-6J;ft C,:A L:jl i.e. his second wife, or rather, as 6W

*UBH-I-EZEL AND BEHS.

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saying, 'Do you take care of this child, and, see that your handmaids attend to him properly.' 1 The concubine, actuated by a sense of her own importance', paid no attention to this ; until one night in the World of Actuality" she saw His Holiness the Apostle of God and the King of Saintship [i.e. 'Alf ibn AN TAR] 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 Kd'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 BAb] took place.'

" This woman'-. , beatified spirit in that same year was joined to God's mercy, and this narrative [above given] was related by ga~rat-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 Jendb-i-BeIU. In brief he related as follows. I busied myself with the instruction of Jendb-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'lik appears from what immediately follows, his lawful concubine

- 1 So ~ I translate the words C)LL Zqtj j 1.
- 2 ie. the World of Dreams (Axilj _, *Ra).
- 3 6y. Gobineau, p. 277.

376 APPENDIX II, MfRZ~k JkNf'S HISTORY.

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 annouiiieignment 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 Iiiiiii. At the time when my lionoured brother used to bring the followers of His Holiiesag 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 " Igia'a'k Gh, ye'i _114/1" ". occurred very frequently, the attraction of the spirit of this word enthralled my heart, and love for hirri [whose words these were] established itself firmly within me. Afterwards I saw his [explanations of the] Traditioris of the ImAms 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', for his followers to proceed to KliurAgAn, lie i.e. Ezel] also resolved to go thither. So, having made ~or himself a knapsack, and got together a few necessaries, lie advanced the foot of emancipation from the realin of Plurality into the plain of Unity, and set out. Although lie 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 brother' was informed of this, he sent and prevented him.

" After a little time had elapsed, his relations journeyed into MAzandarAD, and he too Set Out in their company, and 1 (40, 0 iny God!." (Udl U. al 6U).

2 A~ YL;g~, ie. the Bib.

3 i.e. BehA.

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SUBH-I-EZEL AND HAZRAT-I-KUDDts. 377

went to Mizandarin, that perchance he might proceed thence to KhurAsAn, though he had no equipment for such a journey. After this his brother [i.e. Behi] set out for the Most Holy Land [i.e. Mash-had], and on the way thither met with Jen(ib-i-T614ral, with whom he tarried, doing her much service both there and at TeherAn, and, indeed, providing her and her coinyanions with the means of continuing their journey, an bearing all their expenses, which certainly did not amount to less than five hundred

tig~ma',iis. In short, he remained in SabzawAr till Hazrat-i-Kuddqis 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 Badaslit, stood firm in his love, expended large sums of money, and helped the faithful in every way.

" After the collapse of the Badaslit conference, which we have already briefly described, Jenaib-i-Ezel came to BarfurAsh, and on the way thither had the honour of being admitted to the presence of HaV-at-i-Kudd7is. The narrator says:-'No sooner did Hazi-at-i-Kuddiis see him than he rejoiced exceedingly, and, taking with him Jenaib-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 im 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-Kuddfts sow the seed of his love, which * ~dise d the Doctrine of the Divine Unity in was the Par y 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, It is worth noting the expression in the orig nal, _~W~, as it shews that in Mfrzi Jinfs eyes #'urraht'l-'Ayn heid higher rank than BehA. Cf. p. 283 supra. 2 1 arn not certain as to the correctness of these last few words of the sentence. The original has 0> X, 0 3 21 L t.*j '% A.)>5j*JL ').4 L;

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378 APPENDIX II. mfRzk jkNf'S HISTORY.

'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 B6rfurfish, and there was presented to Jenaib-i-Tdhira, whom, at the command of ffazrat-i-Kttddi~s, lie 'conducted to a place appointed, ~Aer* which he did not, to outward appearance, again enjoy the lionour of meeting ga~rat-i-IDtddiis, though the palate of his affection was continually refreshed by the sweet breatlis of his influence-., while the eye of his holy heart was so illuminated by the efftilgences 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 lie was often with Jen0ib-i-T6thh-a, and that

Mother of the World fed the child Elzel like a iivlirse 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 assigned by people of' upright disposition, until his frame gathered strength. When Hazrat-i-Kuddws, being then [besieged] in the Castle [of T~barsfl,* demanded help, Jenaib-i-Ezel with his brother rBehaj and several otlieras' 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 HAjf KAshAnP related as follows :-'I was with them. Th~tnightHazrat-i-Ezel disappeared. They brought us to Amul and de,,poiled us of ohtir goods. Next morning they captured Hazrat-i-Ezel and brought him to the city. The townsfol~ o#ered him many I 1~ur'611, X]Vi, 16.

2 Qf. pp. 64-5 supra, where, of course, all mention of Subli-i-Ezel is suppressed.

3 This allusion might tempt some to doubt whether this history, though unquestionably the work quoted as Mfrzi JANfs in the Tdrikh-i-Jadid, was really composed by him. But I think it probable on the whole that Mfrzi JANf either chooses to speak of himself in the third person, or that lie alludes to his brother HAjf MÔrzà, Isma'fl of KAshin.

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ARREST OF ~UBH-I-EZEL AT iMUL. , .

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. 4t length he [i.e. the artilleryman] said, 'Take him to Amul.' I beguiled the way to the city, a distance of two parasan 'gs, 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 [Behd before the mull6s, 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 Jena'b-i-Ezel and HAjf KAshdnf 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 MAzandarAn, and then returned to their own homes.

" HAjf KAshAiif says :-I was in attendance on Jenaib-i-Efzel in MAzandarAn, 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, g being wholly absorbed in love and self-annihilation, and occupied with praise. He shewed a wonderful attachment to Hazrat-i-Kuddils, and used often to read aloud with sweet utterance ihe homilies and prayers of that Master of the World,

380 APPENDIX 11. MfRZA JkNf'S HISTORY.

intoxicating his hearers with frequent life-giving draughts from the cup of his influence. He himself uased also to repeat and write original verses and prayers, but lie advanced no claim to be a " Proof." Soignetiities he would Wu~stion igile about matters relating to the Doctrine of the nity, or enquire the inner meaning of certain verses of the Holy Kur'Aii ; 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 [B,46] fell under suspicion, and it was said that lie 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 MÕrzà Hasan the 1'tinziida'd-Dawla's brother, considered it expedient to

send him to the capital. About forty days after his departure the view of the martyrdom of J[az9-at-i-Kudd?is came to Jenrib-i-Efzel. 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 (rithair-i-Ptdsl') appeared in his blessed form', and the mystery of the 'Return' was 1011ce more] manifest. This event took place in the fifth year of the Manifestation of the Truth, so that Jen(ib-i-Eyzel became the blessed Earth of Devotion, and His Holiness 'the Reminder' [i.e. the BAb] appeared as the Heaven of Volition. And it was under tl)is dispensation that the catastrophes of ' the Seven Martyrs,' of Hazrat-i-IgVahi'd [i.e. Seyyid YahyA of DArAb]', and Of ZaDjdn took place.

I By the appearance of these Cithdr-i-kudsi (L-5--ki Jur) the writer mean"s that the virtues and gifts of the martyred saint 0

Hazrat-i-Ifhu,ldgs were transferred, according to the doctrine of the " return " or rijlat, to Suhh-i-Ezel.

2 The title of IValtid (" the One ") is numerically equivalent to Ya~tyd (=28), and was consequently bestowed both on W Seyyid YahyA of DArAb (called " the first Wahid," 11 Tf'altid-i-I i

NOMINATION OF EZEL AS THE B.&S succEsoR. 381

"Now when the letters of Jendb-i-Ezel came to His Holiness 'the -Reminder' [i.e. the BAb], he rejoiced exceedingly, and thenceforth began the decline of the Sun of 'the Reminder' and the rising of the Moon of Ezel'. So lie [i.e. the BAb] sent of his own personal effects, such as pen-cases, paper, writings, his own blessed rainient, and his holy rings, according to the 'Number of the Unity' [V(iligid =19), that the outward form might correspond with ihe

inward reality'. He also wrote a testamentary deposition, explicitly nominating him i.e. -Ezel] as his successor JValfl, and added, 'Write t~ie eight [unwritten] Viihids of the BeyAn', and, if "He whom God shall manife4" should appear in His power in thy time, abrogate the BeyAn; and put into practice that which we shall inspire into thineheart.' 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 intermission in God's grace, and that God's religion is a thing which must be made manifest. And the reason why [the Bib] himself refrained from writing the eight [unwritten] va'Aids of the BeyAn, but left them to Ezel, was that all men might know that the Tongue of God is one, and that Ile 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 Bib's saying, 'Do thus and thus,' while Ezel, was himself also a avval ") and on Mirzi Yahyi, A~ubA-i-Ezel (called 11 the second Waliid," " IValdd-i-thani").

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O.A44 4j ~5 t -5 d.~A~ " Y.3,*b-

2 Cf. Gobineau, pp. 319-322.

3 Cf. Travelle's Narrative, vol. ii, pp. 353-4, and n. 4 on the former.

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THE BAB'S MARTYRDOM.

'ProoV was that at this time His Holiness I the Reminder' previously to his execution. MÖrzà Muhammad A~lf was was the Heaven of Volition, and Ezel was accounted the Earth of Devotion and the product of purified gifts, where- first tied up to be shot, and, just after this first volley was fired, the BAb exclaimed, as the body of his faithful disciple fore was he thus addressed. W ~

11 In short, as soon as the gtime had come when the fell at his feet, L5 x4

Z;.ftJl ui "Thou art with me in

'Eternal Fruit' [Thamara-i-Ezeliyyo~] had reached ma- Paradise.'" Three volleys were fired in all; the first was

turity, the Red Blossom of Reminder-hood [i.e. the Bib], not aimed at the Bib; the second severed the ropes by

casting itself from the branch of the Blessed Tree of the which he was bound without injuring him ; the third

Kei'imate (which is ' neither of the East nor of the West") proved fatal, three

bullets ("according to the name 'Alf, which bears the 'Support of

and prepared to ascend from the outward and visible Saintship ") entering his body. According to MÖrzà Jiiif,

the Bib exclaimed, when he was seized by his executioners
 'World of Dominion' to the Inward realihi of the Mystery
 of Godhead. Wherefore it was that the accessories of his after his almost
 miraculous escape from the first volley,
 martyrdom appeared in the world; for it is sufficiently a[" 0 people, am I not
 after all the son of God's Apostle ?
 obvious that, had he not himself been content with martyr- Do not approve such
 injustice and cruelty towards me!
 dom, none would have had power to harm him " 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
 12. The BaWs martyrdom. Kingdom of Unity, and cast myself into affliction and
 (C sufferiDg for your sake?" " And," adds MÖrzà JAW,
 .f pp. 293, 297-312 supra.) lie, uttered many such pathetic and moving words:
 for
 Here follows the account of the Bib's martyrdom, which the completion of the
 Proof; but they produced no effect
 differs from that given in the New History in the following on the hearts of
 those cruel men."
 pts. The Ion, narrative of "a certain man of position The bodies of the two
 victims were exposed for two
 oin ~ 0 days, after which they were buried. Some of the BàbÕs
 and probitv who waas the confidential attendant of Prince
 Sal (not named by MÖrzà JAnf) exhumed them, -wrapped them
 Hamzd MÖrzà" (pp. 293-296 tpra) is omitted by Mfrzi
 in white a,~il~, and, according to the Bib's own instructions,
 JAW. Concerning the four Bdbfs imprisoned at Tabriz brought them to
 Subh-i-E~_zel [" Hazrat-i- Wahi'd-i-Thainf"
 (p. 297 supra) before the BAb and his two intimate dis-
 see 380 supra, n. 2], who, with his own hands,
 ciples, ~,kA Seyyi4,Jfhammad Huseyn, called 'Azz'z ("the
 buriesIthem in a certain spot mentioned in a tradition
 Dear One"), and Aka Seyyid Hasan of Yezd, were brought
 handed down from the ImAms as the last resting-place'of
 thither from Chilirik, Mirzi jAnf thinks that all except
 MÖrzà (or MulIA) Muhainmad 'Ali of Tabriz (the, BAb's the Kd'im-*. "This
 matter' adds MÖrzà JAnf, "is' at
 fellow-martyr) were liberated, and not, as asserted by some, resent kept
 secret, and it is unlawful for anyone who haa,,
 poisoned in the prison. The Bib's request to his fellow- knowledge of it to
 divulge it till such time as the Lord
 prisoners that they should kill him, and the manner in may see fit to make it
 known."
 which the request was received by them is described as in Cf. Traveller's
 Sarrative, vol. ii, p. 322, and n. 2 on p. 301
 the New History, but no mention is made of the letter

written by MŌrzà Muhammad 'Ali to his brother. The sztpa.
Bib, it is added, was paraded through the town on an ass 2 Cf. Traveller's
Narrative, vol. ii, p. 46, n. 1; and p. 110, n. 3.

3 ie. the site of the Bab's grave.
Kur~An, xxiv, 35.

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384 APPENDIX II. MIRZ! JkNf'S HISTORY.

13. Events of the period intervening between the BaWs
death and the 31assacre of Teherain.

Of the attempt on the Shili's life and the fearful perse-
cution of the BAbis to which it gave rise Mfrz& JAnf, 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 cliaos-which intervened between the Bib's death
and this, and of the numerous claimants to supreme au-
thority in the BÀbŌ 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 ffasht Bihisht, which alludes briefly to
certain of the pretenders about to be noticed, -Amongst
these is Seyyid Basir the Indian, whose history, shorn of
those details deemed unedifying, occurs at pp. 244-7
supra. Of this portion of MŌrzà JAnfs history I shall
translate the more interesting passages, and give an abstract
of the remainder.

9~ After the setting of the Sun of Unity," continues
MirzA Jinf, after a digression of one or two pages the
Sun of Eternity [8h(uns-i-A;:eliyyat, i.e. 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 BÀbŌ doctrine]; sturdy branches grew forth from that
Blessed Trec'; si~iia3 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.

I See n. 2 on p. 273 supra.

2 i.e. A.R. 1267 (A.D. 1850-1).

3 The death of the " Seven Martyrs" is probably alluded to. Cf. p. 258 and n. 1.

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Z~Allfil AND SUBH-I-EZEL.

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"The first 'Manifestation' which took place~in the seventh year [of the Bib's mission, i.e. A.H. 1267 ~ and which was a branch growing forth from the b ~ communion of Ezell, was a youthli seventeen or eighteen years of age, whose name was Zabih', and whose trade was that

of a confectioner [~amultd], from the reed-bed of whose wisdom grew sugar-canes 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 beautiful 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 g 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

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In the original, 4jl A_,*=.jL-o by which, I sup-

pose, 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 abjad notation, and is
also the initial of the word Ahad (one).

N. H.

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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 ac-
ceptable 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, " Verity 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 another', and so opened their
lips in repudiation of his [i.e. Zabth'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. Fzel]
had said, 'Ask me not concerning aught, for this is for-
bidden unto you,' that is to say, 'It is the Cycle of Mani-
festation : 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
I Kur'AD, ii, 111 ; iii, 42 &c.

2 ie. as the voice of one who still abode in his own selfhood
and had not reached the state of "Annihilation in the Beloved."
ZABFH AND !~UBH-I-EZEL.

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in everi fflani/~station," and know that the root [of the
matterTiss in the Theophany itself, and in the claim " Verily
-1 am God " on the part of every soul. For the sign of
the Unity and the exemplification of " I " will make thee
like unto myseV" is in all things; whosoever perforineth
faithful service, the tongue of his Godhead will be loosed,
while whosoever is veiled must continue afflicted with his

own sickness. . . "

In short, MÖrzà Jini considers that Subh-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 MÖrzàJAnf speak-
ing for Subh-i-Ezel " and we love such as advance claims,
provided 6at they' be sincere in their claims. And the
proof of such sincerity is that if the claimant be not a
" Point " Wukta], 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
MÖrzà JAni, " who lacked understanding, not apprehending
Hazrat-i-Ezel's meaning, again complained to him of
Yaz*rat-i-7,abih. He again said 'I know him not;' where-
upon the breihren began to speak ill of him. Then
Ha;2*at-i-E,1zel wrote three mi'ms for Jendb-i-Zabih, who
said, 'He means "Speak not [ma-gifl, write not [ma-nivfs],
and consort not [ma-nishi'n] 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 Beydn did to the Mani-
festations of the Blessed Tree of the Eternal', not under-
standing 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,
I Shajara-i-niubdraka-i-Ezeliyye, i.e. Subh-i-Ezel* See n. 2
at the foot of p. 273 supra.

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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 Rd- -at-
i-Ezel inamed Jendb-i-Basr. A full account of his history
would require much space, but the gist of it is as follows."
Here ensues an account of Jena'b-i-Bash- which agrees
very closely with that given at pp. 244-7 supra. My
conjecture as to the name of the dervish order (DAgliddri)
with which he was connected is confirmed by MÖrzà JANf.
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
T6ri'kh-i-Jadid (pp. 246-7 supra) inserts an evidently
spurious passage describing Jen(tb-i-Basir's disregard of
Subh-i-Elzel and devotion to BeliA, which passage is, of
course, wanting in MÖrzà J6nf. Jenaib-i-Basi'r's journey
to NAr in MAzandarAn, and his unsuccessful attempt to
join the BâbÕs besieged at Sheykh Tabarsf are briefly de-
scribed by MirzA JANf. At this point -the two accounts
diverge entirely, for while on the one hand MÖrzà J6uf
omits the account of Jen6b-i-Basir's death given in the
L.-codex of the Tdrikh-i-JadU, on the other hand he gives
a long description of his conduct and the claims he ad-
vanced 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
Tabarsi] Jeneitb-i-Bash- was in the company of the -Name
~f the Olost ffighty, the 141ost High'. In his blessed form
he beheld the si~ns 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 Tabarsf] was
1 Ism-i-'Azam-i-A'1d) or 'Ism-i-'Azim was the title borne by

Mulli Sheykh 'Alf.

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broken up in confusion, and the thread whereby that little knot of believers was bound together was broken asunder. Then Jenrtb-i-Ba~i'r, in company with Mfrz6, MustafA the Kurd (who was habited in the garb of a Kalandar, and claimed to belong to the World of Emancipation; beside whom Majnfin 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 Leyldl; and who had become the devoted admirer of Jenrtb-i-Bas~i-, and girded his soul with the girdle of a sincere attachment to him), set out for the province of GflAn, from the inhabitants of which they suffered much harsh treatment, so that the people of Enzef' 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. Jendb-i-Basi'r and MÖrzà MustaR the Kurd] came to the land of Kazvln, where they ma~e 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-.K~uds, i.e. TeherAn], so as to be near Hazrat-i- Wah& , and he [i.e. Jendb-i-_Basi'r] obtained the honour of admission to the 10orious presence of the 'Splendour of the World' [Beha`u'l- imkain, i.e. BeliA'u'lldhl. On his arrival, Hazrat-i-Behd, 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, Beb.4, 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.

I The maiden for love of whom Majnulin became 11 the Mad."

2 The chief Persian port on the Caspian, and the harbour of the town of Resht.

3 i.e. Subh-i-Ezel. See n. 2 on p. 380 supra.

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And the effulgences of Godhead from that 'Splendour of Paradise' [Behai-i-Rizvain, i.e. BehAVIIAh] became reflected in his [i.e. Jendb-i-Basir's] body of servitude.

"Thereafter Hazra't-i-Zabilt. one day entered his presence, and, though they were to all outward appearance unacquainted, and Zabrli was but a man of the people, nevertheless lie had no sooner entered and spoken a few words than the breath of his influence so played upon the palate of Jen6b-i-Baszir'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 Jentib-i-Basib- recognised with the Eye of God the Glory of God and knew Him through Himself, according to the purport of-

I I see the Loved One with the Loved One's eyes,'
and of ' O thou whose Essence sheweth Tltine Bssence, and who art exempt fi-om all community of nature with TIql creatures.'

In short, Jewitb-i-Basllr, impelled by his perfect justice, took his stand in the station of Annihilation Lof Self] and transmuted the poisons of affliction by the alchemy of love, till lie was able to pour the honey of PermaiiieDce [iii God] from the brimming bowl of the Theophanies into the mouth of Union, and the Essence of 7,abih.'s Godhead became manifest in the alembic of his 8erviitude. Then lie announced himself to be a'return' of [the Iiii6m] 1juseyn, which claim was substantiated by the production of verses, homilies, and prayers; and he wrote letters to Hazrat-i-Ezel and Jendb-i-Beha' concerning his ma14esiation. Hazrat-i-Efzel in reply lionoured him with an epistle ex~res*superscription of which he wrote 'In His name, the Most Discerning, the Most Discerning' &-o), and in the course of which he said, ' O Friend, we have elected thee fi-om amongst mankind' (.,aLJI Cj~ JL;tAl, I xi

Here follows the passage already quoted at p. 338 supra, describing how Jendb-i-Bash-, while in the I Land of K6f ' (Kazvi'n. or Kum), whither he went on leaving Teherin, JEN.kB-I-BM5fR AND THE NUKTA-I-K~kFf. 391 pretended to recognize in a dog which was howling outside the house the 'return' of a certain unbeliever. "After that," continues MÕrzà JANf, " he went to the 'Land of A7(if' (K6shAn), where he alighted at the house of Jendb-i-Nukta-i-K6fi ('His Excellence the Point of Kif,' i.e. 'of K6s!~An')', because for four months they had [both] been

gladdened by attendance on Hazrat-i-Wahid [i.e. Subh-i-Ezel] and Jendb-i-Behd in iheland of Mr [in MAza'n-dar6n], had tasted of the wine of one another's affection, and bad so intertwined the cords of friendship that no

sword of deceit could sever them.

Now 'His Excellence the Point of KAV had supposed himself to be superior in station to Jendb-i-Basir, 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] ~ome to speak of the subtle points of the Doctrine of the Divine Unity, his rank is highest whose range has ~een 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 KAV 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 I I confess that I am unable at present to identify this I Point of Kdf.' Since KishAn is called 11 the Land of KAf " (Arz_i-Kdf), it would seem probable that he was a native of that town; and since Mfrza' Jinf entitles his book Nuktatu'I-Kdf, " the Point of Kif," it would appear probable that some relation existed between the two. I-lAjf Mfrzi J6nf had two brothers who were Bhbfs, Hijf Mfrzi Ismalil (Trav.Nan., vol. ii, p. 332) entitled Zabih (p. 213, n. 2 8upra), who died in TeherAn ; and 116ji MirzA Ahmad the Ezelf, who was killed at Baghdad by the Behi'fs. It seems possible that the former may here be intended, in which case he is identical with the Zabih whose manifestation is described at pp. 385-390 supra.

.192 APPENDIX 11. MfRZ! JSNf'S HISTORY.

station of Jriia'b-i-B(isgi'r lie became. entirely aa-inihilated in him, although many of his actions were [in appearance] of an extremely mischievous character, and the very essence of 'dark, dreadful, dire calamity" was apparent in his words and deeds, inasmuch as he was a type of 'the Gate which is inwardly Xlercy and outwardly of the nature of Torinegitt.' For this reason most of the brethren fled from him, notwithstanding which 'His Excellence the Point of

KAV 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 Jenlib-i-'Azz'M' and Jenrib-i-Bast'r, whereby the hearts Of the brethren were torn [with conflicting sentiments].

cc Now the cause of this difference was that Jen6b-i-A'-am (sic) said, 'I am the Gate of the two Masters', and the friend of "the Fruit of the Eternal" (i.e. Subh-i-Ezel% and King Man~ftr', 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 Jena'b-i-Basir replied, 'You speak truly and rightly, but those thi~gs 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, See p. 216, supra, and n, 1.

i.e. Mullh Sheykh 'Alf.

3 C),

I suppose that the Bib and Subh-i-Ezel are meant.

4 I do not know who is meant by "King Mansu'r

I suppose that there is an allusion to Nansro-i-Hallay the SAff, who suffered death for his words "And-'1-Hakl," ('IT a *in the Truth"), and that this title was given to one of th~o`se who claimed to be Divine Manifestations after the Bib's death.

I think that I heard Subh-i-Ezel once allude to " SultAn Man-u'r," and it runs in my mind that Huseyn of Milin (see Trav. Yarn, vol. ii, p. 357) was so designated.

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nioreover, explicit declarations [in support of your claim but I advance the same claim, and this standard hoNs good [in my case also], and I think that I recogDize my service and self-annihilation before the Glory of that Sun of Might as superior to yours. Therefore the signs of His Godhead, to wit verses spontaneously uttered [dydt-i-fitr'l which are the greatest of all signs, flow from my lips.'

, 'Je?dib-i-'Azz`m, 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 Jenaib-i-

-Basz'r 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 Ha-rat[-i-j0_-e1], saying, 'The blind Seyyid' has put forward certain claims, and -acted thus and thus.' So Hazrat[-i-_&e1], seeing that in a time of apparent impotence 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 86d,' 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

By the blind Seyyid," Seyyid Basir is of course meant, for we learn from p. 245 supra that he lost his sight in his youth. He was called Bagir, " the Seeing " or " Discerning," because of his spiritual enlightenment, and it was no doubt because the Babfs 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 I Sun of the Theophany I was no longer visible.

W W W

411. L;91b-Ls~

4 i.e. Isfalia'11.

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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' [Jen6b-i-7,ik7-, i.e. the BABj and Jena'b-i-'AzfM had foretold, saying, After me there will be two Manifestations, one the Manifestation of Huseyn, and the other the Manifestation of YahyA, and neither will remain in the womb more than six months,' there, were many other 'Manifestations,' one in the 'Land of TA' [i.e. Tabrfzll; Olle in the 'Land of FA' [i.e. FArS]; one in Baghdq(f, to wit lie whom they call 8eyyid-i-'U1uv