

who later became his own followers. This obviously crucial period in his development remains virtually undocumented, however, and it is difficult to define the exact dimensions of the Bab's relations with Shaikhism at this time. In 1256/1840-41, the Bab returned reluctantly to Shiraz at the insistence of his family and in Rajab, 1258/August, 1842, married Kadija Begom, a daughter of his mother's paternal uncle. A child, Ahmad, was born in 1259/1843 but died in infancy or was, possibly, stillborn.

Some months later, Sayyed 'Ali Mohammad had what seems to have been the first of a number of dreams or visions through which he was convinced of a high spiritual station for himself; on the following day, he began the composition of his first major work, a tafsir on the sura al-Baqara (see bayan). A second such experience occurred on 15 Rabi' II 1260/4 May 1844, which he describes as "the first day on which the spirit descended into his heart" (Ketab al-fehrest, p. 286); this experience seems to have been accompanied or followed by a dream in which he imbibed blood from the severed head of the Imam Hosayn, to which he later attributed "the appearance of these verses, prayers and divine sciences" (Sahifa-ye 'adliya, p. 14). It must have been immediately after this that he began the composition of his first work of an unconventional nature, the unusual tafsir on the sura Yusof entitled Qayyum al-asma'. He continued to experience dreams or visions until at least Ramazan, 1260/September-October, 1844 (see MacEoin, From Shaykhism, p. 153 n. 134) and possibly much later, but their significance dwindled as he came to believe himself in a state of perpetual grace and a recipient of direct verbal inspiration from the twelfth imam or God Himself.

About the time of his second vision in Rabi' II, 1260/early May, 1844, Sayyed 'Ali Mohammad seems already to have been in contact with Molla Mohammad Hosayn Bošru'i, a young Shaikhi who had come to Shiraz from Karbala' following the death there of Sayyed Kazem Rašti on 11 Du'l-hejja 1259/1 January 1844. In common with other Shaikhis, Bošru'i was searching for a possible successor to Rašti (see babism) and, on 5 Jomada I/22 May, Sayyed 'Ali Mohammad told him privately that he was indeed Rašti's successor as the bearer of divine knowledge and, more specifically, the channel of communication with (or "gate to") the Hidden Imam (bab al-emam), a theme which is pursued in the pages of the Qayyum al-asma'. This date is mentioned by the Bab in several places, notably his Persian Bayan (2:7, p. 30). Bošru'i accepted these claims after some consideration, as did several other Shaikhis who arrived in Shiraz from Karbala' shortly after this (see babism). A small group of disciples, to whom he gave the title horuf al-hayy (Letters of the Living) was thus formed around the Bab, instructed by him, and sent out as missionaries on his behalf to various parts of Iran and Iraq.

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The Bab claimed to be the "gate" (bab) and "representative" (na'eb) of the Hidden Imam, succeeding Shaikh Ahmad Ahsa'i (q.v.) and Sayyed

Kazem Rašti (Qayyum al-asma?, fols. 41a, 64b, 139a; resala in Iran National Bahai Archives 6003c, p. 321; see also MacEoin, "From Shaykhism," pp. 172-73). In his early works, he describes himself as the "remembrance" (dekr) of the imam, the "servant of the baqiyat Allah" (i.e., of the Hidden Imam), and the "seal of the gates" (katem al-abwab) and makes it clear that he has been sent by the Hidden Imam to prepare men for his imminent advent. An anonymous Babi resala dated 1848 speaks of how, during the lesser occultation of the imam, there appeared the "four appointed gates" (see bab) while, in the greater occultation, there were in every age "gates not appointed by name or connection" until the appearance of two further specific gates—Ahsa'i and Rašti (resala in Iran National Bahai Archives, MS 6006.C, p. 8). The Bab himself is the third of these gates (Qorrat-al-ʿAyn, resala in Golpayegani, Kašf, p. 2), after whom the Qa'em will appear (ibid., pp. 14-15). In several passages, however, the Bab already identifies himself effectively with the imam, while retaining a distinction of function (MacEoin, From Shaykhism, p. 174; for a full discussion of the earliest claims of the Bab see MacEoin, ibid., chap. 5).

While his earliest disciples spread news of his appearance, the Bab left Shiraz on 26 Šaʿban 1260/10 September 1844, accompanied by Molla Mohammad ʿAli Barforuši (q.v.) and an Ethiopian slave, heading for Mecca by way of Bušehr. After performing the hajj and visiting Medina, he returned to Bušehr on 8 Jomada I 1261/15 May 1845 and stayed there until around mid-Rajab/July. Before leaving for the hajj, he had sent instructions to his followers to gather in Karbalaʿ to await his arrival there, which would be a signal for the appearance of the imam and the waging of the final jihad. For reasons that are still unclear, but which may be linked to the arrest and dispatch to Istanbul of his emissary to Karbalaʿ, Molla ʿAli Bestami (q.v.), the Bab decided to return instead to Shiraz. An incident there involving some Babis (including Barforuši, who had gone ahead from Bušehr) about mid-June led the governor, Mirza Hosayn Khan Moqaddam Maragaʿi Ajudanbaši, to seek the Bab's arrest; the latter was, accordingly, taken into custody while en route from Bušehr at the end of June. Placed under house-arrest in his uncle's home, the Bab occupied himself with writing and with meeting a stream of visitors now making their way to Shiraz, many of them Shaikhis from Karbalaʿ. Kept thus in communication with his followers in Iran and Iraq, he was able to direct the course of the growing movement which had by now taken its name from his principal title. Although the leaders of the Babi movement in the provinces played a significant part in the development of doctrine and the working out of policies, the role of the Bab ought not to be underestimated. Successive imprisonments between 1261/1845 and 1267/1850 prevented him from active participation in the affairs of the sect, but his writings were copied and widely disseminated and large numbers of pilgrims succeeded in obtaining personal interviews with him, in spite of official disapproval. His authority over his followers remained supreme: Thus, during the controversies centered on the figure of Qorrat-al-ʿAyn (q.v.) which rocked the Babi community of Karbalaʿ in the

early period, final appeal was made to the Bab in person (Balyuzi, *The Báb*, p. 68; MacEoin, *From Shaykhism*, pp. 203, 207).

There is evidence that, in Bušehr and again in Shiraz, the Bab adopted a policy of *taqiya*, which involved the public renunciation of his original claims (see Fayzi, *Kanedan*, pp. 25-28; Balyuzi, *The Báb*, pp. 94-98; Mirza Asad-Allah Fazel Mazandarani, *Asrar-al-atar I*, Tehran, 124 B. (Badi?)/1968-69, pp. 179-82). In writings dating from this period and the one following, he denies that there can be an “appointed gate” (*bab mansus*) for the Hidden Imam after the first four gates and argues that any “revelation” (*wahy*) claimed by him is not comparable to that given to Mohammad (see *ibid.*). On one occasion, he was pressed to make a public appearance in the Wakil mosque of Shiraz, in the course of which he denied all claim to *babiyah* (see Balyuzi, *The Báb*, pp. 94-98).

During an outbreak of cholera in Shiraz in September, 1846, the Bab succeeded in escaping to Isfahan, where he had already sent a number of disciples to await his arrival, and where he was favorably received in the home of the *emam-e jom'a*. For a brief period, he was involved in public discussions of his claims, but growing opposition from the *ʿolamaʿ* ended in the issue of a fatwa for his execution. At that point he was secretly transferred to the residence of the governor, Manucehr Khan Moʿtamed-al-Dawla, whose interest in the Bab's message may have also been tinged by political considerations. Moʿtamed-al-Dawla's plans, which included the introduction of the Bab to Mohammad Shah (possibly with a view to his ultimately replacing Haji Mirza Aqasi [q.v.] as the king's advisor), collapsed on his death in February, 1847. The loss of his supporter, who had already protected him from the *ʿolamaʿ* of Isfahan by concealing him in his own residence, was a serious blow to the Bab. Gorgin Khan, Moʿtamed-al-Dawla's nephew and successor, discovered the prophet and sent him under escort to Tehran, notifying the court of his action. At Kolayn near the capital, however, instructions came that the Bab was to be taken to the town of Maku in Azerbaijan, where he arrived, after a stay of forty days in Tabriz, about July, 1847. It has been suggested that the prime minister, Haji Mirza Aqasi, prevented the Bab's arrival in Tehran out of fear that he might supplant him as an influence on Mohammad Shah (Zarandi, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 231-32). In Maku the Bab was placed under what was originally close confinement in the castle overlooking the town, but before long conditions were sufficiently relaxed to permit the arrival of visitors and the resumption of communications between him and his followers.

The Bab's growing popularity and the ease with which he was still able to orchestrate the movement for which he was the figurehead gave considerable cause for concern to Haji Mirza Aqasi. At this point, the Russian Minister in Tehran, Dolgorukov, began to exert pressure on the Prime Minister to have the Bab removed from Maku, which was located dangerously close to the Russian border; a recent messianic movement in the Caucasus had caused serious problems for the Russians and their fears of renewed chiliastic

agitation in the region seem to have been behind their request for the Bab's removal (see Momen, Babi and Baha'i Religions, p. 72). From Maku, the Bab, was, accordingly, transferred to Cahriq near Urmia, at a fair distance from the sensitive border region but still sufficiently far from the heart of Iran. He arrived there in early May, 1848, and was placed under strict confinement.

During the later period of the Bab's confinement in Maku, he began to advance claims even more startling than those of bab and na'eb. In a letter written shortly before his transfer to Cahriq, copies of which were soon distributed on his instructions among his followers, he proclaimed himself the Imam Mahdi in person and announced the abrogation of the laws of Islam (Mazandarani, Zohur, pp. 164-66). Not long after his arrival in Cahriq, he was brought temporarily to Tabriz, where he was examined by a tribunal of religious and civil dignitaries, including Naser-al-Din Mirza, the crown prince, then governor of Azerbaijan. At this hearing, the Bab made public his claim to be the return of the Hidden Imam and was unofficially sentenced to death by several of the 'olama' present. The charge of insanity was introduced in order to prevent his execution at this juncture.

In an account of the Bab's interrogation possibly written by Amir Aslan Khan Majd-al-Dawla, it is stated that, following his bastinado, the Bab recanted his claims and gave a "sealed undertaking" that he would not repeat his errors. What appears to be the original of this latter document was discovered in the Iranian state archives after the deposition of Mohammad-'Ali Shah in 1909; it is now understood to be preserved in the Majles Library. The authenticity of the recantation document seems to rest, not only on the handwriting, which bears comparison with that of the Bab, but also on the explicit denial in it of specific viceregency (niaba kassa) on behalf of the imam, something the Bab had already denied several times before. (Facsimiles of both these documents are reproduced by Browne in Materials, pp. 248-56.) The implications of his claim to qa'emiya had already been made clear to the authorities when he was brought through Urmia en route to Tabriz. Several accounts, including some by American missionaries, indicate that large numbers of people turned out to greet him with an enthusiasm bordering on acceptance of him as the imam in person (Momen, op. cit., pp. 73-74). Repeated scenes of this kind, were they to be allowed, could only lead in one direction. That direction was further indicated (almost simultaneously with the Bab's examination in Tabriz, see above) at a gathering of some eighty Babi activists in the village of Badašt in Mazandaran, where the Bab's claim to be the Hidden Imam was announced together with a proclamation abrogating the Islamic Šari'a. The Badašt gathering seems to have acted as a signal, in concert with the Bab's own announcement of his more developed claims, for the successive Babi-led risings in Mazandaran, Neyriz (Niriz) and Zanzan, between 1848 and 1850 (see babism).

Following his return to Cahriq in August, 1848, however, the Bab devoted himself to the elaboration of a yet more radical development of his position.

In the works written between then and his execution in July, 1850, notably in the later parts of the Persian Bayan, he claimed to be, not merely the Imam Mahdi, but a theophanic representation of the godhead, a divine manifestation (mazhar-e elahi) empowered to reveal a new Šariʿa, the basic outline of which may be found in the Persian and Arabic Bayans. It is unlikely that these claims of the Bab were widely known to his followers in the period before his death (the Bayan, for example, was not much distributed before then), but they proved an important influence on later Babism with its numerous theophanic claimants, and, in particular, on Bahatism as it developed this strand of the Bab's teaching from the 1860s. Several of the Bab's writings during this period, such as the *Ketab al-asmaʿ* and *Ketab-e panj šaʿn* indicate growing doctrinal idiosyncrasy and a preoccupation with the amplification of ritual practices largely unrelated to the actual circumstances of the Babi community.

The struggle between a group of Babis and state forces in Mazandaran (September, 1848-May, 1849) caused considerable anxiety in the early months of Naser-al-Din Shah's reign, but its eventual suppression and the fact that it had been restricted to a rural area lessened the fear of the government. When, however, violence broke out in the urban centers of Neyriz and Zanjan in May, 1850, Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Nezam decided to take the extreme step of having the Bab put to death. He was, accordingly, brought to Tabriz at the end of June, 1850, and executed by firing squad in the barracks square there at noon on either July 8 or 9. (The Bahais celebrate this event on 9 July, stating that it occurred on 28 Šaʿban 1266, but several contemporary sources give the date as 8 July—see Momen, *op. cit.*, p. 78 and n.) Accounts of the execution exist, but none is a direct eye-witness description, although there are a few second-hand versions based on the testimony of eyewitnesses. The Bab survived the first volley, when the bullets cut ropes suspending him and Mirza Mohammad-ʿAli Zonuzi, a disciple, condemned to death with him; a second regiment had to be brought in to complete the task. The corpses of the Bab and his fellow-victim were thrown together into a ditch, where they were said to have been eaten by dogs, an action which prompted Justin Sheil, then British Minister in Tehran, to address a note to the prime minister expressing outrage at its barbarity (Momen, *Babi and Bahaʿi Religion*, p. 79). Babi sources maintain, however, that the bodies were removed from the ditch through the efforts of a certain Haji Solayman Khan Milani and eventually brought to Tehran, where they were buried in secret at the Emamzada Hasan, in which location some modern Babis believe them to remain (Nicolas, *Sayyed Ali Mohammed*, pp. 379-85). Bahai accounts, however, state that the remains were at one point removed from the Emamzada on the instructions of Mirza Hosayn-ʿAli Bahaʿ-Allah (q.v.) and transferred from hiding-place to hiding-place for almost fifty years before being brought to Palestine in 1899. A shrine to house the remains was begun on Mt. Carmel by ʿAbbas Effendi ʿAbd-al-Bahaʿ (q.v.), who interred them there in 1908 (Balyuzi, *The Báb*, pp. 189-92). Some time later, a marble superstructure topped by a gold-tiled dome was erected over the original shrine and is today a well-known landmark in Haifa, forming the central feature of the complex of

Bahai buildings there.

The Bab's personality remains elusive in the absence of detailed contemporary descriptions and the presence of so much later hagiographical material. According to Dr. William Cormick, an Irish physician who treated the Bab following his bastinado in Tabriz in 1848, he was "a very mild and delicate-looking man, rather small in stature and very fair for a Persian, with a melodious soft voice, which struck me much. Being a Sayyid, he was dressed in the habits of that sect In fact his whole look and deportment went far to dispose me in his favour" (quoted in Browne, *Materials*, p. 262). This picture of the Bab is borne out by more concrete evidence, such as a portrait preserved in the Bahai archives in Haifa, clothing and other personal effects, and examples of penmanship all testify to a highly-developed aesthetic temperament. The influence of this love of delicacy and fine things is apparent in many of the Bab's injunctions in the Persian Bayan and elsewhere, including regular bathing and depilation, the use of perfumes, rose-water, and henna, the wearing of precious stones, the use of the best paper and calligraphy for writing the scriptures, the detailed rules for the washing, adornment, and burial of the dead, and even in the prohibition on beating children. Such an image must be balanced, however, by reference to the Bab's obvious harshness in such matters as jihad, the treatment of unbelievers and their property (including religious shrines), and the destruction of non-Babi books.

During the nineteenth century, something of a myth of the Bab was perpetuated in some intellectual and literary circles in Europe, largely owing to the widespread influence of the Comte de Gobineau's *Religions et philosophies dans l'Asie centrale* (Paris, 1865), which presented an extended and somewhat inaccurate picture of the Bab not unlike that of Mohammad popular during the French Enlightenment. This phenomenon is best described by the French journalist Jules Bois, who wrote of the Bab's death: "All Europe was stirred to pity and indignation. . . . Among the litterateurs of my generation, in the Paris of 1890, the martyrdom of the Bab was still as fresh a topic as had been the first news of his death. We wrote poems about him. Sarah Bernhardt entreated Catulle Mendes for a play on the theme of this historic tragedy" ("Babism and Baha'ism," *Forum* 74, 1925, quoted in Momen, *op. cit.*, p. 50). Among others attracted to the Bab in this period figured Matthew Arnold, Ernest Renan, and, in Russia, Turgenev and Tolstoy; little of this enthusiasm survived into the twentieth century (for further details, see Momen, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-56).

The Bab's fame has endured chiefly within the context of Bahaism (see bahai faith) in which he plays an important role as an independent divine manifestation in some respects equal, in others subordinate to, Mirza Hosayn-'Ali Baha'-Allah, for whom he is held to act as a herald (mobaššer). Although Bahai accounts of the Bab are more reliable than those of Gobineau and other early European writers, they are frequently edited in order to fit into the wider perspective of Bahai history and are often

hagiographic. The standard account, on which all later versions are based to a greater or lesser extent, is Molla Mohammad Nabil Zarandi's history available only in English translation as *The Dawn-Breakers* and subtitled *Nabil's Narrative of the Early Days of the Baha'i Revelation*. Among Western Bahais the image of the Bab is frequently compared to the Christ of popular devotion and made to figure as the saint par excellence of the religion. Few references are made in the published materials to his early claims, his laws, his ritual innovations, or other matters felt to be inconsistent with this image.

For details of the Bab's works, see bayan.

Doctrines. It is difficult to summarize the doctrines taught by the Bab, largely because these changed substantially between the earliest and latest periods of his career. In works written during the first years following his claim to be bab al-emam, considerable stress is laid on the theme that his teachings represent the "true Islam" (al-din al-kales). Thus, "this religion is, before God, the essence of the religion of Mohammad" (Qayyum al-asma?, fol. 78a), while God has "made this book the essence of the Koran, word for word" (ibid., fol. 72b; cf. fol. 53b) and "The pure faith is the Remembrance in security; whoever desires Islam, let him submit himself to his cause" (ibid., fol. 2a). The laws of Mohammad and the imams were to remain binding "until the day of resurrection" (ibid., fol. 185b): Islamic injunctions as to what was haram and halal were to remain in force (Sahifa-ye 'adliya, pp. 5-6; cf. Balyuzi, *The Báb*, pp. 97-98). At the same time, the Bab claimed authority to clarify obscure issues relating to the details of the Šari'a, such as salat, zakat, and jihad, and also introduced some ordinances extending or intensifying the standard Koranic regulations. According to one of his followers, in his early letters, the Bab "put desirable matters (mostahabbat) in the place of obligatory (wajibat), and undesirable matters (makruhat) in the place of forbidden (moharramat). Thus, for example, he regarded it as obligatory to have four tablets (mohr) from the soil (from the shrine) of the prince of martyrs, [i.e., Imam Hosayn], on which to place the hands, forehead and nose during the prostration of namaz; he considered the pilgrimage of 'Ašura (q.v.) a duty; he laid down prayers (ad'ia) and supererogatory observances (ta'qibat); he proclaimed the obligation of Friday prayer . . . ; and he fashioned amulets (hayakel), charms (ahraz), and talismans (telasmat) such as are prepared among the people All his companions acted with the utmost circumspection according to the osul and foru' of Islam" (Mohammad-'Ali Zonuzi, quoted by Mazandarani, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32). Several important supererogatory injunctions are to be found in the *Kasa'el-e sab'a*, written by the Bab during his hajj journey, and in another work of this period, the *Sahifa bayn al-haramayn*.

A wider picture of early doctrines may be found in the *Sahifa-ye 'adliya*, which, among other things, condemns the concept of wahdat al-wojud as šerk (p. 16), lists the seven bases (osul) of ma'refa as

tawhid, maʿani, abwab, emama, arkan, noqabaʿ, and nojabaʿ (pp. 20-31); states that prayer through the imam or others is kofr (p. 20); denies that either Ahsaʿi or Rašti prayed through ʿAli or thought him the Creator (p. 22); regards the station of the imams as higher than that of the prophets (p. 24); states that most Twelver Shiʿites, because of their ignorance of the station of the noqabaʿ, will go to hell (p. 31); declares the enemies of Ahsaʿi and Rašti to be unbelievers like the Sunnis (pp. 32-33); refers to the necessity of belief in a physical resurrection and meʿraj (p. 34); condemns the idea of spiritual resurrection and maintains that Ahsaʿi did not speak of it (p. 34); and, finally, speaks of obedience to himself, as the “servant” of the twelfth imam, as obligatory (p. 41).

Finally, it is worth noting that messianic expectation, although far from dominant in these early works, finds a place in them, notably in the Qayyum al-asmaʿ, where it is frequently joined with exhortation to wage jihad, a fact to which reference must be made in any attempt to understand the Babi-state conflicts of 1848-50 (for full details, see MacEoin, “Babi Concept of Holy War”).

The Bab’s doctrines, which exhibit many of the gnostic and Neoplatonist features common to earlier Shiʿite sects such as the Ismaʿilis and Horufis, tend to become more abstruse in the later periods. The crucial change occurs with the Bab’s abrogation of Islamic law in 1264/1848, followed by the elaboration of his own Šariʿa and doctrinal system. This highly elaborated body of ideas, frequently expressed in oblique and allusive language and lacking any real organization, is not easy to summarize. There have been no later Babi theologians to analyze or systematize the elements of the Bab’s scattered thoughts. At the heart of the system is the belief that the divine or eternal essence (dat-e elahi, dat-e azal) is unknowable, indescribable, and inaccessible (Bayan-e farsi 3:7, p. 81; 4:1, p. 105; 4:2, p. 110). The revelation of God (zohur Allah) in this world is that of the Tree of Reality (šajara-ye haqiqat) (ibid., 2:8, p. 37), a term frequently used for the Primal Will (mašiyat-e awwaliya) (ibid., 4:6, pp. 120-21) which has appeared in all the prophets (Dalaʿel-e sabʿa, pp. 2-3). The Bab compares the Primal Will to the sun which remains single and unchanged, although appearing under different names and forms in the persons of the prophets in whom it is manifested, as if in a mirror (ibid.; Cahar šaʿn, quoted in Aʿin-e Bab, pp. 48-49; untitled sahifa, quoted ibid., p. 49). This manifestation of the Primal Will is frequently referred to as the Point of Truth (noqta-ye haqiqat) (Bayan-e farsi 3:7, p. 81) or Primal Point (noqta-ye ula)—the latter term being the most common title used of the Bab by his followers—from whom all things are originated (ibid., 1:1, p. 4; 3:8, p. 37) and by whom the prophets and books have been sent down (ibid., 2:8, p. 37). This Point possesses two stations; a divine station in which it is the manifestation of the divinity (mazhar-e oluhiyat), and a human station in which it manifests its servitude (ibid., 4:1, pp. 105, 107). In his human form, the prophet is the apex of creation and the perfect man, since all things progress until they find their perfection in man and man develops until he

culminates in the prophet (ibid., 2:1, pp. 14-15). It is only by meeting this theophany that man can be said to meet God (ibid., 2:7, p. 31; 2:6, p. 63; 3:7, p. 81); thus, references in the Koran to the meeting with God (Iqa? Allah) are, in reality, references to meeting Mohammad (ibid., 3:7, p. 81). All things have been created to attain to this meeting (ibid., 6:232, p. 222; Dala?el-e sab?a, p. 31). Since the time of the revelation of Adam to that of the Bab, 12,210 years have elapsed, although God undoubtedly had unnumbered worlds and Adams before this cycle (Bayan-e farsi 3:13, p. 95); but in every world, the manifestation of the Primal Will has always been the Point of the Bayan, the Bab, for he is identical with Adam (ibid.); thus, "in the day of Noah, I was Noah, in the day of Abraham, I was Abraham" (untitled sahfah quoted in A?in-e Bab, p. 49). Indeed, this same Point will appear again and again in future manifestations of the Primal Will (ibid.). Nevertheless, there is progress from one manifestation to the next: In each succeeding theophany, the appearance is nobler than in the one before; hence, all the revelations of the past were created for the appearance of Mohammad, they and the revelation of Mohammad were created for the appearance of the Bab (Qa?em), and so on into the future (Bayan-e farsi 4:12, p. 136). Adam is compared to the human being in the state of a seed in the womb, the Bab to a twelve-year old child (ibid., 3:13, p. 95).

One of the most important elements in the Bab's thought is his elaborate symbolic interpretation of eschatological terms. Thus, resurrection (qiama) is the appearance of the Primal Will in its latest manifestation (ibid., 2:7, p. 30); just as all things were originally created in one person, so all will be resurrected in one person, whereupon they will be individually resurrected in their various places (ibid., 2:11, p. 47). Physical resurrection of bodies from their graves, however, will not take place (ibid.). The Day of Resurrection extends from the moment of the appearance of the Tree of Truth in each age until his disappearance; thus, the resurrection of Moses took place from the appearance of Jesus until his Ascension (ibid., 2:7, p. 30). The resurrection of Islam began with the Bab's announcement of his mission two hours and eleven minutes after sunset on the evening of 5 Jomada I 1260 and will end at his death (ibid.). In this resurrection, the return (raj'a) of Mohammad, the imams, Fatema, and the four abwab, has taken place in the persons of the eighteen horuf al-hayy, the Bab's first disciples (ibid., 1:2-19, pp. 6-10). After the death of the prophet, a fatrat intervenes, during which there are witnesses (shohada?) until his return (ibid., 2:3, p. 22); during this fatrat, the Primal Will is within creation, but is not recognized outwardly (ibid., 2:9, pp. 44-45). When, however, the Point is again manifested, belief in him is paradise and unbelief hell (ibid., 2:9, p. 44); indeed, the first to believe is himself the essence of paradise and the first to disbelieve the essence of hell (ibid., 2:17, p. 68). All things are in a condition of either belief or denial (ibid., 2:3, p. 23), belonging to the "Letters of Exaltation" (horuf-e ?eliyin) or their opposite (horuf-e dun-e ?eliyin) (ibid., 2:2, pp. 20-21). In another sense, all things find their paradise in their perfection (ibid., 5:4, p. 155). Other

eschatological terms such as qabr, seraf, mizan, hesab, ketab, safa are given similar interpretations (ibid., 2:10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18).

A constant theme of the Persian Bayan—and one which was to have important implications for later developments—is that of man yozheroho?llah (him whom God shall make manifest) the next embodiment of the Primal Will, whose appearance is anticipated sometime between 1511 and 2001 years in the future, or sooner if God wills. Many of the prescriptions of the Bayan are connected in some way to respect for man yozheroho?llah or preparation for his appearance. The Bab also developed a complex legal system, much of which was clearly intended for implementation in the theocratic Babi state he anticipated; there is a marked contrast between regulations directed towards unbelievers and those applicable to Babis, the former being harsh, the latter milder than in Islam. There are regulations for marriage, burial, pilgrimage, prayer, and other devotional and ritual practices, often in detail. (Full descriptions of these may be found in MacEoin, “Ritual and Semi-Ritual Observances.”)

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