

THE SOURCES FOR EARLY BĀBĪ DOCTRINE AND HISTORY

A survey

BY

DENIS MACEOIN



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To the memory of Alex Shields

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Denis MacEoin
Newcastle Upon Tyne
July 1991

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CHAPTER TWO

EARLY WORKS

1. WORKS WRITTEN BEFORE JUMĀDĀ 1260/MAY 1844

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

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

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

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

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

EARLY COMPOSITIONS IN BUSHIHR

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ Ibid, pp. 189-90.

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

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

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

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

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

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

EARLY COMPOSITIONS AFTER THE RETURN TO SHĪRĀZ

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

Risāla fi 'l-sulūk

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

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

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

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

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

protector and teacher, Ḥājī Sayyid Kāzīm al-Rashtī, may God prolong his life.’

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

Risāla fi 'l-tasdīd

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

Ziyāra jāmi'a kabīra

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

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

¹¹ *Religions et philosophies*, p. 136.

¹² ‘The Bābīs of Persia II’, p. 896.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 897.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 901.

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

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

Tafsīr Sūrat al-baqara

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. WORKS WRITTEN BETWEEN MAY 1844 AND SEPTEMBER 1846

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

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

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

²¹ *Asrār al-āthār*, vol.2, p. 61.

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

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

In a copy of the *Kitāb ʿmāl al-sana* in manuscript 5006C (the section in question being dated 1262/1846), at the end of the first of two untitled prayers between *sūras* five and six, the words *وارد بوشهر* ٨ ج ١ (8 J[umādā] I, arrived in Būshīhr) have been written above the line. This gives the date 8 Jumādā I 1261/15 May 1845 as the day of his return to Iran.

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

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

²³ Thus Balyuzi, *The Bāb*, p. 77.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The earliest titles

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

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

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

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

²⁸ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 155.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Evidence of early titles in the Kitāb al-fihrist

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Letters:

- (i) 5 to Mullā Ḥusayn [Bushrū'ī]
 - (ii) 3 to Mirzā Sayyid Ḥasan — vs. xiii?
 - (iii) to the ulama [*Kitāb al-'ulamā'*]
 - (iv) to Mullā Ḥasan Gawhar
 - (v) to Sulṭān 'Abd al-Majīd
 - (vi) 6 to his uncle [Ḥajj Mirzā Sayyid 'Alī]
 - (vii) 2 to Ḥajj Mullā Muḥammad
 - (viii) 2 to his wife p. 191 xxvi?
 - (ix) 3 to the Ḥanbalī, Maghribī, and Ḥanafī Imāms
 - (x) to Ḥajj Muḥammad Karīm Khān [Kirmānī]
 - (xi) to Ḥajj Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī [Bārfurūshī]
 - (xii) to Mirzā 'Abd al-Bāqī Rashtī
 - (xiii) to Mirzā Sayyid Ḥasan Khurāsānī — vs. ii?
 - (xiv) to Shaykh Raft'
 - (xv) 2 to Mullā Ṣādiq Khurāsānī
 - (xvi) to Muḥammad Kāzīm Khān
 - (xvii) to Shaykh Khalaf
 - (xviii) to Shaykh Sulaymān
 - (xix) to Sharīf Sulaymān of Mecca
 - (xx) to Sayyid Ibrāhīm [Mahallatī?] — same as 12. ix?
 - (xxi) to Sayyid 'Alī Kirmānī
 - (xxii) to Sulayman Khān
- (Total: 38 letters)

4. *Kitāb al-fihrist* (i.e., the present work)

5. *Ṣaḥīfa aṣ-māl al-sana* (14 *bābs* listed)

6. *Khuṭbas*:

- (i) 2 [written] in Būshihir
 - (ii) [written] in Banakān
 - (iii) [written] in Kanakān
 - (iv) on the 'Īd al-Fiṭr
 - (v) [written] in Jidda
 - (vi) on the sufferings of Ḥusayn
 - (vii) 3 [written] on the way to Mecca
 - (viii) for Mullā Ḥusayn [Bushrū'ī], written on board ship
 - (ix) on the 'ilm al-ḥurūf
- (Total: 12 *khuṭbas*)

7. *al-Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn* (8 *bābs* listed)

8. *Tafsīr al-basmala* (about 157 verses)

9. *Tafsīr Sūrat al-baqara*

10. *Kitāb al-rūḥ* (700 *sūras*, 7000 verses)
11. *Jawāb al-masā'il* (replies to 41 questions)
12. Prayers written in reply to questions:
 - (i) in reply to twenty questions p. 191 (xvii)
 - (ii) in reply to al-ʿAlawiyya
 - (iii) in reply to Mullā ʿAbd al-Khāliq [Yazdī]
 - (iv) in reply to Karbalāʾī ʿAlī Aṣghar (xv)
 - (v) on the *siḡdat al-shukr* ('thanksgiving prostration') in reply to Mullā ʿAbd al-Jalīl [Urūmī] (xiii)
 - (vi) in reply to Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Nahrī (xxi)
 - (vii) in reply to Mullā Aḥmad Khurāsānī [Muʿallim-i Ḥisārī?], Dīʿbil, and the son of Mīrzā ʿAlī al-Akḥbārī (xiv)
 - (viii) in reply to Mīrzā Ḥādī and Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Qazvīnī (xix)
 - (ix) in reply to Mullā Ibrāhīm Maḥallātī (xx) - same as 3. xx?
 - (x) in reply to Sayyid Jaʿfar Shubbar (v? xxi?)

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

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

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

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

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

9. Six letters

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

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

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

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

4. *Kitāb al-Ḥusayniyya*. Described as a commentary on the *Sūra Yūsuf*, this is obviously the *Qayyūm al-asmāʾ*.

The ten *ṣuḡuf* are as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴¹ p. 34.

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

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

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

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

10. *Ṣaḥīfa al-Ḥujjatiyya*. This consists of 'fourteen prayers revealed at the beginning of the manifestation'. It seems to be the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi makhzūna*, also known as the *Duʿā-yi ṣaḥīfa*.

Qayyūm al-asmā'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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questions

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁵ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p. 285.

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

⁴⁷ Persian *Bayān* 4:18, p. 148.

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

⁴⁹ 7:1, p. 239.

⁵⁰ *God Passes By*, p. 23. Cf. p. 74.

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

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

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

Tafsīr Ḥadīth al-jāriyya

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

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

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1:9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:28.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:16, 14:31, 23:4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 26:13.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 59:6; cf. 51: 7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 22:21; cf. 57:16.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 24:24.

⁶⁰ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p. 106.

⁶¹ *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, p. 38.

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

The ziyāratnāma for 'Alī

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

Letters to Muḥammad Shāh, Ḥājī Mīrzā Āqāsī, and others

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

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

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

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

⁶⁴ *God Passes By*, p. 24.

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

The Du'ā-yi ṣaḥīfa or Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Şahīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn

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

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

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

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

⁷³ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 137.

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

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

Kitāb al-rūḥ

The fate of the *Kitāb al-rūḥ*, composed at sea on the way back from Iran,⁷⁶ was less fortunate. The Bāb, not given to undue modesty, regarded this composition as 'the greatest of books'⁷⁷ and wanted to send copies to all the ulama.⁷⁸ According to Nicolas, it was seized at the time of the Bāb's arrest en route for Shīrāz and thrown into a well there.⁷⁹ That copy was subsequently rescued by what Nicolas calls 'pious hands', but was by then in a seriously damaged condition.⁸⁰

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

Khaṣṣā 'l-i sab'a

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

⁷⁴ See Navā'ī, *Fitna-yi Bāb*, p. 232, note 6.

⁷⁵ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 137.

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

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

⁷⁸ Ibid and ibid.

⁷⁹ *Séyyed Ali Mohammed*, p. 60.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Letter in Browne F.21, p. 92.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁴ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 142.

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

⁸⁶ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 143.

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

⁸⁸ Fayḍī, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡta-yi Ūlā*, pp. 53-54; Ishrāq Khāvarī, *Muḥaḍḍirāt*, vol. 2, pp. 785-86.

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

Khuṭbas

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

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

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

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

Tafsīr al-basmala

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

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

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

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

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

Second letters to Muḥammad Shāh and Ḥājī Mīrzā Āqāsī

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

Ṣaḥīfa (Kitāb) a'māl al-sana

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

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

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

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

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

Two manuscripts survive (see Appendix One).

Kitāb al-fihrist

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

⁹⁰ See Fayḍī, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuḡta-yi Ūlā*, pp. 148-53. Fayḍī prints part texts of both letters.

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 150.

⁹² Ibid, p. 152.

Ṣaḥīfa-yi Jaʿfariyya

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

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

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

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

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

⁹³ INBMC 60, p. 60.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 117.

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

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

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

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

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

Dur̄ā-yi alf

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁸ *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya*, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Cf. p. 10.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-31. The technical terms listed here are difficult to translate adequately. *Tawḥīd* is the divine oneness, *maʿānī* the divine 'meanings' (normally identified with the imāms), *abwāb* the gates to God (again identified with the imāms), *imāma* the Imamate, *arkān* the pillars of divinity (identified with the imāms), *nuqabāʾ* the 'chiefs' and *nujabāʾ* the 'nobles' of the faith.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

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

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

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

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

1. *Ziyāra jāmi'a (ṣaghīra)* (pilgrimage prayer for Muḥammad, Fāṭima, and all the imāms)
2. On the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*)
3. On the regulations of the ritual prayer (*aḥkām al-ṣalāt*)
4. On alms (*zakāt*)
5. On the one-fifth tax (*khums*)
6. On holy war (*jihād*)
7. On debts (*dayn*)

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

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

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 34. This was another of the charges levelled at al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 41.

¹¹² Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 208.

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

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

Tafsīr Sūrat al-kawthar

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

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

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

¹¹⁴ *Dawn-Breakers*, pp. 174-76.

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

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

¹¹⁷ Navā'ī, *Fitna-yi Bāb*, p. 160.

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

¹¹⁹ Mīrzā Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpāygānī and Sayyid Mahdī Gulpāygānī, *Kashf al-ghīṭa' ʿan ḥiyal al-ʿadā'* (Ashkhabad, n.d.), p. 190.

Other commentaries

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

1. The *Tafsīr āyat al-nūr*, a commentary on the 'Light Verse' (Qur'an 24:35)
2. The *Tafsīr ḥadīth 'naḥnu wajh Allāh'*, a commentary on a tradition of some importance in Shi'ite metaphysics, in which the Imām claims to represent 'the Face of God'¹²⁰
3. The *Tafsīr Sūrat al-qadr*, commenting on the 97th. *sūra* of the Qur'an, in reply to a letter from an unnamed individual
4. The *Tafsīr Sūrat al-tawḥīd*, a commentary on Qur'an 112 (better known as the *Sūrat al-ikhhlās*), also in reply to a letter from an unnamed correspondent¹²¹
5. The *Tafsīr ḥadīth 'man 'arafa nafsahu fa-qad 'arafa rabbahu'*, in interpretation of the well-known tradition 'He who knows himself knows his Lord', also in reply to a questioner
6. The *Tafsīr al-hā' I* and *Tafsīr al-hā' II*, two commentaries on the letter *hā'* (h) of the word *huwa* (he)¹²²
7. The *Tafsīr ḥadīth al-ḥaqīqa*, a commentary on a tradition better known as 'the Tradition of Kumayl', narrated from the Imām 'Alī by his companion Kumayl ibn Ziyād al-Nakha'i¹²³
8. The *Bayān 'illat' tahrīm al-maḥārim*, written to explain the 'reason for the prohibition of those things which are forbidden'. Māzandarānī refers to this work as 'early'¹²⁴

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

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

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

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

¹²⁴ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 288.

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

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

11. The *Bayān taqārub wa tabā'ud*, on 'proximity and separation', a work described as 'early' by Māzandarānī¹²⁵

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

13. The *Bayān fī 'l-nahw wa 'l-ṣarf*, a commentary on grammar and syntax, also included on Māzandarānī's list of 'early' works¹²⁷ not in Appendix 1

14. An elucidation of a statement made by Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī in his commentary on the *Khuṭba al-tutunjiyya* by the Imām 'Alī; this is also one of the 'early' works listed by Māzandarānī¹²⁸

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

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

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

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

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

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

Kitāb al-ʿulamā'

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

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

Four manuscripts are listed in Appendix One.

Other short works

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

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

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

¹³⁰ *Kitāb al-ʿulamā'*, INBMC 67, p. 215.

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 207.

¹³² Ibid, p. 211.

¹³³ Ibid, p. 215.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid, pp. 206, 213, and infra.

¹³⁶ This in itself suggests wide distribution of such writings.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER THREE

LATER WORKS

WORKS WRITTEN BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 1846 AND MARCH 1847

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

Tafsīr Sūra wa 'l-ʿaṣr

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

Nubuwwa khāṣṣa

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

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

Minor works

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p. 116.

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

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

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

⁷ The other four causes are: decree (*qaḍā'*), permission (*idhn*), time appointed (*ajal*), and book (*kitāb*). Cf. the Bāb, *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya*, p. 16; idem, 'Risāla fi tashkhiṣ al-ghinā', in INBMC 82, p. 105 (and other mss.); *al-Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*, Browne F.7, p. 35. See also Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī, *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra*, 4 vols. (Kerman, 1355-56/1976-77), vol. 1, p. 242; Sayyid Kāzīm Rashīd, *Uṣūl al-'aqa'id*, INBMC 4, p. 114.

⁸ This concept is particularly derived from Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī's classic formulation: *kullu mā huwa basīṭ al-ḥaqīqa fa-huwa bi-waḥdatihi kullu 'l-ashyā'* ('all that which is Simple in Its essential Reality is, by virtue of Its [absolute] Unity, all things') — see Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, *The Wisdom of the Throne*, trans. J. W. Morris (Princeton, 1981), p. 98. For a Shaykhī commentary on this formula, see Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī, *Sharḥ al-'Arshiyya*, vol. 1 (Kerman, 1361 Sh./1982), pp. 79ff. A Bahā'ī view may be found in Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Bahā' Allāh, 'Lawḥ-i basīṭ al-ḥaqīqa', in *Ishrāq Khāvarī, Mā'ida-yi āsmānī*, vol. 7, pp. 140-47.

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

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

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

(vi) The first section of *al-Lawāmi' al-badī'* (sic). This is a *risāla* of some twenty pages written in Iṣfahān¹⁰ in reply to Mullā 'Alī Tabrīzī, who wanted the Bāb to compose something along the lines of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashīd's *al-Lawāmi' al-Ḥusayniyya*. In all likelihood, this 'first *ishrāq*' (as it is called) is all that was ever written, since the Bāb indicates in the text that his correspondent wanted him to compose 'a single *ishrāq* (*ishrāq^{an}*) in this style.

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ INBA 7009C, p. 180.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³ INBMC 53, p. 166.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 164.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 172.

WORKS WRITTEN BETWEEN MARCH 1847 AND JULY 1850

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

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

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

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

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

Works written en route to Mākū

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

While at the village of Siyāh-Dihān, the Bāb wrote letters to the ulama of nearby Qazvin. Copies of these were transmitted to the recipients by Mullā Aḥmad Ibdāl Marāghaʾī, a Letter of the Living. Among the ulama addressed were Ḥājī Mullā ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Qazvīnī,¹⁹ Ḥājī Mullā Muḥammad Šāliḥ Baraghānī,²⁰ his brother Ḥājī Mullā Muḥammad Taqī,²¹ and Ḥājī Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Qazvīnī.²² According to the account of this incident given by Shaykh Samandar Qazvīnī, Muḥammad Taqī Baraghānī tore up his letter, but Samandar was able to copy the letter sent to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.²³

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

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

The Persian Bayān

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

¹⁷ *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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

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

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

²² Imām-Jumʿa immediately prior to Muḥammad Taqī Baraghānī.

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

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

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

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

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

²⁵ Azālī Bābīs believe that this was actually carried out by Ṣubḥ-i Azal, whose continuation is entitled *Mulammim-i Bayān* (Tehran, n.d.). Bahā'īs, however, believe that the *Kiṭāb-i ṭqān* (Cairo, 1352/1933) of Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī was the spiritual completion of the Bāb's text (see Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 138).

²⁶ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 248.

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

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

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

The Arabic Bayān

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

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

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

The Persian Dalā'il-i sab'a

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

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

³¹ 'The Bābīs of Persia I', p. 510.

³² Māzandarānī does suggest, however, that the Persian *Bayān* was written after the Arabic, as an expansion of the ideas contained in the shorter book (*Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 2, p. 99).

³³ Tehran, n.d. The text is based on a MS. in the Bāb's hand — reproduced in this volume — extending as far as *wāhid* 9. The remaining two *wāhids* are based on five other mss. Unfortunately, the editor gives no details about the origins of these other copies.

³⁴ In 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥasanī, *al-Bābīyūn wa 'l-Bahā'īyūn fī māḍīthim wa ḥāḍirihim* (Sidon, 1962), pp. 81-107.

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

³⁶ *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, preface, p. 1.

³⁷ Letter to Browne, 1 October 1889.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. iii-iv.

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

⁴¹ *Dalā'il-i sab'a*, p. 64.

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

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

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

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

Other text indications as to the identity of the recipient offer little further help. For example, the addressee is clearly spoken of as having been a pupil of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī⁴⁷ — a description which would fit not only Harawī and Yazdī, but a large number of the early followers of the Bāb. At one point, the Bāb says: 'You yourself know the first of the believers [i.e., Mullā Husayn Bushrū'ī]', but this also could refer either to Yazdī (himself a Letter of the Living) or Harawī (converted by Bushrū'ī in Isfahān).⁴⁸

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

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

The Arabic Dalā'il-i sab'a

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

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

⁴⁵ *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 4, p. 109.

⁴⁶ Shīrāzī, *Dalā'il-i sab'a*, p. 60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

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

⁴⁹ *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 4, p. 108.

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

Qur'ān commentaries

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁰ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 31.

⁵¹ *Bayān-i Fārsī*, 3:16, p. 101.

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

⁵³ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 304.

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

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

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

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

⁵⁴ Ibid.

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

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

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

⁵⁸ Bahā' Allāh, *Ishrāqāt*, p. 47.

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

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

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

The Haykal al-dīn

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

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

⁶⁰ Pp. 85-89, 89-94.

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

⁶² Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 669.

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

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

The Kitāb al-asmā'

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

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

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

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

⁶⁵ *Asrār al-āliḥār*, vol. 1, p. 126.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

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

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

The Khuṭba-yi qahriyya

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁰ *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p. 132.

⁷¹ *Dawn-Breakers*, p. 323.

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

⁷³ INBMC 64, p. 140.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

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

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

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

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

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

This work was written over a period of seventeen days, a group of five passages being penned each day. Five groups are missing from the printed edition. These begin on 1 Bahā' in the year 7 of the Bābī calendar, corresponding to 5 Jumādā I 1266/19 March 1850 (only a few months before the Bāb's execution), and they continue to 21 Jumādā I/4 April. These groups seem to have been sent to several individuals, among them Sayyid Asad Allāh Khū'i Dayyān, Mīrzā Yaḥyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal, Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī, Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Nūrī Bahā' Allāh (or, possibly, Qurrat al-'Ayn), Ḥājī Mīrzā Sayyid 'Alī (the Bāb's uncle, still alive at this date),

⁷⁹ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 381.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 383 n.41. See also Tabrizī, *Tārīkh-i Muṭīn al-Saltāna Tabrizī*, INBA, pp. 151-60; Fayḏī, *Nuqtat al-kāf*, pp. 304-06. Māzandarānī states (*Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 82) that he has included several 'sermons of wrath' addressed to Āqāsi in the previous (unpublished) volume of his history.

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

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

⁸³ *Materials*, p. 207.

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

⁸⁵ See chapter 1.

Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī 'Azīm, Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Zanjānī Hujjat (apparently), Ḥusayn Wahhābī, and Mullā Ibrāhīm Mahallātī (?).⁸⁶

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Letters and short pieces

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. A letter to Mullā Shaykh ‘Alī Turshīzī, in which the Bāb lays claim to the station of *qā’imiyya* (see above). This is the critical letter referred to in the *Nuqṭat al-kāf* (p. 209), which was copied and sent out to the Bāb’s followers, making public for the first time his claim to that status (pp. 13-12 [sic]; facsimile p. 14). *and p 276 in this vol.*

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

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

9. A letter addressed by the Bāb to ‘him whom God shall manifest’, in which he suggests that he should wait for nineteen years before making his appearance (p. 20; facsimile same page). *SWB pp. 6-8*

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

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

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

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

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

3. A letter written from Mākū to Shihāb al-Dīn Sayyid Maḥmūd al-Ālūst, the Muftī of Baghdad, in which the Bāb claims to be the Mahdī and states that he has abolished the Islamic *sharī‘a* (pp. 212-15).

Further letters to Muḥammad Shāh

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

The ‘Tawba-nāma’

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

⁹² Page references are to the Persian translation.

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

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

⁹⁵ Pp. 256-57.

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

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

The Tafsīr Du'ā al-ṣabāḥ

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

Letters to the ulama

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

⁹⁶ Ibid, pp. 248-55.

⁹⁷ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 392.

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

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

¹⁰⁰ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 73.

¹⁰¹ *God Passes By*, p. 24.

¹⁰² *Kitāb-i īqān*, p. 178.

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

Ziyāratnāmas

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

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

Amulets and talismans

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁸ *Panj sha'n*, p. 412.

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

It is unclear what relationship (if any) exists between the *hayākil* described in the *Panj sha'n*, which are rectilinear in shape, and those in the shape of a pentagram, which are the commonest type of Bābī *haykal* encountered. These pentagrams generally consist of repetitious phrases, sometimes incorporating Qur'anic verses and the names of Muḥammad, Fāṭima, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (which suggests a fairly early date for their production). Several excellent examples of such *hayākil* in the Bāb's hand may be found in the Azālī compilation, *Qismaṭī az al-wah-i khaṭṭ-i Nuqṭa-yi Ūlā wa Āqā Sayyid Ḥusayn-i Kātib*. A number of manuscript *hayākil* are noted in Appendix One (under *Hayākil*).

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

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

¹⁰⁹ *Bayān-i Fārsī*, 5:10, p. 166.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7:10, pp. 252-53.

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

¹¹² *Bayān-i Fārsī*, 5:10, p. 166.

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

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

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

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

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

Devotional writings

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

¹¹⁴ Pp. 11 and 22.

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

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 215. Cf. *al-Bayān al-ʿArabī*, 6:10, p. 25.

¹¹⁷ *Haykal al-dīn*, 6:10, p. 24.

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

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

¹²⁰ See ʿA. F., *Āʾīn-i Bāb* (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 69-70, quoting the *Kiṭāb-i chahār sha'n* (*Kiṭāb al-asmāʾ*) and an untitled *ṣaḥīfa*.

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

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

¹²² Vol. 2, pp. 336-37.

¹²³ *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 3, p. 14.

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

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

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

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

¹²⁴ *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 413.

14. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Bihnamīr* by R. Mihrābkhānī, containing details relating to Shaykh Ṭabarī.

15. *Iqlīm-i Nūr* by Muḥammad ‘Alī Malik Khusravī. This work was first published in Tehran in 118 B.E./1962-63. A revised version exists in manuscript.

16. *Khāṭirāt* (Memoirs) of Āqā Sayyid ‘Abd al-Rahīm Iṣfahānī. Part of a collection of narratives on the Bābī-Bahā’ī history of Iṣfahān. I have not seen this document, but Amanat states that it contains new information.⁷

17. *Khāṭirāt* of Sayyid Jawād Muḥarrir. Similar to the above, this is also said by Amanat to contain new material.⁸

18. *Tārīkh-i amrī-yi Ādharbāyījān* by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Milānī. A study in two parts, the first a general survey of Bābī history in Azerbaijan, the second notes on Ḥaydar ‘Alī Uskū’ī’s account (item 5 above).

19. *Waqāyī-i Tihirān* by Mirzā Maḥmūd Zarqānī.

Numerous other short local histories exist in the INBA. For rather sparse details of some of them, see Nuqabā’ī, *Manābiḥ-i tārīkh-i amr*.

⁷ Ibid, p. 427.

⁸ Ibid.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BĀB’S WRITINGS AND THEIR LOCATIONS

*al-Bayān al-‘Arabī*¹

1. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Arabe 2511²
2. Paris, B.N. 4669 (dated late 19th. C.)
3. Iraq, (in possession of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥasanī)³
4. Iraq, (also in possession of al-Ḥasanī)⁴
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 101; dated c.1900)
6. Haifa, IBA (ii)⁵
7. Iran, Azalī possession (in the hand of the Bāb)⁶
8. Iran, Azalī possession
9. Iran, Azalī possession
10. Iran, Azalī possession
11. Iran, Azalī possession
12. Iran, Azalī possession
13. Tehran, INBA 4002C
14. Iran, INBMC 43 (pp. 1-68)
15. Iran, INBMC 86 (pp. 1-64)

Bayān-i Fārsī

1. Cambridge, Browne F.13⁷
2. Cambridge, Browne F.12 (dated before 1282/1865)⁸

¹ In the Cambridge Browne Collection, part of ms. Y.9 is stated to consist of two chapters of the Arabic *Bayān*, but these are part of another, unidentified work.

² This is the text used by Gobineau in preparing his translation.

³ The first of two mss. used by al-Ḥasanī for his printed text. It was obtained for him in 1933 through Ḥājī Maḥmūd al-Qassābchī, chairman of the National Bahā’ī Assembly of Iraq.

⁴ The second of al-Ḥasanī’s two mss. It was obtained in 1956 through Kāmil ‘Abbās, secretary of the National Bahā’ī Assembly of Iraq.

⁵ Although not listed by the Bahā’ī Research Department in Haifa, a ms. of this work is referred to in the bibliography of Zarandī’s *Dawn-Breakers* (p. 671); since this is indicated as having been used by Shoghi Effendi, I presume that it remains in Haifa, possibly among his papers.

⁶ This ms. extends only to wāḥid 9. This and the next five mss. (8 to 12) are those used in the preparation of the Azalī lithographed ed. As with the mss. of the Persian *Bayān* used by the Azalīs, I must presume that they are still in their possession.

⁷ Sent by the Azalī writer Shaykh Aḥmad Rūḥī Kirmānī, 1891.

⁸ Given to Browne in Rāfsanjān, 22 August 1888. It seems to have been transcribed before 22 Muḥarram 1282/17 June 1865.

3. Cambridge, U.L., Or. 34 (8)⁹
 4. St. Petersburg, Institut des Langues Orientales¹⁰
 5. St. Petersburg, Académie Impériale des Sciences¹¹
 6. London, B.L., Or. 2819¹²
 7. London, B.L., Or. 5760
 8. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Persan 1070 (ff. 1-284)¹³
 9. Paris, B.N., Suppl. Persan 1279¹⁴
 10. Unknown (originally Nicolas 115; in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal)¹⁵
 11. Unknown (originally Nicolas 103:1)
 12. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 103:2; in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal)¹⁶
 13. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī; defective)¹⁷
 14. Haifa, IBA (iii) (in the hand of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Muḥammad ‘Alī)
 15. Haifa, IBA (iv) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)
 16. Haifa, IBA (v) (in the hand of Mīrzā Bāqir Khān Shīrāzī)
 17. Haifa, IBA (vi) (in the hand of Mīrzā Abu ‘l-Qāsim Sā‘at-sāz Shīrāzī)
 18. Haifa, IBA (vii) (dated 1293/1876)
 19. Haifa, IBA (viii)
 20. Haifa, IBA (ix)
 21. Haifa, IBA (x)
 22. Haifa, IBA (xi)
 23. Haifa, IBA (xii)
 24. Tehran, INBA 1004C (from a copy in the hand of Mullā Aḥmad Mu‘allim Ḥisārī?)¹⁸
- ⁹ Bought by Browne from Naaman’s, London, 5 February 1901; no colophon.
¹⁰ See Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques*, vol. 3, no. 1. Donated by Bezabrazov.
¹¹ Donated by Bakulin, 1874.
¹² ‘... a very good ms.’, Browne, *Materials*, p. 205, n. Transcribed by the Bahā’ī chronicler Muḥammad Nabil Zarandī. Obtained in Yazd by Sidney Churchill, 1885.
¹³ From Gobineau’s library.
¹⁴ Sent from Nicosia (probably by Riḍvān ‘Alī), October 1897.
¹⁵ This was the text used by Nicolas as the basis for his translation.
¹⁶ Bound with Azal’s *Taqrīb fi ḥaddi nafsihi*
¹⁷ Between the last line of p. 41 and the first line of p. 42, a section corresponding to p. 47, line 3 to p. 69, line 7 of the Tehran lithograph edition has dropped out.
¹⁸ This is described as the *waqf* copy of Aḥmad ibn Ismā‘īl Khurāsānī, the *mutawallī* of the *waqf* being Mullā ‘Alī Bajastānī. According to Māzandarānī (*Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, p. 171), Ḥisārī brought to Mashhad a copy of the Bayān which had been corrected by the Bāb in person. Bajastānī made several copies from this manuscript. A letter in Persian from the Secretariat of the Universal House of Justice (the chief international Bahā’ī authority, based in Israel) is bound with my photocopy of the *Bayān* ms. in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī kept in Haifa. This letter (dated 5 September 1976) refers to ‘the well-known book written in the hand of Mu‘allim-i Ḥisārī and corrected by the Bāb’, but no indication is given as to the whereabouts of this ‘well-known book’.

25. Tehran, INBA 1006C (apparently late 19th. C.; an elegant copy)
26. Tehran, INBA 4008C (dated 1320/1903)
27. Tehran, INBA 6015C (dated 1309/1892; in the hand of *ḥarf al-fā’ wa ‘l-khā’* (‘the letter “f” and “kh”’) from Iṣfahān; an excellent copy)¹⁹
28. Tehran, INBA 6018C (dated 1297/1880; in the hand of Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Alī Nabil ibn Nabil Qazvīnī?)²⁰
29. Tehran, INBA 6019C (dated 1316/1899)
30. Tehran, INBA 6021C (undated)
31. Tehran, Adabiyāt 482 Jawādī (dated 1270/1853-54)
32. Tehran, Pākzād (dated 1305/1888; in the hand of Muḥammad Šadiq Iṣfahānī)²¹
33. Tehran, Pākzād (dated 1346/1927-28)
34. Tehran, Malik 6117 (dated 13th. C.)
35. Tehran, University 3414 (dated 1311/1893)
36. Tehran, University 5169 (dated 13th. C.)
37. Tehran, Dānish-sarā-yi ‘Alī (dated 14th. C.)
38. Tehran, Majlis 5710 (dated 14th. C.)²²
39. Iran, Azalī possession (dated 1273/1857; in the hand of Sayyid Yūsuf Iṣfahānī)²³
40. Iran, Azalī possession (dated 1288/1871; written in Tehran in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal’s son, Nūr Allāh)
41. Iran, Azalī possession (in the hand of Şubḥ-i Azal’s son, Mīrzā Ḥadī Abqā)
42. Iran, Azalī possession (dated 1292/1875; in the hand of Mīrzā Maḥmūd)²⁴
43. Iran, Azalī possession (in the hand of Mīrzā Taqī Iṣfahānī)
44. Iran, Azalī possession (in the hand of Mīrzā Muṣṭafā)²⁵
45. Iran, Azalī possession (in the hand of Ḥājī Mīrzā Maḥdī Amīn)
46. Iran, Azalī possession (in the hand of Sayyid Raḥīm)
47. Iran, Azalī possession (‘other manuscripts’)²⁶
48. Hamadān, I‘timād al-Dawla Library 96 (dated 1320/1902-03)

¹⁹ According to a note in the hand of Muḥammad ‘Alī Fayḍī kept at the front of this copy, the scribe was a Mīrzā Faḍl Allāh Nūrī. This does not, however, appear to account for the second letter in the name, ‘kh’. The most likely place-name beginning with this letter is, of course, ‘Khurāsānī’, but the number of proper names beginning with ‘f’ is too great to make a firm identification easy.

²⁰ A note in the hand of Dr. Muḥammad Afnān, kept in the cover of the photocopy of this ms., suggests this identification for the scribe.

²¹ See Munzawī, *Fihrist*, 17192.

²² Incorrectly catalogued as ‘*iqān*’.

²³ This and the following eight mss. (40-47) are those used in the preparation of the 1946 Azalī lithographed edition. I possess no information as to the exact whereabouts of any of them.

²⁴ Mīrzā Maḥmūd was a son of Mīrzā Karīm and Fāṭima Khānum, a young sister of Şubḥ-i Azal who acted as intermediary between Qurrat al-‘Ayn and other Bābīs during her term of house-arrest in the residence of Maḥmūd Khān Kalāntar in Tehran.

²⁵ Browne’s scribe.

²⁶ *Bayān-i Fārsī*, lith, ed., afterword, p. 1.

49. Yazd, Muḥammad 'Alī Farhumand (in the hand of Ghulām 'Alī Ra'īs)

Bayān fi 'ilm al-jawāmid wa 'l-mushitāqāt

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 145-49
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 350-52
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 81-83
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 130-34

Bayān 'illatī tahrīm al-maḥārim

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 159-63
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 352-54
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 87-89
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 493-96
5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 165-69

Bayān jabr wa tafwīd

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 375-77
2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 473-77
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 53-56

Bayān mas'ilat al-qadar

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 110-15
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 192-95
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 67-69
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 134-38

Bayān taqārūb wa tabā'ud

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 141-45
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 348-50
3. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 187-89
4. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 80-81
5. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 455-58
6. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 77-79
7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 179-81

✓ *Dalā'il sab'a* (Arabic) 2: 101b

1. Tehran, INBA 2007C (ff. 1a-13b)
2. Tehran, Azālī possession²⁷
3. Haifa, IBA (originally Nicolas 106, with Persian text)

✓ *Dalā'il-i sab'a* (Persian) 2: 104a

1. Cambridge, Browne F.22
2. Cambridge, Browne F.25²⁸
3. London, B.L. Or. 5109 (in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)
4. Paris, B.N. 6154 (in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)²⁹
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 116; dated 1313/1895; in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)³⁰
6. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 106)³¹
7. Haifa, IBA (iii)³²
8. Haifa, IBA (iv) (incomplete)
9. Haifa, IBA (v) (in the hand of 'Andalīb)³³
10. Haifa, IBA (vi)
11. Tehran, INBA 2007C (ff. 13b-64b)
12. Tehran, Malik 6110 (dated 1288/1871-72)
13. Tehran, in private hands (in the hand of 'Alī Tavāngar)

✓ *Difā-yi alf* 2: 135b

1. Iran (used as basis for citation by Māzandarānī, *Asrār al-āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 179-82)

²⁷ This ms. is the basis for the printed text published with the Persian *Dalā'il-i sab'a*.

²⁸ In the course of his visit to Ṣubḥ-i Azāl in Cyprus, from March to April 1890, Browne brought with him a copy of this work previously transcribed by himself; this copy he lent to Azāl, who kept it for a few days, transcribed it, and returned it with a few minor emendations, declaring it to be genuine. (Browne, *Catalogue and Description*, p. 447.). This ms. represents Browne's transcription with Azāl's emendations.

²⁹ With works by Ṣubḥ-i Azāl.

³⁰ This ms. includes annotations written by Ṣubḥ-i Azāl and by Riḍvān 'Alī at the former's dictation.

³¹ With other works.

³² There is a reference to a ms. of this work in the bibliography of Zarandī (p. 671). Although I have listed it separately here, assuming that it is among the papers of Shoghi Effendi, it may very well be included among other mss. at Haifa.

³³ With other works. 'Andalīb is the well-known Bahā'ī poet Āqā Mīrzā 'Alī Ashraf Lahijānī (c.1270/1853-54 to 1335/1916-17).

✓ *Du'ā-yi ṣaḥīfa: see Saḥīfa makhzūna*

Hayākil (various)

1. Cambridge, Browne, Folder 4 (item 10) (several *hayākil* mounted on card, sent by Mīrzā Muṣṭafā)
2. Cambridge, Browne, Folder 3 (item 6) (*haykal* in the Bāb's hand; reproduced as frontispiece to *Nuṣṣat al-kāf*)
3. London, B.L., Or. 6887 (a large *haykal* said to be in the Bāb's hand; presented by Claude Cobham)
4. Tehran, Azālī possession (?)³⁴

Haykal al-dīn

1. Iran, Azālī possession (defective; possibly made from original in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī)
2. Iran, Azālī possession (dated 1268/1852; in the hand of 'a Bahā'ī scribe')
3. Iran, Azālī possession (dated 1267/1851-52; in the hand of Āqā Sayyid Raḥīm Iṣfahānī)

Khaṣā'il-i sab'a

No surviving ms. is known to the present author; however, both Fayḍī and Ishrāq Khāvarī refer to the contents, from which we may infer the existence of at least one copy in Iran.

✓ *Khuṭba-yi qahriyya* 2: 45b

1. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 1-13
2. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 127-50

Khuṭbas

- (i) 'Two *khuṭbas* [written] in Būshīr'
1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 341-48
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 359-63

- (ii) 'A *khuṭba* [written] in Banakān'
- No surviving ms. known.

- (iii) 'A *khuṭba* [written] in Kanakān'
1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 351-58
 2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 355-59

(iv) 'A *khuṭba* on the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr' (= *khuṭba* written in Masqat)

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 359-96 66
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 326-30

(v) 'A *khuṭba* [written] in Jidda

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 330-35
2. Tehran, INBA 3036C, pp. 404ff. (This is a Xerox copy of a ms. in private possession elsewhere in Iran.)

(vi) 'A *khuṭba* on the sufferings of the Imām Ḥusayn' (= *Khuṭba fi 'l saḥīfa*)

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 317-20

(vii) 'Three *khuṭbas* [written] on the way to Mecca'

None of these seem to have survived.

✓ (viii) 'A *khuṭba* for Mullā Ḥusayn [written] on board ship' (?= 'a *khuṭba* [written] in Jidda at the time of his embarkation on the ship') 41: 104^a

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 348-51
2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 339-40

(ix) 'A *khuṭba* on gematria'

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 315-17
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 209-213
3. Tehran, INBMC 67, pp. 228-33

(x) 'A *khuṭba* [written] one stage from Medina'

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 322-24

(xi) 'Two *khuṭbas* [written] near the staging-post of al-Ṣafrā'

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 320-22 and 324-26

(xii) A *khuṭba* written as a preface to the *Tafsīr Sūrat al-kawthar* (see under that title)

³⁴ The originals of the *haykals* reproduced in *Qismatī az alwāḥ-i khaṭṭ*.

✓ *Kitāb al-asmā' (Kitāb asmā' i Kullī shay' / Tafṣīr al-asmā')*³⁵ v.30

1. Cambridge, Browne F.17 (Vol. 1; defective)
2. Cambridge, Browne F.16 (Vol. 2; defective)
3. Cambridge, Browne F.19 (Vol. 1; defective)
4. Cambridge, Browne F.18 (Vol. 2; defective)
5. Cambridge, Browne F.20
6. London, B.L. Or. 5278
7. London, B.L. Or. 5487
8. London, B.L. Or. 5488
9. London, B.L. Or. 5489
10. London, B.L. Or. 5490
11. London, B.L. Or. 5869
12. London, B.L. Or. 6255 (ff. 1-265)³⁶
13. Paris, B.N. 5806 (in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)
14. Paris, B.N. 5807 (in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)
15. Paris, B.N. 6141 (in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)
16. Paris, B.N. 6142 (in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)
17. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 104; dated 1323/1905; from 2:10 to 7:19)
18. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 104; dated 1321/1903; from 8:1 to 19:18)
19. Haifa, IBA (iii) (in the hand of Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī; 27 sheets)
20. Haifa, IBA (iv)
21. Haifa, IBA (v)
22. Haifa, IBA (vi)
23. Haifa, IBA (vii)
24. Haifa, IBA (viii)
25. Tehran, INBA 6002C (82 sections, most of four grades)
26. Tehran, Millī 584/5

✓ *Kitāb al-fihrist* 4: 1^a

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 62-69
2. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 285-93
3. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 339-48
4. Unknown (originally belonging to Nicolas, as chapter six of his copy of the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*)

³⁵ The B.L. ms. Or. 5481 listed by Browne (*Materials*, p. 206) as a ms. of the *Kitāb al-asmā'* is not a Bābī work at all. Another ms. there (Or. 6255) contains, apart from a copy of the *Kitāb al-asmā'* (ff. 1-265), twenty prayers (several of them titled), written mostly for the days of the week or for recitation after noon or morning devotions.

³⁶ Bought from E. Hindamian, 15 October 1901.

Kitāb al-ḥimān? see p. 125

Kitāb al-rūḥ

1. Haifa, IBA (i)
2. Haifa, IBA (ii)
3. Haifa, IBA (iii)
4. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 69-100 and 61-173 (dated 1261/1845; 98 *sūras* only)³⁷
5. Tehran, INBA 7005C (undated; 415 *sūras* only)

Kitāb al-ṭahāra

1. Tehran, INBA 5010C, pp. 166-75 (apparently incomplete)

✓ *Kitāb al-ʿulamā'* 4: 106^b

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 318-28 (carries title)
2. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 83-92
3. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 452-63
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 206-16

✓ *Kitāb ʿmāl al-sana: see Ṣaḥīfa ʿmāl al-sana**Kitāb-i haykal/Kitāb-i hayākil* (= last five sections of the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n*)*Kitāb-i panj sha'n/Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*³⁸ v.2 (selections)

1. Cambridge, Browne F.15 (in the hand of Azal) (*Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*)³⁹
2. London, B.L. Or. 5612 (*dar bayān-i shu'ūn-i daʿwāt*)
3. London, B.L. Or. 6680 (*Kitāb al-Bayān fi 'l-shu'ūn al-khamṣa*)
4. Paris, B.N. 6143 (in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī) (*Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*)
5. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 106; with other works) (*Panj sha'n*)

³⁷ Sections 1 to 64 are on pages 69 to 100; sections 64 to 69 are on page 61; sections 69 to 98 are in the margins of pages 62 to 73.

³⁸ Works of either title are listed here; a few other alternative titles are also given.

³⁹ This ms. contains eight sections, each with five grades, as follows: 1. *al-ilāh al-ilāh*; 2. *al-awḥad al-awḥad*; 3. *al-abḥā al-abḥā*; 4. *al-ajmal al-ajmal*; 5. *al-aqwam al-aqwam*; 6. *al-aḥad al-aḥad*; 7. *al-ajlal al-ajlal*; 8. *al-anwar al-anwar*. These sections correspond to those of the same name in the lithographed edition, though they do not always occur in the same order. They are followed (pp. 394-95) by a short closing section, beginning: *shahada 'llāh annahu lā ilāha illā huwa al-ʿazīz al-maḥbūb*.

6. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally Nicolas 112; in the hand of Mīrzā Muṣṭafā) (*Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*)
7. Haifa, IBA (iii) (*Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*)
8. Haifa, IBA (iv) (*Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*)
9. Haifa, IBA (v) (*Panj sha'n*)
10. Tehran, Azālī possession (*Panj sha'n*)⁴⁰
11. Tehran, Pakzād (in the hand of Azāl; two of five grades only) (*Panj sha'n*)

Lawḥ-i ḥurūfāt (= *Kitāb-i haykal/Kitāb-i hayākil*) = last 5 sections of the *Panj Sha'n*

Letters (all pre-1246? - see p. 74)

Items marked with an asterisk are either referred to by name in the list of letters and prayers in the *Kitāb al-fihrist* or are assumed to be identical with pieces mentioned there.

1. Iran, INBMC 98 (i) On the apostasy of Mullā Jawād Vilyānī, pp. 111-22

2. Iran, INBMC 67

(i) On the words 'the Essence of 'Alī is in contact with the Essence of God', pp. 100-104

(ii) On alteration of the divine Will and the 'preserved tablet', pp. 172-76

(iii) On illness, p. 176

(iv) On the *hajj*, pp. 176-77

✕ (v) On gematria and alchemy, pp. 203-04

(vi) To a certain Sayyid Ḥasan, in which the Bāb refers to the trial of Baṣṭāmī, instructs the Letters of the Living to travel to Karbalā', and indicates that one of them should teach his verses in the house of Rashtī there. This letter seems to have been written on the return journey from Mecca. (pp. 216-219)

3. Tehran, INBA 5014C

(i) In reply to six questions from Mīrzā Sulaymān, pp. 159-63

(ii) On the imāms, to an unknown recipient, pp. 163-66

(iii) In reply to four questions, to an unknown recipient, pp. 170-71

(iv) A prayer and a reply to a question from an unknown correspondent, pp. 173-88

(v) A prayer for Sayyid Ja'far Shubbar, pp. 216-18* (cf. xxii)

⁴⁰ This ms. is the basis of the lithograph text.

(vi) To 'Abd al-Wahhāb, pp. 257-64

(vii) On *istiṭāḥ* (asking the explanation of texts), pp. 264-69

(viii) To Aqa Sayyid Jawād [Karbalā'ī?], pp. 269-70

(ix) To Mullā Mahdī Khū'ī, pp. 270-71

(x) To Mullā Ḥasan Bajastānī, 271-75

(xi) To Mullā Aḥmad Mu'allim Ḥisārī, pp. 275-79

(xii) In reply to a question from an unknown correspondent, pp. 279-84

(xiii) Prayer in reply to Mullā 'Abd al-Jalīl, to be read during the 'thanksgiving prostration' (*sijdat al-shukr*), p. 294*

(xiv) Prayer in reply to Mullā Aḥmad Khurāsānī, Dī'bil, and the son of Mīrzā 'Alī al-Akhbarī, pp. 295-98*

(xv) Prayer written at the request of Karbalā'ī 'Alī Aṣghar Khurāsānī, p. 298*

(xvi) Prayer written in Medina in reply to Ḥajj Sayyid 'Alī Kirmānī, pp. 298-99*

(xvii) To Ḥajj Sulaymān Khān, written in Medina* 299-300?

(xviii) Prayer in reply to several believers, on twenty questions, pp. 300-04*

(xix) Prayer in reply to Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī and Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Qazvīnī, pp. 305-08*

(xx) Prayer in reply to Mullā Ibrāhīm Maḥallātī, pp. 308-11*

(xxi) Prayer in reply to Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Nahrī, Mullā Maḥmūd, and other believers, pp. 311-15*

(xxii) Prayer in reply to Sayyid Ja'far Shubbar, pp. 315-18* (cf. v)

(xxiii) Prayer (copied from the hand of) Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrū'ī, pp. 318-19 - in *Fihrist*

(xxiv) To Ḥajj Mīrzā Ḥasan Khurāsānī, pp. 319-21 =

(xxv) To an unknown recipient, pp. 322-24 *Kitāb on gematria & alchemy*

(xxvi) To his wife (*li 'l-bayt*), p. 330*

(xxvii) To Karīm Khān Kirmānī (?), p. 331

4. Tehran, INBA 6012C

(i) To the people of Mecca, pp. 257-260 (identical to his letter to Sharīf Sulaymān of Mecca)*

(ii) Prayer in reply to Ḥajj Sayyid 'Alī Kirmānī, pp. 260-61*

(iii) To Ḥajj Sulaymān Khān, pp. 261-62*

(iv) To an unknown recipient, pp. 262-64 = Muḥammad Shāh I (partial)

5. Tehran, INBA 5006C

(i) On two questions, in reply to an unknown correspondent, pp. 347-48

(ii) On seven questions raised by Mīrẓā Muḥammad Yazdī, pp. 363-65

(iii) In reply to Mullā 'Abd al-Jalīl, pp. 365-67

(iv) To Ḥājī Mīrẓā Āqāsī, pp. 365-71

367?

6. Tehran, INBA 4011C

(i) On three questions, pp. 137-41

(ii) To Mīrẓā Muḥammad Yazdī, pp. 149-56

(iii) To 'Abd al-Jalīl, pp. 156-59

(iv) To 'Jalīl's brother' (*akh al-Jalīl*), pp. 163-64

(v) To 'Ḥabīb', pp. 164-65

7. Tehran, INBA 6004C

(i) To 'Abd al-Jalīl, in reply to five questions, pp. 198-200

(ii) In reply to three questions, pp. 200-04 200-202 and 202-204 separate?

(iii) To an unknown recipient, pp. 207-09

(iv) In reply to questions on gematria, pp. 213-15

8. Cambridge, Browne F.28 (item 7)

(i) To Sharīf Sulaymān and the people of Mecca*

(ii) To Ḥājī Sulaymān Khān*

9. Cambridge, Browne F.25 (item 3)

For a list of contents, see Appendix Five.

Letter to Ḥājī Mīrẓā Āqāsī I

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 332-36 (undated, but early)

2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 369-71 (dated 1262/1846)

same

Letter to Ḥājī Mīrẓā Āqāsī II

1. Iran (basis for published text in Fayḍī, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuqta*, pp. 151-53)

Letter to Ḥājī Mīrẓā Āqāsī III Chikriq

1. Iran (basis for published text in Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 85-89)

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh I

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 328-32 (undated, but early)

2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 367-69 (dated 1262/1846)

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh II

1. Cambridge, Browne F.28 (item 7)

2. Iran (basis for published text in Fayḍī, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuqta*, pp. 149-51)

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh III

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 13-18) SWB 24

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh IV

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 5-8) SWB 11

Letter to Muḥammad Shāh V

1. Haifa, IBA (basis for published text in *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 9-13) SWB 12

2. Iran, private possession (basis for published text in Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol. 3, pp. 82-85)

Minor Works (Isfahān)

✓ (i) Letter to Manūchīhr Khān 2: 1306

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 383-88

2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 133-36 (entitled *fadhlaka*)

3. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 411-416

4. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 11

(ii) Letter to the governor of Shūstar

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 408-15

2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 137-43 INBMC 14: 417

3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 68-75 345?

4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 194-203 195?

5. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 12

(iii) Letter to Mīrẓā Sa'īd Ardistānī

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 416-30

2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 144-54

3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 419-31

4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 259-73

5. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 419-34

6. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 10

(iv) Letter to Mīrẓā Muḥammad 'Alī al-Mudhahhib = *sharḥ du'ā al-rabā'ī*

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 398-407

2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 155-62

3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 406-11 see (viii)

4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 219-28

(v) *Letter commenting on a tradition of the Imām Riḍā'*

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 390-92
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 162-64
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 404-06
4. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 15

(vi) *The first ishrāq of al-Lawāmi' al-badī'*

1. Tehran, INBA 7009C, pp. 175-202
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 164-80

(vii) *Tafsīr written in reply to Mīrzā Ḥasan Waqāyī-nigār*

1. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 180-192
2. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 385-98
3. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 85-100
4. Cambridge, Browne F.28, item 7:4

(viii) *Letter to a theological student on the questions in the Qur'ān*

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 393-98
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 192-96
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 406-11 *see (iv)*
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 273-79 (dated 30 Ramadan 1264/31 August 1848 [?])
5. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 13

(ix) *Sharḥ kayfiyyat al-mī'rāj*

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 388-90
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 197-98
3. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 402-04
4. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 416-18
5. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 14

(x) *Risāla on singing*

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 430-50
2. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 202-20
3. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 233-59
4. Iran, INBMC 82, pp. 96-133

(xi) *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya II*

1. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 157-80
2. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 70-98

(xii) *Letter in reply to three questions*

1. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 398-400

(xiii) *Letter on the significance of the letters of the alphabet*

1. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 400-02

✓ *Nubuwwa khāṣṣa: see al-Risāla fi 'l-nubuwwa al-khāṣṣa*

Prayers

The following manuscripts contain substantial numbers of prayers and other unclassified works by the Bāb:

1. Cambridge, Browne F.14 (*Min āthār al-Bayān*)
2. Cambridge, Browne F.25 (*Min āthār al-Bayān*) = F.23 ?
3. Cambridge, Browne Folder 4 (item 10) (29 letters, *hayākil*, etc. mounted on card; received from Mīrzā Mīrzā Muṣṭafā, 3 June 1913)
4. London, B.L. Or. 5629 (*Āthār-i mutafarriqa-yi Bayān*; prayers, etc.)
5. London, B.L. Or. 6255 (20 prayers, following *Kitāb al-asmā'*)
6. Tehran, INBA 6001C (prayers)
7. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 173-227, 294-319, 324-30 (prayers)
8. Tehran, INBA 6005C (prayers)

✓ *Qayyūm al-asmā'*

1. Cambridge, Browne F.11 (dated 1891)
2. Leningrad (see Rosen, *Collections Scientifiques*, vol.1, pp. 179-91)
3. Leningrad (formerly in the Rosen collection)
4. London, BL Or. 3539
5. London, BL Or. 6681
6. Paris, BN 6435 (dated 1909, in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)
7. Paris, BN 5780 (dated 1897, in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī; this ms. is bound with a copy of the *tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-baqara*)
8. Tehran, INBA 6020C (dated 1275/1858-59, apparently in the hand of Sayyid Mahdī Dahajī, transcribed in Baghdad)
9. Tehran, INBA 6016C (dated 1281/1864)
10. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 5-262 (dated 1262/1846, in the hand of 'Muḥammad 'Alī', transcribed in Karbalā')
11. Haifa, IBA (formerly Nicolas 107; the ms. seems incomplete) (i)
12. Haifa, IBA (ii)
13. Haifa, IBA (iii)

14. Haifa, IBA (iv)
15. Haifa, IBA (v) (defective)
16. Haifa, IBA (vi) (dated 1261/1845, in the hand of Muḥammad Mahdī Shāh Karam: the oldest ms.)
17. Princeton, University Library, 'Bābī Collection' 55. ⁴¹

✓ *Risāla fi 'l-nubuwwa al-khāssa* 2: 1156

1. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally Nicolas 101)
2. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarrribīn)⁴¹
3. Haifa, IBA (iii)⁴²
4. Haifa, IBA (iv)
5. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 1-60
6. Tehran, INBA 4012C, pp. 13-76
7. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 311-82

Risāla fi 'l-tasdīd

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 121-23
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 207-09 (without *Risāla fi 'l-sulūk*)
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 72-73
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 477-80
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 61-63
6. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 143-45

? ✓ *Risāla furūṣ al-ʿadliyya* 2: 776 ?

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 148-82 (Persian translation only)
2. Tehran, INBA 5010C, pp. 82-166 (Arabic text with Persian translation)⁴³
3. Tehran, INBA 6011C, pp. 81-120 (Persian translation only)⁴⁴

⁴¹ With other works.

⁴² With other works.

⁴³ This ms. seems at first confused: pages 1 to 11 are blank; pages 12 to 82 contain the five *abwāb* which constitute the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya*; pages 82 to 86 contain the *Ziyāra jāmiʿa* in Arabic, erroneously numbered 'bāb six'; pages 86 to 119 contain the six remaining *abwāb* of the *Risāla furūṣ al-ʿadliyya*, numbered as *abwāb* 7 to 12; pages 119 to 130 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 7 (i.e., *bāb* 2 of the *Risāla*), numbered as 'bāb 13'; pages 130 to 141 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 8 (*bāb* 3 of the *risāla*), without a chapter number; pages 141 to 153 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 9 (*bāb* 4 of the *risāla*), numbered as 'bāb 14'; pages 153 to 160 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 10 (*bāb* 5 of the *risāla*), without a chapter number; pages 160 to 163 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 11 (*bāb* 6 of the *risāla*), without a chapter number; pages 163 to 166 contain the Persian translation of *bāb* 12 (*bāb* 7 of the *risāla*), without a chapter number. Pages 166 to 175 contain the piece entitled *Kutāb al-tahāra*.

⁴⁴ 6011C contains only the Persian translation of the *Risāla*, following a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya*. Several pages have dropped out between what are now numbered pages

Ṣaḥīfa-yi ʿadliyya

1. Tehran, INBA 6011C (pp. 1-77)
2. Tehran, INBA 5010C (pp. 12-82)
3. Tehran, INBA 3006C pp. ?
4. Tehran, 6012C, pp. 265-99 (contains *bābs* three and four only)
5. Tehran (used as basis for Azālī printed text)
6. Tehran, Malik Library 5677 (dated 1263/1846-47)
7. Tehran, Tehran University Library 1350/2 (dated 13th. C)
8. Tehran, Millī library 586/1 (dated 13th. C)
9. Haifa, IBA (i)
10. Haifa, IBA (ii)
11. Haifa, IBA (iii) (dated 1322/1904)
12. Haifa, IBA (iv) (originally Nicolas 106)
13. Iran, INBMC 82, pp. 134-205

✓ *Ṣaḥīfa ʿmāl al-sana* 4: 168⁶

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 262-78
2. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 413-52

✓ *al-Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-haramayn* 4: 115⁶

1. Cambridge, CUL, Or. 943 (8) (dated 1894, in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)⁴⁵
2. Cambridge, Browne F.7 (dated 1905, in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)⁴⁶
3. London, BL, Or. 5325 (in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)
4. Paris, BN 5804 (dated 1898, in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)
5. Paris, BN 6248 (dated 1904, in the hand of Riḍvān ʿAḥ)⁴⁷
6. Leiden, UL, 2414 (dated 1263/1847, Shīrāz)⁴⁸
7. Haifa, IBA (i) (dated 1261/1845, Shīrāz)
8. Haifa, IBA (ii)
9. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 179-252 (dated 1261/1845, in the hand of 'Muḥammad ʿAḥ')

113 and 114: the last line of p. 113 corresponds to line 12, p. 149 in ms. INBA 5010C, and the first line of p. 114 to line 14, p. 160.

⁴⁵ This forms part of a collection containing works of Mīrzā Yahyā Ṣubḥ-i Azāl. It was given by Azāl himself to Cobham on 26 January 1897, and by the latter to Guy Le Strange, who donated it to Cambridge University Library in February 1916. There is a note of the date written in English on the last page: February 4, 1898; this, however, does not seem to correspond to the Bābī date in the colophon.

⁴⁶ Given to Browne by Cobham in May 1906.

⁴⁷ Bound with Ṣubḥ-i Azāl's *Mustayqiz* and *La'ālī wa majālī*.

⁴⁸ 'The best and oldest manuscript' (Browne, *Materials*, p. 200). This is no longer true in respect of the age of the ms.

10. Tehran, INBA 6007C, pp. 348-413 (undated)

11. Unknown, originally owned by Nicolas⁴⁹

Ṣaḥīfa-yi Jaʿfariyya

1. Iran, INBMC 60, pp. 57-154

2. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 48-108 (chapters 1 to 4 missing)

3. Unknown (copy used by Jelal Azal to prepare pages for presentation to William Miller)

Ṣaḥīfa makhzūna/Duʿā-yi ṣaḥīfa 4:57^a

1. Haifa, IBA (i)

2. Haifa, IBA (ii)

3. Haifa, IBA (iii)

4. Haifa, IBA (iv) (originally in possession of Nicolas; dated 1261/1845, in the hand of Muḥammad ʿAlī Khurāsānī Nishāpūrī)

5. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 284-314 (dated 1262/1846)

6. Tehran, INBA 6009C, pp. 1-171 (undated, but early; possibly in the hand of Taqī Mūsawī)⁵⁰

7. Cambridge, CUL, Add. 3704 (6) (undated)

Sharḥ on a statement of Sayyid Kāzīm Rashīd in his commentary on the Khuṭba al-ṭutunjiyya of ʿAlī

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 171-76

2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 343-45

3. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 204-07

4. Iran, INBMC 67, p. 125-29

Tafsīr āyat al-nūr v-7

1. Cambridge, Browne F.21, item 27

2. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 134-37

3. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 345-57

4. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 77-78

5. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 485-88

6. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 75-77

7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 155-57

⁴⁹ In *Séyyed Ali Mohammed*, he refers to the 'manuscrit de ma bibliothèque' more than once. I am, however, unaware of the present whereabouts of this copy.

⁵⁰ This is a confused copy. Its contents are arranged as follows: pp. 1-2, Introduction; 3-18, Prayer 1; 18-42 (line 2), Prayer 2; 42 (lines 2-9), last section of Prayer 5, beginning after the heading *wa qul baʿda ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*; 42 (line 10)-48, Prayer 10; 48-56, Prayer 3; 56-124, Prayers 4 to 9; 125-32, Prayer 11; 132-71, Prayers 12 to 14.

? *Tafsīr Duʿā al-ṣabāḥ* 2:179^a ?

1. Cambridge, Browne F.21 (item 26)

2. Tehran, 4012C (pp. 96-109)

✓ *Tafsīr al-hā' I* 2:181^a

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 2-58

2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 221-74

3. Iran, private possession (copy in Tehran, INBA 4002C)

4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 81-125

5. Iran, INBMC 67, p. 4-52

6. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 99-154

✓ *Tafsīr al-hā' II* 2:193^b

1. Tehran, INBA 3006C, pp. 58-96

2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 274-310

3. Iran, private possession (copy in Tehran, INBA 4002C)

4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 125-56

5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 52-85

6. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 154-81

Tafsīr al-ḥamd

1. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 84-129

2. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 5-41 = INBMC 14

3. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 120-55

Tafsīr ḥadīth al-ḥaqīqa

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 127-34

2. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 74-77

3. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 458-64

4. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 63-68

5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 148-55

✓ *Tafsīr ḥadīth al-jāriyya* 4:100^b

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 176-79 (dated 1261/1845)

2. Tehran, INBA 5006C, pp. 373-75 (dated 1262/1846)

3. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 189-92 (undated)

4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 490-93 (undated)

5. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 157-60

6. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-*Āmma* li' l-*Āthār wa' l-Turāth*, 10824, item 2 [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh]⁵¹

Tafsīr ḥadīth 'kullu yawm 'Āshūrā'

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 118-21
2. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 70-72
3. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 488-90
4. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 141-43

✓ *Tafsīr ḥadīth 'man 'arafa nafsaḥu fa-qad 'arafa rabbahū'* 2:152^a

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 101-110
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 180-87
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 63-67
4. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 464-73
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 46-53
6. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 82-84 (incomplete)
7. Iran, INBMC 67, pp. 181-90

Tafsīr ḥadīth nahnu wajh Allāh

1. Tehran, INBA 4011C, pp. 115-18 INBA 14:429
2. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 195-97
3. Tehran, INBA 6006C, pp. 69-70
4. Iran, INBMC 53 (pp. 56-58)
5. Iran, INBMC 67 (pp. 138-40)

Tafsīr Haykal al-dīn (sections 1 and 2)

1. Iran, Azālī possession (in the hand of Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Ṣfahānī)

Tafsīr (ḥurūf) al-basmala

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 41-94
2. Tehran, INBA 6012C, pp. 300-93
3. Tehran, INBA 6013C, pp. 2-109
4. Tehran, INBA 6014C, pp. 299-370
5. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 1-45
6. Iran, INBMC 60, pp. 1-56
7. Iran, INBMC 64, pp. 33-80
8. Haifa, IBA (I)
9. Haifa, IBA (ii) (originally in the possession of Nicolas)

⁵¹ Part of the collection entitled *Majmū' fi' l-'aqa'id al-Bābiyya wa' l-Bahā'iyya* [sic].

Tafsīr Sūrat al-baqara

1. Cambridge, Browne F.8
2. London, BL Or. 5277
3. Paris, BN 5780 (hand of Ridvān 'Alī; dated 1897)
4. Paris, BN 5805 (hand of Ridvān 'Alī)
5. Paris, BN 6610 (hand of Ridvān 'Alī)
6. Haifa, IBA (originally Nicolas 102)
7. Princeton, University Library, 'Bābī Collection' v.2 16-496
8. Princeton, University Library, 'Bābī Collection' v.40 16-956
9. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-*Āmma* li' l-*Āthār wa' l-turāth* 10824, item 1 [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh]⁵²
10. Tehran, INBA 6004C, pp. 2-178
11. Tehran, INBA 6012C, pp. 60-257
12. Tehran, INBA 6014C, pp. 1-296
13. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 156-410 (pp. 372 to the end contain an extension of the commentary to verse 133)
14. Iran, INBMC 86, pp. 65-69 (introductory section only)
15. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 23-27 (introductory section only)

Tafsīr Sūrat al-kawthar

1. Cambridge, Browne F.10 (dated 1296/1879)⁵³
2. London, British Library, Or. 5080
3. Yazd, Muḥammad 'Alī Farhumand collection⁵⁴ (in the hand of Ghulām 'Alī Ra'īs; 14th./19th-20th C)
4. Haifa, IBA (i) (originally in the possession of Nicolas, no. 101; dated 1322/1904)
5. Haifa, IBA (ii) (dated 1323/1905)
6. Haifa, IBA (iii) (possibly in the hand of Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī)⁵⁵
7. Haifa, IBA (iv) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)
8. Haifa, IBA (v) (probably in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)⁵⁶
9. Haifa, IBA (vi)⁵⁷
10. Tehran, INBA 5014C, pp. 1-83 (incomplete)⁵⁸

⁵² Part of *ibid.*

⁵³ This copy was sent to Browne from Iran via Cyprus.

⁵⁴ See A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khatī-i Fārsī*, 6 vols. (Tehran, 1348-53 Sh/1969-74), item 17216.

⁵⁵ From line 15, folio 116b, corresponding to line 12, folio 115b in Browne F.10; this and the Cambridge ms. diverge to the end.

⁵⁶ With other works.

⁵⁷ With other works.

⁵⁸ The text ends at a point corresponding to line 2, folio 62b of Browne F.10.

11. Iran, INBMC 53, pp. 181-383
12. Baghdad, al-Mu'assasa al-Āmma li' l-Āthār wa' l-Turāth, 10824, item 3 [hand of Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh]⁵⁹

Tafsīr Sūrat al-qadr

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 211-19
2. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 14-21
3. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 158-65

Tafsīr Sūrat al-tawhīd

1. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 199-211
2. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 2-13
3. Iran, INBMC 98, pp. 165-74

*Tafsīr Sūra wa' l-ʿaṣr*⁶⁰

1. Cambridge, Browne F.9
2. London, BL, Or. 5112
3. Paris, BN 6531 (dated 1911, in the hand of Riḍvān 'Alī)⁶¹
4. Haifa, IBA (i) (possibly in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)
5. Haifa, IBA (ii) (in the hand of Zayn al-Muqarribīn)⁶²
6. Haifa, IBA (iii)⁶³
7. Tehran, INBA 6010C, pp. 95-198
8. Tehran, INBA 7009C, pp. 5-130
9. Iran, INBMC 40, pp. 6-80
10. Iran, INBMC 69, pp. 21-119

Ziyāra jāmi'a kabīra

1. Cambridge, Browne F.22 (item 1)
2. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 132-45 (incomplete)
3. Tehran, INBA 6009C, pp. 173-219 (incomplete; dated 1267/1851)
4. Iran, INBMC 50, pp. 1-72
5. Russia (?), Kazem Beg copy

⁵⁹ Part of the collection entitled *Majmūʿ fi' l-ʿaqa'id al-Bābiyya wa' l-Bahā'iyya* [sic].

⁶⁰ In the Cambridge and British Library texts, the *tafsīr* is followed by a doxology on Fāṭima, entitled the *Taṣbīḥ-i Fāṭima*. It is unclear whether or not this short work is directly connected to the *tafsīr*. Such a *taṣbīḥ* is not mentioned elsewhere, but a short piece entitled *Taṣbīḥ-i 'Alī* may be found in INBA 5014C, pp. 253-57.

⁶¹ Together with the *Kalimāt-i mutafarriqa* of Ṣubḥ-i Azal.

⁶² With other works.

⁶³ With other works.

✓ *Ziyāra jāmi'a ṣaghīra* = Chapter 1 of *Risāla furūṣ al-ʿadliyya*

There is one separate MS:

1. Tehran, INBA 5006C, p. 2, line 20 to top left corner

Ziyārat al-Zahrā

1. Tehran, INBA 6003C, pp. 148-59

APPENDIX TWO

SAYYID ḤUSAYN YAZDĪ

Yazdī belonged to a Shaykhī family, most of whom appear to have converted to Babism. He remained with the Bāb constantly after the latter's return from pilgrimage in 1845, and was often accompanied by his brother, Sayyid Ḥasan. Instructed by the Bāb to practise *taqiyya* at the time of the former's execution, he was later killed in Tehran in 1852, following the Bābī attempt on the life of Naṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The Bāb refers to him as 'Azīz' (*Qayyūm al-asmā'*, sura 79, last verse). For further details, see Zarandī, *passim*; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ishraq Khavārī, *Raḥīq-i makhtūm*, 2 vols., (Tehran, 130 BE/1973-74), vol.1, pp.757-60; Muḥammad 'Alī Malik Khusravī, *Tārīkh-i shuhadā-yi amr*, vol.3 (Tehran, 130 BE/1973-74), pp.276-83; Mīrzā Asad Allāh Faḍīl-i Māzandarānī, *Kitāb-i zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3 (Tehran, n.d. [1323 Sh/1944?]), pp.459-60, 460-61 (two letters from the Bāb about and to Yazdī). Six examples of letters in Yazdī's hand are reproduced in the compilation volume, *Qismaṭī az alwāḥ*. A facsimile of a letter from him to 'Ism Allāh al-'Alī' (probably Ḥajj Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī, an uncle of the Bāb) may be found in Browne's edition of the *New History* (facing p.427; transcript on pp.427-30; translation pp.430-34; also reproduced in the *Nuqtat al-kāf*, facing p.245; original in Folder 3 in the Browne cabinet, CUL).

APPENDIX THREE

MĪRZĀ 'ABD AL-KARĪM QAZVĪNĪ

Better known as 'Mīrzā Aḥmad'. Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Baha' Allāh refers to him in his *Lawḥ-i Naṣīr* as one of two individuals well informed of the origins of Babism: 'The origins of this cause have been concealed from all, nor has anyone been aware of them, with the exception of two individuals, one of whom was known as Aḥmad'.¹ (The other individual referred to was Mīrzā Mūsā Nūrī, an elder brother of Baha' Allāh.)

'Abd al-Karīm first studied in Qazvīn under Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Trāvānī.² Trāvānī granted Qazvīnī an *ijāza* — Māzandarānī maintains implausibly that he was the only pupil to whom he ever gave one.³

Qazvīnī later travelled to Karbalā', where he studied under Sayyid Kāzīm Rashīf, and later returned to his home town of Qazvīn on Rashīf's instructions, some time before 1255/1839-40. During the period when the Bāb was living in Shīrāz after his return from pilgrimage in 1845, Qazvīnī (who had already become a Bābī and had been among those who set off for Karbalā' in the expectation of an uprising) arrived in the city and was introduced to the young prophet. The Bāb retained him to act as a secretary and, after his removal to Iṣfahān, Qazvīnī, Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī, and Shaykh Ḥasan Zunūzī were the only individuals normally able to visit him. All three engaged in the task of transcribing the new scriptures. Qazvīnī later accompanied the Bāb from Kāshān to Tabrīz. Afterwards he lived in Tehran, where he earned a living as a scribe and also transcribed further copies of works by the Bāb. Zarandī, who associated closely with Qazvīnī in Tehran, refers to his transcriptions of the Persian *Bayān* and the *Dalā'il-i sab'a*.⁴ Shaykh Kāzīm Samandar mentions his having seen several copies of the Persian and Arabic *Bayāns* in Qazvīnī's hand.⁵ Qazvīnī was imprisoned in the Siyāh Chāl prison in Tehran and executed during the 1852 pogrom.

The *Nuqtat al-kāf* speaks (p.245) of a certain Āqā Sayyid Aḥmad Tabrīzī, known as the 'Kātib' (amanuensis). Browne, in a note to *A Traveller's Narrative* (vol.2, p.320, f.n.1), has pointed out that this is the result of a confusion between Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī (generally

¹ Baha' Allāh, *Majmū'a-yi alwāḥ-i mubāraka* [Cairo, 1920], p.174

² On whom see Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Tanakābunī, *Qīṣaṣ al-'ulamā'* (Tehran, n.d.), pp.94-100; Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Kashmīrī, *Nujūm al-samā'* (Lucknow, 1303/1885-86), pp.412-14; Muḥammad Mahdī Kāzīmī, *Aḥsan al-wadī'a*, vol.1, (Baghdad, 1347/1928-29), pp.20-21

³ *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, p.370, f.n.

⁴ Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, p.592.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i Samandar* [Tehran, 131 BE/1974-75], p.156.

known as Mīrzā Aḥmad) and another individual, Āqa Sayyid Aḥmad Tabrizī, who was never one of the Bāb's secretaries.

For further details, see Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp.159, 162-69, 170, 176, 212, 227, 439-44, 592; Samandar, *Tārīkh-i Samandar*, pp.156-57; Māzandarānī, *Ẓuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp.369-71; Malik-Khusravī, *Tārīkh-i shuhadā'*, vol.3, pp.295-310; Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, vol.2, pp.41 and n.1, 42, 62, 320 f.n.1, 331, 338, 341, 356.

THE RISĀLA-YI DHAHABIYYA = Khutba Dhikriyya

There is some confusion as to the identity of this work. The ms. used by me forms part of a compilation transcribed for Browne by Mīrzā Muṣṭafā; the whole volume is F.28 in the Browne Collection. According to Mīrzā Muṣṭafā (in a note at the head of the text), this is the sixth *ṣaḥīfa* mentioned in the work itself. That turns out to have the title *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Raḍawiyya*, and it is under this name that Browne catalogued it.

From the text, however, it is clear that *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Raḍawiyya* must, in fact, be another work: towards the end of this manuscript, after enumerating the fourteen major works written by him in the first two years of his career, the Bāb writes: '... but as for the books which passed out of my hands and were stolen on the *hajj* journey, a detailed account of them has been written in the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Raḍawiyya*....' It seems highly likely that this is a reference to the *Kitāb al-fihrist*, which contains just such an account.

The wording of the passage in the Browne ms. which deals with books written between the start of 1260 and the middle of the first month of 1262 is, however, identical with a passage quoted by Nicolas in *Séyyed Ali Mohammed* (p. 59 n), as is the later reference to the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Raḍawiyya* just quoted. Nicolas (who says he owned a copy) states that he is quoting from a work known as the *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya*. I am willing to take this as a provisional title, on the assumption that Nicolas' copy carried it. Unfortunately, no work of this name appears to have been among the books sold after Nicolas' death. Māzandarānī quotes the same passage (*Ẓuhūr al-ḥaqq*, vol.3, pp. 189-90), but does not give the name of the work from which it is taken.

It should be noted that another work exists, also carrying the title *Risāla-yi dhahabiyya*. This seems to have been written by the Bāb to Mullā Jawād Vilyānī about 1847.

= Khutba Dhikriyya :

See *Lights of Irfan* 6:66 fn 16 (V. Brown)

CONTENTS OF BROWNE F.25, ITEM 3: 'SHU'ŪN-I KHAMSA' (EXTRACTS)

1. *Al-Thamara* ('The Fruit', i.e., Ṣubḥ-i Azal)
2. *Al-Thamara*
3. *Li-Ukht al-Thamara* ('To the sister of al-Thamara')
4. *Kitāb al-sīn li 'l-rukn al-taṣbīḥ* (sic; 'Epistle of the letter S to the Pillar of Praise')
5. *Kitāb al-mīm li 'l-rukn al-tahmūd* (sic; 'Epistle of the letter M to the Pillar of Glorification')
6. *Kitāb al-alif li 'l-rukn al-tawḥīd* (sic; 'Epistle of the letter A to the Pillar of Unification')
7. *Kitāb al-lām li 'l-rukn al-takbīr* (sic; 'Epistle of the letter L to the Pillar of Magnification')
8. *Kitāb al-lām li-Muḥammad 'alayhi 'l-ṣalāt* ('Epistle of the letter L to Muḥammad, upon whom be praise')
9. *Kitāb al-hā' li-'Alī 'alayhi 'l-salām* ('Epistle of the Letter H to [Imām] 'Alī, upon whom be peace')
10. *Kitāb al-alif li-Fāṭima* ('Epistle of the letter A to Fāṭima')
11. *Kitāb al-lām li 'l-Ḥasan* ('Epistle of the letter L to [Imām] Ḥasan')
12. *Kitāb al-rā' li 'l-Ḥusayn* ('Epistle of the letter R to [Imām] Ḥusayn')
13. *Kitāb al-hā' li-'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn* ('Epistle of the letter H to [Imām] 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn')
14. *Kitāb al-mīm li-Muḥammad ibn 'Alī* ('Epistle of the letter M to [Imām] Muḥammad ibn 'Alī')
15. *Kitāb al-nūn li-Ja'far ibn Muḥammad* ('Epistle of the letter N to [Imām] Ja'far ibn Muḥammad')
16. *Kitāb al-alif li-Mūsā ibn Ja'far* ('Epistle of the Letter A to [Imām] Mūsā ibn Ja'far')
17. *Kitāb al-lām li-'Alī ibn Mūsā* ('Epistle of the letter L to [Imām] 'Alī ibn Mūsā')
18. *Kitāb al-rā' li-Muḥammad ibn 'Alī* ('Epistle of the letter R to [Imām] Muḥammad ibn 'Alī')
19. *Kitāb al-hā' li-'Alī ibn Muḥammad* ('Epistle of the letter H to [Imām] 'Alī ibn Muḥammad')
20. *Kitāb al-bā' li 'l-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī* ('Epistle of the letter B to [Imām] Ḥasan ibn 'Alī')
21. *Kitāb dā'ira al-thālitha* (sic; 'Epistle of the Third Circle')
22. *Bismi 'llāh al-'alī al-mutakabbār al-rafi'* ('In the Name of God, the Exalted, the Praised, the Elevated')
23. *Ziyārat-i Ḥujjat* ('Pilgrimage Prayer for the Proof' [i.e., the Hidden Imām or, possibly, Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Zanjānī])
24. *Bismi 'llāh al-raḥman al-raḥīm* ('In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate')
25. *Yā 'Azīm* ('O Mighty One' [possibly addressed to Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī])
26. Mīrzā Aḥmad

27. *Ism-i awwal* ('The First Name': Bushrū'?)
28. Sayyid-i Shīrāzī
29. *Bismi 'llāh al-'alī al-'azīm* ('In the Name of God, the Exalted, the Mighty')
30. *Huwa 'l-mutakabbār al-badī'* ('He is the Praised, the Creative')
31. *Al-Thamara*
32. *An yā Karīm* ('O Generous One' [possibly addressed to 'Abd al-Karīm Qazvīnī])
33. Jināb-i 'Azīm (to Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī)
34. *120 Huwa 'llāh al-'alī al-'alā* ('120, He is God, the Exalted, the Most Exalted')
35. *Ism Allāh al-'Azīm* ('The Name of God, the Mighty'; addressed to Mullā Shaykh 'Alī Turshīzī)
36. *Huwa 'l-akbar* ('He is the Greatest')
37. *Huwa 'l-'azīz* ('He is the Powerful')

APPENDIX SIX

CONTENTS OF INBA 6007C

ZIYĀRATNĀMAS

Prayers for:

1. Friday and Thursday nights (pp. 30-40)
2. The ten letters' (pp. 40-41)
3. 'The first to believe' (i.e. Bushrū'ī) on Thursday night (pp. 46-52)
4. Thursday night (*Ziyāra jāmi 'a*; pp. 52-61)
5. 'The first [to believe]' (pp. 61-65)
6. 'The first [to believe]' (pp. 65-71)
7. 'The two hidden names' (pp. 71-72)
8. 'The martyrs, on Thursday night' (pp. 72-79) ?
9. 'The letters of the unity', on Friday (pp. 78-82)
10. Friday (pp. 97-101)
11. 'The first' and 'the last' [to believe], on Friday (pp. 106-13)
12. 'The first to be martyred of the Letters of the Living' (pp. 114-18)
13. 'The second [etc.]' (pp. 118-21)
14. 'The third [etc.]' (pp. 121-23)
15. 'The fourth [etc.]' (pp. 123-26)
16. 'The fifth [etc.]' (pp. 126-28)
17. 'The sixth [etc.]' (pp. 128-31)
18. 'The martyrs' (pp. 132-39)
19. 'The letter M' (pp. 139-45)
20. 'The first to believe', on the night of the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (pp. 145-47)
21. 'The middle night of the month of God' (pp. 160-64)
22. 'The first [to believe]', on the Day of 'Arafa (pp. 164-75)
23. 'The last [to believe]' (pp. 175-76)
24. 'The first [to believe]' (pp. 187A-89)
25. 'The eight letters' (pp. 189-201)
26. 'The Point [i.e., the Bāb] and his Letters of the Living' (pp. 201-11)
27. 'The first [to believe]' (pp. 255-62)
28. 'The last' [to believe] (pp. 262-66)
29. 'The last' [to believe] (pp. 266-68)
30. 'The last' [to believe] (pp. 268-72)
31. 'The twenty-nine letters' (pp. 541-47)

APPENDIX SEVEN

THE TEHRAN AND HAIFA MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *KITĀB-I NUQTAT AL-KĀF* AND THEIR DIVERGENCE FROM THE PARIS TEXT

1. The INBA Manuscript

Since this manuscript is defective in parts, I have numbered the folios in a straight sequence as a means of indicating more easily the correspondence between the two manuscripts. The numbering of the Paris ms. follows the pagination of the printed edition. The three places where pages have actually been lost from the Tehran ms. are: f. 9b (p. 19) to f. 10a (p. 22); f. 61b (p. 125) to f. 62a (p. 128); and f. 123b (p. 261) to f. 124a (p. 264).¹

The manuscript begins at p. 88, line 14 of the Paris text. They then diverge as follows:

Tehran		Paris
f. 9b, last line f. 10a, line 1	breaks off at resumes at	p. 96, line 20 p. 97, line 21
f. 19a, line 2 f. 19a, line 3	breaks off at resumes at	p. 106, line 14 p. 125, line 18
f. 61b, last line f. 62a, line 1	breaks off at resumes at	p. 160, line 11 p. 171, line 18
f. 76b, last line f. 76b, last line	breaks off at resumes at	p. 185, line 21 p. 200, line 10

¹ It has been pointed out by 'Alī Murād Dā'udī (*Muṭāli'a-yi ma'ārif-i Bahā'ī*, Tehran, 132 B.E./1975, part 11, p. 7) that the Tehran ms. does not include the sections between pages 238 and 245 and between pages 252 and 261 of the printed text, both of which contain extensive references to Ṣubḥ-i Azal. Dā'udī concludes from this that these passages must be later insertions, an argument that is scarcely convincing. In fact, the Tehran ms. does contain one favourable reference to Azal (which appears on p. 208 of the published text) and includes what seems to be another reference to him, except that, where the Paris ms. reads *Jināb-i Azal* (p. 238), the Tehran text has *Jināb-i Tshān*, a common term of address for Bahā'ī Allāh, derived from Ṣūfī usage.