

THE BĀB
AND
THE BABIS,

BY

The Rev. E. SELL, B. D., M. R. A. S.

Fellow of the University of Madras.



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This work first appeared in its original form in the
Christian College Magazine and is now reprinted with
some slight additions.

E. S.

MADRAS,
February 12th, 1895.

THE BÁB AND THE BÁBÍS.

MÍRZÁ KÁSÍM BEG, writing in the year 1866, says : " From its first appearance the teaching of the Báb has been distinguished from all other reforms, which have hitherto been produced in Persia or the East generally, by a well marked aspiration towards truth and towards liberty of conscience. Although in the development of the doctrine human passions and fanatic strife have left their impress, yet we can perceive some things which are directed toward good desires and towards the freedom of the human will."¹ He also adds : " There is not in the history of Asia a schism so remarkable as that of the Báb. It owes its extraordinary success to the zeal of its Muríds, or disciples. Amongst these are women who have played an important part, great lords of the Shah's court, and, from the ranks of the Ulamá, the Seyyids or descendants of Muhammad."²

These are the words of a thoughtful Musalmán who is in no sense a friend to Bábíism but who seeks to give a fair historical account of the Báb and his followers up to the year 1866. The subject has more recently been investigated by Mr. E. G. Browne, Lecturer in Persian at the University of Cambridge. His work, *The Episode of the Báb* is a most valuable contribution to the knowledge of a movement as remarkable as it is little known. It brings the history up to the present day. A considerable previous

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, p. 331.

² *Ibid*, p. 333.

knowledge of Muslim thought and ways is however necessary to the intelligent study of the few existing works on the subject.

No sect in modern days has suffered such persecution and survived. The movement is one which illustrates the mystical tendency of Persian thought, the fanaticism of the Mullás, and the barbarity of the rulers; but all the efforts of the Muslim Church and State have hitherto failed to suppress Bábíism, or to lessen the veneration in which the Báb is held by those who accept his teaching.

The Musalmáns of Persia belong to the Shaí'h sect, which, itself formed by a revolt from orthodox Islám, has been more than any other section of the Muhammadan people subject to divisions. This is partly due to the character of the Persians and partly to a somewhat freer spirit, which, as compared with the Sunnís, the Shíá is cultivate.* Outwardly, it is true, there is not much difference, and the freedom is only a relative one; but under the garb of faultless profession, the Shíá'hs have always held many esoteric doctrines and have secretly taught them. The Súfís, or mystics, are the best example of this, but the Bábís seem to have little or no connection with them.

In order to understand the special standpoint of the Báb and to have an intelligent knowledge of his claims as a religious leader, we must consider briefly the central and special doctrine of the Shíá'h system. It is known as the dogma of the imámat. Sharastání defines it thus¹: "The imámat is a light (*núr*) which passes from one to the other and becomes prophetship." "The Imáms are prophets and divine. Divinity is a ray (*núr*) in prophetship, which

¹ *Milal wa Nihal*, pp. 133, 135.

again is a ray in imámat, and the world is never free from these signs and lights (*anvār*)."

The Khalíf of the Sunni sect, though according to Muhammadán tradition he should be an Arab and a descendant of the Koreish tribe, is now a Turk, and may, practically, be a man of any race who can command the allegiance of the orthodox. Amongst the Shí'as the Imám occupies this position not by election¹, or by virtue of any special capacities, but by divine right and his office is altogether spiritual. The first Imám, 'Ali, was appointed by Muhammad and the rest are his divinely ordained successors. They are believed to be immaculate, infallible, and perfect guides to men. "The Imámities believe that the Imám is preserved inviolate from sin and knows all things."² "The authority of the Imám is the authority of God, his word is the word of God and of the prophet, and obedience to his orders is incumbent" (*Hyátu-n-nafis*). It is said, "God calls the Imáms His word, His hands, His signs, His secret." Their commands and prohibitions, their actions also, He recognises as His own. Thus Sharastání: "The orders of the Imáms are divine."³ As mediums between God and man they hold a far higher position than the prophets, for "the grace of God, without their intervention, reaches to no created being." The Imám is the supreme Pontiff, the

¹ There is one exception. The people of Omán adopted the elective principle and held that the Imám might be deposed for misconduct. 'Abdullah-ibn-'Ibádh (744 A.D.) was a vigorous preacher of this doctrine, and from him the sect known as the 'Ibádhiyáh takes its rise. The result of his teaching was the establishment of the power and jurisdiction of the Imáms of Omán. A full account will be found in Dr. Badger's *Seyyids of Omán*.

² *Jálálu'd-din As-Syúti*. Bibliotheca Indica, Fas: v. p. 473.

³ *Milal wa Nihal*, p. 132.

Vicar of God. The possession of an infallible book is not enough. The infallible guide is also needed by the Shí'a'h. This is the general belief about the Imáms and their functions, though there are differences of opinion as to the succession. Setting aside the smaller and less important sects, we may notice the two principal ones. { The Ismá'ílians, who reckon 'Alí as the first Imám, believe in twelve.¹ The other sect is that of the Imámítes, who hold that Sádiq, the sixth Imám, was the last one who publicly exercised the office, and that after his time, not after that of Imám Abu'l-Qásim, the succession of the concealed Imáms commenced. } It is not at all necessary to enter into the question of these different opinions. The point which now concerns us is that both sects equally believed that there never could be a time when there should be no Imám. "The earth is never without a living Imám, though concealed." "He who dies without knowing the Imám, or who is not his disciple, dies ignorant."²

Abu'l Qásim (Al-Mahdi) succeeded his father as Imám in the year 260 A.H., just one thousand years before the manifestation of the Báb. He is said to have disappeared in the year 329 A.H. and to be now living in one of the two mysterious cities—Jábulka and Jábulsa. It is believed that in due time he will reappear, that Jesus Christ will herald his approach, that then injustice and misery will be put away, that the true (Shí'a'h) faith will prevail, and

¹ The names and order are as follows:—'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb, Hasan, Husain, Alí (Imám Zeynu'l 'Abidín), Muhammad Bákir, Ja'far-i-Sádiq, Músa Qázim, 'Alí ibn Músá ar-Riza, Muhammad Takí, 'Alí Nakí, Hasan 'Askari, and Abu'l Qásim, or the Imám Mahdi. He is also called the Hujjatu'lláh (the proof of God).

² Sharastání in the *Milal wa Nihal*, pp. 146, 147.

that a millennium of happiness will be ushered in. Meanwhile, he is invisible and inaccessible to the great mass of his followers. At first, however, he held direct intercourse in some way with a select few who were the channels of communication between himself and the larger body. These intermediaries were called 'Gates' (*Abwáb*). Their names are Abú 'Umar 'Othmán ibn Sa'id 'Umarí, Abú Ja'far Muhammad ibn Othmán, Husain ibn Rúh Nawbakhtí, and Abú 'l-Hasan 'Alí ibn Muhammad Símarí. For a period of sixty-nine years these 'Gates', one after the other, were the medium of communication with the Imám. This period is called that of the 'minor occultation' (*ghaibat-i-sughra*). The day came at length when the last 'Gate', Abú 'l-Hasan, reached the end of life and the people begged him to nominate a successor, as his predecessors had done; but he absolutely refused to do so, alleging as his reason that "God hath a purpose which He will accomplish." That which the faithful had looked forward to with despair had now come to pass, and all intercourse with the Imám was at an end. This period is called the 'major occultation' (*ghaibat-i-kubra*). The importance attached to these men and to their position is seen from the following extract from the *Beyán*, a Bábi book to be explained later on, in which we read:—"For God hath associated refuge in Himself with refuge in His Apostle, and refuge in His Apostle with refuge in His Imáms, and refuge in the Imáms with refuge in the Gates of the Imáms. For refuge in the Apostle is the same as refuge with God, and refuge in the Imáms the same as refuge in the Apostle and refuge in the 'Gates' is identical with refuge in the Imáms."

We next come to the time of Shaikh Ahmad (1753-1826

A.D.) the founder of the Shaikhí sect. He was a devout ascetic and a man of independent thought. He had a profound belief in 'Alí, and was devoted to the memory of the Imáms, whom he looked upon as creative forces, arguing from the text, "God the best of creators" (*Súra* xxiii. 14), that, if He be the best, He cannot be the only one. Mírzá Kásim Beg describes him as a teacher who by his virtues, austerity, and erudition was celebrated amongst his contemporaries. Disciples flocked to him from all parts. The special point of his teaching was that "God is immanent in the Universe which proceeds from Him, and that all the elect of God, all the Imáms, and all just persons are personifications of the divine attributes." According to this belief, he held that the twelve Imáms from 'Alí to Al-Mahdí were personifications of twelve chief attributes of God, and that, consequently, they were eternal. Amongst these Imáms 'Alí holds the highest rank, being superior to angels, to prophets, and to Muhammad.¹

The successor of Shaikh Ahmad was Háji Seyyid Kázim. He was a young man of a very strict manner of life and so mysterious in his actions that some of the more worldly-

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 458.

Mírzá Kázim Beg adds the following note:—"The scholastic Musalmáns say that the attributes of God are equal and of one quality; but to the human comprehension some appear superior to others, for example, mercy surpasses severity. According to the doctrine of the Sifátians, the attributes of God are eternally inherent in His essence. The Mutazalas do not admit this and say: 'There is only one supreme existence and that is God; otherwise we must admit a multiplicity of eternal existences, which is contrary to the dogma of the divine unity.' The doctrine of the Shaikhí school is that the attributes of God proceed from the supreme existence, and by His own will become personified in blending with the human soul and spirit which also emanate from God."

mindful Persians looked upon him as foolish, but the greater part called him the Enlightened. The Shaikhí doctrine now spread all through Persia. In Irák alone there were more than a hundred thousand disciples. "However, they did nothing to call forth the opposition of the Mullás, nor any political repression: on the contrary, among the admirers of the Shaikh were a great number of state officials, and of the chief among the clergy; all proud of his fame and enthusiastic about his philosophy."¹ He died in the year 1843 A.D. and left no successor. According to the Bábí writers he appointed no one, because he looked upon Shaikh Ahmad and himself as forerunners of one who should shortly appear and be far more glorious than they had been. Mr. Browne gives the following translation² of a passage in the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, a Bábí history, which bears on this point:—

"When Hájí Seyyid Kázim had but recently departed this life, I arrived at the supreme shrines (Kerbelá and Nejef) and heard from his disciples that the late Seyyid had, during the last two or three years of his life, wholly restricted his discourse, both in lecture room and pulpit, to discussing the promised Proof, the signs of his appearance and their explanation, and to enumerating the qualities of the Master of the dispensation, repeatedly declaring that he would be a youth, that he would not be versed in the learning of men. Sometimes, too, he would say, 'I see him as the rising sun.' One day an Arab suddenly entered his presence and said, 'I have seen a vision touching your reverence.' On receiving permission he repeated the dream; whereupon Seyyid Kázim appeared somewhat troubled and said, 'The interpretation of this dream is this, that my departure is nigh at hand and I must go hence.' His companions, who were present, were much distressed and grieved at this intelligence, but he turned his face to them and said, 'The time of my sojourn in the

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii, p. 463.

² *Episode of the Báb*, p. 239.

world has come to an end, and this is my last journey. Why are ye so grieved and troubled because of my death? Do ye not then desire that I should go and that the true one should appear?"

To Mullá Husain, one of his most distinguished followers, he said, "From whatever quarter the sun of truth shall arise, it will irradiate all horizons and render the mirrors of believers' hearts capable of receiving the effulgence of the lights of wisdom."

After fastings, vigils, and prayers for guidance, the Shaikhís began to consider what was to be done in the matter of a successor, a spiritual director. They then went in different directions. Mullá Husain proceeded to Shíráz and there met with Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad who produced before him the signs of his call to his divine mission. Amongst these was his commentary on the Súra of Joseph, one of the chapters of the Qurán. For several days Mullá Husain pondered over these matters, and, after a long and severe struggle, became convinced that he had found in the young and ardent enthusiast before him, the 'Proof', the 'True One', the 'Sun of Truth', to whose advent Hájí Seyyid Kázim had pointed. "He wrote to his friends at Kerbelá that neither he himself nor any other of them was worthy of the high dignity of Murshid (or leader) and that that 'Illuminated One', to whom their late master had referred, was alone worthy. I have found him at Shíráz and he is worthy to be the Murshid."¹ It is for this reason, and because he so heartily espoused the cause of his new master, that Mullá Husain is named the 'Gate of the Gate' (*Bábu'l-báb*); the 'First Letter' (*Harf-i-Awwal*); and the 'First to believe'. But this decision was not acceptable to

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 465.

all the Shaikhís. A party headed by Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán of Kirmán utterly refused to receive the Báb and became his bitterest persecutors. The Shaikhís thus became divided into two sects. One passed on to Bábíism of which it was, in a way, the source. At all events, it gave it strength and a rapid diffusion. The other was, and continued to be, in fierce conflict with it. However, the great majority followed Mullá Husain, and Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad become their recognized leader.

As the connection between the Bábís and the Shaikhís is thus so close, we must now see what was the special dogma of the latter sect. The orthodox Shíá'h creed consists of five articles, which are called the pillars or supports of the Faith (*irkán-i-dín*). They are belief (1) in the unity of God (*tauhíd*), (2) in the justice of God (*'adl*), (3) in prophetship (*nabuwat*), (4) in the imámate (*imámat*), (5) in the resurrection (*ma'ád*). The Shaikhís set aside the articles two and five, for they said that there seemed no sufficient reason why justice alone of all the attributes of God should be selected as an article of the creed, and that there was just as much reason for inserting His wisdom, power, or any other attribute. They also objected to the resurrection as a special article, on the ground that belief in the attribute of justice and in the resurrection is implied in the acceptance of prophetship. He who believes in a prophet accepts that which he sets forth, and these are cardinal parts of his teaching. To take the place of the rejected articles and to bring the number up to four they added a new one, which they called the Fourth Support or Pillar (*rukhn-i-rábi'*). The meaning of this is that there must always be amongst believers one perfect man (*Shíá'h-i-kámil*) who can be the channel of grace (*wásita-i-faiz*

between the absent Imám and his people. Four pillars give stability to any thing, so no more are needed in a creed. The term 'fourth support' is primarily applied to the dogma that the concealed Imám must always have on earth some one who possesses his entire confidence, to whom he gives special spiritual instruction, and who is thus qualified to convey to the believers the wishes and wisdom of their invisible head. The term has, however, come to be applied to the person who fulfils this office. It is said that Háji Muhammad Karím Khán, the Shaikhí who refused to accept Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad as a leader, considered himself to be the Fourth Support. This, too, was the position of the Báb; at all events at first, for he claimed to be this 'fourth support', and thus to occupy the place held by the 'Gates', who were the intermediaries between the Imám and his followers during the minor occultation. Thus it is that Bábíism is connected with the very central doctrine of the Shíá'hs, though in many other ways it has so far departed from accepted Muhammadan ideas as to form a new sect altogether. This will appear as we record the life and work of the Báb.

Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad was born at Shíraz, on the 9th of October, 1820. When quite young, he lost his father. He was brought up by an uncle who was engaged in mercantile pursuits. For a time the youth assisted his uncle, but as his mind was more inclined to religious meditation and speculative thought than to business affairs, he proceeded to Kerbelá, where he was brought into contact with Háji Seyyid Kázim, the Shaikhí leader, whose lectures he occasionally attended. At Kerbelá he was distinguished by his zeal for learning and by his remarkably austere life, as well as by the great esteem in

which his teacher and others held him. Visitors to Kerbelá, especially those from Shíráz, showed him much consideration, and so his fame was spread abroad. He now began to commit his thoughts to writing, and composed a commentary on one of the chapters of the Qurán, the Súra of Joseph.

The Bábi historian¹ says of this work that, "in it he addressed himself to that person unseen, from whom he received help and grace, sought for aid in the arrangement of his preliminaries, and craved the sacrifice of life in the way of love. Amongst others is this sentence, '*O residue of God,*² *I am wholly sacrificed to Thee; I am content with curses in Thy love and God the Supreme sufficeth as an eternal protection.*'"

¹ *Maqálah-i-Shakhsé Saiyáh*, p. 4.

² The expression, residue (or remnant) of God—*Baqíyat Ulláh*—is a very peculiar one. It is connected with a curious belief of the Shia'hs, viz., that God allowed some part or fraction of Himself, in some way or other, to be connected with the Imám. As soon then as Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad was raised by his followers to the dignity of the Báb, or as soon as the idea became present to his own mind, he could address the Imám as the *Baqíyat Ulláh*, and set forth his complete devotion to him. His followers then gave him the titles of the servant of *Baqíyat Ulláh*, the mystery of *Baqíyat Ulláh*, the friend of *Baqíyat Ulláh*. Gradually, as, during his imprisonment, he became more and more invisible to his followers, and when he became credited with the power of working miracles and more or less a mythical being, he was no longer called the servant, or the mystery, or the friend of *Baqíyat Ulláh*, but himself was esteemed to be the *Baqíyat Ulláh*—the true Imám so long looked for. Mírzá Kásim Beg says that under the term 'mystery' they understood one who shared the secrets of the Imám. "The name *Sirr-Ulláh*, Mystery of God, was given to 'Alí, as to one who knew the secrets of divine revelation; and, so in its new application, the title *Sirr-i-Baqíyat Ulláh*, now a name of the Báb, would mean the one who knew all that was in the mind of the concealed Imám, who himself was the remnant (or residue) of God." *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, vol. viii. p. 468.

He also wrote a commentary on other parts of the Qurán, and some prayers. These writings he called 'inspired pages' (*ashá'if-i-ilhámíyah*) and 'word of conscience' (*kalám-i-fitrá*); but he made no claim to the kind of inspiration called *wahí*, that is, the revelation brought by an angel or in some mechanical way.¹ He believed his meditations to be divinely inspired, but the inspiration was subjective.

He now began to attract general attention. Some persons were highly displeased, others were drawn towards him. Thus it came to pass that on the 23rd of May, 1844, when he was about twenty-four years of age, Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammád more definitely formulated his views and announced himself as a duly authorised teacher and guide. He then assumed the name of the Báb. He said, "Whosoever wishes to approach the Lord his God and to know the true way that leads to Him ought to do it through me." Of this period of his career Mírzá Kásim Beg says: "The number of his adherents increased, day by day, and when they demanded that he, like the ancient prophets, should give them a sign, in proof of his mission, he relied on this that he could write a thousand inspired lines in one day. By his peculiarities and by his austere life, even when still at Kerbelá, he was called the 'Illuminated'. When the inhabitants of Shíráz returned from Kerbelá, they used to say: 'Have you heard of our Seyyid 'Alí Muḥammad? He is no longer as we are, he has become famous and has merited the name of the 'Chosen of God'. All people, small and great, flock around him.'" He also adds that dreamers and mystics,

¹ دعوی وحي فرشته نداشت *Maqálah-i-Shakhsí Saiyáh*, p. 5.

and evil disposed persons from self-interest joined him. No doubt some did so from mixed motives ; but Mr. E. G. Browne seems to me to give the fairest account. He divides the Báb's first adherents into several classes. *Firstly*, rigorous and pious Muhammadans who really believed that the signs of the twelfth Imám were fulfilled in him ; *secondly*, all those who desired reform in Persia and thought that Bábism would conduce to that end ; *thirdly*, the mystics who considered Bábism to be similar to their own pantheistic system ; *fourthly*, those who were drawn by the personal influence and character of the Báb. ¹

On his return from Kerbelá he was heartily welcomed. Until then, it is said, he looked upon himself only as one who had made some progress in the divine way (*tariqat*) ; but he soon began to consider himself a master, appointed by heaven to regenerate his country. It was now that Mullá Husain cast in his lot with the Báb. This period is known as that of the manifestation (*Zahúr*).

There is some difference of opinion as to what he exactly meant by the title of Báb which he had assumed. Mírzá Kásim Beg says : " I do not know whether he was acquainted with the words of Christ, ' I am the door,' but he doubtless knew that Muhammad had said : ' I am the city of knowledge and 'Alí is the gate of that city.' " ² Another writer says : " He announced that he was the ' Gate ' by which alone any one can attain to the knowledge of God." A Muhammadan historian, an enemy of the Báb, says " that the Báb, having gathered some Shaikhís together, said, ' I am the ' Gate ' of God. Whosoever desires to come to God, and to know the religion of God cannot do so

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1889, p. 504.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, p. 343.

till he sees me and receives permission from me.' ” The most accurate account is this:— “ He (Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad) now gave out that, as 'Alí had been the 'Gate' by which men entered the city of the Prophet's knowledge, even so he was the 'Gate' through which men¹ might attain to the knowledge of the twelfth Imám.” His followers have now, however, discarded that name, and he is known amongst the Bábís by several titles, such as His Highness, His Highness the point of Revelation (*Hazrat-i-nuqtah-i-beyán*) His Highness the First point (*Hazrat-i-nuqtah-i-awwalá*). More recently the Beháís call him His Highness the Evangelist (*Hazrat-i-mubashshir*). Gobineau, a good authority on the subject, says: “ Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí said that he was not the Báb in the sense in which they (his followers) had believed and as he himself had thought, that is to say, the 'Gate' of the knowledge of truth ; but that he was the Point, or the originator of truth, a divine appearance, a powerful manifestation,”² and so goes on to show that the title Báb was set free and could henceforth reward the pious devotion of one of the Báb's followers. As a matter of fact, it was bestowed on Mullá Husain, who is sometimes called His Excellency, the Gate of the Gate (*Huzratu 'l Bábu' l-Báb*). Having made this digression we may now continue the history of this remarkable man.

The next step seems to have been the pilgrimage to Mecca in November 1844, where he stayed a short time and completed all the rites incumbent on pilgrims, returning early in the following year to Bushire. He soon became the centre of attraction, and the Mullás and others became excited

¹ Watson's *History of Persia*, p. 348. ² *Episode of the Báb*, p. 230.

about him. They induced Husain Khán, the Governor of Fárs, to give orders that some of his followers should be beaten. A little later on in the year the Báb was brought as a prisoner to Shíráz. Mírza Kásim Beg thus describes a famous disputation held there :—"The 'Ulamá assembled. The Báb appeared in the midst of them and spoke with courage and enthusiasm. The Governor, Husain Khán, who had assumed the character and position of a learner, humbly suggested that the Báb should demonstrate that his doctrines were superior to those of Muhammad. The Báb answered boldly, 'Take my Qurán, compare it with that of your prophet, and you will be convinced that my religion is the preferable one.' On hearing these words, the Governor changed his attitude and called for the executioner to whom he pointed out the prisoner. The Báb was then bound and beaten."

A Bábí historian¹ gives fuller details. He says that the matter acquired such importance that the reigning Sháh sent one of the most learned Doctors of the age, Seyyid Yahyá, to interview the Báb and to report the result. He held three long conferences with him, but the result was that he was so charmed with the Báb that he accepted him as a leader and admitted all his claims. About this time, Mullá Muhammad 'Alí, a leading teacher, sent a person to Shíráz to ascertain the facts of the case. This messenger returned with some of the Báb's writings which so impressed Mullá Muhammad 'Alí that he too became a follower of the Báb. When he next met his pupils in his lecture room he gathered up his books and said: "The season of spring and wine has arrived. Search for knowledge after

¹ *Maquálah-i-Shakhsi Saiyáh*, p. 11.

reaching the known is culpable." Then he urged all his disciples to become Bábís, and sent to the Báb a statement of his own adherence to his teaching. The Mullás complained to the Sháh, and Mullá Muhammad 'Alí was summoned to Teherán, but he was able to meet successfully all his opponents in debate and nothing came of this action.

The cause of the Báb was now very much strengthened by the support of such famous teachers, who were most earnest and active in propagating the new faith. The orthodox Mullás soon perceived that they must attack the Báb direct, and so they urged the Governor of Fars, Husain Khán, to take more decisive action, saying: "If thou desirest the extinction of this fire, or seekest a firm stopper for this rent and disruption, an immediate cure and decisive remedy is to kill the Báb."

An attack was made on the house in which the Báb lived, but, apparently with the connivance of those who had charge of him, he was allowed to make his escape and to proceed to Isfahán. This event took place about March 1846. Before his arrival at Isfahán he wrote a letter to the Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla, the Governor of the Province, asking for a suitable lodging. The Governor, Minúchíhr Khán, afforded him protection and showed him hospitality. At first, the 'Ulamá paid the Báb much respect, but soon began to be alarmed at his growing influence with the Governor, by whom the learned doctors of Islám were invited to a public discussion with the Báb. After accepting the proposal, they withdrew, saying: "If there be doubt in the matter there is need of assembly and discussion, but as this person's disagreement with the most luminous Law is clearer than the sun, therefore the best possible thing is to put in practice the sentence of the

Law." They thus refused to meet him and instead of doing so signed a declaration to the effect that they were quite convinced of the heretical character of his doctrines. This very much displeased Minúchihir Khán, the Governor, who seems to have been a steadfast friend to the Báb. After his death in 1847, the Báb was removed to the castle of Mákú, a fortress on the north-west frontier, though his confinement was not at first a rigorous one. His followers were allowed free intercourse with him, and continual correspondence went on between the Báb and his principal agents. The Báb at this time wrote many religious books, and his influence seemed to be on the increase. It was, therefore, determined to place him in stricter confinement, and so he was removed to the citadel of Chirík, near Urumiyyé. It was with difficulty that correspondence was now carried on, but letters were passed in by means of some very clever stratagems. According to some accounts he was allowed to address the people, and one eye-witness states that he saw the balcony from which the Báb preached, that the concourse of people was very great, and that they listened with attention to the words of the new Qurán. The Báb was confined at Chirík about two and a half years.

Soon after his arrival at Chirík he was brought to Tabriz to undergo his first examination. A full account of this is given by the Muhammadan historians, but as they represent him as utterly foolish and ignorant,¹ it is more than probable that it did not take place as narrated. Mírzá Kásim Beg says that the accounts given of the interview were most contradictory, and he does not give

¹ A full account is given in the *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 277-290

any credence to the more absurd ones. The Bábí account of it is that the Báb advanced the claim of Mahdí-hood, on which a great tumult arose, and that, in general, his defence was a success. This much is certain that he was severely beaten and sent back to confinement in Chirík. Then we are told that "learned divines and esteemed lawyers who were possessed of power and influence, girt up the loins of endeavour for the eradication and suppression of this sect." They maintained that the Báb and his followers were not only in error, but were also hurtful to Church and State. The King, Muhammad Sháh, however, declined to interfere, and declared that so long as the public peace was not disturbed the Government would not further interfere with him.

At this time the Báb's followers were most active in spreading his doctrines throughout the land. It was now that his most famous convert was made. This was a woman called Kurratu'l-'Ayn (Lustre of the Eye.) The course of the narrative may well be interrupted in order to give a brief account of so great and distinguished a woman. She was the daughter of Háji Mullá Muhammad Sálíb, a learned resident of Kazvín. She was acquainted with Háji Seyyid Kázim, the Shaikhí leader, and his famous disciple Mullá Husain. When the latter set out for Shíráz (page 8). Kurratu'l-'Ayn corresponded with him and begged him to let her know when he had found the spiritual teacher he was in search of. Mullá Husain showed her letter to the Báb, who was much interested in it. For a while she lived at Kerbelá and gave addresses to the Shaikhís. This displeased the governor of the place and she retired to Baghdád. Again she was ordered to change her place of residence. She then visited Kirmánsháh and Hamadán,

everywhere preaching and making converts to the Bábí faith. Some of the Bábís looked with disfavour on this preaching by a woman; but the Báb supported her, applauded her zeal, and bestowed on her the title of Jenáb-i-Táhira (Her Excellency the Pure). From that time all acknowledged her position. Her father now brought her back to her home at Kazvín, but she was not happy there, as her friends and relatives were all bitterly opposed to the Shaikhís and the Bábís. Her uncle, who showed much hatred of the Bábís, was now assassinated, and Kurratu'l-'Ayn was unjustly charged with being privy to the deed. This rendered her further stay in Kazvín impossible, and she left for a place called Núr, where she remained until the suppression by the Government of the Mázandarán insurrection. She was then made a prisoner and sent to Teherán. On her arrival she was taken before the Sháh who said: "I like her looks, leave her, and let her be."¹ She was then kept in prison, though her confinement does not appear to have been very rigorous, for she had occasional intercourse with different Bábís. She was put to death in the massacre at Teherán which followed on the attempt to kill the Sháh in 1852. Kurratu'l-'Ayn was the most remarkable of the Báb's disciples. She was a person of marvellous beauty, possessed of high intellectual gifts, eloquent, devoted and fearless. She threw her whole soul into the cause she advocated, and her martyrdom sheds a halo of glory round her short and active career.

A Bábí historian says: "Such fame did she acquire that most people who were scholars or mystics sought to

¹ از هیئتش خوشم می آید بگذار باشد

hear her speak, and were eager to become acquainted with her powers of speculation and deduction. She wrested pre-eminence from stalwart men, and continued to strain the feet of steadfastness, until she yielded up her life at the sentence of the mighty doctors in Teherán." Mírzá Kásim Beg, a most sober writer, waxes eloquent over the charms of Kurratn'-l-'Ayn. Thus:—"This woman had an influence over her hearers, wholly spiritual. She knew how to inspire them with perfect confidence. She was well educated and very beautiful. Everything retired before her. She raised the veil¹ which covered her face, not to set at nought the laws of chastity and modesty, so deeply graven on the tables of the orthodox law and in popular prejudice, but much rather in order to give by her look more force to the inspired words she spoke. Her speeches stigmatized that gross tyranny which for so many centuries had imprisoned liberty. She preached not, as some have said, to abolish the laws of modesty, but to sustain the cause of liberty. The eloquent words which fell from her mouth captivated the hearts of her hearers, who became enthusiastic in her praise."

Some of her poems breathe the spirit of Súfism and show how deeply her mind was imbued with mystic lore. This is far more apparent in the original than in any translation of them. The following lines are from a translation by Mr. Browne.

"Though with sword in hand my Darling stand, with intent
to slay, though I sinless be.

If it pleases him, this tyrant's whim, I am well content with
his tyranny.

¹ Some Bábis say she did not do this.



The country of 'I' and 'We' forsake; thy home in annihilation make.

Since fearing not this step to take, thou shalt gain the highest felicity."

With this may be compared a verse of a Sufi poet.

چو کسی طریق مرا رود کنمش ندا که خبر شود
که هر آنکه عاشق من شود نرهد ز محنت و ابتلا

Her romantic career, her marvellous¹ power, and her tragic end will continue to give for a long while to come strength to the Bábí cause and the spirit of endurance to its followers.

In the year 1848 Násiru'd-dín Sháh, the present ruler of Persia, was crowned at Teherán, and the position of the Bábís became more critical. The Prime Minister was Mírzá Takí Khán, who, though favourably spoken of by some historians, was distinguished by great hatred of the Báb and the Bábís, whom he persecuted with much

¹ The following sonnet on Kurratu'l-'Ayn brings out some characteristic aspects of her influence :—

Kurratu'l-'Ayn ! not famous far beyond
Her native shore. Not many bards have sung
Her praises, who, her enemies among,
Wielding her beauty as a magic wand,
Strove for the cause of him who had proclaimed
For poor down-trodden womanhood the right
Of freedom. Lifting high her beacon light
Of truth, she went unveiled and unashamed.
A woman, in the land where women live
And weep and die secluded and unknown,
She broke the bonds of custom, and to give
The Báb her aid, she dared the world alone,
Only to fail : death closed the unequal strife,
And Persia blindly wrecked a noble life.

cruelty. A civil war now raged, and on both sides much ferocity was shown ; but the power of the Bábís was broken by the fall of Sheykh Tabarsí and the slaughter of the Bábí garrison in 1849. The victory of the royal troops was sometimes gained by base acts of treachery. Mírzá Kásim Beg gives an instance. He says : " Prince Mahdí Kulí Mírzá, the commander of the royal forces, sent assurances of safety to the Bábí leaders who accepted his invitation to the camp, where they were received with much attention and courtesy. This was what the Prince desired, and when he saw that his guests were at their ease and had set aside their weapons, he gave a signal, and the unsuspecting Bábís were at once seized and put to the most cruel tortures. Some three hundred men were smeared with naphtha and then burnt alive." The Bábí historian's version of it is that the Prince swore on the Qurán thus : " You shall not be molested, return to your own places." As they were famished and in great distress they accepted the offer, came to the camp, and whilst engaged in eating were suddenly attacked by the soldiers.

This kind of treachery was resorted to more than once ; but no amount of hostile repression and bitter persecution could restrain the ardour of the Bábí teachers, or the devotion of their followers. Mírzá Takí Khán now perceived that he must get the Báb put out of the way, and so he sent an order to his brother to this effect : " Obtain a formal and explicit sentence from the learned doctors at Tabriz, who are the firm supporters of the Church of Ja'far (*i.e.*, the 6th Imám), and the impregnable stronghold of the Shí'ah faith. Summon the Christian regiment of Urúmiyya, suspend the Báb before all the people and give orders for the people to fire a volley."

Mírzá Husáin Khán summoned the chief of the farráshes and gave him his instructions. On the following day, the Báb and a young man named Aká Muhammad 'Alí, a youthful Bábi, who belonged to a noble family of Tabríz, were delivered up, after having been duly condemned by the Mullás, to the Colonel of the Christian regiment already named. In the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* we are told that, on the previous evening, the Báb said to his followers: 'To-morrow they will martyr me with boundless shame and dishonour. Let one of you now arise and slay me, so that I may not have to suffer all this dishonour and humiliation from the adversaries, for it is pleasanter for me to be slain by the hands of friends than by the hands of enemies.' All, with great expressions of sorrow began to excuse themselves, except Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí, who seemed as if about to obey the command. His comrades, however, prevented him, saying: "Such boldness and rashness is not the characteristic of true service." For the following account of what really transpired I am indebted to Mírzá Kásim Beg.¹ The roads which led to the court of the barracks were crowded with people. At a military execution in Persia, the condemned are tied together with their backs turned towards the firing party. Aká Muhammad 'Alí begged to be allowed to turn his face towards the people, and then, in a loud, but calm voice, he began to say some prayers which had been composed by the master. The Báb kept perfectly silent. His pale and beautiful face surrounded by a black beard, his white and delicate hands, his figure and distinguished manner, everything in his person and in his dress aroused the sympathy and

compassion of the spectators. The Governor and the Mullás tried to keep this in check by preaching loudly against the Bábí doctrines, exaggerating the evils of the system. They recounted in a pathetic manner the end of those who had met their death at the hands of the Bábís; still, so strong was the feeling aroused by the self-sacrifice of Áká Muhammad 'Alí and the dignity of the Báb that it required the utmost effort of the Mullás to suppress it. The first volley fired simply severed the cords by which the prisoners were fastened to the post. A second volley proved effectual. The crowd then dispersed in silence, but many men carried in their hearts the germs of hostility towards the Government. A Bábí historian gives a miraculous turn to the failure of the first volley. He says: "An iron nail was hammered into the middle of the staircase of the very cell wherein they were imprisoned, and two ropes were hung down. By one rope Áká Muhammad 'Alí was suspended and by the other the Báb, both being firmly bound in such wise that the head of the young man was on the Báb's breast. From the fire of the volleys a mighty smoke was produced. When the smoke cleared away they saw that young man standing with the Báb, who has seated by the side of his amanuensis, Áká Seyyid Husain, in the very cell from the staircase of which they had been suspended." The bodies were finally cast out of the city, near the moat, to be devoured by dogs and jackals; but on the second night were conveyed away by the Bábís, who by bribes, or the influence of powerful friends, obtained possession of them. "They were wrapped in white silk, placed in one coffin, and sent to Teherán, where by order of Mírzá Yahyá (Subh-i-Ezel), who, though but twenty years old, had been chosen to succeed the Báb, they were

deposited in a little shrine called Imám-zádé-i-Má'súm. Here they remained for seventeen or eighteen years, till the schism originated by Behá deprived his half-brother Ezel of the supremacy in the Bábí church which he had hitherto enjoyed, when they were removed by the Behá'ís, to whom alone is now known the last resting place of the Martyrs of Tabríz."¹

Great pressure had been brought to bear on Áká Muhammad 'Alí by his relatives to make him recant, but he was imbued with devotion to his master. He wrote a very touching letter in reply to an affectionate appeal from his brother, urging him to give up the Báb, to save his life and to return to his family. This is the letter.

“He is the Compassionate.

O thou who art my Kibla ! My condition, thanks to God, has no fault, and “to every difficulty succeedeth ease.” You have written that this matter has no end. What matter, then, has any end ? We, at least, have no discontent in this matter : nay, rather, we are unable sufficiently to express our thanks for this favour. The end of this matter is to be slain in the way of God, and O ! what happiness is this. The will of God will come to pass with regard to his servants, neither can human plans avert the divine decree. O thou who art my Kibla, the end of the world is death. If the appointed fate which God hath decreed overtake me, then God is the guardian of my family, and thou art mine executor ; behave in such wise as is pleasing to God, and pardon whatever has proceeded from me which may seem lacking in courtesy, or contrary to the respect due from juniors : and seek pardon for me from all

¹ *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 64.

those of my household and commit me to God. God is my patron and how good is He as a Guardian!"

This letter is a remarkable witness to the power which the Báb had over his disciples, a power which could lead this youth, with so promising a future before him, to give up home and life, to face death and its terrors rather than be separated from the Master he loved so truly. The original letter is given in a foot-note.¹

It may be well at this point to give a summary of the character of the Báb, as portrayed by Mírzá Kásim Beg,

هوالعطوف (1)

قبله گاه - احوالم بحمد الله عیب ندارد و - لکل عسر یسر -
اینکه نوشته بودید که این کار عاقبت ندارد پس چکار عاقبت دارد
باری ما که درین کار نارضامندی نداریم بلکه شکر این نعمت را
نمیتوانم بجا بیاورم - منتهای این امر کشته شدن است در راه خدا
و این زهی سعادتست - قضای خداوند بر بندگان خود جاری خواهد
شد - تدبیر تقدیر را بر نمیگرداند - ما شاء الله لا قوة الا بالله - قبله گاه
آخر دنیا مرگست - کل نفس ذائقة الموت - اجل محتوم که خداوند
عز و جل مقدر فرموده اگر مرا درک کرد پس خداوند خلیفه من
است بر عیال من و توئی و صئی من هر طور که موافق رضای الهی
است رفتار فرمائید و هر چه که بی ادبی و خلاف مراسم کوچکی
نسبت بایشان صادر شده عفو فرمائید و طلب حلیت از همه اهل
خانه از برای من نمائید و مرا بخدا بسپارید - حسبی الله و نعم
الوکیل - انتهى *

always remembering that the critic, though eminently fair, does not believe in the claims of the Báb.

"He had some characteristics truly great and noble and was a man of firm and settled convictions. His moral character was high, and he aimed in his preaching to bring all his countrymen into a community, united by intellectual and moral ties. He spoke with much earnestness on the necessity for a religious and social reform in Persia, the cessation of religious persecution, and the amelioration of the lot of women. It is said that much of what he preached on these points had an esoteric meaning, known only to his disciples; but whether that is the case or not, the veneration they felt for him was profound, and there can be no doubt that the teaching of the Báb was in the direction of freedom and that he personally was in favour of reform." Mírzá Kasím Beg sums up his reflections thus: "We neither consider him an adventurer nor a fanatic, but an eminently moral man, a dreamer brought up in the school of the Shaikhís and possessing some touch of Christianity. We regard him also as a man troubled by the direct influence of some of his devoted and ambitious disciples. In any case, we believe that the appearance of the Báb will be more or less of use in time to the cause of civilization in Persia."¹

The next historical event of importance is the attempt on August 15th, 1852, to assassinate Násiru'd-din Sháh. It does not appear to have been an act determined on by any large number of the Bábí leaders, but to have arisen from a spirit of revenge in a few devoted followers of the Báb. If such be the case, the frightful persecutions which

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 384.

followed are utterly unjustifiable, even from an oriental standpoint. The accounts differ as to the number of Bábís engaged in this. Some say that there were twelve conspirators, others say that there were seven. In any case only three actually took part in the attack on the Sháh. These were Mullá Fathu'lláh of Kum, Sádik of Zanján, and Mírzá Muhammad of Níríz. They approached the Sháh as he was out riding one day, and when near to him, one of them fired, it is said, three times, the last shot slightly wounding the Sháh. The escort then came up, and Sádik, one of the assassins, was killed on the spot and the other two were arrested.

The Sháh was really in a very great fright, but the Musalmán historians give a different account. The following is a very good specimen of oriental hyperbole and flattery: "The dust of perturbation settled not on the skirt of the patience and self-control of the king, whose elemental material God the Creator had leavened with the liver of the lion, the heart of Ardashír, the ardour of Shápúr, and the majesty of Tímúr. Nor did the pellucid stream of his mind become troubled by the foulness and filth of these events. Neither did he urge his horse to leap aside, nor did he utter a word indicative of alarm or consternation. He kept his place on the poplar-wood saddle like some mountain of massive rocks, and notwithstanding that wound, turned not aside in any direction, and carried not his hand to his hurt, so that those present in his escort knew not that any hurt had befallen the king, or that he had suffered any wound."

The Bábís attribute the failure of the plot to the fact that the impetuosity of the three conspirators led them on to the attack before the others were ready. The most stringent

measures were at once taken against the Bábís. The police at Teherán searched everywhere for them and succeeded in arresting, according to one account, forty, and, according to Mírzá Kásim Beg, seventy persons. Most of these who were arrested were condemned to death, whether any proof could be given of their complicity in the plot or not. It was quite enough to be known as a Bábí. A great fear fell upon those in authority, and it was determined to make a terrible example. The principal malefactors, says Mírzá Kásim Beg, "were tortured in the most odious manner, with an unheard of refinement of cruelty." An English traveller says¹:—"Tow steeped in oil was inserted between their fingers and behind their shoulder blades, leaving portions hanging down which were lighted, and in this condition the unhappy wretches were led, as long as they could walk, through the principal streets of the capital. A furious proscription followed. No time was lost between apprehension and execution, death was the only punishment known, the headless bodies lay in the streets for days, the terrified relatives fearing to give them burial, and the dogs fought and growled over the corpses in the deserted thoroughfares."

A most ingenious plan was adopted to avert from the Sháh and his Ministers, any special and definite hatred of the Bábís and to make the subjects of a possible retaliation on their part as varied as possible. The prisoners were divided amongst the different classes of the community who were made responsible for the execution of the victims allotted to them.² They were thus informed that their loyalty

¹ *Diary of a Journey from London to Persepolis*, by John Ussher, p. 628.

² This reminds us of what is said of Queen Joan of Naples, who, when she strangled her husband, called out to her fellow-conspirators, Gentlemen you must all take hold of the rope. *Quarterly Review*, No. 353, p. 290

would be above suspicion. Another expected result was that, owing to the retaliation to which they would be exposed, they would be permanently alienated from the Bábí movement and personally interested in its entire suppression. Some of the classes thus made to take part in the executions were the 'Ulamá, the Princes, the Employés of the foreign office, the Nobles, the Mírákhúr (Master of the Horse) and his assistants, the Sar-kishík (Captain of the Guard) and the Yúz-Báshís (centurions), the Artillerymen, the General and Officers, the Professors and Students, the Merchants, the City people, and so on.

The details are sickening. One illustration will be enough. Hájí Suleymán Khán and Kásim of Níríz were first wounded in many parts of their bodies, and in these wounds lighted candles were placed. They were then paraded through the streets and bazaars, accompanied by musicians, whilst the spectators threw dust and ashes on them. At last they were sawn asunder. Suleymán bore these tortures most heroically and during them testified to the joy he felt at suffering martyrdom for the cause of the Báb.

He recited the following verses :

“ I have returned ! I have returned ! I have come by the way of Shíráz !

I have come with winsome airs and graces ! Such is the lover's madness.”¹

¹ This is the original Persian :—

باز آمدم باز آمدم از راه شیواز آمدم
 با عشوه ناز آمدم هذا جذون العاشق

“Why do you not dance,” said the executioners, “since you find death so pleasant?” “Dance,” said Suleymán Khan :—

“In one hand the wine cup, in one hand the tresses of the friend.
Such a dance in the midst of the marked place is my desire.”

Renan speaks of the massacre thus :—“The day of the great slaughter of the Bábís in Teheran was, perhaps, a day unparalleled in the history of the world.”¹ He quotes from M. le comte de Gobineau’s work² to the following effect. “Children and women with lighted candles stuck into the wounds were driven along by whips, and as they went along they sang, ‘We came from God, to Him we return.’ When the children expired, as many did, the executioners threw the corpses beneath the feet of their fathers. Life was offered if they would recant. An executioner told one father that if he did not recant, his two sons, the elder of whom was fourteen years old, should be slain on his breast. The father lying down said that he was ready, and the elder boy claimed by right of birth to be the first to have his throat cut. At last, night fell on a mass of shapeless flesh, and the dogs of the suburbs came in troops to the place.” So ended one important period in the history of the Bábís.

There has been since this time no formal outbreak of Bábí revenge, nor has there been any persecution like it. Even this altogether failed of its purpose, for it gave to the movement a vigour and vitality which otherwise it might have lacked. It is said that half a million Persians are Bábís, but the Hon’ble G. Curzon considers the total

¹ *Les Apôtres*, p. 378.

² *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l’Asie Centrale*.

to be nearer one million. He says :¹ "They are to be found in every walk of life, from the ministers and nobles of the Court to the scavenger or the groom, not the least arena of their activity being the Musalmán priesthood itself. It will have been noticed that the movement was initiated by Seyyids, Hájís and Mullás." Whilst it is true that there has been no persecution so terrible as the one in 1852, yet now and again the hostility of the 'Ulamá shows itself. In 1878, 1888, and in 1889 Bábís were put to death.² The heroism and the devotion of the Bábís is something very wonderful. It is said that there is only one instance of a Bábí having recanted under pressure, and he returned again to his faith and was afterwards put to death for his renewed devotion to the Báb.

After the death of the Báb, the chief interest in the movement circles round Mírzá Yahyá and his half-brother Behá'ulláh, who became the respective leaders of the two sects, into which the Bábís are now divided—the Ezelís and the Behá'ís. Before proceeding to give an account of the Bábí doctrines, we may briefly continue the narrative of events. There seems no doubt that the Báb in the year 1849 nominated the former, whom he named Subh-i-Ezel (morning of eternity), as his successor, and that for a short time he really held an undisputed position as head of the Bábí church. His claim to that office is based on a document, said to have been written by the Báb, of which the following is a translation by Mr. E. G. Browne :—

"God is most great with the utmost greatness.

This is a letter on the part of God, the Protector, the self-Existent.

¹ *Persia*, Vol. I. p. 499.

² *Ibid*, p. 500.

To God, the Protector, the self-Existent.

Say, 'All originate from God.'

Say, 'All return to God.'

This is a letter from 'Ali before Nebil¹ the Remembrance of God unto the worlds,

Unto him whose name is equivalent to the name of One,² the remembrance of God unto the worlds.

Say, 'Verily all originate from the Point of Revelation (Nukta-i-Beyán).

O Name of the One,³ keep what hath been revealed in the Beyán,

And what hath been commanded, 'Verily Thou art a mighty way of Truth.'"

In 1852, when the attempt on the life of the Sháh was made, the Bábís were bitterly persecuted, and Subh-i-Ezel retired to Baghdad, which then became the head-quarters of the sect, and was for many years recognised, at least nominally, as its head. Mírzá Husain 'Alí Behá'ulláh, who was Subh-i-Ezel's senior by thirteen years, and had just been released from imprisonment, joined him in 1853. The Persian Government, at length, objected to his residence there and prevailed on the Turkish authorities in 1863-4 to deport him and his followers to Constantinople, from whence a few months later on they were sent to Adrianople. Subh-i-Ezel led a very secluded life, and the correspondence and other matters were carried on by Behá, who acted for him. The influence of Behá then grew, and at last he began to advance claims which afterwards culminated in the assertion that he was the person to whom

¹ i.e. The Báb.

² *Wáhid*, one. The numerical value of the letters of *wáhid* is 18, which is also the value of those in *Yahyá*, one of the names of Subh-i-Ezel.

³ i.e. *Yahyá*.

the Báb referred as 'Him whom God shall manifest'.¹ To this claim the Ezelís replied that before the person of whose advent the Báb had spoken could come, Bábism must obtain general currency, and the laws laid down by the Báb in his books must be accepted by most of the nations of the world. They further added to their reply that it was not to be supposed that two manifestations (*zahr*)—that of the Báb and that of 'Him whom God shall manifest'—could take place with so short an interval of time between them. The Behá'ís, who admitted that Subh-i-Ezel was the first vice-regent of the Báb, to all the objections alleged replied that Mírzá Yahyá's rule was only to last until the manifestation of the new leader, who was to come suddenly, and the time of whose advent was known only to God; that the Báb had stated that he, the new prophet, would come suddenly, and that it could not come to pass that any one should falsely claim the honour. They also used an argument well known amongst Muhammadáns, an argument based on the literary style of the books given by means of a divinely appointed messenger, and urged that the *Lauh-i-Nasír*, in which Behá announced his mission, fulfilled this condition of a divine revelation by its eloquence of diction and the wonderful knowledge, unacquired by study, displayed by the writer. Anyhow, the conflicting claims to the leadership led to quarrels and blows. The Turkish Government then determined to separate the disputants. Behá and his followers were sent to Acre,² and Mírzá Yahyá and his

¹ He declared openly his divine mission in 1866-7 at Adrianople, from which date the schism commences.

² This is still the head-quarters of the Behá'ís, to which sect most of the Bábís now belong.

people were exiled to Famagusta, in Cyprus. A few Ezelís were sent with Behá, and a few Beháís were sent with Mírzá Yahyá. It was hoped that by this arrangement the minority, in each case, would act as spies and prevent any communication between Bábís in Persia and either of the leaders. Since then the followers of Behá have increased very much, whilst those of Subh-i-Ezel, or Yahyá, have decreased. This is an unlooked for development of the work of the Báb, for Behá claims to be the messenger of a new dispensation altogether.¹

This caused much consternation in the Bábí world. A hopeless schism was made, and peace can only come by the extinction of one party. The question at issue now became something more than a mere struggle for leadership, for Behá's claim virtually deposed the Báb from his position as the 'Point of Revelation' and made him the mere forerunner of 'Him whom God shall manifest'. The Ezelís are, however, nearly extinct, and it is not likely that they will ever attain to power again. Assuming that Behá had right on his side, it is stated that the changes he made were in a practical direction and beneficial.

¹ Mr. Browne put the following question to a Beháí: "Why do you speak of Mírzá Yahyá as though he were of no account? In the books about your religion which I read in Europe, he is described as the Báb's chosen successor and, after him, as the chief of your sect?"

"Yes," replied Mírzá Hasan, "it is true that he was one of the early believers, and that at first he was accounted the successor and vice-regent of the Báb, but he was repeatedly warned not to withhold his allegiance from 'Him whom God shall manifest', and threatened that if he did so, he would fall from the faith and become as one rejected. In spite of these clear warnings of his master, he refused to acknowledge the new manifestation when it came; wherefore he is now regarded by us as of no account."—*A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 335.

The Bábí doctrines are to be found in the writings of the Báb called the *Beyán*, a name sometimes apparently applied to them collectively, but more generally to a particular book. Many of the dogmas are very mystical : but the following is a brief summary.

God is eternal and unapproachable. All things come from Him and exist by Him. Man cannot approach Him except through some appointed medium. So, distinct from God there is a Primal Will¹ who becomes incarnate in the

¹ There is an evident connection between this dogma of the Bábis and the Súfí system, in which the 'First Intelligence,' or 'Primal Element' is represented as a manifestation of God. To the Súfí, as to the Bábí, God is "sterile in His inaccessible height." Men can never be more than slaves, nearness to Him is impossible. But men longed for communion with some one or something above them. They felt the need of some intermediary and found it in a revival of the old Gnostic notions of the *Æons*, forms of manifestation of the Ineffable and Incomprehensible. Neander thus describes the Gnostic view : "Self-limitation is the first beginning of a communication of life from God—the first passing of the hidden deity into manifestation : and from this proceeds all further self-developing manifestation of the divine essence. Now, from this primal link in the chain of life there are evolved, in the first place, the manifold powers or attributes inherent in the divine essence, which, until that first self-comprehension, were all hidden in this abyss of His essence." This intermediary is the Primal Will of the Bábí and the Primal Element of the Súfí, who also calls it by the names of the Pen, the First Principle, the spirit of Muhammad, Universal Reason (*'aql-i-kull*). God's voice is heard through it, by it material things were brought into existence. It works in Prophets and Saints. The Imám is closely connected with it. I am not able to find out whether the Báb taught that the Primal Will was created or not. In Súfí theology it certainly is, for in the *Akhlaq-i-Jalálí* it is written : "It is admitted, equally by the masters of perception and conception, that the First Principle which, at the mandate, 'Be and it is,' issued, by the ineffable power and will, from the chaotic ocean of inexistence, was a simple and luminous essence which, in the language of philosophy, is termed the Primary Intelligence, and the great fathers of

prophets. This Primal Will spoke in the Báb and will speak in 'Him whom God shall manifest'. This is apparent from the following texts of the *Beyán*¹ :—

"The whole *Beyán* revolves round the saying of 'Him whom God shall manifest.'"

"A thousand perusals of the *Beyán* are not equal to the perusal of one verse of what shall be revealed by 'Him whom God shall manifest.'" "The *Beyán* is to-day in the stage of seed, but in the day of 'Him whom God shall manifest' it will arrive at the degree of fruition." It must be remembered that Behá claimed and is allowed by his followers this exalted position. The following are some of the expressions used of Behá by his followers :—"Behá has come for the perfecting of the law of Christ, and his injunctions are in all respects similar. For instance, we are commanded that we should prefer that we should be killed rather than that we should kill. It is the same throughout, and indeed, could not be otherwise, for Behá is Christ returned again." "Christ returns to you as Behá with Angels, with clouds, with the sound of trumpets. His angels are his messengers, the clouds are the doubts which

mysticism and investigation call it the Muhammadan Spirit." It is to this and not to the inaccessible and incomprehensible God that the Imám seeks to return. When his work in life is done, then 'his end is joined to his beginning' (*Ba ághaz gírdad bâz anjám*). It is a curious phase of human thought which the Súfís evidently borrowed from the Gnostics, and the Bábis from the Súfís. This earnest longing for communion with a manifestation of God we can sympathise with, and only regret that, in their ignorance or repudiation of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation both Súfí and Bábí have so sadly missed the mark.

¹ This is a book in Persian written by the Báb. *Beyán* literally means explanation, narration, manifestation, &c.

prevent you recognising him ; the sound of the trumpets is the sound of the proclamation which you now hear."¹

Each dispensation of the Primal Will thus become incarnate supersedes a preceding one, and so Islám has ceased to be the true religion for to-day. It has already been shown (p. 10) that devotion to the Imám was a very prominent point in the teaching of the Báb. In one of the earliest of his writings, we read, "When thou wishest to visit the Friend of God, or one of the *Imáms of the Faith*, first purify thy body from everything which thy heart dislikes ; then wash thyself with seven handfuls of water upon thy head." Then follow directions how to approach the Imám with humility, and the prayer to be said. He addresses the Imáms as Effulgences of the Divine Glory, Manifestations of God, Intercessors with Him for sinful men. He longs for communion with them. Thus, "Where are the days of your manifestation that I may be independent of all except you ? and where are the days of the appearance of the signs of your lordship, that by your permission, I may say to whatsoever I will, 'Be', and it shall become existent before you." These are the enthusiastic utterances of a devout Shí'ah, and represent the feelings of the Báb before he felt conscious of any special mission. But this constant dwelling on the glory of the Imáms, the dispensers of God's will and favour, gradually led to the formation of the idea that he had special communication with them and was, in fact, the Báb (p. 12).

At this stage the usual Muhammadán customs were not set aside. The month of Ramazán was observed as a fast ; but the Ulamá were bitterly reproached for opposing this

¹ *A Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 308-9.

new revelation. Thus the Báb says : "O people of the earth! give thanks to God, for verily we have delivered you from the doctors of doubt."

For a more complete exposition of the Bábí dogmas, Mr. Browne, to whose valuable researches we are chiefly indebted for the best information on the subject, refers to the Persian *Beyán*, from which quotations have already been made. This work brings out more fully the theory of a Primal Will. "Since it is impossible for created beings to know the Divine Essence, the Primal Will has for their guidance and instruction, incarnated itself from time to time in a human form. These incarnations are known as 'Prophets.' That which spoke in all the Prophets of the past now speaks in the Báb and will speak through 'Him whom God shall manifest,' and after him through others, for there is no cessation in these manifestations. "That which spoke in Adam, Noah, Moses, David, Jesus and Muhammad¹ was the one and the same Primal Will. In each manifestation news has been given of the following one. Thus the Jews were told to expect a Messiah but they rejected him; the Christians to expect Muhammad but, as a rule, they did not accept him; so the Muhammadáns are taught to look out for Imám Mahdí. Yet now he has come (i. e., in the Báb) they persecute him."²

The chapters of the *Beyán* are arranged in groups of nineteen, a number which has a peculiar significance with the Bábis. Each letter of the Arabic alphabet has a numerical value, and so dates can be given by words or sentences. Alif, the first letter, stands for God, and the

¹ These are the Anbiyá-ulul-Azm of Islám. Vide *Faith of Islám*, p. 150.

² *Journal of the R.A.S.* vol. xxi. p. 914.

word for one is *wáhid*. The numerical value of the letters in this word is 19. God is absolute Being, or *wujúd*, the value of the letters of which also comes to 19.¹ The name of one of the attributes of God is *Hayy*—the ‘Living’. The sum of the letters of this word is 18, to which, if we add the letter *Alif*—the ‘One’ which pervades all—we again get the sacred number 19. Nineteen, then, represents the manifestation of the unknowable essence, and 19×19 ($=361$) represents the manifested universe, or ‘*kullu shey*’ (all things), the numerical value of which words is 360, to which *Alif*, the ‘One’ pervading all, is added and we then get 361.

In this world, God is represented by Mírzá ‘Alí Muḥammad, the Báb, who is called the ‘Point’ (*nukta*), and his 18 disciples. “These eighteen are called the ‘Letters of the Living,’ (*hurúfát-i-hayy*), because by them the Báb bestowed new life upon the world.” These again with their leader form the number 19, and thus constitute a complete unity (*wáhid*), and, as each disciple was to have 19 others under him, we arrive at 361, which represents the numerical value of *kullu shey*, or the ‘number of all things’ (*adad-i-kullu shey*). On this same ground the *Beyán* has 19 parts and each part has 19 chapters. The Bábí year has 19 months of 19 days.

¹ This is in accord with the second canon of the Cabbalistic system of Biblical interpretation in the thirteenth century, which is called *Ghematria*, or “the use of the numerical values of the letters of a word for purposes of comparison with other words which yield the same or similar combinations of numbers.”* I am not prepared to say that there is any historical connection between the Cabbalist and the Persian mystic. The subject needs investigation.

* *Biblical Study*, by Dr. Briggs, p. 301.

Another point on which the *Beyán* lays much stress is that no revelation is final. This is entirely opposed to the ordinary Muhammadan view, which is that, as Muhammad was the seal of the Prophets (*Khátamu 'l-anbiyá*), his revelation closed the series. The Báb taught that, as the human race progresses, the Primal Will, the teacher of men, speaks in each new revelation more fully and more clearly. All these successive and progressive revelations and dispensations are simply to prepare the world for the fuller teaching of 'Him whom God shall manifest.'

"A new prophet is not sent until the development of the human race renders this necessary. A revelation is not abrogated till it no longer suffices for the needs of mankind. There is no disagreement between the prophets: all teach the same truth, but in such measure as men can receive it. As mankind advance and progress they need fuller instruction. The instruction given by Abraham was suitable and sufficient for the people of his day, but not for those to whom Moses was sent, while this in turn had ceased to meet the needs of those to whom Christ was sent. Yet we must not say that their religions were opposed to one another, but rather that each manifestation is more complete and more perfect than the last."¹

The great point in the Bábí theology is that the teacher is one and the same, though he manifests himself according to the capacity and needs of those to whom he is sent. The outward form changes but the Universal Spirit remains. It then follows that "since this Universal Spirit is absolute good, we must believe that it always has a manifestation in the worldhence during the long intervals which

¹ *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 303.

separate one prophetic dispensation from the next, there must be in the world silent manifestations of the spirit, intrinsically not less perfect than the speaking manifestations whom we call prophets."¹ Such persons would seem to be those who in Súfí phraseology had annihilated self, "escaped the delusions of plurality and realised the unity of True Being," who differ in degree but not in kind from the Prophets.

The Báb was a prisoner when he showed such interest in preparing the mind of his followers for this 'Coming One'. The *Beyán* is full of it. It is laid down that in every assembly of believers a vacant place must be left for him: when his name is mentioned all must rise up. In any case the ground was well prepared for Behá when he made his claim.

The *Beyán* speaks with confidence of the success of Bábíism. The future Bábí community is to form a perfect Utopia and its governments are to be tolerant.² The kindly nature of the Báb is seen in the fancy sketches he draws of the future.

The Muhammadán doctrines of the examination of the dead in the graves,³ the Resurrection, Sirát, Heaven, Hell, are all treated allegorically. The first is really a summons to the people to believe in the next manifestation of the Primal Will (p. 36), the Resurrection is the appearance of this manifestation. Sirát, or the Bridge,⁴ is the belief in the prophet of the age, a matter difficult to the self-willed, but easy to the seeker after God. Hell is ignorance and

¹ *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 327.

² For a fuller account see *Journal R. A. S.* vol. xxi. pp. 927-8.

³ *Faith of Islam*, p. 145.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 167.

denial of the last manifestation of God, through the Primal Will incarnated in the Prophet, whilst Heaven is joy in it. The views of the Báb on a future life are not very clear. Speaking of Barzakh¹ he says, "What is intended by Barzakh is merely the interval between two manifestations, and not that which is commonly known amongst men—for none knoweth what shall be decreed unto them after death except God." The hope of a future reward was not placed before his followers as an inducement to accept him, and this is in direct contrast to the conduct and teaching of Muhammad. In the *Beyán* the Báb wrote the following striking words: "So worship God that, if the recompense of thy worship of Him were to be the fire, no alteration in thy worship of Him would be produced. If you worship from fear, that is unworthy of the threshold of the holiness of God, nor will you be accounted a believer; so also, if your gaze is on Paradise, and if you worship in hope of that; for then you have made God's creation a partner with Him."

To a very large number of Bábís, Behá was during the latter part of his life² looked up to as a divinely appointed guide. Before he assumed that position he wrote a book called the *Ikán*, which is held in great esteem. In this book he seems to acknowledge the then superior position of Subh-i-Ezel, but writes bitterly of some who were hostile to himself. Two years after the Turks had banished him to Adrianople he boldly asserted his claim and called on all the Ezelís to submit to his direction. He then wrote other treatises in which his position is dogmatically set forth. "If any one understood the love of Behá in the world of

¹ *Faith of Islam*, p. 168.

² He died in exi on May 16th, 1892.

creation, and were to fight on his side against all who are in the earth and the heavens, God would verily make him victorious over them, as a showing forth of his power, a setting forth of his Majesty." The people of the *Beyán* (*i. e.*, the Bábís not of his party) complained about all this, and Behá very severely censures them: "O people of the *Beyán*! have you not considered that he¹ for twenty years has stood up by himself against the enemies. Many are the nights when all were sleeping at ease on their beds, while this Beauty of Primal Unity (*i. e.*, Behá) was standing up openly against the unbelievers." The extent of his claim is well shown by Mr. E. G. Browne in a descriptive² passage from which I quote very freely. Behá says in one of his writings: "I³ revealed all the heavenly books by the glorious tongue of might."

The Bábí hierarchy consists of the Point and eighteen 'Letters of the Living,'⁴ making up the mystic number nineteen. The 'Point' is the manifestation of the essence of God: the others—the eighteen—are regarded as incarnations or manifestations of the attributes or names of God. According to Behá he himself was the 'Point' and Subh-i-Ezel one of the eighteen 'Letters of the Living.' This throws light on a passage where Behá calls himself Lord

¹ Behá, who is writing of himself in the third person.

² *Journal of the R. A. S.* vol. xxi. pp. 951-2.

³ Behá is here expressing the Bábí dogma of the Unity of the essential principle which spoke through all the prophets, and so what was revealed by preceding prophets he could describe as "I revealed."

⁴ In reality Subh-i-Ezel was the 4th letter. The Báb was the first, then came Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Bárfurúshi (*Jenáb-i-kuddús*); then Mullá Husain of Busbraweyh (*Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*); then Mírzá Yahyá (Subh-i-Ezel), who on the death of the two above him became second, and on the death of the Báb claimed to be the first.

of the attributes (*Málik-i-sifát*, i. e., that he is the divine essence made manifest) and reproves those who are "veiled by the names" from the essence. Subh-i-Ezel he calls a name amongst my names, whom I created by a single letter and to whom I gave life and who yet "arose in war" against his 'Beauty.' In another place he calls himself the First Point (*nukta-i-ulá*), or the Báb returned to life again.

A few extracts¹ from some of Behá's writings will show to some extent what he taught his followers. "As for those who commit sin and cling to the world they assuredly are not of the people of Behá. O worshippers of the Unity, make firm the girdle of endeavour, that perchance religious strife and conflict may be removed from amongst the people of the world and be annulled. "For love of God and His servants engage in this great and mighty matter. Religious hatred and rancour is a world-consuming fire." "With perfect compassion and mercy have we guided and directed the people of the world to that whereby their souls shall be profited. I swear by the sun of truth that the people of Behá have not any aim save the prosperity and reformation of the world and the purifying of the nations." "The heart must be sanctified from every form of selfishness and lust, for the weapons of the worshippers of the Unity and the saints were, and are, the fear of God." "Every one who desireth 'victory' must first subdue the city of his own heart with the sword of spiritual truth and of the word." "No stranger must find his way into the city of the heart, so that the Incomparable Friend (i. e., God) may come unto His own place—that is, the effulgence of His names and attributes, not His essence,

for that Peerless King hath been, and will be holy for everlasting above *ascent or descent*.”¹

People often came to Behá for direction as to their conduct and for instruction. This led him to write the *Lauh-i-akdas* (*most holy tablet*), in which many practical rules are laid down. It will be seen that they differ considerably from those which are current in Islám.

Prayer is to be said three times a day, and the number of prostrations are much fewer than those held necessary amongst Muhammadans. The worshipper no longer turns to Mecca but towards “the Most Holy Region, the Holy Place, whence issueth the command to whomsoever is in the earths and the heavens.” That Acre is here meant is clear because it is said that when Behá dies, or, as it is put in hyperbolic language, “when the sun of truth and exhortation sets,” the Kibla is to be changed to “that place which we have appointed you.”

The great festival is that of the Persian Naurúz (New Year’s day). Instead of the Muhammadán fast of Ramazán of thirty days, a month of nineteen days, the last month of the Bábí year, is appointed. Images and pictures are not allowed in places of worship. No encouragement is given to mendicants. It is said :—“The most hateful of mankind before God is he who sits and begs : take hold of the rope

¹ This is to guard against the idea held by some that God comes down into man or man rises up unto God, and that thus both are identified. The mystical view is that man is annihilated in God. Mr. Browne gives a good quotation from Jámi, a Súfí writer, on this point.

“So tread this path that duality may disappear,

For if there be duality in this path, falsity will arise :

Thou wilt not become *He*; but, if thou strivest,

Thou wilt reach a place where *thou-ness* (tú tú,í,) shall depart from

of means, relying on God, the Causer of Causes." The traffic in slaves is forbidden, and there are laws about great criminal offences, and civil matters such as inheritance, endowments, and so on. Shaving the head is not allowed, but the beard, may be cut off. Legal impurity is abolished and intercourse with persons of all religions is enjoined. Music is permitted, wine and opium are prohibited. The furniture of houses should be renewed every nineteen years. It is recommended that chairs should be used. No one must carry arms except in times of tumult or war. All are to read the sacred books regularly, to be kind and courteous in their conduct, to approve for others what they would like themselves, and to forgive their enemies.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October 1892 contains a translation of some of Behás selected precepts. They are introduced by the following statement made by Behá:—"These Divine ordinances and commands, formerly revealed in sundry epistles, in the Kitáb-i-Akdas, in the Illuminations, Effulgences, Ornaments, &c., have, agreeably to the Supreme and most Holy command, been collected, that all may become cognizant of the grace, mercy, and favour of God (great is His glory) in this most mighty Manifestation and this great Announcement, and may engage in praise and thanksgiving to the desired object of all the inhabitants of the world. Verily, He helpeth His servants unto that which He willeth, for He is the wise ordainer." Some of the precepts to guide the conduct of Babís are on the following subjects :—¹

1. Abolition of religious warfare.
2. Friendly intercourse with all sects and people.

¹ For a fuller account, see *Journal of the R. A. S.*, October 1892, pp. 678-9.

3. Obedience to the ruler who protects them.
4. Submission to the laws of the country in which they live.
5. Confession of sin to fellow-men prohibited. Confession must be to and pardon sought from God only.
6. The study of such sciences as tend to the welfare of mankind is encouraged.
7. All must learn some trade or practise some profession.
8. Visits to tombs and shrines are not obligatory.

The personal influence of Behá over his followers is not to be wondered at when an English visitor can thus describe an interview with him. "The face of him on whom I gazed I can never forget, though I cannot describe it. Those piercing eyes seemed to read one's very soul: power and authority sat in that ample brow; while the deep lines of the forehead and face implied an age which the jet black hair and beard flowing down in undistinguishable luxuriance almost to the waist seemed to belie. No need to ask in whose presence I stood, as I bowed myself before one who is the object of a devotion and love which kings might envy and emperors sigh for in vain."¹

Behá has now passed away. A letter written by his son on June 3rd, 1892 gives the sorrowful news. A short quotation from a translation by Mr. Browne is given.

"The horizon of the phenomenal world is bereft of the effulgence of the sun of wisdom and revelation, the throne of the universe is deprived of the radiance of the most mighty luminary. The ears of the friends are, to outward appearance, debarred from hearkening to the cry of the Supreme

¹ *The Episode of the Bá'b*, p. XL.

Pen and the eyes of the longing are veiled from the contemplation of the most Glorious Horizon. Great God! how dire a catastrophe is this which has arisen in the world. The sun of truth has bidden farewell to this earthly sphere. We and you alike must adorn ourselves with the ornament of patience and resignation, must lay hold of the firm rope of submission and acquiescence, apply ourselves with strong hearts and tranquil souls to what will conduce to the progress of mankind, the peace and prosperity of the world, the amelioration of character, and the appearance of charity and concord, and attach ourselves with our whole being to the counsels of the Lord of the Visible and the Invisible, so that the Phenomenal World may, by the Grace of that Beneficent Being, be beheld an envy to the Garden of Paradise.”¹

The result of Behá's death remains yet to be seen.

¹ The following is the Persian text of the extract from the letter.

افق امکان از تجلیات افتاب حکمت و بیان محروم و سریر
عالم از یرتو نیر اعظم ممنوع آذان دوستان از استماع صریر قلم اعلی
در ظاهر بازمانده و عیون مشتاقان از مشاهده افق ابهی محجوب گشته
سبحان الله چه قیامتی در عالم برپا و چه اضطرابی در وجود هویدا
شمس حقیقی ترک عالم نمود این عباد و آنجذاب جمیعاً
بطراز صبر و تسلیم مزین شویم و بحبل محکم رضا و تمکین متشبث
و با قلوب قویه و نفوس مطمئنه بر آنچه علت ترقی عباد و آسایش
و عمار بلاد و تهذیب اخلاق و ظهور الفیت و وفاقت قائم و بتمام
وجود بذرائع مالک غیب و شهود متمسک تا عالم امکان بعزایت
حضرت مدان رشک روضه رضوان مشاهده گردد *

R. A. S. Journal for October 1892, p. 707.

Space forbids us to follow the fortunes of Subh-i-Ezel in Cyprus. His person and appearance are thus described by Mr. Browne.¹ "A venerable and benevolent-looking old man of about sixty years of age, somewhat below the middle height, with ample forehead on which the traces of care and anxiety were apparent, clear searching blue eyes and long grey beard, rose and advanced to meet us. Before, that mild and dignified countenance I involuntarily bowed myself with unfeigned respect; for at length my long-cherished desire was fulfilled and I stood face to face with Mírzá Yahyá, Subh-i-Ezel (morning of Eternity), the appointed successor of the Báb, fourth 'Letter' of the 'First Unity'." When Cyprus was handed over to the English Government, Mírzá Yahyá, with other political exiles, was transferred, and still remains there as a political pensioner.

From what has now been stated, it will be seen that Bábíism is not a political movement, though in its early days it was brought into conflict with the civil power; but that it is a religious revolt against orthodox Islám, so far as that is represented by the Shí'ah sect. It raises women to a higher level, it professes to limit many of the social evils of Islám, it tends to give liberty of thought and to develope a friendly spirit to others. Mr. Curzon says:² "Brotherly love, kindness to children, courtesy combined with dignity, sociability, hospitality, freedom from bigotry, friendliness even to Christians are included in its tenets." If men are sometimes better than their creed, they are sometimes worse, and not every Bábí lives up to this ideal. It is perhaps too soon to speculate on the future of the movement. Those who think it will gradually

¹ *Episode of the Bab*, p. xxiv.

² *Persia*, Vol. i. p. 502.

take the place of Islám in Persia, base a strong argument on the fact that its "recruits are won from the best soldiers of the garrison it is attacking." It certainly appeals to the traditionary instincts of many Persians. The Sufí needs a Pír, or living guide; the Shíá'h meditates on the Imám, and the high position accorded to that person in Bábísm is at least attractive. The life and death of the Báb, and the magnificent heroism of his followers all help forward the movement. Whether when the victory is won, the Bábís in the day of power will be as gentle and as liberal as they are in the night of adversity is perhaps doubtful. To all who take an interest in Christian missions in Persia, the movement is one of great interest. It betrays a longing for a real, living, loving, personal guide, the revealer of God to man, which can be best met by the acceptance of the Eternal Word. In any case, if only liberty of conscience can be secured there seems to be a wide and open door.

