

THE
KHUṬBAH AL-JIDDAH
خطبة الجدة
THE ORATION AT JEDDAH
OF SAYYID `ALI MUHAMMAD SHIRAZI, THE BĀB (1819-1850)

Introductory Notes and Miscellany – under revision 2009-10

The roughly ten page Arabic Khuṭba al-Jidda ("Sermon at Jeddah") of Sayyid `Ali Muhammad the Bāb (d. 1850 CE), is a "sermon" associated with or delivered at the Arabian port town of Jiddah (now in Saudi Arabia) where the Bab spent at least three days during the course of his post-pilgrimage return journey from his in all nine-ten (lunar) month (CHECK) pilgrimage trip to and from Mecca and Medina. This pilgrimage commenced from Shiraz-Bushire on September 10th 1844 and ended on his return to this same location in March, 1845. As will be evident, the Khuṭba al-Jidda is much more than an ordinary oral delivery, oration, homily or sermon as the Arabic word khuṭba might ordinarily be taken to imply. It is at times a deeply theological composition with almost biblical and qur'ānic undertones. At least at its outset, it echoes the cosmological opening of the Hebrew Bible (especially Genesis 1:2b and related passages in the Qur'ān (see Q. ADD cf. the `Sermon on the Mount'). As will be demonstrated the opening of the Khuṭba al-Jiddah is also closely related to key cosmological paragraphs of the opening Khuṭba in the renowned Nahj al-Balagha and is at times also reflective of the great quasi-ghuluww ("extremist") Khuṭba al-ṭutunjiyya ("Sermon of the Gulf") again ascribed to the first Shi'ī Imam, `Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), a work which was well-known to the Bāb from the earliest period.

For the Bab the divinely revealed literary form of the Khuṭbah ("Sermon") was centrally important. He used it quite frequently throughout his six year religious ministry (1844-1850). During the course of his pilgrimage (1844-1845) he composed or delivered at least XX Khuṭbas as can be learned from his Kitāb al-Fihrist where the following are listed:

The Khuṭba jiddah is a fairly short (15 or so page) Arabic work dating to around the time of the Bab's pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah. It is specifically mentioned in the early Kitāb al-fihrist ("Book of the Index", written Bushire June, 21st 1845) of the Bab along with another eight (actually 9 +3 =12) other khuṭbas ("Orations"). These works all date to this early period and were largely composed during the course of the pilgrimage journey; they are (1) two Khuṭbas from Bushire, (2) the Khuṭba from Banakān, (3) the Khuṭba from Kanakān, (4) the Khuṭba on the `Īd al-Fiṭr (= 1st Shawwal 1260 at end of Ramadan = 1st October 1844?) (5) the Khuṭba from Jiddah, (6) the Khuṭba on the sufferings of Imam Ḥusayn (d.61/680) (7) three Khuṭbas associated with the journey to Mecca (8) the Khuṭba for Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūt written on board the ship and (9) the Khuṭba on the `ilm al-ḥurūf ("the science of letters").

This may well be rooted an early fascination with the important and well-known Shi'i compilation the *Nahj al-Balagha* ("Path of Eloquence") which was put together in the 10th-11th century CE by Abu'l-

Ḥasan Muhammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī, Sharīf al-Raḡfī (d.406/ 1015) and contains no less than XXX Khutbas (sermons) some on deeply theological lines.

In his later years as is evident, for example, in his Persian Bayan ("Exposition") and Kitāb-i Panj Sha`n ("Book of the Five Categories of Revelation") the Khutbah did not lose its important place in the modes or categories into which he divided his revealed writings

and the challenging *Khuṭbat al-ḥutunjiyya* cited above and frequently alluded to in the Qayyūm al-asmā' and other early writings.

At least four mss. of the Khuṭba jiddah are known including, (1) INBA Mss. 5006C, pp.330-335, (2) INBA 3036C p. 404f (MacEoin, Sources, 187) and (3) INBMC vol. 91 pp. 60-73. Important variant readings can on occasion be found in a number of Babi-Baha'i mss. and printed texts including,

The title *خطبة الجدة* *Khuṭba jiddah* of the Bāb describes the "Sermon", "Oration" or "Discourse" which he delivered at or nigh Jeddah (in Saudi Arabia), a major port on the Red Sea in the course of his 10 month pilgrimage journeying from Iran (Shiraz, Bushihr) to and from Mecca and Medina (left Shiraz 26th Sha`ban 1260 = 10th Sept. 1844, then Bushire 19th Ramadan 1260 = 2nd October 1844 : arrived Mecca 1st Dhu'l-Hijjah = 12th December 1844: *Performed the pilgrimage* : left Mecca 27th Dhu'l-Hijjah 1260 = 7th January 1845 : ... arrived Jiddah 16th Safar / 24th February 1845 left Jiddah 19 Safar/ 27 February 1845 then 15th May 1845 = 10 months) (see Ishraq Khavari, Muhadarat 2: ; MacEoin, Sources, 48ff; Afnan, `Ahd-i A`lā, 78, 453,474).

The Bāb was thus in Jeddah for 7-8 days in late Feb. early May 1845 where he most likely composed or revealed his *Khuṭba jiddah* – though there appears to be a mss. associating this (or another?) work with Bushire (Afnan, `Ahd, 474 fn. 18). If composed at Jeddah this would have been a little less than a year after the Bab's Shiraz declaration before Mulla Ḥusayn on May 22-3rd 1844.

For the Bāb the khuṭba is reckoned one of the 5 or more categories into which he divided his writings:

- (1) Āyāt = qur'anic style verses
- (2) Munājāt = Devotional pieces; prayers, supplications...
- (3) Khuṭba = Sermons, Orations, Homilies – alternatively,
- (3) Suwar-i `ilmiyya ("Surahs expressive of divine knowledge")
- (4) Tafāsīr [sing. Tafsīr] "Exegetical commentaries" and
- (5) Fārsī (Persian language revelations).

The literary form of the Khuṭba was especially significant during the earliest period of the Bab's revelations (1844-1846) though it continued to have a significant place in such late works as his Kitāb-i panj sha`n (Book of the Five [Revelational] Modes) composed during the latter period of the Bab's life in Adhirbayjan (1848-1850). Among the later Khuṭbas composed by the Bāb was his *Khuṭba-yi qahriyya* (the "Sermon of Wrath") written admonishing the prime minister of Fath `Alī Shāh (r. 1797-1834), the fickle and corrupt Ḥajjī Mīrzā Āqasī Erivanī (d. 1848).

The literary form is important in both Shi'ism and the Bābī religion often indicating an Arabic 'oration' which is more than just a sermonic, homiletic type discourse in being a weighty composition, something of theological magnitude. Among the important Shi'i Khuṭbas known to the Bab and influential upon his early claims is the doctrinally weighty Khuṭbat al-ṭunjiyya (Sermon of the Gulf). This quasi-ghuluww ("extremist") sermon is believed to have been delivered between Kufa and Medina by the first Imam `Alī b. Abi Ṭālib (d. 40/66)(Rajab al-Bursī, Mashāriq , 166). It commences as follows:

الحمد لله الذى فتق الاجواء وخرق الهواء وعلق الارعاء

واضاء الضياء واحى الموتى وامات الاحياء

Praise be to God!

Who hath cleft the firmaments asunder (cf. Q 21:30), split up the atmosphere, suspended the margins of the heavens (Q. 69:17),

caused the solar luminary [sun] (*dīyā'*) to shine forth, quickened the dead and made the living to die....

These opening lines of the Khuṭbat al-ṭunjiyya ("Sermon of the Gulf") echo portions of the first Khutbah of `Alī in the Nahj al-Balagha (Path of Eloquence) compiled in about 400/1009-10 by Sharīf al-Radī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (d.406/1015) and are similar to those of the *خطبة الجدة* *Khuṭba jiddah* of the Bāb where we read:

Praised be to God! who raised up the Celestial Throne (*al-`arsh*) upon the Watery Expanse (*al-mā'*)

and the Atmosphere (*al-hawā'*) upon the Face of the Watery Expanse (*al-mā'*).

THE KHUṬBAH AL-JIDDAH

The Arabic text

At least three mss. texts of the Khutbah al-Jiddah are known to exist: (1) INBA mss. 5006C: 332-3; (2) 3036C:494-6 and (3) INBMC 91: 60-73 (cf. Ishraq Khavarī, Muḥāḍirāt, Vol.2 :729-31 and Taqwīm-i Tārīkh-i Amr ... (Tehran: Mu`assasah-i Milli-yi Maṭbū`āt-i Amrī, BPT., 126 BE/ 1970, see p. 24) as well as Abu'l-Qasim Afnan's *Ahd-i A`la*... (Oneworld, 2000) pp. 86-87). The text reproduced and translated here largely comes from a reading of INBMC 91: 60-73, an electronic copy of which sent in to me in 199X from the BWC Haifa (Israel). I have here and there corrected this occasionally faulty text in the light of better alternative readings and citations of the Khutba Jiddah in a number of Babi-Baha'i printed sources and mss. including Ishraq Khavarī's Muḥāḍirāt (rep. 2 vols. Hofheim-Langenhain: Baha'i Verlag 143 BE/1987, see vol.2 pp. 729-31) where this writer insightfully interprets the difficult dating schemata within the *Khuṭba jiddah* and his own chronological work Taqwīm-i Tārīkh-i Amr ... (Tehran: Mu`assasah-i Milli-yi Maṭbū`āt-i Amrī, BPT., 126 BE/ 1970, see p.24) as well as Abu'l-Qasim Afnan's *Ahd-i A`la* (Oneworld, 2000) (see the unreliable citation on pp. 86-87) (see further bibliography below). All these texts have obvious errors and a number of variant readings generated by obvious attempts to read original mss. in a sometimes difficult, unpointed cursive Arabic text. This is not to say that the text typed out below constitutes an assured text. As yet there is no critical edition of the Khuta al-Jiddah. Original Mss. are uncommon and difficult to obtain. In the typed text below what seem to

be textual problems, uncertainties or better variant readings in the recension of the mss. included in INBMC 92: 60-73 are indicted by red asterisks (*) which will be explained in footnotes.

FOR THE ARABIC TEXT AND REVISED TRANSLATION REFER:

- [Khutba Jidda \(The Sermon at Jeddah\). Text and Translation: INBMC 91:60-74.](#)

Select Supplementary Notes and Bibliography...

"Jeddah in the last quarter of the twentieth (Gregorian) century - or the first quarter of the fifteenth Hijra century - is a phenomenon. It is an ancient Arabian city, and the core of it is, to this day, traditionally Arab : a highly compact complex of fine nineteenth century merchants' houses, mosques, schools and humbler dwellings, deep shaded alleys and a labyrinth of markets and walkways, with the history of its indigenous inhabitants written on every fanlight and corbel, lattice and balcony, dome and minaret. Jeddah has traditionally been the commercial centre of Saudi Arabia. At the same time, ever since the foundation of Islam fourteen Hijra centuries ago, it has been the arrival and assembly point every year for Muslims from all over the world closing in upon Holy Mecca on the greatest journey of their lives, the hajj pilgrimage.

These attributes remain with Jeddah. Yet today it is also a modern city growing at an unprecedented rate, whose 1980 population of about one million, having doubled in the previous six years, is expected to have more than doubled again in the following twenty years. It has grown, remarkably, with a grace and controlled purpose that does much credit to those who preside over its extraordinary expansionist energy.

It is a city, therefore, with a strikingly modern face, sophisticated in its infrastructure and services, with an ancient heart which - as its guardians recognise - it cannot "live" without.

This work is a record of Jeddah, "Bride of the Red Sea" - Arab, Islamic, and cosmopolitan, Old and New : a unique seat of civilisation at a unique moment in its history." (From Jeddah 1982: cover).

JEDDAH is a city-port of great age: the gateway to Holy Mecca and western Arabia, "Bride of the Red Sea". Confined for several centuries by its desert hinterland and an uncertain water supply within massive walls of bleached coral, Jeddah doubled in size between 1974 and 1980.

A generation earlier the walls were torn down. With them went Jeddah's old identity, as the town began to advance across sand, saltmarsh and coral reef into a sprawling modern city. It is still growing as Saudi Arabians pour in from the hinterland to settle in modern homes, and as foreigners take up temporary residence to play their part in the country's dynamic growth.

Jeddah today is thus a city of striking variety: seascape and cityscape, the ancient amid the modern, the elegant amid the garish ; a city of alleys and boulevards, of an aspect sometimes utilitarian and sometimes aesthetic. Despite the contrasts, Jeddah held to a distinctive Arab character—and in faithfulness to this Arab essence, displays a living green against the parched dun of the surrounding landscape.

To manage Jeddah is an awesome, costly task.

The city is situated about half way along the Red Sea's eastern coast. Jeddah owes its existence to the presence of a gap in the triple line of coral reefs fringing the Red Sea shore and to another gap in the Great Arabian Massif barrier which allowed communications —via the Wadi Fatima—inland to Mecca. Arab geographers report legends that Eve began her search for Adam at Jeddah (or, according to some, returned to the town from Paradise), and that she is buried there.

The nucleus of the city began to form at the north end of a bay so encumbered with banks of reefs that it seems strange that such an inhospitable anchorage on the coast of Arabia should have become a busy seaport. To be sure, a small settlement existed from the very earliest times, but it was when the cities of the Mediterranean gained a taste for incense from South Arabia and ship-borne spices and luxuries from the East that the town started to grow. The ancient town's Persian masters were obliged to dig three hundred or more wells and cisterns in the sixth century C.E. With the coming of Islam at the beginning of the seventh century, the port's significance was assured for all time.

Yet even as the principal port for pilgrims to Mecca—a mere forty-seven miles inland in a bowl of barren hills—Jeddah does not appear to have been first choice. The landing for Mecca was at Shuaiba, at the south of the bay, until the Caliph Uthman was called in to find a harbour safer from pirates in the twenty-sixth year of the Islamic era (646-647). Qutb Al-Din tells that the Caliph bathed in the sea at Jeddah and liked it. Nowadays, well over one million pilgrims arrive through Jeddah's airport and harbour every year, from every corner of the Islamic world.

At first, Jeddah found itself the main port for the expanding Arab empire. With the transfer of the Caliphate northwards—to Baghdad and Damascus—Jeddah retained a hold on the profitable Red Sea spice trade. The Persian poet, Naser Khusrow, visited the town in 1050 and left the first written account. He describes a thriving place:

"Jeddah is a great city surrounded by a strong wall, with a population of some five thousand males. The bazaars are fine. There are no trees or any vegetation at all, but all that is necessary for life is brought in from surrounding villages."

The mounting sea power of Europe threatened this prosperity. The circumnavigation of Africa by Vasco da Gama in the later fifteenth century turned Portuguese eyes to the rich opportunities of the eastern trade. A former dependant of the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, Hussein Al-Kurdi, styled himself governor of Jeddah and rebuilt the walls of the town. They withstood a Portuguese attack and blockade. But in 1517, the town fell under the power of the Ottoman Turks, as part of the domain of the Sharif of Mecca.

As the Portuguese, Dutch and English began to monopolize trade, Jeddah ceased to be a commercial entrepot of importance and subsided into its traditional role as a pilgrim port. It continued to act as a transit point for commerce between Egypt and India, but it was in a dilapidated state when visited by the Danish expedition under Carsten Niebuhr in 1761:

"The walls are still standing but are now so ruinous that a person may, in many places, enter over them on horseback. In the city, however, there are several fine buildings of coral stone. The city is entirely destitute of water. The inhabitants have none to drink but what is collected by Arabs in reservoirs among the hills and brought thence on camels."

In the early nineteenth century, Turkish rule was interrupted, first by the Saudis of Central Arabia and then by the Egyptians, but the Turks were back in partnership with the Sharif by 1840. As the India trade expanded, the European powers established consulates in a special quarter just inside the northern gates. Jacob Burckhardt, the Swiss traveller, describes the arrival of the India fleet on the May monsoon as a time of intense excitement. The Jeddah merchants "having collected as many dollars and sequins as their circumstances... (from Jeddah Old and New 1982:ADD).

Extract from MAKKAH A HUNDRED YEARS AGO OR C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S REMARKABLE ALBUMS EDITED, WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION, BY ANGELO PESCE, LONDON 1986 :

"Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was an extraordinarily prolific scholar in the fields of philology, literature, history, jurisprudence and sociology, both Arab and Indonesian. An exhaustive bibliography of his work has not been so far compiled, and it is not our aim to provide one, even in consideration of the fact that most of his miscellaneous papers have been collected in two of the publications listed below (6 and 8).

- 1. *Het Mekkaansche Feest*. Leiden, 1880.
Snouck Hurgronje's doctoral thesis on the Pilgrimage.
- 2. *Mekka (mit Bilder-Atlas)*. Den Haag, 1888-1889.
His opus princeps in two volumes, with an album of photographs and drawings on Makkah.
- 3. *Bilder aus Mekka*. Leiden, 1889.
An album of a supplementary set of photographs on Makkah and the Pilgrimage.
- 4. *De Atjehers*. Vol. I, Leiden, 1893; Vol. II, Leiden, 1894.
A fundamental ethnographic work in two volumes on the Atjehnese of northwestern Sumatra.

- 5. The Achehnese, tr. by A.W.S. C T Sullivan. Leiden and London, 1906. An English translation of De Atjehers, also in two volumes.
- 6. Verspreide Geschriften (Gesammelte Schriften) Vol. I-V, Bonn-Leipzig 1923-1925; Vol. VI, Leiden, 1927.
A collection of all but the most marginal articles, papers and essays, covering the period from 1880 to 1926, excluding 2 to 5 above.
- 7. Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, tr. by J.H. Monahan. Leiden and London, 1931.
A somewhat abridged English translation of Vol. II of Mekka.
- 8. Oeuvres Choiesies - Selected Works. Edited in English and French by G. - H. Bousquet and J. Schacht. Leiden, 1957.
A volume published on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Snouck Hurgronje, with English or French translations of articles which had already appeared, and texts for the first time translated into either language.

Works published in the decade between 1926 (the last one covered by the Verspreide Geschriften) and Snouck Hurgronje's death in 1936 remain uncollected, consisting mainly of book reviews and obituaries. Of the assiduous correspondence he maintained up to his last days with other Oriental scholars and Muslim personalities, two volumes have been recently published, namely:

- 9. Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library. Published by P.Sj. van Koningsveld. Leiden, 1985." (Pesce 1986: 21).

Snouck Hurgronje, C

- Trans. J. H. Monahan.

MEKKA in the Latter Part of the 19th Cent. DAILY LIFE, CUSTOMS AND LEARNING THE MOSLIMS OF THE EAST-INDIAN-ARCHIPELAGO C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE LITT. D. PROFESSOR AT THE LEYDEN UNIVERSITY TRANSLATED BY J. H. MONAHAN FORMERLY H. B. M. CONSUL AT JEDDAH (WITH 20 PLATES AND 3 MAPS) PHOTOMECHANICAL REPRINT. This an abridged trans. of vol. 2 of the 2 vol. Mekka (mit Bilder-Atlas). Den Haag, 1888-1889.. It was first printed in Leiden: E. J. Brill + London: Luzac and Co., 1931. and reprinted, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970.

Pesce, Angelo ,

- MAKKAH A HUNDRED YEARS AGO OR C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S REMARKABLE ALBUMS EDITED, WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION, BY ANGELO PESCE, LONDON 1986

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Jeddah and the pilgrimage of the Bab in the Tarikh-i Zarandi

"Upon His arrival in Jaddih, the Báb donned the pilgrim's garb, mounted a camel, and set out on His journey to Mecca. Quddus, however, notwithstanding the repeatedly expressed desire of his Master, preferred to accompany Him on foot all the way from Jaddih to that holy city. Holding in his hand the bridle of the camel upon which the Báb was riding, he walked along joyously and prayerfully, ministering to his Master's needs, wholly indifferent to the fatigues of his arduous march. Every night, from eventide until the break of day, Quddus, sacrificing comfort and sleep, would continue with unrelaxing vigilance to watch beside his Beloved, ready to provide for His wants and to ensure the means of His protection and safety.

One day, when the Báb had dismounted close to a well in order to offer His morning prayer, a roving Bedouin suddenly appeared on the horizon, drew near to Him, and, snatching the saddlebag that had been lying on the ground beside Him, and which contained His writings and papers, vanished into the unknown desert. His Ethiopian servant set out to pursue him, but was prevented by his Master, who, as He was praying, motioned to him with His hand to give up his pursuit. "Had I allowed you," the Báb later on affectionately assured him, "you would surely have overtaken and punished him. But this was not to be. The papers and writings which that bag contained are destined to reach, through the instrumentality of this Arab, such places as we could never have

succeeded in attaining. Grieve not, therefore, at his action, for this was decreed by God, the Ordainer, the Almighty." Many a time afterwards did the Báb on similar occasions seek to comfort His friends by such reflections. By words such as these He turned the bitterness of regret and of resentment into radiant acquiescence in the Divine purpose and into joyous submission to God's will.

On the day of Arafat,[1] the Báb, seeking the quiet seclusion of His cell, devoted His whole time to meditation and worship. On the following day, the day of Nahr, after He had offered the feast-day prayer, He proceeded to Muna, where, according to ancient custom, He purchased nineteen lambs of the choicest breed, of which He sacrificed nine in 133 His own name, seven in the name of Quddus, and three in the name of His Ethiopian servant. He refused to partake of the meat of this consecrated sacrifice, preferring instead to distribute it freely among the poor and needy of that neighbourhood.

[1 The day preceding the festival.]

Although the month of Dhi'l-Hijjih,[1] the month of pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, coincided in that year with the first month of the winter season, yet so intense was the heat in that region that the pilgrims who made the circuit of 134 the sacred shrine were unable to perform that rite in their usual garments. Draped in a light, loose-fitting tunic, they joined in the celebration of the festival. The Báb, however, refused, as a mark of deference, to discard either His turban or cloak. Dressed in His usual attire, He, with the utmost dignity and calm, and with extreme simplicity and reverence, compassed the Ka'bih and performed all the prescribed rites of worship.

[1 December, 1844 A.D.]

On the last day of His pilgrimage to Mecca, the Báb met Mirza Muhit-i-Kirmani. He stood facing the Black Stone, when the Báb approached him and, taking his hand in His, addressed him in these words: "O Muhit! You regard yourself as one of the most outstanding figures of the shaykhi community and a distinguished exponent of its teachings. In your heart you even claim to be one of the direct successors and rightful inheritors of those twin great Lights, those Stars that have heralded the morn of Divine guidance. Behold, we are both now standing within this most sacred shrine. Within its hallowed precincts, He whose Spirit dwells in this place can cause Truth immediately to be known and distinguished from falsehood, and righteousness from error. Verily I declare, none besides Me in this day, whether in the East or in the West, can claim to be the Gate that leads men to the knowledge of God. My proof is none other than that proof whereby the truth of the Prophet Muhammad was established. Ask Me whatsoever you please; now, at this very moment, I pledge Myself to reveal such verses as can demonstrate the truth of My mission. You must choose either to submit yourself unreservedly to My Cause or to repudiate it entirely. You have no other alternative. If you choose to reject My message, I will not let go your hand until you pledge your word to declare publicly your repudiation 135 of the Truth which I have proclaimed. Thus shall He who speaks the Truth be made known, and he that speaks falsely shall be condemned to eternal misery and shame. Then shall the way of Truth be revealed and made manifest to all men."

This peremptory challenge, thrust so unexpectedly by the Báb upon Mirza Muhit-i-Kirmani, profoundly distressed him. He was overpowered by its directness, its compelling 136 majesty and force. In the presence of that Youth, he, notwithstanding his age, his authority and learning, felt as a helpless bird prisoned in the grasp of a mighty eagle. Confused and full of fear, he replied: "My Lord, my Master! Ever since the day on which my eyes beheld You in Karbila, I seemed at last to have found and recognized Him who had been the object of my quest. I renounce whosoever has failed to recognize You, and despise him in whose heart may yet linger the faintest misgivings as to Your purity and holiness. I pray You to overlook my weakness, and entreat You to answer me in my perplexity. Please God I may, at this very place, within the precincts of this hallowed shrine, swear my fealty to You, and arise for the triumph of Your Cause. If I be insincere in what I declare, if in my heart I should disbelieve what my lips proclaim, I would deem myself utterly unworthy of the grace of the Prophet of God, and regard my action as an act of manifest disloyalty to Ali, His chosen successor."

The Báb, who listened attentively to his words, and who was well aware of his helplessness and poverty of soul, answered and said: "Verily I say, the Truth is even now known and distinguished from falsehood. O shrine of the Prophet of God, and you, O Quddus, who have believed in Me! I take you both, in this hour, as My witnesses. You have seen and heard that which has come to pass between Me and him. I call upon you to testify thereunto, and God, verily, is, beyond and above you, My sure and ultimate Witness. He is the All-Seeing, the All-Knowing, the All-Wise. O Muhit! Set forth whatsoever perplexes your mind, and I will, by the aid of God, unloose My tongue and undertake to resolve your problems, so that you may testify to the excellence of My utterance and realise that no one besides Me is able to manifest My wisdom."

Mirza Muhit responded to the invitation of the Báb and submitted to Him his questions. Pleading the necessity of his immediate departure for Medina, he expressed the hope of receiving, ere his departure from that city, the text of the promised reply. "I will grant your request," the Báb assured him. On My way to Medina I shall, with the assistance of God, reveal My answer to your questions. If I meet you 137 not in that city, My reply will surely reach you immediately after your arrival at Karbila. Whatever justice and fairness may dictate, the same shall I expect you to fulfil. 'If ye do well, to your own behoof will ye do well: and if ye do evil, against yourselves will ye do it.' 'God is verily independent of all His creatures.'"[1]

[1 Verses of the Qur'án.]

Mirza Muhit, ere his departure, again expressed his firm resolve to redeem his solemn pledge. "I shall never depart from Medina," he assured the Báb, "whatever may betide, until I have fulfilled my covenant with You." As the mote which is driven before the gale, he, unable to withstand the sweeping majesty of the Revelation proclaimed by the Báb, fled in terror from before His face. He tarried awhile in Medina and, faithless to his pledge and disregarding of the admonitions of his conscience, left for Karbila.

The Báb, faithful to His promise, revealed, on His way from Mecca to Medina, His written reply to the questions that had perplexed the mind of Mirza Muhit, and gave it the name of Sahifiyi-i-Baynu'l-Haramayn.[1] Mirza Muhit, who received it in the early days of his arrival in Karbila, remained unmoved by its tone and refused to recognize the precepts which it inculcated. His attitude towards the Faith was one of concealed and persistent opposition. At times he professed to be a follower and supporter of that notorious adversary of the Báb, Haji Mirza Karim Khan, and occasionally claimed for himself the station of an independent leader. Nearing the end of his days, whilst residing in Iraq, he, feigning submission to Bahá'u'lláh, expressed, through one of the Persian princes who dwelt in Baghdad, a desire to meet Him. He requested that his proposed interview be regarded as strictly confidential. "Tell him," was Bahá'u'lláh's reply, "that in the days of My retirement in the mountains of Sulaymaniyyih, I, in a certain ode which I composed, set forth the essential requirements from every wayfarer who treads the path of search in his quest of Truth. Share with him this verse from that ode: 'If thine aim be to cherish thy life, approach not our court; but if sacrifice be thy heart's desire, come and let others come with thee. For such is the way of Faith, if in 138 thy heart thou seekest reunion with Baha; shouldst thou refuse to tread this path, why trouble us? Begone!' If he be willing, he will openly and unreservedly hasten to meet Me; if not, I refuse to see him." Bahá'u'lláh's unequivocal answer disconcerted Mirza Muhit. Unable to resist and unwilling to comply, he departed for his home in Karbila the very day he received that message. As soon as he arrived, he sickened, and, three days later, he died.

[1 "The Epistle between the Two Shrines."]

No sooner had the Báb performed the last of the observances in connection with His pilgrimage to Mecca than he addressed an epistle to the Sherif of that holy city, wherein He set forth, in clear and unmistakable terms, the distinguishing features of His mission, and called upon him to arise and embrace His Cause. This epistle, together with selections from His other writings, He delivered to Quddus, and instructed him to present them to the Sherif. The latter, however, too absorbed in his own material pursuits to incline his ear to the words which had been addressed to him by the Báb, failed to respond to the call of the Divine Message. Haji Niyaz-i-Baghdadi has been heard to relate the following: "In the year 1267 A.H.,[1] I undertook a pilgrimage to that holy city, where I was privileged to meet the Sherif. In the course of his conversation with me, he said: 'I recollect that in the year '60, during the season of pilgrimage, a youth came to visit me. He presented to me a sealed book which I readily accepted but was too much occupied at that time to read. A few days later I met again that same youth, who asked me whether I had any reply to make to his offer. Pressure of work had again detained me from considering the contents of that book. I was therefore unable to give him a satisfactory reply. When the season of pilgrimage was over, one day, as I was sorting out my letters, my eyes fell accidentally upon that book. I opened it and found, in its introductory pages, a moving and exquisitely written homily which was followed by verses the tone and language of which bore a striking resemblance to the Qur'án. All that I gathered from the perusal of the book was that among the people of Persia a man of the seed of Fatimih and descendant of the family of Hashim, had raised a new call, and was announcing 139 to all people the appearance of the promised Qá'im. I remained, however, ignorant of the name of the author of that book, nor was I informed of the circumstances attending that call.' 'A great commotion,' I remarked, 'has indeed seized that land during the last few years. A Youth, a descendant of the Prophet and a merchant by profession, has claimed that His utterance was the Voice of Divine inspiration. He has publicly asserted that, within the space of a few days, there could stream from His tongue verses of such number and excellence as would surpass in volume and beauty the Qur'án itself -- a work which it took Muhammad no less than twenty-three years to reveal. A multitude of people, both high and low, civil and ecclesiastical, among the inhabitants of Persia, have

rallied round His standard and have willingly sacrificed themselves in His path. That Youth has, during the past year, in the last days of the month of Sha'ban,[2] suffered martyrdom in Tabriz, in the province of Adhirbayjan. They who persecuted Him sought by this means to extinguish the light which He kindled in that land. Since His martyrdom, however, His influence has pervaded all classes of people.' The Sherif, who was listening attentively, expressed his indignation at the behaviour of those 140 who had persecuted the Báb. 'The malediction of God be upon these evil people,' he exclaimed, 'a people who, in days past, treated in the same manner our holy and illustrious ancestors!' With these words the Sherif concluded his conversation with me."

[1 1850-51 A.D.]

[2 July, 1850 A.D.]

From Mecca the Báb proceeded to Medina. It was the first day of the month of Muharram, in the year 1261 A.H.,[1] when He found Himself on the way to that holy city. As He approached it, He called to mind the stirring events that had immortalised the name of Him who had lived and died within its walls. Those scenes which bore eloquent testimony to the creative power of that immortal Genius seemed to be re-enacted, with undiminished splendour, before His eyes. He prayed as He drew nigh unto that holy sepulchre which enshrined the mortal remains of the Prophet of God. He also remembered, as He trod that holy ground, that shining Herald of His own Dispensation. He knew that in the cemetery of Baqi', in a place not far distant from the shrine of Muhammad, there had been laid to rest Shaykh Ahmad-i-Ahsa'i, the harbinger of His own Revelation, who, after a life of onerous service, had decided to spend the evening of his days within the precincts of that hallowed shrine. There came to Him also the vision of those holy men, those pioneers and martyrs of the Faith, who had fallen gloriously on the field of battle, and who, with their life-blood, had sealed the triumph of the Cause of God. Their sacred dust seemed as if reanimated by the gentle tread of His feet. Their shades seemed to have been stirred by the reviving breath of His presence. They looked to Him as if they had arisen at His approach, were hastening towards Him, and were voicing their welcome. They seemed to be addressing to Him this fervent plea: 'Repair not unto Thy native land, we beseech Thee, O Thou Beloved of our hearts! Abide Thou in our midst, for here, far from the tumult of Thine enemies who are lying in wait for Thee, Thou shalt be safe and secure. We are fearful for Thee. We dread the plottings and machinations of Thy foes. We tremble at the thought that their deeds might bring eternal damnation to their souls.' "Fear not," the Báb's indomitable Spirit replied: "I am come into this 141 world to bear witness to the glory of sacrifice. You are aware of the intensity of My longing; you realise the degree of My renunciation. Nay, beseech the Lord your God to hasten the hour of My martyrdom and to accept My sacrifice. Rejoice, for both I and Quddus will be slain on the altar of our devotion to the King of Glory. The blood which we are destined to shed in His path will water and revive the garden of our immortal felicity. The drops of this consecrated blood will be the seed out of which will arise the mighty Tree of God, the Tree that will gather beneath its all-embracing shadow the peoples and kindreds of the earth. Grieve not, therefore, if I depart from this land, for I am hastening to fulfil My destiny." 142

[1 Friday, January 30, 1845 A.D.]

CHAPTER VIII, THE BÁB'S STAY IN SHIRAZ AFTER THE PILGRIMAGE

THE visit of the Báb to Medina marked the concluding stage of His pilgrimage to Hijaz. From thence He returned to Jaddih, and by way of the sea regained His native land. He landed at Bushihr nine lunar months after He had embarked on His pilgrimage from that port. In the same khan [1] which He had previously occupied, He received His friends and relatives, who had come to greet and welcome Him. ... 144.

[1 Similar to a caravanserai.]

[2 Literally meaning "The Seven Qualifications.]

(Shoghi Effendi, *The Dawn-Breakers*, p. 131)

SELECT NOTES

2:4 "triplicity [trinitarian threefoldness] (tamtām al-tathlīth)" + "the oceans the crucifix [Cross] (abḥār al-ṣālib)"....

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THE
KHUṬBAH AL-JIDDAH
خطبة الجدة
THE ORATION AT JEDDAH
OF SAYYID `ALI MUHAMMAD SHIRAZI, THE BĀB (1819-1850)

Introductory Notes and Miscellany – under revision 2009-10

The roughly ten page Arabic Khuṭba al-Jidda ("Sermon at Jeddah") of Sayyid `Ali Muhammad the Bāb (d. 1850 CE), is a "sermon" associated with or delivered at the Arabian port town of Jiddah (now in Saudi Arabia) where the Bab spent at least three days during the course of his post-pilgrimage return journey from his in all nine-ten (lunar) month (CHECK) pilgrimage trip to and from Mecca and Medina. This pilgrimage commenced from Shiraz-Bushire on September 10th 1844 and ended on his return to this same location in March, 1845. As will be evident, the Khuṭba al-Jidda is much more than an ordinary oral delivery, oration, homily or sermon as the Arabic word khuṭba might ordinarily be taken to imply. It is at times a deeply theological composition with almost biblical and qur'ānic undertones. At least at its outset, it echoes the cosmological opening of the Hebrew Bible (especially Genesis 1:2b and related passages in the Qur'ān (see Q. ADD cf. the `Sermon on the Mount'). As will be demonstrated the opening of the Khuṭba al-Jiddah is also closely related to key cosmological paragraphs of the opening Khuṭba in the renowned Nahj al-Balagha and is at times also reflective of the great quasi-ghuluww ("extremist") Khuṭba al-ṭutunjiyya ("Sermon of the Gulf") again ascribed to the first Shi'ī Imam, `Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), a work which was well-known to the Bāb from the earliest period.

For the Bab the divinely revealed literary form of the Khuṭbah ("Sermon") was centrally important. He used it quite frequently throughout his six year religious ministry (1844-1850). During the course of his pilgrimage (1844-1845) he composed or delivered at least XX Khuṭbas as can be learned from his Kitāb al-Fihrist where the following are listed:

The Khuṭba jiddah is a fairly short (15 or so page) Arabic work dating to around the time of the Bab's pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah. It is specifically mentioned in the early Kitāb al-fihrist ("Book of the Index", written Bushire June, 21st 1845) of the Bab along with another eight (actually 9 +3 =12) other khuṭbas ("Orations"). These works all date to this early period and were largely composed during the course of the pilgrimage journey; they are (1) two Khuṭbas from Bushire, (2) the Khuṭba from Banakān, (3) the Khuṭba from Kanakān, (4) the Khuṭba on the `Īd al-Fiṭr (= 1st Shawwal 1260 at end of Ramadan = 1st October 1844?) (5) the Khuṭba from Jiddah, (6) the Khuṭba on the sufferings of Imam Ḥusayn (d.61/680) (7) three Khuṭbas associated with the journey to Mecca (8) the Khuṭba for Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūt written on board the ship and (9) the Khuṭba on the `ilm al-ḥurūf ("the science of letters").

This may well be rooted an early fascination with the important and well-known Shi'i compilation the *Nahj al-Balagha* ("Path of Eloquence") which was put together in the 10th-11th century CE by Abu'l-

Ḥasan Muhammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī, Sharīf al-Raḍī (d.406/ 1015) and contains no less than XXX Khutbas (sermons) some on deeply theological lines.

In his later years as is evident, for example, in his Persian Bayan ("Exposition") and Kitāb-i Panj Sha`n ("Book of the Five Categories of Revelation") the Khutbah did not lose its important place in the modes or categories into which he divided his revealed writings

and the challenging *Khuṭbat al-ḥutunjiyya* cited above and frequently alluded to in the Qayyūm al-asmā' and other early writings.

At least four mss. of the *Khuṭba jiddah* are known including, (1) INBA Mss. 5006C, pp.330-335, (2) INBA 3036C p. 404f (MacEoin, Sources, 187) and (3) INBMC vol. 91 pp. 60-73. Important variant readings can on occasion be found in a number of Babi-Baha'i mss. and printed texts including,

The title *خطبة الجدة* *Khuṭba jiddah* of the Bāb describes the "Sermon", "Oration" or "Discourse" which he delivered at or nigh Jeddah (in Saudi Arabia), a major port on the Red Sea in the course of his 10 month pilgrimage journeying from Iran (Shiraz, Bushihr) to and from Mecca and Medina (left Shiraz 26th Sha`ban 1260 = 10th Sept. 1844, then Bushire 19th Ramadan 1260 = 2nd October 1844 : arrived Mecca 1st Dhu'l-Hijjah = 12th December 1844: *Performed the pilgrimage* : left Mecca 27th Dhu'l-Hijjah 1260 = 7th January 1845 : ... arrived Jiddah 16th Safar / 24th February 1845 left Jiddah 19 Safar/ 27 February 1845 then 15th May 1845 = 10 months) (see Ishraq Khavari, Muhadarat 2: ; MacEoin, Sources, 48ff; Afnan, `Ahd-i A`lā, 78, 453,474).

The Bāb was thus in Jeddah for 7-8 days in late Feb. early May 1845 where he most likely composed or revealed his *Khuṭba jiddah* – though there appears to be a mss. associating this (or another?) work with Bushire (Afnan, `Ahd, 474 fn. 18). If composed at Jeddah this would have been a little less than a year after the Bab's Shiraz declaration before Mulla Ḥusayn on May 22-3rd 1844.

For the Bāb the *khuṭba* is reckoned one of the 5 or more categories into which he divided his writings:

- (1) Āyāt = qur'anic style verses
- (2) Munājāt = Devotional pieces; prayers, supplications...
- (3) *Khuṭba* = Sermons, Orations, Homilies – alternatively,
- (3) Suwar-i `ilmiyya ("Surahs expressive of divine knowledge")
- (4) Tafāsīr [sing. Tafsīr] "Exegetical commentaries" and
- (5) Fārsī (Persian language revelations).

The literary form of the *Khuṭba* was especially significant during the earliest period of the Bab's revelations (1844-1846) though it continued to have a significant place in such late works as his Kitāb-i panj sha`n (Book of the Five [Revelational] Modes) composed during the latter period of the Bab's life in Adhirbayjan (1848-1850). Among the later *Khuṭbas* composed by the Bāb was his *Khuṭba-yi qahriyya* (the "Sermon of Wrath") written admonishing the prime minister of Fath `Alī Shāh (r. 1797-1834), the fickle and corrupt Ḥajjī Mīrzā Āqasī Erivanī (d. 1848).

The literary form is important in both Shi'ism and the Bābī religion often indicating an Arabic 'oration' which is more than just a sermonic, homiletic type discourse in being a weighty composition, something of theological magnitude. Among the important Shi'i Khuṭbas known to the Bab and influential upon his early claims is the doctrinally weighty Khuṭbat al-ṭunjiyya (Sermon of the Gulf). This quasi-ghuluww ("extremist") sermon is believed to have been delivered between Kufa and Medina by the first Imam `Alī b. Abi Ṭālib (d. 40/66)(Rajab al-Bursī, Mashāriq , 166). It commences as follows:

الحمد لله الذى فتق الاجواء وخرق الهواء وعلق الارعاء

واضاء الضياء واحى الموتى وامات الاحياء

Praise be to God!

Who hath cleft the firmaments asunder (cf. Q 21:30), split up the atmosphere, suspended the margins of the heavens (Q. 69:17),

caused the solar luminary [sun] (*dīyā'*) to shine forth, quickened the dead and made the living to die....

These opening lines of the Khuṭbat al-ṭunjiyya ("Sermon of the Gulf") echo portions of the first Khutbah of `Alī in the Nahj al-Balagha (Path of Eloquence) compiled in about 400/1009-10 by Sharīf al-Radī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (d.406/1015) and are similar to those of the *خطبة الجدة* *Khuṭba jiddah* of the Bāb where we read:

Praised be to God! who raised up the Celestial Throne (*al-'arsh*) upon the Watery Expanse (*al-mā'*)

and the Atmosphere (*al-hawā'*) upon the Face of the Watery Expanse (*al-mā'*).

THE KHUṬBAH AL-JIDDAH

The Arabic text

At least three mss. texts of the Khutbah al-Jiddah are known to exist: (1) INBA mss. 5006C: 332-3; (2) 3036C:494-6 and (3) INBMC 91: 60-73 (cf. Ishraq Khavarī, Muḥāḍirāt, Vol.2 :729-31 and Taqwīm-i Tārīkh-i Amr ... (Tehran: Mu'assasah-i Milli-yi Maṭbū'āt-i Amrī, BPT., 126 BE/ 1970, see p. 24) as well as Abu'l-Qasim Afnan's *Ahd-i A'la*... (Oneworld, 2000) pp. 86-87). The text reproduced and translated here largely comes from a reading of INBMC 91: 60-73, an electronic copy of which sent in to me in 199X from the BWC Haifa (Israel). I have here and there corrected this occasionally faulty text in the light of better alternative readings and citations of the Khutba Jiddah in a number of Babi-Baha'i printed sources and mss. including Ishraq Khavarī's Muḥāḍirāt (rep. 2 vols. Hofheim-Langenhain: Baha'i Verlag 143 BE/1987, see vol.2 pp. 729-31) where this writer insightfully interprets the difficult dating schemata within the *Khuṭba jiddah* and his own chronological work Taqwīm-i Tārīkh-i Amr ... (Tehran: Mu'assasah-i Milli-yi Maṭbū'āt-i Amrī, BPT., 126 BE/ 1970, see p.24) as well as Abu'l-Qasim Afnan's *Ahd-i A'la* (Oneworld, 2000) (see the unreliable citation on pp. 86-87) (see further bibliography below). All these texts have obvious errors and a number of variant readings generated by obvious attempts to read original mss. in a sometimes difficult, unpointed cursive Arabic text. This is not to say that the text typed out below constitutes an assured text. As yet there is no critical edition of the Khuta al-Jiddah. Original Mss. are uncommon and difficult to obtain. In the typed text below what seem to

be textual problems, uncertainties or better variant readings in the recension of the mss. included in INBMC 92: 60-73 are indicted by red asterisks (*) which will be explained in footnotes.

FOR THE ARABIC TEXT AND REVISED TRANSLATION REFER:

- [Khutba Jidda \(The Sermon at Jeddah\). Text and Translation: INBMC 91:60-74.](#)

Select Supplementary Notes and Bibliography...

"Jeddah in the last quarter of the twentieth (Gregorian) century - or the first quarter of the fifteenth Hijra century - is a phenomenon. It is an ancient Arabian city, and the core of it is, to this day, traditionally Arab : a highly compact complex of fine nineteenth century merchants' houses, mosques, schools and humbler dwellings, deep shaded alleys and a labyrinth of markets and walkways, with the history of its indigenous inhabitants written on every fanlight and corbel, lattice and balcony, dome and minaret. Jeddah has traditionally been the commercial centre of Saudi Arabia. At the same time, ever since the foundation of Islam fourteen Hijra centuries ago, it has been the arrival and assembly point every year for Muslims from all over the world closing in upon Holy Mecca on the greatest journey of their lives, the hajj pilgrimage.

These attributes remain with Jeddah. Yet today it is also a modern city growing at an unprecedented rate, whose 1980 population of about one million, having doubled in the previous six years, is expected to have more than doubled again in the following twenty years. It has grown, remarkably, with a grace and controlled purpose that does much credit to those who preside over its extraordinary expansionist energy.

It is a city, therefore, with a strikingly modern face, sophisticated in its infrastructure and services, with an ancient heart which - as its guardians recognise - it cannot "live" without.

This work is a record of Jeddah, "Bride of the Red Sea" - Arab, Islamic, and cosmopolitan, Old and New : a unique seat of civilisation at a unique moment in its history." (From Jeddah 1982: cover).

JEDDAH is a city-port of great age: the gateway to Holy Mecca and western Arabia, "Bride of the Red Sea". Confined for several centuries by its desert hinterland and an uncertain water supply within massive walls of bleached coral, Jeddah doubled in size between 1974 and 1980.

A generation earlier the walls were torn down. With them went Jeddah's old identity, as the town began to advance across sand, saltmarsh and coral reef into a sprawling modern city. It is still growing as Saudi Arabians pour in from the hinterland to settle in modern homes, and as foreigners take up temporary residence to play their part in the country's dynamic growth.

Jeddah today is thus a city of striking variety: seascape and cityscape, the ancient amid the modern, the elegant amid the garish ; a city of alleys and boulevards, of an aspect sometimes utilitarian and sometimes aesthetic. Despite the contrasts, Jeddah held to a distinctive Arab character—and in faithfulness to this Arab essence, displays a living green against the parched dun of the surrounding landscape.

To manage Jeddah is an awesome, costly task.

The city is situated about half way along the Red Sea's eastern coast. Jeddah owes its existence to the presence of a gap in the triple line of coral reefs fringing the Red Sea shore and to another gap in the Great Arabian Massif barrier which allowed communications —via the Wadi Fatima—inland to Mecca. Arab geographers report legends that Eve began her search for Adam at Jeddah (or, according to some, returned to the town from Paradise), and that she is buried there.

The nucleus of the city began to form at the north end of a bay so encumbered with banks of reefs that it seems strange that such an inhospitable anchorage on the coast of Arabia should have become a busy seaport. To be sure, a small settlement existed from the very earliest times, but it was when the cities of the Mediterranean gained a taste for incense from South Arabia and ship-borne spices and luxuries from the East that the town started to grow. The ancient town's Persian masters were obliged to dig three hundred or more wells and cisterns in the sixth century C.E. With the coming of Islam at the beginning of the seventh century, the port's significance was assured for all time.

Yet even as the principal port for pilgrims to Mecca—a mere forty-seven miles inland in a bowl of barren hills—Jeddah does not appear to have been first choice. The landing for Mecca was at Shuaiba, at the south of the bay, until the Caliph Uthman was called in to find a harbour safer from pirates in the twenty-sixth year of the Islamic era (646-647). Qutb Al-Din tells that the Caliph bathed in the sea at Jeddah and liked it. Nowadays, well over one million pilgrims arrive through Jeddah's airport and harbour every year, from every corner of the Islamic world.

At first, Jeddah found itself the main port for the expanding Arab empire. With the transfer of the Caliphate northwards—to Baghdad and Damascus—Jeddah retained a hold on the profitable Red Sea spice trade. The Persian poet, Naser Khusrow, visited the town in 1050 and left the first written account. He describes a thriving place:

"Jeddah is a great city surrounded by a strong wall, with a population of some five thousand males. The bazaars are fine. There are no trees or any vegetation at all, but all that is necessary for life is brought in from surrounding villages."

The mounting sea power of Europe threatened this prosperity. The circumnavigation of Africa by Vasco da Gama in the later fifteenth century turned Portuguese eyes to the rich opportunities of the eastern trade. A former dependant of the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, Hussein Al-Kurdi, styled himself governor of Jeddah and rebuilt the walls of the town. They withstood a Portuguese attack and blockade. But in 1517, the town fell under the power of the Ottoman Turks, as part of the domain of the Sharif of Mecca.

As the Portuguese, Dutch and English began to monopolize trade, Jeddah ceased to be a commercial entrepot of importance and subsided into its traditional role as a pilgrim port. It continued to act as a transit point for commerce between Egypt and India, but it was in a dilapidated state when visited by the Danish expedition under Carsten Niebuhr in 1761:

"The walls are still standing but are now so ruinous that a person may, in many places, enter over them on horseback. In the city, however, there are several fine buildings of coral stone. The city is entirely destitute of water. The inhabitants have none to drink but what is collected by Arabs in reservoirs among the hills and brought thence on camels."

In the early nineteenth century, Turkish rule was interrupted, first by the Saudis of Central Arabia and then by the Egyptians, but the Turks were back in partnership with the Sharif by 1840. As the India trade expanded, the European powers established consulates in a special quarter just inside the northern gates. Jacob Burckhardt, the Swiss traveller, describes the arrival of the India fleet on the May monsoon as a time of intense excitement. The Jeddah merchants "having collected as many dollars and sequins as their circumstances... (from Jeddah Old and New 1982:ADD).

Extract from MAKKAH A HUNDRED YEARS AGO OR C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S REMARKABLE ALBUMS EDITED, WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION, BY ANGELO PESCE, LONDON 1986 :

"Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was an extraordinarily prolific scholar in the fields of philology, literature, history, jurisprudence and sociology, both Arab and Indonesian. An exhaustive bibliography of his work has not been so far compiled, and it is not our aim to provide one, even in consideration of the fact that most of his miscellaneous papers have been collected in two of the publications listed below (6 and 8).

- 1. *Het Mekkaansche Feest*. Leiden, 1880.
Snouck Hurgronje's doctoral thesis on the Pilgrimage.
- 2. *Mekka (mit Bilder-Atlas)*. Den Haag, 1888-1889.
His opus princeps in two volumes, with an album of photographs and drawings on Makkah.
- 3. *Bilder aus Mekka*. Leiden, 1889.
An album of a supplementary set of photographs on Makkah and the Pilgrimage.
- 4. *De Atjehers*. Vol. I, Leiden, 1893; Vol. II, Leiden, 1894.
A fundamental ethnographic work in two volumes on the Atjehnese of northwestern Sumatra.

- 5. The Achehnese, tr. by A.W.S. C T Sullivan. Leiden and London, 1906. An English translation of De Atjehers, also in two volumes.
- 6. Verspreide Geschriften (Gesammelte Schriften) Vol. I-V, Bonn-Leipzig 1923-1925; Vol. VI, Leiden, 1927.
A collection of all but the most marginal articles, papers and essays, covering the period from 1880 to 1926, excluding 2 to 5 above.
- 7. Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, tr. by J.H. Monahan. Leiden and London, 1931.
A somewhat abridged English translation of Vol. II of Mekka.
- 8. Oeuvres Choiesies - Selected Works. Edited in English and French by G. - H. Bousquet and J. Schacht. Leiden, 1957.
A volume published on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Snouck Hurgronje, with English or French translations of articles which had already appeared, and texts for the first time translated into either language.

Works published in the decade between 1926 (the last one covered by the Verspreide Geschriften) and Snouck Hurgronje's death in 1936 remain uncollected, consisting mainly of book reviews and obituaries. Of the assiduous correspondence he maintained up to his last days with other Oriental scholars and Muslim personalities, two volumes have been recently published, namely:

- 9. Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library. Published by P.Sj. van Koningsveld. Leiden, 1985." (Pesce 1986: 21).

Snouck Hurgronje, C

- Trans. J. H. Monahan.

MEKKA in the Latter Part of the 19th Cent. DAILY LIFE, CUSTOMS AND LEARNING THE MOSLIMS OF THE EAST-INDIAN-ARCHIPELAGO C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE LITT. D. PROFESSOR AT THE LEYDEN UNIVERSITY TRANSLATED BY J. H. MONAHAN FORMERLY H. B. M. CONSUL AT JEDDAH (WITH 20 PLATES AND 3 MAPS) PHOTOMECHANICAL REPRINT. This an abridged trans. of vol. 2 of the 2 vol. Mekka (mit Bilder-Atlas). Den Haag, 1888-1889.. It was first printed in Leiden: E. J. Brill + London: Luzac and Co., 1931. and reprinted, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970.

Pesce, Angelo ,

- MAKKAH A HUNDRED YEARS AGO OR C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S REMARKABLE ALBUMS EDITED, WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION, BY ANGELO PESCE, LONDON 1986

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Jeddah and the pilgrimage of the Bab in the Tarikh-i Zarandi

"Upon His arrival in Jaddih, the Báb donned the pilgrim's garb, mounted a camel, and set out on His journey to Mecca. Quddus, however, notwithstanding the repeatedly expressed desire of his Master, preferred to accompany Him on foot all the way from Jaddih to that holy city. Holding in his hand the bridle of the camel upon which the Báb was riding, he walked along joyously and prayerfully, ministering to his Master's needs, wholly indifferent to the fatigues of his arduous march. Every night, from eventide until the break of day, Quddus, sacrificing comfort and sleep, would continue with unrelaxing vigilance to watch beside his Beloved, ready to provide for His wants and to ensure the means of His protection and safety.

One day, when the Báb had dismounted close to a well in order to offer His morning prayer, a roving Bedouin suddenly appeared on the horizon, drew near to Him, and, snatching the saddlebag that had been lying on the ground beside Him, and which contained His writings and papers, vanished into the unknown desert. His Ethiopian servant set out to pursue him, but was prevented by his Master, who, as He was praying, motioned to him with His hand to give up his pursuit. "Had I allowed you," the Báb later on affectionately assured him, "you would surely have overtaken and punished him. But this was not to be. The papers and writings which that bag contained are destined to reach, through the instrumentality of this Arab, such places as we could never have

succeeded in attaining. Grieve not, therefore, at his action, for this was decreed by God, the Ordainer, the Almighty." Many a time afterwards did the Báb on similar occasions seek to comfort His friends by such reflections. By words such as these He turned the bitterness of regret and of resentment into radiant acquiescence in the Divine purpose and into joyous submission to God's will.

On the day of Arafat,[1] the Báb, seeking the quiet seclusion of His cell, devoted His whole time to meditation and worship. On the following day, the day of Nahr, after He had offered the feast-day prayer, He proceeded to Muna, where, according to ancient custom, He purchased nineteen lambs of the choicest breed, of which He sacrificed nine in 133 His own name, seven in the name of Quddus, and three in the name of His Ethiopian servant. He refused to partake of the meat of this consecrated sacrifice, preferring instead to distribute it freely among the poor and needy of that neighbourhood.

[1 The day preceding the festival.]

Although the month of Dhi'l-Hijjih,[1] the month of pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, coincided in that year with the first month of the winter season, yet so intense was the heat in that region that the pilgrims who made the circuit of 134 the sacred shrine were unable to perform that rite in their usual garments. Draped in a light, loose-fitting tunic, they joined in the celebration of the festival. The Báb, however, refused, as a mark of deference, to discard either His turban or cloak. Dressed in His usual attire, He, with the utmost dignity and calm, and with extreme simplicity and reverence, compassed the Ka'bih and performed all the prescribed rites of worship.

[1 December, 1844 A.D.]

On the last day of His pilgrimage to Mecca, the Báb met Mirza Muhit-i-Kirmani. He stood facing the Black Stone, when the Báb approached him and, taking his hand in His, addressed him in these words: "O Muhit! You regard yourself as one of the most outstanding figures of the shaykhi community and a distinguished exponent of its teachings. In your heart you even claim to be one of the direct successors and rightful inheritors of those twin great Lights, those Stars that have heralded the morn of Divine guidance. Behold, we are both now standing within this most sacred shrine. Within its hallowed precincts, He whose Spirit dwells in this place can cause Truth immediately to be known and distinguished from falsehood, and righteousness from error. Verily I declare, none besides Me in this day, whether in the East or in the West, can claim to be the Gate that leads men to the knowledge of God. My proof is none other than that proof whereby the truth of the Prophet Muhammad was established. Ask Me whatsoever you please; now, at this very moment, I pledge Myself to reveal such verses as can demonstrate the truth of My mission. You must choose either to submit yourself unreservedly to My Cause or to repudiate it entirely. You have no other alternative. If you choose to reject My message, I will not let go your hand until you pledge your word to declare publicly your repudiation 135 of the Truth which I have proclaimed. Thus shall He who speaks the Truth be made known, and he that speaks falsely shall be condemned to eternal misery and shame. Then shall the way of Truth be revealed and made manifest to all men."

This peremptory challenge, thrust so unexpectedly by the Báb upon Mirza Muhit-i-Kirmani, profoundly distressed him. He was overpowered by its directness, its compelling 136 majesty and force. In the presence of that Youth, he, notwithstanding his age, his authority and learning, felt as a helpless bird prisoned in the grasp of a mighty eagle. Confused and full of fear, he replied: "My Lord, my Master! Ever since the day on which my eyes beheld You in Karbila, I seemed at last to have found and recognized Him who had been the object of my quest. I renounce whosoever has failed to recognize You, and despise him in whose heart may yet linger the faintest misgivings as to Your purity and holiness. I pray You to overlook my weakness, and entreat You to answer me in my perplexity. Please God I may, at this very place, within the precincts of this hallowed shrine, swear my fealty to You, and arise for the triumph of Your Cause. If I be insincere in what I declare, if in my heart I should disbelieve what my lips proclaim, I would deem myself utterly unworthy of the grace of the Prophet of God, and regard my action as an act of manifest disloyalty to Ali, His chosen successor."

The Báb, who listened attentively to his words, and who was well aware of his helplessness and poverty of soul, answered and said: "Verily I say, the Truth is even now known and distinguished from falsehood. O shrine of the Prophet of God, and you, O Quddus, who have believed in Me! I take you both, in this hour, as My witnesses. You have seen and heard that which has come to pass between Me and him. I call upon you to testify thereunto, and God, verily, is, beyond and above you, My sure and ultimate Witness. He is the All-Seeing, the All-Knowing, the All-Wise. O Muhit! Set forth whatsoever perplexes your mind, and I will, by the aid of God, unloose My tongue and undertake to resolve your problems, so that you may testify to the excellence of My utterance and realise that no one besides Me is able to manifest My wisdom."

Mirza Muhit responded to the invitation of the Báb and submitted to Him his questions. Pleading the necessity of his immediate departure for Medina, he expressed the hope of receiving, ere his departure from that city, the text of the promised reply. "I will grant your request," the Báb assured him. On My way to Medina I shall, with the assistance of God, reveal My answer to your questions. If I meet you 137 not in that city, My reply will surely reach you immediately after your arrival at Karbila. Whatever justice and fairness may dictate, the same shall I expect you to fulfil. 'If ye do well, to your own behoof will ye do well: and if ye do evil, against yourselves will ye do it.' 'God is verily independent of all His creatures.'"[1]

[1 Verses of the Qur'án.]

Mirza Muhit, ere his departure, again expressed his firm resolve to redeem his solemn pledge. "I shall never depart from Medina," he assured the Báb, "whatever may betide, until I have fulfilled my covenant with You." As the mote which is driven before the gale, he, unable to withstand the sweeping majesty of the Revelation proclaimed by the Báb, fled in terror from before His face. He tarried awhile in Medina and, faithless to his pledge and disregarding of the admonitions of his conscience, left for Karbila.

The Báb, faithful to His promise, revealed, on His way from Mecca to Medina, His written reply to the questions that had perplexed the mind of Mirza Muhit, and gave it the name of Sahifiyi-i-Baynu'l-Haramayn.[1] Mirza Muhit, who received it in the early days of his arrival in Karbila, remained unmoved by its tone and refused to recognize the precepts which it inculcated. His attitude towards the Faith was one of concealed and persistent opposition. At times he professed to be a follower and supporter of that notorious adversary of the Báb, Haji Mirza Karim Khan, and occasionally claimed for himself the station of an independent leader. Nearing the end of his days, whilst residing in Iraq, he, feigning submission to Bahá'u'lláh, expressed, through one of the Persian princes who dwelt in Baghdad, a desire to meet Him. He requested that his proposed interview be regarded as strictly confidential. "Tell him," was Bahá'u'lláh's reply, "that in the days of My retirement in the mountains of Sulaymaniyyih, I, in a certain ode which I composed, set forth the essential requirements from every wayfarer who treads the path of search in his quest of Truth. Share with him this verse from that ode: 'If thine aim be to cherish thy life, approach not our court; but if sacrifice be thy heart's desire, come and let others come with thee. For such is the way of Faith, if in 138 thy heart thou seekest reunion with Baha; shouldst thou refuse to tread this path, why trouble us? Begone!' If he be willing, he will openly and unreservedly hasten to meet Me; if not, I refuse to see him." Bahá'u'lláh's unequivocal answer disconcerted Mirza Muhit. Unable to resist and unwilling to comply, he departed for his home in Karbila the very day he received that message. As soon as he arrived, he sickened, and, three days later, he died.

[1 "The Epistle between the Two Shrines."]

No sooner had the Báb performed the last of the observances in connection with His pilgrimage to Mecca than he addressed an epistle to the Sherif of that holy city, wherein He set forth, in clear and unmistakable terms, the distinguishing features of His mission, and called upon him to arise and embrace His Cause. This epistle, together with selections from His other writings, He delivered to Quddus, and instructed him to present them to the Sherif. The latter, however, too absorbed in his own material pursuits to incline his ear to the words which had been addressed to him by the Báb, failed to respond to the call of the Divine Message. Haji Niyaz-i-Baghdadi has been heard to relate the following: "In the year 1267 A.H.,[1] I undertook a pilgrimage to that holy city, where I was privileged to meet the Sherif. In the course of his conversation with me, he said: 'I recollect that in the year '60, during the season of pilgrimage, a youth came to visit me. He presented to me a sealed book which I readily accepted but was too much occupied at that time to read. A few days later I met again that same youth, who asked me whether I had any reply to make to his offer. Pressure of work had again detained me from considering the contents of that book. I was therefore unable to give him a satisfactory reply. When the season of pilgrimage was over, one day, as I was sorting out my letters, my eyes fell accidentally upon that book. I opened it and found, in its introductory pages, a moving and exquisitely written homily which was followed by verses the tone and language of which bore a striking resemblance to the Qur'án. All that I gathered from the perusal of the book was that among the people of Persia a man of the seed of Fatimih and descendant of the family of Hashim, had raised a new call, and was announcing 139 to all people the appearance of the promised Qá'im. I remained, however, ignorant of the name of the author of that book, nor was I informed of the circumstances attending that call.' 'A great commotion,' I remarked, 'has indeed seized that land during the last few years. A Youth, a descendant of the Prophet and a merchant by profession, has claimed that His utterance was the Voice of Divine inspiration. He has publicly asserted that, within the space of a few days, there could stream from His tongue verses of such number and excellence as would surpass in volume and beauty the Qur'án itself -- a work which it took Muhammad no less than twenty-three years to reveal. A multitude of people, both high and low, civil and ecclesiastical, among the inhabitants of Persia, have

rallied round His standard and have willingly sacrificed themselves in His path. That Youth has, during the past year, in the last days of the month of Sha'ban,[2] suffered martyrdom in Tabriz, in the province of Adhirbayjan. They who persecuted Him sought by this means to extinguish the light which He kindled in that land. Since His martyrdom, however, His influence has pervaded all classes of people.' The Sherif, who was listening attentively, expressed his indignation at the behaviour of those 140 who had persecuted the Báb. 'The malediction of God be upon these evil people,' he exclaimed, 'a people who, in days past, treated in the same manner our holy and illustrious ancestors!' With these words the Sherif concluded his conversation with me."

[1 1850-51 A.D.]

[2 July, 1850 A.D.]

From Mecca the Báb proceeded to Medina. It was the first day of the month of Muharram, in the year 1261 A.H.,[1] when He found Himself on the way to that holy city. As He approached it, He called to mind the stirring events that had immortalised the name of Him who had lived and died within its walls. Those scenes which bore eloquent testimony to the creative power of that immortal Genius seemed to be re-enacted, with undiminished splendour, before His eyes. He prayed as He drew nigh unto that holy sepulchre which enshrined the mortal remains of the Prophet of God. He also remembered, as He trod that holy ground, that shining Herald of His own Dispensation. He knew that in the cemetery of Baqi', in a place not far distant from the shrine of Muhammad, there had been laid to rest Shaykh Ahmad-i-Ahsa'i, the harbinger of His own Revelation, who, after a life of onerous service, had decided to spend the evening of his days within the precincts of that hallowed shrine. There came to Him also the vision of those holy men, those pioneers and martyrs of the Faith, who had fallen gloriously on the field of battle, and who, with their life-blood, had sealed the triumph of the Cause of God. Their sacred dust seemed as if reanimated by the gentle tread of His feet. Their shades seemed to have been stirred by the reviving breath of His presence. They looked to Him as if they had arisen at His approach, were hastening towards Him, and were voicing their welcome. They seemed to be addressing to Him this fervent plea: 'Repair not unto Thy native land, we beseech Thee, O Thou Beloved of our hearts! Abide Thou in our midst, for here, far from the tumult of Thine enemies who are lying in wait for Thee, Thou shalt be safe and secure. We are fearful for Thee. We dread the plottings and machinations of Thy foes. We tremble at the thought that their deeds might bring eternal damnation to their souls.' "Fear not," the Báb's indomitable Spirit replied: "I am come into this 141 world to bear witness to the glory of sacrifice. You are aware of the intensity of My longing; you realise the degree of My renunciation. Nay, beseech the Lord your God to hasten the hour of My martyrdom and to accept My sacrifice. Rejoice, for both I and Quddus will be slain on the altar of our devotion to the King of Glory. The blood which we are destined to shed in His path will water and revive the garden of our immortal felicity. The drops of this consecrated blood will be the seed out of which will arise the mighty Tree of God, the Tree that will gather beneath its all-embracing shadow the peoples and kindreds of the earth. Grieve not, therefore, if I depart from this land, for I am hastening to fulfil My destiny." 142

[1 Friday, January 30, 1845 A.D.]

CHAPTER VIII, THE BÁB'S STAY IN SHIRAZ AFTER THE PILGRIMAGE

THE visit of the Báb to Medina marked the concluding stage of His pilgrimage to Hijaz. From thence He returned to Jaddih, and by way of the sea regained His native land. He landed at Bushihr nine lunar months after He had embarked on His pilgrimage from that port. In the same khan [1] which He had previously occupied, He received His friends and relatives, who had come to greet and welcome Him. ... 144.

[1 Similar to a caravanserai.]

[2 Literally meaning "The Seven Qualifications.]

(Shoghi Effendi, *The Dawn-Breakers*, p. 131)

SELECT NOTES

2:4 "triplicity [trinitarian threefoldness] (tamtām al-tathlīth)" + "the oceans the crucifix [Cross] (abḥār al-ṣālib)"....

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