

SOME NOTES ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES: WESTERN SCHOLARSHIP
AND THE RELIGION OF THE BĀB.

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In recent years scholarly papers have appeared in Western countries on the Bābī-Bahā'ī religion the like of which only very rarely emerge in the East. Bahā'ī writers in Iran have never been able produce works informed by critical analysis; not only because most of them were not used to this kind of methodology but also in view of the fact that enemies of their newly-born Faith were ever ready to attack them and latch onto any word or expression that might further their hostile aims. Iranian Bahā'ī literature is thus a kind of apology, a defence of the Faith.

Scholars in western countries, on the other hand, have also, in certain cases failed to grasp important fundamentals. Some among them have failed to penetrate the religious milieu within which the Bābī-Bahā'ī Cause emerged; they have neither gained an adequate notion of what religion is nor befittingly set, for example, the Bābī Faith within in 19th century Iranian religious environment. Bābī history and doctrine are spoken about in largely socio-political terms as if the Bābī Faith were a 'political movement'. This undoubtedly leads to wrong judgements.

In this paper the present writer will attempt to discuss certain fundamental principles which, it is hoped, will help Western scholars to gain a more adequate grasp of the religion of the Bāb. A narrowly historical and non-theological approach to religion is severely limited. The divine plan and purpose behind historical events must be appreciated. The eminent Bahā'ī scholar Mīrzā Abū'l-Fadl Gulpaygānī has observed that scholars have made great mistakes in taking a narrowly historical approach to the revealed Books—outside of an understanding of them in the light of the Divine Purpose.¹ More recently H.M. Balyuzi has written as follows about the inadequacy of the western understanding of the Arabian Prophet: "This inadequacy among western authors may be traced to a fundamental lack of the appreciation of the full claims and the Mission of the Prophet. However greatly impressed by the achievements, character and even doctrines, their judgement of Muhammad Himself and their evaluation of his Faith cannot be other than suspect when their fundamental conviction was that he was a deluded imposter."²

Those who attempt to study the history of a religion in purely historical terms and in disregard of the religious teachings of its Founder Messenger may discover contradictions. It should be borne in mind however, that the exigencies of the Divine Wisdom not only necessitate a progressive revelation of religious truth in terms of the succession of religions but also within the span of a single religion. Like a loving father God gradually and in a variety of ways guides his creatures.

It is unfortunate that western scholars of the early years of the Bābī-Bahā'ī religion have, in some cases, failed to realise the progressive or gradual unfoldment of the religious message conveyed and have thereby misrepresented its historical evolution.

I. THE CLAIMS OF THE BĀB

The study of the claims of the Bāb should be made in the context of God's plan for mankind through his Messengers as expressed in Bābī scripture.

In the Bāb's writings it is explained that the Founders of all religions, though they appeared in different places and at different times, have all been manifestations of the same Divine Reality; "We discriminate against none of His apostles".³ The "Days" or dispensations of these great Founder Prophets have though, in the light of varying human capacities and the levels of the greatness of the Message, never been the same; "We have exalted some above others".⁴ In the revealed Books mention is made of a future "Day of Days" or "Day of God". The end of the cycle of prophethood is announced in the Qur'ān in the light of the world being at the threshold of the "Day of God". The Prophet Muḥammad was the "Seal of the Prophets"⁵. His religious dispensation will be followed by the arrival of the "Day of God" which is the "Day" when humanity will behold their God walking among them on earth.

In many of his writings the Bāb declared that the expected "Day of God" had arrived and that the promised One of all ages had appeared. His claims should be viewed in this light. Consider the following excerpts from his writings:

"When God sent forth His Prophet Muḥammad, on that Day the termination of the prophetic cycle was foreordained in the knowledge of God. Yea, that promise hath indeed come true and the decree of God hath been accomplished as He hath ordained. Assuredly we are today living in the Days of God. These are the glorious days on the like of which the sun hath never risen in the past. These are the days which the people of bygone times eagerly expected. What then hath befallen

you that ye are fast asleep? These are the days wherein God hath caused the Day-Star of Truth to shine resplendent. What hath then caused you to keep your silence?.." 6.

"Fear ye God and breathe not a word concerning His most Great Remembrance other than what hath been ordained by God, inasmuch as We have established a separate covenant regarding Him with every Prophet and his followers. Indeed, We have not sent any Messenger without this binding covenant and We do not, of a truth, pass judgement upon anything except after the covenant of Him Who is the Supreme Gate hath been established.." 7.

These passages illustrate the real claims made by the Bāb. Such claims were in fact made by him at the very outset of his mission. He did however, gradually and in the light of the capacities of his hearers, intimate his ultimate claims. As we shall see he early on referred to himself as "the Gate" (bāb) giving the impression that he was an intermediary between the hidden Imām and the believers. He represented his words as being the words of the hidden Imām and drew on Shī'ī concepts surrounding the advent of the promised Qā'im and his occultation.

In order to appreciate the gradual nature of his Bāb's intimation of his ultimate claims one has to take into account the contemporary Muslim attitudes surrounding-:

A) The claim to Divinity

The idea of calling a prophet "God"-- not problematic for Christians--was out of the question for Muslim theologians. In Islām a prophet is a man chosen by God to be his Messenger; throughout his life he remains a man. Those verses in the Qur'ān that mention the "meeting" (liqā') with God on the "Day of Resurrection" 8. were not taken literally. Commentators interpreted them in terms of "reward and punishment" and the "power of God" and the like in connection with the "Day of Resurrection". 9. Though some Muslim mystics, that by virtue of their "dying to self" and "living in God" they could legitimately say "I am the Truth" they were condemned as heretics. Husayn ibn-i Mansūr Hallāj was brutally tortured and condemned to death for such a claim. 10.

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B) The claim to Divine Revelation

Muslims were very sensitive to any claim to be capable of revealing verses (nuzūl-i āyāt); no one could claim that verses had been revealed to him subsequent to the mission of the Prophet of Islām. They belie-

that āyāt (= verses) came only to the Prophet Muhammad through the Angel Gabriel. The Prophet did not himself reveal verses but received them from God via Gabriel often having to wait months or even years before receiving them.

Apart from the Qur'ān there is of course the question of the hadīth qudsī or "holy tradition"—also known as the "Lordly" and "Divine" tradition (hadīth-i rabbanī / hadīth-i illāhī). It is commonly believed that these are records of revelations that came upon the Prophet Muhammad through Gabriel while he was asleep—in his dreams—or in a visionary state. They are not to be compared to Qur'ānic revelation or the āyāt.

None of the Shī'ī Imāms ever claimed that his words were āyāt, divinely revealed verses. Not even the eloquent and much-praised words of Imām 'Alī contained in the Nahj al-Balāgha are considered to be the "Word of God"—they are greater than the utterances of men but inferior to the "Word of God".

The Muslim notion of Divine Revelation is such that the āyāt are considered to be the proof of the prophethood of Muhammad. This is indicated in the Qur'ān itself: "If men and jinn (the people of this world and the next) combined to write the like of this Qur'ān, they surely would fail to compose like it, though they helped one another." 11.

C) The claim to abrogate Qur'ānic law.

Muslims are unanimously agreed that the laws of the Qur'ān will never be changed or abrogated. All the laws of the Qur'ān will ever endure until the end of the world. The expected Qa'im or Mahdī will rule according to the laws and precepts of the Qur'ān. The advent of Jesus in the last days, intimated in the Qur'ān,¹² is such that this will not lead to the alteration or abolition of Qur'ānic law. The Messiah at his second-coming will live according to Islāmic law.

The miserable fate that befell Mullā Sādiq-i Khurāsānī when he, in line with an injunction of the Bāb, added a clause to the accepted adhān formula illustrates how sensitive Muslims were to the least deviation from legal norms. Although Mullā Sādiq was an outstanding mujtahid his act created such an uproar that according to Nabīl, "the whole city [Shīrāz] had been aroused, and public order was, as a result,

seriously threatened".¹³ His beard was burnt, his nose pierced, and through this incision a cord was passed by means of which he was paraded through the streets.

In the light of the foregoing it is not at all suprising that that Bāb gradually intimated his ultimate claims and purposes. The present writer is amazed that western scholars have sometimes failed to realise this especially inasmuch as the same pattern may be seen in the lives of other great Prophets.

It is generally accepted today that Christianity was, from the beginning, intended to be a universal religion applicable to all mankind; and not a localised religion exclusively for the Jews. It should not be noted however, that Jesus did not teach this at the outset of his mission. He said, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel"¹⁴. When he sent his disciples out to teach he instructed them saying, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles and into any city of the Samaritans enter not."¹⁵ Particularly striking is the case of the woman of Canaan who asked Jesus' help for her daughter; "He answered and said, I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel...It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs."¹⁶ With respect to the Jewish law Christ is recorded as having said:- "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one dot of the law to become void";¹⁷ "Think not that I am come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfill them"¹⁸. These words may be contrasted with the developed Christian conviction that the Jewish law is no longer applicable to Christians.

The prophet Muhammad's gradual introduction of Islāmic law is also worthy of detailed study. He educated his contemporaries according to their evolving capacity. Initially for example, he was lenient with respect to idolatry as the following verse indicates: "Say: Unbelievers, I do not worship what you worship nor do you serve what I worship..You have your own religion and I have mine."¹⁹ At one point during his mission he was not strongly condemnatory of drinking; "They ask you about drinking and gambling. Say: there is great harm in both, although they have some benefit for men; but their harm is far greater than their benefit."²⁰ Then, seeing that some believers came to the congregational prayer completely drunk the following verse was revealed: "Believers,

do not approach your prayers when you are drunk, but wait until you can grasp the meaning of your words." 21. Subsequently the following verse was revealed, "Believers, Wine and games of chance, idols and divining arrows, are abominations devised by Satan. Avoid them so that you may prosper." 22.

It was in the light of the limited capacity of his contemporaries that the Bāb gradually introduced his claims. In his Dalā'il-i Sab'a he writes:

"Consider the manifold favours vouchsafed by the Promised One, and the effusions of His bounty which have pervaded the concourse of the followers of Islam to enable them to attain unto salvation. Indeed, observe how He Who representeth the origin of creation, He Who is the exponent of the verse, 'I, in very truth, am God', identified himself as the Gate [Bāb] for the advent of the promised Qā'im, a descendant of Muhammad, and in His first Book enjoined the observance of the laws of the Qur'an, so that the people might not be seized with perturbation by reason of a new Book and a new Revelation and might regard His Faith as similar to their own, perchance they would not turn away from the Truth and ignore the thing for which they had been called into being." 23.

At this point it should be kept in mind that the gradual education the Bāb gave his followers was not in a way, as some scholars have thought, that he initially presented Himself as a Shaykhī leader or pretended only to be the "Gate" of the Hidden Imām. The fact is that at the same time that He was trying to say things through which his contemporaries "might regard His Faith as similar to their own" he claimed to reveal āyāt after the manner of the Prophet Muhammad. He, furthermore, claimed Divinity and that the promised "Day of God" had arrived. Consider the following verses from the early Qayyūm al-Asmā':

On the revelation of Āyāt;

"Verily We made the revelation of verses (āyāt) to be the testimony of Our Message unto you. Can you produce a single letter to match these verses? Bring forth, then, your proofs, if ye be of those who can discern the one true God. I solemnly affirm before God, should all men and spirits combine to compose the like of one chapter of this Book, they would assuredly fail, even though they were to assist one another." 24.

"We have, of a truth, sent down this divinely-inspired Book unto Our servant..." 25.

" Verily such as ridicule the wonderous, divine Verses revealed through His Remembrance, are but making themselves the objects of ridicule.." 26.

On the claim to Divinity and the "Day of God"

"The Lord hath, in truth, inspired Me: Verily, verily, I am God, He besides Whom there is none other God, and I am indeed the Ancient of Days.." 27.

"O My servants! This is God's appointed Day which the merciful Lord hath promised you in his Book.." 28.

"Indeed We conversed with Moses by the leave of God from the midst of the Burning Bush in the Sinai and revealed an infinitesimal glimmer of Thy Light upon the Mystic Mount and its dwellers, whereupon the Mount shook to its foundations and was crushed to dust.." 29.

The abrogation of Islamic Law

This third aspect of the Bāb's claims, destined to shake the foundations of Islām, was only fully accomplished during the later years of the Bāb's ministry when the Persian Bayān was revealed. There are however, in the Bāb's earlier writings, passages in which new precepts are introduced. On his return from pilgrimage for example, the Bāb, anticipating later pronouncements, introduced seven new legalistic precepts in his newly composed Khasā'il-i Sab^ca.³⁰ They, as far as Muslims were concerned, were unacceptable innovations (bid^cāt) marking their author out as a heretic. The previously mentioned addition to the adhān formula, in fact, " I bear witness that He whose name is ^cAlī before Muhammad [=the Bāb] is the servant of the Bāqīyyatallāh [=the Hidden Imām]" , was particularly unacceptable.* Nabīl's account of Mullā Sādiq's voicing this new Bābī adhān formula set down in the Khasā'il-i Sab^ca bears eloquent testimony to extent to which Muslims regarded it as heretical.³¹

At the beginning of his prophetic mission the Bāb expressed 'triple claims' about which Muslims were extra sensitive; that is, 1) He claimed Divinity and spoke of the arrival of the Day of God; 2) He claimed the revelation of verses (nuzūl-i āyāt) and 3) He began to undermine the stronghold of Islāmic Law—unimaginable to Muslims. At the same time He made less exalted claims that would satisfy those with limited capacity

* In the traditional Shī^cī call to prayer the reality of the Divine Oneness (tawhīd), Prophethood (risalat) and Guardianship (wilāyat) are affirmed. No orthodox Muslim ever considered adding anything new to the call to prayer let alone the name of one claiming special authority.

and hold back the clamour of the Culamā'. He acted as a wise and loving spiritual physician; first administering small sugar-coated doses of medicine. Despite this there were divines who could not tolerate the least innovation or who reacted to the Bāb's great claims. Many denounced him including Haji Muhammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī who cried out in desperation, " Our God is not his God, our Prophet is not his Prophet, and our Imām is not his Imām." 32.

To sum up : from the very beginning of his mission the Bāb conceived the supreme revelation promised in all previous religions. He spoke in accordance with the capacity of the people of his day though it would be incorrect to maintain that he merely wanted to claim leadership of the Shaykhī school--in rivalry with Karīm Khān Kirmānī and such other claimants to leadership after Siyyid's Kāzīm Rashtī's passing as Mullā Muhammad-i Māmāqānī. 33.

THE CONCEPT OF HOLY WAR IN THE BABI DISPENSATION.

The notion of war against unbelievers and the imposition of religion by the sword in the Bābī dispensation is one of the issues that has given rise to speculative statements. 34.

Before turning directly to this question and in the light of the previously mentioned importance of a comparative approach to the study of religion-- the plan of God mirrored in all religions--reference may be made to the example of Jesus who, according to certain New Testament texts, was not exactly the gentle pacifist he is popularly imagined to be.

In his book The Death of Christ Joel Carmichael has, in recent times, discussed the possibly revolutionary intentions of Jesus Christ. 35. He argues, on the basis of New Testament texts, that Jesus was a militant revolutionary referring in particular to his being called "King of the Jews", his 'cleansing of the Jerusalem Temple' (allegedly necessitating armed disciples) and his words recorded in Luke 12:49, Matthew 10:14 and Luke 22:36. The disciples of Jesus carried arms ^{36.} the same has been said of the disciples of the Bāb (see below).

To what extent Carmichael is right is not easy to determine. The New Testament texts raise difficult questions similar to those raised in the Bābī sources. One can easily go astray in attempting to resolve such issues.

← The apparently militant directives of Jesus and the Bāb were made in accordance with the capacities and expectations of Jews and Muslims regarding their promised One. The interesting parallelism between the ministry of the Bāb and that of Jesus has been referred to by Shoghi Effendi: "The passion of Jesus Christ and indeed the whole of his public ministry alone offers a parallel to the mission and death of the Bāb which no student of comparative religion can fail to perceive or ignore".³⁷.

To return to the question of Holy War in Bābism. A comprehensive study of the writings of the Bāb on this matter in comparison with a consideration of His actions and those of His disciples leads, at first sight, to a clear contradiction between them.

In his writings the Bāb writes—theoretically— about jihād ("holy war") and often uses the same expressions as are found in the Qur'ān. In practise however, he advises his disciples or counsels his followers to be mild, compassionate and forgiving towards those who oppose Him and his religion. His Christlike gentleness led him to view others with compassion though the Muslim expectations as to the character of the expected Qā'im led him to speak theoretically about jihād.

The Bāb's 'Farewell Address of the Letters of the Living' illustrates how he called upon his followers to lead such saintly lives that others would be attracted to his Religion through their example.³⁸ His writings contain passages such as the following; "It is better to guide one soul than to possess all that is on earth...The path to guidance is one of love and compassion, not of force and coercion. This hath been God's method in the past and shall continue to be in the future!"³⁹; "Take heed to carefully consider the words of every soul, then hold fast to the proofs which attest the truth. If ye fail to discover truth in a person's words, make them not the object of contention".⁴⁰ When the Bāb decided upon the expulsion of Mullā Javād, a covenant-breaker and fierce enemy of His, He wrote with suffering heart: "At the time when I was writing the decree of his expulsion, it was as if one were calling within My heart, 'Sacrifice the most beloved of all things unto you, even as Husayn (Imām Husayn) made sacrifice in My path'".⁴¹ Had he wished to act according to Islāmic law he might have instead acted in accordance with the following Qur'ānic verse, "But if after coming to terms with you, they break their oaths and revile your Faith, make war on the leaders of unbelief."⁴²

During the Bāb's stay in Iṣfahān as a guest of Manūchihr Khān the He was addressed by his host as follows;

"The Almighty Giver has endowed me with great riches...Now that I have by the aid of God, been led to recognise this Revelation, it is my ardent desire to consecrate all my possessions to the furtherance of its interests...It is my intention to proceed, by Your leave, to Tihrān and do my best to win to this Cause, Muhammad Shah, whose confidence in me is firm and unshaken.."

His reply to this noble offer was;

"May God requite you for your noble intentions. So lofty a purpose is even to me more precious than the act itself.. Not by the means which you fondly imagine will an Almighty Providence accomplish the triumph of His Faith..Through the poor and lowly of this land, by the blood which these shall have shed in His path, will the Omnipotent Sovereign ensure the preservation and consolidate the foundation of His Cause." 43.

When the Bāb was on his way to Ādhirbāyjan some believers from Qazvin and Zanjan collected the necessary forces to go to his rescue. This group overtook the guards at the hour of midnight and finding them fast asleep, approached the Bāb and begged him to flee. "The mountains of Ādhirbāyjan too have their claims" 44. was his confident reply, and he advised them to abandon their project and return to their homes.

It is recorded, on the other hand, that whilst being conducted to Mah-Kū the Bāb sent messages to two men in positions of authority requesting that they accomplish his deliverance. One was Sulaymān Khān-i Afshār whose son was married to a daughter of Siyyid Kāzim and who was in Zanjan at that time. His message was "I am the Promised One. Arise and deliver me from the hands of the oppressors." The other was Prince Bahram Mīrzā the then governor of Ādhirbāyjan. Both of these men ignored the Bāb's appeal.

How can the student of the ministry of the Bāb resolve such contradictions? While in the Qayyūm al-Asmā' the Shāh of Persia is exhorted to arise and propagate the Bābī cause with the sword the Bāb is also known to have refused Manūchihr Khān's offer of assistance. The youthful Messenger of Shīrāz requests deliverance from leading men on the way to Ādhirbāyjan but when a group of his followers attempt this they are lovingly commanded to withdraw!

These difficulties can be resolved in the light of the Shī'ī notion of the character of the promised Qā'im who was not expected to be a man of compassion and grace. He was to be a man of the sword who

would declare war against all the inhabitants of the earth. The ensuing bloodbath would be such that its wave is to reach up to the stirrups of his horse. The Bāb made statements in line with this image of the Qā'im but did not desire the concrete waging of holy war. He spoke of holy war but did not put it into practise. He appealed to the powerful of his day in order to test their faith for, when assistance was offered, he refused it. His various directives regarding holy war were designed to indicate the fulfilment of time-honoured Islāmic traditions: not destined to be literally fulfilled. His contemporaries were not completely ready for radical reinterpretations of the prophecies. The Bāb educated and prepared his followers for the era to come. Though the new age had dawned with the Bāb certain changes, such as the clear abrogation of holy war, had to await the manifestation of Bahā'u'llāh.⁴⁵

In his attitude to holy war the Bāb gradually educated his followers, especially his close disciples. This is clear from the historical sources. In spite of the pronouncements regarding holy war in the Qayyūm al-Asmā' the sources do not lead us to believe that leading Bābīs prepared for any insurrection. Those who took part in the episodes of Tabarsī, Zanjān and Nayrīz were protecting themselves and ready for martyrdom.⁴⁶ During the Zanjān upheaval Hujjat clearly declared: ".During all this period of strife, what day hath there been, or what night, wherein I have commanded a religious war save only that I was constantly considering how we might ward off your assaults from our wives and children, for we have no choice but to defend."⁴⁷ In a letter from Hujjat to one of the divines of Zanjān, extant in his own handwriting, we read, "Tell the governor who has been deceived by your tricks, that it is enough of that. Let him stop sedition and disperse the army from around us and we are ready to continue our subjection. By God, the same king who is the object of your worship, will rise in anger against you if he is informed of your acts."⁴⁸

Some students of Bābī history who have enjoyed the life-long security of the western world have argued that Bābī militancy is proven by the fact that certain groups of Bābīs are said to have been armed. i.e. those Bābīs who accompanied Tāhira from Karbala to Iran. Such arguments are misdirected. In 19th century Iran there was no real police force to protect the peoples. Travellers had to be prepared to face the attacks of thieves and armed groups which were widespread. Macdonald Kinneir who visited Khūrāsān

towards the beginning of the 19th century wrote: "The inhabitants, in constant fear of being attacked, never go unarmed. They even cultivate their gardens with their swords by their sides." 49.

The present writer has vivid recollection of two experiences dating from the time when the Pahlavi dynasty had established a relatively peaceful situation in Iran. They may throw light on alleged 19th century Bābī militancy.

In the spring of 1942 I arrived in Nayrīz in order to spend some time with the courageous Bahā'īs of that town, the descendents of the dawn-breakers of the Bahā'ī era. I noticed that in the town, though there was a governor and a small body of police, there was no real authority. In view of this the government had allowed wealthy citizens to engage their own armed men (tufangchīs). One of them was the chairman of the local Bahā'ī Assembly. Wherever he went an armed man accompanied him. His name was Mr. Mansūrī. When the Bahā'ī Assembly met he used to sit outside the door of the room in which his master attended to Bahā'ī business.

On another occasion during the month of Muharram of the same year and at the same place, I noted that the Bahā'īs and the Muslims lived in two different parts of the town--separated by a dry river-bed. News came that the Muslims had decided that on the 10th of Muharram they would stage a procession through the Bahā'ī sector. At the instigation of the Mullas they planned to attack, kill and plunder Bahā'īs and their properties. In view of this the Bahā'īs requested protection from the governor. He bluntly promised nothing and advised the Bahā'īs to be ready to defend themselves. The Bahā'īs decided that in order to put a stop to the savagery of the Muslim fanatics they would have to be seen to be powerful and ready to defend themselves. In consequence a number of armed men (tufangchīs) were dispatched to the roofs of the houses of the main street through which the Muslim procession was to pass. This action had the desired result. The Muslim procession passed peacefully through the main street. There was no disturbance.

Of the three major Bābī upheavals, those at Tabarsī, Zanjan and Nayrīz, it is regarding that at Tabarsī that we have the most first-hand information. Eye-witness testimony indicates that from the moment Mullā Husayn raised the black-standard until the end of the Māzandarān upheaval there was no effort to collect arms. One source has it that when the Bābīs arrived at the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsī they had only seven guns in their possession. 50.

At this point I should like to contrast what one student of the Bābī religion has written about the arrival of Mullā Husayn in Bārfurūsh and subsequently Tabarsī with the testimony of a source written down when the Māzandarān upheaval was hardly finished.

It has been recently written that,

" In order to avoid further trouble, Hamza Mīrzā ordered Bushrū'ī to leave Mashhad and, on 19 Sha^cbān 1264 / 21 July 1848, he set out with a large body of fellow Bābīs, ostensibly heading for the Shī'ī shrines in Iraq. Travelling towards Māzandarān, this party, swelled somewhat in numbers by new arrivals along the route, reached Bārfurūsh on 12 Shawwāl / 12 September and there clashed seriously with local inhabitants trying to prevent their entry to the town. Penetrating more deeply into the forest region of Māzandarān province, they reached the shrine of Shaykh Abū 'Alī al-Fadl Tabarsī on 22 Shawwāl / 24 September." 51.

In this short account, of course, the writer has not had the space to go into details and explain how the clash began or record subsequent events; to explain why the Bābīs penetrated deeply into forest region of Māzandarān and how they came to arrive at the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsī. The impression is given that Mullā Husayn wanted to enter Bārfurūsh by force; hence the journeying into the forest region of Māzandarān in order to find a suitable place to build a fort. The chronicle of Lutf 'Alī Mīrzā indicates a different perspective.

Lutf 'Alī Mīrzā-yi Shīrāzī was a prince of the Afshāriyya dynasty (a pre-Qajar ruling class) who, dressed in the garb of a Sufi, joined Mullā Husayn's Bābī companions at Dih-i Mullā. He was among the survivors of the Māzandarān upheaval-along with Mullā Sādiq-i Muqaddas. He never completed his eye-witness account of the upheaval due to his martyrdom in 1852. though what was written down includes the following account:

" [On entering the town]* that head of the wretched ones (Sa'id al-^cUlamā) had ordered that a large crowd of three or four thousand, with firearms, staves, and stones be ready and not let us enter the bazaar. Āqā Siyyid Zayn al-^cAbidīn who was in front of the companions said: 'We are pilgrims and we have come a long way. The king has died and the roads are unsafe. This is the land of believers; we shall be your guests for a few days, until the king occupies his throne and the country is secure; then we shall go away'. 'You are not pilgrims', they said, 'and we shall not let you enter'. At length His Holiness (Mullā Husayn) ordered us to return and make our own way out. Those accursed ones started to treat us shamelessly and persecuted the friends. They took the companions property and harmed them. The companions asked permission from that Qutb al-Aqtāb (Mullā Husayn) to defend themselves, but he did not allow them to. We reached the corner of the Sabzih Maydan ('Green Square'). Here they (the enemies) unloaded the horse of

* Bārfurūsh [ed].

Āqā Mahmūd of Isfahān and then a shot was heard. Āqā Siyyid Ridā, an old man of seventy, fell down dead. Another shot was heard and Mullā ʿAlī of Miyanih, who had not yet completed his youth, fell. Mullā Husayn unsheathed his sword and turned back..”.

Lutf ʿAlī Mīrzā goes on to relate how the Bābīs came to reach the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsī :

“.. A rider came and announced that Khusraw Khān (Qadī-Kalāʿī) wanted to talk to us. His Holiness (Mullā Husayn) sent Āqā Siyyid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. That accursed one (Khusraw Khān) had said, ‘You have killed thirty-seven people of Bārfurūsh. How can you go on your way?’ Āqā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn had answered [to the effect that] it had been their fault and they had first started things off by killing some [Bābī] companions. That accursed one (Khusraw Khān) had said that killing us [the Bābīs] was lawful and that he would not allow us to depart... That accursed one (Khusraw Khān) entered the presence of His Holiness (Mullā Husayn) and it was agreed that he [Khusraw Khān] would escort the companions [Bābīs] safely out of Māzandarān and that then Mullā Husayn’s horse and sword and everything else of our [the Bābīs] possessions that he might ask would be given to him. While the conversation was going on they started to take possession of our properties. One took the horse of a companion [Bābī] away and the other seized another companion’s sword from his hand... The companions [Bābīs] started off and enemies began to attack. One [enemy] came and took the sword from the hand of the companion [a Bābī] and if he followed him [that enemy] into the forest they [the enemies] would cut him to pieces... Then his holiness (Mullā Husayn) took an unsheathed sword and said to that accursed dog (Khusraw Khān), ‘If you want to kill me here is my neck; take this sword and kill me, but let the companions go free and do not trouble them.’... Anyhow, when night came the calamity increased, the groans and complaints of the friends [Bābīs] augmented. The enemies laid hands on the companions [Bābīs] possessions; half of the companions [Bābīs] were stripped of their clothes and wounded; scattered in the forest... Then he (Mullā Husayn) asked if there was a place nearby where we [the Bābīs] could stay. He [the guide] said that there was a shrine close by... Three or four hours before sunrise we reached Shaykh Tabarsī... All the companions [Bābīs] gathered around him [Mullā Husayn]. Then he [Mullā Husayn] said: ‘We will all be martyred in this place. The enemies will soon attack us and shed our blood.’ The companions asked him if it was ordained by God, if so they were satisfied with it; but if it was not ordained he should ask God to change it. He answered saying: ‘God desires to reveal His Truth in this way, just as He did so in the time of the Prince of Martyrs [Imām Husayn]..”

This heart-rending account of Mīrzā Lutf ʿAlī does not lead us to believe that Bahāʿī historians have suppressed the real facts of history or concealed the militant character of the Bābīs. Mullā Husayn is presented in an even more gentle way than in the Tārīkh-i Nabīl [‘The Dawn-Breakers’].

THE EARLY FOLLOWERS OF THE BĀB

The lives of the early followers of the founders of the great world religions have ever inspired passion and enthusiasm in subsequent generations of believers. The early days of the emergence of a world faith marks a turning point in history and souls of extraordinary capacity stand ready to face the greatest of tests, often sacrificing all that they possess including their precious lives. Though little is known about the earliest adherents of most of the great world religions the study of Christianity and Islām illustrates that they were largely from the lowest level of society and bereft of culture and learning. For this, among other reasons, the great Messengers of God were not taken seriously by the learned of their day. In the time of Muḥammad those of high rank repeated what had been said at the time of Noah: "We regard you as a mortal like ourselves. Nor can we find any among your followers but men of hasty judgement, the lowest of our tribe."⁵² It was similar at the time of Christ whose Cause was ignored by leading Rabbis and members of the Jewish hierarchy. Hence Jesus' praying, "I thank thee O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes."⁵³ and Paul's saying, "But God hath chosen the weak in the world to shame the strong".⁵⁴

During the dispensation of the Bāb the learned and wise, forgetting rank and position, responded to the heavenly voice of the Manifestation of God. Mention will here be made of a few learned Bābīs in view of the fact that some writers have supposed that the learned deserted the Bāb when they became aware of the real nature of his Cause. The submission of outstandingly learned men to the youthful Siyyid of Shīrāz is a remarkable phenomenon that cannot adequately be accounted for outside of the recognition of His Divine Power.

- 1) Mullā Sādiq Muqaddas Khurasanī was an outstanding Iranian Mujtahid who received his ijāzih ('authorization') from Siyyid Kāzim. In it the Shaykhī leader refers to him as "my trustworthy brother", "an accomplished scholar", one "superior among his peers, because of his outstanding insight and sharp intelligence, a possessor of both rational (ma^cqūl) and traditional (manqūl) [learning]". At the time of the Bāb's declaration Mullā Sādiq was resident in Isfahān. He enjoyed the highest degree of honour⁵⁵ such that 4,000 Muslims followed him in the congregational Friday prayers. On believing in the Bāb he suffered the calamity which befell him in Shiraz (see above). He took part in the Māzandarān upheaval (see above), was released following its suppression and lived a long life during which he was both faithful and ever ready to give his life for the Bābī Cause.
- 2) Mullā Muhammad ^cAlī Hujjat-i Zanjanī was another outstanding mujtahid who gave his life for the Bābī Cause. His father Mullā ^cAbd al-Rahman was

was one of the most distinguished mujtahids of Zanjān. After completing his studies in Zanjān Hujjat himself travelled to Iraq where he undertook advanced study. On his return to Iran he was already so famous that a great crowd gathered to meet him in Kirmanshāh. The inhabitants of Hamadān begged him not to proceed to Zanjān but stay amongst them; this he did for some two years until the death of his father (in Zanjān). At the request of the people of Zanjān he took over the position of his father. His influence in Zanjān was great. He acquired more power than the other Mullas who, unlike himself, made a business of their religion. 56.

On hearing of the Bābī Cause he sent one of his disciples, Mullā Iskandar, to Shīrāz to investigate it. His emissary had become a Bābī and when he presented Hujjat with some writings of the Bāb he, after reading only one page, prostrated himself and exclaimed, "I bear witness that these words which I have read proceed from the same source as that of the Qur'ān. Whoso hath recognised the truth of that sacred Book must needs testify to the Divine Origin of these words."

Hujjat was steadfast in the Bābī Cause until his last moment. He showed much heroism and courage in propagating it. His story has inspired many historians to write about him at great length. He died a martyr's death along with more than 1,000 of his companions.

3) Siyyid Yahyā Vahīd was another outstanding divine who believed in the Bāb and gave his life for His Cause. His father was the famed author of many books. Vahīd also attained the highest level of religious knowledge being well-versed in fiqh and usūl. It is said that he had memorised 30,000 Islāmic traditions (ahadīth). He was highly regarded by Muḥammad Shāh by the time news was circulating about the claims of the Bāb and was asked to travel to Shīrāz to investigate the matter. At Shīrāz he became a Bābī. A treatise is extant in his own handwriting in which he sets down many proofs of the truth of the Bāb; acknowledging, for example, that the Bāb was, though an unlettered Persian, capable of revealing 1,000 verses in Arabic in only six hours and answering the most abstruse questions. The Bāb's power of revelation seemed miraculous to Siyyid Yahyā, a miracle which he could not refute. He found, whilst a guest of the Bāb, that the Bāb's manners, moods and behaviour were beyond normal human capacities. In his treatise about the Bāb he applies to him the following Arabic poem: "If you attained his presence you would find the whole of humanity in one Man, Eternity in one Hour and the whole earth in one House." 57.

Siyyid Yahyā led the upheaval in Nayrīz and gave his life in the path of his Beloved ten days before the Bāb was martyred in Tabrīz.

4) Mullā Husayn -i Bushrū'ī was a highly knowledgeable, pious and well-regarded disciple of Siyyid Kāzīm Rashtī. During the lifetime of his master he wrote books and commentaries on the Qur'ān. He was so praised by Siyyid Kāzīm that the thought arose that his might be the Promised One--much spoken of by Siyyid Kāzīm. 58. When the time came to send someone "to touch the lion's tail" Mullā Husayn was chosen. 59. It is well known that Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir-i Shaftī greatly praised him 60. and how highly regarded he was by such great divines as Mullā Abd al-Khāliq-i Yazdī, Mullā Muḥammad Taqī-yi Hiravī, Mīrzā Aḥmad-i Azghandī, Siyyid Ali-yi Bushr and, Shaykh Bashīr-i Najafī (all disciples of Siyyid Kāzīm). 61. The story of his coming to faith in the Bāb has been set down elsewhere along with details regarding his services and martyrdom in the Bābī Cause.

5) Mīrzā Aḥmad-i Azghandī was " the most eloquent, the wisest and the most eminent" among the 'ulamā' of Khurasan. 62. He was the first to believe in that province and was converted by Mullā Husayn. After becoming a Bābī he travelled to Shīrāz in order to attain the presence of his Beloved. On the way he "compiled a voluminous compilation of traditions and prophecies about the Bab. He collected more than twelve thousand traditions in his

book." ⁶³. Throughout his long life he remained steadfast in the Bābī Cause for which he had sacrificed wealth, reputation and all else besides.

6) Mullā Yūsuf-i Ardibīlī, a confidant of Siyyid Kazim, was one of the most eminent Shaykhī ^{Ulamā}. His eloquence was such that he was [even] praised by Haji Muhammad Karim Khān -i Kirmānī. A native of Adhirbāyjān he, having accepted the Bab's claims, taught his faith in that province to large numbers of people. He was widely travelled and eventually died a martyr during the Māzandarān upheaval. ⁶⁴.

7) Haji Siyyid Javād-i Karbalā'ī was the grandson of the renowned Siyyid Mahdi, Bahr al-^{Ulum}. He was born, brought up and studied in Karbalā and was a leading disciple of both Shaykh Ahmad and Siyyid Kāzim. He also studied with some of the outstanding Iranian ^{Ulamā}. After completing his studies he went to India and associated with all manner of peoples before returning to Iraq. After perusing some of the Bāb's writings he became a believer without hesitation and journeyed to Shīrāz to meet his Beloved. He attained an advanced age and met and came to believe in Bahā'u'llāh. The eminent Bahā'ī scholar Mīrzā Abū al-Faḍl Gulpaygānī considered himself a pupil of Siyyid Javād during the time that they both resided in Tehran—Siyyid Javād took up residence in Tehran the same year that Gulpaygānī became a Bahā'ī [1876 Ed.]; the latter visited Siyyid Javād each week for some years.

8) Tāhira's fame and renown are well-known outside of Iran. In view of her very considerable scholarly abilities her father always expressed regret at her being a woman and thus unable to occupy his place. After the death of Siyyid Kāzim she held a class in his house where many came to benefit from her vast knowledge. Fascinated by her learning and eloquence a number of Shaykhīs and subsequently Bābīs accompanied her wherever she went. In his 14 volume commentary on the Qur'an the Muftī of Baghdad, Siyyid Muḥammad-i Ālūsī lauded Tāhira and credited her with accomplishments not seen in scholars of his time. ⁶⁵. She died a martyr's death in Tehran.

9) Siyyid Ibrāhīm-i Khalīl was a leading ^{Ulamā} of the Shaykhī school and a close disciple of Siyyid Kāzim. He was famous throughout his native province of Adhirbāyjān where many considered him greater than Mullā Muḥammad -i Mamāqānī who claimed to succeed Siyyid Kāzim. He lived many years after the Bāb's martyrdom and served the Faith with all his heart and soul.

The above are but a few of scores of Muslim divines who came to believe in the Bāb and who remained firm in their faith. Without going into details others were:-

10) Mullā Jalīl-i Urūmī; 11) Mullā Ahmad-i Abdāl; 12) Mullā Husayn-i Dakhīl; 13) Mīrzā ^{Alī}-yi Sayyāh; 14) Mullā Mahdi-yi Khū'ī; 15) Mīrzā Assadallāh Dayyān; 16) Mullā ^{Alī}-yi Bastāmī; 17) Mullā Muḥammad ^{Alī} Quddūs; 18) Mīrzā Hasan-i Zunūzī; 19) Mullā Bāqir, Harf-i Hayy; 20) Mullā Muḥammad-i Furūghī; 21) Mīrzā Ahmad-i Mu^{alim}-i Hisāri; 22) Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir-i Qā'inī; 23) Shaykh ^{Alī}-yi ^{Azīm}; 24) Mullā Mihdī-yi Kandī; 25) Mīrzā Muḥammad Husayn Ḥakīm-i Illāhī; 26) Mīrzā Qurbān ^{Alī}-yi Istirābādī; 27) Mullā Isamīl-i Qummi; 28) Shaykh Muḥammad-i Shibl; 29) Mullā ^{Abd al-Karīm}-i Qazvīnī; 30) Mullā Ja^{far}-i Qazvīnī; 31) Mullā Ibrāhīm-i Mahallātī; 32) Siyyid Ahmad-i Yazdī; 33) Mullā Bāqir-i Ardakānī.

Anyone who has lived in Iran will be aware of the level of authority which even low ranking Mullas exert. The influence exerted by the Bāb on divines of the highest rank was remarkable in the light of the sufferings surrounding their espousal of His Cause. The following words are hardly accurate: "The history of Bābism up to 18 is marked by a high measure of tension between the cautious intellectualising of large numbers of Shaykhī Bābīs who became more and more disillusioned and abandoned the Bāb in greater and greater numbers as his doctrines and injunctions jarred increasingly with established Islamic theory, and the utterly dedicated bands of saints and zealots who argued, fought, and were often tortured or put to death for a cause they often understood little enough of." ⁶⁶. There were, of course, those who abandoned the Bābī Cause when tests came. This happened in all religions: why should the Faith of the Bāb be an exception? ⁶⁷. Those who left the Bāb were not however, the people of knowledge but the ordinary believers whose names have not been recorded. Only a few high-ranking divines abandoned the Bāb along with two or three mullās of lower rank. In the former category are to be numbered Mullā ^cAbd al-Khāliq Yazdī and Mullā Muhammad Taqī-yi Hiravī.

Mullā ^cAbd al-Khāliq, an eminent Mullā, recognised the station of the Bāb and, in a letter to his Beloved, expressed himself as follows: "I do not know with what tongue I should thank God for the honour of having been in your service... My Lord, my God, I beg to be honoured by being taken into the service of my Lord and Master." ⁶⁸. The martyrdom of his son at Shaykh Tabarsī shook his faith. Abbas Amanat has written, "in 1265 [AH], the death of his young son Shaykh ^cAlī, in the Tabarsī uprising, which happened at the same time as the Bāb's claim to Qā'imīyyat, shattered the faith of the old mujtahid, and brought him to the point of denial." ⁶⁹.

Mullā Muhammad Taqī-yi Hiravī, an outstanding mujtahid from Iṣfahān, became a staunch Bābī and translated some of the Bāb's writings from Arabic into Persian. He was among the earliest converts of Mullā Ḥusayn whom he admired very much. When trouble and calamity befell the Bābīs he was not able to remain steadfast. In spite of his failure he was known as a Bābī until the end of his life--he died in Karbalā. None of the Mullas of Karbalā were prepared to attend his funeral or attend to his burial; in the end a local mujtahid had him buried.

These were the only two high ranking mujtahids who left the Bābī Cause and whose names have come down to us. Mention might also be made though of two lower ranking Mullas who denied the Bāb after believing in Him.

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Firstly, Mullā Jawād-i Baraghānī who left Bābism along with a few of his associates. The problem with him was that he became a Bābī in order to satisfy his ambitions. It is recorded in Māzandarānī's Kitāb-i Zuhūr al-Haqq (Vol. III) that he, on accepting the Bāb, would be in a position to right the wrongs done to the Shaykhīs. Mullā Ja^cfar-i Qazvīnī, a native of the same town as Mullā Jawād, has left to posterity a MS in which he has described certain events surrounding the early days of the Bābī Faith. He has recorded that when Mullā Jawād first heard the news of the Bāb's claims he stated, "Now the time has arrived for us to take revenge on Baraghānī (an enemy of the Shaykhīs)." Later however, he became jealous of Mullā Husayn and threw in his lot with Karīm Khān-i Kirmānī. 70.

Secondly there is the case of the lower ranking Mullā Siyyid ^cAlī-yi Kirmānī a one time secretary of Siyyid Kazim. According to Qatīl-i Karbalā'ī he forged a letter in favour of Karīm Khān Kirmānī's being the successor of Siyyid Kāzim Rashtī. 71. When the forgery was discovered Siyyid ^cAlī confessed to the forgery and stated that he had attempted to draw people's attention away from Mīrzā Hasan-i Gawhar -- a claimant to leadership of the Shaykhī school after Siyyid Kāzim's passing. He abandoned the Cause of the Bāb at the time of the uproar of the divines of Karbalā. Much frightened he fled to Mecca.

Apart from these divines there were many souls who left the Cause of the Bāb because they had no real idea of what the mission of the youthful Manifestation of God was. They apostasized when, according to the Bāb's own testimony, he did not journey to Karbalā--as promised -- after his pilgrimage; when the conference of Badasht took place; when the Bāb defended the position of Tāhira; when the believers of Marāghih were informed by the Bāb that He has abrogated Islāmic Law, and on the occasion when those who had witnessed a miracle of the Bāb in Urumīyya were put to the test or experienced persecution. It was not the learned however, who left the Bābī Cause on these occasions but ordinary, immature people who could not stand up to the tests.

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* When the Bāb cancelled his journey to Karbalā, Mullā ^cAbd al-Khāliq-i Yazdī (see above) wrote a letter and asked the Bāb about this. In his reply, a Tablet in the form of a prayer, the Bāb explains:

"..And Thou know that I commanded the ^culamā' to enter the Holy Land [= Karbalā] for the Day of my return, so that Thy Hidden Covenant might be publicly revealed.. And Thou knowest the decree about which I heard in Umm al-Qurā [= Mecca] regarding the opposition of the Ulamā' and the denial of the remote among Thy servants who are the inhabitants of the Holy Land [Karbalā]. Wherefore did I change my decision and did not journey in that direction. This in order to avoid sedition.. to the end that not a single hair be unjustly taken from the head of anyone.."

* fn. continued.

Though part of the original text of this writing of the Bāb is printed in ^cAbd al Hamīd Ishrāq Khāvarī's Qāmus-i Kitāb-i Igān (Vol. II [Tehran 128 Badī^c],p.1003f) it has escaped the attention of students of this subject. Denis MacEoin and Abbas Amanat have relied on the doubtful words of Qatīl-i Karbalā'ī [his Risāla published as an appendix at the end of Māzandarānī's Kitāb-i Zuhūr al-Haqq [Vol III] — Ed] and Moojan Momen has written in his article, The Trial of Mullā 'Ali Bastami. (in Iran XX [1982], p.113ff), " Neither in the Bāb's writings nor in the Bābī and Bahā'ī literature is there much to indicate the cause of this change of plan." (p.140).

NOTES

1. Refer, Gulpaygānī, al-Durar al-Bahiyya in Mukhtārāt min Mu'alifāt -i Abī'l-Fada'il (Brussels 1970 / 138 Badī^c),p.20.
2. Balyuzi, Muhammad and the Course of Islām (Oxford 1976),p.1.
3. Qur'ān 2: 284.
4. Qur'ān 2: 252.
5. Qur'ān 33:40.
6. The Bāb cited in Selections From the Writings of the Bāb (Haifa 1976 , : henceforth SWB),p.161.
7. Ibid.,p.46.
8. See for example, Qur'ān 29:23.
9. Refer, Khulāsat al-Tafāsīr,pp.174,184,253.
10. See ^cAttar, Tadhkirat al-Awliyā',p.583.
11. Qur'ān 17 :87.
12. See Qur'ān 97:3
13. Refer, Shoghi Effendi [trans.] The Dawn-Breakers (London 1953),p.101.
14. Matthew 15:24.
15. Matthew 9:5.
16. Matthew 15:24,26.
17. Luke 16:17.
18. Matthew 5:17.
19. Qur'ān 109:1.
20. Qur'ān 2:218.
21. Qur'ān 4:42.
22. Qur'ān 5: 89.
23. SWB.p.119.
24. SWB.p.43.

25. SWB.p.44.
26. SWB.p.60.
27. SWB.p.58.
28. SWB.p.72.
29. SWB.p. 72.
30. See Muhammad ^cAlī Faydī, Hadrat-i Nuqta-yi Ulā ,p.153.
31. Refer, The Dawn-Breakers,p. 100f.
32. Karīm Khān-i Kirmānī, Izhāq al-Bātil
33. Contra D.MacEoin, Shaykhī Reactions to the Bāb..in Studies in Bābī and Bahā'ī History (Vol.1. Ed. M.Momen),p.40.
34. See for example, D.MacEoin, The Babi Concept of Holy War in Religion 12 (1982),pp.93-119.
35. J. Carmichael, The Death of Christ (Penguin Books 1969).
36. Refer, *ibid.*,p.116 . No convincing explanation as to what Christ meant by buying a sword (Luke 23:26) has been given. G.B.Caird in his The Gospel of St.Luke (Penguin Books 1979),p.241 has gone so far as to suggest that this text provides "an example of Jesus' fondness for violent metaphor".
37. Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By (Wilmette Illinois 1979),p.56.
38. Refer, The Dawn-Breakers,p. 63f.
39. The Bāb cited SWB.p.77.
40. The Bab cited *ibid.*,p.134.
41. The Bāb cited Fādil-i Māzandarānī, Kitāb-i Zuhūr al-Haqq Vol.III (n.p. n.d. ; henceforth ZH [III]),p.280.
42. Qur'ān 9 :11.
43. The Dawn-Breakers,pp.152-3.
44. *Ibid.*,p.166.
45. The Bāb's gradual education of his followers is comparable to Jesus'. Early in his ministry Jesus, in accordance with Jewish expectations, represented himself as one come exclusively for the Jews.The universal-ity of his message was fully realised after his crucifixion (see Acts 11:1-8).
46. This cannot be refuted. cf. MacEoin, The Babi Concept of Holy War,p.120.
47. Personal Reminiscences of the Bābī Insurrection at Zanjan in 1850 (trans. E.G.Browne in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 29[1897]),pp.810-11 cited MacEoin, *ibid.*,p.120.
48. Cited ZH (III), p.182.
49. Cited Amanat, The Early Years of the Babi Movement.. (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Oxford 1981),p.350.
50. MS History of Lutf ^cAlī Mīrzā.
51. MacEoin, The Babi Concept of Holy War,p.113.
52. Qur'ān 11:132.
53. Matthew 11:25.
54. I Corinthians 1:27.

