

**BAHÁ'Í STUDIES
BULLETIN**

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BAHA'I STUDIES BULLETIN

This Bulletin is primarily designed to facilitate communication between those among us engaged in Baha'i Studies. It is hoped that it may evolve into the Bulletin of an Association for the Study of the Babi and Baha'i religions (or the like), include contributions from both Baha'i and non-Baha'i academics, and be befittingly published rather than photostatically reproduced.

The success of this Bulletin, which has the blessing of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the United Kingdom (though they are not responsible for any of the views expressed within it), obviously depends on your support and willingness to contribute. A steady and sustained flow of scholarly contributions is vital especially since there are so few of us. The following list is intended only to serve as an indication of the nature and scope of contributions that would be welcomed:-

- a) Articles or short notes whether historical, philological, sociological, doctrinal or theological, etc.
- b) Bibliographical essays or notes.
- c) Copies of generally unavailable letters or tablets of the Bab, Baha'u'llah, 'Abdu'l-Baha or Shoghi Effendi whether in the original language(s) or in translation.
- d) Notices of recently published books, articles or reviews, etc.
- e) Previously unpublished notes or documents.
- f) Reports of work in progress or of seminars and conferences relating directly or indirectly to Babi-Baha'i Studies.

CHANGE IN SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

It is with some trepidation that I once again feel impelled to announce a change in the Bulletin subscription rates. In order to give the Bulletin greater circulation and in the light of increasing demands for copies it is no longer feasible for me to make the copies personally at a cheap rate. The previous subscription rates—especially in the light of the heavy cost of postage overseas even at the very slow surface mail rate—have been unrealistic. Each issue on average will now cost £3.00 (or equivalent) quite apart from postage. Thus, all subscriptions—except those made from the US and Canada on which see below—must now be increased to (that is from Vol.2.No.1. this issue) :-

Within the UK £3.50.p. per issue inc.postage.
Within Europe £3.75.p. per issue inc.postage.
Rest of world £5.00.p. per issue inc.postage. *

SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

The problems of the slow arrival of the Bulletin and the increased cost of copying it for subscribers in the US and Canada can now be solved in the light of Richard Hollinger's kind offer to distribute copies from Los Angeles. All subscribers resident in the US and Canada should send their name address and subscriptions—at a rate to be announced by him for the US and Canada only—to Richard who will be sent a top copy of the Bulletin by air mail for copying and distribution. i.e. to:- Richard Hollinger 1710 S.Barry #3 Los Angeles, CA 90025. ALL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BULLETIN ITSELF SHOULD STILL BE SENT TO MR. STEPHEN LAMBDEN 77 ROTHWELL RD. NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, ENGLAND UK.

[Ed].

* I should be most grateful if those who are not up to date with subscriptions could forward them—at the new a rate—and if those who who paid for issues from Vol.2. No.1. (apart from those in the US and Canada) could make up the balance.

Esslemont's Survey of the Baha'i Community in 1919-20:Part IV. India by Mirza Mahmud Zarqani.

Moojan Momen (Ed).

The section on India in Esslemont's proposed chapter was supplied to him by one of the most prominent of the early Baha'i teachers in India, Mirza Mahmud Zarqani who is perhaps best known as the author of a diary of 'Abdu'l-Baha's journeys in the West.

Mirza Mahmud's account certainly differs in many details from the standard Baha'i accounts of the early history of the Baha'i Faith in India. Most of the accounts which we have of the early history of the Faith in India are based on Siyyid Mustafā Rumi's writings and these certainly give a very different impression of Sulayman Khan (Jamal Effendi). Since Siyyid Mustafa had been converted by Sulayman Khan and had accompanied the latter on some of his travels, it would seem that the accounts based on his recollections would be a more accurate representation (see for example, W. Carlington in Baha'i News, March 1975, pp.17-21) than this account by Mirza Mahmud who did not arrive in India until 1901.

INDIA

[Note. The following account of the progress of the Cause in India was kindly supplied to me by Mirza Mahmud Zarqani (Esslemont)].

The first messenger to carry the Bahai Revelation to India was an old Persian named Suleyman Khan, who was known among the friends as Jamal Effendi^[1] in order to distinguish him from Suleyman Khan the Martyr. About 40 years ago^[2] he visited Baha'u'llah at Acca, and received permission to make a tour in India. His intention was not to go as a Bahai teacher, but Baha'u'llah told him he ought to take the opportunity of spreading the teachings. He visited the principal cities of India and Burmah and made the acquaintance of many of the nobles and distinguished men. He went in the character of a Dervish leader (Sufi), and when he found that people were attracted he would read to them some of the Tablets, such as "Hidden Words". He printed and published "Seven Valleys" as if he himself were the author. Little by little he introduced more of the teachings, telling some of his most intimate friends that they should repeat the name: "Allah'o'Abha", and finally showing them the book of Ighan. Occasionally he spoke about one higher than himself, whose representative he was, but he made no specific mention of Baha'u'llah, and it was usually supposed among his followers that he was himself the head of the cult he represented.

After spending some five years in India, he returned to the Holy Land. Baha'u'llah reproved him for having published "Seven Valleys" in his own name [3], but the work he had done was followed up by others and turned to good

account. Most of his teaching had been in the towns of Mandalay and Rangoon. In the latter city there lived a Bahai from Shiraz, named Seyed Mehdi^[4], who after the departure of Jamal Effendi, began to teach the Cause publicly. He was joined by one of the friends of Jamal Effendi, named Seyed Mostafa^[5], who is still an active teacher

Not long before the ascension of Baha'u'llah, a relative of the Bab, named Haji Mirza Mohammed Ali^[6], went to settle in Bombay. He was a great merchant, but a firm Bahai, and taught some of the Zoroastrians, who were numerous in that city. Other Bahais from Persia soon followed him, and about the same time Baha'u'llah sent to Bombay two famous teachers, Jenab-i-Andalib and Haji Mirza Haydar Ali, whose visit aroused great interest in the Movement. They were followed, about 1895, by a Persian named Mirza Mahram, who continued to teach with success in Bombay, Burmah and many of the cities of India until he passed away about eight years ago.

In 1901, Abdul Baha sent another Persian teacher named Mirza Mahmood,^[7] who has, since that time been one of the most active servants of the Cause in India. Taking with him an interpreter who spoke Hindustani, he visited all the large cities of India. From this time onward, many Persian-European and American teachers visited India and greatly helped the progress of the Cause. In 1906 Abdul Baha sent Mirza Mahmood with another Persian named Ebn Abhar^[8] and two American teachers, Messrs Harris and Ober, to make a tour of the various Bahai Centres and chief cities of India. They visited Bombay where there was a strong group of about a hundred Bahais. At Lahore, they found Pritem Singh, the first Brahman to accept the Bahai Faith, and two or three other believers. They lectured at a conference of the Arya Somaj at Vazirabad. At Calcutta they found a small group which had been started some years before, and now became firm and strong. At Rangoon they found the Cause very active. Only some ten or twenty believers resided permanently in Rangoon, but many were converted there and went to spread the truth elsewhere. In Mandalay, the Bahais had a hall and regular meetings in which men and women met together in a great spiritual power. At that time this was the only meeting of that kind in India.

Shortly after this, an old Burmese teacher, Abdul Karim, went to Konjagoon,^[9] a district of Burmah near Rangoon, and taught the villagers. These spread the message to others, and in this district there are now two adjacent villages in which the whole population, about three hundred in all, have become Bahai. They have started a Mashrekol-Askar, and a Bahai school for boys and girls which has met with the cordial approval of the Government. In Konjagoon, as in Mandalay, men and women now meet together regularly.

In recent years the Bahai Cause in India has been progressing by leaps and bounds, and its adherents have been displaying great devotion and zeal. So far, it has spread mainly among the educated middle class of the community, although in Konjagoon as in Ratnagari a district near Bombay, it has also spread to the poor people among whom there are many devoted believers. In Ratnagari also men and women meet together.

Among the members of the Brahma Somaj, a society which is endeavouring to revive the deep spiritual truths of the ancient religion of India, the Bahai movement has made a few firm friends, but among Brahmans as a whole the number of converts is as yet small. Several members of the Theosophical Society, in Lahore and elsewhere, have cordially accepted the Bahai teachings. Among the Buddhists in Burmah a few converts have been made, but it is among the Mohammedans in Burmah and the Zoroastrians in Bombay, that, up to the present, the greatest progress has been made.

There are now some five or six hundred Bahais in Konjagoon, about the same number in Rangoon and Mandalay and the neighbouring villages, about four hundred in Bombay and small groups in Calcutta, Poona, Allahabad, Kurachee, Surat and Punjab. In Madras, no centre has yet been established. The total number of believers is nearly two thousand, and is rapidly growing. Several are highly educated and influential people

Many of the Tablets of Baha'u'llah have now been translated into Hindustani, and many other books dealing with the Movement have been published in this language. Mr Heshmatullah^[10] has written a valuable book on the History and teachings of the Movement. Mr. Shirazi has published an account of his visit to the Holy Land. A translation of "The Traveller's Narrative" has been published by Mirza Mahmood and Seyed Mostafa, and several other books and pamphlets have been issued.

One of the recent converts to the Movement, a Mohammedan Khojeh named Jousef Shet is showing great zeal and organizing ability. Largely through his efforts, a meeting of pioneers of the Cause was held at Poona, near Bombay, and it has now been decided in accordance with instructions received from Abdul Baha, to hold an Annual Conference to meet at different important centres in rotation, for the purpose of discussing methods of promoting and spreading the Cause, the establishment of new centres, the organization of meetings and teaching work, etc.

A noteworthy effect of the adoption of the Bahai teachings is the disappearance of all caste prejudices. For instance, Hindu friends meet freely with Parsee and Moslem friends and partake of the same food.

Notes

1. Sulayman Khān-i Tunukābunī, known as Jamāl Effendi, see ^cAbd al-Bahā, Memorials of the Faithful (BPT. Wilmette Illinois 1975), pp. 134-8.
2. Sulayman Khān was in ^cAkkā in 1871 and arrived in India in 1872.

Notes contd

3. According to ^cAbd al-Bahā (Memorials of the Faithful, p.136), the ascension of Baha'u'llah had already occurred by the time Sulayman Khan returned to ^cAkkā
4. Hājī Siyyid Mihdī Shīrāzī had moved to Rangoon from Shiraz and married into an Iranian-Burmese family.
5. Siyyid Mustafā Rūmī was converted to the Baha'i Faith in 1875 in Madras by Sulaymān Khan. He belonged to an Iraqi family that had also settled in Madras. He accompanied Sulayman Khan to Burma in 1878 where he settled and built the nucleus of the Burmese Baha'i community. He was killed during the second World War and was posthumously named by Shoghi Effendi a Hand of the Cause.
6. Hājī Mīrzā Muhammad ^cAlī Afnān see ^cAbd al-Bahā, Memorials of the Faithful, pp,16-21.
7. i.e. the author of this article Mīrzā Mahmūd-i Zarfānī.
8. One of the 'Hands of the Cause' appointed by Bahā'u'llāh.
9. This village is now known as Daidanaw. The name seems to have changed in about 1933.
10. Resident of Karachi and later the first secretary of the Indian NSA.

Additional Note

Attached to Zarfānī's article among Esslemont's papers is a newspaper clipping relating to the All-India Baha'i Convention that was held in Bombay during December 27th-29th 1920. It is from an unnamed newspaper of December 29th 1920:

....[WE]NESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1920.

THE BEHAI CONVENTION.Prophecies for Behaism Discussed

The first All-India Behai Convention was held last evening in the Behai Hall Forbes Street, amidst a very large audience of ladies, and gentlemen of the Parsi Mahomedan and Hindu communities. Dr. Mazharali presided. A series of lectures have been arranged to discuss the Behai movement and to explain its aims and object and the first of them commenced yesterday with a lecture on "The need of Divine Education" by Prof. Shirazi.

The president at the outset explained at length in Urdu the prophecies that were written in the various scriptures and described the coming of the Imam Mahdi supported by hadis which, he said, were weak. He then called upon Prof. Shirazi to deliver his lecture. The proceedings were partly in Urdu and partly in English.

Prof. Shirazi said he would tell them in a logical manner that they needed divine education and unless they had education they could not know anything that would prove useful to the human being. Education only could make them what they ought to be and this was of three kinds, viz, spiritual, physical and human; spiritual because they would know their Creator and their duties towards him; physical because it would help them to live an honourable life in the world, and human because it would teach them how to behave in society. He then described their past history and said it was a problem for them as to how they should bring the fruits of them to form friendship. Divine education was needed to lead all nations to arbitration instead of war and this could be brought about by a universal language. There must be a religion for the world, not the existing religions. The thing that must be inaugurated was the New Gospel which must be instructive and not destructive. The speaker said he had tried to impress upon them that there was need for a divine education on earth in order to bring glory to the world and glory to all races, to bring them into unity.

Mr. N.R. Vakil then delivered a lecture on "Universal Religion" saying that it was something very high for a man to achieve, and that was to know God and to achieve perfection. For this education was necessary. He referred to the various traditions and scriptures bearing on the subject at length and explained the principles of Behaism and described the life of Abdullah Behai [sic] and his vicissitudes for the furtherance of the movement. They wanted the League of Nations, as they did not want to go to war, whether they were Behais or non-Behais. Their belonging to one community or the other made no difference in the light of God. He emphasised the need of a universal language to attain this and cited Esperanto as the probable one.

Messrs. Janshed Khedadad and Aqa Syed Mustafa Rumi also spoke, the former on the fulfilment of the Zoroastrian prophecies leading to the manifestation of Behaism and the latter on the "New Dispensation", its proofs from Jewish and Christian Scriptures, quoting hadis in support of his arguments.

The Convention then adjourned till to-day.

THE BAHÁ'Í FAITH IN AUSTRALIA, 1920-1934:

Some notes on John and Clara Hyde-Dunn.

The story of the introduction of the Bahá'í Faith to Australia is one of courage, strength, and devotion. John Henry and Clara Hyde-Dunn had responded to the challenge issued by 'Abdu'l-Bahá in his "Tablets of the Divine Plan".¹

Hyde-Dunn has recorded:

"It was all very simple - a wave that came into our lives possessing us and satisfying every desire to serve our Beloved Cause, the Cause of Bahá'u'lláh and his glorious Covenant. Mother was reading 'Abdu'l-Bahá's call to the United States and Canada, and his appeal was so penetrating and thrilling, it pierced our hearts. In one part it said "If only I could go in poverty and barefooted, and raise the call of Ya Bahá'u'l-Abhá, but that is not now possible." Mother looked up and said "Shall we go, Father?"² "Yes" was my reply, and no further discussion took place".

Hyde-Dunn was 65 when he came to Australia, his wife Clara, 51. They arrived on the S.S. Sonoma on April 10, 1920.³ They journeyed with a mission, but they were not missionaries, by the common use of the term. They had accepted their endeavour quite spontaneously, were definitely not approached to do so, and were not funded from any direction.

The Dunns had chosen to 'pioneer' for the principles they believed in. The Bahá'í Faith, by the 1920's was established in many parts of the world. It was entering a period of further expansion, both geographic, and administrative, and its' followers were creating a world-wide network as they endeavoured to place the Bahá'í teachings before the masses.

Hyde and Clara Dunn were thus part of a larger picture,

and the themes of their career were being expanded on concurrently in other countries. The picture that emerges from correspondence to and from the Dunns is one of constant movement throughout Australia, constant nurturing of the Bahá'í message within Australia, and constant support for the Dunns from 'Abdu'l-Bahá, then Shoghi Effendi, as well as from a growing number of Baha'i friends in all parts of the world.

'Abdu'l-Bahá communicated with the Dunns at least four times. The first was a telegram confirming Hyde-Dunn's offer to sail. It simply read "Highly desirable". Aboard the Sonoma the Dunns wrote to 'Abdu'l-Bahá and again when they arrived in Sydney. They must surely have been encouraged by the response 'Abdu'l-Bahá made on December 9, 1920, which read:

"This journey is pregnant with great prosperity, because great results will issue therefrom. At present it is full of hardship, but later on favour, comfort and happiness will be bestowed".⁴

The initial period in Sydney certainly was full of hardship. Hyde-Dunn did not enjoy excellent health, and suffered an immediate setback when customs confiscated coral jewellery that he had invested in in Hawaii, to sell in Australia. His health deteriorated soon after arrival, and Clara had to find work for the first six months. After this period, Hyde-Dunn felt able to work, and later recorded:

"A voice, a mental voice spoke to me and said 'now the time is ripe for you to write the firm in Melbourne regarding a position. the mail that night carried a letter to a good firm in Melbourne to whom I thought my experiences would be valuable and to whom I felt able to give good service...not one mail was lost, by return of post a reply arrived, and, the first words in the

letter were 'your application is most opportune. The writer will be in Sydney during the week - call and see our Sydney Manager'. This of course was attended to". 5

Hyde-Dunn began working as a Travelling Salesman for Nestlé's in about September 1920, his area being the whole of N.S.W. country. After one year he had topped the National sales figures. His manager was naturally pleased and asked Hyde-Dunn what favour the company could do him. "Make me an inter-state man!" was his reply.⁶

For a total of twelve years Hyde-Dunn travelled for Nestlé's, dedicating his time to both his work, and to informing people of the Bahá'í teachings. Sometime in 1922, Hyde-Dunn was introduced to Oswald Whitaker in Lismore, N.S.W., who became the first Australian Bahá'í.⁷ Of this event Hyde-Dunn recorded:

"This pioneer was at Lismore on business and had gathered round me a few businessmen to whom we were discussing the world problems and the twelve Bahá'í principles for its' solution...but they were all very skeptical, and the Bahá'í truths too hard for them to handle - so one of them suggested that they would invite Mr Whitaker. His friends brought him along in great triumph - he asked me one question and one question only - which they all thought would flaw the Baha'i Faith and Revelation..he asked me 'can you tell me what love is?'. My reply was 'yes, the whole law and power of the Great Universe is Formulated Love in Action'. He said 'Is that what love is?'. He never asked me another question...some beautiful tablets were given him to read, which he brought back the next day and when I asked him what he thought of them his reply was 'every line is an evidence of truth'. From that day to this he has been a devout student and worker for the Cause of God, also a loving and faithful friend". 8

In about October 1922, the Dunns moved to Melbourne. A pattern was soon established, with Clara living in the city, engaged in meeting people, and inviting them home to hear of the Bahá'í

teachings, while Hyde-Dunn was in the country through the week, returning home on weekends. He would then give talks, either in his own home, or before various organizations.

In November 1922, Hyde-Dunn addressed a meeting of the 'New Thought' Organization. At the meeting was Miss Effie Baker, Australia's first female colour photographer who later recorded:

"I accepted the teachings after hearing Mr Hyde-Dunn speak from the platform of the "New Civilization Centre" formed by Dr Seaton Sears, of which I had become a member. He opened with a prayer and then prefaced his talk by a quotation from the 'Hidden Words': "O Son of Spirit: Free thyself from the Worldly bond, escape from the prison of self, appreciate the value of time for it will never come again or a like opportunity". (9) Having heard this I thought 'I must listen to what this speaker has to say'. He then gave the principles given to the 'World of Mankind' for this age by Bahá'u'lláh. The one that arrested my attention was 'investigate truth for yourself don't follow the blind imitation of your forefathers'. It suddenly dawned on me 'Why!! I was born a Christian, my forebears were Christians for centuries. I certainly have never investigated truth for myself..After the meeting closed I immediately went to Mr Dunn and declared myself as accepting the Bahá'í message." 10

In December 1922 the Dunns visited New Zealand. Hyde-Dunn wrote of this trip to Fazel Mazánderáni:

"We landed, not knowing one soul - the first night we met two - a man and his wife, they took dinner with us - listened to the message then said 'you must meet our friend Mrs Blundell'. The next night we both went to Mrs Blundell's home, she had her room filled with friends to listen to our message of the Covenant. From that gathering, neither of us had a moment unoccupied - we had meetings and group meetings - private interviews and appointments, the people rallied and the love for the Cause grew in their hearts, ...the night before leaving Auckland we held our first Bahá'í Feast, 17 or 18 present". 11

Early in 1923 Hyde-Dunn addressed a "New Thought" meeting in Adelaide. When a member of the audience Percy Almond heard what the white haired speaker had to say, he turned to his wife Maysie and

said 'this is it!', and two days later became the first Bahá'ís in Adelaide.¹²

By July 1923 Hyde-Dunn had visited 225 towns across Australia. This means an average of one town each four and a half days since commencing work for Nestlé's.¹³

Early in 1924 the Dunns and Effie Baker visited Tasmania.

Hyde-Dunn wrote to a friend:

"We have just arrived in Hobart and by invitation we speak on Sunday night at the Theosophical Society. This is our first in Tasmania - there are four of us here, we have taken a small cottage and opened up a small Bahá'í home".¹⁴

At that meeting was Gretta Lamprill, who recalled:

"Mr Hyde-Dunn spoke passionately about the Faith. Then and there, with the whole of my inner and outer being, I dedicated my life to Bahá'u'lláh and the Bahá'í Faith".¹⁵

Later in 1924 the Dunns and Effie travelled to Perth, to greet the arrival of Martha Root, an International Bahá'í teacher, who had recently been through China. While in Perth, Hyde-Dunn addressed a Church meeting. He was using a new Bahá'í book by Dr Esslemont titled 'Bahá'u'lláh and the New Era'. A Mrs Miller, who had known Dr Esslemont as a boy turned to Mr Dunn and asked 'Did you know Dr Esslemont?'. Hyde-Dunn replied 'No, I never met him, but oh, how I love him'. From that first meeting the Millers maintained a firm Bahá'í outpost in Perth.¹⁶

THE FIRST BAHÁ'Í CENTRES

By 1924, there were Bahá'í centres in Sydney, Auckland, Melbourne, Hobart, Adelaide and Perth. From Adelaide, in October 1924 Clara wrote to a friend: "Had my first Bahá'í class yesterday -

four present...we have engaged a room downtown where Father will speak every Tuesday eve." 17

A letter later in the same month said:

"Last night Father spoke in the room we have downtown. There were about 25 or 30 present - this was our first meeting downtown..." 18

The Dunns went to Melbourne in April 1923 for their second stay.

In October, Hyde-Dunn wrote to Dr Esslemont saying there were:

"Some beautiful Believers, two accepted fully and from every angle, others believe, but take time to be really strong enough to be declared." 19

In October, 1928, Clara wrote to a friend:

"While in Melbourne on our way from Brisbane to Adelaide - we had just one day there - we engaged a drawing room and forty-two came".²⁰

Writing of Auckland, in 1924, Clara related that:

"Some body of people billed the town telling the people to have nothing to do with the Bahá'í teachings as it was satanic - so we all rejoiced at this as this will cause many people to look into it and see what it really is".²¹

Writing from Brisbane in 1926, Clara said:

"The Unity Circle offered their nice central room to hold the Bahá'í class in...the first time twenty present..."²²

BOOKS

Books and information on the Bahá'í Faith were a constant problem. Writing to a Mrs Albert in June 1923, Hyde-Dunn said: "We have scarcely a book left to work with",²³ and mentions a 'green book' of typed tablets and a yellow book called 'Light of the World'. A letter of September 1924 mentions a 'Lessons in Religion' by a Persian teacher²⁴. Most material was held in the form of copies which had been typed from the original. Clara mentions to Gretta

Lamprill in March 1926 the book 'Episodes in the Life of Monuréh Khanum' and 'Letters from Shoghi Effendi', and 'the Answered Questions'.²⁵

As late as 1934 Hyde-Dunn refers to a 'little book copied and given to me by dear Thornton Chase and Lua Getsinger'.²⁶ Later still, in 1935, Hyde-Dunn wrote to a 'Bahá'í investigator' Miss Emily Eastgate "I will post you some beautiful addresses given by 'Abdu'l-Bahá in America...you can return it to me when finished it is the only one I possess and is precious indeed".²⁷

The Perth Bahá'ís saw the 'Will and Testament of 'Abdu'l-Bahá for the first time in August 1924. In a letter to Mr and Mrs Webb Hyde-Dunn said: 'Regarding the books, you will have to do your best'. The Dunns had distributed copies to Mrs Ward and Mrs Joiner 'There is we think quite a number out, you will get them by degrees, ask them at a meeting those who have any to return them'.²⁸

MAGAZINES

News of the progress of the Bahá'í Faith was obtained through the American magazine 'Star of the West':

"...especially now that they have removed from Chicago to New York and have added such a fine woman to their staff. She used to edit the Bahá'í Bulletin - you will get all the late news of the Cause in it and it will keep you abreast of the happenings of the Cause".²⁹

At first only the Dunns subscribed to 'Star of the West' and to the American Bulletin, and arranged for their single copy to be mailed in turn to all the assemblies.³⁰

A further source of information was the circular letter, which

went by various names in the Bahá'í World. The Haifa Spiritual Assembly sent monthly letters, full of news. The Dunns returned the favour, thanking Haifa for the news of the persecution and hardships being faced in Persia and Russia, and the progress in Turkey, giving in return news of activities in Melbourne:

"We have been here just over two months in Melbourne...every Friday night when I return from the outside towns with my wife we hold a meeting in the home of a herbalist...we often speak to 100 to 150 people...last Sunday was our first Bahá'í Feast in Melbourne - 27 dear friends came all full of interest and love".³¹

In 1924 Martha Root visited all the major cities, but at present less is known of her tour than of her second one, in 1939. In 1925 Freddie Schopflocher, then a member of the National Spiritual Assembly of the United States and Canada, visited Australia, and promised to return two years later to help form the Australian National Spiritual Assembly.³²

By 1925, communication between Bahá'í centres was becoming more organized. Clara Dunn wrote constantly to the Australian Bahá'ís, suggesting they correspond with Bahá'ís in other countries. She wrote to Gretta Lamprill in Hobart with news of the Unity Letters:

"They are beginning to write a letter to other assemblies all over the world and this will be a great link and bond the world round...I will enclose one from Chicago".³³

Clara encouraged the Hobart Bahá'ís to write to the Guardian and to Effie Baker, especially since:

"The Guardian wanted assemblies and groups to communicate with him".³⁴

In August, 1926, the Brewers, Sydney Bahá'ís, wrote to thank the

Dunns for putting them in touch with Dr D'Develyn of California,³⁵ and at about the same time Miss Nora Lee, a Bahá'í in Fiji, thanked the Dunns for putting her in touch with Thornton Chase.³⁶

The Adelaide Assembly began sending typed circular letters by September 1925, mentioning they were 17 in number, and:

"Grateful this wonderful message has reached us, as it means a new spiritual life, and the birth of a New Era to us all".³⁷

On June 15, 1926, Adelaide sent their first printed circular letter:

"Bearing in mind the express wish of Shoghi Effendi, and knowing from our own past experiences how helpful communication with other assemblies is, we arranged to send, if possible, a quarterly greeting of love to our brothers and sisters whose names are given on the Bahá'í directory. Our members much appreciate letters from Maine, Chicago, New York, Kenosha (USA); London (England); Hamburb, Karlsruhe (Germany); Shanghai (China); Haifa (Palestine); Sydney, Melbourne, and Perth (Australia); Hobart (Tasmania); and Auckland (New Zealand)."

The Auckland Bahá'ís likewise sent out letters. One dated September 1926 begins:

"We gratefully acknowledge letters from Spiritual Assemblies in many countries which are the great means of helping on the cause of unity and harmony, and for making friendships the World over", and includes the news that "The Australasian magazine 'Herald of the South' is now issued in print...suitable articles are again asked for..."

In 1925 'Herald of the South' was one of the few Bahá'í magazines in the world, others being in India, America, and Germany.³⁸

The Dunns kept in contact with Shoghi Effendi, and shared all major items from him with the Australian Bahá'ís. In June 1925,

Clara wrote to Gretta Lamprill:

"This is such a beautiful tablet sent by Shoghi Effendi and a fine letter by Dr Esslemont to Major Mcleod that we have had copies made and sent to all assemblies".³⁹

Initial correspondence from the Guardian was for the guidance and encouragement of the Dunns. First contact was a cablegram from the Guardian dated 15/12/21, which read "PRAYING FOR GLORIOUS SUCCESS IN YOUR NOBLE ENDEAVOURS - SHOGHI". Soon after, the Guardian left Haifa for a period, and the day after his return, 16/12/22, he cabled "AWAITING LOVING GLAD-TIDINGS OF AUSTRALASIAN FRIENDS IN HOLY LAND".⁴⁰

Successive correspondence centred on the direction of the direction of teaching work, development of both spiritual and administrative aspects of the Bahá'í Faith, and Shoghi Effendi expressed the hope that the Dunns could redouble their efforts and "visit the islands of the sea".⁴¹

LOCAL SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLIES

Hyde-Dunn realized that the best way the Australian Bahá'ís could help the Guardian was through 'united action', which meant forming 'assemblies' in each centre, which could act and react autonomously, but with common purpose. In terms of administration, the goal was to form assemblies, then form a national body, a National Spiritual Assembly in line with administrative developments in other countries, notably U.S.A., India, Germany, Iraq, and Great Britain. Writing to the Australian Bahá'ís on April 21, 1925, the Dunns said:

"It is only through love and unity from the Bahá'í World will he (Shoghi Effendi) be able to function..so let us as quickly as possible be ready to form our National Spiritual Assembly, should the word come from him to do so - such conditions as are now arising in Persia, makes us feel the necessity of a

National Spiritual Assembly, that were capable to communicate and act for all Australasia, as one unit".

One week later, on April 28, Hyde-Dunn wrote to all Australian Assemblies calling for action regarding the persecution and martyrdom of Persian Bahá'is:

"With the object to mitigate and entirely subjugate these terrible conditions which our dear brothers and sisters in Persia have been subjected - the Melbourne Assembly of Bahá'is have written a strong, firm letter to the British Consul at Tehran, Persia, protesting against these atrocious and continued happenings... will you kindly write a letter from your Bahá'í Assembly, putting in the same appeal of protest to the authorities".

The first Assemblies were formed upon the judgement of the Dunns. As Hyde-Dunn explained to Perth 'these assemblies in Australia at present are merely preliminary'.⁴² In 1926 Clara explained in a letter "I will enclose Shoghi's instructions for conducting assemblies. The old way of electing officers is not the Bahá'í way and we must study the new Bahá'í law because it will hold sway in all the world later on".⁴³

The Adelaide Assembly of 1924 had 32 Bahá'is, the 'President' being South Australia's Nestlé's manager, and in the same year Perth had an Assembly of 7.⁴⁴ Although Sydney held the first Australian Bahá'í, Mr Whitaker, there was no Assembly by 1925. Clara wrote to Gretta Lamprill on May 6, 1925 that they were hoping to be sent to Sydney by Nestlé's so that they could form an Assembly, because:

"We think there are now enough firm believers there to form one, and Sydney being one of the largest cities in Australia it is time they had an active Assembly".

A further letter to Gretta, dated December 12, 1925, indicates that the Assembly had been formed.

THE NATIONAL SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY - THE FIRST ROUND.

Shoghi Effendi had written to the Dunns on June 15, 1925:

"I am delighted to learn of your intention to form next year a Bahá'í Convention and the first National Spiritual Assembly of Australasia".

Hyde-Dunn had been talking of the formation of the National Spiritual Assembly since early 1924:

"The time is not far distant when Australia will make her move to establish the National Spiritual Assembly for Australasia".⁴⁵

Hyde-Dunn reasoned that India had had one for five years already, and the Faith had not long been established there.⁴⁶ He felt that a Convention could be called as soon as Brisbane formed an Assembly. He was sure that with the existence of firm Assemblies in each city, the Guardian would call for the Convention, and that call soon came. In May 1925, Clara wrote to Gretta:

"You will note the glorious news that Shoghi Effendi has promised to come to Australia and that we may form the National Spiritual Assembly this coming year".⁴⁶

With the news that a Convention was to be held in 1926, the Bahá'í communities were greatly enthused. Letters were sent to all so that consultation could decide the most appropriate venue, and the nature of Bahá'í elections could be clearly understood.⁴⁷ This call for a 1926 Convention has two interesting aspects. Firstly, it appears to have been the wish of the Guardian, as the Convention letter states:

"You have all received the letter from our glorious Guardian dated March 19, 1925, addressed to all the beloved believers

in Australasia and New Zealand", and "each Assembly and its members should carefully study our blessed Guardian's instructions, dated March 12, 1923", and "We are called to convene our Bahá'í Convention and elect our National Spiritual Assembly in the Hallowed days of Ridvan - April 21 to May 2, 1926. Surely this is the fragrance of a New Springtime for Australia".

The second point of interest is that Hyde-Dunn stressed the spiritual and human side of the election, as much as its administrative function:

"We must all prove our love and obedience to the Centre of the Covenant by rallying to the call of our dear Guardian, Shoghi Effendi..."

As it turned out, the Convention was postponed, the Guardian wrote an explanatory letter to the Australasian Assemblies, and Effie Baker wrote a private letter to the Dunns, after which Clara wrote to Gretta:

"So now we know there is no need of thinking of a National Spiritual Assembly until all the Assemblies are formed and working in unison..we must grow in inner light and spirit to set the pace for those to follow". 48.

WORKING FOR NESTLÉ'S

Hyde-Dunn did not see his business activities as separate from his involvement in actively promoting the Bahá'í teachings. He was a devoted businessman and held great concern about correct and just business principles. So satisfactory was his method of serving the Faith that when, in 1932, the renowned American Black Bahá'í Louis Gregory was in need of an income, the Guardian advised him to take work similar to that of Hyde-Dunn in order to "both win your bread and serve the Cause".⁴⁹ Together with Ernest Brewer, a Sydney Bahá'í, Hyde-Dunn wrote a series of 'lecturettes' for Nestlé's,

designed to be broadcast. As he explained to Ernest:

"The ideas presented in the subject matter seem to have caught on and I think the time is nearly ripe to get the principles of Bahá over to them".

Hyde-Dunn's attitude to his work is set forth in the same letter:

"...just as my life is a hard life - I find service in the Bahá'í Cause a great help in every way and my health grows stronger each day - business is softened and the world eased in one's life - when we are able to give out spiritual qualities to others". 50

Hyde-Dunn was a successful businessman because he combined human qualities of honesty and integrity with business-like perception. These qualities are apparent in his description of the lectures to Clara:

"You will note how I have handled the language and terms, so as to not give them a strict religious aspect - more a scientific aspect of the needs of life...I am aiming them before the public as Nestlé's' Company lectures...it is their approval I am after - Holden I am sure will enjoy the subject matter...but whether they allow it...to look at the industrial question as I have presented it remains to be seen". 51

In 1926, Hyde-Dunn travelled through Queensland country areas. He reported "a successful time in business and Bahá'í, having some interested people already".⁵² When he arrived in Townsville, he looked for some people he had met before, but found only their daughters. He reported the occasion to Clara:

"My own Dear Clara, Blessed Mother, first you must know I have seen those two sweet girls - Phillis and Joyce - both are at school, here in Townsville - St. Annes, Church of England School. Both are boarding, their mother is in Bowen, at Grand Central Hotel. Phillis told me that their daddy has a tobacconist shop at Bowen - this means a betting place for the sports, in all probability...I took them a dear little bottle of perfume each - a pretty wee thing with a screw top and a stopper with a plunger reaching into the bottle - also some candies..." 53

Hyde-Dunn travelled mostly by train and some idea of the pace that he moved at is indicated in this letter to his friend Ernest:

"This is a hot country, everything you touch is hot, my machine is hot, chair is hot, table is hot - but a fairly dry heat. Tomorrow my work takes me to Richmond, about 80 miles West of here - returning 12 o'clock Friday night and leaving again at 5.45 am. So from 6 am tomorrow I will be hustling until I reach Winton Saturday night". 54

He took great interest in the products that he sold, and in the health of his friends, and children, in particular. He explained to Ernest in November 1928 that:

"Business at present time holds me close - conditions are changing and I have been watching the alteration in treatment of infants for two years - that which I have been striving for is just about to be materialized and I want to be at my post with all attention for some time". 55

When the Depression came to Australia, Hyde-Dunn worked on. He reported to Ernest that "business conditions are not good with us in Adelaide at the moment - so many out of work".⁵⁶ In 1930, business became uncertain, and Hyde-Dunn, now aged 75, still could not find rest. He lamented to Ernest:

"We hope the time will come for all of us to meet again...it is hard to say as we never know when or where we may be sent next... business conditions in regard to my special work have changed and become much harder to cope with...business has taken the daylight out of me for a time". 57

Further letters to Ernest in 1930 said "conditions in Australia are slipping into unsatisfactory and problematical situations -that must take much time and care to solve",⁵⁸ and "business houses are all having a hard trial and Nestlé's are not exempt".⁵⁹

Whatever the situation, Hyde-Dunn related it to the ideals of his Faith.

From Moree he wrote to Ernest:

"The political outlook is not too promising, because the people are depending on poor politicians...we must work and work assiduously to produce men and women with honest characters and pure hearts - then we will get higher aims in our politicians". 60

Hyde-Dunn had a strong sense of mission. Clara Dunn went on pilgrimage to Haifa, Palestine, in 1932, and writing later to the Guardian, thanking him for the 'wonderful love, care, kindness and many privelages' bestowed on her, Hyde-Dunn said he could only show his grattitude through his:

"..attempt to release more love and effort (in the remaining, years of my life) imparting the true teachings of Bahá'u'llah in Australasia and New Zealand and perhaps some of the South Seas - this is my desire". 61

In this same letter, he asked the Guardian about the accuracy of understanding of the essential teachings of the Faith. After outlining his understanding of them he said:

"My heart and soul yearn to know if these fundamental teachings are the correct essentials. Deep down in my being these realities have dwelt for the past twenty-five years - working hard and striving to spread the Blessed Revelation - whatever there may be wrong - I can only pray for the truth of correction".

That Hyde-Dunn, at the age of 77, having heard of the Faith in 1905, twenty-seven years earlier, having learnt the teachings from the likes of Lua Getsinger, Thornton Chase, Louis Gregory, and one who was grouped in the same category as Isabella Brittingham, Helen S. Goodall, Martha Root, and Ali Kuli Khan, in the recollections of Marion Carpenter Yazdi,⁶² could submit a life-time of spiritual training and perception to the youthful Guardian for correction is

indeed a powerful example of complete and utter humility.

Hyde-Dunn taught with the aid of charts, concerning the succession of Prophets, and the different levels of creation. These charts he obtained through Lua Getsinger, who was instructed in them by Abdu'l-Baha. The subject of the charts was brought up by the Guardian following an article he had read in 'Herald of the South', as he expressed the concern that the teaching methods could become dogmatised, and rigid.

CLARA DUNN

Clara Dunn, known affectionately by many of the friends as 'mother', returned from her pilgrimage in 1932 with the instruction of the Guardian to 'awaken and encourage the whole of Australasia to the importance of the formation of the National Spiritual Assembly'.⁶³

During all the years that Hyde-Dunn was generally travelling, Clara played a no less significant role in constantly encouraging the Bahá'ís, and providing them with further access to an understanding of the Faith. In the early years, she encouraged the Bahá'ís in charity work, for example, from Brisbane, in 1926, Clara wrote to Gretta:

"We have formed a committee and are to call on the homes where the foster mothers are caring for the babies who have no fathers. At our first meeting someone suggested a fund should be started to get them better food and clothes as their mothers were mostly working girls and before we realized what was happening three pounds ten was on the table".⁶⁴

When the Dunn's first came to Australia, Clara took on the role of a public speaker for the first time. Hyde-Dunn had written to a friend in September 1923:

"She had not spoken to numbers of people before - only to individuals or a few, but now she speaks to big groups of people, who invite her and reinvite her, to hear and listen to the glad tidings of Bahá'u'lláh from her lips".⁶⁵

Her early years had been filled with hardship, as some of her letters show. Gretta Lamprill was the lone Bahá'í in Tasmania for quite some time and Clara wrote to her many letters of encouragement: "No dear, do not be discouraged. I was alone in my city for five years after I was a Bahá'í".⁶⁶ A year later, Clara was still writing with the same message:

"Don't be disheartened if your numbers are only few. The first essential is firmness in the covenant - which means love and obedience - then with head erect and heart full of love, will the teachings be diffused among all - the Assembly will follow at the right time".⁶⁷

A great boost was given to the Australian Bahá'í community when Keith Ransom-Kehler visited in 1931 Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Auckland. From Adelaide Hyde-Dunn reported to his friend Ernest:

"Her lectures are unique - from a spiritual and scientific standpoint - here she is getting quite good audiences - and the listeners are most attentive...her memory is quite remarkable - never takes a note on any subject".⁶⁸

It was Keith Ransom-Kehler who first brought the book 'Bahá'í Administration' to Australia, although it was first published in 1928.⁶⁹

THE NATIONAL SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY - THE SECOND ROUND.

Hyde-Dunn had hoped the National Spiritual Assembly would be formed in 1933, especially since Adelaide was working in conjunction with the other states and New Zealand towards this goal, and had even written for instructions and details for procedure.⁷⁰

The National Spiritual Assembly was eventually formed in 1934. Hyde-Dunn's health began to fail. He continued to type, but he could not see the keys he was typing. In 1936 he wrote to Gretta Lamprill:

"Don't be worried Dear about having a home -Mother and this servant have no home but are blessed with friends like you - Nestlé's Co. considered me too old to give my services to them any longer and I had to leave them two years ago - next year sees me in my 80th year, Mother is younger, but not the strong constitution of this servant, but keeps fairly well. Our blessed friends have been most kind and hospitable to us, we are staying with our dear friends Mr and Mrs Brewer at Penhurst, just outside Sydney - both Mother and I fortunately got the old age pension, it is not much, but such a blessing to have a little coming in - so see how beautiful and good God has been to us - but above all and everything the National Bahá'í Assembly for Australasia and New Zealand is established - nothing else matters or counts". 71

Graham H. Hassall.

First National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of Australia and New Zealand, 1934.
 Standing (from left) Mr Almond, Miss Blundell, Mr Whitaker, Mr Brown.
 Seated (from left) Mrs Jackman, Mrs Moffitt, Mr Hyde-Dunn, Miss Stevenson, Miss Brooks.



NOTES

- 1 - 'Abdu'l-Bahá, 'Tablets of the Divine Plan', Bahá'í Publishing Trust, U.S.A., '77.
- 2 - 'Bahá'í World', vol. IX, 1940-44, Bahá'í Publishing trust, U.S.A., '45, p. 593.
- 3 - The passage 'Notes Regarding History of Bahá'í Cause in Australia' is undated but probably circa 1928. It was the basis for the 'In Memorium' article on Hyde-Dunn in 'Bahá'í World' vol IX, p. 593, but it contains an error regarding the date of arrival in Australia, saying 1919. 'To Follow a Dreamtime', N.S.A. of the Bahá'ís of Australia, n.d. regards the date of arrival as April 18, 1920, but a 'Commonwealth of Australia Collector of Customs' note, to Clara Dunn, dated July 26, 1943, gives the date of arrival as April 10, 1920. 'To Follow a Dreamtime' is based on the c.1928 'Notes', in which the '10' looks like an '18'. (Hyde and Clara Dunn Papers, Australian National Bahá'í Archives).
- 4 - 'Abdu'l-Bahá, son of the Prophet-Founder of the Bahá'í Faith, Bahá'u'lláh, became its leader, and the 'Centre of its Covenant' when his Father died in 1892. Shoghi Effendi, Grandson of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, became the Leader, or 'Guardian' of the Bahá'í Faith at the passing of 'Abdu'l-Bahá in 1921. The 'Covenant' can be taken to mean the protection against schism in the Bahá'í Faith provided by the clear enunciation of successive leaders in the 'Will and Testament' of each successive leader. Clara Dunn received a 'Tablet', or letter, from 'Abdu'l-Bahá in 1919 under her former name, Clara Davis. Dates of the other Tablets were Feb.12, 1919; Jan.4, 1920; Jun.25, 1920; and Dec.9, 1920.
- 5 - 'Bahá'í World' vol. IX, op. cit., and based on c.1928 'Notes'.
- 6 - From recorded conversation with Mr H.C. Featherstone, Feb.'82.
- 7 - 'Bahá'í World' vol. IX, op. cit., p. 606.
- 8 - 'Notes...' op. cit.
- 9 - This is the text of the translation used by Hyde-Dunn. Shoghi Effendi's translation is 'O MY SERVANT! Free thyself from the fetters of this world, and loose thy soul from the prison of self. Seize thy chance, for it will come to thee no more', 'The Hidden Words of Bahá'u'lláh', Bahá'í Pub. Trust U.S.A., '54, but first pub. in this transl. in British Isles, '32.
- 10 - From "Talk on the Guardian of the Bahá'í Faith, Shoghi Effendi by Effie Baker", n.d. Effie E. Baker Papers, Australian National Bahá'í Archives. See also, "In Memoriam- Effie Baker", by James Heggie, "Bahá'í World", vol. XIV, 1963-68, pp 320-21.
- 11 - John Hyde-Dunn (hereafter JHD) to Fazel Mazánderani 15/7/23. All letters from Dunns are from Hyde-Dunn Papers, Australian National Bahá'í Archives. For an interesting account of the first Bahá'í in New Zealand, see "The Australian Dawn", Graeme C. Rouhani, in "Australian Bahá'í Bulletin", Jun '80, p 3, 9; Sep. '80, p 11; and Dec. '82, p 10. Hyde-Dunn was in New Zealand for two weeks only, while Clara stayed for three months.

NOTES

- 12 - 'Bahá'í World', vol. XV, op. cit., p 490.
- 13 - JHD to Mazánderani, 15/7/23.
- 14 - JHD to Mirza Azízulláh S. Bahádu, 12/1/24.
- 15 - 'Bahá'í World', vol. XV, op. cit., p 534. See also Rouhani, G. op. cit., Jun.'80, p 3, and James Heggie "History of the Bahá'í Faith in Tasmania", n.d. Bundle 0345, Box 0133, N.A.B.A
- 16 - 'Bahá'í World', vol. VIII, op. cit., p 677.
- 17 - Clara Dunn (hereafter CD) to (unknown), 2/10/24.
- 18 - CD to (unknown) 8/10/24.
- 19 - JHD to Dr Esslemont, 7/10/23.
- 20 - CD to Annie Miller 26/10/28.
- 21 - CD to (unknown) 2/10/24.
- 22 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 30/7/26.
- 23 - JHD to Mrs Albert 29/7/23.
- 24 - JHD to Webb's 14/9/24.
- 25 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 22/9/24.
- 26 - JHD to Almonds 30/10/34.
- 27 - JHD to Miss Eastgate 17/5/35.
- 28 - JHD to Webbs 14/9/24.
- 29 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 22/9/24.
- 30 - JHD to (unknown) 26/8/24.
- 31 - JHD to Haifa Spiritual Assembly 27/6/23.
- 32 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 24/2/25.
- 33 - ibid, 3/6/25.
- 34 - ibid, 19/3/26. Effie Baker had been persuaded by Martha Root to join the first group of pilgrims from New Zealand to visit the Guardian in Haifa, Palestine. By a favourable set of circumstances, Effie remained at Haifa for eleven and a half years, during which time, she wrote constantly to the Australian Bahá'ís, keeping them in touch with International Bahá'í events.
- 35 - Brewer's to Dunn's 29/8/26
- 36 - Nora Lee responding to Dunn's letters of 17/12/24 & 11/1/25, 6/2/25.
- 37 - 9/9/25.
- 38 - "Unfolding Destiny: The Messages from the Guardian of the Bahá'í Faith to the Bahá'í Community of the British Isles," Bahá'í Pub. Trust, Great Britain, '81, p 42.
- 39 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 23/7/25.
- 40 - "Priceless Pearl", Rúhiyyih Rabbaní, Bahá'í Pub. Trust, England, '69, p 65.
- 41 - JHD to Fazel Mazánderani 15/7/23.
- 42 - JHD to Perth Bahá'ís 4/1/24.
- 43 - CD to (unknown) 14/11/26.
- 44 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 21/12/24.
- 45 - JHD to Perth Bahá'ís 4/1/24.
- 46 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 21/12/24.
- 47 - JHD to Australasian Bahá'ís 30/8/25.
- 48 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 9/2/26. In this letter Clara calls Effie "our Ambassador at the Court".

NOTES

- 49 - "To Move the World: Louis G. Gregory and the Advancement of Racial Unity in America", Gayle Morrison, Bahá'í Pub. Trust, U.S.A., '82, p 236. Gregory's letter is dated Nov. 23, 1932: "Will you kindly enlighten me as to what form of activity engages you as a means of earning your expenses?", Misc. Letters File, A.N.B.A.
- 50 - JHD to E. Brewer 26/3/26.
- 51 - JHD to CD 11/4/26.
- 52 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 26/1/26.
- 53 - JHD to CD 21/2/26.
- 54 - JHD to E. Brewer 17/3/26.
- 55 - ibid., 8/11/28.
- 56 - ibid., 20/2/29.
- 57 - ibid., 4/1/30.
- 58 - ibid., 14/3/30.
- 59 - ibid., 7/6/30.
- 60 - ibid., 12/7/31.
- 61 - From a draft letter from JHD to Shoghi Effendi, undated, but probably 1932-33.
- 62 - "Youth in the Vanguard", Marion Carpenter Yazdi, Bahá'í Pub. Trust, U.S.A., '82, p 11.
- 63 - as for note 61.
- 64 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 30/7/26. This account bears similarity to Clara Dunn's own early years as related in a recorded memoir by Miss Thelma Perks: "Mother Dunn was born in London and went to Canada at the age of two, the sixth child in her family. Her father was a London Bobby - a big man with a big frame and a very quiet disposition. Her mother was Irish, very volatile and rather difficult. Mother couldn't really get on with her. The family went to Canada but it wasn't a happy household because the mother was Catholic and the father Methodist so there was always some friction with religion, and Mother got married to leave home, at the age of sixteen, to a boy aged nineteen. Whenever Mother spoke of her marriage and that part of her life she always wept and whoever was with her wept too because she was just a child and really didn't know much about life at all. By the age of nineteen she was a widow and a mother, the husband was killed on the railway and she was left with a son..." (recorded 1/8/81)
- 65 - JHD to Azizulláh S. Bahádu 11/9/23.
- 66 - CD to Gretta Lamprill 22/9/24.
- 67 - ibid., 24/10/25.
- 68 - JHD to E. Brewer 9/10/31.
- 69 - "Bahá'í Administration", Shoghi Effendi, Bahá'í Pub. Trust, U.S.A.
- 70 - Draft letter to Guardian, c.1932-33.
- 71 - JHD to Gretta Lamprill, sometime in 1936.

A TABLET OF BAHĀ'U'LLĀH TO GEORG DAVID HARDEGG: THE "LAWH-I HIRTĪQ".

Stephen Lambden

Mirzā Husayn [°]Alī Bahā'u'llāh (1817-1892) addressed a number of letters or tablets(alwah) to Christians during the [°]Akkā period of his ministry (1868-1892). Most notable among them are his Lawh-i Pāp (Tablet to Pope Pius IXth. c.1869) and his Lawh-i Aqdas (Most-Holy Tablet, late 1870's ?) which may have been addressed to [Dr.] Faris Effendi who had been converted to the Bahā'ī movement in Alexandria in 1868 by Mullā Muhammad Nabīl-i Zarandī (1831-1892).¹ It is now clear that the letter of Bahā'u'llāh commonly referred to as the Lawh-i Hirtīq was also addressed to a Christian named Georg David Hardegg (1812-1879). He was, during the time of Bahā'u'llāh's imprisonment in [°]Akkā, the leader of the Tempelgesellschaft (Association of Templars) community in Haifa as we shall see in more detail below.

On coming to know something of the nature of the Lawh-i Hirtīq through the note on this letter in [°]Abd al-Hamīd Ishraq Khavārī's Canā-i Shāyigān² and since it had not been published, I wrote to the Bahā'ī World Centre in Haifa requesting a copy for detailed study. On receipt of a typed copy (reproduced below) I began to try to work out what "Hirtīq" might signify as it was evidently neither an Arabic nor a Persian construction. Ignoring the pointing and guessing that it might indicate the name of the recipient of the letter the name Hardegg eventually sprang to mind. I then consulted Moojan Momen's The Bábī and Bahā'ī Religions.. and was delighted to find that what was obviously a very garbled translation of the Lawh-i Hirtīq had been forwarded by the missionary Rev. John Zeller (c.1830-1902) to the English Church Missionary Society and identified as a letter of Bahā'u'llāh to Hardegg. Furthermore, as Zeller's letter forwarding Bahā'u'llāh's Lawh-i Hirtīq was dated 8th July 1872 it may be inferred that the Lawh-i Hirtīq was written between late 1868— when both Bahā'u'llāh and Hardegg arrived in [°]Akkā and Haifa respectively— and 8th July 1872: most probably between late 1871 and early 1872 (or 1288-1299, A.H.).

Hardegg and the Tempelgesellschaft

The Tempelgesellschaft was founded by the German theologian and polemicist Christoph Hoffmann (b. Leonberg 1815 d. Jerusalem 1885) whose religious orientation was rooted in German Pietism of a highly chiliastic nature. Influenced by the belief that God's judgement and the parousia of Christ were at hand and critical of the ' conventional Christianity ' of his day he came whilst residing in Ludwigs-

-berg in the early 1850's to advocate the creation of the "people of God" (das Volk Gottes). He was apparently influenced by events of the Crimean War (1853-6) or the belief that the Ottoman Empire was crumbling in such a way that he conceived the idea that he and his people might become heirs to the Biblical promises. He elaborated a theory centering upon the [Jerusalem] Temple and its restoration and dreamed of a mass emigration to Palestine.

Such ideas led Hoffmann to establish in 1854 the Gesellschaft für Sammlung des Volkes Gottes in Jerusalem ('The Association for the Assembling of God's People in Jerusalem'). In this he was aided by his associate Georg David Hardegg a native and merchant of Ludwigsberg who had turned to mysticism after being imprisoned for revolutionary activities. By the mid 1850's Hoffmann and Hardegg had managed to enlist some 10,000 members. An attempt was made via the Frankfurt Assembly to petition Sultan [°]Abd al-Majīd (Ottoman Sultan from 1839-1861) for permission to settle in Palestine. This petition failed and the members of the association had to content themselves with the establishment of a settlement near Marbach (1856). Four of the leaders of the movement— including Hoffmann and Hardegg— visited Palestine in 1858 and to some extent came to realise the largely impractical nature of their eschatologically oriented ambitions. Then, in 1859, the leaders of "God's people" were formally expelled from the National Evangelical Church. They consequently set up their own distinct religious body at Kirschenhardhof in 1861, the Deutsche Tempel, with Hoffmann as spiritual and Hardegg as provisional secular leaders and having an advisory council of 12 elders.

In 1867, despite and/or in view of the fact that numbers had dwindled to just 3,000 (including women and children) and even though a group of Templer families had made an abortive attempt to settle in the Nahalal area (in 1866) and a bitter antagonism existed between Hoffmann and Hardegg, it was decided to emigrate to Palestine and attempt to gain support for the movement from there. Both Hoffmann and Hardegg arrived at Haifa on October 30th 1868 and began establishing, amidst considerable local opposition and difficulty, an initially agricultural settlement of a few dozen Templer families from Wuerttemberg at the foot of the western cape of Mt. Carmel. In 1869 Hoffmann migrated to Jaffa where he came to establish a school and a hospital. By 1874 the breach between Hoffmann and Hardegg was such that the latter founded his own "Temple Unity" having gained the support of about one third of the perhaps 200(?)

members of the Haifa community. These supporters of Hardegg subsequently returned to the (German) Evangelistic Church though the Haifa Templars under new leadership continued to prosper and to contribute notably to the modernization and improvement of local conditions. Despite sometimes marked local opposition from both Muslims and Christian Arabs the number of Haifa Templars rose from about 300 in the early 1830's to about 750 at the time of the outbreak of the First World War (1914).⁴

Hardegg and the Bahā'ī movement

As previously indicated Bahā'u'llāh, along with over 60 followers and members of his family, arrived at Ḥakkā on August 31st 1868 some 40 days before Hoffmann and Hardegg arrived at Haifa to found their colony. Though at first subject to fairly strict confinement within the barracks as decreed by Sultan Ḥabd al-Aziz he had, by late 1871, managed to establish himself in the house of Ḥudī Khammār in the heart of the Christian quarter of Ḥakkā and had succeeded in gaining the devotion of a number of local notables— including Shaykh Mahmud ḤArrābī [d. late 1890's, later Mufti of Ḥakkā]. Hardegg came into contact with the Bahā'īs in Haifa and Ḥakkā before Bahā'u'llāh's move to the House of Ḥudī Khammār. Jakob Schumacher (1825-1891), a Templar who became head of the Haifa colony after Hardegg, wrote in a letter published in the official Templar publication Süddeutsche Warte of June 29 1871 "I can give notice of yet another spiritual phenomenon which can strengthen our belief. This concerns 70 Persians, who have been banished to Ḥakkā on account of their beliefs. Mr Hardegg has already spent considerable time and effort trying to discover the actual basis of their belief, and had dealings with them through an interpreter just yesterday."⁵ Shortly after the publication of Schumacher's note on the Bahā'īs an article by Hardegg himself dated June 15 1871 and published in the same organ of the Templars for July 20th 1871 gives some details of Hardegg's efforts to understand Bahā'ī doctrine and history. Hardegg refers to an interview he had with Bahā'u'llāh's son Ḥabd al-Bahā (1844-1921) in Ḥakkā on June 2 1871 having failed to gain an interview with Bahā'u'llāh himself. He also notes his contacts with the Bahā'īs of Haifa and records his impression that "...these people, despite all the obscurity of their knowledge, were seeking the truth."⁶ It is known that this trip of Hardegg was not the only one he made to Ḥakkā to investigate Bahā'ī beliefs and attempt to interest the Bahā'īs in or convert them to Christianity. The missionary James J. Huber (1826-1893) who was stationed at Nazareth during the 1870's has recorded in a letter dated November 28 1872 that Hardegg invited him to accompany him on a visit to the Ḥakkā Bahā'īs. They both travelled to Ḥakkā together in October 1872

having been promised an interview with Bahā'u'llāh by some of the Bahā'īs. Perhaps as a result of Bahā'u'llāh's withdrawal in the house of Ḥudī Khammār following Bahā'ī-Azalī tensions and the misdeeds of certain Bahā'īs which culminated in the murder of several Azalīs (followers of Bahā'u'llāh's younger half-brother Mirza Yahyā [c.1830-1914] who had been exiled to Cyprus) the interview with Bahā'u'llāh did not materialise. Instead Hardegg and Huber conversed with Ḥabd al-Bahā.⁷

Hardegg's desire to gain an interview with Bahā'u'llāh has been referred to by Bahā'u'llāh himself in a Tablet addressed to Hajji Mirza Haydar ḤAlī (d. Haifa 1920) which was probably written around 1875(?).⁸ In it he states that "all the [Holy] Books" make mention of the appearance of the Promised One in the Holy Land and alludes to the Templars who came from afar "to settle in the regions of the blessed Holy Land". Calling to mind the well-known Templar inscription "Der Herr ist nahe [1871]" ("God is nigh")^{8a} the Templars are represented as having said "The manifestation is nigh (zuhur nazdik ast) and we have come that we might attain unto it [his presence]."^{8b} Nevertheless, Bahā'u'llāh adds, they remain in great heedlessness— none of the Templars had become Bahā'īs. Reference is then made to Hardegg and to the writing or revelation of the "Lawh-i Hirtiq":

"A few years ago their leader [Hardegg] desired to attain [my] presence but this request did not find acceptance in the most-holy court. Nonetheless a sublime and most-holy Tablet (lawh-i amma^c aqdas) was specifically sent down for him. In that Tablet was established that which enableth every righteous one to attain salvation and every wayfarer to reach the goal. Yet the confirmation of the utterance, "Let none touch it save those who are pure" was manifest for they did not attain even a drop of the ocean of its significances."⁹

Though Bahā'u'llāh represents the Templars as a people who failed to respond to or understand his message the Bahā'īs seem to have had cordial relations with them. Bahā'u'llāh himself on several occasions doubtless had personal contact with them in the course of his several trips to Haifa during the 1830's and early 1890's.

Some comments on the "Lawh-i Hirtiq"

Reproduced below is the text and my provisional and tentative translation of the Arabic Lawh-i Hirtiq. Here I shall set down a few brief notes on the content of this interesting letter of Bahā'u'llāh.*

I. In this opening paragraph Bahā'u'llāh acknowledges Hardegg's letter [not extant] and refers to Himself — as frequently in his writings of the Adrianople and ^CAkkā periods of his ministry— as al-Mazlūm, the "Oppressed One" or the "Wronged One". He recognises Hardegg's sincerity and asks God that he might come to understand the nature of his claims and writings.

II. Hardegg is next advised to consider the "Word of God" (kalimat allāh) by which is probably meant Bahā'u'llāh's own writings. The example of Peter the apostle, who is represented as the first to believe in Jesus, is given. He became a believer as a result of his being affected by the Word or teachings of Jesus. A similar coming to faith through attraction to the "Word of God" should be evident among those who are devotees of Bahā'u'llāh who are referred to as "the fishes of the Most Great Ocean". The expression "Most Great Ocean" (al-bahr al-azam) most probably refers to Bahā'u'llāh's revelation in which devotees derive their spiritual sustenance or "swim". It is not uncommon in Bahā'u'llāh's writings and its mention in connection with Peter is very likely inspired by the narrative of the call of Jesus to the first apostles— Peter, Andrew, James and John who were all fishermen, refer Mk 1:16f and parallels— and similar New Testament texts. Reference is made in several of Bahā'u'llāh's writings to Peter and to his ready acceptance of Jesus as compared with Jesus' rejection by his more learned contemporaries. In the Lawh-i Pāp (Tablet to the Pope) Bahā'u'llāh refers, in the course of an address to the "people of the Gospel", to Mk 1:17 (= Matt 4:19, cf. Lk 5:10b), "Verily he [Jesus] said: "Come ye after Me, and I will make you to become fishers of men." In this day, however, We say, "Come ye [after Me] that We may make you to become quickeners of mankind." Thus hath the Decree been ordained in a Tablet inscribed by the Pen of Command." 10.

III. Bahā'u'llāh now draws Hardegg's attention to the fulfillment of various Biblical prophecies and their relationship to the appearance of the promised Messiah in the Holy Land having stated that it is "base passion" or men's own limitations that have prevented them from turning to God or acknowledging the truth of his own claims.

*The Roman numerals indicate the paragraphs or sections of the Lawh-i Hirtiq on which I shall comment (see the translation below).

a) "Land and sea (al-barr wa'l-bahr) have rejoiced at the beneficence of God.. (bi-birr allāh).."

This aliterative (in the Arabic) declaration is not easily understood and may be translated in a variety of ways, e.g. (alternatively), "Land and sea have announced the righteousness of God.." It may mean that "land and sea" announce or rejoice over God's beneficence or righteousness (birr) in bringing the promises of the sacred scriptures to fulfillment through the manifestation of Bahā'u'llāh or as a result of his appearance in the Holy Land. Then again, this line may indicate that all things, mystically speaking, announce the truth of the Bahā'ī Cause. A similar line is found in Bahā'u'llāh's Arabic Lawh-i Karmil (Tablet of [Mt] Carmel) which was written about 10 years after the Lawh-i Hirtiq (i.e. in c. 1891): "Verily this is the Day in which both land and sea rejoice [at this announcement.]" (هذا يوم فيه بشر البحر والبر ..) : the words " at this announcement " have been added by Shoghi Effendi in order to make sense of the Arabic phrase in English translation). 11.

b) ".. and the promise made unto the nations concerning the [appearance of the] 'Healer of Infirmities' (muttahir al-^cilal), he verily is the builder of the Temple."

Here Bahā'u'llāh probably wishes to indicate to Hardegg that the Templar eschatological hopes surrounding the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple or its spiritual counterpart find their realization in Him. He refers to himself as the expected messianic figure who will purify men of their sicknesses or heal their infirmities—probably alluding to Biblical texts— and represents himself as the true builder of the eschatological Temple (haykal). Such at least, may be the implications of this somewhat obscure passage.

There are a large number of Old Testament texts that predict the future restoration of the (Jerusalem) Temple and which were doubtless known to Hardegg. One such text, perhaps alluded to by Bahā'u'llāh in the passage under discussion occurs in Zechariah 6:12-13a: "Thus says the Lord of hosts, "Behold, the man whose name is the Branch: for he shall grow up in his place, and he shall build the Temple (Heb. = צִיּוֹן = Arab. هيكل) of the Lord. It is he who shall build the temple of the Lord, and shall bear royal honour, and shall sit and rule upon his throne.." This text is also, it may be noted here, most likely that alluded to by Bahā'u'llāh in his Surat al-Haykal ("The Sura of the Temple", c.1873?) :

" Thus have We built the Temple (haykal) with the hands of power and might, could ye but know it. This is the Temple (haykal) promised unto you in the Book (al-Kitāb = the Bible/ Old Testament). Draw ye nigh unto it. This is that which profiteth you, could ye but comprehend it. Be fair, O peoples of the earth! Which is preferable, this, or the temple which is built of clay? Set your faces towards it. Thus have ye been comanded by God, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting." 12.

This passage, part of the conclusion of the Sūrat al-Haykal, clearly teaches that the Temple to be built in the latter days is none other than the Word or person of Bahā'u'llāh as represented in the Sūrat al-Haykal. Indeed, Bahā'u'llāh ordered that this Tablet-- which incorporates or includes the complete text of five of Bahā'u'llāh's Tablets to the secular or religious leaders of various nations or communities¹³ should be written up in the form of a pentacle representative of the 'New Jerusalem' of eschatological Temple of his Cause. The expected new Temple was thus seen by Bahā'u'llāh as a 'spiritual Temple'. Perhaps conscious of Templar expectations through Hardegg's association with the Bahā'is, Bahā'u'llāh came to teach that his own revelation constituted the Temple predicted in such Biblical texts as Zech 6:12f. 14.

c) " When the appointed time came Carmel cried out, trembling as if shaken (ihizāz) by the breezes of the Lord."

Bahā'u'llāh here maintains that as a result of his appearance in 'Akkā the not far distant holy mountain, Mt. Carmel, has been convulsed or deeply effected. The mountain, as it were, testifies to the power of his presence or word. This line calls to mind and may have been inspired by those Old Testament texts that associate God or the Lord of Hosts with Mt. Carmel and which, sometimes with eschatological implications, tell of his influence upon it. In Amos 1:2 we read, for example, " The Lord will roar from Zion, and utter his Voice from Jerusalem; and the habitations of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither." This text was certainly known to Bahā'u'llāh. He quotes it in his Lawh-i Ibn-i Dhī' b (Epistle to the Son of the Wolf, c. late 1891) where¹⁵ he identifies Zion as well as Jerusalem and Palestine with the 'Akkā-Haifa area. The idea that the earth or its people would tremble (ihizāz) at the eschatological manifestation of God or the coming of the Lord of Hosts is indicated in

a number of Old Testament texts. Joel 2:1 and 3:16 provide good examples of such texts: " Blow the trumpet in Zion; sound the alarm on my holy mountain! Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble, for the day of the Lord is coming, it is near. The Lord roars from Zion and utters his voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shake." (cf. also Haggai 2:6f). When Bahā'u'llāh speaks of Mt. Carmel trembling (ihizāz) and crying out in the line of the Lawh-i Hirtīq quoted above he probably means that Mt. Carmel cries out and trembles with joy as a result of his nearness and the cosmic or penetrating influence of his word. Having quoted several Old Testament texts Bahā'u'llāh writes in his Lawh-i Ibn - Dhī' b, " This Day all the signs have appeared. A Great City hath descended from heaven, and Zion trembleth (muhtazz) and exulteth (masrūr) with joy at the Revelation of God (zuhūr-i haqq), for it hath heard the Voice of God on every side." 16. The meaning of the passage from the Lawh-i Hirtīq and the import of these words, though the former text speaks of Mt. Carmel and the latter Zion, would appear to be essentially the same.

In a lengthy Persian Tablet of Bahā'u'llāh of the late 'Akkā period which again contains many Biblical quotations, reference is made to the advent of the Day in which trees are attracted, rocks and stones tremble (muhtazz) and quake (mutah-arrik) and mountains exhibit the greatest joy on account of the arrival of the promised Hour. Significantly, this statement about the effect of the arrival of the eschatological Hour, is immediately preceded by a quotation from Psalm 99 (verses 5-6) which begins: " The Lord reigns; let the peoples tremble! He sits enthroned upon the cherubim; let the earth quake!" (Psalm 99:1). 17.

d) " Should anyone incline with the ear of the inner nature he would assuredly hear the [cry] from the Rock (sakhra). It verily, proclaimeth in a loud voice (bi-a'lā al-saiha) and beareth witness unto the Eternal God."

The significance of this line is again not immediately clear. It is likely that Bahā'u'llāh means that Jerusalem, indicated by the expression "the Rock" (al-sakhra), announces his advent in a loud voice or with a great shout or cry (saiha). He not infrequently represents various regions, places or mountains (i.e. Sinai, Carmel, Bethlehem, etc.,) as testifying to his advent or to the truth of his religious claims or word. The following passages from Bahā'u'llāh's Kitāb al-Aqdas (c. 1873) and his Lawh-i Maqsūd (c. 1832) provide something of a parallel to the above quotation from the Lawh-i Hirtīq:

"Carmel hath, in this Day, hastened in longing adoration to attain His court, whilst from the heart of Zion there cometh the cry: "The promise is fulfilled. That which hath been announced in the holy Writ of God.. is made manifest.." .. Ho it is Who hath cursed the Rock (al-sakhra) to shout, and the Burning Bush to lift up its voice, upon the Mount rising above the Holy Land, and proclaim: "The Kingdom is God's, the sovereign Lord of all, the All-Powerful, the Loving." 18.

"Magnified be Thy Name, O Lord of all beings and Desire of all created things! I beseech Thee, by Thy Word which hath caused the Burning Bush to lift up its Voice and the Rock (al-sakhra) to cry out.. to graciously enable Thy servants to recognise what Thou hast ordained for them by Thy bounty and grace." 19.

Similarly, Bahā'u'llāh on occasion represents Jerusalem or al-Masjid al-Aqṣā (The Further Mosque) as being influenced by or testifying to his coming. The following texts are examples:

"The Mosque of Aqṣā vibrateth through the breezes of its Lord, the All-Glorious' (al-abhā) whilst Baḥḥā [Mecca] trembleth at the Voice of God, the Exalted, the Most-High. Whereupon every single stone of them celebrateth the praise of the Lord, through this Great Name (al-ism al-aḥḡam)." 20.

"North and South both vibrate to the call announcing the advent of our Revelation. We can hear the voice of Mecca acclaiming: 'All praise to Thee, O Lord my God, the All-Glorious, for having wafted over me the breath redolent with the fragrance of Thy presence!' Jerusalem, likewise, is calling aloud: 'Lauded and magnified art Thou, O Beloved of earth and heaven, for having turned the agony of my separation from Thee into the joy of a life-giving reunion!'" 21.

The Masjid al-Aqṣā and the "Rock" (al-sakhra) both lie in Jerusalem (cf. Qur'ān 17:1). In referring to al-sakhra Bahā'u'llāh is, as noted, most likely alluding to the "Rock" over which the Dome of the Rock (qubbat al-sakhra) or Mosque of 'Umār was built in the late 7th century A.D. and which was traditionally associated with the Solomon Temple (cf. 1 Kings 9:6ff, etc). A great many Jewish, Christian and Islāmic traditions about this "Rock" have been handed down. Both Jews and Muslims attributed great sanctity to the "Rock" and associated it with eschatological events. Some Jewish and Islāmic writings speak of an eschatological proclamation or "trumpet blast" to be made by or in the precincts of the "Rock" (cf. Isa 40:9ff). Bahā'u'llāh, in such texts as those cited above, probably alludes to them. Allusion may also be made in some such texts—possibly including the passage from the Lawh-i Hirtīq cited above—to those Qur'ānic

texts in which an eschatological announcement, "cry" or "trumpet blast" (saiha) is mentioned: Qur'ān 50:41-2 reads, "Listen for the Day in which the Caller (al-munād) will call out from a near place (makān qarīb), the Day when they will hear al-saiha.." (cf. also Qur'ān 11:67). 22.

IV. The general sense of this paragraph of the Lawh-i Hirtīq is that the predicted eschatological 'reversal' or 'inversion' of faith-status has taken place. With the advent of Bahā'u'llāh, in other words, a new standard of spiritual status has been disclosed such that outward rank is no longer an indication of such status. Just as unlearned or humble men like Peter (= "he who was a mere fisher", cf. above) had responded to Jesus' message while the learned rejected him so likewise with the coming of Bahā'u'llāh have the "first" or those of renown in the Kingdom (= "their exalted ones") become the "last" or those of no consequence in the hierarchy of faith (= "their lowly ones"). Such an eschatological inversion is indicated in a variety of Biblical texts, Islāmic traditions and also in the writings of the Bāb. 23.

Bahā'u'llāh not infrequently draws attention to the humble origins of Jesus' first disciples with a view to warning contemporary religionists of the need for humility and openmindedness in investigating his claims. The following passage in the Lawh-i Pāp (Tablet to the Pope) is similar to that in the Lawh-i Hirtīq: "Call thou to remembrance Him Who was the Spirit [Jesus], Who, when He came, the most learned of His age pronounced judgement against Him in his own country, whilst he who was only a fisherman [Peter] believed in Him." 24. In the Lawh-i Hirtīq however, the eschatological reversal of outward or faith status is related to the "mystery of inversion for the cipher of the chief" (sirr al-tankīs li-ramz al-ra'īs) which may now be briefly commented upon.

Mention is made in Islāmic literature of a "greatest name of God" (ism Allāh al-aḡḡam). Knowledge of it is said to confer great spiritual power or to afford protection from evil and misfortune when recited or worn as a talismatic device or on an amulet. Both Sunnī and Shī'ī writings contain traditions (ahādīth) which either directly or indirectly represent or purport to set forth this "greatest name of God" in talismatic or diagrammatic form. The following is an example of one representation of the "greatest name of God" (there are many variants) the elements of which have been the subject of complicated exegesis by Shaykhīs, Bābīs and Bahā'īs: 25.

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The sirr al-tankīs. ('the mystery of inversion') has to do with the interpretation of the element wāw in this and similar representations of the "greatest name of God". It represents an inverted (Arabic) letter wāw (و) with an 'extended tail'.

In certain of the writings of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsā'ī (1752-1826) the founder of the Shaykhī school of Shī'ī Islām the sirr al-tankīs is mentioned and commented upon often in highly abstruse fashion. In the al-risāla al-Rasht-iyya of al-Ahsā'ī it is stated that (in one form of the greatest name of God) the inverted wāw represents the Qā'im or eschatological 12th Imām and that its being inverted is a reference to his return. This interpretation is based on the fact that the letter wāw (و) when written out in full is composed of three letters (و ا و). The first wāw of و ا و represents the 6 days of creation (refer Qur'an 50:38, etc., cf. Genesis 1), the second wāw the days in which "the first/primal" (al-ūlā = the eschatological era which comes with the rise and mission of the Qā'im ?) was created and the alif (in the middle) signifies the Qā'im or one who rises up between these two "creations".²⁶

In reply to a question about the phrase " the Qā'im exists in the loins" written in 1783 al-Ahsā'ī again mentions the sirr al-tankīs — this letter was quoted by Bahā'u'llāh in his Lawh-i Qīnā' (written for the Shaykhī leader Karīm Khan Kirmānī d.1871) which was probably written down shortly before the Lawh-i Hirtīq (i.e. c.1869-71?). He writes: " Six days have elapsed and the alif is the completion, no more need be said, and the (other) six refers to the other days. Otherwise why was the going back produced, for it is the mystery of inversion for the cipher of the chief (sirr al-tankīs li-ranz al-ra'īs)."²⁷

Here al-Ahsā'ī appears to indicate that the Qā'im (= the alif) will appear at the end of the era or cycle of the six days of creation as their ultimate goal or completion—the era of the 6 days of creation has been understood to signify the prophetic missions of the often 6 and variously identified prophets 'endowed with constancy' (ulū al-ʿazm cf. Qur'an 46:34), i.e. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad.²⁸ Also that the final wāw (of و ا و) or the "(other) six" has to do with the "other days" or era of the "return" (raj'a) hence the inverted backward stretching wāw (in the "greatest name of God" representation) indicating the eschatological "return" (raj'a) of past peoples. Such at least may be something of the meaning of al-Ahsā'ī.

Bahā'ī interpretations of the sirr al-tankīs to some extent draw on though they often go beyond those which appear to have been envisaged by al-Ahsā'ī and his successor Siyyid Kāzīm Rashtī.²⁹ They are many and complicated and cannot be fully discussed here.³⁰ It must suffice to make a few remarks about

the meaning of the sirr al-tankīs. in connection with the eschatological inversion of faith status or outward rank.

Bahā'u'llāh, 'Abdu'l-Bahā and other Bahā'ī writers have given the inverted wāw and its three component letters (when written out in full) eschatologically oriented interpretations in which reference is found to the six 'prophets endowed with constancy' (the first wāw), the Bāb (the alif: the Bāb being regarded as the Qā'im) and Bahā'u'llāh (the second wāw) or, as in the Lawh-i Hirtīq, to the reversal of outward rank with the coming of Bahā'u'llāh (indicated by the alif). The fact that the inverted wāw stretches backwards and has an abjad value of 6 probably led to the idea that the messianic advent of Bahā'u'llāh has reversed the faith-status or rank of all unbelieving religionists. In one of his explanations of the sirr al-tankīs Bahā'u'llāh, as in the Lawh-i Hirtīq, relates its mystery to " the effect of his revelation and writes

" Thus have We made their exalted ones their lowly ones and their lowly ones their exalted ones. This is the mystery of inversion for the cipher of the chief."³¹ Such an interpretation of the sirr al-tankīs is also presupposed in the following passage from Bahā'u'llāh's Kitāb al-Aqdas which was written shortly after the Lawh-i Hirtīq: " The mystery of inversion for the cipher of the chief (sirr al-tankīs li-ranz al-ra'īs) hath been manifested. Blessed be whomsoever God hath enabled to acknowledge the six who were raised up by this upright alif [= the six pre-Bābī prophets raised up in Bahā'u'llāh?] for such are among the sincere. How many a pious one hath turned aside [from God] and how many a negligent one hath turned [unto God] and said: "Unto Thee be praise, O Desire of the worlds." The matter (al-amr) is in the hand of God. He giveth unto whomsoever he willeth that which he willeth and withholdeth from whomsoever he willeth that which he desireth. He is informed of the secrets of [men's] hearts and that by which the eyes of those who wink are moved. How many a heedless one who drew nigh in sincerity have We caused to be seated upon the throne of acceptance and how many a discerning one was returned unto the fire by an act of justice on Our part..."³²

V. It appears that Bahā'u'llāh here underlies the greatness of his revelation and that Peter, when asked about it(?), despite his exalted status found himself unable to disclose its loftiness. If on the other hand al-amr (in the phrase "Great, great is al-amr") refers back to the matter (al-amr) of the sirr al-tankīs.. and such mysteries then the meaning may be that Peter was unable to disclose them. This latter possibility though seems less likely.

Bahā'u'llāh next exhorts Hardegg to consider what has previously happened [to Bahā'u'llāh or Jesus before him?] or been set forth [by Bahā'u'llāh?] and assures him that such reflection will cause him to be illumined. ³³ 'Abdu'l-Bahā it is of interest to note at this point, explains in one of his letters that the sirr al-tankīs signifies that (to quote Mac Eoin's note on this letter) "all the revolutionary events of the past would be reproduced exactly in the subsequent revelation." ³³. Thus, if Bahā'u'llāh at this point still has the sirr al-tankīs in mind and himself entertained ideas comparable to that just noted, then it may be that he was asking Hardegg to be conscious of the fact that it is not easy to understand his revelation just as it was not easy for contemporaries of Christ to believe in him. Whatever the case it seems likely that Bahā'u'llāh informs Hardegg that if he ponders upon the reasons why past messengers of God were rejected he is more likely to attain to a true understanding of his own claims and ways.

When Bahā'u'llāh emphasises the apparant nature of the "Truth" (al-haqq), the openness of the "Path" (al-tarīq) and the evident reality of the "Certainty" (al-yaqīn) there may be allusion to the various "stages" of the Sūfī quest for God.

VI. This section of the Lawh-i Hirtīq is not easy to fathom. It appears that Bahā'u'llāh is alluding to his advent as bahā' (considered by him to be the greatest name of God) or abhā (= the most-glorious, the superlative of bahā' = glory) and relating this to the coming of the eschatological peace (sulh). The expression al-sulh al-akbar (= 'the most-great peace') is found in Bahā'u'llāh's writings and it may be that here the meaning is that the realization of the al-sulh al-abhā (= 'the most-glorious peace') will happen as a result of the coming of Bahā'u'llāh as the manifestation of the greatest name of God. ³⁴ Such an interpretation however, is far from certain especially

since the letter ād and sulh appear to be directly linked with the letter alif: which association breaks down if the alif be considered the first letter of abhā. Then also, the subsequent order of letters mentioned— h then l or ṣ (alif maqūra = "the outstretched alif"?) then ḥ (alluded to as the "point" [nuqta] beneath the ḥ?)— is not the order of letters which compose either bahā' (= ḥ + h + l [+ ḥ]) or abhā (= l + ḥ + h + ṣ). It is only by altering the order in which the various letters are mentioned that the word bahā' or its superlative form abhā can be formed and by linking the letters together in a way which the text may not suggest. ³⁵

Yet, despite such problems attendant upon divining the words bahā' or (more likely) abhā from these lines of the Lawh-i Hirtīq, the expressions "the treasured name", "the hidden mystery", "the guarded secret" do point to this solution in that they commonly refer to the secret of the "greatest name of God" (as bahā' or abhā) in Bahā'u'llāh's writings. ³⁶

The reference to the "point" (nuqta) from which existence originates and unto which it returns is related to letter ḥ or more specifically the dot beneath it. The Bāb, as is well known, refers to himself as the "Point" or "Primal Point" (al-nuqat al-ūlā) and associates himself by means of this title with the "origin" and "end" of prophetic and cosmological cyclic schemes. Bahā'u'llāh has similarly claimed to be the ("return" of the) "Point" (nuqta). In the Lawh-i Hirtīq he seems to teach that the "greatest name" emerged from the "Point" perhaps having in mind the fact that the letter ḥ (with its "point") occurs in the word bahā' or abhā. The implication is that Bahā'u'llāh is the one around whom the "origin" and "end" of existence revolves.

VII. This next paragraph of the Lawh-i Hirtīq sets forth in cryptic fashion the advent of Bahā'u'llāh as the "Comforter" (al-mu'azzī) as predicted in the fourth Gospel (refer Jn 14:16f, 25f; 15:26f; 16:7ff: in these passages the Gk. παρακλητος is, in many Christian Arabic Bibles, translated as al-mu'azzī rather than by al-faraqlit, the Paraclete). ³⁷ In abstruse qabbalistic fashion Bahā'u'llāh informs Hardegg that he has appeared as the promised "Comforter" but laments over the fact that he has not been recognised. The following details may help to clarify the meaning of these difficult lines.

- a) "Then We saw the Word (al-kalima) [which] uttered a word (kalima) which every one of the sects found to be according to its [own] tongue and language."

In this line Bahā'u'llāh is verily likely referring to Jesus as "the Word" (al-kalima cf. Qur'ān 3:40f, 52f; 4:169f) which uttered or mystically disclosed "a word" or the word al-mu^cazzī with the arrival of the eschatological "hour" of fulfillment. That such is most probably the case may be gathered from the several passages in Bahā'u'llāh's writings in which the Johannine text, "I have many things to say unto you but you cannot bear them now.." (Jn 16:12) is understood to mean that Jesus held back or refused to utter "a word" (kalima). Bahā'u'llāh, as the following quotations from his writings make clear, claimed to be that "word" (kalima) which Jesus did not in his own day disclose:

"The Word (al-kalima) which the Son [Jesus] concealed is made manifest in the form of the human temple in this day.." 38.

"This is the Word (al-kalima) which was concealed behind the veil of grandeur. When the promised time came it shone forth from the horizon of the divine will with manifest signs." 39.

"This is the Word (al-kalima) which the Son [Jesus] concealed, when to those around Him He said: 'Ye cannot bear it now'. And when the appointed time was fulfilled and the Hour had struck, the Word (al-kalima) shone forth above the horizon of the Will of God." 40.

That the eschatological utterance of this "word" (kalima) by "the Word" (al-kalima: Jesus?) was found by the various "sects" (ahzāb) to be in its own language and tongue perhaps indicates the universality of the eschatological disclosure and implies that all men should respond to Bahā'u'llāh's advent.

- b) "When it was uttered a sun shone forth from the horizon of its disclosure the lights of which eclipsed the sun of the heavens. It said: 'The head of the 70 hath been adorned with the crown of the 40 and hath been united with the 7 before the 10.'"

Here Bahā'u'llāh associates the concealed "word" (kalima) with— as mentioned—his advent as the "Comforter" (al-mu^cazzī) by referring to the (abjad) numerical value of the letters composing "mu^cazzī" (comforter: i.e. $\text{م} (= \text{abjad } 40) + \text{ع} (= \text{abjad } 70) + \text{ز} (= \text{abjad } 7) + \text{ي} (= \text{abjad } 10)$). That the 'head of the 70 hath been adorned with the crown of the 40' signifies the conjunction of the letters $\text{ع} (70)$ and $\text{م} (40)$, the م preceding

the ع . These two letters are to be added to (read consecutively with) 'the 7 before the 10' or the letter $\text{ز} (7)$ preceded by the letter $\text{ي} (10)$. The result is thus $\text{م} + \text{ع} + \text{ز} + \text{ي} = \text{مكزى} =$ "Comforter".

In several of his writings of the ^cAkkā period (1868-92) Bahā'u'llāh explicitly claims to be al-mu^cazzī. In his Lawh-i Pāp for example, he writes:

"This is indeed the Father (al-wālid), whereof Isaiah gave you tidings [refer, Isa 9:6b] and the Comforter (al-mu^cazzī) whose coming was promised by the Spirit [Jesus]." 41.

- c) "Then it lamented and it said, 'What is this that I see? The house (al-bait) doth not recognise its master (ahib) and the son (al-ibn) doth not pay heed unto his father (ab)' nor likewise is the hopeful seeker (al-rāji) cognisant of his place of refuge and haven." "

This line of the Lawh-i Hirtiq may be compared with the following passage from Bahā'u'llāh's Lawh-i Aqdas:

"We called unto her [Bethlehem] from behind the Tabernacle of Majesty and Grandeur: 'O Bethlehem! This light hath risen in the orient, and travelled towards the occident, until it reached thee in the evening of its life [probably an allusion to Bahā'u'llāh's exiles]. Tell me then: 'Do the sons (al-abnā') recognise the Father (al-ab), and acknowledge Him, or do they deny Him, even as the people aforetime denied Him [Jesus]?' .." 42.

The juxtaposition or comparison of these lines suggests that in the Lawh-i Hirtiq Bahā'u'llāh is alluding to the failure of contemporary religionists to recognize his claims. In particular there may be allusion to the failure of Jews (= 'al-bait'?) Christians (= 'al-ibn'?) and possibly Muslims (= 'al-rāji', who were more conscious of his appearance).

VIII. The sense and the translation (see below) of this section of the Lawh-i Hirtiq is uncertain. It appears that Bahā'u'llāh informs Hardegg that someone who is aware of how certain conditions change will be able to attain spiritual beatitude.

IX. Hardegg, we may gather from this paragraph, had mentioned in his letter to Bahā'u'llāh something about "the darkness" (al-zalām)—possibly that eschatological darkness or oppression that is mentioned in a number of Biblical and Qur'ānic texts. This Bahā'u'llāh understands as signifying the "vain imaginings" (al-auhām) of the people which prevent them from turning

towards him. The "darkness" of the last days is not to be understood literally. Scattered throughout Bahā'u'llāh's writings are several similar interpretations of the terms "smoke" (dukhan, cf. Qur'ān 44:10) "clouds" (sahāb, etc) and "oppression" (diq, cf. Matt 24:29ff).^{43.}

X. Bahā'u'llāh here seems to note or acknowledge the fact that "a certain person" (probably one of the Bahā'īs with whom Hardegg had discussed Bahā'ī beliefs) had led Hardegg to believe that the Bahā'ī view of Jesus was essentially the same as his own: Jesus being referred to as the Spirit (al-ruh).^{44.} He confirms this and underlines the sanctity and loftiness or indescribability of Jesus' spiritual station also referring to him as the "light of oneness" (nūr al-ahadiyya) and the "sign of the Ancient" (āyat al-ādam). The line, "He who turneth unto Him [Jesus] hath turned unto He [God] who sent Him...etc." reflects the language of the Christological discourses of the fourth Gospel. Jesus is, Bahā'u'llāh continues, changeless. Men's perception of his station however, differs; just as the same light is reflected in different coloured or shaped mirrors in different ways.

XI. Perhaps throwing some light on the reason why Bahā'u'llāh communicates his claims to Hardegg in an extraordinarily abstruse fashion he here maintains that an open disclosure of them would create havoc or confusion in the hearts of those who would be less inclined to view them favourably. The "secret which was veiled in mystery" is probably his own station which is nowhere explicitly spelt out in the Lawh-i Hirtīq. At the time when the Lawh-i Hirtīq was written Bahā'u'llāh had probably—as noted—withdrawn in the house of Udī Khammār (in late 1871—early 1872 ?) and did not wish, at a time when the inhabitants of Ākkā viewed him with great suspicion, to draw attention to his lofty claims. His earlier more explicit "tablets to the kings and rulers" were probably not openly or freely circulated in the Haifa-Ākkā area at this time. The local Christians living in Ākkā at this time—about 3,000 of them making up one third of Ākkā's inhabitants—were probably not aware that Bahā'u'llāh claimed to be the return of Christ or the promised "Comforter". Hardegg had to be content with a veiled declaration by Bahā'u'llāh which he may not have been able to understand.

XII. Finally, Bahā'u'llāh laments the fact that he is encompassed with difficulties and looks forward to a possible meeting with Hardegg.

NOTES

1. cf. Abd al-Hamid Ishraq Khavarī, Ganj-i Shayṭān (=Ganj., Teheran 124.BE) pp.164-168.
2. Refer, ibid, pp.172-3. Ishraq Khavarī here mistakenly identifies the followers of the recipient of the Lawh-i Hirtīq (which he had not seen) with the Millerites or followers of William Miller (1782 -1849).
3. Refer, Moojan Momen, The Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions. 1844-1944 (Oxford 1981) pp.216-8.
4. On the Tempelgesellschaft refer, W.T. Whitley, art. Friends of the Temple in Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Vol.6. pp.141-2; C. Kolb, art. Friends of the Temple in New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge Vol. IV, pp.397-8; art., Templers (Tempelgesellschaft) in Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem 1971), cols.994-996 [this article is useful for details on 20th century Templar history]; Alex Carmel, The German Settlers in Palestine and their relations with the local Arab population and the Jewish Community 1868-1918, in M. Ma'oz (Ed), Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period (Jerusalem 1975), pp.442-465; cf. also Laurence Oliphant, Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine (Edinburgh 1887), p.17ff; Momen, op.cit. pp.215f, 503, 506f, 521.
5. cited in Momen, op.cit. p.236.
6. cited in Momen, op.cit. p. 237.
7. Refer, Momen, op.cit. p. 218.
8. This Tablet of Bahā'u'llāh is cited in Ganj. pp.172-3.
- 8a. On this inscription see, David S. Ruhe, Door of Hope, A Century of the Bahā'ī Faith in the Holy Land (Oxford 1983), p.193 (note). This volume contains some useful information on the contacts between Bahā'īs and Templars.
9. Text in Ganj., pp.172-3.
10. text in [Bahā'u'llāh], Alvāh-i nāzilāh-yi khitāb bi Mulūk va ru'asā-vi ard (Teheran 124 BE), p.76. ET. Shoghi Effendi, The Promised Day is Come (=PDC). Wilmette, Illinois 1977), p.31.
11. refer (for Arabic text), Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh revealed after the Kitāb-i Aqdas (Bahā'ī-Verlag Hofheim-Langenhain 1980-137.BE), p.2 .ET. Shoghi Effendi in Gleanings from the Writings of Bahā'u'llāh (London 1949), p.16.
12. Text in Kitāb-i Mubīn (Bombay 1896), p.128, ET. Shoghi Effendi, PDC, p.47.

13. That is his [1] Tablet to the Pope (Pius IXth), [2], the Tablet to Napoleon III, [3], the Tablet to the Czar [Alexander II], [4], the Tablet to Queen Victoria and [5] the Tablet to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh (Lawh-i Sultan).
14. cf. Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By (Wilmette Illinois 1974), p.213.
15. Refer, Lawh-i Khitāb bi-Shaykh Muhammad Taqī Mujtahid-i Isfahānī ma^cruf bi Najafī (Cairo 1338.A.H./1919-20.A.D.), p.171. ET. Shoghi Effendi, Epistle to the Son of the Wolf (Wilmette, Illinois 1971), p.170.
16. Refer, ibid, p.170. ET. Shoghi Effendi, Epistle, p.145.
17. Refer, ^cAbd al-Hamid Ishraq Khavarī (Ed), Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī, Vol.7 (Teheran 105.BE), p.191.
18. Refer, Kitāb al-Aqdas cited in ^cAbd al-Razzāq al-Hasanī, al-Bābiyūn wa'l-Bahā'iyūn.. (Sidon 1381), pp.118, 121., ET. Shoghi Effendi, cited in Synopsis and Codification of the Laws and Ordinances of the Kitāb-i Aqdas (Haifa 1973), pp.18, 23.
19. Lawh-i Maqsūd, text in Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh (Brussels 1980/137.BE), p.158. ET. in Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh (=TB. Haifa 1978), p.177. cf. also the following passage from Bahā'u'llāh's Lawh-i Pāp (Tablet to the Pope), "This is the day whereon the Rock (al-sakhra) crieth out and shouteth and celebrateth the praise of its Lord, the All-Possessing, the Most-High." (text in Alvāh-i nāzilah-yi khitāb bi Mulūk.. [see fn.10], p.80. ET. Shoghi Effendi, PDC, p.32.). Shoghi Effendi appears to have understood al-sakhra, "the Rock" in this passage as referring to Peter: since 'Peter' is placed in brackets in his translation after the word "Rock" (cf. Matt 16:18).
20. Lawh-i Malikih (Tablet to Queen Victoria), text in Alvāh-i nāzilah-yi khitāb bi Mulūk.. , p.132, ET Shoghi Effendi, PDC, p. .
21. Bahā'u'llāh cited (in ET) Shoghi Effendi, The Dispensation of Bahā'u'llāh (London 1947), p.15.
22. Mirza Abū al-Fadl Gulpaygānī (1844-1914) in his Kitāb al-Farā'id (written 1898. Pub. Tihiran. np. nd) at one point (p.58f) quotes Qur'ān 50:41-2 and comments on this and various traditions about places from which the "Caller" (al-munād) will utter the "cry" (al-saiha). He notes that both Sunnī and Shi'ī commentators interpret Qur'ān 50:41-2 in terms of an eschatological proclamation from the "rock" of the "bait al-muqaddas" (Jerusalem) and identifies this "rock" and the expression "bait al-muqaddas" with Mt. Carmel. The eschatological call of the Bāb he adds, in fulfillment of prophetic traditions (ahādīth) was raised in Mecca

- while that of Bahā'u'llāh was raised in the Holy Land. Thus was fulfilled various prophecies which imply the coming of twin messengers of God. Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī records a tradition in his Bihar al-Anwār (chapter on the [eschatological] signs in the Kitāb-i Ghayba) from the 6th Imām to the effect that Gabriel will be the first to pledge allegiance to the Qā'im. He will descend in the form of a white bird, place one foot on Mecca and one foot on the "bait al-muqaddas", and announce the advent of the Cause (al-awr) of God. For Gulpaygānī this tradition indicates the appearance of the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh in Mecca and the Holy Land respectively.
- On the "rock" and various Jewish and Islāmic traditions relating to it see, J.W. Hirschberg, The Sources of Muslim Traditions concerning Jerusalem in Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Vol.17 (1950-51), pp.314-50, esp. p.321ff. cf. also (+bib.in), Priscilla Soucek, The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art in J. Gutmann (Ed), The Temple of Solomon.. (Scholars Press, Missoula Montana 1976), pp.72-123.
23. Refer for example, Mk 10:31=Matt 19:30, Matt 20:16, Luke 13:30; Bāb, Persian Bayān, II.16, 17., VIII.4.
24. Lawh-i Pāp (Tablet to the Pope), text in Alvāh-i nāzilah-yi khitāb bi Mulūk.. p.76. ET. Shoghi Effendi, PDC, p.31.
25. On this subject refer, H.A. Winkler, Siegel und Charaktere in der Muhammed-anischen Zauberei (Berlin; Leipzig 1930); Georges Anawati, Le Nom Supreme de Dieu in Atti del Terzo Congresso Di Studi Arabi e Islamici (Napoli 1967) pp.7-58. On some Shaykhī and Bahā'ī speculations refer, [quoting various letters of Bahā'u'llāh and ^cAbd al-Bahā] ^cAbd al-Hamid Ishraq Khavarī, (Ed) Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī (=MA.10 vols. Teheran 128-9.BE.), Vol.1. p.12ff (cf. Vol.3. pp.4-5); idem, Rahiq-i Makhtūm (=RM.2 vols. Teheran 130-1 BE), Vol.1. pp.669-690; cf. idem Qamūs-i Iqān, Vol.4. (Teheran 128.BE), p.1642f; Mirza Asad Allah Fādil-i Mazandarānī, Asrār al-Athār (=AA.5 vols Teheran 1968-74) pp.238-41; Denis MacEoin, Ritual and Semi Ritual Practises in the Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions (Lancaster Baha'i Studies Seminar, 1980—unpublished paper), p.41ff; idem, Some Baha'i and Shaykhi interpretations of 'the Mystery of Reversal' in Bahā'ī Studies Bulletin, Vol.1.No.1. (Newcastle, June 1982), pp.11-23.

26. Refer, MacEoin, Some Shaykhī and Babi Interpretations.. (see fn 25 below) p.16ff., esp.p.18; al-Aḥsā'ī's al-risāla al-rashtiyya in the compilation Jawāmi' al-Kalām (Tabriz 2 vols.1273/6.A.H./1856/9.A.D.), esp.p.103f (trans, MacEoin in the article referred to above).cf. also Ishraq Khavarī, Qamūs-i Iḡān, Vol.4.p.1642f.
27. Cited MacEoin, *ibid*, pp.13-14. This letter of al-Aḥsā'ī was apparently written for one Mūsā ibn Muhammad al-Sayigh (refer, *idem*, *ibid*, fn.10) and is printed in Majmū'at al-Rasā'ī 61 (Kirman nd), pp.51-3.
28. For various interpretations of the Qur'ānic phrase ulū al-ʿazm refer Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī, Bihar al-Anwār (Teheran 1376), Vol.11.p.34ff.
29. Refer MacEoin, *art. cit* (fn.26), p.16ff on some statements made in Vahid Rafati's The Development of Shaykhī Thought in Shi'ī Islām (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1979).
30. Refs. given in fn.25 below.
31. Bahā'u'llāh, letter cited MA.Vol.1.p.14. See also FM.Vol.1.p.682, 686, 687, where similar statements are made. In a letter addressed to a certain Asad[allāh?] Bahā'u'llāh identifies the words, "He shall make their exalted ones their lowly ones and their lowly ones their exalted ones" (يجعلهم اذلة لعلهم وعلوهم اذلة) as an Islāmic tradition (ḥadīth), refer, FM.Vol.1.p.687.
32. Kitāb al-Aqdas, text in al-Hasanī, *op.cit* (see fn.18 above), p.127.
33. Refer, MacEoin, *art. cit* (fn.26), p.15 referring to a letter of ʿAbd al-Bahā to Mu'awin al-Tujjār Narāqī quoted in MA.Vol.2.pp.19, 34, FM.Vol.1.p.688.
34. Bahā'u'llāh refers to the coming of the al-sulh al-akbar " the most-great peace" in his Lawh-i Malikih (Tablet to Queen Victoria): see Alvāh-i nāzilāh-yi khitāb bi Mulūk .p.138. ET. Shoghi Effendi in Gleanings, p.253.
35. It may well be that Bahā'u'llāh alludes at the beginning of this part (VI) of the Lawh-i Hirtīq to the following words of al-Aḥsā'ī (in his letter to Mūsā ibn Muhammad al-Sayigh: see fn.17 above— this is the letter quoted by Bahā'u'llāh in his Lawh-i Qina') in interpretation of an Islāmic tradition (on which see Abu al-Fadl Gulpaygani, Sharḥ-Āvāt-i Muwarrikha [Shanghai, 1925], p.7ff) about the time of the coming of the Qā'im: "And the alif (ا) has come upon the end of the ṣād (ص) and the ṣād is with you.." (trans. MacEoin, *art. cit*. p.14). If this be the case then Bahā'u'llāh may be alluding to the coming of the Bāb and linking his advent with al-sulh— there being no clear link up with the notion of al-sulh al-akbar. cf. also

- FM.Vol.1.p.669f.
36. Refer, for example, Bahā'u'llāh, 'Tablet on the Mission of Moses' in MA.Vol.4.pp.38-40.
37. Muslim apologists have traditionally linked the paraclete prophecies in the Johannine farewell discourses with the coming of Muhammad. This interpretation of Jn 14:16f, etc., is also found in Bahā'ī scripture.
38. Lawh-i Pāp (Tablet to the Pope), text in Alvāh-i nāzilāh-yi khitāb bi-Mulūk .p.79, ET. Shoghi Effendi, PDG.p.32.
39. Lawh-i Pāp (Tablet to the Pope), text in *ibid*, p.80.
40. Lawh-i Aqdas, text in Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh.. (see fn.11. below), p.5. ET, in TB.p.11.
41. Lawh-i Pāp (Tablet to the Pope), text in Alvāh-i nāzilāh-yi khitāb bi-Mulūk .p.85
42. Lawh-i Aqdas, text in Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh (see fn.11. below), p.8. ET. in TB.pp.14-15.
43. Refer, for example, Bahā'u'llāh, Kitāb-i Iḡān (London 1961), p.19ff.
44. Exactly what Hardegg's Christological views were at this time (early 1870's) I do not know. Perhaps he rejected the trinity in favour of a Johannine type Christology with unitarian tendencies. Certainly after Hoffmann had come to Palestine his views " underwent a further development and he gave up his belief in the Trinity, and in the divinity of Jesus and his expiation of man's sins." (art. Templers.. in Encyclopedia Judaica Vol.15.col.993). If Hardegg agreed with Hoffmann on these points and they had come to be held by the early 1870's then Bahā'īs— and for that matter Muslims— would indeed have much in common Christologically. A detailed study of Templar organization and belief may reveal points of possible influence on Bahā'ī doctrine.

The Lawh-i Hardegg ["Hirtiq"]: A tentative and provisional translation.

In the name of God, the Most Holy.

- [I] Your sealed letter arrived before the oppressed one and we caught from it a fragrance of your sincerity towards God, the Protector, the Self-Subsisting. We ask God that He might inform you of that which is concealed in an inscribed Tablet and might enable you to hearken unto the cooing of the Dove on the branches and the murmuring of the water of life which hath flowed from the spring of the will of the King of Existence with wisdom and explanation.
- [II] O Friend! It is necessary that your eminence contemplate the Word of God the grandeur and sweetness of which sufficeth the worlds. The first of those who believed in the Spirit [Peter] was enraptured by the Word of his Lord and through it turned and believed, detached from what is in the hands of the people. This is incumbent on the fishes of the most-great Ocean.
- [III] O Thou informed mystic knower and clear sighted man of learning! Know thou that base passion hath hindered most mortals from turning their faces unto God, the King of Names. He however, who looketh with the eye of insight beareth witness and seeing saith, 'Praise be unto my Lord, the Most-Exalted.' Land and sea have rejoiced at the beneficence of God and the promise made unto the nations concerning the [appearance of] the Healer of Infirmities, he verily, is the builder of the Temple. Blessed be those possessed of mystic knowledge. When the appointed time came Carmel cried out, trembling as if shaken by the breezes of the Lord. Blessed be those who hearken. Should anyone incline with the ear of the inner nature he would assuredly hear [the cry] from the Rock. It, verily, proclaimeth in a loud voice and beareth witness unto the Eternal God. Blessed be he who catcheth a fragrance of the utterance and turneth unto the Kingdom detached from the contingent world. When that which is mentioned in the Books shall have appeared you shall see the people beholding but not understanding.
- [IV] O Friend! Observe the mystery of inversion for the cipher of the chief since He hath made their exalted ones their lowly ones and their lowly ones their exalted ones and call thou to mind the fact that when Jesus came he was rejected by the divines, the learned and the educated whilst he who was a mere fisherman entered the Kingdom. This is the mystery of what was mentioned in the heart of the words by means of ciphers and allusions.

- [V] Great, great is the Cause! Peter the apostle in spite of his excellence and the eminence of his station held back his tongue when he was asked [about it?] Should you consider sincerely what hath heretofore come to pass for the sake of the Lord alone you will assuredly see the light shining before your eyes. The Truth is too manifest to be wrapped up in veils, the Path too open to be enveloped in darkness, and the Certainty too evident to be obscured by doubts. Those who have been held back are the ones who have followed their lusts and are today slumbering, sleeping. They shall wake up, run around, but find no place [to hide?]. Blessed be he who catcheth the fragrance [of truth] then waketh up that he might attain unto that which the sincere servants have attained.
- [VI] Know thou that We saw the visible [letter] Ṣād in the word Sulh [= Peace]. It, verily, was adorned with the ornament of the upright [letter] Alif and is what hath assuredly been mentioned in an outspread Tablet. And upon the manifestation of the lights of that divine Word the Gate of Heaven was opened and the Kingdom of Names appeared. And the matter was completed through the [letter] Hā' after which it was united to the outstretched [letter] Alif which was adorned with the Point from which the Treasured Name, the Hidden Mystery, the Guarded Secret emerged. It verily, is the Point from which existence hath appeared and unto which it returns.
- [VII] Then We saw the Word [which] uttered a word which every one of the sects found to be according to its [own] tongue and language. When it was uttered a sun shone forth from the horizon of its disclosure the lights of which eclipsed the sun of the heavens. It said, 'The head of the 70 hath been adorned with the crown of the 40 and hath been united with the 7 before the 10.' Then it lamented and it said, 'What is this that I see? The house doth not recognise its master and the son doth not pay heed unto his father, nor likewise is the hopeful seeker cognisant of his place of refuge and heaven.'
- [VIII] O thou who soarest in the atmosphere of mystic knowledge! He who knoweth how what floweth becometh inert [?], how what soareth becometh static [?], how what is apparent becometh hidden [?] and how what is resplendent becometh veiled [?] shall be seized by the attraction of the divine effulgences to such an extent that he will fly on the wings of yearning in the atmosphere of nearness, holiness and reunion.
- [IX] With regard to that which your eminence hath mentioned concerning the darkness. We bear witness that it hath encompassed the creatures. Blessed be he who hath been illumined by the light which shineth forth from the horizon

of the mercy of his Lord, the Most-Holy. The darkness is the vain imaginings by virtue of which the people were prevented from turning towards the Kingdom when the King of the Divine Realm appeared with the Cause of God.

[X] As for what you mentioned, that a certain person hath supposed that there are no differences between us with regard to the Spirit [Jesus]. This is the truth inasmuch as the Spirit [Jesus] is sanctified above being overwhelmed by differences or encompassed by symbolic expressions. He, verily, is the light of Oneness among mankind and the sign of the Ancient among the peoples. He who turneth unto him [Jesus] hath turned unto He [God] who sent him [Jesus] and he who rejecteth him hath rejected He who caused him to be made manifest and to speak forth. He hath ever been what he was and will ever remain the same as what he was only the effulgence of his epiphany in the mirrors varies on account of their different forms and colours.

[XI] O Friend! Should a hint of the secret which was veiled in mystery be disclosed the hearts of those who cling to what they possess and cast away what is with God would be thrown into confusion. If your eminence would ponder upon what We have set forth for you and rise up according to what hath been mentioned with the greatest steadfastness there would verily be manifest from you what was previously made manifest.

[XII] O Friend! The Bird is [ensnared] between the talons of oppression and hypocrisy and seest no nest where he might dwell nor any retreat unto which he might wing his way. In such a state doth he summon mankind unto everlasting life. Blessed be the attentive ear. We ask God that he might bring us together in the same place and might assist us in what he loveth and is well-pleasing unto Him.

بسم الله الاقدس قد حضر كتابك المختوم لدى العظالم ووجدنا منه عرف
خلوصك لله المهيم الغيوم نسئل الله ان يعرّفك ما هو المستور في لوح مسطور
ويسمعك هدير الورق على الافنان وخرير ما الحيوان الذي جرى من معين
مشية مالك الامكان بالحكمة والبيان ان يا حبيب ينبغي لحضرتك ان تتعكر
في كلمة الله وعظمتها وهلاوتها انها لتكني العالمين ان اول من آمن
بالروح قد اخذه جذب كلمة ربه وبها اقبل وآمن منقطعاً عما في ايدي الناس
هذا ينبغي لحيطان البحر الا عظم يا ايها العارف الخبير والخبير البصير
فاطم قد منع الهوى اكثر الوري عن التوجه الى الله مالك الاسماء من ينظر
بعين البصيرة يشهد ويرى ويقول سبحان ربي الاعلى قد بشر البر والبحر
بسر الله وعند الظل بمضهر العلل انه لباض الهيكل طوبى للعارفين اذا
اتي الميثاق يصيح الكرمل كانه اهتز من اهتزاز نسمة الرب طوبى للسامعين
لويتوجه احد باذن الفطرة ليمسح من الصخرة انها تنادي باعلى الصيحة و
تشهد للاله الابدي طوبى لمن وجد عرف البيان واقبل الى الملكوت منقطعاً
عن الامكان فاذا ظهر ما ذكر في الكتب ترى الناس ينظرون ولا يعرفون بها
حبيب فانظر سر التنكيس لرمز التيمس حيث جعل اعليهم اسفلهم واسفلهم
اعليهم وانكر اذا اتى المسيح انكره العلماء والفضلاء والا ربا واقبل السس
الملكوت من يضار الجوت هذا سر ما ذكر في غياهب الكلمات بالرموز
والاشارات ان الامر عظيم عظيم ان بضر الحواري مع علو شأنه و
سمو مقامه امسك اللسان ان سئل اذك لوتتذكر فيما مضى خالصاً لوجه الرب
لترى التور مشرقاً امام وجهك وتجعله نصب عينيك ان الحق اظهر من ان
تغشيه الحجاب والظنن ابين من ان تغشيه الظلمات واليقين اشهر
من ان تستره الضنونات والذين ضنوا اولئك اتبعوا هوائهم وهم اليوم
نيام راقدون سوف ينتبهون ويركضون ولا يجدون طوبى لمن وجد العرف

از هاج آتہ نازہما فاز بہ عباد مخلصون ثم اعلم انا رأينا بان المساد
 الظاهرة في كلمة صلح قد طرقت بظرازالالف القاثة آتيا لبي المذكورة في
 لوح منشور وعند ظهور انوار تلك الكلمة الالهية فتح باب السماء وظهر ملكوت
 الأسماء وتم الامر بالها بعد اتصالها بالالف المبسوطة التي طرقت بالنقطة
 البارز عنها الاسم المخزون والسر المكنون والرمز المصون وآتيا لبي النقطة
 التي منها ظهرت الاشياء واليها اعادت ثم رأينا الكلمة نطقت بكلمة وجدها
 كل حزب من الاحزاب على لفته ولسانه وعند نطقها اشرفت من افق بيانها شمس
 اظلمت عند انوارها شمس السماء وقالت قد زين رأس السبعين بالكيل الاربعمين
 واتصل بالسبع قبل العشرة وعند ذلك ناحت وقالت مالي اري البيت لا يعرف صا
 والابن لا يلتفت اياه وكذلك الرجى طجاءه وشوبه يا ايها الطائر في هوا الفان
 من عرف الجارى المنجمد والظائر الساكن والظاهر المستور والمشرق المحجوب
 بأخذه جذب الاشرار على شأن يظهرها جنحة الاشتياق في هوا القرب والقدس
 والوصال وما ذكرت حضرتك في الظلام تشهد انه احاط الانام طوبى لمن اضاء
 بنور المشرق من افق رحمة ربه الا قدس ان الظلام هو الالهام وبها منع الانام عن
 التوجه الى الملكوت ان ظهر بامر الله مالك الجبروت واما ما ذكرت ان فلانا ظن
 ان لا اختلاف بيننا من جهة الروح هذا حق لان الروح مقدس من ان يعتريه
 الاختلافات او تحويه الاشارات آتة لظهور نور الاحدية بين البرية وآية القسدم
 بين الامم من اقبل اليه فقد اقبل الي من ارسله ومن اعرض عنه اعرض عن اظهره
 وانطقه انه كان على ما كان ويكون بمثل ما قد كان انما تخطف اشراقات تجلبيه
 في المرايا باختلافات صورهن والوانهن ما حبيب لو ينكشف رمز من سر الذي كان
 مقتنعا بالسر لتضطرب افئدة الذين اخذوا ما عندهم ونيدوا ما عند الرب ان
 حضرتك لو تتفكر فيما القيناك وتقوم على ما ذكر بالاستقامة الكبرى ليظهر منك ما
 ظهر من قبل ما حبيب ان الطير بين مخاليب الظلم والتناق لا ترى لنفسها من
 وكسر لتسكن فيه ولا من فضاء لتطير اليه وفي مثل تلك الحالة تدع البرية الس
 الحيوة الالهية طوبى لانن واعية نسل الله ان يجمعنا في بساط واحد ويؤيدنا
 على ما يحب ويرضى

Additional Notes

After completing this essay I came across a few texts that are of interest in connection with paragraph III of the Lawh-i Hirtiq. Firstly, it may be noted that at the beginning of his Lawh-i Qarn ('Tablet of the Century', Teheran 134.BE., a letter dated 101 BE/1944-5 and addressed to the Bahā'īs of the East) Shoghi Effendi lists many titles assumed by or attributed to Bahā'u'llāh including— as in the Lawh-i Hirtiq— "The Healer of Infirmities" (muttahir al-^cilal) and "The Builder of the Temple" (bānī al-haykal, refer, Lawh-i Qarn, p.1). These titles have been commented on by 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq Khavarī in his Rahiq-i Makhtūm (2 Vols. 130-1 BE., this work is a commentary on the Lawh-i Qarn).

In his comment on "muttahir al-^cilal" Ishraq Khavarī notes that the prophets of the children of Israel gave the glad-tidings of the advent of the "Lord of Hosts" (Bahā'u'llāh) who will heal all sicknesses and infirmities. He quotes Isaiah 35:4-6 (in Persian) in illustration of the expected eschatological healing— though this verse does not contain the expression "muttahir al-^cilal" either in the original Hebrew or in the Arabic or Persian translations— and then quotes a passage from an untitled Tablet of Bahā'u'llāh which closely parallels part of paragraph III of the Lawh-i Hirtiq and which may be translated as follows: "The hill of God (kaum Allāh, i.e. Mt. Carmel) hath trembled (ihtizaz) on account of the breeze of the meeting [with God]. It verily hath been named [Mt.] Carmel. It crieth out, "The Builder of the Temple (bānī al-haykal) hath assuredly come as hath the "Healer of Infirmities" (muttahir al-^cilal). Blessed be those who have attained." (RM.Vol.2.p.527).

Commenting on "bānī al-haykal" (refer, RM.Vol.1.p.289-91) Ishraq Khavarī draws attention to Malachi chapter 3:1a which he quotes in Persian translation: " ..the Lord whom you seek will suddenly come to his Temple (haykal) .." Though the expression "bānī al-haykal" does not occur here he asserts that this verse predicts the coming of the builder of the temple (bānī al-haykal) as the eschatological manifestation of Divinity or God himself (i.e. Bahā'u'llāh) since it says, "..the Lord..will..come to his[own] temple" (khudāvand.. bi-haykal-i khud, khāhsd āmad: so the Persian translation quoted by Ishraq Khavarī; the Hebrew is "..בוא אלהים אל ביתו ..."). Malachi 3:1f, Ishraq Khavarī further asserts, does not as Christians maintain, refer to Jesus the Messiah. This since Malachi 3:5 refers to God's coming "for judgement" and inasmuch as Jesus, accord-

-ing to John 3:18 and 12:47, taught that he had not come to "condemn the world" or to "judge the world". It is Bahā'u'llāh who is referred to in the 3rd chapter of the book of Malachi. His herald the Bāb is also referred to in Malachi 3:1 as the messenger (rasūl) who will "prepare the way" before the advent of Bahā'u'llāh (refer, RM.Vol.1.p.290).

Having made these comments Ishraq Khavarī refers to Shoghi Effendi's "The Promised Day is Come" (Lawh-i mubarak yaum al-m^cad)—cf. above—and again quotes the passage paralleling the Lawh-i Hirtiq (paragraph III, translated above) which he here (RM.Vol.1.p.290) says was addressed to followers of the Messiah or Christians.

On paragraph VIII of the Lawh-i Hirtiq

As noted above (p.) the sense and the translation of paragraph VIII of the Lawh-i Hirtiq is uncertain or unclear. A comparison however, of this paragraph with a few lines in Bahā'u'llāh's Lawh-i Basit al-Haqiqat (text in Iqtidarāt [np.nd./Bombay 1310.A.H.], pp.105-116., and Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī Vol.7.p.140-7: a letter of the (early?) ^cAkkā period) suggests that Bahā'u'llāh when he uses the expressions الجاري المنجد والظاهر المستور is alluding to himself as the outer yet concealed manifestation of (the 4 'elements', nb. [1] الجاري المنجد [cf. WATER?]; [2] الظاهر الساكن [cf. AIR?]; [3] الظاهر المستور [cf. EARTH?]; [4] الظاهر المشرق المحجوب [cf. FIRE?] of) the "ground of being" or "element [al basis] of real being" (basit al-haqiqat) the mystery of which, if understood by Hardegg would cause him to attain spiritual beatitude. It is not, as I note above, simply that Bahā'u'llāh exhorts Hardegg (in Para. VIII) to become aware of 'how certain conditions change' but probably that he alludes to himself as the "ground of being" (basit al-haqiqat) which is "all things" yet "none of them" (to quote the axiom of Mullā Sadrā, d.1640: see below).

Perhaps, in other words, implicit in paragraph VIII of the Lawh-i Hirtiq, is Bahā'u'llāh's claim— as the manifestation of God— to be the focal centre of the "ground of being" (basit al-haqiqat), the point from which outer being emerges. The four antithetic components of being expressive of "all things" yet "none of them" or concealed activity yet outer staticness may also relate to the fact that Bahā'u'llāh is thinking of himself as the manifestation of God who is inwardly the transcendent "ground of being" yet outwardly the "wronged one" (al-mazlūm) subject to imprisonment or concealment in the prison of ^cAkkā.

Having made these admittedly somewhat speculative suggestions I should perhaps clarify the basis on which they are made by brief reference to the passage from the Lawh-i Basit al-Haqiqat mentioned above (kindly drawn to my attention by Dr.Denis MacEoin) and suggest an alternative translation of paragraph VIII of the Lawh-i Hirtiq.

Firstly, it is important to bear in mind that the Lawh-i Basit al-Haqiqat was written in explanation of the following axiom of Mullā Sadrā, " The element of real being (basit al-haqiqat) is all things (kull al-ashya'), yet is none of them (laysa bi-shay') (cf. E.G.Browne, A Year Amongst the Persians, CUP.1926.p.143). Towards the end of this Tablet Bahā'u'llāh informs its recipient that if he understands and is spiritually uplifted by his explanations he would rise up for " the victory of this concealed Wronged One " [i.e. Bahā'u'llāh] and say : [text from Iqtadarāt, p.114, MA.Vol.7.p.146]

سبحان من اظمر الجارى المنصود البسيط المحدود والمستور المشهور الذى اذا يراه
احد في الظاهر يجد على هيكल الانسان بين ايدي اهل الطغيان و اذا يتفكر في الباطن
يراه صيما على من في السموات والارضين .

These lines may [there are several possibilities] be thus translated:

"Praise be unto He Who hath manifested ' the inert flow', 'the delimited expanse' and the 'apparent hiddenness' who, should he be outwardly seen by anyone, would be found to be in the human condition between the hands of the people of tyranny, and, if inwardly contemplated, be seen to be transcendent above what is in the heavens and the earths."

If I understand this passage correctly the implication is that Bahā'u'llāh himself is the one who is the cause of the " ground of being" (basit al-haqiqat expressed here by means of three antithetic expressions) and who, just as the "ground of being" is "all things" yet "none of them" is the perfection of inner and outer being (cf. MA Vol.7.p.14Of), outwardly subject to human limitations yet inwardly transcendent or in control.

Bearing this possible sense of the above quoted lines in mind and assuming that the translation is on the right lines, paragraph VIII of the Lawh-i Hirtiq may be translated:

" O thou who soarest in the atmosphere of mystic knowledge! He who knoweth 'the inert flow', 'the static soarer', 'the hidden exterior' and 'the veiled resplendence' [i.e. Bahā'u'llāh as the "ground of being" ?] shall be seized by the attraction of the divine effulgences to such an extent that he will fly on the wings of yearning in the atmosphere of nearness, holiness and reunion."

BAHA'I

SCHOLARSHIP

1. Scholarship and Achievement
2. General Principles of Baha'i Scholarship
3. Purpose of Baha'i Scholarship
 - 3.1 Refutation of Attacks on the Faith
 - 3.2 Deeper Understanding of Baha'i Faith
 - 3.3 Contributing to Scholarly Development
 - 3.4 Teaching the Faith
4. Attitudes of Baha'i Scholars
5. Some Specific Disciplines
6. Some Pitfalls

Compilation
by
Peter Khan
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1. SCHOLARSHIP & ACHIEVEMENT:

"Scholarship has a high station in the Baha'i teachings and Baha'i scholars have a great responsibility to a growing, divinely-guided world society. The ascertainment of truth and the acquisition of a fuller understanding of the subjects of their scholarship are worthy and high endeavours." (1)

"Baha'i scholarship is of great importance in the development and consolidation of the Baha'i community." (1)

"The Supreme Body has informed us that it believes that both the International Teaching Centre and the Boards of Counsellors can render valuable services in the field of Baha'i scholarship by encouraging budding scholars, and also by promoting within the Baha'i community an atmosphere of tolerance for the views of others." (2)

"The heart of 'Abdu'l-Baha longeth, in its love, to find that Baha'i young people, each and all, are known throughout the world for their intellectual attainments." (3)

"It is just as important for the Baha'i young boys and girls to become properly educated in Colleges of high standing as it is to be spiritually developed. The mental as well as the spiritual side of the youth has to be developed before he can serve the Cause efficiently!" (4)

"What he (Shoghi Effendi) wants the Baha'is to do is to study more, not to study less. The more general knowledge, scientific or otherwise, they possess, the better. Likewise he is constantly urging them to really study the Baha'i teachings more deeply." (5)

"The Cause needs more Baha'i scholars - people who not only are devoted to it and believe in it and are anxious to tell others about it, but also who have a deep grasp of the Teachings and their significance, and who can correlate its beliefs with the current thoughts and problems of the people of the world." (6)

"Baha'i scholars and writers will, no doubt, gradually appear, and will, as promised by Baha'u'llah lend a unique support to the Faith!" (7)

"As the Cause develops it will need more and more people who are really versed in their branch of learning and who can interpret the teachings to suit the facts." (8)

"It is not difficult to visualize the House of Justice, as Baha'u'llah's World Order unfolds, requiring the services of distinguished Baha'i scientists in all fields." (1)

"Baha'u'llah considered education to be one of the most fundamental factors of a true civilization - this education, however, in order to be adequate and fruitful should be comprehensive in nature and should take into consideration not only the physical and the intellectual side of man but also his spiritual and ethical aspects. This should be the programme of the Baha'i youth all over the world!" (9)

2. GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF BAHA'I SCHOLARSHIP:

"The Baha'i principle of the harmony of religion and science compels all Baha'is to protect themselves from prevalent diseases resulting from the divorce of faith and reason.

The sundering of science and religion is but one example of the tendency of the human mind (which is necessarily limited in its capacity) to concentrate on one virtue, one aspect of truth, one goal, to the exclusion of others. This leads, in extreme cases, to fanaticism and the distortion of truth, and in all cases to some degree of imbalance and inaccuracy." (1)

"It has become customary in the West to think of science and religion as occupying two distinct - and even opposed - areas of human thought and activity. This dichotomy can be characterized in the pairs of antitheses: faith and reason; value and fact. It is a dichotomy which is foreign to Baha'i thought and should be regarded with suspicion by Baha'i scholars in every field.

The principle of the harmony of religion and science means not only that religious teachings should be studied in the light of reason and evidence as well as of faith and inspiration, but also that everything in creation, all aspects of human life and knowledge, should be studied in the light of revelation as well as of purely rational investigation. In other words, a Baha'i scholar, when studying a subject, should not lock out of his mind any aspect of truth that is known to him." (1)

"The believers must recognize the importance of intellectual honesty and humility. In past dispensations many errors arose because the believers in God's Revelation were overanxious to encompass the Divine Message within the framework of their limited understanding, to define doctrines where definition was beyond their power, to explain mysteries which only the wisdom and experience of a later age would make comprehensible, to argue that something was true because it appeared desirable and necessary. Such compromises with essential truth, such intellectual pride, we must scrupulously avoid." (10)

"In scientific investigation, when searching after the facts of any matter, a Baha'i must, of course, be entirely open-minded, but in his interpretation of the facts, and his evaluation of evidence we do not see by what logic he can ignore the truth of the Baha'i Revelation which he has already accepted; to do so would, we feel, be both hypocritical and unscholarly." (1)

"As a Baha'i, you know that what Baha'u'llah teaches about the purpose of human life, the nature of the human being and the proper conduct of human lives, is divinely revealed and therefore true. However, it will inevitably take time for you not only to study the Baha'i teachings so that you clearly understand them, but also to work out how they modify your professional concepts. This is, of course, not an unusual predicament for a scientist. How often in the course of research is a factor discovered which requires a revolution in thinking over a wide field of human endeavour." (11)

"We should be confident that there is consistency in the universe, that the Manifestation is aware of that consistency, and we must ourselves be aware that the principle of the harmony of religion and science is a dynamic one which will require new levels of understanding of true science and true religion alike." (12)

3. PURPOSE OF BAHAI SCHOLARSHIP:

3.1 Refutation of Attacks on the Faith:

"There is an answer in the teachings for everything; unfortunately the majority of the Baha'is, however intensely devoted and sincere they may be, lack for the most part the necessary scholarship and wisdom to reply to and refute the claims and attacks of people with some education and standing." (13)

3.2 Deeper Understanding of the Baha'i Faith:

"In connection with the question as to whether Baha'is should be familiar with the different sciences and branches of study, Shoghi Effendi wishes me to inform you that both Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha have given a very high position to men of culture and knowledge and Baha'u'llah says in one of His Tablets that respect shown to such people is incumbent upon all Baha'is. Furthermore there is no doubt that familiarity with different branches of study widens one's point of view and we can then understand and realize the significance of the Baha'i Movement and its principles much more." (14)

"The Guardian has always advised young people to study deeply subjects as History, Economics and Sociology as they are all related to the teachings and aid in understanding the Faith." (15)

3.3 Contributing to Scholarly Development:

"History, Economics or Sociology...are fields in which Baha'is not only take a great interest but also cover subjects which our teachings cast an entirely new light upon." (15)

"Psychology is still a very young and inexact science, and as the years go by Baha'i psychologists, who know from the teachings of Baha'u'llah the true pattern of human life, will be able to make great strides in the development of this science, and will help profoundly in the alleviation of human suffering." (11)

"Baha'u'llah has given us a few basic principles which should guide future Baha'i economists in establishing such institutions which will adjust the economic relationships of the world." (16)

"As more and more Baha'is enter the world of higher learning they will have the opportunity of exerting great influence in bringing about in human consciousness and outlook that harmony of religion and science which is so great a principle of their Faith." (1)

"The Teachings of Baha'u'llah throw light on so many aspects of human life and knowledge that a Baha'i must learn, earlier than most, to weigh the information that is given to him rather than to accept it blindly. A Baha'i has the advantage of the Divine Revelation for this age, which shines like a searchlight on so many problems that baffle modern thinkers." (17)

3.4 Teaching the Faith:

"The University training which you are receiving at present will be of immense help to you in your efforts to present the Message in intellectual circles. In these days when people are so skeptical about religion and look with so much contempt towards religious organizations and movements, there seems to be more need than ever for our young Baha'is to be well-equipped intellectually, so that they may be in a position to present the Message in a befitting way and in a manner that would convince every unbiased observer of the effectiveness and power of the Teachings." (15)

"Shoghi Effendi's hope is that they will...become able and devoted speakers on the Cause and subjects akin to it. To do this properly they will need a firm foundation of scientific and literary training which fortunately they are obtaining." (4)

"It is very important that the movement should enter the Colleges and start to acquire the support of student bodies. No one can attempt such a task better than Baha'i students." (8)

"The Cause has the remedy for all the world's ills. The reason why more people don't accept it is because the Baha'is are not always capable of presenting it in a way that meets the immediate needs of their minds. Young Baha'is like yourself must prepare themselves to really bring the Message to their generation who need it so desperately and who can understand the language it speaks so well!" (6)

"Shoghi Effendi has for years urged the Baha'is (who asked his advice, and in general also) to study history, economics, sociology, etc., in order to be au courant with all the progressive movements and thoughts being put forth today, and so that they could correlate these to the Baha'i teachings. What he wants the Baha'is to do is to study more, not to study less. The more general knowledge, scientific or otherwise, they possess, the better. Likewise he is constantly urging them to really study the Baha'i teachings more deeply." (18)

"a sound knowledge of history, including religious history, and also of social and economic subjects, is of great help in teaching the Cause to intelligent people." (19)

"It seems what we need now is a more profound and co-ordinated Baha'i scholarship in order to attract such men as you are contacting. The world has - at least the thinking world - caught up by now with all the great and universal principles enunciated by Baha'u'llah over 70 years ago, and so of course it does not sound 'new' to them. But we know that the deeper teachings, the capacity of His projected World Order to re-create society, are new and dynamic. It is these we must learn to present intelligently and enticingly to such men!" (

"If the Baha'is want to be really effective in teaching the Cause they need to be much better informed and able to discuss intelligent

intellectually, the present condition of the world and its problems.... We Baha'is should, in other words, arm our minds with knowledge in order to better demonstrate to, especially, the educated classes, the truths enshrined in our Faith." (21)

"We need profound Baha'i scholars in the future, both to teach and to administer the Cause, and to answer the questions of the public, and help rebuild the world. This is a great challenge to you all, and presents a wonderful opportunity for service to humanity." (22)

4. ATTITUDES OF BAHAI SCHOLARS:

"A scholar who is imbued with an understanding of the broad teachings of the Faith will always remember that being a scholar does not exempt him from the primal duties and purposes for which all human beings are created. Not scholars alone, but all men are exhorted to seek out and uphold the truth, no matter how uncomfortable it may be. But they are also exhorted to be wise in their utterance, to be tolerant of the views of others, to be courteous in their behaviour and speech, not to sow the seeds of doubt in faithful hearts, to look at the good rather than at the bad, to avoid conflict and contention, to be reverent, to be faithful to the Covenant of God, to promote His Faith and safeguard its honour, and to educate their fellow-men, giving milk to babes and meat to those who are stronger." (1)

"The distinction desired by 'Abdu'l-Baha for all Baha'is is certainly for attainment by Baha'i scholars, who by following the exhortations of Baha'u'llah to moderation, kindness, tact and wisdom, may restore scholarship to that high station of dignity and admiration which it formerly held and which is confirmed by the utterances of Baha'u'llah." (1)

"If ye be aware of a certain truth, if ye possess a jewel, of which others are deprived, share it with them in a language of utmost kindness and goodwill. If it be accepted, if it fulfil its purpose, your object is attained. If any one should refuse it, leave him unto himself, and beseech God to guide him...." (23)

"Should any one among you be incapable of grasping a certain truth, or be striving to comprehend it, show forth, when conversing with him, a spirit of extreme kindness and good-will. Help him to see and recognize the truth, without esteeming yourself to be, in the least, superior to him, or to be possessed of greater endowments." (23)

"A Baha'i.....must develop the ability to learn everything from those around him, showing proper humility before his teachers, but always relating what he hears to the Baha'i teachings, for they will enable him to sort out the gold from the dross of human error." (17)

5. SOME SPECIFIC DISCIPLINES:

Education:

"the task of formulating a system of education which would be officially recognized by the Cause, and enforced as such throughout the Baha'i world is one which the present-day generation of believers cannot obviously undertake, and which has to be gradually accomplished by Baha'i scholars and educationalists of the future." (24)

Philosophy:

"Philosophy, as you will study it and later teach it, is certainly not one of the sciences that begins and ends in words. Fruitless excursions into metaphysical hair-splitting is meant, not a sound branch of learning like philosophy.

....he would advise you not to devote too much of your time to the abstract side of philosophy, but rather to approach it from a more historical angle. As to correlating philosophy with the Baha'i teachings: this is a tremendous work which scholars in the future can undertake. We must remember that not only are all the teachings not yet translated into English, but they are not even all collected yet." (25)

Pure Mathematics:

"Baha'u'llah's comment (" strictures against ' such sciences as begin in mere words and end in mere words' ") does not apply to the systematic study of natural phenomena in order to discover the laws of order in the physical universe, an order which mathematics seeks to explore. Pure mathematics frequently has application in practical matters, such as in your example of group theory, and also in your own field of fundamental particles." (12)

Biology:

"Your second question concerning the possible synthesis of an elementary 'life' form such as a simple virus relates to the statement made by 'Abdu'l-Baha...' For example, if a man of his own mind and intelligence collects some elements and combines them, a living being will not be brought into existence, since the system is unnatural...."

To understand the implications of this statement it is necessary to know what the Master meant by ' a living being' and what limitations He intended by the phrases 'of his own mind and intelligence' and ' since the sytem is unnatural.' As the science of biology develops and men acquire ever deeper insights into the nature of living things, these implications will no doubt become clearer." (12)

Psychology:

See Section 3.3 above

History, Economics, Sociology:

See Section 3.3 above

6. SOME PITFALLS:

Compromise:

"While it may often be the part of wisdom to approach individuals or an audience from a standpoint of current knowledge, it should never be overlooked that the revelation of the Manifestation of God is the standard for all knowledge, and scientific statements and theories, no matter how close they may come to the eternal principles proclaimed by God's Messenger, are in their very nature ephemeral

and limited. Likewise, attempting to make the Baha'i Faith relevant to modern society is to incur the grave risk of compromising the fundamental verities of our Faith in an effort to make it conform to current theories and practices." (26)

Misunderstanding About Religion:

"It hasbecome commonplace to regard religion as the product of human striving after truth, as the outcome of certain climates of thought and conditions of society. This has been taken, by many non-Baha'i thinkers, to the extreme of denying altogether the reality or even the possibility of a specific revelation of the Will of God to mankind through a human Mouthpiece.

A Baha'i....knows as the result of rational investigation, confirmed by actual experience, that true religion, far from being the product solely of human striving after truth, is the fruit of the Creative Word of God which, with divine power, transforms human thought and action....

A Baha'i scholar...will not make the mistake of regarding the sayings and beliefs of certain Baha'is at any one time as being the Baha'i Faith....Thus Baha'i historians would see the overcoming of early misconceptions held by the Baha'i community, or by parts of the Baha'i community, not as 'developments of the Baha'i Faith' - as a non-Baha'i historian might well regard them - but as a growth of that community's understanding of the Baha'i Revelation....

Undoubtedly the fact that Baha'i scholars of the history and teachings of the Faith believe in the Faith will be a grave flaw in the eyes of many non-Baha'i academics, whose own dogmatic materialism passes without comment because it is fashionable; but this difficulty is one that Baha'i scholars share with their fellow believers in many fields of human endeavour..." (1)

Neglect of the Covenant:

"the Boards of Counsellors can render valuable services in the field of Baha'i scholarship by encouraging budding scholars, and also by promoting within the Baha'i community an atmosphere of tolerance for the views of others....At the same time, the Counsellors have a basic responsibility to strengthen the fundamental core of the faith of the believers by promoting an increasing awareness of the cardinal truth and vital importance of the Covenant, and an ever-growing love for Baha'u'llah. (2)

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13. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf, in "Unfolding Destiny" p.439
14. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf, 14 December 1924
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16. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf, 26 December 1935
17. Universal House of Justice, "Wellspring of Guidance" p. 96
18. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf, 5 July 1947
19. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf, in "Teaching, The Greatest Gift of God" p. 26
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21. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf, in "Teaching, The Greatest Gift of God", p.28
22. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf to Louhelen School Youth Session, August 1943

23. Baha'u'llah, quoted in Universal House of Justice Research Department Statement on Baha'i Scholarship, 1979
24. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf, in "Baha'i Education" compilation p.70
25. Shoghi Effendi, letter on his behalf, in "unfolding Destiny" p.445
26. Universal House of Justice, letter of 21 July 1968

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NOTES, COMMUNICATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MISCELLANY.

- I. Two letters written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi regarding the activities of Mirza Ahmad Sohrab [Mirza Ahmad-i Isfahani, 1891-19] and the "New History Society":

Persian Colony
Haifa, Palestine
30-5-30

Dear Mr. Lunt:

Shoghi Effendi wishes me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated May 12th 1930 as well as the enclosed minutes of the N.S.A. He hopes that the changes made in the secretarial work will be for the good, for generally dividing the work between heads brings confusion. After a few years of labour the secretarial work became systematic and organized. Shoghi Effendi hopes that the present form it has taken will be a step forward. Anyhow you have his earnest prayers and best wishes.

Concerning the New History Society which seems to have aroused great admiration among some—and great indignation among others, it has really become a problem very difficult to solve. Even though both the Assemblies and individuals have written to Shoghi Effendi & asked his opinion none seems daring enough to make a stand. As long as Ahmed does not want to accept the administration, Shoghi Effendi cannot conscientiously trust him. To accept the Cause without the administration is like to accept the teachings without acknowledging the divine station of Baha'u'llah. To be a Baha'i is to accept the Cause in its entirety. To take exception to one basic principle is to deny the authority & sovereignty of Baha'u'llah, & therefore is to deny the Cause. The administration is the social order of Baha'u'llah. Without it all the principles of the Cause will remain abortive. To take exception to this, therefore, is to take exception to the fabric that Baha'u'llah has prescribed, it is to disobey His law.

In his letters to the Assembly as well as to the individual friends, Shoghi Effendi has made it clear that the friends should in no way associate themselves with the New History Society if these fail to obey the Assemblies. What the friends have been doing is to win over the Assemblies to the New History Society rather than by showing a firm stand make the History Society come to the Assemblies. And this has greatly displeased Shoghi Effendi.

In the May Number of the 'Psychology' a copy of which the History Society sent one there is an article on the Baha'i movement. It definitely states that there are "two sister organizations; one meeting at 119 West 57th Street; the other the New History Society." It is strange that old and experienced Baha'is should acquiesce with such articles that strike at the unity of the Cause, that the Master tried to secure.

It may be that the New History Society has succeeded to attract many souls into the Cause. No one denies that. But there is no reason why such work should not be achieved by the Baha'is. The teachings are Baha'i teachings only polluted. The only thing they have is that they possess on their staff a person who refuses to accept the social order of Baha'u'llah & whose main object is personal ascendancy. That they succeed only shows that the Baha'is are failing to do their duty and nothing more.

Excuse me for writing so strongly but it is a candid expression of Shoghi Effendi's attitude. Notwithstanding this, however, it all rests with the

National Assembly to see what is advisable. It is a local problem that they have to solve. Shoghi Effendi only hopes that the members of that spiritual body will be guided in their work and will follow what is to the best interest of the Cause.

Shoghi Effendi hopes that this newly elected assembly will succeed to accomplish a great deal in the field of teaching. We have to add to our numbers & get in new blood if we desire to live and inaugurate the social status that Baha'u'llah has brought to the world. With best wishes and loving greetings,

Yours ever sincerely,

Ruhi Afnan

[Postscript by Shoghi Effendi]

My dear co-worker:

The newly established Secretariat as well as the character of the proceedings of this year's memorable convention have filled my heart with joy and hopefulness. I strongly feel that the teaching work should be regarded henceforth as the paramount issue facing the American believers. Ahmad Sohrab's activities should be watched carefully, lest a weak handling of this extremely delicate situation may confuse the minds of the friends & cause a split in the Cause. The Cause has already triumphed over such cases which flare up for a time & then recede into the shadows of oblivion & are thought of no more. The case of Khayrullah, Fareed, Dyar, Mrs. Whyte and others testify to this truth. May the Beloved guide your steps, inspire your hearts & bless your efforts.

Shoghi.

30-8.30

Dear Mr. Lunt:

Shoghi Effendi wishes me to acknowledge receipt of your letters dated June 20th, July 14th, 17th & 18th, copies of the Baha'i directory & the minutes of the National Assembly of June 17th to 29th 1930.

Concerning Ahmed's attitude towards the Assembly & the decision you have taken Shoghi Effendi has already sent you a cable heartily approving the language as well as the purport of the decision. Since then we have received letters from different parts of the world such as Australia & New Zealand informing us that Ahmed has been sending them his literature & keeping them informed of his activities. They all expressed indignation at his attitude & were astonished that nothing had been done. Anyhow, Shoghi Effendi is glad that the decision was taken for it would have had a very bad effect upon those countries where the friends are still unexperienced & where the Assemblies cannot stand the flouting of some individuals.

I personally believe that the reason why the New History Society succeeded in attracting new individuals was because that were so many devoted Baha'is found there a field for teaching & lend the society their whole-hearted assistance. I think if the Assembly provides a similar field for service & gives them a chance for work much greater work would be achieved. The work of the Assembly should be to capitalize the energy & devotion that exists among the

friends and guide them along proper channels, whereby good work would be accomplished & no harm be done to the Cause. The first quality for leadership, both among individuals and Assemblies, is the capacity to use the energy & competence that exists in the rank and file of its followers. Otherwise the more competent members of the group will go at a tangent & and try to find elsewhere a field of work & where they could use their energy.

Shoghi Effendi hopes that the Assemblies will do their utmost in planning such teaching activities that every single soul will be kept busy.

In a cable that he sent about ten days ago Shoghi Effendi left the question of the publication of the Iqan in the hands of the Assembly. The help he could render was in translation work, the financial side has to be considered by the Assembly itself. Only a few days after sending the first part he mailed the second. I hope you have received that also.

Please convey to all the friends Shoghi Effendi's loving greetings, especially to the members of the National Assembly & the blessed angels working at the Evergreen Cabin.

Yours ever sincerely,

Ruhi Afnan

PS. Concerning the cornerstone of the Temple which was laid by the Master. Shoghi Effendi says that it has no other special significance than a great honour conferred by the Master upon that building & it should be treated as a cornerstone & nothing more.

Ruhi.

[Postscript by Shoghi Effendi]

With the assurances of my deep appreciation of your high endeavours, & of my prayers for the success of your manifold activities,

Your true brother,

Shoghi.

[Communicated by Loni Bramson-Lerche].

II. A Memorandum in reply to several questions posed by Mr. Robert Stauffer to the Research Dept. of the Universal House of Justice, Haifa, Israel. in a letter of Feb 9th 1983.

Questions--:

1. What are the origins and authenticities of the photographs and illustrations of the figures of the Faith in the book Babizm i Bekhaizm by Atrpet Sargis Mubagajian? [cf. Momen, The Babi and Baha'i Religions..p.59.Ed.]
2. Are the lists of dissertations in the recent Baha'i World Vol. XVII reviewed by the Universal House of Justice, and are accession Nos. available at the World Centre for these?

3. What is the status of the World Centre's bibliographical effort; will future Baha'i World volumes have improved bibliographies; and is the Association for Baha'i Studies in Canada compiling a bibliography?
4. What information can I obtain regarding the World Centre's librarian's efforts and pertinent goals?

The reply

MEMORANDUM

To: The Universal House of Justice Date 20 March 1983

From: Ad hoc committee to answer questions posed by Mr. Robert Stauffer in his letter dated 9 February 1983.

1. In an earlier search for Atrpet Sargis Mubagajian's sources of information for his book "Babizm i Bekhaizm", a report was found among the documents filed by Shoghi Effendi indicating that Mubagajian went to Tabriz to investigate the Baha'i Faith. He, unfortunately, met with Jalil Miskar Khu'i, a Covenant-breaker, and received his information from this man. What Mubagajian was told, particularly about the period after Baha'u'llah, was grossly incorrect. Jalil also sold Mubagajian other pictures and portraits which later appeared in the book. The report further states that the portraits identified as those of Baha'u'llah, the Bab, and Tahiri are obviously forged. However, the drawing made of 'Abdu'l-Baha in His youth bears, of course, a great resemblance to the original picture.
2. These are not reviewed by the House of Justice, nor is there a separate list of accession numbers held at the World Centre. Those items available from University Microfilms are listed in "Dissertation Abstracts" put out by the University of Ann Arbor, Michigan.
3. The Library advises that they are completely re-working and revising the bibliography in "The Baha'i World", Volume XVII. The World Centre has received no report of progress or plans from the Association for Baha'i Studies (Ottawa) although it has indicated that it is working on a full bibliography.
4. The kind of information Mr. Stauffer is seeking is not readily available at this time and the pressure of work at the World Centre does not permit the staff to give a satisfactory description of the activities in which he is interested.

[Communicated by Robert Stauffer].

In recent years, a number of articles and passages in longer studies have been devoted to the activities, trial, and ultimate fate of Mulla ^CAli Bastami, generally reckoned to have been the first of the so-called 'Letters of the Living' to leave Shiraz in 1844 in order to initiate the Babi propaganda in the Shi'i shrine centres of Iraq (see M. Momen 'The Trial of Mulla ^CAli Bastami: A Combined Sunni-Shi'i Fatwa against the Bab', Iran XX, 1982, 113-143 (originally presented as a paper at the fourth Baha'i Studies Seminar at Lancaster University, 1980); idem The Babi and Baha'i Religions, 1844-1944, pp.83-90; H.M. Balyuzi The Bab, pp.58-68; A. Amanat 'The Early Years of the Babi Movement: Background and Development', Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1981, pp.219-252; D.M. MacEoin 'Molla ^CAli Bastami', Encyclopaedia Iranica, forthcoming).

These accounts are generally in agreement as to the main details of Bastami's activities in Iraq and the nature of the charges brought against him in the course of his trial in Baghdad in January, 1845. There is, however, some discrepancy in the versions given of his ultimate fate, following his banishment from Iraq. All are agreed that he was first sent to Istanbul (by way of Bolu), where his case was to be considered in more detail by the appropriate authorities. Momen indicates that a proposal was made that Bastami be exiled to 'one of the islands' (I suggest a possible reading here of 'Algeria' here, however), but that this was turned down in favour of 'hard labour imprisonment in His Majesty's naval yard' (see Babi and Baha'i Religions, p.90, citing documents in the Ottoman State Archives).

Amanat (p.251, citing a letter printed in Mazandarani's Zohur al-haqq, vol.3, p.109) and Balyuzi (p.68, without citing his source, but presumably using the foregoing) both state that Bastami was brought to Istanbul and subsequently banished to Kirkuk, where he died in prison. Now, the letter printed in Zohur al-haqq appears to be perfectly authentic (although Amanat's attempt to identify its author -- p.250 f.n.7 -- is somewhat misleading), and the details it gives are corroborated in a number of points by other sources (e.g. the reference to Bastami's despatch to Bolu -- cf. Momen 'Trial', p.140). What can be the explanation for these two seemingly irreconcilable but well-documented versions of Bastami's fate?

The answer is, in fact, extremely simple, although I must confess that it did not strike me immediately. I was puzzled by two things in the Balyuzi/Amanat interpretation of part of the letter in Zohur al-haqq. Firstly, the word which both read as the place-name 'Kirkuk' or 'Karkuk' is, in the original, actually written as kurk (كرك), a point noted by Amanat. No dictionary referred to by me gave that as an alternative spelling for Kirkuk, and there was, indeed, no prima facie reason why it should be. There are one or two other places to which this might refer, but none of them seemed to me particularly likely.

Secondly, the idea of banishment to Kirkuk seemed to me most improbable. The idea of banishing Bastami to 'one of the islands' or 'Algeria' had been rejected because 'it would be difficult to control his activities and prevent him spreading his false ideas' (Momen, Babi and Baha'i Religions, p.90) and, from this point of view, Kirkuk, not far from Baghdad, from whence he had originally been banished, would surely have been quite unthinkable.

I decided to return to the dictionaries, in order to check alternative vocalizations for كرك, and the answer was soon clear. The word was, in fact, the Turkish klrek, meaning, quite simply, 'forced labour'. Consequently, the two accounts of Bastami's fate can now be seen to correspond very closely, while the letter in Zohur al-haqq provides us with evidence that he did, in fact, die in prison towards the end of 1846.

Those who have ploughed through or even just dipped into my 'Revised Survey of the Sources for Early Babi Doctrine and History' may recall a reference (pp.119-121) to a particularly difficult problem of identification relating to a work by the Bab variously called the 'Lawn-i hurūfāt', 'Risāla-yi Ja^cfariyya', 'Kitāb-i haykal' or 'Kitāb-i hayākil'. I indicated there that I knew of no extant text of any work by one of these names, but I am now in a position to provide positive identification of it. Before doing so, however, it may be best to recapitulate my arguments in favour of there being a single work referred to by different names.

According to Mulla Muhammad Zarandi, one of the works written by the Bab during his confinement in Chihriq was a 'tablet' for Mirza Asad Allah Khu'i Dayyan, entitled the 'Lawn-i hurūfāt' (tablet of the letters) (Dawn-Breakers p.304). Zarandi goes on to say that this work had originally been regarded as an exposition of 'the science of Jafr' (i.e. gematria), but that when Mirza Husayn 'Ali Baha' Allah was in Acre he had written a letter for 'Jinab-i-Muballigh' in Shiraz (i.e. Mirzā Ibrāhīm 'Muballigh' Shīrāzī), in which he had explained its meaning, deriving from it the theory that the appearance of man yuzhiruhu 'llāh was predicted 'no less than nineteen years after the Declaration of the Bab' (ibid).

I have identified a manuscript belonging to the Tehran National Baha'i Archives and catalogued (under the number 3003C) as a work of the Bab's as, in fact, a copy of Baha' Allah's letter to Mirza Ibrahim Shirazi. In this letter, written in both Arabic and Persian, the work commented on is referred to, not as the 'Lawn-i hurufat' but as the 'Kitab al-hayākil' or, more loosely, 'kitābī dar hayākil-i wāhid' ('a book concerning the temples/talismans of unity') (p.19). The description given of the work in question on pages 19 following is, in fact, adequate to permit a firm identification, but before coming to that, I would like to link this reference to descriptions in two other works of Baha' Allah.

In a letter to Mullā 'Alī Muḥammad Sirāj Isfahānī, there are several references to and quotations from a 'Risala-yi Ja^cfariyya', stated to have been written by the Bab for Dayyan (Ma'ida-yi asmani, vol.7, p.60). Among the passages quoted is the following: ان يا اسم الدين هذا علم مكنون مخزون قد اودعناه واوتيناك من عندنا: 'O thou who art named Dayyān! This is a hidden and preserved knowledge. We have entrusted it unto thee, and brought it to thee, as a mark of honour from Us' (cf. Lawn-i Shaykh, p.130; Epistle to the Son of the Wolf, p.175). But when he quotes this same passage in another letter, Baha' Allah refers to the source as the 'Kitab-i haykal', again noting that it was written by the Bab for Dayyan. References in this letter (Ishrāqāt, p.47) to the contents of the 'Kitab-i haykal' are very similar to those describing the 'Kitab al-hayākil' in Baha' Allah's letter to Shirazi, and it seems fair to assume that he is speaking of the same work.

The descriptions and quotations given by Baha' Allah serve to identify the work referred to by these varying titles as none other than the final five sections (representing a series of 'grades') of the Kitab-i panj sha'n or Shu'ūn-i khamsa, written towards the end of the Bab's life (Tehran printed edition, pp.405-447), which deals with the construction of talismans along kabbalistic lines in order to show the unity of all things in a single person (i.e. the manifestation of the Universal Will), the ultimate purpose of which is to enable the Bab's followers to recognize man yuzhiruhu 'llāh when he appears. This is clearly the 'Kitab-i hayakil-i wahid' referred to in the Bab's Dalā'il-i sab'a (Tehran edition, pp.45-46), which provides us incidentally with useful evidence for the dating of this latter work (since the Panj sha'n is precisely dated). It would appear that, at some point, these last sections of the Panj sha'n were distributed among the Babis as an independent work, giving rise to the confusion we have noted as to its title and true identity. This in itself would explain a passage reading: ما نزل حضرة الاسد والفرز الاحد المشرق بالنور الصمد ام انه الرباني (What was sent down for his excellency al-Asad, the single, the unique, illumined with the eternal light, the name of God, al-Dayyan'), which Baha' Allah quotes in the letters referred to above. This sentence does not appear to occur in the Panj sha'n text, and it

is my assumption that it represents a scribal addition placed at the head of the text as distributed independently. Baha' Allah, however, as is evident from his use of the preceding words قوله تعالى ('He has said, may He be exalted'), seems to have taken these as part of the Bab's original text. Alternatively, these words may have been added by the Bab himself when the text was prepared for despatch to Dayyan.

Since I have dealt at length with the contents of this section of the Panj sha'n in a recent paper ('Nineteenth-century Babi Talismans', BRISSES Conference, Cambridge, July 1983), I shall not repeat myself here but instead refer readers to that paper. There can be no question that, whatever title we choose for it, the 'Kitab-i hayakil-i wahid' is one of the most important documents for any study of the latest stage in the development of the Bab's complex thought.

Denis MacEoin
Newcastle Upon Tyne
July 1983

RECENT PUBLICATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MISCELLANY

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- Moojan Momen (Ed), Studies in Babi and Baha'i History, Kalimat Press, 1983, pp.337. ISBN 0-933770-16-2 [\$ 19.95].
Includes the following essays:-
Denis MacEoin, Early Shaykhi Reactions to the Bab and his Claims.
Moojan Momen, Early Relations between Christian Missionaries and the Babi and Baha'i Communities.
Peter Smith, The American Baha'i Community, 1894-1917: A Preliminary Survey.
William Collins, Kenosha, 1893-1912: History of an Early Bahá'í Community in the United States.
Loni Bramson-Lerche, Some Aspects of the Development of the Baha'i Administrative Order in America, 1922-36.

[Juliet Thompson], The Diary of Juliet Thompson, Kalimat Press, 1983, pp.396., Preface by Marzieh Gail. [\$ 14.95]. ISBN 0-933770-27-8.
The first publication of this day by day account of Juliet Thompson's experiences with 'Abdu'l-Baha and with other Baha'is and associates.

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Alexandre Bennigsen, Les musulmans oubliés: L'islam en U.R.S.S. aujourd'hui/Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, Francois Maspero: Paris 1981. ISBN 2-7071-1238-0 /BP 65.R8 B43.

"A brief mention of the Bahá'ís in Russia in made on p.184 of this book. It is indicated that there are a maximum of 50,000 Baha'is in Turkestan and various other cities of southern Russia."
[Robert Stauffer].

The Swarthmore College Peace Collection

Robert Stockman reports that about a third of this collection of 1912 contains reports of 'Abdu'l-Bahá's visit there as printed in local papers, etc. Available on microfilm: (check: OCLC # 8303668)
[Robert Stauffer].

Al Haj Garba Isa Nsukka [Nigeria], anti-Bahá'í letter headed "Opposed" in The Middle East No.105 (July 1983), p.5. [Ed].

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FORTHCOMING BAHÁ'Í STUDIES SEMINAR

The Bahá'í Studies Seminar announced in the last issue of the Bulletin will be held in the Catholic Chaplaincy (of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne) over the weekend SEPTEMBER 10th-11th 1983 (note change of date). Enquiries regarding venue, accomodation, etc., and offers of papers may be made either to Dr. Denis MacEoin, 2 Buston Terrace, Newcastle upon Tyne or to myself (ED).