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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 Bahai Religions (or the like) and be befittingly published rather than photostatically reproduced.

The success of this Bulletin 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, methodological, sociological, doctrinal or theological, ;
- b) Bibliographical essays or notes;
- c) Copies of generally unavailable letters or tablets of the Bab, Bahā'u'llāh, Abdu'l-Bahā or Shoghi Effendi whether in the original language(s) or in translation;
- d) Notices of recently published books, articles and reviews, ;
- e) Previously unpublished notes or documents;
- f) Reports of work in progress or of seminars and conferences relating directly or indirectly to Babi-Bahai studies.

All contributions to this Bulletin should be sent to:-

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SOME NEW NOTES ON IBRAHIM KHEIRALLA

One of the major turning points in the history of the Bahá'í Faith was the establishment of a Bahá'í community in the United States in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Already, under the leadership of Bahá'u'lláh, the religion had transcended its Islamic roots and had begun to spread among Jews, Zoroastrians, and (to a much lesser extent) Christians in the Middle East. However, transplanting the faith to a Western cultural milieu required a different approach to it than generally existed among Middle Eastern Bahá'ís.

Such a shift in emphasis was provided by Ibrahim Kheiralla, a Syrian Christian who converted to the Baha'i Faith in Egypt in 1889. A few years after his conversion, during a business trip to the United States, he began spreading the religion among Americans through a series of thirteen graduated classes for "Truth Seekers." The content of these classes was an amalgamation of ideas drawn from Near Eastern popular religion, and concepts gleaned from contemporary American religious movements such as Spiritualism, Transcendentalism, and higher criticism of the Bible. Although (or perhaps because) this synthesis was unorthodox, and in some respects conflicted with the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh, it popularized the Bahá'í Faith in the United States. Soon there were sizeable Bahá'í communities in several cities--New York, Chicago, and Kenosha, Wisconsin, and smaller groups in a number of other localities.

Kheiralla, as the founder of the American Bahá'í community, was generally recognized as an authority on Bahá'í doctrine among these newly converted Bahá'ís. However, in the summer of 1899,

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pilgrims returning from a visit to 'Abdu'l-Bahá challenged the validity of some of Kheiralla's teachings on the basis that they contradicted some of 'Abdu'l-Bahá's own statements. Kheiralla ultimately responded to this challenge by questioning the authority of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and delivering his loyalty to his brother Muḥammad-'Alí. This action caused a crisis in the American Baha'i community, the immediate result of which was the division of the community into two factions--those supporting Kheiralla, and those following 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Before long the majority of the American Bahá'ís came to support the leadership of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and Kheiralla's teachings were largely discredited. His role in Bahá'í history after this was a minor one, but he remains an important figure in the establishment of the American Bahá'í community. He was the person who introduced the Bahá'í Faith into the United States, and it was his teachings which initially attracted most of the Bahá'ís who were prominent in the expansion and consolidation of the American Bahá'í community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Despite his importance in Bahá'í history, Kheiralla remains an elusive figure. Almost everything we know about him comes from his own publications, most of which were polemical tracts justifying his position as a follower of Muḥammad-'Alí. Therefore, the discovery of the document presented here--a contemporary account of Kheiralla's involvement in the early American Bahá'í community--was a welcome one. The essay is of particular interest, having been written by Anton Haddad, an intimate associate of Kheiralla who was

familiar with his activities both in Egypt and the United States. The manuscript was apparently intended for publication as a booklet. It was forwarded to Phoebe Hearst, who had subsidized the publication of a number of Bahá'í books, but for reasons which are at present unclear, the manuscript was never published.

The author of this work, unlike Kheiralla, remained loyal to 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Because of this, the essay reflects the personal feelings of betrayal which he felt as a result of Kheiralla's actions, as well as his concern about the effect they might have on the Bahá'í community. The account is polemical, but there is a good deal of information that is incidental to the polemics, and it provides a source with which to balance Kheiralla's own accounts. For these reasons it will be of interest to those studying the early history of the Bahá'í Faith in the United States.

NOTE: The original copy of this manuscript is in the Phoebe Hearst Papers (Collection 72/204/C, Bancroft Library), Carton 8, "Churches and Missions" file. In some cases I have changed the transliterations from the original text. In a few instances I have added words in brackets to make the text more comprehensible.

Richard Hollinger.

Figure 1

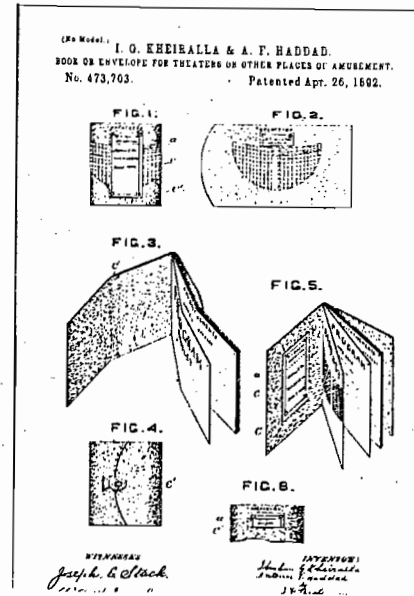
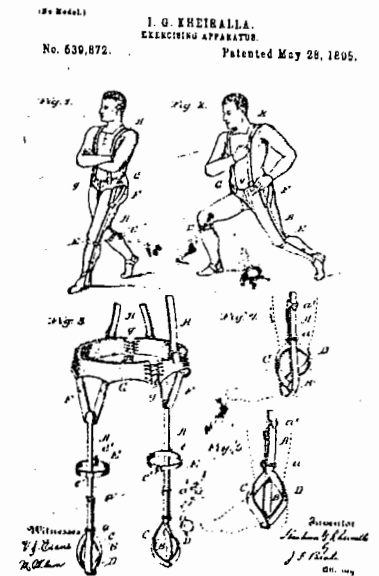


Figure 2



AN OUTLINE OF THE BAHÁ'Í MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

I believed it to be important at this time to give people in general, and Bahá'ís in particular, a[n] historical sketch of the introduction of Bahá'ism into the United States of America. Having been one of the foremost adherents of this religion in the Western world, I would like to give the following information to all whom it may concern.

In 1886 I went from Syria to Cairo, Egypt, and there, through the kindness of some friends, made the acquaintance of a certain Syrian, known by the name of Ibrahim Kheiralla [ Khayru'lláh ], from Bahamdún, a village nine miles distant from <sup>°</sup>Aín Zhaltá my own village on Mt. Lebanon, Syria. We became friends at the first meeting, and from that time on our friendship strengthened daily, until at last we were like brothers. The greater part of our time was spent in each other's company, and not a single day passed without [us] calling on each other. These felicitous relations caused our friends to envy us.

I was employed as translator in the Egyptian Ministry of War in 1887, which was then and still is controlled by the English officers, such as Generfell [sic.] Pasha, Parr Pasha, Kitchener Pasha, and Wingate Pasha. <sup>1.</sup>

Ibrahim Kheiralla, though a contractor of public works, <sup>2.</sup> was at that time ambitious to achieve proficiency in the art of black magic, hoping that he might be able to attain whatever he desired. He occupied the greater part of his time in calling on magicians and hunting after old books and papers which might

give him the necessary information for his purpose, and satisfy his passion. According to Kheiralla's statement to me at that time, he had already collected some books and papers which gave him the method of practicing 'black magic.' It became a predilection with him to investigate and hunt after everything that, according to his own ideas, might assist him to achieve the highest proficiency in this art. His long and earnest search at last brought him to a black magician who confessed to Kheiralla that his art was not lucrative, and advised Kheiralla to give up all ideas which are harmful and injurious. Thereupon he directed him to call upon <sup>°</sup>Abdu'l-Karím, <sup>3</sup> who is notable for his white magic and other extraordinary[ abilities?].

This information put Kheiralla in an ecstasy of joy, for he had not believed the time would ever come when he would have the honor of meeting such a grand and remarkable man.

This expectation gave him new hope and encouragement for the attainment of his long-desired end, and accordingly he took every step in his power to reach the said <sup>°</sup>Abdu'l-Karím. He besought some of his friends to serve him as intermediators to bring him nigh the goal of his aims--<sup>°</sup>Abdu'l-Karím. Not many weeks passed, after struggling, beseeching, and entreating, when he came into the presence of <sup>°</sup>Abdu'l-Karím, who received him cordially but complaisantly. Then <sup>°</sup>Abdu'l-Karím began to talk to Kheiralla, inquiring about his object in visiting him and whether he could do anything for him. This question gave Kheiralla the desired opportunity to speak of his ambition. <sup>°</sup>Abdu'l-Karím then commanded him to return to his home and destroy all the papers he had collected for the practice of 'black magic.' He instructed Kheiralla

also to eradicate from his mind all such injurious and chimerical ideas which might lead him to destruction. To recompense him for the loss of his papers on 'black magic,' 'Abdül-Karím promised to aid him to attain greater powers which would make his words effective and convincing—powers which would never be given except to those whom God had desired should accomplish whatever he wishes. 'Abdu'l-Karim promised also that he should be a great man if he would only listen to his admonitions and instructions, and endeavour to the extent of his ability to submit himself to the commands of God.

However, 'Abdül-Karím made it well known to Kheiralla that spiritual powers could not be acquired in an instant, and only through a process of moral and spiritual development.

After long associations with Kheiralla in Cairo and America, I came to understand that the sole aim and purpose of his researches, and his anxiety to be recognized as a pupil of 'Abdül-Karím in one place and another, was merely an expression of his worldly ambitions and cravings for name and fame, longing for authority and dominion over other people, and other selfish motives. The promises of 'Abdu'l-Karím might have been fulfilled and Kheiralla /might/ have become a great man had he humbled his pride and subjected himself to his Lord and Master, 'Abbás Effendí /'Abdu'l-Bahá/. But as it is, he has lost whatever power he had acquired, and is now acting recklessly and leading people to erring thoughts and astray into the waterless desert of despair and aberration. Yet, the "dead shall bury their dead."<sup>4</sup>

Kheiralla called daily upon 'Abdül-Karím for more than two years. During that time he was instructed in all the Bahá'í teachings—both its religious tenets and its historical facts. 'Abdül-Karím

interpreted for Kheiralla many obscure passages of the Bible, notably the miracles, prophecies and signs. It astonished me that Kheiralla now denies these facts, forgetting that he is refuting his own earlier statements made in a little pamphlet entitled The Identity of God.<sup>5</sup>

While in Cairo, before coming to the United States, Kheiralla made no effort to spread the Bahá'í teachings to the natives there. Therefore he kept to himself the good news of Bahá'ism, hoping that he might some day become a leader of the Cause.

Kheiralla's haughtiness and ambitions caused bitter enmity between him and his brother-in-law, Elias Bey Manassa/s/, who was also ambitious along the same lines, for Manassas, too, had learned of the Bahá'í teachings from 'Abdül-Karím.

I am reluctant to refer to this incident which occurred between two brothers who were, apparently, seeking to know the same Truth of God. Circumstances forced me to know all of Kheiralla's intentions and now circumstances make it expedient for me to make them public, particularly to those who believe in the purity and soundness of Bahá'ism.

Kheiralla continually accused Elias Bey Manassas to 'Abdül-Karím, for more than a year, of being insincere, hoping this way to disparage Elias Bey Manassas and prevent 'Abdül-Karím from teaching him further. But 'Abdül-Karím outgeneraled Kheiralla, both in strategy and in wisdom, and continued to welcome Elias Bey and to treat him kindly.

Notwithstanding 'Abdül-Karím's endeavors to reconcile the brothers, they avoided meeting each other, and when Kheiralla left Cairo for Europe, he refused to bid good-by [~~sic~~] to Manassas.

Elias Bey Manassas died about a year later. Then the news of his death reached Kheiralla in America, instead of regretting or lamenting either the death or the previous relations, as any true Christian would, he rejoiced publicly and said, "Thus ends the life of those who oppose me and do not submit to me!" Besides, he attributed the death of Elias Bey Manassas to the mysterious occult powers which he thought he possessed.

I wish the reader to understand that what I have already stated in this paper, and all the facts which follow, became known to me personally during my close associations with Kheiralla, and from what he told me on various occasions.

I have hesitated to make these statements public, fearing that it may seem that I am betraying the confidence once reposed in me by Kheiralla; but since he has publicly denied his Master, and mine, 'Abbás Effendí, I feel it a duty I owe to the Cause of Bahá'ism to reveal the true character of Kheiralla by stating the facts. I have in my possession several autograph letters from Kheiralla which prove the main points of what I say. God forbid that I should state anything but the truth.

I intend no harm to Kheiralla through this paper, but I wish to caution the Bahá'ís in America, as well as others, who have not yet heard of him, that should they come in contact with him, to be cautious and guard themselves against injury by him.

Kheiralla acquainted me with all his movements and transactions because I was so constantly with him and because of the close and sincere friendship that then existed between us. One day, when we were alone, I said to him, "I wish you would tell me what is the secret in your frequent visits to 'Abdu'l-Karím,

and what is your object?"

Kheiralla then related to me the details of every incident of his relations with 'Abdu'l-Karím as they had occurred, from beginning to end, and how he was expecting to become a great man through 'Abdu'l-Karím.

"'Abdu'l-Karím," he further said, "is the head of the Bahá'í Society in Egypt, and is next to the Master, and is regarded as one of the wisest men in Egypt; he is one of the four beasts referred to in the Revelation of Saint John.<sup>6</sup> From this you may draw your own conclusion as to what my object is, and what powers and greatness I expect to derive from his teachings. Know also," he continued, "that this society is large and its membership spreads throughout the world; but no one can become one of its members until he has been initiated by the leaders and heads-- especially by the four beasts, of whom 'Abdu'l-Karím is one."

Kheiralla further stated that no one could be accepted even as a follower unless he was a married man and had undergone a spiritual preparation calculated to fit him to receive a higher truth. All this stimulated my desire to know the full particulars about this great matter, and I therefore entreated Kheiralla to intercede for me with 'Abdu'l-Karím that I might become a member of the Society should I be so fortunate as to be found worthy of this distinguished honor. He promised me that he would grant the favor I asked and would take me into the presence of 'Abdu'l-Karím for a trial. This promise cheered me considerably and I began to prepare myself by supplicating God, the Almighty, to permit me to pass the trial before 'Abdu'l-Karím and appear acceptable before him.

A few days later, Kheiralla came to me and said, "I have good news for you! Glad tidings! Be happy, for 'Abdu'l-Karím has listened to my entreaties and agreed to see you at my house! But as I told you before," Kheiralla continued, "'Abdu'l-Karím is not an ordinary man--he is not a man who can be seen or approached by everybody--but he is a man of great wisdom, great power, great intelligence, and great spirituality. So be careful not to omit any act of deference when you enter his presence, but show him every homage and respect. Bow down before him; then kiss his hand, if not the train of his garment; and do not seat yourself unless he commands you to do so. If you do otherwise the result will not be favorable to you."

All these instructions were carefully rehearsed by me lest I should forget them at the critical moment.

When the appointed day arrived for my meeting with 'Abdu'l-Karím at Kheiralla's house, I went there with a throbbing heart and excited nerves, as a result of my expectations and preparations for the meeting and trial. When I entered the presence of 'Abdu'l-Karím I behaved as I had been instructed to do, and remained standing before him until he commanded me to be seated. Before I sat down, however, 'Abdu'l-Karím scrutinized me from head to foot; then he turned to Kheiralla and said, "He looks to be like unto a piece of pure gold that only needs to be cleansed and polished." At this, Kheiralla turned to me and said, "I congratulate you; be happy, for 'Abdu'l-Karím has accepted you as one of his pupils."

I thanked them both for conferring upon me this great honor. From that time on, Kheiralla would now and then disclose a part

of the knowledge which he had received and which he regarded as a sacred mystery. But summing up all the knowledge I had gained from Kheiralla up to my departure from Cairo to America was that God had manifested himself in the person of Bahá'u'lláh; and new interpretations of certain prophecies were given to me. But in conversation with me, Kheiralla laid great stress on the importance of 'Abdu'l-Karím's spiritual station, enumerating his miraculous feats after he embraced the Bahá'í teachings. It was Kheiralla's constant desire that the day would come when he would have equally great powers, with the ability to exercise authority over people.

To prove to me how beloved and favored by 'Abdu'l-Karím he was and how much higher a spiritual station he had gained since he had been taught by him, Kheiralla one day said to me, "Today I have received from 'Abdu'l-Karím something that is priceless, and which is beyond my power to describe."

"Is it possible for me to know what it is?" I asked.

"Not now," he said, "but the day will come when, if you prove yourself worthy of it, you will also have it given to you; but to put you at ease, I will tell you that it is a word, which, when pronounced a certain number of times, will enable you to obtain whatever you desire, and especially to exercise power over people and make them humble and submissive to you. Do not think that I am telling you stories or fables. Nay, nay! Rather, I am telling you facts--realities. I have already tried some of these powers and proved their success."

"What do you mean and what was the trial?" I asked.

"Yesterday," he replied, "I was obliged to call on a promin-



ent merchant about business matters. He was accustomed to greet me sternly and coldly. Before I entered the house I repeated the mystic word according to instructions, and as soon as I entered his presence, he rose up and came forward and shook hands and gave me a most cordial reception. So you can now imagine the effect of this word and the power I possess.

"Now that I have proved my power to you, I wish," continued Kheiralla, "owing to your friendship with Mr. M\_\_\_ and Mr. S\_\_\_ (people of influence and wealth), you would call on them and try to place me favorably before them, advising them at the same time to obey me in all things as I desire."

Kheiralla was in straightened circumstances financially at this time. As I did not then know Kheiralla's real motive, and wishing to comply with his request, I called on the two persons referred to and praised Kheiralla highly to them and suggested that they endeavor to meet Kheiralla and investigate the things he possessed so profound a knowledge of.

Kheiralla wished me to feel under obligations to him because he had introduced me to 'Abdu'l-Karim.

"Do you realize the importance of the favor 'Abdu'l-Karim conferred on you through me? Are you aware that here in this big city of Cairo you have been the preferred of many Syrians and men of other nationalities who were begging day and night to attain to this spiritual and great station which you have now attained and they have not?"

Kheiralla said that Z\_\_\_ Pasha, a high official in the Egyptian Ministry of War, was one of those who supplicated 'Abdu'l-Karim several times to honor him by assisting him to attain to

this station. But the Pasha was refused on the ground of his unworthiness.

Kheiralla related to me several other incidents of a similar character by which he hoped to prove to me that a great honor had been conferred upon me by 'Abdu'l-Karim through his intercession.

A few months later, Kheiralla received word from 'Abdu'l-Karim that through spiritual development many of the mysteries of nature would soon be disclosed to him, and this news made Kheiralla feel himself to be a very important personage. He had greater hopes than ever of knowing things that nobody else knew of. The first material produce of Kheiralla's imagination was a design for a new theatrical ticket with a coupon attached, and with sufficient space for a commercial or professional advertisement.\* He submitted the design to 'Abdu'l-Karim and asked him if he would be successful if he applied for a patent in the United States. Kheiralla said to me that 'Abdu'l-Karim had promised him it would be a great success, and had advised him to hasten in taking the necessary steps to secure a patent. Thus full of hopes of success, Kheiralla revealed his secret to me and asked me to cooperate with him in the matter. We succeeded in obtaining a patent in the United States through the assistance of some friends in Cairo, and the legal aid of Forbes Beale, Esq., an attorney of Washington D.C. The patent was taken out in our joint names. When we had actually received it many of our friends in Cairo envied us, believing our success sure, and that thousands of dollars would accrue to us as profits, especially as Kheiralla hoped the new ticket would be used at the World's Fair at Chicago.

Kheiralla's first invention, as he called it, made him yearn to produce another, so he brought his mysterious powers into play

\* See Figure 1. ( below, p. 6 ).

by concentrating his thought on the "plane of discoveries and inventions." To his joy and astonishment, he succeeded in capturing another inventive idea, which he quickly added to his now increasing list. This time the mystery was a new sort of necktie which would render a lasting and invaluable service to the world of economics. This invention was so important, as Kheiralla thought, that he desired to have it patented throughout the world, instead of in the United States only. However, straightened circumstances forced him to await the hoped for returns from his first ticket invention before patenting the second one.

But Kheiralla's lack of success with his first and second inventions did not deter him from discovering a third "mystery." This was, as he told me and others of the Bahá'ists, a machine to accelerate speed in walking. \* 8 Kheiralla hoped much for this machine--he even hoped that it would be adopted by the Russian, German, French, and British armies for the use of their soldiers when on long marches in time of war. Kheiralla claimed that an army equipped with his walking machines would defeat any army not so equipped. But as Kheiralla was an orthodox Greek Catholic, he decided to give the preference to the Czar of Russia's army, that they might have an advantage over every other army.

Then Kheiralla concentrated his mind "on the plane of inventions" again, and this time caught the idea of a flying machine, or air ship, constructed after the form of birds, and operated according to the principles of their flight. But this last and fourth invention remained a dream in the brain of Kheiralla and was never destined to enter the realm of realities.

But Kheiralla's love and tenderness and compassion(?) for his fellowmen would not permit his inventive mind to rest, so he  
\* See Figure 2 (below, p. 6).

conceived of a fifth invention. This time it was something to save people from death in a shipwreck. His idea was of a machine that would support the wrecked ship on both sides and thus prevent it from sinking, however terrific the storms encountered. This idea proved an abortive one and was no more successful than the others.

On more than one occasion Kheiralla told me he had received his ideas of inventions directly from God--that they were given to him in visions, and that these visions were becoming plainer and plainer so that at last he should receive a perfect description of the inventions as they were revealed. He laid great stress on seeing visions, and claimed that he would be able to solve the mysteries of nature, facilitate commercial success, and predict future events.

Kheiralla then began to make preparations for a trip to the West in order to carry out the ideas he had conceived on the "mystic plane of inventions." However, before he departed from Cairo he consulted 'Abdul-Karím, asking his leave and begging his opinion of the success of his prospective journey. 'Abdu'l-Karím consented to Kheiralla's going and promised him a great success. 10

Kheiralla wanted me to give up my position with the Egyptian government and go with him to America to work out the ticket invention. I protested that I would hazard my future livelihood by embarking in so uncertain a venture. 11 Kheiralla said, "Success is sure--inevitable--but to give you more certainty, let us go some day to the master, 'Abdu'l-Karím, and you will hear from him what he thinks of the success of my important invention. And you must know, also, that what 'Abdu'l-Karím says will be, will be."

Kheiralla made an appointment with 'Abdu'l-Karim and I had the pleasure of conferring with him later, and heard from his own lips that he believed the ticket invention was as great and wonderful as Kheiralla had represented it to me. Then I broached the subject of Kheiralla's proposition to have me accompany him to America, and asked 'Abdu'l-Karim if he could be sure of the success of the undertaking, and to tell me what he knew about it, that I did not wish to give up my office in the Ministry of War if nothing but failure awaited me in America.

"Go ahead; fear nothing; success is certain, and what better proof can you expect from me than that I say I am willing to be a partner," said 'Abdu'l-Karim.

My courage increased and my own judgment gave way before the statements of Kheiralla and 'Abdu'l-Karim. Then it was planned that Kheiralla should first go to Russia for the purpose of favoring the Russian government with his walking machine, and I was to go to America to work out his theatrical ticket and introduce it at the World's Fair in Chicago.

It will be interesting right here to mention that upon our departure from Cairo, 'Abdu'l-Karim extended his kindest wishes, and showered upon us his heartfelt blessing from the "heaven of his favor and bounty." He gave me the long promised mystical word; it was the Greatest Name, which is well known<sup>12</sup> to all Bahá'ís. More than this, 'Abdu'l-Karim asked one of his scribes to copy two or three short tablets by the Blessed Perfection (Bahá'u'lláh) which he then gave to me. He also gave some tablets to Kheiralla, who had them bound in red leather. Of course we both prized these tablets and believed that such evidences of our favor with 'Abdu'l-

Karim would prove that we were among those who had answered the "Call of the Trumpet!"<sup>13</sup>

Kheiralla and I left Cairo together on or about the 9th of June, 1892. A few days previous to this (May 28th) the sorrowful event of the death of the Blessed Perfection at Akka,<sup>14</sup> Syria, made our hearts heavy with grief. He was the Manifestation of God on earth, and at His death all the earth and the heavens wailed and lamented.

Kheiralla and I arrived at Alexandria about the 10th of June, and remained there nine days. On the 19th of June both of us left Alexandria, he for [St.] Petersburg, [now Leningrad] Russia, and I for America.

Kheiralla was not able to induce the Russian government to adopt his walking machine even after his hard struggle in presenting it to the Ministry of War. Then he went to Germany, with no better result. Under such circumstances, Kheiralla wrote me that he wished to come to America to help me work out the theater ticket project.

I immediately wrote to Kheiralla that although I had made every possible effort to introduce the ticket, I had so far only the promises of lawyers and others of making anything out of it. However, Kheiralla came here from Germany, arriving, I think, in the month of February, 1892. For three or four months he worked with me to promote the use of our theater tickets. But it was a failure.

With such a disappointment, Kheiralla was forced to look about him for some other means of livelihood for himself, and [for] his wife and children who were still living at Cairo, on the generosity and under the care of 'Abdu'l-Karim.

Kheiralla made the acquaintance of a number of Syrians in New York, among them Ibrahim Dohroaje from Mount Lebanon. Kheiralla and this Syrian entered into a partnership under the condition that Dohroaje should purchase a stock of oriental embroideries, silks and so forth, when they were to leave New York and travel about from one city to another, Kheiralla lecturing to attract the people to purchase the goods. They stopped for a few weeks at Grand Rapids and Petoski, Michigan, where Kheiralla lectured on Syria and Egypt, following the custom of Oriental vendors <sup>15</sup> [sic] of silks and embroideries.

This partnership terminated about the time that the World's Fair was closed, when Kheiralla went to Chicago and <sup>16</sup> Dohroaje came back to New York.

At that time Kheiralla began to heal by the laying on of <sup>17</sup> hands. He claims to have been very successful. He thus made the acquaintance of some persons who were investigating religions, or searching after some religion that satisfied or appealed to them. Here was Kheiralla's chance to exhibit his mystic powers in healing diseases, which he believed, had come to him as a result of his acceptance of the religious teachings of Bahá'ism. This claim of Kheiralla's caused his listeners to follow him about from place to place with a good deal of persistence and perseverance in finding out all that he knew about Bahá'ism. In several months Kheiralla had gathered about him quite a following, who were grateful for the knowledge he gave them about Bahá'ism, and <sup>18</sup> [were] loyal and devoted friends.

Kheiralla began to feel his greatness, and he longed to be addressed by a title that would indicate his proper place among

learned people, or professional people. Such a title would increase his influence over his followers, and it was always Kheiralla's object to gain power over people.

Through some underhanded manipulations of regulations governing the conferring of titles, a certain medical university in Chicago conferred on Kheiralla the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Kheiralla immediately wrote of this to me at New York, requesting me to congratulate him, and at the same time to circulate an account of this event in the East, and particularly in Beirut, where his children lived. Then he claimed to be expecting to receive the degree of L.L.D. In another letter he wrote: "I have spoken to the president of the University about you, and have assured him that you are learned in the same subjects that I am and that you have an excellent character. The president was much interested in you and was anxious to meet you. He has agreed to confer on you the title of Doctor of Divinity upon my testimony, which I hope will please you, especially under the present straightened circumstances, and which he offers to procure for you for the sum of thirty dollars, and will send you the diploma in New York." Kheiralla had paid this amount for his title; that is, he had paid ten down and still owed twenty dollars.

I was curious to know what sort of a diploma it was and wrote to Kheiralla to send it to me. Upon receiving it I showed it to Dr. Hall, President of the Central Park Museum to translate it for me, for it was written in Latin. To my astonishment I learned that the grantee of the diploma was a medical university, and that it purported to have been given me for passing a thorough examination in the subjects concerned, and was signed by medical

doctors only. I became suspicious of the methods of Kheiralla had used in securing such diplomas. Later, when I became acquainted with one of the believers in Bahá'ism, I brought the subject up before him. This man was the second person to become an adherent to Bahá'ism through the teaching of Kheiralla, and what <sup>18</sup> was his surprise upon examining the diploma, to find that one of the signers was a Bahá'ist, and [the] others [were] persons whom he was acquainted with.

"This diploma," he declared, "is a bogus one, and those who have signed it were expelled from the university for conferring just such diplomas, not only to you and Kheiralla, but to others as well." I was ashamed of the whole transaction and my part in it, and asked this man to hold it in his possession as I had no use for it.

From that time I did not mention this subject to my friends and never used the title. But Kheiralla uses his "title" up to the present day and is known to all his acquaintances as "Dr. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla," and boasts of it. These facts I am able to prove by the diploma given to me, and by Kheiralla's letters now in my possession.

I went to Antwerp, Belgium, in 1894, where a fair was opened. Kheiralla and I continued to correspond. While there, Kheiralla wrote me that owing to some new development of affairs, he had great hopes for the success of the theater ticket he had invented and patented, and requesting me to give him power of attorney because he could not act alone, as the patent had been taken out in our joint names. This I did through the American Consul at Antwerp.

I went to Syria from Antwerp, and remained there two years.

During all this time Kheiralla was in Chicago, teaching the art of mystic healing, and preaching Bahá'ism.

Then I thought of coming to this country again, and received a letter from Kheiralla saying he hoped before I left Syria that I would not forget to go to 'Akká and Haifa and visit 'Abbás Effendí and give him an accurate account and description of the Master because he needed it to teach the American Bahá'ists.

Accordingly, I visited 'Abbás Effendí, and when I returned to New York I wrote Kheiralla a full description of the Master, of Haifa and 'Akká, and this description was typewritten and copies given to many of the believers, so that the facts stated therein became generally known. He also wrote me from Chicago, begging me, if I should ever be asked by anyone of the believers, not to reveal the fact to them that he had never seen Bahá'u'lláh, for the reason that he taught them that he saw Bahá'u'lláh in order to make his teachings more effective.<sup>19</sup>

Time passed, and then Kheiralla went to 'Akká himself, in company with some American believers, and visited 'Abbás Effendí.<sup>20</sup> On the eve of his departure from New York, Kheiralla called a meeting of the Bahá'ists and admonished them to remain steadfast and firm in the Cause, saying, "For this is the Truth, and you must not let anything come between this Truth and your faithfulness and steadfastness to it--not even if you should hear that I, your teacher, have become a backslider."

Prior to the exposure of the falseness of Kheiralla's teachings

he wrote, urging me to make haste and make a translation of his book and send it at once to him so that he could get the Master's approval of it before publishing. But when he became fully cognizant of the ignorance and falsity displayed by him in what he had been teaching as Bahá'ism to people who were trusting him, he wrote me another letter, asking me not to send the translation of his book to 'Akká as he had discovered some mistakes in it which he wanted to correct before it was submitted to the Court of His Holiness [i.e. 'Abdu'l-Bahá]. Some American believers started to 'Akká before I had received his second letter about the book and I found it a convenient opportunity to send the translation by them instead of sending it by mail.<sup>21</sup>

When the American [S/] arrived in 'Akká they handed the translation to Kheiralla, but he never submitted it to the Master because his pride and conceit prevented him from allowing his mistakes to become known.<sup>22</sup>

While Kheiralla was in 'Akká he wrote me a letter in which he spoke of the greatness of the spiritual station of the Master and of the love, honor, kindness and benevolence shown him. A translation of this letter is attached herewith.<sup>23</sup>

There arose considerable trouble and dissension between the American believers who were visiting 'Akká and the children of Kheiralla by his first wife, who lived in Syria and who were also in 'Akká with their father.<sup>24</sup>

While Kheiralla was visiting 'Abbás Effendí, he behaved disrespectfully toward two American believers<sup>25</sup> and the Master, and showed considerable ill temper and arrogance, all of which 'Abbás Effendí never resented in any way, but continued to treat Kheiralla

lovingly, kindly, and affectionately. But as Kheiralla's motives were base and impure, the goodness of 'Abbás Effendí was ineffective, and although he instructed Kheiralla to be loving and kind to everybody, even to his enemies, he persisted in seeking to place himself high in the regard of people, and as next in importance to the Master.

Kheiralla's fourth wife, Mariam Miller Kheiralla, joined Kheiralla in 'Akká in spite of his desire that she should not go there with him, and Kheiralla treated her very badly while there, although he pretended to love her and had her accompany him wherever he went.<sup>27</sup>

Kheiralla, his wife Mariam, his children by his Syrian wife, and the visiting Americans started for America. The Americans were detained in Paris a few days, and Kheiralla and his children reached New York ahead of them.<sup>28</sup>

Upon his arrival, Kheiralla immediately called a meeting of the believers in New York and talked to them about the beauties of 'Akká and the divinity of the Master, and spent much time and many words in praising his own children, much to the disgust of of his hearers.

Kheiralla had taken a dislike to two of the American believers who were in 'Akká with him, a man and his wife, and then they returned to New York from Paris, he did all he could to injure their reputation.

"Such actions are not wise," I said to Kheiralla, "and neither is such an attitude toward people in accordance with the Spirit of Truth as lived and taught by the Master."

"You do not know what they have done to me," Kheiralla replied, and then related all that had taken place between them, and how

they, the Americans, as Kheiralla assumed, had tried to disparage him before the Master, and belittle his knowledge and teachings, and how they were seeking to rob him of his literary laurels by using some underhanded means of publishing his book in their name.<sup>29</sup> He also said these Americans had written from 'Akká to some of the American believers here that Kheiralla's teachings were not correct, and that, according to the teachings of Baha'u'llah, a teacher of Bahá'ism is not allowed to take money for his instruction.<sup>30</sup>

"This being the case," said Kheiralla, "lest some of the believers believe what they say, I want to down them in the sight of their few friends here so that when they speak they will have no listeners--not even any friends--and in this way I shall protect myself from the injury of their statements."

"You had better wait until they come, and then if they speak against you, you will have time enough to refute what they say," I advised. "Suppose you speak against them now to the people here, and when they come they speak well of you, what would be the result? It would cause people to lose confidence in you and they would accuse you of injustice and oppression."

"You haven't had sufficient experience yet to be able to judge. I am sure they will not speak well of me," said Kheiralla.

"You had better head my advice and not be stubborn, and time will prove that my view of the case is correct," I answered.

So Kheiralla took the offensive and began to spread false reports against the Americans. This disgusted those who heard him. When the maligned Americans reached New York they were immediately informed by their friends of what Kheiralla had been saying, but instead of retaliating they returned good for evil, and at one of the Baha'i meetings they praised Kheiralla to the sky, and thus

gained the sympathy of the people. Kheiralla was more indignant and angry than he would have been had they assailed him, and he became furious when reminded of the correctness of my advice.

Kheiralla was undoubtedly in an awkward position before the Bahá'ís, especially for the spirit of revenge and malice which he had exhibited since his return from the presence of the Master.

Just at this time Kheiralla was expecting Amir Hani Schehab to marry his daughter, Nabiha, a child by his first wife, and Kheiralla was troubled and despondent at the turn of affairs with the believers because he wanted his prospective son-in-law to be favorably impressed with his importance.

"I want you to help me and stand by me against these difficulties in which I am entangled," he said.

"With pleasure," I replied, "if it is within my power."

"I know," said Kheiralla, "that the Master, 'Abbás Effendí, loves you and will believe your statements, so I wish to write him a letter in which I will describe to him my present conditions, and beg him to write to the rich people in this country to help me in return for the invaluable service I had rendered the Cause, and [tell them?] that now my family is with me and my daughter ought to be given a dowry when she is married. I would also like the Master to authorize me to publish my book as the fundamental basis of the Bahá'í teachings in America. I also wish that 'Abbás Effendí would send me some tablets in which he praises my work, and commands the believers to listen to what I say and obey me and not to listen to other people who are only people of sedition and strife. I want you to sign this letter with me, and by so doing you will render me a great service which I shall never forget."

Such were the motives and designs of Kheiralla which made me suspicious of all he said and did, and showed his character to be unscrupulous and a dangerous man to the Cause. I never signed that letter and began to shun the society of Kheiralla more and more. Eventually, Kheiralla signed the letter himself and forwarded it to the Master. A translation of that letter is herewith attached.<sup>31</sup>

Kheiralla was too shrewd to show any displeasure or dissatisfaction at my not signing the letter and complying with his various requests, but continued to express his love and friendship for me, all the time scheming to play another game on me.

"Haddad, now, after I have returned from 'Akká, it is necessary that I look out for my material affairs. I must make money and help my family (Syrian family) live in comfort and happiness. I have done enough work for this Cause of Bahá'ism and for 'Abbás Effendí, and now I want to work for myself and enjoy life after the hard struggle I have had. But this comfort and happiness that I seek I wish to share with you, for I want you to be able to bring your family from Syria so that we may live together again as we did in Egypt. By way of gaining what I need, I have made certain propositions to some of the believers by which I hope to obtain enough money to start a sheikjana [sháy-kháníh?], or tea-house, for Amir Hani, my daughter's fiance. This business would insure your family and mine a good income. In order to get hold of the necessary money to start such a tea house I must, by some means or other, get complete control of the minds of a few of the wealthy American believers. So I have figured out that the best and only way is for you to go to Mr. and Mrs. M\_\_\_, Mr. D\_\_\_, Mr. K\_\_\_, Miss O\_\_\_, Mr. H\_\_\_, Mr. H\_\_\_, and others and explain to them

what extraordinary occult powers I have and that anyone who does not obey me and comply with my demands will surely suffer all sorts of afflictions, if not death, and their money will be lost and they will suffer poverty."

"I never knew that you had developed such remarkable powers as these you speak of," I replied.

"Have you forgotten what happened to my brother-in-law Elias Bev Manassas, and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Malik Bey?<sup>32</sup> They opposed me and tried to injure me and I destroyed them. Do you not see that death came to them mysteriously? And was it not through my powers and because my wrath was upon them? Do you not remember what I told you in Cairo, that by repeating some of the Psalms of David, especially the one hundred and ninth, certain times, I can ruin the man who opposes me?<sup>33</sup> Did I not write to you while I was in 'Akká that the Master had given me the 'Lost Word', which had only been given to three persons besides myself? This world is so powerful and effective that I dare not breathe it to anyone because they could not stand hearing it."

The attached translation of one of Kheiralla's letters will make this matter very plain to the reader.

These direful revelations of Kheiralla's intentions and designs confounded me not a little. Here he was preaching the Truth of God and urging people to love one another and to be sincere, truthful, and faithful! How could I account for it?

"It seems to me," I said, "that your faith in the Master is beginning to waver, for you must know that he is cognizant of all that you do and all you intend to do. I see a change in you from what you have asked me to do, for it is all in opposition



to the Bahá'í teachings and contrary to the commands of 'Abbás Effendí. Do you not know that He will never approve of such doings? You will injure yourself by opposing Him more than you will injure anyone else."

"I will tell you the truth about it all," he said. "As I said before, I have come to America this time for the purpose of making money, and for no other reason. I have not come for the sake of the Truth, for I have done enough for that, as God as my witness. I know very well that 'Abbás Effendí is the Master of the Bahá'ís, and is the one appointed by the Blessed Perfection /I.e. Bahá'u'lláh as the Center of His Covenant, and also that he is the Greatest Branch extended from the Ancient Root /I.e. the greatest of Bahá'u'lláh's sons, and that Muḥammad 'Alí is an usurper and not fit to even be one of 'Abbás Effendí's servants. Muḥammad 'Alí and his brother, Badí' [Mírzá Badí'calláh] are dissipated and leading a licentious life, and are squandering the money and valuables left them by their father, Bahá'u'lláh, in bribing officials of the Turkish government so that they may have the power and opportunity to injure the Master. But notwithstanding my knowledge of all this concerning the spiritual station of the Master, 'Abbás Effendí, I tell you I will ignore Him, denounce him, and replace Him by His brother, Muḥammad 'Alí, unless I can get the financial aid from the believers that I need. If 'Abbás Effendí, in whose hands is the power to ameliorate both my moral and financial conditions, is overlooking my past services to His Cause and the Cause of God, and will not appoint me the head of the American believers so that no one can ever communicate with Him except through me, or does not approve of my publishing my the book I have prepared, and does not approve of its being trans-

lated into Persian, and if He does not write to the wealthy American believers telling them to give me financial aid; or if He does not repudiate the statements of those who have refuted my teachings, I will do as I declare against Him. I will do this and will not fear the result, whatever it may be. I will take my chance on dying as Samson did, in the temple, 'along with my enemies.'" 35

This sounded like blasphemy to me, and the threats seemed ridiculous. "But you must know that it will be impossible for you to carry out these threats because you have already taught the people one thing about the Truth of Bahá'ism, and no you cannot turn around and teach the opposite. And, remember, that before you sailed for 'Akká--on the very eve of your departure--you warned the American believers against wavering in their faith, but to remain firm and steadfast. You even went so far as to say that if they should ever hear that you yourself had become a backslider, they were not to weaken for the Cause. How can you dare, in the face of these facts, to refute your own statements, or what means do you intend to use to make you followers believe in you afterwards?"

"How weak and simple you are," Kheiralla replied, "do you not know that the majority of the believers have implicit confidence in me and will believe whatever I say instead of thinking for themselves? The Americans are the most gullible people on earth, and I have only to show them their ignorance and my superiority and I shall control them. Do you not see that I have already been able to twist the Americans around my finger by my power of logic and argument, and [that by] turning and twisting my interpretations of the Holy Books as I please, especially those which refer to 'Abbás Effendi [ it is possible ] to make the suit Muḥammad 'Alí ?

Remember, my dear friend, that I am Kheiralla, and few people can cope with Kheiralla, 'Abbás Effendí not excepted. May God forgive me!"

"It seems to me," I said, "that you are anxious to commit suicide. No one has ever yet been able to oppose the Word of God. 'It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.'"

From his attitude of craving money and power I felt sure Kheiralla intended to deny his Master, 'Abbás Effendí, publicly. He was only waiting to hear from the Master in answer to the letter he sent as cited above.

Now that I had become aware of Kheiralla's intentions, and having heard it from his own mouth, I considered the proper course for me to take was to inform the firm believers as to what Kheiralla was planning to do so that they could be on their guard against his attacks. They all agreed that a question of such vital importance must be submitted to the Master, and I was therefore appointed to go at once to 'Akká and report to 'Abbás Effendí on the conditions here and to get instructions from Him.

Kheiralla's present loss of prestige among his former followers and benefactors in these matters has thrown him into a state of hatred, malice, and vindictiveness toward them, and even against his Master, 'Abbás Effendí. I wish to make the matter clear to people's minds generally, and to Bahá'ists particularly, why Kheiralla has denied his Master who was more kind and benevolent to him than his own father would be under the circumstances.

A few days after my departure for 'Akká, Kheiralla tried to find my whereabouts. I accidentally met his nephew and niece,

who were on their way to New York, at the railroad station in Marseilles, France, and they told Kheiralla of our meeting and that I was on my way to Syria.

Kheiralla was furious at my taking such a trip without his permission or knowledge. Knowing that he had revealed to me his intentions and desires, he at once surmised that my trip to Syria was for the purpose of reporting to 'Abbás Effendí. As Kheiralla had not yet publicly denounced the Master, he planned to frustrate my plans. Kheiralla proposed to some of his friends and believers that they should write a letter to 'Abbás Effendí in which they would malign me and thus cause the Master to give no credence to the statements I would make. However, Kheiralla was unable to get anyone to sign such a letter as he proposed. Then Kheiralla sent the attached letter off with no signature but his own. As Kheiralla awaited a reply from the Master, he did not denounce Him then, but now and then made some slight remark that was full of meaning, and which tended to disparage 'Abbás Effendí as the Master. As an excuse for his remarks, Kheiralla said he had made some discoveries, after honest and sincere investigations, which induced him to speak as he did. In order to fully delude the people, Kheiralla said his daughter, then when? at 'Akká, had made these discoveries. He seemed to have forgotten that both he and his daughters had here in New York praised 'Abbás Effendí as the Master in the highest terms, speaking of his high spiritual station and how glorious and dignified he is, how divine his words, how Godly and holy his character; and how loving and merciful and benevolent in his inner self.

But as Kheiralla failed in attaining his selfish ends in this case, he apparently forgot his letter from 'Akká to the Bahá'ists

in New York, and all that he said, at one time and another, in acknowledgment of 'Abbás Effendí as his Lord and Master.

This letter is herewith attached.<sup>39</sup>

Kheiralla had not been content to write a letter from 'Akká himself, but had forced his English wife, Mariam, to write another. Kheiralla commanded her to speak favorably of him in such a manner that it would appear to the New York Bahá'ists that she had been instructed by the Master to do so. In this letter, the Baha'ists were told they ought to look upon Kheiralla as their head and leader in America, for they could not reward him enough for all the good he had done for them.

This letter is attached herewith.<sup>40</sup>

If Kheiralla really believed what he stated against 'Abbás Effendí, and which ideas he circulated among the believers here in America, why did he not make the same statements of his aversion to accepting 'Abbás Effendí as the Master of the Bahá'ists when he was at 'Akká? Why did Kheiralla remain silent so long after he returned to New York, if he had really made such unfavorable discoveries regarding 'Abbás Effendí? Why did he seek to delude the people by his statements in praise and commendation of 'Abbás Effendí as the Master if he knew otherwise? I will not undertake<sup>41</sup> to give the details of what Kheiralla said in this matter, but will leave it to the common sense of the reader to judge from what I have said as to whether Kheiralla was an honest or truthful man, and a character to be relied for doing anything but look/ing out for his own selfish gain.

When I reached 'Akká I reported at once to the Master, laying the case before Him in all its details. But the Master was so

loving and tender-hearted that He felt no anger whatever toward Kheiralla for his intention to denounce Him, but was moved to compassion, and His heart was rent with pity for him, and He sorrowed that Kheiralla was determined to walk in the path of sorrows. For all the malice and hatred that Kheiralla showed to the Master, the Master showed only love and pity toward Kheiralla. The Master said, "I am very sorry for Kheiralla; a most precious crown was prepared for his head in the spiritual kingdom, but now he has covered himself with a great stain and much mud. However, I supplicated God, the Almighty Father, to have mercy on him and to forgive him his sins and to protect him from the vanity of the world and asked that He will illumine his heart, purify and sanctify his mind, bless his soul, guide him in the right path, and be with him and his children and bring them back into the fold of His sheep. Verily, He is Merciful, Generous, and Clement!"

I remained in 'Akká about a fortnight, during which time the Master explained to me very clearly and explicitly how we could determine whether a person was a spiritual guide, a teacher, or merely a convert to Bahá'ism. This Message was afterwards printed and distributed to the Bahá'ists here and in Europe.<sup>42</sup>

'Abbás Effendí also gave me some of His blessed Tablets for Kheiralla, in which He instructed Kheiralla how to live a spiritual and Godly life, informing him that in Bahá'ism, authority and leadership has no place or part, but the greatest must be willing to be the lowest--"The first shall be last."<sup>43</sup>

When I had delivered my messages from 'Akká to the New York believers, I went to Baltimore, Chicago, and Ithaca to give them

copies of the same. I delivered the message to the Chicago believers at a meeting in the Masonic Temple which was attended by from six hundred to seven hundred people, Kheiralla, his children and adherents included. Then Kheiralla was invited to take the platform, but he refused to speak, thus losing an excellent opportunity to set forth his claims. He seemed to realize that it was useless for him to offer any excuse or claim after the reading of that wonderful message. "What is the body to the Spirit? What is the impotent servant to his Mighty Lord?"

The only effect that message had on Kheiralla was that it increased his enmity, rancour, and malice toward the Master and our Lord, especially the part of the message which referred to the duties of spiritual guides and teachers, as follows:

He who wishes to deliver the Cause of his Lord must at first deliver it to himself, and then to others, in order to have the hearers attracted to what they say. Otherwise, their words will not have the least effect in the hearts of the Truth seekers.

O people! Beware of being those who command others to be righteous, and at the same time forget it themselves; for what comes out of their mouths will disclose them as liars. Not only that, but they will be accused of lying by the facts of things, and by the angels who are near. But if it happens that the words of such guides do take any effect in the hearts of the people, it is not in reality from them, but from what was pre-ordained in the words by the Almighty, the Wise.

Such guides will be likened unto a lamp from which the worshippers receive light while it burns itself, and at last burns itself out.

O ye people! Commit not that which will make you lose your honor and dignity, and the sanctity of the Cause before worshippers.

O people! Tell the Truth always, for it is the thing which will adorn you and elevate your names and make your positions high and supreme amongst all the people in this world; and in the world to come a great reward from your God, the Truth.

Every soul is commanded by God to deliver the Truth and exalt the Cause. Those who comply with His high command

should, first, characterize themselves with the best characteristics and attributes, and then try to deliver the Truth to the people.

Every man wishing to turn his face to the Supreme Horizon must purify himself inwardly and outwardly and abstain from that which is forbidden in the Book of God, the Lord of the Worlds. He ought to consider everything besides God as a handful of dust.

My worshippers and servants are commanded to practice integrity and piety so that they may arise from the sleep of their desire and turn their faces to God, the Creator of heaven and earth.

The Kingdom of God is likened unto a garden full of trees. We all know that a garden, in order to be beautiful, must contain a good number of trees, various in size and different in colors, flowers, and fruits. Some of the trees are tall and some short. Some bear good and sweet fruits, some sour and some bitter. No tree can say to the other, 'I am the most important of all,' or, 'I am of more profit than you.' Not so. All the trees in that garden are watered by the same hand, having the same sun and the same breeze passing over them. If any distinction is to be made among them, such distinction must be made by the owner of the garden, and not by the trees themselves.

So is the Kingdom of God. He is the Owner and Lord of the Kingdom, and everything relating to the members of the Kingdom is in His Hands and belongs to Him alone, although the members are not equal in everything, but different in size, disposition, quality, character, conduct, color and fruit. All of them are necessary to form the Kingdom. No one can prefer himself to others, because all are watered by the same hand, having the same breeze of air passing over them; therefore they should be as one, loving and respecting each other, and considering themselves as brothers and sisters--and even more--for in spirituality, kinship is not to be regarded. Jesus Christ said, 'He who hears My Words is My brother, sister, and mother.'<sup>45</sup>

The guides and teachers who are in charge of this field must first deny themselves and love all sincerely, and practice chastity, purity, and cut their hearts from the world, caring nothing for the comforts of their bodies or for any worldly thing. And they must eliminate from their minds the word 'ego' or 'I,' and be servants of all, faithful and honest shepherds watching very strictly by day and night, exerting all utmost powers in the care of their sheep, and guarding them safely within the fold. If any of the sheep wander astray, they must not rest until they find it; they must serve the servants of God, for He (Praise be to Him) is in no need of our service, our submissiveness or prayers, our kindness or assistance, but those who are in need of these things are the servants of God, and by rendering this service they will please God the Almighty. Jesus said, 'And Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water, only in the name of a disciple, it is as though he had given it to Me. Verily I say unto you, he shall in no way lose his reward.'<sup>46</sup>

The guide will not receive the confirmation of God unless he is a sincere and faithful servant. It might sometimes happen that the insincere guide will be successful for a time, but at last he will fall, even though he be the greatest philosopher and the most learned man.

These quoted words from my message from 'Abbás Effendí to the American Believers irritated Kheiralla and embittered him against the Master, because they hit him at all his vulnerable points of character. Kheiralla has been in such a passion of hatred that he has resorted to all sorts of falsehood and contemptible actions in order to revile and insult the Master.

Besides the above quoted words, 'Abbás Effendí sent Kheiralla a personally worded tablet in which He explicitly explains to Kheiralla that neither he, nor any other teacher, should expect to have themselves appointed a chief among the Bahá'ists, or an official leader, as the new revelation made by Bahá'u'lláh does not permit such leadership. The only way by which a Bahá'ist can become great among the Bahá'ists is by his good deeds, showing forth a true spiritual attainment. Such a teacher will serve his fellow creatures honestly and sincerely.

Notwithstanding all this, Kheiralla preferred to yield to

the voice of his own selfish desires and inclinations instead of heeding what the Master had said in regard to love and mercy. Kheiralla could not forego any opportunity to appease his vanity by being recognized as the chief or leader.

"If there can be no chief of the Bahá'ists in America, then there will be no chief of the Bahá'ists in 'Akká, and I will show 'Abbás Effendí that I mean what I say and He shall see that I am able to prove it," was the reckless speech of Kheiralla to me and others.

From the time of the receipt of the message which I brought from 'Akká,<sup>47</sup> Kheiralla fabricated to suit his own sweet will, accusing the Master as an imposter.

Kheiralla, by his behavior in this matter, has illustrated the natural consequences of assailing one, "the latchet of whose shoes he is not worthy to stoop down and unloose."<sup>48</sup> Kheiralla ignored the fact falsehood cannot long prevail against Truth; that absurdities cannot face realities; and that "you can deceive all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but not all the people all the time."<sup>49</sup>

He has seemed to ignore the possibility of the Americans with whom he came in contact, and upon whom he perpetrates his schemes-- [ that they ] will one day be aware of his perfidy. He had paid no heed to what Jesus (Praise be to His Name!) said, "for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known...but whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

"Woe unto the world because of offences: for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that by whom the offence cometh!" 51

Those who know the true character of Kheiralla are astonished at his bold perserverance in assuming to be (still) a sincere and faithful believer in Bahá'ism as the Cause of God, and that nothing can stop him from preaching the Word of God even if he is left to stand alone to face the whole world.

When the fact became known in Egypt that Kheiralla had denounced and reviled the Master, who had refuted his claim to leadership, and also his teachings, 'Abdu'l-Karím, who was Kheiralla's first teacher in Bahá'ism, importuned 'Abbás Effendí to give him permission to come to America and endeavor to persuade Kheiralla to return to what was right and correct in regard to the Master. When 'Abdu'l-Karím arrived in New York, Kheiralla, who was then in Chicago, was notified of his old teacher's arrival.

Kheiralla came on to New York, and they discussed and argued for several days before they arrived at any settlement. 'Abdu'l-Karím told me that Kheiralla had done his best to make him take sides with him in regard to his teachings, and to sanction the publication of his book, and in return for this favor, Kheiralla would declare that 'Abdu'l-Karím was the Master instead of 'Abbás Effendí. Thus united in purpose, they would develop their separate schemes and obtain all the money they wanted from the American people.

'Abdu'l-Karím would not undertake so radical a move. Then Kheiralla tried another way to make 'Abdu'l-Karím a confederate and proposed that if he should ever approve of his book and sanction

his teachings, he would then recant and acknowledge 'Abbás Effendí as the Master and only head of the Baha'ists as appointed by Baha'u'llah in the Book of the Covenant, Kitábu'l-'Ahd 52

It was said by some persons then that 'Abdu'l-Karím had consented to Kheiralla's proposition and thus a settlement /had been arrived at. This, however, was only a supposition on the part of those who were not close enough to the principals to ascertain the real state of affairs.

A special meeting of the New York Bahá'ists was called, at which Kheiralla stood up before the assembled believers and recanted, declaring 'Abbás Effendí the Master according to the Kitábu'l-'Ahd, and that they should obey and love him. 53  
It was agreed upon at that meeting that Kheiralla should declare the same things to his students in Chicago on condition that not anyone should go to Chicago or write about the subject to anyone in Chicago until Kheiralla had gone there and smoothed matters over with his students in order to pave the way to his declaration, because they had taken a firm stand on the side of Kheiralla when he had denounced the Master.

For some reason or other, 'Abdu'l-Karím thought it best to circulate an account of Kheiralla's recantation before he reached Chicago. Because of this, Kheiralla was met with little friendliness and accusing faces. They accused him of being indifferent to their interests and opinions by not consulting them before he recanted, as this last step he had taken seemed to show them and him to be now more than bruised reeds which the wind blew as it listed.

The fact that 'Abdu'l-Karím had forestalled him in delivering the news, and its reception by his students, angered Kheiralla,

and he considered it a violation of the promise given to him. Therefore Kheiralla immediately assured his friends that what they heard was untrue, and that his ideas and beliefs were exactly the same as they had been before he went to New York to meet 'Abdu'l-Karím. As soon as 'Abdu'l-Karím heard of this coup of Kheiralla's, he and his party went to Chicago. But it was impossible to induce Kheiralla to repeat what he had said in New York before six or seven hundred people. After considerable controversy, Kheiralla met **his students, who formed a committee called the "House of Justice"** and drew up a paper, the gist of which was that they would recognize 'Abbás Effendí as the head of the Bahá'ists throughout the world, if he (Kheiralla) would be allowed to sell his book as the authorized Bahá'í teachings. They requested 'Abdu'l-Karím to sign this paper but he would not.

Thus all negotiations between the followers of 'Abbás Effendí and Kheiralla and his followers ended and have never since been renewed.  
54

Now, in the summer of 1902, Ibrahim George Kheiralla has only a few followers and students in the United States. He no longer has sufficient influence with people to rally them around his standard; let that standard now be what it will. He has failed to amass the wealth he set out to ogle from the Americans.

Kheiralla had done all he could to over throw the Cause of 'Abbás Effendí in this country, but Truth survives all his attempts and the gain to himself had been nothing--worse than nothing--because he is now a sorely tried and despondent man.

Like the Judas long ago who betrayed his Master for thirty pieces of silver and suffered death,<sup>55</sup> so Kheiralla betrayed his Master and goes on to his ignominious end.

## APPENDIX I

(This is a translation of a letter which was written by Ibrahim G. Kheiralla to Anton F. Haddad)

'Akká, Syria.  
November 17th, 1898.

My Dear Anton:

Your first and second letters reached [me] at nearly the same time. This was because I did not arrive at 'Akká until the 11th of November, and this being also my birthday, was the greatest day of my life. On the same day, the Master (Mawlá) (May my soul be a ransom to the dust of His feet!) has shown me so much kindness and benevolence that it is beyond my power to express them either in writing or in speech. Not only the Master, but all the Believers and the prominent and distinguished guides and grandees have paid me more deference than I am worthy of. This was no other than a Divine gift and a heavenly mercy. Exalted be He who gives to whom He pleaseth without merit.

I now have thoroughly have [sic] realized the great station to which I have attained, and the Master has imbued my mind with a spirit of knowledge which I never expected to attain in this world.

To illustrate a part of His kindness and generosity I would say that on last Sunday we went to pay a visit to the Blessed Rudih (Tomb) [ie. the Shrine of Bahá'u'lláh], where the body of the Blessed Perfection lays [sic], and the same place which you had the honour to visit. Since that Day of Departure<sup>56</sup>, the door of the Tomb was always closed in the faces of the visitors, and was not opened to any of them. But for the sake of my presence there, my Lord, 'Abdu'l-Bahá, opened the inner



room, where the remains of the Blessed Perfection are, lighted it with brilliant lights, and took me by the hand, in the presence of all the Believers, to the midst of the room; allowing, at the same time some of the Believers to enter behind me. With the utmost of reverence and spiritual pleasure which could not be known except to those who had tasted of its sweetness, we remained for more than twenty minutes kneeling, worshipping, enjoying this great honor. Then we went out praising and thanking and glorifying His greatness and the Majesty of His Glory. The hearts of the Believers soared with joy, and they were moved into the sentiments of servitude and the love of the Beauty of His Splendor. At that moment they remembered the Blessed Beauty [i.e. Bahá'u'lláh] and, accordingly, there was nothing to be seen but streaming tears and submissive hearts. O how great was that hour, and how blessed it was!

The room was so honored and illumined with His Spiritual Splendor that I thought as if I was in His Supreme Kingdom, and Sublime Heaven before the Glory of His Beauty. In this blessed hour I mentioned my friends, my children and all the Believers in America, especially those who are nearer to God, and supplicated Him (Exalted is He!) to kindle them with his love, to confirm them in His Cause, to make them arise to promote His Word amidst the people of the world, to make it possible for them to visit His Sacred House and Holy Tomb, to grant them the Spirit of Truth and Justice, to enable them to enter the heaven of His love which is the highest of all Spiritual degrees, and to make them a leaven which leavens all America, and a tree the branches of which extend

to every place, in such wise that every American would then take shelter under its shadows, and America [would] become the garden of al-Abhá and His Blessed Vineyard. Verily He is Powerful over all things.

Await, therefore, all good blessings, for when he promiseth he **faithfully** fulfilleth that which he promiseth. I shall use the utmost of my power to make you attain more than you expect.

My wife, her aunt, and the Getsingers<sup>57</sup> have not yet arrived but are still in France. I am expecting their arrival at the end of this month or the first of the next, as I supplicated al-Mawlá for permission, and, praise be to God, he granted it.

Then al-Mawlá promised to give me a thing, great, great, great, great! I cannot write it or even utter it! How great is His power, and how vast is the Sea of His Benevolence! This is no other than a heavenly gift which could not be obtained for the whole world. On my return to America, I shall whisper in your ear its power and might.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, my brother, rejoice with your brother Ibrahim, bless him and congratulate him for what he has received from His Supreme Presence [i.e. 'Abdu'l-Bahá].

Al-Mawlá, may my soul be His ransom, said to me, also, that I shall be confirmed in such a way that confounds the minds of all the confirmed ones together. Reconsider this promise and understand what it means. May God, the Exalted, bestow His Gifts upon your people, and upon those who surround you. Al-Bahá be upon you and upon those who are rightly guided.

On my behalf, give my salutations to the Believers and tell them of my longings to see them and meet with them again, and inform them how I mentioned them as I promised, and that al-Mawlá, may my



soul be His ransom, has promised to answer their supplications and entreaties. He is powerful and generous to give that which He promises.

I have not received yet a word from my son, George; neither did he send me the paper which I requested him to send me through the kindness of Muhammad Taqí.<sup>60</sup> Why was that? I could not understand the reason! Has anything befallen him? Tell me the truth about it at once.

My saláms [greetings] to all my acquaintances and to your brother, Ibrahim.

Your brother,

I. G. Kheiralla.

P.S. I spent about twenty-one days at Alexandria with Nabiha and Lebiba. They are very happy and present you saláms and salutations. One more thing I would like to inform you: that al-Mawlá has demanded the translation of the book (Kheiralla's) into the Arabic. Therefore, as soon as this letter reaches you, start to translate it; for when He commands anything, it should be complied with. As you know, the book is kept in the custody of Mr. MacNutt.<sup>61</sup>

'Abdu'l-Karím Effendí Tíhraní came twice from Cairo to Alexandria especially for the purpose of meeting me. Consider, my brother, what a great kindness and care is this? Also some of the prominent Believers came and visited me. They told me that had my coming become known to the Believers throughout Egypt, hundreds of them would have come to meet me. Know, as well, that I have especially supplicated al-Mawlá for Mr. Dodge<sup>62</sup> and his family, and

when an answer is given, I will transmit it to you.

Please give my saláms and greetings to him and his wife, and to his children.

May God prolong your life.

Ibrahim Kheiralla.

P.S. If you see it expedient, translate this letter literally and send it at once to Chicago to Mrs. Lamson or to Mr. James.<sup>63</sup>

APPENDIX II<sup>64</sup>

Haifa, Syria.  
February, 1899.

To the Believers in Chicago:

... There is just one thing I wish to say before I begin the account of our visit here, and it is this--that indeed we cannot thank God enough for sending us the knowledge of this, His most great revelation, and that also we ought to indeed honor and respect with a great honor the one through whose instrumentality we have been brought from darkness to light, from misery and confusion to peace and to a great and endless happiness in the Kingdom of 'Abbás Effendí. Personally, I feel I cannot thank my dear husband enough for bringing me this which is more than all our earthly possessions, for of what use or benefit is all our life without this great knowledge.

... There is no need to speak of the great favors that have been shown by our dear Lord to your beloved teacher who has labored so zealously and untiringly to give the knowledge of God to those seeking Him. This fact speaks louder than words, so I will only

say that time will reveal this, as all other things, that He is the chief head in America to whom we can look for spiritual direction and guidance, and that the greatest gifts and blessings are promised him.

(Signed) Mariam Kheiralla

APPENDIX III

(A copy of articles submitted to 'Abdu'l-Karim by Dr. Kheiralla, which was to have been signed by him and others, and was to constitute the conditions of his retraction and the basis of unity, and which was rejected by 'Abdu'l-Karim.)

June, 1900

I believe in the Manifestation of Almighty God, in the person of Bahá'u'lláh.

I believe that prior to His Departure He appointed His oldest Son, 'Abbás Effendí, "The Greatest Branch" as the head of the Kingdom.

I believe that from the Departure of the Manifestation until the end of one thousand years there shall not be another Manifestation upon the earth, of God. This I understand is the statement of the Manifestation contained in the Kitáb-i Aqdas.<sup>65</sup>

I believe Kitáb-i Aqdas is the commands of the Almighty and is the basis of all the teachings.

I believe that Dr. I. G. Kheiralla in his books and teachings has given us the best opportunity of understanding the teachings

yet devised in the English language.

I believe that it is possible for all the believers to unite upon the basis of these teachings, and I am ready to unite with all who will.

I believe that the Manifestation has declared it to be a sin against Himself for believers to speak maliciously, slanderously, or untruthfully against another believer.

I believe it to be a sin against the Manifestation to backbite a Believer, or even to listen to reports unfavorable to one in his absence.

I believe it to be my sacred duty to aid, assist and protect a Believer wherever and whenever it is in my power to do so and to guard the reputation of each and all Believers as I would my own.

Leaving behind those things which have passed, and which are consistent with the commands of the Almighty, I agree from this time to use my best endeavors to conform my life to the commands of God and to spread His Cause upon the earth.

WHEREAS:

Certain unfortunate circumstances have happened and misunderstanding have arisen, which has resulted in divisions among the Believers in America, which tends to retard the spreading of the Truth of Almighty God, and brought doubt and distrust to many, and

WHEREAS:

We are earnestly desirous of doing all in our power to spread the Truth and to bring about harmony and unity of action between all Believers and that strife and unkindness of every sort shall forever cease between us.

We hereby call upon all Believers to unite with us in an earnest effort to that end and we pledge ourselves each with the other to unite upon the principles herein set forth, and to do all in our power to induce others to do so.

At a meeting of the "House of Justice" of the Society of Behaists (Incorporated) held Wednesday, May 23rd, the above articles of belief and proposition was presented. Upon motion it was adopted and an invitation was extended to all persons to agree thereto, to become members of this society and for this purpose to meet with the Society next Sunday morning, May 27th, at their Hall R-200.<sup>66</sup>

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No. 26 Van Buren Street, at eleven o'clock. Said meeting will be an opening [open?] meeting to all Believers.

(Signed) W. Fred Nutt, Pres.<sup>67</sup>

Louis Getchell, Secy.

Seal of the Society of American Behaists.  
Chicago, Ill.

(A copy of the above was sent to Dr. Rufus H. Bartlett.)

Believing this to be possible, we will unite in a call for a mass meeting of all Believers held at the Hall no.200 Athenaeum Building, no.26 Van Buren Street, at an early date for the consumation of this unison [union?].

(Signed) W. Fred Nutt.

Rufus H. Bartlett.<sup>68</sup>

We heartily agree with the above.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>
W. Fred Nutt <sup>69</sup>	52 Auditorium Building

APPENDIX IV

(This is a supplication sent by Kheiralla to his Master, al-Mawlá ('Abbás Effendí) several weeks after his return to New York from 'Akka.)

70  
April 1899.

TO THE PRESENCE OF MY LORD AND THE LORD OF THE WORLDS;

(May my soul be a ransom to His faithful Beloved.)

After paying humbleness and submissiveness to Thy Merciful Threshold, and supplicating for the perfect and good pleasure of the Blessed Presence, I beg to submit that, at the most happy hour, the hands of weakness and impotence have received from the Sea of Generosity of the Lover of the World, through the kindness of my teacher, Hájí 'Abdu'l-Karím Tíhrání, a Tablet revealed from the Heaven of Might and Power. Under these circumstances my heart soared with joy, thanking God for that which He has bestowed upon His humble servant who is in need of His great Mercy and His Heavenly and Merciful Grace. By God, Who is the only God--and there is no God but Him (al-Bahá'u'l-Abhá) -I shall give up my life and soul for the service of the Blessed Tree of the Covenant, and strive as far as my power is concerned, to follow the commands of my Lord and trace out His Holy Steps in everything which behooves a faithful and humble servant. Then I beg to submit that I have sent to the Court of Thy Holiness, through the kindness of Ahmad Effendí Yazdí,<sup>71</sup> two hundred and forty-nine supplications of those who have lately embraced this true religion,

and today I am sending also to the care of 'Abdu'l-Karím, fifty-one supplications, the total of which is about three hundred <sup>72</sup> supplications which were submitted since my return to America. If God wishes, and through the very purity of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, it would not be long before we send the supplications by thousands and not by hundreds. I hope, through this, my Lord will be pleased with His servant; for this is the utmost desire of my hope and that of all the Belivers.

I have translated that Blessed Tablet and read it to the assembly of the Belivers in New York. On hearing its contents they became very happy, rejoiced through the fragrance of God, and thanked the bounty of the Lord of the world. The tablet has done a great deal of good, and has had a beautiful effect on the hearts of the Belivers in New York, owing to the difference of opinion and imaginations which have taken place through the machinations of the souls of discord, and to the hearing of some people to some different and groundless statements. But the majority of the Belivers, especially the honorable teacher, Mr. MacNutt, and the firm Belivers who are on His side, became very happy to such an extent that to describe their joy and happiness is beyond my power.

I beg also to submit to the Threshold of my Lord that I have nearly finished the composition of all the chapters of my book, and within a short time I shall publish it and promulgate it amongst the Belivers only, until I receive the command of my Lord to the effect of distributing it publicly for the good of all people.

One more thing I have also to submit to His Threshold, and it this: Some of those who have shown detestation against me said to the Belivers here that my book is not correct, and accordingly I

I am not allowed to publish it. This seems to me is in contrary [Contrast?] to that which was uttered by my Lord when I was before His Blessed Presence, saying, "The book is good, but it lacks some explanations."

At that time He gave me information about the three women; the twelve children; the violation of the Covenant by the Branches, who cast away the words of God behind their backs--revolted against the Lord of the world; and about the return of the soul. <sup>73</sup> All these were corrected in accordance with his commands. In my book I ignored the other Branches (Naqíidín) [Covenant-breakers] and did not give them the slightest importance. Nay, rather, I proved to the people from the Holy Books the necessity of the occurrence of such difference (violation of the Covenant) in order that the prophecies of the Prophets and Messengers of God may be fulfilled. <sup>74</sup>

The argument as given by me was so clear that no one who read it could do otherwise than believe in its validity. Therefore, I beseech my Lord to permit me to mention in the book all that was uttered by Him (and His utterance is true): "That all that was written by me was correct," and if God wishes, the time will not be long before I finish its translation into Arabic. I have applied for a copyright from the governments of America, and Europe. It was granted to me that I may keep it only in the hands of the Belivers and protect it from being tampered with by the unbelievers.

I have also translated the "Hidden Words," and they were read to the Belivers. They had a wonderful effect on the hearts of those who heard them. They were astonished at the inner power contained in them, and they, accordingly, were bowed with humbleness and submissiveness before the one who uttered them. (Worship and

Honor be to His Name, the Exalted, al-Abhá.)

I also beg to submit that Anton Effendi [Haddad] has left New York, and on inquiring about his destination and whereabouts, I was told that he left for California; but I understand that it is meant by California, Syria. If this is true, it is left to al-Mawlá, who is the Knower, the Learned.

I also beseech al-Mawlá, if I have any worthiness to be looked upon by Him, to write to [Mrs. Phoebe Hearst] to fulfill her promise as to the publication of my book, and to recommend me to her because all the members of my family are now with me, and al-Amir Hani has also arrived here in accordance with the command of al-Mawlá.<sup>75</sup> The marriage of my daughter shall take place in a very few days. Then all of us will leave for Chicago. I therefore beg our Lord to have mercy on Nabiha and Hani; bless them and make them successful and prosperous.

For seven years I have devoted all my time to the exaltation of the Word of God until (Praise be to Him) the banner of the Truth has waved above the palace of this country. I think I am now worthy to be looked upon by the generosity of al-Mawlá.

As Mr. Getsinger has incited some of the Believers against me I therefore implore my Lord to send some good word of me to them all.

In all respects I am trusting in God and relying upon him, for I am separating myself from the world and that which is thereupon, for the sake of serving the Creator of the Heaven and the Earth. This is my intended aim, and this is my work until the day of my death; I will be a faithful servant to 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Now I am in the grasp of your hands; do whatsoever you desire,

and all that you do is for my good.

I am always your obedient servant,

(Signed) Ibrahim Kheiralla.

APPENDIX V

(Translation of an extract of an Arabic letter sent by Kheiralla, December 14, 1897, from Chicago, to Anton F. Haddad, at New York.)

My dear Anton Effendi:

My my soul be a ransom to you. Your letter dated December 10th was received by me and all contents noted.

I do hereby assure you that you are my dearly beloved, and that no one is dearer to me than you.

Owing to the love and honor you received from the Presence of our Lord, (my my soul be a ransom to the dust of the feet of His friends) my love, respect, and reverence to you have [been] augmented to such an extent that I am now impatient, believing not that the time will ever come when I [will] go to New York to embrace you and scent in you the fragrance of the Beloved (the Master)-- for He hath embraced you several times at the time of separation.

I was a little remiss in not answering the long letter you sent me concerning your visit to the Holy City [ie. 'Akká]. Blessed you are. Then blessed you are for the happiness and honor you have attained to by seeing the face of the Beloved. I have lately sent to my Lord and the Lord of the whole world, one hundred and forty supplications of those who recently joined us and confessed His Oneness and Singleness; His appearance and departure and His

delivering the Kingdom to the Greatest Branch, His Dear Son, and His Dignified Mystery.

In the same letter I reported to Him your arrival in New York. I am indeed unable to describe to you the happiness and joy which have overwhelmed the hearts of the Believers in Chicago when I read to them your dear letter in regard to your visit to the Holy City, and of the honor which you received from Him and of the special Providence which was shown to you in His Presence.

Two days ago I went to Kenosha and read the same letter to the Believers there. They were very glad to hear it, and their hearts soared in the happiness and tranquility. It made a great effect on them and they all present you their kindness and compliments.

As to myself, the Believers are persuaded that I had paid a visit to the Holy City and seen al-Haqq (The Manifestation) [i.e. Bahá'u'lláh] before he departed, and the Branches as well, etc. <sup>76</sup> Therefore commit not any mistake when you speak of this with them. Although I had never seen Him but in a vision--vision is regarded as a reality--I make this known to them that my words may have great effect on them. Know, therefore, how you [should] converse with them on the subject, if it was [is?] at all necessary.

It is true I was married here, but I beg you to keep it secret, and when we meet again I shall tell you all about it. You will see her in <sup>77</sup>New York.

As to Mary, I have divorced her legally, but she does not know of it, and God knows.

Your brother,

(Signed) Ibrahim Kheiralla

<sup>78,</sup>  
APPENDIX VI

STATEMENT OF 'ABDU'L-KARÍM TO ALL THE AMERICAN BAHÁ'IS  
New York, May 9, 1900.

Dr. Kheiralla repudiated the authority of our Lord, 'Abbás Effendí, some months ago, for reasons best known to himself, and was inclined to favor Muhammad 'Alí, the half-brother of our Lord. Kheiralla's denial of his Master, 'Abbás Effendí, is well known to the Bahá'ís in Chicago, and Kenosha, Wisconsin. The rumors of the state of affairs has caused confusion among the Baha'is in other cities. Our Lord and Master, 'Abbás Effendí, becoming informed of Kheiralla's denial of Him, commissioned me to come to America to settle [sic] these differences and to bring about peace and harmony, and to unite all the Bahá'ís.

I argued and discussed our differences with Kheiralla for several days, and succeeding [sic] in proving to him that his attitude toward 'Abbás Effendí was a mistake. Kheiralla then volunteered to make a public retraction of his statements, and to make a written statement of the same to 'Abbás Effendí, all of which Kheiralla did on Tuesday evening, May 8, 1900, at Genealogical Hall, before an audience of two hundred Bahá'ís. A stenographic report <sup>79</sup>of the meeting was taken and copies forwarded to the Council Boards. We now hope and pray [to] God to strengthen Kheiralla's heart and keep him in the path of righteousness, and firm and loyal in the interests of his Lord and Master, 'Abbás Effendí.

God is most merciful, and is the greatest Forgiver. We must try to forgive each other because none of us is infallible. We, one and all, should prove our gratitude to Dr. Kheiralla because

he was the first person to bring the Bahá'í teachings to this country, and for this the Americans must be forever indebted to him. We should pray that he will keep to the right course now, and we must all look upon him as our spiritual teacher and brother.

(Signed) 'Abdu'l-Karím

NOTES

1 Following the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, the Egyptian government was dominated by British officials. Three of the four men mentioned here--Lord (Sir Francis) Grenfell, Lord (Sir Herbert) Kitchener, and Sir Reginald Wingate-- served as sardár (commander in chief) of the Egyptian army during this period.

2 According to Kheiralla's own account, he made a living at different times as a teacher, a merchant, and a contractor for a sugar factory. O Christians Why do Ye Believe Not on Christ? (n.p.: 1917) pp. 165-66.

3 'Abdu'l-Karím-i-Tihrání, a Baha'i merchant residing in Cairo.

4 Cf. Matthew 8:22; Luke 9:60.

5 Za-ti-et Al-lah; The Identity and the Personality of God (Chicago: Grants Printery, 1896).

6 Cf. Revelation 4:6; 19:4.

7 The World's Fair was held at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, in 1893.

8 This device was intended as a means of preventing fatigue from walking; O Christians p. 160. It consists of elastic straps which are supposed to make it easier to lift one's leg while walking. See Specifications and Drawings of Patents Issued from the Patent Office for May, 1895 (Washington D.C.: G.P.O.) pp. 2156-2157.

9 Here Greek refers to the language of liturgy rather than ethnic origin. Greek Catholics were Christians who broke away from the Greek Orthodox Church, and were in communion with Rome.

10 'Abdu'l-Bahá is reported to have told Dr. Zia Baghdadi that he, himself, had assured Kheiralla of success; Zia Baghdadi, "History of the Violation of I. Kheiralla," (Ella Cooper papers, San Francisco Bahá'í Archives).

11 The Egyptian government had just passed a law which prohibited the government from hiring Ottoman citizens who had not resided for at least fifteen years in Egypt. Hence Anton Haddad would not have been able to regain employment with the

11 Continued

Egyptian government once he resigned. See Great Britain Foreign Office, Confidential Prints: Egypt, Sir E. Baring to the Marquis of Salisbury, June 8, 1890 (F.O. 407/100, p.61).

12

Yá Bahá'u'l-Abhá,

13

Cf. Matthew 24:31, where it is stated that a trumpet call will gather together the elect at the time of Christ's return.

14

According to Shoghi Effendi, Bahá'u'lláh died on May 29, 1892; Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By (Wilmette, Illinois: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1944) p.221.

<sup>14a</sup> Obviously February 1893 is intended.

15

Kheiralla states that he went to Grand Rapids and Petosky with Ernest Jewell, a Christian minister he had met in Egypt; O Christians p. 167. Emeric Sala states that Kheiralla was selling carpets in Chicago during the time of the World's Fair; Emeric Sala, "The Greenleaves: An Eternal Union," Bahá'í News September 1973, p.8.

16

The World's Fair closed in October of 1893. Kheiralla states that he arrived in Chicago in February, 1894; O Christians p.167.

17

Kheiralla sometimes also had his patients smoke certain herbs in a water-pipe. He charged a \$2.00 fee to heal people; E.G. Browne ed. Materials for the Study of the Babi Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918) p.126.

18

This is a reference to Thornton Chase. (I am indebted to Robert Stockman for this piece of information.) The first American to embrace the Baha'i Faith (probably William James) did not remain a Bahá'í. Therefore Thornton Chase was called the first American Bahá'í; Star of the West III, no. 3, p.14

19

In The Three Questions (Chicago: n.d.) p. 22, Kheiralla states that he never claimed to have personally met Bahá'u'lláh, but that he did see him from a distance in 1888 when he was passing through 'Akká on the way to Beirut.

20

Kheiralla went on pilgrimage with the Hearst party, who left for 'Akká in 1898. O Christians, pp.171-9.

21

These believers were Helen Hillyer (Brown) and Ella Goodall (Cooper), who left for 'Akká in January of 1899; Helen Hillyer Brown Memoirs (in private hands).

22

It would seem that Kheiralla submitted at least a portion of this book to 'Abdu'l-Bahá, because a letter he wrote to 'Abdu'l-Bahá (see Appendix IV) states that he had made the requested changes in the book.

23

See Appendix I.

24

Kheiralla's first wife was Helen Nashif (d.1882), who bore him three children-- George, Nabiha, and Lebiba. His son had joined him in America earlier, and he was not present on this pilgrimage, but both his daughters were there. His daughters were probably residing in Egypt at this time rather than in Syria as is stated here. See O Christians, pp. 165; 167;171-2.

25

These were Edward and Lua Getsinger; O Christians p. 174.

27

Kheiralla treated his wife in such a way while they were in Paris that some of Phoebe Hearst's friends encouraged her to leave him; Janet Peck to Phoebe Hearst, n.d. (Phoebe Hearst papers, Bancroft Library). One of the things Kheiralla did in 'Akká was to speak ill of his wife to 'Abdu'l-Baha in Arabic so that his wife couldn't understand; Baghdadi, "History." 'Abdu'l-Bahá attempted to reconcile them, but he was unsuccessful. When they arrived in Egypt, she left him; O Christians p.178. Mrs. Kheiralla returned to 'Akká in 1900, but soon after this she became disillusioned with the Bahá'í Faith. Despite the efforts of some of the Bahá'ís--especially Arthur P. Dodge--she never re-entered the Baha'i community; Baha'i Reminiscences, diary, letters and other documents by Charles Mason Remey vol. 36, (New York Public Library).

28

Kheiralla arrived in New York in early May, 1899, and the Getsingers arrived about two weeks later; Anton Haddad to Helen Goodall, May 18, 1899 (Helen Goodall papers, National Bahá'í Archives). Phoebe Hearst, and most of her entourage, arrived in New York in July, 1899; Helen Hillyer Brown Memoirs.

29

Edward Getsinger claimed that he, and other Bahá'ís, were the real authors of Kheiralla's book, Beha'U'llah; George Latimer's notes on a conversation with Edward Getsinger (Ella Cooper papers, San Francisco Baha'i Archives).



30

It is clear that during this pilgrimage Kheiralla, and some of the other pilgrims, became aware that some of his teachings did not coincide with Baha'i doctrine. See O Christians pp. 174-5, and Appendix IV of this essay. Various accounts state that the Getsingers, upon their arrival in America, began to assert that Kheiralla's teachings were incorrect. See for example, Samuel G. Wilson, Bahaism and Its Claims (New York: 1915) p.269. It is known that Lua Getsinger had a letter from 'Abdu'l-Baha' stating that Kheiralla's teachings were wrong, and that she showed this to some of the Baha'is; Peter Smith, "The American Baha'i Community 1894-1917: A Preliminary Survey," in Moojan Momen ed. Studies in Babi and Baha'i History (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1983), p.207.n. 30.

It seems likely that the Getsingers actually asserted that Baha'i teachers could not accept money, since the Getsingers were, at this time, receiving money from Phoebe Hearst to carry on their Baha'i work; "Baghdadi, "History"; James Hooe to Phoebe Hearst, March 22, 1900; Sept 27, 1900 (Phoebe Hearst papers, Bancroft Library).

Kheiralla himself, insisted that Baha'i teachers could not charge for instruction; Ibrahim Kheiralla, Bab-ed Din. The Door of True Religion (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1897), p.11. As far as is known, he never did charge for his lessons. He did, however, receive support from some of the Baha'is, as did other Baha'i teachers at this time.

31

See Appendix IV.

32

Kheiralla had lost money to Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Malik Bey in a court case resulting from some kind of commercial dispute. See O Christians p. 166.

33

Psalm 109 is a prayer asking God to bring various misfortunes to one's enemy.

35

Cf. Judges 16:30.

36

Jesus' words to Saul in Acts 26:14.

37

His trip to 'Akka was kept secret from most of the Baha'i community. They were told that he had gone to California; Phoebe Hearst to Helen Hilver, July 5, 1899 (Helen Hillier Brown papers, National Baha'i Archives). See also Appendix IV, where Kheiralla states that he had been told that Haddad had gone to California.

38

See Appendix IV.

39

Apparently, Kheiralla's letter to Haddad (Appendix I) is intended.

40

See Appendix II. It may be as Haddad asserts here, that Kheiralla pressured his wife into praising him in this letter. However, other accounts of this pilgrimage confirm that 'Abdu'l-Baha' praised Kheiralla and told the pilgrims that they should be grateful to him. See Conversation February 26, 1899, at Acca (np.nd) and the pilgrims notes of Anne Apperson (Flint) (Ella Cooper papers, San Francisco Baha'i Archives). These two sets of notes are very similar.

41

Kheiralla replied to these queries in a pamphlet entitled The Three Questions.

42

Anton Haddad, Message from Acca (n.p., n.d.).

43

Mark 10:31.

44

This quote is found in a slightly different translation in Message from Acca pp. 4, 5, 11, 13, 15, 16.

45

Cf. Matthew 12:50; Mark 3:35.

46

Cf. Matthew 10:42; Mark 9:41.

47

Haddad had returned from Acca by January of 1900; Message from Acca, p.8.

48

Cf. Mark 7:1.

49

A paraphrase of words attributed to Abraham Lincoln; see Alexander Mc Clure, Lincoln's Yarns and Stories (Chicago: J.C. Winston Co., 1904) p.124.

50

Matthew 10:26.

51

Matthew 18: 6-7.

52

The Kitab-i 'Ahd is published in Majmu'ih-yi az Alvah-i Jamal-i Aqdas-i Abha' (Germany: Baha'i Verlag, 137 Badi<sup>c</sup>; 1980-81 A.D.) pp.134-7; Tablets of Baha'u'llah Revealed after the Kitab-i Aqdas (Haifa: Baha'i World Center, 1978) pp. 219-23.

53

An account of this meeting was published in Reports of the Proceedings of Meetings in New York City and Chicago, Illinois (Chicago: Behai Supply and Publishing Board, 1900) pp.3-6. See also Addresses by Abdel Karim Effendi Teherani: Delivered before the New York & Chicago Assemblies trans. Anton Haddad, (Chicago: Behais Supply and Publishing Board, 1900) pp. 3-12.

54

Actually, 'Abdu'l-Baha' sent Mirza Assad'u'llah Isfahani, and Mirza Hasan-i Khurasani to Chicago in late 1900 to attempt to get Kheiralla to recant; O Christians p. 180.

55

Cf. Matthew 26: 14-16.

56

That is, since the time of Bahá'u'lláh's death in 1892.

57

Marian Kheiralla and her aunt, Miss Brown, arrived in Haifa some time before Lua and Edward Getsinger, who reached there on December 8, 1899; Rev. Isaac Adams, Persia by a Persian (Chicago: n.p., 1900) pp. 481-82. The rest of the pilgrimage party arrived in mid-February, 1899; May Maxwell, An Early Pilgrimage (London: George Ronald, 1967) pp. 9-16.

58

He is apparently referring to the "Lost Word" mentioned on page 23 of this manuscript.

60

Muḥammad Taqíy-i Manshádí, a Bahá'í who resided in Haifa.

61

Howard MacNutt, a prominent New York Baha'i. MacNutt was the editor of Kheiralla's book, Beha'U'llah (Chicago: n.p., 1900) and was one of several Bahá'is who maintained ties with Kheiralla and with the rest of the Baha'i community following the split in 1900. Eventually this relationship led to confrontation with 'Abdu'l-Bahá during which the latter told him to cut all ties with Kheiralla. I have heard an oral tradition, ostensibly originating with Juliet Thompson, that MacNutt was declared a Covenant-breaker, and then moments later accepted back into the Baha'i community. This incident is described somewhat differently in The Diary of Juliet Thompson (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1983) pp. 369-72. Still another version is found in Mirzá Mahmúd-i Zarfání, Badá'u'l-Áthár (Germany: Bahá'i Verlag, 1983) vol. 1, pp. 381-82.

62

Arthur P. Dodge, one of the Bahá'is who brought the faith to New York from Chicago. It may be that Kheiralla asked 'Abdu'l-Bahá to allow Dodge to visit him in 'Akká, for Dodge was one of the first American Baha'is to make this pilgrimage following Kheiralla's return. See Star of the West VI, no. 19, (March 2, 1916) p. 162.

63

William James, one of the first American Baha'is.

64

The letter quoted from here was published in its complete form in Persia by a Persian pp. 484-88.

65

Copies of the Kitáb-i Aqdas had been obtained by members of the Hearst pilgrimage party; a translation of it by Anton Haddad was circulated in the Bahá'í community in a mimeographed form. Hence the Bahá'is were familiar with its contents. The passage alluded to here is: "Whoso layeth a claim to a Revelation direct from God, ere the expiration of a full thousand years, such a man is assuredly a lying imposter," trans. Shoghi Effendi, A Synopsis and Codification of the Kitáb-i Aqdas (Haifa: Bahá'í World Center, 1973) p. 14. The partisans of Muḥammad 'Alí accused 'Abdu'l-Bahá of making such a claim. Other translations of this passage are found in Earl E. Elder and William M. Miller trans. al-Kitáb al-Aqdas or The Most Holy Book (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1961) p. 34; E.G. Browne, "The Babis of Persia II. Their Literature and Doctrines," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society October 1889, pp. 883-4.

66

This meeting was held, and an account of it was published in Reports of Proceedings pp. 9-12.

67

Frederick Nutt was another Bahá'í who, like Howard MacNutt, maintained ties with Kheiralla after 1900. According to William Collins, 'Abdu'l-Bahá had given him permission to do this, hoping that he might convince Kheiralla to recant; "Kenosha, 1893-1912; History of an Early Bahá'í Community in the United States", in Moojan Momen ed. Studies in Bábí and Bahá'í History (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press 1983), p. 252 n. 53. Nevertheless, he came to be regarded as a Covenant-breaker within a few years. See Report of the Bahai Committee of Investigation 1917-1918 (n.p., n.d.) pp. 20, 25, 28; and Baghdadi, "History".

68

A prominent Bahá'í from Chicago.

69

In the typescript of this manuscript, Frederick Nutt's name is the only name that appears here. It is unclear whether he was the only one who signed the original petition, but it seems unlikely.

70

Internal evidence suggests that this letter was actually written in late July of 1899. Anton Haddad did not leave for 'Akká until about the beginning of July (see paragraph eight); Phoebe Hearst to Hillen Hillyer, July 5, 1899 (National Bahá'í Archives). Kheiralla's daughter was married on August 3, 1899 (see paragraph nine); Certificate of Marriage Registration, dated April 8, 1983.

71

Aqá Ahmad Yazdí, a son-in-law of 'Abdu'l-Bahá and the Persian Consul in Port Said. Sometimes mail intended for 'Abdu'l-Bahá was sent him in Egypt, and then carried to Haifa by Bahá'í pilgrims.

72

Kheiralla established the practice of having new converts write letters of supplication to 'Abdu'l-Bahá. He used a form letter which converts were required to sign. An approximate copy of this form letter is found in Materials p. 121. This form letter, however, was not always used, and after 1900 its use was abandoned entirely. However, the practice of having new converts write to 'Abdu'l-Bahá was widely practiced until the end of his ministry.

73

Apparently these are references to Bahá'u'lláh's three wives, twelve children, and his sons who rebelled against the leadership of 'Abdu'l-Bahá. During this pilgrimage 'Abdu'l-Bahá stated that reincarnation, which was part of Kheiralla's teachings, did not occur. He did this so tactfully, however, that neither Kheiralla, nor the Getsingers, who were themselves major proponents of reincarnation within the Bahá'í community, seem to have understood him. It was only when the Getsingers returned to 'Akká in 1900 that they came to understand that reincarnation was not part of Bahá'í doctrine. See George Latimer's notes on a conversation with Edward Getsinger; Edward Getsinger to ?, April 1, 1916; and Lua Getsinger's pilgrims notes (1900), (all in the Ella Cooper papers, San Francisco Bahá'í Archives); and Mason Remey, "The First Meeting in Paris," in Reminiscences vol. 1.

74

These statements are not accurate about his book as it was published. Bahá'u'lláh's sons were given equal treatment, and he did not attempt to prove that prophecies were filled by the "violation of the Covenant by the Branches."

75

This took place on August 3, 1899.

76

See footnote 19.

77

His third wife. See O Christians p. 166.

78

This statement was published, with slight variations from this text, in Reports of Proceedings p.2.

79

Precursors of Local Spiritual Assemblies. They were first elected about this time.

Al-Qasida al-warqa'iyva: further comments

In my introduction to my translation of Baha' Allah's Qasida warqa'iyva (Bulletin 2:2, Sept. 1983), I emphasized that it was 'a very tentative personal rendering of a difficult text' and expressed serious reservations about the accuracy of the version I had prepared. Since then I have been both reassured about the overall accuracy of my translation and confirmed in my fears about the existence of errors in it as a result of an extremely able critique forwarded to the Editor of the Bulletin by Juan Cole.

Mr Cole draws attention to the fact that he himself has prepared a more poetic rendering of the qasida but that he has been dissuaded from publication of it by the Baha'i World Centre in Israel. I hope that he will at least forward a copy of this version to me so that I may be able to refer to it in the course of any future studies I may make of the work. I am extremely happy that he feels that 'in most important passages we have agreed as to the basic meaning of these difficult verses' since, as he himself points out, this 'gives some hope that a fairly accurate formal translation can be hoped for, in spite of the work's obscurity'.

I am also extremely pleased that Juan has been able to point out several errors of translation or misreadings of the text of which I have been guilty. In order to assist readers in their understanding of the text, I shall reproduce the gist of his comments here, together with one or two separate comments of my own.

1. I have accidentally skipped line 84 so that all subsequent lines are misnumbered. Mr Cole translates line 84 as follows: 'And with no spirit, heart or inmost self did I abide, till my continuing existence mightily bewildered me'. I would concur with his translation.
2. Mr Cole feels that the words tib al-shamāl in line 7 should be translated, not as 'perfume of the left' but as 'north wind'. I agree that this is a possible rendering and one that readers may consider. But I am not inclined to accept it as preferable, for several reasons. The first lines of the poem contain a number of terms expressive of the idea of 'perfume', 'fragrance', or 'soft breeze' (misk, nafaha; and in the notes nafahat-i dilkash, fawhat-i dilynishin, ra'iha-yi tayyiba, ra'iha-yi mahabbat), and I feel that the word ayb (which means 'scent' or 'perfume' rather than wind) fits well into this context. Secondly, Baha' Allah's own note to this line speaks explicitly of how the 'perfumed breaths of her hair' (anfās-i tayyiba-yi sha'r-i ū) are the source of 'the perfume of joy and splendour' (tayb-i bihjat wa sana) and 'the musk of bounty and glory' (misk-i marhamat wa bahā). Not only that, but the following use of the words shamāl and yamin is, I think, strong evidence that the former must be understood as 'left hand' rather than 'north'. Nor am I entirely happy with the notion that the Beloved's tresses waft the 'north wind' rather than perfume.
3. In line 9, I have committed an elementary misreading of taqallabat for taqabbalat. The sense of the line should, Mr Cole suggests, be 'the heart of hearts accepted the arrow of her eyelashes', a reading which is, he says, confirmed by the Persian note, which gives muqābil shuda. I am inclined to accept his reading, but with some reservations. If the Arabic taqabbalat be taken straightforwardly as 'it accepted', we are left with the problem of the preposition before its assumed object. Nor is the Persian much help here, since it does not, in fact, confirm a reading of 'accepted' but rather 'faced, placed itself opposite'. I would, therefore, prefer a rendering of 'the heart of hearts faced the arrow of her eyelashes', and I would re-translate the note as follows: 'They call sahm "an arrow", that is, the shining and purified hearts have turned to face the arrow of the lashes of the most exalted Beloved and have sought for it

to reach them'.

4. Mr Cole suggests the phrase ghāyatī al-quṣwā in line 10 means 'my highest goal', not 'the ends of creation'. That is certainly correct, but I have actually read the phrase, not as ghāyatī al-quṣwā (or ghāyatī 'l-quṣwā), but as ghāyatayī 'l-quṣwā, ('the two furthest ends'). Now, I know, as does Juan, that my reading does not make for very good Arabic, but it is a common difficulty in translating texts by Baha' Allah that one cannot rely on his Arabic to conform at all times to normal grammar. The phrase al-ghāya al-quṣwā is a fairly standard one for 'the furthest end', and I do not think that one can rule out a dual variation on this, giving 'the two furthest ends' (sc. 'of creation'), which seems to me to make better sense in this verse than 'my highest goal'. If Mr Cole can suggest a meaning for the first hemistich which incorporates his rendering and also balances it in some way with Carsh al-<sup>c</sup>amā in the next, I would certainly be happy to accept it as the grammatically better reading. Otherwise I will stick with mine on the grounds of sense.
5. Regarding line 11, Mr Cole writes: 'I think these lines should read "I have wept in every eye for union with her, in every fire I have burned because of our separation". That is, the verbs must be read in the first person. The idea is that the mystical lover is ubiquitous in his grief -- every time someone weeps, that is him weeping for his beloved.' I find this a very attractive reading, particularly since it fits the Persian gloss rather better. It is also grammatically more satisfactory since it avoids the reading of wafā with kullu <sup>c</sup>ayn (although this is not impossible).
6. Mr Cole points out that the phrase 'and that shall be the reward of them that love me' in line 15 is a quotation from the Beloved, in which he is perfectly correct.
7. In lines 18 and 22, I have clearly misread the first words as wa mimnī rather than wa munnī, which latter makes better sense. The first half of line 18 should, therefore, read: 'Grant me union for my excessive love of you', and the first half of 22: 'Grant the attainment of union with you after exile'.
8. Accepting this above reading, the first words of the second hemistich of verse 22 should read wa habnī rather than wahābanī, even though the latter is more grammatically correct. This being so, the hemistich should be rendered: 'And bestow on me the spirit of intimacy after my grief'. (These last three renderings are those suggested by Mr Cole.)
9. Mr Cole holds that in lines 23 and 79 the word shuhūd should be rendered as 'the world of the seen', rather than as 'witness' or 'contemplation', and this seems to me entirely correct.
10. I am less sure about his argument that the term al-<sup>c</sup>amā (line 24 and elsewhere) should not be rendered 'unknowing', since it really refers to the 'unknown essence of God'. This is really a literary point, since my implied reference was to the Middle English mystical treatise The Cloud of Unknowing. The real meaning is, of course, that pointed out by Mr Cole: I simply used a less explicit expression for it. As far as the validity of a rendition of al-<sup>c</sup>amā by ('cloud of) unknowing' is concerned, there are some useful references to it in Sayyid Kazim Rashti's Sharh al-khutba al-tutunjiyya, p.16.
11. Mr Cole holds that, in line 25, the word tha'r should be translated simply as 'blood' rather than ('act of) revenge. I confess that I fail to see why he thinks this is the case.

- 12. Mr. Cole points out that gharr in line 28 'means vanity, not just delusion'. I think that my gloss to note 20 does, in fact, make that clear.
- 13. In line 30, Mr Cole would prefer to read 'smoke' as 'dust'. Since the Arabic verb in question can be translated either as 'to rise in the air like dust' or 'to rise in the air like smoke', there can, I think, be no objection to either rendering.
- 14. Mr Cole prefers to read the verbs in line 36 as first person passives rather than third person feminine actives, giving the translation: 'All sorrow has befallen me in every heart, I was gripped by sorrow in every joy (or literally, constricted completely in every expanse)'. This seems certainly entirely plausible, but it does involve the problem of a change of subject from line 35 to line 36 and back again in line 37. On the other hand, Mr Cole's reading does provide a continuity of subject with those prior to line 35.
- 15. On line 61, Mr Cole writes 'khalli does not mean fail, but is an imperative meaning "forsake". In English diction the use of fail to mean anything but the opposite of to succeed is in any case incorrect'. I'm afraid Mr Cole is here finding fault where there is none. Khalli certainly does mean 'forsake'; but it also means 'offend against'; 'infringe, transgress'; 'violate, break'; 'fail to fulfill, fail to meet' -- or so, at least, Wehr's dictionary says. As for the use of the word 'fail' in English, I would recommend that Mr Cole buy a bigger dictionary. The third meaning in the Shorter Oxford is 'to fall short in performance or attainment; to make default; to miss the mark'. It also has a number of other meanings, all of which may be found there.
- 16. Mr Cole correctly points out that, in line 76, the word wahshah means loneliness, not beast (wahsh). He continues to say that 'The hemistich is a play on words -- the author is communing with loneliness'. This seems eminently acceptable, especially since it avoids taking wahsha in a technically incorrect sense. However, it is worth pointing out that I had in mind when translating this line Baha' Allah's reference to this same period in his Lawh-i Maryam, where he speaks of his exile, in which 'the beats of the field (were) My associates' (quoted God Passes By, p.120). The original of this passage is in Persian and reads ba vuhsh-i 'arā' mujālis gashtam (Mā'ida-yi āsmānī, vol.4, p.330), there being a clear parallelism in the use of the term 'arā' beside the root whsh (as well as a parallelism between mu'nīs in the previous hemistich and mu'ānis in the immediately preceding sentence in the Lawh-i Maryam).
- 17. Mr Cole raises an important point with regard to line 91 (90 in the translation): 'bi'thah, a technical term in prophetology referring to the sending of the Prophet by God, has been mistranslated as resurrection (ba'th). This is an important point, since the use of the word bi'thah demonstrates that Baha'u'llah already in 1855-56 thought of himself as having a mission. Also, matrud here means ostracized or exiled (whether to Baghdad or Sulaymaniyyah), rather than "cast down". The line should read, "No matter if I have been exiled, for I attained the light of exaltation the day I was given my mission".  
 Since these remarks are, I think, best commented on in the light of Juan's comments on the succeeding line, it will be best to cite those here as well: 'This line (92; trans.91) has several allusions to the mi'raj story that the translator has missed. al-quds here means Jerusalem, which Baha'u'llah claims mystically to have visited, just as Muhammad did in the mi'raj. The hijrah in Tehran again appears to have been a spiritual analogy to the Prophet's hijrah. The mi'raj theme is reinforced in the next line by the use of the verb from that root. While such imagery in a mystical poem cannot be taken too literally, it might indicate an early claim of prophetic status.'

I think these are extremely interesting remarks and ones deserving of careful consideration. In their light I have re-examined this whole section of the poem, and I will readily admit that something more is going on in these lines than my original translation implied. At the same time, I fear that Juan's comments here, as occasionally elsewhere, suffer by being rather too overconfidently and absolutely stated. Some things may be as he suggests, but I am far from convinced that they must be read as he reads them. To begin with, I fail to see that there are several allusions to the mi'raj story, and I am not wholly sure that there are any. If the term al-quds is a reference to Jerusalem, that might be regarded as a mi'raj reference, although it would by no means necessarily be so. What appears certain is that these lines refer in some way to an exile or exiles. Matrudān in line 92 (91) is, as Juan correctly points out, 'exiled' or 'cast out'. Hajartu in the following line means 'I emigrated' or 'I performed a hijra', while ghurbatī at the end of the same line means 'my exile'. All in all, and leaving aside for the moment the use of the verb 'arāja in line 94 (93), I am rather inclined to think that we are dealing with the theme of hijra here and not that of mi'raj. It should certainly be pointed out that taking al-quds as Jerusalem is contrary to the grammar of the hemistich, which continues: min nūri unsihi; the pronoun here seems certainly to refer back to al-quds, but since it is masculine it should be taken as belonging to a male person, rather than to Jerusalem, which is properly feminine. I have tried to resolve the question of whether the text here should be read al-quds or al-qudus (as I originally took it) by scanning the line. Unfortunately, although the ode is supposed to have been written in the same metre as Ibn al-Farid's original Nazm al-suluk, which is in tawil, Baha' Allah's poem is virtually unscannable. I admit that scansion is not something in which I am expert, and I would be very happy if Juan or someone else could suggest a method by which the qaṣīda could be fairly scanned. In any case, line 93 (92) does not scan regularly and could be open to a reading of al-qudus, although I will accept that bi 'l-quds matches the subsequent readings of bi 'l-tā, bi 'l-nūr, and bi 'l-rūh.

At this stage, I do not wish to offer any very definite interpretation of these lines; but I would like to make a tentative suggestion as to what they are about. One of the linguistic oddities of lines 92-94 (91-93) is the recurrent but not obviously consistent use of the preposition bi with a variety of verbs before it. The chief problem caused by this is in the second hemistich of line 93 (92), where the text reads something like 'I emigrated with OR to OR in al-tā'. Now, if al-tā be taken (as Mr Cole has taken it) as a reference to Tehran (ard al-tā), the interpretation of this passage becomes problematic. Juan suggests some sort of hijra in Tehran, although I find it hard to guess what this might be. His imprisonment in the Siyah Chāl perhaps? And how does all of this relate to 'the day of my mission' (yawma ba'c'hatī) or his belief in 'al-nūr'? At the risk of sticking my neck out a little far, may I offer the following for the consideration of readers?

not sufficient for you?

Al-nūr and al-nūr al-'alī are <sup>possible</sup> references to Baha's half-brother, Ṣubḥ-i Azal. In several of his less well-known works of the Baghdad period, including a letter to Mirza Muhammad Hadi Qazvini and a wasāya in Arabic, Baha' Allah speaks of his brother in terms such as this, usually as tal'at (or wajh) al-nur (the countenance of light), and expresses his servitude towards him. It is worth comparing a passage in the wasāya with line 119 (118) of this poem. In the wasāya, Baha' Allah writes: 'Is the countenance of light (wijhat al-nur -- sic) who has sat upon the throne of command and decrees from behind the veil a matter on the part of God?' Here he says: 'Recognize the face of light (wajh al-nūr) in the innermost part of the unseen'.

I would continue to argue that al-qudus and al-tā are references to Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Bārfurushi Quddus and Qurrat al-'Ayn respectively: there is certainly plenty of evidence for the use of al-tā or 'the letter tā' in reference to the latter. Again, the reference to al-nur in line 94 (93) is, I think, an allusion to Subh-i Azal. The first hemistich may be compared with the following passage from Baha' Allah's wasāya: 'I am a servant who has

believed in God and in the countenance of light'. The succession of al-nūr and al-rūh in that same line is paralleled by the following passage from the wasaya: 'Say: the light of God has encompassed you from all sides and the spirit of the command assists you at every moment'. Unfortunately, I have no immediate suggestions as to the identity of al-rūh in line 94 (93), if the word is, indeed, to be taken in this way.

I would, therefore, suggest the following translation for these lines:

- 92 What matters it if I am at this moment in exile?  
I attained to (the presence of) the exalted light on the day I was given my mission.
- 93 And I associated with Quddus out of the light of his familiarity,  
and I wandered with Tahira at the time when I was a stranger.
- 94 And I believed in the light out of the light of my inner being,  
and I ascended with (to?) the spirit in the mystery of my inmost heart.

What is all of this a reference to? I would suggest that it relates in some way to the events of Badasht, when Baha' Allah met with and associated with Subh-i Azal, Quddus, and Tahira, leaving afterwards with Tahira when the Babi contingent was forced to leave the vicinity. It is quite possible that Baha' Allah may have been given some form of mission to carry out by Mirza Yahya, which would be the ba<sup>c</sup>tha alluded to in line 92. (It should be noted that, although 'prophetic mission/calling' is a perfectly correct translation of ba<sup>c</sup>tha -- or bi<sup>c</sup>tha -- it is by no means the exclusive or ordinary meaning of the word.) Of course, something more than a mundane mission may be involved here, a view that would fit in well with the conditions of Babism at this period.

I am as yet uncertain how to understand the possibly related lines 119-20 (118-19) and 123 (122), which refer to 'the countenance of light', 'the beauty of holiness' (jamāl al-quds) and 'the mystery of holiness' (sirr al-quds). (But on the notion of the spirit of Quddus having been reincarnated in Subh-i Azal, see Nuqtat al-kāf, p.243.)

I realize that the above reading will, in part at least, probably prove unacceptable to most Baha'is since it has implications that do not fit in too well with the standard picture of relations between Baha' Allah and Subh-i Azal. Nevertheless, evidence supportive of such an interpretation does exist and I hope to subject some or all of it to a closer analysis in the course of a paper I plan to write this summer.

- 18 With regard to lines 95 and 96 (94, 95), Mr Cole suggests that the word لك in each be read as mā laki (you have no part of) rather than as the imperative mālik, and I find myself entirely in agreement.
- 19 In line 111 (110), Mr Cole suggests (correctly, I believe) that wat'a must be understood to mean, not 'oppression' but 'footstep'.
- 20 In line 123 (122), the word 'assistance' is a misprint for 'existence'.

May I once again thank Mr Cole for sharing his comments with me and allowing me thus to draw the attention of readers to some alternative readings and interpretations of passages in this extremely recondite poem. There can be no doubt but that further study will lead to considerable progress in our understanding of this important early Babi-Baha'i text.

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The Remembrance of God: An invocation technique  
in Sufism and the writings of the Bab and Baha'u'llah\*

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It is one thing to believe in a reality beyond the senses and another to have experience of it also; it is one thing to have ideas of 'the holy' and another to become consciously aware of it as an operative reality intervening actively in the phenomenal world. 1

Mysticism is only one part of religion, but it is unquestionably the heart of religion; it is what makes religion religious. The above words from Rudolf Otto's classic work The Idea of the Holy highlight a dominant theme found in the mystical traditions of all religions, East and West, namely, the mystic's quest for cultivating a peculiar type of consciousness in which an overwhelming presence is experienced--a presence experienced as an objective fact coming from outside or beyond the subjective psyche and transcending the limitations of the natural order. In the Islamic, Babi and Baha'i traditions this is referred to as attaining the "presence of God" (liqa' allāh), wherein the overflowing light of God so pervades human consciousness that "all images fade away"--including the self-image of particular souls--and only the "Face of God" (wa\_jhu 'llāh) remains.<sup>2</sup>

The soul's search for God is the true calling for human beings because it is, according to Qur'anic and Baha'i teaching, the one act that gives all the other acts of our lives meaning and relation. We have been created, says Baha'u'llah, in order to know and love God even as moths love the flame: first hand and with such ecstasy that the soul is transformed into a perfect reflection of the light of God in the act of knowing and loving.

Sufism, the most developed expression of the Muslim approach to mystic experience, is a major source for Babi and Baha'i writings that have as their subject the quest for presence. Sufism provided an important frame of reference for the central figures of the Baha'i faith, as they responded to numerous inquiries from both their followers and from Muslims (including a number of Sufis) on traditional Muslim concerns with spiritual experience. In responding to these questions, the Bab and Baha'u'llah naturally drew from many of the literary images and technical terms that had been developed by Arabic and Persian-speaking mystics.

Dhikru 'llāh, the invocation or remembrance of God, is a fundamental Sufi technique referred to by the Bab and Baha'u'llah. In

Islam generally, but particularly in Sufism, the practice of dhikr is a prominent discipline for attaining heightened states of consciousness. Dhikr is the repetitive recitation of divine Names or short, sacred formulae, often derived from scripture. It is a distinct devotional practice from obligatory prayers (ṣalāt) and meditation or reflection (fikr), yet it is generally used by most Sufis in concert with ṣalāt and fikr in a comprehensive spiritual regime.

The Bab and Baha'u'llah affirm the efficacy of these acts of personal spiritual endeavor. However, the ritual and devotional features of Babi and Baha'i scripture have not generally been examined or emphasized in the West, and many questions yet persist as to the nature and scope of specific exhortations found in these texts.<sup>3</sup> For example, David Goodman has commented that "while the Baha'i writings are rich in references to meditation, the apparent lack of a particular tradition frees Baha'is to incorporate the knowledge of other techniques into their lives without difficulty or conflict."<sup>4</sup> On the surface, this statement appears quite catholic and in harmony with the Baha'i teaching of religious unity. On closer examination, however, Goodman's observation must be modified to some degree, for the Babi and Baha'i writings do have recommendations on specific devotional and meditation practices which stem from a particular tradition, namely, the mystical tradition of Islam.

This brief essay is primarily concerned with examining the practice of dhikru 'llāh, the remembrance or invocation of God, as depicted in Sufism and the writings of the Bab and Baha'u'llah. As noted above, dhikr is but one aspect of Muslim and Baha'i personal piety along with prayer and meditation.<sup>5</sup> By focusing on the practice of dhikr I do not mean to ignore the importance of prayer and meditation nor the complementary function of these activities for the sources of this study. The choice is guided, nevertheless, by recognition of the centrality of dhikr with regards to ṣalāt and fikr in the mystic's search for the divine Beloved. As the Qur'an instructs us, "prayer (ṣalāt) prevents passionate transgressions and grave sins, but invocation of God is greater (dhikru 'llāh akbar)" (29:45). Each activity has its special virtue. Dhikr is the act of kindling the heart's passion for God, thereby igniting the flame latent within the soul. For individuals not satisfied with theoretical knowledge of God, the act of invoking and "breathing" God's presence through His names and attributes has been a traditional means for inculcating intuitive perception of God.<sup>6</sup>

In discussing Sufi-Baha'i relations regarding dhikr, the problem of sources and influences looms large. It is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt to trace the possible Sufi and esoteric Shi<sup>C</sup>i sources which may have played a part in the formation of the Bab's or Baha'u'llah's ideas on the topic. For most of its Islamic past, Iran was a predominately Sunni territory with widespread acceptance of Sufi orders and teachers. Under the Safavids and Qajars, Sufism was usually suppressed by the Shi<sup>C</sup>i rulers and ulamā', though there was a revival of Sufism in Iran during the 18th and 19th centuries which played a role in rekindling messianic expectations within the Shi<sup>C</sup>i world.<sup>7</sup>

The Bab does not appear to have had personal contact with Sufi rituals or to have read Sufi manuals. His pronounced esoteric teachings are more closely related to aspects of popular Shi<sup>C</sup>ism, the Ahl al-haqq, Hurufi cabalism, Isma<sup>C</sup>ili and Shaykhi esoterism, and the ishraqiyyun, including Mulla Sadra. Most of these movements had adopted some form of dhikr invocation. Thus at this time the most we can say is that the Sufi and Babi dhikr rituals share a common Islamic background through the lasting influence of Sufism in post-Safavid Iran.

In contrast, the relations between Sufism and Baha'u'llah are clear. Baha'u'llah was familiar with many of the classical works of Sufism and frequently quotes such literature in his mystical poems and treatises. He spent some time in the Naqshbandi takiyyah (seminary) in Sulaymaniyyah, Kurdistan, where he is reported to have given a commentary on Ibn al-<sup>C</sup>Arabi's al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiyah, one of the most important and influential sources for Sufism, as well as composing a qaṣīdah, or ode, following the meter and rhyme of Ibn al-Farid's Nazmu's-Suluk.<sup>8</sup> During the Edirne period (1864-67), Baha'u'llah visited the Mewlawi's takiyyah and he is known to have been a great lover of this Sufi order's founder, the celebrated Sufi poet Jalal ad-Din Rumi. And, as we shall see below, many of his followers were converted Sufis and the practice of individual and group dhikr took place during Baha'u'llah's captivity and was encouraged by him. Nevertheless, at this time research calls for a cautious acknowledgement that the Baha'i writings exhibit traditional Sufi dhikr aspects and that further studies on Sufi-Baha'i contacts will likely generate a clearer picture of the nature of the relationship between Sufi and Baha'i dhikr.

### Dhikr in Sufism

The ritual of dhikr is the principle spiritual discipline of Sufism. Its goal is the realization of God's presence within the inmost being of individuals. Dhikr is a verbal noun derived from the Arabic trilateral verb dhakara, to remember. For the Sufis, the Qur'anic basis for practicing dhikr rests on verses such as the above cited Surah 29:45, Surah 33:41: "O ye who believe! Remember (udhkuru) God with much remembrance (dhikran kathīran)", and Surah 13:28: "remembrance of God (dhikru 'llāh) makes the heart calm".

Dhikr is distinguished from the Sufi understanding of fikr, discursive reflection or meditation. The difference between these two activities appears to be the content of intellectual abstraction involved in each. Fikr generally refers to the act of perceiving a new idea or datum of knowledge by combining two known ideas in reflection. Dhikr, on the other hand, is an effort to unveil the spiritual nature of the soul to human consciousness. Fikr is an act of self-educating through discursive thought whereas dhikr is an act of self-discovery through a technique of abstraction which reveals the "self of God standing within".<sup>9</sup> Louis Gardet comments that in the performance of fikr the Sufi, "concentrating upon a religious subject, meditates according to a certain progression of ideas or series of evocations which he assimilates and experiences; in dhikr, concentrating on the object recollected--generally a Divine Name--he allows his field of consciousness to lose itself in this object; hence the importance granted to the technique of repetition at first verbal, later unspoken".<sup>10</sup>

The Sufis were fond of discussing the respective merits of dhikr and fikr, with different authorities claiming superiority for one or the other activity. Surah 3:190-191 indicates that both are to be used to contemplate the signs of God:

Surely in the creation of the heaven and earth and in the alteration of night and day there are signs for men possessed of minds who remember God (yadhkurūna 'llāh) standing, sitting, and lying on their sides, and reflect (yatafakkarūna) upon the creation of the heavens and the earth.

In an early Sufi manual by Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi (d. 990 C.E.), there is quoted a saying of an early Sufi that appears to be a commentary on Surah 3:190-191 in praise of the complementary use of dhikr and fikr:

One of the great Sufis said: Gnosis (al-marifa) is the summoning of the heart (as-sirr) through various kinds of meditation (al-fikr)



to observe the ecstasies induced by recollection (adh-dhikr) according to the signs of revelation.<sup>11</sup>

It was dhikr, however, which came to be the most important form of Sufi discipline. Many Sufis went so far as to assert that even the obligatory ṣalāt could be disregarded if one was intensely occupied with dhikr. Did not the Qur'an itself, they reasoned, testify to the superiority of dhikr to ṣalāt? And the ḥadīth qudsī, God's speech reported on the authority of Muhammad but not contained in the Qur'an, confirms that "If a man is so occupied with recollecting Me that he forgets to pray to Me, I grant him a nobler gift than that which I accord to those who petition Me".<sup>12</sup> This attitude towards ṣalāt, dhikr and fikr shows how the Sufi path is the Muslim path of love and ecstasy, and that dhikr has been the principle means for bringing adepts into ecstatic encounters with the holy, as the following verses of an-Nuri testify:

So passionate my love is, I do yearn  
To keep His memory constantly in mind;  
But O, the ecstasy with which I burn,  
Sears out my thoughts, and strikes my memory blind!  
And, marvel upon marvel, ecstasy  
Itself is swept away: now far, now near  
My lover stands, and all the faculty  
Of memory is swept up in hope and fear.<sup>13</sup>

Dhikr, then, is a form of concentrative or ideational meditation in which the dhākir (one who remembers) repeats over and over--either aloud (dhikr jalī) or in silence (dhikr khafī, qalbī)--a divine name or short phrase, often to a specific breathing rhythm and while sitting in a prescribed posture. The observation of one's breathing is an essential feature of Sufi dhikr. The cycle of exhaling and inhaling is designated as nafy wa ithbat: negation and affirmation. Beginning with closed eyes and lips, the dhākir repeats the first part of the shahāda, the Muslim profession of faith, lā ilāha illā 'llāh (there is no god but God), in two movements.<sup>14</sup> The first movement is the recitation of the "verse of negation" while exhaling: lā ilāha (there is no God), with the intention of expelling all distracting thoughts and stimuli. This is followed by reciting the "verse of affirmation" while inhaling: illā 'llāh (but God), affirming that God is the sole Reality worthy of devotion and worship. Dhikr may thus be compared to other forms of concentrative meditation such as hesychasm in Eastern Orthodox Christianity, mantra yoga in Indian religion and nembutsu in Japanese Pure Land Buddhism.<sup>15</sup>

In the history of Sufism, the merits of dhikr were elaborated on by the Sufis and variations in technique were developed within the different orders. However, there generally came to be recognized three stages or levels of dhikr which are related hierarchically to one another: 1) dhikr al-lisān, remembrance of the tongue; 2) dhikr al-qalb, remembrance of the heart; and 3) dhikr as-sirr, remembrance of the inmost being.<sup>16</sup>

Dhikr al-lisān is the first stage of discipline and consists of two phases. The novice begins his or her practice of dhikr with voluntary recitation of a formula, usually the shahāda. The goal of this initial phase of verbal dhikr is control of wandering thoughts so that only the madhkūr (the One who is remembered, i.e. God) is consciously present in the mind. Initially, the duration of the invocation is usually of a limited time, perhaps one hour, or restricted to a specific number of repetitions. The second phase emerges from the first when the subject continues the invocation ceaselessly without effort. According to traditional Sufi accounts, even when this unceasing remembrance without effort is attained, the three elements of the ritual remain distinctly present, namely, the subject (dhākir) conscious of his or her state; the act of remembrance (dhikr); and the One mentioned (madhkūr).

The second stage of invocation, dhikr al-qalb, appears to be the full expression and perfection of the effortless recollection attained in dhikr al-lisān. Gardet has described it as being "expressed in a sort of hammering of the formula by the beating of the physical heart and by the pulsation of the blood in the veins and arteries, with no utterance, even mental, of the words, but where the words nevertheless remain. This is a mode of 'necessary presence', where the 'state of consciousness' dissolves into an acquired passivity".<sup>17</sup> This growing presence of the divine in the heart is expressed in a story of Sahl at-Tustari (d. 806 C.E.), one of the greatest figures of the early period of Sufism:

Sahl said to one of his disciples: Strive to say continuously for one day: "O Allah! O Allah! O Allah!" and do the same the next day and the day after that--until he [the disciple] became habituated to saying these words. Then he bade him to repeat at night also, until they became so familiar that he uttered them even during his sleep. Then he said: "Do not repeat them any more, but let all your faculties be engrossed in remembering God". The disciple did this, until he became absorbed in the thought of God. One day, when he was in his house, a piece of wood fell on his head and broke it. The drops of blood which trickled to the ground bore the legend "Allah! Allah! Allah!".<sup>18</sup>

Should the dhākir reach perfection in dhikr al-qalb, he or she may then attain the third and highest stage of dhikr as-sirr, remembrance of the inmost being. This stage of dhikr is, for the Sufi, the station of realized or ontological tawhīd (unity) where the inmost being becomes the living, inner (bātin) expression of the outward profession of God's unity, la ilaha illa 'llah. In this exalted experience of human awareness, the dhākir has, in the words of Ibn 'Ata' Allah (d. 1300 C.E.), "disappeared from both the dhikr and the very object of dhikr".<sup>19</sup> That is to say, there is a transcending of the duality of subject/object awareness, which leads to the profound experience of union (wuṣūl) between the inmost being of the person and God.<sup>20</sup>

The three stages of dhikr therefore correspond to progressive levels of consciousness beginning with the novices attempt to refocus his or her orientation from self to God (dhikr al-lisān), leading to a blurring of identities in a state of ecstasy through continuous, silent absorption on the object of contemplation (dhikr al-qalb) and finally into a purified vision of a new Self, the Self of God standing within, (dhikr as-sirr). The penetration into the mysteries of divine unity in dhikr as-sirr is beyond formal conceptualization. The contemplative goes beyond the apparent rational simplicity of God into a realm of infinite complexity which only intuitive insight (al-'ilm adh-dhawī) can grasp. Reflection on the paradoxes experienced in the unitive state, e.g. gathering and separation, presence and absence, takes thought "to its very furthest limits and intelligence will in this way be opened to a synthesis lying beyond all formal conception".<sup>21</sup>

In moderate forms of Sufism, the annihilation of self in God (fanā' fi 'llāh) does not usually signify an extermination of the unique individuality of the mystic, rather it is a transformation of consciousness; a transfiguration of the illusory I, the animal soul, into the True Self, or tranquil soul. The more the True Self is reflected in our inmost beings, the more the inferior self of common consciousness is occulted and effaced. This annihilation of self and perpetuation of identity is called fanā' wa baqā' (annihilation and subsistence).

Rumi describes fanā' as being "Like the flame of a candle in the presence of the sun; he is (really) non-existent, (though he is) existent in formal calculation".<sup>22</sup> At this point the transcendent Object so dominates consciousness that the mystic completely renounces the delusion (or idolatry!) of selfhood. Rudolf Otto has emphasized that the starting point from whence this type of speculation begins "is not a consciousness of absolute dependence of myself as a result and effect of

a divine cause--for that would...lead to insistence upon the reality of self; it starts from a consciousness of the absolute superiority or supremacy of a power other than myself".<sup>23</sup> Most Sufis did not stop with fanā' nor assert that the soul becomes the Absolute Godhead once it has attained Deity. Rather, from fanā' springs baqā':

If then thou hast freedom from thyself,  
Then thy selflessness is Godness.  
When one has vanished, that is cessation of being.  
When there has been cessation of being, behold,  
from it springs survival.<sup>24</sup>

This is the station referred to in the ḥadīth that "He who knows himself knows his Lord (man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu) as well as the ḥadīth an-nawāfil (the tradition of proximity caused by supererogative acts of worship): "My servant ceases not to draw nigh unto Me by works of devotion, until I love him, and when I love him I am the eye by which he sees and the ear by which he hears. And when he approaches a span I approach cubit, and when he comes walking I come running".<sup>25</sup> The connection between dhikr and the experience of fanā' and baqā' is perfectly expressed in these lines quoted by al-Kalabadi:

So we remembered--yet oblivion  
Was not our habit; but a radiance shone,  
A magical breeze breathed, and God was near.  
Then vanished selfhood utterly, and I  
Remained His only, Who with tidings clear  
Attests His Being, and is known thereby.<sup>26</sup>

In summary, we may say that the aim of dhikr is to bring about an unveiling of our spiritual self. It is the act of polishing the heart in order to make it a perfect mirror reflecting the light of God. It is not a mere mechanical process, as the great Sufi masters teach that one must approach the practice of dhikr with right intention (niyya) and absolute sincerity (ikhlas). The special formulae are used to center the mind on certain Images inherent in the words until the self and the Image become one Image of God.

#### Dhikr in the writings of the Bab

The term dhikr means different things in different contexts for the Bab and Baha'u'llah. The Bab, for example, often refers to himself as the 'Remembrance of God' or the 'Primal Remembrance',<sup>27</sup> while in other passages of Babi and Baha'i scriptures remembrance means simply to have God in mind generally or to praise God without indicating the recitation

of a sacred formula. Thus in his Kitāb al-aqdas, Baha'u'llah writes in regards to his laws on obligatory prayer: "Remember God (udhkuru 'llāh) for this mercy which preceded the denizens of the two worlds".<sup>28</sup> The recitation of dhikr formulae along traditional Sufi lines is also referred to by the Bab and Baha'u'llah. Both make the practice of a minimum daily invocation an obligatory ritual act, give formulae to be recited and describe postures in which to recite verses.

The writings of the Bab contain a number of exhortations for the practice of dhikr along with formulae to be recited. These recommendations are too numerous to examine comprehensively in this study. Here we will briefly discuss the Bab's preference for silent recitation of the phrases "in the heart" (dhikr fi'l-qalb), describe a selection of Babi dhikr phrases, and note some general similarities between Sufi and Babi teachings.

The writings of the Bab are often difficult to fathom. His interest in letter symbolism and the creation of talismanic symbols in the shikasta script often result in writings that are extremely dense and almost impossible to comprehend.<sup>29</sup> His commentaries on the Qur'an and traditions of the Prophet and Imams are more in the genre of ta'wīl, interpretation which aims at revealing the inner (bātin) significance of scripture--a style of writing popular with Sufi and Shi'ci gnostics. Denis MacEoin has observed that the writings of the Bab, like the rhyming prose of the Qur'an, creates a predilection for chanting the sacred verses. In some of his later works, e.g. the Kitāb al-asmā' and Kitāb-i panj sha'n, the Bab revealed verses "consisting largely of invocations of God by an infinitude of names..., in which content is entirely secondary to the all-important incantatory style".<sup>30</sup> These infinitude of names form the basic content of Babi dhikr practice.

In Sufism both verbal (jalī) and silent (khafī or qalbi) invocation is practiced. The Bab appears to have preferred silent over vocal recitation. It may be that he was displeased by superficial, public demonstrations of piety by Muslims--Sufis and others--and he therefore placed greater emphasis on silent dhikr as a guard against ostentatious behaviour. The Bab goes so far as to make the practice of silent dhikr an obligatory act. The fourth bāb of the ninth vahid of the Persian Bayān is concerned solely with recitation of "dhikr in the heart". This chapter begins, as do all chapters of the Persian Bayān, with a statement that is followed by an explanation. The Bab begins by stating: "God has made it obligatory for people to make mention of God (dhikru 'llāh) in their heart. Say, all will be questioned on that" (i.e. on the day of resurrection).<sup>31</sup>

The Bab's exposition of this statement begins by praising the virtues of patience and humility under all conditions. He then continues by discussing the efficacy of silent dhikr in the heart:

The reason why privacy (sirr) hath been enjoined in moments of devotion is this, that thou mayest give thy best attention to the remembrance of God (dhikru 'llāh), that thy heart may at all times be animated by His Spirit, and not shut out as by a veil from thy Best Beloved. Let not thy tongue pay lip service in praise of God while thy heart be not attuned to the exalted Summit of Glory, and the Focal Point of Communion.<sup>32</sup>

This passage contains several of the themes discussed above in connection with dhikr al-lisān and qalb. For example, the word translated as 'privacy' in this pericope is sirr in Arabic, which also contains the sense of an esoteric secrecy and mystery as well as inner quality of consciousness. Taken in the context of this chapter on 'dhikr in the heart', it seems clear that the privacy intended by the Bab is not simply to say prayers in solitude. Rather the desired privacy is found within the contemplative setting of silent invocation, it is the shutting out of all things from conscious thought in absorption on the object of meditation, the "Focal Point of Communion," which for the Bab is the spirit of the Primal Remembrance, the Manifestation of God. The Bab also warns that mere repetition of verses is insufficient, that the seeker's heart must be centered on the Lord of Revelation. For both the Bab and for many Sufi authorities, the internal recitation of dhikr invocations is done in order to create within the heart a perpetual state of divine animation.

The dhikr phrases found in the Bab's writings are both traditional ones used in Islam and invocations which exhibit particular Babi theological concerns.<sup>33</sup> The Bab calls for a daily regime of invocation, and the new Badi' calendar is incorporated into the believer's daily devotions. Each day mention of God should be done by reciting ninety-five times a name of God.<sup>34</sup> Believers are to recite allāhu abhā (God is most Glorious) on the first day of the month, allāhu a'zam (God is most Great) on the second day, and allāhu aqdam (God is most Ancient) on the nineteenth and final day of the month. The choice of invocations for the remaining days are left up to the individual. In the Arabic Bayān, the Bab gives a beautiful explanation for the practice of dhikr each day: "Each day recalls my Name. And each day my thought penetrates into your heart, then you are among those who are always in God's thought".<sup>35</sup>

Another daily invocation practice mentioned in the Bab's writings is ta<sup>c</sup>zīm, or glorification, i.e. reciting of allāhu a<sup>c</sup>zam nineteen times every day.<sup>36</sup> Other formulae mentioned by him are allāhumma (O God!), to be repeated 700 times; allāhu azhar (God is most Manifest), to be repeated ninety-five times; and yā 'llāh (O God!), to be repeated 4,000 times.<sup>37</sup> Nabil-i-A<sup>c</sup>zam reports that the Bab instructed his followers to repeat the following five invocations nineteen times in the evening: allāh akbar (God is most Great), allāhu a<sup>c</sup>zam, allāhu a<sup>j</sup>mal (God is most Beautiful), allāhu abhā, and allāhu athar (God is most Pure).<sup>38</sup> This last series of invocations was used by the Babis of Zanjan while besieged in a quarter of the city to instil courage and fortitude as they battled their foes. Nabil remarks that the Babis, "though worn and exhausted..., continued to observe their vigils and chant such anthems as the Bab had instructed them to repeat".<sup>39</sup> The chanting of special verses while encircling a sacred object or person--a practice related to dhikr invocation and referred to as sama<sup>c</sup> (listening)--also took place among the Babis. A dramatic account of the Babis' use of a special invocation while they circled their charismatic leader Quddus--regarded as equal to, or even greater, than the Bab by some--is given by Nabil. In December of 1848, Quddus, the foremost disciple of the Bab, was able to join his fellow Babis at Tabarsi, who were led by Mulla Husayn, the Bab's first disciple and second in rank only to Quddus. When word reached Mulla Husayn that Quddus was approaching, he placed two candles in each Babis hands and they then walked out into the forest of Mazindaran to meet their hero and spiritual guide. They met Quddus as he rode his steed. "Still holding the lighted candles in their hands, they followed him on foot towards their destination...As the company slowly wended its way towards the fort, there broke forth the hymn of glorification and praise intoned by...his enthusiastic admirers: 'Holy, holy, the Lord our God, the Lord of angels and the spirit' (subbūhun quddusun rabbunā wa rabbu 'l-malā'ikati wa 'r-ruh) rang their jubilant voices around him. Mulla Husayn raised the glad refrain, to which the entire company responded".<sup>40</sup> Such instances of the Babis' use of special sacred invocations indicates that this form of popular Sufi and Shi<sup>c</sup>i piety was also prevalent in Babism.

Another Babi dhikr phrase that has become popular with Iranian Baha'is is: Allāhumma yā subbūhun yā quddusun yā hanānun yā manān. farrij lanā bi 'l-fadli wa 'l-ihsān innaka 'r-raḥmānu 'l-manān (O God! O Sanctified One, O Holy One, O Tender One, O Gracious One. Assist us by Thy excellence and virtue. Verily, Thou art the Merciful, the Gracious).<sup>41</sup>

Two final Babi dhikr invocations of interest are ones to be recited to the sun and moon respectively. In the Persian Bayān (bāb 14, vāhid 7), the Bab writes that on the Friday of each week--the day of rest in the Ba di<sup>c</sup> calendar--believers are to chant the following invocation while facing the rising sun: innamā 'l-bahā' min 'cindallāhi 'cālā 'tal<sup>c</sup>atiki yā ayyatuhā 'sh-shamsa 't-tal<sup>c</sup>ati fa 'shhadī 'cālā mā qad shahida 'llāhu 'cālā nafsihi. innahu lā ilāha illā huwa 'l-azīzu 'l-mahbūb (Glory from God be upon your [appearance], O dawning sun. Bear witness then, O sun, unto that which God hath born witness in Himself. Verily, there is no god but Him, the Mighty, the Best Beloved).<sup>42</sup> And in the Chahār sha'n, it is recommended that one face the moon each month and recite 142 times, i.e. to the number of the name of God al-Qā'im, the Existent: innamā 'l-bahā' minā 'llāhi 'cālayka yā ayyuhā 'l-gamara 'l-munira fī kullī ḥin(in) wa qabla ḥin(in) wa ba<sup>c</sup>ada ḥin(in) (The glory from God be upon you, O moon shining at all times, and before all times, and after all times).<sup>43</sup>

The sun and the moon have long been important symbols in the literature of mysticism. In Sufism, and especially among Persian writers, the spiritual relationship between these two heavenly bodies was developed at length. A major theme of Islamic spirituality in its Iranian milieu is the expression of the lunar quality of the human-divine relationship. For Suhrawardi al-Maqtul, the moon, which is masculine in Arabic, is referred to as the lover of the sun, Queen of the Stars. Suhrawardi tells us how the moon never lingers but always presses on in its quest for full enlightenment. At the point of complete enlightenment, the moon has reached the summit of its lunar potential by perfectly reflecting the rays of the Sun Queen. The lover-moon looks into itself and no longer discerns anything other than the light of the Sun. At this point the moon cries out: Anā 'sh-shams! I am the Sun!<sup>44</sup> Henry Corbin explains that the moon typifies the soul of persons revolving in the heaven of tawḥīd, the unity of God, while the phases of the moon typify the phases and repetitions of the human-divine encounter that carries the soul of the mystic into the state of incandescence (fanā').<sup>45</sup> We may similarly interpret the words of the Bab in regards to the moon-soul that becomes shining with the glory from the Sun, or Manifestation of God, "at all times, and before all times, and after all times".

In summary, we may positively note that the Bab's teaching on dhikr has many similarities with moderate Sufi doctrines. His attitude towards dhikr corresponds to many Sufi authorities who were wary of the

elaborate rituals for invocation that had developed in the Sufi orders. Stress is consequently placed on the fact that it is not the amount of repetitions or elaborate postures which make dhikr effective, but that purity of heart (niyya) and sincerity (ikhlas) are the basis of true invocation. The Bab warns in the Persian Bayān (bāb 4, vāhid 9) that excessive dhikr--either aloud or silent--is not, in itself, pleasing to God. The most important criteria, he continues, is that dhikr be done with "joy and happiness", and he concludes that "everyone knows in himself how many mentions he should make".<sup>46</sup> Echoing the Qur'an that "Each being knows his prayer and his form of glorification" (Surah 24:41).

#### Dhikr in the writings of Baha'u'llah

The writings of Baha'u'llah on the performance of dhikr are similar to his predecessor's. Like the Bab, Baha'u'llah makes the practice of dhikr an obligatory devotional act along with obligatory prayers and fasting. In the Kitāb al-aqdas, his book of laws, Baha'u'llah enjoins the believer in God to each day perform ablutions, sit facing God (now considered the Baha'i qibla of Bahji) and utter ninety-five times in remembrance of God (yadhkuru) the invocation allāhu abhā, the Baha'i form of the greatest name (al-ismu 'l-a<sup>c</sup>zam).<sup>47</sup> This utilization of the greatest name appears to be a modification of the Bab's more detailed laws on daily invocation.

Baha'u'llah does not place the same emphasis on dhikr as the Bab, but invocation remains a definite prescription. It seems that each Baha'i is asked for at least a minimum daily requirement of invocation of the greatest name. Indeed, use of the greatest name as the Baha'i dhikr formula par excellence in a fashion comparable to Sufism was advocated by <sup>c</sup>Abdu 'l-Baha, eldest son and successor of Baha'u'llah. <sup>c</sup>Abdu 'l-Baha notes that the constant repetition of the greatest name leads to union with God, illumination and spiritual rebirth. Though not a binding law, continual repetitive invocation is strongly endorsed as a spiritual discipline for Baha'is:

<sup>c</sup>Abdu 'l-Baha exhorted the friends to "recite the Greatest Name at every morn, and (to) turn...unto the Kingdom of Abha, until thou mayest apprehend the mysteries"...Again, through the use of the Greatest Name, <sup>c</sup>Abdu 'l-Baha urges that "the doors of the Kingdom of God open, illumination is vouchsafed and divine union results... The use of the Greatest Name, and dependence upon it, causes the soul to strip itself of the husks of mortality and to step forth freed, reborn, a new creature..."

"The Greatest Name should be found upon the lips in the first awakening moment of early dawn. It should be fed upon by constant use in daily invocation, in trouble, under opposition, and should be the last word breathed when the head rests upon the pillow at night. It is the name of comfort, protection, happiness, illumination, love and unity".<sup>48</sup>

As in Sufism, Baha'i dhikr invocation should be seen as a form of concentrative or ideational meditation whereby one temporarily turns away from the world and turns solely "inward" via a linguistic image. This focussing on one object enables the meditator to reach a calm, tranquil or receptive state of consciousness which is open to direct, intuitive knowledge of spiritual powers. In his Asl-i kullu 'l-khayr (Words of Wisdom), Baha'u'llah states that "True remembrance (aslu 'dh-dhikr) is to make mention of the Lord, the All-Praised, and to forget aught else besides Him".<sup>49</sup> Such statements on the concentrative approach to meditation place Baha'i dhikr within a noble tradition of contemplative exercise, sharing similarities not only with Sufism but with Jewish, Christian, Hindu and Buddhist meditation techniques as well.

The inclination towards practicing dhikr invocations is given further impetus by Baha'u'llah in several of his poems, prayers and meditations. Indeed, the entire Islamic-Babi-Baha'i emphasis on the revealed Word of God as the vehicle of human salvation naturally lends impetus to the individual believer's quest for enlightenment by means of the sacred texts, whose very incantatory style is conducive to invocation. The poems of Baha'u'llah, e.g. Rashh-i 'amā, al-Qasidah al-warqā' iyyah and Mathnaviy-i mubarak, draw on Sufi technical terms and their rhyming patterns are conducive to chanting in ways traditionally practiced in Sufism.<sup>50</sup> The Lawh mallāhi 'l-quds (Tablet of the Holy Mariner) and the Lawh an-nāqūs (Tablet of the Bell) contain refrains which are repeated between each verse of the respective works, infusing them with dhikr-like qualities.<sup>51</sup> The Lawh an-nāqūs, revealed by Baha'u'llah in Istanbul on the anniversary of the declaration of the Bab, is a beautiful work containing verses filled with exhortations for the mystic's quest interspersed by the captivating refrain: subhānaka yā hū. yā man hūwa hū. yā man laysa 'ahad(un) illā hū (Praise be Thou, O He, O He who is He, O He who is none other than He).<sup>52</sup>

Traditional Islamic invocations are also prominent in Baha'u'llah's writings, e.g. al-hamdu lillāh (Praise be to God!), subhāna 'llāh (Praise be God) and hūwa 'llāh. Baha'u'llah also uses

the popular Sufi petition to God: labbayka, labbayka (Here am I! Here am I!). This is the traditional cry of prophets, saints and mystics to the mysterious Godhead in hope that the grace of God will descend into the heart of the invoker. Baha'u'llah refers to labbayka in this fashion in his Ṣalāt al-kubra (Long Obligatory Prayer):

I entreat Thee by Thy footsteps in this wilderness, and by the words, "Here am I. Here am I", which Thy chosen ones have uttered in this immensity....<sup>53</sup>

Other dhikr phrases and short invocations can be gleaned from Baha'u'llah's writings. For instance, an interesting passage in his Kitāb al-<sup>c</sup>Ahdī (Book of the Covenant) reads:

We fain would hope that the people of Bahā may be guided by these sacred words: 'Say: all things are of God' (qul kullun min <sup>c</sup>inda 'llāhi). This exalted utterance is like unto water for quenching the fire of hate and enmity which smolder within the hearts and breasts of men. By this single utterance contending peoples and kindreds will attain the light of true unity. Verily He speaketh the truth and leadeth the way. He is the All-Mighty, the Gracious.<sup>54</sup>

And as noted above, Baha'u'llah has incorporated the Bab's dhikr to the sun into Baha'i teachings by symbolically identifying himself with the rising phenomenal sun.<sup>55</sup>

Some of the effects of practicing the remembrance of God are mentioned by Baha'u'llah in the compilation Prayers and Meditations. The remembrance of God opens the mind's eye to the inner meanings of scripture and instills a divine sweetness which helps one to abandon attachment to the world; it assists individuals to accept adversities and trials and enables minds to become firmly fixed and grounded in God:

Cause me to taste, O my Lord, the divine sweetness of Thy remembrance and praise. I swear by Thy might! Whosoever tasteth of its sweetness will rid himself of attachment to the world...and will set his face towards Thee, cleansed from the remembrance of any one except Thee.

Inspire then my soul, O my God, with Thy wondrous remembrance, that I may glorify Thy name. Number me not with them who read Thy words and fail to find Thy hidden gift which...is contained therein.<sup>56</sup>

The Sufi orders developed special forms of group dhikr chanting known as ḥadra (session) or ḥalqa (circle). Baha'u'llah and <sup>c</sup>Abdu 'l-Baha encouraged special gatherings for chanting Baha'i prayers and tablets, however, these general prayer meetings must be regarded as very different from the ḥadra or ḥalqa. Still, there are a few occasions where Baha'u'llah himself initiated a more specific type of group dhikr session. The first two examples given here are ambiguous as to Baha'u'llah's intention, being created to meet specific moments of crisis prior to his assumption of prophetic office. Nevertheless, these two instances have held continuing significance for Baha'is as prototypes for group dhikr.

The first instance originates from Baha'u'llah's captivity in the Siyāh-Chal (Black Pit) in 1852. He recounts how he was confined in this dreaded prison of the Shah with many of his Babi comrades:

We were placed in two rows, each facing the other. We had taught them to repeat certain verses which, every night, they chanted with extreme fervor. 'God is sufficient unto me; He verily is the All-Sufficing (qul allāhu yakafā min kullin shay 'in) one row would intone, while the other would reply: 'In Him let the trusting trust' (<sup>c</sup>alā allāhi falyatawwakili al-mutawwakuni). The chorus of these gladsome voices would continue to peal out until the early hours of the morning.<sup>57</sup>

The second example comes from the 'Baghdad period' of Baha'u'llah's ministry (1853-1863). He is reported to have instructed the Babis:

Bid them recite: "Is there any remover of difficulties save God? Say: Praise be to God, He is God. All are His servants and all abide by His bidding" (ḥal min mufarrajin ghayru 'llāh. qul sūbhanu 'llāh hūwa 'llāh. kullun <sup>c</sup>ibādun lahū wa kullun bi amrihi gā'imun). Tell them to repeat it five hundred times, nay, a thousand times, by day and night, sleeping and waking, that haply the Countenance of Glory may be unveiled to their eyes, and tiers of light descend upon them.<sup>58</sup>

Here the act of internally reciting this popular invocation of the Bab's while sleeping or awake recalls the effortless invocation described above as dhikr al-qalb in Sufism.

The third example originates from the period of Baha'u'llah's confinement within the walls of <sup>c</sup>Akka (1868-79) and is the most specific endorsement of a ḥadra or ḥalqa gathering. <sup>c</sup>Abdu 'l-Baha refers to this in Memorials of the Faithful when he recalls that it was Baha'u'llah's



wish to see an annual gathering where the true dervishes of this world would meet to do dhikr together. This night is to be dedicated to Darvish Sidq-<sup>C</sup>Ali, a companion of Baha'u'llah's and a Sufi:

While in the barracks, Baha'u'llah set apart a special night and He dedicated it to Darvish Sidq-<sup>C</sup>Ali. He wrote that every year on that night the dervishes should bedeck a meeting place, which should be in a flower garden, and gather to make mention of God.<sup>59</sup>

Fadil-i-Mazandarani has given the date of this special night of dhikr as the second of Rajab.<sup>60</sup> The practice was carried on, at least by the Baha'is of <sup>C</sup>Akka, for sometime, but it is not certain when or why its observance was discontinued. Possibly it was discontinued to keep the local inhabitants from regarding Baha'u'llah as the shaykh of a heretical band of dervish riff-raff, since the Baha'is were often mistaken for Sufis during his lifetime.<sup>61</sup> As there appears to be no statement in Baha'u'llah's later writings calling for the discontinuance of this dhikr session, perhaps it will be revived by contemporary Baha'is.

Besides these many dhikr invocations, Baha'u'llah also speaks of specific postures in which the recital of verses is recommended. If the obligatory prayer is missed, for example, the believer is to prostrate and repeat either: subhāna 'llāhi dhi 'l-'azamati wa 'l-ijlāli wa 'l-mawhibati wa 'l-afdāl (Praised be God, the Lord of Might and Majesty, of Grace and Bounty) or simply subhāna 'llāh. After this both men and women are to sit cross-legged in the posture which he refers to as the 'Temple of Unity' (haykal at-tawhīd) and repeat eighteen times: subhāna 'llāh dhi 'l-mulki wa 'l-malakūt (Praised be God, the Lord of the kingdoms of earth and heaven).<sup>62</sup> The posture of haykal at-tawhīd is a simple cross-legged sitting position popular in Sufi practice. Another traditional posture of Islam referred to in the Baha'i writings is qu'ūd (literally, sitting), which is identical to the 'sitting on one's heels' posture of Zen Buddhism. The qu'ūd posture is most commonly used when reciting those sections of the Baha'i long obligatory prayer that call for the sitting position.

As in Sufism, invocation for Baha'u'llah aims at the elimination of the subject/object dichotomy of normal consciousness. This intimate identification of self and God is often referred to in the Baha'i writings as "seeing with His eyes" (a<sup>C</sup>rifa<sup>C</sup>ka bi 'aynika) or "recognizing God through His Own Self" (bishināsīm bi-nafs-i-ū). Thus Baha'u'llah writes:

It behooveth us, therefore to make the utmost endeavour, that, by God's invisible assistance these dark veils...may not hinder us

from beholding the beauty of His shining Countenance and that we may recognize Him only by His own Self.<sup>63</sup>

And:

Open Thou, O my Lord, mine eyes and the eyes of all them that have sought Thee, that we may recognize Thee with Thine own eyes.<sup>64</sup>

The use of dhikr to reach the unitive state is implied by Baha'u'llah in the fourth of his Seven Valleys (Haft Vādī), where he refers to the hadīth an-nawāfil, the tradition considered by Sufis as God's announcement of His promise to become the eye and ear through which the servant exists, "as well as the experience in dhikr in which every limb is engaged in its own recollection".<sup>65</sup>

Whenssoever the light of the Manifestation of the King of Oneness settleth upon the throne of the heart and soul, His shining becometh visible in every limb and member. At that time the mystery of the famed tradition gleameth out of the darkness: "A servant is drawn unto Me in prayer (an-nawāfil) until I answer him; and when I have answered him, I become the ear wherewith he heareth..." For thus the Master of the house hath appeared within His home, and all the pillars of the dwelling are ashine with His light. And the action and effect of the light are from the Light-Giver.<sup>66</sup>

There can be little doubt that in this most Sufic of his works, the founder of the Baha'i faith can be seen as endorsing the utilization of the traditional technique of dhikr in the mystic's quest for union with God. At least we must admit that any person from the Islamic mystical tradition would immediately understand Baha'u'llah's correlation of tawhīd and the hadīth an-nawāfil to the practice of dhikr.

In the last of the Seven Valleys, Baha'u'llah refers to the highest station in the way of God by the traditional Sufi terms of annihilation and subsistence in God (fana' az nafs va baqa' bi 'llāh).<sup>67</sup> Both Baha'i and moderate Sufi teachings maintain that the unknowable essence, the sacrosanct Godhead (adh-dhat al-ahdiyya, uluhiyya) is beyond human comprehension, and that there is consequently a tragic dimension to the mystic's quest for God: it is in a sense unattainable. Sufis who believed in the transcendence of God's essence often tried to express the difficulties involved in truly knowing and loving an unknowable Being. Ibn al-<sup>C</sup>Arabi poignantly observes how all attempts to penetrate the Absolute Deity ends on the shores of His names and attributes:

A diver who was endeavoring to bring to the shore the red jacinth of deity hidden in its resplendent shell, emerged from that ocean empty-handed with broken arms, blind, dumb and dazed... [He was

asked] "What has disturbed thee and what has happened?... [He replied] "Far is that which you seek....None ever attained to God and neither spirit nor body conceived the knowledge of him".<sup>68</sup>

In a passage that echoes this type of perception, Baha'u'llah speaks of the inherent limitations of human faculties in regards to knowing Deus absconditus:

Praise be to Thee, to Whom the tongues of all created things have, from eternity, called, yet failed to attain the heaven of Thine eternal holiness and grandeur. The eyes of all beings have been opened to behold the beauty of Thy radiant countenance, yet none hath succeeded in gazing on the brightness of the light of Thy face. The hands of them that are nigh unto Thee have, ever since the foundation of Thy glorious sovereignty and the establishment of Thy holy dominion, been raised suppliantly towards Thee, yet no one hath been able to touch the hem of the robe that clotheth Thy divine and sovereign Essence. And yet none can deny that Thou hast ever been, through the wonders of Thy generosity and bounty, supreme over all things, art powerful to do all things, and art nearer unto all things than they are unto themselves.<sup>69</sup>

Here, Baha'u'llah clearly reveals the mystic's dilemma: God has created souls out of the essence of His light with spiritual faculties analogous to Him, yet we are incapable of taking the step into complete identification with the unknowable Essence. As Otto has observed, the dilemma occurs because what is absolute may be thought but not thought out.<sup>70</sup>

However, the mystic's despair is soon transcended through experiencing God's Love, Mercy and Beauty. This then leads to the realization that these attributes of God are most clearly displayed as the very soul itself once it becomes sanctified from all human limitations, cleansed of all things to the point that "the Divine Face riseth out of the darkness" of the self and all things "pass away, but the Face of God".<sup>71</sup> At this point the soul can claim to have professed the unity of God in both its outer (zāhir) and inner (bātin) senses:

O Lord! The tongue of my tongue and the heart of my heart and the spirit of my spirit and my outward and inmost beings (zāhirī wa bātinī) bear witness to Thy unity and Thy oneness, Thy power and Thine omnipotence, Thy grandeur and Thy sovereignty, and attest Thy glory, loftiness and authority. I testify that Thou art God and that there is no other God besides Thee (innaka inta 'llāh lā ilāha illā inta).<sup>72</sup>

Baha'u'llah maintains, however, that the soul's realization of ontological tawhīd is in some manner different from both Sufi concepts of wahdatu 'l-wujūd or shuhūd (unity of being or contemplation). In the Seven Valleys he does not deny that these two stages occur along the mystic path, but that the wayfarer will eventually pass beyond these stages and reach a "oneness that is sanctified above these two stations".<sup>73</sup> It is difficult to determine exactly what Baha'u'llah intends by this. It may be that he is reluctant to dogmatically label the nature of mystic perception in its highest stages, as this tends to shock persons who have no comprehension of such matters but who hold attachments to conventional religious doctrines regarding the human-divine encounter. And furthermore, Baha'u'llah observes, one can only point to these experiences in allusive, symbolic ways. He thus warns that the language of dogma and doctrine is not the means for arriving at mystical definitions. Ink leaves only blots on the page, for "ecstasy alone can encompass this theme, not utterance nor argument".<sup>74</sup>

#### Conclusion

The practice of concentrative techniques of meditation occurs in most religious traditions. For the Islamic, Babi and Baha'i religions, the discipline of dhikr invocation is the recommended form of practice. Dhikr has been widespread in Islamic practice generally, but it was in Sufism that the most active and detailed development has occurred. The impact of Sufi teachings on dhikr and its theories of spiritual growth came to influence all Muslims, Sunni and Shi'ci alike, and the Bab and Baha'u'llah clearly drew selectively from this wealth of Islamic material in developing their own unique religious systems. This can be seen in the respective traditions' attitudes towards silent invocation, annihilation and subsistence, sincerity and purity of motive over mere technique, the use of group dhikr sessions, attainment of union with God, and the recognition of the limits of human aspiration. All three traditions assert that the practice of dhikr is an integral aspect of spiritual growth along with prayer, fasting and reflection. And each confirms that the practice of dhikr can lead to a profound alteration of consciousness, described as the revelation of God's presence within the inmost being or heart of the human soul.



\*I wish to thank the Research Department of the Universal House of Justice for providing me with the Arabic texts of passages from Prayers and Meditations by Baha'u'llah and with information on Darvish Sidq<sup>c</sup>Ali. The clarity of this study has been sharpened by the comments of Denis MacEoin, Juan Cole, Christopher Buck and Todd Lawson.

1) Rudolf Otto, The Idea of the Holy, trans. John W. Henry (London: Oxford University Press, rev. ed. 1976), p. 143.

2) See Qur'an 29:23; 18:111; 13:2; 2:46, 249; the Bab's Persian Bayan II, 7; III, 7; VI, 13; VIII, 6; IX, 9; and Baha'u'llah's Kitāb-i-Īqān: Book of Certitude (Hofheim-Langenheim: Baha'i Verlag, 1980, reprinted from the original edition, Egypt, 1934), pp. 107-111; English trans. Shoghi Effendi (Wilmette, Ill: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 3rd ed., 1970), pp. 138-143. (Hereafter cited as "Īqān", with English page numbers first).

3) An important exception to this is Denis MacEoin's study "Ritual and semi-ritual observances in Babism and Baha'ism", (unpublished paper presented at the fourth Baha'i Studies Seminar, University of Lancaster, April, 1980).

4) David Goodman, "The Importance of Meditation to Faith", World Order, vo. 13, no. 2 (1979), p. 46.

5) Both the Islamic and Baha'i traditions maintain a distinction between the concentrative meditation technique of invocation (dhikr) and the act of reflection or meditation (fikr). See below p.76 on dhikr and fikr in Sufism. The same distinction is made in Baha'i writings where 'meditation' is used to translate derivatives of the trilateral verb fakara. Cf. Īqān, p. 238/185, where Baha'u'llah writes of achieving the conditions of renunciation and detachment, and then refers to the ḥadīth: "One hours reflection (tafakkura) is preferable to seventy years of pious worship".

6) The use of concentrative meditation techniques is found in most religious traditions. For a general discussion of these techniques and their psycho-physical effects see Claudio Naranjo and Robert Ornstein, On the Psychology of Meditation (New York: Viking Press, 1971).

7) See Abbas Amanat, "The Early Years of the Babi Movement: Background and Development" (Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1981), ch. 3, "Sufism and Popular Religion" and Said Amir Arjomand, "Religious Extremism (Ghuluww), Sufism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran: 1501-1722", Journal of Asian History, vol. 16, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-35.

8) See Juan Cole, "Babism and Naqshbandi Sufism in Iraq 1854-1856: A qaṣīdah by Mirza Husayn 'Ali Baha'u'llah", in Studies in Babi and Baha'i History (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, forthcoming).

9) From an ḥadīth attributed to Muhammad and quoted by Baha'u'llah in Four Valleys (Shahār Vādī). English trans. Ali Kuli Khan and Marzieh Gall, The Seven Valleys and the Four Valleys (Wilmette: Ill: Baha'i Publishing Trust, rev. ed., 1968), p. 47.

10) Louis Gardet, "Dhikr", Encyclopaedia of Islām, rev. ed. (London: Luzac and Co., 1971-) (Hereafter, EI<sup>2</sup>).

11) Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Kalabadhi, At-ta'arruf li-madhab ahl at-tasawwuf, ed. A.J. Arberry (Cairo: Librairie El-Khandgi, 1934), p. 101. English trans. A.J. Arberry, The Doctrine of the Sufis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, rev. ed., 1980), p. 133 (Hereafter "Doctrine" with English page numbers first).

12) *ibid.*, p. 96/74-75.

13) *ibid.*, p. 96/75.

14) The complete shahāda formula is lā ilāha illā 'llāh wa muḥammadun rasūlu 'llāh, there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God.

15) See Philokalia, Writings from Philokalia, on the Prayer of the Heart, trans. E. Kadloubovsky and G.E.H. Palmer (London: Faber and Faber, 1951) on hesychasm; Rammamurti Mishra, Fundamentals of Yoga (New York: Julian Press, 1959) on mantra-yoga; and Kojiro Nakamuro, "A Structural Analysis of dhikr and nembutsu", Orient, vol. 7 (1971), pp. 75-96 for a comparative study of dhikr and nembutsu.

16) For a more complete discussion of dhikr in Sufism, see G.C. Anawati and Louis Gardet, Mystique Musulmane: Aspect et tendances-Experiences et Techniques (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1961), pp. 187-234.

17) Gardet, "Dhikr".

18) Quoted in Annemarie Schimmel, The Mystical Dimensions of Islam (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), p. 169.

19) Gardet, "Dhikr".

20) Muslim mystics were careful not to assert that there could ever be substantial union (ittiḥād) between persons and God in which their respective essences merge into each other. Thus Islam's mistrust of the Christian concept of ḥulūl, or incarnation. Rather than convey the idea of union with the offensive terms of ittiḥād or ḥulūl, Muslim mystics preferred to use the terms wuṣūl or wisāl, attaining to and reunion, from the verb wasāla, to connect or join. Cf. Baha'u'llah: "O Son of Man! Ascend unto My heaven, that thou mayest obtain the joy of reunion (wisālī), and from the chalice of imperishable glory quaff the peerless wine".

al-Kalimāt al-maknūnah (Beirut: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1957), p. 28. English trans. Shoghi Effendi, The Hidden Words (Wilmette: Baha'i Publishing Trust, rev. ed., 1975), p. 18 (Hereafter "Hidden Words", with English page numbers first).

21) Titus Burckhardt, An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, trans. D.M. Matheson (Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishers, Ltd, 1976), p. 26

22) Jalal ad-Din Rumi, The Mathnavi, ed. and trans. Reynold A. Nicholson, 8 vols., Gibb Memorial Series (London: 1925-1940), Book 3: 3669-73.

23) Otto, Idea of the Holy, p. 89.

24) Farid ad-Din <sup>C</sup>Attar, quoted in Fritz Meir, "The Spiritual Man in the Persian Poet <sup>C</sup>Attar", Spiritual Disciplines: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks 4, ed. Joseph Campbell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 300.

25) Quoted in Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, p. 133. See below, p. 90 on the hadīth an-nawāfil in the writings of Baha'u'llah.

26) Al-Kalabadhi, Doctrine, p. 125/75-76.

27) See the Bab, Selections from the Writings of the Bab, trans. Habib Taherzadeh et. al. (Haifa: Baha'i World Centre, 1976), passim. For the Arabic and Persian texts of this compilation see, Muntakhabāt az āthār-i hadrat-i nuqtī-i-ūlā (Wilmette: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1979). (Hereafter "Selections" with English page numbers first).

28) Baha'u'llah, Kitāb al-aqdas (Bombay: Nisari Press, 1896), p. 6.

29) Letter symbolism (<sup>C</sup>ilm al-hurūf) has been a popular form of expression for Muslim esoterics. See Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, Appendix 1. See MacEoin, "Ritual", pp. 14-16; 41-44; 84-88 on Babi and Baha'i talismanic texts.

30) MacEoin, "Ritual", p. 28.

31) Seyyed Ali Mohammad dit le Bab, Le Beyan Persan, 4 vols., trad. A.L.M. Nicolas (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911-14), vol. 4, p. 150.

32) The Bab, Selections, pp. 93-94/56-57; Le Beyan Persan, vol. 4, pp. 148-49.

33) For example, the Bab states that one of the important goals of Babi dhiḵr is to lead to the recognition of "He whom God shall make manifest" (man yuziruhu 'llāh), *ibid.*, p. 151.

34) See *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 48-50.

35) Quoted in Alessandro Bausani, "Bāb", ET<sup>2</sup>.

36) See MacEoin, "Ritual", pp. 11-12.

37) *Ibid.*

38) Nabil-i-A<sup>C</sup>zam (Muhammad-i-Zarandi), The Dawnbreakers, trans. Shoghi Effendi (Wilmette: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1970), p. 552. Persian edition Matali<sup>C</sup>u 'l-anwār, trans. into Persian from the English by

<sup>C</sup>Abdu 'l-Hamid Ishraq Khavari (Tehran: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 117 B.E./1960), pp. 591-92 (Hereafter "Dawnbreakers", with English page numbers first).

39) *Ibid.*, p. 553/592.

40) *Ibid.*, p. 352/360. This remains a popular chant among Persian Baha'is.

41) From the compilation of Baha'i writings Abwāb-i malakūt (Beirut: Baha'i Publishing Trust), p. 8.

42) Quoted in MacEoin, "Ritual", p. 11. This invocation also appears in a recent compilation by Fadil-i-Yazdi, Manāḥij al-aḥkām (Tehran: n.p., 1980), vol. 1, p. 107. Here there is a tablet of Baha'u'llah's commenting on the Bab's invocation to the sun, which states that by the sun the Bab intended no one else but Baha'u'llah, hidden behind clouds during the Bab's ministry.

43) Quoted in MacEoin, "Ritual", p. 12.

44) Shihabuddin Suhrawardi Maqtul, Three Treatises on Mysticism, ed. and trans. Otto Spies and S.K. Khatak (1935), pp. 25-26. On the sun and moon in pre-Islamic and Islamic Iranian esoterism, see Henry Corbin, The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism, trans. Nancy Pearson (Boulder: Shambhala, 1978), passim.

45) See Corbin, En Islam iranien: aspects spirituels et philosophiques, 4 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1971-72), vol. 2, pp. 227-28.

46) Seyyed Ali Mohammad, Beyan Persan, vol. IV, p. 152.

47) Baha'u'llah, Kitāb al-aqdas, p. 7.

48) "The Greatest Name, Symbol of the Cause", Baha'i News (Oct. 1964), p. 2.

49) Baha'u'llah, Asl-i kullu 'l-khar in Majmū'ih-yi az alvāh-i jamāl-i aqdas-i abhā (Hofheim-Langenheim: Baha'i Verlag, 1980), p. 92. English trans. Words of Wisdom in Tablets of Baha'u'llah revealed after the Kitāb-i-Aqdas, trans. Habib Taherzadeh et. al. (Haifa: Baha'i World Centre, 1978), p. 155 (Hereafter "Tablets", with English page numbers first).

50) See Cole, "Babism and Naqshbandi Sufism" for a discussion of Baha'u'llah's Rashh-i 'Cama and al-Qasidah al-warqā'iyyah.

51) Baha'u'llah, Lawh mallāhi 'l-quds in Mā'idīy-i-āsmanī, 9 vols., ed. <sup>C</sup>Abdu 'l-Hamid Ishraq Khavari (Tehran: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 129 B.E./1972-73), vol. 4, pp. 507-511. English trans. Shoghi Effendi, Tablet of the Holy Mariner in Baha'i Prayers (London: Baha'i Publishing Trust, rev. ed., 1975), pp. 51-57. The two refrains in this tablet are: subhāna 'r-rabbī 'l-abhā (Glorified be my Lord, the All-Glorious) and subhāna 'r-rabbīnā 'l-'aliyi 'l-a'c lā (Glorified be our Lord, the Most High).

52) Baha'u'llah, Lawh an-naqūs in Ayyām-i-tis<sup>c</sup>ih, ed. <sup>c</sup>Abdu 'l-Hamid Ishraq Khavari (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1981), pp. 100-106.

53) Baha'u'llah, Lawh as-salāt in Adi<sup>c</sup>iyih hadrat-i mahbūb (Calcutta: 1339 A.H./1920-1921), pp. 70-80. English trans. Shoghi Effendi, Long Obligatory Prayer in Prayers and Meditations by Baha'u'llah (Wilmette: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1969), pp. 317-23.

54) Baha'u'llah, Tablets, pp. 222/136-37.

55) See fn. 42.

56) Baha'u'llah, Prayers and Meditations, pp. 82-83. The verse, "Inspire then my soul, O my God, with Thy wondrous remembrance, that I may glorify Thy name", reads in the original Arabic: yā ilāhī fa 'lhimnī min badāyī<sup>c</sup>i dhikrīka li-adhkuraka bihā, literally: O my God, inspire me with Thy wondrous remembrance, that I may invoke Thee by it.

57) Nabil-i-A<sup>c</sup>zam, Dawnbreakers, p. 632/664.

58) Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By (Wilmette: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1957), p. 119.

59) <sup>c</sup>Abdu 'l-Baha, Memorials of the Faithful, trans. Marzieh Gail (Wilmette: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1971), p. 38.

60) Mirza Asadu 'llah Fadli-i-Mazandarani, Asrāru 'l-āthār 5 vols. (Tehran: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 124-126 B.E./1967-1972), vol. 4, p. 491.

61) For example, on the journey from Baghdad to Istanbul, Baha'u'llah advised his companions to grow their hair long and to wear the garb of one of the Sufi orders. See Adib Taherzadeh, The Revelation of Baha'u'llah, vol. 2 (Oxford: George Ronald, 1977), pp. 27-28. Also, Haji Mirza Haydar-<sup>c</sup>Alli, Stories from the Delight of Hearts, trans. A.Q. Faizi (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1980), pp. 43, 46, recounts how the guards of a group of Baha'is prisoners in Egypt thought that they were Sufis on hearing the Baha'is chanting the Lawh an-naqūs, and that the governor general of the Sudan mistook them for being people of "the path" (as-sirāt), a term designating Sufis and not "people of a true religion" as stated in fn. 25 of Delight of Hearts.

62) Baha'u'llah, Kitāb al-aqdas, p. 5; cf. A Synopsis and Codification of the Kitāb-i-Aqdas the Most Holy Book of Baha'u'llah (Haifa: Baha'i World Centre, 1973), p. 58.

63) Baha'u'llah, Iqān, p. 75/58.

64) Baha'u'llah, Prayers and Meditations, p. 80; cf. ibid., pp. 88, 206, 222-223, 256, 297; and the Bab, Selections, pp. 175-175/123-124.

65) Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, p. 277.

66) Baha'u'llah, Haft Vādī in Āthār-i qalam-i a<sup>c</sup>lā, vol. 3 (Tehran: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 129 B.E./1972-1973), p. 114. English trans.

The Seven Valleys and the Four Valleys, p. 22 (Hereafter "Seven Valleys", with English page numbers first).

67) Ibid., p. 36/129.

68) Quoted in Abdol-Hossein Zarrinkoob, "Persian Sufism in Its Historical Perspective", Iranian Studies, vol. 3 (1970), p. 205.

69) Baha'u'llah, Prayers and Meditations, pp. 87-88.

70) Otto, Idea of the Holy, p. 141.

71) Baha'u'llah, Seven Valleys, p. 37/128.

72) Baha'u'llah, Tablets, p. 114/65.

73) Baha'u'llah, Seven Valleys, p. 39/133. Cf. Juan Cole, "The Concept of Manifestation in the Baha'i Writings", Baha'i Studies, vol. 9 (1982), pp. 7-8, 25-29 for a discussion of wahdatu 'l-wujūd in Islamic and Baha'i doctrine. Cole's depiction of Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabi's teachings on wahdatu 'l-wujūd appear too severe, especially since the Andalusian mystic does not use the term in his writings. See Hermann Landolt, "Simmani on wahdat al-wujūd", Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism, ed. M. Mohaghegh and H. Landolt, vol. IV of Wisdom of Persia (Tehran: The Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Tehran Branch, 1971), p. 100.

74) Baha'u'llah, Seven Valleys, p. 39/133.

The Borwick Seminar on Baha'i Mysticism and a report of the Discussion on Steven Scholl's paper: The Remembrance of God

Steven Scholl's paper, "The Remembrance of God", was read at the Seminar on Baha'i Mysticism which was held at the Smith residence in Borwick, Carnforth, Lancashire on 11-12 June 1983. Since it appears unlikely that any other report of this seminar will appear in the pages of this Bulletin, I will briefly describe the proceedings before going on to give a summary of the discussion at this seminar related to the above paper by Steven Scholl.

On Saturday, Peter Smith presented two papers, one on the Psychology of Mysticism and the other on the Sociology of Mysticism. These were intended principally as reviews of the current state of academic opinion on these two subjects and were not specifically related to the Baha'i Faith. There was much discussion following these presentations as to whether the mystical experiences in the Eastern and Western mystical traditions should be regarded as being essentially the same experience merely expressed differently because of the difference in metaphysical systems or whether they should be regarded as being entirely different. Peter Smith has the intention of eventually publishing at least the second of these two papers.

On Saturday evening, Juan R. Cole gave a presentation of some of the results of his research in India on Shi'ism in Oudh. Oudh came under the influence of Shi'ism chiefly through contacts with Safavid Iran. Initially most spiritual authority lay with Hakims and Sufi Shaykhs. Then in the mid-18th Century, the Nawabs of Oudh began to encourage Shi'i 'ulama to settle in Oudh. In the last two decades of the 18th Century, the Usuli 'ulama, under the leadership of Sayyid Dildar-'Ali Nasirabadi, succeeded in suppressing and ousting the Sufi Orders.

On Sunday morning, Moojan Momen presented a resume of a lengthy paper on which he had been working but which was not yet finished. This presentation began with an outline of Baha'u'llah's ontology in relation to the Western Neoplatonic tradition and then went on to look at mysticism in the Baha'i writings. Baha'u'llah's writings seem to place mysticism at the core of the life of the individual. Indeed the whole Baha'i community could be seen as a mystical community with the social

structure of most other mystical systems (the master-student relationship, etc.) being replaced by the workings of Baha'i community life (consultation, Baha'i administration, etc.). The Baha'i Faith thus possesses both an individual and a social mysticism.

On Sunday afternoon, Steven Scholl's paper on Dhikr was presented in his absence. The following is, insofar as I can remember them, the comments of the participants in the discussion which followed. Those attending the Seminar and participating in this discussion were: Peter Smith, Steven Lambden, Juan Cole, and Moojan Momen.

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Firstly it was felt that Steven Scholl was to be commended for drawing to our attention an area of the study of the Baha'i Faith which had previously been neglected both in the East, as Scholl points out in the paper and in the West. Mysticism is the core of religious experience and to ignore this aspect does undoubtedly lead to an unbalanced view of the Baha'i Faith.

It was, however, felt by all the participants that in trying to redress the balance, Scholl had perhaps gone too far in the opposite direction. Many of the textual and historical examples cited in the paper cannot necessarily be considered to be referring to Dhikr in the Sufi usage of that word.

As Scholl points out, the root dh k r has diverse usage in the Babi and Baha'i writings (as indeed it also has in Islam). Sometimes the term Dhikru'llah refers to the Manifestation of God and, in particular, the Bab. Sometimes it refers to a general state of being mindful of God without necessarily involving the recitation of any formula. Even where the term does involve the recitation of a formula, this does not necessarily equate with the Sufi practice of Dhikr. Obviously, the Sufi tradition is extremely broad but, in general, the dhikr is used in most Sufi orders and is described in most Sufi manuals as a technique for achieving an ecstatic trance state through repetitive chanting of a formula. The fact that Baha'u'llah has ordained that the Greatest Name be recited 95 times, makes it difficult to equate this with Sufi Dhikr since the very act of consciously counting would prevent one from entering a trance state.

Most uses of the root dh k r in the Baha'i context seem

to refer to being mindful of God. This should become a state of being, starting at the beginning of the day, the Mashriqu'l-Adhkar, and should continue in all daily activities whether this be work (which should be undertaken as an expression of worship and therefore of mindfulness of God) or meeting people (who should be seen in the context of the manifestation of God within them) or enjoying the arts (which are a means for connecting with the spiritual world and thus becoming mindful of God), etc. In this connection, it is perhaps worth pointing out that the Baha'i building which is called the Mashriqu'l-Adhkar, despite the appearance of the root dh k r in the name, is not the equivalent of the takiyya where Sufi Dhikr is performed but rather is a place where God is remembered. All this may be equated with the second and third stages of Dhikr (Dhikr al-qalb and Dhikr as-Sirr) as described by Scholl in the paper but there seems little justification for identifying it with the usual Sufi usage of the term Dhikr (which corresponds to Scholl's definition of Dhikr al-lisan).

Some of the historical examples cited by Scholl were also considered to be somewhat dubious. The chanting of the Babis as they accompanied Quddus to Shaykh Tabarsi, the chanting of the Babis at Zanjan and in the Siyah-Chal may well be equated with the Sufi tradition of Sama' but are not examples of Dhikr. Indeed the only historical instance in which Baha'u'llah seems to have clearly given approval to a Sufi type of Dhikr is in the ordaining of a special night in remembrance of Darvish Sidq-'Ali. The participants in the discussion were unsure whether this represented an encouragement of this practice by Baha'u'llah or the imposition of a limitation upon it.

In general then, the participants in the discussion felt that Scholl had opened up an important area for discussion and that his general description of the mysticism of Baha'u'llah was a valuable starting point. However they felt unconvinced by the evidence presented in the paper that Baha'u'llah was ordaining or even commending the Dhikr techniques as used by Sufis for general use by the Baha'is. Such Sufi techniques are certainly not forbidden (as the night for Darvish Sidq-'Ali shows) but neither are they expressly ordained as the only or even the recommended techniques. Baha'u'llah's mystical writings seem to concentrate on the more practical aspects of living one's life as a mystic and creating a mystic community rather than on questions of specific techniques such as Sufi Dhikr.

M. Momen

### Response to the Borwick Seminar's Discussion of The Remembrance of God

I wish to thank the participants of the Borwick Seminar for their comments on my study of dhikr in Babi and Baha'i scriptures. The paper published in this issue of the BSB is a revision of the version read at Borwick as I am in agreement with some of the criticisms of the draft read at the seminar and have made changes accordingly. Here, I would like to briefly respond to the observation that I have "perhaps gone too far" in claiming that Baha'u'llah ordained or even recommended Sufi dhikr techniques.

To be honest, I am surprised by the seminar participants' resistance to what seems rather clear. I have not stated that Baha'u'llah ordains an elaborate dhikr ritual of any particular Sufi tariqa, but that he does clearly speak of doing repetitive invocation of sacred formulae, that he refers to a special posture for invocation, that he led a dhikr ceremony in the Siyah-Chal (contrary to the seminar remarks, the Siyah-Chal chanting is standard dhikr practice not sama'), and that he inaugurated a special yearly hadra in memory of one of his fellow exiles. The Borwick participants note that Baha'u'llah's law of invoking the greatest name ninety-five times does not actually equate with Sufi dhikr since the act of consciously counting prevents the entering of a "trance" state. As I point out in the paper, this law of invocation appears to be sort of a minimum requirement for all Baha'is, while those with the aptitude and inclination are encouraged by <sup>c</sup>Abdu'l-Baha to ceaselessly utter the greatest name in order to achieve altered states of consciousness. I have now also included in the paper Baha'u'llah's appropriation of the famous hadith an-nawafil for the Baha'i faith. All this may be regarded as further verification of Baha'u'llah's positive recommendation of dhikr invocation as a method for cultivating heightened states of consciousness that is undoubtedly related, historically and phenomenologically, to Sufi thought and practice.

Finally, I feel uncomfortable with the suggestions that Baha'u'llah merely advocates some vague sense of religiousness in normal daily activities and that his mystical writings "seem to concentrate on the more practical aspects of living one's life as a mystic and creating a mystic community rather than the questions of specific techniques such as Sufi dhikr". Firstly, mysticism is not a vague feeling nor is it achieved without effort and attention to detail. I believe that I have pointed out that Baha'u'llah does indeed have something to say in regards to specific techniques which may be the seed for individual

Baha'is to cultivate a particular style of Baha'i mysticism distinct from Sufi, Buddhist, Christian and other spiritual paths though, hopefully, informed by inter-faith dialogue. Strangely though, Baha'is seem to try valiantly to protect Baha'u'llah from such insinuations. Undoubtedly more research is needed in this area. But in the final analysis, the study of Baha'u'llah's mysticism will have merely limited "historic interest" unless there occurs among contemporary Baha'is an existential involvement with mysticism. In order to bring out the meanings of Baha'u'llah's mystical writings, Baha'is will need to overcome what Jacques Chouleur has called their "reticence...in exhibiting the mystic aspect of their religion and its Founder" (NO, 13 (Fall 19 ), p. 18).

Secondly, I think we should try to get past the image of mysticism as an activity of impractical ascetics. No doubt not all persons, not even all those interested in matters of faith, have the inclination for serious exploration of mystical experience. Those who do, however, are not generally recluses or impractical. As the story goes, a Zen master was once asked what he did before experiencing enlightenment. He replied that he chopped wood. "And now?", asked the seeker. At this the master returned to his ax to chop some more wood. In short, I do not see what the contrast is between practical aspects of living and engagement in a specific method of spiritual discipline.

Thirdly, I think we are going about matters backwards as Baha'is if we believe that we are trying to create a "mystic community" yet one that does not actually take much interest in developing, either alone or in group settings, a tangible Baha'i approach to the numinous. Relation to the holy is essentially an encounter between the individual and God, and then it is spiritual individuals who are capable of developing and nurturing a 'mystic' community. I often get the feeling that many Baha'is expect to find mysticism in the administration, that involvement in Baha'i institutions is "real mysticism" and that techniques of meditation are not really what the Baha'i faith is about. Shoghi Effendi nicely points out how we must begin with individuals who cultivate spiritual energies via meditation and prayer in order that as a group Baha'is might struggle to keep their faith and institutions vibrant and not mere lifeless organization.

...the core of religious faith is that mystic feeling which unites man with God. This state of spiritual communion can be brought about and maintained by means of meditation and prayer. And this is the reason why Baha'u'llah has so much stressed the importance of worship....The Baha'i Faith, like all other Divine Religions, is thus

fundamentally mystic in character. Its chief goal is the development of the individual and society, through acquisition of spiritual virtues and powers. It is the soul of man which has first to be fed....Laws and institutions, as viewed by Baha'u'llah, can become really effective only when our inner spiritual life has been perfected and transformed. Otherwise religion will degenerate into a mere organization, and becomes a dead thing.

(Spiritual Foundations, p. 14)

Steven Scholl  
Corvallis, Oregon

Stephen Lambden

Reproduced below is the Persian text of Bahā'u'llāh's Lawh-i Halih Halih Halih Ya Bisharat as printed in <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hamīd Ishrāq Khāvarī's Ganj-i Shāyigān ( Teheran 123 Badī<sup>c</sup>/1967-8) and my tentative, literal-alistic and provisional translation. This poetic work derives its title from the refrain which follows each internally rhyming line ( halih = Rejoice! or [loosely] Hallelujah!). Composed towards the end of Bahā'u'llāh's residence in Baghdad ( late 1862 or early 1863 ?) it is expressive of his claim to special communion with God through a celestial maiden ( hūr cf. for example, al-Qasīda al-Warqā'iyya; Hūr-i 'Ujāb; Lawh-i Hūrīyya ) and of his assuming leadership of the Bābī community. Drawing on Qur'ānic, Sūfī and Bābī imagery, Bahā'u'llāh, in this mystically oriented ode, calls upon the members of the Bābī community to listen to his "wonderous new melodies" ( cf. Fārīkh-i Nabil Zarandī [Pt.II ] cited in Ishraq Khāvarī's Risāla-yi Ayyām-i Tis'ih [Los Angeles, Kalimat Press 1981], p. 332f ).

Without attempting to comment on the Lawh-i Halih Halih.. in detail the following few points may be noted:-

Line 7: The "Maid of Eternity" is represented as coming with the miraculous "snow-white hand" of Moses ( see for example, Exodus 4:6f; Qur'ān 7:108 ) and like his rod which turned into a serpent or "dragon". i.e. she manifests the signs of true prophethood.

Line 8: Bahā'u'llāh refers to himself or the "Divine Maiden" — who at times seems to be the alter-ego or celestial 'Self' of the former— as being capable of uttering verses comparable to those of King David the Psalmist and being characterised by the spirit ( ruh ) of Jesus.

Line 9 : The "dawning-place of [the letter ] Hā' " as the locale from which the Maiden came probably express the fact that she came from the most exalted divine realm or from God; هـ being the first letter of هو (الله) = "He is [God]" هو ( Huwīya ) = "the divine ipseity" ) and هاهوت (= hahūt, the realm of the divine ipseity ).

Line 11 : " لا " ( لا ) here may indicate the heavenly realm of lahūt ( that below the realm of the divine ipseity, al-hahūt ) or be indicative of the kalimat al-tawhīd ( لا اله الا الله = "There is no God except God.."; in the version لا اله الا انا, or the like, = " There is no God except Me" ). It may be that the "lovers" are the Bābīs to whom Bahā'u'llāh appears uttering the Siniatic declaration of divinity and calling them to attain the Divine Presence ( see line 12 ).

lines 13-14 : Allusions to Bahā'u'llāh's sufferings and lamentation over the debased condition of many Bābīs?

line 15 : an allusion to the message sent by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon ( see Qur'ān 27: 20ff) through the hoopoe.

line 16 : an allusion to Bahā'u'llāh's superiority to Mīrzā Yahyā (?)

line 17 : an allusion to Bahā'u'llāh's exile from Iran to <sup>c</sup>Irāq (?) cf. the following lines from the Lawh-i Madīnat al-Tawhīd ( late Baghdad period):

" Harken[ on this] Day [ in which] the Caller ( al-munād ) crieth out in the midst of the immortal realm and the Dove of Hijaz warbleth in the region of <sup>c</sup>Irāq ( fi shatr al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq ) summoning all unto concord.."  
( text in Ishraq Khāvarī (ed) Mā'ida-yi Asmānī, Vol. 4 [Teheran 129 Badī<sup>c</sup>] pp.326-7 ).

line 20: Bahā'u'llāh likens his status to that which Moses attained after leaving Midian for Egypt.

line 24: the sense and translation of كان رب علا are uncertain. It may be that Bahā'u'llāh alludes to his manifestation as the 'return of the Bāb' (known among his followers as Hadrat-i Rabbī al-A'la = 'His Holiness my Lord the Most High', or the like).

هو المحبوب

1. حور بقا از فردوس علا آمد  
مله مله مله یا بشارت
2. با چنگ و نوا هم با کاسه حمرا آمد  
مله مله مله یا بشارت
3. با غمزه جانی با مزه فانی با رقص و نوا آمد  
مله مله مله یا بشارت
4. با گیسوی مشکین با لعل نمکین از نزد خدا آمد  
مله مله مله یا بشارت
5. دو طیف ز ابرویش صد تیر ز مژگانش بهر دل ما آمد  
مله مله مله یا بشارت
6. جانها برهش دلها برهش جمله فنا آمد  
مله مله مله یا بشارت
7. با کفه بیضا با گیسوی سودا چون از در موسی آمد  
مله مله مله یا بشارت

8. این نغمه داودی از سدره لاهوتی باروح مسیحا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
9. با جذب وفا با صون بها از مشرق ها آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
10. با نور هدائی از صبح لقا با طور سنا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
11. این نغمه جان در نزد جانان از بلبل لا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
12. با مؤده وصلی این حور الهی از شاخه طوبی آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
13. این عاشق فانی این طیر تراپی در ره معشوق فدا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
14. بر گردن عاشق سیف جفا از عرش وفا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
15. این نامه قدسی با هدهد تازی از شهر سبا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
16. این وجهه باقی از امر الهی باید بیضا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
17. این باز حجازی با لحن عراقی از ساء عد شاه آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت

18. این طلعت غفاری با جذبه بهاجی از ساحت ادنا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
19. این بلبل معنی از گبن قدسی با کف وصل آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
20. این ورقه نورا از مدین روحا با نور و ضیا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
21. این شامد بیزدان این مست می جانان با جام تولا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
22. آن صرف جمال حق آن جوهر اجلال حق با آیت کبری آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
23. آن طلعت مقصود آن وجهه معبود با رحمت عظمی آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
24. جانها به وصالش دلها به نثارش کان رب علا آمد  
هله هله هله یا بشارت
25. این ذکر بدیع از گلشن باقی آمد تا عاشقان جمال جانان  
آتش حب از دل و جان در کمال اطمینان به بدایع لحنها  
خوش به آن مشغول شوند که شاید از جذبه آن عاقدان  
کعبه عرفان بشور آیند و وطن قدس الهی را فراموش  
نفرمایند .



He is the Beloved.

1. The Maid of Eternity came from the Exalted Paradise;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
2. With harp and song and also with crimson goblet she came;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings.
3. With amorous glances,with the taste of annihilation,with dance and with song she came;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
4. With musky tresses, with beautiful ruby lips, from nigh unto God,she came;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah,O Glad-Tidings !
5. Two phantoms from her eyebrows, one hundred arrows from her eyelashes, to penetrate our hearts she came,  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah,O Glad-Tidings!
6. All souls in her path,all hearts in her embrace were annihilated when she came;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
7. With snow-white hand, with raven locks, like the dragon of Moses she came;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
8. This sweet Davidic voice came from the Divine Lote-Tree with the Messianic Spirit;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
9. With the attraction of fidelity,with the protection of glory[? , ṣaum-i bahā']  
From the dawning-place of [the letter] Hā' she came;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
10. With guiding light from the morn of the meeting, with Mount Sinai she came;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
11. This song of the spirit came to the lovers from the nightingale of Lā  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
12. With the joyful tidings of the reunion this Divine Maiden came from a branch of the Tree of Blessedness;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
13. This annihilated lover, this earthly bird came as a sacrifice in the path of the Beloved;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-tidings.
14. The sword of oppression came upon the neck of the Beloved from the Throne of fidelity;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!

15. This sacred missive came with the swift(or Arab ) hoopoe from the city of Sheba;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
16. This ~~sternal~~ countenance came with snow-white hand from the divine command;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
17. This Hijāzī Falcon came with <sup>C</sup>Irāqī accents from the forearm of the king(Shāh)  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
18. This Pardoning Visage came with magnetic attractiveness from the court of nearness;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
19. This Nightingale of mystic meaning came from the sacred rose-bush with the hand of union;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
20. This luminous ~~page~~ came with light and splendour from the Midian of the Spirit;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
21. This Witness of the Omnipotent,this ~~intoxicating wine of the Beloved~~ came with the goblet of sovereignty;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
22. That essence of the beauty of the True One, that jewel of the magnificence of the True One,came with the most-great sign;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
23. That Countenance of the Desired One,that Face of the Adored One came with the most-supreme mercy;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
24. The souls to her reunion, the hearts to her bestowal; as the Exalted Lord she hath come;  
Hallelujah,Hallelujah,Hallelujah, O Glad-Tidings!
25. This wonderous Remembrance hath come from the Eternal Rosegarden so that the the lovers of the beauty of the Beloved,heart and soul burning with love, might, in the utmost tranquility, busy themselves with these wonderous new melodies; that perchance,attracted thereby, the inmates of the Ka<sup>C</sup>bih of gnosis might be ecstatically shaken and not forget the divine sacred homeland.

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The "Roles of Men and Women" : A letter of the Universal House of Justice originally published in the "New Zealand Newsletter" ( February 1981) and in Light of the Pacific, Hawaii Baha'i News ( June 1981, No. 151 and July 1981 No.152).

The Universal House of Justice has received your letter of October 16, 1980 ... posing questions which have arisen as a result of reading the book, "When We Grow Up" by Bahiyiyh Nakhjavani, and has instructed us to convey the following.

The House of Justice suggests that all statements in the Holy Writings concerning specific areas of the relationship between men and women should be considered in the light of the general principle of equality between the sexes that has been authoritatively and repeatedly enunciated in the Sacred Texts. In one of His Tablets 'Abdu'l-Baha asserts: "In this divine age the bounties of God have encompassed the world of women. Equality between men and women, except in some negligible instances, has been fully and categorically announced. Distinctions have been utterly removed." That men and women differ from one another in certain characteristics and functions is an inescapable fact of nature; the important thing is that 'Abdu'l-Baha regards such inequalities as remain between the sexes as being "negligible."

The relationship between husband and wife must be viewed in the context of the Baha'i ideal of family life. Baha'u'llah came to bring unity to the world, and a fundamental unity is that of the family. Therefore, one must believe that the Faith is intended to strengthen the family, not weaken it, and one of the keys to the strengthening of unity is loving consultation. The atmosphere within a Baha'i family as within the community as a whole should express "the keynote of the Cause of God" which, the beloved Guardian has stated, "is not dictatorial authority but humble fellowship, not arbitrary power, but the spirit of frank and loving consultation."

A family, however, is a very special kind of "community." The Research Department has not come across any statements which specifically name the father as responsible for the "security, progress and unity of the family" as is stated in Bahiyiyh Nakhjavani's book, but it can be inferred from a number of the responsibilities placed upon him, that the father can be regarded as the "head" of the family. The members of a family all have duties and responsibilities towards one another and to the family as a whole, and these duties and responsibilities vary from member to member because of their natural relationships. The parents have the inescapable duty to educate their children - but not vice versa; the children have the duty to obey their parents - the parents do not obey the children; the mother - not the father - bears the children, nurses them in babyhood, and is thus their first educator, hence daughters have a prior right to education over sons and, as the Guardian's secretary has written on his behalf, "The task of bringing up a Baha'i child, as emphasized time and again in the Baha'i Writings, is the chief responsibility of the mother, whose unique privilege is indeed to create in her home such conditions as would be most conducive to both his material and spiritual welfare and advancement. The training which the child first receives through his mother constitutes the strongest foundation for his future development." A corollary of this responsibility of the mother is her right to be supported by her husband -- a husband has no explicit right to be supported by his wife. This principle of the husband's responsibility to provide for and protect the family can be seen applied also in the law of intestacy which provides that the family dwelling place passes, on the father's death, not to his widow, but to his eldest son; the son at the same time has the responsibility to care for his mother.

It is in this context of mutual and complimentary duties and responsibilities that one should read the Tablet in which 'Abdu'l-Baha gives the following exhortation:

*"O Handmaids of the self sustaining Lord! Exert your efforts so that you may attain the honour and privilege ordained for women. Undoubtedly the greatest glory of women is servitude at His Threshold and submissiveness at His door; it is the possession of a vigilant heart, the praise of the incomparable God; it is heartfelt love towards other handmaids and spotless chastity; it is obedience to and consideration for their husbands and the education and care of their children; and it is tranquility, and dignity, perseverance in the remembrance of the Lord, and the utmost enkindlement and attraction."*

This exhortation to the utmost degree of spirituality and self-abnegation should not be read as a legal definition giving the husband absolute authority over his wife, for, in a letter written to an individual believer on 22 July 1943, the beloved Guardian's secretary wrote on his behalf:

*"The Guardian, in his remarks...about parents and children, wives and husbands' relations in America meant that there is a tendency in that country for children to be too independent of the wishes of their parents and lacking in the respect due to them. Also, wives, in some cases, have a tendency to exert an unjust degree of domination over their husbands which, of course, is not right, anymore than that the husband should unjustly dominate his wife."*

In any group, however loving the consultation, there are nevertheless points on which, from time to time, agreement cannot be reached. In a Spiritual Assembly this dilemma is resolved by a majority vote. There can, however, be no majority where only two parties are involved, as in the case of a husband and wife. There are, therefore, times when a wife should defer to her husband, and time when a husband should defer to his wife, but neither should ever unjustly dominate the other. In short, the relationship between husband and wife should be as held forth in the prayer revealed by 'Abdu'l-Baha which is often read at Baha'i weddings: "Verily they are married in obedience to Thy command. Cause them to become the signs of harmony and unity till the end of time."

These are all relationships within the family, but there is a much wider sphere of relationships between men and women than in the home, and this too we should consider in the context of Baha'i society, not in that of past or present norms. For example, although the mother is the first educator of the child, and the most important formative influence in his development, the father also has the responsibility of educating his children, and this responsibility is so weighty that Baha'u'llah has stated that a father who fails to exercise it forfeits his rights of fatherhood. Similarly, although the primary responsibility for supporting the family financially is placed upon the husband, this does not by any means imply that the place of the women is confined to the home. On the contrary, 'Abdu'l-Baha has stated:

*"In this Revelation of Baha'u'llah, the women go neck and neck with the men. In no movement will they be left behind. Their rights with men are equal in degree. They will enter all the administrative branches of politics. They will attain in all such a degree as will be considered the very highest station of the world of humanity and will take part in all affairs."* (Paris Talks, p. 182)

and again:

*"So it will come to pass that when women participate fully and equally in the affairs of the world, enter confidently and capably the great arena of laws and politics, war will cease;..."* (The Promulgation of Universal Peace, Vol II, p. 369)

In the Tablet of the World, Baha'u'llah Himself has envisaged that women as well as men would be breadwinners in stating:

*"Everyone, whether man or woman, should hand over to a trusted person a portion of what he or she earneth through trade, agriculture or other occupation, for the training and education of children, to be spent for this purpose with the knowledge of the Trustees of the House of Justice."* (Tablets of Baha'u'llah, p. 90)

A very important element in the attainment of such quality is Baha'u'llah's provision that boys and girls must follow essentially the same curriculum in schools.

With loving Baha'i greetings,

Department of the Secretariat

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Availability of Peter Smith's Doctoral thesis.

Dr. Peter Smith's doctoral thesis, A Sociological Study of the Babi and Baha'i Religions ( Lancaster 1982. Ref. No. D 46815/83 ) is available from:

J.P. Chillag, Theses Officer, British Library Lending Division, Boston Spa. Wetherby, West Yorks LS 23 7BQ.

The Baha'i Magazine, Herald of the South

A publication of the N.S.A. of the Baha'is of Australia the Herald of the South magazine is due to be relaunched in April 1984. A letter dated Oct. 17th 1983 calls for contributions (maximum 5,000 words ); presumably, to be sent to:- Keith Mc Donald (Sec.), Herald of the South G.P.O. Box 283, Canberra., A.C.T. 2601, Australia.

Report on Baha'i Studies in Europe (1981).

A few copies of this report by Peter T. Terry are available at the following prices:

Full report(156 pp); U.K. £10.70.p. (inc.post.); Europe £11 (inc.post.); Elsewhere £14 (Air), £11 (Surface).

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Also available; Worlds of God: Basic Classifications of Existence as defined in the Baha'i Writings- A Compilation, National Ref. Library Comm., U.S.A. 105 pp. U.K. £4.70.p.; Europe £5.00. Elsewhere £7.50 (Air);£5.00.(Surface ).

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European Baha'i History Project

University of Lancaster  
Dept. of Sociology  
Brailrigg,  
Lancaster LA1 4YL.

Dear Baha'i Friends,

I am a sociologist and Baha'i historian with a particular interest in Western Baha'i history. I propose a "European Baha'i history project" with the following objectives:-

- (1) To compile and circulate a list of publications and archive materials relating to European Baha'i history.
- (2) To arrange a conference for Summer 1985 at which all those interested in European Baha'i history might meet and at which relevant papers might be presented.
- (3) to prepare a book of essays on European Baha'i history.

I would be grateful if you could inform me of any Baha'is (or non-Baha'is) who would be interested in this project, and also of any individuals who might be prepared to write about the history of your Baha'i community.

Yours faithfully

Dr. Peter Smith.