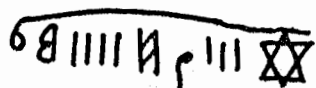


BAHĀ'Ī STUDIES BULLETIN

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NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
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BAHĀ'Ī STUDIES BULLETIN

This Bulletin has the full support of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahā'īs of the United Kingdom: though they are not responsible for any of the views expressed within it. The BSB is primarily designed to facilitate communication between those among us engaged in the academic study of the Bābī and Bahā'ī religions; particularly between Bahā'īs approaching this field from such scholarly perspectives as Religious Studies, History of Religions, Iranian Studies, or Islamic Studies. It is hoped that at some stage in the future the Bulletin will be befittingly published rather than photostatically reproduced.

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All contributions to this Bulletin should be addressed to: Stephen Lambden (BSB Editor), 30 Victoria Square, Jesmond, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE2 4DE, England, United Kingdom. Phone & Fax = 091. 2818597 (U.K.) / 44.912818597 (Overseas). Ideally, contributions should be sent in ASCII or any major DOS word processing format with sample printout (and transliteration clearly indicated). Otherwise, contributions must be clearly typed / word processed.



□ EDITORIAL NOTE

Stephen Lambden and Moojan Momen jointly act as main editors for the U.K. production of the BSB (address overleaf). A new editorial board and an overseas group of sub-editors has been formed. The overseas sub-editors, primarily responsible for American and Canadian contributions, are: **Dr. Juan Cole**, Department of History, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109045 USA. ; **Dr. B. Todd Lawson**, 14b Rock Ave. N, Montreal W. Quebec H4X 2E9 CANADA. It is planned all editorial and sub-editorial boards will, in future, be expanded.

Valuable review, proof reading and other distribution work, has been carried out by **Robert Stockman, Khazeh Fananapazir, Gillian Lambden, Robert Parry** and others who cannot, unfortunately, all be mentioned.

From BSB 7:1 (Autumn - Winter 1992) the Bulletin will be printed from a desktop published camera ready copy. Revised back issues will likewise gradually be republished. The current temporary methods of production and distribution have proven largely impractical. Future prices of the BSB should drop considerably. Revised subscription rates will shortly be announced. Whatever balance remains from the accounts of present subscribers will be carried forward.

As the BSB is primarily designed to enable Bahā'ī academics to share their research it will continue to follow certain aspects of internationally respected Arabic-Persian transliteration norms (see the article by Moojan Momen and supplementary material in BSB 5:1 p. 13ff.)

□ SUBSCRIPTIONS

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From time to time issues forming part of a *BAHĀ'Ī STUDIES BULLETIN MONOGRAPH* (=BSBM) series will be printed. Currently available is BSBM No.1 Moojan Momen, *The Works of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsā'ī, A Bibliography...* (1991, 177 pp. [£10]). Articles from past issues of the BSB may be available on request from the editors (U.K. address). Copies of the BSB should **not** be made or distributed without the prior permission of the editors.

THE STRUCTURE OF EXISTENCE IN THE BĀB'S TAFSĪR AND THE PERFECT MAN MOTIF

B. Todd Lawson

Presented to the 2nd Societas Iranologica Europaea Conference October 4, 1991, Bamberg, Germany.

The figure of the Bāb, Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad Shīrāzī, and the movement associated with his name have been the object of renewed scholarly interest over the last 20 years or so. Some excellent scholarship on the latter has been published recently and has thrown considerable light on the social history of the Bābī religion, contributing much to the task of placing the Bāb and his movement within the context of early to mid-19th century Iranian history.¹ We also have a fair understanding of the broad religious motifs that are connected with the rise, propagation and eventual demise of Bābism. Features of the ancient Iranian motif of Perfect Man may be discerned in the Bāb who claimed, as Shī'ī Messiah, the authority to change Islamic religion. The changes envisioned by the Bāb were so radical that it may be questioned whether Bābism was an attempt at reformation rather than transformation. In any case, the timing for such a claim could not have been more exquisite, coming as it did precisely at the millennium of orthodox 12er Shi'ism. We know, in fact, that the Bāb was not the only (though perhaps the most successful) millenarian figure who put forth such claims at this time.

Whatever success Bābism may have had, we also know, was due in large part to the prior spread of the ideas and veneration of Shaykh Ahmad al-Aḥsā'ī (d.1826). The vast majority of the Bāb's first followers were devotees of what has come to be called Shaykhism. Shaykhism had become very popular throughout Iran and for a number of reasons, some of which remain obscure, had attracted the favour and allegiance of, among others, a sizable segment of the Iranian merchant class. There is some evidence that Shaykhism was used by this class as a means of protesting

¹ Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal: the Making of the Babi Movement in Iran 1844-1850*. Ithaca, 1989; Moojan Momen, "The Social Basis of the Bābī Upheavals," *IJMES* 14 (1983), pp.157-83; idem., *The Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions, 1844-1944. Some Contemporary Western Accounts*. Oxford, 1981.

both official religious policy and personalities as well as official government policies.² Important as they obviously are, these matters need not detain us beyond observing that this widespread support was to function, after the fact, as a kind of *preparatio* for the new religion: many Shaykhis and Shaykhī sympathizers would eventually convert to the cause of the Bāb. In time, the religion of the Bāb would become transformed in Iran into a large and, until recently, thriving Bahā'ī community. Corbin and others have written extensively on the Shaykhī movement so that we now have a substantial, though incomplete, analysis of its literature -- a literature that may be considered a synthesis of Islamic theological, philosophical, and mystical traditions.³ The teachings of the leaders of this movement preserve and propound a distinctive spirituality perhaps best described as a latter-day version of primitive Islamic gnosticism.

The writings of the Bāb (as distinct from the history of Bābism) have not yet attracted the same scholarly attention. Inasmuch as his movement had such a profound influence on Iran in the 19th century, it is important that we gain a better idea of the religious ideas contained in his writings and the relationship between these ideas and Islamic religion in general and Shī'ism in particular. But more interesting perhaps for historians of religion, a study of his works, particularly the earliest ones, will help chart the relatively recent re-enactment of a process long recognized in the historical development of a religious tradition. I am of course referring to the process whereby "heresy" eventually becomes "orthodoxy".⁴ One particularly interesting feature of these writings is the way in which the Bāb has used the language of Islamic mystical philosophy to express his own religious vision as it had developed at the time of the work under discussion. This vision entails a number of features common to apocalyptic literature in general: a concern with cosmology and primordial events, the recollection of the past, the employment of a peculiar type of *ex eventu* scriptural interpretation/prophecy, persecution, the description of and judgement upon the forces of good and

² Mangol Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent: Socioreligious Thought in Qajar Iran*. Syracuse, 1982.

³ E.g., Henry Corbin, *En Islam iranien*. Paris, 1971-2, vol. 4, pp. 203-300; Vahid Rafati, *The Development of Shaykhi Thought in Shi'i Islam*. Ann Arbor (UMI), 1979.

⁴ See Peter Smith, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*. Cambridge, 1987.

evil, and concern with otherworldly beings.⁵ For the purposes of this paper we will be concerned primarily with cosmology insofar as this is implied in the ontological theory known as the Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*) associated with the name of Ibn 'Arabī (d.1240) and his school. The purpose of this paper is to point out the way in which the language and concerns of *wahdat al-wujūd* were employed by the Bāb for his own particular purpose. Before turning to the Bāb's writing, it is necessary to briefly recount the main outlines of *wahdat al-wujūd* and to introduce a number of those key terms that are used when it is discussed by his commentators. In this we will be concerned exclusively with selected terms that occupy an important place in the Bāb's work under discussion here. *Wahdat al-wujūd*

For Ibn al-'Arabī and his followers, the Oneness of God's Being and the consequent oneness of everything that exists dominate all other considerations. In their eyes, being or existence belongs only to God; only God truly *is*. Other things exist in a derivative or illusory manner; but ultimately, to the extent they do exist, their existence is God's own Being, which is One. There cannot be two existents in any real sense, so all existent things are theophanies of the One Being. Since Being is One Reality, all things are one to the very extent that they partake of existence.⁶

Central to an elaboration by his followers of this basic spiritual apperception (one that was to provide the inspiration for much of Ibn 'Arabī's writings throughout his life) is the motif of presences (sing. *hadra*). The various presences account for the various degrees of existence as they are manifested or as they operate in the world. They describe an ontological hierarchy from the highest to the lowest through which Abstract or Absolute Being acquires form or "entification". This hierarchy is headed by Pure Being (*al-wujūd al-mutlaq*), also called the "Essence" (*Dhāt*), or the

⁵ Other elements common to apocalyptic literature, such as cosmic transformation, resurrection, concern with the afterlife may be read "between the lines" of the present work but would become more prominent, in their own distinctive way, in later writings. For a recent discussion of the nature of apocalypse see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*. Crossroad: New York, 1989.

⁶ Chittick, "The Five Divine Presences," *Muslim World*. 72 (1982), p. 108.

"unseen He-ness" (*ghayb al-huwiyya*). The human mind is incapable of knowing or saying anything meaningful about this level. In fact, al-Qūnawī (d.1274), known as Ibn 'Arabī's foremost disciple, held that Absolute Being is too exalted to be referred to as a level or "presence".⁷ Later commentators, such as al-Farghānī (d. ca. 1300), were willing to designate it as such, namely as the level or "presence" of Exclusive Unity (*aḥadiyya*). This is "God" as he knows Himself. It is only at the next stage, the stage of Divinity (*ulūhiyya*), also known as the level of the Inclusive Unity (*al-wāḥidiyya* or *al-waḥdāniyya*), or the level of God's comprehensive knowledge, that Pure Being expresses itself through the divine names and attributes. This "disagreement" amongst Ibn 'Arabī's followers has led to the presences being sometimes counted as five and sometimes as six. What is important is that the remaining levels of being, those of the spirit, the soul, the body, together with the divine level, culminate in the "presence" of the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*). The idea of the Perfect Man then is intimately bound up with such discussions, even if it is not explicitly mentioned in the course of them.⁸ The true nature of the Perfect Man will, of course, differ depending upon how the highest levels of Being are understood. In short, if the stage beyond entification is maintained as a "presence" then the Perfect Man acquires some of the characteristics of an "Incarnation". The Perfect Man embraces all levels of existence and in this embracing provides a means of communication amongst them. The Perfect Man is the mediator between God (however construed) and the World, between the Unseen and the seen. He is sometimes referred to as the *isthmus* (*barzakh*) between the two. He is the mirror by which and in which creation sees God and the eye by means of which God sees creation. It is only through the Perfect Man that the world acquires existence and knowledge.

The process by which Being is mediated throughout all these levels is *tajallī*: the self-manifestation of Being. *Tajallī* occurs to and in the various places of manifestation (*mazāhir* "theophanies") as they are ranged in their own respective hierarchical positions throughout the universe. Prior to the ontological event of manifestation, these things are non-existent, except in the "mind" of God as

⁷ Chittick, p.111.

⁸ See for example the reference to al-Jandī (d.ca. 1300) in Chittick, p. 122.

pre-existent archetypes (*al-a'yān al-thābita*). According to their own capacities for true existence they acquire a measure of being. Even here, however, they represent only "potential being" (*wujūd imkānī*) as distinct from Absolute Being (*wujūd mutlaq*).⁹ It is through their own love and knowledge of Being/God that this potential being takes on life and acquires greater existential intensity through (conscious) participation, however limited, in Being. This love and knowledge is implied by the single word *walāya*, which, as it happens, denotes authority and allegiance. In the writings of the Bāb, the greater one's devotion to the Imām's authority (*walāya*), (a devotion nourished by love and knowledge of them), the greater will be one's participation in existence. Such love and knowledge is stimulated first by one's pre-existence as an object of God's knowledge. Thus for all existent things (*mawjūdāt*), *walāya* (knowledge and love) accrues "to them through them" (*la-hum bi-him*).

This all too brief description of *wahdat al-wujūd* will serve to provide some background for the following examination of the Bāb's writings. It should be repeated that one of the main objects of the *wahdat al-wujūd* theory is to account for the place of the Prophet as Perfect Man. It should also be born in mind that it was al-Farghānī's classification of the presences into six separate levels that has, according to Chittick, exercised the most widespread influence and that "in order to maintain five Presences and avoid having to expand them to six, the all comprehensive ontological level to which he refers [namely, the level of the Perfect Man] was often ignored."¹⁰ This may help to explain why the epithet Perfect Man does not directly figure in the earliest extant *tafsīr* of the Bāb.

The Bāb first proclaimed himself the focus of an Islamic apocalypse in 1844/1260. Until recently, it had long been thought that the Bāb's first major work was the one through which he made this proclamation, namely the *Tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf*, known as *Qayyūm al-asmā'*. This book, cast in the form of a commentary on the 12th chapter of the Qur'ān, is mainly concerned with establishing the author's messianic authority. Although it is quite long it contains very little of what might be called a clear and systematic doctrinal statement. Its style and contents, called by some an "unintelligible

⁹ Cf. Ibn Sīnā's distinction between *Wājib al-wujūd* and *Imkān al-wujūd*.

¹⁰ Chittick, p. 119-20.

rhapsody,"¹¹ may be briefly described as an invocation of symbols and imagery, structured around the Qur'ānic material, in a powerful and lyrical testimony to a new advent.

Thanks to some recent, diligent bibliographic research we have learned that in fact the first major composition by the Bāb was indeed a commentary on the Qur'ān, but one of a character strikingly different from the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*.¹² This earlier work, entitled the *Tafsīr sūrat al-Baqara*, which exists only in manuscript, is a commentary on the first two chapters of the Qur'ān.¹³ Though it is quite unusual *vis-à-vis* the greater tafsīr tradition, it is far more expository of "doctrine" and belief than the later work. It is therefore enormously valuable in shedding light on the nature of the Bāb's thought as it had developed prior to the time of his claim to be the centre of the long-awaited *zuhūr* of 12er Shī'ism.

The Bāb begins this earlier *tafsīr* by acknowledging his Shaykhī teacher, the recently deceased leader of the Shaykhīyya, Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī (d.1843) in affectionate terms, (*mu'allimī 'azīzī*). Indeed, he tells us that he was inspired to compose this commentary upon learning of the Sayyid's death. We should not be surprised, therefore, to discover in this work strong traces of the same Islamic gnosticism that characterizes Shaykhī literature. Central to all of the Bāb's writing in this early work, is the figure of the Imām / Prophet and the institution of spiritual guardianship or *walāya*. This institution represents both the circumference of the Bāb's religion and its centre. Under its heading, and only under its heading, do all other religious topics acquire their meaning and value.¹⁴ The word carries a cluster of meanings such as guardianship, friendship, authority, love, allegiance, and line of descent. Emphasis on *walāya* in the Bāb's first

¹¹ E.G. Browne quoted in B.T. Lawson, "Interpretation as Revelation: The Qur'an Commentary of Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad Shīrāzī, the Bāb (1819-1850)," in A. Rippin (ed.) *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, Oxford, 1988, pp.223-253 (p.224).

¹² Denis MacEoin, *The Sources for Early Bābī Doctrine and History, A Survey* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992)

¹³ All references to this work are to a photocopy of a manuscript from the library of the late H.M. Balyuzi. This work will be cited as *Baq*, followed by a page number.

¹⁴ For a general discussion of the word see Hermann Landolt, "Walāya," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, (Eliade, ed.) New York, 1987, vol. 15.

friendship, authority, love, allegiance, and line of descent. Emphasis on *walāya* in the Bāb's first book depends heavily on the theories of Ibn 'Arabī, (himself influenced here by the earlier Iranian, al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī, b. in Khurasān in the 3rd/9th century, d. ca. 285/898), as these theories had been given their distinctive Shī'ī reading by such men as Rajab al-Bursī, Haydar Āmulī and Ibn Abi Jumhūr in the 14th and 15th centuries. By the time the Bāb was writing, circa 1840, Shī'ī mystical philosophy had reached its highest culmination in the work of Mullā Ṣadrā (d.1640). This had in turn been severely criticized by Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsā'ī who objected to a number of Ṣadrā's formulations. The purpose of this criticism, for the present discussion, is to preserve the Prophet and the Imāms as representatives of the highest plane to which the human being may have access. We will leave aside the question of whether or not al-Ahsā'ī fully understood Ṣadrā's philosophy and simply assume that he perceived there a threat to what he considered right belief. The Bāb, who shared Shaykh Ahmad's preoccupation with the "utterness" of the Imāms, was not a professional scholar. He was in the first place a merchant, but a merchant with more than a casual interest in religious studies. Therefore, this book by the Bāb is much less scholastic than other typically Shaykhī works. The only two literary sources referred to in it are the Qur'ān and the (admittedly vast body of) Traditions (*akhbār*) sacred to Shī'ism. Apart from the mention of Kāzim Rashtī, and one fleeting reference to a work by Muhsin Fayḍ Kāshānī, the Bāb mentions no other learned work or personality. However, as will be seen presently, the ideas found in the Tafsīr are conveyed through the standard technical terminology of the distinct tradition of Islamic mystical philosophy mentioned above.

The Tafsīr treats a wide variety of topics; the subject of the structure of existence has been singled out for special attention because of its fundamental importance for all other topics, particularly the question of the Perfect Man theme with which it has a characteristic and distinctive, if unspoken, relationship. This relationship may be summarized as follows. True existence (*wujūd*) belongs to God alone. But, by virtue of their special relationship to God, the Prophet and the Imāms enjoy a degree of existence. It is only by devotion to the Family of God (*āl allāh* in the Bāb's somewhat distinctive usage), namely the Prophet and the Imāms, that the average human being acquires any existence whatsoever. In a passage reminiscent of the one quoted above, the Bāb

affirms that all things other than God are non-existent:

He is not comparable with anything, and there is no knowledge from Him directly, neither by inspired intuition (*kashf*) nor by discursive proof (*istidlāl*), because whatever is other than Him is non-existent (*ma'dūm*) by comparison with Him. "And He is God. He was and nothing was with Him. He is now as He was." ¹⁵ So how can He be known by one who does not exist? Nevertheless, He is known, insofar as such is possible, in the contingent world [viz. through the Prophet and the Imāms]. "There is no distinction in this knowledge except that [the Imāms] are His servants and His creation." ¹⁶ He is known by means of signs, and is witnessed by means of tokens. This knowledge is the proper understanding of the transcendence (*tanzīh*) of the Living, the Ancient. At the level of contingency nothing else is possible." ¹⁷

The point here is that the only connection between the "non-existent" world and true existence is the Prophet and the Imāms, the bearers of divine guardianship or *walāya*. It is therefore through this spiritual authority that the average human being acquires any existence at all. And such existence is in direct proportion to the degree one has acknowledged the authority of the Imāms through an ever renewed assent to the sacred covenant. In the Qur'ān, of course, the primordial covenant is depicted as the day God extracted from the loins of Adam the "seeds" of all future generations and confronted them with the question: AM I NOT YOUR LORD? (Qur'ān 7:172): the *yawm al-mithāq*. In the context of the Bāb's *Tafsīr*, this primordial covenant is reflected in the famous event at Ghadīr Khumm when, according to Shī'ī tradition, the Prophet named 'Alī as his rightful successor, Caliph and Imām. The Bāb, as a Shī'ī Muslim, sees the history of the

¹⁵ *Hadīth Qudsī* plus words ascribed to Junayd (d.910). One of several standard Sufi dicta repeated frequently and fluently throughout this work of the Bāb's.

¹⁶ *Khabar* of the Imāms, variously ascribed.

¹⁷ *Baq.* 10.

Muslim community as archetypal. The refusal of the majority of Muslims to accept 'Alī as Caliph was not merely an event in the religio-political life of the *umma* in 632 CE. Rather it was of such supreme importance that its true significance must be understood within a "metahistorical" context.¹⁸ It is, therefore, this "later" event at Ghadīr Khumm that acquires all of the cosmic and ontological significance associated with the Qur'ānic verse mentioned above. Those who are beyond the pale of this metaphysical covenant are indeed completely non-existent.

Explaining the command of God to the angels: BOW YOURSELVES TO ADAM!, [Qur'ān 2:34] the Bāb says that the esoteric interpretation (*tafsīr al-bātin*) reads the speaker of the command to be not God but Muhammad, while the angels are the seeds of all created things (*dharr al-ashyā' fī mashhad al-ūlā*), an explicit reference to the language of Qur'ān 7:172.¹⁹ The act of prostration is the confession of servitude to the *walāya* of God, which is equated with allegiance to 'Alī, and the disavowal of all else.

The Qur'ānic Adam, here, is none other than 'Alī. At this level *walāya* is also characterized as the *walāya* of the Exclusive Unity (*aḥadiyya*) belonging to 'Alī. 'Alī, then, is the symbol of primordial belief (*īmān*). The angels, as mentioned above, are taken as the seeds or potential of all created things destined to develop into actuality. They are also referred to as the pre-existent apparitional forms (*ashbāh*) and the ontic shadows (*azilla*). The primordial drama had its historical re-enactment or analogue on the day of al-Ghadīr when Muhammad appointed 'Alī as his successor. At that time the ANGELS were Salmān, Abu Dharr and Miqdad, the stalwart supporters of 'Alī and the historical nucleus of Shī'ism.²⁰

At Qur'an 2: 62, the term Absolute Walāya (*al-walāya al-mutlaqa*) is associated with the entire Family of God (*āl allāh*), because they are sanctified servants who do nothing of their own wills,

¹⁸ See Corbin.

¹⁹ *Baq.* 131. The term *mashhad al-ūlā* is determined by the fact that *al-ūlā* ("pre-existence") is one of three technical terms which refer to separate historico-spiritual cycles. The other two are *al-dunyā* and *al-ākhirā*. These words occur in a verse of a visitation prayer for the Imāms and are commented upon at length by Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsā'ī in *Sharḥ al-Ziyāra al-Jāmi'a al-Kabīra*. Tehran, 1276 [1859] pp.68-70.

²⁰ *Baq.* 131.

but rather the will of God.

SURELY THEY THAT BELIEVE, AND THOSE OF JEWRY, AND THE CHRISTIANS, AND THOSE SABAEANS, WHOSO BELIEVES IN GOD AND THE LAST DAY, AND WORKS RIGHTEOUSNESS - - THEIR WAGE AWAITS THEM WITH THEIR LORD, AND NO FEAR SHALL BE ON THEM, NEITHER SHALL THEY SORROW.

The WORKS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS mentioned in this verse therefore are described as being all included in the act of recognizing the requirements of Absolute *Walāya*, so that it is quite logical that we are told that THEIR WAGE AWAITS THEM WITH 'Alī. In the context of the verse itself, the suggestion is that even non-Muslims are implicated in the responsibility of recognizing 'Alī. This offers an indication of the way in which "absolute" (*mutaqa*) is to be understood here. Rather than "nonidentified", or "abstract", as is the case when applied to the utmost level of Being by Ibn 'Arabī's commentators (cf. *mutlaq*), the adjective is used to mean "without exception," "non-negotiable". It is 'Alī to whom allegiance is due, and this to the absolute exclusion of all others.

Such is the nature of the Bāb's transformation of the abstract terminology of high Islamic theosophy, where *mutlaq* denotes the non-differentiated, infinitely unknowable divine essence, into a "confessional language". The implications of the Bāb's use of these terms may be briefly summarized as follows. The "exclusivity" of the term *ahadiyya* sometimes translated as the "Divine Exclusive Unity," and the "inclusivity" of *wāhidiyya* "Inclusive Unity" have also acquired a sectarian or confessional meaning in addition to their original (purely?) ontological meaning. Whereas for Ibn 'Arabī and his school the terms refer to different modes or presences of the Absolute, one ontologically prior to the other, they are used here to describe the more exclusive unity of the Shī'a in contrast with the greater or more Inclusive Unity of the larger Muslim community. This usage is reminiscent of earlier terminology used by the Shī'a to distinguish themselves from other Muslims, for example "elite" (*khasṣ*) and "common" (*'amm*). In the following passages it is clear that the original meaning is also preserved and that the Bāb wishes us to see a direct relationship between ontology and belief. In this way the apocalyptic themes of "cosmology" and "judgement of good and

evil" entail and amplify each other.

At Qur'ān 2:83, the philosophically determined term Universal *Walāya* (*al-walāya al-kullīyya*) occurs.

AND WHEN WE TOOK COMPACT THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL: 'YOU SHALL NOT SERVE ANY SAVE GOD; AND TO BE GOOD TO PARENTS, AND THE NEAR KINSMAN, AND TO ORPHANS, AND TO THE NEEDY; AND SPEAK GOOD TO MEN, AND PERFORM THE PRAYER, AND PAY THE ALMS.' THEN YOU TURNED AWAY, ALL BUT A FEW OF YOU, SWERVING ASIDE.

The Bāb says that God is speaking about His TAKING COMPACT with *all* created things in the eight paradises, to recognize the *walāya* of 'Alī. ²¹ The first of these paradises is the Sea of Unity (*lujjat al-wahda*), and is characterized by the command: YOU SHALL NOT SERVE ANY SAVE GOD "without any reference". ²² That this level corresponds in some ways to the level of absolute transcendence of Being is born out elsewhere in the *Tafsīr* where the Bāb describes the eighth paradise as that which is isolated (*fī khalwa*) from all paradises and all paradises are isolated from it. ²³ In the second paradise the COMPACT was taken by means of recognizing the Universal *Walāya* of the PARENTS, i.e., Muhammad and 'Alī, who are respectively, the symbols of universal fatherhood and motherhood. Such recognition, the Bāb says, is in reality the GOOD mentioned in the verse, because to do good means to do good to all according to what each merits. The GOOD which these particular PARENTS deserve has only been hinted at, because were the Bāb to openly describe it (*bi'l-tasrīh*), the prattlers/naysayers (*mubtīlūn*) would doubt it. ²⁴ The centrality of 'Alī in his reading of the Qur'ān is further illustrated in the Bāb's commentary on Qur'an 2:54.

AND WHEN MOSES SAID TO HIS PEOPLE, 'MY PEOPLE, YOU HAVE DONE

²¹ *Baq.* 223. On the hierarchy of paradises in this work see B.T. Lawson, "The Qur'ān Commentary of the Bāb," Unpublished thesis, McGill, 1987, pp.146-186.

²² *bi-lā ishāra*. a brief quotation from the Hadīth Kumayl.

²³ *Baq.* 9.

²⁴ *Baq.* 224.

WRONG AGAINST YOURSELVES BY YOUR TAKING THE CALF; NOW TURN TO YOUR CREATOR AND SLAY ONE ANOTHER. THAT WILL BE BETTER IN YOUR CREATOR'S SIGHT, AND HE WILL TURN TO YOU; TRULY HE TURNS, AND IS ALL-COMPASSIONATE.'

[This verse means] WHEN 'Alī SAID TO those who abandoned the vast sea of his *walāya*, 'YOU HAVE DONE WRONG AGAINST YOURSELVES' by your lingering in the lesser sea of the veils of glory (*baḥr al-subuhāt*)²⁵ and allusions. So turn away from THE CALF by taking that which will direct you to the *tawḥīd* of your Lord and return to the divine *walāya* (*al-walāya al-ilāhīya*) by turning away from the love of anything but it. And slay your worldly egos (*innīyātakum al-imkāniyya*) which have veiled you from attaining to your Creator. Because my *walāya* is the vast sea of the Exclusive Unity (*ahadiyya*). And THAT WILL BE BETTER FOR YOU IN YOUR CREATOR'S SIGHT.²⁶

Here the negative attributes of the human soul are indicated, a theme repeated often in the *Tafsīr*. For example, in the commentary on Qur'ān 2:14 THEIR SATANS is glossed as *anfusi-kum*.²⁷ At Qur'ān 2:44 the Bāb says that those who have FORGOTTEN THEMSELVES are those who live in the (lesser) Inclusive Unity (*wāḥidiyya*) even though God taught them that "the

²⁵ Another reference to the Hadīth Kumayl.

²⁶ *Baq* 185. The terminology in this section shows some distinct parallels with the *Tafsīr al-Sāfi* (Fayd-i Kāshānī, Litho, Iran, 1856) although none of the *hadīths* in the corresponding passage have been quoted. It is possible that the Bāb composed this part of the *tafsīr* while reading Sāfi, e.g.: p.31, line 10: thirty days of fasting; line 11: "forty nights" = twenty nights and twenty days; line 24: "they wronged themselves concerning the *walāya* of Muhammad and 'Alī, and their people the pure, even so, God pardoned them"; line 27, God tells Moses about the excellence of Muhammad and his brother and Trustee 'Alī, and the Shī'a; p.32, line 4: God caused those who worshipped the calf to hesitate (*waqafa allāh*). See also Hāshim al-Bahrānī, *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, Tehran, 1375 [1955], v.1, pp.96-8 #1 & p.98 #2; 'Abd 'Alī al-Huwayzī, *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn*. Qumm, 1383-1385 [1963-1965], v.1, p.68, #197 for a variant of this last.

²⁷ *Baq* 62

Truth is with 'Alī".²⁸ 'Alī is referred to as the sign of the *nafs* of God, and even though this sign is created (*makhluq*), there is no distinction between it and the One who created it (*munshi'-ha*).²⁹

In his interpretation of Qur'ān 2:45 the Bāb again employs the term *inniya* ("ego") to describe that which must be completely effaced in order that the servant become a place for the appearance (*mazhar*) of the Inclusive Unity, here apparently positive, and become TRULY HUMBLE.³⁰ At Qur'ān 2:34, in the course of a very long commentary³¹ on the important figure of Iblīs and his refusal to bow before Adam, the Bāb makes the following comments.

God has placed the manifestations (*mazāhir*) of His sovereignty in all things. To manifest knowledge (*'ilm*) he has appointed Adam as the agency of received lordship, and Iblīs has been appointed as the agency of polytheistic ego throughout all the worlds.... The believers are the victorious angels, in them is the dimension of lordship while the dimension of ego is absent from them.

At Qur'ān 2:35, in which Adam and his wife are forbidden to approach the TREE, the following comment is made:

That is the Muhammadan Tree in which the sign of the Exclusive Unity appears. And

²⁸ Reference to the well-known *hadīth*: "The truth is with 'Alī and 'Alī is with the Truth, it turns wherever he turns," cited in full by the Bāb, *Baq.* 16.

²⁹ *Baq.* 172-3. A reference to another frequently cited Shī'ī *hadīth*: "There is no difference between God and the Imāms except they are His creation." *Usūl al-Kāfī*, vol.1 p.0000.

³⁰ *Baq.* 173. Nūr 'Alī Shāh speaks in similar terms about the level of Inclusive Unity; see Michel deMiras, *La méthode spirituelle d'un maître du Soufisme iranien. Nūr 'Alī Shāh, circā 1748-1798*. Paris, 1973, pp.324-25. Cf. also the verse ascribed to Hallāj:

baynī wa baynaka 'annīyun yuzāhimunī Farfa' bi-'anniyika 'annīyi min al-bayni
(*Akhbār al-Hallāj*, p.76) The verse is translated as:

Entre moi et Toi, il y a un "je suis" qui me tourment, Ah! ôte par Ton "Je suis", mon "je suis" hors d'entre nous deux.
(ibid.. French text, p.93.)

³¹ *Baq.* 131-150, or approximately 1/15 of the entire commentary.

it is the highest aspect of the Will. *Adam al-ūlā* and HER MATE ³² APPROACHED IT through knowledge (*'ilm^{an}*), not deed (*lā 'amal^{an}*), and thus BECAME WRONGDOERS.

The meaning of their DRAWING NIGH, is a property of potential being (*imkān*) which is the agency of ego that was in them. Thus their DRAWING NIGH means through worldly thoughts (*bi'l-khutūr al-imbānī*) ³³ after God had taught them that the Tree of Ego which grows out of the earth has no stability (*qarār*: cf. Qur'an.14:26) [and to] not draw nigh unto it with even a single glance toward it. Because the signs of *tawhīd* are the signs of Muhammad which God manifested to him by means of him (*la-hu bi-hi*). THEN THEY DREW NIGH THIS TREE because of the ego and . . . THEY BECAME WRONGDOERS. This wrong is that which God related to them and is a result of their DRAWING NIGH to the Originator of Origination (*mubdī' al-ibdā'*: viz, Muḥammad, as in the "Muḥammadan Tree"). In all other cases this wrong refers to an impious approach to the depth of the Exclusive Unity, and had the first two not made bold to DRAW NIGH the *mubdī'*: then others would not have committed this sin either. ³⁴

³² This grammatical anomaly is a reflex of those verses in the Qur'ān which speak of God's having created mankind from a single soul (*nafs* = feminine noun) AND FROM IT ITS MATE (*wa khalaqa minhā zawjahā*) [Qur'ān 4:1;7:179; cf. 39:6]. By this allusion, the Bāb seeks to identify the "single soul" as Adam. As for Adam *al-ūlā* (*sic* all mss.), it may be seen as deriving from comments such as those ad Qur'ān 2:34 (*Baq.* p.131, cited above) which speaks of the *mashhad al-ūlā* or the "place of witnessing", which pertains to the primordial *yawm*, and where Adam is identified as 'Alī. See the discussion of hierarchies in this work found in B.T. Lawson, "The Qur'ān Commentary of Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad Shīrāzī, The Bāb," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1987, pp.115-186, and the reference to the eighth or highest heaven as *al-jannat al-ūlā*. The frequency of the adjective in such unlikely places is probably a function of its status as a technical term in Shaykh Ahmad's lexicon.

³³ *Baq.* 151-152. *Khutūr*, (usually *khawātir*) is of course another classical term of Sufi "psychology". According to the Iranian mystic, Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (617/1220), they are the ideas which occur spontaneously to the soul, particularly in a state of retreat, and may be either divine or satanic in inspiration. This is mentioned in Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p.256.

³⁴ *Baq.* 152. This appears to be, among other things, an echo of the famous *hadīth*: "The good deeds of the pious ones are the sins of the near ones." For antecedents of such terminology as *mubdī' al-ibdā'* see Henry Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, (Bibl. Iranienne, 9) Paris and Tehran, 1961.

From such statements it becomes clear that Muhammad is seen as something much more than "prophet" or "messenger" and that God is elevated beyond all discussion. This is obviously not an innovation of the Bāb's, but rather the nature of his piety, a piety with a very long history indeed.³⁵ And if Muhammad is thus elevated, then the position of 'Alī is also elevated, as has been seen. Another factor that appears to have a determining role in one's participation in true existence is the soul and the degree to which it becomes irradiated by the self-manifestation (tajallī) of God, the Only True Existent. It is, therefore, the "ego" that prevents the soul from participating in true existence represented by the *walāya* of 'Alī. The subject of "ego" (*innīya*) or negative self, recurs in the comparatively short commentaries on a series of verses, which continue the ordeal of Moses in the wilderness with the Children of Israel.³⁶ The point here is that refusal by the followers of false *walāya* to accept the *walāya* of 'Alī, as announced as binding by the Prophet at Ghadīr Khumm, is a direct result of the ego, specifically "their uprooted, lifeless egos" and "other selfish interests". The first designation takes the modifier from Qur'ān 14:26: AND THE LIKENESS OF A CORRUPT WORD IS AS A CORRUPT TREE UPROOTED FROM THE EARTH HAVING NO STABILITY.

The Qur'ān here is again read, *ex eventu*, as speaking about the fracturing of the Muslim community at the death of Muhammad. The "metahistorical" *al-nuzūl* (translated here as "moyen" rather than "cause") for Qur'an 2:67 is again the famous speech at Ghadīr Khumm, and is read as referring to the historical Moses in only a secondary sense. This reflects the spirit, if not the letter, of earlier Shī'ī commentary, which reads the verse as referring to the "excellence of Muhammad and his family".³⁷

The true test of the soul (*nafs*) is in how it responds to this challenge to the unity of the *umma*. The *nafs* as an organ of perception and spiritual or psychological principle is related to others such as

³⁵ See, for example, Corbin, *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, Paris & Tehran, 1961.

³⁶ Q. 2:67-73 (*Baq.* 201-5).

³⁷ *Tafsīr al-Burhān*. v.1, pp.108-12. *Baq.* 200-1.

the *fu'ād*, *qalb*, *rūh* and *'aql* of which it may be thought to be the lowest.³⁸ The earliest mention of *qalb* is in the following verse:

IN THEIR HEARTS IS A SICKNESS, AND THERE AWAITS THEM A PAINFUL
CHASTISEMENT FOR THEY HAVE CRIED LIES. [Qur'ān 2:10]

The HEART (*qalb*) is the foremost place of appearance (*mazhar*) of the *fu'ād* and is in reality two hearts. One is the place of the First Intellect, which is the HEART of Muḥammad, and the other is its opposite which is the place of Universal Ignorance.³⁹

. . . The first is the source of all good, and one of its branches is *tawhīd* and all righteousness. The second is the source of all evil, and one of its results is the rejection of God It represents the totality of all the hearts of all disbelievers

The way to [the first] is utterly blocked; but a "First Intellect" which tells the story in the contingent world about what is in the heart of Muhammad is 'Alī. 'Alī said about this primal universal divine soul (*al-nafs al-ulūhiyya al-kulliyya al-awwaliyya*): "It is a divine power and a simple essence which lives with the Essence. Its source is the Intellect. It begins from it and summons on its behalf Its return is to it whenever it is perfected and becomes like it. From it begin all existing things (*mawjūdāt*), and to it they ultimately return. Thus it is the exalted⁴⁰ essence of God and the Tree of Repentance and the Lote-tree beyond which there is no passing, and the Garden of Refuge. He who recognizes it will never err and he who is ignorant of it errs and trespasses.⁴¹

³⁸ This is in line with the classical Sufi scale. In another work, the Bāb seems to use *nafs* for the totality of spiritual or human faculties. See his earlier *Risāla fī al-sulūk* p.1, where the four principles of the soul are *qalb*, *fu'ād*, *rūh* and *jism*. In this context, these four correspond respectively to the four supports of religion: *tawhīd*, *nubūwa*, *walāya*, and *shī'a* which may be thought in turn to correspond to *ḥubb*, *ḥabīb*, *muhibb* and *mahbūb*, the four signs from the manifestation of the Family of God which are "in you".

³⁹ The opposition of *'aql* and *jahl* has occupied the minds of Shī'ī authors from earliest times. See, e.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, v.1, pp. 10-29: *Kitāb al-'aql wa'l-jahl*.

⁴⁰ A characteristic pun meant to evoke the name of 'Alī.

⁴¹ *Baq.* 58-60.

In a very long *hadīth* which preserves a conversation between the sixth Imām, Sādiq, and his disciple Mufaddal, which the Bāb quotes ⁴² during the course of his commentary on Qur'ān 2:27, a number of features of the intellect are further identified. Mufaddal asks the Sixth Imām:

How is it that meaning abstracted from any form can occur in my mind? And can the Essence be imagined, or divided, or partitioned or changed . . . or fancied in the intellects as moving or at rest? And how can the Unseen appear "mixing" with weak creation? And how is the created thing able to regard the Creator, considering the weakness of created things? Sādiq said: O Mufaddal! IN THE CREATION OF THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH AND THE SEPARATION OF NIGHT AND DAY ARE SIGNS FOR THOSE POSSESSED OF MINDS. [2:164] O Mufaddal! Our knowledge is terribly abstruse (*ṣa'b mustaṣ'ab*) and our secret much too difficult for the tongue to speak of in any but the most allusive language. Whatever our Shī'a knows, the same is according to their cognizance of us and their knowledge of us. Away with him who transmits what he does not understand and believes that which does not agree with reason or has not matured in the mind. ⁴³

Here we see a kind of syzygy of reason and revelation in which the *'aql* is indispensable for right religion, although it appears that on its own it is unable to properly register the Unseen. As is the case with other faculties, or principles, the intellect is two-edged. Not only is it quite clear that the *'aql* is only profitable insofar as it is used to contemplate the Imāms, but that it is also capable of

⁴² *Baq.* 96-104. The *isnād*, one of two given in the entire commentary, is: al-Shaykh al-Thiqa Abī al-Husayn Muhammad bin 'Alī al-Halabī 'an Shakhī-hi al-Sayyid Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn Ibn Ahmadān al-Khusaybī, qāla, haddathnī Ja'far Ibn al-Mālik al-Farārī al-Kūfī 'an 'Abd Allāh 'an 'Abd Allāh bin Yūnis al-Mawsulī 'an Muhammad bin Sadaqatī'l-'Abdī 'an Muhammad bin Sanān al-Zāhirī 'an Safwān bin Yahyā al-Kūfī 'an al-Mufaddal bin 'Umar al-Ju'fī qāla qultu li-mawlānā al-Sādiq al-wa'd min-hi al-rahmatu wa qad khalwatu bi-hi:...

⁴³ *Baq.* 97: The expression *ṣa'bun mustaṣ'abun* is also associated with the variant: *inna hadīth āl Muḥammad sa'bun mustaṣ'abun lā yu'minu bi-hi illā malakun muqarrabun aw nabiyyun mursaiun aw 'abdun imtahana 'lāhu qalba-hu li'l-īmān*, and others to which Kulaynī has devoted a separate chapter: *Kāfī*. v.1, pp.401-2. The long *hadīth* quoted by the Bāb, for which the quotation is something of an introduction, is not mentioned here and I have so far been unable to trace it elsewhere. Traditions transmitted through Mufaddal are sometimes thought to be tainted because of his supposed *khattābīya* allegiances; see the references in Kohlberg, "An unusual Shī'ī isnād," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975) p.147.

leading to error. It would appear that the *nafs*, *fu'ād*, *qalb*, *lubb* and *'aql* are equally incapable on their own and must be assisted through the Imām in some way to receive "existence".

The *fu'ād* is described by the Bāb as the "highest perceptive organ of man." At Qur'an 2:8, the Bāb says that the "name of the hidden one" (*ism al-maknūn*) is the "place where the Shī'a testify to the covenant of love" [for the Imāms which is binding upon them] (*mashhad 'ahd al-mahabba li'l-shī'a*). Its station (*maqām*) is the *fu'ād* where the Hujja (the hidden Imām) causes this love to appear."⁴⁴ Later at Qur'an 2:97, the Bāb says that the HEART (*qalb*) is the first thing which was produced through the process of Origination (*ibdā'*), and GABRIEL was appointed by God to carry to the HEART that which is SENT DOWN from the *fu'ād*.⁴⁵ Here the *fu'ād* appears to be beyond the contingent world, which poses the problem of how it can function as a place of testimony (*mashhad*) for the Shī'a. But it should be remembered that this HEART is Muhammad's ("*qalbika*" and so perhaps in this case it is the heart of 'Alī) and presumably qualitatively different from others. Unfortunately, none of the several qur'ānic verses which employ the word *fu'ād* are in the *sūra* of *Baqara*. In view of the general style of his *Tafsīr*, it is likely that the Bāb would have described several hierarchical levels of the *fu'ād*, had the occasion arose, in which further details of its function would have become clear.

In sum, it is the soul (*nafs*) of the Prophet and the Imāms that is the channel for the self-manifestation of God. This soul is on a different ontological level than its counterpart in the common believer.

Ecstasy and Existence

It will be of interest to notice the treatment by the Bāb of a subject of some importance, namely *wijdān* or ecstasy, which appears in three passages of the *Tafsīr*. At Qur'an 2:29 the Bāb says the following:

⁴⁴ *Baq.* 51. The idea is that it is only the *fu'ād* that is touched somehow by the Imām. Another reading might suggest that it is love for the Shī'a itself, presumably incumbent upon believers, which enables the heart to recognize the Imām.

⁴⁵ *Baq.* 239.

As for the sign of the Exclusive Unity - it is in all things. And even if there is composition in their [?the Imāms'] knowledge, God will remove whatever was causing spiritual deficiency⁴⁶ at the moment of ecstasy (*'inda wijdān*). Nor [at this time] will there be in them any aspect of mixture or plurality, because they [at such time] are a proof (*dalīl*) of the Living, the Self-subsisting. And God did not make multiplicity a proof of His Exclusive Unity. . . . No one knows Him and none understands His mode except Him. Nevertheless, that which is known (*ma'rūf*) is His Will [i.e., Muhammad and the Imāms as the personifications of the Divine Will, *al-mashīya*] and the intended ultimate goal of all "creation" (*ghāyat al-imbān*) as a result His bounty in all regions according to [their respective spiritual capacities to receive] the divine manifestations of His Will.

Towards the end of his commentary on Qur'ān 2:35, the Bāb makes the following statement:

So when Adam DREW NIGH the Tree of Reality [which was] the manifestation of Fātima in the precincts of Being, he disobeyed his Lord because God had commanded him not to DRAW NIGH unto her except through an ecstatic experience, because at the time of such an experience the one who DRAWS NIGH IS [in fact] the TREE and nothing else.⁴⁷

Here the Bāb seizes upon what might otherwise appear as the relatively accidental grammatical gender of TREE to introduce a reference to Fātima who is accounted one of the Family of God and therefore represents the same ontological intensity associated by him with the Prophet and the Imāms. Commenting on the qur'ānic WHOSO FOLLOWS MY GUIDANCE (*man tabi'a hudā'i*) at verse 38, the Bāb says:

⁴⁶ *Baq.* 115: *iftiqār*. Izutsu translates the word as "ontological need". (Toshihiko Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism: A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts*. Berkely and Los Angeles, 1983 p. 168.)

⁴⁷ *Baq.* 155. As a matter of fact, the figure of Fātima plays a very important role in this *Tafsīr*. Unfortunately, it is not possible at this time to do more than mention this in passing.

FOLLOWING (*al-tabī'īyya*) has several degrees. "The paths to it (*ilayhā*) are as numerous as the souls of the creatures."⁴⁸ . . . I testify that the thing FOLLOWED is his ['Alī's] *walāya*, inasmuch as none can follow the GUIDANCE of God like him, because God, appeared (*tajallā*) to him by means of him (*la-hu bi-hi*), and verily HE IS THE TRUTH [Qur'ān 41:53], LIKE HIM THERE IS NAUGHT [Qur'ān 43:11], HE IS THE EXALTED ('Alī) THE GREAT (*kabīr*). [Qur'ān 22:62; 31:30 34:23; 40:12].⁴⁹ And he ('Alī) is the Followed One in reality and therefore the Most Great Example (*al-mathal al-kubrā*. cf. Qur'ān 79:20) and whatever is other than him if purified from accident and caused to forsake illusions and counterfeits, and caused to enter the House of Glory (viz., love of the Imāms), absorbed in the beauty of ecstasy⁵⁰ oblivious of the clouds of the contingent world, then he has FOLLOWED⁵¹ the GUIDANCE of God . . . so that NO FEAR SHALL BE ON THEM, NEITHER SHALL THEY SORROW [Qur'ān 2:38].⁵²

Wijdān or *wajdān* (the vowing is not specified in the ms.) are derived from the root *wj d* from which comes *wajada* "he found". *Wujūd*, of course, means existence, or "the state of being found". The intensive noun forms can also mean "finding" but it is generally reckoned that their use by Muslim mystics refers to a special state in which a person finds oneself and which state is at the same time perhaps unheralded or unanticipated. This is in line with that element of the English verb

⁴⁸ This is a variation on the famous hadīth quoted by the Bāb in his *Sulūk*. p.1 : *al-turuq ilā allāh* . . .

⁴⁹ That is, all of these qur'ānic verses are read as referring to 'Alī.

⁵⁰ *Baq.* 166.

⁵¹ *Ittaba'a* (as opposed to the qur'ānic *tab'ia*) connotes also "investigate," "examine," "study".

⁵² *Baq.* 165-6. It should be noted that the last phrase of the verse is repeated at Qur'ān 10:62, where it is specifically the "friends of God" (*awliyā' allāh*) who will neither grieve nor sorrow, (*Baq.* 195-6).

"to find" which connotes "coming upon something unawares". As an intensive form of *wj d.* one might also translate the term as "superexistence".⁵³

Whatever the intent of *wijdān* in classical Sufism might be,⁵⁴ it is clear that the Bāb associates it not with the unreachable divine Essence, but with 'Alī and/or the other members of the Family of God.

Here it is clear that the *wijdān* experience refers to a total absorption of the subject into the object. It is the spiritual time (*waqt*) when any potential existent acquires the greatest possible degree of existence. For the Bāb, the pinnacle of existence is represented by the Prophet and the Imāms. In this case 'Alī specifically. This is of course in line with Sufi usage; it is also reminiscent of the specifically Iranian *hikmat-i ilāhī* tradition as it developed from Suhrawardī to Mullā Ṣadrā and beyond to the Shaykhīya. The idea of "knowledge by presence" is somewhat akin to the idea expressed here by the Bāb, but with the characteristic emphasis, at least with respect to Mullā Ṣadrā, that the highest "object" with which the soul can attempt union is the Divine Will, as hypostatized by Muḥammad and the Imāms. In this respect, the Bāb is faithful to the teachings of Shaykh Aḥmad.⁵⁵ 'Alī being the link between the believer and Muḥammad, who is the highest "spiritual idea" the believer may aspire to, is the object of the ecstatic experience. It may be speculated that the Bāb's reference to ecstasy stems from his own experience. This experience (or experiences) is seen as the immediate background for the Bāb's eventual claim, announced within a few months of writing this commentary, to be the focus of the above-mentioned Islamic apocalypse.

⁵³ Cf. Corbin's translation of *baqā'* as surexistence. Ell. v.1, p.224.

⁵⁴ Cf. e.g., Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, where *wijdān* is the fifth level of a hierarchy of eight spiritual conditions ranging from the lowest, *manām*, to the highest, *takwīn*. In this scale, *wajd* is fourth. See Fritz Meier, Die "*Tawā'ih al-gamāl wa fawā'ih al-galāl*" des Nagmuddīn al-Kubrā. Wiesbaden, 1957, Arabic text, *faṣl* 41 & 95. Meier translates *wijdān* as "being touched inside" (p.101 German text).

⁵⁵ Henry Corbin, *Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī: Le Livre des pénétrations métaphysiques*, Paris, 1964, p. 224.

That the mystico-philosophical terminology of the *wahdat al-wujūd* metaphysicians acquired additional communalistic and even apocalyptic meaning might be thought to have been an inevitable development of a meeting between the *wahdat al-wujūd* school and Shī'ism. But in this first major work of the Bāb, a number of other features have been noticed, namely the attribution of features pertaining to a mythical cosmogony to the Prophet and the Imāms. Some of these ideas are also found quite early in Shī'ism, both "12er" and Ismā'īlī, prior to Ibn 'Arabī. Years ago, Massignon demonstrated how some of the "physiognomy" of the Primordial Man of the Manichaeans was projected on the figure of Salmān.⁵⁶ A comparison of some of the features of that physiognomy with the function of Muḥammad, 'Alī, and the "family of God" in this early work by the Bāb displays striking similarities.

⁵⁶ Louis Massignon, "Salman Pak et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien." (= *Publications of the Société des Études Iraniennes*, No. 7) Tours, 1934.

THE SEVEN VALLEYS OF BAHĀ'U'LLĀH: A PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES -- PART 01 Stephen Lambden

Study of and meditation upon *The Seven Valleys* (*Haft vādī* ; henceforth SV) of Bahā'u'llāh has formed an important part of my spiritual life for over twenty years. The classic translation of 'Alī Kuli-Khān and Marzieh Gail (= AKK) has always been very dear to me and remains so. My purpose in sharing this provisional translation, with some doctrinal and philological notes, is to register the tentative results of my own study of, and musings upon, the SV. I have attempted to translate from a stance that takes some account of modern academic trends in the English translation of Islāmic mystical (Sufi) texts as well as Bahā'ī translation style established by Shoghi Effendi. ¹ I obviously remain indebted to the translations of the SV by AKK and Marzieh Gail as well as to that of the "Disciple of 'Abdu'l-Bahā'", Hippolyte Dreyfus (1873 -1928 C.E.). A selection of my gradually accumulated notes are set forth below with a view to their being corrected, challenged and / or supplemented by others more qualified to translate and comment upon Bahā'u'llāh's mystical masterpiece.

The SV is basically a Sufi-Bābī revelation of Bahā'u'llāh which follows an important mystical literary genre; the "seven valleys" of the spiritual journey towards God (see commentary 01:7 [forthcoming in BSB.]). No detailed introduction to Sufism ('Islamic mysticism') can be set down here. There exist numerous introductory overviews and general books devoted to this subject.² It must suffice to note that Annemarie Schimmel, prefacing a brief article *Islāmic mysticism, Sūfism*, gives an excellent, succinct, though necessarily limited, definition of Islamic mysticism: "Mysticism is that aspect of Islāmic belief and practise in which Muslims seek to find the truth of divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God. It consists of a variety of mystical paths that are designed to ascertain the nature of man and God and to facilitate the experience of the presence of divine love and wisdom in the world."³

¹ I am grateful to Todd Lawson, Khazeh Fananapazir and Moojan Momen for looking over the whole of my provisional translation of SV:01 -- see further future BSBs -- and making some valuable comments. Such errors as remain in the translation remain entirely my own.

² See for example, Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions..*, (1975 and bibliography); Julian Baldick, *Mystical Islam..*(1989 and bibliography). It is sometimes thought that the western words Sufi (*Ar. Sūfī*) and Sufism (lit. "to dress in wool" *Ar. tasawwuf*) are rooted in the Arabic word for "wool" = *sūf*, the term having been coined around the middle of the 9th cent C.E. (in Baghdad? the then Abbasid capital [Baldick:1989, 30f]). As a noun the word Sufi can indicate an adherent of one of a plethora of orders representative of diverse streams within the Islamic mystical tradition. There are hundreds of Sufi orders. Likewise, there are a multitude of many-faceted Sufi teachings that have evolved over centuries. It is hardly possible to sum up either Sufi practise or Sufi teaching.

³ Annemarie Schimmel, *Islāmic mysticism, Sūfism* Encyclopedia Britannica (15th Edition Chicago etc., 1974 / 1986) Vol. 22 pp.18-23. See further Schimmel, 1975, 3ff.

In the SV Bahā'u'llāh informs its recipient, Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn of Khāniqīn (Iraq), of new dimensions of the meaning of the path to God. The Sufi path is set forth in the light of Bābī [proto-Bahā'ī] theological and ethical teachings. Sufi teachings which might detract from faith in the supreme *qutb* ("Axis"), the Manifestation of God (*mazhar-i illāhī*), are subtly modified.

Many examples of Bābī and Bahā'ī scripture exhibit marked Sufi influence. Typically Sufistic terminology and hermeneutics permeate certain of the writings of the Bāb. So too, many *ahwāh* of Bahā'u'llāh : especially early [pre-1863 C.E.] Tablets e.g. the "From the Divine Garden" (*Az Bagh-i illāhī*) and "Tablet of Reality" (*Lawh-i Haqq*). Qur'ānic exegesis in Bābī-Bahā'ī scripture is quite frequently, in one way or another, Sufistic. Bahā'ī ethics is likewise markedly Sufistic.

In the 19th century Middle East a number of Sufis became Bahā'īs and contributed to the spread of the Bahā'ī Faith. During the Edirne (Adrianople) and West Galilean ('Akkā') periods of his ministry (after 1866 or so) Bahā'u'llāh to some extent came to view mystical esotericism (*bātinī* tendencies) -- over indulgence in such arcane interests as *kimiya* (alchemy, ultimately forbidden), and *jafr* ([loosely] gematria or 'numerological-prognostication') -- with disfavour.⁴ Sufism yet remains one of the most important Islamic doctrinal streams that have informed the Bābī-Bahā'ī revelations. The modern Bahā'ī Faith however, is not merely neo-Sufi. It is only peripherally and in certain doctrinal areas Sufistic.

To some extent following early Shaykhī and other Islāmic perspectives the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh sometimes explicitly rejected Sufi doctrines. Like Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsā'ī (d.1826 C.E.) for example, the Bāb so championed the transcendent unknowability of God that pantheistic / monistic understandings of *wahdat al-wujūd* ("oneness of Being"), were explicitly rejected in his Persian *Equitable Tract* (*Sahīfa-yi 'adliyya*) (late 1847-early 1847 ; n.p.n.d. p.16). Traversing the seventh of the SV (*faqr-i haqīqī va fanā'*) Bahā'u'llāh similarly stated that "the mystic wayfarer leaveth behind him the stages of the oneness of Being and of witnessing (*wahdat-i wujūd va shuhūd*) and reacheth a oneness (*wahdat*) that is sanctified above these two stations (*dū maqām*). " (AQA. 3:133).

During his two year withdrawal in Iraqi Kurdistan (1854-1856) Bahā'u'llāh came into contact with leading figures of various important and widespread Sufi orders (see GPB:122): more specifically, the Naqshbandīyya (founded by Bahā' al-Dīn Muhammad Naqshband [1317-1389 C.E.]); the Qādirīyya (founded by 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī [c. 1077-1165 C.E.]) and the Khālidī (founded by Diyā' al-Dīn Khālid al-Shahrazūrī [1776-1827 C.E.], a sub-brotherhood of the Naqshbandī order) Orders. He commented

⁴ During the later years of His ministry Bahā'u'llāh spoke positively of the more pragmatic dimensions of human activity; at one time stating, for example, that the reality of "geometry" (*handasah*) is to be preferred to "all the books of the gnostics" (or mystics, *jamī 'kutub-i 'urufā'*) AK 3:353 see also *ibid* p.350ff.

orally on "abstruse passages" of the massive magnum opus of the Great Shaykh, Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240 C.E.), the "Meccan Revelations ['Openings']" (*al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya*) and composed several important Arabic and Persian poetical Sufi-style writings, i.e. *al-Qasīda al-warqā'iyya* ("The Ode of the Dove") and *Saqī az ghayb-i baqā'* ("The Cupbearer of the Subsistence Unseen").

Whilst living in Baghdad between 1856 and 1863 Bahā'u'llāh also came into contact with and was visited by Sufis belonging to the abovementioned (and possibly other) Sufi orders. In one of his Tablets concerning esotericists (*ahl-i bātin*) he refers to Qādirī Sufis and to an ascetic episode which he witnessed in Baghdad (MA 4:31) -- Jīlānī's tomb is situated in Baghdad.

The SV of Bahā'u'llāh is a largely Persian epistle written in response to a letter received from a certain Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn, a *qadī* ("judge") of Khāniqīn which is situated near the Iraqi-Persian border to the northeast of Baghdad. This Shaykh was evidently a leading member of a Sufi order who, in his letter to Bahā'u'llāh, alluded to his having attained an elevated spiritual condition; *fanā'* = "passing away" from worldly reality; the "death [of the lower self]" and *baqā'* = "subsistence" or permanent mystical eternity (see note on 03:4). Exactly which Sufi order he belonged to is not directly stated in the SV or in other Bahā'ī sources known to the present writer. Internal evidence could be taken to suggest that he was, like the recipient of the *Four Valleys*, a prominent member of the Qādirī Sufi order -- the abovementioned order founded by 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī.⁵

Written in the classical form of the 'Seven Valleys'⁶ this significant item of Bahā'ī Scripture is markedly influenced by such Sufi texts as *The Conference [Logic] of the Birds (mantiq al-tayr)* -- also, according to some manuscripts, entitled the "Seven Valleys" -- of Farīd al-Dīn 'Attar (1140-1221 C.E.). Within it Bahā'u'llāh sets forth, from the Sufi-Bābī perspective, the various stages which mystic wayfarers might go through in their quest for and ultimate passing away, the mystical nullification of the lower self (= 'annihilation' (*fanā'*)).

As will be demonstrated, the SV is significantly influenced by both Shī'ī and Sufi theology / theosophy as well as by Bābī doctrine. Many lines within it could be understood in varying ways depending upon whether it is primarily viewed from a Shī'ī, Sufi, Bābī or modern Bahā'ī perspective -- not that it is always possible to distinguish these vantage points. The provisional retranslation (see below) is

⁵ On the Qādirīyya Sufi order see, for example, Khalīq Ahmad Nizami, "The Qādirīyyah Order" in IS.1:6-25 [=Ch.1] and the works listed in the notes (pp. 24-25)

⁶ A sevenfold scheme or series of stages in the ethico-spiritual journey towards God is well attested in the history of Judaeo-Christian and Islamic literatures. The literary form of the "Seven Valleys" has been frequently utilized in the history of Sufi mystical literatures. For further details see on I:7 (forthcoming in BSB).

influenced by developed Bahā'ī doctrine; though not, I hope, so as to obscure its original Sufi-Bābī meaning. The notes / commentary reproduced below only touch the surface of the myriad possible senses within the SV. Established Sufistic terminology is identified and commented upon as is recognizably central Bābī language.

On one occasion 'Abdu'l-Bahā' summed up the ethical significance of the SV when he stated :

*"It is my hope..that you may search out your own imperfections and not think of the imperfections of anybody else. Strive with all your power to be free from imperfections. Heedless souls are always seeking faults in others. What can the hypocrite know of others' faults when he is blind to his own? This is the meaning of the Seven Valleys. It is a guide for human conduct..."*⁷

In his *God Passes By* (1944) Shoghi Effendi refers to the *Seven Valleys* as Bahā'u'llāh's "*greatest mystical composition..*", a composition "*in which He describes the seven stages which the soul of the seeker must needs traverse ere it can attain the object of its existence*" (GPB:140). Without at this point going into details, the *Seven valleys* (*haft vādī*), which are all religious / spiritual or ethico-mystical states of being, commence with the "Valley of Search" (*talab*) and culminate in the seventh "Valley of [mystical] Poverty (*faqr-i haqīqī*) and the Spiritual Death of the limited self (*va fanā*)" (see on 01:7 [forthcoming]).

The exact date of the writing of the SV is not precisely known. It was apparently some time after Bahā'u'llāh's return from Iraqi Kurdistan (Sulaymaniyya) to Baghdad i.e. after 19 March 1856; most probably c.1857-1858 (1274-1275. A.H.?).⁸

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS OF THE SV

Unpublished manuscript copies of the Persian text of the SV can be found in a variety of locations.

Manuscript texts include:

⁷ From a talk delivered at Hotel Victoria, Boston Mass. USA. on 25th July 1912, Notes by Edna McKinney: in PUP.p.244, also SW. Vol. VII/12.p.116.

⁸ See for example, Ishrāq Khavarī, *Ganj-i Shāygan* (Tehran: BPT., 124 Badī') pp.17-18; [cf. *The Bahā'ī World* Vol.XIV. p.625]; A. Taherzadeh, *The Revelation of Bahā'u'llāh* Vol.1 (George Ronald, Oxford 1974) pp.96-103; H. Balyuzi, *Bahā'u'llāh, King of Glory* (George Ronald: Oxford 1980) pp.161-3.

- Iran National Bahā'ī Archives [= INBA.] Xerox Collection Vol. 33 [= *Majmū'a-yi āthār-i qalam-i a'lā* Qudrat 133 Badī']: 101-133 .
- INBA. Xerox Collection Vol. 35 [= *Majmū'a-yi āthār-i qalam-i a'lā* Jamāl 133 Badī']: 293ff.
- British [Museum] Library MS. Or. 3116 [Kremer, no. 126] foll. 67-77 (see Rieu 1895:7).

PRINTED TEXTS OF THE SV.

The Persian text of the SV has several times been printed. It is to be found, for example, in *Haft Vādī*, *Chahār Vādī* , (Cairo 1332. A.H. [1913-14 C.E.] and in *Athār Qalam-i A'lā* Vol.3. (Bahā'ī Publishing Trust: Iran 121 Badī' [1965-6 C.E.] Reprinted, New Delhi : nd.) pp.92-137 (It is this text which has been translated below).⁹ The Persian Text of the SV and the *Four Valleys* , along with a German and an English translation, is published in, [Bahā'u'llāh] *Haft-Vādī. Chihār-Vādī [sic] The Seven Valleys. The Four Valleys Die sieben Täler. Die vier Täler.* (Hofheim-Langenhain: Bahā'ī Verlag 1988 = 145 [Badī' ISBN 3-87037-941-3]. The Persian text occupies Pt.3 pp.1-66 [end of vol. Persian pagination], the German Pt.1 pp. 1-54, and the English Pt.2 pp. 1-55. The translation is that of AKK + Gail and the German a translation of the English.

Although the SV is often found in the original Persian or in English translation along with the *Four Valleys* (*Chahār vādī*) of Bahā'u'llāh they are two entirely distinct works. In a communication of Shoghi Effendi printed at the beginning of the later editions of the AKK + Marzieh Gail translation of the SV we read: " *Seven Valleys and Four Valleys should be regarded as independent Tablets, as they were revealed to different persons.*" While the SV was addressed to a Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn the *Four Valleys* was written sometime later for the Qādirī Sufī leader Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān (GPB:122; also of Karkūk in Iraqī Kurdistan ?).

⁹ Sulaymān Khān-i Tunukābunī better known as Jamāl-i Effendi (d.'Akkā' 1898) was an important Bahā'ī teacher who made a missionary trip to India at the direction of Bahā'u'llāh in 1878. Intermittently he remained many years in the Indian subcontinent where, dressed and living as a Dervish, he assiduously promoted the Bahā'ī Faith. In order to bring the Bahā'ī Faith to the attention of his associates and the people at large he apparently (?) had the SV of Bahā'u'llāh printed under his own name.

EUROPEAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE SV ¹⁰

As far as I am aware the earliest western language translation of the SV was that of the first French Bahā'ī Hippolyte Dreyfus (1873-1928 C.E.), ¹¹ *Les Sept Vallées*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905. It is his translation which is included in H. Dreyfus and M. Habib-Ullah Chirazi [= Mīrzā Habīb Allāh Shīrāzī] trans. ... *Haft Vadi (Les Sept Vallées)*..[etc.], Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905 (116 pp.). The same translation is likewise published in the first volume of Dreyfus' three volume compilation of his French translations of Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh, *L'Oeuvre de Bahā'u'llāh*, (Vol.I. pp. 25-60) Paris: Ernest Leroux 1923. The Dreyfus translation has been many times republished; including one edition brought out by the American Bahá'í Publishing Committee : Wilmette, Illinois, 1944 [3+1;5-44 pp.]. In 1933 the covenant breaker Julie Chanler translated -- with the advice of Mīrzā Ahmad Sohrab -- Dreyfus' French translation of the SV into English: Julie Chanler (trans.), *Seven Valleys* (New York: New History Foundation) 1933 [37 pp.].

The second European translation of the SV was the 1906 English translation of Ali Kuli-Khan (c. 1879 - 1966), ¹² *The seven valleys revealed by Baha'U'llah at Bagdad, in answer to questions asked by Sheik Abdur Rahman, [sic] a great Mohammedan mystic Sufi leader*, Bahai Publishing Society, Chicago 1906, [55+1 pp.]. Another edition of this translation was published by the Chicago 'Bahai Publishing Society' some time between 1906 and 1914 [n.d.] and yet again in 1914 [1, 55, 1 pp.]. It was also published by the New York Bahá'í Publishing Committee in 1936 & 1937 [60 pp.]. There were doubtless other printings as well. It is, furthermore, partially or fully published in, among Bahā'ī publications:

- Eric Hammond (Ed), *The Splendour of God, Being Extracts from the Sacred Writings of the Bahais* (Wisdom of the East Series, London, John Murray, 1909 (1st. Ed.), pp. 53-84 -- including extracts from 'Ali Kuli Khan's 1906 translation, a brief introduction, and some notes.
- Horace Holley (Ed), *Bahá'í Scriptures*.. Brentano's New York 1923, pp.? -- ?; 2nd Ed., Bahai Publishing Committee New York 1928 pp. 159-171.

¹⁰ The bibliographical information given below is largely based upon information contained in the *National Union Catalogue of Pre-1956 Imprints* (London & Wisbech: Balding and Mansell Information / Publishing Ltd. 1969) entry Bahā Ullāh Vol.30 pp.355-360; William Collins, *Bibliography of English-Language Works on the Bábí and Bahá'í Faiths 1844-1985*(George Ronald, Oxford 1990) I, The Writings of Bahá'u'llāh I.II2 -> I.II7. There also exist, it should be noted, a number of translations of the SV into non-European languages -- i.e. an Urdu translation published in Bombay prior to 192? (cf. BW. III:242) + 1929 (BW IV:304) -- as well as several made directly from the AKK [+Gail] translation into European and non-European languages (as well as a Braille rendering).

¹¹ On February 27th 1929 Shoghi Effendi wrote an 'Appreciation' of Hippolyte Dreyfus-Barney. This is printed in *The Bahá'í World* Vol. III (April 1928-April 1930) Reprint. Wilmette, Illinois : Bahá'í Publishing Trust 1980.

¹² On 'Ali-Kuli Khan see Marzieh Gail's 'In Memoriam' article in *The Bahá'í World Vol. XIV 1963-1968* (Haifa: The Universal House of Justice, 1974) pp. 351-353 and his daughter's biography, *Summon up Remembrance* (Oxford: George Ronald) 1987 and *The Arches of the Years* (Oxford: George Ronald) 1991.

An early 'unpublished' attempt at commenting on this English translation, it may be noted here, is mentioned in the American *National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints*, Vol I. p. 503; namely, 'H.B. Hasting, *Seven Valleys. An attempt at an interpretatio[n] for western readers of some of the oriental imagery of seven valleys, by Abdel Baha Based on a translation by Ali Kuli Khan, 1905* Washington, printed as MSS [not published] by H.B.H. [Autograph note on cover title = " H.B.H. Hasting '91 (Harv.)] 1934. [Has autograph annotations and corrections]. Pamphlet 16 pp. Colophon: Printed by Sidney H. Hastings, Saugus, Mass. (Label pasted over: Abdel Baha, in cover title, reads: Baha'U'llah.)' (sic).

Yet another, even earlier work, very loosely oriented around Bahā'u'llāh's SV in English translation, and expressive of the American cultic milieu from which certain American Bahā'īs of the early period entered the Bahā'ī movement, is W.W. Harmon's, *The Seven Principles of the Microcosm and the Macrocosm applied to the disclosures of Baha'o'llah in the Book of the Seven Valleys*, arranged for students by W.W. Published by the author 1915 (59 pp.). 'Abdu'l-Bahā' had apparently encouraged Harmon to write a book on 'Divine Illumination' (in America in August 1912) and subsequently approved of his book which bore this title in a letter to him dated April 20th 1914 (refer, Harmon, 1915a p.8). His *Seven Principles*.. was written shortly after his *Divine Illumination* and contains a fair amount of occult and metaphysical speculation the like of which led certain prominent American Bahā'īs to accuse him of heterodoxy or of violating the Bahā'ī covenant.

A revised edition of Ali Kuli-Khan's 1906 translation of the SV, accomplished with the aid of his daughter Marzieh Gail, was published in 1945 along with Bahā'u'llāh's *Four Valleys (Chahār vādī)*. It has gone through numerous printings:

□ Ali-Kuli-Khan & Marzieh Gail (tr.), *The Seven Valleys and the Four Valleys*, Wilmette, Illinois, Bahā'ī Publishing Committee 1945, 1948, 1952, 1954... [62 pp.]

Certain printings of this revised edition contain a 28 page introduction by Robert L. Gulick, Jr. This introduction to the revised translation was itself revised and printed in editions published subsequent to 1975. Once again this revised translation has again been printed in a large number of compilations of Bahā'ī sacred writings.¹³

¹³ Of the easily obtainable compilations of Bahā'ī sacred writings which include the SV in its revised 2nd-3rd editions the following may be noted:

[National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of the British Isles], *The Bahá'í Revelation*, London 1955/ Rev.Ed.1970 [SV =] pp.117-137.

[National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of India] *Writings of Bahá'u'lláh, A Compilation* (New Delhi: BPT 1986) [SV=] pp.1-20.

A 3rd revised edition of the AKK-Gail translation appeared in 1978 and 1984..1986> published by the Bahá'í Publishing Trust (Wilmette, Illinois, xiii [again with a shorter revised introduction by R. Gulick Jr] 65 pp. A largely identical 4th revised edition was published in 1987/91 by the same publishers.

The Oxford (England) based OneWorld Publications Ltd. has recently published *The Seven Valleys of Bahá'u'lláh* (Oxford: OneWorld Publications Ltd. 1992). This is basically another edition of the AKK+Gail translation (4th Ed. pp.13-35) with slight 'revisions', a new six page introduction (pp.5-11) and appended notes (92 Notes [pp.59-81] largely as in the AKK+Gail American editions with a 'Preface to Notes' [pp.59-60]). The U.K. Bahá'í Publishing Trust has likewise included the AKK + Gail 4th edition of the SV of Bahá'u'lláh in its commemorative centenary publication series "Nightingale Books" (= *The Seven Valleys* [London:] Nightingale Books, 1992) with a new very brief introduction and seventy five, occasionally revised, footnotes (cf. on these recent printings the review section below).

PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION : PROLEGOMENON 01¹⁴

^[1] Praise be to God Who hath caused Being to be made manifest from non-being; ^[2] inscribed upon the tablet of Man [kind] something of the ancient mysteries ^[3] and taught him that which he knew not of the Exposition. ^[4] He made Him a Perspicuous Book unto such as believed and surrendered themselves; ^[5] caused Him to witness the creation of all things in this black and ruinous age ^[6] and to speak forth from the Apex of Eternal Subsistence with a Wondrous Voice in the Illustrious Temple. ^[7] This to the end that all may testify within themselves, through soulful experience at the level of the theophany of their Lord, that there is none other God save Him. ^[8] All souls may assuredly accomplish this and thus win their way to the Summit of Spiritual Realities such that none shall witness a single thing but that they shall see God therein.

¹⁴ In this provisional [re-] translation the English text is divided up into paragraphs which are numbered from 01 (= the prolegomenon or 'introduction') and loosely sectioned or 'versified' for the sake of the commentary. The paragraphing largely follows that of AKK + Gail (also taking into account that of certain of the various published and unpublished versions of the *Haft vādī*).

THE ARABIC TEXT OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE PROLEGOMENON (01) TO THE SEVEN VALLEYS (*HAFT VĀDĪ*) AS PRINTED IN *ATHĀR-I QALAM-I A'ĀLĀ* (New Delhi: BPT, n.d. [= Rep. of Ed. Tehran 121 BE.]) Vol. 3:92-3.

٩٢

هفت وادی

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي نظم الوجود من العدم ورقم على لوح الأنا
من أسرار القدم وعلّم من البيان ما لا يعلم وجملة كتاباً مبيناً
لمن آمن واستسلم وأشهد خلق كل شئ في هذا الزمان المظلم الصلّم
وانطقه في قطب البقاء على لحن البديع في أيكل المكرم لشهد كل
في نفسه بنفسه في مقام تجسّس ربه بانه لا اله الا هو ولا شريك له

٩٣

الى ذروة اتحاط حتى لا يشاهد شيئاً الا قد يرى الله فيه

COMMENTARY

PROLEGOMENON 01 WITH SELECTED TRANSLITERATION

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

[1] Praise be to God Who hath caused Being (*wujūd*) to be made manifest from non-being (*‘adam*);^[2] inscribed upon the tablet of man [kind] (*lawh al-insān*) something of the timeless mysteries (*asrār al-qidam*)^[3] and taught him that which he knew not of the Exposition (*al-bayān*).^[4] He made Him a Perspicuous Book (*kitāb^{an} mubīn^{an}*) unto such as believed and surrendered themselves;^[5] caused Him to witness the creation of all things (*kull^u shay[’]*) in this black and ruinous age^[6] and to speak forth from the Apex of Eternal Subsistence (*qutb al-baqā’*) with a Wondrous Voice (*al-lahn al-badī[‘]*) in the Illustrious Temple (*haykal al-mukarram*).^[7] This to the end that all may testify within themselves, through soulful experience (*fī nafsihi bi-nafsihi*) at the level (*fī maqām*) of the theophany of their Lord (*tajallī rabbihi*), that there is none other God save Him.^[8] All souls may assuredly accomplish this and thus win their way to the Summit of Spiritual Realities (*dharwat al-haqā’iq*) such that none shall witness a single thing but that they shall see God therein.

EXPOSITORY SUMMARY

Opening with the *basmalah*, (see below) this first paragraph of the prolegomenon to the SV (= 01)¹, highlights the marvellous divine providence. God created all things including humanity, archetypal "man" (*insān*), the quintessence of existence, whom He, from eternity, endowed with innate spiritual powers and taught articulate speech or expository mysteries. He likewise, from time immemorial, actualized the pre-existent Logos, the supernal, the "Perfect Man" or Manifestation of God through whom ordinary human beings inwardly experience God and realize spiritual progress. God made the Manifestation of God a lucid "Book", the communicator of His revelation to faithful human souls as one who reveals verses from the very apex of guidance. He enabled Him, as One born on earth like an ordinary man, to witness a "new creation", to inaugurate a new religious dispensation in the corrupt latter days, through the power of divine revelation. This that all souls might draw nigh unto God and so thoroughly experience Him that they vision Him in all things.

¹ In the remainder of this article 'verses' within paragraph 01 will largely be indicated within square brackets. i.e. [3] or SV [3] = 01:3 = 'verse' or phrase 3 of paragraph 1 of the prolegomenon of the SV.

The opening paragraph of the SV could be read in several ways: it is sometimes viewed as referring wholly to the Manifestation of God Who is the "Perfect Man". Alternatively, for example, it can be seen to refer to both the prototypical-archetypal ordinary human ("man") as well as to the "Perfect Man" (= Manifestation of God). I am inclined to this latter perspective but do not see other perspectives as irrelevant or meaningless. It seems to me, in other words, to be primarily archetypal "man" (= humankind) who is initially indicated. Subsequently, the "Man" intended is the "Perfect Man" who is for Bahā'ī the Manifestation of God. This since [2] and [3 cf. Qur'ānic ref.] seem to relate most appropriately to fallible human beings (see below). Then, it is at [4], [5] and [6] that the person and role of the Manifestation of God as supernal "Man" (*insān*), is primary. The "Perfect Man" in Sufism may be both a prototype of the human self as well as this "self" at a stage of perfection or completion -- the macrocosm or the Manifestation of God (cf. Chittick 1979). It could also be, since the SV was written during the Bābī dispensation, that the "Man", the "Perfect Man" intended here is the Bāb. The opening paragraph ultimately revolves around the centrality of the most elevated Guide, *qutb* (see below), the "Perfect Man" and Manifestation of God (= the Bāb?) who enables such as posses deep faith to see the Divine in all things.

THE BASMALAH

Being addressed to a Sufi Muslim it is fitting that the SV is headed with the *basmalāh* (= *bism Allāh al-rahman al-rahīm* trans. = "In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate"). This formula heads all but the ninth of the 114 sūras of the Qur'ān and is uttered before significant literary, legal and other Muslim endeavours (e.g. as a "grace" before eating). Diverse transformations of the *basmalah* head many of the writings and Tablets of the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh. Both the Bāb and 'Abdu'l-Bahā' wrote detailed commentaries on this important 19 lettered Islamic formula (details cannot be gone into here). The invocation of various of the names of God remains a significant act in the Bābī and Bahā'ī religions.

BEING (*WUJŪD*) & NON-BEING (*'ADAM*)

This opening sentence has to do with the origin of existence or primordial creation. I have followed AKK^{2f} in translating *wujūd* as "Being". Shoghi Effendi often translated *wujūd* as "Being" when it occurred (some 14 times) in the opening address ("O SON OF BEING!") of many of the Arabic *Hidden Words* (*Kalimat-i maknūnih* ; see 5, 6, 11, 12, etc). *Wujūd* could also have been translated

"Existence" (i.e. all that exists or is found; as AKK 1906). It is a non-Qur'ānic term of central importance in Islāmic mysticism and metaphysics; in Islāmic philosophy-ontology. Grappling with the metaphysics of existence (*wujūd*) was an intellectual endeavour of great moment within Islāmic philosophy : such, for example, is reflected in the opening sections of Sadrā al-Dīn Shīrāzī's magisterial *Four Journeys.. (al-Asfār al-Arba'a.* c. 1628 C.E.). In SV [1] the term probably has ontological implications or indicates all that is -- both physical and spiritual. The supreme greatness and power of God is underlined in the light of His originating "Being" [=] "Existence" from non-existence, nothingness, nihility or non-being (*adam*).²

Numerous Sufi writings contain cosmogonic speculations; reflections on the origin of existence and the various meanings of creation. In 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī's (d. c. 1410 C.E.?) significant work, *"The Perfect Man endowed with the Gnosis of the Last and of the First Things" (al-Insān al-kāmil fī ma'nifat al-awākhir wa'l-awā'il)*, for example, there exists a section on *Quadrat* (= 'God's essential Power' / 'Providence' / 'Creation'). Therein a statement of Ibn al-'Arabī (d.1240) is registered which denies God's creation of "things" (*al-ashyā'*) from "non-existence" (*al-'adam*), having it that the realization of existence involved a transition from "theoretical existence" (*wujūd 'ilmī*) unto "real existence" (*wujūd 'ainī*). Jīlī comments that the "Great Shaykh" intended by his statement that "existence" was initially (before creation was concretized) presupposed in God's primordial knowledge (*wujūd al-ashyā' fī 'ilmihī awwal^{an}*). There was thus never a time when "existence [things]" was not.³

As developed Bahā'ī cosmology does not reckon that all existence was realized from absolute nothingness, I have preferred (in the above translation) the greater ambiguity of the term "non-being" (rather than "nothingness" [as in AKK]). Having said this, it should be remembered that this opening section of the SV is not primarily cosmological; rather, the bounties of the Divine Providence are outlined.

² On *wujūd* see further for example, the Persian poet and Sufi 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī's, *Treatise on Existence [Risālah fī al-Wujūd*, written in the 15th century CE.]. The Arabic text is printed, translated and introduced by N. Heer in P. Morewedge (Ed.) 1979: 223ff. For further details see also MuS: No 664: 1130-1137; Chittick, 1989 index esp. 80ff.

³ See al-Jīlī, *al-Insān al-kāmil.* , 82. Izutsu, 1984 Ch.XIII:201 on Creation throws light on the cosmogonic teaching of Ibn 'Arabī; consider the following words, "It will be evident, then, that in Ibn 'Arabī's thought, the principle of *creatio ex nihilo* holds true. But what makes his thesis fundamentally different from the ordinary Islamic *creatio ex nihilo* is that the *nihil*, for Ibn 'Arabī, is not a total unconditional 'non-existence', but 'non-existence' in the particular sense of something being as yet non-existent as an empirical or phenomenal thing. What he regards as *nihil* is 'existence' on the level of the intelligibles, or - which comes to the same thing - in the Consciousness of God. Ontologically, his *nihil* is the 'possible' (*mumkin*), i.e., something that has the power (or possibility) to exist. The ordinary view which makes 'creation' a sort of Divine monodrama has its origin in the ignorance of the positive power to be attributed to the 'possibles'. All things, in Ibn 'Arabī's view, have enough power to come out from the concealment into the field of existence in response to the ontological Command of God."

Scriptural texts which imply creation *ex nihilo* (see Genesis 1: lff. and Qur'ānic parallels) are "true" but non-literally interpreted in developed Bahā'ī doctrine: see, for example, the Tablet of Bahā'u'llāh to ʿAbd al-Razzāq partially translated by Shoghi Effendi in *Gleanings*. LXXVIII and ʿAbdu'l-Bahā' SAQ Ch. 47 (= 'The Universe is without beginning'). Responding to a question about the words of Bahā'u'llāh, "Who out of utter nothingness" (outwardly implying that God created everything *ex nihilo*, from nothing), Shoghi Effendi wrote that,

"This statement in 'Gleanings', pp.64-5, *Who out of utter nothingness...*; [= XXVII, an untitled Tablet; Per. *haqīqat nīstī vā 'adam*] etc., should be taken in a symbolic and not a literal sense. It is only to demonstrate the power and greatness of God." (LG No.1603).

If understood in the light of contemporary Bahā'ī doctrine the opening words of the SV should be taken in a similar non-literal or symbolic manner consonant with Sufi spiritual hermeneutics (*ta'wīl*).

01:[2]

The implication in this phrase is that within the spiritual essence or reality of human beings -- the "tablet of man[kind]" -- are enshrined deep spiritual truths or mysteries : which can be realized by persons of true faith by virtue of the human potentiality determined by God from eternity. In view of his spiritual nature man is heir to timeless, [pre-] eternal truths. The human soul or reality was, from timeless ages past, intended to be a locus of spiritual mysteries.

TABLET (*LAWH*) OF MAN[KIND] (*INSĀN*)

The archetypal essence of human beings (and / or the pre-existent Being of the Manifestation of God) is referred to as a "tablet" ; that is, a panel or sheet on which writing may be inscribed. The word "Tablet", Arabic *lawh* (pl. *alwāh*) signifies (among other things) 'something written upon', a slate, slab, board, or tablet. It occurs five times in the Qur'ān : once in the singular and four times in the plural, cf. the Hebrew לוח, לחות (pl) = '(usually) a tablet of stone or wood' on which things may be written (i.e. the ten commandments, see Exodus 24:12; 31:18; 32:16ff; 34:1f, etc.). *Lawh* also refers to the planks (*dhāt alwāh*) from which Noah's ark was built (54:13 cf. Ezekiel 27:5 [Hebrew]) and indicates the heavenly *Tablet* on which the Qur'ān is inscribed, the *lawh mahfūz* ("preserved tablet" 85:22 cf. *Jubilees* chapters 3 & 5). In Qur'ān 7:145, 150, 154, *lawh* indicates written material in connection with the 'tablets of the

law' of Moses (for some details see A.J. Wensinck art. *LAWH* in SEI: 287-8 and A.J.Wensinck-[C.E. Bosworth] *LAWH* EI² 5:698). A. Jeffery, 1938, 253-4).⁴

Many of the writings of the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh are referred to as "Tablets" (*alwāh*), primarily after the Biblical-Qur'ānic usage.⁵ They are written sacred revelations and more besides. At one point in his *Tablet of Wisdom (Lawh-i hikmat)* Bahā'u'llāh refers to the visionary appearance of divine inspiration in the form of an all-encompassing "tablet" (*lawh*). He also indicates the transcendental nature of the *Tablet of Wisdom* as a "document" (*lawh*) upon which all knowledge is inscribed, "This is a Tablet (*lawh*) wherein the Pen of the Unseen hath inscribed the knowledge of all that hath been and shall be." (trans. TB:149).⁶ Examples of the multifarious and extensive Bahā'ī uses of *lawh* cannot be fully discussed here.

Commenting on the significance of *lawh* in Sufi mysticism C.E. Bosworth writes : "In Sūfī mysticism and in esoteric philosophy and cosmology, the *lawh* has an important place... 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī... explains in his *al-insān al-kāmil* how God's creation is first given shape occultly in the divine knowledge, and only later given objective individualization by the pen of divine intelligence, which distinguishes the created from the Creator and imprints its form of existence on the Tablet as the mind imprints ideas on the soul... Esoteric works identified various forms of the Tablet with the primal intelligence (as above), the *aqḥ al-awwal*; with the expressive, universal soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiqa al-kullīya*) = the preserved tablet: with the particularizing soul; with the *lawh al-hayūlā* or material tablet, which receives the forms of the

⁴ Summing up one dimension of Muslim opinion as to the significance of *lawh* it has been written, "In the commentaries on sūra XC VII, I, the tablet is again mentioned: "We sent it down (sc. the Qur'ān) in the night of the decree"; this refers either to the first revelation sent to Muḥammad or to the descent of the Qur'ān from the tablet which is above the seventh heaven, to the lowest. The tablet as the original copy of the Qur'ān is thus identical with *umm al-kitāb* [= "the Mother Book"]

"The decisions of the divine will are also written on the *lawh* with the pen, *qalam*. and the particulars contained as a whole in God's consciousness are transmitted by this last, so that on the *lawh* are inscribed the archetypes of all things, past, present and future. The popular mind represented by al-Bayhaqī, as created from a white pearl, with its upper and lower surfaces of jacynth.." (Wensinck-Bosworth EI² 5:698 [translit. altered]). In this latter connection we read at the beginning of the *Qisas al-'anbiyā'* of al-Kisā'ī, "Ibn Abbas said: The first thing God created was the Preserved Tablet, on which was preserved all that has been and ever shall be until the Day of Resurrection. What is contained thereon no one knows but God. It is made of white Pearl." (al-Kisā'ī trans. Thackston 1978:5).

⁵ The word *lawh* was used of post-Qur'ānic written works prior to the nineteenth century Bābī-Bahā'ī usage. Certain, for example, of the short Arabic / Persian treatises of Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā Suhrawardī (executed 1191 C.E.) – the founder of the Ishrāqī "Illuminationist" school – dedicated to 'Imād al-Dīn, are referred to in this way (the four "Tablets" of the *Kitāb al-alwāh al-'Imādīya* / *alwāh-i 'Imādī*). Such post-Qur'ānic usage doubtless also lies behind the extensive Bābī and Bahā'ī adoption of such terminology.

⁶ For further details see Mazandārānī, AA 5:74-81.

supersensory world..." (EI² 5:698 [transliteration altered]).

In mystical language the archetypal reality of "man" (members of the human race) is pictured as a "tablet"; an area upon which eternal mysteries were inscribed by God. The great 'Ibn 'Arabī in his (?) *Sufistic Lexicon* (henceforth = S.Lex.) (*Istilāh al-sūfiyyah*) defines *al-lawh* as "The place of writing down (*tadwīn*) and recording (*taftīr*) what is fixed in time until a known limit." (Jurjānī p.295 trans. p.46). In the light of this definition it could be suggested that something of the mysteries of human capacity, fate, destiny or spirituality were set down by God in primordial times.

In SV [2] God is said to have written on the "Tablet of Man" in a similar manner to which He is reckoned to have written all mysteries on the "Mother Book" (*umm al-kitāb*) or "Preserved Tablet" (*lawh mahfūz*) in various Islamic traditions and literatures. The human reality is the writing material on which the essential, the eternal characteristics of the human being, are set forth. Something of the divine mysteries were written upon the locus, the reality of man .

MAN[KIND] (*INSĀN*)

The Arabic word *insān*, translated here as "man [kind]", usually indicates human beings collectively. It could equally correctly --- depending on one's interpretation -- have been translated "Man", "humanity" or the like. *Insān* occurs more than sixty times in the Qur'ān (see Kassis, *Concordance*: 170-171) and, according to some authorities, is the title of its 76th sūra (*al-insān* = "Man / Mankind").⁷

In Sufi texts *al-insān* is used in many different contexts and with a multitude of significances. It can refer to the ordinary human being or to a large number of categories of "man" spilling over into cosmological Being / Reality; the microcosmic or macrocosmic universe and more besides. i.e. archetypal man, "Primordial Man", "Universal Man", the "Perfect Man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*). The figure of the "Perfect Man" was perhaps first spoken about by Ibn 'Arabī (d.1250) though his reflections mirror such earlier speculations as are found in Zoroastrian (Gayomart), Hermetic-Gnostic (Urmensch/ Primal Man), Jewish Kabbalistic (Adam Qadmon) and other writings. Much has been written about this figure.⁸ Succinctly summing up something of Ibn 'Arabī's view of the "Perfect Man" Chittick writes, "The Perfect Man, a key

⁷ An excellent survey of Qur'ānic and other Islāmic understandings of "man" *insān* is contained in the article under this heading in EI² by R. Arnaldez (Vol.3:1237-1239).

⁸ On the Sufi notion of the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), see R.A. Nicholson, *AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL* in SEI:170-1; Takeshita 1987; Chittick 1979 ; MuS : No. 63 (p.150) -- No. 68 (p.170); See also Lawson [article in this BSB] for aspects of the influence of this motif in the Bāb's tafsīr.

term in Ibn 'Arabī's vocabulary, is the all-comprehensive engendered existent (*al-kawn al-jāmi'*) discussed at the beginning of the *Fusūs [al-Hikām "Bezels of Wisdom"]*. Ontologically the origin and goal of the cosmos, he is also the model of spiritual perfection and the guide to men... the "Perfect Man is both all-comprehensive," in the sense that he embraces all realities, and "engendered," that is, he belongs to the world of created things, at least in his outward dimension. If the Perfect Man is the ontological prototype of both the cosmos and the individual man, he is also man perfected, the human state realized in its full breadth and depth..." (Chittick 1991 pp. 65-66). At one point in his *Meccan Openings (Futuhāt al-Makkiyyah)* the "Great Shaykh" enumerates three categories of "human beings" in existent reality: "There is naught in existence (*al-wujūd*) except three "human beings" (*unāsī*); that is, (1) the Universal, Most-Eternal, Primordial Man (*al-insān al-awwāl al-kull al-aqdam*); (2) the Cosmic Man (*al-insān al-'ālam*) and the (3) Adamite Man (*al-insān al-ādāmī*)." (3:331 cited MuS:153). *Insān* then, can signify ordinary man but can sometimes -- at the same time -- signify gradations up to the "Perfect Man", the cosmos and beyond. If SV [3] is meditated upon in the light of the multifarious Sufi senses of *insān* useful insights may result. Line [3] could, as suggested then, be read as referring to the archetypal ('ordinary') "man" and then (from [4]f.) refer to the truly "Perfect Man" (= the Bāb?), the Manifestation of God through whom ordinary mortals experience God.⁹

As in the Qur'ān, there are some Bahā'ī texts in which *insān* refers to archetypal or ordinary human beings and others in which this word designates the Manifestation[s] of God; occasionally, it seems, to both archetypal "man" and the "Man", the Manifestation of God. The Manifestations of God are only transiently members of the human race; human beings as Divine Messengers.¹⁰ Among those texts in which *insān* refers to ordinary human beings is the following well-known passage from Bahā'u'llāh's *Lawh-i Maqṣud*, "Man (*insān*) is the supreme talisman. Lack of a proper education hath, however

⁹ From the Bābī-Bahā'ī point of view, as noted, the truly "Perfect Man" is the Manifestation of God. He is different from ordinary members of the human race. A human being cannot become the ontologically different, perfect Manifestation of God (*mazhar-i illāhī*). Bahā'īs reckon that humanity is imperfect and will eternally remain so; ever striving towards perfection and God.

¹⁰ *Insān* is used in the opening addresses of many of the Arabic "Hidden Words" (no less than 29 of them; see 3, 4, 14, 17, 24, etc.). It is translated "Man" by Shoghi Effendi. He was several times asked about the address "O SON OF MAN!" in certain "Hidden Words". On one occasion in 1935 he wrote to the prominent Bahā'ī, Lady Sara Blomfield (d. 1939) :

"As to your second question concerning those passages in the 'Hidden Words' in which Bahā'u'llāh refers to man as 'Son of Spirit', 'Son of Existence', 'Son of Humanity' etc., the word son used in this connection is a kind of collective noun, meaning mankind and has, therefore, no connotation of any sex differentiation between man and woman whatever." (LG:1634)

Linguistically, neither the reference to "Man[kind]" (*insān*) in the SV nor the addresses of the "Hidden Words" (the use of "SON" therein [= Ar. *ibn* ; Per. *pesar*]) have sexist implications.

deprived him of that which he doth inherently possess...Regard man (*insān*) as a mine rich in gems..." (Gl. CXXII:258-9). Reminiscent of the Sufi applications of the epithet "Perfect Man" to the advanced gnostic, Bahā'u'llāh in his *Kitāb-i Īqān* alludes to Shaykh Ahmad and Siyyid Kāzim as "Perfect Man" (*insān-i kāmīl* KI:51 tr. p.42 [66]). 'Abdu'l-Bahā uses the term "Perfect Man" of the ideal human being and of the Manifestation of God in his "Some Answered Questions" and elsewhere.¹¹

There are, as mentioned then, Bahā'ī scriptural texts in which *insān* refers to the supremely "Perfect Man", the superhuman Manifestation of God, the infallible mediator between God and man. The following passage is from a prayer of Bahā'u'llāh translated by Shoghi Effendi and printed in *Prayers and Meditations* (No. 38:36-8). This meditation (as in the first few lines of the SV) comes to refer to the Manifestation of God, the Man (*insān*) supreme, several of whom are subsequently named:-

"Lauded be Thy name, O Lord my God ! I testify that Thou wast a hidden Treasure wrapped within Thine immemorial Being and an impenetrable Mystery enshrined in Thine own Essence. Wishing to reveal Thyself, Thou didst call into being the Greater and the Lesser Worlds,¹² and didst choose Man [insān] above all Thy creatures, and didst make Him a sign of both of these worlds, O Thou Who art our Lord, the Most Compassionate ! ...

Thou didst raise Him [= the Manifestation of God] up to occupy Thy throne before all the people of Thy creation. Thou didst enable Him to unravel Thy mysteries, and to shine with the lights of Thine inspiration and Thy Revelation, and to manifest Thy names and Thine attributes. Through Him Thou didst adorn the preamble of the book of Thy creation, O Thou Who art the Ruler of the universe Thou hast fashioned ! ...

¹¹ "This Man (*insān*) of whom we speak [the Manifestation of God] is not every man (*insān*); we mean the Perfect Man (*insān-i kāmīl*)" (SAQP. L:150 tr.196); "The splendours of the perfections, bounties and attributes of God shine forth and radiate from the reality of the Perfect Man (*insān-i kāmīl*) that is to say the Unique One, the Supreme Manifestation of God (*mazhar-i kullī-yi illāhī*)" (SAQP. LIX:168 tr. 222); "Man is the sum of creation and the Perfect Man is expression of the complete thought of the Creator, the Word of God." (PT:51). Materials revolving around or rooted in the Islāmic mystical doctrine of the *Insān kāmīl* occupy, directly or indirectly, an important position in the shaping of Bābī-Bahā'ī theophanology, the doctrine of the Manifestation of God (*mazhar-i illāhī*). Many statements of 'Abdu'l-Bahā about the Manifestation of God reflect Islāmic "Perfect Man" speculations.

¹² Cf. Shoghi Effendi's translation of a part of Bahā'u'llāh's *Commentary on a verse of Sa'dī (Tafsīr Bayt Sa'dī)* where it is indicated that "man" should be regarded as both the "lesser world" and the "greater world" (see Gl. CLXI:339).

At one time, Thou didst raise Him up, O my God, and didst attire Him with the ornament of the name of Him Who conversed with Thee (Moses) ...At another time, Thou didst adorn Him with the name of Him Who was Thy Spirit (Jesus) ...Again, Thou didst reveal Him, decked forth by the name of Him Who was Thy Friend (Muhammad)..."¹³

TIMELESS MYSTERIES (*ASRĀR AL-QIDAM*)

The word translated "mysteries" is the plural of *sirr* namely, *asrār*. Both the singular and the plural are very common in Islāmic esoterica, in Sufi texts and in Bābī-Bāhā'ī scripture. It often has the sense of 'secret' or 'mystery' as well as, on occasion, the inner dimension of human beings; their 'heart' or 'thought'.¹⁴ 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d.1330 CE.), the Shī'īte Sufī and important commentator on the theosophy of Ibn 'Arabī, in a version of the *Sufistic Lexicon (Istilahāt al-sūfiyya)* attributed to him, includes definitions of *sirr*, (Arabic p. 83 trans. No. 267 p.60) and gives a series of seven genitive expressions commencing with *sirr*; including *sirr al-qadr* = "what God discovers about every individual in Eternity..." (Arabic p. 85 trans. No. 272 p. 61; see Nos. 268-275 pp. 260-262).¹⁵

Qidam is a non-Qur'ānic Arabic word with a wide range of senses. Steingass has, "Preceding in point of time, being ancient, eternal; a going before; age; antiquity; olden time" (p.958). Wehr defines the word as follows, "time long since past, old times; remote antiquity, time immemorial; oldness, ancientness; infinite pre-existence, sempiternity, timelessness (of God); seniority.." (p.877). Reference to other dictionaries and to Sufi lexicons considerably extends the possible range of meanings. Ibn 'Arabī for example, seems to understand *qidam* as signifying something like 'immemorial determinism': "That which is fixed (*thabata*) for the servant in the knowledge of the Real (*'ilm al-Haqq* [God])." (Text, Jurjānī 1978, p. 297 trans.p. 50). The basic sense of *asrār al-qidam* would be something like ancient /

¹³ I am grateful to Khazeh Fananapazir for drawing this passage to my attention. *Prayers and Meditations* No. 38 can be profitably compared with the opening paragraph of the SV. The use of *insān* in both texts seems initially to refer to archetypal man and subsequently to the Manifestation[s] of God.

¹⁴ Defining *sirr* in his *Istilahāt al-Sūfiyyah* Ibn 'Arabī writes, " This term is applied [in several ways]. For instance one may say *sirr al-'ilm*, "the secret of the knowledge," meaning the reality that exists for one who possesses that knowledge; *sirr al-hāl*, "the secret of the state," meaning the realization (*ma'rifa*) intended by Allah for the one who experiences it; *sirr al-haqqāh*, "the secret of the reality," meaning that which symbolic expression (*ishārah*) touches upon". (p.36).

¹⁵ Various versions of a "*Sufistic Lexicon*" (*Istilahāt al-Sūfiyya*) are attributed to Ibn 'Arabī and to al-Qāshānī. The attribution of certain of them to these mystagogues is doubtful. I refer here to Qāshānī 1991 (text and trans. [in 28 chapters after the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet arranged in *abjad* order]).

timeless immemorial mysteries / secrets'. It could also be taken to imply that the secrets of the human reality / destiny were set down by God in ancient eternity.

The translation by AKK, "mysteries [secrets] of pre-existence", for *asrār al-qidam* was viewed by Shoghi Effendi (according to a letter dated January 5th, 1948) as "ambiguous" or misleading -- presumably as far as developed Bahā'ī doctrine goes --: "*Regarding your question concerning the passage in 'Seven Valleys' referring to pre-existence. This in no way presupposes the existence of the individual soul before conception. The term has not been absolutely accurately translated, and what is meant is that man's soul is the repository of the ancient divine mysteries of God.*" (*Bahā'ī Institutions, A Compilation*, Bahā'ī Publishing Trust, New Delhi 1973) p.116.

The above phrase then, has sometimes been read by modern Bahā'īs as implying that the doctrine of the (ontological) pre-existence of the human soul was taught by Bahā'u'llāh. 'Abdu'l-Bahā' held that the human essence or soul is phenomenal -- it has a beginning (but no end) in time. When created it is eternal or has an endless spiritual existence. Bahā'īs do not believe in the actual or ontological pre-existence of the human soul. Some modern Bahā'īs have even read a doctrine of reincarnation into [2]! -- a doctrine clearly rejected in Bahā'ī Scripture as well as in many orthodox Islāmic writings.¹⁶

Instead of "mysteries of pre-existence" I have translated "timeless mysteries"; indicating mysteries that have existed since ancient eternity and with which human souls were infused.

As already noted, SV [2] implies that it is ordinary human beings, the "tablet" of whose existence is endowed with something (*min*, not everything[?]) of the infinite divine mysteries and who are "taught" that which they "knew not" of the *bayān* ; see below on [3]). It seems probable then, to sum up, that in these opening lines it is personified, prototypical, or archetypal humankind (= "man") that is initially intended [1-3]. Later (from [4]f.) the significance seems to be focused upon, or primarily revolve around, the most elevated human being, the "Perfect Man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*) who for Bahā'īs is the Manifestation of God (see below on [4]).

¹⁶ It is the Bahā'ī belief that the human soul is individualized. Every human being has their own "soul" which is non-physical, beyond time and space, though (during earthly life) connected with the human body. Every human soul has its beginning at the moment of conception: the fertilization of the ovum of the mother by the sperm of the father. Thereafter it is eternal. Bahā'u'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Bahā' have explained that the soul of every individual is uniquely endowed with innate capacities.

BAYĀN

The verbal noun *bayān* occurs three times in the Qur'ān (3:138 [132]; 55:4 [3] and 75:19) where it means something like exposition, explanation or utterance / 'clear, articulate, distinctive speech'. In certain of these Qur'ānic texts, including those cited below (and the SV [3] ?), *bayān* has sometimes been understood to refer to man's being given the ability to coherently or clearly communicate in primordial times.

At [3] Bahā'u'llāh is very probably alluding to Qur'ān 96:5 and 55:3-4. The sūra of the "Blood-Clot" (*al-'alaq* 96), commonly reckoned the first sūra which God revealed to Muhammad in 610 CE., begins, "Recite: In the Name of Thy Lord who created (1), created Man (*al-insān*) of a blood-clot (2). Recite: And Thy Lord is the Most Generous (3), Who taught by the Pen (4), taught Man that which he knew not (*'allama'l-insān mā lam ya'lam*) (5)." (Tr. Arberry p. 651). These first five verses of sūra 96 refer to God's creation of humanity, *al-insān*. Any Muslim or Sufi reader of the opening lines (esp. 2-3) of the SV would immediately call these Qur'ānic verses to mind. SV [3a] could be seen as a slightly expanded or paraphrastic / expository quotation of Qur'ān 96:5 in the light of Qur'ān 55: [3-] 4. What God taught primordial man (*insān*) is spelled out; namely, the *bayān*.

Closely parallel then, to Qur'ān 96:1f is Qur'ān 55 (*sūra al-Rahmān*): 1f [esp. 3-4] : "The All-Merciful (1) has taught the Qur'ān (2). He created man (*khalaq al-insān*) (3) and taught Him *al-bayān* (*'allamahu al-bayān*)." Again, this verse would be called to mind by the Sufi reader of the SV. It is a verse apparently linked to 96:5. These two verses more or less comprise SV [3].

The Sunnī and Shī'ī Qur'ān commentaries give many interesting expository comments on [*al-*] *bayān* as it occurs in the various Qur'ān passages. Especially interesting in the light of SV [3]f. is Fayd-i Kāshānī's *Tafsīr al-Sāfī* in which a tradition about *al-bayān* (in Qur'ān 55:4, see below) from the sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Sādiq, is recorded which reads, "The *Bayān* is the Greatest Name (*al-ism al-a'zam*) through which he [primordial man] was taught all things (*kull shay'*)." (Vol. 5:106).

Within Bābī and Bahā'ī Scripture *bayān* can signify the whole corpus of the Bāb's revelations or a specific work (the *Bayān*) which exists in both a Persian and an Arabic version: cf. the word Qur'ān [= Recitation] which signifies God's revelations to the Prophet Muhammad. The word *Bayān*, in [3] might, in the light of the Qur'ānic verses referred to above, be indicative of humanity's being endowed with articulate speech / utterance in primordial times. Alternatively and in the light of the Bābī revelation, allusion may be made to the (or a major) revelation of Bahā'u'llāh's forerunner the Bāb. Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn might have been inspired by [3] to think about the primordial truth and reality of the Bābī

revelation.

01:[4]

It has been stated earlier that from the Bābī-Bahā'ī point of view the truly "Perfect Man" is the unique Manifestation of God. As noted, it is at translation [4]f. that the significance seems to revolve around this most elevated "Man." A transition is made at [4] from reference to archetypal "man" (*insān*)¹⁷ to a focus upon the Manifestation of God. It is thus here that I have capitalized the object pronoun "Him" to make this transition clear. SV [4] touches upon the mediatory, educative and salvific role of the Divine Manifestation as a lucid, God-written Book. Souls receptive to the revelation or manifest "Book" of the "Perfect Man," are characterised by that full submission and humility that accompanies true faith. The Manifestation of God is the repository of spiritual Truth for such ordinary human beings as have "believed" (*āmama*) in God's Messenger and fully surrendered themselves (*istaslama*) to His [= God's] Will. True Sufism is not the abode of a spiritual elite but the paradise of the humble.

PERSPICUOUS BOOK (*KITĀB* ^{an} *MUBĪN* ^{an})

The expression *[al-] kitāb [al-] mubīn* = "Perspicuous Book" occurs some twelve times in the Qur'ān (see Kassis 1983:352-5). The active participle *mubīn* (IV, root B.Y.N. cf. *bayān*), could (alternatively) have been translated, 'clear', 'manifest', 'evident', 'demonstrative', 'lucid' or 'expository', etc. Messengers of God (*rasūl*) deliver a clear or "Manifest Message" (*al-balāgh al-mubīn*; see 5:92[3]; 16:36,82; 24:54[3]; 36:17[16]; 64:12). *Kitāb mubīn* frequently refers to the distinctive Arabic Qur'ān or to its heavenly prototype (e.g. 5:15 [18]; 11:6[8]; 12:1; 10:61 [62]; 27:75; 36:12 [11]). As a revealed Book the Qur'ān reckons itself especially *mubīn* compared to other alleged scriptures (see 15:1; 36:69). The Prophet Muhammad twice swears by the Qur'ān as *al-kitāb al-mubīn*. (43:2 [1]; 44:2 [1]). It is within the archetypal *kitāb mubīn* that heavenly and earthly secrets are registered (6:59, etc.), a celestial book identified in many Qur'ān commentaries with the "Preserved Tablet" (*lawh mahfūz*).¹⁸

In his article *al-insān al-kāmil* Arnaldez sums up material contained in the "Book of Definitions" (*Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt*) of 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Sayyid Sharīf) al-Jurjānī (1339--1414 CE.) in which (as elsewhere) a correspondence is made between the "Perfect Man" and various designations of a celestial "Book":

¹⁷ Shoghi Effendi's letter of January 5th 1948 (cited on page 7 above) seems to presuppose that it is the individual human soul that is referred to at phrase [2].

¹⁸ For some further details see Gätje, 1976 p.49f (Zamaksharī on Sūra 43:2/1-4/3).

"According to Djurdjānī [= Jurjānī], in his *Definitions*, the perfect man unites the totality both of the divine (*ilāhiyya*) worlds and of the engendered (*kawniyya*) worlds, universal and particular; he is the Writing [*kitāb* or "Book"] which combines the divine Writings and the engendered Writings [or "Books"; *jāmi' lil-kutub al-illāhiyya wa'l-kawniyya*]; indeed in respect of his mind and intellect, he is an intelligible Book, named *Umm al-Kitāb* [= "Mother Book"]; in respect of his heart, he is the Book of the *Lawh Mahfūz* [= "Preserved Tablet"]; in respect of his soul, he is the Book of the Abolition (*mahw*) and Establishment (*ithbāt*) of being.." (E², 1240; see Jurjānī 1978, 39-40). As in SV [4] certain Sufis established a correspondence between the archetypal or "Perfect Man" and a celestial Book.

Kitāb mubīn is quite a common phrase in writings of the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh. At one point in his *Most Holy Book (al-kitāb al-aqdas)* Bahā'u'llāh uses the Qur'ānic phrase *fī kitāb "mubīn"* (see Hasānī, 121) possibly referring -- as in certain Qur'ānic verses -- to a register of fate. It is of interest to note that in his significant *Tablet of Wisdom (Lawh-i hikmat)* this same Tablet is specifically referred to as *al-kitāb al-mubīn* ("a perspicuous Book" ; see TB:149).

Here in SV [4], *kitāb mubīn* most likely refers to the Manifestation of God, the "Perspicuous Book" of whose Logos-like Reality is educative for believing humanity.

At [4]b persons of faith are referred to by means of two Arabic verbs; firstly (*āmama*) and secondly (*istaslama*). *Āmana* signifies (IVth verbal form root A.M.N.) 'to believe, to have faith' and is very common in the Qur'ān (see Kassis: [147] 149-164) and other Islāmic literatures. *Istaslama*, on the other hand, is the less common Xth verbal form of the root S.L.M. (IV = 'to submit / surrender [to the Will of God]') from which the words Muslim (= "one who submits [to the Will of God]" occurs 38 times in the Qur'ān) and Islām (= "Surrender" ; 8 times in the Qur'ān) are derived. While the active participle *mustaslim* occurs once in the Qur'ān (37:26) the verbal form *istaslama* (= 'one who resigns himself in submission' [so Kassis:1081]) does not. *Istaslama* in [4b] basically signifies 'self-surrender' possibly implying 'full-submission' to the Will of God born out of humble faith. Some Bahā'ī scholars believe that the use of this uncommon verb is significant here.¹⁹

01:[5]

It may be that at [5] archetypal "man" is mystically represented as witnessing the creation of all things in timeless [pre-] eternity. Alternatively the "Perfect Man" or Manifestation of God could be so represented

¹⁹ So for example Khazeh Fananapazir (personal communication).

in view of His pre-existence.²⁰ On the other hand, [5] could be understood, not as referring primarily to the original "creation" of the universe, but to the "creation" of a new spiritual universe. The emergence of the spiritual universe of the Bayān, the re-creation of "all things" was witnessed by the Reality of the Manifestation of God during a period of spiritual darkness, by the Bāb or by Bahā'u'llāh himself during the Bāb's ministry. This might be confirmed by virtue of the fact that the original Arabic of "all things" *kull shay'* has a numerical value of 361 = 19 X 19, for, on occasion, 361 indicating totality, has important chronological and theological significance in the writings of the Bāb.

ALL THINGS [EVERYTHING] (*KULL SHAY'*)

Kull shay', signifying "all things" or "everything" is an Arabic expression that occurs over 100 times in the Qur'ān (see Kassis:1154ff.). From the point of view of Bābī theology certain of these Qur'ānic texts are laden with deep significance. Worth noting, for example, are the following lines;

"..He has knowledge of everything (*kull" shay'"*). (2:29[27], 231, 282, 4:32[36] etc.)

"And We wrote for him (Moses) on the Tablets of everything (*kull" shay'"*) an admonition and a distinguishing of everything (*kull' shay'*)..". (7:145 [142])

"...all things (*kull" shay'"*) perish except His Face". (28:88)

"..everything (*kull" shay'"*) We have numbered in a clear register (*imām mubīn*)."
(36:12[11]).

"He is God who created seven heavens, and of earth their like, between them the Command descending, that you may know that God is powerful over everything (*kull' shay'*) and that God encompasses everything (*kull' shay'*) in knowledge." (65:12)

"..and He has numbered everything (*kull" shay'"*) in numbers.." (72:28)

"..and everything (*kull" shay'"*) We have numbered in a Book". (78:29)²¹

As early as 1889 E.G. Browne summed up certain basic background aspects of the Bāb's teachings relating to *kull shay'*, when he wrote,

²⁰ Just as Christians believe in the pre-existence of the Logos or essence of Christ, Muslims believe in the pre-existence of the Reality or Light of Muhammad (and the Imāms) the *nūr-i Muḥammadiyya*. It is the Bahā'ī belief that the Essence, Soul or Reality of the Manifestation of God is pre-existent: unlike the souls of ordinary human beings.

²¹ All these translations are from Arberry : 1983

"..one of the principal Attributes or Names of God is 'Hayy,' the Living. If we take the sum of the letters of this word, we find it is 18. Adding to this the number of the Alif--the "One pervading the Numbers" -- we again get the sacred number 19.

The number 1, therefore, represents the Unmanifested, Undifferentiated, Unknowable Essence; 19, the manifestation thereof. Going a step further, we find 19×19 , i.e. 361, represents the manifested Universe. This the Bábis call 'adad-i kull' shay,' "the number of All Things;" and if we add up the values of the letters in 'kull' shay' [ignoring *tashdīd*: ك = 20 ل = 30 ش = 300 ي = 10] we find they come to 360, which, with the One pervading the Numbers [or the *hamza* = 1], makes 361.

The number 19, being thus recognized by the Báb as a sacred number, plays a prominent part in his system. God, is One (Vāhid = 19), the true Existence (Vujūd = 19), the Living (Hayy + the One pervading the Numbers," = 19), by means of the 19 "Letters of the Living" (Hurūfāt-i Hayy) created "All Things" (kull' shay + the One pervading the numbers [in fact the *hamza* = 1] = $361 = 19 \times 19$).

In the World, He is represented by Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad [the Bāb], the "Point" (Nuqta), and the 18 disciples, called "Letters of the Living," who first believed in him; these together constituting the complete "Unity" (Vāhid). Each of the nineteen members of the "Unity" had nineteen immediate disciples, who represent the "Number of all things" (361). Everything is arranged to correspond to this.." (JRAS XXI: 920 [transliteration largely adjusted and notes about the *hamza* = 1 added).²²

In late writings of the Bāb *kull shay'* theology is very common. It has been noted that in the exordium of the *Persian Bayān* the Bāb relates all created things to 'the number of all things' ($361 = 19 \times 19$). Likewise, in the first *wāhid* of his *Arabic Bayān* he states : "We, verily, made the gates of this religion according to the number of *kull shay'* (= 361)..". Persian Bayān IV:10 has it that the Bāb reckoned that the whole of the Bayān is summed up in Qur'ān 65:12; a verse in which *kull' shay'* occurs twice (see above). Similar or related statements are made in many other works of the Bāb.

²² Browne goes on to refer to the Arabic Bayān which has 19 vāhids ("unities") each with 19 bābs ("chapters") and the 19 months and 19 days of the Bābī (+ Bahā'ī) calendar. See also E.G. Browne, *Bāb, Bābīs* in ERE. 2:306 where similar notes on 19 and 361 are given and where it is noted that, for the Bāb, 19 is "made the basis of all divisions of time, money and the like". It should also be borne in mind that there are 19 letters in the *basmala*.

At one point in his late *Book of the Five Grades (Kitāb-i Panj Sha'n*, spring 1850) the Bāb refers to the all-pervading nature of his latter-Day claim to Divinity when he states, "This is the Day in which God sent down [my claim], 'I, verily am God, no God is there except Me, the Most-Elevated, the Most-Elevated,' according to the number of all things (*kull shay'* [= 361 = 'totality'])". [np. n.d. p.19]. An important theme of this fairly lengthy Arabic and Persian volume is the cyclic "resurrection" of "all things" (*kull shay'*); the recreation of the likeness of the pleroma of the faithful from era to era. Addressing the Bābī faithful the Bāb thus, at one point, writes, "O *Kull^a Shay'*! Prepare yourselves for the latter resurrection (*qiyāmat al-ukhra*) for you, assuredly, are the conclusive similitude (*mathal*) of that final resurrection (*qiyāmat*)." (n.p. n.d. p.352).

In the very late [*Book of*] *The Temple of Religion ([Kitāb-i] Haykal al-Dīn)* Bābīs and / or the 'Letters of the Living' (*hurūfāt al-hayy*) are quite frequently addressed, "O All Things!.. (*yā kull^a shay'*)" (see pp. 5, 7, 8, 10, 31 etc.). In for example, Unity 3 Gate 4 of this Arabic work, we read regarding the "Hereafter" or "Forthcoming Era" (*al-ākhirā*), "The bounty that God will send down upon the Manifestation of His Self (*mazhar nafsīhi*) in the forthcoming era is as the bounty which was sent down in al-Bayān (which also is just as was sent down aforetime) if, O *Kull^a shay'*, thou art able to fathom the Book of God in the forthcoming era." (p.10). Again, for example, at III:8 we read, "O *Kull^a shay'*! In the Bayān He hath ever decreed, and will ever decree, that thou art the most radiant jewels (*jawāhir al-abhā'*) ..." (p.11). Interestingly, in the light of SV [2] it is stated at 4:4 (p.14), "Bear thou witness that the spirit of all things (*rūh kullⁱ shay'*) is in "Man" (*al-insān* = the Cosmic "Perfect Man"?) and all, at the command of God on the part of His Countenance, rise up [on the Day of Resurrection?]." (p.14).²³

One of the important late works of the Bāb (probably dating from the Chihriq period) is usually known as *The Book of Names (kitāb al-asmā')* or more fully (?) *The Book of the Names of All Things (kitāb al-asmā'ⁱ kullⁱ shay')*.²⁴ It is not surprising in the light of the foregoing and the Bāb's Hurufī type theology of "all things", that some post-1850 non-Azalī and non-Bahā'ī Bābīs -- in defining their conservative Bābī religious orientation -- called themselves "All-things" (*kullⁱ shay'ī*).

E.G. Browne and I. Goldziher have, it should be noted, speculated about a possible post-Qur'ānic Sufi influence upon the Bāb's frequent use of *kull shay'* theology. Goldziher in his note about 'The Relationship of the Bāb to earlier Sufi teachers' (reproduced and translated below, Appendix 5) for the

²³ As in the Bayān, it is stated in this Book that all the statutes of the *Bayān* were revealed according to the decree of *kull^a shay'* (2:4 p.18).

²⁴ See MacEoin, 1992: 91-2.

most part concentrates on the Sufi roots of this expression. Following Browne (see Browne, JRAS. XXI:919-920) he speculates regarding the influence of the corpus of Ibn 'Arabī whom he thinks might have previously associated the numbers 19 and 361 with *kull shay* (= abjad 361). In this connection he draws attention to a verse from the religious poetry of Abu'l-'Atāhiya (d.c. 826 CE.), frequently cited by the "Great Shaykh" in his *Futūhāt.*, and to a piece of Qur'ānic exegesis by 'Abu'l-Hakīm ibn Barrajan (d.Marrākush [Spain] 1141 CE.)²⁵ who influenced Ibn 'Arabī significantly.²⁶ The mystical use of *kull shay'* by Ibn Sinā (Avicenna d. Hamadan 1037 CE.) was also registered by the great Hungarian Islamicist in his attempt to search out the post-Qur'ānic roots of the Bāb's theology of *kull shay'*.²⁷

To sum up. It is fitting that, after mentioning the divine "Man" as the "Perspicuous Book" whose pages are "read" by humble believers, reference is made to the former's witnessing the "creation of all things" at a time characterized by injustice and gloomy darkness; perhaps, to reiterate, the "re-creation" of everything in the light of the appearance of the Bābī religion. In Bābī terms a new religion can be viewed as a new pleroma of "all things".

01:[6]

This line again seems to speak about the One who is the centre of divine guidance; the one who reveals verses or communicates as the head of the mystical hierarchy. That He speaks forth from the "Apex of Eternal Subsistence" (*qutb al-baqā'*) alludes to the status of the person who is the focus or head of spiritual guidance; one who occupies the most elevated spiritual condition. Reference is almost certainly made to the Manifestation of God and "Perfect Man" who communicates the Will of God through the revelation of verses (presumably the Bāb).

²⁵ See Chittick, *The Sufi Path..index* (esp. p.398 notes 15 & 16).

²⁶ See also Chittick, *The Sufi Path..index* (esp. p.398 notes 15 & 16). The complexities of Ibn 'Arabī's use of *kull shay'* cannot be gone into here (see though, Appendix 5 below and MuS No. 550 p.974). Worth noting however, is the fact that the "youth" *fatā* (cf. the Bāb's references to himself as *al-fatā' al-arabī*) who appears to Ibn Arabī (see FM.I) reveals to him the secret of the *imām mubīn* "in other words the secret of the Book that contains all things" (see FM. I:180 citing and interpreting Qur'ān 36:12 [11]; Chodkiewicz 1992 p.229 fn.1).

²⁷ This source-critical theory of the Sufi background to the Bāb's theology of "all things" requires further investigation. It seems likely that it will be regarded as another significant item of Sufi influence on the Bābī revelation (see Appendix below).

THE APEX OF ETERNAL SUBSISTENCE (*QUTB AL-BAQĀ'*)

The word *qutb* (variously translated "Axis" or "Pole", etc.) is the special designation of the supreme spiritual guide of Sufis; as well as, for some Shī'ī Muslims, the Imām as the one who enshrines the Muhammedan Light / Reality (cf. Nasr 1972: 58, 66). Possibly, in fact, it could signify the occulted 12th Imām who is the Promised Messiah or Mahdī / Qā'im : for Bābīs and Bahā'īs, of course, the Bāb. Bahā'u'llāh speaks of the *qutb* in a phrase that suggests the role of the Manifestation of God. The source of guidance is primarily the Manifestation of God not the Sufi guide or *qutb*. Both the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh, at various points in their writings in one way or another, refer to themselves as the *qutb*.

The aforementioned al-Qāshānī (? in a version of the S.Lex.) commented on *Qutb* as a term signifying the "Unique One" (*al-wāhid*) who is the locus of the "vision of God (*nazr allāh*)" throughout the world and in every age; the one whose heart is intimately attuned to [the Archangel] Isrāfīl (Qāshānī : [96] Arabic [Personal translation]: 141 ; cf. below on IV [1]). Most Sufi manuals and many books about Sufism give an elaboration of the role and significance of the One designated the *Qutb* . Whilst resident amongst the Sufis of Sulaymānīyya, Bahā'u'llāh Himself, it should be noted, came to be regarded by some as one of the "Men of the Unseen" (*rjāl al-ghayb*) or the very "*axis of the universe*" (i.e. *qutb* see GPB:124).

In his essay *Shī'ism and Sufism* Nasr writes, "...just as in Sufism each master is in contact with the pole (*Qutb*) of his age, in Shi'ism all spiritual functions in every age are inwardly connected with the Imām. The idea of the Imām as the pole of the Universe and the concept of the *Qutb* in Sufism are nearly identical, as asserted so clearly by Sayyid Haydar Āmulī [d. after 1385 C.E.] when he says, 'The *Qutb* and the Imām are two expressions possessing the same meaning and referring to the same person.' The doctrine of the universal or perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) as expounded by Ibn 'Arabī is very similar to the Shi'ite doctrine of the *Qutb* and the Imām , as is the doctrine of the Mahdī developed by later Sufi masters. All these doctrines refer essentially and ultimately to the same esoteric reality, the *haqīqat al-muhammadiyah*, as present in both Shi'ism and Sufism. And in this case as far as the formulation of this doctrine is concerned there may have been direct Shi'ite influences upon later Sufi formulations." (Nasr 1972:111 ; see also Pourjavady & Wilson 1978:65 fn.12 MuS No. 524: 909ff.).

That the exalted One alluded to here stands at the axis of reality is also alluded to by virtue of the term *baqā'* which in Sufi literature indicates the "station" above and beyond the mystical passing away of the

constraints of the lower material "self" (*fanā'*). *Baqā'* indicates an eternity of spiritual "subsistence" or "permanence" in God (*baqā'*) which follows this "death" of the lower self (*fanā'*; see further below on 03:4).

ILLUSTRIOUS TEMPLE (*AL-HAYKAL AL-MUKARRAM*)

The phrase "Illustrious Temple" (*al-haykal al-mukarram*) refers, in all probability, to the Person (lit. 'body' or 'temple') of the Manifestation of God. The non-Qur'ānic Arabic loan-word *haykal*, probably deriving from Aramaic *hēykāla*, is rooted in the Sumerian *e-gal*, "large house, palace, temple", Akkadian *ekallu*, "temple, palace". The Biblical Hebrew cognate *hēykhāl* (= "palace, temple, holy place") frequently denotes the Jerusalem Temple (2 Kings 18:16, 23:4, Haggai 2:15, 18 etc.). Relating to the Islāmic mystical uses of *haykal* Bāb ī-Bahā' ī scriptural occurrences of this word often have it signify the 'Form', 'Being', 'Temple', 'Person' or 'Body' of the Divine Manifestation. Symbolizing the human form *haykal* can also indicate a talismanic pentacle. The Bāb recommended the use of scriptural talismanic pentacles and sometimes wrote his compositions (books or tablets) in this star-shaped form. Bahā'u'llāh's celebrated *Sūra of the Temple* (*Sūrat al-haykal* c.1873) follows this tradition and also relates to Biblical statements regarding the second / an eschatological temple (*Heb. hēykhāl = Ar. haykal*) the appearance of which is predicted in the book of Zechariah chapter 6:12f (see GPB:213).

By His "Wondrous Voice" (*al-lahn al-badī'*) is perhaps meant the power of revelation of the divine "Man" who is the Manifestation of God.

01:[7]

This line has to do with the individual seeker's inner, transfigured experience of God, enabling the Divine to be seen in all things. The influence of the common Sufi tradition of the allegorical interpretation of Qur'ān 7:143 can be discerned : the individual seeker occupies the role of "Moses" who experienced the Divine theophany (For some background details, see Lambden 1987).

THROUGH SOULFUL EXPERIENCE (*FĪ NAFSIHI BI-NAFSIHI*)

This phrase is literally, "in his self (*nafs*), through his self (*nafs*)" and (in context) probably implies a deep inner or soulful experience; a personal transfiguration. The human *nafs* is the scene of the divine

theophany. In Arabic *nafs* has a wide range of senses. Relative to individuals it can signify, "soul, spirit, psyche, self, human reality, life, person." In various writings of the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh such Sufistic expressions as *fī nafsihī bi-nafsihī* are quite common. All human beings have the capacity of (indirectly) experiencing God in the spiritually pure depths of their "soul" (*nafs*). According to Bahā'ī doctrine the inward experience of God is ultimately the experience of the Holy Spirit, the Manifestation of God. The Reality or Essence of God (*dhāt-i illāhī*) cannot be directly experienced.

AT THE LEVEL (*FĪ MAQĀM*) OF THE THEOPHANY (*TAJALLĪ*) OF HIS LORD (*RABBIHI*).

This Arabic phrase *fī maqām tajallī rabbihī* has been translated, "on the level of the theophany of their Lord". AKK (1906) had "in the seat of the manifestation of his Lord" and AKK^{2^{row}} "in the station of the Manifestation of his Lord". These latter translations, however, give the impression that the significance is the inner recognition of the Manifestation of God rather than the seeker's Moses-like inward experience of a divine theophany (Qur'ān 7:143) -- through the Manifestation of God -- and a consequent realization of the Divine Oneness. The words *tajallī rabbihī* doubtless would remind the Sufi reader of the self-revelation, the *tajalla rabbahu* = "his Lord divulged his glory" of Qur'ān 7:143: pointed differently it would be an exact Qur'ānic citation.²⁸ The Manifestation of God and "Perfect Man", the "Illustrious Temple" and supreme *qutb*, enables human beings to experience the divine theophany (*tajallī*) themselves and testify wholeheartedly to the oneness of God. Bahā'u'llāh here seems to allusively highlight the importance of the Manifestation of God as the *qutb* leading to high spiritual experience.

AT THE LEVEL (*FĪ MAQĀM*)

The word *maqām* translated "level" is frequently used in Sufi manuals and literatures of the multifarious stages or levels in the path towards God. It could have been translated "level", "stage" or "station"; the latter possibility having been avoided in the light of SV [7] probably referring to the individual's own experience and not primarily to the "station" of the Manifestation of God -- this being

²⁸ As in many Sufi texts Moses' Sinaitic encounter with His Lord becomes a type of the inner experience of the individual seeker (see line [8]). The words *tajallī* and *rabbihī* are both key terms in Qur'ān 7:143. On the Sinai (*Ar. tūr*) of the "heart" the mystic wayfarer -- like Moses -- experiences the Divine theophany (*tajallī*) and subsequently, with the inner "eye," envisions the signs of the "Lord" (*rabb*) in all things. The "Moses" of the inner reality of the transfigured seeker experiences the theophany of "his Lord" and experiences His unique oneness. The Divine is visioned in all things after the spiritual renewal of the experience of the theophany (see further Lambden, 1988)

presupposed in [6]. Al-Hujwīrī in his *The Unveiling of Secret Things (Kashf al-Mahjūb* c.1050 C.E.) has it that *maqām* "denotes anyone's 'standing' in the way of God, and his fulfilment of the obligations pertaining to that 'station'... Everyone who desires God has a station (*maqām*)...God hath said, 'None of Us but hath a certain station [*maqām*]' (Kor. xxxvii,164).."(trans. Nicholson pp.180, 370-1). Ibn 'Arabī succinctly defines *maqām* as "Stage. An expression for complete fulfilment (*istifā'*) of the demands of the observances (*huqūq al-marāsīm*)."(Jurjānī, 285 trans. p.30 [adapted]).

The seeker referred to in SV [7] occupies a personal "level" or "station" (*maqām*) at which the self-manifestation or theophany of God is experienced. This experience of an inner theophany is not that of the Divine Essence but an indirect experience of God through His Manifestation.

THE THEOPHANY (*TAJALLĪ*) OF THEIR LORD (*RABBIHI*)

This phrase has previously been translated "Manifestation of his Lord" (AKK) but the use of *tajallī* and *rabbihī* calls attention to Qur'ān 7:143. The word *tajallī* can mean "manifestation" (not necessarily the "Manifestation [of God]"; capitalized) but is a different word from that normally used in 'Manifestation of God' (= *mazhar [-i illāhī]*). In ordinary Arabic-Persian literatures the verbal-noun *tajallī* (a verbal-noun of the Vth form of the verb *jalā* = to appear, be revealed, become manifested...) can for example, "mean lustre, brightness, brilliancy; manifestation; transfiguration, splendour, glory." (Steingass p. 283). The Sufi-type definition of *tajallī* (= self-disclosure / self-manifestation, theophany) given by 'Ibn 'Arabī is worth bearing in mind relative to its occurrence in SV [7], "That which is disclosed to hearts from the lights of the Unseen." (*Istilāh* ..Jurjānī p.290 trans. p.38). There are hundreds of Bābī-Bahā'ī scriptural works and Tablets in which *tajallī* is important.

In one of his Persian Tablets to his apostle Salmān (*Lawh-i Salmān* I, c. 1866-7?) Bahā'u'llāh comments on that verse of the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (l. 2467) which reads, "When colourlessness fell prey to color/ a Moses came into conflict with a Moses."²⁹ In the course of his comments he underlines the limitations of the human mind and mystic endeavour by stating (in Shoghi Effendi's translation) : "O Salmān! The meditations of the profoundest thinker, the devotions of the holiest of saints, the highest expressions of praise from either human pen or tongue, are but a reflection of *that*

²⁹ Trans. Hamid Algar 1981 p.433 n.87. Algar writes that "The meaning is that Pharoah, in his primordial nature free of attachment and color (and therefore himself a "Moses") became colored by attachment and thus the antithesis of Moses."

which hath been created within themselves, through the revelation of the Lord, their God" (MAM: 144, trans. Gl. p. 316). The original Arabic behind the last translated phrase is very close to SV [7], *mā khalaqa fī nafsīhi min tajallī rabbīhi*. Clear reference to Qur'ān 7:142 precedes this passage which echoes 7:143b.³⁰ Individual realizations and meditations, limited though they are, are actualized by God Himself. They result from the *tajallī rabbīhi*, the "revelation of the Lord, their God"; the divine theophany, the self-manifestation of God within the human consciousness.

01:[8]

THE SUMMIT OF SPIRITUAL REALITIES (*DHARWAT AL-HAQĀ'IQ*).

In this line Bahā'u'llāh probably indicates that all human beings may accomplish that experience of the theophany which some Sufis reckoned the preserve of the advanced saint. All are capable of attaining high spiritual realizations (*haqā'iq*) and seeing the reflection of God in all things. Sufi elitism is subtly thwarted. *Haqā'iq* is the plural of *haqīqah* (= "reality") which is defined by Ibn 'Arabī as "The negation of the effects of your qualities by His qualities, so that He is the agent through you, in you, from you, not yourself, '.. and there is no living creature but He seizes it by the forelock' (Qur'ān 11:56)." (Jurjānī: 288 S.Lex. 34).

PARAGRAPH 1 : CONCLUDING NOTE

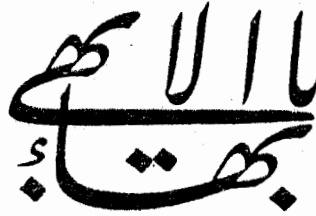
To sum up. This opening paragraph of the SV covers (a) God's providential creation of "man" whose soul was, from eternity, endowed with divine mysteries and further taught by God ([1] & [2]) through (b) the divine "Man" (= the Manifestation of God, [4] -> [6]) who can enable all souls to attain a high degree of spirituality ([7] & [8]). The basic Bābī-Bahā'ī theology relating to God, the role of the divine "Man" or Manifestation of God, and his effect upon man are encapsulated in this first paragraph of the SV. The terminology is largely distinctively Sufi and sometimes also Bābī.

³⁰ The original Persian text of the Persian Tablet to Salmān (I) is printed in MAM: 123-160. On page 143 Bahā'u'llāh clearly refers to Qur'ān 7:142a.

In the second paragraph Bahā'u'llāh, in the light of the Islāmic allegiance of Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn, praises and exalts the Reality of the truly "Perfect Man", the Prophet Muhammad; thereby glorying the nature of the Reality and the role of the Manifestation of God. This will be discussed in part two of this commentary in a forthcoming BSB.

APPENDIX 1 : THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF SV:01 BY HIPPOLYTE DREYFUS --
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1905.

L'ŒUVRE
DE
BAHĀOU'LLĀH



LA TRÈS SAINTE TABLETTE
LES PAROLES CACHÉES
LES SEPT VALLÉES DU VOYAGE VERS DIEU
LA LETTRE SUR LE BAYAN



TRADUCTION FRANÇAISE

par

Hippolyte DREYFUS

PARIS
ÉDITIONS ERNEST LEROUX
28, Rue Bonaparte, 28

1923

Tous droits réservés

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux!

Rendons grâces à Celui qui a tiré l'existence du néant, qui a gravé les antiques mystères sur la tablette de l'homme, qui lui a enseigné les explications de tout ce qu'il ignorait, qui a fait de lui un livre incontestable pour ceux qui croient et obéissent, qui, en ces jours sombres et pleins de troubles, lui a expliqué la création de toutes choses, et qui l'a élevé à la condition sublime de l'éternité dans le Temple le plus noble (fn.1 = La Manifestation de Dieu, Bahāou'llāh) par lequel. Il prononce maintenant les merveilleuses mélodies qui permettent à chacun de voir en Lui et par Lui la station de resplendissement de son Seigneur, (c'est-à-dire qu'en vérité, il n'y a pas d'autre Dieu que Lui); et d'arriver ainsi aux sommets de la Vérité où il voit Dieu dans chaque chose!

APPENDIX 2 : THE TRANSLATION OF SV:01 BY JULIE CHANLER FROM THE
FRENCH OF HIPPOLYTE DREYFUS IN CONSULTATION WITH AHMAD SOHRAB.

Seven Valleys

by

Baha-U-Llah

Written in Bagdad

in the Year 1857

to

SHEIK ABDUR RAHMAN

MYSTIC SUFI LEADER

Translated

by

JULIE CHANLER

from the French version of

HYPPOLYTE DREYFUS

THE NEW HISTORY FOUNDATION

132 EAST 65TH STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Compared by MIRZA AHMAD SOHRAB

with the original Persian text

PUBLISHED

1933

In the name of God the Clement, the Merciful!

Praise be unto God who drew life out of chaos and engraved the mysteries of pre-existence on the tablet of man -- giving him the explanation of that which he knew not, and making of him an irrefutable book for the seeing and the faithful. He has raised him to the condition of eternity in a most noble Temple wherein, during these dark and troublous days, He has played such ravishing melodies, that each and every one is enabled to recognize in him and through him, the glorious station of his Lord; proclaim that there is no other god, and so attain the summit of Truth where divinity is apparent in all things.

APPENDIX 3 : THE 1906 [1914] TRANSLATION OF SV:01 BY ALI KULI KHAN
(Shop of the Grier Press 1914).

The Seven Valleys

REVEALED
by
BAHA'U'LLAH

AT BAGHDAD, IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS
ASKED BY SHEIK ABDUR RAHMAN,
A GREAT MOHAMMEDAN
MYSTIC SUFI
LEADER.

TRANSLATED
by
ALI KULI KHAN,
(ISN' TE-AL, EBN-KALANTER.)
BOSTON, MASS., U. S. A.

PUBLISHED BY
BAHAI PUBLISHING SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A.

9

In the Name of God, the Compassionate,
the Merciful!

Praise be unto God, who caused existence to appear from non-existence, inscribed the mysteries of Pre-existence on the tablet of man, and taught him the explanation of that which he knoweth not; made him a manifest book to such as believed and obeyed, enabled him to witness the creation of all things during this gloomy, disastrous age, and caused him to give utterance on the apex of immortality to a wonderful melody in the "Most Excellent Temple" (i.e., the Manifestation of God); so that every one may testify in himself (i.e., in man), by himself, in the seat of the manifestation of his Lord, that -- "verily, there is no God save Him"; and that all may thereby reach the summit of truth, until no one shall behold anything whatsoever, but that he may see God therein.

*The
Seven Valleys
and
The
Four Valleys*

Bahá'u'lláh

*Translated by MARZIEH GAIL
In consultation with ALI-KULI KHAN*



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In the Name of God, the Clement, the Merciful.

Praise be to God Who hath made being to come forth from nothingness; graven upon the tablet of man the secrets of preexistence; taught him from the mysteries of divine utterance that which he knew not; made him a Luminous Book unto those who believed and surrendered themselves; caused him to witness the creation of all things (Kullu Shay') in this black and ruinous age, and to speak forth from the apex of eternity with a wondrous voice in the Excellent Temple [fn.1 = The Manifestation]: to the end that every man may testify, in himself, by himself, in the station of the Manifestation of his Lord, that verily there is no God save Him, and that every man may thereby win his way to the summit of realities, until none shall contemplate anything whatsoever but that he shall see God therein.

KLEINE MITTEILUNGEN UND ANZEIGEN*

Verhältnis des Bāb zu früheren Ṣufī-Lehrern.

Professor E.G. BROWNE hat im JRAS. für 1889 p. 919 die Abhängigkeit mancher Theorien des Gründers der Bābī-Sekte von denen des Muḥjī al-dīn ibn al-'Arabī festgestellt (vgl. H. ROEMER, *Die Bābī-Behā'ī* [Potsdam 1912] 25). Diese Abhängigkeit erstreckt sich vornehmlich auf die tiefe Bedeutung, die beide mystische Schwärmer gewissen Buchstaben und Zahlen, namentlich dem Buchstaben *bā* und den Zahlen 19 und 361 zueignen. Bāb hat den heiligen Charakter dieser Zahlen mit der Formel *کل شیء* (deren Zahlenwert $19 \times 19 = 361$ beträgt) in Verbindung gebracht, an die er in seinem persischen *Bajān* die verwickeltesten mystischen Gedankenzüge knüpft. (Vgl. die Einleitung in *Les Manuscrits persans de L'Institut des Langues Orientales, décrits par le Baron V. ROSEN* [St. Pétersburg 1886] p.5, 16–21; 6, 1 ff.; Übersetzung in A. L. M. NICHOLAS, *Seyyéd Ali Mohammed dit le Bab, Le Béyan persan I.* [Paris 1911] p.12, 13.) Er beutet hiefür die zahlreichen Stellen des Korans aus, in welcher der Ausdruck *کل شیء* in Verbindung mit Aussagen von Gott angewandt ist, namentlich Sure 65, 12, welchen Vers den gesamten Inhalt des Korans in sich schließe (BROWNE in seiner Übersicht über den pers. *Bajān* als Anhang zur Ausgabe des *K. Nuktat al-Kāf* [Gibb-Series XV] p. LXXXVI). Für die Beerdigung von Bekennern seiner Lehre verordnete Bāb, daß Ringe an die rechte Hand der Verstorbenen gelegt werden mit (nach dem Geschlecht derselben verschiedenen) Inschriften, als deren Texte von ihm angegebene *کل شیء*-Verse verwandt werden (bei BROWNE *ibid.* p. LXXXVIII). Auch ein Werk hatte der Stifter verfaßt u. d. T. *اسماء کل شیء* (BROWNE in JRAS. 1892. p.494 und desselben *Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion* [Cambridge 1918] p.206); handschriftlich vorhanden im Brit. Mus. Or. 5487 – 5490. 5869. 6255 (verschiedene Teile). -- Bekanntlich heißen die spärlichen Anhänger der ursprünglichen Bābī-Lehre, die weder nach der einen noch der anderen Seite an der nach dem

* This note of Ignáz Goldziher appeared in *Der Islam, Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients*, Volume 11 (1921) pp. 252-4.

Tod des Stifters hervorgetretenen Fortentwicklung derselben und an den im Zusammenhang damit eingetretenen Parteisplaltungen (ob Behā'ī oder Ezelī, 'Abbas Efendī oder Muḥammed 'Alī) teilnehmen und wohl auch vom raschen Erscheinen des man juzhiruhu Allāh nichts wissen wollen: *Kull-Šej'* d. h. konservative Bekenner des *Bajān* (BROWNE JRAS. 1909 p. 307, *Materials* etc. p. 148, 233).

Es ist mir nicht bekannt, doch halte ich es für wahrscheinlich, daß auch bereits Ibn al-'Arabī die Bedeutung der obenerwähnten Zahlen an die Gematria der Phrase **كُلُّ شَيْءٍ** anlehnt. Als charakteristisch für die mystische Wichtigkeit, die er derselben zuzueignen scheint, kann vor allem auch der häufige Gebrauch gelten, den er in den *Futūhāi* von dem zuweilen als solchen nicht erkannten (vgl. ZDMG. 85, 401) Abu-l-'Atāhija-Vers¹ **وَفِي كُلِّ شَيْءٍ لَهُ آيَةٌ الْخ** (Ag. III 143, 9) macht (M. ASIN PALACIOS, *Abenmasarra y su Escuela* [Madrid 1914] 119).

Ferner besitzen wir jetzt noch ein deutlicheres Zeichen für die Stelle, die *Kull šej'* in der Lehre der früheren islamischen Mystik einnimmt, der sich Ibn al-'Arabī auch in diesem Fall angeschlossen haben wird. In dem jüngst durch H. S. NYBERG in seiner trefflichen Upsalaer *Dissertation* edierten *Kitāb al-tadbīrāt al-ilāhijja fī islāh al-mamlakāt al-insānija* (*Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabī* [Leiden 1919] p. 103 ff.), in welchem sich I. al-'A. mit den Deutungen beschäftigt, die verschiedene Mystiker dem koranischen Begriff des in die Welt gesetzten >> Chalīfa Gottes << geben, erwähnt er (p. 125 der Texte) auch die des Abu-l-Hakīm ibn Barraġān. Dieser versteht darunter >> den in Sure 36, 11 genannten *imām mubīn*, womit das *lahū mahfūz* gemeint sei, von dem die Bezeichnung als *Kull šej'* gebraucht wird im Koranvers 7, 142.: Wir schreiben für ihn auf die Tafeln von allem Ding **من كُلِّ شَيْءٍ** Ermahnung und Entscheidung für alles Ding **لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ** << damit sei die >> wohlbewahrte Tafel << gemeint. Dies ist der Beweis des Abu-l-Hakīm dafür, daß sie *Kull šej'* genannt wird. Was ihn darauf geführt hat, ist der Koranvers (36, 11): >> Und alles Ding **وَكُلِّ شَيْءٍ** haben wir aufgezählt in einem deutlichen *imām* (Prototyp) usw. <<

¹ Derselbe wird irrtümlich einmal auch dem Lebīd zugeschrieben; vgl. ed. HUBER BROCKELMANN, *Fragmente* 18 v.2 (vielleicht aus Verwechslung mit 41 v.9 **أَلَا كُلُّ شَيْءٍ**). An den Vers des Abu-l-'Atāhija denkt wohl auch Bāb in der Einleitung zum persischen *Bajān* mit der Worten: **وخلق فرموده آیه معرفت اورا در کنه کُلِّ شَيْءٍ** (ed. ROSEN, *ibid.* 4, 6 v. u.)

Ibn al-'Arabī schließt dies Zitat mit der Aufforderung, daß >> der Leser darüber nachdenken und über dessen Wahrheit forschen möge <<.

فإذا انحطّ الي قراره (الملكوت الاعلى) فليو اللد تعالى
في آثاره قائد باطن ظاهر تجلى لكل شىء بكل شىء (357, 7 v. v.).

Wir wissen jetzt durch M. ASIN PALACIOS, daß die Spekulation des I. al-'A. unter dem Einfluß der Lehren des Ibn Barraqān stand. Für sein Verhältnis zu ihm kann auch die eben angeführte Stelle als Beleg dienen. Von hier aus wird er sich wohl die *Kull-Šej'*-Theorie angeeignet haben. Auch die aus diesem Ausdruck deduzierte Zahlenmystik wird wohl auf I.B. zurückgehen, den man ja als 'Künstler des Zahlen-*istichrāg*' bewundert hat (ZDMG. 65, 545f.).

Sehließlich kann in diesem Zusammenhang darauf geachtet werden, daß bereits Ibn Sīnā den *Kull-Šej'*-Begriff in mystischer Weise verwendet. In seinem Sendschreiben an Abū Sa'īd b. abi-Chejr (das mir nur aus Keskūl [Bulak 1288] 355ff. zugänglich ist) sagt er:

II.

Auch die Idee eines nach dem Hingange des Bāb dereinst erstehenden *man juzhiruhu Allāh* ist in der früheren Mystik zu finden. Ohne eine ältere Belegstelle hiefür anführen zu können, berufe ich mich nur auf 'Abdalwahhāb al-Ša'rānī's *Latā'if al-minan* (Kairo, matb. Mejmenijja 1321) II 88, 8:

إنّ الفتنه موجولة برعة من الزمان
بعد كل داع الى اللد حتى يظنير من يظنيره اللد بعده

A NOTE BY IGNÁC GOLDZIHNER (1850-1921) ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BĀB AND SUFISM¹ Translated by Brian Walker and Stephen Lambden

SHORT REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Relationship of the Bāb to earlier Sūfī Teachers

Professor E.G. Browne has, in the J.R.A.S. for 1899 p. 919, established that some of the theories of the founder of the Bābī sect are dependent upon those of Muhyī al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī (d.1240 C.E.) cf. H. Roemer, *Die Bābī-Behā'ī* [Potsdam 1912], 25). This dependence mostly concerns the deeper meaning which both mystics devote to certain letters and numbers, namely the letter bā' and the numbers 19 and 361. The Bāb has combined the sacred character of these numbers with the formulation *كل شيء* {*kull shay*} (having a numerical value of $19 \times 19 = 361$) to which he has attached the most convoluted mystical trains of thought in his *Persian Bayān* (cf. the introduction to *Les Manuscrits Persans de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*, for the Baron V. Rosen [St. Petersburg 1886] p.5, 16-21; 6, 1ff.; Translation in A. L. M. Nicholas, *Seyyid Ali Mohammed dit le Bab, le Béyan persan I.* [Paris 1911] p.12, 13.). To this purpose he utilizes the copious Qur'ān passages in which the expression *كل شيء* {*kull shay*} is associated together with statements from God; namely, in Sūra 65:12, a verse which {according to the Bāb} contains in itself the whole of the Qur'ān {*كل شيء* - *kull shay*} occurs twice in this verse² (see Browne's 'Index of the Chief Contents of the Persian Bayān' which is an Appendix to the translation of the *K. [itāb-i] Nuqtat al-Kāf* [Gibb-Series XV] p.LXXXVI). For the burial of the adherents of his teachings the Bāb directed that an inscribed ring be placed on the right hand of the deceased, the text of which consists of *كل شيء*

¹ * This article is fairly loosely translated by Brian Walker and myself. A few clarifying / supplementary notes are indicated within brackets of the following kind { }. Footnotes which are not those of Goldziher open with an asterisk ***. The German original appeared in *Der Islam, Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients*, Volume 11 (1921), entitled *Verhältnis des Bāb zu früheren Sūfī-Lehrern* pp.252-254 (reproduced below). It is translated here as it is largely about the Islāmic background of the *kull shay*' (= 'all things') expression which is of frequent occurrence in the writings of the Bāb also occurring, as a result of Bābī-Sufī influence, in the SV. Goldziher's article is an important and pioneering contribution to the largely unstudied Sufī background to the Bābī and Bahā'ī religions. See further, Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher His Life and Scholarship as reflected in his Works and Correspondence* (Leiden: E.J. Brill / Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences 1986); G. Léderer, *Goldziher's 'Bahā'ī correspondence'* in *The Arabist*, (Budapest Studies in Arabic) I (1988):103-119.

² * That the Qur'ān is summed up by this verse is stated by the Bāb in *Persian Bayān* IV. 10 (as noted by E.G. Browne). See above.

{*kull shay'*} - verses varied according to sex (see Browne *ibid.* p. LXXXVIII). The Founder has also composed a work with the title *أسماء كل شيء* (= *asmā' kull shay'* "The Book of The Names of All-Things") (Browne in JRAS 1892 p. 494 *Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion* [Cambridge 1918] p.206); available handwritten in Brit. Mus. Or. 5487 -- 5490. 5869. 6255 (various parts). -- it is known that the remnant of the devotees of the original Bābī-teaching were called *Kull-Shay'ī* {"All-Thingsers"} i.e. conservative followers of the *Bayān* who, after the death of the Founder and the consequent split into factions (Bahā'ī or Azalī, 'Abbas Effendi {Abdu'l-Bahā} or Muhammad 'Alī) took neither one side nor the other and, in all probability, did not want to acknowledge the possibly speedy appearance of "*man yuzhiruhu Allāh*" (Browne J.R.A.S. 1909 p.307, *Materials* etc. p.148, 233).

It is uncertain, though I consider it probable, that Ibn al-'Arabī already associated the significance of the above-mentioned numbers [19, 361] and the Gematria [numerical value] of the phrase *كل شيء* {*kull shay'*}. The frequent use which he makes in the *al-Futūhāt (al-Makīyya* "The Meccan Revelations [Openings]") of the following verse -- at times not as such identified -- (cf. ZDMG 85,401) of Abu'l-'Atāhiya {d. c. 826 C.E.}; the verse ³

وفي كل شيء له آية الخ

{ = "And of Him there is a sign in all things (*fī kull' shay'*)" } (Ag III 143,9) can be considered as characteristic of the mystical importance which he appears to attach to it (M. Asin Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su Escuela* [Madrid 1914] 119).

Furthermore, we possess an even clearer indication of the position which *kull shay'* occupies in the teachings of early Islāmic mysticism to which, in this case, Ibn al-'Arabī would also have agreed. In the *Kitāb al-tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya fī islāh al-mamlakāt al-insāniyya (Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabī* [Leiden 1919] p.103ff.), edited by H.S. Nyberg in his excellent Upsala Dissertation, in which Ibn al-'Arabī concerns himself with the interpretations which different

³ The sentence is also sometimes mistakenly attributed to {the poet} Labīd {b. Rabī'ah d. c. 661 CE.}; cf. Huber Brockelmann, *Fragments* 18 v.2 (perhaps confusing with 41 v.9 *ألا كل شيء* [*alā kull' shay'*]). With the words, *وخلق فرمونه آيه معرفته أورا در كنه كل شيء* {=And He has created the sign of the knowledge (gnosis, *ma'rīfat*) of Him in the substance (*kunh*) of all things (*kull' shay'*)} the Bāb also alludes to the verse of Abu'l-'Atāhiya in the introduction to the Persian *Bayān* (Ed. ROSEN, *ibid.* 4, 6f.).

mystics give to the Qur'ānic term for the manifest "Khalīfa {Viceregent} of God" who has been placed in the world {see Kassis:688}; he mentions (p.125 of the text) the interpretation of Abu'l-Hakīm ibn Barrajān {d. Marrākush (Spain) 1141 C.E.}. By this expression he understands "that in [Qur'ān] sūra 36:11 the *imām mubīn* {"manifest imām [= 'clear register']"} appears, which he subsequently relates to the *lawh mahfūz* {"Preserved Tablet"} -- of which the description as *kull shay'* is present in Qur'ān, 7:142 {145a}: 'And We wrote for him upon the Tablets from all things (*من كل شيء {min kull' shay'}*), an admonition and a clarification of all things (*لكل شيء {li-kull' shay'}*)". Thus, he understands that the "Preserved Tablet" is meant. This is the proof of Abu'l-Hakīm that it will be called *Kull shay'*. The Qur'ān verse which led him to this is, therefore, 36:11 {12}, "And all things (*وكل شيء {wa kull shay'}*) have We counted in a clear *imām* " (prototype, etc).

Ibn al-'Arabī closes his quotation with the call that, "the reader must meditate and investigate its truth."

We now know through M. Asin Palacios that Ibn al-'Arabī's speculation was influenced by Ibn Barrajān. The above-mentioned can serve as a proof of the relationship to him. From this moment he will have adapted the *Kull Shay'* theory. The numerical mysticism deduced from this expression leads back to Ibn Barrajān whom one admires as an artist of the numerical-*istikhrāj* {*computation*} (ZDMG. 68, 545f).

Finally, we can in this context observe that Ibn Sīnā already used the *Kull shay'* term in a mystical manner. In his *Epistle to Abū Sa'īd b. Abī'l-Khayr* { 967-1049 C.E.} (only available to me from the *Kashkūl* [{of Shaykh Bahā'ī} Būlāk 1288] 355 ff.) he says:

فاذا انحط الى قراره (الملكوت الاعلى) غلب الله تعالى
في آثاره قائم باطن ظاهر تجلى لكل شيء بكل شيء

(357, 7)

["So when He descends unto His abode (*qarānīhi*) (the Most Elevated Kingdom [*al-malakut al-a'lā*]), then let him see God, exalted be He, via the vestiges of His Being (*fī āthānīhi*); He is (reading *fa-innahu*) Hidden (*bātin*), Manifest (*zāhir cf. Qur'ān 57:3*); He manifested Himself

(*tajalla*) unto all things (*il-kull' shay'*), through all things (*bi-kull' shay'*)."

II

One finds in the earlier {Islāmic} mysticism the idea of a coming *man yuzhiruhu Allāh* [= "Him Whom God shall make manifest"] as after the death of the Bāb. Without being able to demonstrate any older proof, I refer only to 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī's {d. 1565 C.E.} *Latā'if al-minan* (Cairo, 1321) II 88. 8 :

انَّ الفَتْرَةَ موجُودَةٌ بَرْعَةً مِنَ الزَّمَانِ . بَعْدَ كُلِّ دَاعٍ إِلَى اللَّهِ حَتَّى يَظْهَرَ مَنْ
يُظَاهِرُهُ اللَّهُ بَعْدَهُ

{"The interval (*al-fatrah*) existeth for a brief period of time after every summoner (*dā'i*) unto God; until there is manifested *man yuzhiruhu Allāh* [= "Him Whom God will make manifest"] after him."}

I. Goldziher

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- AA = Fādil-i Māzandarānī, *Asrār al-Āthār* 5 Vols. Tehran: BPT. 129> Badī'
- AK = Fādil-i Māzandarānī, [Comp.] *Amr va khalq* Vols. 3 + 4 (Reprint: Hofheim- Langenhain: Bahā'ī-Verlag) 1986 / 142 BE.
- AKK = 'Ali Kuli-Khan, *The Seven Valleys*, 1906 [See above, Appendix 3].
- AKK² = 2nd edition trans. with Marzieh Gail.
- AKK³ = 3rd rev. edition trans. Marzieh Gail + Ali Kuli-Khan.
- AKK⁴ = 4th rev. edition trans. Marzieh Gail + Ali Kuli-Khan.
- AKK^{ow} = *The Seven Valleys of Bahā'u'llāh* Oxford: Oneworld Publications Ltd., 1992.
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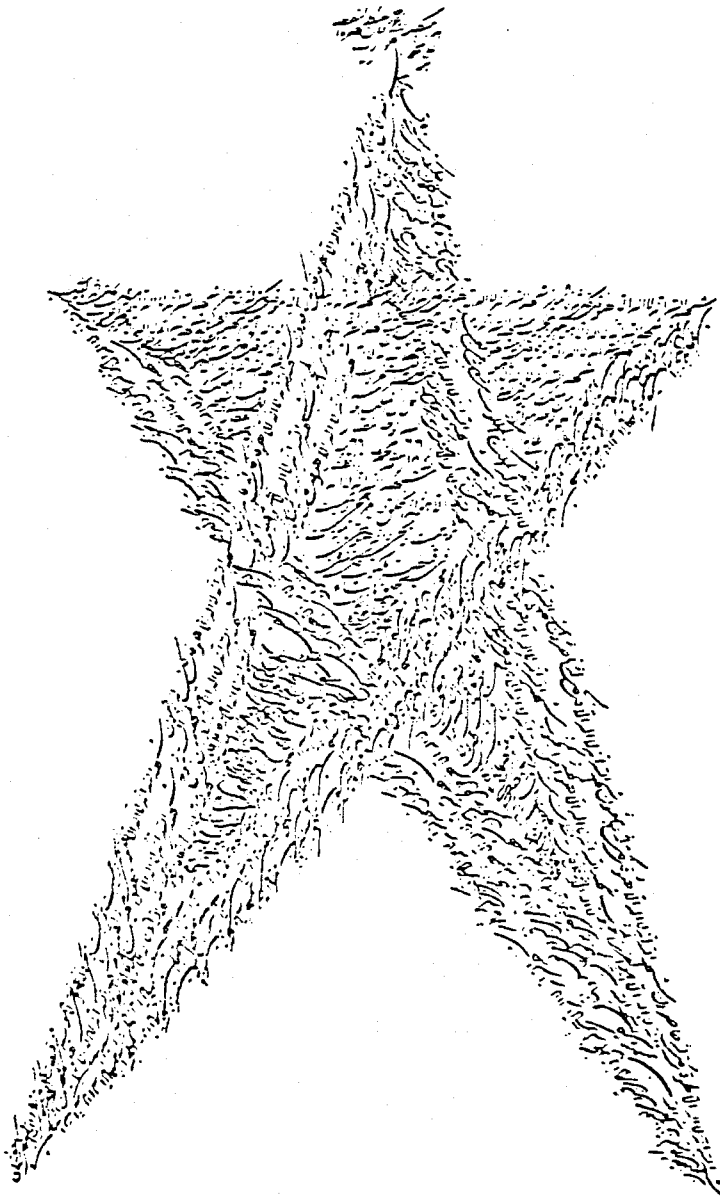
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PART TWO



**TABLET IN THE FORM OF A STAR
in the hand of the Bāb**

LETTERS OF THE UNIVERSAL HOUSE OF JUSTICE / MEMORANDA OF THE
RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, BAHÁ'Í WORLD CENTRE, HAIFA.

THE UNIVERSAL HOUSE OF JUSTICE
BAHÁ'Í WORLD CENTRE

Department of the Secretariat

28 June 1988

Mr. Theodore A. Cope
1435 Shortridge SE
Albany, OR 97321 U.S.A.

Dear Bahá'í Friend,

The Universal House of Justice referred to the Research Department your letter of 6 June 1988 in which you describe your introduction to mysticism and pose three questions. We are now directed to send you the enclosed copy of the memorandum, and its attachments, prepared by that Department in response.

It is the hope of the House of Justice that this material will be of assistance to you.

With loving Bahá'í greetings,

Ethna Archibald

For Department of the Secretariat

Enclosures 3

MEMORANDUM

To: The Universal House of Justice

Date: 28 June 1988

From: The Research Department

We have studied the letter dated 6 June 1988 from Mr. Theodore Cope and submit the following in response to the three questions he has raised.

Qur'án 23:102

Nothing has been found in the Writings of the Faith specifically commenting on this verse. For the study of "'Álamu'l-Mithá" and "Barzakh" Mr. Cope can, of course, consult such main sources as the

"Encyclopedia of Islam", new edition, vol. 1, pp. 350-51 and 1071-72. Also reference may be made to such articles as Fazlu'r-Rahmán, "Dream, Imagination, and 'Álam al-Mithál" in "Islamic Studies", 3, No. 2 (1964-65), and other relevant works listed in biographical sources such as "Index Islamicus".

Bahá'í Scriptures p. 229, Section 460

The Tablet referred to has not been re-translated into English. A copy of the original Tablet, in Persian, is enclosed. Mr. Cope may be able to seek the assistance of a Persian friend to compare the contents with the existing translation. Occasionally in the Writings references are found to the two cities of Jábulqá and Jábulsá. A copy of an outstanding Tablet revealed by 'Abdu'l-Bahá touching upon this is also attached.

Imagination, an inner faculty of the soul

Mr. Cope has studied sources on this subject listed in "An Index to the Bahá'í Sacred Scriptures". No additional explanations have been found in the Bahá'í Writings concerning imagination as a power of the soul.

Enclosures 2 ¹

ENCLOSURE 1 : EXTRACT FROM AN UNTITLED PERSIAN TABLET OF BAHĀ'U'LLĀH IN WHICH MENTION IS MADE OF JĀBULQĀ AND JĀBULSĀ ²

دیگر هیچکس موهومی ترتیب داد و بر عرش ظنون بهترین
 نمود بی انصافی ناجیه مقدم ذکر کرد و بی انصاف دیگر
 کلماتی باو نسبت داد و این امور منکره کاذبه سبب
 و علت شد که سلطان مدینه احدیه را تمام ظلم شهید نمود

بنا مر خداوند بیکجا
 بجای دوستان کذب قبل محبوب بعد را آویخت
 بر صاص ظلم شهید نمود تفکر در نفوس کاذبه فاخته
 که با بسم صدق و امانت زهد و ورع مابین ناس
 ظاهر بودند نمایند اما از سرع این یوم که بر محفوظ مانید
 یکی ذکر جابلقا نمود و دیگری بجابلصا اشاره کرد و کاذب

¹ The Persian and Arabic enclosures of the letters of the Universal House of Justice / Memoranda of the Research Department have been loosely and provisionally [re] translated by myself (SL). Some additional explanatory notes have occasionally been footnoted at certain points of these translations.

² The Persian text reproduced below is but the opening lines of what is a fairly lengthy, untitled Persian Tablet of Bahā'u'llāh dating to the West-Galilean ('Akkā') period. The full Persian text is printed in *Iqtidārāt* (Bombay: 1310 AH / 1892-3 CE), pp. 267-279. Translated on p.77 are only these opening lines (pp.267b-268a).

PROVISIONAL RE-TRANSLATION OF ENCLOSURE 1 : ³

In the Name of God, the Incomparable One!

Say: O friends! A past untruth (*kadhb*) caused a succeeding Beloved One [the Bāb] to be suspended and martyred by the bullet[s] of tyranny. Ponder upon the lying, perfidious souls who have appeared among the people with the pretence of sincerity, trustworthiness, abstemiousness and piety, such that ye be safeguarded from the terror of this greater Day [cf. Qur'ān 27:89]. One such person hath made mention of *Jābulqā* and another alluded to *Jābulsā*. Yet another lying one, gave credence to a fictitious personage (*haykal-i mauhūmī*) and established him upon the throne of conjecture (*'arsh-i zanūn*). Without justification he made mention of a sanctified region (*nāhiya muqaddassa*) and another unjust one attributed certain utterances to him. Wherefore, through complete tyranny, these false and detestable matters were the cause and the reason why they martyred the Sovereign of the City of Oneness [the Bāb]...⁴

³ As they appeared in H. Holley (Ed.), *Bahā'ī Scriptures* (New York: Bahā'ī Publishing Committee, 1928, pp. 229-236 = Nos. 460-496) the opening lines of the Tablet translated here (pp. 229-230) read:

460. In the Name of God, the One! Say, O friends! The former lying caused the succeeding Beloved [* the Bab] to be hanged and martyred by the bullet of opposition. Meditate upon the lying, unfaithful, perfidious souls who were appearing among the people with the pretence of righteousness, faithfulness, devotion and abstinence from what is unlawful, until ye be guarded and saved from the terror of this greater Day.

461. One of these has mentioned Jabulka and another gave reference to Jabulsa and another lying one put in the minds of the people an imaginary temple and fixed that on the throne of superstition. This unfair one mentioned Nahla Mocaddassah (the holy direction) and another unreasonable one attributed to him many (of his own) utterances. Therefore these false and unpleasant affairs became the cause of killing the King of the City of Unity through complete opposition.

The use of the Arabic word *kadhb*, "untruth, lie, deceit, falsehood.." at the beginning of this Tablet is in all likelihood an allusion to the epithet "Ja'far the Liar" (*kādhīb*) allotted by many members of the Shī'ī Muslim community to the brother of the 11th Imām (Hasan al-'Askarī d. Sāmarrā 1260 AH / 874 CE). This brother, from the developed Bahā'ī perspective, was far from being a liar. Bahā'u'llāh has referred to him as the "truthful one" (*sādiq*), "his eminence Ja'far" (*hadrat-i Ja'far* MA 4:91) He, in fact, spoke the truth about the early death or outward non-existence of the twelfth Imām as the son of Imām Hasan al-'Askarī. Both Bahā'u'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Bahā have referred to this matter in certain of their Tablets (see Ishraq Khavārī Ed. *Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī* [9 Vols. Tehran: BPT., 128-9 BE/1971-2] Vol. 4:91; Vol. 8:102 cf. J. R. Richards, *The Religion of the Baha'is* London: SPCK, 1932 pp. 181-2).

Bābī-Bahā'ī scriptural texts exhibit several transitions in the attitude towards some of the Shī'ī eschatological traditions which make reference to a son of Hasan 'Askarī; his occulted existence and future role as the Qā'im/ Mahdī. In certain early works the Bāb presupposed their literal truth. Later Bahā'u'llāh all but allegorized them (see fn.4 below). Ultimately, as in the late Tablet translated above, he came -- as did 'Abdu'l-Bahā -- to regard them as barriers to the recognition of the Manifestation of God.

⁴ Among the early Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh in which mention is made of *Jābulqā'* and *Jābulsā'* is his Arabic *The Essence of Mysteries* (*Jawāhir al-Asrār*, c.1860; text in *Āthār-i qalam-i ā'lā* Vol. 3:4-88 [Tehran: BPT 121 BE]). In the section dealing with the "City of the Divine Unity" (*madīnat al-tawhīd*), after underlining the reality of the existence of

TEXT OF ENCLOSURE 2 : ARABIC TEXT OF A TABLET OF 'ABDU'L-BAHĀ IN WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE TO JĀBULQĀ AND JĀBARŠĀ.⁵

(١٦٢)

مدينة أو جزيرة أو حظيرة مخفية عن الانظار * وبهذا
اعترضوا عليه يوم ظهوره بل قاموا بظلم وبنقض على تلك
المياكل المقدسة النوراء * وهذا سبيل الخطأ والظلم على
مظاهر الاسماء الحسنى * والالو وجدت لكل أمة
موعودها بحسب العلام وشروطها لما سقطت في مهاد
هبوطها ودركات قنوطها * واني جيا بك وبنجلك المحيد
ادعوك الى الهدى وأقول لك جاهد في أمر ربك حتى
يهديك الى النور الساطع من الافق الاعلى وتمن في الانبياء
والمرسلين السابقين وفيما اعترضوا به عليهم وماذا فعلوا
بهم وبماذا اجتجوا عن الحق وغفلوا عن ذكر ربهم عند
ذلك يلوح لك أنوار الحق وتميز عن الباطل وتصل
الى مقام علم اليقين وتهدى الى عين اليقين
وتحقق بحق اليقين بفضل من النور
المبين وعليك التحية والثناء
ع ع ع

﴿ هو الله ﴾

يا من يدعو الله ان يجيزه في جوار رحمة الكبرى
اعلم ان الاحزاب في القرون الاولى كانوا بكل لف
يترصدون سطوع نور الهدى وبزوغ كوكب النور وظهور
الموعود من جابلتا وجارصا * اليهود كانوا ينتظرون
ظهور الموعود من مدينة السبت المخفية عن الانظار *
وهذا هو جابلتا * وأمة عيسى ينتظرون ظهور الموعود من
كبد السماء على سحاب نازل من الارجح الاعلى * فهذا هو
جارصا والكيسانية ينتظرون ظهور الموعود من بطن
جبل رضوى القريب الى المدينة النوراء فهذا هو الجابلتا
وأمة النور القديمة ينتظرون ظهور موعودهم من محل
مجهول فهذا هو الجارصا * وكل أمة تنتظر موعودها من

Muhammad al-Mahdī (the 12th Imām), the son of Imām Ḥasan al-Askarī (the 11th Imām), Bahā'u'llāh states that the Shī'ī Imāms referred to him as being in the city of *Jābulqā'*. They spoke of this mysterious "city" in a highly supernaturalistic manner. It can hardly, he advises, be literally interpreted. The "sanctified Figure" (*al-nafs al-qudsiyya*) of Ḥasan al-Askarī's son is also best viewed in an allegorical manner (*tā'wīl*). Both the occulted Imām Mahdī and the supernatural "city" (*madīna*) which he, according to various traditions (*ahādīth*) is believed to inhabit, are best viewed non-literally. Viewed with the "sight of God" in the light of the essential oneness of the Prophets, the Manifestations can all be perceived as bearing the same name and designation; being named Muḥammad al-Mahdī (the 12th Imām) and being the sons of Ḥasan al-Askarī (the 11th Imām). Indeed, "they were all manifested from the *Jābulqā'* of the Power of God (*qudrat Allāh*) and from the *Jābulqā'* of the Mercy of God (*rahmat Allāh*) were all made manifest." "Your *Jābulqā'*", Bahā'u'llāh further explains, "is naught save the treasuries of subsistence (*khazā'in al-baqā'*) in the spiritual realm of the Divine Cloud (*jābarūt al-'amā'*), the Cities of the Unseen (*madā'in al-ghayb*) in the transcendent Empyrean Heaven (*lāhūt al-'alā'*". Addressing the recipient of this Tablet, Hajjī Sayyid Muḥammad-i Isfahānī he continues, "Thou indeed shalt witness that Muḥammad son of Ḥasan [al-Askarī] is in *Jābulqā'* and has appeared therefrom. Him whom God shall make manifest (*man yuzhiruhu Allāh*) is in that place until such time as God shall make Him manifest in the station of His sovereignty." (p.43; see AQA 3:41-44).

⁵ The Arabic text of this Tablet was originally published in *Makātib 'Abdu'l-Bahā* (Cairo, 1910), pp. 161-2.

PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION OF ENCLOSURE 2 : ARABIC TABLET OF 'ABDU'L-BAHĀ

He is God

O thou who supplicateth God to grant him sanctuary within the precincts of His Most Great Mercy! Know thou that factions have, from the earliest centuries, been anxiously waiting to observe the manifest brilliance of the Light of Guidance and the emergence of the Elevated Stars; the appearance of the Promised Manifestation from *Jābulqā* and *Jābarsā*. Jews have been anticipating the appearance of the Promised One from the City of the Sabbath (*madīnat al-sabt*) which is concealed from the eyes; the same is *Jābulqā*. The community of Jesus [Christians] await the appearance of the Promised One from the centre of the sky, upon a cloud, descending from the most elevated zenith; the same is *Jābarsā*. The Kaisāniyya¹ await the appearance of the Promised One from out of the interior of the mountain of Radwā nigh unto the Luminous City [Medina]; the same is *Jābulqā*. The ancient Persian community [Zoroastrians] await the manifestation of their Promised One from an unknown location (*mahall majhūl*); the same is *Jābarsā*.

Every community awaits the appearance of their Promised One from either a "city" (*madīna*) an "island" (*jazīra*) or an "enclosure" (*hazīra*) hidden from perception. On this account have They been opposed on the Day of Their manifestation. Nay rather, have those Sanctified, Luminous Temples [the Promised Ones] been the victims of unjust treatment and hatred. Such is a tyrannical and an erroneous way to treat these Manifestations of the Most Excellent Names. Otherwise, were every community to find that their Promised One appeared according to its own anticipated signs and portents, then they would not come to fall into the cradle of descent nor sink into the abyss of their own despondency!

I, assuredly, out of love for thee and for thy glorious son (or family, *najlika*), do summon thee unto Guidance and exhort thee to strive in the Cause of thy Lord until He guide thee unto the Light which shineth from the Supreme Horizon. Ponder attentively the accounts of the prophets and the Messengers of the past: how it was that they were calumniated against; in what manner they were treated; how it was that individuals became veiled from the Truth and were heedless of the Remembrance of their Lord. Do this until such time as He enableth the lights of Truth to shine upon thee, setteth thee apart from error, causeth thee to attain unto the station of the "knowledge of

¹ The Kaisāniyya or Kaysanites were an early Shī'ī faction also known as the Mukhtāriyya after al-Mukhtār (d. 67 AH / 687 CE). They maintained that after the martyrdom of Imām Husayn the Imām was one of his half-brothers, a son of Imām 'Alī, named Muḥammad ibn al-Hanafiyya (d. 81 AH/700 CE). After taking part in an anti-Umayyad struggle al-Mukhtār claimed inspiration in Iraq and preached the appearance of the Mahdī. On the Kaisāniyya see SEI:208-9. W. Madelung, *Kaysāniyya*, EI² 4:836-838. In this article Madelung at one point writes, "After the death of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya ... many of his supporters believed that he was alive and concealed in the Radwā mountains west of Medina, from where he would reappear as the Mahdī" (p.836). The messianism of the Kaisāniyya / Kaysanites is briefly dealt with in Abdulaziz Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism, The idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism* (Albany:SUNY 1981), 10-11.

certitude" (*'ilm al-yaqīn*), guideth thee unto the "essence of certitude" (*'ayn al-yaqīn*) and causeth thee to realize the "reality of certitude" (*haqq al-yaqīn*)² through the bounty of the Manifest Light. And upon thee be greeting and salutation.

'Abdu'l-Bahā 'Abbas.

**THE UNIVERSAL HOUSE OF JUSTICE
BAHÁ'Í WORLD CENTRE**

Department of the Secretariat

17 November 1988

Mr. Ted A. Cope
1435 Shortridge SE
Albany, OR 97321
USA

Dear Bahá'í Friend,

The Universal House of Justice referred to the Research Department your letter of 28 August 1988 in which you request information concerning the function of that Department, and pose a question regarding the translation of "'álam al-miḥál" in Bahá'í Writings.

We are now directed to send you the enclosed copy of the memorandum, and its attachments, prepared in response. It is hoped that a study of this material will provide the enlightenment you seek.

With loving Bahá'í greetings,

Ethna Archibald

For Department of the Secretariat

Enclosure

² 'Abdu'l-Bahā' is here making use of recognized Sufi terminology which I have placed in quote marks. See A. Schimmel *Mystical Dimensions...* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 1975 p.141-2. This terminology is also present in the *Kitāb-i 'Iqān* and in other Bābī-Bahā'í scriptural sources.

MEMORANDUM

To: The Universal House of Justice

Date: 25 September 1988

From: The Research Department

QUESTIONS FROM MR. TED A. COPE

With reference to the questions contained in the letter dated 28 August 1988 from Mr. Ted A. Cope, the Research Department offers the following comment.

Function of the Research Department

In a letter written on its behalf regarding the function of the Research Department, the Universal House of Justice states:

Among the functions assigned to the Research Department at the World Centre is that of preparing statements at the request of the House of Justice. We are to point out that the statement appearing in the current Bahá'í World Centre Manual in connection with the duties of this Department includes the following:

"...To prepare commentaries on various subjects related to the Faith, as requested by the Universal House of Justice."

These commentaries are sent to believers, where applicable, as separate statements, such as those on the Fourth Epoch of the Formative Age, or on Bahá'í Scholarship, or as memoranda which are enclosures to letters written on behalf of the House of Justice....

To preclude any possibility of their being confused with letters written by the House of Justice, or on its behalf, it is important that such commentaries be distinctly identified. It is also vital that the believers understand clearly that these Research Department statements should be regarded as representing no more than the views of the members of that Department. While such views are very useful as an aid to resolving perplexities or gaining an enhanced understanding of the Bahá'í teachings, they should never be taken to be in the same category as the elucidations and clarifications provided by the House of Justice in the exercise of its assigned functions.... (16 August 1987 to an individual believer)

The House of Justice has thus made the status of the Research Department's statements, such as that previously provided to Mr. Cope, very clear: the contents are the considered views of the departmental staff, provided as "an aid to resolving perplexities or gaining an enhanced

understanding". Such statements, however, cannot have the identical weight as the elucidations given by the Universal House of Justice.

Translation of terms used by 'Abdu'l-Bahá

Mr. Cope inquires whether the term translated as "the world of exemplars" on page 295 of "Bahá'í Scriptures: Selections from the Utterances of Baha'u'llah and Abdul-Baha", ed. H. Holley (New York: Brentano's, 1923), and on page 109 of Foundations of World Unity (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1979), is "'álam al-mithál".

Unfortunately, the Research Department has not yet located the original text of the talk by 'Abdu'l-Bahá from which this phrase is taken, and therefore cannot specify which term the Master actually used. The English text of this talk, which was given to the Theosophical Society in New York City on 4 December 1912, first appeared in Star of the West, vol. 7, no. 8 (1 August 1916), pp. 69-71, 74-76, with the following note: "Taken stenographically by Miss Esther Foster from the interpretation of Ish'te al Ebn-Kalanter." The English text was published again in "Bahai Scriptures", and in "The Promulgation of Universal Peace: Discourses by Abdul Baha Abbas During His Visit to the United States in 1912", vol. 2 (Chicago: Bahá'í Publishing Committee, 1925), pp. 458-64, with the entry: "Notes by Esther Foster". The text from "Promulgation of Universal Peace" was apparently reproduced in "Foundations of World Unity".

The paragraph containing the phrase "world of exemplars" as published in "The Promulgation of Universal Peace" differs slightly from both the version published in "Star of the West" and that in "Bahai Scriptures". We have no information as to why changes were made to the text.

A copy of a Tablet in Persian revealed by Bahá'u'lláh which comments on the phrase "'álam al-mithál" is enclosed for Mr. Cope's interest. We suggest that he seek the assistance of Persian-speaking friends in ascertaining its contents. In this connection, Mr. Cope may also wish to consult the article "'álam" in volume one of "The Encyclopaedia of Islam", new ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), pages 349-52; specific reference to the "'álam al-mithál" is made on pages 350-51.

The original text of the Master's talk given on 12 May 1912 at the Unity Church in Montclair, New Jersey was also not located; we therefore do not know which term was translated as "barrier". The English text of His talk was published in "The Promulgation of Universal Peace", vol. 1, pp. 109-12.

A copy of a Tablet of 'Abdu'l-Bahá in Persian which alludes to a Qur'anic verse using the term "barzakh" is enclosed. A similar reference is made in the prayer for marriage revealed by the Master, and published in "Bahá'í Prayers: A Selection of Prayers Revealed by Bahá'u'lláh, the Báb, and 'Abdu'l-Bahá" (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1985), pp. 105-6. Mr. Cope may also wish to refer to the article "barzakh" in "The Encyclopaedia of Islam", vol. 1, pp. 1071-72.

Enclosures 2

ENCLOSURE 1 : AN EXTRACT FROM A TABLET OF BAHĀ'U'LLĀH TO VARQĀ' THE MARTYR CONTAINING MATERIAL ON THE 'ĀLĀM AL-MITHĀL.³

" يا ايها الناظر الى الافق الاعلى عليك بها الله موسى
 الورى بمقصود از ملكوت در رتبه اولى ومقام اول منظر اكبر
 بوده و در مقام آخر عالم مثال است مابين جبروت و ناسوت
 و آنچه در آسمان و زمين است مثالى از آن در آن موجود است
 در قوه بيان مستور و مكنون، جبروت ناميده ميشود- و اين اول
 مقام تقييد است و چون بظهور آيد بملكوت ناميده ميشود
 كسب قدرت و قوت از مقام اول مينمايد و بماند و نش عطا ميكند
 اين عوالم و عوالم مشيت و اراده و قدر و قضا و ازل و سرمد
 و دهر و زمان مكرر در بعضى از الواح از قلم اعلى نازل طوسى
 للفائزين " انتهى .

PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION OF THE TABLET REPRODUCED ABOVE

"O Thou who gazest towards the Supreme Horizon, upon thee be the Glory of God, the Lord of men. The intention of the Kingdom (*malakūt*) in its primary sense and degree is the scene of the transcendent glory (*manzar-i akbar*). In another sense it is the world of similitudes (*'ālam-i mithāl*) which existeth between the Dominion on high (*jabarūt*) and this mortal world (*nāsūt*); whatever is in the heavens or on the earth hath its counterpart [or 'similitude' *mīthālī*] in that world. Whilst a thing remaineth hidden and concealed within the power of utterance it is said to be of the Dominion (*jabarūt*), and this is the first stage of its substantiation [or 'delimitation' *taqyīd*]. Whenever it becometh manifest it is said to be of the Kingdom (*malakūt*). The power and potency it deriveth from the first stage, it bestoweth upon whatever lieth below. These worlds and the worlds of the Divine Will (*mashiyyat*), the Divine Intention (*irāda*), the Divine Power (or Fate *qudra*), the Divine Decree (*qudrā'*), Eternity (*azal*), Perpetuity (*sarmad*), Epoch (*dahr*), and Time (*zamān*) occur frequently in some of the Tablets revealed by the Supreme Pen. Blessed be such as attain."

³ Text in Ishrāq Khāvarī (Ed), *Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī* Vol.1 (Tehran: BPT., 128-9 Badī'/ 1971-2 CE) p.18 The translation below is largely that printed in Moojan Momen, *Relativism: A Basis for Bahá'í Metaphysics*, in M.Momen (Ed.) *Studies in Honour of the Late Hasan M. Balyuzi* (= Studies in the Bábí and Bahá'í Religions Vol. 5, Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1988 pp. 185-217), p.192. I have translated the first line of the Tablet to Varqā' and the last sentence (not translated in Momen) and added a few transliterations for the sake of clarity.

ENCLOSURE 2 : A PERSIAN TABLET OF 'ABDU'L-BAHĀ CONTAINING REFERENCE TO A QUR'ĀNIC USE OF THE WORD BARZAKH.⁴

که مصدر آثار بدیم وواقف حقان و خولها رایشا شود ان
 این بمل معانی منضرا اولک نما *
 امة الله المخبیره المشتعلة بنا رحمة الله صبه من ادرك
 لقاء نبيه حضرت ذبیح صبح را از قبل من نهایت صبر باور اوست
 ابلغ داس از الطاف الهی امید چنانست که محفل آما رحمن
 نهایت انتظام حاصل نماید و بهمت ایشان مدولت تام نموده
 خدات شکوه از آن محفل ظاهر گردد. بجمع آن آما رحمن
 بشارت الطاف الهی برشا و علیک البهاء الأبرق ع ع

﴿ رُوحِ انْسَانِي ﴾
 آباده سزا قابل
 هو الله
 ای بنده آستان مقدس نامه شمار بیدر وقتیکه در
 محیط عظم مشاغل وغوائل و تقاریر مستغراست جواب
 سله فی که خراسته بودید بتفصیل تمنع و تمخیل است
 لهذا جواب مختصر غیر میشود که روح انشا و عبایة اخرى
 نفس ناطقه و عالم وجود واسطه مابین مجردات و تجزئات
 است یعنی روحانیات و جسمانیات از جرحی لطافت
 روحانی دارد و از جرحی کثافت شهادت جبرانی و شئون
 ناسوفی نه خرد تمام دارد نه تخیر تام بلکه مجمع البحرین
 و بینخ بین الامرین است اگر جهت روحانیه غلبه کند
 علوی گردد نورانی شود رحمانی گردد مطه شده لضم
 گردد مرضیه شود و اگر بشئون لکانی ناسوفی آوره
 شود مستغرق بظلمات گردد لوامه شود آما را بالکورد
 و در اسفل عالم وجود مفریاید لهذا وجوبه دارد چون
 جنبه نورانی عقل بر عالم طبیعت غالب گردد قوه کاشفه فی یابد

⁴ This Tablet of 'Abdu'l-Bahā (reproduced above, slightly enlarged) was printed in *Najm-i Bākhhtar* ("Star of the West") Vol.5 No. 7 (Persian Section), Kalimāt 1, 70 BE = July 13th 1914.

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE TABLET OF 'ABDU'L-BAHĀ TO MĪRZĀ QĀBIL OF ĀBĀDIH (IRAN).

He is God

O servant of the sanctified threshold! Your letter was received at a time when the most great ocean of tasks, tribulations and literary communications is wellnigh overwhelming. The answer to the question which you requested cannot possibly be entered into in any great detail; a brief answer, therefore, is being written.

The human spirit (*rūḥ-i insānī*), in other words the rational soul (*nafs-i nātiqa*), in the world of existence is the intermediary between things incorporeal ('disengaged' *mujarradāt*) and delimited worldly things (*mutahayyizāt*); that is to say, between realities spiritual and things corporeal. From one vantage point it possesses spiritual refinement while from the other it exhibits the crassness of carnality, animalistic traits and worldly characteristics. It is neither an absolute abstraction nor is it completely of the world but is the confluence of two seas (*majma' al-bahrayn*) and a *barzaḳh* ("barrier", "isthmus") between two realities (*amrayn*). If the spiritual aspect dominates it becometh lofty, luminous, merciful, tranquil (*mutma'inna*), contented (*rādiya*) and approved (*mardiyya*). And if it is contaminated with contingent, worldly concerns, it becometh immersed in the ocean of darkneses, reproachful (*lawwāma*), commanding to evil (*ammāra*) and residing in the nethermost regions of the world of existence.⁵

It is thus the case that the human spirit has two aspects. If the luminous aspect of the human intellect overcometh the world of nature, it will acquire the power of discovery which is the basis for wondrous insights, and become informed about the realities and the characteristics of things. From this brief explanation perceive the detailed significances.

The enraptured maidservant of God, enkindled with the fire of the love of God, daughter of the One Who attained the Meeting with his Lord; convey on my behalf to his eminence Dhabīḥ, the resplendent, the utmost kindness and compassion. The hope is that, on account of the Divine Grace, the assembly of the maidservants of the Merciful may attain perfect organization, and, through their efforts in achieving complete continuity, realize their much-appreciated services. Convey the glad-tidings of the Divine Grace to those maidservants of the Merciful. And upon you be the glory of the All-Glorious.

⁵ The terms used in these lines to refer to the higher and lower nature of the human spirit are mostly Qur'ānic and are used in Sufi and other Islāmīc literatures to categorize the varieties of *nafs* ("soul"/"spirit"). Bahā'u'llāh uses these Sufi psychological terms in responding to a question about the *nafs* ("soul") in his Arabic *Sūrat al-ra'īs* (Arabic = *Sūra-yi Ra'īs*) which is addressed to Mehmet Emin Āli Paşa (= 'Alī Pashā 1815-1871). The text of this Tablet can be found in *Alwāḥ nāzilīh khitāb bil mulūk wa ru'āsa-yi ard*, Tehran: BPT., 125 Badī' (see pp. 98-99). In the above translation I have largely utilized the translations of these Qur'ānic-Sufi terms given by J. Spencer Trimmingham in his *The Sufi Orders of Islam* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. For further details see my *The Bahā'ī Doctrine of Soul, Spirit and Mind* (forthcoming).

SOME OBSERVATIONS REGARDING BIBLIOGRAPHIC CITATIONS IN NON-BAHĀ'Ī PERIODICALS AND THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE BAHĀ'Ī FAITH.

Seena Fazel

Certain areas of serious research on the Bahā'ī Faith often necessitate consultation of a range of indexes, which classify periodical and journal articles by author and subject. This article will describe the nature of the major indexes appropriate to Bahā'ī studies and what they reveal about the state of the academic study of the Bahā'ī Faith. I will conclude by discussing some of the implications that are suggested for the Bahā'ī community.

The two largest and most comprehensive indexes are the *Arts and Humanities Citation Index* (AHCI) and the *Social Sciences Citation Index* (SSCI). They are both published annually by the Institute for Scientific Information (based in Philadelphia, USA). The AHCI is a multidisciplinary index to the literature of the arts and humanities with items from approximately 6100 of the world's leading journals included. The disciplines covered include theology and religious studies. The SSCI indexes items from 4700 journals.¹ These are both excellent and comprehensive resource materials enabling researchers, for instance, to access articles by keyword(s) in the title and by author.

A third reference volume is the *British Humanities Index* (BHI), published by the Library Association, London U.K., and is a guide to articles appearing in newspapers and journals published in Britain. The term 'humanities' is also interpreted broadly to include the arts, economics, history, philosophy, politics, and society. Unlike the AHCI and SSCI, newspaper coverage is included but this is restricted to comment and features on current affairs, and political and social criticism. Book reviews are not included.

There are now three religious journals and publications indexes. The first, *Religion Index One: Periodicals*² is the most important covering some 550 journals. *Religion Index Two: Multi-Author Works*³ indexes separately published works which are the works of more than 3 authors. About 432 books, and over 6000 articles were assessed for the 1990 edition. The *Index to Book Reviews in Religion* (Ed. E. Schauffer) completes the set of indexes. It was begun in 1986, and covers the same journals as *Religion Index One*.

The Bahā'ī Faith features in all the indexes and the full list of references is attached as an appendix. From an analysis of this information, a number of conclusions may be drawn which are presented in the graphs below.

The other useful tool in Bahā'ī research is *The Bibliography on the Bábí and Bahá'í Faiths 1844-1985*, published by George Ronald (1990). The non-Bahā'ī periodical section classifies all known mention of these Faiths in all English language journals and periodicals lacking emphasis on significant references in established journals that researchers would initially require in an academic study of the Bahā'ī Faith.

Figure 1 shows the number of references to the Bahā'ī Faith in the indexes from 1980-1990 inclusive. It shows that there are between 8 and 30 articles in these index books over this period. However only about 26% of these references come from original papers (excluding the *World Order*

articles). It is interesting that with the articles from *World Order*, the number of articles in the *Religion Index* is increased by 338%. It would then appear that *The Journal of Bahá'í Studies* is a serious omission from the AHCI, the SSCI and the *Religion Index*, and may be included if the Association for Bahá'í Studies and Bahá'í academics write proposals to this effect.⁴ It is worth noting that many of the periodicals and journals in which Bahá'ís have written are not catalogued, such as *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, and *Iranian Studies*; and consequently this information does not entirely reflect research on the Bahá'í Faith in non-Bahá'í periodicals. Also many articles which do not have the word Bábí or Bahá'í in the title are not included.

Figure 2 charts the change over time in the number of Bahá'í references in the indexes. It shows that most indexes have seen a steady increase in the references to the Bahá'í Faith from the seventies. However much of this can be attributed to articles reporting the persecution of the Bahá'ís in Iran (17 references) and the Bahá'í temple in India (5 references). Overall 35% of the entries on the Bahá'í Faith in the eighties are a consequence of these events. The implication is that the number of articles on the Faith will significantly decrease if the situation remains static.

Figure 3 compares the number of references to the Faith with some other religious movements in the AHCI from 1985 to 1990 inclusive. Jainism is chosen because its number of adherents is less than the Bahá'í Faith (3.6 million Jains compared to 5.3 million Bahá'ís according to "World Religious Statistics" in *Britannica Book of the Year*, 1991). Also the number of countries to which it has spread is significantly less than the Faith (10 compared to 205 countries). Although Jainism is a much older religion, one would nevertheless expect that there would be more articles on the Bahá'í Faith. However, as the graph shows, there have been 16 more articles on Jainism in the AHCI from 1985 to 1990. Figure 4 compares the number of references to some religious movements to the Faith in the 1990 *Religion Index*.

The same conclusion can be drawn from these Figures 3 and 4. The Bahá'í Faith is suffering from a major dearth of academic literature. Mormonism, for instance, which has in excess of 8 million followers and is of comparable age historically, has had over sixteen times the number of articles written about it in these journals. This does little to support the efforts of Bahá'ís and their institutions to cultivate opportunities so that the Faith can be introduced into university and college curricula.

A useful part of the AHCI and the SSCI is the ability to obtain information on various authors by looking at the number of citations that they have received in various articles. This is considered by some an important element in judging the relative standing of scholars in a particular field. Analysis of the AHCI from 1981 to January 1992 provides the following facts.

No. of citations on the Bahá'í Faith Total no. citations

Cole, J.R.I.	8	21
Hatcher, W.S.	2	4
MacEoin, D.	8	12
Martin, D.	4	4
Momen, M.	8	13
Smith, P.	13	13

There are also two indexes to university theses which can now be accessed on CD-Rom. The *University Microfilms International Dissertation Abstracts On disc* has included most North American theses from 1861 to date. There is only one reference to the Bahā'ī Faith - the PhD dissertation by J.E. Bartlett in 1984 (*Bahā'ī World Faith: A Case Study in Adult Socialization*; University of California, Riverside). There are two references to the Bābī Faith - B.T. Lawson's PhD in 1987 (*The Qur'ān Commentary of Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad, The Bāb*; McGill University) and a study by M.R. Afshari (A Study of the Constitutional Revolution within the Framework of Iranian History; Temple University; 1981; PhD).⁵ *The Index to Theses: Great Britain and Ireland* classifies dissertations from 1970 to 1990. This makes mention of Peter Smith's PhD on *A Sociological Study of the Babi and Baha'i Religions* (Lancaster University; 1982). Clearly both of these indexes fail to include a significant number of important dissertations.⁶

The overall impression given by this research is that the academic study of the Bahā'ī Faith in non-Bahā'ī periodicals is not thriving. This is not a particularly original finding. A 1989 article surveying the achievements of the Bahā'ī community indicate that one of the present problems of the Bahā'ī community is intellectual:

"Despite the recent increase in the attention paid to Bahā'ī scholarship, there is a general paucity of systematic studies of Bahā'ī doctrine. Despite - perhaps because of - the great wealth of authoritative Bahā'ī texts, there are few studies of Bahā'ī theology and philosophy."⁷

The information presented here has a number of important implications for the international Bahā'ī community and Bahā'ī scholars. If Bahā'īs are interested in incorporating the Faith as a subject to be taught in university curricula, then there is a difficulty. Among the primary criteria universities use to assess the introduction of a new course is the amount of research interest there is in the subject and the availability of resource materials -- both of which can be assessed by the number, quality and range of articles published on the subject. It would seem that at the moment Bahā'īs should be aware that firm proposals for the Faith to be included in university courses may be treated cautiously.

It is also of interest that the recent emphasis placed on correlating the Bahā'ī Faith to social principles and contemporary needs has not translated itself into the academic literature. The vast majority of articles appearing in these journals are on Bahā'ī history and theology. Social psychology makes a small contribution.⁸ Surprisingly there is not even one paper on the Bahā'ī approach to peace issues or international relations. This, of course, is not the state of affairs in the Bahā'ī community where there are many conferences, publications and books exploring the Bahā'ī approach to current social problems.

For Bahā'ī scholars, this information on how the Bahā'ī Faith emerges from these academic indexes has a number of corollaries. The first is that they should be informed of this literature. A number of recent articles address concerns that need to be met, and indicate that there are individuals writing about the Faith who make inaccurate and unbalanced judgements. For instance, Afatoooni's review, which is possibly motivated by non-academic reasons, of *The Babi and Baha'i Religions* by Smith highlights what he considers to be a serious omission -- the "issue of the exclusion of women from the highest Bahā'ī administrative body, the Universal House of Justice. For some reason Professor [sic] Smith does not touch on this question".⁹ Another example is an article in *Faith Freedom: A Journal of Progressive Religion* where the author depicts an anti-liberal tradition in

Bahá'í history and concludes that "... unity [has been] maintained at a great price, and now through a form of democratic centralism".¹⁰ Also the repeated, though erroneous, assertion that the Bahá'í Faith is a "new religious movement" rather than a world religion is made in a number of articles by MacEoin. " German-speaking Bahá'í scholars should be acutely aware that a recent introductory book by Francesco Ficicchia, a covenant-breaker, has been reviewed positively in a number of journals. One reviewer describes it as "a thorough study... based on a comprehensive study of the sources".¹² Another supports the contention made by the publishers that it is "a standard work of comparative religion".¹³

In addition, Bahá'í scholars may consider submitting proposals to some of the indexes to include the *Journal of Bahá'í Studies*. Academically trained Bahá'ís may also decide to write more book reviews for academic journals.

Of relevance to this discussion is a consideration of some of the reasons that may have led to the lack of academic writing on the Faith. Hopefully this may serve to stimulate consultation on how to improve the situation. The non-Bahá'í scholar may consider it not worthy of serious study for a number of reasons but in the Bahá'í community, these reasons may include:

1. In some quarters, there is the belief that an academic approach to the Bahá'í Faith is inappropriate. This attitude is put succinctly in a recent article: "... there are always fundamentalist elements in any religious community that deny the need for delving into and analyzing their religion".¹⁴
 2. The scarcity of Bahá'ís studying theology, philosophy and Islamic Studies at undergraduate and post-graduate levels.
 3. The idea that Bahá'í scholarship is for the future while the present challenge is teaching.¹⁵
 4. The lack of full-time funding or research facilities.¹⁶
 5. The emphasis in the last decade to apply Bahá'í principles to current social problems with a concomitant neglect of the Bahá'í approach to some important contemporary theological and philosophical problems.
 6. On the whole, Bahá'í books which are published are aimed at a general Bahá'í market or they are introductory books for non-Bahá'ís. As the market cannot sustain academic books, consequently there may be a reluctance to publish this sort of material.¹⁷ This not only seriously hampers the development of Bahá'í studies but also interferes with the goal of teaching prominent people - an important priority for the international Bahá'í community.
-

FIGURE 1 Number of references to the Bahá'í Faith in the AHCI 1980-90

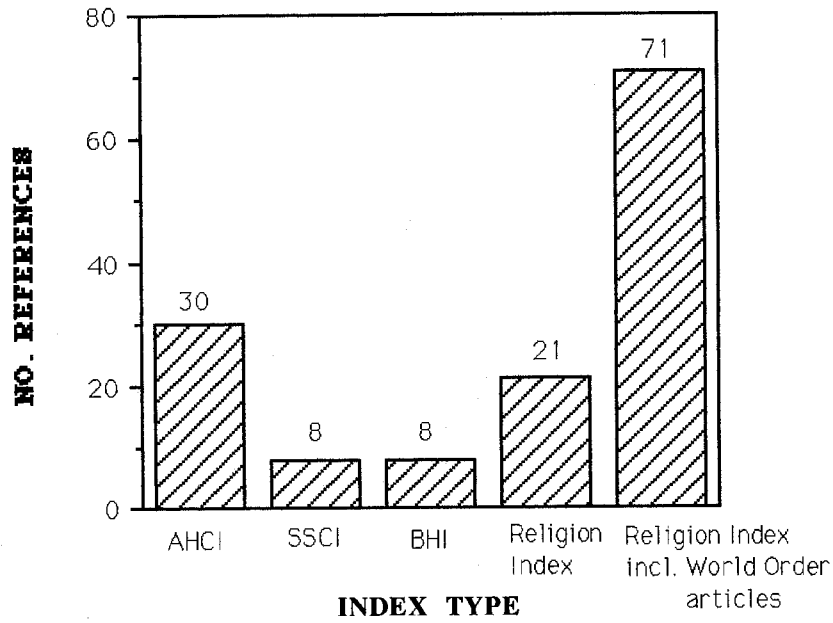


FIGURE 2 Changes over the last twenty years

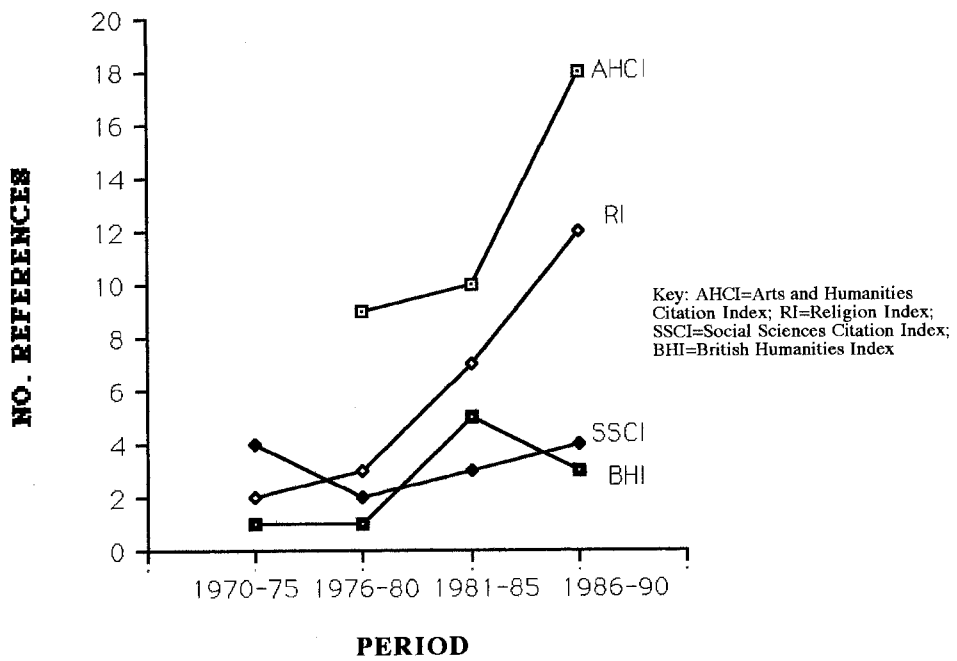


FIGURE 3

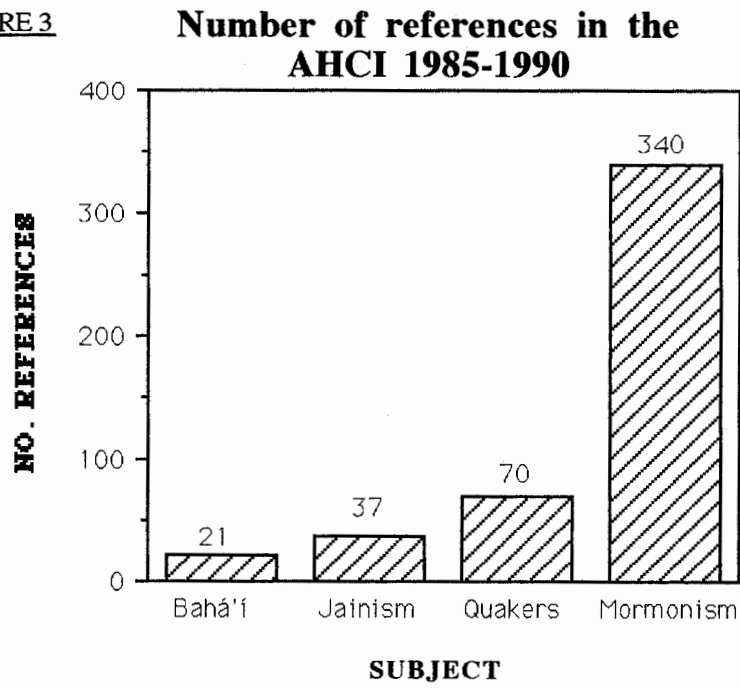
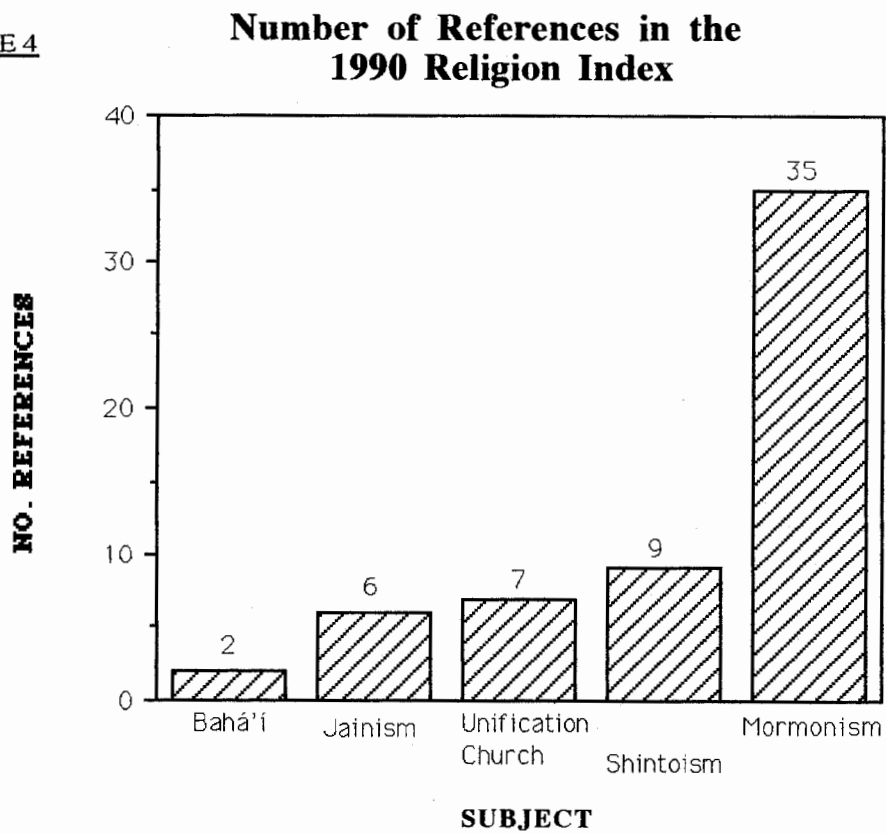


FIGURE 4



NOTES

- ¹ Within the U.K., both of these can now be accessed from computer networks through the Institute for Scientific Information Data Service at Bath, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.
- ² Ed. D. Haynes. Evanston: America Theological Library Association. It began in 1969, and is published annually.
- ³ Ed. E. Treesh. Began in 1960, published annually.
- ⁴ In the future, the *Bahá'í Studies Bulletin* may also be included among the journals included in these indexes.
- ⁵ This reference has not been noted by Collins or in any other Bahá'í publications. The abstract contains the following passage: "Throughout the rest of the study attention is focused on the role played by the pishevaran and merchants in the Babi Revolt, the Tobacco Protest Movement and the Constitutional Revolution and parallels are drawn, wherever possible, between these movements and between them and traditional revolts in Iranian history."
- ⁶ For a list of other PhD theses see Collins, XIII:303-310.
- ⁷ Smith, P. and Momen, M. "The Bahá'í Faith 1957-1988: A Survey of Contemporary Developments", *Religion* 19:63-91, 1989 (p. 87)
- ⁸ See the articles by Ebaugh et al, and Ullman.
- ⁹ In *Review of Religious Research*. 30(1):110-111, 1988.
- ¹⁰ Worsfold, A. "Peace, Liberalism and Otherwise in the Babi-Bahá'í Faiths", *Faith Freedom: A Journal of Progressive Religion*. 42:40-44, 1989.
- ¹¹ See for instance MacEoin, D. "Bahá'ism: a religious revolution in the making?" *New Humanist*. 102(1987):9-11.
- ¹² Henninger, J. "Bahá'ism, A world religion of the future", by F. Ficicchia. *Anthropos* 78(5-6):936-939, 1983. I am grateful to Morten Bergsmo for these translations from German.
- ¹³ Kleinkeit, H.J. "Bahá'ism - global religion of the future - History, teaching and organization in a critical inquiry", by F. Ficicchia. *Zeitschrift für religions und Geistesgeschichte* 36(1):93-94, 1984. See also Schumann, O. in *Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients* 62(1):184-186, 1985.
- ¹⁴ Momen, M. "Scholarship and the Bahá'í Community", *The Journal of Bahá'í Studies*. 1(1):26, 1988.
- ¹⁵ This is discussed by S. Lambden in BSB 3:3 (September 1983) pp. 82-86 for a full discussion; "The concrete support of Bahá'í scholarship would have important consequences for internal Bahá'í 'deepening' and external Bahá'í 'teaching'. It would serve to enable certain individuals to be more adequately informed about their Faith and enable them to befittingly communicate it to others. It would also equip individuals to 'defend their Faith' against distorted and hostile misrepresentations..."
- ¹⁶ See Lambden, S. "Some thoughts on the establishment of a permanent Bahá'í Studies Centre and Research Institute", *Dialogue* 1988:34-40.

17. If one uses the books reviewed in non-Bahá'í academic journals as a crude indicator of the number of scholarly books published, then the following information is generated for 1980-1990:

Publisher	No. of books reviewed
George Ronald	4 [those edited or by Momen, Momen, Ruhe, Schaefer]
Kalimat Press	4 [Momen, Momen and Cole, Salmani, Abu-Fazl]
American Bahá'í Publishing Trust	1 [Stockman]
ABS, British BPT, OneWorld	0

It is of interest that the four books published by non-Bahá'í companies [by Amanat, Hatcher and Martin, Hakime, and Smith] received more book reviews than all the above Bahá'í books combined.

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J Ec St 27(3):615, 1990
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Keddle, N.R.
The Babi and Baha'i religions: from Messianic Shi'ism to a world religion by P. Smith
Am Hist Rev 95(4):1162, 1990
BOOK REVIEW

MacEoin, D.

The Babi and Baha'i religions: from Messianic Shi'ism to a world religion by P. Smith
J Am Orient Soc 103(3):452-453, 1989
BOOK REVIEW

Danesh, J.

Selections from the writings of E.G. Browne on the Bábí and Bahá'í religions ed. M. Momen
Rel St 25(4):544-546, 1989
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Cole, J.R.

The Bahá'ís of Iran.
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Danesh, J.
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J Sci St Rel 28(3):382, 1989
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The persecution of the infidels - attack on the Baha'is
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Chapman, A.I.

Mirrors that reflect the light

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Eds. L. Hammann et al 108-110, 1988

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Religion and the myth of male superiority

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Warburg, M.

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Circle of Unity: Bahá'í approaches to current social problems

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Spuler, B.

Studies in Bábí and Bahá'í History vol. 1 and 2

Ed. M. Momen [and vol. 2 with J. Cole]

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Les Baha'is ou victoire sur la violence by Christine Hakim

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 THE GASSEM GHANI COLLECTION - A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

This collection consists of nineteenth century Iranian diplomatic correspondence, mostly between the foreign minister and other Iranian officials in Tehran, and Iranian embassy and consular officials in the Ottoman Empire. The collection includes materials that provide information on the Bábí-Bahá'í exiles in the Ottoman Empire during the period 1859-1869.

Series V includes eleven letters documenting the growing number of Bábís in Baghdad and Karbila, the increase in Bahá'u'lláh's influence, and efforts to exile the leading Bábís. There are also letters in this series describing the dissent between Bahá'u'lláh and Mīrzā Yahyā, and the letter from Bahá'u'lláh to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh.

Series VII includes correspondence concerning the Azalī Bábís, Mīrzā Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī and Shaykh Ahmad-i Rūhī.

Series IX includes eleven letters relating to the exile of Bahá'ís from Egypt to the Sudan. There is also undated correspondence about Bahá'u'lláh during his residency in Baghdad, including one letter from Mīrzā Sa'īd Khan to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh that suggests the possibility of extradition as a way to diminish his influence in the Baghdad area.

This collection has been microfilmed and copies of it can be obtained from the Archives & Manuscripts Division of the Yale University Library.

This notice was communicated by Richard Hollinger.

RELIGIOUS STUDIES, BĀBĪ-BAHĀ'Ī AND RELATED BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MISCELLANY.¹

In future issues of the BSB selected miscellaneous and recent publications of possible interest to Bahā'īs working within the Bābī-Bahā'ī, Religious studies and related academic disciplines, will be listed (and occasionally briefly reviewed). The editors would, henceforth, greatly appreciate potential entries under the various headings (see below). Books for possible review will be gratefully received.

ASIAN RELIGIONS : HINDUISM, BUDDHISM, ZOROASTRIAN...

Tadeusz Skorupski (Ed.), *The Buddhist Heritage. Papers Delivered at the Symposium of the same name convened at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 1985* (Buddhica Britannica Series Continua 1) Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1989. 276+xi pp.

The first volume of the series Buddhica Britannica contains fourteen papers representing a wide range of themes. Included is Russell Webb's detailed survey of "Contemporary European Scholarship on Buddhism" and D. Seyfort Ruegg's "The Buddhist Notion of an 'immanent absolute' as a problem in hermeneutics".

Donald S. Lopez, *Buddhist Hermeneutics* (Kuroda Institute: Studies in East Asian Buddhism, 6) Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988. 298+viii pp. \$35.

A collection of essays with an introduction by the editor upon the term hermeneutics "as applicable to Buddhist ideas of the relation between knowledge of texts and the ultimate knowledge to which the texts point." (from a review by D.H. Killingley in JRAS 3rd series 1:3 [Nov 1991] pp.440-41).

James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Religion in Asia and Africa Series) Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989. 242+xi pp. \$35.

Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: teachings, history and practices* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 374+xxii pp. £35, \$49.50.

A useful volume but one which, due to its brevity, should be used with care.

W. Owen Cole and Piara Singh Sambhi, *A Popular Dictionary of Sikhism* London: Curzon Press/ Glendale Maryland-The Riverdale Company, 1990. 163pp. £4.50.

Bahā'īs should learn about religious movements other than those viewed as major world religions founded by Manifestations of God. Sikhism is not well known by the majority of western Bahā'īs despite the fact that there are roughly 16,000,000 of them. This volume and other introductory sources would be well studied.

SEMITIC/JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN-ISLĀMIC AND RELATED RELIGIONS

JUDAISM

Dan Cohn-Sherbok (Ed.), *A Traditional Quest - Essays in honour of Louis Jacobs*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991. 233pp. ISBN 1-85075-279-6. £35 /\$60.

Contains thirteen essays that constitute a tribute to the prolific author Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs, including essays by Professors Jacob Neusner and Eugene Borowitz. Subjects include 'A Theological Response to Orthodoxies', 'The Human Body and the Image of God'. There is an excellent bibliography of Dr Jacobs's 32 books and 233 articles.

¹ Unless otherwise indicated all reviews are by the editor (SL).

Paul Morris and Deborah Sawyer (Eds.), *A Walk in [Through] the Garden. Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden* (= Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 136). Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992. 327pp. ISBN 1-85075-328-5. Hbk £40.

The first paragraph of the preface of this useful volume reads, "This volume about beginnings had its origins in a colloquium at Lancaster ('The Garden of Eden: Exegesis, Iconography and Literature', 1986). The intention was to bring together scholars with expertise in biblical studies, the traditions of Jewish and Christian exegesis, the histories of art and literature, and various contemporary approaches to the study of texts, to 'labour' in the Garden of the text of Genesis." Its contents are: Paul Morris, *A Walk in the Garden: Images of Eden* (21f); Jonathan Magonet, *The Themes of Genesis 2-3* (39f); Calum M. Carmichael, *The Paradise Myth: Interpreting without Jewish and Christian Spectacles* (47f); John F.A. Sawyer, *The Image of God, the Wisdom of Serpents and the Knowledge of Good and Evil* (64f); Stephen N. Lambden, *From Fig Leaves to Fingernails: Some Notes on the Garments of Adam and Eve in the Hebrew Bible and Select Early Postbiblical Jewish Writings* (54f); Philip S. Alexander, *The Fall into Knowledge: The Garden of Eden/Paradise in Gnostic Literature* (91f); Deborah F. Sawyer, *The New Adam in the Theology of St Paul* (105f); Paul Morris, *Exiled from Eden: Jewish Interpretations of Genesis* (117f); Jennifer O Reilly, *The Trees of Eden in Mediaeval Iconography* (167f); Helen Phillips, *Gardens of Love and the Garden of the Fall* (205f); Gordon Campbell, *Milton's Eden* (220f); Paul A. Cantor, *Blake and the Archaeology of Eden* (229f); Richard Roberts, *Sin, Saga and Gender: The Fall and Original Sin in Modern Theology* (244f); Mark Corner, *'Refusing to learn to Say "No"': Karl Barth and the Garden of Eden* (261f); Deborah F. Sawyer, *Resurrecting Eve? Feminist Critique of the Garden of Eden* (273f); Adrian Cunningham, *Type and Archetype in the Eden Story* (290f); Anna Piskorowski, *In Search of her Father: A Lacanian Approach to Genesis 2-3* (310f).

This volume contains some useful material touching upon the early chapters of Genesis. My own paper printed here contains quite a few misprints; the galley-proof was not sent to me due to my accident and lengthy hospitalization.

CHRISTIANITY

John Hick, *On Grading Religions, The Problems of Religious Pluralism* Ed. John Hick, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1985. (SF)

John B. Cobb, Jr et al, *Death or Dialogue? From the Age of Monologue to the Age of Dialogue* London: SCM Press/Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990.

Contents: **Dialogue** John B. Cobb, Jr (1f); **Interreligious Dialogue: What? Why? How?** Paul F. Knitter (19f); **The Thrust and Tenor of our Conversations** Monika K. Hellwig (45f); **A Dialogue on Dialogue** Leonard Swidler (56f); **Response I** John B. Cobb, Jr (79f), Paul F. Knitter (85f), Monika K. Hellwig (99f), Leonard Swidler (104f); **Response II** JBC (115f), PFK (124f), MKH (134f), LS (138f); **Consensus Statements** (146f); **The Authors** (150f). For some reviews see *Int. Rev. Mission* 80: 127-8, 1991 and *Expository Times* 102: 217-8, 1991.

"It is an excellent introduction to the issues in interreligious dialogue. Four Christian scholars each set forth their understanding of interreligious dialogue, what its goals and means are, why Christians ought to enter into dialogue, and how exclusivist Christian claims can be resolved in today's pluralistic world. Of particular interest to Bahā'īs is Paul Knitter's proposal that the basis of dialogue is the physical and socio-economic oppression suffered by humanity." (SF)

John Shelby Spong, *Rescuing the Bible from Fundamentalism*, Bishop Rethinks the Meaning of Scripture San Francisco: Harper, A Division of Harper Collins Publishers, 1991. 267pp. ISBN 0-06-067514-4. £5.95.

1. Preamble: Sex Drove Me to the Bible (1f), 2. Raising the Issues (13f), 3. The Pre-Scientific Assumptions of the Bible (25f) 4. The Formation of the Sacred Story (37f) 5. Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, and Protest (57f), 6. Forming the Second Covenant (77f), 7. The Man from Tarsus (91f), 8. Christ, Resurrection, Grace: The Gospel of Paul (107f), 9. Mark: Beyond Mythology to Reality (129f), 10. Matthew: The Story of Jesus from a Hebrew Perspective (147f), 11. Luke: The Story of Jesus from a Gentile Perspective (167f), 12. The Fourth Gospel: In the Beginning--I Am (185f), 13. Christmas and Easter: Ultimate Truth and Literal Nonsense (209f), 14. Who Is Christ for Us? (227f) 15. Epilogue. A sometimes eccentric, sometimes insightful piece of light reading by the Episcopal Bishop of Newark (USA).

Christoph Schwöbel and Colin Gunton (Eds.), *Persons, Divine and Human* Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992. ISBN 0-567-09584-3 Hbk. £16.95

Explores the relationship between the Divine and human dimensions of the Trinity.

Christos Yannaras (Trans. Keith Schram), *Elements of Faith, An Introduction to Orthodox Theology*. ISBN 0-567-29190-1. Pbk. £12.50

The author reviews classical theological questions and analyses the divisions between the Orthodox theological mind and Western ways of thinking.

Gregory C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth* (PhD thesis. BZNW 59) W. de Gruyter [1991], DM158. 416pp. ISBN 3-11-012405-X.

An important study of the sources of the Antichrist figure.

John Hick, 'Straightening the Record: Some Response to Critics', *Modern Theology* 6:2 Jan 1990 pp.187-95.

Stanley Samartha, *One Christ - Many Religions. Towards A Revised Christology* Orbis Books, U.S., 1991. 190pp. ISBN 088344-733-9. £12.95.

The first five chapters of this book are not devoted to Christology but deal with a host of other issues. "Samartha, for instance, looks at the way other religions view dialogue, offers an interesting commentary on India as a secular state entertaining wide religious diversity, and examines the hermeneutical questions raised by the plurality of scriptures... Samartha argues for the inexhaustible mystery of God behind various christologies and suggests that Asian christologies must be allowed to grow slowly from the soil, rather than Asian Christians suffering the theological imperialism of normative western formulae." (From a review by Gavin D'Costa, *Expository Times* 103. No.6 p.191.)

D. J. Krieger, *The New Universalism. Foundations for a Global Theology* Orbis Books, U.S., 1991. 219pp. ISBN 0-88344-727-4. £12.95.

A philosophical and epistemological approach to religious pluralism.

Charles Birch, William Eakin and Jay B. McDaniel (Eds.), *Liberating Life: Contemporary Approaches to Ecological Theology* Orbis Books, U.S., 1990. 293pp. ISBN 088344-689-8. \$16.95.

ISLĀMIC STUDIES

Al-Suyūtī, Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, *Al-Itqān fī ‘ulūm al-Qur’ān* Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 2 Vols. 1411 AH/1991 CE. 429 [Vol.1] + 454 [Vol.2] pp. (£22.90 from Al-Saqī London).

Something of the value of this centrally important volume can be gauged from the list of contents:-

- 1 Knowledge of the Meccan and Medinan [parts of the Qur’ān].
- 2 Knowledge of [the parts sent down] while [the Prophet was] settled and [the parts sent down] while [he was] travelling.
- 3 [The parts sent down] during the day and during the night.
- 4 [The parts sent down] in summer and in winter.
- 5 [The parts sent down while the Prophet was] in bed and [while he was] asleep.
- 6 [The revelation] on earth and in heaven.
- 7 The first [part] to be sent down.
- 8 The last [part] to be sent down.
- 9 The causes of the revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*).
- 10 That which was sent down through the speech of one of the Companions.
- 11 That which was sent down more than once.
- 12 Where the legal precept came after the revelation, and where the revelation came after the legal precept.
- 13 Knowledge of what was sent down separately and what was sent down in combination.
- 14 That which was sent down accompanied [by many angels], and that which was sent down alone [with only Gabriel].
- 15 Those [parts] of it which were sent down to certain [previous] prophets, and those [parts] which were not sent down to anyone before the Prophet.
- 16 The way in which the Qur’ān was sent down.
- 17 The knowledge of the names of [the Qur’ān] and of the suras.
- 18 The collection and ordering of [the Qur’ān].
- 19 Concerning the number of suras, verses, words, and letters.
- 20 Those who memorized it, and those who transmitted it.
- 21 Concerning [the classification of the chains of transmission into] ‘high’ (*‘alī*, = very few links in the chain between the transmitter and the Prophet, hence more reliable) and ‘low’ (*nazil*, = many such links, and hence not so reliable).
- 22 Knowledge of the *mutawatīr* [recitations] (= transmitted by so many trustworthy persons as to be beyond doubt).
- 23 [Knowledge of] the *mashhūr* [recitations] (= transmitted by more than two transmitters, they may or may not therefore be authentic).
- 24 [Knowledge of] the *ahad* [recitations] (= transmitted from two few transmitters to make them *mutawātir*).
- 25 [Knowledge of] the *shādhah* [recitations] (= those which are at variance with accepted recitations).
- 26 [Knowledge of] the *mawdū’* (= fictitious) [recitations].
- 27 [Knowledge of] the *mudraj* [recitations] (= recitations with unacknowledged insertions into the text or the *isnād*).
- 28 Knowledge of [where to] pause and [where to] commence [in recitation].
- 29 Concerning words which are joined where the meaning is interrupted.
- 30 Pronunciation of the *fatha* () – its shading between ‘e’ (*imāla*) and ‘a’.
- 31 Assimilation of a consonant into a preceding ‘n’ (*idghām*), absence of consonantal modification after an ‘n’ (*lzhār*), ‘concealment’ (*ikhfā’*, = slight modification after an ‘n’), substitution of an ‘m’ for an ‘n’ before a ‘b’ (*iqlāb*).
- 32 Prolongation (*madd*) and shortening (*qasr*) of the vowel.
- 33 Lightening the glottal stop (*hamza*).
- 34 Conditions for becoming a ‘bearer’ of [the Qur’ān, i.e., how to learn and memorize the Qur’ān correctly].
- 35 The correct behaviour concerning recitation [of the Qur’ān].
- 36 [Knowledge of] rare words.
- 37 The occurrence in [the Qur’ān] of words not in the dialect of the Hijaz.
- 38 The occurrence in [the Qur’ān] of words not in the Arabic language.
- 39 Knowledge of homonyms (*al-wujūh wa-l-nazā’ir*).

- 40 Knowledge of the meanings of key-words which the commentator needs [to know].
- 41 Knowledge of desinential inflexions (*i'rāb*).
- 42 Concerning important [linguistic] rules which the commentator needs to know.
- 43 Concerning the clear (*muhkam*) and the obscure (*mutashābih*) [passages] in [the Qur'ān].
- 44 Concerning hysteron proteron (= where the syntactic order differs from the semantic order) [in the Qur'ān].
- 45 Concerning terms with general, and terms with particular, meanings [in the Qur'ān].
- 46 Concerning synopsis and clear meaning [in the Qur'ān].
- 47 Concerning the abrogating and abrogated [passages] in [the Qur'ān].
- 48 Concerning difficult [passages] in [the Qur'ān] which give the illusion of inconsistency and contradiction.
- 49 Concerning what is qualified and what is unqualified [in the Qur'ān].
- 50 Concerning what has explicit, and what has implicit, meaning in [the Qur'ān].
- 51 Concerning the styles of address [used] in [the Qur'ān].
- 52 Concerning literal and figurative meaning in [the Qur'ān].
- 53 Concerning comparison (*tashbīh*) and metaphor (*isti'āra*) in [the Qur'ān].
- 54 Concerning metonymy (*kināya*) and allusion (*ta'rīd*) in [the Qur'ān].
- 55 Concerning limitation and particularization [of meaning].
- 56 Concerning concision and prolixity.
- 57 Concerning informative and performative [expressions].
- 58 Concerning the stylistic originality of the Qur'ān.
- 59 Concerning the division of the verses.
- 60 Concerning the openings of the suras.
- 61 Concerning the endings of the suras.
- 62 Concerning correspondences [which occur in] the verses and [in] the suras.
- 63 Concerning verses which closely resemble one another.
- 64 Concerning the inimitability (*'ijāz*) of the Qur'ān.
- 65 Concerning knowledge derived from the Qur'ān.
- 66 Concerning parables in [the Qur'ān].
- 67 Concerning oaths in [the Qur'ān].
- 68 Concerning the dialectic of [the Qur'ān].
- 69 Concerning names, agnomens, [and] surnames [mentioned in the Qur'ān] .
- 70 Concerning elliptical expressions [in which groups of people, some of whose members are known, are mentioned].
- 71 Concerning the names of those concerning whom [parts of] the Qur'ān were sent down.
- 72 Concerning the excellences of the Qur'ān.
- 73 Concerning the most excellent parts of the Qur'ān and their virtues.
- 74 Concerning the unique [passages] in the Qur'ān.
- 75 Concerning the special qualities of [the Qur'ān].
- 76 Concerning orthography, and the correct way to write [the Qur'ān].
- 77 Concerning knowledge of its exegesis (*ta'wīl*) and its commentary (*tafsīr*), the exposition of its nobility and the necessity for it.
- 78 Concerning the conditions [to be fulfilled by] the commentator, and the correct behaviour [he should display].
- 79 The curiosities of *tafsīr*.
- 80 The generations of commentators (= Companions, Followers, etc.).

(List of contents reproduced from, *The Commentary on the Qur'ān by Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Tabarī* being an abridged translation of *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān* with an introduction and notes by J. Cooper Volume 1 Oxford: Oxford University Press 1987. Appendix pp.xxxvii-xxxix.)

Edmund Bosworth and M. E. J. Richardson (Eds), *A Commentary on the Qur'an prepared by Richard Bell* Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 14, University of Manchester [1991], 2 vols., pp. xxii, 608, 603, ISBN 0-9516124-1-7. £60 (2 Vols).

This important volume is basically Richard Bell's notes accumulated in the course of his preparing a translation of the Qur'ān (published 1937-9). Though his Qur'ān translation was published during his lifetime, his notes were not. They have now become available in this Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph.

Fatima Mernissi (Trans. from French Mary Jo Lakeland), *Women and Islam, An Historical and Theological Enquiry* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991. ISBN 0-631-16905-9 PBk. £9.95.

A scholarly and courageous attempt to bridge the gap between quasi-modern feminism and Islamic traditionalism respecting women, written by the Moroccan writer Mernissi who teaches at the Mohammad V University -- known for her *Beyond the Veil*. In her book she utilizes and comments on passages from Tabarī's important Qur'ān Commentary as well as his *Tarīkh*.. and other key Sunni classical works and collections of *hadīth*. Much of this significant volume is of some interest to Bahā'īs as is the nature of her arguments. The chapters in *Women and Islam* are entitled: **PART I Sacred Text as Political Weapon** 1. The Muslim and Time 2. The Prophet and Hadith 3. A Tradition of Misogyny (I) 4. A Tradition of Misogyny (2) **PART II Medina in Revolution: The Three Fateful Years** 5. The Hijab, the Veil 6. The Prophet and Space 7. The Prophet and Women 8. 'Umar and the Men of Medina 9. The Prophet as Military Leader 10. The Hijab Descends on Medina. Her conclusion contains some interesting observations about Sukayna (c. 49/671-c. 117/735-6?), a great-granddaughter of the Prophet Muhammad through 'Alī and Fātima, who appears to have been a kind of prototypical Tāhira (d.1850 CE).

L. Lewisohn (Ed.), *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, forward by Dr. Javad Nurbakhsh Introduction by S. H. Nasr. Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications. ISBN 0-933546-47-5 Pbk £20.00; ISBN 0-933546-46-7 Hbk £30.00. Orders to: Element Books, Longmead, Shaftsbury, Dorset SP7 8PL. Tel: 0747 51339; Fax: 0747 51394.

"This volume examines the roots of the artistic, literary and cultural renaissance in the three centuries immediately preceding the Safavid period (1500-1720), which was accompanied by the great expansion of various Persian-speaking Sufi orders, and caused the blossoming of an entire literature of Sufism. In many respects, this focus on the religious topography of the Persian society of the mediaeval period which was predominantly 'Suffi' in orientation, is unique, for the spiritual and cultural renaissance in these three centuries (1200-1500) has never before been the subject of a monograph -- much less of a volume of papers by some of the foremost authorities in the field." (From the Publishers advertisement sheet.) This is a very important volume and contains two essays by Bahā'ī scholars and Islamicists, Todd Lawson and John Walbridge. The contents include:

Foreword: Two Approaches to the Principle of the Unity of Being, Dr. Javad Nurbakhsh (ix-xiii)

I. INTRODUCTION & HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction: Persian Sufi Literature: its Spiritual and Cultural Significance Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1f)

Overview: Iranian Islam and Persianate Sufism Leonard Lewisohn (11f)

II. POETICS & IMAGERY

Yusuf in Mawldna Rumi's Poetry Annemarie Schimmel (45f)

Ecstasy and Order: Two Structural Principles in the Ghaza Poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi Johann Christoph Burgel (61f)

The Qalandariyyat in Persian Mystical Poetry, from Sanā'ī Onwards J. T. P. De Bruijn (61f)

III. BETWEEN HISTORY & HAGIOGRAPHY

The Hurūfī Legacy of Fadlullah of Astarabad H. T. Norris (87f)

Diverse Tastes in the Spiritual Life: Textual Play in the Diffusion of Rumi's Order Victoria Holbrook (99f)

Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Kubrawī Hagiographical Traditions Devin DeWeese (121f)
Authority and Miraculous Behavior: Reflections on Karamat Stories of Khwaja 'Ubaydullāh Ahrār Jo-Ann Gross (159f)

Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī: Founder of the Ni'matullāhī Sufi Order Terry Graham (173f)

Sufism in Sa'di, and Sa'di on Sufism Homa Katouzian (191f)

IV. METAPHYSICS & ONTOLOGY

Spectrums of Islamic Thought: Sa'īd al-Dīn Farghānī on the Implications of Oneness and Manyness William C. Chittick (203f)

The Futūhāt Makkiyya and its Commentators: Some Unresolved Enigmas Michael Chodkiewicz (219f)

The Sophianic Feminine in the Work of Ibn 'Arabī and Rumi R. J. W. Austin (233f)

The Neoplatonic Substrate of Suhrawardī's Philosophy of Illumination: Falsafa as Tasawwuf Ian Richard Netton (247f)

The Dawning Places of the Lights of Certainty in the Divine Secrets Connected with the Commander of the Faithful by Rajab Bursī B. Todd Lawson (261f)

V. SUFI PRACTICES & METHODOLOGY

What is Sufi Music? Jean During (277f)

A Kubrawī Manual of Sufism: the Fusus al-adab of Yahya Bakharzi Muhammad Isa Waley (289f)

The Importance of the Spiritual Guide in the Naqshbandī Order Johan Ter Haar (311f)

A Sufi Scientist of the Thirteenth Century: The Mystical Ideas and Practices of Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī John T. Walbridge (323f)

"Mysteries of Marriage": Notes on a Sufi Text Sachiko Murata (343f)

VI. COMPARATIVE RELIGION & SYMBOLISM

The Symbolism of Birds and Flight in the Writings of Rūzbihān Baqlī Carl W. Ernst (353f)

'Abd al-Rahman Chishtī and the Bhagavadgita: 'Unity of Religion' Theory in Practice Roderic Vassie (367f)

The Transcendental Unity of Polytheism and Monotheism in the Sufism of Shabistari Leonard Lewisohn (379f)

THE JOURNAL OF SUFISM

This quarterly journal is published in English and Persian by the London branch of the Nimatullahi Sufi Order. Issues quite often contain articles about classical Sufism written by respected academics. It is a Journal which serves "as a medium for the Sufis of today to share their thoughts and experiences on the path. Through its diversity of expression, *Sufi* has provided a contextually rich tapestry in which Islamic mysticism can be expressed, as well as examined. A few of the contributors to Sufi include: S. H. Nasr, Dr. Javad Nurbakhsh, Annemarie Schimmel, P. L. Travers, Peter Avery, H.T. Norris, Robert Bly, W. C. Chittick, and Ja'far Mahjub. Those wishing to subscribe in the U. K. and Europe, please send a check or money order for £8.00 to: Sufi 41 Chepstow Place, London W2 4TS, United Kingdom..." Subscribers should also communicate their name and address.

Shirin Akiner (Ed.), *Cultural Change and Continuity in Central Asia*, London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1991. 387pp. ISBN 0-7103-0351-3.

"Central Asia is a vast sprawling territory with no precise boundaries, no precise geographic definition. The term has sometimes been used rather narrowly, to refer to a circumscribed area such as Transoxiana, sometimes very broadly to include the whole of the land mass at the heart of Asia, from Siberia in the north to the Pamirs in the south, from Mongolia in the east, westwards across the steppes of Kazakhstan, to the Volga. Culturally and linguistically the divisions are blurred: different traditions intermingle, different influences predominate, yet underlying the diversity there is a perceptible framework

of shared traditions."

There is much detailed, closely focused research that remains to be done on every part of Central Asia.

Sometimes, however, it is illuminating to stand back and look at the region as a whole, seeking similarities as well as contrasts. It was with this aim in mind that a conference on *Tradition and Change in Central Asia* was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in April 1987. Over a hundred papers were presented, covering a wide range of topics, a number of disciplines and several different regional interests." (From the foreword p.vii.) Papers of interest printed in this volume include Moojan Momen's article, *The Baha'i Community of Ashkhabad* (see below); Simon Crisp, *Census and Sociology: Evaluating the Language Situation in Soviet Central Asia* (84f); Jacques Waardenburg, *Islam in China: Western Studies* (306f); Andrew D. W. Forbes, *The Role of the Hui Muslims (Tungans) in Republican Sinkiang* (361f).

SHĪ'Ī ISLĀM & IRANICA

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF A NEW SHĪ'Ī ENCYCLOPAEDIA

Dā'iratu'l-Ma'ārif-i Tashayyu'. Edited by Ahmad Sadr Hājī Sayyid Jawādī, Kamrān Fānī and Bahā'u'd-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran: Shatt Cultural and Charitable Trust. Volume 1, Āb - Ihyā', 1369/1991.

This is the first volume of an encyclopaedia of Shi'ism being produced in Iran. This volume consists of 538 pages of A4 size. A lengthy introduction describes in detail how the Encyclopaedia was conceived and its organization. There is also a review of existing Shi'i Encyclopaedias.

Each article has a bibliography. From these it would appear that the writers of this Encyclopaedia have utilised mainly Persian and Arabic sources. This first volume contains articles on all of the major Shi'i shrines under article titles beginning "*Āstānih...*". Also there is a series of articles on the major families of 'ulamā under articles beginning "*Āl...*" (the most important of the members of these families also have their individual articles).

For those interested in Bābī and Bahā'ī matters, there are a number of articles of interest in this volume. One of the most important is probably the article "Ahsā'ī, Shaykh Ahmad". While much of the material in this article is well-known, a number of facts do not appear in the standard sources. For example, it is stated that the first to raise questions about Shaykh Ahmad's orthodoxy was Shaykh Muhammad ibn Mubārak al-Qatīfī al-Ahsā'ī while Shaykh Ahmad was in Basra in 1212/1797 - 1215/1800. The article also gives further details about the exact circumstances of the pronouncement against Shaykh Ahmad by Mullā Muhammad Taqī Baraghānī. It appears that at a meeting convened by Mullā Muhammad Taqī, Ākhūnd Mullā Āqā-yi Hikamī and Ākhūnd Mullā Yūsuf-i Hikamī who were both experts in the Hikmat-i Ilāhī of Mullā Sadrā questioned Shaykh Ahmad extensively about his views. It was after this meeting at which Shaykh Ahmad refused to vary his position that Mullā Muhammad Taqī made his pronouncement against him.

Another article of interest to scholars of the Bahā'ī Faith is one entitled "Āminih Khānum Qazvīnī" (1202/1787-1268/1851), the mother of Tāhirih. She was the daughter of Shaykh Muhammad 'Alī Qazvīnī. She studied under her brother Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb and in 1219/1804 married Mullā Muhammad Sālih and studied under him, as well as studying philosophy and hikmat under Mullā Āqā Qazvīnī. Āminih Khānum is described as a *marja'-i fiqhī* (reference point for questions of religious

jurisprudence) for the women of Qazvīn and *imām-jum'ih* for the women at the Madrissih Sālihiyyih founded by her husband. She had memorized the Qur'ān and was famed for her piety and devoutness. It was presumably from her brother that she developed an interest in the teachings of Shaykh Ahmad. She is described as having an *ijāzi-yi rivāyat* (permission to transmit the teaching and traditions) not only from her husband and brother but also from Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsā'ī himself. She therefore presumably studied under Shaykh Ahmad when the latter was in Qazvīn. This adherence of Tāhirih's mother to the Shaykhī movement is of considerable interest and it throws a completely different light on the circumstances in Tāhirih's home as she was growing up. Āminih Khānum is credited with authorship of a *Divān* of poetry, some marginal glosses on works of religious jurisprudence and principles of religious jurisprudence and a *qasīdih* of some 480 verses on the life of Zaynab, the sister of the Imām Husayn. The bibliography for this article indicates that it is partly based on personal knowledge of the author, who is probably 'Abdu'l-Husayn Shahīdī Sālihī, a descendant of Āminih Khānum, and thus this article probably reflects information passed down in the family. Sālihī is also probably the author of the article on Shaykh Ahmad. Unfortunately individual entries are not signed in this Encyclopaedia but Sālihī is listed as a contributor in the Introduction to the Encyclopaedia and is designated as having special responsibility for biographical articles.

Also of interest are the following articles: "Abu'l-Qāsim Zanjānī, Sayyid" the chief opponent of Hujjat in Zanjān; "Abdu'l-Husayn Āyatī" (i.e. Āvārih); the Shaykhī leaders, Zaynu'l-Ābidīn, Abu'l-Qāsim, and 'Abdu'r-Ridā Ibrahīmī; the above-mentioned "Ākhūnd Mullā Āqā-yi Hikamī Qazvīnī", in which article it is stated that Tāhirih studied under him.

Direct mention of the Bābī and Bahā'ī Faiths is however avoided in this Encyclopaedia to an extent that becomes amusing in places. For example, under "Āl-i Sālihī", the family of Tāhirih's father, Shaykh Muḥammad Sālih, we find Tāhirih described as "one of the famous women of this family" with no indication of what she was famous for.

Under the article "Asia", the Shi'i population of various countries are given as follows:

Jordan	5% of population of 3,375,000 are Shi'is = 168,750
Afghanistan	18% of population of 22,500,000 are Shi'is and 2% Isma'ilis = 4,050,000
United Arab Emirates	25% of population of 1,168,000 are Shi'is from Iran and elsewhere = 292,000
Iran	95% of Muslims who are 98% of population of 48,000,000 = 44,680,000
Bahrayn	50% of population of 315,000 = 157,500
Pakistan	33% of population of 89,000,000 = 29,370,000
Thailand	2000
Turkey	between 8 and 14 million of population 49,000,000 are Shi'is are 'Alawīs = 8,000,000
Syria	13% of population of 9,500,000 are 'Alawī, 3% Druze
Iraq	65% of population of 14,700,000 = 9,555,000
Saudi Arabia	800,000
Kuwait	15% of population of 2,000,000 = 300,000
Lebanon	1,800,000 of population of 3,450,000 are Shi'i (350,000 Druze)
India	10-15% of Muslims who are about 11% of population of 720 million = c. 9,500,000
Yemen	50% of 6,500,000 are Zaydīs

I give below a comparison of those figures that are comparable from my book on Shi'ism and this Encyclopedia:

Country	Momen	<i>Dā'iratu'l-Ma'ārif</i>
Iran	34,000,000	44,680,000
Pakistan	12,000,000	29,370,000
India	10,000,000	9,500,000
Iraq	7,500,000	9,555,000
Afghanistan	1,300,000	4,050,000
Lebanon	1,000,000	1,800,000
Kuwait	270,000	300,000
Saudi Arabia	250,000	800,000
Bahrain	160,000	157,500

Many of the differences are accounted for by the fact that differing total populations for these countries are used as a starting point, possibly reflecting the difference in date of the two publications. Also the *Dā'iratu'l-Ma'ārif* gives figures for all Shi'is in some countries. In Pakistan, for example, the figure is inflated by the inclusion of Ismā'īlīs of various sects. This makes it impossible to compare the figures for Syria and Turkey at all. (Moojan Momen)

RELIGIOUS STUDIES MISCELLANY & NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa, *The Quest for Human Unity, A Religious History* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990. ISBN 0-8006-2422-X PBk £11.95.

The title of this volume immediately makes it of possible interest to Bahā'īs. It is an expanded version of lecture notes for the 1985 "Hale memorial lectures" (= "Religious Visions of the Unity of Humankind", Hale Lectureship, at Seabury Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, USA.) delivered by Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa, (b. 1915-). Kitagawa taught the history of religions at the University of Chicago for 35 years (also serving as dean of its Divinity School for ten years), authored eight and edited fifteen volumes -- he was also a co-editor with Mircea Eliade of *Encyclopedia of Religion* (16 vols.). *The Quest...* is certainly worth purchasing and includes: an Introduction (1-13); **CHAPTER 1. A VISION OF UNITY** (15ff) = Common Tendencies (16) Early Civilizations (17) Mesopotamia (18) Egypt (27) India (35) China (45) Some Reflections (53) **CHAPTER 2. HEBREW, GRECO-ROMAN, AND CHRISTIAN VISIONS** (55ff) = The Hebrew Vision (55) The Greco-Roman Vision (68) The Christian Vision (80) **CHAPTER 3. VISIONS FROM EAST, WEST, AND ISLAM** (95ff) = Western Christendom (96) Byzantine Christianity (98) The Sāsānian Synthesis (101) Islamic Civilization (105) The Middle Ages, East and West (113) The Hindu Synthesis (121) The Varnāśrama-dharma System (122) Four Ends of Life and Six Orthodox Systems (124) Islam in India (128) Buddhism as a Pan-Asian Religion (130) Layers of Chinese Syntheses (131) The Sui-T'ang Synthesis--The Multivalued System (137) Neo-Confucian Synthesis: Phase 1 (139) Mongol China: An Interlude (141) Neo-Confucian Synthesis: Phase 2 (143) Japanese Syntheses (145) **CHAPTER 4. ENCOUNTERS OF PEOPLES, CIVILIZATIONS, AND RELIGIONS** (147ff) = Deterioration of the Medieval Synthesis and Its Aftermath (147) Scholasticism, the University, and the Renaissance (148) Reformation, the National Churches, Counter-Reformation (150) Internal Erosion of Eastern Civilizations (160) Notes on the Tokugawa Synthesis (166) Disunity of the Islamic Community (167) Note on Jewry (169) European Colonial Expansion (1500-1600) (171) **CHAPTER 5. THE SEARCH FOR A NEW SYNTHESIS** (185ff) = Colonialism (1750-1850) (186) European Civilization as Religion of Secularized Salvation (190) Christian World Missions (194) Mixed Features in American

Tradition (198) Contemporary Revolution and Tradition in the Non-Western World (209) The Younger Churches and the Easternization of the World (214) Global Synthesis and the Unity of Humankind (223) APPENDIX: "IN RESPONSE" F. Stanley Lusby (241) NOTES (249ff)

Review notices printed on the jacket cover are, a) by **Ninian Smart** of the University of California, Santa Barbara, "This book is a vital contribution to our new global sense from Joseph Kitagawa, one of the architects and the chief sustainer of the famous Chicago history-of-religions program. Kitagawa has written a rather special history of the human quest for unity through religions. He rightly recognizes the importance of outer as well as inner religious facts, and in presenting his narrative he both informs and enlightens." b) **Annmarie Schimmel** of Harvard University, "Kitagawa's book leads the reader through the history of the different religions from the beginning of the human quest for God. He shows lucidly how the elements of inner and outer meaning in each religion have manifested themselves in time and space. In the great tradition of history and phenomenology of religion, the author makes us aware of the necessity of understanding each other's tradition through respecting and recognizing the one truth that is inherent in all of them, though perhaps hidden behind the veil of time-bound external forms."

Another important review by Ursula King can be found in *Numen* Vol. XXXVIII [2] 1992, pp.278-80. She commences her review by writing "The theme of this book is an important and timely one. It expresses the imperative for human unity and traces numerous attempts towards its realization through the history of religions East and West."

Something of the nature of Kitagawa's significant volume can be gathered from his foreword. At one point, expanding upon a musical analogy he writes, "The motif I have lifted from the melody, running through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with an ever-accelerating crescendo, is "The Quest for Human Unity". Having been born in Japan, lived in the USA and travelled much, he met "people of diverse ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic, and national backgrounds". His wide experience and expertise in the history of religions, he further states, "have made it clear to me that people everywhere feel a profound yearning for the unity of the human race and that they are greatly disturbed by the brokenness of the human community along religious, cultural, economic, and political lines". He claims to be one concerned "with the spiritual welfare of the global community" and has attempted "to assess in the present volume, *The Quest for Human Unity*, a religious history of our forebearers in other places and times, hoping to cast our current situation in sharp relief. I wish to make it clear, however, that this volume was not written as a technical monograph of any of the identifiable academic disciplines, such as the history of religions, philosophy of religion, the social sciences, theology, or the comparative study of cultures and histories. Rather, I wanted to present a straightforward narrative of how humankind, divided into diverse linguistic, ethnic, religious, cultural, geographical, and other groupings, has never ceased its attempts to integrate human communities--very often inspired by religious visions of unity. Little did I realize how difficult and demanding it would be to devise a readable, jargon-free narrative of human experience, telescoping long and complex phases of history and selecting significant items from a mass of data. The scarcity of readable but not too technical literature on this exciting theme challenged me to undertake such a volume".

The Quest... is the kind of book, the theme of which should have previously been attempted by Bahā'ī academics. Kitagawa's lucid volume should be studied by Bahā'īs as an aid and an inspiration towards the full-blown academic articulation of that Bahā'ī world theology which is implicit in Bahā'ī scripture. Bahā'īs can learn much from this volume.

A good proportion of the book (see above) consists of reasonably well-known data from the history of religions -- though not always based upon the most up to date sources -- and this can be rather dry or seem irrelevant to the main theme of the book. The Bahā'ī Faith, like a good many other contemporary groups claiming in one way or another to promote human unity, is not mentioned: though the author doubtless is already familiar with the basics of the Bahā'ī vision. His basic purpose is obviously to theorize about the "synthesis" of existing religious and other dimensions of human society in terms of the realization of a global world order, rather than to seek out a new religion capable of transforming/superseding the limitations of existing religions and ideologies.

Ursula King criticising Kitagawa (source cited above, p.279) and perhaps over-intellectualizing (in a western academic manner) her approach to the working out of the "idea" of human unity, writes, "The case to be argued for -- the case of human unity -- cannot be primarily and exclusively argued from historical facts but requires a detailed philosophical, sociological and historical analysis of the *idea* of human unity and what it entails." Human beings, it seems to me however, obviously cannot await such researches -- important though they undoubtedly are.

"Alas," she further writes in her review, "we do not have anything in the contemporary study of religion which matches the sophistication of debate surrounding the world system and globalization theories among economists and sociologists. As yet the history of religions provides us with tremendous resources, not only for envisaging new forms of human unity and world order, but also for developing new approaches to scholarship."

For Bahā'īs it is not exactly the need to find/create a new synthesis (see Kitagawa chapter 5) for the global community -- this is implicit in Bahā'ī scripture and Bahā'ī administration -- but the need to transcend divisive past and current quasi-religious and secular ways and dogmas in turning to God's Messenger for this age for transformation. In creating a "new [Bahā'ī] race of men", the leaven of global unity, through spiritual renewal there comes into being a "new heaven and a new earth".

John Bowker, *Meanings of Death* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 243+XIIPP. ISBN 0-521-9,39117-2 £16.95/\$27.95. Bowker explores the meanings of death in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism.

Daniel H. Ludlow, Editor in Chief, *THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MORMONISM*

From the publishers of *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Daniel H. Ludlow, Editor in Chief, is the former dean of religious education at Brigham Young University, and the former director of Correlation Review for the Church. Specifications: Five volumes · 1,130 signed articles · 500 photos · charts, tables, diagrams · bibliographies · subject index · name index · ISBN U-02-904040-X \$340 Net. Available exclusively from MACMILLAN REFERENCE. Mail your order to: MACMILLAN PUBLISHING COMPANY 866 Third Avenue · New York, NY 10022 · Attn Dave Horvath.

"Since their founding in the early nineteenth century, the Mormons have had a fascinating history. Persistent, conservative, and at times, controversial, these members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were instrumental in settling the American frontier. Their missionary efforts have played an important role in giving help to millions in Asia, Latin America, and Africa as well as in North America. The history of North America is a unique and important story of an original North American faith, today reaching out to other nationals. There are now over 4.2 million members of the Church throughout the United States, and 8 million worldwide. Their rapid growth in recent years has taken on multi-cultural dimensions, causing the Church to adapt even further to various cultural needs.

The Encyclopedia of Mormonism is a major reference work of 1,130 articles. Prepared in association with Brigham Young University they present the best scholarship on every aspect of the Mormon experience. Historical material provides a context to understand their dynamic growth and the importance they place on their religious history. Biographical entries range from the prophets who stood at the head of the Church to committed individuals who have served in building this religious community. The Encyclopedia includes articles on practise, depicting what it means to be a Latter-day Saint, as well as entries on Church organization. Articles on doctrine include statements by the First Presidency and interpretations or scripture that are distinctive to Latter-day Saint Theology.

Some of the topics covered are: Family History (Genealogy) · Deification · Marriage · Baptism · Feminism · Joseph Smith · Plural Marriage · Suicide · Figures from the Book of Mormon.

This unique reference work also contains the complete texts of Latter-day Saint scriptures: the Book of Mormon, the Pearl of Great Price, and the Doctrine and Covenants. The Encyclopedia of Mormonism is an important contribution to the study of religion and Christianity, social sciences, and American history."

(From the publisher's advertisement).

THE BĀBĪ & BAHĀ'Ī FAITHS

Juan R.I. Cole, 'Iranian Millenarism and Democratic Thought in the Nineteenth Century', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 24 (1992) pp. 1-26.

Graham Hassall, "Outpost of a World Religion": The Bahá'í Faith in Australia 1920-47', *The Journal of Religious History* Vol. 16 No. 3 (June 1991), pp. 315-338.

Moojan Momen, 'The Baha'i Community of Iran: Patterns of Exile and Problems of Communication' in Asghar Fathi (Ed.), *Iranian Refugees and Exiles Since Khomeini*, Mazda Publishers, 1990. pp. 21-36.

Moojan Momen, 'The Baha'i Community of Ashkhabad; Its Social Basis and Importance in Baha'i History' in Shirin Akiner (Ed.), *Cultural Change and Continuity in Central Asia*, London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1991. 387pp. ISBN 0-7103-0351-3.

Inger Strang, *Jesu Återkomst i Baha'i*, Åbo: Åbo Akademi Religionshistoria, 1992.

A Finnish Bahá'í book about Christian prophecy and Bahá'í fulfilment. [Full details not available].

N. Towfigh, 'Schöpfung und Offenbarung im Bahá'í-Religion' (XXIII) Deutscher Orientalistentag... 1985, Würzburg: ausgewählte Vorträge. Hrsg. E. von Schuler, Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989 *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*: Supplement VII, pp. 187-192.

Bahá'u'lláh, *The Seven Valleys* London: The Bahá'í Publishing Trust, Nightingale Books, 1992. ISBN 1-870989-15-5 Hbk £9.95; Pbk ISBN 1-870989-16-3.

Basically another printing of the 4th American edition of the Ali Kuli Khan and Marzieh Gail translation of the *Seven Valleys* with illustrations by Rob Hain. This printing has a new, rather insubstantial introduction and a jacket cover note which reads, "The *Seven Valleys* is the intriguing and symbolic tale of the soul's journey towards union with its Creator ..." This is very misleading; implying that the seeker might attain some kind of pantheistic union with the unknowable Godhead. This kind of perspective is the antithesis of the Bahá'í position. A few of the references (not always accurate) have been revised. The illustrations are not at all to my taste though I claim no artistic insight.

Bahá'u'lláh, *The Seven Valleys* Oxford: Oneworld Publications Ltd., 1992. ISBN 1-85168-031-4 Pbk £4.95.

This is again a well printed version of the 4th edition of the Ali Kuli Khan and M. Gail translation with a very attractive cover (by Michael Sours). A few of the footnotes are further revised; not always satisfactorily. Errors remain. Neither this, nor the above printing, took the opportunity to revise any of the considerable number of idiosyncracies in the AKK + Gail translation. It is a pity, for example, that *ghawth īyyih* (= p. 15 cf. fn.7 basically "assistance" or the like cf. the Dreyfus [French] translation = *secours*, "help") remains untranslated thus perpetuating a frustration for the western reader -- who would not catch the possible allusion to Gīlānī. In some respects this Oneworld printing is a better edition than previous ones though there remains much room for improvement.

Bahá'í International Community Office of Public Information, *Bahá'u'lláh* Australia: Bahá'í Publications, 1991. ISBN 0-909991-51-0 Pbk £1.90.

Bahá'í International Community Office of Public Information, *Bahá'u'lláh* London: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1991. ISBN 1-870-989-24-4 SC £0.50.

G. Robiati, (Trans. Julio Savo) *"Faith and World Economy" A Joint Venture Bahá'í Perspective* Milano: Gruppo Editoriale Insieme, 1991. ISBN 88-7181-004-X Pbk £9.95.

This book has a foreword by *Ervin Laszlo* and five chapters: 1. History and Evolution (15) 2. Economy and today's world (27) 3. Economy - Energy - Entropy (43f) 4. Entropy - Economy and Bahá'í concepts (55f) 5. An economy for a new age (69f). There is also a World's population and NGB Table (177).

THE JOURNAL OF BAHÁ'I STUDIES Vol. 3 No. 2 (1990) ISSN 0838-0430

Rhett Diessner, *Selflessness: Congruences between the Cognitive-Developmental Research Program and the Bahá'í Writings* 1f

Seena Fazel & Khazeh Fananapazir, *A Bahá'í Approach to the Claim of Exclusivity and Uniqueness in Christianity* 15f

Dorothy Freeman Gilstrap, *From Copper to Gold: Finding Form* 25f

John S. Hatcher, *Racial Identity and the Patterns of Consolation in the Poetry of Robert Hayden* 35f

Janet Huggins, *Exploring Male Oppression from a Family-Systems Perspective* 47f

RESEARCH NOTE

W. P. Collins, *Mormonism or the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints* 57f

COMMENTARY

Author's Response to Arash Abizadeh, Commentary on "On Human Origins: A Bahá'í Perspective" Craig Loehle 63f

REVIEWS

Moojan Momen Ed., *Studies in the Bábí and Bahá'í Religions* J. R. I. Cole 66f

William Hatcher, *Logic and Logos* Malcolm Sargent 69f

THE JOURNAL OF BAHÁ'I STUDIES Vol. 3 No. 3 (1991) ISSN 0838 0430

William P. Collins and Jan T. Jasion, *Lev Tolstói and the Bábí and Bahá'í Religions A Bibliography* 1f

Horace Holley, *The Angel in the Garrison* 11f

John Huddleston, *Towards a World Economy* 21f

Susan Stiles Maneck, *The Conversion of Religious Minorities to the Bahá'í Faith in Iran: Some Preliminary Observations* 35f

Ross Woodman, *The End of the World: Whatever Happened? Or Leftover Time to Kill* 49f

REVIEWS

B. Hoff Conow, *The Bahá'í Teachings: A Resurgent Model of the Universe* Keven Brown 67f

William P. Collins, *Bibliography of English-Language Works on the Bábí and Bahá'í Faiths 1844-1944*

Roger M. Dahl 73f

Four Histories of the Bahá'í Faith in South Africa, the Philippines, India, and Japan Graham Hassell 75f

RECENT BAHÁ'Í BIBLIOGRAPHIES

During the 1970's and 80's (and to a lesser extent the 60's) quite a number of western Bahá'í bibliophiles, intellectuals and academics produced their own [Bábí-] Bahá'í bibliographies. Some were useful but most were unsatisfactory. What exactly a useful research bibliography is, or should be, was not widely understood. Many Bahá'í students and lecturers abandoned this somewhat daunting task in the face of other research commitments. Most looked forward to the day when the lack of bibliographic handbooks would end. Although it has become clear that no overall bibliography could, in the foreseeable future, be written a number of attempts at selected bibliographic works have recently been published. Others are being written and await completion and publication (i.e. by Denis MacEoin). Two bibliographic works will be briefly reviewed here.

Joel Bjorling, *The Baha'í Faith, A Historical Bibliography* (= Sects and Cults in America. Bibliographical Guides, Vol. 6; Garland reference library of the humanities vol. 223), New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985. 168pp. ISBN 0-8240-8974-X.

This non-Bahá'í bibliographer in his preface (p. ix) sketches his initial contact with Bahá'ís (through "firesides" etc.) and his attitude towards the religion whose publications he quite sympathetically, though far from comprehensively, sets forth. On page xi (Acknowledgements) he acknowledges assistance from Bahá'ís both "mainstream and orthodox". In the course of his bibliographic research he made contact with or learned about a number of groups perceived as oppositional or "covenant-breaking" by mainstream Bahá'ís -- including Francis Spataro, president of the "Orthodox" Charles Mason Remey Society (New York), the German, Hermann Zimmer and Donald Harvey of Paris. There is an Introduction to the Bahá'í Faith covering its history, teachings and organization (pp. 3-27) as well as a few pages on the scope and construction of the bibliography (pp. 32-36). The succeeding chapters are as follows:-

Chapter I: *Baha'í Bibliography and Reference Works* (p.36f)

Chapter II: *Baha'í Holy Writings* (p.37f)

Chapter III: *Introductory and Expository Writings (Baha'í Authors)* (p.55f)

Chapter IV: *Baha'í Historical Writings* (p.78f)

Chapter V: *The Baha'í Faith and Society* (p.91f)

A. The Baha'í Faith and Social Issues

B. The Baha'í Faith and Racial Issues

Chapter VI: *Baha'í Way of Life* (p.101f)

A. The Baha'í Organization

B. Baha'í Youth and Religious Education

C. Mimeographed Study Materials

D. The Baha'í Faith and the Arts

Chapter VII: *The Baha'í Faith and Other Religions* (p.109f)

A. The Baha'í Faith and Comparative Religion; B. The Baha'í Faith and Islam; C. The Baha'í Faith and Christianity; D. The Baha'í Faith and Judaism

Chapter VIII: *The Baha'í Faith and Modern Religion* (p.123f)

Chapter IX: *The Baha'í Faith and American Religion* (p.127f)

Chapter X: *The Baha'í Faith and the American Indians* (p.129f)

Chapter XI: *Independent and Unaffiliated Baha'ís* (p.130f)

Chapter XII: *Baha'í Periodicals*

These chapters are followed by two appendices on (1) Baha'i Calendar and (2) Baha'i Holy Days. Though Collins (see below) does not include everything that Bjorling has in his bibliography he succinctly evaluates the quality of this work in the following words, "While the author claims that this work is 'comprehensive', there are many errors, an inordinate emphasis on obscure works by opponents and excommunicants and a large gap in the coverage of the worldwide published literature in English. It has been useful, nevertheless, in the absence of any fuller bibliographical treatments of the religion." (7.552).

William P. Collins, *Bibliography of English-Language Works on the Bábí and Bahá'í Faiths 1844-1985* Oxford: George Ronald, 1990. 550pp. ISBN 0-85398-315-1 Hbk £30.

Within this pioneering volume the author is described in the following terms, "William P. Collins was the Library Director at the Bahá'í World Centre in Haifa, Israel, from 1977 to 1990. He was born in 1950 in upstate New York, received his B.A. in French and Russian from Middlebury College and his M.S. in Library Science from Syracuse University. He has also studied at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana in Bogota, Colombia, the Gosudarstvennyi Leningradskii Universitet in Leningrad and the College of Librarianship in Aberystwyth, Wales. Since taking his degree in librarianship, he has held positions at Middlebury College Library and the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He has published articles on library professional topics, on Bahá'í history and doctrine, Mormonism and Sherlock Holmes." His bibliography has a foreword by Ian Semple (vii-x) and an introduction covering 'The Publication and Dissemination of Literature in English on the Bábí and Bahá'í Faiths (xi-xxii). The Preface (xxiii-xxvii) contains a reference to the BSB which is not entirely accurate. The BSB was begun in 1982 independently of any Bahá'í Conferences or seminars. It was never exactly or wholly a vehicle for the dissemination of Lancaster papers. In the main it was designed to facilitate communication between Bahá'í academics involved -- largely at a post-graduate level -- in Bábí-Bahá'í studies from a western religious studies stance.

The first five divisions of Collin's bibliography cover English language translations of -: I THE WRITINGS OF BAHÁ'U'LLÁH (1f), II THE WRITINGS OF THE BÁB (8f), III THE WRITINGS OF 'ABDU'L-BAHÁ (9), IV WORKS COMPILED FROM THE WRITINGS OF BAHÁ'U'LLÁH, THE BÁB AND 'ABDU'L-BAHÁ (18f), V THE WRITINGS OF SHOGHI EFFENDI (31f). There follows, VI WORKS AND MESSAGES OF THE UNIVERSAL HOUSE OF JUSTICE (38f), VII WORKS ON THE BÁBÍ AND BAHÁ'Í FAITHS (41f), VIII BRAILLE MATERIALS (159f), IX PERIODICALS (164f), X WORKS CONTAINING REFERENCE TO THE BÁBÍ AND BAHÁ'Í FAITHS (185f) XI ARTICLES IN NON-BAHÁ'Í PERIODICALS (250f), XII WORKS OF COVENANT-BREAKERS (294f), XIII THESES (303f).

The 'Standard Abbreviations for Major English-Language Bahá'í Works' (311) has long needed to be worked out and set down but will doubtless, ere long, need considerable supplementation. The 'Directory of Bahá'í Publishers' is again very useful though phone/fax numbers (where appropriate) might also have been added. There are lengthy and comprehensive (though not fully cross-referenced) Name (315) and Title (369) indexes as well as a 'Subject Index' (503-521).²

² In section X, which follows a bibliographic pattern set by Shoghi Effendi early on in the *Bahá'í World* volumes, there are a few rather inconsequential entries, e.g a single occurrence of the word Bahá'í in a work of Gyles Brandreth a British TV personality and comedian (10.240 p.83). It may be of some interest to research every early occurrence of the words Báb, Bábí, Bahá'í, Bahá'u'lláh (etc. and in archaic and/or garbled transliterations) in all manner of publications but this task becomes increasingly difficult (and pointless?) as time goes on (after the passing of Shoghi Effendi?). If this is done entries might be best set down under detailed and specific categories. Alternatively, section X could be accomplished in another work altogether.

I personally would have preferred it if Collins' bibliography had had a much more detailed subdivision (and/or chronological arrangement) of bibliographical entries. Despite the Subject Index (503-21) and some annotation, the content of a proportion of entries will remain cryptic to the uninitiated or non-Bahā'ī reader. His magnificent tome can, however, be thoroughly recommended.

A minor criticism. It is to be regretted that such a long awaited, timely and important Bahā'ī bibliographic publication, has a transliteration error on the spine (Báhá'í !) and an overly large, somewhat unstylish, golden lettering on the front cover. All in all, this work of Collins is extremely valuable. English language desiderata will, however, continue to come to light (see future BSBs) though locating them is not a simple or straightforward matter.

1844 -> 1985 DESIDERATA

As noted in a previous BSB space is henceforth given to material supplementary to Collins' *Bibliography* (= BEBBF). Many Bahā'ī scholars are aware of quantities of desiderata -- English language items missing -- from this important volume. While it should not be deduced that a call is going out for every occurrence of 'the Báb or Bahá'u'lláh/Bābī or Bahā'ī [or archaic/garbled transliterations]', in every conceivable non-academic source, academically useful desiderata would be gratefully received.

The following then, without listing them according to Collins' classification but merely alphabetically, are selected desiderata-: ³

'Babees' [=Bābīs], article [author not named] in Rev. Edwin Munsell Bliss (Ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Missions, Descriptive, Historical, Statistical* Vol.1 (New York, London, Toronto: Funk & Wagnalls, 1891) p.117.

Browne, E.G. 'Bábism', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. XXVI. 10th ed. London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1902. pp. 38-9. [SF]

Cuthbert, Arthur, *Bahā'ī Philosophy and Reincarnation* London n.d.

First Bahā'ī Century Souvenir. An Introduction to the Hundred Years History of the Baha'is in India and Burma,

Bahā'ī Publishing Committee of the Baha'is of India and Burma n.d. 64pp.

Garnett, Richard, 'Bābi or Bāby' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. 111. 9th ed. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1875. pp. 180-1. [SF]

Goldsmid, F.J. 'Persia' (Section 11, *History*), *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. XVIII. 9th ed. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1875. p. 651. [SF]

³ The items listed here are largely selected from my own unpublished bibliography. Seena Fazel is indicated as a contributor by his initials (SF) which follow items which he has drawn to my attention.

Harmon, W. W., *The Seven Principles of the Microcosm and the Macrocosm applied to the disclosures of Baha'o'llah in the Book of the Seven Valleys*; arranged for students by W.W. Published by the author, Boston, Mass., 1915. 27pp.

Koreshi, S. H. *The Baha'i Faith and Judaism* Karachi: NSA of the Baha'is of India and Burma, 102 BE/1945. 26pp.

Koreshi, S. H. *The Baha'i Faith and Islam* New Delhi: NSA of the Baha'is of India and Burma 103 BE/1946 [1945]. 52pp. [?]

Levy, R[euben], 'Kurrat al-Ain', [= Qurrat al-'āyn = Tāhīrih] *The Encyclopaedia of Islām, a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples* (prepared by a number of leading orientalists edited by M. Th. Houtsma, A. J. Wensinck, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Heffening and E. Lévi-Provensal) Supplement, (Leiden: E.J. Brill/London: Luzac & Co., 1938. pp. 134-6.

Martinovitch, N. 'Zoroaster and Abdul Baha', *Oriental Studies In Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry* London: Oxford University Press, 1933. pp. 293-5.

Müller, A. 'Sunnites' (Section, *Shi'ites*), *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. XXII. 9th ed. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1875. pp. 665-6. [SF]

National Spiritual Assembly for England, *The Bahā'ī Religion, Papers Read at the Conference on Some Living Religions within the British Empire 1924*, London: 1925.

The foreword to this publication by joint secretaries of the National Assembly, E. J. Rosenberg and G. P. Simpson states, "The Bahā'ī paper to be presented to the Conference was written at the express wish of the Guardian of the Cause, under the supervision of a committee of the United States National Assembly, by Mr. Horace Holley, the other members of the committee being Mr. Mountford Mills and Mrs. Parsons. It was subsequently revised by some members of the English National Assembly, and was read at the meeting on September 25th, 1924, by Mr. Mountford mills, the chair being taken by Dr. Walter Walsh, the leader of the Free Religious Movement.

The Assembly came to the conclusion that it would be desirable to bring out more fully the practical results obtained through the teachings of Bahā'u'llāh, and a short supplementary paper was therefore written by Mr. Ruhi Afnan with the direct advice of Shoghi Effendi, and was read by the author at the above-mentioned meeting.

These two papers are now published in a separate edition for the benefit of Bahā'īs especially, but they will find their place also in the memorial volume of *Transactions of the Conference*, issued by the Committee and published by Messrs. Duckworth and Co., Ltd."

This particular publication includes the two papers read at the Conference by Horace Holley *The Bahā'ī Religion Paper I* (pp. 3-18) and by Ruhi Afnan (grandson of 'Abdu'l-Bahā and cousin of Shoghi Effendi) *The Bahā'ī Religion Paper II* (pp. 19-24), which differ from the titles given in the entry in W. Collins 10.1221 p. 233.

Piggot, J. *Persia - Ancient and Modern* London: Henry S. King & Co., 1874. pp. 99-100, 104-6, 109-110, 159-61. [SF]

Rattingen, W.H. 'Babism', *London Quarterly Review* 92 (1899) p. 291f.

Remey, C.M., *Letter from Honolulu* Privately printed February 17th 1917.

Robson, J., articles 'Bābīs' (pp. 124-5); 'Bahā'īs' (pp. 125-6), S.G.F Brandon Gen. Ed., *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion* London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1970 (see Collins X.426 p.202 Robson is not named).

Sohrab, Mirza Ahmad, *Heart Phantasies* Los Angeles: Persian-American Publication Company, 1924. 121pp.

Tisdall, William St. Claire Towers (1859-1929 an Evangelical opponent of the Bahā'ī Faith), *Islamic Substitutes for the Incarnation*, *Muslim World* 1 (1911) pp. 254-264. See especially pp. 268-260.

World Missionary Conference, 1910 (To consider Missionary Problems in relation to the Non-Christian World) Report of commission IV, the Missionary Message in relation to Non-Christian Religions, With Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 18th June 1910, Published for the World Missionary Conference by Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier Edinburgh and London and the Fleming H. Revell company New York, Chicago, and Toronto. 333pp.

Appendix B in this volume is entitled **BAHAISM**. It occupies p.288 and reads, "A LADY who attended the Conference, and who is a personal friend of Abbas Effendi, was not satisfied that the statements in the Report with regard to the views of the Bahais are entirely accurate. After bringing the matter to the attention of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Commission, she wrote to Abbas Effendi asking the following questions:--

1. Is it right to speak of the Bab and of Baha Ullah as manifestations, or as incarnations ?
2. Do the Bahais teach the doctrine of re-incarnation ?
3. Did Baha Ullah claim to "supersede" the revelation of Jesus the Christ?
4. Did Baha Ullah claim to be greater than Jesus the Christ ?

She obtained the reply which is given below. It is printed here as an authoritative statement by their present leader of the views held by the Bahais.

1. The Bahais believe that the incarnation of the Word of God meaning the *changing* of the nature of divinity into humanity and the transformation of the infinite into the finite, can never be. But they believe that Baha Ullah and the Bab are manifestations of a universal order in the world of humanity. It is clear and evident that the Eternal can never be transient, neither the transient Eternal. The transformation of nature is impossible. Perfect man, -- manifestation, -- is like a clear mirror, in which the Sun of Reality is apparent and evident, reflected in its endless bounties.
2. In the teaching of Baha Ullah, the re-incarnation of the spirit in successive bodies is not taught.
3. Baha Ullah has not abolished the teachings of Christ, but gave a fresh impulse to them, and renewed them; explained and interpreted them; expanded and fulfilled them.
4. Baha Ullah has not claimed himself to be greater than Christ. He gave the following explanation, -- that the manifestations of God are the rising points of one and the same Sun, *i.e.* the Sun of Reality is one, but the places of rising are numerous. Thus, Reality is one, but it is shining upon several mirrors.

This Tablet of Abdu'l-Bahā is printed in *Star of the West* (1911) Vol.II No. 6 p.8. It is clear in this printing that the questions were communicated on behalf of a woman to 'Abdu'l-Bahā by Professor Cairns of Edinburgh on June 24 1910. The Tablet, largely cited in Appendix B (see above), is dated (Haifa) July 20th 1910 and addressed to a woman. The English translation is by Monever Khanum.

Zuehlen, J. L., *The Baha'i Movement* Versey, 1916. Originally published in *The Vedic Magazine* Lahore [Details uncertain. Not seen.]

DESIDERATA: ARTICLES IN NON-BAHĀ'Ī PERIODICALS

Bharati, A., 'Baha'i statistics and self-fulfilling design, comment on Keene's Redefinition of Religion', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Note 7(2): 281, 1968. [SF]

Roth, M., 'Irretrievable breakdown credited to Baha'i Founder', (Letter) *Trial* 12(6): 2, 1976. [SF]

Vakadin, D.M., 'Southern-California Council accepts Baha'i Membership', (Note) *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13(3): 510-511, 1976. [SF]

MacEoin, D. 'Baha'u'llah : The King of Glory by Hasan Balyuzi', (Book review) *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies* 12(1): 71-76, 1985. [SF]

COMPUTER SOFTWARE

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This software product was designed by the Bahā'ī scholar Christopher Buck, and Greg Berry of the Centre for Religious Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1 (416) 819-8594. As I have not tried to use it I cannot vouch for its level of user-friendliness or guage to what extent it is better than other transliterator fonts. i.e. the Atech *Foreign Language Font Pack V* (= Transliterator 1 and 2 for many software products operating under DOS or Windows £55+ VAT) or than the use of WordPerfect's thirteen extended character sets (accessed with or without macros).

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⁴ *Refer* requires an IBM-compatible computer, at least 256K of memory, a hard disk with 1.2 MB of free space and DOS 3.0 or higher. *Refer* runs on either color or monochrome monitors. *Program is self-installing. Available in PC and Mac formats. Please specify 5.25 inch or 3.5 inch disks In the PCDOS (IBM-COMPATIBLE) format. Mac SearchLight version requires hard drive and Hypercard 1.0 or higher. Both PC and Mac versions come with User's Guides.*

computerized version the surihs have been rearranged in their usual order (which is the way they appear in such works as *Selections from the Writings of the Báb*. Also, all the Roman numerals (XIX) have been removed and the more common Arabic (19) numerals substituted. Every verse is numbered.

With this research tool it is now possible to identify the exact surih and verse of heretofore undocumented Qur'anic quotations such as those appearing on pages 114-118 and 131-133 of the *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf*. It is also possible to study the translation modifications that Shoghi Effendi made to Rodwell's translation.

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Central Figures Trilogy, Computer Search & Retrieval Programs, IBM & Macintosh Formats
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"Diversity Press in cooperation with George Ronald of Oxford announces the publication of a new computerized software retrieval database called "Central Figures Trilogy". This database contains the complete text of Mr. Balyuzi's biographies of the 3 principal Figures of the Bahá'í Faith: *The Báb*, *Bahá'u'lláh: The King of Glory*, and *'Abdu'l-Bahá* indexed in an instantly searchable format for IBM-compatible and Macintosh computers.

IBM-Compatible Version : The searches are performed by a menu-driven program, *Refer*. After choosing the book(s) to search, the user enters a word or words to find. The program searches the entire text of the selected volumes for every occurrence of the search word(s) and displays them on the screen in the line in which each appears. The user then highlights the desired occurrence and with a single keypress can see the item in context. The desired excerpt(s) can be output (printed) to a printer, disk, or word-processing file. Each printed excerpt automatically contains the exact page number and the name of the book from which it came.

Macintosh Version: Searches performed by *Searchlight*, a mouse-driven, point-and-shoot, program. The searches are performed in a manner very similar to the IBM-compatible version with the added ability to search on numbers, such as dates (1844, 1863, etc). *Searchlight* requires a Macintosh computer with a hard disk, 512K, and HyperCard 1.0 or above. Includes four 3-1/2 inch disks; User's manual.

SOME RECENT SEMINARS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR BAHÁ'Í STUDIES, ENGLISH SPEAKING EUROPE, RELIGIOUS STUDIES SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP



The following constitutes record of the papers delivered -- or brief reports about seminars which have taken place -- at the Bahá'í Centre, Newcastle upon Tyne between 1989 and 1991. More detailed accounts of these seminars may be printed in future BSBs.

**BAHĀ'Ī STUDIES SEMINAR & E.G. BROWNE CENTENARY CELEBRATION JUNE 23-25 1989
NEWCASTLE BAHĀ'Ī CENTRE AND CIVIC HALL**

On the Saturday of this seminar weekend there took place (at Newcastle Civic Centre) a celebration of the first public talk about the Bābī-Bahā'ī Faith in the West by E.G. Browne organized by the LSA of the Bahā'īs of Newcastle upon Tyne. The papers which were read at this seminar included:

Keith Mellard, *Some Facts and a Credibility Gap: A Cause within a Cause*

Moojan Momen, *Liberalism and Fundamentalism: Towards an Understanding of the Dichotomy*

Philip Smith, *What was a Bahā'ī?: Concerns of British Bahā'īs 1920-1957*

Payam Akhavan, *Law Student's Reflections on International Law and Human Rights*

THE SEMINAR OF DECEMBER 8-10 1989

FRIDAY

20.00 Hari Docherty, *The 19 Day Feast: Organic Change through a Confluence of Holy Souls*
Bahā'ī scholarship in the U.K. & Internationally; Reports and Open Discussion.

SATURDAY

10.00 Moojan Momen, *Official Religion and Popular Religion*

11.00 George Ballentyne, *The Moral Crisis of Victorian Christianity: Bahā'ī Implications*

12.00 Open Discussion: Aspects of Bahā'ī Scholarship and Publishing.

14.00 Anjam Khursheed, *The Subjective and Objective side of Truth Paradigms*

15.00 Faranak Ballentyne, *Towards Emancipation/Liberation.*

16.00 Seena Fazel, *What is Bahā'ī?*

Open discussion on aspects of Bahā'ī scholarship.

SUNDAY

10.00 Stephen Lambden, *The meaning of the name "Moses" as explained by Sayyid Kāzīm ..*

11.00 Farzin Froughi, *The selection of an international language and script as spoken about in the Kitāb-ī Aqdas*

12.00 Khazeh Fananapazir, *Glimpses into the Kitāb al-Farā'id of Mīrzā Abu'l-Fadl*

Open discussion on aspects of Bahā'ī scholarship.

THE SEMINAR OF 1-3 JUNE 1990

SATURDAY

10.00 Seena Fazel, *Exclusivity and Non-exclusivity in the World religions*

11.30 Khazeh Fananapazir, *An Introduction to al-Khutba al-Tutunjiyya*

12.30 Stephen Lambden, *The Significance of the Form/Symbol of the Cross in the Writings of Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad, the Bāb*

14.30 George Ballentyne, *Doubtless Evidence*

16.00 Consultation on ABS-ESE and the future of Bahā'ī scholarship internationally and in the U.K.

SUNDAY

10.00 Gordon Kerr, *Unity in Diversity: a Paradox*

11.30 Moojan Momen, *The Cyprus Exiles*

12.30 Hari Docherty, *Towards a Bahā'ī Work Ethic*

14.30 Discussion on Bahā'ī scholarship

THE SEMINAR OF 7-9 DECEMBER 1990

Academic Bahā'ī Studies seminars have been held in England for the last 20 years or so -- the last few of them in Newcastle upon Tyne. Following consultation with Hugh Adamson (chairman of the ABS-ESE and secretary of the N.S.A. of the Bahā'īs of the U.K.) in 1990, those present at these highly-praised seminars agreed, by universal assent, to continue as a specialist Religious Studies branch of the ABS-ESE.

The latest such specialist (though non-elitist; all Bahā'īs have always been welcome to attend) academic seminar was held at the Newcastle Bahā'ī Centre over the weekend 7-9 December, 1990. Approximately 30 Bahā'īs were present from the U.K. and overseas, including Canada, the U.S.A. and Japan. Among those who presented papers or led discussions were (in chronological order): Hari Docherty, *Some Aspects of the Bahā'ī Work Ethic*; Khazeh Fananapazir, *Some Thoughts about the Bāb's Tafsīr Sūrat al-Kawthar*; Michael Sours, *Seeing with the Eye of God: the relationship between theology and interpretation in Bahā'u'llāh's Writings*; B. Todd Lawson, *The Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn asrār Amīr al-Muminīn of Rajab Bursī*; Moojan Momen, *In all ways that matter women don't count!*; John Walbridge, *Erotic Imagery in the Allegories of Bahā'u'llāh*; Seena Fazel, *Only One Way? – Soteriological Headaches*.

Those present were particularly grateful to B. Todd Lawson who lectures in Islamic Studies at the University of Toronto (and is a member of the Editorial Board of the ABS Journal of Bahā'ī Studies) for presenting his paper about Rajab Bursī whose anthology (mentioned above) contains the Arabic text of the important 'Sermon of the Gulf' (*Khutbat al-tutunjiyya/tatanjiyya*) attributed to Imam 'Alī (d. 661

C.E.) and was quoted by the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh. John Walbridge, who is an accomplished Islamicist, works full-time for the N.S.A. of the Bahā'īs of the U.S.A. and is editor of the forthcoming Bahā'ī Encyclopedia. Among other things, his paper sought to throw light on the symbolic imagery present in Bahā'u'llāh's *Tablet of the Maiden (Lawh-i Huryyih)*. The two aforementioned Bahā'ī scholars, before the Newcastle seminar, had presented papers at a three-day international conference on Classical Persian Sufism (at the Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, SOAS and the Nimatullahi Research Centre, 5-7 December).

The state of Bahā'ī publications internationally was discussed in a session with representations from Oneworld and George Ronald. The seminar concluded with a forum discussion, Bahā'ī Scholarship: Retrospects and Prospects, chaired by Wendy Momen.

THE SEMINAR OF JULY 12-14 1991

The Friday evening was largely taken up with a consideration of the diverse understandings of "Bahā'ī Studies" and "Bahā'ī Scholar".

The first speaker on the Saturday morning was the now well-known Bahā'ī writer Michael Sours (Oxford). He presented the main points of his paper, *The Maid of Heaven, the Image of Sophia and Logos, The Personification of the Spirit of God in Scripture and Sacred Literature*. Among other things, Michael argued that the characteristics of the Logos (= Greek, the "Word") and the image of Sophia (= Greek, "Wisdom") are combined and reflected in the feminine personification of the Most Great Spirit in the writings of Bahā'u'llāh. Next, a philosophically challenging discussion was led by Anjam Khursheed (Edinburgh), *Religion and the Logical Positivists*, and then Moojan Momen (Northill) reviewed the state of the nineteenth-century Persian Bahā'ī community in his paper, *The Bahā'ī Community of Iran 1853-1892*. On Sunday morning Stephen Lambden (Newcastle upon Tyne) reviewed in his *Bahā'u'llāh the Tetragrammaton (YHWH)*, the evolution of the Founder of the Bahā'ī Faith's claims: from being the return of Imam Husayn to His being (among other things) "Jehovah", the "Lord" of the Old Testament. The final paper was presented by Seena Fazel (Edinburgh), *Studying the Writings of Shoghi Effendi*. Participants were made aware of methodologies relevant to the study of the Guardian's writings. The importance of systematic guides to the study of such writings was underlined and the lack of availability of major English and Persian letters noted. The seminar ended with an open forum on issues raised over the weekend.

THE SEMINAR OF 29 NOVEMBER-1 DECEMBER 1991

A Bahā'ī Studies seminar of the ABS-ESE *Religious Studies (special interest) Group* was held at the Bahā'ī Centre, Newcastle upon Tyne between Friday November 29th and Sunday December 1st, 1991. Around fifty Bahā'īs were present, from the U.K. and abroad, including Geneva, Switzerland and the U.S.A. The seminar benefited much from the presence of Dr. Robert Stockman who is currently head of the Research Office/Coordinator of Research of the American Bahā'ī National Centre. On the Sunday afternoon interested participants visited the grave of the one-time Cambridge lecturer Edward G. Browne (1862-1926) who is buried in Elswick cemetery, Newcastle. Prayers were read and a brief talk given by Moojan Momen.

Eight papers were presented and discussed over the weekend. In order of presentation the papers presented, with a brief summary of their contents, were:

* Hari Docherty, *The Western Revelling of Tāhīrīh*. This paper, among other things, critically examined some recent perspectives about the only female Letter of the Living in the light of certain, little known, letters of Shoghi Effendi/ the Universal House of Justice. Picturing Tāhīrīh as a modern type 'women's liberation' saint can lead to distortions of history.

* Shahriar Razavi, *Bahā'u'llāh's Tablet of the Seven Questions* analyzed and examined the significance of major themes in Bahā'u'llāh's Persian *Lawh-i-Haft Purshish* which he had fully translated into English.

* Robert Stockman's paper, *The American Bahā'ī Identity 1894-1921*, consisted of suggested answers to the following questions, 'Who became Bahā'īs in the United States between 1894 and 1921?'; 'What did they think they were joining?' The nature of the Bahā'ī community during these years, and whether or not it was perceived as an independent religion, was dwelt upon.

* Moojan Momen, *The Bahā'ī Community of Iran 1853-1892, Further Considerations* supplemented an earlier paper with detailed analyses of the Bahā'ī population of selected 19th-century Iranian provinces.

* Stephen Lambden, *The Lote-Tree beyond which there is no passing (Sidrat al-Muntahā), He Who is beyond it, and such as pass it by*, detailed the Qur'ānic and Islāmic background of the Lote-Tree motif in Bābī and Bahā'ī scripture.

* Seena Fazel, *A Bahā'ī Approach to Religious Pluralism*, outlined selected Christian attitudes to religious pluralism and set the scene for the Bahā'ī articulation of a "world theology".

* Michael Sours, *The Authority and Authenticity of Past Scripture*, collected together and attempted to synthesize certain Bahā'ī statements touching upon the "authority" and "authenticity" of Biblical and other sacred scriptures.

In addition to these papers, wide-ranging discussions took place on certain aspects of effectively carrying out Bahā'ī scholarship. The importance of young Bahā'īs doing Religious Studies, Theology or Islamic Studies/ Arabic and Persian degrees (at an academic level) was highlighted. Such studies can be spiritually and intellectually stimulating and would enable the individual carrying them out to be of service to the Faith. The need for academically trained Bahā'ī scholars is fundamental.

ERRATA TO RECENT BULLETINS, 5:1-2 & 5:3-> 6:1

The speedy production of the last BSBs in time for the Bahā'ī Studies seminars was to some extent responsible for a number of errors. The majority of these are listed below. Apart from the fairly minor scanning errors (e.g. "l." becoming "L"), the following corrections should be made to copies circulated early on. Sincere apologies to the contributors in whose articles these errors appeared. In future printings these BSB errors will be corrected.

BSB 5:1-2 (January 1991)

- p. 7 not *maqarr-i zuhūr* but *maqām-i zuhūr*
- p. 8 last word of the translation "Lord of the worlds" lost in a few copies.
- p. 10 last line "by any means" repeated twice.
- p. 38 duplicated on p.39
- p. 42f a page containing the end of a Momen letter missed out; namely,

"(9) To drop the final hamza in all cases, e.g. Qayyúmu'l-Asmá.

(10) To use w for the silent و, e.g. Khwarazm.

This seems a very large list of alterations but in practical terms, the effects that it will have on Bahá'í texts would be very slight. The suggested change in accenting would not alter the appearance of the text greatly and the other changes occur relatively infrequently. Thus for example, I counted only 25 changes (other than accenting) in the Prologue and first three chapters (59 pages) of Balyuzi's The Báb.

Thus with comparatively minor changes in form, one can remove most of the problems and inconsistencies in the present Bahá'í system and bring the system more into line with that followed by most other publications in this field. This is particularly important in a work of the nature of that which I am editing since it is the intention to send the book to a number of learned journals for review and it would be regrettable if this and other books published were to be met with the same sort of criticism as that which has been levelled by Ellwell-Sutton.

If you desire any clarification of the points raised in this letter, I will be in Haifa during the summer,

Warmest Bahá'í greetings,

M. Momen"

BSB 5:3 -> 6:1 (June 1991)

- p. 4 not Moses (c.13 B.C.E.?) but Moses (C 13 B.C.E.?)
- p. 10 l.6 should read, "The last of these issues is a necessary part of any introduction to the Tablet of the Companions (*Sūrat al-Ashāb*). My reading in the primary sources..."
- p. 19. l.6 not (*ghulāt* but (*ghulāt*)
- p. 19. l.11 not *munzar* but *munzal*
- p. 22. l.17 not *rusūl* but *rusul*
- p. 26 fn. 30 not *Mulhāqat* but *Mulhaqāt*
- p. 29. l. 20 the page numbers given here are for correct for one edition of AQA 4 (reproduced on p. 52ff of this BSB) though the 1968 edition places this Tablet on pp. 205-239.
- p. 32 l.4 Dr. Cole has pointed out that there appear to be some differences among the various editions of AQA 4. The text translated (AQA 4 1968 edition) has *tasīh* "proclaim the sovereignty", while that printed in the BSB reads *tusiḥh*.
- p. 32 l.24 not " no by the heavens" but "nor by the heavens".
- p. 35 l.2 "begin" = "should begin"
- p. 35 2nd para. "..be turned back". Full stop missing after the word back.
- p. 40 l.8 "can ye escape." = "can ye escape?"

- p. 42 Last para. "...harm they wreak". Full stop missing after the word wreak.
- p. 45 fourth line from bottom of page, not: "...of ye be o the discerning." but, "if ye be of the discerning."
- p. 49 End of 1st. para. not, "...veil." but "...veil."
- p. 50 6th line from bottom of page, not "by God,..." but "By God,..."
- p. 51 l.5 sentence ends, "...in the Book." (full stop missing).
- p. 51 last line but one, not "they Lord" but "thy Lord".
- p. 67 duplicated on p.68.
- P. 77 2nd para. not "... *Qayyūm al-āsmā'* ..." but *Qayyūm al-asmā'*.
- p. 79 the translation from the *Sūrat al-Fath* should begin: "So recollect, O people! the moment when there came to you the Revealer of the Bayān (*munzil al-bayān* [the Bāb])..." Reverse pages 98 & 99 to correct the pagination / page order
- p. 80 trans. last para. not "levels (*fī kull' sha'n*)..." but "levels (*fī kull' sha'n*)..."
- p. 80 trans. last line but one the h of jannah should be dotted, namely, *jannah*
- p. 80 Yahyā is thus transliterated: not Yahyā' [with hamza transliteration mark]; correct at various points from p.80
- p. 80 fn.11 place a comma after the word period and the word archives.
- p. 80 fn.12 The date of *Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī* should be given as 126 Badī'.
- p. 81 l.2 the word 'Amā' should be thus transliterated;
l.3 transliterate Qasida as given;
the word Ridwān is thus transliterated [here and elsewhere].
- p. 82 transliterate Ṣabr thus.
- p. 83 fns. correct transliteration = *Ayyām-i Tis'a* [or *Ayyām-i Tis'ih*]
- p. 89 l.1 & 2 second, close brackets missing ")".
- p. 98 = p.99 [Error in pagination/page order: please read the following page first]
- p. 99 = p.98
- p. 100 l.6 not "...see out..." but "...seek out..."
- p. 105 l.6 not "...constantly grow..." but "... constantly growing..."
- p. 105 l.7 not "...to protects..." but "...to protect..."
- p. 114 not John Waldrige but John Walbridge.
- p. 122 l.9 correct trans. *Qurrat al-'Ayn*
- p. 123 Bibliography item 1. Correct trans. E.G. Browne, *Bābīsm.*
- p. 149 l.8 Not #21.95 but £21.95.
- p. 150 towards bottom of page, correct to, Christopher Buck, *Qur'ān Commentary in Bahá'u'lláh's Kitáb-i-Íqán*

