

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 كل شيء* Ermahnung und Entscheidung für alles Ding *لكل شيء* << 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 *وكل شيء* 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 *ألا كل شيء*). 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 كل شيء* (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 موجودة برعة من الزمان
بعد كل داع الي 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, *Seyyèd 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 يُظْهِرَ مَنْ
يُظْهِرُهُ 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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Full details of certain sources referred to only once in this article are not listed below -- they are fully detailed in the article. Details of the mss. and published texts / translations of the SV consulted are registered below (see p.28f). The bulk of the abbreviations utilized are repeated here.

- 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.
- AQA 3 = *Āthār-i qalam-i a'lā* Vol.3 (Tehran: BPT, 121 Badī' [= 1965-6 CE], Reprint: New Delhi n.d.).

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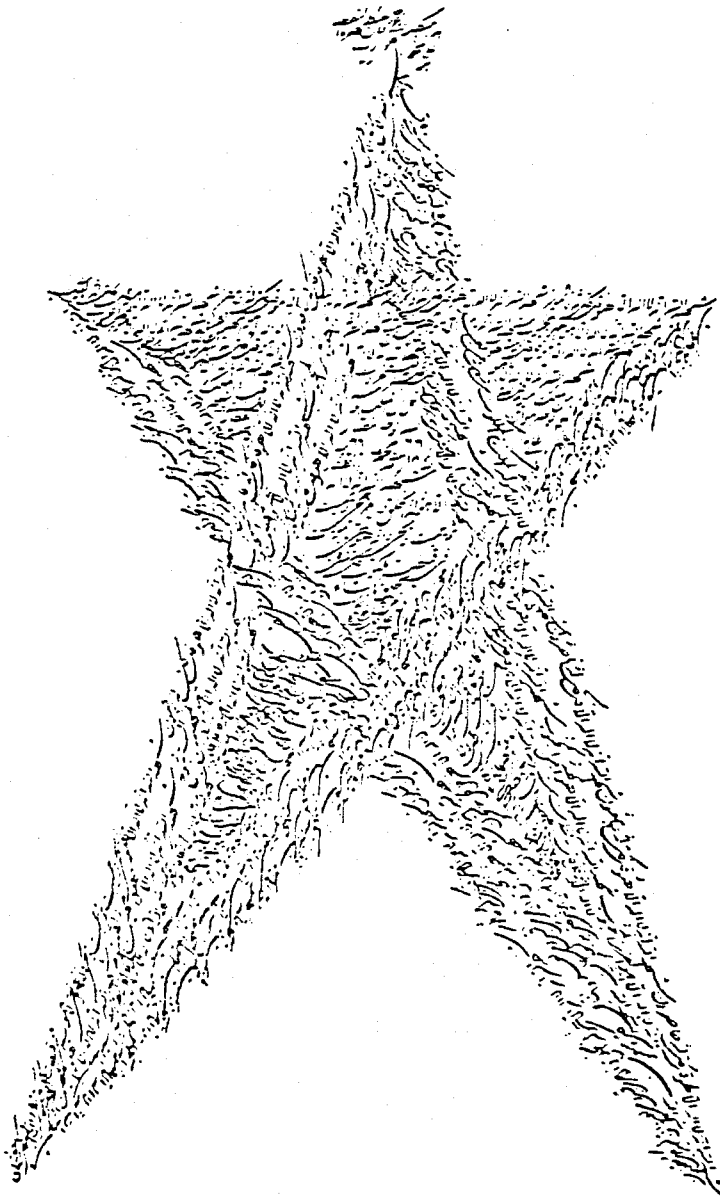
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PART TWO



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