



Haj Mihdi Arjmand

Scripture and Revelation

*Papers presented at the
First Irfan Colloquium
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England, December 1993
and the
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Wilmette, USA, March 1994*

edited by

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Introduction

This book, as well as being the third volume in the Bahá'í Studies series published by George Ronald, represents the first in a series of volumes presenting the proceedings of a cycle of conferences called the Irfan Colloquia. These conferences have been organized under the patronage of the Haj Mehdi Arjmand Memorial Trust set up in 1992 in the memory of Háj Mihdí Arjmand, a distinguished Bahá'í scholar of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Further conferences in the series have already taken place and it is hoped that the proceedings of these conferences will be published in due course.

The first two Irfan Colloquia were held in Europe and North America on the theme of 'Scripture and Revelation'. The first conference was held on 3-5 December 1993 at the Bahá'í Centre in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, and was co-sponsored by the Religious Studies Special Interest Group of the Association for Bahá'í Studies (English-Speaking Europe). The programme of the conference was as follows:

Friday evening, 3 December 1993

Stephen Lambden, 'Two Bahá'í scholars: Háj Mihdí Arjmand and Thomas Kelly Cheyne'

Saturday morning, 4 December 1993

Dr Seena Fazel, 'Understanding Exclusivist Texts'

Dr Robert H. Stockman, 'Modern Biblical Interpretation and the Bahá'í Faith'

Saturday afternoon

Dr Todd Lawson, 'The Báb's *Tafsír Suratu'l-Asr*'

Sunday morning, 5 December

Stephen Lambden, 'Prophecy in the Johannine Farewell Discourse: The Advents of the Paraclete, Aḥmad and the Comforter (*Mu'azzî*)'

Sunday afternoon

Dr Khazeh Fananapazir, 'The Day of God'

Dr Kamran Ekbal, 'The Pattern and Symbolism of Revelation from Zarathustra to Bahá'u'lláh'

In addition to the talks, the conference scheduled time for several discussions of biblical and quranic exegesis (interpretation) from a Bahá'í perspective. About 30 people attended the conference.

The second conference was held on 25-27 March 1994 at the National Bahá'í Center in Wilmette, Illinois, United States. The programme was as follows:

Friday night, 25 March 1994

Nikoo Mahboubian gave a talk about Ḥáj Mihdí Arjmand

Saturday morning, 26 March 1994

Dr John S. Hatcher, 'The Validity and Value of an Historical-Critical Approach to the Revealed Word of Bahá'u'lláh'

Frank Lewis, 'Scripture as Literature: The Writings of Bahá'u'lláh in their Literary Context'

Dr Ross Woodman, 'The Inner Dimensions of Revelation'

Saturday afternoon

Dr Susan Brill, 'Reading With or Against the Book, or the Avoidance of Interpretive Chaos'

Thomas May, 'Entombed in a Dead Language: the Saints Raising out of their Graves'

William Barnes, 'Mythoi: Stories of the Origin, Fall and Redemption of Man'

Craig Loehle, 'Bahá'í Parables'

Saturday evening

An informal panel presentation allowing speakers and the audience time to discuss subjects raised during the day.

Sunday morning, 27 March 1994

Dr Kamran Ekbal, 'The Koranic Roots of Some Legal and Theological Terms in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas'

Dr Julio Savi, 'The Love Relationship Between God and Humanity: A Commentary on Bahá'u'lláh's *Hidden Words*'

Michael McCarron, 'The Resurrection of Divine Wisdom: A Study of the Ontology of Greek Philosophical Theology and Jewish Theology in the Context of Wisdom Revelation and its Realization in the Bahá'í Religion'

Aram Gomez, 'The Tree of Peace and the Coming of Bahá'u'lláh'

About 65 persons from Canada, Japan, four European countries, and eleven states attended the conference.

The present volume is a selection of the papers presented at these two conferences. It is prefaced by a biography of Ḥáj Mihdí Arjmand in whose memory the Haj Mehdi Arjmand Memorial Trust was established. The essays in this volume vary widely in style. Some are written from

the viewpoint of faith and in a language assuming a belief in the tenets of the Bahá'í Faith, while others adopt a more neutral academic style. In preparing this volume the editor has not attempted to achieve a uniformity of tone or style but rather has tried to allow each author to express himself in the style that best suits him. Only the style of annotation and transliteration has been rendered uniform.

*Moojan Momen
Northill
England
March 1997*

Ḥáj Mihdí Arjmand

Iraj Ayman

Background

One century ago Ḥáj Mihdí Á'Rafú'á became a legendary name among the residents of Hamadán, southwest of Tehran and one of the oldest Persian cities. The city was at the busy crossroad of trade and travel within the country and between Iran and Europe. It had a thriving economy, attracting new migrants from other parts of the country. The city was then the home of a multi-cultural, multi-religious community and was the scene of strong religious tensions. An ancient Jewish shrine, tombs of Esther and Mordechai, the graves of the leading Muslim philosopher and scientist Avicenna and the famous and popular Persian poet Bába Ṭáhir 'Uryán made the city the desired abode of Jews, Muslims and Christians alike. Western Christian missionaries had also been dispatched to the city to convert people of Jewish, Armenian and Muslim backgrounds to Protestant Christianity. As one of the earliest centres of Bahá'í teaching activities, Hamadán also had a sizeable and growing community of Bahá'ís of both Muslim and Jewish background. The Bahá'ís were facing resistance and opposition from the leaders of other religious communities – Jews, various sects of Muslims, and Christians, including those newly converted from Judaism to Christianity.

It was in such a setting that a young Talmudist, Mi'ír Á'Rafú'á, who belonged to a highly respected Jewish household, accepted the Bahá'í Faith and became a most erudite

Prophecy in the Johannine Farewell Discourse: The Advents of the Paraclete, Aḥmad and the Comforter (*Mu‘azzí*)

Stephen Lambden

A hymn by Mrs Emma C. Holmes entitled 'The Comforter Has Come' was composed for the American Bahá'í Convention of 1911. Mountfort Mills (d. 1949, the first chairman of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of America and Canada) sang it to the assembled congregation.¹ It is a hymn celebrating the realization of promises contained in the Gospel of John about the coming of Bahá'u'lláh as the Paraclete (Greek, *paraklḗtos*) or 'Comforter' according to the Authorized (King James; 1611) and Revised (1885) Versions of the Bible. It forms a suitable introduction to the theme of this essay, namely, some aspects of the exegetical history of those sayings ascribed to Jesus which make mention of the advent of the Paraclete. I intend to set forth a few Christian, Muslim, Bábí and Bahá'í interpretations relating (directly or indirectly) to promises found in the Johannine 'Farewell Discourse' (of Jesus; Jn 13:31ff) where mention is made of the coming Paraclete. It will, I hope, be illustrated, that variants of the above-mentioned hymn could have been 'sung' in various 'keys' by mainstream or heterodox members of the major Abrahamic and related religions (i.e. Christianity and Islam, cf. Manichaeism). Interpretations of the paraclete sayings are central to Bahá'u'lláh's claims. They have an important place in the Bahá'í interpretation of the New Testament.

The Johannine Paraclete (*paraklētos*): Translation and Christian Interpretation

The Gospel of John records that Jesus referred to the Paraclete four times. Without citing the paraclete passages in full here (see Appendix 1), it will be relevant to note the following words:

'And I [Jesus] will pray the Father, and he will give you another *Paraclete*, to be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth (Jn 14:16f) . . . But the *Paraclete*, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things (Jn 14:26) . . . But when the *Paraclete* comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth (Jn 15:26) . . . it is to your advantage that I [Jesus] go away, for if I do not go away, the *Paraclete* will not come unto you . . .' (Jn 16:7).²

The paraclete sayings of Jesus have, in one way or another, generated a wide range of interpretations which cannot all be registered here. Only a few points of translation and interpretation, largely relating to their personalized, messianic significance within various post-Christian religions, are set out. It will be clear that to some religious groups the coming of the Paraclete figure was a messianic event which fulfilled an aspect of the paraclete promises about Jesus' successor. Such, in varying ways, was the case within certain early streams of Christianity and in Islam and the Bábí and Bahá'í religions.

The English loan-word Paraclete is a transliteration, via the Latin (*Paracletus*, so the Vulgate of Jerome d. 420 CE) of the Greek *paraklētos*.³ An extended active sense of this Greek word is most likely present in the Johannine Paraclete texts (cf. 1 Jn 2:1).⁴ As depicted in the Fourth Gospel the multi-faceted Paraclete has a range of functions including (directly or indirectly) 'instructing/teaching', 'reminding', 'witnessing', 'exhorting', 'strengthening', 'helping' and 'comforting/consoling'. It is clear that no

single English translation adequately sums up all dimensions of the role of the Johannine *paraklētos*. Searches for the historical background and origin of the title Paraclete have been largely unsuccessful. They have not served to settle the translation problems.⁵

Finding the active sense of 'consoling/comforting' (Greek *parakalein/parakaleo*, 'to console/comfort') reflected in the Fourth Gospel's use of *paraklētos*, many Greek Church Fathers presuppose that the Johannine Paraclete is basically a 'Comforter' or 'Consoler'. Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 313-86 CE), for example, reckoned that, 'He is called *Paraklētos* because he comforts (*parakalei*) and consoles and helps our infirmity'.⁶ This translation was also deemed appropriate inasmuch as the general aim of Jesus in the 'Farewell Discourse' was thought to be to 'comfort' the disciples as he left them.⁷

The English translation 'Comforter' apparently goes back to the Yorkshire-born English reformer and Oxford scholar John Wycliffe (1325-84), who initiated a translation of the Bible into English.⁸ The translation 'Comforter', as noted, was used in the highly influential Authorized Version (= KJV) of 1611 and the American Standard Version of 1901. In modern English translations of the New Testament, other renderings usually replace 'Comforter' (see though *The Living Bible*, 1971) for the comforting role is largely indirect or thought to be relatively minor 'in the Paraclete's activities'.⁹ From the early Christian centuries however, words synonymous with 'Comforter' in a variety of languages, have translated the Greek.

The Egyptian exegete Origen (185-254) understood *paraklētos* in John's Gospel to mean 'consoler' (= 'comforter'). In his *First Principles* he (+ ? the translator Tyrannius Rufinus d. 410) wrote, 'the Paraclete, who is also called the Holy Spirit, is so called from his work of consolation (*paraklesis* being termed in Latin *consolatio*); for anyone who has been deemed worthy to partake of the Holy Spirit, when he has learned his unspeakable mysteries, undoubt-

edly obtains consolation and gladness of heart'.¹⁰ He understood Paraclete to have two basic senses in Greek: 'intercessor' when applied to Jesus¹¹ and 'comforter' when applied to the Holy Spirit.¹² 'When used of the Holy Spirit . . . the word 'paraclete' must be understood as 'comforter', because he provides comfort for the souls to whom he opens and reveals a consciousness of spiritual knowledge'.¹³ Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315-86) translated *paraklēōs* as 'consoler' 'because the Spirit helps our infirmities and makes intercession for us'. His contemporaries Hilary of Poitiers (317-67) and Jerome (348-420; responsible for the Latin Vulgate) both translate this word 'consolator'.¹⁴

The Revised Standard Version (1952) has 'Counsellor' (where KJV and Revised Versions have 'Comforter') in the four paraclete sayings. It was thought to be equally appropriate to all five New Testament occurrences. Lindars reckoned that to translate *paraklēōs* by 'Counsellor' can be defended on the basis of the equal applicability of this title to both the Johannine Jesus and the Johannine Spirit: 'it was obviously necessary to find a word which, while being capable of being applied to both, was not exclusively associated with either'.¹⁵ 'Counsellor' is also four times used in the paraclete sayings as rendered in the New International Version (1978). The use of this single translation is quite widely considered too simplistic.

The Latin Fathers Tertullian (d. 220 CE) and Cyprian of Carthage (d. c. 258 CE) as well as Augustine of Hippo (d. 430 CE) and others, often rendered *paraklēōs* as *Advocatus* (Advocate).¹⁶ This rendering, indicating 'one called in to give help and advice', has been much favoured.¹⁷ The New English Bible¹⁸ and the Catholic Jerusalem Bible (Eng. trans. 1966), for example, consistently translate *paraklēōs* as 'Advocate' as does the New Revised Standard Version (1989; with the alternative 'Helper' in footnotes). Many, however, have also found this translation too limited.¹⁹ The revised New Jerusalem Bible (1986) straightforwardly uses the transliteration Paraclete and this is undoubtedly the

most satisfactory.

Another suggested translation of *paraklēōs* has been 'Helper', which closely accords with Greek usage. Such was the favoured rendering of the Scottish New Testament scholar James Moffatt (1870-1944), who produced a colloquial translation of the New Testament in 1913. Partly on the basis of Mandaean texts where the figure Yawar (the Helper, a debatable rendering) is important, Rudolph Bultmann (1884-1976) gave weight to this rendering of *paraklēōs*.²⁰ For reasons other than those proposed by him, it is quite widely looked upon favourably by modern biblical scholars.²¹ It is the translation of the Johannine *paraklēōs* found, for example, in the New American Standard Bible (1960), the New King James Version (= Revised Authorized Version, 1980/82) and the New Century Bible (1987).

The Spirit, the Messiah and the Personification of the Paraclete

The paraclete sayings in John's Gospel presuppose an intimate relationship between the Paraclete and the Holy Spirit (see especially Jn 14:26). The Paraclete is three times identified with 'the Spirit of Truth' (*to pneuma tes alētheias*; 14:17; 15:26; 16:13). From the early Christian centuries through the Patristic era and beyond, many Christians have considered the Paraclete figure a divine personification of the Holy Spirit. This was standard among the Church Fathers.²² Most Christian interpretations, whether ancient or modern, are on these lines. Modern New Testament scholars sometimes conflate the Paraclete and the Holy Spirit by speaking of the Spirit-Paraclete (e.g. in Johnston, *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John*).

As the messianic understanding of the Paraclete presupposes a more or less complete personification, it will be convenient at this point to register a few passages in which this is highlighted. G. W. H. Lampe in his article 'Paraclete' writes:

In the Fourth Gospel, Jesus promises that in answer to his prayer the Father will give his disciples 'another paraclete' . . . This is the Holy Spirit, whose function is thus said, by implication, to be identical with that of Christ, but who is yet distinguished from him. The use of masculine pronouns and adjectives (Jn 14: 16: 'another'; 14:26: 'he'; 16:13: 'he') shows that the Spirit is regarded as fully personal; indeed, the 'paraclete' passages of the Fourth Gospel mark the most highly developed thought in the NT in respect of the personality of the Spirit of God . . . He is the Spirit of truth (Jn 14: 16-17), who is the guide to Christ, who is himself the truth (vs. 6). As the revealer of Christ he takes the place of the physical presence of the incarnate Word, and is in this sense 'another paraclete' (vs. 16), being present at the side of Christ's followers . . .²³

On similar lines are the remarks of Quispel:²⁴

. . . John clearly regards the Holy Spirit as a person or at least as a hypostatic being with personal characteristics, distinct from Christ (not his force or spirit or function in the world). The author [of John 14f] is so convinced of this personal being that he uses the Greek masculine pronoun *ekeinos* with the neuter substantive *to pneuma tēs alētheias* (14:26, 17). This is not always the case in the New Testament, even in the Gospel of John: 'He breathed on them, saying: Receive the Holy Spirit. . . ' (20:22).

Within orthodox Christendom the person of the 'other Paraclete' (Gk. *allos parakleton*, Jn 14:16) remained within the substance of the Trinity. Various paraclete passages were read as evidence of the distinction of persons within the Godhead. From the Patristic era (despite Jn 20:22) the pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit narrated in Acts 2 came to be widely viewed as the historical fulfilment of the paraclete promises.²⁵ The expected Paraclete was, for most Christians, the post-Easter gift of the Holy Spirit.

Neither the description of the Paraclete as 'another Paraclete' (Jn 14:16) nor his strong personification and role

of completing the revelation begun by the historical Jesus (see esp. Jn 14:26; 16:12f), have led the generality of Christians to expect another human or messianic manifestation of the Paraclete. Such an understanding of the Spirit-Paraclete was not, however, wholly unknown in the early Christian centuries. The possibility of Paracletehood was early on utilized by Christian schismatics and later used to support the reality of continuing prophethood. The sometimes masculine personification of the Paraclete doubtless confirmed this perspective.²⁶

Simon Magus (1st century CE), a contemporary of the apostles of Jesus, may have claimed to be the Paraclete.²⁷ Paul was apparently reckoned the 'other Paraclete' of John 14:16 by certain followers of the excommunicate heretical theologian Marcion of Pontus (d. 180 CE).²⁸ In the late 150s CE, the Christian Montanus claimed to be a prophet in Phrygia; he 'claimed to be the mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit and that the Paraclete promised in John 14, 26; 16,7 was incarnate in him'.²⁹

Christian trinitarian orthodoxy eventually out-ruled claims to Paracletehood. In his *The Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*, Casarella notes the eventual absence of Christian claimants to Paracletehood:

Early heresies seem to have identified the Paraclete with various human individuals . . . After the work of Or[igen] in the East and Tert[ullian] and Nov[atian, 3rd century CE] in the West this does not appear ever to have been done by Christian writers in any serious way again. The person and nature of the Spirit were to come into question, but that he and the Paraclete are one and the same seems to have been universally agreed'.³⁰

While claims to Paracletehood faded out in Christendom, Mání (216-c. 277? CE), the son of a Parthian prince and founder of Manichaeism (a gnostic-type movement drawing upon Judaeo-Christian and Indo-Iranian doctrines), pro-

claimed himself the Paraclete promised by Christ.³¹ According to his own testimony as reflected in the Coptic 'Kephalaia (Chief Sections) of the Teacher', his Divine Twin Self (Syzygos), the Living Paraclete, 'came down', spoke to him and disclosed 'all that has been and all that will be' [cf. Jn 14:26 and 16:13].³² Viewed by his followers as an Apostle of Light and Salvation with a universal mission as an incarnation of the Paraclete, Mání and his movement were attacked by certain of the Church Fathers.³³ A number of them attempted to counter Montanist and Manichaeism claims by asserting that manifestations of the Paraclete cannot post-date the apostolic period when the paraclete promises were fulfilled at Pentecost.³⁴ It has been proposed by a number of Western scholars and missionaries that the belief that Muḥammad was the Paraclete (see below) has Manichaeism roots. Others relate this to Qur'án 61:6 which may even presuppose a continuing (Syriac-speaking Monophysite?) Christian expectation of the Paraclete.³⁵

Aḥmad in Qur'án 61:6 and the Paraclete in Islam

The Qur'án is believed to be the record of revelations received between c. 610 and 632 CE by the Arabian prophet Muḥammad (c. 570-632 CE). In the Qur'anic sūra of 'The Heights' (*al-A'raf*), reference is made to 'the Prophet [Muḥammad] of the common folk, whom they find written down with them in the Torah and the Gospel'.³⁶ Many Muslims have rejected the existing Bible as a corruption of the original divine revelations to Moses (the pristine Torah) and Jesus (the true Gospel, *inḡil*). On the basis of various Qur'anic texts, however, some Muslims have singled out the original and uncorrupted Bible - including versions of the paraclete sayings, viewed as prophetic of the rise of Muḥammad and the coming of Islam. Important in this respect is the following verse in the Meccan sūra of 'The Rank[s]' (*al-Ṣaff*) where Jesus is said to have predicted

the coming of His successor named Aḥmad:

And when Jesus son of Mary, said, 'Children of Israel, I am indeed the Messenger of God to you, confirming the Torah that is before me, and giving good tidings of a Messenger who shall come after me, whose name shall be Aḥmad (*ismuhu aḥmadu*; or "whose name is more worthy of praise").'³⁷

While the proper name Muḥammad means 'often praised'³⁸ the name Aḥmad, means 'more worthy of praise' or 'most praiseworthy'.³⁹ Though there is no exact, clear or obvious canonical Gospel reference to a messiah with this name (or equivalent⁴⁰), most Qur'án commentators equate the 'one with praiseworthy name', the Aḥmad mentioned in Qur'án 61:6, with the Prophet Muḥammad.

Numerous traditions (*aḥadīth*) ascribed to the Prophet and Twelver Imáms reckon Muḥammad one 'named' or entitled Aḥmad. The following are a few select examples:

My name in the Qur'án is Muḥammad and in the Gospel[s] (*inḡil*) Aḥmad. And in the Torah it is Aḥyad ['the Shunner']; I am called Aḥyad because I shun 'hell fire' more than any of my people (Ibn 'Abbas, cited *Hughes Dictionary of Islam*, p. 387 [translation adapted]).

I heard the Messenger of God say: 'Unto me are allotted various names. I am Aḥmad and I am Muḥammad. I am the Obliterator (*al-Máḥi*) through whom God wipes out infidelity. I am the Gatherer (*al-ḥaṣhr*) before whom the people will be gathered. And I am the Finality (*al-'áqib*) after whom there will be no prophet.'⁴¹

When He raised up the Messiah . . . he [Jesus] said, 'A prophet shall come after me whose name shall be Aḥmad [Qur'án 61:6] - upon him and his family be peace. Of the progeny of Ishmael shall he come in confirmation of me and in confirmation of thee. And he shall forgive me just as he shall forgive thee.'⁴²

Such traditions led, in the light of Qur'án 61:6, to the widespread belief, that Aḥmad was the Prophet's name in the Torah and the Gospel. This was expressed in many different ways. For example, in the first book of his poetical masterpiece, the *Mathawí*, Jalál al-Dín Rúmí (1207-73 CE) states that 'some Christians of old used to kiss the name Aḥmad in the Gospel and were saved from persecution thanks to the blessing power of that name'.⁴³

Neither the (transliterated) word nor the concept of the Paraclete occur directly in the Arabic Qur'án; though it is not impossible that Qur'án 61:6 itself reflects Muḥammad's own claim to Paracletehood.⁴⁴ The application of the paraclete promises to Muḥammad was largely borne out of the Muslim exegesis of this verse for apologetic purposes. Muslim apologists came to argue that one named Aḥmad (loosely = Muḥammad) was the fulfilment of (sometimes rewritten versions of) the paraclete promises. As will be seen, Shí'í messianic and other doctrines came to be related to a continuing Paracletehood.

Various modern Western Islamicists have proposed that Qur'án 61:6 did not originally allude to the paraclete promises or indicate a messiah figure with the personal name Aḥmad.⁴⁵ It appears to have taken a century or more for Muslims - probably Christian converts to Islam - to have linked paraclete promises to Muḥammad (sometimes via his 'name' Aḥmad).⁴⁶ Subsequently, the name Aḥmad came to be widely viewed as an Arabic translation of the Greek *paraklētōs* (Paraclete). In this way the Prophet Muḥammad was, by virtue of his name Aḥmad (loosely = Muḥammad), believed to be mentioned in the Bible - primarily the Gospel of John but in some Islamic sources the Torah and Psalms also.

The lack of perfect correspondence between the Arabic proper name Aḥmad (the most praiseworthy) and the Greek *paraklētōs* (traditionally 'Comforter', etc.) has led many modern Muslims to accept an ingenious alternative reading based on a revowelling of the six Greek consonants

of *paraklētōs* i.e. PRKLTS - note that Syriac and Arabic (and other Semitic) texts are often written without vowels. The proposed novel Gospel reading *periklutos* (Periklytos), meaning 'celebrated' (illustrious, highly-esteemed, praised) has become widely supported in the Muslim world. Many Muslims today regard it as the 'correct', 'original' reading, despite the fact that it does not occur in New Testament Greek and has no support in ancient manuscripts. For pious Muslims *periklutos* (celebrated = Aḥmad = Muḥammad) is the 'correct reading' because it more adequately corresponds to the Arabic Aḥmad (= Muḥammad) as indicated in Qur'án 61:6.⁴⁷ On various grounds Western academics have generally rejected the proposed reading *periklutos* for *paraklētōs*. As Schacht observes, 'the history of the text and of the translations of the Gospel, together with the fact that *periklutos* was not common in contemporary Greek, shows this to be impossible'.⁴⁸ Countless modern Islamic writers, however, argue that the Gospel reading *paraklētōs* (Paraclete) is corrupt since it does not accurately correspond to Muḥammad's name Aḥmad as indicated in the Qur'án. They argue that Muḥammad is the true Johannine promised one as a 'celebrated' (= *periklutos* = Aḥmad) prophet figure - not merely the Paraclete as the Holy Spirit.⁴⁹

In the entry 'Aḥmad' in the recent *Encyclopedia of the Shi'a*,⁵⁰ it is mentioned that some consider that the Prophet's name in the Torah and the Qur'án is Muḥammad while it is Aḥmad in the Gospel (*injil*). The Johannine references to the Paraclete (Per. *Páraklitús*) are registered. Like the Prophet's name Aḥmad, the alternative reading *Piríklytús* (= *periklutos*) is rendered as 'Celebrated' (Per. *sitúdih*).

In a note, apparently rooted in an attempt to account for the absence of the prophesied name Aḥmad (see Qur'án 61:6) in the New Testament record of Jesus' utterances, it is recorded in the massive Shí'í encyclopedia, the *Bihár al-anwár* (Oceans of Lights) of Muḥammad Báqir Majlisí

(d. 1111/1699-1700 CE), that the name Aḥmad, as 'the proper name 'Alí, was transposed and altered in Syriac (*al-suryáníyya*)⁵¹ to the proper name of the Hebrew prophet Elijah (*ilyá*).⁵² The true Gospel text originally referred not to Elijah but to 'Alí, the first of the Shí'í Imáms (d. 40/661) who, until the Day of Resurrection, most perfectly and in all respects represents Muḥammad (= Aḥmad; cf. the Paraclete as one representing Jesus).⁵³

It should also be noted that Muslims have given considerable importance to alleged prophecies of Jesus regarding Muḥammad contained in the (largely?) unauthentic, Italian (originally Spanish?) *Gospel of Barnabas* (c. 14th-15th century CE?).⁵⁴ Most probably put together by a Christian convert to Islam, the following passage is among the words attributed to Jesus:

The disciples answered 'O Master, who shall that man be of whom thou speakest . . .? Jesus answered, 'He is Mohammad.'⁵⁵

The prophecies of Muḥammad ascribed to Jesus in the 'Gospel of Barnabas' are often related by Muslim apologists to Qur'án 61:6 (the Qur'anic mention of Aḥmad = Muḥammad) and to the Johannine paraclete sayings - sometimes to other biblical 'prophecies' of Islam also. The French philosopher, Iranist and Islamicist Henry Corbin (d. 1978) has proposed a relationship between early Judaeo-Christian prophetology and certain aspects of the prophetology of the (proto-) Gospel of Barnabas.⁵⁶

Islamic Paraclete Sayings

Versions of the Johannine paraclete sayings are found in Islamic sources. They are not infrequently in partially rewritten, conflated or novel versions. Some examples contained in Shí'í and a few Sunní sources will be noted. In his two volume compendium of universal history, the

early Shí'í historian Ibn Wáḍiḥ al-Ya'qúbí (d. 292/905) has it that Jesus, after travelling to Jerusalem, communicated to His disciples a distinctly messianic, novel rewrite and conflation of various paraclete sayings:

The hour at which the Son of Man (*ibn al-bashar* = Jesus) must withdraw unto His Father hath arrived. I am going unto a place where it will not be possible for you to accompany me. So uphold my final directive (testament, *waṣiyatí*) and there will come unto you the Paraclete (*al-fáraqlít*) who will be with you as a prophet (*nabí*). So when the Paraclete comes unto you, with the Spirit of Truth and Sincerity (Veracity, *bi-rúḥ al-ḥaqq wa'l-ṣidq*), he it is who shall bear witness unto me. I have communicated this unto you to the end that you recall it when his time hath come. For my part I, verily, have told you this and am now going unto Him Who sent me [the Father]. So when the Spirit of Truth (*rúḥ al-ḥaqq*) comes he will guide you unto all the truth. And he will announce unto you coming affairs (*al-umúr al-ba'ida*). He shall extol me and in a while you shall not see me.⁵⁷

Important versions of paraclete sayings are cited, from the *Kitáb al-Khará'ij* of Quṭb al-Dín Ráwandí (d. Qumm, 573/1177-8), in the *Bihar al-anwár* of Majlisí.⁵⁸

. . . in the Gospel (*injíl*) it is recorded that Jesus said unto his disciples, 'I go away and the Paraclete (*al-fáraqlít*) will come unto you, even the Spirit of Truth (*bi-rúḥ al-ḥaqq*) who shall not speak on the part of his own self (*min qabl nafsihí*) but according to that which He saith unto him. He will bear witness unto me [Jesus] and you also shall bear witness because you were with me before the [mass of the] people; and everything which God hath prepared for you will he [the Paraclete] declare unto you . . .'⁵⁹

And in the narrative of John (*ḥikáya yuḥanna*) it is related that the Messiah said, 'The Paraclete (*al-fáraqlít*) will not come unto you unless I go away. And when he comes he

shall reprove the world for sin (*khatiy'á*). He shall not speak on the part of his own self but shall speak unto you that which he heareth. He will bring you the Truth (*al-ḥaqq*) and announce hidden events (*al-ḥawáðith wa'l-ghuyúb*) unto you . . .⁶⁰

And he [Jesus] says in the final narrative, "The Paraclete (*al-fáraqlít*), the Spirit of Truth (*ruh al-ḥaqq*) whom He will send in my name shall teach you all things (*kull shay'*)."⁶¹

He said, 'I am asking my Lord that he send another Paraclete (*fáraqlít ákhar*) who will be with you unto the end . . . And he will teach you all things (*kull shay'*)."⁶²

And he [Jesus] says in another narrative, "The Son of Man (*ibn bashar*) is going and the Paraclete (*al-fáraqlít*) will come after him [Jesus]. He will communicate the secrets (*asrar*) unto you and will expound all things (*kull shay'*). He will bear witness unto me just as I have borne witness unto him. I, verily, have come unto you with parables (*bi'l-amthál*) and he will come unto you with spiritual exegesis (*bi'l-ta'wíl*)."⁶³

A saying partially modelled upon John 14:26 is cited in the well-known bibliographic dictionary *Kashf al-zunún* (The Clarification of Speculations) of Kátib Ćelebi (Ḥajjī Khalífa, d. 1067/1657). As in the above citation from Majlisí, the 'spiritual exegesis' (*ta'wíl*) of divine revelation is left to the future Paraclete:

We the Prophets (*al-anbiyá'*) bring ye the revelation; its [spiritual] interpretation (*al-ta'wíl*) the Paraclete (*al-Báraqlít*) who will come after me will bring ye.⁶⁴

An important version of this saying is also cited in the Qur'án commentary of the Persian Shí'í Sufi 'Abd al-Razzáq al-Kashání (d. 730/1330). Commenting on the phrase 'no doubt is there therein, a guidance unto the godfearing'

(Qur'án 2:1a), Káshání cites a saying of Jesus rooted in Jn 14:26 in which the eschatological Maḥdí replaces the Johannine Paraclete:

Jesus - upon him be peace - said 'We have brought you the letter of the revelation (*al-tanzíl*) but the inner exegesis (*al-ta'wíl*) will be brought by the Maḥdí in the latter days (*ákhír al-zamán*)."⁶⁵

Muḥammad as the Paraclete

The earliest known Muslim reference to Muḥammad as the Johannine Paraclete is that of Ibn Isháq (704-767/8 CE), an epitome of whose lost *Síra* (Sacred Biography) was produced by the Egyptian philologist Ibn Hishám (d. 828/33 CE). The passage which dates prior to 151/767-8 is as follows:

Among the things which have reached me about what Jesus the Son of Mary stated in the Gospel which he received from God for the followers of the Gospel, in applying a term to describe the apostle of God, is the following. It is extracted from what John the Apostle set down for them when he wrote the Gospel for them from the Testament of Jesus Son of Mary: 'He that hateth me hath hated the Lord. And if I had not done in their presence works which none other before me did, they had not had sin: but from now they are puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me and also the Lord. But the word that is in the law must be fulfilled, "They hated me without a cause" (i.e. without reason). But when the Comforter has come whom God will send to you from the Lord's presence, and the spirit of truth which will have gone forth from the Lord's presence he (shall bear) witness of me and ye also, because ye have been with me from the beginning. I have spoken unto you about this that ye should not be in doubt [Jn 15:23-16:1].

"The "Comforter" (*Munahḥemana*) - God bless and preserve him - in Syriac is Muḥammad; in Greek he is the Paraclete (Ar. *Baraqlítis*)."⁶⁶

For Ibn Ishāq the coming of Muḥammad as the Paraclete is reflected in John 15:23ff. For him the advent of the Prophet was the appearance of the 'Comforter', the parousia of the Paraclete (Gk. *paraklētos* Ar. *Baraqlītis*).⁶⁷

In the 8th century CE, the Sunnī Caliph al-Maḥdī had a debate with the Nestorian Catholicos, Timothy I. The so called *Apology of Timothy* (c. 165/781) is preserved in Syriac and there exist a number of Arabic recensions. The Caliph evidently asserted that Muḥammad fulfilled the paraclete promises (but not here linked with the name Aḥmad). Countering this and following Patristic tradition, the Patriarch denies that the Paraclete (*al-Fāraqlīt*) is anything other than the Holy Spirit (*rūḥu'l-quds*), the divine Spirit of God (*rūḥ Allāh*).⁶⁸

The late 8th century CE 'Letter of Hārūn al-Rashīd to the Emperor Constantine VI (r. 780-7 CE) - actually written by Abū al-Rabī Muḥammad b. al-Layth - is another early text in which paraclete sayings are applied to Muḥammad. The Bible is frequently quoted in this work; including a conflation of paraclete and related sayings⁶⁹ as a prophecy of Muḥammad the Paraclete (*al-Baraqlīt*).⁷⁰

'Alī ibn Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (d. 241-2/855), a Christian convert to Islam, in chapter 28 of his *Kitāb al-dīn wa'l-dawla* (Book of Religion and Empire, c. 241/855) discusses prophecies of Christ about Muḥammad. A version of John 14:26 is cited and applied to the prophet Muḥammad. The 'all things' to be taught by the Paraclete (14:26b) is the revelation of the Qur'ān. As the Paraclete, Muḥammad, unlike the disciples or other Christians, taught new truths to mankind. In the light of John 16:7, 8, 13 and 14:16 an intimate relationship between Christ and Muḥammad as His successor is argued. Relative to 14:26, the numerical correspondence between the word Paraclete (Ar. *Fāraqlīt*, abjad = 430) and the phrases, 'Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh, the Prophet who guideth aright' and 'Muḥammad, the Beloved, Goodly, Messenger' is reckoned a unique proof.⁷¹

Important references to the Paraclete, styled the 'Greatest Paraclete' (*baraqlīt al-akbar*) are found from medieval times in Shī'ī Ismā'īlī sources. He is mentioned once in the 52 *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity* (*Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*)⁷² and twice in the related *Comprehensive Epistle* (*Risālat al-jāmi'a*).⁷³ This 'Paraclete', furthermore, is twice associated with the eschatological Islamic Messiah, 'the Expected Maḥdī'.⁷⁴

Shī'ī imamology, as Corbin puts it, 'retains the idea of the Paraclete as a vision to come'.⁷⁵ Islamic paraclete sayings, linking the Paraclete figure with the fullness of the inner exegesis of scripture (see above), are understood eschatologically. Various Shī'ī writers regard the coming of the Johannine Paraclete as the advent of the awaited twelfth Imām or Qá'im/ Maḥdī.⁷⁶

The mystical philosopher and founder of the Illuminationist (Ishrāqī) school, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyá Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191), makes mention of the Paraclete (*al-Fāraqlītá*) in the latter part of the seventh section of his *Temples of Light* (*Ḥayákil al-nūr*), after citing Qur'ān 29:43 and a text rooted in Matthew 13:13. This Islamic reference was influential. Commenting upon it, Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwání (d. 907/1501-2), for example, speaks of a 'Most Great Manifestation' (or 'Supreme Epiphany' *mazhar al-a'zam*) of Light and relates this to the Spirit-Paraclete who is essentially the twelfth Imām, the expected Maḥdī (Qá'im).⁷⁷

In his influential and important *Jāmi' al-asrār wa manba' al-anwār* (Book of the Compendium of Mysteries and the Source of Lights) Sayyid Ḥaydar Ámulī (d.787/1385) cites and comments upon a saying of Jesus:

'We bring unto you outer revelation (*al-tanzīl*); but, as for the inner revelation (*al-ta'wīl*), this the Paraclete (*al-fāraqlīt*) will bring in the latter days (*fi ákhir al-zamán*).' The term Paraclete (*al-fāraqlīt*) in their [the Christians'] language signifies the Maḥdī [eschatological Messiah] . . . who will bring the inner exegesis (*al-ta'wīl*) of the Qur'ān.⁷⁸

It was believed by Ḥaydar Ámulí and others that 'the coming of the Imám-Paraclete will inaugurate the reign of the purely spiritual meaning of the divine Revelations - that is to say, the true religion which is the eternal waláyah'.⁷⁹

A similar view is expressed by Ibn Abí Jumhúr al-Aḥsá'í (fl. mid-late 15th century CE) who was important for achieving a synthesis of Shí'í scholastic theology, Avicennan philosophy, Ishráqí theosophy and the mysticism of Ibn al-'Arabí. In his *Kitáb al-mujlí* (completed 894-5/1493-4) he states that the Paraclete (*al-fáraqlít*) of the Christians, whom he clearly identifies with the occulted twelfth Imám (Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Askarí d. 260/874]) and the expected 'Lord of the Age' (*Ṣáhib al-zamán*), will appear with the inner spiritual exegesis (*ta'wíl*) of sacred scripture.⁸⁰

Sayyid Aḥmad b. Zayn al-Dín al-'Alawí (d. 1069/1658-9) was an important philosopher-theologian of the School of Iṣfahán. With his knowledge of Hebrew and the biblical texts, he wrote four important Persian works dealing with Judaeo-Christian scripture and its interpretation. In these works there is interesting reference to the prophetology of the Paraclete. In his *Miṣqal-i ṣafá'* . . . (The Polisher of Purity . . . 1032/1622) he related prophecies interpreted of Muḥammad and Islam in the book of Deuteronomy⁸¹ to the paraclete sayings. Similar teachings are contained in his *The Book of Lordly Glimmerings in Refutation of Christian Misconceptions* (Lawámi'-i rabbání . . . 1631 CE). The titles of Muḥammad, as prophesied in a wide range of pre-Islamic sacred scriptures, are set down. Included is the Toraic 'name' M^eod M^eod⁸² - interpreted as meaning 'Great, Great' (Per. *buzurg*, *buzurg*)⁸³ - and the title Paraclete (*Fáriqlít*; 'Alawí 15a-b). Also found in Sayyid Aḥmad's works is a doctrine of the 'two-fold manifestation of the Paraclete' in the persons of Muḥammad and the eschatological Twelfth Imám.⁸⁴

Quṭb al-Dín Ashkivarí (d. c. 1075/1664-5) not only identified the Paraclete with the twelfth Imám but also with Astvat Ereta (Av. 'He who embodies righteousness', see

Yasna 43:3) who is the Saoshyant (Future Benefactor), the ultimate eschatological saviour of Zoroastrianism.⁸⁵

Finally, but by no means exhaustively in this connection, it may be noted that the founder of the Shaykhí school of Shí'í Islam, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í (d. 1241/1826) makes mention of the Paraclete (*al-Fáriqlítá*) in his *Sharḥ al-ziyára* . . . (Commentary on the . . . Visiting Tablet . . .). The words 'Thy Apparentness (*sháhidikum*) and Thy Hiddenness (*ghá'ibikum*)' are interpreted imamologically. While the Divine 'Hiddenness' is, in one sense, the 'Proof' (*al-ḥujjat*, primarily the hidden twelfth Imám), His 'Apparentness' is, among other things, the 'Pivot of the Age' (*quṭb al-waqt*). This latter aspect of the Divine is, in Sufi terminology, the 'One Invoked' (Succourer, *al-ghawth*) and the Paraclete who is 'the manifestation of sanctified Guardianship (spiritual initiation, *wiláyah*)'.⁸⁶ What Shaykh Aḥmad says about the Paraclete here reflects Sufi-Shí'í traditions - as well as an Ishráqí pneumatology of Light - which identify the eternal and eschatological reality of the Imám (Qá'im) with the locus of Divine initiation, the theosophical Guardianship.⁸⁷

The Advent of Aḥmad in the Writings of the Báb

Sayyid 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb (1819-50, the Founder of the Bábí religion) is regarded by Bahá'ís as a Messenger or Manifestation of God (*mazhar-i iláhi*).⁸⁸ His voluminous Arabic and Persian writings contain quite a large number of references to the Prophet Muḥammad as the Aḥmad promised by Jesus according to Qur'án 61:6. As far as I am aware, however, He neither quotes the Gospel of John nor refers to the Islamic expectation of the messianic Qá'im-Paraclete (*Fáraqlít*). It is largely in His later writings (post-1848) that the Báb makes quite frequent reference to the Christian rejection of Muḥammad as the promised Aḥmad and spiritual 'return' of Christ.

In the Persian Bayán (*Bayán-i-farsí*, 1848), the Báb cites some of the words attributed to Jesus in Qur'án 61:6b.

Aḥmad, He comments, was fervently awaited by Christians but never identified with Muḥammad.⁸⁹ Referring to the Christian expectation of the promised Aḥmad, Christians are likened to those Shī'ī Muslims who, despite the Báb's manifestation, still await the advent of the messianic twelfth Imám. Christian astronomers made great progress in outwardly visioning celestial phenomena (e.g. the moon). With their inner eyes (eye of the hearts; *chashm-i qulúb*), however, they have failed to perceive the truth of Muḥammad as the 'promised Aḥmad'.⁹⁰

In His Persian *Dalá'il-i sab'ih* (Seven Proofs), the Báb states that Christians had, in accordance with Jesus' covenant regarding the one to come after Him,⁹¹ prayed frequently for the manifestation of the promised one. Yet when Muḥammad appeared, they rejected Him. Christians have shown excess veneration for the 'shoe of the donkey' (*samm-i khari*) which they suppose Jesus rode⁹² - expecting thereby to draw near to God - but have refused to acknowledge the appearance of one to be truly venerated, the 'promised Aḥmad' (*Aḥmad-i maw'úd*).⁹³

Bahá'í perspectives on the Paraclete and Aḥmad: Bahá'u'lláh as the 'Comforter' (Mu'azzí)

Bahá'u'lláh radically modified the post-Qur'anic Muslim teaching of the 'textual corruption' (*tahrif*) of the Bible. In His writings, which span a 40-year period (c. 1852-92), He quotes the Qur'án extensively and shows a direct knowledge of the biblical text. While He did not regard the New Testament as the direct revelation of the Founder of Christianity, He did view it as containing an inspired record of Jesus' life and teachings. Judging by the frequency of citations, He had a high regard for the Gospel of John. In quite a large number of His 'Tablets' (*alwáh*) He expressed His claims by means of terms specialized to the Paraclete in the Johannine 'Farewell Discourse' (Jn 13:31ff). Most importantly and frequently, He claimed to be an eschato-

logical manifestation of 'the Comforter' (*al-mu'azzí*) (esp. Jn 16:7) and the 'Spirit of Truth' (*rúḥ al-ḥaqq*) (esp. Jn 16:13). His writings also contain occasional reference to Qur'án 61:6.

Like the Báb, Bahá'u'lláh quite frequently referred to Muḥammad as Aḥmad. In line with traditions ascribed to the Prophet and the (Shī'ī) Imáms, He sometimes presupposes that Aḥmad is the spiritual, celestial and pre-existent name of the Muḥammadan Reality, the Logos-like 'Self' or 'Soul' (*nafs*) of Muḥammad and all past Messengers of God.⁹⁴ In the prolegomenon to his *Seven Valleys* (*Haft vadí* c. 1858), for example, Bahá'u'lláh refers to Muḥammad as 'He who was Aḥmad in the Kingdom of the exalted ones (*al-malakút al-'aliyyín*), and Muḥammad amongst the concourse of near ones (*malá' al-muqarribín*), and Maḥmúd in the realm of the sincere ones (*jabarút al-mukhlisín*).'⁹⁵

In one of His Tablets addressed to a Jewish convert to the Bahá'í religion named Ḥakím Ḥayyím, Bahá'u'lláh responded to his question about why, despite Qur'án 61:6, the name Aḥmad is not found in the Gospels (*Injíl*). In his reply the Bahá'í Prophet confirms the veracity of the Qur'anic verse referring to Jesus' promise of the advent of Aḥmad (= Muḥammad) but explains that this prophecy is not recorded in the extant (canonical) New Testament. The New Testament, He states, is only a partial, an incomplete expository record of the divine revelation to Jesus (the *Injíl*).⁹⁶

Not always simply transliterated by the loan-word *Fáraqlít*, the Greek *paraklētos* (Paraclete) in John's Gospel is variously rendered in Christian-produced Arabic and Persian New Testament translations. In a number of Arabic New Testaments it is translated by *al-Mu'azzí* (the Comforter); a translation obviously dictated by long-standing Christian tradition (see above).⁹⁷ Such is the translation, for example, in the Arabic version of the Gospel of John found in the fourth and last of the great Polyglott Bibles; the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* . . . edited by Bishop Brian Walton

in 16(54-57).⁹⁸ The Arabic text printed here – a version of the Arabic ‘Alexandrian Vulgate’ (13th century CE) – corresponds with most of the New Testament quotations found in certain of Bahá’u’lláh’s early works; most notably, His *Jawáhir al-asrár* (1861) and *Kitáb-i Íqán* (1862). Later, from the ‘Akká period (1868-92), both Bahá’u’lláh and His son and successor ‘Abdu’l-Bahá (1844-1921) usually cited the Arabic Bible translation of Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck⁹⁹ which also has *mu’azzí* (Comforter) for *paraklētōs*. Today, for Bahá’ís *mu’azzí* (Comforter) refers primarily to Bahá’u’lláh as the return of Christ, though its past applicability to Muḥammad is also affirmed.

Among the earliest New Testament verses cited by Bahá’u’lláh are those contained in His aforementioned Arabic treatise the *Essence of Mysteries* (*Jawáhir al-asrár*). It was written for Sayyid Yúsof Sidihí in 1277/1860-1 in reply to questions about the coming of the Maḥdí in the light of the mission of the Báb.¹⁰⁰ It is here that the extreme Muslim view of the ‘corruption’ (*tahríf*) of the Bible is radically modified as it is in the slightly later *Kitáb-i Íqán*.¹⁰¹ New Testament texts cited are commented upon non-literally. It is indicated that Muslim students of prophecy should not repeat the errors of Jewish and Christian literalists in their interpretation of scriptural prophecies.

In the course of His argument, Bahá’u’lláh quotes a succession of New Testament texts from each of the four Gospels in illustration of Jesus’ eschatological prophecies.¹⁰² There follows three abbreviated confluations of Johannine paraclete prophecies.¹⁰³ In all three of the clusters of paraclete quotations from the ‘fourth book . . . the Gospel of John’ (*sifr al-ráb’ injíl al-yúhanná*), the Paraclete figure, understood as the ‘Comforter’ (*al-mu’azzí*), is the centre of attention. In selecting (and conflating) key texts from John’s Gospel indicative of future events, Bahá’u’lláh makes the advent of the Comforter (*al-mu’azzí*) a key Johannine eschatological theme. It is implied that this is the prophet Muḥammad whom many Christians failed to accept. At one

point in his *Kitáb-i Íqán*, Bahá’u’lláh variously paraphrases the fourth paraclete saying (Jn 16:7f.) when he puts the following words into Jesus’ mouth ‘I go away and come again unto you . . . I go and another will come Who will tell you all that I have not told you and will fulfil all that I have said.’¹⁰⁴

A passage addressed to the kings of Christendom in the *Súra of the Kings* (*Súrat al-mulúk*; written in Edirne [Adrianople] around 1867) is among the earliest texts in which Bahá’u’lláh applies an epithet of the Paraclete, ‘Spirit of Truth’ (*rúḥ al-ḥaqq*), to Himself. He indicates His being the return of Christ and cites John 16:13a. Just as some Muslim apologists identified the Qur’án with the revelation of the ‘all truth’ of the Paraclete (Comforter, see above), so Bahá’u’lláh equates this with the ‘truth’ of His revelation:

O Kings of Christendom! Heard ye not the saying of Jesus, the Spirit of God, ‘I go away and come again unto you’? Wherefore did ye fail, when He did come unto you in the clouds of heaven, to draw nigh unto Him, that ye may behold His face, and be of them that attained His Presence? In another passage He saith, ‘When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth.’ And yet, behold how, when He did bring the truth, ye refused to turn your faces towards Him, and persisted in disporting yourselves with your pastimes and fancies.¹⁰⁵

Dating from a year or so after the Arabic *Súra of the Kings* is Bahá’u’lláh’s important, largely Persian Tablet addressed to Naṣiru’d-Dín *Sháh* (c. 1868?) – the then *Sháh* of Iran (r. 1848-1896 CE). About two-thirds of the way into this lengthy epistle Bahá’u’lláh dwells upon the rejection of past Prophets; including Muḥammad and Jesus. He states that at one point in the Gospel (*injíl*) it is said, ‘I go away and shall come [again]’ (cf. Jn 16:7f), while the Gospel of John specifically gives the glad-tidings of the ‘Comforting Spirit’ (*rúḥ-i tasullí* = the Paraclete).¹⁰⁶

In a Tablet of Bahá'u'lláh addressed to the one-time leader of the Haifa German Templer community (the *Tempelgesellschaft*), George David Hardegg (1812-79), the Lawḥ-i Hirtúk (late 1871 or early 1872 CE), cryptic, cabalistic reference is made to the expected 'Comforter' (*al-mu'azzí*). Bahá'u'lláh informs Hardegg that He has appeared as the promised 'Comforter' but laments over the fact that He has not been recognized. Jesus seems to be referred to as the 'Word' (*kalimát*¹⁰⁷) who now utters, who mystically discloses, a universally meaningful 'word' (*kalima*)¹⁰⁸ which is Bahá'u'lláh as the 'Comforter' (*al-mu'azzí*) with a global mission:

Then We saw the Word [*kalima* = Jesus ?] which uttered a Word [*kalima* = Bahá'u'lláh as *al-mu'azzí*, 'Comforter' ?] which every one of the factions found to be according to its own tongue and language. When that word was uttered, a Sun shone forth from the Horizon of its Announcement, the Lights of which eclipsed the sun of the heavens. It said, 'The head of the seventy hath been adorned with the crown of the forty and been united with the seven before the ten . . .'¹⁰⁹

There exist several passages in Bahá'u'lláh's writings in which John 16:12 ('I have many things to say unto you but you cannot bear them now') is understood to mean that Jesus, during His ministry, held back or refused to utter a 'Word' (*kalima*) on account of the limited capacity of His contemporaries.¹¹⁰ Bahá'u'lláh associates the concealed pre-existent 'Word' (*kalima*) with His advent as the 'Comforter', *al-mu'azzí*, by referring to the numerical (*abjad*) value of the consonants composing the title 'Comforter' (*mu'azzí*), i.e. 'm' = 40 + 'ayn' = 70 + 'z' = 7 + 'y' = 10. That the 'head of the 70 hath been adorned with the crown of the 40' signifies the conjunction of the letters "ayn" (70) and 'm' (40) - the 'm' preceding the "ayn". These two letters are to be added to - read consecutively with - 'the 7 before the

10' or the letter 'z' (7) before the letter 'y' (10). The result is thus *mu'azzí* (= 'Comforter').

In quite a large number of His writings of the 'Akká period (1868-92) Bahá'u'lláh explicitly claims to be both the expected 'Comforter' (*al-mu'azzí*) and the associated 'Spirit of Truth' (*rúḥ al-ḥaqq*). The following passage is an example:

This is indeed the Father (*al-wálid*), whereof Isaiah gave you tidings [refer, Isa. 9:6b] and the Comforter (*al-mu'azzí*) about whose advent the Spirit [Jesus] made a covenant (*al-ahd*).¹¹¹

In his *The Dispensation of Bahá'u'lláh* (1934) Shoghi Effendi cites a few passages from Tablets of Bahá'u'lláh, in which their author expresses Himself in language which clearly underlines His claim to fulfil the paraclete promises:

This is the Word [*al-kalimát*] which the Son veiled when He said to those around Him that at that time they could not bear it [see Jn 14:16] . . . Verily the Spirit of Truth [*rúḥ al-ḥaqq*] is come to guide you unto all truth [Jn 16:13a] . . . He is the One Who glorified the Son and exalted His Cause [Jn 16:14] . . . 'The Comforter [*Mu'azzí*] Whose advent all the scriptures have promised is now come that He may reveal unto you all knowledge and wisdom [*al-ḥikmah wa'l-bayán*; Jn 16:13]. Seek Him over the entire surface of the earth, haply ye may find Him.¹¹²

As in one of the above passages, Bahá'u'lláh quite frequently claims to be the 'Spirit of Truth' (Gk. *to pneuma tēs alētheias* = Ar. Van Dyck trans. *rúḥ al-ḥaqq*) three times mentioned in the paraclete sayings (Jn 14:17, 15:26, esp. 16:13). In His Most Holy Tablet (Lawḥ-i Aqdas) written for Fáris, the Christian physician who was converted in Alexandria in 1868 by Nabíl-i Zarandí (d. 1892), He proclaims:

Verily, He Who is the Spirit of Truth (*rúḥ al-ḥaqq*) is come

to guide you unto all truth. He speaketh not as prompted by his own self, but as bidden by Him Who is the All-Knowing, the All-Wise.¹¹³

Bahá'u'lláh's last major work, the *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf* (Lawḥ-i Ibn-i Dhi'b, c. 1891), was addressed to the anti-Bahá'í cleric Shaykh Muḥammad Taqí Najáfí (d. 1914). At one point in this lengthy Persian work Bahá'u'lláh states that 'unnumbered significances lie concealed' in the sayings of Jesus.¹¹⁴ Owing to the limited capacity of His contemporaries, Jesus 'chose to conceal most of these things' – just as John 16:12b records, 'But ye cannot bear them now'. John 16:13b, which states that the 'Spirit of Truth' will 'declare unto you the things that are to come', is quoted in the Van Dyck Arabic translation. It is interpreted as a prophecy that 'the Promised One' (i.e. Bahá'u'lláh) would reveal 'the things that are to come'. Prophecies of future events are contained in Bahá'u'lláh's Most Holy Book (Kitáb-i Aqdas), various Tablets to the Kings (late 1860s through early 1870s) and other related writings. In them the Founder of the Bahá'í Faith states, 'most of the things which have come to pass on this earth have been announced and prophesied by the Most Sublime Pen'.¹¹⁵

Paraclete and 'Comforter' in the Writings of 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Shoghi Effendi

Interpretations of the paraclete sayings are quite frequently found in the voluminous writings (Tablets) and recorded talks of 'Abdu'l-Bahá (1844-1921), the son of Bahá'u'lláh, who headed the Bahá'í religion for almost 30 years. In His numerous expository Tablets, whether addressed to Jews, Christians, Muslims or others, He regarded certain of the paraclete sayings as messianic prophecies. In line with Bahá'u'lláh's Tablets, He referred select Johannine paraclete texts to both Muḥammad and to His father.

Of particular importance is an eloquent Persian Tablet

in which the existence of Gospel prophecies of Muḥammad is affirmed.¹¹⁶ John 16:7-15 is quoted and interpreted in some detail as referring to the Arabian Prophet, 'His Holiness the Aḥmadí beauty'. This extended paraclete text is partially cited in the Van Dyck Arabic translation (*paraklētōs* = *mu'azzí*) and followed by a summary, interpretive Persian rendering – reflecting certain Persian Christian translations of the paraclete sayings, 'Comforter' is paraphrased as 'comforting spirit' (*rúḥ-i tasullí-yi dahanda*) and 'Pure Spirit' (*rúḥ-i pák*).¹¹⁷ 'Abdu'l-Bahá then sets down some interpretive guidelines. He states that Christians have universally restricted the interpretation of these verses to the descent of the 'Holy Spirit' (*rúḥ al-quds*) upon the apostles after Jesus' ascension (see above). They have veiled themselves from the deeper, spiritual meanings (*ta'wilát*) of these verses. Three arguments suggestive of a deeper, messianic meaning of these verses are given by 'Abdu'l-Bahá. In summary, they are:

1) When Jesus says that the 'Comforter' will not come until He departs (Jn 16:7) it is evident that this cannot merely be the 'Holy Spirit' which was always with Him.

2) Jesus said that he had 'many things to say' which could not in His day be received and predicted that the 'Holy Spirit' (*rúḥ-i muqaddas* = 'the Spirit of Truth') would guide unto 'all truth' (Jn 16:12-13a). Jesus the Messiah and the Holy Spirit, according to Christian belief, are the second and third 'persons' of the Trinity (*aqnúm*). They did not, however, completely eradicate human ignorance. Absolute guidance and sanctity were not forthcoming.

Though after the ascension of Jesus the people were in receipt of the bounties and 'hidden mysteries' of the Holy Spirit, their receptivity to spiritual instruction was limited by their own shortcomings. Many years of the influence of the Holy Spirit would not alter this.

It is thus evident that another superlatively great appearance of the 'Honourable Spirit' (*rúḥ-i mukarramí* = Muḥammad) is necessary.

3) Jesus referred to the 'Comforter' as one who will not speak out or expound through his own powers but according to whatever he hears (Jn 16:13b). This indicates divine inspiration (*wahy*). The 'comforting spirit' (*rúh-i tasullí-yi dahanda*) is none other than an 'individual' or human 'person' (*shakhsí*). The disembodied 'Holy Spirit' does not have an ear through which things can be heard.¹¹⁸

In His response to a question of Laura Barney about the meaning of the 'Holy Spirit' recorded in *Some Answered Questions*,¹¹⁹ 'Abdu'l-Bahá introduces His quotation of John 16:12-13a as words of Christ about the Promised One to come after Him. The words, 'for He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak' (16:13a) are held to indicate that 'the Spirit of Truth' (Per. *rúh-i rástí*) is embodied in human form (*insáni mujassam ast*) having individuality (*nafs*), 'Who has ears to hear and a tongue to speak'. The Qur'anic and Bábí-Bahá'í title of Christ, 'Spirit of God' (*rúh Alláh*), is compared to the Johannine 'Spirit of Truth' (*rúh al-haqq*). It is of interest that 'Abdu'l-Bahá highlights the personification of 'Spirit of Truth' (*rúh al-haqq*). Though the 'Holy Spirit' or 'Spirit of Truth' is an immaterial, transcendent reality, as a prophetic reference to an expected human Manifestation of God, it is accorded human characteristics.¹²⁰

In many of their writings both the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh stated that the great Messengers of God each made a 'covenant' (*ahd*) regarding a succeeding Messenger of God - their followers were obliged to accept this promised messiah figure. It was often in this light that 'Abdu'l-Bahá interpreted Jesus' paraclete promises of Muḥammad. In a large number of Tablets, He, in one way or another, writes:

His Holiness Christ made a covenant concerning the Paraclete (*Fáraqlút*) and gave the tidings of His coming.¹²¹

His Holiness Christ covenanted with regard to His Holiness 'The Paraclete', which means His Holiness Muḥammad.¹²²

In one Tablet 'Abdu'l-Bahá cites a paraphrased version of Jn 16:12-13 and 15:26, as a proof of the necessity of continuing divine guidance ('progressive revelation'):

In the [religious] dispensations gone before, the feeble body of the world could not withstand a rigorous or powerful cure. For this reason did Christ say: 'I have yet many things to say unto you, matters needing to be told, but ye cannot bear to hear them now. Howbeit when that Comforting Spirit [Per. *rúh-i tasullí-i dahanda*] Whom the Father will send, shall come, He will make plain unto you the truth.'¹²³

Expounding the nature of the 'truth' which Bahá'u'lláh as the 'Comforter' has brought He wrote,

Therefore, in this age of splendours, teachings once limited to a few are made available to all, that the mercy of the Lord may embrace both east and west, that the oneness of the world of humanity may appear in its full beauty, and that the dazzling rays of reality may flood the realm of the mind with light.¹²⁴

Consonant with the increased spiritual capacity of humanity, the 'truth' disclosed in this age, by Bahá'u'lláh, the 'Comforter', is universally available. It embraces those Bahá'í teachings which proclaim and will ultimately lead to the mature establishment of the oneness of humanity. In addition, this proclamation of 'all truth' involves the realization of luminous spiritual truths.

Summing up the beliefs of the Universalist Church and welcoming 'Abdu'l-Bahá to Washington on 21 April 1912, Dr John Van Schaick quoted Jn 16:12f. and stated:

We believe that Revelation is progressive. We hold with Jesus that when the Spirit of Truth is come, He will guide us unto all Truth. We look for more Truth in each age and every country . . . We stand today humbly seeking the Spirit of Truth.¹²⁵

In the course of His speech 'Abdu'l-Bahá responded to the minister's words and also referred to Jn 16:12f. To a minister and a congregation which He greatly admired, He proclaimed that the era of the 'Spirit of Truth' had dawned:

The century has dawned when the Spirit of Truth can reveal these verities to mankind, proclaim that very Word, establish the real foundations of Christianity . . . the basis of love and amity be established . . . You must listen to the admonition of this Spirit of Truth.¹²⁶

In various of his many letters expository of Bahá'í doctrine, 'Abdu'l-Bahá's grandson Shoghi Effendi affirmed the Islamo-Bahá'í understanding of the Prophet Muḥammad as the Paraclete as well as Bahá'u'lláh's fulfilment of various paraclete promises: 'references in the Bible to . . . "Paraclete" refer to Muḥammad'.¹²⁷

Shoghi Effendi wrote that Bahá'u'lláh 'identifies Himself' with the "Comforter" Whose Covenant He Who is the Spirit (Jesus) had Himself established'.¹²⁸ Key passages addressed to the 'whole of Christendom' and representative of Bahá'u'lláh's claim to be the Johannine 'Spirit of Truth' and 'Comforter', are cited in Shoghi Effendi's centrally important clarification of the status of the central figures of the Bahá'í Faith, *The Dispensation of Bahá'u'lláh* (written 1934; see above).

Concluding Note

The paraclete promises of Jesus are especially meaningful to Christians, Muslims and Bahá'ís. For most Christians the

promised Paraclete is the Holy Spirit, one of the 'persons' of the Trinity intimately related to Christian spirituality and to the evolution of Christendom. Muslim apologists viewed Muḥammad as the Paraclete who brought the 'all things' (Jn 14:26) of the Qur'án. Bahá'ís affirm, according to the teachings of the central figures of their Faith, the fulfilment of the paraclete promises in Muḥammad. In addition, they extend their messianic applicability to the Founder of the Bahá'í Faith. As the eschatological 'Comforter', Bahá'u'lláh brought 'the all truth' (Jn 16:13) – those teachings of the Bahá'í Faith which promote and result in that unity in diversity which is the global realization of the oneness of mankind. As the 'Spirit of Truth' He claimed to be in receipt of divine revelation – did not 'speak of himself' (Jn 16:13) – and bore witness to Jesus (Jn 16:14). He 'glorified' the founder of Christianity in His writings and prophesied coming events (Jn 16:13-14).

Appendix 1

The so-called 'paraclete sayings' have sometimes been reckoned to be four groups of verses within the Johannine Farewell Discourse (Jn 13:31ff). They have been studied by modern biblical scholars in relation to each other, to John's Gospel as a whole and to the rest of the Bible. The references are: 1) Jn 14:16-17; 2) Jn 14:26; 3) Jn 15:26-7 and 4) Jn 16:7-14. The English translation quoted below is slightly adapted from the *Revised Standard Version* with bracketed transliterations registering selected Arabic renderings of (Eli Smith and) Cornelius Van Dyck (1818-95) – whose Arabic translation of the Bible was, among others, quite frequently cited by both Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

- Jn 14:16-17 = And I will pray the Father, and he will give you another **Paraclete** (*mu'azzá*), to be with you for ever, even the **Spirit of truth** (*ruh al-ḥaqq*), whom the world cannot receive, because it neither sees him nor

knows him; you know him, for he dwells with you, and will be in you.

- 14:26 = 'But the **Paraclete** (*al-mu'azzî*), the **Holy Spirit** (*al-rûh al-quds*), whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you.
- 15:26-7 = But when the **Paraclete** (*al-mu'azzî*) comes; whom I shall send to you from the Father, even the **Spirit of truth** (*rûh al-haqq*), who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness to me; and you also are witnesses, because you have been with me from the beginning.
- 16:7f = Nevertheless I tell you the truth: it is to your advantage that I go away, for if I do not go away, the **Paraclete** (*al-mu'azzî*) will not come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you. And when he comes, he will convince the world concerning sin and righteousness and judgement: concerning sin, because they do not believe in me; concerning righteousness, because I go to the Father, and you will see me no more; concerning judgement, because the ruler of this world is judged. I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now. When the **Spirit of truth** (*rûh al-haqq*) comes, he will guide you into all the truth (*jami'a al-haqq*); for he will not speak on his own authority, but whatever he hears he will speak, and he will declare to you the things that are to come. He will glorify me, for he will take what is mine and declare it to you.

Appendix 2

The American, Roman Catholic biblical scholar Raymond E. Brown has, in his *The Gospel According to John XIII-XXI*, (Appendix V, 1135-6) usefully tabulated the implications of the paraclete passages. Though he does not always highlight elements central to the Islamic and Bahá'í 'spiritual' interpretation, the tabulation is worth citing here.

a) *The coming of the Paraclete and the Paraclete's relation to the Father*

- The Paraclete will *come* (but only if Jesus departs): 15:26; 16:7, 8, 13
- The Paraclete *comes forth* from the Father: 15:26
- The Father will *give* the Paraclete at Jesus' request: 14:16
- The Father will *send* the Paraclete in Jesus' name: 14:26
- Jesus, when he goes away, will *send* the Paraclete from the Father: 15:26; 16:7

b) *The identification of the Paraclete*

- He is called 'another Paraclete': 14:16
- He is the Spirit of Truth: 14:17; 15:26; 16:13
- He is the Holy Spirit: 14:26

c) *The role the Paraclete plays in relation to the disciples*

- The disciples recognize him: 14:17
- He will be within the disciples and remain with them: 14:17
- He will teach the disciples everything: 14:26
- He will guide the disciples along the way of all truth: 16:13
- He will take what belongs to Jesus to declare to the disciples: 16:14
- He will glorify Jesus: 16:14
- He will bear witness on Jesus' behalf, and the disciples too must bear witness: 15:26-7
- He will remind the disciples of all that Jesus told them: 14:26
- He will speak only what he hears and nothing on his own: 16:13

d) *The role of the Paraclete in relation to the world*

- The world cannot accept the Paraclete: 14:17
- The world neither sees nor recognizes the Paraclete: 14:17
- He will bear witness to Jesus against the background of the world's hatred for and persecution of the disciples: 15:26 (cf. 15: 18-25)
- He will prove the world wrong about sin, justice and judgement: 16:8-11

Appendix 3

The three 'clusters' of paraclete texts as cited by Bahá'u'lláh in the 'Essence of Mysteries' (*Jawáhar al-asrár* c.1861):¹²⁹

1) [But] When the Comforter (*al-mu'azzí*) is come, whom I shall send unto you, the Spirit of Truth which cometh from the True One (God, *al-ḥaqq*) he shall testify of me; and ye [also] shall bear witness . . .¹³⁰

2) [But] when the Holy Spirit cometh, the Comforter whom my Lord will send in my name, he shall [assuredly] teach you all things and bring to your remembrance all that I have said unto you . . . But now I am going unto him that sent me; and not one among you asketh me 'Where are you going.' But because I have said these things unto you [Jn 16:5, 6a<] . . .¹³¹

3) [Nevertheless] I tell you the truth; it is best for you that I go away; for if I do not go away, the Comforter (*al-mu'azzí*) will not come unto you; but if I go I will send him unto you [Jn 16:7]. And when that Spirit of Truth (*ruḥ al-ḥaqq*) is come, he will guide you unto all the truth: for he will not cry out of himself but shall speak out whatsoever he shall hear; and he will declare unto you the things that are to come [Jn 16:13].¹³²

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Notes

1. *Star of the West*, vol. 3, no. 4, p. 3. See Armstrong-Ingram, *Music*, pp. 84-5.
2. Trans. Revised Standard Version (adapted), see Appendix 1.
3. In its basic passive sense the verbal adjective/noun *paraklāos* indicates 'one called' by somebody to accomplish something (*Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* T 3:28; cf. *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* 3:654). On the history of this word outside the New Testament see Behm 5:800ff; Smith, 'Paraclete'; Grayston, 1984:58; idem., 1981. Casurella sums matters up when he writes of *paraklāos*. 'Its use in the ancient world outside the New Testament shows it to be a forensic term designating one who is summoned as a legal advisor, an intercessor, an advocate' (141).
4. In 1 John 2:1, Jesus is referred to as an 'Intercessor' or 'Advocate' (*Paraklāos*), one who pleads or intercedes for others. Both grammatically and conceptually, the four occurrences of *paraklāos* in John's Gospel go beyond the sense of this word in the First Epistle of John. It only occurs in these five texts and nowhere else in the Bible.
5. Cf. Smith, 'Paraclete'; *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* 3:29; Casurella, 142. The word *paraklāos* does not occur in the ancient Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint (LXX) cf. though Job 16:2 where 'comforters' (Hebrew, *m'naḥamin*) is translated *paraklāores* (*Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* 3:28). In Hebrew and Aramaic, *paraklāos* occurs as the loan-word *P^rraqlīt[a]* (e.g. Aboth 4.1.; Targum to Job 16:20 and 33:23).
6. Cat., Or. xvi. 20 cited in *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 183; see also Bernard, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, vol. 2, p. 497.
7. See Behm, 'Paraklētōs' in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 5, p. 805.
8. By this translation, however, he apparently meant 'confortator' or 'strengtheners' - not 'consoler' or 'comforter', unless he was following the general ecclesiastical tradition (Bernard, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, vol. 2, p. 497; Snaith, 'The Meaning of "The Paraclete"', *Expository Times*, vol. 57, p. 47). A useful note on the Wycliffe (Wiclif) translation 'comforter'

is contained in Barclay, *New Testament Words*, pp. 216-17: "The English translation *comforter* goes all the way back to Wiclif; but it must be noted that Wiclif was using the word *comforter* with a width of meaning which in modern English it does not possess. The proof of this is that Wiclif translates Eph. 6.10, "Be ye *comforted* in the Lord." The word there is *endunamoun*, which has in it the same root as the root of the word *dunamis*, which means *power*, and which is the word from which the English word *dynamite* is derived. In point of fact Tyndale translated Eph. 6.10, "Be strong in the Lord", a translation which has survived down to the present day. This same word, *endunamoun*, is used in I Tim. 1.12 where once again Wiclif translated "I do thankings to him that *comforted* me." Tyndale has, "I thank him who has made me *strong*", and the AV has, "I thank him who hath *enabled* me". In modern English the word *comforter* has to do exclusively with comfort and consolation and sympathy in sorrow and in distress; but in Wiclif's time it was much more closely connected with its root, the Latin word *fortis*, which means, *brave, strong, courageous*. So we may note to begin with that when Wiclif translates *paraklētos* by the word *comforter* he was certainly not saying that the sole, or even the main, function of the Holy Spirit was to comfort and console in our sense of the words; he was meaning that the function of the Holy Spirit was to fill a man with that Spirit of power and courage which would make him able triumphantly to cope with life. It is in fact a great misfortune that the narrowing of the word *comforter* has resulted in an undue narrowing of our conception of the work of the Holy Spirit.'

9. Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, p. 479; cf. Behm, 'Paraklētos' in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 5, p. 804 where the translation 'Comforter' is rejected. In 1953 J. G. Davies wrote an article defending the translation 'Comforter' on the basis of the Septuagintal use of the verb *parakalein* (not used in John; see Davies, 'The primary meaning of PARAKLETOS'; cf. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, p. 1137). It should be noted here that one of the titles of the expected Messiah in Rabbinical literature is M^cnahem (Comforter). It is a 'name' which has the same numerical value (138) as the messianically significant

- Hebrew word for 'branch' (*semah*, see Zech 3:8; 6:12; Lam. Rabb I.16; Mid. Rab. Gen. 86; B. San. 98b). Driver reckoned that in both Talmud and Midrash 'a Messianic aura hangs about the person of Menahem' (Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls*, p. 356f). The Jewish messianic title Menahem is not usually thought to be directly related to the Johannine Paraclete (Behm, 'Paraklētos', vol. 5, p. 804, fn.32).
10. De prin. II vii. 4; trans. p. 119.
 11. See 1 John 2:1.
 12. See further, Casurella 3ff.
 13. De prin. II. vii. 4; trans. p. 119.
 14. Barclay notes that Tertullian sometimes 'merely transliterates into *paracletus*; sometimes he has *advocatus*, an advocate to plead our cause; and once he has the very unusual word *exorator* which means a *successful suppliant*, one who obtains by entreaty'. Barclay, *New Testament Words*, p. 217.
 15. Lindars, *Gospel of John*, p. 478.
 16. cf. *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 3, p. 28.
 17. See Bernard, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, vol. 2, p. 496.
 18. New Testament, 1961; revised edition 1989.
 19. e.g. Lindars, *Gospel of John*, p. 478.
 20. Bultmann, *Gospel of John, A Commentary*, p. 570f.
 21. i.e. Behm, 'Paraklētos', p. 814; Braumann, 'Advocate, Paraclete, Helper', p. 89; cf. though Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, p. 1136.
 22. Casurella, *Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*, p. 43.
 23. *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3, p. 634.
 24. Quispel, 'Qumran, John and Jewish Christianity', p. 147.
 25. See Casurella, *The Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*, p. 140.
 26. Grappling with the alleged inconsistencies of the developing cluster of paraclete sayings as redacted in the final form of the Gospel of John, a few modern biblical scholars have viewed parts of John chapter 14 as containing the earliest paraclete saying[s]. In this light the Paraclete has been viewed as Jesus' representative and successor after death - as the 'Beloved Disciple' for example (see Ashton, 'Paraclete', *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, p. 152f).
 27. Casurella, *Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*, p. 16, fn.12.

28. Refer Origen, 'Homily on Luke' 25, cited in Casurella, *Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*, p. 16, fn. 2.
29. Aland, 'Montanus-Montanism', in *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*; cf. Casurella, *Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*.
30. Casurella, *Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*, p. 23 fn 44.
31. Widengren, *Mani and Manicheanism*, p. 77.
32. Cited in *ibid.* p. 27; cf. Rudolph, *Gnosis, The Nature and History of Gnosticism*, p. 329.
33. Summing up Manichaeic claims, Augustine wrote, "The promise of the Holy Ghost, of the Paraclete (cf John 16,7) by Our Lord Jesus Christ has been realized, they maintain, in the person of their Heresiarch, Manichaeus. For this reason he calls himself in his writings the Apostle (i.e. "Delegate") of Jesus Christ, since Jesus Christ promised to send the Holy Ghost and has sent him in him (i.e. Mani)." (*de haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum* 46 [see Migne, SL 42, col. 34ff], cited Haardt, *Gnosis, Character and Testimony*, p. 348).
34. Casurella, *Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*, p. 89 and fn. 45f. Certain medieval Islamic sources note Mání's claim to be the Paraclete. In the *Kitáb al-fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadím (d. c. 385/995?) for example, we read, 'Mání asserted that he was the paraclete about whom Jesus . . . preached' (Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadím*, vol. 2, p. 776).
35. cf. Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, p. 197, fn. 27.
36. Qur'an 7:157, tr. 161.
37. Qur'an 61:6; tr. 580. Some modern scholars believe that *aḥmadu* [= Aḥmad] in Qur'an 61:6 was not originally intended as a proper name but had adjectival sense. i.e. 'of highly praiseworthy name' (cf. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, pp. 96-7; Schimmel, *And Muhammad is his Messenger*, p. 108; see below).
38. It is a passive participle derived from form II of the Arabic verb *ḥamada* (= 'to praise, to laud'; triliteral root Ḥ-M-D) (Schimmel, *And Muhammad is his Messenger*, p. 106f).
39. Aḥmad is most likely the superlative form of Maḥmúd or Ḥamíd. As a proper name Aḥmad was known among the pre-Islamic Arabs. A few centuries after the death of Muḥammad (632 CE) it became a much favoured proper

- name among Muslims (Watt, *Early Islam*, pp 43ff). Throughout the later Islamic centuries, the Prophet's name Aḥmad was greatly used, much celebrated and sometimes mystically and qabbalistically interpreted.
40. See Schacht, 'Aḥmad'; Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, p. 98f.
 41. Bukhárí [& Muslim]; as cited Ṭabarsí, *Majma' al-bayán fi tafsír al-Qur'an*, vol. 5, p. 280; cf. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, p. 98.
 42. Imám Ja'far al-Šádiq cited in Muḥsin Káshání, *Tafsír al-šáfi*, vol. 5, p. 169; cf. Jn 16:7f; 15:27. Cf. the important extra-Qur'anic revelation [*ḥadīth qudsí*] 'I am Aḥmad without the [letter] "m" (that is Aḥad = "One")'. Cited in Schimmel, *And Muhammad is his Messenger*, p. 116).
 43. *ibid.* p. 108.
 44. The Greek *paraklētos* (Paraclete) is variously transliterated in Arabic and Persian, e.g. *baraklīt*, *fāraqlīt[a]*, *fāriqlīt*, *fāraqlītá*, *páraklytús* (cf. ESh. 1:511; Syriac = *farqalīt/paraqlēto*, Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, p. 98).
 45. It may, in other words, be that *aḥmadu* was 'understood as a proper name only after Muḥammad had been identified with the Paraclete' (Schacht, 'Aḥmad'). Presupposing that Qur'an 61:6, read with *aḥmadu* as an adjective, might still be rooted in the paraclete sayings, Montgomery Watt has written, 'The clause in question [Qur'an 61:6b] can then be translated "announcing the good tidings of a messenger whose name is more worthy of praise". It is just conceivable that this might be a confused reference to the words "greater works than these shall he do" (*John*, xvi. 12). Alternatively, if *aḥmadu* is taken to be more attributive of praise, there might be a reference to the words "He shall glorify me" (*John*, xvi. 14)'. Watt, *Early Islam*, p. 46.
 46. See Watt, *Early Islam*, p. 46.
 47. cf. *Hughes Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 12, 124; Cragg, *Call of the Minaret*, p. 285; Watt, *Early Islam*, p. 46.
 48. Schacht, 'Aḥmad', p. 267. It is unlikely, as some Western scholars have supposed, that Qur'an 61:6 is itself rooted in a confusion of *paraclētos* and *periklutos*.
 49. e.g. Dawúd, *Muḥammad in the Bible*, pp. 198ff; Ḥijází Saqqá', *Al-Bishárat bi-nabí al-islám fi al-tawrat wa'l-injíl*, 1:36; 2:259f; al-Faḍl, *Hal bashshar al-Masih bi-Muḥammad?*, pp. 159ff.

50. vol. 1, pp. 515-16.
51. Jesus, the founder of the Christian religion, spoke Aramaic (Syriac; and Greek?) and read Hebrew. Islamic tradition reckons that Syriac (Aramaic) or Hebrew (*'ibráni*) was the original language of the revelation to Jesus; that of the true Gospel[s] (*injil*). This is probably rooted in such traditions as that of Papias of Hierapolis who, in his 'Explanation of the Lord's Sentences' (c. 135?), considered that the apostle Matthew compiled Jesus' sayings in the 'Hebrew dialect' - which presupposes that the primitive Jewish Christian community had a 'canonical' Gospel in that tongue (refer to Eusebius, HE III, 39, 16). Such traditions are registered in many Islamic sources. In the section on the 'Gospel' (*al-injil*) in 'Abd al-Karim al-Jilí's *al-Insán al-kámil* ('The Perfect Man') for example, we read, 'God sent down the Gospel (*al-injil*) unto Jesus in the Syriac language' (vol. 1, p. 124). Similar statements are found in certain Tablets of 'Abdu'l-Bahá.
52. Qur'án 4:46a is cited here in confirmation of the notion of the *tahrif*, as concrete 'textual corruption'.
53. Majlisí, *Bihár al-anwár*, vol. 15, p. 211; cf. Corbin, 'L'Idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne', p. 40. In *Bihár* it is also recorded that Syriac M-SH-F-F-H is related to the Arabic *al-hamd* (Praised). It is considered to be the Syriac equivalent of Muḥammad.
54. Western academic biblical scholars and Islamicists generally recognize that there existed a (now lost) pseudopigraphon entitled the 'Gospel of Barnabas' but deny that this is the Gospel of Barnabas discussed here. In the preface and 'Preliminary discourse' (IV) to his English translation of the Qur'án (1st ed. London, 1734) George Sale drew attention to the (pseudo-) Gospel of Barnabas and noted the alleged substitution of *perichlyte* (*periklutos*, loosely: famous, illustrious) for *parakletos* (comforter). In 1907 Canon Lonsdale and Laura Ragg published the Venetian original with an English translation, *The Gospel of Barnabas* (Cairo: Church Missionary Society). It was subsequently translated from Italian into many Middle Eastern and Asian languages including Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Indonesian. Though many Muslims consider it authentic, perhaps a majority of Western experts in biblical and

- Islamic studies consider the Gospel of Barnabas a pious forgery (cf. for example, the very readable study by Sox, *The Gospel of Barnabas*, 1984).
55. [pseudo-]Barnabas 163:212.
56. Corbin, 'Theologoumena Iranica'; Corbin, 'L'Évangile de Barnabé et la prophétologie islamique'.
57. Ya'qúbí, *Tárikh al-Ya'qúbí*, vol. 1, p. 72.
58. Majlisí, *Bihár al-anwár*, vol. 15, p. 210f. Written about a year before his death Majlisí's *Haqq al-yaqín* (The Reality of Certainty, c.1110/1697) contains a series of prophetic proof texts cited from the pre-Islamic (Abrahamic) religions. Six or so versions of Arabic [quasi-] Johannine Paraclete passages are applied to the Prophet Muḥammad (see *Haqq al-yaqín* cited al-Aḥsá'í, *al-Kashkul*, vol. 2, pp. 538-9). At various points in his three-volume Persian hagiographical biography of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Imáms entitled *Ḥayátu'l-Qulúb* (The Life of Hearts), Majlisí refers to Muḥammad as the Paraclete. He not only wrote that on entering the wilderness as a child Muḥammad was addressed by 'every stone and clod' with His names Muḥammad, Aḥmad, Ḥamíd and Maḥmúd but also that Gabriel addressed Him as the Paraclete (*Ḥayát al-Qulúb*, vol. 2, pp. 55-6). He considered that 'It is well known that his name in the Torah is Múád-múád [Hebrew, Gen. 17:20b], in the *Injil*, Tábtáb [Syriac, Gen 17:20b?], and in the *Zabúr* ['Psalms'] *Fáraqlít* [Paraclete]; some, however, insist that *Fáraqlít* [Paraclete] is his designation in the *Injil* [Gospel(s)] . . . From the [eighth Shí'íte] Imám Riḍá' [d.203/818], it is related that he declared it was written in the *Injil* that the Paraclete [*Bárqlítá*] would come after Jesus and make heavy requirements light, and bear witness to the truth of Jesus who had testified to his truth, and furthermore would explain all knowledge . . . God . . . said to Jesus, "O Son of my handmaid . . . Verily, I will send the chosen of prophets, Aḥmad [= Muḥammad] whom I have selected of all my creatures, even *Fáraqlít* ['Paraclete'], my friend and servant . . ." (see Majlisí, *al-Kashkul*, pp. 86, 308).
59. A loose paraphrase of Jn 16:7, 13-14; 15:26-7 and 16:13b.
60. Jn 16:7f, 13b.
61. Jn 14:26; 16:13.

62. Jn 14:16, 26b.
 63. cf. Jn 16:7f.
 64. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 377.
 65. Káshání, *Tafsír al-Qur'án al-karím*, vol. 1, p. 14.
 66. Ibn Isháq, tr. Guillaume 103-4: I have slightly altered the last sentence translated here for the sake of clarification and in the light of remarks of Tibawi, *Arabic and Islamic Themes*, p. 50. This last comment presupposes that the name Muḥammad is linguistically equivalent to the epithet *Munaḥḥemana* (= Syr. m^enaḥḥ^emānā, [lit. 'life-giver'] 'Comforter') the Arabic transliteration of the Syriac rendering of the Greek *paraklētos* according to the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary - which reflects the Patristic tradition of 'comforter/consoler'. *Munaḥḥemana* may also have been thought of as an assonant prefigurement of the name of the Arabian Prophet. In a footnote commenting on this passage, Guillaume writes, 'It is interesting to note that the citation comes from the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and not from the ordinary Bible of the Syriac-speaking Churches. The text is corrupt in one or two places . . . The most interesting word is that rendered "Comforter" which we find in the Palestinian Lectionary, but all other Syriac versions render "paraclete", following the Greek. This word was well established in the Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking world. The *menahḥemana* in Syriac means the life-giver and especially one who raises from the dead. Obviously such a meaning is out of place here and what is meant is one who consoles and comforts people for the loss of one dear to them. This is the meaning in the Talmud and Targum . . .' (Guillaume, in Ibn Isháq/Hishám, *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 104 fn1).
 67. The absence of any reference here to Qur'án 61:6 has been noted. Some have deduced from this passage that neither Ibn Isháq nor Ibn Hishám knew anything linking this verse with the paraclete sayings (cf. Watt, *Early Islam*, p. 46). Following Guillaume, Parrinder notes that, 'The Palestinian lectionary renders "Comforter", whereas all other Syriac versions render "Paraclete" following the Greek' (Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'án*, p. 96). Montgomery Watt reckons that the final comment 'seems to presuppose the confusion between *paraklētos* and *periklutos*' (Watt, *Early Islam*, p. 82).

68. Caspar, 'Les Versions Arabes . . .', pp. 135, 161.
 69. Jn 16:5, 15:26-27, 16:13; cf. 14:26.
 70. Dunlop, 'A Letter of Hárún al-Rashíd to the Emperor Constantine VI', pp. 113-14.
 71. See Ṭabarí 141. I cannot, by the usual abjad reckoning, make these phrases numerologically equivalent to Fáraqlít (= 430) - though they come very close (433 and 431 respectively). Montgomery Watt has it that Ṭabarí (despite 1 Jn 2:1) specialized the title Paraclete to Muḥammad: 'the Messiah [Jesus] was never called Fáraqlít, but Muḥammad was called by this name' (cited in Watt, *Early Islam*, p. 47).
 72. vol. p. 40.
 73. vol. 2, pp. 354, 365, cited in Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*, p. 125, fn. 118.
 74. *al-mahdí al-muntazar; Rasá'il ikhwán al-ṣafá'*, vol. 1, p. 40; *Risálat al-jámi'a*, vol. 2, p. 365, cited in Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*, p. 68.
 75. Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 73.
 76. Corbin, 'L'Idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne', pp. 38, 51f. It will be convenient at this point to note that various writings attributed to the founder of the Ḥurúfí religious movement, Faḍl Alláh Astarábadí (d. 796/1394) contain interpretations of paraclete sayings. Various recensions of the Persian *Jáwidán-i Kabír* cite John 14:15 (and other New Testament texts) reckoning the fourth Gospel as 'the most authentic Gospel'. Summing up the Bektashí presentation of these sayings Birge writes, 'Both Jesus and the *ulema* ['ulamá'] and seyhs [*Shaykhs*] are in agreement that this Paraclete is the Holy Spirit. The meaning of this, the Aṣkname [a Turkish translation of the *Jawidán*] says, is Muḥammad the Apostle of God. After Jesus died, six hundred years passed by and Muḥammad came to the world testifying that he was the Paraclete promised by Jesus, and that after he died it would be necessary for Jesus to come again into the world. After Muḥammad's death eight hundred years passed by and then came into the world the "Possessor of interpretation", *sahibi tevil* [Pers. *Ṣáhib-i ta'wil*], who was recognized by those who belonged to the party of believers as the [second coming of] Jesus whom Muḥammad has prophesied'

- (Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, p. 153). Faḍl Alláh represented himself as the Paraclete possessed of the inner exegesis of scripture and the return of Christ.
77. Corbin, 'L'Idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne', pp. 47-50; Corbin, 'Islamisme et religions de l'Arabie', p. 257; cf. Suhrawardí, *Ḥayákil al-núr*, pp. 41f, 108.
78. Ámulí, Sayyid Ḥaydar. *Jámi' al-asrár wa manba' al-anwár*, pp. 103-4.
79. Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 73. In his excellent survey of Iranian/Shí'í Paraclete and related materials - to which I am much indebted - Corbin in 'L'Idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne' also refers to the compilation *Ilzám al-násib* of Shaykh 'Alí Yazdí Ḥá'irí in which the mention of the 'woman clothed with the sun' and her male 'child' are interpreted as Fáṭima and the eschatological Qá'im (see Rev. 12:1f and cf. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Some Answered Questions*, ch. 13). Johannine paraclete sayings are, Corbin also observes, cited (along with Revelation 12) in the *Kutáb al-'abqarí* . . . of Shaykh 'Alí Akbar Nahávandí Mashhadí. They are interpreted in terms of a double theophany of the Paraclete. i.e. as the Prophet Muḥammad and the twelfth Imám (Corbin, 'La Persia nel Mediovo', pp. 41ff).
80. *Mujlí*, p. 308, cited in Corbin, 'L'Idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne', p. 55.
81. Deut. 18:15-18; 33:2.
82. See Gen. 17:20b.
83. Cf. above p. 12 fn. 1; *Hughes Dictionary of Islam*, p. 124; Majlisí, *Bihár al-anwár*. vol. 15, p. 208ff. The Hebrew m^od basically means 'power', 'strength', 'force'. The phrase in Gen 17:20 (Heb.) bi-m^od m^od has adjectival sense 'exceedingly' (so KJV and RSV). Many Islamic writers register this as the 'name' of the Prophet in the Torah. It probably became a 'prophecy' in connection with an Ishmael-Muḥammad typology. The numerical (*abjad*) value of 'exceedingly' (2+40+1+4+40+1+4 = 92), it was observed, is the equivalent of Muḥammad (40+8+40+4 = 92). Such use of numerological (*abjad*) equivalents is quite common in Shí'í and Bábí religious literatures.

84. Corbin, 'Theologoumena Iranica' in *Studia Iranica*, vol. 5, pp. 232f; Corbin, 'Aḥmad b. Zayn al-'Abedín 'Alawí', vol. 1, pp. 644f.
85. Corbin, 'L'Idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne', pp. 56f; Corbin, 'Theologoumena Iranica', p. 232.
86. al-Aḥsá'í, Shaykh Aḥmad. *Sharḥ al-ziyára al-jámi'a al-kabíra*, vol. 3, p. 150.
87. Worth noting in passing is that the Imám-Paraclete and his era of the inner disclosure of the Spirit is given an important place in the historico-theosophical scheme of the Shí'í writer Sayyid/Shaykh Ja'far Kashfí (d. 1267/1850-1) who was the father of the Bábí martyr Sayyid Yaḥyá Dárábí. He also identified the Paraclete with the expected twelfth Imám (Corbin, 'La Persia nel Mediovo', pp. 38, 59f).
88. The Báb named his only son Aḥmad. This child died in infancy in the year prior to the commencement of his father's mission in 1260/1844. The immortal infant Aḥmad is referred to in the 28th súra of the *Qayyúm al-asmá'* (mid-1844) as being nigh unto the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fáṭima in that 'sanctified Garden' which is Paradise.
89. *Bayán-i-farsí* 4:14, p. 140.
90. *Bayán-i-farsí* 6:13, pp. 225-6; see also 9:3, p. 316.
91. See Qur'án 61:6.
92. See *ibid.* p. 20. cf. Matt 21:1ff; Mk 11:1ff; Lk 19:29ff; 12:14ff. The Báb apparently refers to a tradition that Christians adore the horseshoe of Jesus' donkey - the one ridden at the triumphal entry into Jerusalem (?). A. L. M. Nicolas learned that many Shí'í Muslims believed Christians to be worshippers of the shoe of Jesus' donkey (or that of the Pope! see *Le Livre des Sept Preuves*, p. 23. fn. 2). Jesus' 'donkey' (the vehicle on which he travelled) is a symbol of materiality which is contrasted with Jesus Himself. It is an important symbol in, for example, the Persian mystical poetry of Saná'í and Rúmí (cf. Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun*, pp. 103ff).
93. The Báb, *Dalá'il-i sab'ih*, pp. 20-1.
94. This Aḥmadí or Muḥammadan Reality can be viewed as the Muḥammadan Light (*núr-i Muḥammadíya*) which, like the Holy Spirit, infuses past Messengers/Manifestations of

- God. Some Bábís and Bahá'ís from a Muslim/Middle Eastern background bore the name Aḥmad and received famous Tablets from Bahá'u'lláh. The well-known Arabic Tablet of Aḥmad (*Lawḥ-i Aḥmad-i 'arabí* c. 1865/6 CE) was addressed to Mírzá Aḥmad Yazdí (d. c. 1902 CE) and the Persian Tablet of Aḥmad (*Lawḥ-i Aḥmad-i fársí* c. 1865-6) to the ultimately Azalí Bábí, Hájí Mírzá Aḥmad Káshání (d. c. 1866). See Lambden, 'Aḥmad Arabic . . .'
95. Bahá'u'lláh, *Seven Valleys*, p. 2. The Prophet's name Maḥmúd is the passive participle of form I of the same Arabic verb from which the names Muḥammad and Aḥmad are derived (root ḤMD). It means '[he who is] praised/to whom praise is due' (see Schimmel, *And Muhammad is his Messenger*, pp. 106f).
96. See Tablet cited, *Ishráq Khávarí, Muḥáḍirát*, vol. 2, pp. 365f.
97. The verbal noun *mu'azzí* is derived from the trilateral root '-z-w/y', the second form of which can signify 'to console, or comfort somebody'. It is not found in the Qur'án but is an important item of Arabic New Testament terminology as the rendering of the Paraclete (see below). The word *mu'azzí* is of some importance in quite a number of Bahá'u'lláh's Tablets of the 'Akká period: partly as a result of marked Christian influence. It is especially found in Visiting Tablets (*Ziyárat-námih*) written in memoriam of Bábí, Bahá'í and other spiritual worthies who have been martyred or passed away. While the occurrence of *mu'azzí* in these Tablets is partly determined by their consoling or comforting dimension, the use and importance of this word is probably also influenced by its centrality as a key New Testament title of Bahá'u'lláh. The Visiting Tablet for the Prince of Martyrs (*Ziyárat-námih Sayyid al-Shuhudá'*; Imám Ḥusayn d. 680 CE) is headed with the words, 'He is the Comforter (*al-mu'azzá*), the Consoler (*al-musallá*), the One Who Crieth Out (*al-náṭiq*), the All-Knowing (*al-'alím*)' (cf. the eschatological Imám Ḥusayn as the Paraclete?). In the course of this text, biblical influence is hinted at (see *Ishráq-Khávarí, Ayyám-i tis'ih*, pp. 235f esp. p. 240). See also, for example, the Tablet in honour of Mullá 'Alján *Shahíd Máhfarúzí* which begins, 'He is the Comforter (*al-Mu'azzá*) from the Most Transcendent Horizon'

- (Sulaymání, *Maṣábih-i ḥidáyat*, vol. 4, p. 534; see also, *Ishráq-Khávarí, Ayyám-i tis'ih*, pp. 29-31).
98. *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* . . . ed. Bishop Brian Walton. London: Thomas Roycroft, 6 vols; New Testament = vol. 5. The Arabic text of Walton's Polyglott was basically a selective revision of the Arabic of the Paris Polyglott of 1625-45 (10 vols.). Certain later Arabic Bibles reproduce (sometimes with adaptations or revisions) the text printed in Walton's Polyglott. e.g. the Arabic Bible edited by Joseph Dacre Carlyle (one-time Professor of Arabic at Cambridge and vicar of Newcastle), printed in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (England) in 1811. Printed editions of the Arabic Gospels/New Testament (16th century CE onwards) represent varieties of a 13th century Arabic recension known as the 'Alexandrian Vulgate'. This Arabic text differs at various points from the modern critical text translated in recent English Bibles.
99. New Testament first printed, but very little known in 1860; many later well-known editions. The (Smith) Van Dyck Arabic New Testament translation was frequently printed from 1860 CE. It became the standard Arabic version adopted by Protestant missionaries (it is still in print). This translation was frequently cited by Bahá'u'lláh (e.g. in *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf*, c. 1891) and very highly regarded by 'Abdu'l-Bahá.
100. On the Jawáhir al-Asrár and its date, see Lambden, 'Jawahir. . .'. It is a work which has much in common with both the Seven Valleys (*Haft vādí* c. 1275/1858) and the Book of Certitude (*Kitáb-i Íqán* c. 1862).
101. As indicated, various New Testament texts are cited in Arabic largely according to a late medieval (Christian 'Alexandrian Vulgate') translation. e.g. Matt. 24:29f; Lk 21:25f; Jn 15:26f; Rev. 1:14f cf. *Kitáb-i Íqán*, pp. 19ff/ trans. pp. 16ff.
102. Included are Arabic versions of Matt. 24:19, 29-31a; Mk 13:19 and Lk 21:25-27, 31.
103. These three passages are reminiscent of rewritten Islamic paraclete texts; versions, in other words, of [1] Jn 15:26-27a; [2] Jn 14:26+16:5-6aα and [3] 16:7,13 according to an Arabic Christian text type; see Bahá'u'lláh, *Áthár-i qalam*. . . 3:11f = INBMC 46:4f. These three clusters of

- Johannine paraclete sayings, along with the other New Testament texts, are referred to as 'the form' (version, substance, *súrat*) of what was previously revealed to Jesus (AQA 3:12). Bahá'u'lláh swears by God that although he had felt compelled to abbreviate His quotations – hence the unusual conflation or juxtapositions – He was capable of quoting at length from past scriptures. For some detailed comments on the texts cited in the Jawáhir al-Asrár see Lambden, 'Some aspects of Isrá'íliyát . . .'
104. Bahá'u'lláh, Kitáb-i Íqán, p. 16; Bahá'u'lláh, *Kitáb-i-Íqán*, p. 20.
105. *Alváh-i názilah* 11; trans. Shoghi Effendi, *Promised Day is Come*, p. 27.
106. See text in Bahá'u'lláh, *Alváh-i názilah*, p. 181 and below.
107. cf. Qur'án 3:40f, 52f; 4:169f.
108. Pentecost in Acts 2 and Qur'án 14:4. That the eschatological disclosure of this 'Word' (*al-kalima*) by 'the Word' (*al-kalima*: Jesus) was found by the various 'sects' (*ahzab*) to be in their own language perhaps indicates the universality of the eschatological disclosure. It is implied that all should respond to Bahá'u'lláh's advent. Bahá'u'lláh's appearance could be seen as a new, globally directed 'Pentecost'. Just as the Paraclete is traditionally believed by Christians to have communicated at Pentecost to 'devout men from every nation under heaven' (via the apostles speaking in 'tongues', see Acts 2:1ff), so too Bahá'u'lláh as the eschatological 'Comforter'.
109. *La'áli*, 3:217; provisional translation by Lambden.
110. Thus, in His Tablet to Pope Pius IX, written in about 1869 CE, Bahá'u'lláh proclaims: "The Word (*al-kalima*) which the Son [Jesus] concealed is made manifest in the form of the human temple in this day [= Bahá'u'lláh] (trans. Shoghi Effendi, *Promised Day is Come*, p. 32) . . . This is the Word (*al-kalima*) which was preserved behind the Veil of Grandeur. When the promised time came, He shone forth from the horizon of the Divine Will with manifest signs . . . (*Alvah* 80; provisional translation by Lambden). Similarly we read in the 'Most Holy Tablet' (*Lawh-i aqdas*): "This is the Word (*al-kalima*) which the Son [Jesus] concealed, when to those around Him He said: "Ye cannot bear it now". And when the appointed time was fulfilled and the Hour had struck,

- the Word (*al-kalima*) shone forth above the horizon of the Will of God.' (trans. Bahá'u'lláh, *Tablets*, p. 11). For further details and references see Lambden, 'A Tablet of Bahá'u'lláh to Georg David Hardegg: The Lawh-i-Hirtík'.
111. *Lawh-i Páp*; text *Alváh* 85. Provisional translations by Lambden. Towards the end of the Tablet to the Pope (ibid. p. 90) Bahá'u'lláh refers to His 'Path' (*sabil*, i.e. religion) as that announced by 'the Spirit' (*al-rúh* = Jesus) when He referred to an act of mutual witnessing (cf. Jn 15:27; this act of mutual witnessing is referred to in several Tablets of the 'Akká period).
112. Shoghi Effendi, *Dispensation* (1949), pp. 13-14; (1988), p. 15.
113. See Jn 16:13; Bahá'u'lláh, *Tablets*, p. 12.
114. Bahá'u'lláh, *Epistle*, p. 148.
115. Bahá'u'lláh, *Epistle*, p. 148. Some commentary on selected prophecies of Bahá'u'lláh can be found in, for example, Shoghi Effendi's *The Promised Day is Come*.
116. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Makátib*, vol. 2, pp. 57-62f.
117. *ibid.* vol. 1, p. 58. The Arabic word *tasullí* (verbal noun II) is used in Persian as a noun or verb to signify '(to give) solace, comfort . . .' It directly or indirectly translates the Johannine *paraklēos* (understood as 'Comforter') in a number of Persian New Testaments. Henry Martyn (1781-1812), in his influential Persian translation of the New Testament (from the original Greek, 1st ed. St. Petersburg, 1812; many subsequent printings), has *tasullí-yi dahanda-yi dígar* (another Comforter) at John 16:14 and *tasullí-yi dahanda . . . rúh al-quds . . .* (the Comforter, the Holy Spirit) at 14:26 (similarly in Jn 15:26 and 16:7) – the Persian New Testament as revised by Robert Bruce in 1895 has exactly the same renderings as do other Persian New Testaments.
118. See 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Makátib*, vol. 2, pp. 57ff.
119. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Some Answered Questions*, (c. 1904-5), ch. 25, pp. 108-9.
120. See 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Mufawadát*, p. 83; 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Some Answered Questions* (trans.), p. 109.
121. Tablet to C. M. Remy, partially cited in Persian in Universal House of Justice, *Ahd*, p. 5, trans. *Bahá'í World Faith*, p. 358.
122. *Star of the West*, vol. 4, no. 14, p. 238. cf. *ibid.* vol. 9, no. 1, p. 7.

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123. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Selections*, p. 59.
124. *ibid.*
125. *Star of the West*, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 10.
126. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Promulgation*, pp. 41-2.
127. Shoghi Effendi, in *Letters from the Guardian to Australia and New Zealand*, p. 41; *Lights of Guidance*, no. 1662, p. 494.
128. Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, p. 210.
129. For further details on these texts, see Lambden, 'The Biblical texts . . .'
130. See Jn 15:26-27a.
131. Jn 14:26 + 16:5-6a ∞ ; Arabic AQA. 3:11-12 = INBMC 46:4.
132. Jn 16:7,13; Ar. INBMC 46:4-5 = AQA 3:11.