

ART. IX.—*Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurūfī Sect.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

I. THE LITERATURE.

IN my *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library* (pp. 69–86) I described, at what may have seemed rather inordinate length, a work called the *Jācidān-i-Kabīr*, which aroused my interest in the highest degree. The interest of this work, as I there pointed out, is twofold: it embodies very remarkable doctrines, apparently akin to those of the Isma'īlīs or Shī'ites of the "Sect of the Seven"; and considerable portions of it are written in a peculiar dialect of Persian which certainly merits a fuller study. Concerning the author of this work, Faḡlu'llāh b. Abī Muḡammad of Tabrīz, called "al-Ḥurūfī," we know little (except what may be gleaned from his writings) beyond what is contained in the brief notice of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. A.H. 852), cited by Flügel at pp. vii–viii of the preface to the second volume of his edition of Hāji Khalfa. "Faḡlu'llāh," says Ibn Ḥajar, "the son of Abū Muḡammad of Tabrīz, was one of those innovators who subject themselves to ascetic discipline. Imbued with heretical doctrine, he finally produced the sect known as the *Hurūfīs* [from حروف, 'Letters'], pretending that the Letters [of the alphabet] were the essence of men, together with many other things. He invited the Amīr Timūr the Lame to his heresies, but he desired to fly to the knowledge of the true religion (as a refuge), and he struck off his nose. And when this was made known to the Amīr, he struck off his nose."

his head and his body, and burned them both, in this year, viz. in the year [A.H.] 804" (=A.D. 1401-2). From the *Jāvidān-i-Kabir* it seems clear enough that Faḡlu'llāh pretended that himself was a prophet and his book an inspired revelation; and from sundry records of visions with which the Cambridge MS. concludes (I have not had an opportunity of comparing the Leyden or the Constantinople codices), it would further appear that the period of his religious activity began not later than A.H. 786 (=A.D. 1384).

Some time after the publication of my *Catalogue*, my friend Mr. E. J. W. Gibb called my attention to the fact that the Turkish poet *Nesīmī* (who was put to death for heterodoxy in A.H. 820) is, in several *taẓkiras* of Turkish poets, called *al-Ḥurūfī*, a term of which he had not understood the precise significance until he read my notice of the *Jāvidān-i-Kabir*. He showed me several of the notices consecrated to *Nesīmī* in these *taẓkiras*; and the allusion to Faḡlu'llāh contained in the following verse of his cited by one of them afforded yet more conclusive evidence that the "heresy" for which the Turkish poet suffered death was the heresy of "Faḡlu'llāh the Ḥurūfī":—

علم حکمتدن بلورشد گل برو گل ای حکیم
 سن نسیمی منطقدن دگله فضل التهی گور

"If thou would'st know of the science of philosophy [or of the lore of wisdom], come, come hither, O philosopher;
 Hearken thou to the speech of *Nesīmī*, and behold *Faḡlu'llāh*!
 [or the Excellence of God]."

Already, therefore, it began to appear probable that this Ḥurūfī sect enjoyed a certain importance, duration, and diffusion; and this conjecture derived further support from my discovery in the Bibliothèque Nationale, during a fortnight spent at Paris in the Easter vacation of 1897, of two manuscripts (*Ancien Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Suppl. Pers.*, 107) containing several other Ḥurūfī treatises. These manuscripts, before going further, I will briefly describe.

Ancien Fonds Pers., 24.

This MS., a volume of eighty-six leaves, is divided into three parts as follows:—

- (1) The *Isticā-nāma* (ff. 1^b–59^b) of *Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Huseyn b. Muḥammad al-Huseynī of Astarābād*,¹ of which another copy, dated A.H. 1043, is briefly described by Dr. Paul Horn, of Strassburg, amongst the Persian and Turkish MSS. of the Vatican (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. li, p. 12). This copy ends (f. 59^b)—

تَمَّتْ الْكِتَابُ بِعَوْنِ فَضْلِ قَاتِحِ الْبَابِ سَهْ

“The book was concluded by the help of *Faḫr[u'llāh]* the Opener of the Gate, A.H. 970” (=A.D. 1562–3). This, of course, is the date of transcription, but a passage on f. 23^a shows that the work must have been composed subsequently to A.H. 828. As regards its title, it refers, no doubt, to the verse of the Qur'ān, “then He [God] ascended upon His Throne” (ثُمَّ اسْتَوَىٰ عَلَىٰ عَرْشِهِ), constantly cited in the *Jāridān-i-Kabīr* and other Hurūfī books.

- (II) An allegorical Mathnavī poem (ff. 62^b–80^b), in the hexameter *ramal* metre, describing Alexander's search for the Water of Life, and the questions addressed by him to the *Pīr-i-murshīd* (presumably Khīẓr), with their answers. It begins—

ابتدا کردم بنام ذوالجلال ‘ حقی و قیوم و قدیم بی زوال

That this poem also is the work of a Hurūfī, is evident from the concluding lines—

هادی و مهدی کلام الله شد ‘ لیک اندر نطق فضل الله شد
گردانی عنده علم الكتاب ‘ اوست شاهد بر همه یوم الحساب
جمله از جاوید نامه شد عیان ‘ آنچه پنهان بود در کون و مکان
روطلب کن ای شه عالی مقام ‘ مقصد کلی ازین رو و السلام

¹ His full name is thus given on f. 49^a. Elsewhere he is spoken of simply as *Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn*.

“The Word of God is [our] Guide and Mahdī, but it is [so] through the speech of Faḡlu’llāh.

If thou understandest ‘*With Him is Knowledge of the Book,*’ he is Witness against all in the Day of Reckoning.

All which was concealed in the Phenomenal Universe hath been made clear by the *Jārid-nāma*.

Go, seek, O King of lofty station, the Supreme Object in this way, and so Farewell!”

(III) A glossary of the dialect-words used in the *Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabīr* (ff. 81^a-86^a). The words explained are written in red in alphabetical order, the explanations in Persian standing under each; and there are about eighty words to the page.

Suppl. Pers., 107.

This is a small volume of ff. 139, brown with age, described in a French note as “*Traité de l’immortalité de l’âme en prose persienne appelé Djavidan namé, avec l’explication des lettres cabalistiques inconnues qui sont dans l’Alcoran, et le commentaire des passages qui sont à ce sujet, composé par Fadhlalla Houroufi de la secte des Sofis: il traite cette matière suivant la Théologie des Sofis, et la cabale des lettres et des noms divins.*” Much of it is written in an extremely enigmatical manner, and traditions which enjoyed a special currency and favour amongst the sect are so much abbreviated as to be unintelligible to those who are not already familiar with them. Thus, to cite one instance, the constantly-quoted *راست رتبی* appears as *رأيتُ رَبِّي لَيْلَةَ الْمَعْرَاجِ فِي صُورَةِ امْرَأَةٍ قَطَطَ فِي سَهْمِ مَرْتَقَطَ*. The book begins, after the *Bismi’llah*:—

هو در تقسیم و تَوْشَنَاس و بِخَوَانِ اِیْ خَوَانِنْدَه طَوَط وَهَ کَرِیْم
 تَه که حت لت فرموده است حمص و علی صر الرحمن از تقسیم
 ط و تَو که یکی موی سراوست و چهار مژه و دو ابرو و در آن حدیث
 که قَامَتِ الرَّحْمِ فَآخَذَتْ بِحَقْوِی الرَّحْمَنِ قَالِ مَه قَالَتْ هَذَا مَقَامِ
 الْعَائِدِ بَكَتِ اِلَى آخِرِهِ

For the full understanding of this text a careful preliminary study of the more intelligible Hurūfī works would be indispensable. Its title appears to be, from a marginal note rendered partially unintelligible to me by contractions, *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Jārid*¹ ("The Eternal Book of Love"), and this title seems justified by the general tone of the book and by the constantly-cited tradition—

من ذکرنی احبّنی و من احبّنی عشقنی و من عشقنی عشقته
و من عشقته قتلته و من قتلته انا دینه

"He who remembereth me, loveth me; and he who loveth me, passionately desireth me; and him who passionately desireth me I passionately desire; and whom I passionately desire I slay; and of him whom I slay, I am the Blood-wit." A *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* ("Divine Book of Love") is mentioned in the *Isticā-nāma*, and is, no doubt, the work contained in this MS., which is dated A.H. 895 (A.D. 1489-90), and was transcribed by a certain Darvīsh Aḥmad. I was unable to discover in my examination of the book any indications serving to fix more accurately the date of composition or the authorship, but the following expression occurring on f. 11^b of the *Isticā-nāma* (and similar ones elsewhere) would seem to show that it too was written by Faḡlu'llāh:—

در محبت نامه الهی جّ ة [= جل ذکره] حضرت الهی
میفرمایند در باب یوسف و زلیخا . . .

Besides the *Jāridān-nāma* and the *Maḥabbat-nāma*, mention is made in the *Isticā-nāma* of another Hurūfī work, in verse, entitled the '*Arsh-nāma* ("Book of the Throne"). Citations from this show that it is a Persian *mathnari* poem written in the same metre (*Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maḥdhūf*) as the *mathnari*

¹ This identification is rendered certain by a passage on f. 13^b of the *Isticā-nāma*, where, in discussing why the *Maḥabbat-nāma* received this title rather than that of *Ta'ashshūq-nāma* or *Mucaddat-nāma* (which mean the same thing), Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn explicitly cites its opening words as follows:—

در اول کتاب محبت نامه الهی حضرت الهی بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم هر نموده اند

already described as forming the second part of *Anc. Fonds Pers.* 24, and it seemed to me probable that this poem might prove to be the '*Arsh-nāma*, but, as I sought in vain to verify the citations, this identity must still be regarded as unestablished.

Mention must also be made of another Ḥurūfī poem in Turkish, by *Reft'i*, a pupil of *Nesimī*, contained in the British Museum MS. Add. 5,986. It is called the *Bashārat-nāma*, and contains translations of passages from the '*Arsh-nāma*, *Jāvidān-nāma*, and *Mahabbat-nāma* already mentioned. As I have not yet had the opportunity of examining this MS., save in the most cursory manner, I can for the present merely refer the reader to Professor Rieu's description of it in his *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, pp. 164-5.

It will thus be seen that the authentic material for a full study of this Ḥurūfī sect, of which hitherto almost nothing has been known, is very considerable. Such a study this article has no pretension to be, but only a few notes on the subject, based on such hurried examination of the documents as I have been able to effect. Some there may be who will be inclined to regret that I did not postpone it until I had extended this examination; but, having learned by experience how often the ungarnered harvest rots instead of ripening, I have thought it better to place in the hands of other students these clues to a hitherto untrodden labyrinth which at present I have not leisure further to explore. Sources whence further information might be expected are, besides the Turkish *tazkiras* of which I have already spoken (some of which I shall have occasion to cite), the various general and special histories of *Timūr*, where some account of the execution of *Faḡlu'llāh* is probably to be found. It is, of course, possible that *Timūr* attached little importance to the death of one mystic heresiarch amidst the thousands of victims whom he slew, but the Ḥurūfīs on their part were not disposed to forget "that accursed lame man" (آن لنگت), as the author of the *Istivā-nāma* (f. 25^a) calls him. (ملعون)

One other source—printed this time, not manuscript—remains to be mentioned, namely, the Turkish and Persian poems (*Diwān*) of Nesīmī, published at Constantinople at the *Akhtar* printing-press in Jumāda II, A.H. 1298. Although almost every page of this *Diwān* contains obvious allusions to Faḡlu'llāh and the Ḥurūfī doctrines, it would appear to be of only secondary value for an investigation of the tenets of the sect. That Nesīmī was a prominent disciple of Faḡlu'llāh is abundantly proved by evidence external to his own poems, and I have now no doubt that he is the "Seyyid 'Imād"¹ mentioned in the visions wherewith the Cambridge MS. of the *Jāvidān-i-Kabir* concludes (p. 72 of my *Persian Catalogue*). Qinālī-zādē expressly says, in the notice which he consecrates to Nesīmī in his *taẓkira* (Add. 24,957 of Brit. Mus., f. 282), that, after he had been filled with Divine love, he "at length offered his devotion to Faḡlu'llāh al-Ḥurūfī," and, becoming bolder and bolder in his talk of Divine Mysteries as the Mystic Wine-cup which he drained proved too much for his discretion, uttered words mystically true but outwardly blasphemous, which caused the doctors of Aleppo to pronounce sentence of death against him.² The author of the *Istī'ād-nāma* mentions him (f. 22^a) as one of seven "most learned, most perfect, most excellent, most eminent darvīshes of that epoch" (the others being Darvīsh 'Alī, Darvīsh Bahā'u'd-Dīn, Mawlānā Muḡammad of Nā'in, Mawlānā Ḥasan of Burūjird, Darvīsh Aḡmad of Gilān, and

¹ Qinālī-zādē (fl. A.H. 994) speaks of him as 'Imādu'd-Dīn, and says that he belonged to a family of Seyyids of Bagdad. Mr. Gibb, who has kindly read through the proofs of this article, says that Laṭīfī (A.H. 953) confirms the first piece of information.

² I am indebted to Mr. Gibb for the following note:—"Qinālī-zādē's words are—

گلستان جنان و بوستان دل و جانان نسیم لنا وزان اولمشه بی عشق و محبتی مشامت بهر میخندی
که خدمت مشایخ زمان اهدرت آخر فضل الله حرولی به ارادت گهر میخندی

'As the Breeze of Annihilation blew upon the Garden of his Spirit, upon the Orchard of his Heart and Soul, it bore the Perfume of Love and Affection to his Nostrils, so that after having served the Sheykhs of the Time, he at last gave his allegiance to Faḡlu'llāh the Ḥurūfī, in consequence of which, continues Qinālī-zādē, he lost all self-control, and began to rave after the fashion of the ecstatics."

Mawlānā Ḥasan-i-Ḥaydarī), and, in an anecdote concerning him (to be cited presently) which occurs on f. 58^b, calls him

سید سعید شهید امیر سید عماد الدین نسیمی

"the beatified, martyred Seyyid, Amīr Seyyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn Nesīmī." In the *taẓkira* of Laṭīfī (Add. 17,339 of Brit. Mus., f. 90^b) he is called—

عشق میدانینگ سرباز بی بیمی و محبت کعبه سنگ فدای
عظیمی قدوة السادات سید نسیمی قدس الله سره

"the fearless Soldier of the Field of Love, the precious Sacrifice of the Ka'ba of Affection, the Paragon of Seyyids, Seyyid Nesīmī, may God sanctify his secret!" Hence it would appear that even Musulmāns presumably orthodox were disposed to regard him as a kind of second Maṣṣūr-i-Ḥallāj, a part for which his own words (*Divān*, p. 52, l. 6, and many other passages) prove his predilection—

دائم انا الحق سویلم حقدن چو منصور اولمشم

کیمدر بنی بردار ایدن بو شهرة مشهور اولمشم

"Since I have been helped [*maṣṣūr*]¹ by the Truth [God] I ever say, 'I am the Truth!' Who will put me on the gibbet? I have become notorious in this city."

Had these gentle biographers enjoyed an opportunity of perusing even so much of the Ḥurūfī literature as the writer has done, it is very doubtful if they would have striven to surround with the halo of martyrdom an exponent of doctrines far more remarkable for their ingenuity than their orthodoxy. These doctrines I now propose briefly to examine, chiefly by the light of the *Istiwā-nāma*, of which I have the fullest notes, and which is the clearest and most intelligible of the Ḥurūfī books. Before proceeding to this second part of my article, however, I will summarize, for greater convenience of reference, the sources of our information on the subject.

¹ Or, "since I have become [like] Maṣṣūr." The equivocal cannot be preserved in English.

- I. *Hurūfī writings.* (1) The *Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabir* of *Faḡlu'llāh al-Hurūfī*: MSS. of Cambridge, Leyden, and St. Sophia.
- (2) The *Isticā-nāma* of *Amir Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn*: MSS. of Paris and the Vatican.
- (3) The *Mahabbat-nāma* of *Faḡlu'llāh*: MS. of Paris.
- (4) A *mathnaci* poem which, under the guise of Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, treats allegorically of the Hurūfī doctrines, and may be the '*Arsh-nāma* of *Faḡlu'llāh* mentioned and cited in the *Isticā-nāma*: Paris MS.
- (5) The *Dirān* of *Nesimi*: Constantinople edition of A.H. 1298. This volume also includes (pp. 9-14) the *Ganj-nāme* (Turkish) of *Refī'i*.
- (6) The *Bashārat-nāma* of *Nesimī's* pupil *Refī'i*: Brit. Mus. MS.
- II. *External Sources of Information.* Biographies of Turkish poets (s.v. *Nesimi* and perhaps *Refī'i*), e.g. *Qindā-zādē* and *Lattīfī*.¹ Probably some of the histories of *Timūr*; *Hāji Khalfa*, s.v. *Jāvidān-i-Kabir*; the *Inbā* of *Ibn Hajar*.

II. THE DOCTRINES.

Speaking generally, the following appear to be the most prominent features of the fanciful doctrines confusedly and unmethodically set forth in the Hurūfī books:—

(1) There exists a hidden science, to acquire which is at once the supreme duty and the supreme happiness of man, indicating and explaining the meaning and significance of all things in heaven above and in earth beneath, and the mystical correspondences which unite them.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Gibb for the following note:—"Refī'i is not mentioned in any of the *tezkires* I have seen. There is further a notice on *Nesimi* in '*Āshiq Chelebi's tezkiye*, written about A.H. 976. Also in '*Ali's History* (کنه البحار), written A.H. 1007. '*Āshiq* alone speaks in a disparaging tone about *Nesimi*."

(2) This hidden science is contained in the Qur'ān; but the key which unlocks it was in the hands of Faḡlu'llāh, "the Master of Interpretation" (صاحب تاویل), also called "His Divine Holiness" (حضرت الهی), and, after him, passed to his Successor (حضرت خلیفه) or Vicar¹ (مقام ف رت) (العالمین علی عالی اعلیٰ believers).

(3) Man, created in the Image of God, "in the best of forms" (فی أحسن تقویم), is the Microcosm (العالم الاصغر), the Book of God (الكتاب المبين الذى باحرفه يظهر المعنى), the Goal and Measure of all things, the Throne on which God ascended when He had finished the creation of all inferior and subordinate creatures (as it is said in the Qur'ān—ثم استوى على عرشه), an Object of Worship to the Angels, "save Iblis, who waxed proud and refused," saying:—

ذات پاکی را که من کردم سجود هست فارغ از قیام و از قعود
جسم خاکی چون شود مسجود من سجده من هم سوی معبود من

"That pure Essence which I worship is free from standing or sitting :

How can an earthly body be the object of my adoration ?
My adoration is towards my God."

(*Arsh-nāma* cited in *Isticā-nāma*, f. 20^a.)

(4) "Science is a Point which fools have made manifold" (العلم نقطة كثرها الجاهلون). That science is the Science of the Letters, which, properly understood, explains all things. "That Point," says Amīr Nūru'llāh, called *Ḥaḡrat-i-Surūru'sh-Shuhadā* (His Holiness the Delight of the Martyrs), "is the head of man; for Beauty, Comeliness, Speech, Smell, Sight, and Hearing are all in the head; and, according to writing and script, the 32 lines of black and white [i.e. the 32 letters of the Arabic alphabet as enlarged by the Persians]

¹ Perhaps Amīr Nūru'llāh, "the Delight of the Martyrs." See p. 77, *infra*.

are in the face, and the manifestation of speech also, which is 32 and 28 [sounds in the Persian and Arabic languages respectively], is in the face; and the verse 'All things shall perish save His Face' also alludes to this" (*Isticā-nāma*, ff. 19^b-20^a). As all the letters are developed from the Point (نقطه), so are all men developed from seed (نطفه, which is, save for a slight difference in diacritical points, an anagram of نطقه). "Which fools have made manifold": "inasmuch as they seek the Essence of God, and the manifestation of that Essence, and the Vision thereof, elsewhere than in the Face of Man" (*Isticā-nāma*, f. 20^a). So Nesimi says (*Divān*, p. 52):—

چون اون سکز بگ عالمه اولدی وجودم آئینه

اول صورت رحمن بنم کیم خلقه مستور اولمشم

"Seeing that my body is the mirror for the 18,000 worlds, I am that very Form of God, so am I concealed to (i.e. not comprehended by) the multitude."

(5) The Hurūfīs, like the Bāṭinis or Isma'ilīs, whom in many respects they so closely resemble, teach that, though there is a deep meaning of infinite significance both in the Qur'ān and in the religious observances (Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage, etc.) which it ordains, the merely literal meaning of the former and the merely formal fulfilment of the latter are entirely devoid of importance. The method of *ta'wil*, or allegorical interpretation, first elaborated by the Isma'ilīs, finds an equally full and very similar application amongst the Hurūfīs, who, as it would appear, reject the material Resurrection, Paradise, and Hell of orthodox Islām; and incline to a belief in Transmigration, or rather, perhaps, like the Bābīs, in the "Return" (رجعت) or Re-manifestation of the same significant essences in new forms.¹ They appear to believe, however, in a state of subjective happiness or misery after death, since Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn gives in the *Isticā-nāma* (f. 23^a) an account of a conversation which he held

¹ Cf. pp. 77-8, *infra*.

during sleep with a departed co-religionist, Amīr Salāmu'llāh, and describes graphically the mansions and gardens of the Paradise wherein he visited him and other deceased co-religionists; while in another place (f. 27*) the following couplet, ascribed to "the Master of Interpretation" (i.e. Faḡlu'llāh), is said to have been cited in the course of a discussion by Amīr Nūru'llāh:—

با او بماند دایم در عالم معانی

آن نقش و آن صفاتی کو با وی آشنا شد

"There remain ever with him in the Ideal World that form and those attributes which had become familiar to him."

Moreover, we find in the *Istirā-nāma*, chapters "on the consciousness of the Human Spirit after the plucking off of the Body, when and how Peace comes to the pure and great Spirit of the learned, enquiring, unitarian Gnostic who practises what he knows" (f. 212); "in explanation of Hell, and the Place of Abode of the Human Spirit" (f. 39^b); and "in explanation of Hell, and determination thereof according to the word of interpretation of the *Jāridān-nāma-i-Ilāhī*, the *Mahabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* and the Word of the Vicar of God (*Khalīfatu'llāh*), and according to the explicit testimony (نص) of the Pentateuch and the Gospel."

Now the doctrine of *ta'wil*, or allegorical interpretation, is very apt to lead to complete Antinomianism, and from several passages in the *Istirā-nāma*, it would appear that this actually was the case amongst many of the Ḥurūfis. "Some of the darvishes of Rūm" (i.e. the Turkish Ḥurūfis), according to Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn (f. 24*), used to argue thus:—

بهشت عبارت از علم است و دوزخ عبارت از جهل است چون
ما عارف بسی و دو کلمه و وجود خود و اشیا شدیم همه اشیا از
برای ما بهشت است نماز نیست و روزه نیست و طهارت نیست
و حرام نیست همه حلال است که این همه تکلیفات است و در

بهشت تکلیف نیست و غرض از بهشت این عالم است با معرفت علم حروف و بیان صاحب بیان چ ه و درویشان بغداد نیز که درویش امیر علی کیوان و درویش صدر ضیا و درویش حسن ناطق اند ایشان نیز برین اند و برین بودند و درویش حاجی عیسی بدلیسی سلام الله علیه در آلا داغ از حضرت خلیفه الله سوال فرمود و مدتی با درویشان مولانا حسن حیدری و درویش محمد تیرگر و سید تاج الدین و سید مظفر بحث میکرد و مدعای او این بود که در بهشت تکلیف نیست و ما میگوئیم که در بهشتیم پس بر ما میباید که تکلیف نباشد و این پنج وقت نماز بر ما تکلیف است پس گذاردنی نباشد و مدت چند وقت درین باب مباحثه میکرد تا غایتی که این سخن بحضرت خلیفه الله رسید صلوات الله علیه جواب او را چنین فرمودند که ترا بر علم من و یقین من اقرار هست یا نیست حال از دو بیرون نیست آن درویش عزیز فرمودند که این فقیر را بعلم و یقین شما [اقرار] هست [پس از] این فرمودند که اگر مرا دانا میدانی من میگویم که میباید گزارد (f. 24^b) و در محبت نامه الهی چ ه حضرت صاحب بیان چ ه میفرمایند که نهایت خداپرستی حکما و علما و زاهدان و متقیان سر بعالم عشق و خواهد نهادن و عاشقی عبارت از آنست که از برای هر خط وجه و ابرو و مژه و غمزد، محبوب سجود تسلیم بجا آورد و در جنت بقول نص کلام ادا قیل لهم سلاما سلاما مذکورست و سلاما سلاما در نماز است هم صورت نماز خواهد بود، آن درویش سکوت کرد و تسلیم شد و قبول کرد.

“Paradise consists in knowledge, and hell in ignorance. Since we are cognizant of the 32 words, and of our own being, and of all things, all things are paradise to us: there is no longer prayer, or fasting, or cleanness, or things unlawful: all is lawful. For all these things are obligations, and in paradise is no obligation. And by paradise is meant this world, with knowledge of the Science of the Letters and the Explanation of the Revealer (glorious be his mention!).’ And the darvishes of Baghdad also, who are Darvish Amīr ‘Alī Keyvān and Darvish Ṣadr-i-Ziyā, and Darvish Ḥasan Nāṭiq, also hold and have held this. And Darvish Hājī ‘Īsā of Bitlis (upon whom be the Peace of God) enquired of His Holiness the Vicar of God in Ālādāgh, and disputed for some while with the Darvishes Mawlānā Ḥasan Ḥaydarī and Darvish Muḥammad Tīr-gar [‘the Fletcher’] and Seyyid Tāju’-d-Dīn and Seyyid Muḥaffar [about this point], his contention being, ‘There is no obligation in Paradise; and we say that we are in Paradise, therefore there is no obligation upon us; and these five times of prayer are an obligation upon us, therefore they should not be performed,’ and for some time he discoursed on this matter, until at length it came to the hearing of His Holiness the Vicar of God (on whom be the blessings of God), who answered him thus: ‘Dost thou admit my knowledge and infallibility? There are but two alternatives.’ That worthy darvish replied, ‘This humble individual admits your knowledge and infallibility.’ Then said the other, ‘If thou regardest me as wise, I say that one *should* perform them.’ And in the *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* (glorious be its mention!) His Holiness the Revealer (glorious be his mention!) says: ‘Worship of God will at length turn the heads of philosophers, doctors, the ascetic and the devout, again to the World of Love; and Love consists in this, that one should fulfil the prostration of submission to every hair of the face, and eyebrow, and eyelash, and glance of the Beloved: and in Paradise, as is mentioned in the explicit word of Scripture, “then shall be said unto them, ‘Peace! Peace!’” and “*L’euca!*

Peace!" is in the prayers; it [i.e. Paradise] is therefore conformable to prayer.' That darvish was silent and submitted and acquiesced."

Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn then goes on to speak of the views prevalent amongst his fellow-believers in Shīrwān, Gilān ("some of whom believe in the World of Immortality as conformable to the World of Sleep"), Khurāsān (where Seyyid Amīr Ishaq taught and gathered disciples), 'Irāq, Luristān, and Tabriz, most of whom seem to have discarded the outer forms of religion:—

و اهل عراق و لرستان و درویشان آن دیار اکثر بلکث همه بااهد
و بی نمازی و بی تکلیفی مشغول گشته خود را آزاد تصور کرده بدان
عمل مشغول اند، اهل تبریز درویشان اهل فضل بعضی بر آنند که
بهشت شد و قلم تکلیف بر خاست، هرچه در کائنات است
(f. 25^b) حق انسان عارفست آنچه میسر گردد و تصرف میباید
نمود و آنچه میسر نگردد حق خود میباید دانست و در آن
کوشیدن که از دست غیر بیرون آورده عارف تصرف نماید، نماز
و طاعت و وضو و غسل و امثال این چیزها بر خاسته است، نماز از
سرای آن بود که حقیقت آن معلوم گردد چون حقیقت معلوم
گشت دیگر نماز نیست و امثال این تکالیف بعضی بر آنند
که حضرت صاحب تاویل حجّه در عرش نامه الهی میفرماید —
یعنی سی و دو مرا باشد کلام، آنکه اشیارا بایشانست قیام،
در یکی گیرید اگر از حق قرار، سی و یک را زو بیانی آشکار،
(f. 26^a) برادر عزیز جانی درویش محمد تیرگر رضوان الله علیه از
طرف مازندران بعد از استخلاص از حبس شیاطین که با حضرت
سرور شهدا امیر نور الله صلوات الله علیه آمدیم بطرف بغداد چون

به محروسه' باغ قوبه رسیدیم رسید و چند مسئله آورد از آن جمله یکی این بود که البته میباید که همه زبانها برافتد آ آ عربی و فارسی بدلیل لسان اهل الجئته عربی و فارسی دری که می و دو کلمه درین دو زبان جاریست دیگر زبانها مکتورند می باید که برافتند ' و یکی دیگر آنکه ازین فقیرسؤال کرد که حضرت صاحب تاویل راجح ت و آن لنگت ملعون را کجا مشاهده میکنی ' این فقیرگفت حقیقت آن لنگت مجس را در لقوه ملعون و حقیقت فضل رب العالمین ج ت در حضرت امیر نور الله ' او انکار کرد و گفت که حضرت صاحب بیان در مظهر بالقوه است که پادشاهی میکند و آن لنگت در سگت است و در صورت سگت او را مشاهده توان کرد '

"And most, nay, all of those of 'Irāq and Luristān, and the darvishes of that district, having entangled themselves in heresy, and discarded prayer and other obligations, imagine that in thus acting they enjoy liberty. As for those of Tabrīz, the darvishes who are followers of Faḡl,¹ some [of them too] hold that Paradise has come, and that the prescribed obligations are removed. 'Whatever is in creation,' [say they] 'is the due of the initiate: he should possess himself of whatever is obtainable, and as for what is beyond his reach, he ought to regard it as his by right, and strive to get it out of the hands of others, so that the initiate may take possession of it. Prayer, Worship, the greater and lesser ablutions, and the like of these things, are abrogated. Prayer existed so that the verity underlying it might become known: when that verity has become known, there is no more [need of] prayer, and the like obligations. . . . Some assert that His Holiness the

¹ Of course درویشان اهل فضل may be taken as meaning "the excellent" or "accomplished darvishes," but as Faḡlu'llāh, the founder of the sect, was a Tabrīzī, I think that the expression has a specific meaning, and denotes those Hurūfīs who derived their teaching directly from him.

Master of Interpretation (glorious be his mention!) says in the *'Arsh-nāma-i-Ilāhi* :—

'That is, I have two and thirty words whereby all things subsist:

If by the Truth you abide in one, you will find the other one and thirty made plain thereby.'

That dear brother of my heart Darvīsh Muḥammad Tīr-gar ['the Fletcher'] (upon whom be the approval of God), when we approached Baghdad and reached the protected garden of Qūba with His Holiness 'the Delight of the Martyrs' Amīr Nūru'llāh (upon whom be the blessings of God), after our release from the bondage of the devils, arrived from Māzandarān bringing several problems, of which one was this: 'All languages save Arabic and Persian must pass away, as is proved by [the tradition] "*the language of the people of Paradise is Arabic and Dari Persian,*" for the thirty-two words [rather letters] are current in these two languages, while other languages are merely repeated,¹ wherefore they must pass away.' And another [problem] was this which he enquired of this humble individual: 'Where dost thou behold His Holiness the Master of Interpretation (glorious be his mention!) and that accursed lame man [i.e. Tīmūr-i-lang, 'Tamerlane']?' This humble individual replied: '[I behold] the essence of that unclean lame one in the accursed distortion² [?], and the essence of the Grace [*Fazl*] of the Lord of the Worlds (glorious be his mention!) in His Holiness Amīr Nūru'llāh.' He denied it, saying: 'His Holiness the Master of Interpretation is only potentially manifest, for he rules [by his influence and teachings which survive him], while that

¹ The Hurūfī system dealt primarily with the mystical virtues and significance of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet, and afterwards included (in the *Nuḥās-i-Nāw*, or Supplement to the *Jāridān-i-Kabīr*) the four additional Persian letters پ, ق, ز, and ع, thus raising the total number to 32. Other languages, according to the Hurūfī view, would only repeat more or less perfectly these letters.

² The proper meaning of عجز is 'Paralysis, distortion of the mouth.' With the Hurūfīs it probably had some special signification.

lame man is in a dog, and in the form of a dog one may behold him.'"¹

All this very clearly shows that, as might have been expected *primâ facie*, the doctrine of *ta'wil*, or allegorical interpretation, had produced amongst the Hurūfīs that disregard of the external forms of devotion, and impatience of restriction, which it always has tended, and always must tend, to produce. Not only were many of them disposed to abandon the prayers, fasting, and pilgrimage prescribed by the Law of Islām, but they were inclined, like the Carmathians, like the Anabaptists, like some of the early Bābīs, to consider that to them, as a chosen people, it was given to "inherit the earth." Nor are there wanting in their books sundry indications of a tendency on their part to set aside the moral as well as the religious law; while it is clear that some of them, like Nesīmī, were given to indulging in those extravagant pretensions wherein to this day Persians of the class amongst which doctrines of this type find most favour are accustomed to revel.² An interesting passage in the *Isticā-nāma* (f. 58^b) illustrates this:—

سلطان الموحدين و زبدة المجتهدين قائم مقام ق رب العالمين
على على اعلى اعلى عم در بزم توحيد ساکن بودند و بتشرب م الهی
مشغول بودند ' نظم سید سعيد شهيد امير سيد عماد الدين نسيمي
رضوان الله عليه در میان خوانده شد و ابیاتی چند که در آن نظم
دعوی انانیت راجح بود ' این فقیر از ح ایشان با رسم لطیفه سوال
کردم و گفتم که چونست که امیر سید نسیمی که [از] هدایت
یافتگان شما بودند این همه دعوی انانیت کرده اند و البته هر
صاحب کمال از منازل اعلاى خود دم زده اند و سخنهاى بلند

¹ For a curious parallel, cf. my translation of the *New History of Mirzā 'Alli Muḥammad the Bāb*, p. 338.

² See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 476, 491-3.

فرموده‌اند مثل امیر المومنین علی علیه السلام در خطبه ' شقشقیه و شیخ جنید و شیخ بایزید و امثال این مشایخ کبار از شما امثال این صدا ظاهر نشد و نمی شود ' آن حضرت با رسم لطیفه باین فقیر سخن چند فرمودند در جواب فرمودند که حاجت نیست که من از منازل خود خبر دهم که از منازل عالی این فقیر نص کتاب الهی تنزیل ناطق است و خبر میدهد ' و این فقیر سؤال کردم که کدام است فرمودند که قوله تعالی و هو العلی العظیم و علی کبیر و امثال این آیات نعمت من است که خدا در کلام تنزیل فرمودند ' و این قول را همین فقیر حاضر بود که استماع کرد و بر لوح ضمیر منقش گردانید تا این دم که از آن حال مقدار سی سال کم و یسا بیش گذشته صورت تحریر یافت تا چون بسمع طالبان راه یقین و سالکان راه توحید رب العالمین حجّه برسد این مسئله را ازین فقیر در عرصه کائنات مانده دانند و این فقیر بدعای خیر یاد فرمایند '

"The King of Unitarians and Cream of Divines, the Vicar of the Grace of the Lord of the Worlds [i.e. of Faḍlu'llāh], the High, the Exalted, the Supreme (upon whom be Peace), was tarrying at the Banquet of Unification, and absorbed in quaffing the Divine Wine. The poetry of that blessed, martyred Seyyid, Amīr Seyyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn Nesīmī (upon whom be God's approval), was being read amongst us, and some verses in that poetry which appeared to imply a claim to [the Divine] Ipseity. This humble individual jestingly enquired of His Holiness saying: 'How is it that Seyyid Nesīmī, who was one of your converts, has put forward all these claims to Ipseity? Of course, every perfect man boasts of his highest levels, and utters great words, like 'Alī, the Prince of Believers, in the homily [known as] *Shaqshaqiyya*; and Sheykh Juneyd [of Baghdad]; and

Sheykh Bāyazīd [of Bisṭām]; and the like of these great Sheykh. But from you the like of these utterances hath not appeared and appeareth not.' His Holiness made several subtle observations to this humble individual, and answered: 'There is no need for me to tell of my levels, inasmuch as the Divine Scripture explicitly speaks and discourses of the high levels of this humble individual.' I asked, 'Which [passage] is it?' He replied: 'Where God says, "and He is the Exalted, the Mighty," and "One High and Great," and the like of these verses, it is to me that God refers in the words of Scripture.' And this humble individual was present when he heard this saying: and he engraved it on the tablet of his memory, until now, when a period of thirty years, more or less, has elapsed since that time, it hath been recorded in writing, so that, when it reaches the hearing of those who seek the Path of Certainty and pursue the Road of Unification of the Grace of the Lord of the Worlds [i.e. Faḡlu'llāh] (glorious is his mention!), they may regard this question as somewhat left by this humble individual in the plain of phenomenal beings, and may remember him in their prayers."

A few quotations from Nesīmī's *Dirān*, taken almost at random from the first few pages, will illustrate the character of the pretensions above referred to.

مائیم امیر هر دو عالم ' مائیم عدو سور و ماتم
 یک قطره ز بحر ماست شبلی ' یک نقطه ز حرف ماست ادهم
 زد بحر محیط ما شبی موج ' حاصل شد از آن کفی شد آدم
 عیسی دهنده دم بزاید ' گرزانکه دمیم دم بمیریم

"We are the Ruler of the two worlds: we are the enemy of rejoicing and mourning. Shibli is a drop from our Ocean: [Ibrāhīm] Adham is a Point of our Letter. One night our all-encompassing Ocean dashed a wave whose foam became Adam. Jesus, the Breather of Healing Breath, will be born if we breathe our breath into Mary."

از ما طلب ای پسر خدارا ' مائیم چو مظهر الهی
 "Seek God from us, O son, since we are the Divine
 Manifestation."

از سرّ پدرا شدیم آگاه ' احمد چو نشان راه بنمود
 "We were acquainted with the Secret of the Father when
 Aḥmad [i.e. Muḥammad] showed a sign of the Path."

ای طالب صورت خدائی ' چون بگذری از دوئی خدائیم
 "O seeker of the Divine Countenance, when thou quittest
 duality we are God!"

ای طالب حق به بین خدارا ' در صورت خوب و حسن موزون
 "O seeker of the Real, behold God in the fair face and
 symmetrical beauty!"

ای صوفی عمر داده بر باد ' می نوش و بیا که ما مضی فات
 "O Ṣūfī who hast wasted thy life, come and drink wine,
 for what is passed is lost."

نظاره صورت خدا کن ' در شیوه خط وجه زیبا
 هیات که حق نبینی امروز ' ای غتره بسوعدهای فردا
 "Contemplate the Face of God in the disposal of the down
 on a comely countenance:
 Alas, thou wilt not regard the Real to-day, O dupe of
 to-morrow's promises!"

صورت حق آنکه میگوید که روی خوب نیست

چشم حق بین نیست اورا دعوی او باطلست
 "He who says that a fair face is not the Visage of God
 hath not the Truth-seeing eye and his pretension
 is vain."

چرخ معتق بنم فاعل مطلق بنم ' حقله یم و حق بنم آیتله بیّنات
 "I am the suspended Heaven, I am the Absolute Agent,
 I am with God, I am God, I am the Proofs and
 the Sign."

ای قیلن توحید ایمان کفر و شرک آدینی

گل بو زیبا صورته قیل سجده کیم ایمان بو در

“O thou who makest one the names of the Faith, of Blasphemy and of Polytheism, come, worship this fair form, for this (i.e. doing this) is the Faith!”¹

Surely here is sufficient proof to convict Nesīmī of unorthodoxy, quite apart from the essentially heretical doctrines of his sect, which certainly regarded Faḫlu'llāh and his *Jāridān-nāma-i-Kabīr* as equal to Muḫammad and the Qur'ān, and probably as vastly superior, besides explaining away by their *ta'wil* most of the essential doctrines and prescribed ordinances of Islām!

It is now time to give a sample of the fanciful “correspondences” or analogies so industriously sought out by the Ḥurūfīs. As the Qur'ān corresponds to man, each being the Book of God, so the *Fātiḥa*, the opening chapter of the Qur'ān, corresponds to the head of man. And just as this *sūra* comprises seven “signs” (*āyāt*) or verses, the *sab'u'l-mathānī*, so in the face of man we have “seven signs,” to wit, the *hair*, two *eyebrows*, and four rows of *eyelashes*. These, says the *Istīca-nāma* (f. 17^b), are “the Seven Heavens,” for in reality there is only one heaven:—

بدین دلیل معلوم میشود که این آسمان ظاهریکی باشد همچو
زمین، آنکه هفت فرمودند مراد از سموات بدن آدم باشد که سر
و خط سراسر است که از شکم حوا که أم است واصل است این هفت
خطرا با خود همراه می آورد

“By this proof it is known that the external heaven is only one, like the earth. When they speak of ‘seven,’ the ‘heavens’ of Man’s body are meant, these being the

¹ For this corrected rendering, and for the following note, I am indebted to Mr. Gibb’s kindness:—“This verse is addressed to the Adept who sees the Unity in all things — ‘Syntheism’ is perhaps better than ‘Polytheism’ for *شک*.”

head and the 'lines of the head' [as above enumerated] which seven lines he brings with him when he comes forth from the womb of Eve, who is the Mother" (i.e. أم الكتاب, "the Mother of the Book," man, as we have seen, being "the Book").

In accordance with this idea, we find mention made by the author of the *Isticā-nāma* (f. 23*) of two deceased ladies of his persuasion entitled "*Bibi Fātiḥa*" and "*Bibi Ummu'l-Kitāb*."

Supported, I suppose, by a traditional saying ascribed to 'Alī, "*All that is in the Qur'an is in the Sūratu'l-Fātiḥa*," etc., and extending its application in a manner slightly different from that adopted by Sheykh Muḥyiyyu'd-Dīn b. al-'Arabī, and after him by the Bābīs (who take the nineteen letters of the *Bismi'llāh* as the basis of their numerical mysticism), the Ḥurūfis next assume that the first verse of the *Fātiḥa* (الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ), which contains eighteen letters, represents the "18,000 worlds" (cf. p. 71, supra) which constitute the Universe. Now the Sum of the Universe = God (اللَّهِ) + "what is beside God" (مَا سِوَاهُ اللَّهِ). Take away the 4 letters of الله from 18, and 14 is left, which number represents the Phenomenal or Material Creation. The same number 14 (to which the Ḥurūfis appear to attach great importance, perhaps as a multiple of 7) is arrived at in another way, as follows:—The Arabic alphabet comprises 28 letters. This alphabet in the Ḥurūfī system represents the sum of the Universe, i.e. God + "what is beside God." Take away what the Ḥurūfis call "the 14 letters of God" (جِهَارِدُهُ حُرُوفَ اللَّهِ), by which they appear to mean the letters in the formula—الله لا اله الا هو, "God, there is no God but He!" and 14 letters remain to represent "what is beside God," i.e. the Material Worlds. The four letters in the 18—4 of the first reduction are represented in the alphabet by the four letters added by the Persians to the original 28 of the Arabs, which 28 is itself the double of 14.

Moreover, 14 joints make up the fingers (including, of course, the thumb) of the hand, or 28 the two hands. In pronouncing the declaration of the Divine Unity (تَشَهُد), the index-finger (hence called انگشت شهادت, "the Witness-finger") of one hand, and all the fingers of the other hand (making $14 + 3 = 17$ joints in all), are extended, while the remaining fingers (11 joints) are flexed. The 17 stand for the 17 کلمه محکّمات, or primary forms of the Arabic letters, which are not dependent for their differentiation on the "point" or dot (*nugʿa*), viz.: ا, ب, ح, د, ر, س, ط, ص, ع, ف, ق, ک, ل, م, ن, و, ه. The 11 stand for the 11 کلمه متشابهات, which are differentiated by the "point," viz.: ت, ث, ج, خ, ذ, ز, ش, ض, ظ, غ, ق. Thus, the *nugʿa* or "point" is the underlying basis, or primordial element, of the alphabet, which is its manifestation; while from another point of view it reveals, by differentiating, the letters. This appears to be the thought which underlies the assumption of the title "*Nugʿa*" by the Bāb, though it was no doubt immediately suggested to him by the final words of the traditional saying of 'Alī referred to above—

كُلُّ مَا فِي الْقُرْآنِ فِي الْفَاتِحَةِ وَكُلُّ مَا فِي الْفَاتِحَةِ فِي الْبِسْمَلَةِ وَكُلُّ
مَا فِي الْبِسْمَلَةِ فِي الْبَاءِ وَكُلُّ مَا فِي الْبَاءِ فِي النَّقْطَةِ الَّتِي تَحْتِ الْبَاءِ
وَإِنَّا النَّقْطَةُ الَّتِي تَحْتِ الْبَاءِ

"All that is in the *Qur'ān* is in the *Fātiḥa*, and all that is in the *Fātiḥa* is in the *Bismi'llāh*, and all that is in the *Bismi'llāh* is in the *Bā*, and all that is in the *Bā* is in the Point which is under the *Bā* (ب), and I am the Point which is under the *Bā*." The "Point" contains potentially all the "Letters," or, in the words of the *Isticā-nāma* (f. 5*)—

ظهور کلمه از نقطه است

The mysteries of the number 14 are not yet exhausted. Every student of Islām knows how greatly the detached letters and groups of letters which stand at the heads of

certain *sūras* of the Qur'ān have exercised the ingenuity of Muslim doctors and mystics. The Hurūfīs have discovered that those letters are 14 in number (viz., كَهِعَصِ الرُّطْسِ حَم, (ق ن), and that they occur in 14 combinations (viz.: آطَمَ, حَمَ, صَ, يَسَ, طَسَ, طَسَمَ, طَهَ, كَهَيْعَصَ, أَلَمَرُ, أَلَا, أَلَمَصَ, حَمَعَسَقَ, قَ, نَ). To these letters they apply the title "Mother of the Book" (أُمُّ الْكِتَابِ). Those (other than themselves) who seek to explain their significance they fiercely denounce (*Istī'ād-nāma*, f. 22*); for "None knoweth its interpretation save God" (وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ).

This harping on the number 7 and its multiples, together with the prominence given to the doctrine and method of *ta'wil*, or allegorical interpretation, disposed me to regard the Hurūfīs as a branch of the old Isma'ilīs, or "Sect of the Seven" (سَبْعِي). But I am bound to say that a poem of Nesīmī's (*Dirān*, pp. 45, 46) devoted to the praise of the Twelve Imāms recognized by Shi'ites of the "Sect of the Twelve" (اثْنَيْ عَشْرِيَّة), is a strong argument against this view. And, indeed, in studying Muḥammadan, and especially Persian, sects, I think we are far more likely to err in assuming an organic or historical connection between doctrines which present striking features of similarity (extending often to an identity of terminology) than in the other direction. The more we pursue this study, the more truth shall we discern in that acute observation of Gobineau, "the most formidable characteristic of the East is that it never forgets." Another profoundly true observation made by the same ingenious writer should constantly be borne in mind, viz., that as a rule the Persian is so much less fearful of contracting heretical notions than of losing some idea or illustration capable of being assimilated with his existing creed or system, that he will often cultivate the society of persons whom he regards as infidels and heretics, and whose creeds he holds in detestation, in the hope of being thereby enabled to enrich the fabric

of his belief with some new fragment of decorative architecture.¹ Thus the Hurūfīs, whom one would scarcely describe as a sect formed in any degree under Christian influences, had evidently ransacked the Gospels for further confirmation and illustration of their ideas; for not only does the author of the *Isticā-nāma* (f. 23^b) talk of "seeking consolation and understanding from the Books of Explanation [or Revelation, بیان] of His Divine Holiness (exalted be His mention!), and from the Pentateuch, and the Gospel, and the Glorious Qur'ān . . . and the Three Books" (whatever is meant by this last expression), but the Gospels are actually cited in at least two passages. The first of these occurs on f. 12^a:—

و حضرت در ازل انجیل میفرماید که اول چیزی که از آسمان
آمد سخن بود و خدا با آن سخن بود و من آن سخن و من کلمه
بودم که در رحم مریم در آمدم و آن کلمه گوشتمند شد

"And the Lord [Jesus] says in the beginning of the Gospel [of St. John]: 'The first thing which came from heaven was the Word [or Speech, *sukhan*], and God was with that Word, and I am that Word. And I was the Word [*kalima*] which entered into the womb of Mary; and that Word became incarnate.'"

The second citation is equally unmistakable, and occurs on f. 51^b:—

چشمی که بخیانت نظر کند آن چشم را بکن و بینداز که بیک
چشم در زندگانی به که بدو چشم در دوزخ چون میدانی قبری
هست که نمی نشیند و آتشی هست که نمی خسپد، دستی که
خیانت کند بر که بیک دست در زندگانی به که بدو دست در
دوزخ چون میدانی که قبری هست که نمی نشیند و آتشی هست
که نمی خسپد

¹ *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1866, p. 7.

"That eye which offends [or 'plays the traitor'], pluck it out and cast it away, for it is better [to be] in Life with one eye than in Hell with two eyes; since thou knowest that there is a Wrath which abateth not and there is a Fire that dieth not. That hand which offends, cut it off, for it is better [to be] in Life with one hand than in Hell with two hands; since thou knowest that there is a Wrath which abateth not and there is a Fire that dieth not."

So at the present day the Bābīs (particularly the Bahā'īs) have freely borrowed illustrations, expressions, and arguments from the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, adapting them, of course, in every case, to their own requirements, and understanding them in their own ways, which naturally differ very considerably from the interpretations with which the West is familiar.

To return, however, to another point on which I just now touched, viz. the existence of striking but apparently fortuitous resemblances in Persian sects between which it is very difficult to assume any actual contact or organic connection. Is it not a remarkable thing that, not to mention all this talk about the "POINT" and "LETTERS," we find Faḡlu'llāh called in a passage of the *Isticāḍ-nāma* (f. 23^b) "*Ḥaḡrat-i-Sāḡhib-i-BAYĀN*" and his books "*Kitāb-hā-yi BAYĀN*," while the colophon (see p. 63, supra) states that the transcription was concluded "*bi-'awni Faḡli [Faḡli]-Fāḡihī'l-BĀB*"? Is it not remarkable that the numbers 360 and 18 should appear in the Hurūfī books only less prominently than do 361 ("the Number of All Things") and 19 ("the Number of the Unity") in the books of the Bābīs? Even in the titles given to the saints and martyrs of the two sects there is an extraordinary similarity, for if the Bābīs have their "*Ḥaḡrat-i-A'ā*," the Hurūfīs have their "*Ḥaḡrat-i-'Alīyy-i-'Ālīy-i-A'ā*"; if the Bābīs have their "*Ismu'l-'Azīm*" (Mullā Sheykh 'Alī), the Hurūfīs have their "*Ismu 'Huca'l-'Alīyyu'l-Kabir*"; if the Bābīs have their "Beloved of the Martyrs" ("*Maḡḡbūbu'sh-Shuhadā*"), the Hurūfīs have their "Delight of the Martyrs" ("*Surūru'sh-*

Shuhadā"); if a Bābī seer recognizes the soul of a dead unbeliever in a dog, a Ḥurūfī (pp. 77-8, supra) beholds Tamerlane, the oppressor of his faith, in the form of the same animal. And yet it is very improbable that the Bābīs had any knowledge whatever of the Ḥurūfīs, or had ever so much as heard of the sect or its founder!

The truth is, that there is a profound difference between the Persian idea of Religion and that which obtains in the West. Here it is the ideas of Faith and Righteousness (in different proportions, it is true) which are regarded as the essentials of Religion; there it is Knowledge and Mystery. Here Religion is regarded as a rule by which to live and a hope wherein to die; there, as a Key to unlock the Secrets of the Spiritual and Material Universe. Here it is associated with Work and Charity; there, with Rest and Wisdom. Here a creed is admired for its simplicity; there, for its complexity. To Europeans these speculations about "Names" and "Numbers" and "Letters"; this talk of Essences, Quiddities, and Theophanies; these far-fetched analogies and wondrous hair-splittings, appear, as a rule, not merely barren and unattractive, but absurd and incomprehensible; and consequently, when great self-devotion and fearlessness of death and torture are witnessed amongst the adherents of such a creed, attempts are instinctively made by Europeans to attribute to that creed some ethical or political aim. Such aim may or may not exist, but, even if it does, it is, I believe, as a rule, of quite secondary and subordinate importance in the eyes of those who have evolved and those who have accepted the doctrine. There are in the *Bayān*, for instance, amongst pages and pages of mystical rhapsody, a few passages which seem to show that the Bāb desired to secure amongst his followers a greater happiness to children, a greater freedom to women, and a greater gentleness and kindness in life; it is even possible by careful study of his writings to form some idea of the Utopia which, clearly or dimly, existed in his mind. Yet of all those Bābīs who died for their faith, it is very doubtful if one consciously laid down his life for

any such ethical, social, or political ideals. Even about so important a matter as the Future Life we perceive that amongst the Ḥurūfīs (pp. 71-8, supra), as amongst the Bābīs, the greatest difference of opinion and uncertainty of doctrine prevailed; yet of the mystical significations of the numbers 14 and 19 respectively, and of the doctrine concerning "the Point" and "the Letters," hardly one would be entirely ignorant.

The same difference of ideal exists as to the quality and nature of Scripture, the Revealed Word of God. Provided the ethical teaching be sublime, and there be peace for the troubled and comfort for the sorrowful, we care little, comparatively, for the outward form. But in the eyes of the Musulmāns (including, of course, the followers of all those sects, even the most heretical, which have arisen in the bosom of Islām) this outward form is a matter of the very first importance. Every letter and line of the Qur'ān (which always remains the model and prototype of a Revealed Book, even amongst those sects who claim that it has been abrogated by a newer Revelation) is supposed to be fraught with unutterable mystery and filled with unfathomable truth. Generations of acute minds expend their energies in attempts to fathom these depths and penetrate these mysteries. What wonder if the same discoveries are made quite independently by different minds in different ages, working with the same bent on the same material? In studying the religious history of the East, and especially of Persia, let us therefore be on our guard against attaching too much importance to resemblances which may be the natural outcome of similar minds working on similar lines, rather than the result of any historical filiation or connection.

POSTSCRIPT.

For the following interesting extracts from two Turkish works I am indebted to Mr. Gibb:—

(I) *From the Kunhu'l-Akhbār of 'Āli Efendi, composed A.H. 1007.*
(Constantinople printed edition, not dated, vol. iv, pp. 182-3.)

حکایت اولنور که ابو الفتح سلطان محمد خان عصر نده تبریزده پیدا اولان فضل الله حروفینک بر مرید پلیدی مَرَدُهُ بلیده سی ایله ملک رومه گلدی ' بر طریقله شهریار مزبورده تقرّب ایدوب حضور نده کلی التفاتنه مظهر دوشدی ' حتی دار السعاده کندو ایچون بر مسکن خاص دوشندی ' وزیر محمود پاشا علمادن اولمقله بو خصوصه آزرده اولدی ' پادشاه زمانک عقیده طاهره سی تکدرنه باعث اولور دیو دفعی تدارکنه مجده اولوب مفتی مزبوری (مولانا فخر الدین عجمی) حرم سراینه گتورتدی ' وراه حجابده اجلاس ایدوب خلیفه ' فضل الله دعوت قیلدی ' ائنا کلامده مذهب باطلنه میلان گوستریب وافر سولتدی ' مولانا فخر الدین شول محله دک سکوت ایتدی که ملحد مزبورک کلامی حلول قصه سنه یندی فلا جرم اظهار حقدده قضای میرم مقوله سی اولمغین صبر ایدده میوب طشره چقدی و ملحد حروفی یه وافر سب و لعن ایلدی ' مزبور قساحسرق دار السعاده یه گتدی ' منلای مزبور کمال حدت ایله آردمجه واروب تعقیب ایتدی ' خواه و نا خواه مزبورک یقاس اله آسوب کشان کشان جامع کبیره ایلندی ' بی وقت اذان اوقیدوب علما و سائر

ناسی بریره گتوردی ، بعده منبره چیقوب ملاحده حره نیشنگ
 مذهب باطل لرینی بر بر بیان ایلدی ، آندن صگره حکمت بقتلهم
 و نفاقهم حتی باشرت باحراقهم دیده رک منبردن ایندی ، مسلمانلره
 وافر اوطون گتوردوب بالذات آتش او فلنگه مقید اولدی ، لمحیه سی
 طویل اولمغین صقالینشک بر مقداری یاندى ، ملحد مزبورى و مَرَنَدَه
 سینی احراق بالنار ایدوب ذهن پاک سلطانی تکدر تهمتندن خلاص
 قیلدی ، پادشاه مومى الیه ملای مسفورث ورع و تقوا سندن حجاب
 ایدوب منعنه متعلق بر سوز سویلمدی ،

Translation.

“It is related that in the time of Abu'l-Fetḥ Sultān Muḥammad Khān an unclean apostle of Faḫlu'llāh the Hurūfī, who appeared in Tabrīz, came with his benighted and froward disciples to the Turkish kingdom. He obtained in some manner access to the King, and received the highest marks of his favour; indeed, he had furnished a private lodging for him in the Imperial Palace. The Vizier Maḥmūd Pāshā, being one of the 'Ulamā, was vexed at this incident, and, anticipating that he would corrupt the pure belief of the Prince of the Age, he determined to make strenuous efforts to get rid of him, and [to this end] caused the before-mentioned *Muḫḫī* [i.e. Mevlānā Fakhrū'd-Dīn 'Ajāmī] to be brought into a private apartment in his mansion. There he seated him behind a curtain, and summoned in the Vicar of Faḫlu'llāh. In the course of conversation, he induced him to speak freely by feigning a predilection for his false doctrine. Mevlānā Fakhrū'd-Dīn remained silent to that point when the discourse of that heretic reached the fable of Incarnation [*ḫulūl*]; [then] as through some inexorable compulsion to declare the truth, come what might, he could keep patience no longer, but

rushed out abundantly reviling and cursing that Hurūfī heretic. The latter fled and went to the Imperial Palace, but the before-mentioned *mullā* followed after and pursued him with the utmost fury, and, seizing him by the collar, dragged him *nolens volens* to the Great Mosque. There he raised an unseasonable call to prayer, so bringing the 'Ulamā and other people into one place. Then he ascended into the pulpit and exposed one by one the false beliefs of the Hurūfī heretics, after which, crying out, 'I pronounce them worthy of slaughter for their sacrilege, yea, I set my hand to their burning,' he descended from the pulpit. Then he caused the Musulmāns to bring quantities of firewood, and was actually at the trouble to blow the fire himself, so that, his beard being long, a part of it was burned. So he burned the aforementioned heretic and his forward disciples with fire, and so saved the pure mind of the King from the suspicion of corruption. And the King was so shamed by the aforementioned Mullā's devoutness and piety that he did not utter a single word tending to hinder him."

(II) *The following notice of the obscure poet Temennā'i is from Latīfī; he is not mentioned by 'Āshiq Chelebī or Qināli-zāde.*

تمنایی علیہ ما یسأحق:—قیصریہ قربندن بر قلندر ایدی علم
 حروفہ و مذهب تناسخہ متعلق کتابلر جمع ایدوب یانہ خیلی
 زنادقہ و ملاحظہ لعن اللہ علی حدہ مجتمع اولمشلر ایدی ' آدم
 عالم کبری و مظهر حضرت خدادار دیوب (مطلع)
 ای صنم سن مظهر اللہ سن ' نسخہء جملہ کلام اللہ سن '
 دیوگوردکلری محبوبہ سجدہ ایدرلردی و سجدہ لرنده سہو ایدوب
 طریقتی ابلیسہ کیدرلر ایدی ' سلطان بایزید دورنده اول طائفہ'

شقاقت کیمنی آب تیغله اغراق و کیمنی آتش ریله احراق
 اندیلر، بو مطلع آنگ تُرّهاتندن و جمله کفریاتندن در (مطلع)
 صوفی قلندر اول کل قازت صبحی سقالی
 ساگه بو بر طوزقدر کیدر بو قیل و قالی
 (بیت) ابله اولمه صوفی ویرمه نقد عمری نسنیه
 گوزگ آچ دیدار و جئت حور و غلمان بونده در
 و بو مطلع فارسی دخی تعریف اسراره آنگ گفتار نا هموارندندر
 حبه الخضره که بر کف عارفان جا کرده اند
 از خیال او هزاران نکته پیدا کرده اند

Translation.

"*Tımannā't*—may he receive his deserts!—was a wandering darvish (*qalandar*) from the district of Caesarea. He had collected many books bearing on the Science of the Letters and the Doctrine of Metempsychosis, and there had gathered round him numbers of atheists and heretics (God's curse on each one of them!), who asserted that Man was the Macrocosm and the Manifestation of the Majesty of God, saying:—'*O Idol, thou art the Divine Theophany! Thou art the copy of the whole book of God!*' and worshipped every beauty whom they saw, erring in their worship, and walking in the way of Iblis. In the time of Sulṭān Bāyazīd, they drowned some of this band of schismatics with the water of the sword, and burned others with the fire of repudiation. The following headline (*maṭla'*) is one of his foolish and blasphemous utterances:—

'*O Şūfī! be a Qalandar, come, get your hair and beard shaven off:
 This is a snare for thee: this talk and tattle passes away.*'

(Couplet)—

'Be not a fool, O Sūfī; spend not the cash of thy life on aught:

Open thine eyes: Paradise and the Beatific Vision, the black-eyed maidens and fair attendants [of Heaven], are HERE!'

This Persian headline, too, declaring the mysteries, is from his ill-considered utterances:—

'That Grain of Green¹ which the Gnostics hold in the palms of their hands,

By the phantasies which it inspires they have discovered thousands of subtle mysteries.'

¹ *Habbatu'l-Khadra* is explained by Redhouse as "the fruit of the *Pistacia terebinthus*," and in Schlimmer's *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique* (Tih-rān, 1874), p. 464, as the seeds of the *Pistacia acuminata*, or "Persian turpentine-seeds." Here one is tempted to think of *hashish* (*Cannabis Indica*), to which the epithet "green" is so constantly applied by the Persians (e.g. "the Green Parrot," "Master Seyyid," etc.), but it is not unlikely that turpentine-seeds, in consequence of their aphrodisiac properties, may enter into the composition of some of the various preparations used by dervishes.

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