

Negotiating Survival: A History of the Babi and Baha'i Faith in Shiraz (1844–1921)

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Abstract

In 1844 in Shiraz, Sayyid `Ali Muhammad took the title of the Bab and founded a movement that was years later transformed by Baha'u'llah into the Baha'i Faith. Thus Shiraz has been at the heart of the Baha'i Faith from its inception. In this article, the history of the Babi and Baha'i Faith in Shiraz during the Qajar era is surveyed. The Baha'is of Shiraz were mainly from among the traders and skilled artisans of the city, but included some from among the wealthy merchants and prominent citizens of the city. Particular emphasis is placed on the manner in which, because of the persecutions to which they were subjected, the Baha'is of Shiraz were forced to negotiate a path between the various factions that held power in Shiraz: the political and religious leadership of the city.

Keywords

Shiraz
 Afnan
 the Bab
 Baha'i
 Baha'u'llah
 religious persecution
 constitutional
 revolution

Fars is the principal province of south-east Iran. The west side of the province is taken up with the southern end of the Zagros mountains and is the principal area of the large and powerful Turkish-speaking Qashqa'i tribe. The east half of the province is drier and a tribal confederation called the Khamsih was formed here by the government in 1861 mainly to counter-balance the strength of the Qashqa'is. In the south, the Zagros mountains fall away to a plain which is the coast of the Persian Gulf. The province is very dry, especially in its eastern half but agriculture is possible with the help of irrigation. Cereals, vines, cotton, opium, grains and fruit were grown.

The capital of the province of Fars is Shiraz, the native city of the Bab and also of many famous poets, mystics, and philosophers, such as Hafiz, Sa'di, and Mulla Sadra. This city was for a brief time in the eighteenth century the capital of the founder of the Zand dynasty, Karim Khan Vakil, who built many of the large public buildings of the present city. It is situated on what became the main trade route of Iran in the nineteenth century, 935 km south of Tehran, 500 km south of Isfahan and 300 km north-east of Bushihr. Its population was estimated at 35–40,000 (including about 2,000 Jews) in 1850.¹ According to a census carried out in about 1885, it had a population of 53,607 (25,284 males, 28,323 females),² although most estimates from the second half of the nineteenth century give lower figures (20–25,000);³ it was estimated to have a population of 60,000 in 1905 and had 170,660 in the 1956 census. Shiraz was particularly well-known for its faction-fighting which also occurred more frequently here than in other towns.⁴ On certain days of the year, it was customary for the *pahlavāns* (champions) and members of the *zūr-khānihs* (gymnasia) of each faction

to lead the men of that quarter out into the streets and do battle with the rival faction. The eleven quarters of the town were divided into two factions: five Ni`mati quarters (in the west of the city) and five Haydari quarters (in the east) with a Jewish quarter that was not counted as either.⁵ The city was famous for its textiles and crafts, especially silver and inlaid work.

The main source for the history of the Baha'i Faith in Shiraz is the account written by Mirza Habibu'llah Afnan. It was prepared in response to the general request that went out in the 1920s from Shoghi Effendi for a recording of local Baha'i histories. The Central Spiritual Assembly of Iran forwarded this request to the local spiritual assemblies and the Local Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of Shiraz asked Mirza Habibu'llah Afnan to prepare a history for Shiraz and Fars. The chronicle written by Afnan covers events up to 1909 and is evidently unfinished in that it ends somewhat abruptly.

Shiraz during the Ministry of the Bab

Shiraz witnessed the birth of the Babi movement. The Bab was born and brought up in the city. He first declared his mission to Mulla Husayn Bushru'i there on the eve of 23 May 1844, the event which both Babis and Baha'is looked to as the start of their calendar. The first disciples of the Bab, the Letters of the Living, gathered in Shiraz in the summer of 1844 until they were sent out by the Bab to spread the news of his claim. The Bab himself left on pilgrimage to Mecca on 10 September 1844 (26 Sha`ban 1260), returning to Bushihr on 15 May 1845. He then sent ahead of him his leading disciple, Quddus, who brought to Shiraz the Bab's instruction that there was to be an addition made to the call to prayer (*adhān*). When Mulla Sadiq Muqaddas tried to carry this out, he, Quddus, Mulla `Ali-Akbar Ardistani, and Mulla Abu-Talib were seized, severely beaten and expelled from the city.⁶

The governor of Shiraz, Husayn Khan, sent for the Bab in Bushihr and he was arrested on the Bushihr to Shiraz road. Back in Shiraz in June 1845, the Bab was set free with his uncle Sayyid `Ali as guarantor. After a short time, he was summoned to the Masjid-i Vakil, the principal mosque in Shiraz, to make a public recantation. His words on that occasion were sufficient to satisfy the authorities but he did not say anything that would contradict his later full claim to be a Manifestation of God. In any case, it must have been a strange sort of recantation since a considerable number of the Babis of Shiraz date their conversion from hearing the Bab on that day. From further afield a number of others who had heard of his claims came to investigate, among the most important of whom was Sayyid Yahya Darabi Vahid, who was asked by Muhammad Shah to investigate the matter, and the representative of Mulla Muhammad-`Ali Hujjat, one of the religious leaders of Zanjan. On 23 September 1845 the Bab was rearrested on the orders of the governor but because of the outbreak of cholera in the city was able to leave for Isfahan. After the departure of the Bab, his family members were persecuted by the authorities, despite the fact that none of them, except his wife, were Babis, while the Babi community kept a low profile.⁷

Matters were made much worse by the Babi upheaval in the town of Nayriz in 1850 which recurred in 1853. Following each of these two episodes, a number of the Babis of Nayriz were brought as prisoners to Shiraz and

some of their womenfolk and children remained in Shiraz.⁸ Also after the Babi upheaval in Zanjan, the family of Hujjat, the Babi leader there, was brought to Shiraz and housed with a local dignitary, Abu'l-Hasan Khan Mushir ul-Mulk. After the attempt on the life of the shah in 1852, Aqa Muhammad Hadi Isfahani, a resident of Yazd who had fled to Shiraz after his father's house had been looted as a punishment for being one of the Babi companions of Vahid, was arrested and executed by the governor.⁹

The Afnan Family

Among the prominent Baha'is of Shiraz were the members of the Bab's own maternal family, who took on the name given to them by Baha'u'llah, the Afnans. The founders of the Afnan family were the three maternal uncles of the Bab and their paternal cousins, the two brothers and one sister of the wife of the Bab. The whole family lived in the Bazār-i Murgh quarter of Shiraz. The three maternal uncles were: Haji Sayyid Muhammad (d.1293/1876), who was an important merchant in Shiraz and Bushihr; Haji Sayyid `Ali (1212/1797– executed 1850), who was in Shiraz and whose only son died young; and Haji Sayyid Hasan `Ali (d. ?), who was in Yazd. The two brothers of the wife of the Bab were Haji Mirza Sayyid Hasan Afnan Kabir (c.1810-1310/1892), who was in Yazd and later in Beirut and Akka, and Haji Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Saqqa-khanihi (d. Rabi I 1305/Nov.–Dec. 1887), an important merchant of Shiraz. The sister of the wife of the Bab was Zahra Khanum (d. Oct. 1889), who was married to a cousin of the Bab's father.¹⁰

Khadijih Bagum, the wife of the Bab, had been a follower of her husband and subsequently became a Baha'i. She was the only member of the family who was a Babi in the early 1850s. She then succeeded in converting, in about 1854, Aqa Mirza Aqa (c. 1842 – 20 Nov. 1903), the twelve-year-old son of her sister, Zahra Bagum. His given name was Muhammad and he was named Nuru'd-Din by Baha'u'llah.¹¹ His home in Shiraz was, in later years, to become a major centre of Baha'i activities and the place where travelling Baha'i propagandists would stay. His mother and father were the next to be converted.¹²

After the conversion of his own family in the late 1850s, Aqa Mirza Aqa set about trying to convince Haji Sayyid Muhammad, the uncle of the Bab, the senior member of the family. He protested that it seemed to him unlikely that the promised Qa'im had been his nephew. Aqa Mirza Aqa politely pointed out to him that his words were the exact ones used by Abu Lahab, the uncle of the prophet Muhammad. Taken aback by this, Haji Sayyid Muhammad agreed to travel to Baghdad (on the pretext of a pilgrimage to the shrines in Iraq and a meeting with his sister, the mother of the Bab, who had taken up residence in Iraq) and meet Baha'u'llah, a trip which was undertaken in 1861. Haji Sayyid Muhammad returned from the journey a convinced Babi (although his younger brother Haji Sayyid Hasan `Ali, a resident of Yazd, who had accompanied him refused to meet Baha'u'llah and was not converted at this time), bringing with him Baha'u'llah's Kitab-i Iqan which had been written in answer to his questions. After this, Aqa Mirza Aqa concentrated on the younger generation of the family. The sons of Haji Sayyid Muhammad, Haji Muhammad `Ali (1240/1824–1313/1896) and Haji Mirza Muhammad Taqi, and Haji Sayyid Mahdi, the son of Haji Sayyid Hasan `Ali, went to Baghdad and met Baha'u'llah, as a result of

which they were converted.¹³ Next to be converted were two of the sons of Saqqa-khanihi, the brother of the wife of the Bab.

The Afnans were an important family of wholesale merchants (*tujjār*) in Shiraz and during the nineteenth century, they spread members of the family to form an extensive international trading network. They had members of the family stationed at Bushihr (the Bab himself and Haji Sayyid Muhammad, the maternal uncle of the Bab); Yazd (Haji Mirza Hasan `Ali, Haji Mirza Sayyid Hasan Afnan Kabir and Haji Mirza Muhammad Taqi Vakil ud-Dawlih, son of Haji Sayyid Muhammad); Bandar `Abbas (Mirza `Ali, son of Saqqa-khanihi); Tehran (Haji Sayyid Muhammad, son of Vakil ud-Dawlih from 1311/1893); Shanghai (Haji Sayyid Muhammad `Ali, son of Haji Sayyid Muhammad, and Mirza Ibrahim, son of Saqqa-khanihi); Beirut (Afnan Kabir and his sons); Istanbul (Aqa Sayyid Ahmad, son of Afnan Kabir); Alexandria and Port Sa`id (Aqa Mirza Aqa, son of Zahra Khanum, and his sons, c. 1296/1879–1319/1901); Ashkabad (Aqa Sayyid Ahmad, son of Afnan Kabir, Haji Mirza Mahmud, son of Vakil ud-Dawlih, and others); and Bombay (Haji Sayyid Mirza and Sayyid Muhammad, sons of Afnan-i-Kabir, Haji Sayyid Mahmud, son of Vakil ud-Dawlih, and Mirza Ibrahim, son of Haji Abu'l-Qasim and other members of the family for varying lengths of time), where the family had set up a company of general merchants and commission agents under the company name of Messrs. Haji Sayed Mirza and Mirza Mahmood Co. Also associated with this Afnan network were other Baha'i merchants such as the two brothers Haji Sayyid Hasan and Haji Sayyid Husayn Nahri in Isfahan, `Ali Haydar Shirvani in Tehran, and Haji Ghulam-Husayn Tajir Yazdi in Mashhad. Through this network, they imported sugar from Russia, tea from India and porcelain from China. They exported tea to Central Asia and were also involved in exporting opium from Iran to India and China¹⁴, until Baha'u'llah forbade this. They suffered some losses as a result of this but there were other factors creating an unfavourable trading situation. The European powers had arranged favourable terms for their merchants which together with the fact that these merchants did not face the same extortions and corruption that Iranian merchants faced from governors and government officials meant that Iranian merchants were increasingly unable to compete with the large European trading houses.¹⁵ Therefore, the Afnan family, alongside many other merchant families in the 1870s, diversified into purchasing large estates in areas such as Istahbanat, either farming this themselves or becoming landlords.¹⁶

Apart from the importance to Baha'u'llah of the adherence of these close relatives of the Bab, the Afnan family was important for the local prestige that they brought to the Baha'i community in cities such as Shiraz and Yazd, where, as a major wholesale merchant family, they were among the notables of each city. Because of this, they were able to be of considerable assistance to the Baha'is, protecting some from persecution, assisting those who were poor or who had lost everything in the persecutions, giving employment to some (at least one of the Nayriz women Babis who came to Shiraz destitute found employment in the home of the Afnans¹⁷), providing some of the Baha'i retail merchants in the bazaar with capital or favourable terms (when Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Bazzaz returned to Shiraz having had to leave after the 1283/1866 persecution, Aqa Mirza Aqa gave him a small shop in the bazaar and some capital to make a fresh start¹⁸),

financing and accommodating travelling Baha'i propagandists to come to Shiraz and increase the number of Baha'is there, making available large homes and gardens where the Baha'i community could meet and otherwise supporting the Baha'i Faith financially. They were careful, however, to protect their public image and to fend off the frequent accusations that were directed towards them by the more fanatical elements of the population. They would sponsor *rawḍih-khānīs* (recitations of the sufferings of the Imams) and *dastihs* (groups performing ritual mourning processions during the Muharram period) and made generous donations to the coffers of the leading clerics in their quarter of the city.

Individual members of the Afnan family were also responsible for significant projects such as the building of the first House of Worship in the Baha'i world in Ashkabad and the establishment of the first Baha'i printing and publishing company, the Nāṣirī Press, which was established in Bombay and began to publish Baha'i books from about 1882–3 onwards.

The Claim of Baha'u'llah

Although Baha'u'llah was, before his open declaration, held in high regard in Shiraz as a result of the *Kitab-i-Iqan*, which was widely circulated among the Babis¹⁹, Sayyid `Abdu'r-Rahim Isfahani, who had met Baha'u'llah in Baghdad, reports that when he raised the possibility that Baha'u'llah might be the one promised by the Bab (He whom God shall make manifest), at a meeting of the Shiraz Babis held in the home of Aqa Mirza Aqa Rikab-saz, this was such a heresy in the estimation of his audience that he was physically attacked and had to be shielded by his host.²⁰

The first to bring the news of Baha'u'llah's claim to Shiraz was Nabil Zarandi in the autumn of 1866.²¹ He stayed with Aqa Mirza Aqa Afnan, whose son records that one day, Nabil asked Aqa Mirza Aqa to convene a gathering of all of the Babis of the town and for them to bring whatever they had in the way of Babi writings. They met at the house of Mirza `Abdu'l-Karim. After tea, Nabil looked at all of the writings that they had brought and divided these into three piles. Then he addressed the gathering, lifting one pile and saying, these are the writings of the Bab. He put down that pile respectfully and lifted another pile, the writings of Baha'u'llah, saying that these are the writings of He whom God shall make manifest. He proceeded to quote verses from the writings of the Bab saying that He Whom God shall make manifest would come soon and should be accepted by all Babis, while those who oppose him are only fit for [hell-]fire. And as he said this, he then lifted the third pile, the writings of Azal, and said that therefore this third pile is only fit for the fire and he threw them into the fire. This caused an uproar in the room. Sayyid Muhammad the uncle of the Bab was furious and leapt to his feet, shouting: 'What sort of game are you playing? What is this all about? Do you think faith is like clover that you harvest one day and it is gone the next?' Aqa Mirza Aqa calmed him down, saying that there must be good reason for Nabil's action and that Sayyid Muhammad had himself at first rejected the Bab until Baha'u'llah had produced the *Kitab-i-Iqan* for him. It was agreed that this was a matter that required more study and consideration and the meeting dispersed.²²

Nabil left Shiraz after this meeting but Khadijih Bagum, the wife of the Bab and Aqa Mirza Aqa accepted Baha'u'llah's claim immediately, while

some of the family such as Haji Sayyid Muhammad took a little more persuading. In the same year, Haji Muhammad Ibrahim Muballigh, who was related by marriage to the family and resident in Yazd, visited Shiraz, at which time he succeeded in converting all of the remaining members of the Afnan family in Shiraz, except Haji Abu'l-Qasim, the brother of the wife of the Bab. Haji Muhammad Ibrahim then returned to Yazd and converted Haji Mirza Hasan `Ali, the youngest uncle of the Bab and Afnan Kabir, the brother of the wife of the Bab and their families with the help of Mulla Muhammad Nabil Akbar Qa'ini and Mulla Sadiq Muqaddas.²³ After a year in Yazd, Nabil Akbar went on to Shiraz where he converted Haji Abu'l-Qasim. The last of the family to convert was the mother of the Bab who became a Baha'i in Karbala where she was living, shortly before her death in 1299/1881.²⁴

The family of Hujjat Zanjani also converted and it was not long before all of the Babis in Shiraz had become Baha'is. Only a certain Shaykh Muhammad Yazdi clung to Azal (although he had previously been a supporter of Baha'u'llah), and he faced such hostility that he left for Yazd.²⁵

Sayyid `Ali, the son of Afnan Kabir, asked his aunt, Khadijih Bagum, the wife of the Bab to arrange for his marriage to Furughiyyih, a daughter of Baha'u'llah. The latter agreed to do this on condition that, if successful, Sayyid `Ali take her with him to Akka – she longed to go and it was not possible for a woman to make such a long journey without a male relative as escort. Although she was successful in arranging the marriage, Sayyid `Ali let down his aunt and left from Yazd for Akka via Ashkabad leaving her behind in Shiraz. She died shortly afterwards on 29 Dhu'l-Hijjah 1299/11 November 1882.²⁶

The House of the Bab in Shiraz

Khadijih Bagum, her sister and her sister's family remained very close over the years and were all involved in the fate of the House of the Bab in Shiraz which Baha'u'llah came to designate as a place of pilgrimage. After the martyrdom of the Bab in 1850, the mother of the Bab, who had lived there, retired to Karbala, while Khadijih Bagum had felt unable to live in the house and had moved to the house of Haji Sayyid `Ali the executed uncle of the Bab (his wife was her half-sister). The house of the Bab was put in the care of a Muslim, who effectively took possession of it and sold it on to someone else. As a result of this and of earthquake damage, the House of Bab had fallen into disrepair. Haji Sayyid Muhammad was persuaded by Aqa Mirza Aqa, then still a boy, to reacquire the house and repair it. There was then a succession of Baha'i caretakers: `Abdu'r-Razzaq, then Haji Abu'l-Hasan Bazzaz and then Mulla Aqa Buzurg Zarqani. During this time there were further earthquakes in Shiraz and the house suffered further damage.²⁷

When in 1288/1871, Munirih Khanum, who was to become the wife of `Abdu'l-Baha was proceeding to Akka, she spent 15 days in the company of Khadijih Bagum in Shiraz. At this time, the latter sent a request to Baha'u'llah that the House of the Bab be repaired so that she could live there again. Baha'u'llah gave instructions that the house should be repaired in accordance with Khadijih Bagum's wishes. Since Khadijih Bagum could not bear to have the house exactly as it had been in the time of the Bab, considerable alterations were made in the course of the repair. This repair work

was finished by 1290/1873. However, all the activity and the re-occupation of the house aroused inimical elements in the city and they reported this to the governor Farhad Mirza Mu`tamad ud-Dawlih. Two of the retinue of the governor, Abu'l-Hasan Khan Munshi-bashi and Mirza Zaynu'l-'Abidin Khan `Aliyabadi were Baha'is and brought news of this to the Baha'i community, whereupon it was decided that the house should be left untenanted for a few months until the commotion died down.²⁸

After the death of Khadijih Bagum in 1882, her sister Zahra Khanum moved into the house and in 1302/1884, Baha'u'llah gave the custodianship of the House of Bab to Zahra Bagum and her descendants.²⁹ Zahra Bagum lived in the House of the Bab for seven years until her own death in 1307/1889. At this time, Baha'u'llah summoned her son Aqa Mirza Aqa and his family to Akka. Leaving behind their second son, Mirza Jalal, to look after the House of the Bab, they left for Akka on 24 Safar 1308/9 October 1890.³⁰ In late 1311/early 1894, Aqa Mirza Aqa returned to Shiraz via Iraq, where he met with Mirza Hasan Shirazi, the foremost Shi'i religious leader of the time, who was his paternal relative.³¹

Shortly after his return to Shiraz, Aqa Mira Aqa went off to Abadih where he remained until 1316/1898. At this time, he went to visit `Abdu'l-Baha in Akka, after which he stayed for a time in Port Sa'id where his sons, Mirza Buzurg and Mirza Habibu'llah, were established as merchants. Then on the instructions of `Abdu'l-Baha, the whole family returned to Shiraz, where they arrived in 1319/1901³². In 1903, Abdu'l-Baha sent instructions for Aqa Mirza Aqa to rebuild the House of the Bab in accordance with its original design at the time of the Bab (as noted above, the wife of the Bab had made major alterations). This was in the midst of the disturbances caused by the reform movement (see below) and several of the senior Baha'is of Shiraz advised postponing this project in view of the adverse conditions. But Aqa Mirza Aqa insisted on pushing ahead in view of `Abdu'l-Baha's express instructions. Under the supervision of Aqa Mirza Aqa Mi`mar-bashi, the work was started on 8 August 1903. The existing structures were pulled down and the foundations of the original building were found. Then the building was reconstructed from these original foundations. This rebuilding and restoration caused much opposition particularly from Sayyid Muhammad Kaziruni, a mujtahid who lived opposite the house. One day, he had threatened to come with a mob to destroy the house but died that same night from an attack of colic. Aqa Mirza Aqa insisted upon the urgency of the work and so some 50 labourers were employed on the project. Within two months all the essential foundational work for the rebuilding of the house according to its original design had been completed. The work of rebuilding was almost complete when, in October of that year, Aqa Mirza Aqa fell ill and he died on 17 November 1903. It was providential that the Baha'is had pressed on with the rebuilding of the House of the Bab since only Aqa Mirza Aqa recalled the original lay-out and design of the house.³³

The Persecution of the Baha'is in Shiraz (1866–1892)

One of the main sources of problems for the Baha'is of Shiraz over many years was the long-standing enmity between the families of Mushir ul-Mulk and Qavam ul-Mulk. This enmity was partly due to the natural rivalry and competition for power between two prominent local families, but also

partly due to the historical phenomenon of faction-fighting in Iranian cities (between the Haydari-khanih faction and the Ni`mati-khanih faction). `Ali Muhammad Khan the second Qavam ul-Mulk (1829–13 December 1883) belonged to an established family of Fars notables, usually called the Hashimiyyih family, who were extensive landowners and who had held the post of kalantar (mayor) of Shiraz in the family since 1812 (in 1801, the family had been almost wiped out on the orders of Fath-`Ali Shah).³⁴ They were a leading family of the Haydari-khanih and also head of the Arab and Khamsih tribes. Abu'l-Hasan Khan Mushir ul-Mulk (1811–1 December 1883) was the *vazir* (official responsible for the collection of taxes) of the province of Fars for thirty years from 1262/1846.³⁵ His was a leading family of the Ni`mati-khanih.

The Afnan family lived in the Bazar Murgh quarter, one of the Haydari quarters of Shiraz, and were thus seen to be allied to the leader of the Haydari-khanih, Qavam ul-Mulk. As a consequence, the Baha'is incurred the enmity of Abu'l-Hasan Khan Mushir ul-Mulk, the head of the Ni`mati-khanih. Despite the fact that one of the latter's wives, the daughter of Hujjat Zanjani, was a Baha'i, Mushir ul-Mulk took advantage of the alliance of the Afnans with the Haydari faction to discomfit his rival. In 1283/1866, he produced a lengthy list of 'Babis', headed by members of the Afnan family, and gave it to Sultan-Murad Mirza Hisam us-Saltanih, the new governor. The production of the list by Mushir ul-Mulk was calculated to embarrass Qavam ul-Mulk who as Kalantar (mayor) was responsible for public order and for controlling the enemies of the state. Qavam ul-Mulk, however, persuaded the governor that it would be unwise to arrest such a list of prominent citizens on no evidence. He even reminded the governor of an occasion when they had together attended a large meeting (*majlis*) on the night of `Ashura at the house of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Afnan Saqqakhanih at which many of the poor of the quarter were fed and given presents. As mentioned above, the Afnans were careful to maintain an outward appearance of orthodoxy.³⁶

The attitude of the Qavam ul-Mulk and Mushir ul-Mulk families towards the Baha'i community over the rest of the nineteenth century was to have many twists and turns since it was based more on political expediency than conviction. Mirza Habibu'llah Afnan records in his narrative history of the Baha'i Faith in Shiraz that on one occasion in 1903, he had a private conversation with Muhammad Rida Khan, the third Qavam ul-Mulk (1851–1907), the son of `Ali Muhammad Khan Qavam ul-Mulk.³⁷ The latter asked him about his visit to Akka and his meeting with Baha'u'llah. Afnan recounted for him the words of Baha'u'llah, spoken in 1891, commending the Qavam ul-Mulk family for the fact that they had not opposed the Baha'i Faith and had even supported it on occasions. Qavam ul-Mulk had been pleased with this.³⁸ As we shall see however, the friendship of the Qavam ul-Mulk family towards the Baha'is, since it was based on political expediency, was fickle. Moreover, towards the end of his life, Mushir ul-Mulk's enmity towards the Baha'is was moderated under the influence of Sayyid Isma'il Azghandi and Mulla Muhammad Manshadi (whose daughter he married), and it is said that he even became a Baha'i and wrote to Baha'u'llah.³⁹

The enmity between Mushir ul-Mulk and Qavam ul-Mulk was not the only source of problems for the Baha'is of Shiraz. One of the important clerics of the town, Shaykh Husayn Nazim ush-Shari`a (d. Oct. 1884), known to Baha'is and other inhabitants of Shiraz as *Zalim* (the tyrant),⁴⁰

had been an enemy of the Baha'is since the time of the Bab, while another cleric Sayyid `Ali Akbar Falasiri (1256/1840–Aug. 1901) carried on the persecutions once the former died. These clerics were countered to some extent by Shaykh Abu Turab, the Imam-Jum`ih (d. 1272/1855), and his son and successor, Haji Shaykh Yahya (d. 1919), who tried to mitigate the effects of these persecutions as far as they could.⁴¹ This division may reflect to some extent rivalry and animosities that existed between the various groups of ulama in Shiraz. Shaykh Abu Turab is, for example listed among the clerics who signed a judgement supporting Mirza Hasan Fasa'i in his suit against Shaykh Husayn Zalim.⁴²

It was Shaykh Husayn who was responsible for the execution of three Baha'is in February-March 1875. Aqa Mirza Aqa Rikab-saz (stirrup-maker) was active both in spreading the Baha'i Faith and in transcribing the scriptures. His wife denounced him as a 'Babi' to Shaykh Husayn, who was at first reluctant to accept her word as Rikab-saz was one of his own retinue. However, when Rikab-saz refused to curse the Bab, Shaykh Husayn beat him and arrested him. Mushir ul-Mulk used the opportunity of the commotion resulting from this arrest to produce his list of Baha'is again and the governor Hisam us-Saltanih ordered their arrest. More than ten traders, clerics and others were arrested, including Mulla `Abdu'llah Fadil, Mulla `Abdu'llah Baka and Mirza Muhammad Khan Baluch. Most of these were released through the intercession of various dignitaries, but there remained three whom Shaykh Husayn insisted should be executed. He wrote a *fatvā* for their death and they were strangled in the presence of the governor. These were the afore-mentioned Mirza Aqa Rikab-saz and two tailors, Mashhadi Nabi and Muhammad Ja`far.⁴³

In 1879, when news arrived in Shiraz of the execution in Isfahan of the Nahri brothers, Sultan ush-Shuahada and Mahbub ush-Shuhada, there was much talk in the town of a general movement against the Baha'is. This was during the governorship of Farhad Mirza Mu`tamad ud-Dawlih, who was much opposed to the Baha'i Faith. A meeting of the leading Baha'is was held and it was decided that Aqa Mirza Aqa who was the only person well known as a Baha'i should leave. Within 24 hours he was on his way to Bushihr and thence to Bombay.⁴⁴

It was the *mujtahid* Sayyid `Ali Akbar Falasiri who was responsible for an episode that occurred in 1305/1887. One of the servants of Muhammad Qasim Khan Bayda'i, a prominent Baha'i, who had been governor of Kazirun from 1292/1875 for three years⁴⁵ and then of Bihbihan for a few years, stole a couple of boxes from his strong-room. One was full of jewels which she hid, the other was full of writings which she threw out. This latter box was found by the wife of a local official, Mirza Muhammad Rida Mustawfi, who realising that they were Baha'i scriptures took the box to Falasiri. The latter rushed to the Masjid Vakil, the principal mosque of the town, and raised a hue and cry against Bayda'i. The latter went to the governor, Uvays Mirza Ihtisham ud-Dawlih, with whom he was on friendly terms.

The governor managed to trick Falasiri into giving him the box and took the opportunity to make it clear to Falasiri that he would brook no disorder in the town.⁴⁶

Having been frustrated on this occasion, Falasiri took full advantage of the opportunity presented to him a few months later in August 1888,

when there were confrontations between the Baha'is and the Muslims in Sarvistan. Sayyid `Ali Mushir us-Sadat was the main opponent of the Baha'is in Sarvistan. His cousin was the wife of Aqa Murtada Sarvistani, a Baha'i dyer, who prior to his conversion by Mirza Ashraf Abadihi been much opposed to the Baha'i Faith. Due to persecution and imprisonment when he became a Baha'i, Sarvistani moved to Shiraz. Mushir us-Sadat had Sarvistani arrested and taken before the Falasiri, who had him beaten and sent to the governor, Sultan Uvays Mirza, Ihtisham ud-Dawlih (later became Mu`tamad ud-Dawlih), to be imprisoned. Then Mushir us-Sadat forced Sarvistani's wife to marry him and had Karbala'i Hasan Khan and his brother Karbala'i Sadiq Khan arrested and brought before Falasiri. One source states that accusations were made that one of them had burned a Qur'an and the other had made his wife sleep with someone else.⁴⁷ These are typical of the sorts of accusations that have been frequently concocted against the Baha'is throughout Iran up to the present day. In 1307/1889, Falasiri gave a *fatwā* (verdict on a point of religious law) for the death of one of the prisoners, Karbala'i Hasan Khan, and he was poisoned the same night. Four months later Karbala'i Sadiq was killed. Aqa Murtada Sarvistani remained in prison.⁴⁸

Falasiri also waged campaigns against Christians and Jews in Shiraz at this time and his confrontational stand against the government over the Tobacco Régie in April 1891 led to his exile to Iraq for a short time. During this exile, he was responsible for urging Sayyid Jamalud-Din 'al-Afghani' to write to Mirza-yi Shirazi, the leading cleric of the Shi'i world, urging the latter to declare himself against the Tobacco Régie.⁴⁹ Falasiri then went on to Samarra, where he used his close relationship to Mirza-yi Shirazi (he was the latter's son-in-law) to further advance the campaign against the Tobacco Régie. If, as has been suggested, the *fatwā* of Mirza-yi Shirazi banning the use of tobacco (the event which more than anything else caused the collapse of the Régie) was forged,⁵⁰ Falasiri must be a prime candidate for being the person who did this or was closely involved.

As a result of these activities and the incompetence of the Iranian government, far from Falasiri's exile being a cause of his humiliation, he returned to Shiraz with great glory and honour, in an even more powerful position to interfere with political matters. Among the things that he did with his new-found power was to obtain the signatures of five of the clerics of Shiraz, including Shaykh Muhammad Tahir `Arab, Mulla Ahmad Mahallati and Mirza Hidayatu'llah Dast-Ghayb for a *fatwā* for the death of Aqa Murtada Sarvistani. This *fatwā* was presented to the governor Muhammad Taqi Mirza Rukn ud-Dawlih, and Sarvistani was publicly blown from a cannon outside the artillery barracks in Shiraz on 4 October 1892.⁵¹

Rukn ud-Dawlih's governorship was already very unpopular due to his injustices and corrupt practices and the people were also still agitated over the episode of the Tobacco Regie. Sarvistani's execution triggered widespread discontent throughout the town. The British consular agent in Shiraz reported that, a few days later, a group of people attacked a policeman in the town shouting 'Ask the governor why he blew an innocent man from a cannon? What sort of governing is this?'⁵² Mirza Muhammad `Ali Mujtahid who had refused to sign the *fatwā* wrote to Falasiri: 'Sayyid, do you know what you have done? As a result of the sound of that canon today, you

have become the cause of half of the town becoming Babis. What a service you have rendered the noble religion of Islam!' And indeed, a large number of people became Baha'is having had their attention first drawn to the Baha'i Faith by witnessing the execution of Aqa Murtada Sarvistani.⁵³ Rukn ud-Dawlih was dismissed as governor some five months after the execution of Sarvistani.

The Baha'i Community during the Late Nineteenth Century

During the early 1860s, the number of Babis in Shiraz was gradually increasing. During the above-mentioned visit of Haji Muhammad Ibrahim Muballigh to Shiraz, apart from members of the Afnan family, some 50–60 members of the Khayyat (tailor) clan of Kazirun were also converted. This led to an uproar in the town and Haji Muhammad Ibrahim had to depart, returning to Yazd, where he converted the members of the Afnan family there.⁵⁴ After Haji Muhammad Ibrahim, Nabil Akbar came to Shiraz and stayed for 13 months leading to further conversions.⁵⁵ It is clear from the names of Baha'is given by Mazandarani that many of the Baha'is of Shiraz were from the mercantile and artisan classes – the bazaaris. Among these names, designations such as *bazzāz* (cloth-seller), *khayyāt* (tailor), *'abā-dūz* (cloak-maker) and *rikāb-sāz* (stirrup-maker) indicate this.⁵⁶

Following the threat of persecutions and the departure of Aqa Mirza Aqa in 1879 (see above), there was a lull in Baha'i activities in Shiraz, but after a time, with the emergence of a new generation of leading Baha'is and the arrival of travelling Baha'i teachers such as Mirza Asadu'llah Isfahani and Haji Mirza Haydar `Ali, activities were resumed.⁵⁷ The former, who visited for two months at the end of 1882, encouraged the Baha'is to put into effect the instructions of the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* and set up an assembly of consultation (*majlis-i shawr*). However, there is no evidence that this lasted for any length of time. In 1306/1888, the poet `Andalib of Lahijan moved to Shiraz, married, settled and became the main Baha'i propagandist in Shiraz. E.G. Browne visited Shiraz in 1888 and describes his interactions with the Baha'i community.⁵⁸

Among the prominent Baha'is of Shiraz during the time of Baha'u'llah and `Abdu'l-Baha, some of whom were influential in the town and could protect their fellow-Baha'is, were Muhammad Husayn Mirza Mu'ayyad us-Saltanih, a grandson of Tahmasp Mirza Mu'ayyad ud-Dawlih, who was head of the telegraph department in Shiraz from December 1897 to 1905;⁵⁹ Mulla Muhammad Husayn (d. 1878), who had met the Bab and who became a tutor to the children of the Afnan family; his son Mirza Aqa Khan Bashir us-Sultan (1281/1864 – 28 July 1924; the progenitor of the Bashir-Ilahi family), who was in charge of the post office in Yazd, then in Bushihr, then in Shiraz in charge of the whole province of Fars for seven years, and finally he went to Tehran;⁶⁰ Ja`far-Quli Khan Amir-Panjih Mu`azzam ul-Mulk, who was in charge of the troops stationed in Shiraz; Ahmad-Quli Khan Sarhang; Shaykh `Ali Mirza, a nephew of the Imam-Jum`ih; Mulla `Abdu'llah Fadil Zarqani; Muhibb-`Ali Mirza; `Ali Muhammad Khan Muvaqqar ud-Dawlih (who was the Foreign Office agent in Shiraz); Haji Abu'l-Hasan Bazzaz (d. Aug. 1902); his son Mirza Muhammad Baqir Khan (the progenitor of the Dihqan family), who was a close confidant of Qavam ul-Mulk; and Mirza Husayn Khan Mu`tamad

ud-Divan. The last named was also a close confidant of Muhammad Rida Qavam ul-Mulk, until they fell out in about 1903. Although `Abdu'l-Baha tried to effect a reconciliation, they remained at odds. When in 1325/1907, Zill us-Sultan was appointed governor of Fars, the members of the Qavam ul-Mulk family were in exile and so Mu`tamad ud-Divan was appointed as head of and had financial responsibility for (*abwāb jam`i*) the `Arab and Khamsih tribes. He set out with a considerable force to collect the taxes due. However, the family and supporters of Qavam ul-Mulk plotted against him and on the way, he was shot and killed by `Askar Khan, one of the *kalantars* of the `Arab tribe.⁶¹

When Mirza Muhammad `Ali, the half-brother of `Abdu'l-Baha, brought his rebellion against `Abdu'l-Baha into the open, a number of the Afnan family sided with him. Among these was Sayyid `Ali Afnan, a son of Haji Mirza Hasan Afnan Kabir, who was a son-in-law of Baha'u'llah and lived at Bahji where Mirza Muhammad `Ali was headquartered. His sister Bibi Jan Bigum, who also lived at Bahji, and his two brothers Sayyid Muhammad and Haji Sayyid Mirza, who ran the Bombay office of the Afnan trading company and who had been closely associated with Mirza Muhammad `Ali when the latter visited India, sided with him but later the last named repented of this. Apart from these members of the Afnan family, there was Mirza Husayn Shirazi, who had accompanied Haji Mirza Haydar `Ali on some of his travels in Iran and arrived with him in Edirne in about 1867 and was sent with him to Egypt by Baha'u'llah. Here they were arrested in the winter of 1867–8 and exiled to Khartum for some eleven years, as a result of which he was generally known as Khartumi. He returned to Iran and lived for a time in Shiraz, where E.G. Browne met him in 1888. He was a skilled calligraphist and in about 1889, he went to Bombay to assist with the production of Baha'i books there. A copy of Baha'u'llah's *Kitab-i Aqdas* in his hand-writing was published there in about 1890. Also in Bombay for the same purpose was Mirza Muhammad `Ali the son of Baha'u'llah and when he began plotting against `Abdu'l-Baha a few years later after the passing of Baha'u'llah, Khartumi followed him.⁶² Although they were from Shiraz, none of these partisans of Mirza Muhammad `Ali lived in Shiraz at this time, but they undoubtedly still maintained contacts with the Baha'is in Shiraz and would have tried to use their influence. There is, however, no indication that they were successful in this.

In early 1896, Mirza Mahmud Furughi arrived in Shiraz from India. Two of his fellow-travellers alerted the religious leaders of the town to the arrival of a distinguished Baha'i and soon afterwards news reached them of animated Baha'i meetings at which Furughi was speaking. Furughi was arrested and held at the home of Tufangdar-Bashi (head rifle-man). Eventually the governor permitted Furughi to depart for Abadih.⁶³

Haji Abu'l-Hasan Mirza, Shaykh ur-Ra'is, a Qajar prince, settled in Shiraz in 1895. At first, the clerics welcomed him, for although he was a member of the Qajar family, he had undergone a religious education. He gave addresses in the shrine of Shah Chiragh and the Masjid-i Naw and was such an excellent orator that soon he was attracting large crowds, which did not please the clerics quite so much since this was having an effect on their audiences. Shaykh ur-Ra'is continued however to establish himself in Shiraz, marrying two of his daughters to sons of Shiraz notables,

one to Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Fakr ul-Ashraf, the son of Fakhr ud-Dawlih, and one to the son of Haji Ahmad Khan Kurrani. A bejewelled cane was even bestowed upon him by the shah in February 1897 and a great feast was held to mark this occasion.⁶⁴ At first the Baha'is were unsure what to make of him since it was said that he was a Baha'i. Soon however, they realised that his preaching was in fact covertly conveying the Baha'i message and that in his private classes, he was converting a number of his students. Soon there collected around him a coterie of Baha'i clerics including Mulla `Abdullah Fadil.⁶⁵

As early as September 1897, Shaykh ur-Ra'is was being accused of being a 'Babi'. On this occasion, the son of one of the *mujtahids* of Shiraz, Shaykh Muhammad Tahir `Arab, accused him of this from the pulpit of the Shah Chiragh Mosque. The following night, supporters of Shaykh ur-Ra'is beat this man. Then a group of clerics went to the governor Mirza Asadu'llah Khan Nazim ud-Dawlih and demanded the expulsion of Shaykh ur-Ra'is, saying that if the governor did not expel him, they would do the job themselves. The governor calmed them down by saying he would see to the matter within ten days. But ten days later it was Nazim ud-Dawlih himself who was dismissed and was leaving Shiraz.⁶⁶ On another occasion in May 1900, a *rawdih-khān* who was a sayyid of Sarvistan, began to accuse Shaykh ur-Ra'is of being a 'Babi' in the course of his preaching. Shaykh ur-Ra'is accused the Imam-Jum'ih of putting this man up to do this but the Imam-Jum'ih denied this.⁶⁷

The Baha'i Community during the Early Twentieth Century

On 8 January 1901, at the end of the month of fasting (Ramadan), a mob led by a mulla attacked the house of one of the prominent Baha'is, Mirza Jalal Va`iz Zarqani. As he had been forewarned, he was hiding in a neighbour's house but the mob looted and ransacked his house and dragged his wife before Sayyid `Ali Akbar Falasiri. They wanted to forcibly marry her to a Muslim. Zarqani appealed to the governor Abu'l-Fath Mirza Mu'ayyad ud-Dawlih but he did nothing. So Zarqani fled to Abadih and sent a telegram to the government in Tehran. The Prime Minister Amin us-Sultan replied that a new governor Malik Mansur Mirza Shu`a` us-Saltanih (1880–1920, son of Muzzafaru'd-Din Shah) was on his way and would deal with the matter. Shu`a` us-Saltanih collected Zarqani in Abadih and arrived in Shiraz determined to set things right. He gave orders that the cleric who had led the mob should be executed and the other clerics involved should have their ears cut off. However, with the intervention of Shaykh ur-Ra'is, these sentences were moderated and the principle culprit was exiled from Fars. Zarqani's wife was freed and his property returned.⁶⁸

Upon his arrival in Shiraz as governor in February 1901, Shu`a` us-Saltanih imposed his authority on the town and soon there was more order and calm in the town than there had been for years. The Baha'is felt more confident and `Andalib and Mirza Jalal Zarqani began a vigorous campaign of teaching the Baha'i Faith.⁶⁹ This, however, provoked a reaction from the clerics. At this time, the country was in the throes of mounting demands for reforms and there were disturbances in many parts. In Shiraz, those who wanted to raise some agitation in favour of reforms found themselves in league with a number of the clerics who were alarmed by the

teaching campaign of the Baha'is and also with those elements in the town who profited from disorder. They had their head-quarters in the shrine of Shah-Chiraq and in the Masjid-i Naw and included such clerics as Mirza Ibrahim Mujtahid Mahallati. The supporters of the governor were headquartered in the telegraph office and included Shaykh Yahya the Imam-Jum'ih. Since the governor and Shaykh ur-Ra'is were both Qajars and close to each other, their opponents found it convenient to accuse both the governor and Shaykh ur-Ra'is of being 'Babis'. The clerics gathered at the Masjid-i Naw issued a *fatwā* declaring Shaykh ur-Ra'is to be an unbeliever and deserving of death.⁷⁰ Despite his previous support of the Baha'is, Muhammad Rida Khan Qavam ul-Mulk now found it opportune to be the leader of the opponents of the governor and thus the instigator of this anti-Baha'i campaign.⁷¹ Part of the reason for Qavam's opposition to the governor was that the latter had laid claim to the Bazar-i Vakil and properties in that vicinity which Qavam considered to be his.⁷²

The opponents of the governor forced the shops in the bazaar to close and put a crowd of women onto the streets chanting slogans: 'We don't want a Babi governor'. This situation lasted for four months and the Baha'is were under constant pressure throughout this time. Eventually on 10 March 1902, a telegram came from Tehran recalling the governor to Tehran and he left on 18 April.⁷³ At this point, Qavam ul-Mulk put out the word that their objective had been the dismissal of the governor and there should be no further action against the Baha'is.⁷⁴ The new governor was Ghulam Rida Khan Asaf ud-Dawlih⁷⁵ and, on 10 August 1902, instructions came from Tehran that Shaykh ur-Ra'is was to leave for Karbala. He obtained permission to go by way of Isfahan and left on 26 August.⁷⁶ On another occasion in 1320/1902, when the ninety-year-old Haji Abu'l-Hasan Bazzaz was passing near the house of Falasiri, some of the latter's students seized him. They took him before Falasiri who personally beat him with his walking stick to such an extent that he died a short while later.⁷⁷

The next governor, Mirza Ahmad Khan Qajar `Ala ud-Dawlih (1852–1911), was firm in imposing order on the town. When, in the summer of 1903, news arrived of the anti-Baha'i pogroms in Isfahan and Yazd, he acted swiftly to try to suppress any similar action in Shiraz. Despite his efforts however, some of the clerics managed to rouse the populace and there was a commotion in the town. One of the leading clerics of the town, Mirza Ibrahim Mahallati, put out a written proclamation that anyone who manages to lay hold of a 'Babi' and kill him would have done an act of great religious merit (*thavāb-i `azīm*).⁷⁸ The governor gathered several of the leading local officials. Among those present were Qavam ul-Mulk, his son Habibu'llah Khan Biglar-bigi, Muhammad Husayn Mirza Mu'ayyad us-Saltanih and Ja`far-Quli Khan Amir-Panjih, and consulted with them. The result of this meeting was that the leading Baha'is were advised either to leave town or remain at home. Mirza Nasru'llah Bihishti Malik ul-Mutakallimin, who at this time was a Baha'i but later joined the Azalis in agitating for the Constitutional Revolution, had been expelled from Isfahan and had been openly preaching about the Baha'i Faith in Shiraz for four or five months at this time. He was expelled from the town by the governor. Qavam ul-Mulk and his sons did their best to keep matters calm.⁷⁹

The uproar in the town increased, however, and the bazaar was closed

for four days. Word spread that on the fifth day, which was a Friday, there would be a general massacre of the Baha'is as had occurred in Yazd. The governor reprimanded Mahallati and then sent for Shaykh Yahya the Imam-Jum'ih and asked him to intervene. The latter, who, as noted above, had always done his best to maintain peace in Shiraz and protect the Baha'is, summoned all of the people of Shiraz to Friday Prayers in the Masjid-i Vakil in Shiraz. The people gathered fully expecting Shaykh Yahya to issue a *fatwā* against the Baha'is, thus initiating a massacre. Instead, Shaykh Yahya, summoning all of the gravitas of his position and his more than eighty years of age and tapping the respect and affection that the people had for him, preached a sermon designed to pacify the populace. He pointed out that the Qur'an says that if someone greet a Muslim with the word 'Salām', no Muslim has the right to say that that person is not a Muslim (Qur'an 4:94). He then went on to argue that this means that, provided a person behaves as a Muslim, no Muslim has the right to call that person an unbeliever. He therefore went on to declare that: 'In our Shiraz, we have no Babis.' And he got the crowd to repeat this declaration after him three times. After that he urged the people to go to the bazaar and open up their shops and go about their business which they did.⁸⁰

As the demands for reform gathered momentum, however, conditions in Shiraz deteriorated and the Baha'is suffered. People took to carrying sticks and guns around with them and there were gunshots by night and uproar during the day. At the slightest pretext they would close the bazaar. This eventually led to the dismissal of 'Ala' ud-Dawlih and the reinstatement of Shu'a' us-Saltanih in 1322/1904. For a time, the latter was able to maintain order in the town but once again the enmity of Qavam ul-Mulk brought about a coalition of forces against him. Once again the streets of Shiraz resounded to slogans accusing the governor and all of his staff of being 'Babis'.⁸¹

In the event, the pretext that the clerics chose for action was that a Jew had built his house higher than a Muslim. They gathered the mob in the Masjid-i Naw and urged them to attack the Jewish quarter. The Jewish quarter was situated not far from the Masjid-i Naw but between the two lay the House of the Bab and the Baha'is realised that the clerics would almost certainly take the opportunity to destroy the House of the Bab as they proceeded towards the Jewish quarter. Ja'far-Quli Khan Amir Panjih, a Baha'i who was in charge of the troops stationed in Shiraz, had been ordered by the governor to defend the Jewish quarter. He sent one of his servants, Mirza Husayn, who was a Baha'i to the mob in the Masjid-i Naw to warn that if they approached the Jewish quarter he would order his troops to fire upon them. He had set himself up on the roof-top of the house of Mulla Rabi'a, a Jewish merchant, from which the House of the Bab was visible. As the mob approached, Ja'far-Quli Khan could observe some of them proceeding across the roof-tops. They reached the House of the Bab and began to throw stones at the group of Baha'is who had gathered in the house. Ja'far-Quli Khan gave order for a volley to be fired and once the mob saw that he was serious about his task, they dispersed. However, the bazaar remained closed for three months until the governor was dismissed.⁸²

At first, no-one was willing to take on the post of governor because of the disordered state of the town but after three months, 'Ala' ud-Dawlih

agreed to take on the task again. He entered the town with troops and restored order. In particular, he was firm towards the clerics allowing them no opportunity to cause any mischief. As a consequence, there were some eighteen months of peace for the town and for the Baha'is. As soon as the governor could sense that the mischief-makers were once again gathering strength, however, he immediately resigned.⁸³

Again, no one could be found to take on the governorship, so eventually, Qavam ul-Mulk was appointed. At first he was able with his local knowledge to control the various factions and trouble-makers. However, the Nuri clan had always been opposed to Qavam ul-Mulk and they now led the rising opposition to the governor. The Nuris had also been enemies of the Baha'is dating back to the days when several of them led the government forces against the Babis of Nayriz. Once more there was daily abuse and molestation of the Baha'is but now it was worse because, in the past, when it had been directed against the then governor, Qavam ul-Mulk had usually been on the side of those opposing the governor and therefore had been able to mitigate the attacks on the Baha'is to some extent but now it was directed against Qavam ul-Mulk himself. Because one of the main members of Qavam ul-Mulk's staff, Mirza Muhammad Baqir Khan (Dihqan), was a Baha'i, the mischief-makers were now saying that the Baha'is are trying to seize power and lead all of the Muslims astray and make them Baha'is. Eventually matters deteriorated to the point that Qavam ul-Mulk was dismissed and Ghulam-Husayn Khan Ghaffari was appointed governor in late 1906.⁸⁴

In the midst of these troubles, the Baha'is were faced with an additional problem when a certain Darvish `Ali pretended conversion to the Baha'i Faith and then used his knowledge of the community to publicly denounce individual Baha'is. He would stand, for example, outside the shop of a Baha'i and shout obscenities and curses at the Baha'i. He would extort money from individual Baha'is threatening to denounce them and then obtain money also from Muslims as a reward for his actions. His activities went on for four years.⁸⁵

Events following the Constitutional Revolution

It was at this juncture in 1906 that the Constitutional Revolution succeeded and Muzaffar ud-Din Shah signed the Constitution. Immediately political parties and societies (*anjumans*) were created, some supporting the Constitution and some opposing it. Both sides accused the Baha'is of being among their opponents. Shortly after the Constitution was signed, Muzaffar ud-Din died and Muhammad `Ali Shah came to power determined to annul the Constitution. He summoned Qavam ul-Mulk to Tehran and made him one of his key supporters. On his return, Qavam ul-Mulk began to work against the Constitution. Secret meetings were held and societies formed. Groups of people began to form calling themselves *mujāhidīn* to defend each side. The clerics were also split, some supporting the Constitution and some opposing it. But whichever side they were on, in their preaching, they came increasingly to attack the Baha'i Faith, each side saying the *mujāhidīn* of their opponents were all Baha'is. Those opposing the Constitution would preach in the pulpits cursing the Baha'is and saying that they were the cause of the Constitution, that it was a fundamental teaching of theirs

and that peace would never return to the country and Islam would not be safe until this 'evil and unbelieving sect' were rejected and defeated. The supporters of the Constitution would claim that the Baha'is are the defenders of autocratic government and that they should be extirpated so that the supporters of the autocracy would be frustrated and the foundations of Constitutionalism be firmly laid.⁸⁶

It was at this time that Qavam ul-Mulk showed his fickle nature. Although he had recently, while in Tehran, contacted `Abdu'l-Baha through Mirza Hasan Adib and professed friendship⁸⁷, he now turned against the Baha'is. On one particular Thursday, he summoned all of the notables, guild masters and people of Shiraz to the Masjid-i Naw. He then addressed them saying that it was necessary for them to know the source of these ideas of Constitution that had been foisted upon them. He then produced a copy of Baha'u'llah's book, the *Kitab-i Aqdas*, and proceeded to quote from it the passages that speak of the affairs of Iran being put into the hands of the people (*jumhūr un-nās*).⁸⁸ He then asked them whether they really wanted to bring about the constitutional government that Mirza Husayn `Ali [Baha'u'llah] had promised his people. Did they not realise that everything they did to promote this matter brought upon them the curse of God and His Messenger?⁸⁹

The supporters of the Constitution who were in the audience were not content to allow such assertions to pass unchallenged and they got up and replied, saying that Qavam ul-Mulk was merely trying to confuse and mislead people. The leading constitutionalists met afterwards and discussed what to do. Haji `Ali Aqa Dhu'l-Riyasatayn (d. 1336/1017), who was a Sufi Ni`matullahi Shaykh with the Sufi name of Vafa-`Ali Shah,⁹⁰ stated that he was well-informed about the Baha'i community and was sure that they were not involved in any political affairs.⁹¹ Habibu'llah Afnan states that Dhu'l-Riyasatayn had attended Baha'i meetings and had read several Baha'i books.⁹² However, the party of Qavam ul-Mulk spread rumours to the effect that two of the leading Constitutionalists, Shaykh Muhammad Baqir Istahbanati and Dhu'l-Riyasatayn himself were Baha'is. Then on 13 April 1907, a certain Ni`matu'llah Burujirdi shot Qavam ul-Mulk dead with a revolver. Since the assassin was killed on the spot by Qavam ul-Mulk's retinue, it was not possible to question him and ascertain his motives. Therefore, a rumour went around that it was the Baha'is who had assassinated Qavam ul-Mulk. Then shots were fired during the funeral of Qavam ul-Mulk and immediately afterwards two of the leading Constitutionalists Shaykh Muhammad Baqir Istahbanati and Sayyid Ahmad Mu`in ul-Islam were killed by the men of Qavam ul-Mulk, who then went around saying that the Baha'is had got their just punishment. Thus the Baha'is came to be blamed for every untoward event that occurred. After the two sons of Qavam ul-Mulk were exiled, there was some improvement in the public security but the Baha'is continued to suffer, especially when a party called *Ittihad-i Islam* was set up specifically to attack the Baha'i community.⁹³

There were at this time two important developments for the Baha'i community. The first was the arrival of instructions from `Abdu'l-Baha strongly prohibiting any involvement in political parties and political manoeuvres.⁹⁴ This led to some problems for the Baha'is since some of the better informed supporters of the Constitution naturally expected

the Baha'is to help them. The second was the arrival of instructions for the election of the local assembly of Shiraz. This was elected on 16 June 1907 and met in the house of the uncle of the Bab which now belonged to the Baha'i community. The members of the first assembly were: Mirza Aqa Khan Bashir us-Sultan; Aqa Mirza Muhammad Baqir Khan (Dihqan); Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Afnan, Aqa Mirza Aqa Afnan, Haji Mirza Buzurg Afnan, Haji Mirza Habibu'llah Afnan, Mirza `Ali Ashraf `Andalib, Aqa Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan Muvaqqar ud-Dawlih, Haji Mirza Husayn `Ali Yazdi `Umumi.⁹⁵ As can be seen from this list, four of the members of the Assembly are named Afnan and a fifth, Muvaqqar ud-Dawlih was an Afnan on his mother's side while the last named was married into the Afnan family. The Assembly immediately took full charge of all Baha'i affairs in Shiraz and, among the matters which it concentrated upon in its early years was to ensure that `Abdu'l-Baha's injunction that the Baha'is should withdraw from all political involvement was carried out. Also at about this time, the house where the Bab was born was purchased by `Ali Muhammad Khan Muvaqqar ud-Dawlih along with an adjacent house which was made into a meeting-house for prayers (*Mashriq ul-Adhkār*).⁹⁶ Surprisingly, in view of developments elsewhere, no Baha'i school was established in Shiraz. Bashir us-Sultan did set up a school but there is no indication that this was a Baha'i establishment. The latter was also the main intermediary for communications with `Abdu'l-Baha.⁹⁷

In 1909, Muhammad `Ali Shah was deposed and the new regime appointed Asaf ud-Dawlih as governor. He was a weak governor and the affairs of the Fars fell into chaos. The powerful Qashqa'i tribe under its leader Sawlat ud-Dawlih had at first sided with the Constitutionalists, mainly because his arch-rival Qavam ul-Mulk, head of the Khamsih confederation of tribes, had sided with the shah. Then when the Bakhtiyari tribe came out strongly in favour of the Constitutionalists, Sawlat ud-Dawlih formed an anti-Constitutionalist alliance with Shaykh Khazal of Muhammarah. The Baha'is suffered during this period of chaos but despite this, as a result of the arrival of two travelling Baha'i propagandists Tarazullah Samandari and Mirza `Ali Akbar Rafsanjani, activities in the Baha'i community were at a high level and many were converted at this time.⁹⁸

In about 1909, an illiterate Baha'i by the name of Hidayat of Sarvistan, a patcher, in conjunction with Amru'llah of Bavanat claimed that `Abdu'l-Baha had died and had appointed them jointly as his *khalifah* (successor). A number of people followed them until in early 1920 when a number of pilgrims from Abadih came to Shiraz on their way back from visiting `Abdu'l-Baha. As a result the falsity of these two men's claims became clear to their followers.⁹⁹

In about 1900, there were some 120-150 Zoroastrians in Shiraz, mostly working in the Zoroastrian trading houses there; five of them were Baha'is. At this time Ardishir Hizari (1885-1981) of Yazd came to work for the Jahāniyān Company. He was an active Baha'i and used to take his friends to the teaching meetings that were held at the home of Muhammad Baqir Dihqan and in the rear of the shop of Muhammad Hasan Bulurfurush. By about 1909, there were 25 Zoroastrian Baha'is in Shiraz.¹⁰⁰

During World War I, the Baha'is of Shiraz heard that conditions were very hard for `Abdu'l-Baha and the Baha'is of Haifa and `Akka. They decided

to send Mirza Fadlu'llah Banan, who was an employee of the British consulate to `Akka with 3000 *tumans* in order to ameliorate the conditions there. Banan travelled in 1915 via Bombay and Alexandria and succeeded in accomplishing this mission despite the dangers. Banan was able, because of his influential position in the British consulate, to protect the Baha'is. On one occasion, Muhammad Baqir Hushyar, who had just become a Baha'i, went to the mujtahid Shaykh Ja`far Mahallati and publicly challenged him to respond to the *Kitab-i Iqan*. Mahallati had Hushyar arrested but Banan used his influence with the governor, `Abdu'l-Husyan Mirza Farmanfarma, to have Hushyar released. Banan tried to get a Baha'i girls' school started in Shiraz, but the opposition to this was too great. He began a magazine called *Fārs*.¹⁰¹

In the late 1910s and early 1920s, the head of the post office in Shiraz was a Baha'i, Muhammad Rida Mirza of Isfahan (d. 1924). When a mob attacked one of the employees of the post office who was a Baha'i, Mirza Nasru'llah Jahrumi, as he walked through the bazaar in about 1921, Muhammad Rida Mirza closed the post office and the telegraph office. The merchants and business community were in uproar as they could not function without these but Muhammad Rida Mirza refused to re-open until the governor Husayn-Quli Mirza Nusrat us-Saltanih punished the main attacker, saying that government officials must be free to walk about the city without being attacked. Eventually, the governor ordered the arrest of the main attacker and his beating in the main square of the town in front of the citadel on Friday when large crowds would be present. As the *farrāshes* beat him, the man pleaded with Muhammad Rida Mirza first in the name of the king but he paid no attention; then in the name of the souls of the prophets and still he paid no attention; finally in the name of `Abbas Effendi (`Abdu'l-Baha) and promising not to attack the Baha'i faith again; at this Muhammad Rida Mirza ordered the *farrāshes* to stop.¹⁰²

The protection of the Baha'is in Fars by powerful individuals who were not Baha'is continued. Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Dastghayb, one of the prominent clerics of the town, is reported to have been a believer in the Bab and an admirer of `Abdu'l-Baha and to have come to believe in Baha'u'llah also at the end of his life.¹⁰³ Other clerics were, however, opponents of the Baha'i Faith. Sayyid Abu Talib Mujtahid wrote a refutation of the Baha'i Faith, *Ṭālibiyyih dar Radd-i Bābiyyih*. After Mirza Munir Nabilzadih, who was visiting Shiraz, demonstrated to him the errors in this book, Sayyid Abu Talib raised a disturbance in the town in December 1920-January 1921 that forced Nabilzadih to leave. Indeed at one stage a mob gathered planning to storm the governor's residence and then carry out a general massacre of the Baha'is. But when the gendarmes fired a volley into the air, the mob dispersed.¹⁰⁴ It was probably also during this episode that a plan was made by some of the criminal elements of the town to attack and loot the shop of Aqa Muhammad Hasan Bulurfurush. The Baha'is heard of this and ten of the Baha'i youth stood in the corners of the square in which this shop was. When the mob arrived, they charged the mob with sticks and stones and dispersed it thus saving the shop from attack.¹⁰⁵

It is difficult to form an estimate of the number of Baha'is in Shiraz. In 1920, it was being said that about one-third of the population of the town was Baha'i, which would mean 20,000 people.¹⁰⁶ This is too high a figure

but since there were no membership criteria, it may well have represented the total number of those attending Baha'i meetings or otherwise demonstrating that they were favourable towards the Baha'i Faith. Cole follows a statement by Bémont, who states that she was told by a leading Baha'i, presumably in the 1950s or 1960s when she did her research for her book, that the Baha'i community of Shiraz was the largest Baha'i community of Iran, larger than Tehran, but this is not a credible statistic.¹⁰⁷ By that time, there had been major migrations of Baha'is from all parts of Iran to Tehran and the numbers there were far greater than in Shiraz. In about 1935, there were some 500–600 Baha'is in Shiraz. They were spread throughout the city but a large number lived in Sa'diyih, the district around the tomb of the poet Sa'di.¹⁰⁸

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Endnotes

1. Abbot in Abbas Amanat (ed.), *Cities and Trade: Consul Abbott on the Economy and Society of Iran, 1847–1866*, Oxford Oriental Monographs no. 5, London: Ithaca Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University, 1983, 175; the report states 400–500 families of Jews, from which I have estimated 2,000 people. Thompson (1868) estimated the population of Shiraz as 25,000 with 1,500 Jews (in Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Iran 1800–1914*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1971, pp. 28, 32).
2. Mirza Hasan Fasa'i, *Fārs-nāmih*, 2 vols. in 1, lithograph, 1314/1896, reprint: Tehran, [1965], p. 22.
3. Fredy Bémont, *Les Villes d'Iran: des cités d'autrefois à l'urbanisme contemporain*. 3 vols. Paris: Privately published, 1969–1977, 2:152.
4. Abbot reported weekly clashes in 1850 (Amanat, *Cities and Trade* 88, pp. 175–6).
5. Fasa'i, *Fars-Namih*, p. 22.
6. Although the account by Nabil [Zarandij], *The Dawn-Breakers: Nabil's Narrative of the Early*

Days of the Bahā'ī Revelation. Wilmette, IL: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1970, pp. 145–6) states that only two Babis were punished and expelled from the city and Hasan Balyuzi (*The Bāb*, Oxford: George Ronald, 1973, pp. 77–8) reports three, a report of this episode that appeared in *The Times* of London on 1 November 1845 states that there were four Babis involved and Mirza Husayn Hamadani (*The Tārīkh-i-Jadīd or New History of Mirza `Ali Muhammad the Bāb*, trans. E.G. Browne, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893, p. 202) names the fourth individual.

7. On the period of the Bab in Shiraz, see Habibu'llah Afnan, *Tarikh Amr dar Fars*, photocopy of mss., in Afnan Library), 1–115; trans. in Ahang Rabbani, 'The Bab in Shiraz: an account by Mirza Habibu'llah Afnan' *Baha'i Studies Review*, 12, (2004) pp. 91–127 and in Habibu'llah Afnan, *The Genesis of the Bābī and Bahā'ī Faiths in Shirāz and Fārs*, trans. Ahang Rabbani: Leiden: Brill, 2008, hereinafter *Genesis*, pp. 3–48; Nabil, *Dawn-breakers*, pp. 50–96, Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, 'Ahd-i A'lā: Zindigānī-yi Haḍrat-i Bāb. Oxford: Oneworld, 2000, pp. 29–71, 116–155; 142–98; Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran 1844–1850*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989, pp. 109–254.
8. Asadu'llah Fadil Mazandarani, *Zuhūru'l-Haqq*, 9 vols., vol. 3, Tehran, n.d. and vol. 8 (Parts one and two), Tehran: Mu'assasah Milli Matbu'at Amri, 131–32 B.E. Other volumes in mss., hereinafter ZH, 4:110.
9. Fasa'i, *Fars-namih*, 2:45.
10. Details of members of the Afnan family can be found in Muhammad `Ali Faizi, *Khāndān-i Afnān, Sadrih-yi Rahmān*, Tehran: Mu'assasah Milli Matbu'at Amri, 127 BE/1970, and in Amanu'llah Shahidiyan, *Mansūbān-i Astān Ṭal`at A'lā, Khāndān-i Afnān*, Bundoora, Aust.: Baha'i Distribution Services, 2009.
11. See also Hasan M. Balyuzi, *Eminent Bahā'īs in the Time of Bahā'u'llāh: with some Historical Background*. Oxford: George Ronald, 1985, pp. 216–36.
12. Faizi, *Khandan Afnan*, pp. 197–200.
13. According to ZH 4:211, these four were converted first by Baha'u'llah in Baghdad and returned and persuaded their uncle to meet Baha'u'llah in Baghdad.
14. Faizi, *Khandan Afnan* 95; Mirza Sayyid Muhammad, the son of Haji Mirza Muhammad `Ali, resident in Shiraz, was known as Mirza Aqa Taryaki – *taryak* being Persian for opium. See also Fasa'i, *Fars-namih* 2:45, where it is stated that most of the trade in opium from Isfahan, Yazd and Fars that went to China went through Mirza Muhammad `Ali Afnan in Hong Kong.
15. Willem Floor, 'The Merchants (*tujjār*) in Qājār Iran' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 126 (1976) 101–135, see pp. 112–3.
16. Fasa'i, *Fars-namih* 2:45.
17. Afnan, *Tarikh*, p. 195 (*Genesis* 83).
18. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 216–17 (*Genesis* 89).
19. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 164–5 (*Genesis* 69–70).
20. Anon., *Tarikh Amri Isfahan*, photocopy of ms. in Afnan Library, 8; `Ata'u'llah Rahmani Najafabadi, 'Sharh-i Ahvāl-i Aqā Sayyid `Abdur-Rahīm Isfahānī (mulaqqab bih Ismu'llāh ur-Rahīm)', *Andalīb*, year 23, no. 89 (2005), pp. 68–74, see p. 71.
21. Vahid Rafati, 'Nabīl-i A`zam-i Zarandī', *Khūshih-hā-iy az Kharman-i Adab va Hunar* 7 (1996) pp. 29–57, see pp. 35–6; ZH 6:571–2, p. 855.
22. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 168–174 (*Genesis* 71–4); the account of Nabil in Shiraz in `Azizu'llah Sulaymani, *Maṣābiḥ Hidāyat*, vol. 10, unpublished typescript, pp. 613–5, is not so dramatic.
23. ZH 6:788–9; Balyuzi, *Eminent Baha'is*, p. 229.
24. Faizi, *Khandan Afnan*, pp. 20–24; Shahidiyan, *Mansuban*, pp. 18–21.
25. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 174–7 (*Genesis* 74–5).
26. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 235–41 (*Genesis* 96–8); Hasan M. Balyuzi, *Khadijīh Bagum*. Oxford: George Ronald, 1981, pp. 34–5; `Abdu'l-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari, *Rahīq-i Makhtūm*. 2 vols., Tehran: Mu'assasah Milli Matbu'at Amri, 130 B.E./1973, 1:339–46.
27. Faizi, *Khandan*, pp. 204–6.

28. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 225–30 (*Genesis* 93–4); Faizi, *Khandan*, pp. 206–7.
29. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 252–4 (*Genesis* 103). For the tablet of Baha'u'llah making this appointment, see Afnan, *Tarikh*, p. 253 (*Genesis* 103); Faizi, *Khandan* 203.
30. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 297–307 (*Genesis* 120–23).
31. For an account of this meeting and Shirazi's profession of his secret allegiance to the Baha'i Faith see Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 323–50 (*Genesis* 127–134); Balyuzi, *Eminent Baha'is*, pp. 251–60.
32. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 350–51, 409–11, 416 (*Genesis* 134, 151–2).
33. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 465–82 (*Genesis* 170–82); Faydi, *Khandan* 208–14; ZH 7:215–6, 8a:541–3.
34. George P. Churchill, *Persian Statesmen and Notables: Biographical Notices*, Confidential publication, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1906, pp. 22–4.
35. Mahdi Bamdad, *Tārīkh-i Rijāl-i Īrān*, 6 vols. Tehran: Zavvar, 1347/1968–1351/1972, 1:39–40.
36. ZH 6:8578; Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 184–190 (*Genesis* 79–81).
37. Bamdad, *Tarikh*, 3:401–403.
38. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 439–50 (*Genesis* 160–64).
39. Haji Muhammad Tahir Malmiri, *Khāṭirāt-i Mālmīrī*, Langenhain, Germany: Lajnih Nashr Athar Amri bih Zaban Farsi va `Arabi, 1992, pp. 96–7.
40. The Baha'is were not the only people to regard Shaykh Husayn as 'Zālim' (tyrant). Mirza Hasan Fasa'i, the author of the *Fars-namih*, the best known Qajar history of Fars province (which has been partly translated into English), takes up much of the first two pages of the first part of this history recounting Shaykh Husayn's appropriation of the village of Sahlābād in 1872, which belonged to Fasa'i, an act which he elsewhere calls a *Zulm* (tyranny or injustice, see *Fars-namih* 2:24, p. 44).
41. Afnan, *Tarikh*, p. 213 (*Genesis* 88); Balyuzi, *The Bab*, 69, 233n.1.
42. Fasa'i, *Fars-namih*, 1:1–2.
43. ZH 5:134–6; 6:85861; Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 191–219 (*Genesis* 82–90). Although ZH gives the date of this episode as 1288/1869, and this is what is implied in Afnan, *Tarikh*, I have taken the date from an entry in the British Consular agent's reports recording the execution of three Babis without however naming them; *Vaqāyi`-yi Ittifaqiyyih* (ed. `Ali Akbar Sa`idi Sirjani) Tehran: Nashr-i Naw, 1361/1982, 26. The error in the Baha'i reports may have arisen because it was remembered that the episode fell during the governorship of Hisam us-Saltanih. The latter had two terms of office as governor of Fars, however. 1869 would have fallen in the first term (1866–70) and 1875 during the second (1873–5). Matters are made even more confused by the statement in Zil us-Sultan's memoirs that Aqa Murtada was brought before him and he ordered the execution (Zil us-Sultan states that this execution was the first time that he had acted against the Baha'is). Zil us-Sultan was governor of Fars in between the two terms of Hisam us-Saltanih. He states that it was Shaykh Mahdi and Haji Shaykh Muhammad `Ali Mahallati who wrote the *fatvā* for the execution of Aqa Mirza Aqa Rikab-saz (Mas`ud Mirza Zil us-Sultan, *Khāṭirāt Zil us-Sulṭān* (ed. Husayn Khadiv-Jam), 3 vols., Tehran: Asatir, 1365 Sh/1986, 1:324–5).
44. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 231–33 (*Genesis* 95–6).
45. Fasa'i, *Fars-namih*, 2:75.
46. `Ali Aqa (later Muvaqqar ud-Dawlih) in Edward G. Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative written to illustrate the Episode of the Bāb*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891, 2:410–11; Afnan, *Tarikh* 260–82 (*Genesis* 106–11); ZH 5:365–69.
47. *Vaqāyi` Ittifaqiyyih*, pp. 317–8.
48. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 278–82, 296–7 (*Genesis* 119–20, 111–3).
49. Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi`is: Nineteenth Century Iran and its Jewish Minority*, Stanford Studies on Jewish History and Culture, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007, 132–7; Bamdad, *Tarikh* 2:430–33; Nikki Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani'*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972, 342–55; Nikki Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Iranian Tobacco Protest of 1891–1982*, London: Frank Cass, 1966, pp. 67–73.
50. Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion* 96 and n.; Nazim al-Islam Kirmani, *Tārīkh Bidārī Irāniyān*, ed.

- ʿAli Akbar Saʿidi Sirjani, 5th ed., vol. 1, Tehran: Paykan, 1376/1997, p. 19.
51. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 308–313; ZH 7:33–4 and n. (*Genesis* 123–5); Mihrangiz Tajū'd-Dini, *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl Shahrīyār-i Dayār-i Inqīṭāʿ Shāhīd Āqā Murtaḍā Sārvistānī*, Thesis, Muʿassisih Maʿarif ʿAli, Shiraz, 1375/1996.
 52. *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih*, p. 416.
 53. Afnan, *Tarikh*, p. 313 (*Genesis* 125); ZH 5:373–4, 6:874–6.
 54. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 179–81 (*Genesis* 76–7).
 55. Afnan, *Tarikh*, p. 184 (*Genesis* 79).
 56. ZH 6:855–6, 861; see discussion of this in Juan Cole, 'Religious Dissidence and Urban Leadership: Bahais in Qajar Shiraz and Tehran', *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 37 (1999) pp. 123–142.
 57. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 233–5 (*Genesis* 96).
 58. Edward G. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, new ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926, pp. 326–69; Edward G. Browne, *Selections from the Writings of E. G. Browne on the Bābī and Bahāʾī Religions*, ed. Moojan Momen, Oxford: George Ronald, 1987, pp. 37–84.
 59. Churchill, *Persian Statesmen*, p. 45–6.
 60. ZH 6:865–7, 8a:563; ʿAbdu'l-Husayn Bashir-Ilahi, 'Sharḥ-i Ḥāl-i Mutaṣāʿid ila Allāh Mīrzā Āqā Khān Bashir-Ilāhī,' *Āhang-i Badī* Year 29, no. 325 (Mar.–Apr. 1974/131 BE) 38–46. Nasir Bashir-Ilahi, *Alvāḥ Nāzilīh bih Aʿzāz-i Mīrzā Āqā Khān Bashir us-Sulṭān mulaqqab bih Bashir Ilāhī*. Ellicott City, MD: privately published, 2010.
 61. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 562–5 (*Genesis* 205–6).
 62. Haji Mirza Haydar ʿAli Isfahani, *Bihjat us-Ṣudūr*, Hofheim: Bahāʾī-Verlag, 2002, 46, 64, 89–90; Balyuzi, *Eminent Baha'is* 121, 238–250; Browne, *Year* 360–9; Browne, *Selections* 74–83.
 63. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 350–60 (*Genesis* 135–6); ZH 6:84–5.
 64. *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih*, p. 521.
 65. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 314–23 (*Genesis* 125–7); *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih* 659; ZH 8a:210–13; Juan Cole, 'The Provincial Politics of Heresy and Reform in Qajar Iran: Shaykh al-Rais in Shiraz, 1895–1902,' *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 22/1&2 (2002) pp. 119–129.
 66. *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih*, pp. 533–4.
 67. *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih*, p. 608.
 68. ZH 7:141.
 69. Afnan, pp. 416–7 (*Genesis* 1152).
 70. *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih*, p. 665.
 71. Afnan, pp. 428–30 (*Genesis* 156).
 72. Bamdad, *Tarikh*, 4:156.
 73. Reports of Haydar ʿAli Khan Nawwab, British agent in Shiraz, Shiraz News for 5–12 March, dated 12 March 1902, and for 17–24 April, dated 24 April 1902; in British Public Records Office document PRO FO 248 773. *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih* 664–5.
 74. Afnan, pp. 430–432 (*Genesis* 157–8).
 75. Cole states erroneously that this was Mirza ʿAbdu'l-Wahhab Khan Shirazi Asaf ud-Dawlih, an old enemy of Shaykh ur-Ra'is ('Provincial Politics of Heresy and Reform' 124), but he had died in 1887 and the title had been transferred; Bamdad, *Tarikh* 2:315. Afnan gives the name correctly (*Tarikh* 568, *Genesis* 207).
 76. Report of British Agent in Shiraz, Shiraz News for 7–15 August, dated 15 August 1902 and for 20–28 August, dated 28 August 1902. PRO 248 773; *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih*, pp. 680–81; ZH 8a:214.
 77. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 425–7 (*Genesis* 155–6).
 78. *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih*, p. 707; Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 433–8 (*Genesis* 157–60).
 79. *Vaqayiʿ Ittifaqiyyih*, p. 708; Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 451–5 (*Genesis* 164–5); ZH 7:211–4.

80. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 455–61 (*Genesis* 165–9); ZH 7:214–5.
81. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 510–4 (*Genesis* 186).
82. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 514–20 (*Genesis* 186–9).
83. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 520–24 (*Genesis* 190–91).
84. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 525–29 (*Genesis* 191–3).
85. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 501–9 (*Genesis* 183–5).
86. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 529–37 (*Genesis* 194–6).
87. Intishārāt Lajnih-yi Millī-yi Maḥfazih-yi Āthār va Ārshīv-i Amr (photocopied collection of the manuscripts in the National Baha'i Archives of Iran) 84:336–7.
88. *Kitab-i-Aqdas*, v. 93.
89. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 537–41 (*Genesis* 196–8); Mr Hasan Balyuzi stated in an interview on 23 June 1977 that part of the reason for this action of Qavam ul-Mulk was his enmity towards Mu`tamid ud-Divan (see above).
90. Bamdad, *Tarikh* 6:137.
91. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 542–44 (*Genesis* 198–99).
92. Afnan, *Tarikh*, p. 557 (*Genesis* 203 and n. 326).
93. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 542–55 (*Genesis* 199–202).
94. Afnan, *Tarikh*, p. 556 (*Genesis* 202–3).
95. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 560–61 (*Genesis* 204–5).
96. Intishārāt Lajnih-yi Millī-yi Maḥfazih-yi Āthār va Ārshīv-i Amr 52:424–5; 84:337, 418; ZH 8:574
97. Bashir-Ilahi, 'Bashir-Ilahi'.
98. Afnan, *Tarikh*, pp. 568–9 (*Genesis* 207).
99. Yazdi, Mināhaj ul-Ahkām, published as vols. 5–6 of *Intishārāt Lajnih-yi Millī-yi Maḥfazih-yi Āthār va Ārshīv-i Amr*, 1:234. There were evidently a few left by December 1920 whom Munir Nabilzadih persuaded of the error of their viewpoint, 'Azizu'llah Sulaymani, *Maṣābīḥ Hidāyat*. Vol. 4, Tehran: Mu'assisih Milli Matbu`at Amri, 118 BE/1961, 258.
100. Suhrab Faridani, *Dūstān-i Rāstān: Tārīkh Hayāt va Khadamāt-i Bahā'iyān-i Pārsī*, Hofheim: Bahā'ī-Verlag, 2002, 110; Habib Hizari, 'Jinab-i Ardshir Hizari' *ʿAndalīb*, year 18, no. 70 (Spring 1999) 40–43, see 40–41; Parivash Samandari Khoshbin, *Ṭaraz Ilāhī*, vol. 1, Hamilton, Ont.: Mu'assasih Ma`ārif Baha'i, 2002, 1:302–3.
101. Gity Etemad, Biography of Fadullah Banan (communicated 10 September 2011).
102. ZH 8a:139; Abu'l-Qasim Afnan, 'Dāstān-i Kutak Khurdan-i Mirza Naṣru'llāh Jahrumī.' *Payām-i Bahā'ī* no. 182 (Jan. 1995) 37–40, see pp. 39–40.
103. Interview Mr Hasan Balyuzi on 29 August 1979.
104. Sulaymani, *Masabih* 4:258–9; ZH 7:323.
105. *ʿAndalīb*, vol. 22, no. 88 (2005) pp. 6–8.
106. This figure is reported by Walter Smart (d. 1962), Oriental secretary at the British Legation in Tehran, in the course of a meeting he had with Mirza Ishaq Khan Haqiqi. While the figure may have come from Haqiqi, Smart who was well-informed about Iran, does not dispute it. Public Record Office FO 248 1279, file 'Bahais', paper 29.
107. Bémont, *Les Villes d'Iran* 2:152; see Cole, 'Religious Dissidence', p. 123.
108. Interview Mr Hasan Afnan in London on 23 June 2004.