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THE ESCHATOLOGY OF GLOBALIZATION: THE MULTIPLE-MESSIAHSHIP OF BAHĀ'U'LLĀH REVISITED

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1. *Mission and Message*

1.1. *Introduction*

Globalization is a fact of postmodern life and the entire world is impacted by it. While its definition eludes consensus and is hotly contested, "globalization" generally refers to the increasing interdependence of nation-states, the integration of economic systems, and the relativization of cultures which, in pre-modern times, had been worlds unto themselves. Clearly, globalization is supraterritorial in its domain, but always local in its effects. It is transforming the world, irreversibly. World religions are caught up in this tidal wave of change.

The new world religion known as the Bahā'ī Faith has recently been studied from the standpoint of globalization, as the titles of two recent sociological studies suggest: "Bahā'ī: A Religious Approach to Globalization" (Warburg 1999), and "The Religious Construction of a Global Identity: An Ethnographic Look at the Atlanta Bahā'ī Community" (McMullen 1997). This new global community has been described as "a unique religious movement responding to globalization processes by creating a worldwide religious identity for its adherents through both ideological and organizational means" (McMullen 1997: 224). The prophet-founder of the Bahā'ī Faith, Bahā'u'llāh (d. 1892), anticipated globalization and established ethics and laws for it. This study investigates the nature of his relationship to globalization.

Declaring himself the "Promised One" of all religions (that is, several messiahs at once a "multiple-messiahship" converging in one person), Bahā'u'llāh explained both his truth-claims and world reforms as the symbolic (rather than literal) fulfillment of messianic prophecies found in world religions (Buck 1986). These public proclamations were the dramatic climax of Bahā'u'llāh's progressive roles as mystic messiah, prophetic messiah, and royal messiah. In his messianic

role as "World-Reformer," Bahāʾuʾllāh undertook one of the first global peace initiatives in modern history and thus was engaged in a dialectic with modernity. Since the notions of "World-Reformer" (*muṣliḥ al-ʿālam*: see Tablet to Queen Victoria below) and world reforms are globalizing concepts, inevitably a question arises: Was Bahāʾuʾllāh an epiphenomenon of globalization or a catalyst of it? The answer appears to be both. This study argues that Bahāʾuʾllāh's signal contribution to globalization was to ethicize and sacralize it. Messiahship was the medium (Bahāʾuʾllāh as revealer), and world unity was the message (revelation).

An illustration of this interplay between medium and message may be seen in the following historical anecdote: Āqā ʿAzīzuʾllāh, surnamed Jadhdhāb, was a Jewish merchant from Mashhad who, following his conversion, had visited the Holy Land and met Bahāʾuʾllāh. At the request of ʿAbduʾl-Bahāʾ, Jadhdhāb carried on a correspondence between Edward Granville Browne and Count Leo Tolstoy. In 1902, again at the request of ʿAbduʾl-Bahāʾ, Jadhdhāb traveled to Yasnaya Polyana to acquaint Tolstoy with the Bahāʾī Faith. Tolstoy asked several questions, and part of the interview, as recorded by Jadhdhāb himself, concerned Bahāʾuʾllāh's messianic claims: "Next, his query was about the claim of the Blessed Perfection [Bahāʾuʾllāh], and I replied that He was 'the Speaker on Sinai', 'the Everlasting Father', 'the Spirit of Truth', 'the Heavenly Father' Whom the Sons of Israel and the Christians expect; the return or advent of Ḥusayn, according to the beliefs of Shīʿī Islam; and according to the views of the Sunnīs the Advent of the Bāb was the Mahdī, the Advent of Bahāʾuʾllāh was the Second Coming of Christ; and according to the beliefs of the Zoroastrians, it was the Advent of Shāh Bahrām" (Balyuzi 1985: 189).

This is a fair characterization of Bahāʾuʾllāh's eschatological claims which, together with his identification as the Bābī messiah, He Whom God Shall Manifest, reflect six distinctive messianic identifications: (1) *Judaism*: a messianic reading of the so-called "Yuletide prophecy" of Isaiah 9:6, which equates the "Everlasting Father" with Bahāʾuʾllāh as the promised Messiah; (2) *Christianity*: Bahāʾuʾllāh as the Spirit of Truth or Comforter predicted by Jesus in his Farewell Discourse of John 14–17; (3) *Zoroastrianism*: Shāh Bahrām Varjavand, a Zoroastrian messiah predicted in various late Pahlavi texts; (4) *Shīʿa Islam*: Ḥusayn *redivivus*, that is, the return of the Third Imam; (5) *Sunnī Islam*: the return of Jesus (*ʿĪsā*), whose role, as attested in the "sound" (*ṣaḥīḥ*)

Sunnī *ḥadīth*, is to break crosses and kill swine; (6) the *Bābī movement*: He Whom God Shall Manifest (*man-yuẓhiruhu'llāh*).

As mystic messiah, Bahā'u'llāh sustained a period of messianic secrecy in Baghdad (1853–1863), during which his messianic role was intimated but not openly disclosed. As prophetic messiah, Bahā'u'llāh announced his mission to the religious leaders of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity (Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, Protestantism), Islam (Sunnī and Shīʿa), and the Bābī movement. As royal messiah, Bahā'u'llāh issued collective proclamations, as in the *Sūra* of the Kings, articulating his professed role as "World-Reformer" and corresponding world reforms. To communicate his mission to world leaders directly, Bahā'u'llāh addressed epistles to Pope Pius IX, Napoleon III, Czar Alexander II, Queen Victoria, the Shah of Iran, and others. Bahā'u'llāh also took pains to effect delivery of these epistles, especially through diplomatic channels. Magisterial in style, these letters about "God and country" from God to each country became the public record of Bahā'u'llāh's reformist vision, with its attendant teachings of unity, of which there are at least thirty specific types (twenty-three of which are itemized in Buck 1999).

Context interprets text. History can be used as a heuristic or interpretive device for understanding religions in terms of their founders. In what was possibly the first critical study of these truth-claims (Buck 1986), a first-order phenomenology was used to provide a descriptive (not explanatory) reduction of these claims to the concept of "multiple-messiahship," which finds its only real analogue in the proclamations of the second-century prophet, Mānī (d. 274). This phenomenology ought now to be complemented ("revisited," as the title of this study suggests) by a history of religions approach, to place Bahā'u'llāh's multiple-messiahship in historical perspective. A brief review of the form and function of these messianic proclamations will help provide a context for Bahā'u'llāh's world reforms, illustrative of his engagement with history a dialectic typically referred to in the broader literature as a "response to modernity."

The following typology of Bahā'u'llāh's messianic claims is based on Bahā'u'llāh's own retrospective summation of three stages in the historical sequence of his mission, in which he communicated his messages to "mystics (*al-ʿurafā'*), then divines (*al-ʿulamā'*), and then the kings (*al-mulūk wa al-salāṭīn*)" (*Ishrāqāt* 260; tr. Saiedi 2000: 241).

Nader Saiedi sequences these stages as follows: (1) first stage, 1852–1860; second stage, 1860–1867; and (3) third stage, 1867–1892

(2000: 7). This chronology is neither rigid nor exclusive. Rather, it suggests a period of mystical intimations evident only to the relatively few who were attuned enough so as to discern them, followed by a period of increasingly overt messianic self-disclosures, culminating in public proclamations to world leaders.

2. *Mystical Messiah*

As stated, over the course of his forty-year ministry (1852–1892), Bahāʾuʾllāh "proclaimed" his mission to mystics, divines, and kings and rulers. Bahāʾuʾllāh's mystical allusions to his impending prophetic vocation took place during the Baghdad period (1853–1863), which was characterized as a period of messianic secrecy, referred to as "days of concealment" (*ayyām-i buṭūn*), this term having a semantic association with gestation in the womb. Persian Bahāʾī sources even refer to Bahāʾuʾllāh's visions of the heavenly Maiden in his 1852 imprisonment in the "Black Pit" (*Siyāh-Chāl*) as constituting a "private declaration." To Westerners, this would appear to be an oxymoron. Yet the proclamations of Bahāʾuʾllāh are seen within a continuum of latent and kinetic self-disclosures, driven by the same spiritual energy but constrained according to the dictates of wisdom.

2.1. *Messianic Secrecy*

In 1848, the Bāb revealed a new law code (*Bayān-i Fārsī*), paradoxically super-Islamic in piety, yet supra-Islamic in principle. After the Bāb's martyrdom, Bahāʾuʾllāh revitalized the Bābī community. Occasionally, Bahāʾuʾllāh would drop messianic hints, as instanced in the Four Valleys (*Chahār Vādī*): "Methinks I catch the fragrance of musk from the garments of [the letter] 'H' (*qumūṣ al-ha*) wafting from the Joseph of Bahāʾ (*Yūsuf al-Bahāʾ*)" (tr. Lambden 1998: 39; cf. SV 59), a rather transparent circumlocution with messianic overtones. Bahāʾuʾllāh thus began his career in relative messianic secrecy, having first become a follower of the Bāb, who thereby finds a parallel in the figure of John the Baptist, to whom Christ at first submitted. While Bahāʾuʾllāh had a clear intimation of his messianic role in the Siyāh-Chāl dungeon in 1852, where he experienced a visionary annunciation when a celestial "Maiden of Heaven" appeared to him, he did not disclose the full messianic implications of these visions until 1863.

Islamic prophetology is anchored in the received interpretation of Q. 33:40, establishing Muḥammad as God's final Messenger or "Seal of the Prophets." In perhaps his most significant exegetical maneuver, Bahā'u'llāh relativizes that claim in order to supersede it, refocusing the reader's attention a mere four verses later (Q 33:44), a verse that promises eschatological attainment to the "presence of God" (*liqā'u'llāh*) on the Last Day. Since direct beatific vision of God is impossible, Bahā'u'llāh reasons that Q 33:44 anticipates a future theophanic messiah who, as *deus revelatus* and divine vicegerent, is symbolically "God" by proxy. By force of explicative logic, the Kitāb-i-Īqān (arguably the world's most widely read non-Muslim Qur'ān commentary), which was revealed in Jan. 1861, served as advance prophetic warrant for Bahā'u'llāh, who, on 22 April 1863, declared himself as "He Whom God Shall Manifest" (*man-Yuzhiruhu'llāh*), the messianic theophany foretold by the Bāb.

3. *Prophetic Messiah*

The vast majority of early Bahā'īs were, as would be expected, "apostates" from Shī'a Islam. (In Islam, apostasy [*irtidād*] is a capital offence.) This, in itself, tempts the hasty conclusion that the new religion was merely an offshoot of Islam, its sectarian roots notwithstanding. It was not long until the nascent Bahā'ī community emerged from its Islamic chrysalis as a universal religion, superseding, in some sense, traditional Islamic boundaries and, indeed, the dichotomous categories of the "House of Islam" (*dār al-Islām*) and the "Abode of War" (*dār al-ḥarb*) although the latter category foreshadowed the intense persecution that Bahā'īs were soon to face and had already experienced in the Bābī phase of their history. The universal character of the Bahā'ī religion was dramatically demonstrated through the entrance of Zoroastrians and Jews, who were the first religious minorities to convert to the Bahā'ī religion (Maneck 1991 and 1984).

3.1. *Zoroastrianism*

The eminent Zoroastrian theologian, Dastur Dhalla, estimated that around 4,000 Zoroastrians had converted to the Bahā'ī Faith in Iran (primarily from the ethnic strongholds of Yazd and Kirman, including virtually all of the Zoroastrians of Qazvin), while 1,000 Parsees were won over in India (cited by Maneck 1991: 36). These conversions

were religiously actuated by acceptance of Bahā'u'llāh's identification as Shāh Bahrām, a belief that served as an eschatological "bridge" over which Zoroastrians conceptually transferred their allegiance from traditional Zoroastrianism to a new identity as messianic Zoroastrians.

Shāh Bahrām Varjavand was a Zoroastrian messiah predicted in various late Pahlavi texts. In a recent article, "Bahā'u'llāh as Zoroastrian Saviour" (Buck 1998a), the relevant texts are assembled and attention is drawn to some problems in connection with their fulfillment. One of Bahā'u'llāh's Tablets to the Zoroastrians, reads, in part, as follows: "This is the Mystery of your Book (*Īn-ast sirr-i kitāb-i shumā*) [the Avesta], which was revealed [lit. 'sent'] aforetime (*ka az qabl firistāda shud*)" (MMM 24). In the Tablet of Seven Questions (*Lawḥ-i Haft Pursish* revealed in pure Persian for the benefit of a Zoroastrian audience), Bahā'u'llāh repeats a question posed by Ustād Javān-Mard, who, at one time, had served on the Council of Zoroastrians in Yazd (RB 3:272): "The fourth question: 'Our books have announced the [future] appearance of Shāh Bahrām with manifold signs for the guidance of mankind'," (tr. Razavi 1993: 50) to which Bahā'u'llāh responded: "[O friend!] Whatsoever hath been announced in the Books hath been revealed and made clear. From every direction the signs have been manifested. The Omnipotent One is calling, in this Day, and announcing the appearance of the Supreme Heaven" (PDC 77; MMM 243–244). The effects of such proclamations were not, alone, sufficient cause for these conversions, but the eschatological claims themselves provided the requisite religious authority for those who suspended their disbelief in a realized *eschaton*.

The early Zoroastrian converts, as Maneck (1991 and 1984) has shown, tended to remain within their respective Zoroastrian enclaves of Yazd and Kirman. Some of them worked assiduously for the amelioration of the plight of the Zoroastrian community, and were quite effective at it, especially in educational reform. Inevitably, perhaps, the Zoroastrian priests took umbrage over the presence of apostates within their fold, and consequently exercised their authority in having these Zoroastrian Bahā'īs expelled from the community.

The notion of "apostasy" is itself relative. While the high priests found the conversions an offensive kind of betrayal or religious "treason," as it were the Bahā'ī converts themselves had embraced their new-found religion as the fulfillment of Zoroastrianism, not as a rejection of it. Suffice it to say that the conversions of Zoroastrians redounded to the welfare of the Zoroastrian community itself, which

witnessed a fresh resolve on the part of the converts to improve the conditions of the Zoroastrians who were socially marginalized as second-class citizens in an Islamic system which did not live up to its founding ideals of protection and relative parity of religious minorities under Muslim rule.

3.2. *Judaism*

As there was no centralized leadership or authority within Judaism, Bahāʾuʾllāh's proclamations to Jews were essentially of a local nature, with a collective rhetorical style of address. In an unpublished epistle to a certain Āqā Jān and other Bahāʾīs of Jewish ancestry, Bahāʾuʾllāh declares: "The Face of the Ancient One [Bahāʾuʾllāh] hath turned towards the sages (*ḥukamāʾ*) in *al-hāʾ* and *al-mīm* [= Hamadān] and announceth unto them the glad-tidings of the Riḍwān of God, the Lord of all the worlds. . . . By God! He hath come who hath been named Jehovah in the Torah, and the Comforter (*al-muʿazzī*) in the Gospel (*al-injīl*), as well as the Great Announcement (*al-nabaʾ al-ʿazīm*) in the Qurʾān" (tr. Lambden 1986: 65). The interreligious nature of Bahāʾuʾllāh's claims are typically expressed in messianic clusters, as this one, in which the convergence of such claims serves to heighten their dramatic impact. The "sages" addressed here are the rabbis of Hamadān, scene of the first concerted Bahāʾī mission to the Jews.

The late Ḥasan M. Balyuzi credits the celebrated Bahāʾī savant, Mīrzā ʿAbu'l-Faḍl Gulpāygānī (d. 1914), with much of the success of the Jewish mission: "It was principally through his writings that the Bahāʾī Faith was presented to the Jews of Iran in such a way as to bring a large number of them into the Bahāʾī fold" (1985: 264–65). By 1884, the Bahāʾī missionary effort that began in 1877 in Hamadān yielded its fruit, where, according to the historian of Persian Jewry, Habib Levy, some 150 of the approximately 800 Jewish households had converted. From there, the Bahāʾī Faith spread like wildfire to the Jewish communities of Tehran, Isfahān, Bukhāra, Mashhad, Gulpaygan (where seventy-five percent of the Jewish community had been won over), and Kāshān (in which half of the Bahāʾī community was of Jewish origin), according to the best estimates (cited by Maneck 1991: 36).

The late Adib Taherzadeh notes that, while Bahāʾuʾllāh did, by and large, address the political and religious leaders of his day,

"[p]robably one exception was the Jewish people as they did not belong to a particular state at that time" (RB 4:168). This is a telling observation, a fact not lost on Bahāʾuʾllāh himself. In 1891, a year before the end of his life, Bahāʾuʾllāh reflected on his proclamation to the world's rulers. Reportedly, Bahāʾuʾllāh said that, while he had fully proclaimed his mission to crown and mitre, he wanted to present his message to Baron Rothschild, who could in some ways be regarded as the leader of the Jewish diaspora at that time. Bahāʾuʾllāh therefore commissioned the aforementioned Jadhdhāb to write to this magnate to acquaint him with the Faith and, if possible, to follow this up with a visit (RB 3:168). According to his memoirs, Jadhdhāb did write his letter to the Baron, which was rendered into French (qtd. in RB 3:172), in which Bahāʾuʾllāh is represented as the Lord of Hosts. It is not known, however, whether or not the meeting between Jadhdhāb and Baron Rothschild ever took place.

It was not just for rhetorical effect that Bahāʾuʾllāh's proclamations to Jews were expressed in pluralistic terms. He gave further breadth to their traditional messianic imagination, expanding the notion of a world-prophet whose fulfillment of expectations from other world religions lent some credence to those religions themselves. In a Tablet to Ḥājī Elyahu Kohan, known as ʿAbdu'l-Ḥusayn, Bahāʾuʾllāh proclaims:

> Say: This day the City of God hath appeared and can be witnessed in perfect adornment. This is the City in which the God of all peoples hath appeared. Ponder these words of John, who announced the great and sacred City and said: "And I saw no temple in it; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it; for the glory of God [Arabic: Bahāʾuʾllāh] did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light of it" (Rev. 21:22–23). (tr. Buck and Buck 1991: 35)

Lambden observes, "Bahāʾuʾllāh cites this verse in Arabic exactly as it was printed in the London 1671 (1858) edition of the William Watts Arabic Bible for Eastern Churches" (1998: 21). Bahāʾuʾllāh's use of Rev. 21:22–23 as a proof-text in a Tablet to a Jewish Bahāʾī is perfectly consistent with the changed outlook of converts to the Faith, who embraced Christ and Muḥammad in the process of accepting Bahāʾuʾllāh as the Lord of Hosts.

3.3. *Christianity*

Bahā'u'llāh's proclamation to the Jews transitions to a proclamation to Christians, who have assimilated much of Hebrew scripture and tradition. Having already cited the Book of Revelation for the edification of Jewish converts, Bahā'u'llāh made further use of this text in a Christian context. On a specific prophecy elsewhere in the Apocalypse and on the prophecies of Jesus generally, Bahā'u'llāh, in "The Essence of Mysteries" (*Jawāhir al-asrār*) exclaimed:

> Shouldst thou reflect on these words [Rev. 1:16–17], thou wouldst find them to exemplify the utmost perspicuity and highest eloquence nay, to have attained the furthest limit of refinement of expression (*faṣāḥa*) and the last degree of elegant lucidity (*balāgha*), as if the very suns of eloquence (*shumūs al-balāghat*) had been generated from them, and the stars of perspicuity (*anjum al-faṣāḥat*) had risen and shone resplendently above their horizon (Buck 1995: 81).

In Christian terms, Bahā'u'llāh saw himself as the Spirit of Truth or Comforter predicted by Jesus in his Farewell Discourse of John 14–17. This claim was of great moment, but Bahā'u'llāh superseded even this by his claim to be the "Father." In "The Most Holy Tablet" (*al-Lawḥ al-Aqdas*), popularly known among Bahā'īs as the "Tablet to the Christians" and thought to have been revealed to the first Christian convert to the Faith, Faris the Physician, Bahā'u'llāh explicitly declares: "Say, Lo! The Father is come, and that which ye were promised in the Kingdom is fulfilled!" (TB 11). This is an unexpected claim, to say the least, inasmuch as Christians for centuries had awaited the return of Christ in glory, but had never conceived of the eschatological advent of the "Father." The closest Christians ever came to such an interpretation was in their typological reading of the so-called Yuletide prophecy of Isa. 9:6, which heralds the advent of the "Everlasting Father," who was never identified as a messianic figure with Judaism. In their search for scriptural warrant, Bahā'ī apologists have often pointed to the Parable of the Vineyard as the New Testament witness for the advent of the Father.

Bahā'u'llāh explains that prophecies are, by design, arcane. They can only be decoded by those who are spiritually discerning, and who thus have the capacity to realize that fulfillment has already taken place. As Bahā'u'llāh states: "Know then that He [Jesus], Who in the realms of glory gave utterance to these words, wished to describe the signs of the One Who would appear by means of symbol

and allusion lest the worldly (*ahl al-majāz*) should perceive His meaning" (cited in Buck 1995: 81). As there are three major divisions within Christianity Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Protestantism, Bahāʾu'llāh's approach to each of these great traditions within Christianity will be treated separately.

3.3.1. *Catholicism*

For an analysis of Bahāʾu'llāh's proclamation to Catholics, see the discussion of the Tablet to the Pope in section 4.5.2.

3.3.2. *Orthodox Christianity*

In *The Promised Day is Come*, Shoghi Effendi (1980) has translated around one-third of Bahāʾu'llāh's second tablet to the first Christian convert to the Bahāʾī Faith, Faris Effendi (Lambden 1993: 23). The most important proclamatory passages in this Tablet reflect Bahāʾu'llāh's familiarity with the hierarchy of the Eastern Orthodox Church:

> Say: O concourse of patriarchs (*yā maʿshar al-baṭāriqa*)! He Whom ye were promised in the Tablets (*al-alwāḥ*) is come. Fear God, and follow not the vain imaginings of the superstitious. Lay aside the things ye possess, and take fast hold of the Tablet of God (*lawḥ Allāh*) by His sovereign power. . . . Pride ye yourselves on My Name (*bismā*), and yet shut yourselves out as by a veil from Me (*min nafsā*)? This indeed is a strange thing!
>
> Say: O concourse of archbishops (*yā maʿshar al-maṭārina*, lit. metropolitans)! He Who is the Lord of all men (*walī al-barrīya*) hath appeared. In the plain of guidance (*barr al-ʿahdi*) He calleth mankind, whilst ye are numbered with the dead! Great is the blessedness of him who is stirred by the Breeze of God (*nasamāt Allāh*), and hath arisen from amongst the dead in this perspicuous Name (*al-ism al-mubīn*).
>
> Say: O concourse of bishops (*yā malaʾ al-asāqif*)! Trembling (*al-zalāzil*, lit. earthquakes) hath seized all the kindreds of the earth (*al-qabāʾil*, lit. tribes), and He Who is the Everlasting Father (*al-rabb al-abadī*, lit. Everlasting Lord) calleth aloud between earth and heaven.
>
> Say: O concourse of priests (*yā maʿshar al-qissās*)! The Day of Reckoning (*yawm al-dīn*) hath appeared; the Day whereon He Who was in heaven hath come. He, verily, is the One Whom ye were promised in the Books of God (*fī kitāb Allāh*, lit. Book), the Holy (*al-muqaddas*), the Almighty, the All-Praised. How long will ye wander in the wilderness of heedlessness and superstition? (PDC 101–102)

This text was quoted at length to draw attention to the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy to which this proclamation was directed. Bahāʾu'llāh's interactions with Protestants reveal other distinctive features.

3.3.3. *Protestantism*

Moojan Momen (1982) has written an account of contacts between the early Bahā'īs and the Presbyterian missionaries in Persia. These contacts led to the first public mention of Bahā'u'llāh in America. Speaking before the World's Parliament of Religions (1893), the Rev. Henry H. Jessup stated: "In the palace of Behjeh . . . just outside the fortress of Acre [in Palestine], . . . there died a few months since a famous Persian sage, the Bābī saint, named Baha Allah . . . the head of that vast reform party of Persian Moslems, who accept the New Testament as the Word of God and Christ as the deliverer of men, who regard all nations as one, and all men as brothers. Three years ago he was visited by a Cambridge scholar, and gave utterances [sic] to sentiments so noble, so Christ-like" (qtd. by Momen 1982: 76).

One Protestant who actually corresponded with Bahā'u'llāh was Georg David Hardegg (1812–1879). In 1854, he co-founded the "Society for the Collection of the People of God" that is, the German "Association of Templers" (*Tempelgesellschaft*) in Jerusalem. While at the Templer colony in Haifa, he naturally heard of Bahā'u'llāh, the mystique of whose reputation piqued Hardegg's curiosity. In consequence of this, Hardegg tried to meet with Bahā'u'llāh, but was never granted an audience. However, the two corresponded. In response to Hardegg's questions, Bahā'u'llāh revealed a tablet known as the *Lawḥ-i Hirṭik*. An English rendering of a German translation of this letter was published by Momen (1981: 216–17; cf. RB III:28–31), but Stephen Lambden has provided a provisional translation from the original Arabic text, in which Bahā'u'llāh states:

> As for what you mentioned, that a certain person hath supposed there are no differences between us with regard to the Spirit [Jesus]: This is the truth, inasmuch as the Spirit [Jesus] is sanctified above being overwhelmed by differences, or encompassed by symbolic expressions. He, verily, is the Light of Oneness among mankind, and the Sign of the Ancient among the peoples. He who turneth unto Him [Jesus] hath turned unto He [God] Who sent Him [Jesus] . . . He hath ever been what He was and will ever remain the same as what He was; only the effulgence of His Epiphany in the Mirrors varies on account of Their different forms and colours. (tr. Lambden 1983: 56).

In the *Lawḥ-i Hirṭik*, Bahā'u'llāh does not openly proclaim his messiahship. But there are hints of it, in such passages as this: "Land and sea have rejoiced at the beneficence of God and the promise made unto the nations concerning [the appearance of] the 'Healer of Infirmities.'

(*muṭahhir al-ʿilal*) He, verily, is the builder of the Temple (*bānī al-haykal*). Blessed be those possessed of mystic knowledge. When the appointed time came, Carmel cried out, trembling (*ihtizāz*) as if shaken by the breezes of the Lord. Blessed be those who hearken" (Lambden 1983: 54). Taking as his imagery the sacred topography of the Holy Land, he personifies Carmel as one who recognizes the advent of Bahāʾuʾllāh. In this oblique way, Bahāʾuʾllāh "tests" the receptiveness of Hardegg. At one time, Bahāʾuʾllāh briefly lived among the Templers at the foot of Mount Carmel. This was towards the end of his life. While Bahāʾuʾllāh was a guest among them, he was erstwhile a prisoner of the Persian and Ottoman governments throughout the course of his forty-year ministry (1852–1852). This was the result of a fundamental conflict with one of the major tenets of Islam: the finality of Muḥammad's prophethood.

3.4. *Islam*

While there is much in common between Sunnī and Shīʿī end-time predictions, there are considerable differences as well. Some of these differences will be discussed in the next two sections. However, many of Bahāʾuʾllāh's proclamations to Muslims of whatever persuasion are pan-Islamic, in that they communicate his claims of universal prophethood by way of Qurʾānic exegesis, rather than through reference to the popular *aḥādīth* or *akhbār* narrations of the fantastic events of the *eschaton*. Bahāʾuʾllāh transforms certain current readings of verses, understood to relate to the afterlife, into dramatic messianic promises of which he was the fulfillment. The example of the *Kitāb-i-Īqān* was mentioned above, and in that text can be seen the key ingredients of Bahāʾuʾllāh's unique exegetical approach to Qurʾānic eschatology. The Qurʾānic concept of the Day of Resurrection is interpreted in such a way as to describe Bahāʾuʾllāh's own time (the hermeneutic of presentism), and the many verses promising the attainment to the presence of God (*liqāʾ Allāh*) are cited, not as assurances of beatific encounters after death, but as prophecies of Bahāʾuʾllāh's advent.

3.4.1. *Sunnī Islam*

There is a need to differentiate Bahāʾuʾllāh's messianic identity within a Sunnī context from the specifically Shīʿī associations that the claim to *Ḥusayniyya* entails (on which see the next section). While the figure of Ḥusayn, the grandson of Muḥammad, is venerated in Sunnī piety,

he does not play a role in the Sunnī eschatological drama. For both groups, the emergence of al-Mahdī initiates the events of the last days, but, for Sunnī Islam, it is Jesus, not Ḥusayn, who is at the centre of the post-Mahdi *eschaton*. If one were to look for a specifically Sunnī messiah likely to correspond with Bahā'u'llāh's proclamations, it would be the Sunnī Jesus. However, the matter is not so simple.

As a prophetic messiah, Bahā'u'llāh repeatedly stated that he fulfilled the prophecies of all religions, that he was the Promised One of all the holy books. Within the chain of interpretive authority initiated by Bahā'u'llāh's "Book of My Covenant" (*Kitāb al-ʿAhdi*) both ʿAbdu'l-Bahā' and Shoghi Effendi have identified Bahā'u'llāh with the Jesus of Sunnī eschatology (SAQ 39; GPB 94). And yet, while Bahā'u'llāh addressed a number of works to Sunnī audiences in which prophetic authority and claims to divine revelation are explicit, there is no known text in which he engages the traditional literature and expectations regarding the return of Jesus after al-Mahdī.

The works of Bahā'u'llāh that do amount to identifications of his messiahship with the return of Christ are directed to audiences that are either Christian or Shīʿī, and thus engage the elements of those traditions regarding the eschatological Jesus. The equation of Bahā'u'llāh with the Sunnī Jesus in Bahā'ī literature can therefore be seen as the elaboration of the principle of multiple-messiahship enunciated by Bahā'u'llāh. In the proclamations to the leaders of Sunnī communities, however, it is upon other grounds that Bahā'u'llāh establishes his prophetic credentials. This may be due to the nature of the traditional sources of Sunnī eschatology, in which the primary role of the returned Jesus was to break crosses and kill swine.

3.4.2. *Shīʿa Islam*

Although Bahā'u'llāh's Shīʿī-referenced proclamations were aimed more at Bābīs than Shīʿa Muslims, it is true that the latter had anticipated the advent of Ḥusayn *redivivus*, that is, the return of the Third Imam, an expectation that Bahā'u'llāh himself acknowledges: "Consider the eagerness with which certain peoples and nations have anticipated the return of Imam-Ḥusayn, whose coming, after the appearance of the Qā'im, hath been prophesied . . . "That hour is now come. The world is illumined with the effulgent glory of His countenance" (GWB 12). In an Arabic passage in Bahā'u'llāh's predominantly Persian Tablet, the *Lawḥ-i Nasīr*, Bahā'u'llāh proclaims:

> By God! This is He Who hath at one time appeared in the name of the Spirit [*al-rūḥ* = Jesus Christ], thereafter in the name of the Friend [*al-ḥabīb* = Muḥammad], then in the name of ʿAli [the Báb], and afterwards in this blessed, lofty, self-subsisting, exalted, and beloved Name. In truth, this is Ḥusayn, Who hath appeared through divine grace in the dominion of justice, against whom have arisen the infidels, with what they possess of wickedness and iniquity. Thereupon they severed His head with the sword of malice, and lifted it upon a spear in the midst of earth and heaven. Verily, that head is speaking from atop that spear, saying: "O assemblage of shadows! Stand ashamed before My beauty (*jamālī*), My might (*qudraī*), My sovereignty (*salṭanatī*) and My grandeur (*kubriyā'ī*). Turn your gaze unto the countenance of your Lord, the Unconstrained, so that you may find Me crying out among you with holy and cherished melodies." (tr. Buck 1986: 163; MMM 196; cf. MacEoin 1989: 120)

This is a striking and powerful image. Indeed, the passion and pathos of Ḥusayn must surely have resonated with Bahā'u'llāh's own suffering as a result of the persecutions he had to endure.

3.5. *Bābīsm*

Given the Islamic background of the Bahā'ī Faith, its message was cast in a traditional Islamic (that is, Shīʿī) mould. Yet there was a transformation of function. While Islamic (specifically Ishrāqī) vocabulary was still being used, the very words took on new meaning. The Báb, who was Bahā'u'llāh's precursor, had already precipitated a decisive break from Islam. As stated earlier, the Báb had established a religion that was super-Islamic in form, yet supra-Islamic in function (Buck 2001). In practical terms, Bahā'u'llāh completed what the Báb began. Indeed, Bahā'u'llāh's religion represents, from a certain perspective, the universalization of the religion of the Báb.

To the Bábīs, Bahā'u'llāh proclaimed himself as He Whom God Shall Manifest (*man-Yuẓhiruhu'llāh*), a figure promised throughout the Báb's writings. Bahā'u'llāh's lengthiest work is the *Kitāb-i-Badī* (Edirne, c. late 1867 or early 1868), written in defense of his Bábī messiahship. In this book, Bahā'u'llāh cites a rather explicit and striking prophecy of the Báb, from Sura 57 of the *Qayyūm al-Asmā'* (p. 224): "Indeed, God hath created everywhere around this Gate oceans of divine elixir, tinged crimson with the essence (lit., "oil") of existence and vitalized through the animating power of the desired fruit; and for them God hath provided Arks of ruby, tender, crimson-colored, wherein none shall sail but the people of Bahā' (SWB 57–58; cf. tr.

Lambden 1986: 60). One illustrative passage of Bahā'u'llāh's proclamation to the Bābīs is this: "Verily He Who is the Truth hath appeared in His sovereignty! His proof is the revelation of His divine verses, and His testimony is the manifestation of His own Self" (tr. Saiedi 2000: 182). This line of argument follows that of the Bāb himself. What remained for the Bābīs was to decide whether or not Bahā'u'llāh was indeed the one foretold by the Bāb. The majority of Bābīs accepted Bahā'u'llāh's claims.

3.6. *Hinduism, Buddhism, and Beyond*

While Bahā'u'llāh did not proclaim himself to be the Hindu messiah directly, he did so in principle. Moreover, in 1872 he sent a teacher Jamal Effendi to India, with the result that the latter is considered by Bahā'īs to be the "spiritual father of India." Later, 'Abdu'l-Bahā' confirmed an American Bahā'ī's identification of Bahā'u'llāh with Kalki ("Destroyer") Višnuyasas ("Fame of Višnu" or "Glory of God"), the Tenth Avatar of classical Vaisnavaite tradition (Buck 1986). Jamal Effendi also traveled to Burma, where the first Buddhists to become Bahā'īs converted.

4. *Royal Messiah*

Between the years 1867 and 1873, Bahā'u'llāh as mentioned above sent epistles to the world's rulers and religious leaders. Historically, the more important messages were addressed to the crowned heads of Europe, in public proclamations to Queen Victoria, Napoleon III, Pope Pius IX and other world leaders during the Adrianople (1864–1868) and 'Akkā periods (1868–1892). Dissemination of these messages was no easy task, and involved certain practical concerns. In the nineteenth-century Middle East and even to this day (especially in the Islamic Republic of Iran), mere possession of Bahā'u'llāh's writings could result in the arrest, imprisonment, torture, and possible execution of their bearer. This is most dramatically illustrated in the transmission of Bahā'u'llāh's Tablet to the Shah of Iran (revealed in the spring of 1868; see Cole 1998a: 32), which will be discussed shortly.

Our knowledge of the dispatch of Bahā'u'llāh's epistles, revealed, for the most part, in 'Akkā to the leaders of the Great Powers, is sketchy. The circumstances under which they were written are as

dramatic as they were oppressive. A British lawyer, Myron Phelps, spent the month of December 1902 in ʿAkkā. While he was there, he recorded a rare, oral account of the imprisonments and exiles of Bahāʾuʾllāh, his family and entourage as told by the prophet's daughter, Bahīyyih Khānum (see photograph in Balyuzi 1980: 348). Owing to the prevailing Muslim customs, it was not possible for Phelps to meet with Bahīyyih Khānum personally, and so her narrative was conveyed, in installments, through Madam M.A. de S. Canavarro.

"When we had entered the barracks," Bahīyyih Khānum recounts, "the massive door was closed upon us and the great iron bolts thrown home. I cannot find words to describe the filth and stench of that vile place. We were nearly up to our ankles in mud in the room into which we were led. The damp, close air and the excretions of the soldiers combined to produce horrible odours. Then, being unable to bear more, I fainted." "As I fainted," Bahāʾuʾllāh's daughter continues, "those about me caught me before I fell; but because of the mud and filth there was no place upon which I could be laid" (Phelps 1903: 57).

When illness broke out among the Bahāʾī prisoners, no physician was allowed, until a prison officer pleaded with the governor to allow a physician to treat ʿAbduʾl-Bahāʾ, who had been stricken with dysentery. Bahīyyih Khānum recalls: "My brother begged him [the physician] to take a message to the believers who were waiting to hear from the Blessed Perfection [Bahāʾuʾllāh]. He undertook to do so, and carried away a tablet in the lining of his hat. For two years this physician conveyed tablets to and from in this way" (Phelps 1903: 65). Bahāʾuʾllāh's daughter then makes this general statement, from which we can deduce the manner in which Bahāʾuʾllāh's epistles to the kings and rulers were both revealed and relayed to their intended recipients: "We were imprisoned in the barracks, without any substantial change in our manner of life, for two years. During this time none of us left the prisonnot even my brother or any of the children. The Blessed Perfection passed his time in his room, writing tablets, or rather dictating them to my younger brother, who was a rapid penman. ʿAbbās Effendi would copy them and send them out by the physician" (Phelps 1903: 65–66).

Notwithstanding the perils of dissemination, Bahāʾuʾllāh took specific measures for the delivery of his epistles and other writings to various heads of state and to leaders of religions as well. One of the few Europeans to have personally met Bahāʾuʾllāh attests to this

practice and to the intentions behind it. This was Henry Edward Plantagenet, known as Count Cottrell, who, because of his involvement with the ʿAkkā-Damascus railway, was in ʿAkkā during the last year or two of Bahāʾuʾllāh's life. Around 1891, together with his wife and daughter, Count Cottrell had the rare privilege of enjoying Bahāʾuʾllāh's hospitality. On that occasion, the Count was given a copy of Bahāʾuʾllāh's law code, the Arabic *al-Kitāb al-Aqdas*, penned in the hand of Mīrzā Āqā Jān, Bahāʾuʾllāh's amanuensis. Count Cottrell wrote:

> I have personal and intimate knowledge of the present leaders of the Bābīst movement in Persia, the four sons of the late Mirza Hussein, who are political prisoners in ʿAkkā, though the Shāh within the last twelve months has repealed the penal laws against the sect, and is now very friendly. These princes have a large library of books written by their father on the peculiar doctrines of the sect, which aim at nothing less than the reconciliation of Buddhism, Christianity, and Mahomedanism. The father in his will directed his sons to transmit to all the sovereigns of Europe copies of certain of his works, accompanied by an autograph letter. The late Czar of Russia, since Mirza Hossein's decease, sent to the sons and obtained copies of several of the principal works and had them translated into Russian. The princes are very anxious to carry out the wish of their late father [Bahāʾuʾllāh], and to have copies of the works presented to Her Majesty the Queen; and also to obtain, unofficially, the countenance of the British Foreign Office to enable them to reach the other sovereigns with a similar object. They have furnished me with summaries of the principal works in Arabic and Persian, with the object of having them translated and published in Britain and in the United States of America. (Cottrell 1895; qtd. in Momen 1981: 236).

Cottrell's references to "the princes" may appear unusual to a reader who is aware that Bahāʾuʾllāh and his entourage were exiles and virtual prisoners. Under such circumstances, they were hardly "princes" by any stretch of the imagination. In reference to Bahāʾuʾllāh himself, ʿAbdu'l-Bahāʾ has said: "Every person, friend or stranger, who came into His presence used to say, 'This is a prince, not a captive'" (SAQ 32). This was true in Cottrell's case. His observations concerning Bahāʾuʾllāh's intent to proclaim his mission to world leaders are validated by Bahāʾuʾllāh's own statement: "Upon Our arrival at this Prison [ʿAkkā], We purposed to transmit to the kings the messages of their Lord, the Mighty, the All-Praised. Though We have transmitted to them, in several Tablets, that which We were commanded, yet We do it once again, as a token of God's grace"

(GPB 206). This refers to an earlier set of proclamations, contained in the Sura of the Kings (*Sūrat al-Mulūk*), revealed in Edirne (Adrianople) in 1867.

On the delivery of these epistles to the various kings and rulers whom Bahā'u'llāh addressed, Nabīl reports Bahā'u'llāh as saying:

> From Our Most Great Prison, We were moved to address to the several rulers and crowned heads of the world Epistles, in which We summoned them to arise and embrace the Cause of God. To the Shah of Persia, We sent Our messenger Badī, into whose hands We entrusted the Tablet. It was he who raised it aloft before the eyes of the multitude and, with uplifted voice, appealed to his sovereign to heed the words that Tablet contained. The rest of the Epistles likewise reached their destination. To the Tablet We addressed to the Emperor of France, an answer was received from his minister, the original of which is now in the possession of the Most Great Branch ['Abdu'l-Bahā']. . . . The Epistle we addressed to the Czar of Russia, alone failed to reach its destination. Other Tablets, however, have reached him, and that Epistle will eventually be delivered into his hands.

'Abdu'l-Bahā' confirms, "these letters, with one exception, were sent through the post" (1979: 177).

"The most important of His Tablets addressed to individual sovereigns," Shoghi Effendi writes, "Bahā'u'llāh ordered to be written in the form of a pentacle, symbolizing the temple of man" (PDC 47). Taherzadeh discloses that the Tablets were copied in the following order: (1) the *Sūrat al-Haykal* itself; (2) the Tablet to Pope Pius IX; (3) the Tablet to Napoleon III; (4) the Tablet to Czar Alexander II; (5) the Tablet to Queen Victoria; (6) and the Tablet to Nāsir al-Dīn Shah (RB 3:133; cf. Walbridge 1996: 168). An overview of these Tablets and their dispatch will afford a glimpse into this phase of Bahā'u'llāh's mission. As to their dating, Browne observes: "It seems to me not unlikely that the Epistles to the Pope, the Emperor of the French, and the Czar of Russia were written at Acre at about the same time as the Epistle to the Queen of England" (1892a: 313). Precise dates of the revelation of the Tablets addressed to the Pope, Czar Alexander II, and the Queen of England still cannot be determined. However, due to the fact that five individual Tablets to the Kings were inscribed in the *Sūrat al-Haykal* which, according to 'Abdu'l-Bahā' (SAQ 25), circulated amongst the Bahā'īs during the early period of Bahā'u'llāh's incarceration in 'Akkā, these Tablets were probably revealed in 1869 during the same period when the Tablet to Napoleon was also written.

Bahā'u'llāh's proclamation to kings and ecclesiastics represents possibly the earliest (or one of the earliest) global peace initiatives ever undertaken, rendering this mission historic. "When We arrived in the Prison," Bahā'u'llāh recounts, "We desired to send to the monarchs the epistles of their Lord, the master of men, that they might know that tribulations have not deprived God of His sovereignty" (AQA I 341; tr. Cole 1998: 60; cf. Browne 1992: 280). During this time, when the "Great Powers" held sway Europe's world dominion having been achieved through imperialism and exploitative colonization the United States of America was relatively insignificant on the world scene. It should be noted that Bahā'u'llāh did address a short Tablet to the "Rulers of America" (PB 63).

4.1. *Tablet to the Shāh of Iran*

Evidently before his arrival in 'Akkā, Bahā'u'llāh revealed an epistle for Nāsir al-Dīn Shah, king of Persia (r. 1848–1896). In this epistle, Bahā'u'llāh refers to the order decreeing his banishment to 'Akkā: "And the lords of authority and wealth are about to send us from this land, which is named Edirne [Adrianople], to the city of 'Akkā [Acre]" (Browne 1892a, 282 and 313; cf. TN 80). That *firmān* was dated 26 July 1868. And so Browne was right when he surmised: "Though the Epistle may very likely have been finished at Acre, it must have been begun, therefore, in August, 1868" (Browne 1892a: 309). This is confirmed by 'Abdu'l-Bahā'. "During the latter days [passed] in Adrianople," he recounts, "Bahā'u'llāh composed a detailed epistle" which he then "placed . . . in a packet and adorned its address with the royal name of His Majesty the King of Persia, and wrote [on it] that some person pure of heart and pure of life, dedicated to God, and prepared for martyr-sacrifice, must, with perfect resignation and willingness, convey this epistle into the presence of the King" (TN 58). The most probable date is March 1868.

4.1.1. *Transmission*

The king's resolve to exterminate the Bābī and Bahā'ī religions was actuated by the attempt on his life by Bābīs who were aggrieved over the Bāb's execution in Tabriz in 1850. There had been a long-standing need to assure the Shah that the Bahā'īs their persecutions notwithstanding were loyal subjects, and not bent on sedition. It was important that Bahā'u'llāh communicate this directly, in writing, to

the Shah, in order to state for the record that the former condemned the assassination attempt on the latter as a misguided and vile act.

In early 1869, a seventeen-year-old youth named āqā Buzurg Nīshāpūrī, known by the honorific Badīʿ ("Unique," "Wondrous"), arrived in ʿAkkā to attain the presence of Bahāʾuʾllāh. During his two interviews, Bahāʾuʾllāh mentioned his Tablet to the Shah of Iran, which had been revealed but not yet dispatched. Badīʿ requested the honor of being chosen as the one to personally deliver that Tablet, and was granted that historic opportunity. In a tablet, Bahāʾuʾllāh wrote: "We ask God to send one of His servants, and to detach him from Contingent Being, and to adorn his heart with the decoration of strength and composure, that he may help his Lord amidst the concourse of creatures, and, when he becometh aware of what hath been revealed for His Majesty the King, that he may arise and take the Letter, by the permission of his Lord, the Mighty, the Bounteous, and go with speed to the abode of the King." (tr. E.G. Browne 1891: 2:391–392; cited in Balyuzi 1980: 299). Pursuant to this mission, Badīʿ journeyed on foot, for four months, until he reached his destination. Bahāʾuʾllāh anticipated the danger or even inevitability of the martyrdom of Badīʿ in saying, further in the tablet:

> And when he shall arrive at the place of his throne, let him alight in the inn, and let him hold converse with none till he goeth forth one day and standeth where he [the Shah] shall pass by. And when the Royal harbingers shall appear, let him raise up the Letter with the utmost humility and courtesy and say, "It hath been sent on the part of the Prisoner." And it is incumbent upon him to be in such a mood that, should the King decree his death, he should not be troubled within himself, and shall hasten to the place of sacrifice . . . (tr. Browne, *apud* Balyuzi 1980: 299)

The Shah would decree not only the death but the torture of the youth as well. From Tehran, Badīʿ sought out the Shah's summer resort at Lār, approached the Shah, and attempted to deliver to him Bahāʾuʾllāh's tablet. Arrested and tortured to extract from him the names of his companions, Badīʿ maintained that he had acted solely on his own. This torture the dauntless youth endured with indomitable resolve. (A photograph of Badīʿ taken during this period of torture, is published in Balyuzi 1980: 306.) After this excruciating ordeal, Badīʿ was finally killed in July 1869 by the blow of "a pounder used for ramming in iron pegs." Muḥammad-Valī Khān Sipahdār-i Aʿẓam's moving account of the martyrdom of Badīʿ was penned in the mar-

gins of the copy of the Persian version of *Some Answered Questions* which he had been given while in Paris in 1913 (Balyuzi 1980: 292–310, with facsimile on 302).

The Tablet to the Shāh was acquired by Russian consular officials in Persia who then dispatched it to St. Petersburg, where it was archived in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Languages by its director, M. Gamazov, who catalogued it as MS. No. 48/465. Baron Victor Rosen sent Cambridge Orientalist a copy of the catalogue of the Collection, which gives a complete description of the Tablet. According to Browne, Bahā'u'llāh's "instructions to the bearer" that is, Badīʿ were "written on the outside of the packet" (1892a: 270).

4.1.2. *Proclamation*

Browne notes that this tablet "is characterized by extreme moderation of tone" (SWEGB 261). It is, moreover, "written with great humility and moderation," as evinced by Bahā'u'llāh's self-reference as "this slave" (*hādha al-mamlūk*)" (264). Notwithstanding, Bahā'u'llāh named this tablet, "The Rumbling" (RB 3:174). This Tablet is not without the grandeur that is so salient a feature in the other epistles to kings. Bahā'u'llāh speaks of himself as the "Comforting Spirit" (*ruḥ-i tasallī*) in a transparent reference to his role as Paraclete (Lambden 1997: 91). Towards the end of the Tablet (38), Bahā'u'llāh states that "soon" (*yawma'idhin*) there would be entry by "troops" (*afwājan*) into the Bahā'ī community.

4.1.3. *Response*

The Shah's immediate responsethe arrest and torture of Badīʿ has already been noted. On the eve of his jubilee in 1896, the Shah was assassinated.

4.2. *Tablet to Czar Alexander II*

4.2.1. *Transmission*

"One of the sections of the *Sūratu'l-Haykal*," Bahā'u'llāh writes, "is the Tablet addressed to His Majesty, the Czar of Russia" (ESW 56). The tablet begins: "O Czar of Russia! Incline thine ear unto the voice of God, the King, the Holy, and turn thou unto Paradise, the Spot wherein abideth He Who, among the Concourse on high, beareth the most excellent titles, and Who, in the kingdom of creation,

is called by the name of God, the Effulgent, the All-Glorious (*Allāh al-Bahīyy al-Abhā*)" (PDC 33; cf. SWEGB 275). As stated earlier, Bahā'u'llāh's epistle to Emperor of Russia, Czar Alexander II (r. 1855–1881), was revealed at a time when Bahā'u'llāh languished as a prisoner in the barracks in 'Akkā. The Research Department at the Bahā'ī World Centre in Haifa, Israel has not been able to locate any further evidence as to whether or not the Tablet to Czar Alexander II had ever been delivered. Recalling Bahā'u'llāh's reported statement, "The Epistle We addressed to the Czar of Russia, alone failed to reach its destination. Other Tablets, however, have reached him, and that Epistle will eventually be delivered into his hands" (*Dawnbreakers*), Juan Cole has drawn attention to what he describes as a "second" Tablet to the Czar, in which Bahā'u'llāh writes:

> In the Tablets to the Kings a mention was revealed of this wronged one's imprisonment and the protection afforded by the resident minister of the glorious Russian state, may God aid him. O Tsar, one of your ambassadors helped me when I was in prison, weighed down by manacles and chains. Therefore, God has inscribed for you a station that no one can know. Beware lest you exchange this august station. During the days when this wronged one was being tormented in the dungeon, the ambassador of that glorious state may God assist him arose with perfect zeal to rescue me. On a number of occasions, permission to have me released was obtained, but some of the ulama of the city forbade it. But in the end the attention and efforts of the ambassador succeeded in freeing me. Then we set out for Iraq. (Cole 1998b)

This recognition of Russian intervention is written in a respectful, even deferential tone. Internal evidence suggests that this second epistle to the Czar was revealed after 1889. Clearly, Bahā'u'llāh assumes an altogether different "voice" in his earlier, proclamatory epistle, in which an exalted theophanic claim is made.

4.2.2. *Proclamation*

Elsewhere in the epistle, Bahā'u'llāh warns the Czar:

> Beware lest thy sovereignty withhold thee from Him Who is the Supreme Sovereign. He, verily, is come with His Kingdom, and all the atoms cry aloud: 'Lo! The Lord is come in His great majesty!' He Who is the Father (*al-ab*) is come, and the Son [Jesus], in His holy vale, crieth out: 'Here am I, here am I, O Lord, My God!,' whilst Sinai (*al-ṭūr*) circleth around the House (*al-bayt*), and the Burning Bush (*al-shajar*) calleth aloud: 'The All-Bounteous is come mounted upon the clouds (*al-saḥāb*)!, (PDC 33; ESW 57; LS 53).

This proclamation is stunning in its eschatological audacity, and represents a claim that was sure to challenge Russian Orthodoxy, had sufficient publicity been drawn to it.

4.2.3. *Response*

As Bahā'u'llāh's first epistle to the Czar had never, evidently, reached its destination, no response was forthcoming.

4.3. *Tablet to Napoleon III*

4.3.1. *Transmission*

Bahā'u'llāh sent two epistles to Napoleon III (r. 1852–1870). In response to the first, Napoleon is reportedly exclaimed: "If this man is God, I am two Gods" (PDC 51). In a letter on behalf of the Universal House of Justice, the following observation was made: "We do not know at the present time of any particular material about Napoleon III with reference to his reported exclamation, 'If this man is God, I am two Gods.' Such matters will undoubtedly be investigated by Bahā'ī historians in the future" (28 July 1971 to an individual). Bahā'u'llāh himself writes:

> In proclaiming His Cause, He, in no wise, hesitated. Addressing Himself unto the kings and rulers of the earthmay God, exalted be He, assist them He imparted unto them that which is the cause of the well-being, the unity, the harmony, and the reconstruction of the world, and of the tranquility of the nations. Among them was Napoleon III, who is reported to have made a certain statement, as a result of Our Tablet while in Adrianople. To this, however, he did not reply. After Our arrival in the Most Great Prison there reached Us a letter from his Minister, the first part of which was in Persian, and the latter in his own handwriting. In it he was cordial, and wrote the following: "I have, as requested by you, delivered your letter, and until now have received no answer. We have, however, issued the necessary recommendations to our Minister in Constantinople and our consuls in those regions. If there be anything you wish done, inform us, and we will carry it out." From his words it became apparent that he understood the purpose of this Servant to have been a request for material assistance. We, therefore, revealed in his (Napoleon III's) name verses in the *Sūratu'l-Haykal*, some of which We now quote, that thou mayest know that the Cause of this Wronged One hath been revealed for the sake of God, and hath come from Him. (ESW 45–46)

Regarding this second Tablet to Napoleon, revealed in 1869, it was spirited out of the prison barracks in the lining of the hat worn by

the Bahā'ī physician referred to in Bahiyyih Khānum's narrative (supra and PDC 51). Bahā'u'llāh discloses that: "We bade a Christian dispatch this Tablet, and he informed Us that he transmitted both the original and its translation" (ESW 56). Corroboratively, 'Abdu'l-Bahā' states: "This epistle was sent to Napoleon, by post . . . as was known to all the companions of His [Bahā'u'llāh's] exile" (SAQ 33). It was dispatched by a Christian Arab, Khājih Louis Catafago (Balyuzi 1980: 320), French consular agent in 'Akkā and Haifa at that time, who first translated it into French. The son of Catafago became a Bahā'ī after seeing the fulfillment of Bahā'u'llāh's prophecies regarding Napoleon come true (RB 3:114).

4.3.2. *Proclamation*

Bahā'u'llāh addresses Napoleon, saying: "Give ear, O King, unto the Voice that calleth from the Fire (*al-nār*) which burneth in this Verdant Tree (*al-shajara al-khaḍrā'*), upon this Sinai (*al-buq'ah al-muqaddasah al-bayḍā'*) which hath been raised above the hallowed and snow-white Spot, beyond the Everlasting City (*qulzum al-baqā'*)" (ESW 47; PDC 29; Lambden 1988: 142, who notes that what is here translated as "Everlasting City" is literally the "Abyss of Eternity").

4.3.3. *Response*

Napoleon's responses have already been noted above. In his account of his visit to 'Akkā in March 1874, Shaykh Kāẓim Samandar (d. 1918), a notable Bahā'ī of Qazvin later designated by Shoghi Effendi as an "Apostle of Bahā'u'llāh" (see photos in Balyuzi 1985: 199, 202 and 262), stated that Bahā'u'llāh said that Napoleon III was a godless man, and that he had made an idol of his own intellect (Balyuzi 1985: 208).

4.4. *Tablet to Pope Pius IX*

4.4.1. *Transmission*

Bahā'u'llāh's Tablet to the Pope is from the "Everlasting Father" to the "Father" (which is the meaning of the word "Pope") of the Catholic Church, which was and still is the largest body of Christians. The Pope at that time was Count Mastai-Ferretti, former Bishop of Imola, installed as the 254th pope since the inception of the primacy of St. Peter. For centuries, the Papacy exercised and enjoyed temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty. To be sure, the Pope was

a political power to be reckoned with in Europe. However, Pius IX, author of papal Bull, which established the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin (1854) and promulgator of the new dogma of Papal Infallibility (1870) adopted during Vatican I, was a poor statesman and ruler.

Despite Bahā'u'llāh's reported statement that the epistles to the kings and ecclesiastics reached their destination (with the exception of the Czar of Russia), there is some question as to whether or not Bahā'u'llāh's Tablet to the Pope was ever really delivered to Pius IX. Expressing his doubts, Shoghi Effendi writes:

> It seems likely that Bahā'u'llāh's Tablet to the Pope was never delivered to him. We do not know the method used to transmit it to him, and can only guess that Church dignitaries would not have attached sufficient importance to it to deliver it. . . . [I]t would be wonderful if it were actually found in the Vatican archives. The original was written in Arabic. In 1868 Bahā'u'llāh arrived in ʿAkkā, and the Tablet was supposedly sent from there about that period. Unfortunately this is the closest we can come at present to an accurate date (From a letter dated 15 November 1947 to an individual believer.)

4.4.2. *Proclamation*

In studying this tablet, I have consulted the version in *Kitāb-i Mubīn* (AQA I), without critically collating texts. The text, however, appears to be reliable. I follow Shoghi Effendi's translation, while supplying Arabic terms from the original. The Tablet opens:

> O Pope (*an yā pāpā*)! Rend the veils asunder. He Who is the Lord of Lords (*rabb al-arbāb*) is come overshadowed with clouds (*al-saḥāb*, pl. *suḥub*) . . . On His right hand flow the living waters of grace (*kawthar al-faḍl*), and on His left the choice Wine of justice (*salsabīl al-ʿadl*), whilst before Him march the angels of Paradise, bearing the banners of His signs. . . . Dwellest thou in palaces (*al-quṣūr*) whilst He Who is the King of Revelation (*sulṭān al-ẓuhūr*) liveth in the most desolate of abodes (*ʾakhrab al-buyūt*)? Leave them unto such as desire them, and set thy face with joy and delight (*rūḥ wa rayḥān*) towards the Kingdom (*al-malakūt*). . . . Arise in the name of thy Lord, the God of Mercy, amidst the peoples of the earth, and seize thou the Cup of Life with the hands of confidence, and first drink therefrom, and proffer it then to such as turn towards it amongst the peoples of all faiths (*ahl al-adyān*) . . . (PDC 31; AQA I:38–39)

In this Tablet, Bahā'u'llāh refers to his own station as the "Father" in three passages. In the first, Bahā'u'llāh proclaims: "The Word (*al-kalima*) which the Son concealed is made manifest. It hath been sent

down in the form of the human temple (*haykal al-insān*) in this day. Blessed be the Lord Who is the Father (*al-ab*)! He, verily, is come unto the nations in His most great majesty. Turn your faces towards Him, O concourse of the righteous!" (PDC 32; AQA I:41; cf. Browne's trans. in SWEGB 271).

In the second passage, which soon follows the first, Bahā'u'llāh proclaims:

> This is the day whereon the Rock (Peter) crieth out and shouteth, and celebrateth the praise of its Lord, the All-Possessing, the Most High, saying: 'Lo! The Father (*al-ab*) is come, and that which ye were promised in the Kingdom is fulfilled!' [Browne:] This is a word which was concealed behind the veil of Might, and when the promised (time) came, it shone forth from the horizon of the (Divine) Will with manifest signs . . . My body longeth for the cross, and Mine head waiteth for the thrust of the spear, in the path of the All-Merciful, that the world may be purged from its transgressions . . . (PDC 32; AQA I:41).

Compare Browne's translation, which reads: "that the world may be purified from sin" (SWEGB 271; AQA I:41). The Arabic term, *al-ʿiṣyān*, carries the idea of disobedience or mutiny against God (Steingass 852), thus suggesting that Bahā'u'llāh's concept of sin is focused on a "falling away" rather than a Catholic notion of "the Fall."

In the third passage, Bahā'u'llāh uses a different term for the "Father": "O people of the Son! We have sent unto you John (the Baptist) another time . . . This is indeed the Father (*al-wālid*), whereof Isaiah gave you tidings, and the Comforter (*al-muʿazzī*) whom the Spirit promised" (SWEGB 272; AQA I:44). [Cf. Lambden's translation: "This is indeed the Father (*al-wālid*), whereof Isaiah gave you tidings [Isa. 9:6b] and the Comforter (*al-muʿazzī*) whose coming was promised by the Spirit [Jesus]" (1983, 47).] This triple reference to Bahā'u'llāh's station as the Father appears to reinforce this particular messianic identification. The following observation was made by the Rev. Robert Bruce, CMS Missionary to Iran, who wrote in 1894 a report of his contacts with the Bahā'īs of Isfahan:

> I am just now reading the latest Bible of the Baabis. The sect of Baabis which is now increasing in Persia is that called the Bahai. Their chief is in Accahe calls himself The Father and says Bab bore to him the same relation as John the Baptist did "The Son." His book is a collection of Divine Revelations addressed to "The Pope," "The Queen of England," "The King of Paris" and other crowned heads. In all his letters to Christians he never alludes to Mahomed but freely quotes the N.T. and says his appearance is the fulfillment of the promise of

> the Son that he would return. But that he has returned in the person of the Father.
>
> He says to the Pope: "You dwell in (*kasiry* which in Arabic means both sin and) palaces and I the greatest Manifestation of the Deity dwell in the meanest of hovels (the prison). My body is imprisoned to give you freedom, it has submitted to dishonour to bring you honour. Remember how the Pharisees turned away from the Son. Take care that you do not thus turn from the Father. Oh ye monks ye array yourselves in gorgeous robes and forget that the robe of God is red with the blood of enemies."
>
> I had a great many Baab is with me yesterday including some of those who were imprisoned and whom I had got set at liberty. I said to them You allow that Christ is the Son, the Word, The Spirit of God, even God himself and you say Baha is the Father. What is Mahomed then? . . . They would give no answer to this but would talk forever of Christ and Baha. (Momen 1982: 63–64)

Rev. Bruce understood quite clearly what Bahā'u'llāh's messianic proclamations represented, although the good missionary would doubtlessly have regarded these as messianic pretensions.

4.4.3. *Response*

On page 44 of the Arabic text, Bahā'u'llāh addresses the followers of all faiths in his call, literally translated: "O people of religions! (*yā 'ahl al-adyān*)". The Tablet to the Pope concludes: "Verily, He [Jesus] said: 'Come ye after Me, that We may make you to become fishers of men (*ṣayyādī al-insān*).' In this day, however, We say: 'Come ye after Me, that We may make you to become the quickeners of mankind (*muḥyī al-ʿālam*)" (PDC 106; AQA I:46; cf. SWEGB 272–273). Metaphorically in Persian, a *ṣayyād* is a "ravisher of hearts" (Steingass 796). Foreboding, as it were, of things to come, Bahā'u'llāh urged the Pope: "Abandon thy kingdom unto the kings" (PB 85). Commenting on the utter loss of Papal patrimony in 1870 when King Victor Emmanuel II waged war against the Papal states and captured Rome in the process, Shoghi Effendi observes that: "The Tablet of Bahā'u'llāh, addressed to Pius IX, precipitated its extinction" (PDC 53).

4.5. *Tablet to Queen Victoria*

4.5.1. *Transmission*

In 1936, Shoghi Effendi, the foremost authority of his time on the writings of Bahā'u'llāh, referred to the Tablet to the Queen as having

been "revealed almost seventy years ago to Queen Victoria," which would make the *terminus a quo* a post-1866 date (WOB 163). This is corroborated by internal evidence in the Tablet itself, in which reference is made to the *Sūrat al-Mulūk* (Sura of the Kings), an earlier work revealed circa 1866 in Edirne (= Adrianople). The precise starting point is 31 August 1868, the date of Bahā'u'llāh's arrival at the prison-fortress of ʿAkkā, as indicated by Bahā'u'llāh himself: "Upon Our arrival at this Prison, We purposed to transmit to the kings the messages of their Lord, the Mighty, the All-Praised. Though We have transmitted to them, in several Tablets, that which We were commanded, yet We do it once again, as a token of God's grace" (GPB 206).

In an earlier letter dated 1931, Shoghi Effendi wrote, "Over sixty years ago, in His Tablet to Queen Victoria," establishing a pre-1871 date as a *terminus ad quem* (WOB 39). The more precise point of termination would be 4 November 1870, marking the end of Bahā'u'llāh's confinement in the army barracks of ʿAkkā. Balyuzi notes that Bahā'u'llāh and his family and companions were confined to the barracks for two years, two months and five days (1980: 319, n. 3). There appears to be a consensus that the Tablet to Queen Victoria was revealed during this period of confinement, although supporting evidence is lacking. Browne concludes: "Most of these letters appear to have been written about the same time, viz. soon after the arrival of Beha [sic] at Acre (A.H. 1285–86, A.D. 1868–69)" (1987: 260).

In any event, actual delivery of the Tablet to the British monarch herself appears to be uncertain. Bahā'u'llāh, in his last major work, *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf*, expresses the wish that: "Likewise, We mention some verses from the Tablet of Her Majesty, the Queen [Queen Victoria] may God, exalted and glorified be He, assist her. Our purpose is that haply the breezes of Revelation may envelop thee, and cause thee to arise, wholly for the sake of God, and serve His Cause, and that thou mayest transmit any of the Tablets of the kings which might have remained undelivered. This mission is a great mission, and this service a great service" (ESW 59).

4.5.2. *Proclamation*

In his Tablet to Victoria (r. 1830–1901), Queen of Great Britain and Queen-Empress of India, Bahā'u'llāh opens by saying: "O Queen in London! Incline thine ear unto the voice (*nidā'*, lit. "call") of thy

Lord, the Lord of all mankind, calling from the Divine Lote-Tree (*al-sidrat al-ilāhiyyat*): Verily, no God is there but Me, the Almighty, the All-Wise! Cast away all that is on earth, and attire the head of thy kingdom with the crown of the remembrance of thy Lord (*dhikr rabbiki al-jalīl*), the All-Glorious. He, in truth, hath come unto the world in His most great glory (*majdih al-aʿzam*), and all that hath been mentioned in the Gospel hath been fulfilled (*kamula ma dhukira fi al-injīl*)" (ESW 59–60; PDC 35; PB 33; LS 59). Note that, before the mention of any of his world reforms, Bahāʾuʾllāh establishes his divine authority on the basis of his prophetic credentials.

4.5.3. *Response*

He then proceeds to praise Queen Victoria for her abolition of slavery, and for her support of parliamentary democracy (LS 59). Bahāʾuʾllāh even reveals a short prayer for British parliamentarians who, before entering the Parliament to carry on the work of passing legislation, should pray: "O my God! I beseech Thee, by Thy most glorious Name, to assist me in that which will cause the affairs of Thy servants to prosper, and Thy cities to flourish. Thou, indeed, hast power over all things!" (LS 59–60; cf. Monjazeb 1993: 6). The legislators are then called upon to exercise "pure justice" (*ʿadl al-khāliṣ*) and to deliberate on the needs of the world (LS 60).

Bahāʾuʾllāh then develops an extended metaphor, that of the world as a sick patient, suffering various maladies and disorders. It is in need of a divine Physician (Bahāʾuʾllāh), who has his finger on the pulse of the world and can prescribe a cure for its ills. And then these famous words are given: "That which the Lord hath ordained as the sovereign remedy and mightiest instrument for the healing of all the world is the union of its peoples in one universal Cause, one common Faith. This can in no wise be achieved except through the power of a skilled, an all-powerful and inspired Physician" (GWB 255). It is here where Bahāʾuʾllāh shifts from Physician to World Reformer, counselling the kings and rulers, who had not acted on Bahāʾuʾllāh's previous request, as stated in the *Sūrat al-Mulūk*, to establish the "Most Great Peace," to establish a less comprehensive settlement referred to in Bahāʾī terms as the "Great Peace" (as contrasted to the "Most Great Peace"), more commonly known as the "Lesser Peace":

> "Consider these days in which He Who is the Ancient Beauty hath come in the Most Great Name, that He may quicken the world and

> unite its peoples. They, however, rose up against Him with sharpened swords, and committed that which caused the Faithful Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*) to lament, until in the end they imprisoned Him in the most desolate of cities [ʿAkkā], and broke the grasp of the faithful upon the hem of His robe. Were anyone to tell them: 'The World-Reformer (*muṣliḥ al-ʿālam*) is come,' they would answer and say: 'Indeed it is proven that He is a fomenter of discord!', and this notwithstanding that they have never associated with Him, and have perceived that He did not seek, for one moment, to protect Himself" (ESW 63; LS 60).

Bahāʾuʾllāh concludes the Tablet with a prayer revealed for the Queen, in which she should beseech God to assist her to "aid Thy Cause in Thy lands" (PDC 36; LS 62).

In *The Dawn-Breakers: Nabīl's Narrative of the Early Days of the Bahāʾī Revelation* (Nabīl-i Aʿẓam 1996: 586), we are told that most of Bahāʾuʾllāh's Tablets to kings and ecclesiastics had been delivered to their recipients. What, then, was Queen Victoria's response? Shoghi Effendi has written that Queen Victoria, in response to reading Bahāʾuʾllāh's letter to her in translation: "If this is of God, it will endure; if not, it can do no harm" (PDC 65). However, this must be qualified as hearsay, as Shoghi Effendi himself duly noted: ". . . as we have no written statement to this effect, we cannot be sure about it. We do not know where the original of this statement is" (21 February 1942 to an individual, qtd. in Research Department memorandum).

Bahāʾuʾllāh interpreted the very prophecies he was to fulfill. In a tablet described by E.G. Browne (SWEGB 257), Bahāʾuʾllāh states: "I revealed all the heavenly books by the glorious tongue of Divine Might" (*kull-i kutub-i samavī bi-lisān-i jalīl-i qudrat nāzil farmūdam*). Prophecy, being a truth-claim liable to denial, is typically not in alignment with popular expectations. This fact alone may explain why the response to Bahāʾuʾllāh's message was so lacking.

5. *Conclusions*

5.1. *The Eschatology of Globalization*

Globalization refers to "both the compression of the world and intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" and as "both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole" (Robertson 1992: 8). It is further defined as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many

miles away and vice versa" (Giddens 1990: 64). Ethical responses to globalization are essentially world order issues (Lerche 1998), in a search for values of egalitarianism, equity, and sustainability a worldview that some have called "globalism" (Ritchie 1996). As a response to globalization, globalism may be viewed as a reflex or extension of Kantian cosmopolitanism as the "moral universalism of international relations" (Robinson 1996: 4).

Bahā'īs often assert that, since Bahā'u'llāh anticipated modernity, then he must have been a prime mover of it. Historically, it can be observed that Bahā'u'llāh was a sudden sparkle of the nineteenth-centurya flash of visionary brilliance. And it may be safe to say that Bahā'u'llāh and modernity are dynamically coincidental and, apart from directions of influence, that Bahā'u'llāh was engaged in dialectic with modernity.

Regarding Bahā'u'llāh's world reforms and their historical significance, 'Abdu'l-Bahā' observed: "These precepts were proclaimed by Bahā'u'llāh many years ago. He was the first to create them in the hearts as moral laws. Writing to the sovereigns of the world, he summoned them to universal brotherhood, proclaiming that the hour for unity had struck unity between countries, unity between religions" (DP 85). This sympathetic appraisal of the historical significance of Bahā'u'llāh's international peace mission reinforces our hypothesis: viz., that Bahā'u'llāh's signal contribution to globalization was to ethicize and sacralize it. Bahā'u'llāh's "multiple-messiahship" furnished the divine authority necessary if ever his world reforms were to be taken seriously. This is Bahā'u'llāh's eschatology of globalization.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Bahā'u'llāh: Published Works in Persian and Arabic

AQA I Bahā'u'llāh. *Kītāb-i Mubīn. 'Athār-i Qalam-i 'A'lā*, vol. 1.
IQT Bahā'u'llāh. *Iqtidārāt.*
LS Bahā'u'llāh. *Lawḥ-i mubārak khiṭāb ba Shaykh Muḥammad-Taqī Mujtahid-i Isfahānī ma'rūf ba Najafī.*
MA Bahā'u'llāh, 'Abdu'l-Bahā', Shoghi Effendi, *Mā'ida-yi 'Āsmānī.* Nine vols.
MHB Bahā'u'llāh, *Muntakhabātī 'az 'Āthār-i Ḥaḍrat-i Bahā'u'llāh.*
MMM Bahā'u'llāh. *Majmū'a-yi maṭbū'a-yi alwāḥ-i mubāraka-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Bahā'u'llāh.*

Bahā'u'llāh: English Translations

BC *Book of Certitude.*
ESW *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf.*
GWB *Gleanings from the Writings of Bahā'u'llāh.*

PB *Proclamation of Bahā'u'llāh.*
SV *The Seven Valleys and the Four Valleys.*
TB *Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh revealed after the Kitāb-i-'Aqdas.*

Other Works in Persian and Arabic
KH *Khiṭābāt* ('Abdu'l-Bahā').

Other Bahā'ī Texts: English Translations
PT *Paris Talks* ('Abdu'l-Bahā').
SDC *Secret of Divine Civilization* ('Abdu'l-Bahā').
SWAB *Selections from the Writings of 'Abdu'l-Bahā'.*
SWB *Selections from the Writings of the Báb.*
SAQ *Some Answered Questions* ('Abdu'l-Bahā').
TN *A Traveller's Narrative* ('Abdu'l-Bahā' 1980).

Other Abbreviations
ADJ *Advent of Divine Justice* (Shoghi Effendi).
BWF *Bahā'ī World Faith* (Bahā'u'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Bahā').
DP *'Abdu'l-Bahā' on Divine Philosophy* ('Abdu'l-Bahā').
GPB *God Passes By* (Shoghi Effendi).
PDC *The Promised Day Is Come* (Shoghi Effendi).
PUP *Promulgation of Universal Peace* ('Abdu'l-Bahā').
RB *The Revelation of Bahā'u'llāh.* 4 vols. (Taherzadeh).
SWEGB *Selections from the Writings of E.G. Browne.* (Browne).
COP *A Compilation on Peace.*
WOB *The World Order of Bahā'u'llāh* (Shoghi Effendi).

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