

"I was asked to put in writing my recollections of the events in Nayríz.

After the Declaration of the Báb, the souls of all else besides Him may be a sacrifice to Him, Jinab Vahíd, may the glory of God fall on him, arrived at Dáru'l-'Ilm in Shiraz and accepted the Cause of the Báb. Then he wrote a letter to the people of Nayríz proclaiming the truth of the Cause of the Báb and that the appearance of the Promised One was near. The dawn had appeared, and the Sun of Truth was being manifested from the East. Jinab Vahíd went to a mosque in Yazd and proclaimed the new Faith to the people. Some denied it and some accepted it. After what had happened to Muhammad 'Abdu'lláh, Vahíd found it unsuitable to stay. Accompanied by a small group of friends, he left for Bávanát, a district of Shiraz.

Many people from Bávanát, including Háji Siyyid Ismá'íl, the Shaykhu'l-Islám, and other areas accepted the Faith. With a group of followers, he then headed for the town of Fasá. None of the noblemen, the wealthy or the clergy of Fasá accepted the Faith.

From there he went to a village near Fasá called Rúníz. He stayed there for two days. Nayrízis from all walks of life, all the residents of Chinár-Súkhtih quarter, and some from other villages came to Runíz to listen to Jinab Vahíd. Due to the fact that these people were afraid of angering Háji Zaynu'l-'Ábidín Khán, the governor of Nayríz, they traveled during the night.

Among those who accepted the Faith were about one hundred clergymen from Chinár-Súkhtih, including one of a high-ranking clergyman, Háji Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alí, Jinab Vahíd's father-in-law, who had been for generations a part of the ruling class of that area; Akhúnd Mullá 'Abdu'l-Husayn, who was a learned man and known to be pious and intellectual; Akhúnd Mullá Báqir, who was the leader of the mosque; Mullá 'Alí Kátib; another Mullá 'Alí with his four brothers; a large group whose names I have forgotten; the chiefs of different villages; and the wise from various areas including the Bázár quarter; this Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn titled Qutb, who will also be mentioned in the following uprising, with all his lineage of relatives; Mírzá Abú'l-Qasim who was one of the nobles and related to Háji Zaynu'l-'Ábidín Khán's family; Háji Muhammad-Taqí known as Ayyúb, his son-in-

law Mírzá Husayn from the Sadat area; and Mírzá Nawra's son, Mírzá 'Alí-Ridá the son of Hájí 'Alí, and so on all accepted the new Faith. Some fearfully during the night and others courageously in the daylight would leave Nayríz and come to Rúníz to listen to Jinab Vahíd's speeches.

Zaynu'l-'Ábidín Khán, the governor of Nayríz, became furious and sent out the message that anyone going out to meet and listen to Vahíd would be punished, their homes would be destroyed, they would be executed, and their wives imprisoned. The more the governor's anger increased, the hotter was the fire of the new believers' love and the greater their bravery. When he noticed that no one was obeying him, the governor slipped out of Nayríz and settled at a village named Qutrih which was about eight Fársangs (a Fársang = 6.4 kilometers). He was originally from this village, which had strong fortifications, and he had a great number of gunmen and horsemen under his command there.

Jinab Vahíd left Rúníz and stayed at a shrine called Pír-Murád near the village of Istahbánát for a couple of days. The clergymen of the village gave an order that no one was allowed to let Jinab Vahíd stay there.

Accompanied by about twenty of his followers, Jinab Vahíd arrived at the Chinár-Súkhtih quarter mid-morning. Before entering his home and changing his clothes, he went to the main mosque of the quarter and up the pulpit while two of his followers held their swords on their shoulders and stood on either side of the pulpit. After praising God, he delivered the message about the new Faith. Close to a thousand people of that village and two-thirds of the audience from other areas accepted it. He continued saying his purpose in coming was to deliver God's words to them, and now that his mission was accomplished, there was no apparent reason for his staying longer.

If he stayed, he said, the governor would report them to Shiraz who then would send armed troops to destroy them, and he and those who had come to listen to him would be killed. Their properties would be plundered, and their wives imprisoned. Their houses would be burned, and their severed heads paraded through the city. The government would block the delivery of food to them.

These words roused the audience so much that they prepared themselves for martyrdom—got their shrouds around their necks, drew their swords and readied their guns. Besides men, the women got excited too, and surrounded Jinab Vahíd and said that they would desire to sacrifice themselves, their belongings, and their children in the path of Truth. Jinab Vahíd, responding to their insistence and begging, stayed ten more days and delivered talks from the pulpit every day.

The audience got bigger by the hour. The above-mentioned Khán, the governor of Nayríz, gathered about a thousand experienced and skilled gunmen and horsemen from different backgrounds including Turks and Tajiks.

When Jinab Vahíd was informed of the Khán's preparations, he assigned the twenty followers who had initially come there with him, along with Áqá Shaykh Hádí, Karbalá'í Muhsin's son, to go to a fort named Khájih near Chinár-Súkhtih and capture it. The people of that fort converted all its gates and forts to barracks. Khán returned to Nayríz during the night with his gunmen. He fortified his house, which was a strong fort itself overlooking all other houses in the Bázár and the house of Áqá Siyyid Abu-Tálib, the head of that quarter of the city.

The cruel gunmen, under the command of Muhammad 'Alí Khán, the Khán's brother-in-law, fired the first shot which hit Mullá 'Abdu'l-Husayn when he was on the rooftop. His right leg was injured, and thus the first drop of blood was shed at that spot.

When Jinab Vahíd heard this news, he wrote to him and praised Mullá 'Abdu'l-Husayn for achieving a great blessing and reaching a higher station at his advanced age.

Gradually, there was some agitation among the followers. Fearful of the Khán, a few of them went to the Khán after dark. When Jinab Vahíd noticed this, he took some of the older followers and left town for the fort of Khájih. The said Khán and his eldest brother, 'Alí Asghar Khán, surrounded the fort with about a thousand soldiers. Jinab Vahíd and some seventy followers were inside. Water to the fort was cut off. That day there was a battle. Those who were martyred in this battle were Táju'd-Dín, a brave man, a farmer and

a felt-maker, Zaynal, Iskandar's son, another farmer, and Áqá Mírzá Abú'l-Qásim who was injured and died some days later.

After this battle, the Khán sent an attendant from Prince Nusratu'd-Dawlih to Jinab Vahíd to inform him that the order to destroy the Bábís had been issued when the report of the conflict had reached Shiraz, but if Jinab Vahíd wanted to escape, he would let him.

Vahíd's response was that he had only two sons and two men with him and that, "If our leaving solves any problem, I will not mind, but you have cut off water to the people of truth. Should you let the water back into the village, I will abide; otherwise, I will send some people to open the water flow tonight."

The second message from the governor said, "If you are the Prince of the Martyrs, Imam Husayn, I will not be ashamed to call myself Shimr and deprive you of water."

That night two groups of seven, some of them still boys attacked the army from two sides. They fought hard. The enemy was defeated. They let the water enter the fort after a very short time. 'Alí Asghar Khán, the Khán's older brother, was killed, his sons arrested, and his properties, his cannon and guns, were triumphantly brought into the fort.

The Khán escaped to Qutrih again with the remainder of his soldiers and requested more armaments and troops from Nusratud-Dawlih, the Prince.

Jinab Vahíd gave the command to fortify the forts, to dig a well, and to set up the tents, which they had captured from the enemy [the governor's troops?], outside the fortress.

That day, Karbalá'í Mírzá Muhammad was assigned to be the gatekeeper of the fortress; Shaykh Yúsuf, the treasurer; and Karbalá'í Muhammad, the son of Shamsu'd-Dín, the head of security for the orchards surrounding the village and the forts. There was a water mill near the fortress called Khobar. Mírzá Ahmad, 'Alí Sardár's uncle, whose name will be mentioned in the following episode, was appointed as the head caretaker of the mill. Shaykhá became the executioner. Áqá Mírzá Muhammad-Ja'far, the Khán's cousin, who was a follower at that time, had written some epic poems related to the situation at the time.

Akhúnd Mullá Fadlu'lláh became the reader of the epic. Mashhadí-Taquí, the grocer, became the prison guard.

Hájí Muhammad Taquí became the registrar, who would enroll those who wanted to join the army of God. So that the recruits would fully understand the consequences, they would be told that those who entered the fort would risk being killed, having their property confiscated by the government army, and their wives could become captives. Those who accepted these conditions entered the fortress.

Áqá Ghulam-Ridá Yazdí, who was with Jinab Vahíd from Yazd, became the commander general. Some of the strong and brave ones were not allowed inside, but, instead, were given assignments in the town of Chinár-Súkhtih. One was put in charge of the Jumih mosque, which was one of the strong forts and one became the gatekeeper. There were close to five hundred strong men who wished to sacrifice their lives, but were not allowed inside. The only ones allowed were the first seventy from Istahbánát and the Bázár area; they had accompanied Vahíd on the first night of his arrival. Some of them were his relatives and some were allowed because of the intercession of Áqá Siyyid Ja'far, who was one of the learned men, and Áqá Shaykh Abd-'Alí, Jinab Vahíd's father-in-law.

Vahíd's might and dignity touched the hearts of friends and foes alike. There was no power greater than his. He arrested the enemies one by one who, since his arrival, had committed a transgression against the followers and had Shaykhá, the executioner, punish two or three of them a day.

One incident I know of illustrates his might and dignity. Mírzá 'Abdu'lláh, one of the enemies, brought Vahíd a beautiful and exquisite rifle as a gift. When Vahíd had finished looking at the rifle, he turned to his treasurer, Shaykh Yúsuf, to give it to him. Thinking that Vahíd had ordered something else, Mírzá 'Abdu'lláh had a convulsion and died. His body was put on an animal and taken to town to his house for funeral and burial. His neighbor was a Siyyid Mutlab who was one of the nobles of Nayríz. As soon as he noticed the body with green liquid coming out of his mouth, he had a seizure and died.

Zaynu'l-'Ábidín Khán wrote a long petition to Prince Nusratu'd-Dawlih and enclosed five thousand tomans (a superunit of the official currency, rial; in this case, a large sum for the time) requesting armaments and soldiers. He gave it to a Mullá Baqír, who was a close servant, brave, and eloquent so that he could report the details of what was happening. He took a less frequented road to the city of Shiraz.

Hájí Siyyid Ismá'íl, the religious leader of Bávanát, asked Jinab Vahíd for permission to go to Bávanát. There was a village called Dahú-Dashtak near Nayríz where shepherds brought their flocks to graze. He stopped at one of the tents to eat something when he noticed a magnificent horse. He knew that the people there could not afford that kind of horse and asked about its owner. He was told that it belonged to one of Zaynu'l-'Ábidín Khán's men. Hájí Siyyid Ismá'íl paused for a moment and then jumped on the horse. Mullá Baqír was chatting with the tent's owner and did not know what was happening. Hájí Siyyid Ismá'íl drew his sword and told the tent's owner to arrest Mullá Baqír. "He has run away from the Master (Jinab Vahíd)," he said, "And I am His servant and His follower."

The people of the village, fearful of Jinab Vahíd's might, immediately came together, arrested Mullá Baqír, arm-cuffed him and gave him to Hájí Siyyid Ismá'íl. Hájí Siyyid Ismá'íl brought Mullá Baqír to the village of Rastáq near Nayríz, handed him to Hájí Akbar, the village chief, and told him that he had run away from Jinab Vahíd and that Hájí Akbar should return him. Hájí Akbar took Mullá Baqír to Jinab Vahíd who asked him about the purpose of his mission. Mullá Baqír did not deny his mission and revealed its details. Jinab Vahíd consoled him and told him to repent and accept the new Faith. He did not. Jinab Vahíd ordered Mullá Baqír to be taken away and punished.

The news increased the Khán's enmity and anger and dispatched several of his men with lots of gifts to the Prince along with a long appeal. He also sent some letters to the clergymen and other authorities in Shiraz. The Prince immediately assigned the Shuja'u'l-Mulk, the commander of Hamadání regiment, the commander of Silakhurí regiment, and a force of cavalry and artillery to take care of this matter. The Prince also wrote to four counties of Istahbánát, and the villages of Iraj, Panj-Ma'adan, Qutrih, Bashnih, Dih-Chah,

Mushkan, and Rastáq, which are all around Nayríz, and to the Vaysbagluyih tribe who were from the area of Badedeh near Nayríz, telling them to move on Nayríz.

These troops, countless in number, gathered around the fort in a day like flies and lotus birds and started to dig a trench and barricades around it. They started shooting guns and cannon balls at the fort on that same day. One shot hit a horse and another destroyed the turret at the gate of the fort. An individual from the army of God, shouting “O God!”, shot the officer in charge of artillery, silencing him. They stopped shooting their guns and cannons. The enemies hid in their trenches.

Jinab Vahíd left them alone the first night. The following night he ordered two groups of seven – (mostly old men; one was a shoemaker of about ninety) and some youngsters – under the command of Áqá Ghulám-Ridá Yazdí to attack from two sides. Suddenly, shouting “Alláh-u-Akbar”, they started shooting and then drew their swords and attacked the enemy. The enemy also started shooting guns and cannons. The dark night turned into daylight because of all the firing. This battle lasted about eight hours -- with the army of God and that of Satan intertwined -- and many of the people of truth came to support the first fourteen; sixty of them became martyrs.

Many of them were injured. I can only remember about thirty of their names: Ghulám-Ridá Yazdí and his brother; ‘Alí, the son of Karbalá’í Khayru’lláh; Khájjih Husayn Qannád, the son of Khájjih Ghaní; Asghar, the son of Mullá Míhdi, whose occupation was tile making; Karbalá’í ‘Abdu’l-Karím; Husayn, the son of Mashhadí Muhammad; Zaynal, the son of Mashhadí Baqír Sabbágh; Mullá Ja’far Mudhahhib; ‘Abdu’lláh, the son of Musa; Muhammad son of Mashhadí Rajab; Karbalá’í Hasan, son of Karbalá’í Shamsu’d Dín Malíkí-Duz; Karbalá’í Mírzá Muhammad Zári’; Karbalá’í Baqír Kaffásh; Mírzá Ahmad, son of Mírzá; Husayn Kashi Saz; Akhúnd Mullá Hasan, son of Mullá ‘Abdu’lláh; Míhdi Hájj Muhammad; Abú-Tálib, the son of Mírzá Ahmad Nukhúd-Biríz; Akbar, son of Ashur; Taqí Yazdí; Mullá ‘Alí, son of Mullá Ja’far; Karbalá’í Mírzá Husayn, the school’s Mu’adhan; Husayn Khán, the son of Sharif; Karbalá’í Qurbán; Khájjih Kázim, the son of Khájjih ‘Alí; Áqá ‘Alí; Áqá, the son of Hájj ‘Alí, one of the noblemen of the region; and Mírzá Nawrá, the son of Mírzá Mu’iná, one of the wealthy men of the region.

I do not remember the names of the injured ones except Mashhadí Ismá'íl Maliki-Dúz, who had received five cannon shrapnel and was still under the care of God and a Mullá Muhammad who later was martyred in Tíhrán. Details will follow.

Although many of the Bábís were martyred, the enemy was badly defeated. One reason was the Bábí women's shouting from the rooftops and encouraging their men to fire on the enemy. This disheartened the enemy. The army of God returned victorious.

The enemy realized that they could not capture the fort by physical and material force, they contemplated making peace, and after gaining the confidence of the people of truth, they believed they could achieve their goal of defeating them. Therefore, they were quiet for several days and then sent a messenger to Jinab Vahíd telling him that they had been mistaken so far about the new Faith and that they realized they had been disrespectful to him.

"Now you who are the descendant of the Messenger of God (Muhammad the Prophet)," they said, addressing Jinab Vahíd, "and a spiritual leader and the son of a spiritual leader, our master and the son of our master, should forgive our mistake. We are therefore remorseful of what we have done to you. If your Cause and your argument are the truth, we will obey and follow you. If you agree, come early in the morning with a few of your followers to meet with us. We know you are not afraid of soldiers and cannons. If your followers do not want to come, you come by yourself and assure us. Our soldiers, cavalry and all of our troops will obey your orders. Where you command, we will go and fight whomever you decide."

They signed and sealed the Qur'án and swore to God to ensure their statement.

When Jinab Vahíd received the message, he recited a verse of the Qur'án, "We all come from God and to Him shall we return." This was the time of God's promise.

Jinab Vahíd stood up and said it was time to go to the enemy's camp. He set off with five of his followers including Akhúnd Mullá 'Alí Mudhahhib and Hájí Siyyid 'Abid who was a spy. (I will explain his actions in the following events.) Jinab Vahíd told his

commander and troops to do their best and to stop fighting until they heard from him. He bade them farewell and left the fort.

After traveling a short distance, Jinab Vahíd was welcomed into the camp by the commanders, soldiers, cavalry, the Khán and the Shuja'u'l-Mulk. With great respect, they ushered their guest into their tent. The tent was carpeted and a chair had been provided for Jinab Vahíd, who sat down facing the others. He motioned the commander, the Khán and Shuja'u'l-Mulk to be seated.

Three days passed. Vahíd's followers were ready and waiting for his orders. The enemy pretended to respect Jinab Vahíd, but, in secret, they were planning to harm him. They knew Jinab Vahíd's followers were awaiting his orders so they could not disrespect him. As soon as his followers heard of any wrong-doing, the camp would be attacked from all sides. They sought some kind of assurance of safety from Jinab Vahíd. Then they asked him to write a note to the Bábís in the fort in his own handwriting saying that peace had been achieved; Vahíd wanted them, he wrote, to leave the fortifications and return to their homes.

Jinab Vahíd wrote this note, but, in secret, wrote a second message to his followers indicating that it was the enemy who had made him write the first one, that it was all a trick, and that he wanted some brave and valiant followers should attack the enemy's camp that night. He warned his followers not to believe a word of the first note because it was part of a malicious plan.

He gave the secret note to Hájí Siyyid 'Abid, the spy, who had pretended to be a follower and had accompanied him to the enemy camp. That accursed one was deceived by Satan and took the secret note to the Khán, who was delighted and promised Hájí Siyyid 'Abid a piece of property in the village of Ray, in return for his service. Hájí Siyyid 'Abid took the other note to the fort where the followers were waiting for news from their master.

'Abid reported to them that there was peace between the two sides. They were surprised but had no other choice but to accept it in obedience to Vahíd. They trusted the content of

the first note and left the fort during the night. Some took their weapons and some did not. They entered Nayríz. The enemy was confident that they would obey their master so a large group of soldiers surrounded the Bábís. The enemy was prepared. The enemy kept on receiving more help from the camp, and the Bábís' only support was God.

They shouted "Allah'u'Akbar" and, like lions, fought back against the enemy's unexpected attack. With swords, guns, rocks and sticks, they defeated the enemy decisively, killing many of them. Many of the people of truth were also martyred, some were injured and others managed to get to the Jumih mosque which was fortified and had strong walls. Some of Khán's gunmen, under the leadership of Mullá Hasan, son of Mullá 'Alí-Mohammed, who was a cruel person, had already stationed themselves in the minarets of the mosque. As soon as the army of God entered the mosque, they started shooting at them. Mullá Husayn from the people of truth showed courage by getting inside the minaret and shot Mullá Hasan who fell to the ground. When eventually the Khán got control of the mosque, he was taken for treatment and surgery. He recovered and afterwards committed numerous crimes.

To make the story short, the army of God weakened. They hid in homes, orchards, and other places. In the camp, the enemy started to disrespect Jinab Vahíd. They were looking for a way to break their promise not to harm him. One of the commanders who was not present on the first day said that he had not sworn to anything and that he was obliged to punish whoever was considered guilty by the government. This had been their secret arrangement among themselves from the beginning.

Then the triumphant enemy invited the relatives of those who had been killed by Bábís in the battle to come forward and avenge the deaths of their loved ones. The first person to come forward was Mullá Ridá, the son of Mashhadí Muhammad, whose brother Mullá Baqír had been executed by the order of Jinab Vahíd. He took Jinab Vahíd's turban and put it around his neck. Then Safar, whose brother Sha'ban was killed, came forward for his revenge. Then Áqá Jan, the son of 'Alí Asghar Khán, the Khán's eldest brother, stepped forward.

The pen cannot describe and the tongue is unable to utter what they did to Jinab Vahíd. He was martyred after much torture. May God's woe befall the wrong-doers! They then brought a rope, fastened his feet, and tied his holy body to an animal. They dragged him from the camp to Nayríz's streets with a gang of mischief-doers. They brought him to the Bázár and put him at the door of a famous mosque called Nazar-Biykí. Group after group came shouting and cheering and threw rocks and pieces of wood at his holy body. The women from the Sádát area of Nayríz also cheered and showed their perverted joy at the treatment of Jinab Vahíd.

At that time the believers had escaped out to the mountains and fields and some were hiding in their homes. The order to arrest the followers and confiscate their belongings was issued. Immediately about three to four thousand soldiers, horsemen and ordinary people started going after the followers of Jinab Vahíd. They took over Nayríz and destroyed homes, took the woodwork from the interior of houses, and burned the fort of Kháji. They imprisoned the rich and put the poor in chains, sending them to Shiraz.

After a while, the military camp moved from Nayríz. The Khán gave each prisoner to a young schoolboy to take him around the city for people to beat him with sticks and to harm torture them, and they stuck wooden needles under their nails or pulled them out and denied them food and drink, bridled them and led them like animals.

Among them was Siyyid Ja'far Yazdí, one of the 'ulamá of Nayríz. They burned his turban and took him from door to door to beg and collect money. Another one was Háji Muhammad Taqí, called Ayyúb. They threw him repeatedly into a pond though it was winter time and beat him with clubs. Every day they seated Jinab Áqá Siyyid Ja'far, Jinab Háji 'Abdu'l-'Alí, Jinab Ayyúb, and Jinab Áqá Siyyid Husayn, who were all wealthy, noble, and learned, and ordered people to spit on their faces and beards; in return a person would be given a couple of pounds of corn or millet. Those who had any dignity or shame preferred to go hungry and refused to do such an awful act.

Jinab Áqá Siyyid 'Abú-Tálib, the chieftain of the quarter, who was very wealthy --- even known to the King -- was put in chains by order of the Khán and secretly sent to a Ma'dan

near Nayríz. The authorities of the Province of Fárs asked the Khán about him. He answered that 'Abú-Tálib was dead because the Khán did not want him to be killed. However, Háji Siyyid Nasru'lláh, one of the authorities of Nayríz and a corrupt man whose occupation was Rawdih-Khán (dramatizing the story of the martyrdom of Imam Husayn in Karbala in the sixth century at religious gatherings) and was the one who wanted the Báb, may the souls of all else be a sacrifice to Him, to kiss the hands of Shaykh Abú-Turáb in the presence of the clergymen, announced that Jinab Áqá Siyyid 'Abú-Tálib was a heretic and corrupt and that all the recent problems had been initiated by him and therefore he should be executed. He issued a fatwa to have him killed in Ma'dan where he was martyred by being poisoned.

Two years passed in this manner. Whenever the friends who had escaped found each other in the mountains, they talked and contemplated their revenge. The Khán was very smart and cautious. He was never alone and, whenever he went out, he had a great number of guards and horsemen around him. His guards protected his home constantly.

He thought of new evasions every day. The friends could not find any opportunity to harm him. When fall came and the Khán's people were boiling grapes to make syrup at his vineyard on a mountain called Bálá-Taram, the friends attacked and injured two or three workers. When this news reached the Khán, he sent a crowd of his servants to arrest the attackers, but they could not find them. The believers did not have a way to go after the Khán and harm him.

The Khán sent Bábis in chains to Shiraz, some of whom were martyred. Among the martyrs were Áqá Ghulám-Ridá, Jinab Vahíd's servant who was from Yazd, and Shaykhá, the executioner, who was martyred in the worst possible manner. The rest were imprisoned in a dungeon. Mírzá Mihdí, 'Alí Sardár's uncle, died there. After a while the rest were released from the dungeon. Some went to Nayríz, and others dispersed to far regions. Before they could be taken as prisoners to Shiraz, two women killed themselves by throwing themselves into a well. Three of the nobles--Mullá Muhammad, Háji Qasim, and Husayn the son of 'Alí-Naqí--went to Tihrán, the capital. During the incident of the Shah's assassination attempt and Sulaymán Khán's martyrdom, two of them were martyred, too.

Some other friends went to Tíhrán, and they were also arrested during the assassination attempt and kept in the dungeon. One of them, Mullá Ahmad, died there and the rest were released.

The friends who were planning revenge decided to go to Tíhrán and complain to the Shah against the Khán. Providence, once again, helped the Khán. While they were resting at a place near Tíhrán, some travelers from Shiraz recognized them. All of them except Karbalá'í Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, who later became prosperous in Tíhrán and died later, were arrested and brought back to Shiraz to Prince Husayn.

On their arrival, he ordered some of them to be executed including Karbalá'í Abú'l-Hasan, the tile maker; Áqá Shaykh Hádí, the uncle of the wife of Jinab Vahíd; Mírzá 'Alí and Abú'l, the son of Hájí Zayná; Akbar the son of 'Abid; and Mírzá Hasan and his brother Mírzá Bába at the barrack square. They were all offered the chance to deny their Faith by cursing it to save their lives, but they did not do so and were martyred.

Áqá Shaykh Yúsuf and some others were sent in chain and stocks from Nayríz to the Khán who was delighted. He cut off Shaykh Yúsuf's ear, bridled another man, and beat the rest with clubs; some of them died as a result of all the tortures, including Karbalá'í Mírzá Muhammad who was the gate keeper of the fort. Shír-'Askar, the uncle of Táju'd-'Ayn, was martyred at the warehouse the first night. His body was thrown into a well.

'Alí was called a Sardár (commander) because of his courageous assistance to the friends. After two years of being a fugitive, he secretly came back to Nayríz. During the night he would take his sword and visit the homes of the Bábís. If they lacked food, clothes or kerosene, he would anonymously bring them the next day.

The non-believers found him intimidating. The news of his activities and his forceful attitude towards those who threatened the friends eventually reached the Khán. He was arrested and repeatedly tortured. It was Divine work that he was eventually released. He never forgot the poor, the weak, the widows, and the orphans. He brought the friends together at night and delivered uplifting talks to help sustain their morale. He advised them to become united and steadfast.

Mírzá Husayn Qutb arrived in Nayríz from Tíhrán, and joined him. He was a brave and mighty person. He was kind, generous and sincere to the friends. The learned and noble men were attracted to him. He encouraged them to avenge the Sacred Blood of Jinab Vahíd. Every night, seventy or eighty people got together and discussed the matter, but they did not find an opportunity.

Finally, five local people--Karbalá'í Muhammad with his three sons, Khájih Mahmúd, Khájih Hasan and Khájih 'Alí, and Ustád Qásim, who had worked for the Khán, and become resentful of him, decided to kill him.

On a Thursday night, the Khán told his head-servant, Karbalá'í-Sádiq, that he would go to the public bathhouse in the morning and after that he would go for a horse-ride. He instructed Karbalá'í Sádiq to take a large number of attendants to Chinár-Súkhtih , where it was reported that there were about seventy of that group, the Bábis, and arrest and imprison them all. He said he intended to put them all one by one in a pot and boil them.

A friend disclosed this plan to those five who then bade farewell to their wives and went to that bathhouse before dawn. They hid inside.

The Khán was smart and whenever he went to take a bath, he would assign some gunmen to watch from the rooftop of the bathhouse and from the tower of his house, which was across from the bathhouse. No one else was permitted into the bathhouse while he was in there. As soon as he went in, the five individuals attacked him with razor blades and injured him badly.

His servants responded to his screaming, hurried in and killed four of them. The fifth, Ustád Qásim, who noticed that the Khán was still alive, rushed to him saying, "O accursed one, you have killed four and you are still alive!" He thrust his hand into the wound and pulled out the Khán's intestines to hasten and insure his death so that the blood of the four would not have been shed in vain. Even with this, the Khán lived one more day before he finally died. Ustád Qásim was killed.

In those days the Prime Minister from the capital had assigned the governorship of Nayríz to a Mírzá Na'ím, who had in turn given it to the Khán. The Khán, being so proud, had never obeyed the authority of Na'ím. The governor of Fárs was Taleb Mírzá, Prince Mu'ayyadu'd-Dawlih. Mírzá Na'ím was delighted to hear of Khán's death, and sent his uncle, Mírzá Bába, to Nayríz with some horsemen. They did not talk to anyone. A month later Mírzá Na'ím came in with a lot of soldiers. 'Alí Sardár, along with many of the friends, welcomed him. They were happy for two or three days.

The Khán's wife contacted Mírzá Na'ím in private and promised him whatever he wanted in exchange for avenging her husband's death. He asked her how that could be done. She advised him to befriend the Bábís. So the following day, he invited the friends to report to him any wrong-doing that had been done to them by the Khán so that he could make amends.

The friends did not know exactly what the plan was, but they were suspicious of this seemingly generous offer. They consulted and decided not to accept any compensation from Mírzá Na'ím. Their final word would be that they would leave those who had done them harm to the Judgment of God.

Some of them did go to the governor's mansion in hopes of receiving some kind of compensation for their losses. As soon as they entered, the guards followed Na'ím's instructions to lock them in and fire at them and not allow anyone to leave or enter. All were arrested, some were beaten and about one hundred and fifty of the more learned and wealthy were imprisoned, including Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn Qutb, 'Alí Sardár, and many of the brave ones.

After a while, when the men were in prison and their women in despair, Mírzá Na'ím decided to leave for Shiraz. He made a list of the prisoners and gave it to his uncle, Mírzá Bába. He then left Nayríz with his troops.

The aforementioned Shuja'u'l-Mulk wrote to the Prime Minister that Mírzá Na'ím had done a great service to the Shah by arresting about one hundred and fifty of his enemies in an hour without any fatalities among his own troops. The Prime Minister reported the same

to the Shah who was delighted and ordered all the prisoners to be transferred to Tíhrán. After Mírzá Na'im's departure from Nayríz for Shiraz, the residents of Qutrih, a village near Nayríz, refused to pay the increased taxes set by Mírzá Bába, the acting governor. He sent several horsemen and soldiers to demand the taxes, but they refused to obey. He was advised that he could do nothing unless he sent 'Alí Sardár and some others who had a lot of influence among the villagers to collect his taxes. He followed the advice, called 'Alí Sardár, gave him a lot of gifts, and sent him on that mission. When the villages heard that 'Alí Sardár was coming, they knew the consequences of not abiding with his demands. They retreated, and 'Alí Sardár and his men collected the taxes for Mírzá Bába. Now he was thankful and treated the Bábís kindly.

The Shah's representatives arrived in Shiraz to take the one hundred fifty prisoners to Tíhrán. Mírzá Na'im, in turn, sent some men to Nayríz to bring them back. Before their arrival at Nayríz, the believers in Shiraz informed the Bábís in Nayríz of the plan. They consulted and divided themselves into three groups – one was the clergy, who gathered at Mullá Muhammad Mo'min's house; the next was 'Alí Sardár with his skilled gunmen at his house; and Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn Qutb at a vineyard on the outskirts of the city. They sent each other messengers every hour to update each other on their situation.

Mírzá Bába was contemplating what to do. He sent a messenger to them that there was a revolt at a border village and that their assistance was needed. The friends knew that this was another trick to arrest them so they responded that they had nothing to do with the governor and would not go. They gave the same answer to the second messenger.

Mírzá Bába was extremely worried as he was afraid of the Shah's reaction. He sent for some non-Bábí gunmen of Nayríz. Not knowing what his intentions were, they went to the governor's house. He imprisoned them with the thought that if he were unable to re-arrest the friends, he would send those prisoners to Tíhrán instead. He advised that because they were non-Bábís, he could not do so, and that he should try to arrest some of the Bábís to include in the group. He ordered his horsemen and soldiers to surround the vineyard, but they did not dare enter it. Some of the attendants went in, but the friends chased them out with swords, sticks and rocks, then followed them out shouting, "God is great!"

At the same time the other two groups of Bábís came out from their locations and joined each other in the battle. There were still a number of horsemen at the gate of the vineyard. One of the friends, Muhammad, the son of Mírzá Ahmad, clothed himself in white burial garb and, with his sword drawn, ran toward the horsemen. They ran away. He followed them until they reached the governor's house. They arrested and imprisoned only one him.

That day there were about two hundred friends who were surrounded by horsemen and soldiers from four sides. The friends' shield was aqueduct's wall. They fought until sunset. There were gunshots constantly, five to six hundred each time.

Some of the friends who were running to catch up while others were arrested. They were Mullá Muhammad-‘Alí Ghabez; Muhammad, the son of Mir Ahmad; Mahmúd, the son of Haydar-Bayk; ‘Abdu’llah, the son of ‘Askar Shabán; Ahmad, the son of Mashhadí Ismá’íl; ‘Alí Murad-i-Sírijáni, and Ridá, from the Qanqarí region of Bávanát. These people were imprisoned under the Khán's house tower with the traitorous Khájih Ghafar who used to be a follower of Jinab Vahíd.

They decided to dig a hole and escape. Khájih Ghafar was with them. During the night they used a knife to dig a hole. When the hole was almost finished, Khájih Ghafar reported them to Mírzá Na’ím and said that he had been arrested by mistake because he was not a Bábí. Mírzá Na’ím told him that if he was not a Bábí, he should behead all his seven fellow prisoners.

They were taken out of the prison and brought to the entrance of Nazar-Baykí Mosque. Áqá Ridá the son of ‘Alí-Naqí killed Muhammad with his handgun, and Khájih Ghafar beheaded the rest. He was released. His father, ashamed by his son's deed, would later say that Khájih was illegitimate and not his real son.

At sunset, the army went back to its barracks, and the friends went to Bídlang Orchards about half a fársang away from the city on the slopes of a mountain. Jinab Vahíd had planted most of the fruit trees there himself. They waited there for two days until all the

friends were able to gather. They realized that there was no hope for survival this time and that they should prepare themselves for the next life.

Gradually, they numbered about four hundred. There were many orchards of fig trees on that mountain owned by people from Nayríz, and the owners—about half the town's population--were mostly staying in their orchards in this season. The friends thought that since they were going to be killed and their families captured, they might as well extract some degree of revenge from those working in this region who had at one time persecuted or acted contemptuously towards them.

Each day some bodies were brought to the city. The governor requested help from the Prince and Mírzá Na'ím. About two thousand villagers from all parts were assembled at this location. On the sixth day the friends brought their families to a protected orchard so that they could defend and protect them. At that time, the men numbered four hundred and the womenfolk six hundred. While they were alive they would defend them. The four hundred men left the families at a protected orchard and went to the mountain where they shielded themselves. They blocked all the paths and built themselves barracks.

After several days, Mírzá Na'ím came with cannons, soldiers, cavalymen, and the authority to draft more men from four counties and the tribe of Khamsih. About twenty days passed. All of a sudden, there were about one thousand gunmen from Istahbánát, a thousand from 'Aynálú under the command of Ma'sum-'Alí Khán Qurt making their way through Iraj-Kih, a village in the Istahbánát area situated at a distance of about four Fársangs from Nayríz, Mírzá Na'ím with his camp, cavalry and soldiers joined them by way of Darb-i-Shikáf, which was the only entrance to the mountain region. Another thousand people from different villages, came through the mountain pass of Dúr-Qalat under the commandment of Mírzá Yúsof, the kalantar of Nayríz, Muhammad-Ridá Khán, the slain Khán's brother, and Mullá Hasan the son of Mullá 'Alí-Muhammad, who had been shot down from the minaret of the mosque by a Bábí in the previous battle.

Several other dignitaries and village chiefs came from another side of the mountain called Dúr-Qalat. The friends were surrounded from four sides. They had, in turn, build

about forty fortifications, and for each one a commander was assigned. For example, a certain darvish from Mashad was in charge of the fortification by the entrance of Darb-i-Shikáf. Khájih Qutb, Mírzá Ismá'íl, Hájí Qásim, and Mullá Shah-'Alí each were assigned to command different fortifications.

Seven of the more courageous ones, called the Seven, had the responsibility of going from fortification to fortification. They were Báqir, the son of Mir Ahmad, Karbalá'í 'Askar Bíraq-Dár, the flag-bearer, Hájí, the son of Asghar, 'Alí, the son of Ahmad, known as Garmsiry, Husayn, the son of Mashhadí Ismá'íl, Husayn, the son of Hádí Khayrí, and Hasan, the son of Mírzá. And two were obeyed by all--Mashádí Mírzá Husayn Qutb whose command was considered divinely inspired, and 'Alí Sardár who knew the logistics of fighting.

Some were clerics and learned men such as Hájí Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alí Qádí, Akhúnd Mullá 'Abdu'l-Husayn and his sons, Mullá 'Alí, and another Mullá 'Alí with his sons, and Karbalá'í Hádí. These people were among the learned and noble. The position of record keeping and correspondence was given to Mullá 'Alí Naqí, the son of Mullá 'Abdu'l-Husayn, and Asghar's father. Mullá Muhammad Taqí, the youngest son of Mullá 'Abdu'l-Husayn, had gone to Harát to see Áqá Siyyid Ja'far Yazdí; as soon as he heard about the event, he rushed immediately to the mountain and eventually was martyred.

Everyone was in his place when suddenly the Istahbánátí gunmen started the battle. Five clergymen from Istahbánát – Mullá Fadlu'lláh, the son of Mullá Abu'l-Qasim, the judge of Istahbánát, Mullá Muhammad 'Alí, the son of Mullá Muhammad-Báqir, Karbalá'í Sifr, and Muhammad-Ismá'íl, came to support the army of God and brought with them a lot of armaments. All of them achieved the rank of martyrdom. About fifteen hundred from 'Aynálú, Qurt, Chayan, and Istahbánátí, who were instructed by their clergy to shed the blood of the believers and achieve salvation, surrounded the friends. They captured about thirty of the barracks and placed the friends in two or three barracks. The friends drew their swords and attacked the enemy, who was less worthy than dogs. They left their food and armaments and ran away. There was victory after defeat. The Bábís were starving and half of them had run out of ammunition. They took all the weapons, food, drinks,

ammunition, guns and swords and returned to their fortifications. That day the true nature of the people Nayríz about two thousand of their warriors were unable to face about twenty people. They did not even fire a shot before running away in a hurry.

The battle was came to the end for the friends when, near sunset, they heard that Mírzá Na'ím with his troop of soldiers and gunmen was hiding in Darb-i-Shikáf and had no knowledge of the defeat. According to a note he had sent, his plan was to attack in the morning from four sides and finish the battle.

One of the friends said they should wait until tomorrow because everybody was tired, but 'Alí Sardár said it would feel better if they attacked that night and repulsed the army, and the following day they would rest.

His suggestion was accepted. He sent nineteen fighters to the entrance of Darb-i-Shikáf and another nineteen, under the command of Mashhadí Mírzá Hasan, to the mountain of Ásbúrán. The plan was to attack from above and below when the troops were quiet and sleeping. At the beginning of their march to the top of the mountain, one of the friends, Siyyid Husayn, who had an eyesight problem, tripped, a rock fell down the slope, alerting the troops who got up to defend themselves. The friends did not waste any time. Shouting "God is great!", they attacked from above and below and scattered the troops who could not find a way to escape. One of the friends set the main yurt on fire. Another one burned the next yurt. When several of those yurts were on fire, the mountainside became like daytime, and the enemy soldiers were able to escape. If the yurts had not been set on fire, all the soldiers would have been killed. The friends ended the battle and carried all the cannons and armaments to their own barracks. Mírzá Na'ím was carried to safety on the back of his soldiers to safety. The army of God was once again victorious.

For close to a month they were relaxing and enjoying life. Every morning and evening they would shoot the cannon into the air and announce their glad tidings in their meetings in the morning and the evening. They would teach each other the words of truth and encourage and prepare themselves for martyrdom. They told their families that when captured they should not wear ragged clothes, never cry nor moan, and not to worry about

the cold, the heat, hunger or thirst, or lack of clothes. They further advised them not to worry about the enemy's criticism and to be patient at all times. During those days, they brought to justice several individual enemies such as Hájí Siyyid 'Abid who had stirred up disunity among Jinab Vahíd's followers and betrayed him. Another one was Mírzá Husayn Rawdih-Khán who came to the evening meetings with outward humility pretending that he was one of the believers and reported what had happened in those meetings to Zaynu'l-'Ábidín Khán in the morning. They killed him in the worst possible manner.

Mírzá Na'im was furious and requested more help from Shiraz. Prince Mu'ayyadu'd-Dawlih assigned Lutf-'Alí Khán commander of the Qashqá'í division, and cavalry and soldiers from Golpáyigán, Sarvestán, Istahbánát, Iraj, Panj-Ma'ádin, Qutrih, Yashnih, Cháh, Mushkán, Ghúry, Rasátíq, and other outlying regions, also from Dahmurid, Khájih Jamálí, Chár-Ráhy, Qarání, Lashtí, Nayrízí, Bahárlú, and Aynálú troops under the command of Ahmad Khán, Khán Mírzá, and Ma'súm Khán Qúrt--who had been defeated in the first battle. A total of about twelve thousand men from various tribes and backgrounds surrounded the mountain. Mírzá Na'im with the Gulpáyigání troop and some of the dignitaries of Nayríz and several skilled sharp-shooters camped on the farm of Bayd-Khánih right under the barracks of the people of truth. He wanted to show off his might and power to the friends, but they totally ignored his army and men. The enemy troops sometimes blew their bugles and beat their drums and sometimes practiced shooting guns and cannons. Still the friends ignored them while preparing themselves for eventual martyrdom.

Mírzá Na'im gradually regained his bravery and brought his troops to the mountain of near Darb-i-Shikáf passage in a field called 'Aqa-Miry to an orchard that was close to the friends' main fortification. He built a fortification by Yaqútí spring from which the friends took their water. Now he cut off access to it by surrounding it with some experienced soldiers. 'Alí Sardár with the aforementioned Seven and some others including Karbalá'í 'Askar, the flag-bearer, a total of fourteen attacked those accursed troops. One of the guards at the spring shot the right hand of Karbalá'í 'Askar, the flag-bearer. He did not let the flag down. After planting the flag in the ground, he swung a sword with his left hand.

He killed some of them this way. Then Mírzá Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn's nephew, took up the standard. He was a capable young man who, like a lion chasing foxes, attacked the enemy troops, killing one after another. The friends, leaving the enemy crying and moaning, returned victoriously to their fortification and brought with them some fat cut from the dead enemies' stomach fat to be used as ointment for their own wounds. On that day no one from the people of truth, was killed; the only casualty was Karbalá'í 'Askar's injury.

The men from Bahárlú, who were experienced gunmen famous for their bravery and courage all over the province of Fárs, suddenly came from the village of Iraj and surrounded the fortifications of Hájí Qásim and Khájiḥ Qutba'í. They left their foot-soldiers and sharp-shooters in the back woods where there were high cliffs and deep abysses, and some of them started riding around on their horses and singing humiliating songs. 'Alí Sardár had no knowledge of the gunmen. He always attacked with a couple of others and never more than three. This time, too, he came out of the barrack with two or three gunmen. He approached the horsemen who did not know he was 'Alí Sardár. They continued riding and parading when suddenly 'Alí Sardár attacked them with his three companions, Mírzá Muhammad, the son of Akhúnd Mullá Musá, and Áqá Siyyid 'Alí, the son of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Husayn. Suddenly the sharp shooters in hiding started to shoot. 'Alí Sardár's leg was shot by a bullet. He reached for his rifle, but it did not fire. He threw his rifle and took out his pistol, but that did not work either. He wanted to draw his sword, but that, too, did not come out. Six hundred gunmen, more or less, were firing from two directions--front and back--and approaching him with volleys of gunfire. The cavalry came and surrounded the body. The friends were unaware of what was happening. They thought 'Alí Sardár was victorious as usual and had gone somewhere to rest in a safe location, but he had been martyred. Siyyid 'Alí was injured, and they thought he was dead. They cut his throat a little and left him there to die. The enemies did not know that they had killed 'Alí Sardár. 'Alí, the son of Karbalá'í Baqír and the brother of Táju'd-Dín, who had been martyred while fighting with Jinab Vahíd, recognized 'Alí Sardár from the top of the hill. He started crying and moaning, and rushed down and threw himself on his body. He was also martyred. Neither side knew until evening that Sardár had been killed. Some Nayrízis, who

acted as guides for the troops, recognized the body and happily reported the news to Mírzá Na'im. Some people believed that it was Khán Mírzá Bahárlú had recognized Sardár, and killed him. Then he cut the body's head, took the head of 'Alí Sardár and that of 'Alí to Mírzá Na'im and received a lot of gifts and rewards. Surprisingly, Siyyid 'Alí's head was not cut. He was unconscious, and when darkness came, despite his almost two hundred wounds, he raised himself and managed to get to the friends' fortifications. He reported that after he was shot, they injured him with rocks, wood, and sword; but he did not know why his head had not been cut off like the others.

"When I was unconscious," he reported, "I suddenly felt that somebody told me to get up and take the news of Sardár's martyrdom to the friends. That same voice told me that I would be taken back to Tíhrán and be martyred there." He eventually went to Tíhrán with a group and was martyred. (This event will be discussed later.)

One night Karbalá'í Hádí, one of the Bábí leaders, went into Nayríz with ninety-five of the followers to avenge the death of Vahíd. They killed many people, including thirty five women who had celebrated around Vahíd's corpse. That night a fierce fight took place between them and the government troops. Many of the residents escaped from Nayríz toward Kerman. Ahmad Khán and Khán Mírzá Bahárlú, the chiefs of the enemy troops, sent a messenger to the friends that the army's goal had been to kill Sardár and, now that he was dead, the Bábís were not able to fight the government, so it was better for them to take their families and leave. The message further noted that every day an additional thousand reinforcements were being added, their number was small, they had no leader, and the weather was bitter cold, what could they do? The response was that what did not have to happen has happened. Now the Bábís wanted to bury their dead and then leave. The troops backed off about a mile, and the friends got together and buried the beheaded bodies in one grave. It was reported that since they did not have any shroud, that they buried them naked. God knows what happened. The friends – men and women – were sorrowful and grieved. They changed their flags, from red and green to black. Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn and Mírzá Ahmad and some of the clergy deemed it advisable to take the families from different fortifications and yorts at the Ásbúrán orchard and relocate them there, and the men to

leave all fortifications and gather at the fortifications at Ásbúrán. It was a good stronghold, above where the families were housed. Then they sent a messenger back to the leaders of the Bahárlú saying, "It is true that you killed our Sardár, kindly suggested that we should run away, and you moved back. For this we thank you. But you do not seem to understand that we have been waiting for four years for martyrdom and have accepted the captivity of our families. The sooner we are martyred the greater an achievement. You are assigned to kill us; do not disobey your orders. If you do not kill us, someone else will. Bring back your troops. If you desire to treat us kindly, be compassionate toward our families after our death."

The friends stationed the families in the orchard and the men in the nearby fortifications. They had run out of food completely. They had some rice and some figs. They slaughtered a donkey each day for meat. Women would not accept their share of rice because they said the men should have it to have some energy to fight, and they would eat the figs. They had access to one source of water which was not sufficient at all for all of them. The women decided to get some water from the aforementioned Yaqútí spring which had more water but was now guarded by the enemies. A group of women headed for the spring, some hoisting the standards and some not. The guards started shooting at them. One of the women was shot. They arrested her, and, some days later, she was martyred. May God's curse fall on the cruel ones! It was very cold at that time, and they did not have enough clothes. They did not even have shoes to wear. The men did not have any ammunition. Bread and water were scarce. Their condition was so bad that neither pen could write about it nor tongue could describe it. Because of the lack of food and water, even their animals were suffering with no food or water. Their livers had blackened from thirst.

Lutf-'Alí Khán and his cannons, cavalry, and infantry, the Cháhr-Bulúk and Istahbánáti gunmen came and built their own fortifications across from the Army of God's fortifications. The men from Bahárlú came from another direction and joined the fight for about three days. The friends' army did not shoot unless they had to because they did not have enough ammunition. The enemy shots simply hit the fortifications and did not hit the

targets. Even their cannonballs hit next to the fortifications, exploded and shattered the rocks, the shrapnel injured some of the friends. The number of enemy troops increased daily, and the believers got weaker and suffered from lack of clothes and food. Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn preached and advised them to be steadfast and be happy for their martyrdom.

The unbelievers realized that sitting in their fortifications, beating the drums, blowing their bugles, shooting guns and cannons had not had any effect. They decided to repeat the trick they had played with Jinab Vahíd. They shouted from a distance and asked if they were crazy and said that if they had any truth, let them sit together and converse. “If your claims are the truth,” they said, “we will accept it. Come under the banner of the king, and we will mediate for your safety. We are sure that the king will forgive you.”

In response, Mullá ‘Alí, a clergyman and an eloquent teacher of the Cause, bade farewell to the friends, went to Lutf-‘Alí Khán’s camp and taught them the Faith. They offered him to make peace. He returned and reported what happened. The friends responded, “We are not seeking peace. The only thing we claim is the Truth has appeared. If you want to continue to fight, we are ready. If you do not wish to fight, then leave this spot.”

Suddenly, the bugles ordered the troops to be ready to fight. About a thousand soldiers and gunmen from Istahbánát and other places hid behind the huge rocks and bushes, and the rest of the troops at once started to move forward. They began to beat their drums, blow their bugles, and shoot their guns. A hundred thousand bullets were shot per hour. At that time it started to drizzle. A thick fog that made the field so dark that nobody could see one another. They only recognized each other by their voices.

The distance between the army of God and that of the mischief-makers was about a quarter of a Fársang and a thickly wooded valley covered this stretch. Gunmen from both sides came out of their fortifications. The enemy soldiers moved about two hundred feet away from their fortifications while the Istahbánátí gunmen waited in ambush. The friends started to shoot and drew their swords. The enemy quickly retreated towards their own fortifications but then, the Istahbánátí gunmen came out of hiding, shooting at the believers

from all directions. Then the retreating soldiers turned around and attacked the Bábís. The Bábís had no direction in which they could run. After a great deal of struggle and suffering, they managed to get back into their fortifications. They counted their numbers. They realized that about fifty of them were missing. After two hours of rest, they set out to find their friends who had been slain. In that cold, dark night, all were tired and hungry. They had not eaten anything all day because they had been searching for their friends.

Having located their comrades and finding them dead, they brought the injured into their fortification with a great deal of difficulty. That night went by terribly for the people of truth. There was no fire in the fortifications. The injured were mostly unconscious, but when they came to and asked for some warm water, there was none.

On the other side, the enemy beat their drums and celebrated till morning. They made constant remarks about what would happen to the friends the next day and the fate of their wives. Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn would console the friends more. They should resist the enemy to the last drop of their blood. That night, fearing the events of the next day, two or three of the friends ran away in different directions. The injured were covered with whatever blankets they had to protect them from the severe cold. In the morning, the enemy began beating their drums and blowing their trumpets as a sign of celebration and came out of their camp to fight. The believers came out of their fortification. The remainder of the troops joined them and eradicated the army of God. They killed most of them, arrested some, and beheaded the injured. One small group of the people of truth tied themselves together and decided to resist the enemy until they had no energy left, and not turn their backs. Mullá ‘Alí Naghi said, “Let us try one more time with our weak bodies.”

He started to shout and attacked the enemy. At this point bullet hit his hand and came out from the back of his head, and he was thus martyred. While the rear flank of the Bábís was fighting on they noticed that the women were being taken captive. Mírzá Ahmad with a few remaining friends, about fifteen or sixteen, attacked the enemy. They were surrounded by the infidels and all of them were martyred. Some of the friends involved in this fight had been running down the mountain so fast that they tripped and tumbled to their deaths. The ones who had run away the night before were lost in the mountains or found and killed.

Meanwhile, the women had taken off their jewelry and put on some coarse clothes. The Bahárlú tribesmen, who had committed the martyrdom of ‘Alí Sardár, were rounding up the women, and they took all their belongings but did not physically attack them.

The Bahárlú tribesmen moved the women to Bísaman Mountain. The women were protected by them but a couple of white-haired old men who had been unable to fight were killed. One of them was Mullá Musá Namad-Mál, the felt-maker, and the other Mashhadí Báqir Sabbágh, the dyer. The latter’s murderer was a cruel man, Mírzá ‘Alí-Bayk Nayrízí, the leader of the Nayrízí soldiers. He shot Mashhadí Báqir Sabbágh, beheaded him and sent his head as a gift to Mírzá Na’ím by way of one of the Bábí children. He put a black veil on Mashhadí Báqir’s young granddaughter, placed her on his horse and rode to Mírzá Na’ím’s camp. Mírzá Na’ím sat on a rock for a throne on Bísaman Mountain and was seated with his senior officers and attendants. They were celebrating and dancing when Mírzá ‘Alí-Bayk arrived with Mashhadí Báqir’s head. He threw the head in front of Mírzá Na’ím, dropped the girl to the ground and said, “O Emir, whatever you wished has come true. The Bábís have been completely wiped out.” Mírzá Na’ím and his army gave thanks to God, and they congratulated each other for their victory.

The women prisoners numbered about six hundred and three and were kept in a large trench. Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Husayn was summoned before Mírzá Na’ím who asked, “You are a sage. Why, with all your knowledge and wisdom and a life of hard work, have you accepted that your sons be killed and your wife captured?”

He replied, “I do not have the strength to answer. The only thing that I can tell you is that all the divine laws of the past have been abrogated.” That accursed one ordered his mouth to be filled with dirt. A soldier shot Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Husayn, causing a surface injury to his face. He intended to kill him, but that accursed one shouted that, since that man was one of the learned of the Bábís, he must be taken to Tíhrán. Then he ordered that all the prisoners should be moved. The men were handcuffed and taken through a difficult route of deep valleys and thick woods through Bísaman Mountain. That was the same route down which the women prisoners had been taken. The prisoners included the elderly, the young, pregnant women and some Bábís still nursing. Some of them had never walked long

distances and some had been raised in comfort. All of them were grieving lost loved ones – children, brothers, or relatives.

I, Mullá Muhammad Shafí, was nine years old then. My mother had to carry my little brother, Asadu'lláh, on her back. As our father had advised, she had to wear some coarse clothes, but she forgot to remove the ornaments off my brother's hat. She also tied a rope from my hand to her waist. When I asked why, she replied, "If they decide to kill you, I want to see it with my own eyes so that I will not be waiting for you." One of the horsemen noticed my brother's ornamented hat. He rushed on his horse to the baby and grabbed and pulled the hat so fiercely that the baby's hair was plucked out. My brother fell to the ground about thirty feet away from my mother. She rushed for the baby and dragged me along. He was unconscious with parts of his hair missing. She picked him up and hugged him tightly. This was the manner in which they treated the prisoners. They brought us to a mill known as Takht, which was very close to the city. They seated the women together, chained every ten men to each other, heaped the severed heads at one place and started to skin the heads.

I can recall the names of the martyrs at this spot but not the ones martyred at the underground water storage in Shiraz and those who were taken to Tíhrán. There were about one hundred and eighty who were martyred at this mountain. One was Karím the son of Muhammad who was a good hunter. As soon as Mírzá Na'ím arrived at the mill with the prisoners and the heads of the martyrs, he ordered that Karím be tied to the front of the cannon and blown out of it. The following is the list of the martyrs:

Zaynál, the brother of the above-mentioned Karím; Karbalá'í Yúsuf Najjár, the carpenter, the son of Mashhadí Muhammad; Khájih Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, son of Khájih Ghaní; Mashhadí Báqir Sabbagh; Mashhadí 'Askar, the son of Mashhadí Báqir; Mullá Muhammad-Taquí and his brother, Mullá 'Alí-Naqi, the sons of Akhúnd Mullá 'Abdu'l-Husayn; Mullá 'Alí, Mullá Hasan, Mu'man, and Mullá Ahmad, the sons of Akhúnd Mullá Musa; Muhammad Kuchack, the son of Mashhadí Rajab; Mashhadí Mírzá Muhammad; Mullá Darvish; Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, the son of Mullá Muhammad; Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, son of Ustád Muhammad; Mashhadí 'Alí, the son of Najf; Karbalá'í Báqir and his son Mullá Muhammad; Mashadí Taquí-i-Baqal, the son of 'Abid; Mírzá Ahmad, the son of Mullá Sádiq, uncles of 'Alí Sardár; Akhúnd Mullá

Ahmad, the son of Muhsin; Akhúnd Mullá 'Alí-i-Katib, the son of Mullá 'Abdu'llah; Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Karim; Mírzá 'Alí; Mullá Sádiq; Asadu'lláh the son of Mírzá 'Alí; Mírzá Yúsuf, the son of Mírzá Akbar; 'Abid-i Yár-Kash; Malik the son of Mullá 'Alí Báqir; Abú-Talib, the son of Mírzá Ahmad; Muhammad, known as Yíkih; Mírzá Hasan and his son; Hasan, son of Ya'qúb; Mullá Husayn and 'Abid, sons of Mullá Barkhudár; Barkhudár, son of Mullá Husayn; Lutfu'lláh Shumal; Karbalá'í Muhammad; Karbalá'í Shamu'd-Dín, who was martyred in Nayríz by Áqá Ridáy-i Áqá 'Alí Naqí; Asadu'lláh Mírzá Mihdí; Ahmad Hájí Abú'l-Qásim; Muhammad Mullá Musá; Husayn, the son of Rajab; Hasan Mírzá, one of the braves; Karbalá'í Husayn, the son of Hájí; Karbalá'í Ismá'íl Mashhadí 'Ábidín; Mírzá Bábá; Mírzá Ahmad; the sons of Khájjih Hasan; Hájí the son of Karbalá'í Báqir, and his son, 'Askar; Muhammad-'Alí; Shaykh Hasan; Husayn-'Alí, the son of Mírzá Áqá; 'Alí, the son of Karbalá'í Báqir; Mashhadí 'Alí, the son of Sulayman; Hasan, the son of Mashhadí Muhammad; Muhammad-'Alí and his son Kázim; Mullá Hájí Muhammad; Hájí Shaykh 'Abd-'Alí; Áqá Shaykh Muhammad, and his son Husayn; Hádí Khayri, who was martyred in Shiraz (details forthcoming); Husayn Mashhadí Ismá'íl; 'Abdu'lláh Karbalá'í Akbar; Muhammad-Sádiq Husayn; Khájjih Burhán; 'Askar, the son of 'Alí; Sádiq; Mírzá Husayn; Mírzá Akbar; Husayn, the son of Zamán; Muhammad, the son of Akbar Farzí; Mullá Shah-'Alí; Khájjih Ismá'íl; Khájjih 'Alí Karam; Ustad 'Askar; Karbalá'í Hasan; Mashhadí Sifr; Muhammad, the son of Mullá 'Alí; Sharraf Karbalá'í Rajab; Muhammad-'Alí Naw-Ruz; Akbar Muhammad-Qásim; Ustád Ja'far; Muhammad-'Alí Hájí 'Alí-Shah; Ahmad, the son of 'Isá; 'Abid Mashhadí Muhsin; Ghulám-Ridá Yazdí; Khájjih Ustád Nabí; Muhammad, the son of Ridá; Mullá 'Alí-Muhammad, the son of Mullá Áqá Bábá; Taqí, the son of Sifr; Siyyid Husayn; Siyyid Nazar, son of Mullá 'Alí Naqí; son of 'Alí Murád; 'Abdu'llah 'Alí; Akbar, his son; Hájí Muhammad Mullá 'Ashurá; Hájí Naqí; Karbalá'í 'Askar-i Bírq-Dar, the flag-bearer; Rahím Ustád 'Alí-Naqí; 'Alí the son of Mashhadí Ahmad; 'Alí and Husayn, the sons of Qásim-Sifr; Mu'min Ustád Ahmad; Muhammad, the son of Báqir; Husayn Ustád Ahmad; Shamsu'd-Dín, son of 'Askar; Muhammad, the son of Karbalá'í Naqí; Akbar Muhammad-Sháh; Muhammad Karbalá'í Mahmúd; Mullá Husayn 'Abdu'lláh; Karbalá'í Qurbán; Sha'bán, the son of 'Ábidín; 'Abdu'lláh, the son of Mullá Muhammad; Mírzá Shikar 'Alí, the son of Mullá 'Ashurá; Kabalá'í Báqir; Ustád Taqí, whose slayer was Mírzá Shikar Rajab;

Muhammad-‘Alí; Sádiq and ‘Abidín, the sons of Karbalá’í Ismá’íl Hamamí, Mullá ‘Ábidín; Mírzá Muhammad-Husayn; Mírzá Taqí, martyred on his way to Tíhrán; Taqí and Karam, the sons of ‘Alí; son of Ustád Taqí; Mashhadí Muhammad-‘Alí, the son of Naw-Rúz; Abú-T’álíb, son of Zaynu’l-‘Ábidín; ‘Abdu’lláh, the son of ‘Askar; another Abú-Tálíb; Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn, surnamed Qutb; Mírzá Husayn; Mírzá Musá; Mírzá Ahmad; Mírzá Zaynu’l-Abidín, who was Mashhadí Mírzá Husayn’s nephew; Mírzá Muhsin Áqá Nasru’lláh; Karbalá’í Muhammad-Ja’far, son in law of Hájí Muhammad-Taquí Ayyúb; Mullá Akbar, the brother of Karbalá’í Ja’far; Karbalá’í Hádí; Mírzá Mihdí; Hasan Haydar Bayk; ‘Alí-Murád, the brother of Jinab Vahíd’s murderer; Murád Lurr; Karbalá’í Sádiq, the son of Mashhadí Rajab; Husayn, the brother of Karbalá’í Ridá; Hasan and ‘Alí, the sons of Mullá Qásim; Mullá ‘Ashurá; Hasan-‘Alí, the son of Nurí, and his mother, Safr Karbalá’í Zamán; Hasan Mashhadí Safr; ‘Askar, the son of ‘Alí; Mullá Abú’l-Qásim; and Husayn, the son of Ustád ‘Alí.

These were the names of some of the dignified and older people about whom I wrote in this memoir. There were many more whose names I could not recall. Some of the martyrs’ children were very young at that time. Many were martyred on their way to Shiraz, in Shiraz, on their way to Tíhrán, or in the dungeons in Tíhrán. Whatever came to mind was written with God’s might and assistance.

When Mírzá Na’ím arrived at the aforementioned mill with the captives and the martyrs’ heads, Hájí Mírzá ‘Abdu’l-Vahhab Rawdih-Khán (the professional narrator of the events in Karbala), and the brother of Hájí Mírzá Nasír, who insulted the Báb – may the souls of all be a sacrifice to Him – by telling him to kiss the hand of the Shaykh Abu-Turab, was present. As soon as he saw that Mírzá Abú’-Hasan, the son of Mírzá Taqí, was a captive and in chains, he severely beat him up with a club to make Mírzá Na’ím happy. He told him, “You, too, became a Bábí?” The details of Mírzá Abú’-Hasan’s martyrdom in Tíhrán will be described. After that, Mírzá Na’ím mounted his horse and started to ride at the front with the martyrs’ heads on spears behind him, and the drummers and buglers playing their instruments, and the captives were made to walk between the two columns of the marching army. As soon as a prisoner stopped walking due to weakness, he would be subjected to a

beating with a bayonet. The sun was set. Torches were prepared and were carried in front of Mírzá Na'im. This short distance, which was only one maydán long (a distance between two villages), took them about six hours while the captives were tormented. They made the women run barefoot on thorny brush. Despite the cold weather, when they reached a brook, they threw the women in the freezing water. They threw a poor woman with two small children in her arms into a stream, and they nearly drowned. Spectators would crowd around them, women cheering and men shouting. Around midnight they arrived at a caravansera in the Bázár district which was not large enough to house them and was full of pests and dirty water. It was near the shrine of Imám-zádih. For two days, they did not get any food. About six hundred women and children, hungry and without proper clothes, shivered till morning. They were all worried about what the enemies would do the next day. By morning, a large number of men and women from town had gathered outside the caravansera to watch the prisoners. The women's hair and faces had never been exposed before. Now they were brought out without proper clothing. Some threw stones at them, others hit them with clubs, some spit on them while a few wept for them. The rest would curse them. Then they were brought to the local madrisih and kept there for three days. Still they were denied food, and the only water to drink was from the fetid pond in the middle of the schoolyard.

Mírzá Na'im's order came that the prisoners should be transferred to Shiraz. They were given about thirty-six kilos of cornbread. They were given this bread, which tasted worse than dirt, once every evening. Some of the prisoners had sworn not to eat it until death because the wicked were the carriers of that bread. Some of them survived by eating onion peels, sprouts of date-seeds, and pomegranate peel. This ordeal lasted twenty days.

Meanwhile Lutf-'Alí Khán and the brigadier-general, who had camped by the mill with their soldiers and cavalry, announced that whoever brings a Bábí to their presence – dead or alive – would be given a reward. Anyone suspected of being a Bábí was captured. During the day they were tortured in various ways. Karím, the flame-bearer, was tied to a cannon and blown out. They would burn the beards of the Bábís.

Eighty of the Bábís were tied to one rope and given to a hundred soldiers to be taken them to Shiraz. For three stops they were not given any food though they were travelling barefoot and without proper clothing. At a stop called Kháneh-Gird, one of the soldiers, for the sake of God, gave them two pieces of sheepskin which they broiled and ate. When the wicked Mírzá Na'ím heard this, he ordered that soldier to be beaten. He said, "Do you want these people to get the strength to kill us all during the night?"

At the same location, a Siyyid named Mírzá Muhammad 'Abid, died from cold and hunger. He was beheaded and no one was allowed to bury his body. It is said that after three days, some people from the Báýír tribe, who raise cattle, do some farming and live around there, took this old Siyyid's body and buried it at a shrine nearby.

There were two or three more martyrs who were beheaded, but I do not recall their names. Wherever the soldiers arrived with the captives, they would leave them with the people of the village and obtain receipts while they rested. This continued until they arrived at the last stop before the city. They informed the Prince, who in turn, ordered all the stores to be closed and all the soldiers and cavalry to go and welcome the victorious army with their captives. Dancers and bands were called to the streets and to the monarch's naqar Kháneh (the place where drummers announce special events from a minaret) to beat the drums. Several cannons were shot and crowds of people came out into the streets.

It was three hours after sunrise when Lutf-'Alí Khán, with the heads of the martyrs impaled on long spears and the captives tied in rows of ten arrived from Sa'di Gate. In front of each ten captives, about twenty martyrs' heads were carried. At about an hour before sunset, the captives were imprisoned in the (chainroom) and put in stocks and shackles. They were denied food or drink, except for a piece of bread each afternoon.

In the meantime, Mírzá Na'ím, who had kept about two hundred of the Gulpáyigání soldiers and some gunmen from different areas, arrested the sixty Bábís who had escaped in Nayríz. Women prisoners were brought out of the school where they were being kept. Spectators, men and women, surrounded them. All of a sudden, some fárráshes

(government servant) divided the women in two, releasing half to go home and then the other half two-by-two on the back of a donkey to head for Shiraz.

There were about three hundred women, two on top of each donkey, and the men captives were tied in groups of ten to a rope. Each group was assigned to a horseman and a group of soldiers.

Under a great deal of hardship, they were thus driven out of Nayríz toward. God knows what happened to them in that cold winter without food and appropriate clothing. On their way, one of the friends, Mullá Muhammad-‘Alí Qábid, was unable to walk due to weakness and old age. They beheaded him and took his head with them. When they divided the women in Nayríz, they broke families apart from each other. Mothers were separated from their children. I am not able to mention one out of a thousand cruelties they committed against them.

When they reached three Fársangs from the city, they informed the government of their arrival. Once again preparations for a celebration were made. The Bázárs were decorated with ornaments and illuminated, and everyone went to the bathhouses and dyed their hair and beards with henna. All the soldiers and horsemen came to the city with their cannons. All the clergy, the Siyyids (descendants of Muhammad the Prophet), the dignitaries, the nobles, all men and women came to watch. The martyrs’ heads were hoisted on spears held vertically in front of the captives. Some threw rocks at them, others spat on their faces, while some wept for them. The women were housed in Sháh Mír-‘Alí Hamzih Caravanserai on the outskirts of Isfahan Gate, and the men were taken to the (chain house) near other Bábí prisoners.

The following day, the Prince, from his governor’s seat, ordered that the male captives be brought to him. He also summoned a resident of Nayríz who knew the Bábís well, Jalál, a rascal and a ruffian. He had come here with Mírzá Na’ím who called him “Nightingale”. Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Husayn, one of the captive Bábís, was also unchained and brought in. Due to the intensity of the suffering he had experienced, his health was not in good condition. The Prince told him to listen to Hájí Qavám’s interrogation.

Qavám asked him, “Akhúnd, what did you want to do? Did you want to become a king with so few followers or did you have other plans? You clergy should prevent others from committing evil deeds. Now you are the source of evil-doing.”

Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Husayn said, “I do not have the strength to talk. Two of my sons were beheaded in front of me. My wife and my children’s wives have been captured. Don’t bother me.”

Qavám: “Truly, what was your intention?”

Mullá: “All was this: “All the Divine Laws have been abrogated.” (A Qur’anic prophecy).

After that, Jalál started introducing the friends along with their various responsibilities they had during the war. He mentioned the names of the drummers, gunmen, etc. However, he added, this Akhúnd was the main mischief maker. Mulláh ‘Abdu’l-Husayn was asked to repent and curse the new Faith. He refused. Some other men including Hájí, the son of Ashghar and ‘Alí Garmsiri were then killed in the city square. Husayn, the son of Hádí Khayrí, was tortured to death with spears, and Sádiq, the son of Sálíh, and Muhammad, the son of Mohsin, were beheaded. The rest of the male captives were taken back to the prison, and the women and children were released. Some of the children died from hunger and cold in Shiraz. Most of them gradually went back to Nayríz, but some remained in Shiraz, some of whom are still living there.

The king summoned all the captives, the remaining seventy-three people, to Tíhrán. They were taken to Tíhrán in chains along with heads on spears. Twenty-two of them died on the way from exposure to the cold. They were beheaded, and their bodies thrown in a ditch. They were planning to carry the heads to Tíhrán, but when they arrived at Ábádih, the order came to bury them there. Mullá ‘Abdu’l-Husayn died in Sídán, and his head was cut off and added to others. ‘Alí Karbalá’í Zamán and Akbar Karbalá’í Muhammad died in Ábádih; Hasan the son of ‘Abú’l-Vahíd and Mullá ‘Alí- Akbar, the brother of Jinab Amír, died in Isfahan. Karbalá’í Báqir, the son of Muhammad, and his brother Hasan; Dhu’l-Faqár Karbalá’í Taqí, the son of Farqí, and his son ‘Alí; ‘Alí Khán; Mullá Karím Akhúnd;

Akbar Ra'ís; Ghulám-‘Alí Pír-Muhammad, and Taqí and Muhammad ‘Alí, the sons of Muhammad Jamál, all died on the way. Some died on the way and some in Tíhrán. The exact places where they died are not known.

The remaining captives were taken to Tíhrán. Fifteen of them were told to recant and curse their Faith. They refused and were put to death. The names I remember are as follows: ‘Áqá Siyyid ‘Alí, the one who was injured badly in the mountains of Nayríz and was left unconscious and had dreamt that he must go to Tíhrán and be martyred there; Karbalá’í Rajab Salmání; Sífú’d-Din; Sulaymán Karbalá’í Salmán; Ja‘far Fardí; Murád Khayrchí; Husayn Karbalá’í Báqir; Mírzá Abú’l-Hasan; Mírzá Taqí, who was beaten with clubs for becoming a Bábí by Hájí Mírzá ‘Abdu’l-Vahhab to please Mírzá Na’ím; and Mullá Muhammad-‘Alím, the son of Áqá Mihdí. The names of the remaining martyrs do not come to mind.

Twenty-three more, whose names I do not remember died in the Tíhrán dungeon. One was ‘Alí, the son of Mír-Shikár Báqir, who died in the dungeon. Thirteen of them were released after three years in prison and returned to Nayríz. One of them was Karbalá’í ‘Alí-Yár who died in Dar l Salam and was buried in Tall-i-Hamrá. Two others were Ustád ‘Innáyát and Ibráhim, the son of Sharif, who are still alive. Also Aqa Siyyid Husayn and Ustád ‘Alí, the son of Mashhadí Safar, returned home. Most of those who were released died shortly after their release due to extreme poverty and suffering at the hands of the enemies. Karbalá’í Zaynu’l-’Ábidín stayed in Tíhrán and died after a while.

I cannot recall the rest of the events.

This document was copied by Mírzá Abu’l Qásim Missaqi and Mírzá Ahmad, May God’s blessing be upon them, from the original in Aqa Mullá Shafí’s handwriting, which is said to have been sent to the Holy Land.