

The Globalisation of the Bahá'í Community: 1892-1921

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Abstract

When Baha'u'llah died in 1892, the Baha'i community was more than 99% Iranian. These Iranian Baha'is came from a traditional society and their view of the world was still very much bound by the limited horizons of such a society. A major part of `Abdu'l-Baha's ministry was his efforts to bring about a globalisation of the community, not only geographically but also psychologically. This paper looks at the ways that `Abdu'l-Baha achieved this. Firstly, in his talks and letters, there was a continual stream of demonstrative proofs of and practical ideas for globalisation. He also encouraged the establishment of new Baha'i centres outside Iran and strengthened these. At the beginning of his ministry, the Baha'i Faith was confined to the Middle East and India; by the end, there were Baha'i communities encircling the globe. He caused these new centres of the Baha'i Faith to be linked not just with himself but also to each other, thus giving the individual Baha'is a feeling of being part of a global community. This was strengthened by asking some Baha'is to move to other Baha'i communities and to take a role in the development of these communities (in particular, there was an interchange between the Iranian and American Baha'i communities). In this way, Baha'is could see the valuable contributions that one culture could make to another. `Abdu'l-Baha's praise of inter-ethnic and inter-racial marriages strengthened these perceptions among the Baha'is. This global vision among the Baha'is was reinforced by a stream of Baha'i travellers who visited Baha'i communities around the world. `Abdu'l-Baha also developed the globalisation of the Baha'i community by establishing a number of links with international movements and organisations and encouraging Baha'i involvement with these. Lastly, `Abdu'l-Baha projected this process of globalisation forward both through his encouragement of the establishment of Baha'i administrative institutions which could act centres for international interaction and expansion and through his vision of the future global spread of the Baha'i community in the Tablets of the Divine Plan.

PAPER

The concept of globalization is one that has become very fashionable in social and political discourse in recent decades. Mainly, it has come to be associated with its negative aspects related to the unbridled freedom of international companies to move capital around the world with minimal regard of the social consequences of their decision and the prospects of the increasing domination of the world by the one remaining super-power and the organs that it controls such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The positive aspects of globalization, such as the generation of financial and logistical support for areas of the world stricken by calamities or the mobilization of mass support for issues such as environmental causes, are not so frequently mentioned. What can scarcely be doubted is that both aspects are developing rapidly and with few signs of being reined in by government or any other forces of social control.

The term "globalization", however, appears to point to something more than such facts as the international nature of business and trade, the increasing knowledge that we have of other human cultures, and the ease with which people can now travel to and communicate with all parts of the world. All of these phenomena can perhaps be encompassed by such words as "international" and "inter-cultural". The replacement of the use of the term "international" with the word "global" denotes the dawning of a consciousness that we are proceeding beyond a phase of relationships between peoples and states and on to a phase which can be summed up in Marshall McLuhan's terms "global village" (1960) and "all-at-once-ness" (McLuhan and Fiore 1967, 63), Roland Robertson's concept of the "world as a single place" (1992, esp. 182-4), or indeed Baha'u'llah's words: "The earth is but one country and mankind its citizens" (1983, 250, no. 117).

The phenomenon of globalization encompasses two seemingly-opposed trends. The first is the impulse of modernity towards unity around a common heritage of science and technology, along with the negative aspect of that, the trend towards uniformity under the cultural dominance of the West. The second is the post-modern impulse that emphasises the diversity of human expression in its various cultural and textual manifestations (Cousins 1999, 210). Robertson discusses the tension between these two trends under the rubric of "universalism and particularism" (Robertson 1992, 25, 141, 177-81).

In the field of religion, the fact of increased migration has led to an unprecedented mixing of different religions in the same locality. Religions that once claimed the sole authority to make metaphysical and ethical pronouncements are finding competitors in an increasingly crowded market-place. This reality resulting from the process of globalization of the world has led to the strengthening of two opposing tendencies. On the one hand, it has led to a conservative, xenophobic, ultra-nationalist response which is often linked to a religious fundamentalism; on the other hand, it has led others to reflect on the fact that goodness and piety can be found in all religions and has thus strengthened the liberal trend in religions (Momen 1999, 476-89).

The Baha'i Faith arose in Iran which was, and to some extent still is, deeply conservative, isolationist and xenophobic. This aspect of Iranian society has not always been to Iran's disadvantage. It should be remembered, for example, that, while the Arab Muslim conquests of the seventh century resulted in the obliteration of the languages and much of the ancient cultures of Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt, they did not have the same effect in Iran, where the language and culture survived among the people and re-emerged centuries later. Not only did the Iranians cut themselves off from the rest of the Islamic Middle East by virtue of the re-emergence of the Iranian language and culture, but, they also isolated themselves from the rest of the Islamic world by their adoption of Shi'i form of Islam in the sixteenth century - a form of Shi'ism that not only inculcated a deep hatred of the Sunni majority of Muslims, but also emphasised the idea that non-Muslims are impure and hence polluting. From all of this it can be seen that to raise such people to a concept of globalization was indeed a formidable challenge.

The project of globalizing the Baha'i community began with Baha'u'llah, who made it clear in his writings that he was directing his teachings to the whole world - all nations, all religions, all social strata. In his writings, he addressed Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, as well as the kings and religious leaders of both Christian Europe and Muslim Asia. He also encouraged a widening of the boundaries of the Baha'i community by encouraging the conversion of Jews, Zoroastrians, Christians and Sunni Muslims. Although he did not announce specific expansion plans to the Baha'is in the way that later Baha'i leaders did, he appears to have initiated projects to attract to the Baha'i Faith specific groups of individuals. Thus for example, he directed certain individuals to take on the life-style of wandering Sufi dervishes and to see if they could attract Sunni Sufis in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire (Momen forthcoming b); he directed Jamal Effendi to a specific project aimed at spreading the Baha'i Faith to India (Momen 1999-2000); and he encouraged a number of individuals to take the Baha'i Faith into Central Asia (Momen 1991).

Despite these initiatives in the time of Baha'u'llah, when `Abdu'l-Baha assumed the leadership of the Baha'i Faith in 1892, the Baha'i community was still overwhelmingly very narrowly Iranian in its ethnicity and Shi'i in its outlook. The drive to expand the religious base of new converts had resulted in a number of Jews from Kashan and Hamadan, some Zoroastrians in Yazd, a scattering of Sunni Muslims in the Ottoman domains and a very few Syrian Christians. All of these groups numbered probably no more than 2000 individuals (in the region of 1-2% of the total world Baha'i population). The drive to expand the Baha'i faith among Sunnis in Central Asia had only resulted in the settlement of a number of Iranian Baha'is there. The project to recruit Sufis in the Sunni Ottoman domains had failed. The efforts of Jamal Effendi in India had only succeeded in recruiting Iranians or Persianate Indians. The Baha'i community consisted

mainly of Iranians from a Shi'i background, most of whom were in Iran with some scattered groups in India, Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Ottoman domains and Egypt.

`Abdu'l-Baha's globalisation of the Baha'i community can usefully be considered in terms of several of the categories delineated by Jan Aart Scholte. Of the five modalities of globalization that he mentions, four are useful in considering the result of `Abdu'l-Baha's work: normative, psychological, economic and institutional (the exception being the ecological modality, Scholte 1996, 46). Of course in using Scholte's modalities, we are not drawing comparisons between the present day which Scholte is describing and the time of `Abdu'l-Baha a century ago. What `Abdu'l-Baha was striving to achieve would, in terms of today's situation, be considered as a mere embryonic movement towards globalization.

Normative Globalization

The foundation of `Abdu'l-Baha's many initiatives to promote globalization was his deeply-rooted belief in the unity and equality of the human race. Baha'u'llah had laid down the necessary groundwork for the globalization of the Baha'i community by ejecting it out of the Islamic framework that divided the world into believers and unbelievers and reinforced that division by imposing upon unbelievers the condition of ritual impurity. He had emphasized in his writings the equality of all believers, of whatever level of education or social rank:

Know ye not why We created you all from the same dust? That no one should exalt himself over the other . . . Since We have created you all from one same substance it is incumbent on you to be even as one soul, to walk with the same feet, eat with the same mouth and dwell in the same land, that from your inmost being, by your deeds and actions, the signs of oneness and the essence of detachment may be made manifest. (1990, Arabic, 68)

Baha'u'llah had also developed this theme into a statement of the need for each human being to have a global perspective:

Let your vision be world-embracing, rather than confined to your own self . . . It is incumbent upon every man, in this Day, to hold fast unto whatsoever will promote the interests, and exalt the station, of all nations and just governments . . . Of old it hath been revealed: "Love of one's country is an element of the Faith of God." The Tongue of Grandeur hath, however, in the day of His manifestation proclaimed: "It is not his to boast who loveth his country, but it is his who loveth the world." (1983, 94-95, no. 43)

`Abdu'l-Baha, however, was to make it a central feature of his rhetoric, thus bringing it to the forefront of the attention of the Baha'is. His talks in Europe and North America and well as his letters are full of statements asserting the normative nature of globalization ("we are all inhabiting one globe of earth. In reality we are one family and each one of us is a member of this family", 1945, 42) and unravelling the implications of this for the Baha'is. He asserted, for example, that globalization was the inevitable result of technological advances of the present age.

Through the ingenuity and inventions of man it is possible to cross the wide oceans, fly through the air and travel in submarine depths. At any moment the Orient and Occident can communicate with each other. Trains speed across the continents. The human voice has been arrested and reproduced, and now man can speak at long distances from any point. These are some of the signs of this glorious century. The great progress mentioned has taken place in the material world. Remarkable signs and evidences have become manifest. Hidden realities and mysteries have been disclosed. This is the time for man to strive and put forth his greatest efforts in spiritual directions . . . The heavenly Jerusalem is none other than divine civilization, and it is now ready. It is to be and shall be organized, and the oneness of humankind will be a visible fact.

Humanity will then be brought together as one. The various religions will be united, and different races will be known as one kind. The Orient and Occident will be conjoined, and the banner of international peace will be unfurled. The world shall at last find peace, and the equalities and rights of men shall be established. The capacity of humankind will be tested, and a degree shall be attained where equality is a reality. (1982, 101)

`Abdu'l-Baha insisted, however, that there were certain social prerequisites if globalization was not to be a negative and destructive moment in humanity's history. During his Western journeys, for example, he explored the implications of the unity and equality of all human beings in terms of raising the educational and social status of women and giving them a greater role in social affairs; in terms of the need to eliminate all forms of racial prejudice and inequality on the basis of race; and in terms of the need to avoid the discord, conflict and assumptions of superiority that go with political, national and ethnic differences (1967, 160-63, 148-50).

`Abdu'l-Baha also foresaw and responded to the other trend that we noted above, the post-modern concern with diversity. His vision of unity was not one of uniformity around a single expression of human culture, but rather a unity that encompassed and indeed gloried in diversity. He expressed this in numerous, often metaphorical, ways; for example:

Consider the flowers of a garden: though differing in kind, colour, form and shape, yet, inasmuch as they are refreshed by the waters of one spring, revived by the breath of one wind, invigorated by the rays of one sun, this diversity increaseth their charm, and addeth unto their beauty. Thus when that unifying force, the penetrating influence of the Word of God, taketh effect, the difference of customs, manners, habits, ideas, opinions and dispositions embellisheth the world of humanity. This diversity, this difference is like the naturally created dissimilarity and variety of the limbs and organs of the human body, for each one contributeth to the beauty, efficiency and perfection of the whole. When these different limbs and organs come under the influence of man's sovereign soul, and the soul's power pervadeth the limbs and members, veins and arteries of the body, then difference reinforceth harmony, diversity strengtheneth love, and multiplicity is the greatest factor for co-ordination. (1978, 291, cf. 1967, 51-3)

Psychological Globalization

Scholte describes psychological normalization as "the growing consciousness of the world as a single place, as awareness reinforced by everyday experiences of diet, music and dress (1996, 46)." Of course in the time of `Abdu'l-Baha, and especially in Iran, global experiences were by no means an everyday experience. We will look later in this paper at the manner in which `Abdu'l-Baha spread the Baha'i Faith throughout the world. In parallel with this, however, `Abdu'l-Baha promoted links between the various Baha'i communities in order to move the global nature of the Baha'i Faith from rhetoric to reality.

The links between the Baha'i communities and `Abdu'l-Baha were natural and strong. But `Abdu'l-Baha also encouraged the writing of letters between the various Baha'i communities and the spreading of news globally. Individual Baha'is wrote to Baha'is in other parts of the world and Baha'i communities wrote to each other and shared their newsletters. The Baha'i community became perhaps the first religious community to have a truly international news service accessible to the whole community, especially with the development of the Star of the West magazine, which had a Persian language section and had many subscribers throughout the Middle East, India, and Central Asia. Communities of interest were set up globally through letters. Iranian Baha'i women wrote to American Baha'i women, while European Baha'i Esperantists wrote to their fellow-believers in the Middle East and China. This international communication was facilitated by a growing number of Iranians who learned English and acted as translators both in Iran and after migrating to Europe and North America. While most

educated Iranians learned French as their second language, Baha'i students chose English, largely as a result of `Abdu'l-Baha's guidance.

As well as this interchange of correspondence, `Abdu'l-Baha encouraged the Baha'is to travel and meet Baha'is in other parts of the world. Of course `Abdu'l-Baha's own journeys to Europe and North America were of great importance in bringing the Baha'is of the West firmly into the world-wide Baha'i community. But `Abdu'l-Baha also directed American Baha'is to travel to the Middle East and India and Middle Eastern Baha'is to travel to Europe and North America. Several Americans such as Charles Mason Remey and Howard Struven went on extensive journeys around the world visiting many Baha'i communities. Other Baha'is went on less extensive but more intensive journeys: Jean Stannard and Lua Getsinger to India and Egypt, Hippolyte Dreyfus, Sidney Sprague, Hooper Harris, Harlan Ober and Ibn-i-Abhar to India and Burma, Hippolyte Dreyfus and Laura Barney to Iran, Mirza Abu'l-Fadl and Mirza Asadu'llah to North America, and many others. The effect of these travels had an important impact not only on the travellers and their destinations but also on their home communities. Robert Stockman describes the effect of the American travelling teachers of the Baha'i Faith on the North American Baha'i community thus:

The traveling teachers also had a major impact on the thinking of the Baha'is who stayed at home. Through books and circulated letters their experiences spread to Baha'is even in remote parts of North America. Burma, India and Persia entered in the consciousness of Western Baha'is and with them the awareness that one was a member of an international religious community . . . Exposure to the Asian Baha'is and their perspective on the Baha'i religion also served to diminish the explicitly Christian understanding of the Faith that dominated American Baha'i thinking at the turn of the century. (Stockman 1995, 353-4)

A similar process occurred in Iran, where the Baha'is increasingly began to feel part of a global community of Europeans and Americans. By the end of `Abdu'l-Baha's ministry, this impression was so prevalent that it even spread to Iranian Muslims. Morgan Schuster, the American financier employed by the Iranian government, reported that the members of his mission were generally believed to be Baha'is simply because they were Americans. The American consular official Imbrie was even murdered because of the same belief (Momen 1981, 462-5).

Another initiative of `Abdu'l-Baha was to encourage inter-ethnic marriages. He greatly praised such marriage as that between Ali Kuli Khan and Florence Breed. In these ways, the global nature of the Baha'i community which was at first just rhetoric, gradually became a reality for many Baha'is.

Although `Abdu'l-Baha's main efforts were towards bringing the Baha'i communities of East and West together and helping them through the inevitable cultural clashes that occurred, `Abdu'l-Baha also directed his attention to the problem of racial prejudice towards the black races in his talks as well as by direct action. While he was in America, for example, he made a point of by inviting a black Baha'i to the position of honour at a dinner given by a high society Washington family. He got the American Baha'is involved in improving race relations, instructing them to integrate Baha'i meetings and to start Race Amity Conferences. He also encouraged the inter-racial marriage of Louis Gregory, a black American Baha'i to Louise Mathew, a white British Baha'i.

Financial Globalization

When Scholte speaks of financial globalization, he is referring to twenty-four-hour, round-the-world markets. In the time of `Abdu'l-Baha, the move from local markets to national markets had only been achieved in a few spheres in a limited number of countries. It was still rare to find financial projects on a national basis, let alone a global initiative. `Abdu'l-Baha, however,

initiated a financial globalization of the Baha'i community by setting up the project of building a House of Worship in Wilmette, near Chicago. He then urged Baha'is from all around the world to contribute to what thus became a global financial project. Contribution for this project came from Baha'is in Europe, the Middle East, India and even from Mauritius (c. 1910, *Star of the West* 28 April 1910, 1/3:15).

Stories circulated among the Baha'is of the sacrifices being made world-wide for this House of Worship project. Examples include some which had resonances of the Gospel story of the widow's mite: the Iranian widow who sold her only possession, an ear-ring, to make a contribution; the American widow, who could afford only to drag a stone to the site as her contribution (Bruce 1984: 68, 46-8); and the British lady whose husband was unemployed and who, having nothing else to give, cut her long hair and offered it to be sold for the benefit of the temple ('Abdu'l-Baha 1978, 96-97; Momen 1975, 22).

'Abdu'l-Baha also encouraged the Baha'is of the East and West to make a positive contribution to the social and economic development of each other's communities. Thus for example, he directed a number of American Baha'is to move to Iran, where they helped set up schools and medical facilities. The American Baha'i women, in particular, became role models for the Iranian Baha'i women (Momen forthcoming a). The American Baha'is also set up the Persian-American Educational Society in 1909 to help the Baha'i schools in Iran financially. Iranian Baha'is such as Mirza Abu'l-Fadl Gulpaygani were sent to Europe and North America in order to increase the knowledge of those communities about the Baha'i Faith. Other Iranian Baha'is went to Beirut, Europe and North America as students. Very often these students were helped by the communities that they went to.

Institutional Globalization

'Abdu'l-Baha commended to the Baha'is all moves towards globalization that occurred in the world. He attended the meetings of various peace societies and movement for international justice in America (Balyuzi 1971, 192-3), encouraged the Baha'is to learn Esperanto ('Abdu'l-Baha 1978, 308, no. 228), addressed the Central Organization for a Durable Peace at the Hague (Balyuzi 1971, 438-40), praised the Fourteen Points of President Woodrow Wilson ('Abdu'l-Baha 1978, 311-312, no. 232) and lauded the ideals behind the League of Nation (even as he warned of its problems; 'Abdu'l-Baha 1978, 306, no. 227)

'Abdu'l-Baha expended much more energy, however, on the spread and institutional globalization of the Baha'i community. The spread of the Baha'i Faith to North America and Europe occurred early in the ministry of 'Abdu'l-Baha and was largely unplanned. But later, 'Abdu'l-Baha directed and promoted further spread in the Far East, Australia, the Pacific, Central Asia, South America and Africa. By the end of his ministry, the Baha'i Faith could be said to have encircled the globe. There was also a spread of the Baha'i Faith among various religious groups. Jews and Zoroastrians had already begun to become Baha'is in the time of Baha'u'llah. Now this was extended to Christians in North America, Europe and the Middle East. In India, the first Hindus and Sikhs became Baha'is, while in China and Japan, followers of Buddhism and native religions were converted.

As well as the geographical spread of the Baha'i Faith, 'Abdu'l-Baha promoted its institutionalization. In Iran, he gave instructions for the Hands of the Cause to set up a Central Spiritual Assembly (1899) that would act as the organiser of Baha'i activities in Iran. In North America, he encouraged the Baha'i Temple Unity (elected in 1909) to move from its original purpose which was to supervise the building of the North American House of Worship to a much wider role as the coordinator of Baha'i activities in the continent. He instructed Dr Esslemont in 1920 to revive the National Baha'i Council in England that had originally been formed in 1914 but which had lapsed during the Second World War. In addition to these national bodies, he also

instructed the Baha'is in each place where a community had formed to elect local Baha'i councils and assemblies.

From about 1902, `Abdu'l-Baha began to impose some sort of order on the array of local institutional arrangements that had evolved in different parts of the world. He instructed that all other usages such as House of Justice and Board of Counsel be dropped in favour of Spiritual Assembly as the designation of these institutions. He then began given instructions on how they were to be elected and what functions they should perform. He emphasized the importance of these Assemblies in a number of symbolic ways such as the following episode related by Shoghi Effendi:

So great is the importance and so supreme is the authority of these assemblies that once `Abdu'l-Baha after having himself and in his own handwriting corrected the translation made into Arabic of the *Ishraqat* (the *Effulgences*) by Sheikh Faraj, a Kurdish friend from Cairo, directed him in a Tablet to submit the above-named translation to the Spiritual Assembly of Cairo, that he may seek from them before publication their approval and consent. (Shoghi Effendi 1968, 23)

The full development of these institutions was not to occur until after the passing of `Abdu'l-Baha, but even from their earliest days they played an important role in the globalization of the Baha'i community by acting as foci of communications in the increasingly widespread network of the world Baha'i community. Travelling Baha'is, for example, would communicate with Baha'is in the country of destination through these assemblies and these assemblies would then in turn set up itineraries and hospitality for the travellers.

`Abdu'l-Baha provided plans for the continued globalization of the Baha'i community through his Tablets of the Divine Plan. These writings gave instructions for how and to where the Baha'i Faith was to be spread. Though there was only a limited response to it in `Abdu'l-Baha's own life-time, it became the basis for the global expansion of the Baha'i Faith under Shoghi Effendi.

Universalism and Particularism

In his discussion of universalism and particularism, modernity and post- modernity, Robertson states that "one of the main features of globalization is the compression of the world" resulting in "an exacerbation of collisions between civilizational, societal and communal narratives" (1992, 141). `Abdu'l-Baha in his programme of globalizing the Baha'i community may be said to have deliberately created a clash of narratives, in order to guide the Baha'i community in traversing the path to globalization and to demonstrate that unity is possible despite the clash of cultural and civilizational narratives.

`Abdu'l-Baha's main problem in his moves towards globalization was how to orchestrate these "collisions between civilizational, societal and communal narratives" without the attendant danger of fracturing the Baha'i community into sects and factions. `Abdu'l-Baha's solution to this was to advance the concept of the Covenant. This was `Abdu'l-Baha's main theoretical framework for his project of globalizing the Baha'i community. He considered the Covenant to be the main element that would enable the Baha'i community to maintain its unity while at the same time exposing itself to the "collisions between civilizational, societal and communal narratives". In this regard, the concept of the Covenant could be summarized thus: it maintains that it is possible and even desirable for different narratives, different viewpoints, different interpretations to evolve within the Baha'i community as long as the individual Baha'is maintain a personal loyalty and willingness to submit to the authority of the Centre of the Covenant (which was `Abdu'l-Baha during his ministry, and later Shoghi Effendi and the Universal House of Justice). That authority was only lightly and seldom invoked by `Abdu'l-Baha, usually only in administrative and organisational matters, although it was on occasions also invoked on doctrinal and theological questions (for example, `Abdu'l-Baha's categorical refutation of the trend among

some Western Baha'is to identify him with Christ). In this way, the maximum possible freedom was given to the Baha'is to think and act in culturally and individually distinctive ways, to develop diverse narratives, while at the same time preventing the community from fracturing and splitting into sects due to the collisions between the different narratives. In this way it was possible to balance the modernist trend towards unity with the post-modernist trend towards diversity and differentiation.

It was for this reason that `Abdu'l-Baha emphasized the Covenant so much in his writings both to the Baha'is of the East and of the West. He calls the Covenant the "strong fortress", the "pulsating artery in the body of the world", that which is able to "stir and move the hearts of humanity", that through which "the sun of reality will shine" and the "clouds of mercy will pour down" (Covenant 1950, 71-3). Emphasizing the role of the Covenant in maintaining unity, he states:

Today no power can conserve the oneness of the Baha'i world save the Covenant of God; otherwise differences like unto a most great tempest will encompass the Baha'i world. It is evident that the axis of the oneness of the world of humanity is the power of the Covenant and nothing else. Had the Covenant not come to pass . . . the forces of the Cause of God would have been utterly scattered and certain souls who were the prisoners of their own passions and lusts would have taken into their hands an axe, cutting the root of this Blessed Tree. Every person would have pushed forward his own desire and every individual aired his own opinion! (`Abdu'l-Baha 1993, 51)

In summary it may be said that `Abdu'l-Baha's strategy was to push the Baha'i community towards globalization firstly by diversifying the Baha'i community, geographically, ethnically, racially and cultural, and thus increasing the social interactions among the Baha'i communities so as press upon them the reality of globalization - to realise Baha'u'llah's dictum "The earth is but one country and mankind its citizens" (Baha'u'llah 1983, 250, no. 117). At the same time he guarded against the contention, conflict and division that this would cause by emphasizing the doctrine of the Covenant, which tied each individual Baha'i in a bond of personal loyalty to `Abdu'l-Baha.

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