"Sufism and Yoga according to Muhammad Ghawth"[1]

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What has been the relationship between Sufism and yoga? The question of yogic "influence" on Sufism has been raised from the first Orientalist studies of Islamic mysticism, because of the well-known millenial presence of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. Partly because of ingrained Orientalist assumptions that Islam was legalistic and intolerant, it was assumed that the mystical tendencies in the Islamic tradition must have come from elsewhere. Thus began the quest for the "origins" of Sufism, which were variously—and fruitlessly—sought in the doctrines of Christian monasticism, Buddhism, shamanism, or yoga. The consensus of scholarship now, I think, accepts Sufism as a religious phenomenon oriented by the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad. Yet one commonly finds the assertion that Sufi practices of breathing control and meditation somehow derive from Hindu or Buddhist yogic exercises; little proof is ever offered for this thesis. I have spent a considerable amount of time researching the Sufi texts that make passing reference to yoga, and it is undeniable that certain Sufis in India were aware of yogic practices. On a textual level, however, extended discussions of yoga are rare. Only one work on yoga, described below, had a wide circulation in the Muslim world, in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu translation. Even in this most obvious example of Muslim interest in yogic practice, however, it seems clear that yoga was integrated into the spectrum of existing Sufi practice, rather than somehow acting as a "source" for the entire Sufi tradition.

The text in question is one of the most unusual examples of cross-cultural encounter in the annals of the study of religion. The *Amrtakunda* or "Pool of Nectar" was the name of a Sanskrit or Hindi text, the original text of which is now lost. It was ostensibly translated into Arabic, according to the introduction, in 1210 in Bengal, under the title *hawd*

ma' al-hayat: "The Pool of the Water of Life"; I have prepared a critical edition and English translation of the Arabic text, which will be published with an extensive introduction dealing with the cross-cultural religious issued raised by the *Amrtakunda*.[2] For reasons too complex to discuss here, I would like to suggest that this account is fictitious, and that the actual translator was a Persian scholar trained in the Illuminationist school of philosophy, probably in the fifteenth century; this unknown philosopher then went to India and encountered the teachings of hatha yoga according to the tradition of the Nath yogis (popularly called *jogi*s). The anonymous translator incorporated into the introduction two symbolic narratives, one deriving ultimately from the "Hymn of the Pearl" from the gnostic *Acts of Thomas*, the other being a partial translation from a Persian treatise, *On the Reality of Love*, originally written by the Illuminationist philosopher Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi al-Maqtul.[3] From the dissemination of the manuscript copies of the Arabic text, it is clear that *hawd al-hayat* was fairly well known in the Islamic world; at least forty-five copies are found in libraries in European and Arab countries, the majority being in Istanbul. The content of the text was so unusual that, perhaps by default, it has been frequently assigned to the authorship of the Andalusian Sufi master Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-'Arabi; this attribution is clearly erroneous.[4] The vocabulary of the text is mostly formed on the Arabic technical terminology of Hellenistic philosophy, with some Islamic overtones derived from the Qur'an and Sufism. The translator worked strenuously to render the yogic practices in a way that was understandable to a philosophically oriented reader of Arabic. Yet the *hawd al-hayat* was only the beginning of the trajectory of the *Amrtakunda* in the Islamic world.

The Pool of the Water of Life stands out from other Arabic and Persian translations from the Sanskrit, in that it emphasized Indian spiritual practices rather than doctrines. Although al-Biruni (d. 1010) had translated Patañjali's *Yogasutra* into Arabic, he had focused on philosophical questions and omitted the topic of mantra altogether.[5] Most of the Sanskrit texts translated into Persian during the Mughul period were likewise chosen for their philosophical interest

and had little relevance to religious practice. *The Pool of the Water of Life* was known to various Muslim mystics of India, some of whom had watched with interest the breathing exercises and chants of the yogis, and noticed similarities with their own meditative practices.[6] Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (d. 1537), who was familiar with the yoga of the Naths and wrote Hindi verses on the subject, taught *The Pool* to a disciple.[7] In the sixteenth century, Muhammad Ghawth Gwaliyari (d. 1563), an Indian Sufi master of the Shattari order, translated *The Pool* from Arabic into Persian under the title *Bahr al-hayat* (*The Ocean of Life*).[8] There are at least two other less commonly known Persian translations of the Arabic text; one of these was circulated among Persian scholars of Fars in the early seventeenth century, where the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle acquired a copy in 1622. Sufis in Sind and Turkey continued to refer to *The Pool* well into the nineteenth century. The Arabic text was twice translated into Ottoman Turkish, and Muhammad Ghawth's Persian translation was itself rendered into Dakhani Urdu.[9]

Here I would like to concentrate on the Persian translation by Muhammad Ghawth, which is of considerable importance for Sufism.[10] This Persian translation and expansion (in some copies written by husayn Gwaliyari from the dictation of Muhammad Ghawth) was composed in the the city of Broach in Gujarat, probably around 1550, in order to clarify the obscurities of the Arabic version.[11] Although Muhammad Ghawth did not have access to the Sanskrit text of the *Amrtakunda*, he had consulted extensively with contemporary yogic teachers, and his version is greatly expanded from the Arabic text. The Persian text is appropriately entitled *The Ocean of Life*, and the growth in size from a pool to an ocean parallels the expansion of the text by the addition of many new materials (e.g., the list of yogic postures in chapter IV is expanded from five to twenty-one positions). It seems likely that he had been using the *hawd al-hayat* as a teaching text with his disciples in the Shattari Sufi order, and that his Persian translation emerged as an oral commentary on the Arabic. The teachings of the *Bahr al-hayat*, as adapted in other writings by Muhammad Ghawth, apparently occupied a

significant position in the literature of the Shattari order. Some of the practices that Muhammad Ghawth incorporated into his treatise on meditation, the *Jawahir-i khamsa*, or *The Five Jewels*, have superficial resemblances to yogic exercises. The Mecca-based Shattari teacher sibghat Allah (d. 1606) translated the latter text into Arabic as *al-Jawahir al-khams*, and taught these practices to disciples from as far away as North Africa and Indonesia.[12] In other words, if one wished to make a case for yogic "influence" on Sufi practice, this would seem to be the strongest possible example to make that case. There is no other known literary source on yoga so widely disseminated among Sufis. Yet later authors in the Shattari tradition exhibited ambivalence toward the explicit description of yogic teachings in the *Bahr al-hayat*. This ambivalence towards yoga is manifest in the lengthy characterization of the *Bahr al-hayat* given by one of Muhammad Ghawth's biographers, his near-namesake Muhammad Ghawthi:

The *Bahr al-hayat* is the translation of the ascetical work and manual of the society of Jogis [yogis] and Sannyasis, in which occur

> interior practices, visualization exercises, descriptions of holding the breath, and other types of meditation. . . . These two groups are the chief ascetics, recluses, and guides of the people of idolatry and infidelity. By the blessings of these very practices and repetitions of names (*adhkar*), [they have] arrived to the ladder of false spirituality (*istidraj*) and the excellent rank of visions . . . He (Muhammad Ghawth) separated all these subjects from the Sanskrit language that is the tongue of the infidels' flimsy books, dressed them in Persian, loosed the belt of infidelity from the shoulder of those concepts, and adorned them with . . . unity and *islam*, thus freeing them from the dominance of blind adherence with the overwhelming strength of true faith. The master of realization bestowed aid and assistance with Sufi repetitions of names (*adhkar*) and practices. He fashioned the Truth (*al-haqq*), which is a single casket (*huqqa*) of precious jewels, and a case for kingly rubies, from the spoils of

> "they are like cattle, nay, more erring" (Qur. 7.171) . . . into an ennobling crown for the Lord of "religion, for God, is *islam*" (Qur. 3.19).[13]

This biographer was at pains to separate the yogic practices as far as possible from their Indian origin, and he therefore argued that they had been entirely Islamized. A similar sentiment appears in a modern Urdu biography of Muhammad Ghawth, based on the work of a disciple of Muhammad Ghawth named Fazl Allah Shattari. There the text is briefly described as follows: "[On] the method of the modes and practices of the Jogi [yogi] and Sannyasi folk, in the Sanskrit language. He has translated it into the Persian language in the style of Islamic Sufism, and arranged it in the fashion of the Sufi master. This is a good book for esotericists."[14] Here too, the commentator feels the need to describe the contents of the book as having been Islamized.

Muhammad Ghawth himself saw no such ambiguity in his reworking of the yogic material. In general, he felt free to make the most remarkable equivalences between yogic terms and practices on the one hand and Sufi concepts on the other. In making these creative translations, he was following the lead of the anonymous translator of the original Arabic version. In the seventh chapter of the Arabic text, which treats the magical imagination (*wahm*), the seven Sanskrit *mantra*s or chants associated with the seven *cakra*s or spinal nerve centers are all boldly declared to be translations of the Arabic invocations of the names of God. Thus the Sanskrit syllable *hum* is translated as "O Lord" (*ya rabb*), and *aum* is translated as "O Ancient One" (*ya qadim*). In introducing these seven great mantras, the Arabic translator remarks that "they are like the greatest names [of God] among us."[15] Muhammad Ghawth goes one better, however, providing two Arabic phrases for each Sanskrit term; he translates *hum* as *ya rabb ya hafiz*, "O Lord, O Protector," and *aum* as *ya qahir ya qadir*, "O Wrathful, O All-powerful."[16] In a discussion of breathing techniques that does not appear in the Arabic version, Muhammad Ghawth also finds equivalents for the yogic terms *hans* and *so ham*,

which are pronounced during the two phases of exhalation and inhalation; the first is "an expression for the spiritual lord (*rabb ruhi*)," while the second stands for "the lord of lords (*rabb al-arbab*)."[17] There are many other examples of this kind. Semantically, such "translations" make no sense whatever; they are, rather, functional equivalents between the yogic words of power and the names of God as used by the Sufis; this is especially evident in the case of the seven great mantras, for which the Arabic equivalents are presented in a vocative form used in the Sufi *dhikr* repetitions of the names of God. Other equivalences, on the other hand, sometimes are so far-fetched as to strain credulity. For instance, the Samk'hya triad of cosmic qualities, *rajas* ("passion"), *tamas* ("darkness"), and *sattva* ("goodness"), which are here correlated with the three deities Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesh, are bizarrely translated as "all the commands of religious law," "the blow of existence," and "equality."[18] In such a case it appears that the translator was mainly concerned to provide some kind of arbitrary equivalent from an Islamic vocabulary rather than any precise linguistic rendering. Perhaps the most remarkable equivalences made by Muhammad Ghawth involve persons, identifying primordial yogis with the prophets recognized in Islam. At one point he writes, "Their religious leader (*imam*) is Gorakh, and some say that Gorakh is an expression for Khizr (peace on our Prophet and on him)."[19] Here the archetypal yogi has been assimilated to the immortal Prophet Khizr (Arabic Khadir), who plays an important initiatic role in Sufism. There are two further identifications of this type: "That religious leader (*imam*) Chaurangi, that is, Elijah [Ilyas] (peace be upon him), and the third, 'the breath of the fish,' who is the religious leader Machindirnath [Matsyendranath, cf. Skt. *matsya*, fish], or Mina Nath, that is, Jonah [Yunus] (peace be upon him)--each one of them has attained the water of life."[20] Muhammad Ghawth has assimilated elements of the yogic tradition to familiar Islamic categories and persons, much as Islamic philosophers assimilated the wisdom of the Greeks and other pre-Islamic peoples to their own prophetic dispensation.

In his comparison of yogic and Islamic categories, Muhammad Ghawth not only identifies great yogis with the prophets, but also implicitly puts his accounts of yogic practice on a parallel with normative religious practice in Islam. He regards the yogis' oral traditions as a parallel phenomenon to the *hadith* reports of the prophet Muhammad, describing them by the same Arabic term, *riwayat*, that is used for *hadith* transmissions. The main differences between these yogic traditions and Islamic *hadith* lie in their sources (Hindu deities such as Siva instead of Muhammad) and their transmitters. In the account of the "*imam*s" of the yogis just mentioned, which is devoted to a discussion of breath control, Matsyendranath and Chaurangi are both described as presenting transmissions (*riwayat*), generally going back to Siva as an ultimate source. Muhammad Ghawth even invokes the authority of the Tantric goddess Kamak'hya Devi, who is well known in Assam and Bengal, for a technical clarification of yogic practice: "The transmitter (*rawi*) is a woman, the wife of Mahadeva [Siva], who is called Kamak'hya Devi—she says that [in the *ke'hecari mudra* position] there is no need to hold the breath. . . . She is a reporter (*naqil*) from Brahma and Visnu."[21] By using terms from the normative discourse of Islamic *hadith* methodology, Muhammad Ghawth aims to draw the Muslim reader into the heart of the discussion of yoga by means of a format that is both familiar and authoritative.

Muhammad Ghawth frequently comments that on the practical level, the experiences of yogis and sufis are very similar. He states this emphatically with respect to the characteristic Sufi term for mystical experience, "unveiling (*kashf*): "Most of the 'friends of God (*awliya'-i khuda*, Sufi saints)' have comprehended and explained these influences from unveiling (*kashf*), and the monks (*rahiban*) of India, who are the yogis, have unveiling that is in agreement with the mystical state of those who have realized the truth. Although the language differs, the explanation is the same."[22] In a discussion of a particular repetition of a passage from the Qur'an, he states further that "Most of the sages (*hukama'*) of India have followed this practice, and have attained to their own quiddity; some Muslims have taken the same practice to

completion and have reached the benefit of gnosis as is appropriate."[23] Despite the improbability of yogis devoting themselves to repeating *Surat Ikhlas* from the Qur'an, Muhammad Ghawth finds that the practical results of repeated chanting are very similar in both traditions, regardless of differences in semantic or religious content.

Occasionally, the Shattari master finds discrepancies between yogic teachings and standard Islamic doctrines, and these lead him to seek an explanation that will reconcile the two. In the beginning of the sixth chapter, which concerns the nature of the body, he recognizes the difference that separates the yogic and Islamic concepts of spirit and body. In an extended and revealing passage, Muhammad Ghawth sets forth the approach that he follows, of seeking a kind of accord between the two positions.

> The master of the religious law (*shar'*) [i.e., the Prophet Muhammad] states that after a specific time, the entry of the spirit into the body takes place. The perfect and practiced yogis say that, without spirit, nothing abides, rather, it undergoes corruption. Especially, the point of flesh and skin does not endure a single day [without spirit]. Here lies a contradiction between the theory (*kalam*) of the yogis and the command of the religious law. A categorical reply is required, so that the decree of the religious law may accord with (*rast ayad ba*) the findings of the yogis, and so that, except for the different method (*tartib*), no doubt should attach to their words. In the end, the theory becomes a single connection (*paywand*), and each of them becomes open to advice (*pand-pazir*). With a delicate understanding one engages with the subtlety of meaning and investigates until one becomes an experiencer of truth. Then the theory (*kalam*) on both sides becomes firmly rooted in the heart and has a single substance.[24]

The case resembles that of the early Islamic philosophers, who also had to deal with a discrepancy between the Platonic notion of the pre-existence of the soul and the prophetic emphasis on the creation of the soul by an omnipotent God. After a complicated excursus on the cosmic deployment of the spirit, Muhammad Ghawth returns to the problem

of reconciling yogic and Islamic views. He concludes that while the yogic doctrine has shortcomings, their practical knowledge of the body is highly advanced and valuable for the pursuit of mystical knowledge.

Now in the discussion of wisdom and power, plenty of difficulties have appeared. Fundamentally the words of the yogis are not correct. It is necessary to harmonize (*tatbiq dashtan*) this so that the actual condition becomes apparent, and so that their unveiling is corrected and made right. Its practice rests upon the real; its practice leads to the result of a spiritual state. The Siddha yogis say, "We are in agreement with the dervishes who realize the truth in the quiddity of spirit." Inasmuch as they speak of descent, appearance, and ascent (*tanazzul, tala'at, taraqqi*), which rest upon the real, yet they have gone beyond the reality of recognizing the means. The yogic group has grasped the means, and they have observed and investigated it, because by the means of the body the real gnosis is discovered. . . . Therefore the protection of the body is a duty (*farz*), because it is the means of gnosis.[25]

Again the similarity with the Islamic adaptation of Greek philosophy is striking. Just as Ibn Rushd argued that the study of philosophy is a religious duty for those who are qualified intellectuals, so Muhammad Ghawth uses a term from Islamic law, *farz*, to desribe the obligatory character of the study of yoga for those who are seeking gnosis. Doctrinal differences exist, but are relatively unimportant when compared with the effective realization of spiritual states for which yoga can be an effective means.

What are the practical results of Muhammad Ghawth's adoption of yogic practices into Sufi discipline? As we have seen, the equivalences that he makes between yogic and Islamic terminology, religious leaders, and spiritual experiences are functional. He acknowledges doctrinal differences, but does not linger on them. As far as the direct impact on the practices of the Shattari order is concerned, the most obvious innovation is the use of chants in Hindi or Sanskrit. In speaking of the occult science called *simiya*, Muhammad Ghawth remarks that one of its bases is "the

talisman [made] from the names of the most high creator; whether they are in Arabic or Hindi, the result is attained."[26] This is true whether whether we are concerned with the seven principal Sanskrit mantras or the Qur'anic invocations of God. Thus he further notes that "the perfect monks and Siddha yogis have grasped these names of God most high in the Indian language, and have been occupied in reciting them. They have seen the internal result with the eye of manifestation. Having found the names in the heart, they have dived into it, and like pearl divers they have brought up the quiddity of the Essence and Attributes with praise."[27] Thus it will not be surprising to find that Muhammad Ghawth presents, in the ninth chapter, the "great prayer (*du'a-i kabir*)," which begins with Qur'anic invocations but shifts abruptly into a dozen lines of Sanskrit *mantra*s.[28] In his principal work on Sufi practice, *The Five Jewels*, Muhammad Ghawth also cites a *dhikr* in Hindi, which he attributes to the early Chishti Sufi master Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakkar (d. 1265).[29]

Beyond the introduction of sacred syllables from Indian languages, which is fairly obvious, it is difficult to state precisely what has been the effect of the study of yogic practices on Sufism. In a general sense, such practices as visualization, localizing syllables in parts of the body, and repeating chants that produce occult powers, all may be considered typical of hatha yoga. Yet these practices can also be found in many branches of Sufism unrelated to India, and in the gnostic meditations of pre-Islamic traditions such as Neoplatonism. So to speak of "influences" from one separate vessel into another, or even to raise the question in this form, is a kind of prejudgment that does not necessarily aid in the understanding of this religious phenomenon. Muhammad Ghawth did not study yogic teachings from an academic point of view as an outside observer. His "translation" of the *Amrtakunda* text is a work framed in terms of the Islamic traditions, studded with quotations from the Qur'an and *hadith*. The language of "influence" does not begin to do justice to the subtlety with which he finds points of contact between the terminologies of Yoga and Sufism, or to the ways in which he uses the approaches of Islamic legal discourse to categorize the study of yoga. A fuller argument

regarding the wider role of yogic practice in Sufism will have to be deferred, but in the most notable case of a yogic text used by Sufis, Muhammad Ghawth's Persian translation of the *Amrtakunda*, yoga is simply a body of practices that can be successfully integrated into the overall worldview of Sufism.

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[1]This article has been developed as part of translation and study, entitled *The Pool of Nectar: Muslim Interpreters of Yoga* (forthcoming), where the subject is discussed in much more detail; the research has been supported by a Translation Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. An earlier version was presented at the American Academy of Religion Conference in Anaheim, California, in November 1989.

[2]See *The Pool of Nectar*. The Arabic text was first edited from 5 MSS by Yusuf Husain, "*Haud al-hayat*, la version arabe de l'Amratkund," *Journal Asiatique* 213 (1928), pp. 291-344, but unfortunately this edition contains numerous errors and omissions. My forthcoming translation is based on a superior text established by comparison of 25 of 45 extant MSS.

[3]Typically, the only scholar to notice these Gnostic and Illuminationist elements in the *Amrtakunda* translation was Henry Corbin, in "Pour une morphologie de la spiritualité shî`ite," *Eranos-Jahrbuch 1960*, vol. 29 (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1961), esp. pp. 102-107, repeated with some variations in his *En Islam iranien, Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, vol. 2, *Sohrawardî et les Platoniciens de Perse* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), pp. 328-334.

[4]Osman Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn `Arabi, Étude critique* (2 vols., Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1964), I, 287-288, no. 230.

[5]Hellmut Ritter, ed., "Al-Biruni's Übersetzung des Yoga-sutra des Patañjali," *Oriens* 9 (1956), pp. 165-200; Bruce B. Lawrence, "The Use of Hindu Religious Texts in al- Biruni's *India* with Special Reference to Patanjali's Yoga-Sutras," in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Biruni and Jalal al-Din al-Rumi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1975), pp. 29-48, esp. p. 33.

[6]E.g., Nasir al-Din Mahmud "Chiragh-i Dihli" (d. 1356), *Khayr al-Majalis*, comp. Hamid Qalandar, ed. K. A. Nizami (Aligarh: Department of History, 1956), p. 60; my translation of this passage is found in *Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., Princeton Readings in Religions, 1 (Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 513-17.

[7]For bibliographic references see S. A. A. Rizvi, "Sufis and Nâtha Yogis in Mediaeval Northern India (XII to XVI Centuries)," p. 132, quoting Rukn al-Din's *Lata'if-i Quddusi* (Delhi, 1894), p. 41; idem, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. I, *Early Sufism and its History in India to 1600 A.D.* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1978), p. 335. Gangohi's knowledge of yoga is fully discussed by Simon Digby in "`Abd Al-Quddus Gangohi (1456-1537 A.D.): The Personality and Attitudes of a Medieval Indian Sufi," *Medieval India, A Miscellany* III (1975), pp. 1-66.

[8]See below.

[9]A complete description of these translations and known manuscripts is given in *The Pool of Nectar*.

[10]Here I refer to two MSS: Muhammad Ghawth Gwaliyari, *Bahr al-hayat*, MS 2002 Persian (Ethé), India Office Library (hereafter cited as IO); and MS 6298 Persian, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad (cited as GB). More than twenty MSS of this text exist, along with two lithograph editions.

[11]IO, pp. 2, 4.

[12]See Muhammad ibn Khatir al-Din ibn Khwaja al-`Attar [Muhammad Ghawth], *al-Jawahir al-khams*, ed. Ahmad ibn al-`Abbas (2nd ed., Egypt: Muhammad Rif`at `Amir, 1393/1973),pp. 3-9; Muhammad ibn `Ali al-Sanusi, *al-Salsabil al-Ma`in fi al-tara'iq al-arba`in*, in *al-Masa'il al-`ashar* (Cairo, n.d.), pp. 124 ff.

[13]Muhammad Ghawthi, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, MS 259 Persian, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, fols. 327b-328a. Ghawthi's book is a biographical dictionary of Indian Sufis completed in 1613. The modern Urdu translation of this work considerably mutes the language of this passage, simply referring to "Hindus" instead of infidels, and omitting several disparaging adjectives; cf. Muhammad Ghawthi Mandawi, *Adhkar-i Abrar, Urdu Tarjuma-i Gulzar-i Abrar*, trans. Fadl Ahmad Jiwari (Agra: Matba`-i Mufid-i `Amm, 1326/1908; reprint ed., Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1395/1975), p. 300.

[14]Fadl Allah Shattari, *Manaqib-i Ghawthiyya*, Urdu trans. Muhammad Zahir al-Haqq (Agra: Abu al-Ma`ali Steam Press, 1933), p. 75. This rare lithograph has been translated from a Persian MS in the khanqah of Shaykh Wajih al-Din `Alawi in Ahmedabad, which apparently covered the life of Muhammad Ghawth up to 941/1534-35, the remainder being added by the translator on the basis of "well-known books" (p. 80).

[15]"Amratkund," p. 330.

[16]*Bahr al-hayat*, IO, pp. 91, 94; GB, pp. 82, 84.

[17]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 4, IO, pp. 45-46; GB, p. 55; ch. 7, GB, p. 93.

[18]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 10, GB, p. 25. al-Biruni more accurately understood *rajas* as "exertion and fatigue," *tamas* as "languor and irresolution," and *sattva* as "rest and goodness"; cf. *Alberuni's India*, trans. Edward C. Sachau

(London, 1888; reprint ed., New Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1964), I, 40-41. Further on these three qualities see, e.g., *The Bhagavad Gita*, trans. R. C. Zaehner (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), index, s.vv.

[19]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 5, IO, p. 66; GB, p. 68 (omits reference to "our Prophet").

[20]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 5, GB, p. 68, in a marginal note marked "from another MS."

[21]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 5, GB, p. 69 (following marginal corrections); IO, p. 67.

[22]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 7, IO, p. 90.

[23]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 3, IO, p. 31 (omitting the word "some" before "Muslims"); GB, p. 42.

[24]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 6, IO, p. 72; GB, pp. 71-71.

[25]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 6, IO, pp. 76-77; GB, pp. 74-75.

[26]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 2, IO, p. 38; GB, p. 46.

[27]*Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 7, GB, p. 87; IO, p. 100.

[28] *Bahr al-hayat*, ch. 9, IO, pp. 151-152; GB, p. 13. The ninth chapter, on the subjugation of spirits, bears little resemblance to the Arabic version, which describes seven *mantra*s for control of the planetary guardians; the Persian text has an entirely different set of practices.

[29]Muhammad Ghawth, *al-Jawahir al-khams*, II, 70. The same *dhikr* was also quoted by the later Shattari author of Bihar, Imam Rajgiri (d. ca. 1718); cf. Syed Hasan Askari, "A Fifteenth Century Shuttari Sufi Saint of North Bihar," *Proceedings of the 13th Indian History Congress* (1950), p. 157; M. M. Haq, "The Shuttari Order of Sufism in India and Its Exponents in Bengal and Bihar," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* 16 (1971), pp. 175 (with wide textual variations).