



**DARA SHUKOH'S CONTRIBUTION TO
PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION**
With Special Reference to his *Majma' al-Bahrain*

ABSTRACT

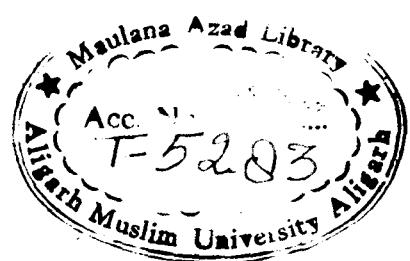
THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
Doctor of Philosophy
IN
PHILOSOPHY

BY
KAZUYO SAKAKI

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
PROF. MUHAMMAD RAFIQ

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)
1998

THESIS SECTION



13 JUL 2000

ABSTRACT

**Dārā Shukoh's Contribution to Philosophy of Religion
with Special Reference to his Majma' al-Bahrayn**

Thesis for Doctor of Philosophy in Philosophy

by

Kazuyo Sakaki

**Under the Supervision of
Prof. Muhammad Rafique**

**Department of Philosophy
Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
INDIA**

1998

Introduction

This thesis aims at the reassessment of the role of Dārā Shukoh in the history of Indian philosophy.

In the history of Islām in India, Dārā Shukoh holds the position of two sided figure. As heir-apparent of Shāh Jahān, he was a political figure. On the other hand, he was a prominent follower of Qādirī order and became a disciple of Miyān Mīr and Mullā Shāh. Inspired by the sayings and acts of these spiritual preceptors, prominent Sūfī works and the acquaintance in his contemporary Sūfis, Dārā wrote hagiographical works on Sūfis including his spiritual preceptors, compiled Sūfistic aphorisms and wrote some tracts on Sūfism. His study of Hindu scriptures and direct contact with Hindu saints and pāṇḍits led him to translate the *Upaniṣads* into Persian and write the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn (MB)* as a treatise on comparative study of philosophy and religion of Sūfism and Hinduism.

Hindu-Muslim cultural and religious interactions have not received their due share of attraction from modern scholars. There are several works on Dārā Shukoh, beginning with the Sheo Narain, pioneer of historical study on Dārā's life and works. After the publication of the *MB* by Maḥfūz al-Haqq, Vikrama Jit Hasrat wrote comprehensive study of Dārā Shukoh. Hasrat's approach is limited to a historical, general survey. As a whole, his approach is sketchy, thus the considerations of the philosophical and religious ideas based on comparative and philological study are scarce.

MB shows multitudinous scope for philosophical and religious study of his idea of philosophy of religion. Concepts from *Upaniṣads*, *Vedānta*, *Sāṃkhyā-Yoga* and *Tantra Yoga* have been inserted, thus it can be said to have a synthetic approach or to be an eclectic work. Some are duly understood and some are misunderstood. Misunderstandings are not rare and interesting or significant, however, how and why they occur is an interesting and enlightening point to describe the world of the *MB* as a source book of information of contemporary trends in Indian philosophy and religion.

Thus more detailed and critical study of the *MB* is necessary. In particular, this thesis concentrates on the philological analysis of the original texts. Thus, further precise examination of each work and biography should be done before the final assessment of Dārā's place in the history of Indian philosophy and religion can be made.

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part I consists of the critical study of Philosophy of Religion of Dārā Shukoh. In Chapter 1, a historical study

has been made on his biography and the sketch of Dārā's own works, works dedicated to Dārā are briefly summarized. In Chapter 2, for the investigation of Dārā Shukoh's philosophy of religion, an analytical study of the *MB* is made with reference to source books. In Chapter 3, for the investigation of the background of Dārā's thought, an analysis is made of the influence of Dārā's spiritual preceptors, contemporary entourages and translated works into Persian. Part II consists of a critical edition of the Persian text of the *MB* and Arabic and Sanskrit translations.

Part I Study of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

Chapter I : Historical Study of Dārā Shukoh

After brief a sketch of Dārā Shukoh's biography in 1-1, works of Dārā shukoh is described in 1-2. Dārā was a prolific writer. His works reflect his spiritual progress. His author life can be divided into two decades due to his intellectual and spiritual changes. The first half reflects his deep study of mysticism and standard Sūfistic works. His initiation into Qādirī silsila in 1640, when he was 25 years old is the starting point for his practical study of Sūfism. The *Safīnat al-Awliyā'* belongs to the *tazkira* genre of Sūfi literature, was composed on the 27th Ramaḍān 1049 A.H. / 1640. Next, *Sakīnat al-Awliyā'* composed in 1052 A.H. / 1642, is included in the genre of *malfūzāt*. The topics treated are concerned not only with the lives of the saints but also with the spiritual doctrines of the Qādirī sect and devotional exercises. The *Risālat-i Haqq Numā* is mystical explanation of four worlds of existence was composed in 1056 A.H. / 1646. In the *Hasanāt al-Ārifīn*, Dārā collected ecstatic or paradoxical utterances ascribed to mystics. The *Tarīqat al-Haqīqat*, *Risālat-i Rumuzat* and *Risārat-i Ma‘āsir* on Sūfistic principles and Islamic dogmas are ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. His *Dīwān* with Sūfistic tenets and the praise of his shaikhs is also compiled.

The second phase begins at the occasion of meeting Bābā Lāl Bairāgī. He opened his eyes to the mysticism in Indian philosophy and religious tenet. In this phase, he wrote the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* based on the Hindu scriptures and philosophical works through the teaching of pāṇḍits. Dārā's eagerness in translating Sanskrit works resulting in the translation of the *Upaniṣads* entitled *Sirr-i Akbar*. The translation of the *Bhagavatgitā* and the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is also ascribed to Dārā. The dialogues between Dārā and Hindu sant, Bābā

Lāl Bairāgī is also indispensable to understand the philosophical and religious ideas of Dārā Shukoh.

Chapter II: Philosophy of Religion of Dārā Shukoh

2-1 Overview of Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn

2-1-1 What is Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn

Regarding the source of the title, the meaning of the term *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* is investigated. The term is found in the *Qur‘ān* in only one place (Sūra XVIII-60). The place which the *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* is located is interpreted variously, however, the interpretation of *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* as the meeting of Moses and *al-Khaḍir* standing for the two seas of wisdom seems to be the reason why Dārā Shukoh entitled his work the *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn*. Date of composition is agreed in the manuscripts and the translations in the year 1065 A.H. Subject of the *MB* is Ṣūfistic phraseology of Islam and Hindu equivalents. Dārā’s motive of writing this *MB* is explained in his preface. For him there seems to be no difference, except verbal, in the views of the two communities, Islam and Hindu. Thus he brought together the points - a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of Truth - and compiled a tract and entitled it *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* or ‘the mingling of the two Oceans’, as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of two truth knowing groups. It is clear that he took two oceans as two truth knowing groups, i.e. Islam and Hinduism. As the title implies, we can find the truth and wisdom of both groups at the meeting point.

2-1-2 Texts of the Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn

The publications of the Persian text have been done twice so far. One edited by Maḥfūz al-Ḥaqq was published in India as one of the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1929 in Calcutta. Another combined with Dārā’s other two works edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā‘īnī and published in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran under the title *Muntakhbāt-i Āthār*.

2-1-3 Textual Problems

As the editor of the *BI* edition lamented the innumerable clerical mistakes and errors of omission and commission. As the result of the unsatisfactory condition of the manuscripts which he could not depend on, he was forced to consulted five manuscripts in his hand to prepare the text , collating and selecting best reading from them. So many variants and the different forms of Persian transliteration of Sanskrit terms or quotations was a difficult task. Another problem of the *MB* is the identification of the transliterated Sanskrit terms. The *BI* edition had a very difficult task of identification of Sanskrit terms. Here we can provide the one improvement in Part II, which is a collation work with as much as thirty manuscripts.

2-1-4 Contents of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

The contents of the *MB* is named as follows:

1. The Elements ('Anāṣir)
2. The Sense Organs (Hawṣ)
3. The Devotional Exercises (*Shughl*)
4. The Attributes of God (*Šifāt-i Allāh*)
5. The Soul (*Rūḥ*)
6. The Vital Breaths (*Bād-hā*)
7. The Four World ('Awālim-i arba'a)
8. The Sound (Āwāz)
9. The Light (Nūr)
10. The Vision of God (*Ru'yat*)
11. The Names of God (Asmā'-i Allāh)
12. The Apostleship and the Saintship (*Nubuwwa wa Wilāya*)
13. The *Brahmāṇḍa*
14. The Quarters (*Jihāt*)
15. The Celestial Worlds (Āsmān-hā)
16. The Nether World (*Zamīn*)
17. The Divisions of the World (*Qismat-i zamīn*)
18. The *Barzakh* ('Ālam-i barzakh)
19. The Great Resurrection (*Qiyāma*)
20. The Salvation (*Mukti*)
21. The Day and Night of God (*Rūz wa shab*)

22. The Eternity of the Cycle of Existence (*Bī-nihāyatī-yi adwār*)

We arrange the analytical study into three sections : Nature of the World, God and Man. In the section of Nature of the World, Creation of Elements, Creation of Cognitive Organs, *Purānic* Cosmology; and the idea of Macrocosm and Microcosm; in the section of God, Attributes of God, Name of God and Divine time; in the section of Man, Nature of Soul, Way of Salvation, idea of Perfect Man and *Jīvan-mukti* are treated respectively.

2-2 Nature of the World

2-2-1 Creation (elements)

The *MB* opens with the cosmological idea of creation. Worldly creation is described as the evolution of the universe. All the mundane creations in *Nāśūt* (human nature) are constituted with five elements (*pañca-bhūtāni*). Thus the explanation of five elements and their equivalent in Indian philosophy are described. Among the five elements, Dārā has keen interest in ākāśa. He introduces the three kinds of ākāśa: ‘*Bhūtakāśa*, *Manākāśa* and *Cidākāśa*. This idea is strongly influenced by the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* for explaining the three states of Brahman.

In the process of creation, Love is said to be the first creation. ‘The first thing to come out of *Cidākāśa* was Love (‘ishq) which is called *māyā*’. Here, the *MB* quotes *Hadīth* ‘I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known: so, I brought the creation into existence.’ Dārā finds the equivalent of this Love in the concept of *Māyā*, the Vedic Divine creative power. The idea of *Hiraṇyagarbha* and *Haqqat-i Muḥammadiyya* as the first born in the process of creation, is focused in the *MB*. The concept of Ibn ‘Arabī’s the Reality of Muhammad (*Haqqat-i Muḥammadiyya*), the archetype of the universe and stands for the place of the Perfect Man.

2-2-2 Creation (cognitive organs)

After explaining the gross elements and the process of elementary creation, the *MB* proceeds to the definition of the nature of the subtle bodies (*lingaśarīra*). All sensory organ is explained with the equivalents of Indian language. Each

sense organ is allied to the element. Next, the *MB* deals with internal organs (*antahkaraṇa*). First, the *MB* enumerates internal organs (*ḥawās-i bāṭin*) in Islamic philosophy as *Hiss-i Mushtarik* (sensus communis, generalizing sense), *Khayāl* (imagination), *Muṭasarrifa*(contemplative), *Hāfiẓa* (retention) and *Wāhimā*(apprehension). The *MB* does not give any further explanation about each organ, but focuses on the four internal organs of Indian philosophy. These four are *buddhi* : understanding ('*aql*), mind (*dil*), *cit* : having one quality of *vṛtti* , *ahamkāra*: attributing things to itself , the attribute of *paramātmā*, for the reason that it possesses *māyā*. The *MB* explained this process with reference to the word of *Vasiṣṭha*. This description of the process is clearly found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. The five cognitive senses derived from the *sattva* parts of the five elements. Although the precise process from each *ahamkāra* is omitted, the difference of three kinds of *ahamkāra* is clearly shown. Dārā was much interested in these three kinds of *ahamkāras*. For each stage of these *ahamkāra*, Dārā referred to a Qur'anic verse as their authority. The three are *ahamkāra-sattva*, *ahamkāra-rājasa* and *ahamkāra-tāmasa*. These three states of *Ahamkāra* can correspond to the three stages of descent (*nuzūr*) or the process of revelation (*tajallī*) of the Absolute : Oneness (*Aḥadiyya*), He-ness (*Huwiyya*) and I-ness (*Aniyya*). This Sufistic idea is propagated by Jīlī.

2-2-3 Purānic Cosmology

Cosmological ideas found in the *MB* mostly come from the *Purānic* literature. This universe is described as *Brahmāṇḍa* in chapter 13 in the *MB*. Just as in *Purānic* literatures, this universe is described with four categories: quarters, celestial, terrestrial and netherial regions, the *MB* describes it in the same way. Next comes the various regions. Section 15 of the *MB* treats the firmament (*gagana*), however, actually, he started to enumerate the seven planets (*graha*: *kawākib-i sayyārah*). The section 16 of the *MB* is only entitled 'Earth (*zamīn*)', however, actually it is the enumeration of the names of the nether world or region: *Atala*, *Vital*, *Sutala*, *Rasātala*, *Talātala*, *Mahātala* and *Pātāala*. As *Purānic* cosmology explains, the hollows in the earth are oceans and encircle each *dvīpa*, the *MB* enumerates the seven surrounding oceans.

2-2-4 Macrocosm and Microcosm

The motif of the idea of Microcosm and Macrocosm has in one way been brought into Islam with Pythagoras. Since the age of Al-Kindī, the idea that man is Microcosm was found. On the other hand, the concept of Cosmic Man has its root in body-birth idea of creation shown in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* in the *Rg Veda*. As Ikhwān al-Ṣafā distinguished between souls universal soul (*al-kullī*) and particular soul (*al-juzī*), Dārā introduces two kinds of soul. The universal soul is recognized as the emanated form of God. In Ibn ‘Arabī’s theory, on the basis of the concept that the existence of God is immanent in all existences, God manifests Himself in the process. The first manifestation is that of the Divine Identity (*huwiyya*) i.e. identity or ipseity, and second manifestation is that of the Divine Names, various forms of the universe. Dārā uses the simile of water (in the ocean) and waves of the ocean. The inter-relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that of *śarīra* (body) and *ātman* (soul); on the other hand, the combination of waves, in their complete aspect may be likened to *Abu'l Arwāḥ* or *Paramātman*; while water is like the August Existence or *śuddha-caitanya* (pure-consciousness). We can find the same idea in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. Referring to the concept that the whole universe is in Brahman, this parable of the silkworm. In the *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, in the second opinion (*nazar*), referring to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the idea of Cosmic Man is introduced. The fourteen worlds (seven terrestrial worlds and seven celestial worlds) correspond to the parts of the body of *Puruṣa*.

2-3 God

2-3-1 Attributes of God

The essence of God is unknowable for us. We seek to know it through its names and attributes. Absolute Being revealed itself as Divinity with attributes. The created world is the outward aspect of inward aspect in God. Man, in essence, is the microcosm in whom all attributes are united. In section 4 of the *MB*, attributes of God are shown. At the beginning, the *MB* introduces two divine attributes : *Jamāl* (beauty) and *Jalāl* (majesty) and does not proceed further. Here, main focus is on the system of *triguna*.

Triguṇa: *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* are described as having attribute of creation, duration and destruction respectively and connected with the idea of *trimūrti*; *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*. These three are equivalent with Islamic angels : *Jibrā’īl*, *Mikā’īl* and *Isrāfil* respectively. In the list of technical terms in the beginning of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā describes these three, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*. They are identified with *Jibra’īl*, *Mikā’īl* and *Isrāfil* respectively. Three *guṇas* : *rajoguṇa*, *sattvaguṇa* and *tamoguṇa* are identified with the attribute of creation, preservation and destruction respectively.

2-3-2 Name of God

God’s transcendence is revealed with the Names which were given by Himself. In section 11 entitled as “the Names of God”, twenty-three terms are enumerated with equivalent Sanskrit terms : 1) the Absolute(*Zāt al-muṭlaq*) = *Śūnya* (*insensible*) ; 2) the Pure (*baḥt*) = *Nirguṇa* (*having no qualities, epithets*) ; 3) the pure (*ṣirf*) = *Nirākāra* (*formless*) ; 4) the Hidden of the hidden (*ghayb al-ghayb*) = *Nirañjana* (*pure*) ; 5) the Necessary Self (*hadrat al-wujūd*) = *Sat Cit Ānanda* ; 6) the Knowing (*‘alīm*) = *Caitanya* (*consciousness*) ; 7) the Living (*al-Ḥayyū*) = *Ananta* (*endless*) ; 8) the Powerful (*qādir*) = *Samartha* (*able*) ; 9) the Desirous (*murīd*) = *Svatantra* (*mighty*) ; 10) the Hearing (*samīr*) = *Śrotṛ* (*listener*) ; 11) the Seeing (*baṣīr*) = *Draṣṭṛ* (*seer*) ; 12) the speaker (*kalām*) = *Vakṭṛ* (*speaker*) ; 13) *Allāh* = *Aum* ; 14) He (*hū*) = *Sah* ; 15) Angel (*firishta*) = *Devatā* (*divine being*) ; 16) the Perfect Manifestation (*mazhar atamu*)= *Avatāra* (*incarnation*) ; 17) Divine Revelation (*wahy*) = *Akāśavāṇī* (*heavenly voice*) ; 18) Heavenly Books (*kutub-i āsmānī*) = *Veda* ; 19) the virtuous jīns (*parī*) = *lacuna* ; 20) the evil jīns (*deva wa shayāṭīn*) = *Rākṣasa* (*demon*) ; 21) the human beings (*Ādamī*) = *Manuṣya* (*human being*) ; 22) saint (*walī*) = *Rṣīsvara* (*saint*) ; 23) Apostle (*nabī*) = *Mahāsiddha* (*very perfect, a great saint*). Among these terms, only the six are included in the Ninety-nine names designated as the most beautiful names (*al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā*). The rest are the religious terms. The explanation of these terms shows the conformity with the explanation in the *Sirr-i Akbar* as shown in the note.

Light (*nūr*) is one of the ninety-nine beautiful names (*al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā*). In the philosophical aspect, light belongs to God. In section 9, the *MB* classified light in three kinds: light manifested with the attribute *Jalāl*, light

manifested with the attribute *Jamāl*, and Light of the Essence devoid of any attribute. The *MB* only focuses on the Light of Essence (*nūr-i zāt*). It is called as Divine light (*nūr-i khudā*). This is equivalent with *Jyotis svarūpa*, *sva-prakāśa* or *svayam-prakāśa*. Dārā himself analyses the meaning of each symbolical words in the light verse. The Niche (*mishkāt*) stands for the world of bodily existence; the Lamp stands for the Light of the Essence; the Glass stands for the human soul; the Sacred Tree (*shajarat mubārak*) refers to the Self of Truth who is free from the East and West and Olive-oil (*zayt*) refers to the Great Soul (*rūḥ-i a'żam*) which is luminous without being lighted. At the end of section 9, the *MB* introduces the idea of veils as the real purport of this Qur'ānic light verse. The Light of the Essence is manifested in the veil of Soul of Souls (*Abū al-Arwāh*), the Soul of Souls manifested in the veil of Soul. In the questions and answers between Dārā and his respectful *guru*, Shaykh Muhibbullāh Ilāhābādī, Shaykh wrote in his letter about the *Hijāb-i Akbar* (great veil). According to him, all the knowledge , which is the veil for His attributes, are the veil of the Essence. It reflects the concept of attributes of Ibn 'Arabī and Jīlī. Veil symbolizes this phenomenal world as an attribute denoting God.

2-3-3 Divine Time

In section 21, the *MB* introduces the idea of divine time. The *MB* might have mixed the concept of digit (*sthāna*) and figure (*aṅka*) and connected with the concept of *abja*. The *MB* identifies eighteen *aṅka* (figures) as a day of *Brahmā* or the day of creation as that is to say *Parārdha*. The *MB*'s interpretation of the day of *Brahmā* (*brahmāhorātra*) has similarity with al-Bīrūni's description of *parārdha* in his *Indica*. The second point the *MB* describes is that each *abja* equal to hundred crore years. We read differently from the first case. The reading of the controversial word is very similar in Persian, however, we can read the second one as *abja*. Because the explanation of this unit is equivalent to *abja*. One *abja* equals to 10^9 . The reading of most of the Persian manuscripts shows the equivalent, a hundred crore ($10^2 \times 10^7 = 10^9$). The third point the *MB* describes is that beyond eighteen nothing can be counted. This may refer to unit in decouple proportion consisted of successive multiples by 10 upto to 10^{17} . A set of 18 terms ending in *Parārdha* became standard in North India by the time of Śrīdhara in the eighth century. The fourth point to which the *MB* refers is that the

duration of the night of concealment is equal to eighteen *aṅka* years of the world and corresponds to *susupti* or the third *avasthā* i.e. *Jabarūt*. During the lifetime of earth, God is in the stage of *Nāśūt*, during the period of the smaller resurrections, in the state of *Malakūt*, and after the *mahāpralaya*, God is in *Jabarūt*. We find the equivalent idea in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. It narrates that at the end of one day of *Brahmā*, or *kalpa*, three worlds become due for dissolution and get dissolved. This dissolution is called occasional (*naimittika*). When the period of *Parārdha* years forming the span of life of *Brahmā*, comes to a close, causal principles of the universe become due to be dissolved into Primordial Matter, i.e. *prākṛtika pralaya* occurs.

2-4 Man

2-4-1 Nature of Soul

In section 5, the *MB* differentiates the two kinds of soul (*rūḥ*), individual soul and soul of souls (*abū al-arwāḥ*). In Sanskrit translation, these two are transliterated as *rūhakullī* (*rūḥ kullī*) and *rūhajūjāī* (*rūḥ juz̄ī*), that is to say the universal soul (*rūḥ kullī*) and particular soul (*rūḥ juz̄ī*). Soul (*rūḥ*) or *ātman* is determined with subtle (*latīf*) aspect of Pure Self (*zāt-i baht*) or *śuddhacaitanya* and determined with gross (*kathīf*) aspect which is called physical body (*jasad* or *sarīra*). The Essence determined in the beginning is *rūḥ-i a'zam* which is the aggregate of all the attributes and has the state of Abstract Oneness (*ahadiyya*). According to the monistic doctrine of *Vijnānabhikṣu*, the individual soul exists in the *paramātman* in an undifferentiated state. The difference is that *jīva* (individual) is regarded as being a part of God, like son and father. God exists in the *jīvas* just as the whole existence exists in the parts. Thus Self in three states is described as follows: in pure state: *Brahman*; in the state associated with *māyā* : *Īśvara*; in the state with five subtle elements of matter : *Hiraṇyagarbha* or *Virāṭapuruṣa*. *Paramātman* is the essence of the individual souls (*jīvas*). God is the ultimate substratum of all, the functioning of all types of causes (*adhiṣṭhāna-kāraṇatā*). Regarding the concept of the *rūḥ-i a'zam* as the determined form of the Absolute and identification with Abstract Oneness (*ahadiyya*), we find the concept of descent (*nuzūr*) or individualization of the Absolute. On the list of technical terms in the beginning of the *Sirr-Akbar*, *jīvātman* (*ātmā*)

is explained as 'soul possessed with physical body (*rūḥ-i muta‘allaq-i badan*) and *paramātmā* (*paramātmā*) is explained as 'great soul (*jān-i buzurg*).

The vital force of the life organs is called *prāṇa*. *Prāṇa* has two meanings - in general sense, it stands for life-organ and in specific sense it is one of the six vital breaths. The *MB* explains each *prāṇa* : *prāṇa*, *apāṇa*, *samāṇa*, *udāṇa*, *vyāṇa* briefly about its location and function.

In section 7, four cosmic evolutionary worlds are described as the progressive stages of the seeker (the gnostic's path). In the *MB*, the four spheres of existence are explained as the worlds through which all the created beings must pass. These are four : *Nāsūt*, *Malakūt*, *Jabarūt* and *Lāhūt*, and some Sūfis add the World of Similitude ('Ālam-i mithāl). The explanations described in the *MB* is a mere summary of his *Risāla*. These worlds are called *avasthā* (states). These correspond to *jāgrat*, *suṣupti*, *svapna* and *turyā* respectively. The characteristics of these states described in the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* has comparable to the Sūfistic concept of these states.

2-4-2 Way of Salvation

One of the particulars in the devotional aspect of religion is in the practice. Prayer or the contact with saints is recognized as the nearest approach to God. The *MB* can be said to be a religious work in this respect. Just as there are ways of *Bhaktiyoga* (the path of *Bhakti*, or devotion to God) beside *Karmayoga* (the path of religious duties) and the *Jñānayoga* (the path of knowledge, by purifying mind and self-control) in the way of the attainment of true knowledge, Sūfism has *sharī'a* (the path to be followed, the Sacred Law of Islam) and *tariqa* (the path of Sūfism, practical method guided by spiritual guide) and *Haqīqa* (the path of Truth, the experience of Divine Reality) as three pillars of Sūfism.

Al-Ghazzālī's *Iḥyā* recommends contemplation (*zikr*) as the easiest way to lead directly to God. *Zikr*, literally means recollection or recital of God's name by the repetition of the religious formulae, *lā-ilā-ha illa'l-lāh* with the concentration of mind. Among these *zikrs*, *Shugl-i Pās-i Anfās* seems to have been regarded as the most important one by Dārā. This is called *Habs-i dam* 'recollection by regulation of breath', practised by the Sūfis of *Chishtī*, *Naqshbandī* and *Qādīrī silsilah*. In the *Risāla*, the method is precisely described. The merit acquired from this practice is that the rust from the mirror of the heart will be removed and purity is given to the body of flesh and blood. In

the descriptions of *Habs-i Dam*, we find the practice of this breath control by Mullā Shāh. He often practised this after evening prayers until morning. Dārā also practised this and he inhaled and exhaled only twice during this practice through night.

Regarding to the result of *Habs-i dam* practice, Dārā refers to the sound which will be heard within during this practice of retention of breath. About the nature of the sound, it is like a sound of boiling big cauldron or like buzzing sound heard in the nest of bees and wasps. Dārā calls this sound as cosmic sound. This is called *Sultān al-Azkār* (the king of all practices). According to the *Risāla*, this *Sultān al-Azkār* is the practice of hearing the voice of the silence and the path of the faqīrs. Dārā explained that there are three kinds of sound. The first one is the transitory sound (*āwāz-i muḥaddith*) and compound sound (*āwāz-i murakkab*). The second sound is produced without the contact of two object and without the utterance of words physiological sound (*āwāz-i basīṭ*) and subtle sound (*āwāz-i laṭīf*). The third one is the sound which is self-existent from eternity and exists now and will continue to exist in the future, however, without cause, without increasing nor decreasing, unchangeable. The whole world is said to be filled with this primeval sound, however, except the spiritual men, no one else can find out the existence of this sound. This is called the infinite (*bīḥad*) and absolute sound (*āwāz-i muṭlaq*). This sound comes out without effort all the time. Dārā traces the authority by six *Hadīths* and explains with the teaching of Miyān Jīv, this was practised by Prophet Muḥammad and is connected with *wahy* (revelation) at the cave of mount *Hirā*.

Yogic practice to regulate breathing is called *Prāṇāyāma*. From the age of *Upaniṣads*, it is considered to be the recommendable way to acquire the true knowledge of the Absolute. In *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, the practice of *Yoga* is recommended to acquire the truth of Soul or the manifestation of *Brahman*. In the process of practising *Yoga*, *prāṇāyāma* is said to help controlling the mind and acquiring the truth of soul.

Just as Sūfis have the method of concentration of the mind to glorify God by constant repetition of His name by *zikr*, Hindu devotees have the practice of *japa* (muttering God's name or mantras). In section 3, the *MB* introduces *ajapā* as the best devotional exercise (*shughl*). From the description, it means ordinary breathing. *Ajapā-japa* has characteristics similar to *Shughl Pās-i Anfās* and *Sultān al-azkār*. *Ajapā-japa* is called *Hamsa mantra* in *Hamsa Upaniṣad*. The mantra called *Hamsa-hamsa* is practised in the process of our inhalation and exhalation which pervades our body. . In the

Risāla, Sultān al-Azkār. the sound of a boiling big cauldron, sometimes like the buzzing sound heard in the nest of bees and wasps. In Yogic practice, this sound is heard in the passage of the *sūṣumnā* when the ears, nose, and mouth are closed.

In the *Sīrr-i Akbar*, Dārā commented on the *Atharvaśikā Upaniṣad* as identical with *anāhata* sound and equivalent to universal sound (*āwāz-i muṭlaq*). On the other hand, Aum is called *Veda-mukha* and *Ism-i A'zam* is its equivalent. In the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, Aum is called *prāṇava* and was symbolized as the primordial sound in nature. On the other hand it is regarded as the first manifestation of Universal consciousness, the quintessence of all the universe and the object of meditation.

The *MB* regards *śabda* as the source of *Ism-i A'zam*. This is reminiscent of the concept of *Śabdabrahman*. In the world of sound, *anāhata-śabda* is uncreated, self-produced sound and manifested itself as lettered sound (*śabda*) or with sound (*dhvani*). In section 11, as we will see in 2-4-3, the equivalent term of *Allāh* is called *Aum*. In the way of existential realization of ultimate truth, the *MB* find out the experience of *anāhata nāda* as the manifestation of the divine essence.

2-4-3 Perfect Man

Prophethood (*nubuwwa*) and Sainthood (*wilāya*) is the controversial problem in Islamic theology. In section 12, the *MB* divides apostles into three categories. 1) apostles who might have beheld God either with the physical or inner eyes; 2) apostles who might have heard the voice of God whether sound only or sound composed of words; 3) apostles who might have seen the angles or heard their voices. In the same way, saintship is also classified into three kinds: 1) pure (*tanzīhī*) like apostleship of Noah; 2) resembling (*tashbīhī*) like apostleship of Moses; 3) a combination of pure and resembling like apostleship of Muḥammad.

Controversial problems of beholding God and hearing the voice of God is allied to the attributes of God. Immanence (*tashbīh*) and transcendence (*tanzīh*) are regarded as the distinguishing points in the *MB*. Ibn 'Arabī used these terms as the way of explanation of an aspect of Reality. In the aspect of Reality manifested in the phenomenal world, the manifestation of His limited form is the attribute of immanence (*tashbīh*). In the aspect of Reality that we cannot perceive is the attribute of transcendence (*tanzīh*). Thus Ibn 'Arabī

reduced *tanzīh* as absoluteness (*itlāq*) and *tashbīh* as limitedness (*taqyīd*). Neither of them would be sufficient when we explain Reality. Thus Ibn ‘Arabī criticized Noah as the one-sided because of the emphasis on transcendence. For Dārā, both *tashbīh* and *tanzīh* are the forms of the self-manifestation and self-determination of the Absolute. What is most essential to Saintship is the Divine illumination with the experience of direct vision and perception of the Absolute.

The concept of *Ru’uyat-i Allāh* (the vision of God) was the controversial problem among the Islamic theologians. In section 10, the *MB* introduces the controversy connected with this concept and every believer of *ahl-i kitāb* (people with revealed book) should believe this notion in vision of God. The reason is that the

The *MB* reckoned with five kinds of *Ru’uyat*: 1) beholding Him with the eyes of the heart in dream; 2) beholding Him with the physical eyes; 3) beholding Him in an intermediate state of sleep and wakefulness; 4) beholding Him in special determination; 5) beholding Him in the multitudinous determinations. The last one is the case with the Prophet. In *MB*, one *Hadīth* ascribed to ‘Āisha Siddīqa is referred to. When she asked the Prophet, ‘Did you behold your Lord?’ The reply was ‘*nūrun innī arāhu*’. Concerning this reply, two incompatible interpretations have been given. One is ‘It is light, how can I behold it?’ and another is ‘it is light which I behold’. In the *Sakīna* this anecdote is quoted to support the idea of *ru’uyat*.

Perfect man (*Insān al-kāmil*) is the mediator through whom all knowledge of God is revealed. In the *Qur’ān*, he is represented as Adam. Adam was created by God in His image and regarded as the perfect copy of God. The first Man or prototypal man was formed by the light of the essence. As is shown in the notable Sūra XXIV of light, God is *walī* of the believers and reveals as light through which the Prophet leads the believers to real Light. *Nūr-i Muḥammadiyya* (the Light of Muhammad) stands on the same level of Perfect Man Divine names and attributes belong to Perfect Man inherent in his essence. Thus Perfect Man reflecting all the divine attributes is called *wilāya* (Special Saint). The saintly aspect of the nature of Muhammad is regarded by Ṣūfīs as superior to the aspect of a prophet or an apostle.

A saint is regarded as the popular type of Perfect Man. In this context, Ṣūfi can be called as *awliyā* (saints). Dārā highly respect Ṣūfi saints with the authority of their aphorism with the description of evaluation of Ṣūfīs. For Dārā, as is shown in the introduction of *Sakīna*, ‘loving the Masters is verily loving God; to be near them is to be near Him, to search them is to

search Him; to unite with them is to unite with Him, and showing respect to them is showing respect to God.' Dārā repeatedly emphasized the necessity of gurus in the preface to the *Safīna* and *Sakīna*. On the other hand, in the seven conversations with Bābā Lāl, which were compiled as *Su'āl wa Jawāb Dārā Shukoh wa Bābā Lāl*, the main topics focused on the subject of the state of *faqīr*, relationship of *pīr* and *murīd*, and the quality of *pīr*.

2-4-4 Jīvanmukti - The Perfection of Man

The *MB* introduces *Mahāpralaya* as the equivalent to *Qiyāmat-i Kubrā*. Concerning *Qiyāma*, due to the less explicity of the *Qur'ān*, diverse arguments have been raised among theologians and philosophers. However, the general notions has been summarised above. *Pralaya* has four-kinds: *nitya* (destruction which occurs in every moment), *naimittika* (the dissolution at the end of an era), *prākṛta* (the dissolution of elements), *ātyantika* (the dissolution of the self into Supreme Soul). In section 1, the *MB* has already discussed the *prākṛta-pralaya*. The five elements (*mahābhūtas*) dissolve into the original source in the reverse order in which they came about. Here earth is called *devī* (goddess) and everything has been created and unto which everything will return. The final *pralaya* is called *Mahāpralaya*. This means total annihilation of the universe which will take place at the end of the *kalpa*.

The equivalent of *Qiyāmat-i Kubrā* is introduced as *Mahāpralaya* in section 19. After the destruction of Heavens and Hells and the completion of the age of *Bramāṇḍa*, those who live in Heavens and Hells will achieve *mukti* and be absorbed and annihilated in the Self of the Lord. *Mukti* will be discussed below in connection *mahāpralaya*. *Barzakh*, originally meaning 'obstacle' or 'hindrance', is thought to be a barrier between hell and paradise, or the period in which the dead body lies between this life and the next. In Islamic eschatology, *Barzakh* stands for an intervening state between death and the Day of Judgement. In section 18, the *MB* explains, after death how *ātman* (soul) leaves the body of elements and enters the body of *mukti* (emancipation) called *sūkṣma-śarīra*. This is a fine body formed by our action and will have good and bad form due to good and bad actions.

The state of *mokṣa(mukti)* is the reaching point for the Indian people. Generally it can be attained after death. Regarding emancipation, in section 20, the *MB* introduces three kinds : 1) *Jīvan-mukti* : salvation in life; 2) *Sarva-mukti* : liberation from every kind of bondage and being absorbed in

God's Self; 3) Sarvadā-mukti : attaining freedom and salvation as 'Ārif. Dārā focused on *Jīvan-mukti* with some emphasis. *Jīvanmukti* is described as the attainment of salvation and freedom endowed with the wealth of knowing and understanding the Truth and considering everything of this world as one ascribed to God.

For the perfect emancipation in this world, Dārā emphasized the meditation of *Mahāpuruṣa*. For that purpose, God should be regarded as manifesting Himself in all the stages and *Brahmāṇḍa* ('Ālam-i kabīr) should be regarded as the "Complete Form" of God, the corporeal body of God considering Him as One Fixed Person. On the other hand, human being is called the 'small world ('Alam-i ṣaghīr); one individual, despite his various and numerous limbs and just as his personality is not multitudinous on account of his many limbs. The identification of the various regions and substances in the world with the limbs of *Mahāpuruṣa* is described in section 20 in detail.

The concept which recognizes the human body as microcosm; with its various regions and substances at the various limbs and faculties of the body, the motif of which has its roots in the idea of creation from the *Puruṣa* found in *Rg-Veda* X-90 and the idea has been followed by other *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*. However, here, much more directly, we can find Purāṇic modification and the way of meditation on *Virāṭa-puruṣa* to acquire the salvation in the *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas*, particularly in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This technical term *Virāṭa-puruṣa* is not found in the *MB*, but, among the Persian manuscripts, we can trace the suggestion of this concept. The Supreme being has been expressed metaphorically using the concept of Cosmic Person as named *Virāṭa-puruṣa*. This is not the new idea of *Paurāṇikas*. We can trace the origin in *Vedic* verses. The object of this metaphorical expression is to point to the fact that God is infinite, omniscient and all-pervasive beyond our speech, mind and intellect.

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the way of salvation is instructed in two ways. Among them, the practical way of controlling the mind is to regulate the breathing process by *Prāṇāyāma*, then follows the meditation on the form of Viṣṇu as the universal form of the *Virāṭa-puruṣa*. Regarding Sarva-mukti, it stands for the salvation of all the beings absorption into the essence after the Qiyāmat-i Kubrā. Sarvadā-mukti stands for the salvation in every stage of the journey (*sayr*) of Śūfis. It has no relation to time and place. It means the real stage of 'ārif. Here we can assert that verbal identification is meaningless. The interpretation should be understood in the context. The passages in section 20 make it clear that the concept of *mukti* in the *MB* concerns the

way of meditation in spiritual progress to attain *mukti*.

Chapter III Environmental Influence

3-1 Islamic Source

3-1-1 Quotations from Scriptures and the Sayings of Saints

In the *MB*, the quotations from the *Qur'ān* are found in 43 passages. Particularly, the following verses are quoted twice and even thrice : 3-97, 9-22, 9-72 (thrice), 42-11, 55-26,27, 57-3, 42-11. The explanations of the *Qur'ān* (*tafsīr*) are quoted in two places. One is in section 9, the *tafsīr* by Ustād Abū Bakr Wāsitī ad Sūra 24-35, another is in section 18, regarding to the salvation with the grace of God, the explanation by Ibn Mas'ūdī ad Sūra 2-106,107,108. *Hadīth* is found in six places. In section 1, section 9, section 10, section 11, in section 18, section 22. The explanations of the *Qur'ān* (*tafsīr*) are quoted in two places. One is in section 9, the *tafsīr* by Ustād Abū Bakr Wāsitī ad Sūra 24-35, another is in section 18, regarding to the salvation with the grace of God, the explanation by Ibn Mas'ūdī ad Sūra 2-106,107,108. Here, we introduced unique explanation of Dārā's own *tafsīr* of Light verse Sūra XXIV-35 comparing with al-Ghazzālī's interpretation. The *MB* throws considerable light on the knowledge of the *Qur'ān*, its commentaries and *Hadīth*.

In the *MB*, in eight places, the sayings of eminent Sūfīs are quoted to support his explanations. In the preface, four couplets are quoted. One is from Ḥaqīm Sanā'ī Gaznavī, the second one is from Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, third quotation is from Mauwlāā 'Abdur Raḥmān Jāmī, the fourth is from Khwāja Ubaidullāh Ahrār. In section 7, the dialogue between Junaid and Shaikh Islām is quoted from Jāmī's *Nafahāt*. In this section, another couplet from Rūmī is quoted. In section 8, one familiar couplet to Sūfīs : "Wherever thou hearest, it is His melodious voice, Who has, after all, heard such a rolling sound? "In section 12, one couplet from Shaikh Sa'd ad-Dīn Hummu'ī, in section 22, Hāfiẓ are quoted. In the *Risāla*, we can see several symbolical poems for the interpretation of unity of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*). Islamic sources are quoted for supporting his propagation of this doctrine.

3-1-2 Spiritual Preceptors of Dārā Shukoh and Contemporary Sūfīs

In the preface of *Risāla*, Dārā shows his veneration of Miyān Mīr and Mullā Shāh. In the *Sakīna*, Dārā wrote about his meeting with Miyān Mīr in 1634, and how he was influenced by his spirit, and was initiated into the Qādirī order. In the *Sakīna*, the teaching of Miyān Mīr is explained with his direct word and supported with the sayings of other Saints. Some of the explanations are quoted fully or abridged in the *MB*. There is a sole manuscript of a Persian paraphrase and commentary on the Hindī *Dohās* of Miyān Mīr entitled *Īmā` al-Muhaqqiqīn*, which is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. From this, we can have much information about the teaching of Miyān Mīr.

Mullā Shāh Badakhsī, was a Sūfī poet and eminent Qādirī saint from Arkasa in Badakhshan and Dārā's *pīr* or *murshid*. Regarding his biographical detail, Dārā himself mentioned him in the *Sakīna* and the *Safīna*, and Jahānārā Begum write in the *Sāhibiyya*. Court chroniclers left brief description about him, and *Nuskha-i Aḥwār-i Shāhī* by Tawakkul Beg is exhaustive work. The *Sakīna* did not give us the systematic teaching of Mullā Shāh, however, we have some information of his stance on several dogmatic concepts from the ideas interspersed in his sayings. On the other hand, the system of Sūfism described by Mullā Shāh can be traced in the contents of *Kulliyāt-i Mullā Shāh*. What Dārā learned as a disciple of Mullā Shāh was not only Sūfistic dogmatic ideas but the devotional practices. Mullā Shāh Although not included in the list of the saints in the *MB*, Shāh Muhibbulāh Illāhābādī is one of the most influential Sūfī in the life of Dārā. The appointment of Dārā as a sūbahdār of Illāhābād gave him the opportunity to seek the acquaintance of this noted Sūfī. Shāh Muhibbulāh wrote commentaries on the *Qur'ān* in Arabic and commentary on Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ* both in Arabic and Persian. In his *Maktubāt*, a collection of his letters, there are the letters addressed to Dārā Shukoh is included. From the topics treated in these letters, it is evident that Dārā was interested in the same topics as his father Shāh Jahān and his grandfather Jahāngīr. Dārā also asked the blessing and the duties of the ruler.

Another distinguished personality in Chishtiyya-Ṣābiriyya *silsila* is 'Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī . 'Abdur Raḥmān wrote several works besides the noted *tazkira*, the *Mir'āt al-Asrār* (1065 A.H. / 1654). However, the most remarkable works are the adaptation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* entitled with *Mir'āt al-Makhlūkāt* and the Persian translation of *Bhagavadgītā* named *Mir'āt al-Haqā'iq*. In both works, his Sūfistic interpretation has the same tendency to

the explanation in the *MB*.

3-2 Hindu Sources

3-2-1 Hindu Scriptures Translated into Persian

The *Upaniṣads* came to be known to Europe with the help of this Persian translation which Anquetil Duperron translated first into French and then into Latin, *Oupnek'hat*. Much can be said with regard to the nature and quality of Persian translation entitled *Sirr-i Akbar*. We introduced the precise information about the construction and peculiarities of this translation. In the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā recognizes *brahmavid* and *jñānin* as gnosis ('ārif) and unifier (*muwahhid*), *brahmavidyā* as the knowledge of *tawhīd*. Thus *Upaniṣads* is recognized as the essence of unity (*nwaḥdat al-wujūd*).

In Al-Bīrūnī's *Indica*, the *Bhagavadgītā* was introduced as the dialogue of Vāsudeva and Krṣṇa. Regarding the translation ascribed to Dārā, it is a controversial work. As a translation work, compared with the *Sirr-i Akbar*, the translation ascribed to Dārā cannot be said to have the same character. Transliteration style seems to be the same, however, the selection of words for translation and no Śūfistic explanation show the different type of translation. From this translation, we find simple and literal translation style and objective eyes. A more attractive translation is that of Dārā's contemporary Śūfi, 'Abdur Rahmān Chishtī's abridged translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* entitled *Mir'āt al-Haqāiq*.

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was so popular among Indian Muslims. We can trace the general knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Dārā in his dialogues with Bābā Lāl. As explained before, these dialogues were held seven times in Lahore. In the year 1066 A.H./ 1656, this work was translated at the instance of Dārā. Abdur Rahmān Chishtī's adaptation is unique Śūfistic interpretation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.

3-2-2 Hindu Gurus and Entourages

The biographical profile of Bābā Lāl is deficient and anecdotes about him are scarce. On the authority of the *Hasanāt al-'Ārifīn*, Bābā Lāl is said to have belonged to *Kabīr panthī*. The meeting of Dārā Shukoh and Bābā Lāl

was held in seven times in Lahore. Each *Majlis* has the description of the place where the meeting was held. The subjects of the dialogue are mainly such concepts as faqīr, murshid and doctrines of Sūfism; and some dialogues deal with mythological matters.

In the preface of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā translated *pandit* as ‘ālim. Another personality, the legendary *pandit* is Rāmānanda Sūri, the scholar and Śaiva Bhakta in Benares. Interesting to note, in the eulogy, Rāmānanda called Dārā as Dārā Shāh. For, there are some works ascribed to Dārā Shāh. Dārā asked him to write the *Virāta Vivaraṇa* which is to prove the saguṇa aspect of God. This work has been completed, however, there is no reference to this work in Dārā’s works and no Persian work was written by him on Saguna God. There is no proof that the relationship between Dārā and Rāmānanda was that of teacher and disciple (*guru-siṣya*). However, Rāmānanda’s sincere love of Dārā is found in his poems.

Kavīndra Sarasvatī, was an eminent *pandit* in Benares. A notable episode about Kavīndra Sarasvatī is the abolition of *jizya* and pilgrim tax. In 1042 / 1632 when Shāh Jahān intended to levy *jizya* and pilgrim tax, Kavīndra Sarasvatī’s intercession resulted to exemption of Hindus from such tax. The noteworthy work written by Kavīndra Sarasvatī is a Hindī version of the *Yoavāsiṣṭhasāra*. According to Ramaswami Shastri, this work is similar to Dārā’s *MB*, and Kavīndra Sarasvatī initiated Dārā into the mysteries of Yoga and Vedānta and this work seems to have been prepared for Dārā.

Chandra Bhān Brāhmaṇ (d. 1068 -1073 /1657-1663), a disciple of ‘Abdul Hakīm Siālkotī, who became the private *munshī* (secretary) of Shāh Jahān. He was a good poet in a mystically tinged style; on the other hand as a *munshī*, he was an eminent secretary of ‘ilm-i inshā. From his other Sūfistic work, *Tuhfat al-widad* and letters to his relatives, we know Sūfistic tenets as the importance of unity of God; self-purification and grace in knowing Truth and one’s self.

Conclusion

The *Majma’ al-Bahrayn* is a compendium of what he acquired in his speculative and devotional journey. Scattered pearls of wisdom in the *MB* are joined together with the thread of *tawhīd*. Dārā Shukoh might have aimed at the construction of speculative mystic theology out of love for searching the truth common to all the creeds, however, unsuccessful. However, Dārā’s *MB*

can give the relevant points for consideration in the perspective of philosophy of religion.

In the history of interaction of Islam and Indian traditions, Dārā has remarkable status in this regard, not only supervising the translations and adaptations of Sanskrit classics, but also interpreting on various concepts based on his own knowledge acquired through various sources through the informants. The notable parallel ideas or concepts have their sources in parallels, from the *Upanisads* to contemporary schools of Philosophy , Purānic literatures, Yogic and Tantric practices in Hindu side, and the Sūfistic ideas of *tawhīd* and *wahdat al-wujūd* propagated by Ibn ‘Arabī and his followers. There were commentators for Dārā on these ideas. On the other hand, his own practice as a novice of Qādirī order gave him the reality of spiritual path. Particularly, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives much influence on the total concept of this work.

In the perspective of philosophy of religion, we can find two phases of his thought. One phase is the dogmatic concept of Islām, *tawhīd*. *Tawhīd* is the main pole of Islām i.e. the affirmation of the existence of God. Dārā’s idea of God as shown in the *MB* does not go against the monistic doctrines of orthodox Islam. *Tawhīd* is the core of his interest. However, Dārā’s understanding of *tawhīd* is not the formal, outward aspect of *tawhīd* propagated in *sharī'a*. In this respect, orthodox theologians have some doubt. The interrelationship of God, world and man is understood through the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*. The Upaniṣadic concept of the unity of *Brahman* and *Ātman* was reconciled with *tawhīd* on the ground of *wahdat al-wujūd*. In the history of philosophy, Dārā contributed as a commentator and transmitter of Hindu philosophical and religious thought.

Part II Critical Edition of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

1: Persian Text of Majm‘ al-Bahrayn

1-1 Editorial Note on the Critical Edition of Majm‘ al-Bahrayn

The most urgent task is to prepare the critically edited text of the *MB*. We hope in this work we can give ample testimony of the text of the *MB* as the nearest to the original. For our collation work, in addition to as many Persian manuscripts as possible, printed editions are approached as the tes-

timonia. Two translations in Arabic and Sanskrit are also helpful to settle the reading of the text. At the first stage the internal comparison has been made and collection of the variations. At the second stage, the reading of the translation work has been compared with those variants. On the other hand, quotations from Dārā's other works and quotation from the *MB* in other works are examined. Thus some authoritative readings are established. We give total information about the manuscripts which we used for this edition in **1-2 Materials**. **1-3 Method Employed in the Reconstruction** includes the criteria to reconstruct the text.

2: Arabic Translation

The Arabic and the Sanskrit translation were done soon after the completion of the original Persian work. The only manuscript of the Arabic translation entitled the *Tarjumat-i Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* is preserved in the National Library of Calcutta in the Būhār Library Collection. We provide the description of this manuscripts.

3: Sanskrit Translation and text

The sole manuscript of the Sanskrit translation entitled *Samudra Saṅgama* is preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. It was transcribed in Saṃvat 1765 / 1708. We provide the description of this manuscripts and collate the manuscript with reference of two published texts.

Appendix : Bibliography

Most of the bibliography are shown in the footnotes in this thesis. Here we show general selected bibliography briefly.



**DARA SHUKOH'S CONTRIBUTION TO
PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION**
With Special Reference to his *Majma' al-Bahrain*

THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
Doctor of Philosophy
IN
PHILOSOPHY

BY
KAZUYO SAKAKI

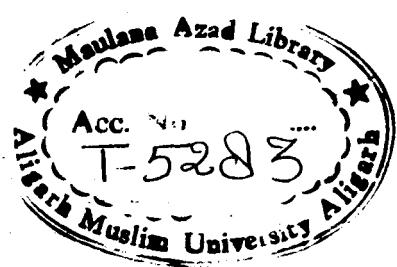
UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
PROF. MUHAMMAD RAFIQ

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)

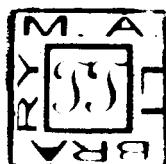
1998

THESIS SECTION

X
CHECKED-2002



13 JUL 2000



T5283

Phones { Exter : 400920-21-22
Inter. : 346. 347

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY



ALIGARH 6.4.1998

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Ms KAZUYO SAKAKI's dissertation on "*Dārā Shukoh's Contribution to Philosophy of Religion with Special Reference to his Majma' al-Bahrayn*" has been written under my supervision. I am satisfied that this dissertation is of high quality, original and fit to be submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Aligarh Muslim University.



Prof. Muhammad Rafique
CHAIRMAN
Dept. of Philosophy
Aligarh Muslim University
ALIGARH - 202 002

CONTENTS

Part I : Study of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

Preface (3)

Introduction (6)

Chapter I : Historical Study of Dārā Shukoh

1-1 Biographical Sketch (11)

1-2 Works of Dārā Shukoh (16)

Chapter II : Philosophy of Religion of Dārā Shukoh

2-1 Overview of *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*

2-1-1 What is *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* (25)

2-1-2 Texts of *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* (32)

2-1-3 Textual Problems(34)

2-1-4 Contents of *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* (37)

2-2 Nature of the World

2-2-1 Creation (elements) (39)

2-2-2 Creation (cognitive organs) (46)

2-2-3 Purānic Cosmology (53)

2-2-4: Macrocosm and Microcosm (58)

2-3 God

2-3-1 Attributes of God (62)

2-3-2 Name of God (64)

2-3-3 Divine Time (69)

2-4 Man

2-4-1 Nature of Soul (73)

2-4-2 Way of Salvation (79)

2-4-3 Perfect Man (90)

2-4-4 Jīvan-mukti (100)

Chapter III Environmental Influence

3-1 Islamic Sources

3-1-1 Quotations from Scriptures and the Sayings of Saints (112)

3-1-3 Spiritual Preceptors of Dārā Shukoh and Contemporary Sūfīs(119)

3-2 Hindu Sources

3-2-1 Hindu Sources : Hindu Scriptures Translated into Persian (124)

3-2-2 Hindu Gurus and Entourages (134)

Conclusion (141)

Part II Critical Edition of the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*

1. Persian Text of the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*

1-1 Editorial Note on the Critical Edition of the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* (144)

1-2 Materials (145)

1-3 Method Employed in the Reconstruction (150)

Text of the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* (153)

2. Arabic Translation (209)

3. Sanskrit Translation and text(211)

Appendix : Bibliography (237)

Preface

Dārā Shukoh was born as heir-apparent of Shah Jahān, the fifth emperor of the Mughal empire. His scholastic interest and spiritual ardour led him to investigate the path to search for the Truth in the works of saints and the scriptures. In the history of Islām in India. Dārā Shukoh holds the position of two sided figure. As heir-apparent of Shāh Jahān, he held the post of ruler of Illāhābād, Gujarāt, Panjāb and Multān. However, he himself remained in the Capital entrusting administrative work to his deputies. Dārā did not have a distinguished political career. however, his promotion of rank and gain were rich.¹

On the other hand, he was a prominent follower of Qādirī order and became a disciple of Miyān Mir and Mullā Shāh. Inspired by the sayings and acts of these spiritual preceptors, prominent Sūfi works and the acquaintance in his contemporary Sūfis, Dārā wrote hagiographical works on Sūfis including his spiritual preceptors, compiled Sūfistic aphorisms and wrote the tracts on Sūfistic path. *Tazkira* writers gave him the fame of a Sūfi poet. Although his poems are not outstanding, his poetical works was compiled as the form of *Diwān*. His study of Hindu scriptures and direct contact with Hindu saints and pāṇḍits led him to translate the *Upaniṣads* into Persian and write the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn (MB)* as a treatise on comparative study of philosophy and religion of Sūfism and Hinduism. He is remembered for his tragic end and many stories are woven around him.² However, from the works he left, some scholars and men of heart can appreciate his role in the history of thought.

Here, we will review important works on Dārā Shukoh. The pioneer of historical study on Dārā's life and works was Sheo Narain. Sheo Narain's

¹For the promotion of ranks and equivalent mansabs. see Muḥammad Athar ‘Alī, *The Apparatus of Empire. Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles of the Mughal Nobility (1574 - 1758)* , Delhi, 1985.

²The adapted works based on the life of Dārā have been made in the style of fiction or drama. The following works have been written so far : Avadha Prasāda Vājapeyi's *Dārā Shukoh* (fiction in Hindi) in 1962 ; Syah Sunami and Rāmji Dāss Pūrī's *Kāfir* (fiction in Urdu) in 1963; Abdu-s-Sattār Qāl's *Dārā Shikuh* (fiction in Urdu) in 1967 ; Harikshā Premi's *Svapnabhan̗ga* (drama in Hindi) in 1970 ; Satyakī Sena's *Mughal Masnad* (fiction in Bengali) in 1970 ; Subhadra Sen Gupta's Children's stories named *The Sword of Dārā Shikoh* and other stories from history published in 1992 : Gopal Gandhi's *Dārā Shikoh* (drama in English) in 1993.

short treatise, “Dārā Shikoh as an Author”³ is not a totally historical work, however, with limited source materials, an introductory outline of Dārā’s life and works is given. Sheo Narain says that Dārā deserves a niche in the temple of fame as a student of comparative religion, as a translator of Sanskrit works, as a poet, as an administrator, and lastly as a human being. Sheo Narain left the whole work to somebody with the requisite ability to write a monograph on Dārā dealing with all aspects of his life.⁴ The extensive work has been made by Kalika Ranjan Qanungo⁵. This is propagated as *Dārā Shukoh. Vol.I Biography*, however, it treats his thought with reference to his own works and shows deep insights and interesting observation of the author.⁶ This work is invaluable even now and is a fundamental work to study Dārā Shukoh. Regarding the *MB*, the text published in the series of *Bibliotheca Indica*, Muḥammad Mahfūz al-Ḥaqq gave us the extensive information on Dārā’s works and works written at the instance of Dārā.⁷ The attempt is also made to give a summarized but proper picture of Dārā’s religious views. Limited to the study of the *Samudra Saṅgama*, the Sanskrit translation of Dārā’s *MB*, Roma Chaudhury provided a clear and systematic account of the work and some aspects of Dārā’s thought.⁸ As a scholar of Indian philosophy, her extensive study left stimulating observation. Although this is a helpful critical work, it suffers from over-estimate caused by definition. Vikrama Jit Hasrat⁹ gave us the general information about Dārā’s works. He introduced the character of the *MB*, in reference to some of the subjects, and analyzed the introduction. He reads the main object of this work as human interest.¹⁰ However, Hasrat’s approach is limited to a historical, general survey. As a whole, his approach is sketchy, thus the considerations of the philosophical and

³ *The Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, vol.II, No.1 1913, Calcutta pp.22-38.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.38.

⁵ *Dārā Shukoh*. Calcutta 1952.

⁶ Particularly, Chapter 5 : Spiritual Life of Dārā Shukoh. Section 2...6 and Chapter 6 Literally Achievement of Dārā Shukoh.

⁷ *Majma’ ul-Bahrayn or The Mingling of the Two Oceans by Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh*, edited in the original Persian with English translation, notes and variants, *Bibliotheca Indica* Work No.246, Calcutta, 1929, repr. 1982.

⁸ *A Critical Study of Dārā Shikūh’s Samudra Saṅgama*. Vol.I ; Vol.II First Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text of *Samudra Saṅgama*, Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1954.

⁹ *Dārā Shikūh : Life and Works*, New Delhi 1982 (revised edition of 1979).

¹⁰ Hasrat, pp. 223-232.

religious ideas based on comparative and philological study are scarce. More recently, Daryush Shayegan studied the *MB* more critically.¹¹ His effort can be evaluated as analytical study; however, the some subjects are left unanalyzed. The source books he traced were also limited in number.

Although these works are even now the basic reference books for the study of Dārā Shukoh's life and works, on the whole it can be said that few studies have been done hitherto to evaluate Dārā's thought in relation to Islamic and Hindu intellectual tradition. Therefore, while limiting ourselves to the *Majma' al-Bahrāyn*, we aim at examining Dārā's thought in the perspective of philosophy of religion. Although it does not claim to be exclusive, we present a clear picture to understand the philosophy of religion shown in the *MB*. In particular, this thesis concentrates on the philological analysis of the original texts. Further precise examination of each work and biography should be done before the final assessment of Dārā's place in the history of Indian philosophy and religion can be made.

I am greatly indebted to Ex-Professor Waheed Akhtar, who gave us this title and chance to make research here in Aligarh. My supervisor, Professor Muhammad Rafique's sincere guidance and Professor S.R.Sarma's advice have assisted me in continuing my work. While conducting my research in India, a number of people provided me to consult with manuscripts. I am much obliged to the librarians, curators and staffs of National Library of Calcutta; the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Victoria Memorial Library; Salar Jung Museum and Library; Asafiyya Library; Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library; Rampur Raza Library; Banaras Hindu University Library; Nadwat ul-'Ulamā Library in Lucknow; K.R.Cama Oriental Institute Library and Azad Library in Aligarh Muslim University. Specially, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my colleagues and good friends. Mrs. Renata Sarma, whose careful reading completed me to finish this work. Finally, sincere condolence to Ex-Professor K.A.Nizami, as I was fortunate to have useful conversations with him and inspired with confidence in my way.

¹¹ *Hindouisme et Soufisme, les Relations de l'Hindouisme et du Soufisme d'après le Majma' al-Bahrāyn de Dārā Shokūh*. Paris, 1979.

Introduction

At the same time as imbibing the legacy of Greek and Latin culture. Islam had a keen interest in Hindu science and religion. The collection and rendering of Sanskrit classics has been established in the House of Wisdom (*bayt al-hikma*) in Baghdad in the reign of ‘Abbaside Caliph Ma’mūn. In the history of cultural intercourse, Muslim writers left many works about Indian religious cults and customs and scientific thoughts. The interactions between Muslims and Hindus deepened over the centuries. As Sulaiman Nadvi pointed out, the religious discussions between Muslims and Hindus might have not been uncommon at that time.¹

A remarkable study on Hindu religion and sects is found in Persian scholars' work. At the beginning of 12th century, Al-Shahrastānī from Khurāsān wrote a comprehensive work named *Kitāb al-Milal wa al-Nihāl* (*the Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*) covering all the philosophical and religious ideas which contemporary Persian scholars could acquire.² In this work, the ideas of sects of Islam, Christians, Judaism, Magians, Zoroastrians, Greek philosophers including Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras are described in detail with the help of commentaries, and philosophers of Islam and the religions and philosophy in India are introduced. Unfortunately, the information concerning Indian religious traditions available to Khurāsān's scholars was not very precise. However, their familiarity with Buddhism helped impart insights to a surprising degree.³

In the tradition of intellectual curiosity, Muslim scholars in India also wrote many informative works. In his *Indica* (*Kitāb al-Hind*), Al-Bīrūnī left extensive accounts on Hindu religion and science with keen and critical mind. Al-Bīrūnī, originally a scientist, gave precise description in mathematics, astronomy and medicine. Beside these sciences, his account covers the four *Vedas*, *Purānic* literatures, *Smṛtis* (*Dharmaśāstras*), *Vyākaraṇa* (science

¹ *Indo-Arab Relations* (*Arab-o Hind ke Ta'alluqāt*), tr. by M. Salahuddin, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1962, p.130.

² *Kitāb al-Milal wa an-Nihāl*, The Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects, ed. by William Cureton, repr. of the edition London 1846, Leipzig 1923.

³ Regarding Buddhism, in 14th century, Rashīd ad-Dīn wrote the *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārikha*. Hāfiẓ Abrū in the *Majmū‘*; and Banākarī in the *Tārikh-i Banākatī*, wrote adaptations of this work and gave interesting information about Buddhism in those days. See *Rashīd ad-Dīn’s History of India*, ed. Karl Jahn, Hague, 1965.

of grammar) and *Chandas* (science of metre). Among the explanations of Hindu philosophical learning, Al-Bīrūnī's description on the *Sāṃkhya* system, based on *the Book of Sāṅk (Sāṃkhya)*⁴ shows a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the commentaries. He freely quoted the similes used in the commentaries of the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*.⁵

Five hundred years later, in the reign of emperor Akbar, Abu'l Fazl gave an overview on the system of learning in India in his *Aīn-i Akbarī*. Referring to the learning of the Hindus, nine schools are introduced : Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, *Mīmāṃsā*, Vedānta, *Sāṃkhya*, *Pātañjala* (Yoga), Jaina, Bauddha, Nāstica (*Cārvāka*). Besides these nine schools, the eighteen sciences are enumerated with brief introductory notes : the four *Vedas*, *Purāṇas*, Nirukta (etymology), *Jyotiṣa* (astronomy), *Chandas* (science of metre), *Mīmāṃsā*, Nyāya, Āyur-veda, Dhanur-veda (science of archery), *Gāndharva-veda* (science of music) and *Arthaśāstra*. His explanation on the nine schools seems to be a glossary of technical terms with brief definitions.

Dārā's contemporary work, the *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*⁶ introduces some tenets of Hindu thoughts in twelve sections: (1) *Būdah Mīmāṃsā*⁷ called *Smārta*, (2) *Purāṇa*, (3) the religious ceremonies and acts of *Smārta*, (4) *Vedānta*⁸, (5) *Sāṃkhya*, (6) *Yoga*, (7) *Śākta*, (8) *Vaiṣṇava* (9) *Cārvāka*, (10) *Tārkika* (Nyāya), (11) *Bauddha*, (12) various other religious systems. In the section of *Vedānta*, the author of the *Dabistān* introduced Śaṅkara as a distinguished sannyāsin and considered the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* as the text of this school. The *Dabistān* is unique in giving vivid descriptions of the tenets with the words and acts of the informant.

On the other hand, the scholars both in Sanskrit and Persian-Arabic,

⁴As Sachau remarks, *The Book of Sāṃkhya*, as used and translated by Al-Bīrūnī, had the form of a conversation of a dialogue between an anchorite and a sage, and composed by Kapila. (Sachau, Eng. Tr. pp.266-267.) However, it does not mean a particular work on *Sāṃkhya*. Some descriptive passages and subjects are identified with those in Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*.

⁵Some of them are examined by A. Solomon. *The Commentaries of the Sāṃkhya Kārikā - A Study*. 1974, Ahmedabad.

⁶The authorship of this work is wrongly ascribed to Shaikh Muhsin Fānī, Dārā's entourage. From other Persian manuscripts, it is considered to be written by Mūbad Shāh. See Marshall p.138.

⁷The original Persian shows the reading of *Būdah*, however, we can read this as scribe error of *pūrva*. *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* or *Mīmāṃsā*, as opposition to *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* (*Vedānta*), stands for the philosophycal school that treats *Mantra* portion (first part) of the *Vedas*.

⁸The *Dabistān* introduces the followers of *Vedānta* as the philosophers and *Sūfis*.

are under the patronage of emperors, princes and courtiers as intellectual elites. The most renowned circle was established under Akbar. In Shāh Jahān's reign, too, munificent and generous patronage attracted poets and writers from all places. His courtiers also showed keen interest in literary and cultural activities. Such patronage gave rise to a distinguished circle of scholars in every field and poets produced prolific literature. Sometimes they used local themes in their composition and mixed with Hindi vocabulary. Among the notable patrons such as Āṣaf Khān, Afzal Khān, 'Allāmī Sa'dullā Khān, Dārā was one most eminent in those circles. Among these circles, mass of works are written in Persian on the Hindu philosophical and religious thought or practices.

So far, such Hindu-Muslim cultural and religious interactions have not received their due share of attraction from modern scholars. Although there are many Persian translations of the *Māhābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, the critical studies of those translations have not been many. In fact, there is a difficulty of languages. Few scholars who are familiar with both languages and cultures can do the work properly. One of the reasons for this neglect is the fact that the translations often are seen as inaccurate. In view of these circumstances, there is a scope for the study of literary environment. How far we have succeeded in our efforts. it is left for scholars to judge.

In the preface, we have pointed out the limitation of this work. This is an elementary attempt to enlarge and deepen our understanding of the thought of Dārā Shukoh by piecing together the scattered indications mainly from his own works and by showing his familiarity with Hindu society and with Sanskrit texts. Our conclusions are approximations in the present state of our knowledge.

One of the reasons of difficulty of the study of the *MB* lies in Dārā's elusive style. He is neither a systematic writer. Had the *MB* been the textbook for the Ṣūfi disciples, it should have treated dogmatic subjects systematically like orthodox Islamic text by Qushairī's *al-Risālat al-Qushairiyya* or the popular Ṣūfi text in India. Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Suhrawardi's '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif* and should have treated dogmatic subject systematically. As is the case with Ṣūfi mystics, Dārā writes mostly under inspiration, and rarely under speculation. Referring to Dārā's *MB*, one Hindu named Rai Sītā Rām Lakhnavī wrote a commentary on Kavīndra Sarasvatī's *Jñāna-sāra*, Bhāṣā version of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. Because of the many difficulties which remained unexplained in the *MB*, the author intended to explain it with the

use of Kavīndra Sarasvatī's work.⁹ Thus those who have some knowledge of both sides can understand the real meaning.

Another difficulty lies in technical terms transliterated and explained in the *MB*. In view of these characteristics of the *MB*, an analysis of recurring motifs in this work would be most helpful to understanding Dārā's thought. Furthermore, the motifs should be traced both in Islamic and Sanskritic sources which might have been acquired by Dārā through his personal study by reading texts, the teaching of spiritual preceptors and the correspondences with contemporary entourages and Sūfis.

- The most urgent task is to prepare the critically edited text of the *MB*. We hope in this work we can give ample testimony of the text of the *MB* as the nearest to the original. For our collation work, in addition to as many Persian manuscripts as possible, printed editions are approached as the testimonia. Two translations in Arabic and Sanskrit are also helpful to settle the reading of the text. At the first stage, the internal comparison and collection of the variations have been made. At the second stage, the reading of the translation work has been compared with those variants. On the other hand, quotations from Dārā's other works and quotation from the *MB* in other works are examined. Thus some authoritative readings are established.

In fact, the *MB* shows multitudinous scope for philosophical and religious study of his idea of philosophy of religion. Concepts from *Upaniṣads*, *Vedānta*, *Sāṃkhya-Yoga* and *Tantra Yoga* have been inserted, thus it can be said to have a synthetic approach or to be an eclectic work. Some are duly understood and some are misunderstood. Misunderstandings are not rare and interesting or significant, however, how and why they occur is an interesting and enlightening point to describe the world of the *MB* as a source book of information of contemporary trends in Indian philosophy and religion. Thus more detailed and critical study of the *MB* is necessary. Only pointing out the misunderstanding is not our intention but how and why such misunderstandings occur should be investigated.

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part I consists of the critical study of Philosophy of Religion of Dārā Shukoh. In Chapter 1, a historical study has been made on his biography and the sketch of Dārā's own works, works written on Dārā, and works dedicated to Dārā are briefly summarized. In

⁹Rāfi' ul-Khilaf, Tārā Chand, *The Journal of the Gaṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute*, Vol. II, Part 1, November, 1944, p.7.

Chapter 2, for the investigation of Dārā Shukoh's philosophy of religion, an analytical study of the *MB* is made with reference to source books. In Chapter 3, for the investigation of the background of Dārā's thought, an analysis has been made of the influence of Dārā's spiritual preceptors, contemporary entourages and translated works into Persian. Part II consists of a critical edition of the Persian text of the *MB* and Arabic and Sanskrit translations. This task of ours was based on painstaking efforts of collecting materials, collating them and presenting a detailed comparative study.

In view of the complex and encyclopaedic character of the *MB*, not all the aspects might have been covered due to the limitation of time and space. The rest is left for future students who, it is hoped, will accompany us on the way on which we proceeded in this thesis. In the contemporary Indian perspective, we hope, the *Majma' al-Bahrayn* can be a part of a bridge across troubled waters.

1-1 Biographical Sketch

There is, unfortunately, not any complete informative source book pertaining to the biography of Dārā Shukoh. Some of the chronograms about poets (*tazkira*) gave us the brief notice of Dārā Shukoh. Mīrzā Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhwush's *Kalimāt al-Shu'arā'* (dated 1093 A.H. / 1682),¹ 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Khalīl's *Ṣuhūf-i Ibrāhīm* (1205 A.H. / 1790), Ikhlās Kishanchand's *Hamīshah Bahār* (1136 A.H. / 1723-24)² and rather modern biographical notices of saint, the *Khazīnat al-Asfiyā* (dated 1281 / 1864-5) introduced Dārā as a faqīr poet and in Ghulām Muḥammad Dihlavī Rāqīm's *Tazkirat-i Khwūsh-navīsān* (composed during the reign of Muḥammad Akbar II (1221-53 A.H. / 1806-37), the name of Dārā is found with an eminent calligrapher Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.³ Scattered information will be combined as his biographical description.

Name

It is proper to begin with his name. The reading of his name differs in historical works. According to the *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*⁴ and the *Pādshāh-nāma*,⁵ the boy born to Bābā Khurram (Shāh Jahān) by the daughter of Āsaf Khān (Mumtāz Mahal) was given the name Sultān Dārā Shukoh by his grandfather, Jahāngīr. Regarding his name, there are different style of reading. However, if we read Shikūh, it means terror or fear, however, Shukoh, it means the majesty or dignity thus Dārā Shukoh means the man possesing majesty.⁶

Furthermore, Jahāngīr gave him the epithet "the Prime Rose of the Empire (*gul-i awwalin gulistān-i shāhi*)".⁷

¹Ms. preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Curzon No.51, f.46a.

²Ms. preserved in Āṣafiyya. *Tazkira* P-13, pp.252-256.

³The *Tadhkira-i Khushnariśān*, ed. by Hidayet Husain, 1910, p.54; pp.100-101.

⁴*Tūzuk*, p.282. Jahāngīr gave the name of Dārā Shukoh to hope that his coming will be propitious to this State conjoined with eternity and to his fortunate father.

⁵*Pādshāh-nāma*, vol.I, p.391.

⁶We can trace his memory on the names of the cities . The most familiar place is Shikohabād in Uttar Pradesh, however, not read as Shukohabād.

⁷گل اولین گستاخ شامی. *Abjad* of these letters comes to 1024.

Birth

The *Pādshāh-nāma* narrates that Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) while returning from the successful campaign to Mewar, received the joyous news of the birth of his third child and first son at Ajmer, in the night of Monday, 29th Ṣafar, 1024 A.H / 20th March 1615 A.H. The ‘*Amal-i Sāliḥ* adds the time in detail : it was after 12 *ghārīs* and 42 *palas* of the night had passed. ⁸ Jahāngīr was much pleased and named him Dārā Shukoh and as mentioned above gave the epithet of the Prime Rose of the Empire. ⁹ Dārā describes the episode of his birth in the *Safīnat al-Awliyā*. His father prayed for the birth of son at the tomb of the Mu‘īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī. As a result, at the bank of Sāgartāl lake, Mumtāz Mahal gave birth to Dārā. ¹⁰

Family Circles

According to the *Pādshāh-nāma*, Shāh Jahān had fourteen children from Mumtāz Mahal. Besides the seven children who died soon after giving birth or died in the childhood, seven children are survived. ¹¹ Dārā has three brothers and two sisters.

His elder sister Jahān Ārā Begum may have been the most influential person in his family circles and called a companion in the Sūfistic path. She was herself initiated in the Qādirī order and Mullā Shāh personally appointed her as his hair apparent. In 1047 A.H. /1640, she wrote a biography of Khwāja Mu‘īn ud-Dīn Chishtī entitled *Mu‘nis al-Arwāh*. On 27th Ramazān 1051 / 30 Dec.1641 she completed *Sāhibiyya*, a biography

ج (20) ل (30) ا (1) و (6) ل (30) ي (10) ن (50) ح (20) ل (30) س (60) ت (400) ا (1) ن (1)
(50) ش (300) ا (1) و (5) ي (10) . ‘*Amal-i Sāliḥ*, vol.1, pp.93-95.

⁸ ‘*Amal-i Sāliḥ* vol.I p.93; *Tūzuk*, p.282. Qanungo p.1

⁹ *Pādshāh-nāma* I, p.391; *Tūzuk* p.282.

¹⁰ Hasrat p.1.

¹¹ These seven are the eldest daughter (Hūr an-Nīsā), the fourth son (Ummed Bakhsh). the the fourth daugh (Suriya Banu Begam), the fifth son (died before being named). the seventh son (Lutfullāh), the eighth son (Daulat Afza), the fifth daughter (died before being named).

of her spiritual guide Mullāh Shāh.¹² His younger brother, Shāh Shujā, was born at night on Sunday, 18th Jumāda al-Ākhir 1025 A.H. / 23rd June 1616. Next younger brother, Aurangzeb, was born at night on Sunday, 15th Zūlqa‘da, 1027 A.H. / 24th Oct. 1618. The youngest brother, Murād Bakhsh, was born on 25th Zīl-Hijja 1033 / 28th September, 1624. The younger sister, Raushan Rai (Raushanārā) Begum, was born 2nd Ramazān 1026 A.H. / 24th August 1617.

On the 8th Jumāda I 1042 A.H. / 1633 when he was twenty years old, Dārā was married to Nadīra Begum, the daughter of Prince Parwīz (son of Jahāngīr) and Jahān Bānū Begam. Regarding Dārā’s wedding, the *Pādshāh-nāma* gives vivid a picture.¹³ Preparations for the wedding of Prince Dārā Shukoh with his cousin, Nadira Banu Begam, were suspended at the unexpected death of his mother, Mumtaz Mahal, on 17 June 1631. The ceremonies were resumed on 21 November 1632 and the procession is vividly described with miniatures in the *Pādshāh-nāma*.¹⁴

According to *Pādshāh-nāma*, Dārā had seven children : four sons and three daughters by his wife Nadīra Begum. These seven children are : the first daughter who died three months after her birth (29th Rajab, 1043 A.H. / 19th January 1634); the eldest son, Sulaimān Shukoh (born 27th Ramazān, 1044 A.H. / March 6, 1635); the second son, Mihir Shukoh (born 2nd Rabi‘ al-Awwal, 1048 A.H. / July 4, 1638) who died one month after his birth; the second daughter, Pak-nihad Bānū Begam (born 29th Jumāda al-Awwal, 1051 A.H. / August 26, 1641) ; the third son, Mumtāz Shukoh (born 29th Jumāda al-Awwal 1053 A.H. / 6th August 1643) who died after five years; the fourth son, Sipihr Shukoh (born 11th Sha‘bān 1054 A.H. / October 3, 1644) and the third daughter, Jahān Zīb Bānū Begam, who was married to the fourth son of Aurangzeb, Prince Muhammād Akbar. According to the *Ālamgīrnāma*, the fourth daughter, Amal un-Nisā seems to have survived with Aurangzeb’s family.¹⁵

¹²Regarding these two works and her letters, see Marshall, pp.218-219.

¹³A most ingenious chronogram on Dārā Shukoh’s wedding can be found in the *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, F. Ruckert, 1827, ed. W. Pertsch, Berlin; repr. 1966., p.246 ff. See Schimmel, *Islamic Literatures of India*, p.9, f.n.

¹⁴*Pādshāh-nāma* I, p.453. See *The Pādshāh-nāma, an Imperial Mughal manuscript from the Royal Library , Windsor Castle*, Milo Cleaveland Beach, Ebba Koch with New Translation, London 1997, pp.60-61.

¹⁵Qanungo, pp.12-14.

Political Career

In 1633, when he was twenty years old, his first *mansab* was 1200 *zāt* / 6000 *sawāl*. After that, he rose to higher ranks. The *MB* was written in 1655. In 1656, his *mansab* is recorded as 40,000 *sawāl* and 20,000 *zāt*. In 1645, he was appointed as the *sūbahdār* of Illāhābād¹⁶, and successively appointed as the *sūbahdār* of Panjāb (1647)¹⁷, Gujarāt (1649) and Multān and Kābul (1652) and Bengal and Orissa (1657). In most of the cases, Dārā resided in the capital and left the management to his deputies. In 1653, after the failure of Aurangzeb's expedition to Qandahār, he was sent to Qandahār to recapture the fort from Safāvi'ites.¹⁸ The siege of Qandahār was unsuccessful and taking advantage of the illness of Shāh Jahān, in September 1657, a war of succession occurred.

Sarkar's coherent analyses of the war of succession during 1658-1659 is honoured by historians. This is not the place to examine the historical description. We shall introduce the brief outline of the end of his life. After the sudden illness of Shāh Jahān on 6th September in 1657, the war of succession occurs. There were battles in Samūgarh (Ramazān 6th 1068 A.H. / 28th May, 1658) and Deora (Jumāda 27th or 28th 1069 A.H. / 13th March, 1659) and Dārā was defeated. There might have been sound reasons for his defeat, because of Dārā's infamiliarity of art of war, court officers' treachery and intrigues. Dārā's flight is precisely described by Blochmann, Sarkar and Sheo Narain. Dārā and Sipihr Shukoh were captured by one Afghan, Malik Jīvan and sent to Khizrābād in Delhi. According to Khāfi Khān, he was executed on 21th Zī'l Hijja 21 in 1069 A.H. Tuesday night/ 30th August in 1659. The end of his life is precisely described in the *Ālamgīrnāma*¹⁹ These descriptions have been proved by the *Mir'āt al-'Ālam*

¹⁶In Illāhābād, the memory of Dārā is left as the name of the district Dārāganj. Some Faizullā, who was a *musāhib* of Dārā's came there from Khurāsān and settled the area. The younger brother of Faizullā, Afzallullāh named the area after his brother's master. *Prayāg-pradīp*, p.251.

¹⁷The geographical memory of Dārā, see Sheo Narain, *JPHS*, p.21.

¹⁸For the description of this expedition, Qanungo treats in detail in section 4 to 7, and chapter 4. The *Latā'if al-Akhbār* treats an account of this expedition. See Marshall p.98. Another interesting work is a history of Shāh 'Abbās II entitled *Qisas al-Khāqāñi* by Wali Qulī Shāmlū. In this, the letters from Dārā to Shāh Abbās II are included. cf. Marshall p.484.

¹⁹*Ālamgīrnāma* pp.218-325, 408-415, 430-435.

and the *Ma'āsir-Ālamgīrī*, however, the date of the execution is different.²⁰ Anecdotes told that his dead body was placed on the back of an elephant and taken in procession to the bazār.

Regarding the justification of Dārā's execution, it is generally accepted that Aurangzeb charged Dārā with heresy and called him Prince of Heretics in a letter to Murād Bakhsh. Sarkar enumerates the faults of Dārā, wearing rings and jewels inscribed with *Prabhū* in Hindi letters: discarding prayers, the fast during the month of Ramazān and other canonical ceremonies of Islam.²¹

His last remains are said to have been borne to the tomb of Humāyūn, however, no one can identify the real tomb. Peace be to the free soul of Dārā Shukoh.

²⁰Blochmann pp.278-9.

²¹Sarkar, vol.I, pp.298-299.

1-2 Works of Dārā Shukoh

As Satish Chandra admits, Dārā was a prolific writer.¹ His works reflect his spiritual progress. The precise description has been made by Hasrat in his comprehensive work. We agree with Qanungo that his author life can be divided into two decades due to his intellectual and spiritual changes.² The first half reflects his deep study of mysticism and standard Sūfistic works. His initiation into Qādirī silsila in 1640, when he was 25 years old is the starting point for his practical study of Sūfism. The chance of meeting Bābā Lāl Bairāgī might have been the beginning of the second phase. He opened his eyes to the mysticism in Indian philosophy and religious tenet.

As Mujtabai suggests, Dārā was one of those who engaged themselves in translating Sanskrit works, writing about the beliefs and practices of the Hindus, and putting Hindu religious and philosophical ideas in Islamic terminology. He tried to show that the ideas and spiritual values of Islam and Hinduism are not different or incompatible.³ To this purpose Dārā also translated fifty *Upanisads* into simple and easy flowing Persian, to which he gave the title “*The Greatest Mystery (Surr-i Akbar)*”.

As a preparatory stage to read the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*, we introduce his works other than the *MB* briefly.⁴

Safīnat al-Awliyā’

The *Safīnat al-Awliyā’* belongs to the *tazkira* genre of Sūfi literature, a record of what occurred during the assemblies presided over by the shaykh (Sūfi master). This work was composed on the 27th Ramaḍān 1049 A.H. / 1640).⁵ Hasrat introduced one printed text⁶ and an abridged

¹ EI vol.II, *Dārā Shukoh*, Satish Chandra, p.134.

² Qanungo, p.100.

³ Mujtabai pp.119-120.

⁴ For the general survey of his works, see Storey, vol.I Part II, pp.992-996; Marshall pp.126-129; Schimmel, *Islamic Literature of India* pp.39-40.

⁵ For the brief accounts of contents and explanation of the preface, see Hasrat, Chapter II, pp.43-63.

⁶ Nawal Kishore Press Lucknow, 1800.

English translation of the preface by S.C.Vasu in the *Compass of Truth*.⁷ Four manuscripts are listed as original sources in the select bibliography.⁸ However, Persian manuscripts of this work are not rare as shown by Marshall.⁹ The published texts of this work are not so many. It was published twice in Lucknow, once in Kanpur and once in Agra.¹⁰ A unique Arabic translation was made by Jawhar al-'Aidarūs (d.1653).¹¹ He came from the Aidarūs family in Bijapur where many scholars of Arabic settled and promoted Arabic learning since the eleventh century. Among the members of the famous scholarly family of al-'Aidarūs, 'Abdul Qādir Muhyi ud-Dīn al-'Aidarūs (d. ca. 1622) was a notable scholar.¹²

The contents of *Safīna* are as follows: Section one : the Prophet Muḥammad, the first Caliph, Abū Bakr; the second Caliph, 'Umar; the third Caliph, 'Uthmān; the fourth Caliph and first Imām, 'Alī; the second Imām, Ḥasan; the third Imām, Ḥusain; the fourth Imām, 'Alī ibn Ḥusain; the fifth Imām, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī; the sixth Imām, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī; the seventh Imām, 'Alī ibn Mūsā; the eighth Imām, 'Alī ibn Mūsā, the ninth Imām, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī; the tenth Imām, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad; the eleventh Imām, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī; the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad Mahdī; Salmaṇ al-Fārsī; Uwais Qarānī; Section two : Saints of the Qādirī order named Junaidī before the time of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī ; Section three : Saints of Naqshbandī order ; Section four : Saints of the Chishtī order ; Section five : Saints of the Kubrawī order ; Section six : Saints of the Suhrawardī order ; Section seven : Saints of miscellaneous orders, included poets, philosophers, theologians and Sūfīs¹³

In the latter part of section 12 in the *MB*, selected number of the names of saints are enumerated. most of them are included in the *Safīna*.

⁷An Extract from *Safīnat al-Awliyā'* by Prince Dārā Shikoh composed in the year 1049 A.H., Preface, *Compass of Truth*, S,C, Vasu, Allahabad, 1912. pp.i-vii.

⁸Hasrat p.293.

⁹Marshall p.126.

¹⁰Published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1872, 1873: Kanpur, 1317 A.H.; Agra, 1854. The Urdu translation was made by Muḥammad 'Alī Lutfi in 1959 and 1961.

¹¹Rampur Raza Library No.4576 (ST 1568), entitled with *Tuhfat al-Asfiyā'*.

¹²On his famous work *An-Nūr as-Sāfir fi Akhbār al-qarn al-'Ashir* (on the account of the scholars and Sūfi in Gujarat and South Arabia). and the family of al-'Aidarūs, see *Islamic Literature of India*. Schimmel, p.5.

¹³Regarding the names of the saints, Hasrat enumerates the names and the year of the death of some important saints. For the full list, see *The Catalogue of the India Office Library*, comp. by H.Ethe, Vol.1, p.273 ff.

Sakīnat al-Awliyā'

Sakīnat al-Awliyā' is included in the genre of *malfūzāt*.¹⁴ This was composed in 1052 A.H. / 1642. The Persian text was published in Tehran in 1965. Hasrat used the manuscript preserved in the Oriental Public Library in Patna as the text. Four manuscripts are introduced by Marshall.¹⁵ An Urdu translation was done by Maqbūl Beg Badakhshānī in Lahore in 1971.

As the ordinary style in *malfūzāt*, the main contents of this work consist of questions put to the *shaykh* and the answers received. It shows us clearly the teaching of the *shaykh* but also the writer's ability to understand what the *shaykh* said and record it with accurate understanding. The topics treated are concerned not only with the lives of the saints but also with the spiritual doctrines of the *Qādirī* sect and devotional exercises. As a serious student of spiritual preceptors' teaching, Dārā selected spiritual topics of the highest interest to the seekers of truth. Here we can find what was of interest to the people who attended the assemblies and put question to the *shaykh*.

The contents of *Sakīnat al-Awliyā'* are as follows: Section 1: Chapter 1 treats superiority of *Qādirī* order; Chapter 2 covers other *Ṣūfī* orders including *Chishtiyya*, *Naqshbandiyya*, *Suhrawardiyya*, *Kubrawardiyya*, and the eminence of 'Abd al-*Qādir* Jīlānī; Chapter 3 treats Miyān Mīr regarding his name and biographical notes and teachings; Chapter 4 treats Miyān Mīr's miracles; Chapter 5 treats Miyān Mīr's practices; Chapter 6 treats the account for Miyān Mīr's sister, Bībī Jamān Khātūn; Chapter 7 and 8 treats the disciples of Miyān Mīr. Among the disciples, Mullā Shāh is included and described in detail.¹⁶

In section 10, the *MB* quoted some portions from the *Sakīnat* to explain *ru'yat*. The explanation of the *MB* is the abridged form of that of the *Sakīna*.¹⁷

¹⁴Brief contents and explanation of Introduction and the prologue of this work, see Hasrat, Chapter III, pp.64-104.

¹⁵Marshall, p.126.

¹⁶p.152 ff.

¹⁷See 2-4-3.

Risālat-i Haqq Numā¹⁸

This mystical explanation of four worlds of existence was composed in 1056 A.H. / 1646. Dārā claimed that this is a compendium of *Futūhāt (al-Maqqiyya)* by Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ (al-Hikam)*, by the same author, *Sawāniḥ* by Ahmad Ghazzālī, *Lawā’ih (dar Bayān-i Ma‘ānī wa Ma‘ānī)*, *Lama‘āt (al-Anwār* by Fakhr ud-Dīn ‘Irāqī) and *Lawāmi‘ (anwār al-Kashf)* by Jāmī.¹⁹ This work was published several times in India²⁰ and once in Tehran in 1335 H.S. in the *Muntakhbāt-i Āthār* combined with the *Majma‘ al-Bahrāyñ* and the Persian translation of the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*.²¹ Persian manuscripts of this work are not rare.²² The free rendering was made by S.C.Vāsū entitled with the *Compass of the Truth* in 1912.²³

Beginning with a rather long preface, composed of six chapters, the introduction, ‘Ālam-i Nāsūt, ‘Ālam-i Malakūt, ‘Ālam-i Jabarūt, and Lāhūt. Furthermore, two more chapters are added, regarding *Huwiyat* and *Wahdat al-wujūd*. It is clear that the section 7 of the *MB* is the abridged form of this book.

Hasanāt al-‘Ārifin

This annotated collection of ecstatic or paradoxical utterances ascribed to 107 mystics has another title as *Risālat-i Shāhiyāt*.²⁴ This was composed in 1062 A.H. / 1652 when he was 38 years old. Persian manuscripts are not so scarce. Persian text was published in Delhi in 1309 A.H. /1892 and in 1352 S.H. /1973 or 1974 edited by Makhdūm Rahbūn published in Tehran. The Urdu translation was done by Muḥammad Umar Khān in Lahore and published in 1930.²⁵ In this work, Dārā’s allusions to the sayings of the renowned saints have been used to support his own ideas. Among the quatrains, Dārā’s own works are also included.

¹⁸ Hasrat, Chapter VI, pp.121-128. Three Little-known Works of Dārā Shukuh, Hasrat, *Islamic Culture*, 1951, pp.52-72.

¹⁹ *Risālat*, p.4.

²⁰ 1316 A.H. in Lucknow; 1885 in Delhi; 1929 in Culcatta; 1315 A.H. in Kanpur.

²¹ Edited by Muḥammad Ridā Jalālī Nā‘īnī.

²² For Persian manuscripts, see Marshall p.126.

²³ This includes the translation of the preface of the *Safīna*.

²⁴ Hasrat, Chapter IV, pp.105-112.

²⁵ Sheo Narain gave the abridged translation from this work. *JPHS* vol.II, No.1, pp.28-29.

Among the 107 saints, most of the saints which are enumerated in section 12 in the *MB* are included. The quatrain of Jāmī's *Lawā'iḥ* quoted in the preface of the *MB* is also found in the *Hasanāt*. The quotation of the episode of Junayd and Shaikh al-Islām in Jāmī's *Nafahāt* in the section 7 of the *MB* is also quoted in the *Hasanāt*.

Τarīqat al-Ḥaqīqat

Hasrat refers to this unique work under the name of *Risālat-i Ma'rūf*. It was published in the *Kulliyāt-i Dārā Shukoh* in 1857.²⁶ This treats the stages of the spiritual path divided into thirty *manzils* (stages). As Hasrat describes, the style of writing is different from Dārā's other works, ornate and flowery and without uniformity.

Risālat-i Rumūzāt

This work contains mystical explanations of various principles and dogmas of Islam. The sole manuscript is preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh.²⁷ This work begins with the explanation of five pillars of Islam, then proceeds to the Ṣūfistic pillars : ṭarīqat, ḥaqīqat, ma'rifat and four stages of spiritual progress: lāhūt jabarūt, malakūt and nāsūt. Totally, 45 rumūz are explained.

Questions and Answers of Dārā Shukoh and Fathā 'Alī Qalandar

This work is introduced by Tārā Chand and said to be preserved in Mir Zamin 'Alī Library in Agra.²⁸

²⁶ *Kulliyāt-i Dārā Shikūh*, incomplete, 4 vols, Brig Lal Press, Gujranwalla 1857. Hasrat, Chapter V pp.113-120.

²⁷ Ivanow, Curzon No.444. p.311. The same manuscript entitled with *Risālat-i Rumūzāt* contains the *Hasanāt* after this *Risāla*.. Marshall p.127; Hasrat gave no information about this work.

²⁸ MS. No. 102. See *Yogavāsiṣṭha* edited by Tara Chand, p.9. n.4.

Dīwān

Dīwān-i Dārā Shukoh or *Iksīr-i A‘zam* is a collection of poems composed by Dārā Shukoh. Marshall remarks that it has 133 ghazals and 28 rubā‘is.²⁹ This work was published in Lahorein 1985 and in Mashhad in 1985.

This *Dīwān* is said to be a typical sample of Persian poetry being written in India in his time.³⁰ The principal theme of all the poems in Sūfism, the worshipping of the saints of the Qādiriyya sect, the praise of Kashmir, the Panjab and Lahore. As Hasrat describes, Dārā’s poems failed to become popular because during the reign of Aurangzeb, they were not allowed to be circulated.³¹

Sih Ganj

Sih Ganj is an unique manuscript preserved in Salar Jung Museum and Library in Hyderabad. According to the cataloguer, this work is a Persian paraphrase of Dārā Shukoh’s Arabic work entitled *Sirāt-i Wahdat*, Arabic adaptation of the *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas* on unity of God translated by Mīrzā Nek Akhtar Taimūrī Dihlawī. In fact, it contains the portions of the *MB* and the Persian translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*.³²

Risālat-i Ma‘ārif

This is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh by the author of *Khazīnat al-Asfiyā*.³³

²⁹Hasrat, chapter VII, pp.129-157.

³⁰Jan Marek, Persian Literature in India, Rypka, p.728.

³¹Jan Marek, *ibid.*, p.728; Schimmel, *Islamic Literature* p.41.

³²Catalogue No.3476 (Tas 108). *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, Vol. VIII (Islamic Theology). Salar Jung Museum and Library, 1983, Hyderabad, p.337.

³³BI p.15.

Translation of Sanskrit Scriptures

Sirr-i Akbar or Sirr-i Asrār³⁴

This is a Persian translation of fifty³⁵ *Upaniṣads* completed in 1067 A.H. / 1657. This work was published in Tehran twice.³⁶ With the elaborated preface, translation is made with the help of commentaries and transliterations of Sanskrit words and sometimes with Śūfistic interpretations. Linguistically and philologically, this is the most interesting among Dārā's works. Detailed study will be shown in 3-2-1.

Bhagavadgītā

There are several kinds of Persian translations, however, the *Āb-i Zindagi* preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh.³⁷ The translation is literal one compared with other versions of Persian translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Furthermore, Marshall informs that the latter translations of the *Mahābhārata* are by Dārā Shukoh.³⁸ Regarding the Persian translations of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Mahābhārata*, refer to 3-2-1.

Tarjuma-i Jog Bāsiṣht (translation of *Yogavāsiṣṭha*)

This was translated in 1066 A.H. / 1655-1656 at the instance of Dārā Shukoh. The history of the translation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is described in detail at the introduction of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, edited by Tara Chand and S.A.H. Abidi.³⁹ This work is one of the most influential Sanskrit scriptures on the *MB*. In section 19 in the *MB*, the saying of Vasiṣṭha is quoted.⁴⁰ For the detailed study, refer to 3-2-1.

³⁴ The title of this translation differs in manuscripts. Hasrat p.254.

³⁵ Hasrat describes the number of the *Upaniṣads* as fifty-two, however, in fact fifty.

³⁶ *Upanishad : Sirr-i Akbar*, ed. Muḥammad Rizā Jalālī Nā'īmī, Tārā Chand, Tehran Taban 1340 H.S. /1961, 1368 H.S. /1989, 2 vols.; *Upanishad*, Tehran, Kitābkhanah-i Ahrūnī, 1978.

³⁷ Ivanow 1707; The manuscript preserved in British Museum has the same character but ascribed to Abu'l Fazl. cf. British Museum Add. 7676.

³⁸ Marshall, p.128.

³⁹ *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, Aligarh, 1968, pp.10-12.

⁴⁰ YV 3-11-40.

Su‘āl wa Jawāb-i Dārā Shukoh⁴¹

This is not his work, however, it is a compendium of seven dialogues between Hindu saint, Bābā Lāl and Dārā Shukoh held in Lahore seven times. Another name of this work is the *Nādir al-Nikāt*. These dialogues are recorded and translated into Persian by Shāh Jahān's Munshī Chandra Bhān Brāhman⁴² in 1649. Extracted English translation is made in Hasrat⁴³ and Qanungo's *Dārā Shukoh*.⁴⁴ Persian manuscripts are not rare, however, there may be two versions of the transmission. The number of the translation varies on manuscripts. Urdu translation shows it clearly with long version and abridged version. French translation and text in Persian edited by Cl. Huart and Massignon has 70 dialogues.⁴⁵ Schimmel evaluates that this work shows Dārā's keen interest in the problems of a common mystical language.⁴⁶ The details will be given in 3-2-2.

Besides these works, some works should be introduced here. The album (*Muraqqa*) portraying miniatures and calligraphies is dedicated to Dārā's wife, Nadīra Begum. Many extant calligraphies show the proof of Dārā's excellence in this field.⁴⁷ A collection of letters and sayings is also an informative source to know Dārā's thought. Most important collection of letters is the *Ruqa‘āt-i ‘Ālamgīrī*. Beside this, ‘Ināyat Khān Rāsikh’s *Ināyat-nāmah* (1163 A.H. / 1750), ‘Abd al-‘Alī Tabrīzī’s *Maktūbāt* and a collection of letters of Shāh Jahān, *Ahkām-i Shāh Jahānī* are main sources. ‘Azīz Allāh include Dārā’s sayings among the Sufi saints in *Dar Maknūn* (1151 A.H. / 1739).⁴⁸

Some of the Persian works dedicated to Dārā Shukoh are briefly introduced next. Ibrāhīm Miskīn dedicated *Tarjumat Aqwāl-i Wāsitī*:

⁴¹ Marshall p.127; Hasrat, Chapter XI, pp.239-253.

⁴² He is also renowned Persian writer in Shāh Jahān’s ae. See Marshall pp.120-121. For his life, *Chandra Bhān Brahman: Life and Works, With A Critical Edition of His Persian Diwān*. Muhammed ‘Abdul Ḥamīd Fārooqī. Ahmedabad, 1967, Chapter II.

⁴³ Hasrat, Chapter XI, pp.239-253.

⁴⁴ Qanungo, pp.337-47.

⁴⁵ *Les Entretiens de Lahore*, Journal Asiatique, Octobre-Décembre 1926, pp.285-334.

⁴⁶ Schimmel, p.361.

⁴⁷ Marshall pp.128-129; BI pp.20-23; Hasrat, Chapter VIII, pp.158-173.

⁴⁸ See Marshall, pp.3,96,205,438.

translation of the sayings of the saint Abū Bakr Wāsitī.⁴⁹ Versified work on arithmetic, mensuration and algebra entitled *Khulāsat-i Rāz*, written by ‘Atā’ Allāh Rashīdī b. Ahmad Ma’amār belonging to the family of the architects of Tāj Mahal⁵⁰, and a medical treatise entitled *Tibb-i Dārā Shukohī* was written by Nūrud-Dīn Mudhammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Ainul-Mulk Shīrāzī.⁵¹ The governor of Kashmīr and Imperial Librarian, Muhammad Tāhir, takhallus, Āshnā, known as Ināyat Khān dedicated eulogies in his *Kulliyāt-i Āshnā*.⁵²

⁴⁹See *ibid.* p.197.

⁵⁰‘Atā’ Allāh Rashīdī is also the translator of *Bijaganita* of Bhāskara II. See Marshall pp.86-87.

⁵¹See *ibid.* p.381.

⁵²See *ibid.* p.84.

2-1 Overview of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

2-1-1 What is Majma‘ al-Bahrayn?

The Source of the Title

The term *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* is found in the *Qur’ān* in only one place. In Sūra XVIII-60: ‘Behold , Moses said to his attendant, “I will not give up until I reach the junction of the two seas (*Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*) or (until) I spend years and years in travel”.’ In this Sūra, from verse 59 to 81, we find the story regarding *al-Khadir* or *al-Khiḍr*. On the journey to the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*, Moses met a servant of God and asked him the right path (*rushd*) (XVIII-65). That servant of God tested Moses with three trials with which Moses was not able to keep patience. After these tests, Moses learned how human patience is inconsistent with its understanding and came to know the limit of human knowledge. And he realized that constant striving is necessary to acquire the highest knowledge with the help of the Divine gift.

Having its source with the Gilgamesh epic, Alexander romance and the Jewish legend, it recalls one personality called *al-Khadir* or *al-Khiḍr*. The name of the servant of God whom Moses met was not mentioned in the *Qur’ān*. However, commentators agreed on his identity with *al-Khadir*. Mysteriously enough, *al-Khadir* may be the man who has to be sought out as a seeker of Truth.

The place which the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* is located is interpreted variously. Based on western Semitic cosmology, it is the end of the world where the oceans of earth and heaven meet. which was considered to be the place where the Persian Ocean unites with the Roman Sea, probably the Isthmus of Suez or the junction of the Roman Sea with the Ocean, i.e. the Straits of Gibraltar. Although A.J.Wensinck remarks ‘farfetched explanation’,¹ some interpret that the meeting of Moses and *al-Khadir* stands for the two seas of wisdom. The last interpretation seems to be the nearest interpretation why Dārā Shukoh entitled his work the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*.²

¹ *EI*, vol.IV, 1978, pp.903.

² Commentators like *al-Baidawī* and *al-Tabarī* interpreted this as the geographical place.

Besides Dārā Shukoh, other authors used the *Majma‘ al-Bahrāyn* as the title of their works. One of the best poets of the Safavid dynasty, in the era of Abbās I, Sharafud-Dīn Ḥasan Shifā’ī (d. 1037/1628), famous for *Namakdān-i Haqīqat* ‘Salt-cell of Truth’ wrote *Maṭla‘ al-Anwār* ‘Rising of the Lights’ and it also has the title *Majma‘ al-Bahrāyn* ‘Confluence of the Two Seas’. ³ Shams ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Mūhtasib of Abarqān wrote Sufistic allegory in 714 A.H. ⁴ Another allegorical poem of love of Nāzir and Manzūr was entitled *Majma‘ Bahrāyn* by Kātibī. This title comes from two types of metres in which the poem should be read. ⁵ The historical work of the Timurides titled *Maṭla‘ al-Sa‘dayn wa Majma‘ al-Bahrāyn* by ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī (816/1413-887/1482). ⁶ Another Sufistic work by Rukn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Qādir al-Ḥanafī al-Chishtī was written in the sixteenth century.

Date of the Composition

Now we focus on Dārā Shukoh’s *Majma‘ al-Bahrāyn*. Most of the manuscripts agree on the date of the composition in their colophon. According to it, this work was completed by Dārā Shukoh in the year 1065 A.H., which corresponds to the forty-second year of the age of the author. The Arabic and the Sanskrit translation support the same date. ⁷ As seen in the biographical survey, he was born on 19 Ṣafar 1024 A.H. (equivalent to 20 March 1615). He could not have completed his forty-second year when the *MB* was composed, because when 1065 A.H. ended (last day of Zil-Hijja) on the 28th October in 1655. So the *MB* must have been completed between

Jurjānī interpreted this in much more mystical way in accordance with the description in the *Latā’if al-Lughāt*. The *Majma‘ al-Bahrāyn* stands for the symbolical words “qāb-i qausayn”, i.e. two bows’ or two cubits’ length (counting 100 to 150 yards to a bow-shot), which symbolizes the highest degree of proximity of Prophet Muhammad to God. (Sūra LIII-9) In Sufistic interpretation, it symbolizes the *sālik*’s state where the potential (*imkān*) existence becomes one with the necessary (*wujūd*) existence. In the *Dictionary of Philosophical Terms*, Tahānawī defined it in accordance with Jurjānī. *al-Ta‘arrufāt*, p.136; *Kashshāf*, vol.I p.118.

³Rypka, p.300.

⁴Riew, vol.II, p.853, Add 23580.

⁵Riew, vol.II, p.638, Add 7768.

⁶Marshall, p.25.

⁷Arabic translation f.23b; Sanskrit translation f. 10b.

the 21st October (the first Muḥarram 1065 A.H.) and the 27th December in 1655 (28 Ṣafar 1066 A.H.)⁸

Subject of the Work

Mostly, the *MB* is classified in the genre of Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf*) in the catalogues.⁹ In the catalogues of Persian manuscripts, some similar subjects have been referred to the *MB*. It is characterized as follows: ‘A treatise on Hindu theosophy, compared with Muhammadan Sufism, chiefly explaining different technical terms’;¹⁰ ‘A treatise on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology’;¹¹ ‘Muhammad Dārā Shukūh attempted in this treatise to reconcile Brahmanism and Muhammadanism by showing the close relationship between Hindu pantheism and Persian Sufism’;¹² ‘a treatise on Sufic terminology and the equivalent technical terms of Hindu pantheism’;¹³ ‘A treatise on Hindu theosophy vis a vis Islamic mysticism in which the Prince (Dārā Shukoh) has explained various technical terms’;¹⁴ and ‘valuable treatise on Indian pantheism and its equivalent in Sufi phraseology, mainly explaining different technical terms and phrases’.¹⁵

Though the designation varies, we can pick up several key words indicating the significance of Dārā Shukoh’s *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*. In view of these key words, we can say that *MB* has been regarded as the comparative work

⁸cf. P.K.Gode p.438. Although the calculation is correct, it doesn’t mean that Sanskrit translation was completed at the same time.

⁹Poleman classified the Sanskrit translation of the *MB* in the genre of cosmology. p.277.

¹⁰Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Curzon Collection Asiatic Society of Bengal, *Bibliotheca Indica* No.241, 1926 p.455.

¹¹Rieu, vol.II. London 1879, p.828; Marshall, p.127.

¹²Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, comp. by Ethe and Beeston, AFL., Pt.1, Oxford 1954. p.758.

¹³Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, vol.xvi. Sufism, Prayers, Hinduism and History of Creeds and Sects, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, originally in 1929. second edition 1994, p.130.

¹⁴A Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Salar Jung Museum and Library, compiled by Hājī Muhammad Ashraf, with a preface by M.L.Nigam, vol. VIII, concerning 462 manuscripts in Islamic theology, Salar Jung Museum and Library, Hyderabad 1983, p.190.

¹⁵Catalogue of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Manuscripts, A Descriptive Catalogue, Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, 1973, p.34

on the terminology or phraseology of Islamic Sufism and Hindu equivalents.

Dārā's Motive

In the preface of the *MB*, Dārā himself explained the motive of writing this treatise with this title.

This unafflicted, unsorrowing *faqīr*, Muḥammad Dārā Shukoh, after knowing the Truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Sūfis, and having been endowed with this great gift, he thirsted to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monotheists: and having had repeated intercourse and (continuous) discussion with the doctors and perfect divines of this religion who had attained the highest pitch of perfection in religious exercises, comprehension (of God), intelligence and (religious) insight, he did not find any difference, except verbal, in the way in which they sought and comprehended truth, consequently, having collected the views of the two parties and having brought together the points - a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of Truth - he has compiled a tract and entitled it *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* or ‘the mingling of the two Oceans’, as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of two truth knowing groups.¹⁶

It is clear from this quotation that he took two oceans as two truth knowing groups, i.e. Islam and Hinduism. As the title implies, we can find the truth and wisdom of both groups at the meeting point.

Although not found in the original Persian text, the noteworthy thing is that the author of the Sanskrit translation interpolated the reference to the episode of the churning of the ocean by gods and demons to get Nectar (*amṛta*), taken from the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁷ Here, at the instance of Viṣṇu, fixing the *Mandara* mountain as a churning-rod, gods and demons churned the ocean of milk using the serpent king Vāski as twisting rope and extracted fourteen precious things beginning with sun, moon, goddess Śrī, *Kaustubhu* (precious stone suspended on the breast of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu) and

¹⁶ BI, p.38.

¹⁷ *Mahābhārata* 1-15...17. This plot is found in *Rāmāyaṇa* 1-45.

at the end they got amṛta in the cup in the hand of Dhanvantari (physician of the gods). The translator imagined that Dārā Shukoh churned the ocean of scriptures of Hindu and Muslim creeds and got perfect knowledge that is much more precious than nectar.¹⁸

Now we show the interpretations of the *MB* by scholars. The evaluation of the work is varied. Jan Marek evaluated the *MB* as Dārā's most important work and 'a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam that attempted to demonstrate their various points of contact'.¹⁹ Schimmel regarded the *Sirr-i Akbar* as his most important work, however, she remarked that *MB* was the 'attempt to unite the two main religions of India in order to reach the *Madjma' al-Bahrayn*' where 'the essential unity of the great religious traditions by leaning heavily on the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd* can be found in the Islamic equivalent of the Vedantic concept of advaita, non-duality'.²⁰ Crollius regarded the *MB* as 'comparative religious studies', and 'the spiritual experience in Islam and Hinduism' as the main theme.²¹

Negative evaluation came from Johan Van Manen as 'poor in spirit and largely verbal' because it lacks 'deep insight and great spirituality'.²²

Hasrat followed this criticism, however, remarked that the *MB* is 'a treatise on the technical terms of Indian pantheism and their equivalents in Sūfi phraseology' and regarded it as 'a work of utmost interest to a student of comparative religion', because it embodies an attempt to reconcile the doctrines of two apparently divergent religions showing the similarity and identity between Hinduism and Islam.²³ Aziz Ahmad criticized the *MB* as 'a syncretic lexique technique' in other words, 'a collection of pseudo-lexicographical correspondences between Sūfi and Upanishadic cosmologies, esoteric belief and practices'. He pointed out its weakness and

¹⁸Sanskrit translation folio 10b; 'Through a desire of my own Self which is nothing but Viṣṇu Himself, having made my mind the Mandara-hill, and my resolution and irresolution gods and demons, having then churned the ocean of the Scriptures, I have extracted such a gem of knowledge out of it, which the gods and the demons could not get even though they extracted as many as fourteen gems by churning the ocean.' (SS p.163.)

¹⁹Persian Literature in India, in *History of Iranian Literature*, Jan Rypka, Dordrecht, 1968. p.728.

²⁰EI, vol.VIII, Mughals, Annemarie Schimmel. p.327.

²¹*Spiritual Experience in the Meeting of Islam and Hinduism, The case of Dārā Shikūh*, Discussion Paper Series I-4, Arij A. Roest Crollius,S.J., Sophia University, Tokyo, 1988, p.1.

²²Johan Van Manen, in Foreword to BI. p.vi in the second revised edition in 1982.

²³Hasrat pp.216-17.

hollowness because of a ‘lack of any valid scientific or metaphysical premise, and its unrestrained hypothetical character’. analysing Dārā’s approach to Hinduism and search for common ground as ‘not purely esoteric’. He took Dārā’s effort as syncretism to find favour with the Hindus on the basis of the idea erroneously believed to have similarities between them and the result of comparative study often resulted ‘widely off the mark’. ²⁴ Tara Chand, too, called Dārā’s effort as ‘syncretism’ and criticised that it contained ‘an element of magic and superstition’. And he doubted Dārā’s speculation and scholarship as ‘motivated more by superstitious regard to what he saw in his dreams than by the urge to express the ineffable vision of an inward light’. ²⁵ Rizvi compared with the *Rushdnāma* (comparative work between Nāth terminology and the *Dvaitādvaitavilakṣaṇavāda* and terminology of Šūfism and Wahdat al-Wujūd by ‘Abdu'l Quddūs Gangohi. described the lack of depth and sensitivity and expressed the feeling of dryness due to a list of comprative tables. ²⁶ Mujtabai explained the subject of the *MB* as ‘dealing with the Vedānta school of Hindu philosophy, limited to Advaita-Vedānta of Śaṅkara and his followers’ and what he tried to draw was the parallels between the religious and philosophical views of the Hindus and Muslims, however, was hardly beyond the outward similarities. Regarding Dārā’s method, he criticised as ‘more popular than scientific’ and ‘to base an argument on such superficial similarities is wrong and misleads’. ²⁷

On the other hand, Johan Van Manen, left room to estimate the positive aspects of the *MB* and states that the substantial and terminological comparisons could not be the cause for the tragic execution of the author.

²⁸ Hasrat emphasized the human interest shown by Dārā in spite of the fundamental differences pointed out by the learned scholars on both sides, and remarked. ‘The *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* marks the beginning of a very commendable effort of a prince that leads him towards a deeper and more intimate comprehension of Indian philosophical and religious thought. Hindus and Muslims should try to comprehend the essentials of Truth as contained in their respective scriptures.’ ²⁹

More favorable support came in the preface of the second edition which

²⁴ Aziz Ahmad p.193.

²⁵ *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. Tara Chand pp.397-398

²⁶ Rizvi, *History*, vol.II, p.417.

²⁷ Mujtabai, pp.53-54.

²⁸ BI p.vi.

²⁹ Hasrat p.218.

is a reprint of the first edition of the *MB*. The General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Amalendu De, approved its potential value for further study, ‘the ground was prepared by several scholars to develop the study of Dara Shikuh in our country. I am presenting the second edition to the scholarly world with this expectation that they would come forward to make a correct assessment of the place of Dara Shikuh in the history of India and a proper appraisal of his thoughts and ideas which are of great importance even to-day.’³⁰

Roma Chaudhury declared that the Sanskrit translation of the *MB* : *Samudra Sangama* is a purely philosophical treatise - not a religious or mystical one. In spite of textual and contextual mere matter-of-fact statements, she evaluated ‘the deep insight and wisdom of the author, his wide knowledge of the Holy books of Hinduism and Islam, his correct acquaintance with the philosophical terminology of both’. She admitted *Samudra Sangama* is ‘not an ecstatic work, involving sudden flights of imagination or sudden dawning of the truth. It is also not a philosophic work of logical perfection or originality ... a unique, comparative study’.³¹

The question is whether or not Dārā Shukoh’s *MB* is a religious work or a philosophical work, comparative study between Hindu pantheism and Islamic Sūfism or not, or is the comparison limited to terminology? A comprehensive assessment of these questions can be found in this thesis after the close examination of the contents.

³⁰ BI p.iv.

³¹ SS p.121.

2-1-2 Texts of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

The manuscripts of the *MB* are not rare. Regarding the manuscripts, we shall treat in detail in Part II. The publications of the Persian text have been done twice so far. One edited by Maḥfūz al-Ḥaqq was published in India as one of the Bibliotheca Indica series in 1929 in Calcutta. Another combined with Dārā’s other two works edited by Muḥammad Ridā Jalālī Nāīnī and published in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran under the title *Muntakhbāt-i Āthār*¹. This edition was reprinted in Tehran in 1366 H.S. (1987 or 1988.) The Bibliotheca Indica Edition (*BI*) edition was based on five manuscripts and the Tehran edition was based on one manuscript.² As there are many differences of reading, the Tehran edition (*T*) used the Bibliotheca Indica edition as testimonia.³

The Arabic and the Sanskrit translation were done soon after the completion of the original Persian work. The only manuscript of the Arabic translation entitled the *Tarjumat-i Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* is preserved in the National Library of Calcutta in the Būhār Library Collection.⁴ It was translated by Shams al-‘Ulamā’ Muḥammad Hidāyat Ḥusain Khān Bahādur and transcribed in 1185 A.H. / 1771. The sole manuscript of the Sanskrit translation entitled *Samudra Saṅgama* is preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. It was transcribed in Saṃvat 1765 / 1708.⁵ We edited the Sanskrit translation in Part II.

Durgā Prasād used the same title and wrote a treatise on Yogic practices including the quotations from several sections of Dārā’s the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* in 1876 in Agra.⁶

The Persian text was translated into Hindi by Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi

¹This edition contains *Hasanat al-Ārifin* and the *Upanikhat Mundaka*.

²For the details, see Part II, 1-1.

³Tehran edition describes the reading of the *BI* in the footnotes.

⁴For precise description and the transcription, see Part II, 1-2.

⁵The exact date described by the scribe is ‘in the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa on the 7th Tithi which was Monday’. This is equivalent to the 23rd November 1708. For the precise description of this manuscript and transcription of the text, see p.144 ff. Mujtabai seems to have identified the author of the Sanskrit translation with Dārā himself and wrote ‘(Dārā) wrote a treatise of Vedānta in Sanskrit.’ p.102.

⁶Some portions of section 6, 8, 9 and 10 are quoted literally, however, different from the reading of the *BI*. The reading is similar to *BM1* group of the variants.

in 1961.⁷ An Urdu translation was done by M.Muhammad ‘Umar at Lahore and Gokul Prasad at Lucknow in 1872.⁸ Another Urdu translation was published in Lahore from Manzilah Naqshbandī, however, it is the translation of *BI* and not dated.⁹ Muḥammad Yūnus Shāh Gilānī translated this work in 1983.¹⁰

An English translation of the original Persian text has been made by Mahfūz al-Haqq with the critical edition in the Bibliotheca Indica series described above. English translation of the Sanskrit translation of *MB* was made by Roma Choudhury in 1954 and translated into Hindi by Bābū Lāl Shuklā in 1995. French translation and study of the work has been done by Daryush Shayegan in 1971.¹¹

There is an unique Persian manuscript which we have to introduce here. That is some sort of compendium entitled the *Sih Ganj*. This is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. Cataloguer said that this is the Persian paraphrase of Dārā’s *Sirāt-i Wahdat*, an Arabic adaptation of the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas* on unity of God translted by Mirzā Nek Akhtar Taimūrī Dihrawī.¹² In this work, we can find the quotation of the *MB* and the Persian translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

In addition to the original Persian manuscripts of the *MB* and the printed texts of his other works, we shall make use of these source materials for the present study.

⁷It has the sub-title, *Samudra Saṅgama*, however, the translation is from the Persian original not from the Sanskrit translation. It was published in Lucknow. Rizvi. *History* vol.II, pp.418-423.

⁸Hasrat, p.294.

⁹This is combined with the Urdu translation of *Hasanāt al-‘Arifin* and Ibn al-Arabi’s *Kitāb al-Akhlaq*. This was published by Qawnī Dukān in 1939?.

¹⁰*Majma’ al-Bahrayn*, Aibatābād (Pakistan), Al-Gilān Publishers, 1983.

¹¹*Hindouisme et Soufisme, les Relations de l’Hindouisme et du Soufisme d’apres le Majma’ al-Bahrayn de Dārā Shokūh*, Paris 1979.

¹²Catalogue No.3476, Tas 108. *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, vol.VIII (Islamic Theology), Salar Jung Museum and Library, Hyderabad, 1983, p.337.

2-1-3 Textual Problems

It is appropriate to refer briefly here to the problems of the text, for we will discuss them in detail in Part II : Critical Edition of *Majma' al-Bahrayn*.

The editor of the *BI* version lamented the innumerable clerical mistakes and errors of omission and commission. As the result of the unsatisfactory condition of the manuscripts which he could not depend on, he was forced to consulted five manuscripts in his hand to prepare the text , collating and selecting best reading from them. So many variants and the different forms of Persian transliteration of Sanskrit terms or quotations was a difficult task. He confesses, 'I admit that all my selections may bot be approved of by my readers and they may permit of further improvement. but, with the texts that I had, I fear I could not do better'. ¹ Here is the one improvement with as much as thirty manuscripts we have perused and collated as better as we can.

The editor of *BI* selected the variants, 'I have kept in view the fact that only such variations of the text should be noted as are material and cannot possibly be ascribed to a mistake on the part of the copyist'. He consulted the apparently unique manuscript of the Arabic translation of the *MB* which is preserved in the Buhar Library (Imperial Library, Calcutta). This translation was of much use to me in correcting the Arabic quotations etc. However, Urdu translation entitled *Nūr al-'Ain* by Gokul Prasād lithographed at Lucknow in 1872, was not secured even by Mahfūz al-Haq. We tried to find out the older Urdu translation, however, it unfortunately, we were not successful to acquire it so far. The Urdu translation made in Lahore published by Manzil-i Naqshbandiyyah is at our disposal, however, this is the literal translation of the *BI* edition. ² So, for our edition, too, older Urdu translation was not used.

Problems of Languages

¹ *BI* p.31.

² This edition is combined with Urdu translation of *Hasanāt al-Ārifīn* and *Rumūz al-Tasawwuf*, i.e. Urdu translation of *Mukālimah-i Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*.

Another problem of the *MB* is the identification of the transliterated Sanskrit terms. The *BI* edition had a very difficult task of identification of Sanskrit terms.³ However, compared with Perso-Latin transliteration of Sanskrit in the *Oupnekhat* translated by Anquetil Duperron, it can be said to be an easier work to trace the original term. In the case of the *MB*, with the help of Sanskrit translation, the *Samudra Saṅgama*, this difficulty is overcome. We appreciate P.K.Gode's suggestion that manuscript of *Samudra Saṅgama* : the Sanskrit version of the *MB*, which was copied fifty-three years after the date of its composition has great value for the purpose of textual reconstruction.⁴

As the transliteration of technical terms in Persian translation of the *Upaniṣads*, the *Sirr-i Akbar* has the forms of Sanskrit and vernacular languages, the *MB* has the same type of forms. Dārā knows the terminology of Indian philosophy so well, however, nowhere he mentions the words are Sanskrit or Hindi or any other vernaculars. When referring to the language of India or of the Hindus he calls it simply 'in the word of India (*bi-zabān-i hind*)'. The case is different from Al-Bīrūnī or Abu'l Faḍl.

In the Al-Bīrūnī's case, the problem of the language stands for one of the five barriers which separate the Hindus from the Muslims and make it difficult for Muslim people to study Indian subjects. He divided Indian language into two categories, one is vernacular language(*muntazal*) in use among the common people, and classical language (*fāṣih*) in use among the upper and the educated classes. He intended to signify Sanskrit as classical language and one of the vernaculars is Hindustānī, and pointed out the difficulties in pronunciation and transliteration of Indic words in the Perso-Arabic writing system.⁵

In Abu'l Faḍl's case, he used the *i'rāb* system effectively. In 'The Description of India' in the third part of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, he introduced Sanskrit grammar as one of the eighteen *vidyās*⁶ and explained many Indian terms transliterated with *i'rāb*. This system developed by Arabic grammarians has been inherited by Islamic scholars and lexicographers to show the pronunciation of foreign words. It makes us clear the original Sanskrit or

³The editor of the *BI* narrated "identification and transliteration of Sanskrit terms which had been so mutilated in the Persian text that in many cases it became almost impossible to identify them correctly". (p.33)

⁴P.K.Gode p.444.

⁵Sachau, p.13.

⁶Abu'l Faḍl, pp.117-119.

vernacular words and shows the phonetic characters of vernaculars of the day and contributes the linguistic study of the day.

Dārā did not refer to the difference between the language of books and that of common people, classical language and vernacular.⁷

As regards the transliteration of technical terms, we can only infer from the pronunciation as accurately as he found it possible, that he heard from the mouth of the *Pandits*. In Dara's case, too, the mixture of colloquial or vernacular modes of pronunciation of the *Pandits* influenced his transliteration. There is no systematic way of transliteration like the contemporary Jesuit missionary, Heinrich Roth.⁸

When Roth returned to Rome in 1662 with the missionary to Tibet, Joannes Grueber, he introduced Sanskrit as a language with *Devanāgarī* script explained in Latin for the first time in Europe, in the section of 'Elementa Linguae Hanscret seu Brachmanica', in the book entitled *China Monumentis*. He divided three kinds of languages in India at his time: Persian (Persico), Hindustānī (Indostanico) and Sanskrit (Brachmanico). This book was compiled by Athanasius Kircher in Amsteldam in 1667 as the report of Jesuit investigation in Indian sub-continent and China. Not only transliterating their gospel *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in *Devanāgarī* scripts, Heinrich Roth introduced the idea of avatāras of Viṣṇu and translated the most popular work of Vedānta, *Vedāntasāra*.⁹

Hanscrit is used for designating Sanskrit by French traveller, François Bernier. He referred to Father Roa (=Heinrich Roth), and he introduced this language has been introduced by the hand of Athanasius Kircher.¹⁰

⁷Only one reference about the Sanskrit language can be found in the Persian translation of the *Upaniṣads*. *Sirr-i Akbar*. In the *Prāṇava Upaniṣad*, one phrase is found as 'water is called ap (āpas) in Sanskrit'. *Sirr-i Akbar*, ed. by Tara Chand and S.M.R.Jalālī Nā'īnī. Tehran 1957. p.465.

⁸Heinrich Roth, German Jesuit Missionary, who came to Goa in 1652, and in 1654 he came to Agra and become the principle of collegio. During his stay in India, he studied Sanskrit and wrote Sanskrit Grammar. For his life and his works, refer to Richard Hauschild, *Der Missionar P. Heinrich Roth aus Dillingen und die erste europäische Sanskrit-Grammatik*. Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 115. Heft 6. Berlin 1972.

⁹For the precise information about the manuscript of this Sanskrit grammar and translation of the *Vedāntasāra*, see *The Sanskrit Grammar and Manuscripts of Father Heinrich Roth S.J.(1620-1668)*, Facsimile edition of Biblioteca Nazionale. Introduced and edited by Arnulf Camps and Jean-Claude Muller, Leiden 1988.

¹⁰cf. François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogol Empire*, ed. and tr. by Archibald Constable 2nd edn., New Delhi 1968, p.335.

2-1-4 Contents of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

First of all we have to confirm the contents of the *MB*. The work is divided into the following twenty-two chapters in addition to the introduction and colophon. It is surprising that every text and introductory notice is incomplete about the contents of the *MB*. In the *BI* edition, the editor explained that the tract contains twenty-two sections, however, he omitted section five and twenty-two. And the title of the section eight ‘The Fire’ should be corrected as ‘The Sounds’. ¹ As the editor of Sanskrit translation noticed, Sanskrit translation has only twenty-one sections except the section thirteen. ² In the introduction, Hasrat enumerates the twenty sections only omitting section five, ‘The Soul’ and the section twenty-two, ‘The Infinity of Cycles’. ³ Rizvi introduces the contents of the *MB* as having twenty chapters, however, enumerated the titles of twenty-two chapters. ⁴ We should correct these mistakes.

Accordingly, the contents of the *MB* is named as follows:

1. The Elements ('Anāśir)
2. The Sense Organs (*Hawā*)
3. The Devotional Exercises (*Shughl*)
4. The Attributes of God (*Sifāt-i Allāh*)
5. The Soul (*Rūh*)
6. The Vital Breaths (*Bād-hā*)
7. The Four World ('Awālim-i arba'at)
8. The Sound (*Āwāz*)
9. The Light (*Nūr*)
10. The Vision of God (*Ru'uyat*)
11. The Names of God (*Asmā'-i Allāh*)
12. The Apostleship and the Saintship (*Nubuwwat wa Wilāyat*)
13. The *Brahmāṇḍa*
14. The Quarters (*Jihāt*)
15. The Celestial Worlds (*Āsmān-hā*)
16. The Nether World (*Zamīn*)
17. The Divisions of the World (*Qismat-i zamīn*)

¹ BI p.30.

² SS p.7.

³ Hasrat p.220.

⁴ Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, 1965, Agra, p.356.

18. The *Barzakh* (‘Ālam-i barzakh)
19. The Great Resurrection (*Qiyāmat*)
20. The Salvation (*Mukti*)
21. The Day and Night of God (*Rūz wa shab*)
22. The Eternity of the Cycle of Existence (*Bī-nihāyatī-yi adwār*)

A.A.Rizvi, translator of the *MB* into Hindi took this subject as the answer from Bābā Lāl regarding *Pañca bhūta* (five elements), *Indriyas* (five senses), relations of *Khāliq* (creator) with *Makhlūq* (created), *Paramātman* (Divine Soul), *Jīvātman* (human soul), *Nidrā* (sleep). *Mukti* (salvation), and *Mahāpuruṣa* (Perfect Man).⁵

The editor of the Sanskrit translation arranged the subject in three main categories according to the *parināma* theory in *Sāṃkhya* philosophy, matter, soul and God. Each section is arranged in these three categories. The sense organs(section 2), the Vital breaths (6), the elements (1), the *Brahmāṇḍa* (13), the four world (7), division of the world (17), the firmaments (15), the quarters(14), the eternity of the cycle of existence (22) are included in matter; the soul (5), apostleship and saintship (12), the world of the dead(18), the great dissolution(19), salvation (20) are included in soul; the attributes of God (section 4), the names of God(section 11), the day and night of God (21), the sound (of God) (8), the light (of God) (9), meditation (3), vision of God (10) are included in God.

Returning to the tradition originated from the *Upaniṣads*, we use three categories of speculation *ādhibhautika* (concerning matter), *ādhidaivika* (concerning divine beings) *ādhyātmika* (concerning soul). Sufistic treatises also have the tradition of starting from the description of descending of God to mundane world, idea of Macrocosm and Microcosm and the way of salvation. Thus we arrange the analytical study into three sections : Nature of the World, God and Man. In the section of Nature of the World, Creation of Elements, Creation of Cognitive Organs, *Purāṇic Cosmology*; and the idea of Macrocosm and Microcosm; in the section of God. Attributes of God, Name of God and Divine time; in the section of Man. Nature of Soul, Way of Salvation, idea of Perfect Man and *Jīvan-mukti* are treated respectively. Here, we will take the philological method to investigate the idea of the similarity which Dārā found, mainly based on the original texts of his own and other philosophical works.

⁵Rizvi, *ibid.*, p.356.

2-2 Nature of the World

The origin of individual souls and God is the focus of philosophical speculation. The philosophers in Islam held that the divine knowledge of God or the Essence is the cause of the universe. For Ibn 'Arabī, the starting point of his ontology is based on the idea that the existence of the universe is necessarily entailed by that of a necessary being, God.¹ On the other hand, the idea that the universe has its essence in *Brahman* and will return to it was the result of reconciliation between the reality of the phenomenal world and the highest reality that the sages brought forth in the *Upaniṣads*. In this section, we treat the cosmological ideas in the *MB*.

2-2-1 Creation (Element)

Elements

Creation is one of the main topics of the *Purāṇas*,² and the production of the five elements (*bhūta*), the objects of senses, the sense-organs and the intelligence is called the subtle creation.

The *MB* opens with the cosmological idea of creation. Worldly creation is described as the evolution of the universe. All the mundane creations in *Nāśūt* (human nature) are constituted with five elements (*pañca-bhūtāni*) : the great element ('unṣur-i aṣzam), which stands for 'the great throne ('arś-i akbar)', wind, fire, water, and dust. These are identified with Indian equivalents: *ākāśa*, *vāyu*, *tejas*, *jala*, *pṛthivī*.³

In the *Qur'ān*, the throne ('arsh) and footstool (*kursī*) of God are placed above heavens and earth and identified as ninth and eighth heavenly spheres

¹Affifi, pp.66-69; 77-83.

²Five main topics dealt in the *Purāṇa* literature are generally known as *pañcalakṣaṇa*: (1) Creation (*sarga*), (2) Recreation after dissolution (*prati-sarga*), (3) Genealogy of gods and sages (*vamsa*), (4) History of dynasties (*vamsānucarita*), (5) *Manu* period of time (*manvantara*).

³The Sanskrit translation explains these elements as 'inherent causes of all the objects are concerned (*anubhūyamāna-samavāyi-kāraṇāni*)'(f.1a). *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* is one of the three-fold causes that Vaiśeṣika philosophy holds.

respectively.⁴ According to Ibn ‘Arabī and Jīlī, the great throne ('arsh-i akbar) signifies universal body and a characteristic of the essence as the manifestation of the realities of universe.⁵

Regarding to the Indian concept of ākāśa, the *MB* introduces the idea of three kinds of ākāśa. Here we can find the most significant proof of the strong influence of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the rendering of the concept of three kinds of ākāśa. Here, ākāśa is known as threefold : *Cidākāśa* (space of consciousness), *Cittākāśa* (mental space), and *Bhūtākāśa* (physical space) as the third. Thus, the conception of ākāśa has both the physical meaning and the meaning of equation with consciousness and with *Brahman*. These are said to be common and are present everywhere, by the power of pure consciousness they attain the essence of reality. About each ākāśa, *Cidākāśa* (space of consciousness) is pervading all beings: *Cittākāśa* (mental space) bestows well-being to all the beings and is the promoter of time, by which everything is extended; *Bhūtākāśa* (elemental space) whose body is the unbroken expanse of the firmament with its ten directions and is the support of wind, cloud etc.⁶

In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, this idea is expressed in the story of Ākāśaja (space-born). This symbolical parable can be understood as the ideal of jīvanmukta (liberated man) with cosmological concepts.⁷ Here ākāśa serves as the most powerful symbol for the advaita of pure consciousness.⁸

At the beginning of section 1 of the *MB*, these three kinds of ākāśa are explained as follows: ‘*Bhūtākāśa* is surrounding the elements, *Manākāśa* is encircling the whole existence and *Cidākāśa* is enveloping all and is covering everything and this *Cidākāśa* is permanent’,⁹ namely, it is not transitory and there is no Qur’ānic or Vedic verse testifying to its annihilation or destruction. Then follows the evolution of process.

In section 2 in the *MB*, sense organs are explained. Among them, sāmi'a (the sense of hearing) is connected with the great element ('unṣur-i a'ẓam).

⁴See 2-3.

⁵*Kashshāf*, vol.1, p.981; Nicholson, *Study*, p.114.

⁶*Yogavāsiṣṭha* 3-97-14...18.

⁷In connection with Jīvanmukti, see 2-4-4.

⁸cf. *Guhā to Ākāśa: The Mystical Cave in the Vedic and Śaiva Traditions*, Bettina Bäumer, *Concepts of Space, Ancient and Modern*, ed. Kapila Vatsyayan, New Delhi 1991, pp.113-114.

⁹*BI,T* reads ‘bar ḥaqq(in real)’, however, most of the manuscripts read ‘ajan’. According to the Sanskrit translation this can be read as ‘ajanva (unborn, eternal)’.

namely *Mahākāśa*, through whose instrumentality we hear sounds. Through the sense of hearing, that real essence of *Mahākāśa* is manifested to the religious devotees, only, while no one else can realize it. In section 8 in the *MB*, three kinds of sounds : *anāhata*, *āhata* and *sabda* are introduced and *anāhata* is explained as the sound which has been in eternity past, is so at present, and will be so in future. This sound stands for *Āwāz-i Muṭlaq* (the sound of the absolute) or *Sultān-ul-azkār* (the king of *zikr*) in *Ṣūfīstic* terminology. This is eternal and is said to be the source of the perception of *Mahākāśa*; but this sound is inaudible to all, except the great saints of both the communities. In section 15, the ninth sky is called *Mahākāśa*, which is said to encircle all and even the *Kursī* (the throne of God), the skies and the earths are contained in it. These refer to the *ākāśa* as pure consciousness, in another word, *Cidākāśa*.

In section 20, the *MB* acknowledges that the universe, namely *Brahmāṇḍa*, should be regarded as the corporeal body of God, and ‘*Unṣur-i a’zam*, namely, *Mahākāśa* should be regarded as *sūkṣma-śarīra* or the fine body of God and should consider the Self of God as the soul of that body.

In the *Sirr-i Akbar*, the terms of *ākāśa*, *Cidākāśa*, *Mahākāśa*, *Hṛdayākāśa* and *Bhūtākāśa* are used in the translation. The precise examination makes it clear that these usages are connected with the commentaries and have been differentiated.

The allusion to three kinds of *ākāśa* originated in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.¹⁰ In the commentary, Śaṅkara explained it referring to the three states of *Ātman*: *jāgrat*, *suṣupti* and *svapna*. These concepts have influence on the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*,¹¹ the *Vedāntasāra*¹² and the *Pañcadaśī*.¹³ Further, the *Dīgha Nikāya* introduces them as the idea of the concepts of non-Buddhist sects of Indian philosophy.¹⁴ These *ākāśas* are symbolized as the three states of *Ātman* or *Brahman* referring to nature (*ādhībhautika*), *jīva* (*ādhyātmika*) and *paramātman* (*ādhidaivika*). This idea originated from the *Upaniṣads* and developed in later Vedāntic works such as the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Pañcadaśī*.

¹⁰ 3-12-7...9.

¹¹ *Taittiriya Up.* 2-15.

¹² VS 46, 56, 148, 150-153

¹³ *Pañcadaśī* 1-33...36. 3.

¹⁴ 1-3-10...12, 9-39

World Soul : Hiranyagarbha and ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiyya

As described above, in the process of creation, Love is said to be the first creation. ‘The first thing to come out of *Cidākāśa* was Love (‘ishq) which is called *māyā*’. Here, the *MB* quotes the favorite alleged *Hadīth* ‘I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known; so, I brought the creation into existence.’¹⁵ And, from Love, *Rūḥ-i A’zam* (*jīvātman*) , the great soul or the soul of Muhammad (*ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiyya*) is born. This means the perfect soul (*rūḥ-i kullī*). This is equivalent to *Hiranyagarbha* or *Samaṣṭi-ātman*.¹⁶ This denotes his greatness.¹⁷

‘The first thing created from *cidākāśa* is ‘ishq which is equivalent to *māyā*.’ This description met the severe criticism by Hasrat as ‘far-fetched’.¹⁸ For the precise examination, first we have to turn to the Sufistic side. As the Upaniṣadic *Mahāvākyā* ‘tat tvam asi’ shows the unity of *Brahman* and soul (*ātman*), Ṣūfi has “*Ana'l-Haqq*” (I am the creative Truth). Rendering this, Massignon explained Hallāj’s concept of creation. According to Hallāj, God in His unity discoursed with Himself and contemplating the splendor of His essence, then He admired Himself with Love in His essence. So, God loves Himself and manifests Himself by Love. The first manifestation of Love in the Divine Absolute determined the multiplicity as attributes or names. He beheld loneliness of Love and brought forth from non-existence

¹⁵This is called *Hadīth qudsī*, however, not included in orthodox *Hadīth*. In spite of this fact, it is often quoted in Ṣūfistic works. Rūmī also quoted it in his *Methnāvi*.

¹⁶*BI, T* read *avasthātman* اوستھاتمانا, however, only *R4* supports this reading as *sthātman* سُمْت or سُمْت (fol.2b). Most of the manuscripts read with four consonants سُمْت سُمْت سُمْت سُمْت, unique reading is *B* as *sūtra-ātman* سوترا اتمان (fol.132b) Same reading in *A2* (fol.2a). سُمْت may most probably be identified with the technical term in *Vedānta*, *samasti* (aggregate). *Sūtra-ātman* is also a *Vedāntic* technical term rendered as Thread-soul. *N* group has the same reading as *mahat-tattva* مهات (the great material).

¹⁷*BI* reads *a'zamiyyat* اعزمت. The readings of manuscripts have several variations such as عَمَانِيَّة ؛ اجْمَاعِيَّة ؛ اجْمَاعِيَّت ؛ (N) اجْمَاعِيَّت ؛ (T) اجْمَاعِيَّة ؛ (A1, U1, U2, U3, S) اجْمَاعِيَّة ؛ (S, U1, A2, A3) اجْمَاعِيَّة ؛ (C, J, H2) مَاهِيَّة ؛ (B, D1) اَنَائِيَّة ؛ (D2, E) رَحْمَانِيَّة ؛ (BM2). Sanskrit translation transliterates it as *amā*. Arabic translation reads رَحْمَانِيَّة. According to Ibn ‘Arabī, this state can be called the state of the divine names in relation to the spheres of manifestation. We can say ‘the state of the Merciful (*al-martaba al-rahmāniyya*); the state of Oneness (*al-martaba al-jam'*), the Blindness or dark mist(*al-'amā*) which develops consciousness. *Futūhāt*. III, p.578 rendered in Affifi p.63. n.2. Nicholson, pp.82. It might be proper to read اجْمَاعِيَّة.

¹⁸Hasrat p.229.

an image of Himself through His attribute and names. This is the picture in which Hallāj described the creation of Adam in the *Kitāb al-Tawāṣīn*.¹⁹

In other words, with the concept of Ibn ‘Arabī, this ardent Desire is the cause of the Manifestation (*zuhūr*). His determinate form, for His own anthropomorphosis and the cause of the Return (*‘awda*). God revealed Himself through producing the world as a mirror in which to contemplate His own Image. Among the three kinds of Ibn ‘Arabī’s classification of love, this may be equivalent to the divine love (*hubb ilāhī*) i.e. the love of the Creator for the creature in which He creates Himself and He reveals Himself. On the other hand, it is the love of that creature for his Creator.²⁰

In the process of manifestation, the Reality of Muhammad (*haqīqat-i Muḥammadiyyah*), sometimes called universal matter in which all the universe exists, has the first position of manifestation.²¹ His existence is made from Divine Light or universal Reality. This is regarded as the archetype of the universe and stands for the place of the Perfect Man as the Microcosm. It is equivalent to the Logos or Nous of Neoplatonists.²² We shall treat this subject in 2-2-4.

In India, various concepts of creation have been developed and found their climax in the *Upaniṣads*. They have been handed down to the Purāṇic literatures. The monotheistic principle is described as manifest in the multiple variety of the universe but still remaining one in its real form. Śāṇḍilya Vidyā in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* symbolized it with the word ‘tajjalān’: ‘All this universe indeed is *Brahman*; from him does it proceed; into him it is dissolved; in him it breathes: *sarvam khalv idam brahma taj-jalām iti*’ (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 3-14-1). The simile of thread originated in the text of *Atharva Veda*.²³ Here the thread spreads all over, in which all the beings are strung and that is the *Brahman*. The universal spirit is described as the thread for the cloth of universe.²⁴ The concept of

¹⁹ *Kitāb al-Tawāṣīn*, p.175 rendered in R.A.Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, (First edition, 1923, London) repr. 1976, Delhi, p.29.

²⁰ Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ‘Arabī*, p.149.

²¹ Affifi enumerates twenty-two synonyms which Ibn ‘Arabī used to designate the Reality of Muhammad. Perfect Man or Logos. Among them are the Essence of Muhammad (*haqīqat-i muḥammadiyyah*), Breath of Compassionate (*nafas al-rahmān*) and Supreme Spirit (*rūh al-ażam*). Affifi p.66. cf. Corbin, *Creation* p.317 n.77.

²² *EI, al-Insān-i Kāmil*, vol.III, p.1240; Affifi, pp.66-69; 77-83.

²³ *Atharva Veda* 10-8-38.

²⁴ On *Mundaka Up.* 2-1-4. Ānandagiri commented *viśvarūpa* of *Brahman* is pictured as the *sūtrātman*, the world form of *virāta*. See 2-4-4.

of Sūtrātman has been developed in the *Pancadasī* by Vidyāraṇya and formed the vivaraṇa view of Brahman with the concept of the *antaryāmin* (inner-self), *sūtrātman* (thread-soul) and *virāṭa* (gross-soul).

Māyā stands for the Divine creative power in Vedic scriptures.²⁵ In later Vedāntic cosmology, influenced by Sāṃkhya doctrine, māyā (or avidyā, *ajñāna*) has come to be an ontological reality with creative power. It has a self-cognizing aspect and self-revealing aspect and plays a part of first cause of creation of the world as pure consciousness. According to Sāṃkhya doctrine of guṇa, with the power of māyā predominating in tamas, space (ākāśa) proceeds first. At first the element is in the subtle, uncompounded state and gross materials are evolved out of these subtle elements. Other elements, air, fire, water and earth come into forth as is shown in *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*. There goes forth from Brahman first of all the ākāśa or more properly all-penetrating space conceived as a very subtle form of matter, from ākāśa air (*vāyu*), from this fire (*tejas*) from this water (*āpas, jalas*) from this earth (*prthivī*). In this process each element is produced by Brahman in the form of the element.²⁶

Since the *Rg Veda*²⁷, the world soul was brought about as the first born of the creation and as eternal knowledge in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*²⁸ as the born in the process of cosmic creation. In the Vedānta the individualized soul when separated from the supreme Soul is regarded as enclosed in a succession of cases (*kośa*) which envelop it and fold one over the other 'like the coats of an onion'.

These five *kośa* are as follows: 1) *Vijñāna-maya-kośa* : sheath composed of mere intellection associated with the organs of perception, 2) *Mano-maya*: sheath composed of mind associated with the organs of action, 3) *Prāṇa-maya*: breathing sheath composed of breath and the other vital airs associated with the organs of action; these three sheaths when combined together, constituting the subtle body, 4) *Anna-maya* : covering supported by food : gross body, corporeal form; 5) *Ānanda-maya* : composed of supreme bliss, innermost of all.²⁹ Moreover, inherited from the idea of

²⁵ Śaṅkara Vedānta holds the world-appearance is māyā (illusory) because of avidyā (false knowledge) and Brahman alone is the ultimate reality. However, in the *MB*, no concept of non-reality of the world can be found.

²⁶ *Taittirīya Up.* 2-1.

²⁷ 10-121.

²⁸ 3-4; 4-12.

²⁹ *Taittirīya Up.* 2-1; 2-8-1; 3-2...4.

a thread from the *Atharva Veda*, a collective totality of subtle bodies is supposed to exist, and the soul imagined to pass through these subtle bodies like a thread, is called *Sūtrātman* (thread soul). This is also identified with *Hiranyagarbha*.

As seen above, the *MB* identified the *Hiranyagarbha* with *Samaṣṭi-ātman*. We can trace the idea to the analysis of nature in the *Vedāntasāra* based on Vedic scriptures. They have the idea that the five elements are pure and independent only in their subtle state, while empirically they are mixed up. The *Vedāntasāra* shows the peculiar process of the composition of the gross elements called *Pañcikarapam*. According to it, the subtle body is composed of the five organs of sense and of action, mind and intellect and five vital airs, seventeen in all. This in aggregate form is called *Hiranyagarbha* or Thread Soul (*sūtrātman*). We can have the proof that the reading of the variants of the Persian manuscripts reflects this concept.³⁰

In the beginning of the *Sīrr-i Akbar*, Dārā listed up one hundred and eleven Sanskrit words as the technical terms and interpreted them in Persian.³¹ Most of the interpretations shown in this list is used in the Persian translation of each verse, too. In the list, *Hiranyagarbha* is explained as 'the aggregate of elements in pure sense' (*majma'* az 'anāśir-i basīt'). This may be the proof for the correct reading of the text of the *MB* as *samaṣṭi-ātman* instead of meaningless reading of *avasthātman*. And it reflects the correct understanding of the concept of *Hiranyagarbha*.³²

³⁰ B. A2 have this reading.

³¹ *Sīrr-i Akbar*, pp.6-9.

³² For *Hiranyagarbha*, see V.S.Agrawal. *Hiranyagarbha*. *Purāna* II. i. ii, pp.285-306.

2-2-2 Creation (Subtle Bodies)

The investigation of knowledge has been considered to be one of the main topics in Indian philosophy. Indian philosophers started from the point what the valid source of true knowledge (*pramāṇa*) is. Every school admitted perception (*pratyakṣa*) through the five cognitive senses as the valid source of true knowledge and proceeded to investigate the cognitive process. Abu'l Fazl introduces such tendency in the explanation of nine philosophical schools in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*,¹ however, deep speculation on the knowledge did not seem to attract Dārā.

Five Sense Organs

After explaining the gross elements and the process of elementary creation, the *MB* proceeds to the definition of the nature of the subtle bodies (*lingaśarīra*).²

All sensory organ is explained with the equivalents of Indian language. Five sense-organs are: smelling (*shāmmah*), tasting (*zā'iqah*), seeing (*bāsirah*), hearing (*sāmi'ah*) and touching (*lāmisah*) that is in Sanskrit. *ghrāṇa*, *rasanā*, *cakṣuh*, *śrotra* and *tvak*. The object of these are *gandha*, *rasa*, *rūpa*, *śabda*, and *sparsa*. Each sense organ is allied to the element

¹As have been introduced in the Introduction (p.7), Abu'l Fazl introduced nine philosophical schools in chapter IV in the Book III of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*. In the beginning of the explanation of each school, he referred what is admitted to be the valid source of true knowledge. *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Jarret, vol.III, pp.140-228.

²Al-Bīrūnī, in chapter 3 : "On the Hindu Belief as to Created Things, both *Intelligibilia* and *Sensibilia*", introduces the twenty-five tattvas of Sāṃkhya philosophy as the thought of "those Hindus who prefer clear and accurate definitions". According to Al-Bīrūnī, *Puruṣa*, *avyakta* with three powers (*sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*), *vyakta* (*prakṛti*), *ahamkāra* (nature, he explained in Arabic *عَيْن*), *mahābhūta* (universal existences in the world : five elements), *pañca[tan]māṭra* (function of five senses). Al-Bīrūnī make misunderstanding and takes this as *pañcamāṭrā*, and translates it as 'five mothers' and explains the relationship of simple element and object of senses. He confesses that he could not find the scientific reason why Hindus mean by bringing sound into relation with heaven. Then he explains five senses called *indriyān* (*indriyāni*), will (*manas*) which directs the senses in the exercise of their various functions and bring about learning and knowledge and *karmendriyāni* (sense of action). Sachau, pp.20-22; Eng. tr. pp.40-44.

earth, water, fire, ākāśa and air respectively.³

Concerning sense-perception (*ḥāssa* pl. *ḥawās*), Islamic philosophers learned from Aristotelian theory and call it external (*zāhira*) senses. The sensibilia (the objects of sense organs) are apprehended as the changes caused by sense organs and these are the faculty of the soul. Noteworthy thing is the hearing perception, because it is connected with 'the great element ('unsur-i A'zam). It concerns the way of meditation: the exercise of controlling the breath (*shughl pās-i anfās*). Through it the real essence of *mahākāśa* is manifested to the religious devotees. This exercise is explained in detail in the section three in the *MB*. Regarding this see 2-4-2 'Way of Salvation'.

According to *Vedānta*, subtle bodies (*liṅga-sārīra*) consist of seventeen components. They are five sense organs (*jñānendriyāṇi*), the intellect (*buddhi*), mind (*manas*), five organs of action (*karmendriyāṇi*) and five vital forces (*prāṇa*).⁴ Kanāda's *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* clearly defined these substances. The sense of smell is constituted by the element of earth by reason of its predominance and of possession of smell. Earth is the material cause of the olfactory sense. In this manner, water, fire and air are said to be the material causes of taste, colour and touch respectively.⁵ The organ of hearing, called cavity of the ear is a portion of ether (ākāśa).⁶ In the *Vedāntasāra*, these five organs of perception are produced separately in consecutive order from the *Sattva* particles of them, i.e. ears from those of ether, skin from those of air, eyes from those of fire, tongue from those of wind, nose from those of earth.

Five Internal Organs

Next, the *MB* deals with internal organs (*antaḥkarana*). First, *MB* enumerates internal organs (*ḥawās-i bāṭin*) in Islamic philosophy as *Hiss-i Mushtarak* (sensus communis, generalizing sense), *Khayāl* (imagination), *Mutasarrifah* (contemplative), *Hāfiẓah* (retention) and *Wāhimah* (apprehension). *MB* does not give any further explanation about

³For the combination according to *Pañcikarana*, see the *Vedāntasāra* ch.2. v.103.

⁴BI translates it as 'qualities of perception'.

⁵*VŚS* 8-2-5.6. For earth cf. 2-2-1.2; air cf. 2-1-4.9.

⁶*VŚS* 7-1-22.

each organ.⁷

In Islamic philosophy (*falsafah*), the concept of internal (*bāṭin*) organs has some modified form of Aristotelian concept. Human soul possesses five internal senses to receive the perception of the external senses following the process of retaining, considering, combining, discrimination and recognizing. Sense-data will be collected to *sensus communis* (*hiss mushtarak*) and it will be retained for judgment in fancy (*khayāl*) and apprehension (*mutakhayyal*). It analyses the sensible perception and *mutafakkira* treats other perceptions then stores in memory (*hāfiẓah*) and these networking will convey the result to intellectual soul *nafs-i nātiqah*). According to Ibn Sīnā, five intelligible faculties (*quwwat*) in man are: 1) *hiss-i mushtarak* (*sensus communis*), which integrates sense-data into perception, 2) *khayāl* (fantasy) which preserves forms, 3) *mutakhayyirah* (imagination) which governs sensible objects and *mutafakkirah* (cognitive faculty) which governs intelligible objects, 4) *wahm* (apprehension), which perceives meaning (*ma‘āni*), 5) *Zākirah* (memory) which preserves meanings. Ibn Sīnā, in his commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, showed originality in the function of Wahm as psychological faculty to explain instinctive and emotional response to the percept. On the basis of ideas or memories, the perceptual judgement can be obtained.⁸

The *MB* never makes effort to compare or explain the functions or operations of these faculties, but focused on the four internal organs of Indian philosophy. *Antaḥkarana*, the general term for internal organ is regarded as the fifth. The order of explanation gives us some confusion. At first, *citta* is explained as having characteristic of *sattva-prakṛti* and having a similarity with the leg the human body. Then the explanation begins from *buddhi* as the first one.⁹ According to the *MB*, the functions of these four are :

1) *buddhi* : understanding ('*aql*), possesses the characteristic of moving toward good and not to evil¹⁰

⁷According to the readings of manuscripts, we changed the reading of the names of the second and the third organs. *BI.T* read second one as *mutakhayyilah* and the third one as *mutafakkirah*. Most of the manuscripts read these as *khayāl* and *muṭaṣarrifah*.

⁸E.I. vol.III, p.509; Goichon, p.160, p.79. Kashshāf enumerated *al-hiss al-Mushtarak*, *al-Khayāl*, *al-Wahm*, *al-Hāfiẓa*, *al-Muṭaṣarrifat* as philosophers invention. Kashshāf, vol.1, p.304.

⁹For this reason, the Sanskrit translation interchanges the order. First comes the explanation of *manas*, and proceeds to *buddhi*, *citta* and *ahamkāra*.

¹⁰In the List of technical terms in the *Sirr-i Akbar*, the equivalent term for *buddhi* is

2) *manas* : mind (*dil*), possesses two characteristics of *sankalpa* and *vikalpa*.¹¹ resolution ('azīmat) and judgment of resolution (khalq-i 'azīmat)¹²

3) *cit* : having one quality of *vṛtti*¹³, which is like a leg of man and if it will be cut, citta cannot work; it works as a messenger of the mind (*paik-i dil*) running on all sides without distinguishing right or wrong¹⁴

4) *ahamkāra*: attributing things to itself , the attribute of *paramātmā*, for the reason that it possesses *māyā*.¹⁵

Sāṃkhya philosophy holds that our knowledge came from the ideation of the images of the mind which were compositions of mind-substances. The cognitive process is understood as the indeterminate consciousness by *buddhi* with the help of *manas*. *Manas* will differentiate and associate to generalize the sense data. This generalization is obtained through the function of *sankalpa* (synthesis) and *vikalpa* (imagination, abstraction). *Citta* works as the messenger from sense organs to *manas*. In the *Vedāntasāra*, *buddhi* is said to be a modification of internal organs.¹⁶ *Antahkarana* has four aspects as *citta*, *buddhi*, *manas* and *ahamkāra*. *Manas* is characterised by *Sankalpa* and *Vikalpa*. *Ahamkāra* is characterised by self-consciousness (*abhimāna*).

the same 'aql. SA p. 8.

¹¹Most of the manuscripts transliterate this not *pakalp* like BI but *bikalp*. The readings of manuscripts differ as بکلپ and بکلپ, however, the Sanskrit original is *vikalpa*, so we take the reading of بکلپ. In the List of technical terms in *Sirr-i Akbar*, the equivalent term is the same *dil*.

¹²BI reads this as عزیمت و فسخ and translates “determination and abandonment (doubt)”, however, most of the manuscripts read عزیمت و فتح عزیمت, “resolution and the judgement of resolution”.

¹³BI reads this as ست پر کرت (*sat prakṛti*), and T reads as سرت پر کرت. However, most of the manuscript read *birt* and the Sanskrit translation reads *vṛtti* (f.2a). The Arabic translation only shows the translation of the terms as *khayāl*, 'aql, galb and 'ishq for *buddhi*, *manas*, *cit* and *ahamkāla* respectively (f.4b). Here, as the function of *citta*, *vṛtti* is proper, however, it is said to be made up of a large preponderance of the *sattva*, the reading of *sattva* cannot be rejected. Only A1, A3 support the reading of *sat parkart* (*sattva prakṛti*). Here we read in accordance with Sāṃkhya-Yoga philosophy, *vṛtti*.

¹⁴In the list of technical terms in the *Sirr-i Akbar*, the equivalents for *cit* is *khātir*. This equivalent is used in *Praśna Up* 4-8, *Chāndogya Up*. 7-5-1..3, 7-6-1 etc. in *Sirr-i Akbar*.

¹⁵In the *Sirr-i Akbar*, *ahamkāra* is explained as ‘be self-willed’ (man wa man guftand) (*Praśna Up.* 4-8) or egotism (*anāniyyat*) (*Maitreya Up.* 6-30).

¹⁶VS 65.

¹⁷ According to the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, *buddhi* is defined as determination¹⁸ ; *manas* as discrimination¹⁹ ; *citta* as running from one object to another object²⁰ ; *ahamkāra* as self-consciousness²¹

In the process of elementary creation, *mahat*, *ahamkāra*, *indriyas*, *tanmātras* and the *bhūtas* form the individuals. Sāṃkhya philosophy introduces the idea of three *guṇas*. From the discord of the three *guṇas*, *mahat* rises, then three kinds of *ahamkāra*, *tanmātras*, *indriyas* and five elements rise. the *MB* explained this process with reference to the word of Vasiṣṭha. The process is described as follows: when the Lord desired to be determined, He was transformed into *paramātman* immediately on His thinking of it; and on the increase of this determination, the stage of *ahamkāra* was attained and when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of *mahat-tattva* or ‘aql-i kul (perfect wisdom). Then *manas* is created from *sankalpa* and *mahat-tattva*, and from *sankalpa* and *manas*, five *jñānendriyāni*, namely the senses of smell, touch, seeing, hearing and tasting were created. And the five senses of action (*karmendriyāni*), the limbs and bodies were created.’

This description of the process is clearly found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. The five cognitive senses derived from the *sattva* parts of the five elements. Although the precise process from each *ahamkāra* is omitted, the difference of three kinds of *ahamkāra* is clearly shown. In Sāṃkhya philosophy, threefold *ahamkāra* : *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* has potentiality of producing *jñāna*, *kriyā* and *dravya*. *Tāmasa-ahamkāra* changed into *ākāśa*, *vāyu*, *agni*, and *prthivī* successively. *Sāttvika-ahamkāra* transformed into *manas* and ten sensory organs. *Rājasa-ahamkāra* transformed into ten sense organs(*indriyas*). The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* describes three kinds of *ahamkāra*²² Vasiṣṭha recommends first two higher *ahamkāra* to lead to *jīvanmukti*.

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* adds the concept of *sankalpa* as the energiser. Furthermore, the different names of mind differ only verbally,²³ indicate only one

¹⁷ VS 69.

¹⁸ YV 3-96-18; 6-50-16cd: 6-78-21.

¹⁹ YV 3-96-17; 6-50-16d.

²⁰ YV 3-11-15; 3-96-20.

²¹ YV 3-96-19; 6-50-16a; 4-10-48cd.

²² YV 4-33-49. The first one is YV 4-33-50; the second is YV 4-33-51cd,52; the third one is I'm this organic body (YV 4-33-53cd,54ab).

²³ YV 6-114-18; 3-96-8; 13:14; 3-96-43,44.

pure consciousness (*suddha-caitanya*).²⁴ The essence is the very *saiikalpa*

²⁵ The universe is manifested by imagination and the causal energiser is *saiikalpa*.²⁶ This world is the very *saiikalpa*²⁷ and this is the biggest bondage.²⁸ So Vasiṣṭha taught that this *saiikalpa* should be cast away.

Dārā was much interested in these three kinds of *ahaṅkāras*. For each stage of these *ahaṅkāra*, Dārā referred to a *Qurānic* verse as their authority. The three are *ahaṅkāra-sattva*, *ahaṅkāra-rājasa* and *ahaṅkāra-tāmasa*. The first one is called *jñāna-svarūpa* and the highest rank in which stage *Paramātman* says, ‘Whatever there is is I’ and this is the stage of completely encircling everything. The second is the middle stage and says ‘My self is free from body and element and corporeality has no access to me’ looking at *jīvātman*.²⁹ The third is the low stage of *avidyā*, because of the great degradation, limitation and subjectivity, it attributes folly, ignorance and carelessness to himself and speaks ‘I and thou are far from the point of unity seeing the external forms as his sensual objects.

Regarding the statement that ‘*Ahamkāra* is the quality of *paramātmā*, for the reason that it possessed *māya*’, the severe criticism came from Roma Choudhuri as ‘mis-statement’. Because there is no manifestation of *Ahamkāra* or Egoity in the case of God. *Ahamkāra* is an empirical something, belonging to the *Jīva* and has nothing to do with the *Paramātman*, *Īśvara* or *Brahman*.³⁰ We have to keep in mind in what sense the connotation of *paramātman* is used. As is written in the *Vedāntasāra*, as the orthodox view in *Vedānta* system, *Brahman* associated with *māyā* is called *Īśvara*. This *Īśvara* is the highest manifestation of *Brahman* in this world. Here in the *MB*, the limited form of *Brahman* is called *Paramātman* and described as having three stages. *Māndūkya Up.* and Gaudapāda’s *Māndūkyakārikā* described these three stages as *jīva*’s three states: *Viśva*, *Taijasa* and *Prājña* as the manifestations of the Self. In the state of wakefulness it is called *viśva* or *vaiśvānara*, in the dream state *taijasa* and in the deep sleep (*suṣupti*) it is called *prājña* because there is no determinate knowledge, however, pure

²⁴ YV 3-96-73.

²⁵ YV 3-4-ab,44.

²⁶ YV 2-19-20; 5-9-56ab.

²⁷ YV 6-114-20ab.

²⁸ YV 6-126-97cd.

²⁹ BI interprets this as the word of a religious devotee and his self is free from the limitations of body and elements.

³⁰ RC p.130.

consciousness and pure bliss is there.³¹

On the other hand, these three states of *Ahamkāra* can correspond to the three stages of descent (*nuzūr*) or the process of revelation (*tajallī*) of the Absolute : Oneness (*Aḥadīyya*), He-ness (*Huwīyya*) and I-ness (*Anīyya*). This Sūfistic idea is propagated by Jīlī. *Ahamkāra-sattva* is equivalent to Oneness, which comprehends all as the consciousness. *Ahamkāra-rājasa* is equivalent to He-ness and is used to denote the Absolute Divine Idea in which all ideas are contained. Ibn ‘Arabī explains this *Huwīyya* as inmost self of man and objectified idea of God.³²

Ahamkāra-tāmasa is the stage of *avidyā* and slavery (*rubūbiyya*) and is equivalent to I-ness. It is caused by ignorance (*avidyā*) and it puts created things under slavery. Literally, *rubūbiyya* signifies the lordship. It needs the relation to created beings as objects of slavery.

The relationship of created beings and Creator is described with the two parables of a silkworm and silk and a tree and its seed. These parables will be treated in 2-2-4.

³¹ *Māndūkya Up.* 3...5. 9...11.

³² Nicholson, *Study* pp. 95-96.

2-2-3 Universe (Purānic Cosmology)

The cosmological ideas in the *Qurān* are based on the Greek, Jewish and Christian Biblical traditions. The God created seven firmaments and of the earth, a similar number (65-11) : the earth was made as a carpet(20-53: 71-19) in a wide expanse (78-6) and surrounded by water, one sweet and the other salty (35-12). The mountains are fixed as pegs (16-15,13-3, 15-19) to support the firmament. Seven firmaments are built (78-12) upon them. Paradise is called *al-Jannat* (the garden) and there are eight heavens¹ as the place of bliss.

This universe is described as *Brahmāṇḍa* in chapter 13 in the *MB*.² *Brahmāṇḍa* literally means the Egg of *Brahmā*.³ The shape of which is a round globe and it is not inclined towards or joined to any one; its proportion to all is equal and every creation and exhibition takes place in the midst of it.⁴ Al-Bīrūni explained *Brahmāṇḍa* : the Egg of *Brahmā* in chapter 20: “On the *Brahmāṇḍa*”. It is applied to the whole of heaven. He introduces the process of creation of the Egg of *Brahmā* from the primordial water as the enigmatic expressions of Hindu tradition and compared it with the idea in Plato’s *Timaeus*.⁵

In *Purānic* literatures, this universe is described with four categories: quarters, celestial, terrestrial and netherial regions. The *MB* describes it in the same way. Particularly, quarters (*dik*) have important place in the rituals, that is because at the beginning of the explanation of the world, the

¹According to *Mishkāt* book II, these eight heavens are called : *Jannat al-Khuld* (Garden of Eternity), *Dār al-Salām*(Dwelling of Peace), *Dār al-Qarī* (Abiding Mansion), *Jannat al-‘Adan* (Gardens of Eden), *Jannāt al-Ma’wā* (Gardens of refuge), *Jannatu al-Na’īm* (Gardens of delight), *Jannat al-‘Ilīyūn* (Chamber of Book of Life), *Jannat al-Firdaus* (Paradise).

²The Arabic translation omits this chapter completely.

³The list of the technical terms of the *Sirr-i Akbar* explains this term as ‘the whole world’(*tamām-i ‘ālam*). *SA* p.9. *Ārunika Up.* and *Paramahamsa Up.* have the same explanation.

⁴For the description of *Brahmāṇḍa*, according to *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* Book II, ch. 7, the world is described as encompassed on every side and above and below by the shell of *Brahmāṇḍa* like the seed of the wood-apple (*Kapittha* : *Feronia Elephantum*). *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* (1-43...45) describes that everything is established in that cosmic egg with the enclosure of sheath of elements.

⁵Sachau pp.108-109, Eng. Tr. pp.221-223.

MB started from quarters. In the section 14, the *MB* enumerated the six quarters: the east, the west, the north, the south, the top and the bottom according to Islamic cosmology, and ten quarters (*daśa diṣā*) according to the Indian reckoning adding the four quarters in-between each quarter.

In the same manner, Al-Bīrūnī, in chapter 28: “On the Definition of the Ten Directions”, enumerates the four cardinal directions and secondary directions between them in the horizontal plane: *uttara*, *dakṣiṇa*, *paścima*, *pūrva*, *āgneya* (southeast), *aiśāna*(north-east), *vāyava* (north-west), *nairṛta* (south-west) and two directions of the horizontal plane, above (upari) and below (*adhas* or *tala*). Further more, he referred to the name of the dominant of each directions. *Indra* (east), *Varuṇa* (west), *Agni* (South-east), *Vāyu* (northwest), *Yama* (south), *Kuru* (north), *Pṛthivī* (south-west), *Mahādeva* (north-east). We shall see these names in section 20 in the *MB*.⁶

Next comes the various regions. Section 15 of the *MB* treats the firmament (*gagana*)⁷ however, actually, he started to enumerate the seven planets (*graha*: *kawākib-i sayyārah*)⁸ and equivalent names of those. Among eight skies, seven are the stations of the seven planets; Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. The equivalents are *śanaiscalā*, *bṛhaspati*, *maṅgala*, *sūya*, *śukra*, *budh* and *candramā*. In Śūfistic sphere, the celestial, terrestirial and aqueons universe are considered to have some special meaning. For example, Jīlī gave special explanations for the heavens of Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn are created from the nature of Spirit (*al-rūh*), reflection (*fikr*), phantasy (*khayāl*), the light of heart (*qalb*), the light of judgment (*wahm*), the light of meditation (*himma*) and the light of First Intelligence respectively. Khayāl has marks an intermediate stage between the sensible world and the spiritual world.⁹ Furthermore, seven nether world are arranged to souls, devotions, nature, lust, exorbitance, impiety and misery. All these are included in universe and its locus (*mahall*) is called the First Intelligence and the Spirit of

⁶Sachau pp.145-6: Eng. Tr. pp.290-292.

⁷ BI edition reads this word *lagana*. *gagana* is proper to the meaning of firmament, sky.

⁸Here we find some confusion of the concept. The equivalent of fixed stars (*kawākib-i sayyārah* : *graha*) is said to be *nakṣatra*. *Nakṣatra* means heavenly body, however generally used collectively and means constellation through which the moon passes. Most of the manuscripts omit this word except A2 and A8 (H of BI's abbreviation), so we omit the word in our edition.

⁹Corbin, p.929.

Muhammad.¹⁰

In the chapter 19, “On the Names of the Planets, the Signs of the Zodiac the Lunar Stations, and Related Subjects”, Al-Bīrūnī remarked the coincidence of the order of the planet which Hindus note in accordance with the order of the weekdays, i.e. Sun (*Āditya*), Moon (*Soma, Candra*), Mars (*Maṅgala*), Mercury (*Budha*), Jupiter (*Bṛhaspati*), Venus (*Śukra*), Saturn (*Śanaiścara*).¹¹ There are seven celestial regions, including one as the earth(*bhū*): *Bhūloka, Bhuvarloka, Svarloka, Maharloka, Janaloka, Tapoloka* and *Satya loka*. The *MB* neglects this idea in this section, however, we can trace the enumeration of these regions in section 20.¹²

Noteworthy concepts are the eighth sky called *Kursī* in Islamic cosmology and ninth sky which comprehends all including the *Kursī*. In the *MB* the eighth sky is called ‘the sphere of fixed stars’ (*falak-i thawābit*) and the ninth sky is called *mahākāś* which is not included in the skies. In the *Qur’ān*, *kursī* is regarded as a footstool set in front of ‘arsh (throne), encompasses both Heaven and Earth and signifies majesty of God and allegorically interpreted as the absolute knowledge of God; ‘arsh is real throne of God. The relationship of *kursī* and ‘arsh has been the object of theological debate, however, according to Ibn ‘Arabī and Jīlī, ‘arsh signifies universal body . locus of *tajallī*, and *kursī*¹³

The section 16 of the *MB* is only entitled ‘Earth (*zamīn*)’, however, actually the enumeration of the names of the nether world or region: *Atala, Vital, Sutala, Rasātala, Talātala, Mahātala* and *Pātāla*.¹⁴ The order of the enumeration differs in the *Purāṇas*.¹⁵ Al-Bīrūni, in chapter 21: “Description of Earth and Heaven according to the Religious Views of the Hindus” introduced the idea of seven earths from the description of the *Āditya-Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and vernacular names.

¹⁰Nicholson,*Study*, pp.122-123.

¹¹Sachau, p.105; Eng. tr. p.215.

¹²For detail, see 2-4-4.

¹³E.I., vol.5, *Kursī*, C.L.Huart, p.509; vol.5, *Insān al-Kāmil*, R. Arnaldez, pp.171-172.

¹⁴*Pātāla* is often used as the general term for these nether world. Among the Persian manuscripts, *T* and *N* group read *pātāla*. Sanskrit translation reads *puta*. Arabic translation and Persian manuscripts (*A1.B.BM1.BM2,E,J,A2,A3*) support this reading *puta*. Some of the manuscripts (*D1,F,H1,K,S,U1,V*) mixed with the concept of the divisions of the earth and read this *dip* (*dvipa*)

¹⁵The *MB*’s order and enumeration follows general enumeration as in the *Linga-Purāṇa* 1-45-9.

¹⁶ The naming and order are different from the *MB*.

Under these nether regions, there are *Naraka* regions. *Qur'anic* seven divisions of earth are different from this nether world, however, he found the coincidence of the number seven. In section seventeen, on the title of the divisions of earth, the concept of *Iqlīm* in Islamic geography is identified with the idea of *dvīpa* in number. Unfortunately, the name and the precise description of each *dvīpa* are not found in the text.¹⁷. Nevertheless, the names of the mountains and oceans related with each *dvīpas* are enumerated.

In *Purānic* literatures, terrestrial regions are called *dvīpa* (island) and *varṣa* (continent). The names of seven *dvīpas* are *Jambū*, *Plakṣa*, *Śalmala*, *Kuśa*, *Krauñca*, *Śaka* and *Puṣkara*.¹⁸. In chapter 24: “Traditions of the *Purāṇas* regarding each of the Seven Dvīpas”, Al-Bīrūnī introduced *dvīpas* (island) and the inhabitant earths is round and surrounded by a sea. He gave us the vivid information about seven *dvīpas* and surrounding seas based on the *Matsya-Purāṇa* and vernacular names. Here, *Jambu*, *Śaka*, *Kuśa*, *Krauñca*, *Śalmali*, *Gomeda*, *Puṣkara* are enumerated.

As *Parānic* cosmology explains, the hollows in the earth are oceans and encircle each *dvīpa*, the *MB* enumerates the seven surrounding oceans. They are made of *lavaṇa* (salt-watered), *ikṣurasa* (sugar-cane juice), *śurā* (wine), *ghṛta* (clarified butter), *dadhi* (whey), *kṣīra* (milk), and *svādjala* (clear and pure water).¹⁹

Each *varṣa* or *dvīpa* except *Puṣkara*, has seven rivers²⁰ and mountain-ranges. The name of the main seven mountain-ranges enumerated in the *MB* are as follows: *Sumeru*, *Himawant*, *Hemakūta*, *Himavat*, *Niṣadha*, *Pāriyātra*

¹⁶Sachau p.113. Eng. tr. p.235.

¹⁷In some Persian manuscripts, the names of the *dvīpas* are described. *C* and *T* have following names in order: in *T* only six are enumerated: جنو، بلکه، سکل، دیوکر; in *C* جنو، بریلکه، رکسور، کمل، کرچ، دبهگر، دهوکر. In Sanskrit translation, each *dvīpas* are set with surrounding sea and enumerated in order: *Jambu-dvīpa*, *Plakṣa*, *Śalmali*, *Kuśa*, *Krauñca*, *Śaka*, *Puṣkar*.

¹⁸This order and naming depends on the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*

¹⁹The order of enumeration of oceans differs depending on each *Purāṇa*, however, the order in the *MB* follows the group of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* cf. W. Kirsch, *Die kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Bonn, 1920, pp.56-57.

²⁰Regarding rivers, three most important rivers are *Gangā*, *Revā* (or *Narmadā*), *Sarasvatī*. In the section 20, the belief that the fluid (water) of the rivers is the life-essence of a living body, and identified with the nerves (*nāḍi*) of human body. See 2-4-4.

and *Kailāsa*.²¹ Al-Bīrūnī in chapter 23, “On Mount Meru according to the Belief of the Authors of the *Purāṇa* and of Others”, enumerated the names of seven great mountains as *Mahendra Malaya*, *Sahya*, *Śuktibān*, *Rikshabān*, *Vindhya*, *Pariyātra*. The *Purāṇas* have certain mountains that are called *Kula-parvatas* as main mountains as the boundary for regions. Generally, the four mountains located in the four quarters of the *Meru* are *Mandara* (East), *Gaudhamādana* (south), *Vipula* (west) and *Supārsva* (north).²²

Additional information in this section is about paradise and hell, and the concept of *Mahākāśa*. Here *MB* identifies the world above this world as *svarga* and its equivalent to the concept of paradise(*bihisht* or *jannat*) in Islam. The *MB* recognizes that Indian monotheist held that both Heaven and Hell are not beyond this universe and seven firmaments which are the stations of the seven planets, do not revolve above Paradise but revolve around the Paradise. The roof of Paradise is called *manākāśa* that is equivalent to ‘*arsh* and its ground is called *Kursī*.²³ He tries to make some connection between the description of this world and the next at the end of this section and proceeds to next section 18: the explanation of *Barzakh*, and section 19 : the explanation of *Mahāpralaya* is the introduction to section 20 *Mukti*.

Cosmological ideas found in the *MB* mostly come from the *Purānic* literature.

²¹In Persian manuscripts, the second and the fifth name of the mountain are varied in the transliteration style. For the rest, they agree to the same reading. For the second mountain, first consonant is *ه*. For the fifth mountain, the first consonant varied *ب*, *ن*, *م*. BI, T support the reading of سیر، هموت، همکوت، هموان، مکده، پارجاتر; in the Arabic translation, سیر، هموت، همکوت، هموان، مکده ، پارجاتر، کیلاس are enumerated; in the Sanskrit translation, *Himavat*, *Hemakūta* and *Niṣadha* situate in southern side and *Nila*, *Śveta*, *Śringavān* situate northern side of Mount Sumeru. Furthermore, Sanskrit translation adds three mountains more; *Mālyavan* situates in the east of *Sumeru*, *Gandhamādana* in the west, and *Kaylāsa* is described as the highest among the mountains.

²²Sachau pp.123-124. Eng. tr. p. 246-248.

²³cf. fn.13, p. 55.

2-2-4 Microcosm and Macrocosm

The motif of the idea of Microcosm and Macrocosm has in one way been brought into Islam with Pythagoras. Since the age of Al-Kindī, the idea that man is Microcosm was found. On the other hand, the concept of Cosmic Man has its root in body-birth idea of creation shown in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* in the *Rg Veda*.

Al-Kindī connected Microcosm concept with self-knowledge and concludes if man knows himself, he knows all. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā developed this theory systematically and influenced Al-Ghazzālī and Ibn ‘Arabī. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā distinguished between souls universal soul (*al-kullī*) and particular soul (*al-juz’ī*). The universal soul is also called the *anima mundi* (*nafs al-‘ālam*) and recognized as the emanated form of God. The generic form or soul of man is called universal, absolute man (*insān muṭlaq kullī*) and individual man is called particular man (*insān juz’ī*). In Ikhwān’s theory, man generally means the body of man, that is to say the human body contains the phenomenal universe. For God created man’s body as Microcosm. The correspondences between the human body and the universe are fully and detailed and reflect pseudo-scientific ideas.¹

In Ibn ‘Arabī’s concept of microcosm-macrocosm, such a detailed structural theory is not found, but general correspondences are explained in the *Shajarat al-Kawn*.² The correspondences are not consistent. For him these are only metaphors and similes. In Ibn ‘Arabī’s theory, , on the basis of the concept that the existence of God is immanent in all existences, God manifests Himself in the process. The first manifestation is that of the Divine Identity (*huwiyya*) i.e. identity or ipseity, and second manifestation is that of the Divine Names, various forms of the universe. Ibn ‘Arabī contrasts the Perfect Man with the Animal Man. Certain special chosen men, saints can be called Perfect Man.³ Perfect Man is said to be the heart of the body of the universe. Thus Perfect Man stands for the position of the first manifestation of the essence of God.

¹In detail, refer to Takeshita, pp.100-103. Regarding the equivalent idea in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in connection with section 20 in the *MB*, refer to 2-4-4.

²The correspondences are as follows : Mountains correspond to the bones, lakes from which rivers branch out correspond to aortae which transmit the blood and from which veins extend to the rest of the body etc.

³For the concept of Perfect Man. refer to 2-4-3.

In section 20, referring to *jīvātman*, the *MB* declares that attaining salvation is possible by being endowed with knowing and understanding in the following way : seeing everything in this world as one, and regarding every existing object as incomplete identity with the Truth; regarding God as manifestation at all stages and regarding this universe is a complete form of God, as the corporeal body of God. In other words, ‘*Unsur-i A’zam* (the Great Element) should be regarded as the fine body of God and the Self of God as the soul of that body, considering Him as One Fixed Person. Here human beings are called Microcosm (‘*Ālam-i Saghir*) and God is soul and life of that fixed person. The *MB* found the equivalent of this idea in *Vasiṣṭha*’s teaching that the universe (*Brahmāṇḍa*, ‘*Ālam-i Kubrā*) is considered as a body of the individual self.

Here the idea of Microcosm-Macrocosm is clearly propagated with reference to the idea of salvation. The correspondence of the parts of body is shown in detail after the teaching of *Vasiṣṭha*, however, it will be treated in 2-4-4 in connection with the idea of *mukti*. Inherited from Vedic concept of creation, the motif of microcosm-macrocosm has been developed in Purānic literatures connected with the way of devotion. The motif has a vision of the cosmos in the body or any part of the body of a deity or a great person, spiritual preceptor. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, it has been developed as the object of meditation.⁴

In the *MB*, in section 5 on the soul, Dārā uses the simile of water (in the ocean) and waves of the ocean. The inter-relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that of *śarīra* (body) and *ātman* (soul); on the other hand, the combination of waves, in their complete aspect may be likened to *Abu'l Arwāḥ* or *Paramātman*; while water is like the August Existence or *śuddha-caitanya* (pure-consciousness).⁵

The parable of water and ocean is common to Śūfis and Vedāntists. This parable is also used in Dārā’s *Risāla* in section 6 on the explanation of unity of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*).⁶ The author of the *Dabistān* uses this simile to explain the interrelationship between *paramātman* and *jīvātman* in the

⁴See 2-4-4.

⁵In the *BI*, the two words are identified with *śuddha* and *cetana* and translated separately as “*sudh* or *cetana*”. (*BI*, pp.45,88.) However, this is uniformed concept of Vedānta, thus we read as *śuddha-caitanya* (pure consciousness).

⁶*Risāla* pp.17-19.

section of Vedānta.⁷ This world is the manifestation of the determined Soul. Here, at the end of section 2 of the *MB*, we can find the simile of the silkworm and the silk, the seed and the tree.

Just as a silk-worm, having brought out threads of silk from its own spittle, confines itself to them, so our Lord has created all these imaginary limitations for Himself and has confined Himself to them: or just as the seed of a tree having produced a plant out of itself, enters the tree and remains in the branches and the leaves and the flowers of the tree.⁸

On the other hand, we can find the same idea in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. Referring to the concept that the whole universe is in Brahman, this parable of the silkworm⁹ and the parable of the seed¹⁰ is used to show that everything is imagined from mind (*citta, manas*).

According to the *Upaniṣads*, after creating the elements, Brahman enters them as the individual soul, which continues to exist potentially in them even after the destruction of the world, on the occasion of creation, he awakes from the state of very deep sleep (*māyāmāyī mahāsuṣupti*) and assumes divine, human, animal or plant bodies according to their works in the previous existence.¹¹ Brahman enters into the elements by means of the individual soul thus expands Himself as names and shapes. This comes about in the seed of the elements, carried by the soul with it on its wandering in the form of the subtle body, becoming the gross body by the addition of homogeneous particles from the coarse element which surround it at the same time it unfolds in the psychic organs.

In the *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, in the second opinion (*nazar*), referring to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the idea of Cosmic Man is introduced. The fourteen worlds (seven terrestrial worlds and seven celestial worlds) correspond to the parts of the body of *Puruṣa*.¹² In this second view (*nazar*) of the *Dabistān*, the creation of *līṅgaśarīra* (subtle body) from three kinds of *Ahamkāra*.¹³

⁷ *Dabistān* p.166.

⁸ *BI*, pp.43,86.

⁹ *YV* 4-42-31.

¹⁰ *YV* 3-100-11.

¹¹ cf. *Chāndogya Up.* 6-3-2.

¹² *Bh.P.* 2-1-26...28, 2-5-38...42.

¹³ *Bh.P.* 2-5-24.

and the explanation of *pañcikaraṇa*¹⁴ are also described.¹⁵

In the *MB*, the concept of Microcosm-Macrocosm is the basic idea of understanding the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd* and the concept of Perfect Man. Although there is no reference to the term *wahdat al-wujūd*. Dārā puts it the core of the *MB*.

¹⁴ *Bh.P.* 2-5-25...29.

¹⁵ *Dabistān*, pp.138-139.

2-3 God

The essence of God is unknowable for us. We seek to know it through its names and attributes. Absolute Being revealed itself as Divinity with attributes. The created world is the outward aspect of inward aspect in God. Man, in essence, is the microcosm in whom all attributes are united. This is the position of *wahdat al-wujūd* propagated by Ibn ‘Arabī and his followers. On the other hand, Yājñavalkya finds the negative way to express unknowable attributeless Ātman as expressing “not this, nor this (*neti neti*)”. This was the only way to indicate undefined permanent self by the sages of the *Upaniṣads*.

2-3-1 Attributes of God

The relation between essence (*zāt*) and attributes (*sifāt*) has been one of the controversial topics. Some denied the existence of attributes. Mu’tazilites insisted on the divine attributes in the aspect of *tanzīh*, however, only as more than nominal sense. Ash’arites recognized the attributes in the divine essence.¹

Affifi writes that divine attributes and names have inter-relationship. One essence is characterised by innumerable attributes and names. Divine name is the divine Essence of these infinite aspects determining ‘form’. Attribute is a divine name manifested in the external world.² Jīlī declared, this world, or created beings are the manifestation of the Essence as the attribute and in reality, the Essence is the attribute. He classified divine attributes into four categories: Essence, Beauty (*jamāl*), Majesty (*jalāl*), Perfection (*kamāl*). His definition of attribute is that which conveys knowledge of its state to the understanding.³ Thus, every object of knowledge is the effect of names which express attributes.

In section 4 of the *MB*, attributes of God are shown. At the beginning, the *MB* introduces two divine attributes : *Jamāl* (beauty) and *Jalāl* (majesty) and does not proceed further. Here, main focus is on the system of *triguna*. *Triguna*: *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* are described as having attribute of creation, duration and destruction respectively and connected

¹ *EI* vol.I, p.410.

² cf. Affifi pp.35-36, 41-47.

³ Nicholson, *Study*, pp.85,90.

with the idea of *trimūrti*; *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*. These three are equivalent with Islamic angels : *Jibra'il*, *Mikā'il* and *Isrāfil* respectively. *Trimūrti* is again allied with elements: water with *Jibra'il*, fire with *Mikā'il* and air with *Isrāfil*. Thus *Brahmā* is said to have appeared in the water on the tongue, *Viṣṇu* appeared as fire in the eyes and *Maheśvara* appeared as the air in the nostrils. The *Śakti* (potential power) of *trimūrti* is called *tridevī*. Each goddess is connected with each *guṇa* and each of *trimūrti*. The combination is as follows: *Sarasvatī* - *Rajoguṇa* - *Brahmā*; *Lakṣmī* - *Tamoguṇa* - *Maheśvara* and *Pārvatī* - *Sattvaguṇa* - *Viṣṇu*.⁴

In *Sāṃkhya* philosophy, the *guṇas* mean substantive entities and not abstract qualities. These are classified into three types : *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Each has the nature of pleasure or light (illumination), pain or energy (motion) and dullness or heaviness (obstructing) respectively. With the combination of these *guṇas*, different substances with different qualities come forth. Inherited from the Vedic concept of triad of the gods, *Agni*, *Vāyu* and *Sūrya*, they are connected with triad of *Brahmā*, *Śiva* (*Maheśvara*) and *Viṣṇu*. They represent the principles of creation, destruction and preservation. *Brahmā* embodies *rajoguṇa* with desire or passion by which creation occurs. *Śiva* embodies *tamoguṇa* with darkness or wrath by which destruction occurs. *Viṣṇu* embodies *sattvaguṇa* with goodness by which world is preserved.

Jibra'il, *Mikā'il* and *Isrāfil* are the archangels in the *Qur'ān*. Angels are sent to this world for the warning to men. *Jibra'il* has the epithet of *rūḥ al-amīn* (the Faithful Spirit) and known as the messenger who came to Prophet Muhammad with the message from God. For *Mikā'il*, *Qur'ān* only describes as an angel of the same rank as *Jibra'il*. *Isrāfil* is the angel with trumpet of resurrection.⁵

In the list of technical terms in the beginning of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā describes these three, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*. They are identified with *Jibra'il*, *Mikā'il* and *Isrāfil* respectively. Three *guṇas* : *rajoguṇa*, *sattvaguṇa* and *tamoguṇa* are identified with the attribute of creation, preservation and destruction respectively.⁶

⁴Regarding the combinations of these *tridevī*, *trimūrti* and *triguna* are confused in the *BI*. *Rajoguṇa* - *Brahmā* - *Sarasvatī*; *Tamoguṇa* - *Maheśvara* - *Pārvatī*; *Sattvaguṇa* - *Viṣṇu* - *Lakṣmī*. (pp.44, 88) By the examination of Persian manuscripts, it is clear that the combination had been understood correctly.

⁵cf. *EI*, vol.VI pp.216-219; vol.IV, p.211.

⁶*SA* pp.7-8.

2-3-2 Names of God

God's transcendence is revealed with the Names which were given by Himself. In section 11 entitled as "the Names of God", twenty-three terms are enumerated with equivalent Sanskrit terms.

- 1) the Absolute (*Zāt al-muṭlaq*) = *Śūnya* (insensible)¹
- 2) the Pure (*baḥt*) = *Nirguṇa* (having no qualities, epithets)
- 3) the pure (*śirf*) = *Nirākāra* (formless)²
- 4) the Hidden of the hidden (*ghayb al-ghayb*) = *Nirañjana* (pure)
- 5) the Necessary Self (*hadrat al-wujūd*) = *Sat Cit Ānanda*³
- 6) the Knowing ('alīm) = *Caitanya* (consciousness)⁴
- 7) the Living (*al-Ḥayyu*) = *Ananta* (endless)⁵
- 8) the Powerful (*qādir*) = *Samartha* (able)
- 9) the desirous (*muriḍ*) = *Svatantra* (mighty)⁶
- 10) the Hearing (*samī'*) = *Śrotṛ* (listener)
- 11) the Seeing (*basīr*) = *Draṣṭṛ* (seer)
- 12) the speaker (*kalām*) = *Vakṭṛ* (speaker)⁷
- 13) *Allāh* = *Aum*⁸

¹ BI reads *Asanga*. The Sanskrit translation reads *śūnya*. Most of the Persian manuscripts and the Arabic translation support the reading of سُن *sun*, much more correct reading is found in B,A2 as شون *shūn*, and unique reading is in J بشن *bishn* as *Viṣṇu*.

² BI omits the translation of this word. p.53.

³ BI edition reads these words separately and reads *sattva* and *cit* (p.53 n.6,7). Most of the Persian manuscripts and the Arabic translation support the reading of *ānanda*. So, these words should be read as a set *Sat-Cit-Ānanda* as a famous designation of Brahman.

⁴ BI edition reads *Cetana* (p.53 n.8). The Sanskrit translation reads *caitanya* (fol. 5b).

⁵ BI read this as the Truth (*al-Ḥaqq*). Most of the manuscripts, the Arabic translation and transliteration of Persian in the Sanskrit translation support the reading of *al-ḥayyu*. (fol. 5b). This *al-Ḥayyu* is one of the essential attributes of God in Islam and means the one living in the highest and most perfect degree of life by reason of the absolute perfection.

⁶ BI,T omit this term. The Arabic translation and the Sanskrit translation support this reading. This is Tantric designation of the Supreme Being.

⁷ BI translates this portion as follows : 'If spirit is attributed to that Absolute Self, they call Him *waktā*'. BI understands this word as *Vyakta* (p.53 n.13). However, in this context, *kalām* does not mean the spirit, but the word. *Vaktā* i.e. *vakṭṛ* means speaker in Sanskrit. *Vyakta* is meant for this world as emancipated from Brahman, and Brahman himself is designated as *avyakta*. Here we take it proper to read *vaktā*.

⁸ Regarding the concept of sacred syllable *Aum*. see 2-4-2.

- 14) He (*hū*) = *Sahī*⁹
- 15) Angel (*firishta*) = *Devatā* (divine being)
- 16) the Perfect Manifestation (*mazhar atammu*)= *Avatāra* (incarnation)
- 17) Divine Revelation (*wahy*) = *Akāśavāṇī* (heavenly voice)¹⁰
- 18) Heavenly Books (*kutub-i āsmānī*) = *Veda*
- 19) the virtuous jins (*parī*) = lacuna¹¹
- 20) the evil jins (*deva wa shayātīn*) = *Rākṣasa* (demon)
- 21) the human beings (*Ādamī*) = *Manuṣya* (human being)
- 22) saint (*walī*) = *Rṣīsvāra* (saint)¹²
- 23) Apostle (*nabī*) = *Mahāsiddha* (very perfect, a great saint)¹³

Among these terms, only the six are included in the Ninety-nine names designated as the most beautiful names (*al-asmā' al-husnā*). The rest are the religious terms. The explanation of these terms shows the conformity with the explanation in the *Sirr-i Akbar* as shown in the note.

In the Upaniṣadic philosophy, *Brahman* is without body and form, without qualities and attributes. This is exclaimed with the epithet the attributeless (*nirguna*). There are opposite adjectives which indicate the nature (*svarūpa*) of the Supreme Soul, and the negative epithet shows He is undictatable. This is only to grasp the real truth about the Supreme Being. But the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* declares ‘the wise visualize His attributeless form

⁹Some Persian translation and the Arabic translation read as *Śiva*. The Sanskrit translation puts *Allāh* and after *Sat Cit Ānanda*.

¹⁰Regarding *wahy* and *ākāśavāṇī* see 4-2-2.

¹¹The Sanskrit translation omits the equivalent word for *parī*. The Arabic translation omits this passage. Original Sanskrit translation reads, *piśacānām madhye sujanāḥ parīśabdavācyāḥ teṣāmeva durjanā devasāyātīm rākṣasocyante* / It omits the equivalent words for Persian پری *parī*. Even though the editor translated them as follows: “The Good among the Piśacas we call Parī, they call *Apsarā*. The bad among them we call *devasāyati*, they call *rākṣas*.” (p.145) With the careful reading of Persian manuscripts, BI, T texts should be changed in some words. Thus the meaning of the original sentence becomes “The good among Jins which are called *parī* (in Persian) and *Daitya* and *Dānava* which are called *deva* and *shaytān* (in Persian), they are called *rākṣas* (by them)”.

¹²BI reads رکھی *rikhi*, however, most of the manuscripts support the reading of رکھیسار *Rṣīsvāra*. BI translates it *walī* as *mystic*, however, here the comparison with *nabi*, it would be preferable to translate as *saint*, or literally *the chief of the saints*.

¹³BI comments this word, as follows: The word *Mahā Sudh* is phonetically equivalent to *Mahā Śuddha*, or, ‘highly pure’, which is hardly an epithet for an Apostle. (p.54 n.10.) It is proper to read as *siddha* because some manuscripts have *i'rāb* of *kasra* (pronounced as i) on س. And in the list of technical terms at the beginning of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, we can find the same word *siddha* for the equivalent meaning of *nabī* (*Sirr-i Akbar*, p.8).

even in the manifold of attribute'.¹⁴ Brahman is omniscient (*sarvajña*): unchangeable (*nirvikāra*); birthless (*ajah*): soul of all (*sarvātmā*): free from *māyā* (*nirañjana*); without shape or form (*nirākāra*); truth, consciousness and bliss (*sat cit ānanda*) as His mark and Brahman as His name. By using these epithets and attributes for God they express the formless aspect of the divinity. *Brahman*, the Absolute is as the all-originating, all-sustaining, all-regulating self of the universe.

Interestingly indeed, the last two words are saint (*walī*) and apostle (*nabī*). This is suggestive to lead to the next chapter. On the way of acquiring Truth, to find out Perfect Man based on the right concept of sainthood and apostlehood was indispensable for Dārā.

God as Light

Light (*nūr*) is one of the ninety-nine beautiful names (*al-asmā' al-husnā*). In the philosophical aspect, light belongs to God. The doctrine that God is light and reveals Himself as such is said to be the heritage of Hellenistic gnosis. In the *Qur'ān*, the reference of light as God is found LXI-8,9 and as revelation the light came down in LXIV-8 and most notable *Qur'ānic* verse XXIV-35 reveals it clearly.

God is the light of the heavens and of the earth; His light is like a niche in which there is a lamp; the lamp is in a glass and the glass is like a shining star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive-tree, neither an eastern nor a western one; its oil almost shines alone even if no fire touches it; light upon light. God leads to his light whom He will, and God creates allegories for man , and God knows all things.

In section 9, the *MB* classified light in three kinds. One is light manifested with the attribute *Jalāl*, the second is light manifested with the attribute *Jamāl*, and the last is Light of the Essence devoid of any attribute. The *MB* only focused on the Light of Essence (*nūr-i zāt*). It is called as Divine light (*nūr-i khudā*). This is equivalent with *Jyotih-svarūpa*, *sva-prakāśa* or *svayam-prakāśa*.¹⁵ Here the *MB* quotes third-fourth of light-verse, and

¹⁴ *Bh.P.* VIII-6-11.

¹⁵ BI reads these equivalents as *Jyotih-svarūpa*, *Svaprakāśa* and *Svapna-prakāśa* (p.49)

last portion reads "and God creates allegories for man. and God knows all things."

Dārā himself analyses the meaning of each symbolical words. The Niche (*mishkāt*) stands for the world of bodily existence; the Lamp stands for the Light of the Essence: the Glass stands for the human soul; the Sacred Tree (*shajarat mubārak*) refers to the Self of Truth who is free from the East and West and Olive-oil (*zayt*) refers to the Great Soul (*rūḥ-i a'zam*) which is luminous without being lighted. He introduced the explanation of this verse by the saint Abū Bakr Wāṣitī. Soul (glass) is so luminous that it is not necessary to be touched with fire of the human world and because of inherent potency, it is illumined. 'The light upon light' refers to the extreme purity and brightness of God.

In the *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, al-Ghazzālī commented on the above mentioned light-verse. In the *Qur'ān*, Allāh himself is not only the source of light but the only real actual light in all existences. In the third section of the *Mishkāt*, the symbolical meaning of the expressions in light verse: the Niche, the Glass, the Lamp, the Olive Tree, the Light are explained. These words symbolize the gradations of human spirits: Niche for the sensory spirit (*al-rūḥ al-hassās*); the glass for the imaginative spirit (*al-rūḥ al-khayālī*); the lamp for the intelligent spirit (*al-rūḥ al-'aqlī*); the Olive tree for the ratiocinative spirit (*al-rūḥ al-fikrī*) and Light for the transcendental prophetic spirit (*al-rūḥ al-qudsī al-nabawī*).¹⁶

We can trace the concept of light as supreme being in Vedic scriptures. The *Gāyatrī-mantra* presents the supreme being as the divine light (*Rg Veda* 3-62-10). It is described as the complexion of the sun and beyond all darkness. "I know the Supreme Person of sunlike lustre beyond the darkness".¹⁷ It is like a smokeless light¹⁸, the pure light of light¹⁹. By his light does all this shine²⁰, self-manifesting or self-revealing (*svaprakāśa*) is a nature of Self never determined by anything else. This is the difference from manifested being. In the *Bhagavadgītā* (15-6) the light is expressed as God's divine manifestation. "The light of the ātman cannot be illuminated by sun or moon or fire. It is God's supreme light from which one will never return."

¹⁶ *Mishkāt* pp.79-81, tr. pp.84-86.

¹⁷ *Svetāśvatara Up.* 3-8.

¹⁸ *Kāthaka Up.* 2-1-13.

¹⁹ *Muṇḍaka Up.* 2-9.

²⁰ *Kāthaka Up.* 2-2-15.

On the other hand, the image of Emancipation - *mukti* is described that the pure light of *Brahman* identified with pure intelligence shines forth. In this state, all the world appearance vanishes because the world-appearance is limited manifestations of that one Being (*sat*). Śaṅkara also admitted *jīvanmukta* (the emancipated while living on this earth) and he is the one light burning alone in himself.

In Qur'ānic context, God is pure light, light upon light, which has nothing to do with fire, which is lit from an olive tree perhaps not of this world. Light is essentially in God, but not a quality (*sifat*). The light flows through the whole world. In the similar way, the prophetic doctrine of light (*nūr*) was combined with the creative development. The idea of Muḥammad's light as given to the primordial creation of Muḥammad is used as the synonym of the primordial entity of the Muḥammad's reality (*al-ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*). This is also called the archetype of universe and humanity and alluded as Perfect Man. Precise examination of this concept will be done in 2-4-3.

At the end of section 9, the *MB* introduces the idea of veils as the real purport of this Qur'ānic light verse. The Light of the Essence is manifested in the veil of Soul of Souls (*Abū al-Arwāh*), the Soul of Souls manifested in the veil of Soul (*rūh*), and the soul is manifested in the veil of Body.²¹

Ghazzālī introduced one *Hadīth* on veils: Allāh hath seventy thousand Veils of Light and Darkness, were He to withdraw their curtain, then world the splendours of his aspect surely consume everyone who apprehended Him hath his sight'.²² According to Ghazzālī, God is veiled by Light and Darkness due to senses, imagination and failure of intelligence. In the questions and answers between Dārā and his respectful *guru*, Shaykh Muhibbullāh Ilāhābādī, Shaykh wrote in his letter about the *Hijāb-i Akbar* (great veil). According to him, all the knowledge , which is the veil for His attributes, are the veil of the Essence.²³ It reflects the concept of attributes of Ibn 'Arabī and Jīlī. Veil symbolizes this phenomenal world as an attribute denoting God.

²¹ BI p.50

²² *Mishkāt* pp.39,84, Eng.tr. pp.44,88.

²³ Rizvi, *History* vol.II, p.142.

2-3-3 The Divine Time

As Colebrook suggests, according to the Hindus, numeration is of divine origin, nine figures (*aṅka*) with a zero (*śūnya*) are ascribed to the Creator of the Universe.¹

In section 21, the *MB* introduces the idea of divine time. The Day of divinity, or the day of *Brahmā* is said to be eighteen *aṅka* (*ankh*)² years of the world. Each *abja*³ is equal to one hundred crore years⁴ And their (Indian's) specification of the figure eighteen is based on 'eight' and 'ten' and beyond which no thing can be counted.

In chapter 16, in the *Indica*. Al-Bīrūnī introduces the arithmetic in India. First he remarks the numeral signs called *aika* and Arabic numerals are derived from these Hindu signs. Then he proceeds to explain the orders of numbers and tells us that Hindus count until the 18th order from religious reasons. The 18th order is called *Parārdha* and the meaning is the half of that which is above. Al-Bīrūnī comes to conclude that this unit of order i.e. *Parārdha* is a day of God (a half nychthemeron) and by doubling it, the whole of the greatest day i.e. *Brahmā*'s night and day is acquired. Then he enumerates the names of eighteen orders of numeration.⁵

According to *Purānic* literatures, this universe has a cycle with the procedure of four yugas (*Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, *Kali*) and dissolved at the end of *kalpa*. One *kalpa* is regarded as the day of *Brahmā* and it equals to 1,000 *yuga* and it equals to 4,320,000,000 human years.

¹ *Lilāvati* p.4.

² The reading of this words differs variously. *BI, T* read as *anj* ﺃنج The reading of each manuscript differs and can be read انج، انع، اع. At the first sight, we have some confusion because of the vagueness of *nuqta* of the word. Both published editions read this word as انج. The Sanskrit translation reads it as *abja*. The Arabic translation reads ارج. In this context, we deside to read as انج.

³ In Persian manuscripts, the spelling is the same as *ank*, however, in this context we read this word as *abja*.

⁴ *BI, T* read this as one thousand يک هزار. Most of the Persian manuscripts read one hundred crore (10⁹). The Sanskrit translation reads 'koti śata', i.e., one hundred crore *BI* pp.74,114; *T* p.27.

⁵ Eighteen orders are as follows: *Eka*, *Daśa*, *Śata*, *Sahasra*, *Ayuta*, *Lakṣa*, *Prayuta*, *Koti*, *Nyarbuda*, *Padma*, *Kharva*, *Nikharva*, *Mahāpadma*, *Śāṅku*, *Samudra*, *Madhya*, *Antya*, *Parārdha*. This enumeration is said to be based on the *Paulisa Siddānta*. Sachau, pp. 82-83; Eng. Tr. pp.174-175.

In Chapter 38, Al-Bīrūnī explains the various measures of the time composed of Days, the life of *Brahmā*. A day of *Brahmā* (*brahmāhorātra*) i.e. nychthemeron of *Brahmā* is composed with two *kalpas*. Thus the life of *Brahmā* is said to be 100 of his years, i.e. 72,000 *kalpas*. At the end of chapter 38, referring to Mārkandeya's teaching in the *Viṣṇu Dharma*. Al-Bīrūnī concludes as follows: *Kalpa* is the day of *Brahmā*, and the same is his one night. Therefore, 720 *kalpas* are his one year, and his life has 100 such years. These 100 years are one day of *Puruṣa*, and the same is his one night.⁶ Al-Bīrūnī introduces the precise examination of the *kalpas* and *yugas* based on the *Paulisasiddhānta* or Brahmagupta's the *Brahmasiddhānta* in chapter 33.⁷ However, the *MB* did not pay attention to such a scientific way.

The first point that the *MB* makes us confused is the idea of eighteen *aṅka* or *abja*. The *MB* might have mixed the concept of digit (*sthāna*) and figure (*aṅka*) and connected with the concept of *abja*. The *MB* identifies eighteen *aṅka* (figures) as a day of *Brahmā* or the day of creation as that is to say *Parārdha*. The *MB*'s interpretation of the day of *Brahmā* (*brahmāhorātra*) has similarity with al-Bīrūni's description of *parārdha*.

The second point the *MB* describes is that each *abja* equal to hundred crore⁸ years. We read differently from the first case. The reading of the controversial word is very similar in Persian, however, we can read the second one as *abja*. Because the explanation of this unit is equivalent to *abja*. One *abja* equals to 10^9 . The reading of most of the Persian manuscripts shows the equivalent, a hundred crore ($10^2 \times 10^7 = 10^9$).

The third point the *MB* describes is that beyond eighteen nothing can be counted. This may refer to unit in decuple proportion consisted of successive multiples by 10 upto to 10^{17} . Thus, we get eighteenth unit. On the basis of nine digits (*aṅka*) from 1 to 9 and zero. the decimal place value is written with its place (*sthāna*). A set of 18 terms ending in *Parārdha* became standard in North India by the time of Śrīdhara in the eighth century.⁹ As

⁶Sachau, p.169; Eng. tr. p.359-360.

⁷Sachau, p.169; Eng. tr. pp.331-332.

⁸ BI, T read this ﻰـ and translated 'a thousand'. BI pp.73, 114. T p.27. However, we follow the reading of most of the manuscripts and read ﺹـ ﻙـ 'one hundred crore'.

⁹Names of Decimal Places in South India, Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma,*Journal of the Sanskrit Academy*, Vol.XIII, 1991, p.14. cf. *The Mathematics in India - The discovery of Zero*, Takao Hayashi, Tokyo 1996, p.3. The position of *Parārdha* has been changed : In the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, *parārdha* signified 10^{12} ; in the *Lilāvatī* (12c.) 10^{17} ; Bhoja's the

we have seen above. Al-Bīrūnī also suggested the limitation of the reckoning.¹⁰

The fourth point to which the *MB* refers is that the duration of the night of concealment is equal to eighteen *aika* years of the world and corresponds to *suṣupti* or the third *avasthā*¹¹ i.e. *Jabarūt*. During the lifetime of earth, God is in the stage of *Nāsūt*, during the period of the smaller resurrections, in the state of *Malakūt*, and after the *mahāpralaya*, God is in *Jabarūt*. These correspond to *jāgrat*, *suṣupti* and *svapna* state.¹²

As the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* narrates, *Parārdha* means half duration of the time after which the *prākṛtika pralaya* occurs: the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* narrates that at the end of one day of *Brahmā*, or *kalpa*, three worlds become due for dissolution and get dissolved. This dissolution is called occasional (*naimittika*) and *Nārāyaṇa*, the Creator of the universe draws all the universe within himself and goes to sleep on the bed of snake god Ananta's body, and so does *Brahmā*. And when the period of *Parārdha* years forming the span of life of *Brahmā*, comes to a close, causal principles of the universe become due to be dissolved into Primordial Matter, i.e. *prākṛtika pralaya* occurs.¹³

The concept of the cycle of creation, continuance and dissolution described in section 22 of the *MB* reminds us of the concept of *kalpa* cycle, however, the end will come at the *Mahāpralaya* in Hindu cosmology. During a day of *Brahmā*, fourteen *Manus* will dominate each division. As the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* narrates, the creation and dissolution occurs continuously

Samarangasūtrādhara (mid 11c.), 10²⁰; in King Basava's the *Śivatattvaratnākara* (17-18c), ibid. pp.9-13.

¹⁰ Among the arithmetical works, this limit is found, however, other literatures show more figures beyond 10¹⁷. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay, Gorakhpur edition), *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, sarga 28-33...38, the limitation is 10⁶⁰ (*mahaugha*). In Encyclopedic *Mahāyāna* scripture, the *Abhidharmakośa* described the limit as 10⁵³ (*tallakṣaṇa*). Jaina arithmetic work named the *Ganitasārasaṅgraha* introduced the limitation as 10²³ (*mahākṣobhya*). Hayashi, pp.7,10.

¹¹ BI, T read this اوسطها م and transliterate *avasthātam*. (p.74) Most of the manuscripts read this اوسطها سیوم As the state of *suṣupti* is the third state among the four states (*jāgrat*, *svapna*, *suṣupti*, *turyā*), it is proper to read 'the third state'.

¹² For these four states including *turyā*, see 2-4-1. To explain the concept of *Mahāpralaya*, the Sanskrit translation quotes from the *Bhāmatī* (1-2), , the commentary of Vācaspati Miśra on Śankara's commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* (fol.10a).

¹³ *Bh.P.* XII-4-4,5.

in all beings from *Brahmā* downward.¹⁴ Section 20 in the *MB* introduces the idea that *Brahmā* is called *Manu*.¹⁵ *Manu* is the ancestor of man. In Islamic cosmology, it corresponds to Adam. In Sūfistic cosmology, Prophet Muḥammad stands for Adam.

¹⁴ *Bh.P.* XII-4-35.

¹⁵ *BI.T* read this as *manas* from the transliteration *من*, however, the Sanskrit translation reads *Manu*. Although the Persian transliteration is the same with *manas*, in this context it is proper to read *Manu*.

2-4 Man

2-4-1 Nature of Soul

The reflections of the human soul and its relationship with the Absolute is one of the main focuses of philosophy of religion. In India, having desisted from cosmological speculation, sages turned their face to psychological contemplation on the nature of human soul determined by birth, death and rebirth. The deep insight of the quest of Brahman resulted in the monistic idea of the equation of *Ātman* and *Brahman*.

Ātman and Paramātman

In section 5, the *MB* differentiates the two kinds of soul (*rūḥ*). individual soul and soul of souls (*abū al-arwāḥ*). In Sanskrit translation, these two are transliterated as *rūhakullī* (*rūḥ kullī*) and *rūhajūjāī* (*rūḥ juz'ī*), that is to say the universal soul (*rūḥ kullī*) and particular soul (*rūḥ juz'ī*).¹ Soul (*rūḥ*) or *ātman* is determined with subtle (*latīf*) aspect of Pure Self (*zāt-i baht*) or *suddhacaitanya* and determined with gross (*kathīf*) aspect which is called physical body (*jasad* or *śarīra*). The Essence determined in the beginning is *rūḥ-i a'zam* which is the aggregate of all the attributes and has the state of Abstract Oneness (*ahadiyya*).² *Abū al-Arwāḥ* or *Paramātman* comprehends all the *rūḥ* or *ātman*.

In this section, the *MB* uses *rūḥ* signifying soul. However, originally, in Arabic poetry, *rūḥ* was used to signify breath and wind, and *nafs* was used to signify the self organ. Then these concepts came to be equated and applied to the human spirit. In the *Qur'ān*, Allāh blew His *rūḥ* into Adam and gave life to his body. Here *rūḥ* means the breath of life. In the *Qur'ān*, *rūḥ* is not used as the meaning of angels or jins or man's self, nor soul or spirit. However, *rūḥ* came to be identified as *nafs* among orthodox philosophers.

¹ SS fol. 3a.

² BI, T read this portion as :

ذاتی کے متعین بازل گشت روح اعظم باشد کہ با ذات جمع الصفات مرتبہ احادیث دارد and translated as “the self that was determined in Eternity Past is known as *Rūḥ-i A'zam* (or the Supreme Soul) and to possess uniform identity with the Omniscient Being”. (BI, pp.45,88; T, p.8.) According to the reading most of the manuscripts, we read as follows: ذاتی کے بتعین اول گشت کہ روح اعظم باشد مرتبہ احادیث دارد

Ṣūfis used the word *rūḥ* as spirit coming out from the divine breath and regarded man's reasoning soul as originating from universal soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya*). The synonym of universal soul is holy spirit (*rūḥ al-qudus*), pure intelligence and the Perfect Man. On the other hand, *nafs* is recognized as the seat of lower character of man. 'Abd al-Karīm Jīlānī recognized *rūḥ al-quds* or *rūḥ al-arwāḥ* as one of the aspects of Divine reality.³

Ātman is used as designating the essence of the universe and the vital breath in man. Sometimes it is called Pure Consciousness, the reality and the bliss, the seer of all seeing, the hearer of all hearing, the knower of all knowledge. Regarding the concept of the *rūḥ-i aẓam* as the determined form of the Absolute and identification with Abstract Oneness (*aḥadiyya*), we find the concept of descent (*nuzūr*) or individualization of the Absolute. As Jīlī describes, Abstract Oneness (*Aḥadiyya*) is the outward aspect of Absolute Being (*zāt al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*). Although nothing is manifested in it, it is determined first and retains the unity with the Absolute. The second stage of individualisation is unity in plurality (*wāhidiyya*). In this stage, the essence is manifested as attribute.

For the description of interrelation between soul (*rūḥ*) and *Abū al-Arwāḥ*, or *ātman* and *paramātman*, the *MB* uses one simile. The combination of waves, in their complete aspect may be likened to *Abu'l arwāḥ* or *paramātman* and water is like August Existence (*hadrat-i wujūd*) or pure consciousness (*suddhacaitanya*). This simile is favored by Ṣūfis and Vedantins alike.

On the list of technical terms in the beginning of the *Surr-Akbar*, *jīvātman* (*ātmā*) is explained as 'soul possessed with physical body (*rūḥ-i muta'allaq-i badan*) and *paramātman* (*paramātmā*) is explained as 'great soul (*jān-i buzurg*).⁴ According to the monistic doctrine of *Vijñānabhikṣu*, the individual soul exists in the *paramātman* in an undifferentiated state. The cardinal difference is that *jīva* (individual) is regarded as being a part of God, like son and father. God exists in the *jīvas* just as the whole existence exists in the parts. Self in three states is described as follows: in pure state: *Brahman*; in the state associated with *māyā* : *Īśvara*; in the state with five subtle elements of matter : *Hiranyagarbha* or *Virāṭapuruṣa*. *Paramātman* is the essence of the individual souls (*jīvas*). God is the ultimate substratum

³E.I. vol.VII, pp.880-883.

⁴SA p.6.

of all, the functioning of all types of causes (*adhiṣṭhāna-kāraṇatā*).⁵ The ultimate essence of this world is the nature of knowledge (pure consciousness) and this is also called *paramātmā* (the sole of all beings). *Jīva* or individual soul means the self associated with the ego - phenomenal self affected by worldly experiences.

Prāṇa (Vital Force)

The vital force of the life organs is called *prāṇa*. *Prāṇa* has two meanings - in general sense, it stands for life-organ and in specific sense it is one of the six vital breaths.⁶

The *MB* explains each *prāṇa* briefly about its location and function.

- 1) *prāṇa* : air which moves from the nostrils to the toes, for the breathing
- 2) *apāṇa* : air which moves from the buttocks to the special organ, encircling the navel, for the life-sustaining
- 3) *samāṇa* : air which moves inside the breast and navel
- 4) *udāṇa* : air which moves from the throat to the top of brain
- 5) *vyāṇa* : air which includes everything, inside and outside

The explanation is so brief that some manuscripts added further commentaries on each kind of vital air.⁷ We will show the *Vedāntasāra*'s definition of the five vital forces.⁸ :

Prāṇa : vital force which goes upward and has its seat at the tip of the nose

Apāṇa : vital force which goes downward and has its seat in the organ of excretion

Vyāṇa : vital force which moves in all directions and pervades the entire body

Udāṇa : ascending vital force which helps the passing out from the body and has its seat in the throat

Samāṇa : the cause of digestion of food which converts it into semen, blood and other materials of body

⁵ Dasgupta vol.III, p.484.

⁶ Deussen p.326. cf. *VS* 2-3-15: 2-41-4.; *Mundaka Up.* 2-1-3. Enumeration of *prāṇas* is found in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 1-5-3; 3-9-26; *Chāndogya Up.* 3-13;5-18; *Praśna Up.* 3 etc., however, sometimes differently explained.

⁷ Additional Hatha Yogic explanation can be found in variants of N group.

⁸ *VS* 78-83.

Four Stages of the Seeker of the Truth

In section 7, four cosmic evolutionary worlds are described as the progressive stages of the seeker (the gnostic's path). Three pillars of Sufistic path are described as the stages of *shari'a* (following the Sacred Law of Islam), *tariqa* (practical Sufistic method guided by spiritual preceptor) and *haqīqa* (the experience of Divine Reality). These are represented as bridging four spheres of existence or natures - human (*nāsūt*), angelic (*malakūt*), dynamic (*jabarūt*) and divine (*lāhūt*) nature.

⁹ In the *MB*, the four spheres of existence are explained as the worlds through which all the created beings must pass. These are four : *Nāsūt*, *Malakūt*, *Jabarūt* and *Lāhūt*, and some Sūfis add the World of Similitude ('Ālam-i *mithāl*). These worlds are called *avasthā* (states), ¹⁰ which correspond to *jāgrat*, *svapna*, *suṣupti* and *turyā* or *turiya* respectively. Each world is described as follows:

- 1) 'Ālam-i *Nāsūt* : the world of manifestation ('ālam-i *zāhir*) and wakefulness (*bīdārī*)
- 2) 'Ālam-i *Malakūt* : the world of souls ('ālam-i *arwāh*) and dreams
- 3) 'Ālam-i *Jabarūt* : the world in which the traces of both the worlds disappear and the distinction between 'I' and 'thou' vanishes with your eyes open or closed

4) 'Ālam-i *Lāhūt* : Pure Existence (*zāt-i mahd*), encircling all the worlds.
Generally, the characteristics of these four states are described as follows:

1) 'Ālam an-*Nāsūt* is this world of sensation and perception; and is called visible world, the world of waking consciousness, the world of awareness, 'The world of humanity', perceived through the physical senses; the material phenomenal world. ¹¹

2) 'Ālam al-*Malakūt*, 'the world of sovereignty' is the invisible, spiritual,

⁹ Trimingham pp.160-161.

¹⁰ BI, T read this word as اَوْسَطَاتٍ As we have seen in 2-2-1, in section 1, BI, T read the term *samaṣṭi* as *avasthā* and explained it *avasthātman*. (BI pp.45,89; T p.9.) In this section, most of the manuscripts read اَسْتَدْلَالٌ It is proper to read *avasthā*.

¹¹ Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī calls 'Ālam al-*mulk* wa'sh-shahāda. Nicholson remarked the terms of *nāsūt* and *lāhūt* are borrowed from Syrian Christianity used to denote the two nature of Christ. *Personality* p.30.

angelic world, that which is perceived through insight and the spiritual faculties. According to some, it is the uncreated macrocosm.

3) 'Ālam al-Jabarūt, 'the world of power', is the celestial world, that which is perceived through entering into and partaking of the divine nature. It is also the world of the divine names and qualities.

4) 'Ālam al-Lāhūt is 'the world of the godhead', not perceived, since now the phenomenal world is absorbed into timeless unity.

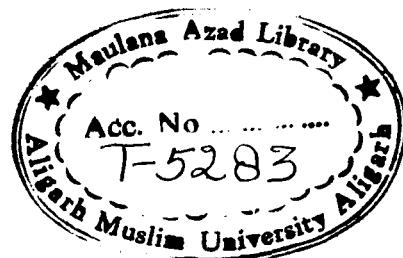
In the *Risāla*, in-between *Nāsūt* and *Malakūt*, 'Ālam-i Mithāl is inserted. This is the midway and gateway to the 'Ālam-i Malakūt and the confused thought-pictures which the *sālik* makes and sees with the eyes of heart the world of ideas. 'Ālam-i Malakūt is called the world of spirits ('Ālam-i arwāh), the invisible world ('Ālam-i ghayb), the subtle world ('Ālam-i Laṭīf), the world of dream ('Ālam-i khwāb). The way of meditation is reciting the name of God. Dārā describes that Miyān Jīv used to tell the disciples about the recitation of the name of Allah without the movement of the tongue. And the method of regulation of breath, called the confinement of breath (*Habs-i nafs*). 'Ālam-i Jabarūt is called the causal plane or the plane of unity.

Thus, both in the *MB* and the *Risāla*, the anecdote of Abū al-Qāsim Junaid and Shaikh al-Islām is used to express this 'Ālam-i Jabarūt. In the section 7 of the *MB*, this anecdote is used to express *Jabarūt*. It is clear that these are mere summary of the explanation of the *Risāla*. In the *Risāla*, the way of meditation on each stage is recommended. To find a solitary quiet place and sit in meditation to form a picture in the mind of some saint or Master and to see the picture with the eyes of the hearts is the way of meditation of *sālik* in *Nāsūt*. The meditation with *Habs-i nafas* is recommended for the *sālik* in *Malakūt*. For the *sālik* in *Jabarūt*, all the limbs of the body should be rest and close both of the eyes, the right palm should be placed on the lect, and the heart should be emptied without any object. In *Lāhūt*, the last method of meditation is to sit catching hold of one's self to consider himself as the absolute and true existence and recognise everything as one essence.¹²

Jāgrat, *svapna*, *suṣupti* and *turyā* are corresponding to four stages of *jīva*. The *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* describes these stages with denomination.¹³ The first stage is the waking state (*jāgrat*) named *viśva* or *vaiśvānara*. This

¹² *Risāla* pp.6,10,16,18; *Compass*, pp.6.13.22.26.

¹³ *Māṇḍūkya Up.* 3... 7.



is the state of cognition of external objects and enjoyment of the experiences of them. The second stage is the dream state named *Taijasa* or *Prajña*. This is the state of cognition of mental states depending on the predispositions left by the experiences in the waking state. The third one is deep sleep named *Prājña*. In this state, there is no perception of external or internal objects is possible and *jīva* is freed from phenomenal experiences. Beyond this, there is a state of *Turiya* as the stage of transcendent consciousness beyond the former three stages. In this state, *jīva* realizes the identity with *Brahman*. These states are symbolized as three elements of *praṇava* (aum). i.e. *akāra*, *ukāra*, *makāra* and without *kāra* (letter or sound). ¹⁴

Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara's teacher's teacher wrote the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* as the commentary on this *Upaniṣad*. He systematized these concepts. The *Vedāntasāra* inherited this and propagated these stages as the process of purification of the *Īśvara* limited by *upādhi*. ¹⁵ *Yogavāsiṣṭha* treats these stages in detail. However, the noteworthy thing is the concept of the seven stages of *jīva*. They refer to the stages of progress of seeker. Influenced by Buddhist *Vijñānavādins*, the concept has been developed into the idea of the seven stages of psychological progress. *Jīvātman* assumes different forms. It has seven states to ascend the process of realization.

- 1) *svapna-jāgrata*: concentration on studying and association with saint
- 2) *samkalpa-jāgrata* : critical thinking (*vicāraṇā*)
- 3) *kevala-jāgrat* : mental practice of dissociation from outer passions (*asaṅga-bhāvanā*)
- 4) *cira-jāgrat* : right understanding of the nature of truth (*vilāpanī*)
- 5) *ghana-jāgrat* : the state of saint with pure knowledge, *jīvanmukta*
- 6) *jāgrat-svapna* : half-sleep and half-awake state and stage of pure bliss
- 7) *kṣīṇa-jāgrat* : transcendental (*turyātīta*)

Among these, the first three of the seven correspond to the waking state; the fourth corresponds to the dream state; the fifth corresponds to the dreamless sleep state; and the sixth corresponds to *turyā*. The seventh is beyond these states and called *turyātīta* ¹⁶

¹⁴ *Māṇḍūkya Up.* 8...12.

¹⁵ VS 43...45.

¹⁶ YV VIb-120.

2-4-2 Ways of Salvation (Religious Practices)

One of the particulars in the devotional aspect of religion is in the practice. Prayer or the contact with saints is recognized as the nearest approach to God. The *MB* can be said to be a religious work in this respect. As we have referred in 1-2, Dārā's literary career shows that he regarded religious practice as another way of approach of searching for the ultimate truth.

Shari'a, Ṭariqa and Haqīqa

Just as there are ways of *Bhaktiyoga* (the path of *Bhakti*, or devotion to God) beside *Karmayoga* (the path of religious duties) and the *Jñānayoga* (the path of knowledge, by purifying mind and self-control) in the way of the attainment of true knowledge, Sūfism has *shari'a* (the path to be followed, the Sacred Law of Islam) and *ṭariqa* (the path of Sūfism, practical method guided by spiritual guide) and *Haqīqa* (the path of Truth, the experience of Divine Reality) as three pillars of Sūfism.

These three pillars are recognized as playing the role of bridging the four spheres of existence. In the *Al-Fuyūdat ar-Rabbāniyya* ascribed to 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, reads, "Every phase between *Nāsūt* and *Malakūt* is *shari'a*; every phase between *Malakūt* and *Jabarūt* is the *ṭariqa* and every phase between *Jabarūt* and *Lāhūt* is the *Haqīqa*."¹ Among the three *shari'a* is recognized as the main pillar of all the ways of Sūfism. According to Al-Qushayrī, the *shari'a* is concerned with the observance of the outward manifestations of religion; *Haqīqa* (Reality) concerns inward vision of divine power (*mushāhadāt ar-rubūbiyya*). Law is the Reality because God ordained it and Reality is also the Law because it is the knowledge of God likewise ordained by Him.²

These three pillars are the starting point for Dārā. In the *Sakīna*, he introduces the aphorism of Miyān Jīv who taught the disciples about these three pillars. These three have interdependent relationship. Further, quoting the *Hadīth*, "the *shari'a* is what I say, *ṭariqa* is what I do and

¹Trimingham, p.160.

²ibid., p.142.

Haqīqa is what I am". Miyān Jīv emphasized the importance of *sharī'a* for *sālik* as fundamental task for proceeding on the path of *Haqīqa* and *tariqa*.

³ In another form, Miyān Mīr, explaining these three pillars, says as man is a compendium of three qualities; the reform of self consists in following the righteous path of *sharī'a*, the reform of heart consists in fulfilling the obligations of *tariqa* and the reform of soul is by preserving all the grades of *Haqīqa*. Mullāh Shāh also insisted on the importance of *sharī'a*. ⁴ *Tariqa* has different stages and practices. Among them, for Dārā, the most attractive practice seems to have been *zikr*.

Zikr

Al-Ghazzālī's *Ihyā* recommends contemplation (*zikr*) as the easiest way to lead directly to God. On account of the greater ease and immediacy of this method, al-Ghazzālī limited himself to describing the method connected with a *shaykh*, it has the advantage as lies in that of the 'thought (*zikr*) of God, only companionship with the *shaykh* helps bring forth companionship with God, who is 'thought of'. The seeker ought to preserve the effect which he perceives to result from his companionship with his *shaykh*. This method is said to have been taught him and urged upon him by *al-Khadir*. This was the restraining of the breath in the course of 'remembering' and 'contemplation'. He made it one of the fundamentals of the method and said that labour should be given to a certain constraint between two breaths so that the breath should not go in or out without attention.⁵

As we have seen in 2-2, in the description of the sense of hearing, the *MB* explains that through the sense of hearing, the real essence of *mahākāśa* is manifested to the religious devotees. Such an exercise is common to the Sūfis and the Indian monotheists; Sūfis call it *Shughl-i Pās-i Anfās*, and the Indian monotheists call it *dhyāna* in their own phraseology.

Zikr, literally means recollection or recital of God's name by the repetition of the religious formulae, *lā ilāha illa l-lāh* with the concentration of mind.

³ *Nuskhā* f.34b. cf. *Sakīna*, p.103; Schimmel, p.99.

⁴ *Hasanāt* pp.64-65.

⁵ Duncan Macdonald pp.261-263. Schimmel also remarked "In the later Middle Ages, especially in Afghanistan and India, the *habs-i dam*, holding the breath for a very long time, was practiced - a disputed technique that may show influence from Indian asceticism (p.174).

For attainment of ecstasy (*wajd*), in other words, union or encounter with God. *zikr* associated with the fixed poses (*jalsa*) and control of breath are incessant practices. These practices provide Sūfis the progress in their stages (*maqām*) to acquire the ecstatic state (*ḥāl*). *Zikr* is a special act of devotion by means of certain breathing exercises and also by controlling respiration.⁶ *Zikr*, the spiritual exercises of the *Qādirī* silsilah is described by Bilgrāmī in detail,⁷ who enumerates four categories of *zikr* based on *Makhazin-i Qādiriyah*.

(1) *Zikr-i Nāsūtī* : the recollection of tongue (*lā-ilā-ha-illa'l-lāh*) ; visualization of *Nāsūt*

(2) *Zikr-i Malakūtī* : the recollection of heart (*illa'l-lāh*) ; visualization of *Malakūt*)

(3) *Zikr-i Jabarūtī* : recollection of soul (*allāh, allāh*) ; visualization of *Jabarūt*)

(4) *Zikr-i Lāhūtī* : recollection of *Lāhūt* (the divine world)

The practical rules and process of performing these recollections are also prescribed in the manuals. They are (1) *zikr-i yak-darab*, (2) *zikr-i dū-darabī*, (3) *zikr-i sah-darabī*, (4) *zikr-i chahār-darabī* named after the number of repetition of the phrases. It is the most common among the Indian *Qādirīs*. Sitting cross legged, he seizes with the toe of the right foot and (the toe that) adjoins it the vein called *karimas* which is the great vein situated in the hollow of the knee joint, and puts his hands on knees, opening his fingers in the form of the word *allāh*. He begins with the *lā* sustaining it until his heart is opened and the divine lights disclosed, then *ilāha* by pointing the little finger with *ill-allāh*.

Beside these, different kinds of recollections, generally practiced by the *Qādirī* saints are described. This is not the place to discuss this subject further, so a brief descriptions of other *zikrs* is given here.⁸

1) *Zikr-i Āward wa Burd* : contesting *ha hū hayy* ; *zikr* of *fanā* (annihilation) and *baqā* (perpetuity)

2) *Zikr-i 'Arrah* : a kind of guttural recitation of *haqq, haqq: ha-hayy, ya-qayyum*

⁶For the general accounts on *zikr*, see Trimingham pp.194-207.

⁷Bilgrāmī Fātimah Zehra, *History of Qādirī Order in India*, Ph.D. Thesis in History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1982, pp.297-299. See also Murtaza Siddiqui, *Qādiriyah System of Sufism (Qādiriyah Nizām-i Taṣawwuf or Sulūk)*, Ph. D. Thesis in History, Osmania University, 1959 pp.124-163.

⁸Bilgrāmī, pp.300-304.

- 3) *Zikr-i a'yān* : recollection relating to the eye with *lā-ilā-ha*, *illa'l-lāh*
- 4) *Zikr-i Nafy wa Ithbāt* : negative and affirmative recollection with *lā-ilāha* negatively and *ill-allāh* affirmatively
- 5) *Zikr-i Pās-i Anfās* : recollection by regulation of breath
- 6) *Zikr-i Jalī* : shouting the name *allāh* loudly and repeatedly
- 7) *Zikr-i Khafī* : secret recitation of his name, *lā ilāh* with inhalation, *illā lāh* with exhalation
- 8) *Zikr-i Ism-i-zāt* : recollection invoking the divine essence, chanting *allāh*⁹

The first kind of *zikr-i Āward wa Burd* is said to have been introduced by 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī and practised by Miyān Mīr. Furthermore, Miyān Mīr added something to this process. It is that during the period, while the breath was kept within the lungs, namely, during the period when the breath was drawn in, till its expulsion, the novice should repeat *lā illāh* mentally, with the tongue of ceder heart so that mind should not remain vacant.¹⁰ Among these *zikrs*, *Shugl-i Pās-i Anfās* seems to have been regarded as the most important one by Dārā. This is called *Habs-i dam* 'recollection by regulation of breath', practised by the Sūfis of *Chishtī*, *Naqshbandī* and *Qādirī silsilah*. In the *Risāla*, the method is precisely described. This is the method of controlling the breath.

Sitting in the retired spot, in the posture in which the holy Prophet used to sit, place the elbows of both hands on the two knees; with the two thumb fingers close the hole of the two ears, so that no air may pass out of them . With the two index fingers shut the two eyes, in such a way, the upper eyelid may remain steadily fixed on the lower eyelid. Place the ring and small fingers close the mouth. Place the two middle

⁹Bilgrāmī enumerated the following four ways of *zikr*. 1) *Zikr-i Sirr* : the mysterious recollection, 2) *Zikr-i Rūhī* : recollection relating to soul, 3) *Zikr-i Murabba* : recollection, sitting cross legged, 4) *Zikr-i Lafz* or *Zikr-i Lab* : verbal or literal recollection, 5) *Zikr-i Ma'anavī* : the real, the essential recollection. All the saints of *Qādirī silsilah* attached great importance to *zikr*. Besides these recollections, several kinds of *ashghāl* (ascetic discipline) in *Qādirī silsilah* are also recommended in *Suluk-i Qāridiyah*. 1) *Fanā-yi 'Anāsir-i Arba'a* (annihilation of four elements), 2) *Şūrat-i Sarmadī* (eternal or perpetual form), 3) *Shughl-i qawārīr* (regarding divine essence as sun and creatures as flasks), 4) *Shughl-i Baśīr* (concentration upon shaykh), 5) *Shughl-i Nāsira wa Mahmūda* (holding the breath), 6) *Shughl-i Hamdam* (mental visualizing with th name of God) (pp.305-307.)

¹⁰*Risāla*, p.8, *Compass*, p.14. Hasrat, too, quoted this explanation. pp.31-32.

fingers on the upper and lower lips, so as to close the mouth. place the two middle fingers on the two wings of the nose, the right middle finger on the right wing, and the left middle finger on the left wing. then firmly close the right nostril with the right middle finger, so that air may not come through it, and opening the left nostril let him breathe in slowly through it reciting *lā ilāh* and drawing the air up to the brain bring it down to the heart. After this close firmly the left nostril also, with the left middle finger and thus keep the air confined within the body Let him keep the breath confined as long as he easily can do so, without feeling suffocated. (And increase the period of restraining the breath slowly) Then he should throw out the breath by opening the right nostril, by removing the middle finger from it, and the breath should be thrown out slowly, reciting the word *il-lāh*. Repeat the same process, by drawing in the breath through the right nostril, and keeping it closed for some time, and expelling it through the left nostril.¹¹

The merit acquired from this practice is that the rust from the mirror of the heart will be removed and purity is given to the body of flesh and blood. In the descriptions of *Habs-i Dam*, we find the practice of this breath control by Mullā Shāh. He often practised this after evening prayers until morning. Dārā also practised this and he inhaled and exhaled only twice during this practice through night.¹²

Sultān al-Azkār

Regarding to the result of *Habs-i dam* practice, Dārā refers to the sound which will be heard within during this practice of retention of breath. About the nature of the sound, it is like a sound of boiling big cauldron or like buzzing sound heard in the nest of bees and wasps. Dārā calls this sound as cosmic sound. This is called *Sultān al-Azkār* (the king of all practices).

According to the *Risāla*, this *Sultān al-Azkār* is the practice of hearing the voice of the silence and the path of the *faqīrs*. Dārā explained that there

¹¹ *Risāla*, p.10; *Compass*, p.13.

¹² *Sakīna*, p.154. Rizvi, p.117.

are three kinds of sound. The first one is produced when two objects strike against each other. He gives the example of crapping by palms. This sound is called the transitory sound (*āwāz-i muḥaddith*) and compound sound (*āwāz-i murakkab*). The second sound is produced without the contact of two object and without the utterance of words. Due to the operation of the two elements of fire and air, this appears to be inside the human being. This is called physiological sound (*āwāz-i basīṭ*) and subtle sound (*āwāz-i laṭīf*). The third one is the sound which is self-existent from eternity and exists now and will continue to exist in the future, however, without cause, without increasing nor decreasing, unchangeable. The whole world is said to be filled with this primeval sound, however, except the spiritual men, no one else can find out the existence of this sound. This is called the infinite (*bihād*) and absolute sound (*āwāz-i muṭlaq*). This sound comes out without effort all the time. Dārā traces the authority by six *Hadīths* and explains with the teaching of Miyān Jīv, this was practised by Prophet Muḥammad and is connected with *wahy* (revelation) at the cave of mount *Hirā*.¹³

In the *MB*, the first reference to sound is the sound emanating from the breath of the Merciful with the word *Kun ‘Be’* at the time of creation. In Sūfistic cosmology, this stands for the universal Principle identified with Reality of Muḥammad i.e. Logos as Verba Dei as the archetype of universe. However the *MB* kept silent about the meaning of this *kalima*. In section 8, three kinds of sounds are enumerated as the idea of Indian monotheists. *Anāhata*: which is equivalent to *Āwāz-i Muṭlaq* (the sound of the Absolute) or *Sultān al-Azkār* (the king of all the practices). This is said to be the source of the perception of *mahākāśa* and audible only to the great saints. Further he expresses that this sound is the cosmic sound with which this whole universe is filled. The sound is called, the voice of the silence, the king of all practices (*Sultān al-Azkār*). The second is *Āhata*, the sound which originates from the striking of one thing against another without any combination of words. The third is *śabda*, combined with words. Regarding *śabda*, the Sanskrit translation added Yogic explanation on *anāhata* as the sound leading to *mukti* quoting some authorities.¹⁴ According to the additional explanation in the Sanskrit translation, *śabda* is of two kinds, *āhata* and *anāhata*. Of these the sages worships the *anāhata* sound. This brings about salvation through the Path taught by the spiritual preceptor,

¹³ *Risāla*, pp.12-13; *Compass*, pp.16-17.

¹⁴ *SS* f.9b; *RC* p.138.

but not worldly enjoyment.

As been seen in the *Risāla*, regarding the nature of the sound the *Risāla* far exceeds than the *MB*. *Anāhata* is explained like the sound of boiling big cauldron, sometimes like the buzzing sound heard in the nest of bees and wasps. For this *anāhata*, further examination in Yogic practices will be shown below. In *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra*, the sound has three kinds caused by connection (*samyoga*), disjunction (*vibhāga*) and sound (*śabda*),¹⁵ and the organ of ear (*śrotra*) perceives the sound (*śabda*).¹⁶

With reference to *śabda*, the *MB* explains *Ism-i A'zam* and its equivalent *Vedamukha* or *Aum*. It holds the three attributes of creation, preservation and destruction, and three letters *a-u-m*. Further reference is to the symbolical meaning of *Aum*. As the elements of water, fire, air are manifested in this *Ism-i a'zam*, the Pure Self is manifested in *Aum*. In the *Risāla*, Dārā explained this *ism* as the holder of three qualities and this is not found except the most perfect shaikh. According to Miyān Jīv, the way of acquiring the secret of the *Ism-i A'zam* is through the aforesaid practice to recite the name of *Allāh*.¹⁷

In the list of technical terms of *Sirr-i Akbar* we can find the same explanation of *Aum* as the great name (*ism-i buzurg*). In the *Māndūkya Upaniṣad* 8 and the *Nṛsiṁha-uttaratāpanīya Upaniṣad* 2, three components of *Aum*: *a-kāra*, *u-kāra* and *m-kāra* are shown as the symbol of creation, sustaining and destruction.¹⁸

Prāṇāyāma in Yoga

Yogic practice to regulate breathing is called *Prāṇāyāma*. From the age of *Upaniṣads*, it is considered to be the recommendable way to acquire the true knowledge of the Absolute. In *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, the practice of Yoga is recommended to acquire the truth of Soul or the manifestation of *Brahman*. In the process of practising Yoga, *prāṇāyāma* is said to help controlling the mind and acquiring the truth of soul. “ Repressing his breathings here (in the body), let him who has controlled all movements,

¹⁵ *VSS* 2-2-31.

¹⁶ *VSS* 2-2-21.

¹⁷ *Risāla* p.10.

¹⁸ In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 5-1-1 in *SA* also showed the same explanation.

breathe through his nostrils, with diminished breath; let the wise man restrain his mind vigilantly as (he would) a chariot yoked with vicious horses.”¹⁹

Eight ways of Yoga propagated by Patañjali’s *Yogaśūtra* start from the preliminary purification of mind with firstly *yama* (restraint) and secondly *niyama* (observances). The process of practice of concentration of mind consists of eight stages including these two. The third is *āsana* (posture) taking firm posture and fixing the mind on any object; the fourth is *prāṇāyāma* (regulation of breath) stopping the process of inhalation (*pūraka*), retention of the air (*kumbhaka*) and stopping exhalation (*recaka*); the fifth is *pratyāhāra* (abstraction) withdrawing the mind from the sense objects; the sixth is *dhāraṇā* (concentration) fixing the mind on definite locus; the seventh *dhyāna* (meditation) in cessant continuity of contemplation and the eighth is *samādhi* (communion).

Generally, the process of the practice goes as follows: sitting in the *Padmāsana* posture, fill in the air through the left nostril, closing the right one, keeping it confined and expelled slowly through right nostril, then drawing in the air through the right nostril slowly, after retaining it according to one’s ability then it should be expelled slowly through the left nostril.²⁰

Ajapā-japa and Anāhata-śabda

Just as Sūfis have the method of concentration of the mind to glorify God by constant repetition of His name by *zikr*, Hindu devotees have the practice of *japa* (muttering God’s name or mantras). In section 3, the *MB* introduces *ajapā* as the best devotional exercise (*shughl*). From the description, it means ordinary breathing, however, it has symbolical meaning. The incoming and outgoing of breaths have been interpreted “ū (he) and man (I)” (He is I). Sūfis interpret this as ‘*Hū Allāh*’ (He is God).

Ajapā-japa has characteristics similar to *Shughl Pās-i Anfās* and *Sultān al-Azkār*. *Ajapā-japa* is called *Hamsa mantra* in *Hamsa Upaniṣad*. The mantra called *Hamsa-hamsa* is practised in the process of our inhalation and exhalation which pervades our body. Forcible inhalation of breath produces the noise of “ham” and forcible exhalation produces the noise

¹⁹ *Śvetāśvatara Up.* 2-9.

²⁰ *HYP* II-45; *EY* p.162.

"sa". Tantric Yoga expresses this as follows: when the air (*vāyu*) will go up through eight chakras and reaches the *brahmarandhra*, we concentrated as *ahātu*. At that time *nāda* is from the bottom to the *brahmarandhra*, purifies as crystal and says "sa" namely "Brahman or paramātman". When the novice practises this japa crore (*koti*) times, then ten kinds of sounds can be heard. These sounds are the sound of *cīnī*, *ciñcīnī*, *ghaṇṭā* (iron gong used as a clock), conch shell, *tantrī* (lute), *tāla* (cymbal), *veṇu* (bamboo flute), *mṛdanga* (a kind of drum), *bherī* (kettle drum) and the tenth is the sound of thunder in the cloud. In the tenth state, he will become *Parama-Brahman* and in his mind, *Sadāśiva* with the essence of *sakti* with self-illuminating (*svayamjyotih*), pureness (*śuddha*), intelligence (*buddha*) and eternity (*nitya*) shines out.²¹

Anāhata nāda is explained in the *Risāla* as the sound of a boiling big cauldron, sometimes like the buzzing sound heard in the nest of bees and wasps. In Yogic practice, this sound is heard in the passage of the *suṣumnā* when the ears, nose, and mouth are closed. This is acquired in *Rasānandayoga-samādhi*.

According to the *Gherānda Saṃhitā*, there are six kinds of *samādhi*²² and among them *Rasānandayoga-samādhi*. This *samādhi* is attained by *Kumbhaka* closing both ears and practicing *Pūraka* and *Kumbhaka*. As the result of this practice a devotee can hear the *nāda*, inner sound of body. Through daily practice of this *samādhi*, he can hear *anāhata* sound and ultimately absorbs in Supreme Lord.

*Hathayogapradīpikā*²³ explains this practice of *nāda*. It has four stages: *Ārambha* (preliminary), *Ghaṭa* (the second stage), *Paricaya* (knowledge) and *Niṣpatti* (consummation). The sound which a devotee hears by closing his ears with his fingers has varieties in each stage. It becomes more subtle in the higher stage. In the preliminary stage the sound is like a tinkling sound of ornament and unstruck sound (*anāhata-dhvani*) can be heard. In the second stage, a rumbling sound as of a kettledrum (*bherī*); in the third stage, a sound like that of a drum (*mardala*); in the fourth stage, the sound as of the flute which assumed the resonance of a *Vīṇā* is heard.

²¹ *Īśādi-Āṣtottaraśatopaniṣad*, compiled and edited by Vasudeva Lakshman Panashikar, Varanasi, 1990 (repr. Nirṇayasagar Press, Bombay), pp.131-132.

²² *Gherānda Saṃhitā* 7-1: *Dhyānayoga-samādhi*, *Nādayoga-samādhi*, *Rasānandayoga-samādhi*, *Layasiddhiyoga-samādhi*, *Bhaktiyoga-samādhi* and *Rājayoga-samādhi*. cf. EY p.350.

²³ *HPD* 4-69...76.

In other words, the inner sound becomes more and more subtle as the practice of Yogic process proceeds.²⁴ In the stage of *pratyāhāra*, the sound like the cloud, the kettledrum; in the stage of *dhāraṇā*, the sound is like drum, the conch, the bell and the horn; in the stage of *dhyāṇa*, the sounds resemble those of tinkling bells, the flute, the *Vīṇā* and bees. Thus having controlled *prāṇa* by *prāṇāyāma*, senses by *pratyāhāra*, mind will be concentrated on the abode of God.

In the system of *Tantra Yoga*, the concept of *nāda* is connected with the concept of *Śakti*. *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* ascends from the *mūlādhāra* to the *manipura* to *anāhata cakra* to attain the stage of *madhyamā*. As the result of this ascension, through the auditory organ the sound (*vaikhāṇī*) will be manifested. This external manifestation of *kuṇḍalinī-śakti* is *Aum* and called *bāhya-praṇava* (manifested sound). All the breath is dedicated to the concentration of soul at *anāhata-cakra* for its own manifestation as audible sound. This sound is described as having four hierarchical stages: *a,u,m*, and *anusvāra (m)* and these are described as the waking state (*jāgrat*), dream (*svapna*), dreamless sleep (*suṣupti*) and the transcendental stage (*turyā*).²⁵

Regarding the explanation of *Ajapā-japa*, later *Upaniṣads* give us the detailed characteristics of this sound (*nāda*). Beside the *Hamsanāda Upaniṣad*, the *Yogaśikā Upaniṣad* and the *Nādabindu Upaniṣad* record the stages of *nāda*.²⁶ The precise description of the *nāda* has close similarity with *Sultān al-Azkār*. It seems like the ringing of a bell or the outset with the thundering of the ocean or the rumbling of the cloud or the sound of a drum. The concept of *nāda* is developed in the *Tantra Yoga* literature. *Nāda* is considered to be the subtlest aspect of *Śabda* and the first emanation of *Kriyāśakti*.²⁷

In the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā commented on the *Atharvaśikā Upaniṣad* as identical with *anāhata* sound and equivalent to universal sound (*āwāz-i muṭlaq*).²⁸ On the other hand, *Aum* is called *Veda-mukha* and *Ism-i A'zam* is its equivalent. In the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, *Aum* is called *praṇava* and was symbolized as the primordial sound in nature. On the other

²⁴ *ibid.* 4-87...89.

²⁵ Siddheśvara Bhaṭṭācārya, *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, vol.II, Vishvabharati, 1962, p.96-98. This Vedāntic interpretation is found in the *SA*.

²⁶ *Yogaśikā Up.* vv.130-133.

²⁷ *EY*, pp.130-131.

²⁸ *Kaivalya Up* 8; *Śtarudriya Up..*

hand it is regarded as the first manifestation of Universal consciousness, the quintessence of all the universe and the object of meditation.²⁹ In the later *Upaniṣads* and *Purāṇas*, *Aum* is said to have been formed from the five mystic letters (*akṣara*): a, u, m, *bindu*, *nāda*. Each letter is identified with deities, Vedas and other functions of the universe.

The *MB* regards *śabda* as the source of '*Ism-i A'żam*'. This is reminiscent of the concept of *Śabdabrahman*. In the world of sound, *anāhata-śabda* is uncreated, self-produced sound and manifested itself as lettered sound (*śabda*) or with sound (*dhvani*). In section 11, as we will see in 2-4-3, the equivalent term of *Allāh* is called *Aum*. In the *Sakīna*, Dārā introduced the word of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, *Ism-i A'żam* is the very name of *Allāh*.³⁰ In the way of existential realization of ultimate truth, the *MB* find out the experience of *anāhata nāda* as the manifestation of the divine essence.

²⁹ *Kāthaka Up.* 1-2-15...17; *Māṇḍūkya Up.* 1; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 5-1-1; *Chāndogya Up.* 3-16-17; *BG* 9-24; *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* 1-1-17...21, 22...32.

³⁰ *Sakinat* p.84.

2-4-3 Perfect Man

In the world of devotion, the spiritual preceptor has the perfect knowledge in spiritual discipline to guide the devotees to acquire the spiritual development. They are not only in intermediate status in this experimental world but in an intermediary world between earth and heaven in the hierarchical spiritual cosmos.

Prophethood and Sainthood

According to Naṣr al-Dīn Tūsī, prophethood is the subject treated in the field of metaphysics as accessories (*farū'*). Prophethood (*nubuwwa*) and Sainthood (*wilāya*) is the controversial problem in Islamic theology.¹ These two are sister concepts in Ṣūfistic thought. Prophethood or prophecy derived from prophet (*nabī*) designates the prophecy given by the divinity and characterised with revelation in the form of touches of lights and sound. Sainthood is derived from saint (*walī*) who is under special protection, a friend. The ideal Ṣūfi is reflected in the form of *walī*.²

In section 12, the *MB* divides apostles into three categories.³

1) apostles who might have beheld God either with the physical or inner eyes

2) apostles who might have heard the voice of God whether sound only or sound composed of words

3) apostles who might have seen the angles or heard their voices

In the same way, saintship is also classified into three kinds:

1) pure (*tanzīhī*) like apostleship of Noah

2) resembling (*tashbihī*) like apostleship of Moses

3) a combination of pure and resembling like apostleship of Muhammad.

Controversial problems of beholding God and hearing the voice of God is allied to the attributes of God. First, the examination of these concepts is required to the understanding of the differences of this classification.

¹cf. *E.I.* vol.8, *nubuwwa*, T.Fahd, pp.93-97.

²Schimmel, p.199.

³The equivalents of apostle denoted in this section and the former section 11 is *siddha* in the Sanskrit translation. The *Sirr-i Akbar* also supports this interpretation. However, in this section, there is no reference to the ideas of Indian philosophy has been given.

In the *Futūhāt*, Ibn ‘Arabī distinguishes between two types of prophethood: general prophethood (*al-nubuwwa al-‘āmma*) or absolute prophethood (*al-nubuwwa al-muṭlaq*) and the prophethood of legislation (*nubuwwa al-tashrī*) or the prophethood of divine instruction (*nubuwwa al-ta’rīf*).⁴ On the other hand, he classifies the saints extensively as will be shown below. However, in the *Al-Wilāya wa al-Nubuwwa ‘inda Muhyi al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī*⁵ . put more precise qualifications. *Nabī* means the one who is informed (by God) and in turn informs people. In this sense, they are called messengers (*rasūl*). This is applied to saints, although they are not messengers. He affirms the superiority of the aspect of sainthood over prophethood, although every prophet is superior to a saint.⁶ Quoting the Sūra XVI-68, to which we have referred as the origin of the title of the *MB*, Ibn ‘Arabī describes that the words of *al-Khadir* to Moses means the difference between the station of the prophets and the saints.⁷ Thus, Ibn ‘Arabī determined that sainthood will never come to an end, whereas prophecy has already been terminated, because Muhammad is the completion and perfection of the prophets.⁸ Jīlī regarded prophethood as a developed stage of sainthood. Saintship is a rank in which God reveals to a mystic His names and attributes.⁹

Immanence (*tashbih*) and transcendence (*tanzīh*)¹⁰ are regarded as the distinguishing points in the *MB*. Ibn ‘Arabī used these terms as the way of explanation of an aspect of Reality. In the aspect of Reality manifested in the phenomenal world, the manifestation of His limited form is the attribute of immanence (*tashbih*). In the aspect of Reality that we cannot perceive is the attribute of transcendence (*tanzīh*). Thus Ibn ‘Arabī reduced *tanzīh* as absoluteness (*itlāq*) and *tashbih* as limitedness (*taqyīd*). Neither of them would be sufficient when we explain Reality. Thus Ibn ‘Arabī criticized Noah as the one-sided because of the emphasis on transcendence.¹¹

Noah’s story is briefly described in Sūra VII-59...64, and in detail in Sūra XI-25...49. In Sūra LXXI, he preached people through absoluteness of God.

⁴Takeshita, p.120.

⁵Edited by Hāmid Tāhir, alif 5, 1985, pp.7-38. See Takeshita p.155.

⁶Corbin, p.862.

⁷Takeshita p.159.

⁸*ibid.* p.818.

⁹Corbin p.862.

¹⁰These two concepts are interpreted as *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa* in the Sanskrit translation. fol.3a.

¹¹*Fusūs*, 78-82.

But all was in vain. People refused to follow him and perished in the flood. Moses beheld the signs of God in the fire (Sūra XXVII-8...10; XXVIII-30) . however, the people of Moses made an image of a calf out of their gold ornaments and lost their way (Sūra VII-148). *Sakīna* also referred to both the cases in the discussion on *ru'uyat*.

For Dārā, both *tashbih* and *tanzīh* are the forms of the self-manifestation and self-determination of the Absolute.¹² What is most essential to Saintship is the Divine illumination with the experience of direct vision and perception of the Absolute.

The Vision of God (*Ru'uyat*)

The concept of *Ru'uyat-i Allāh* (the vision of God) was the controversial problem among the Islamic theologians. Among *Sunnīs*, the *Djahmiyya Sunnīs* and *Mu'tazilīs*, *Khārijīs*, the *Zaydīs*, and *Murdījīs* refuted this notion. The traditional *Sunnī* view is, based on the description on the Day of Resurrection (*Qur'ān* Sūra LXXV-22,3). *Al-Ash'arīs*, acknowledges the notion that God will be seen only in the after-life and only by believers but not in this world . This is based o the description on the Day of Resurrection (Sūra LXXV-22,3). The *Mu'tazilīs* took it as figurative explanation and it cannot be justified rationally because God is not substance or accident to be seen.¹³ *Ru'uyat-i Allāh* has got some significant status in the mystic way.

In section 10, the *MB* introduces the controversy connected with this concept and every believer of *ahl-i kitāb* (people with revealed book) should believe this notion in vision of God. The reason is that the Prophets and perfect saints , whether in this or the next world and with the physical or with the heart's eyes achieved it. However, the Pure Self (*Zāt-baḥt*) cannot be beheld in any way. Then Dārā refused to accept the limitation of after-life on *ru'uyat*. and insisted on the possibility in this life. He criticised the attitude of *Mu'tazilīs* and *Shīrīs*. At the background of these criticism, the teaching of Dārā's *shāikh* can be traced. Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī holds that the vision of God with both physical eyes and the eyes of heart is possible in this world and hereafter.¹⁴

¹² *Risāla* pp.16-17; Rizvi p.138.

¹³ E.I. vol. VII, *Ru'uyat Allāh*. G. Gimaret p.649.

¹⁴ *Sakīna* p.78.

The *MB* reckoned with five kinds of *Ru'yat*.

- 1) beholding Him with the eyes of the heart in dream
- 2) beholding Him with the physical eyes
- 3) beholding Him in an intermediate state of sleep and wakefulness
- 4) beholding Him in special determination
- 5) beholding Him in the multitudinous determinations.

The last one is the case with the Prophet.

In *MB*, one *Hadīth* ascribed to 'Āisha Siddīqa is referred to. When she asked the Prophet, 'Did you behold your Lord?' The reply was '*nūrun innī arāhu*'. Concerning this reply, two incompatible interpretations have been given. One is 'It is light, how can I behold it?' and another is 'it is light which I behold'. In *Sakīna*, this anecdote is ascribed to the story written in the book *Nihāyat-i Jazrī*. Here, Ibn Sahafī Tābi'i told that if he will meet the Prophet, he would like to ask him 'Did you behold your God?'. Then Abū Zar-ī Ghaffārī replied. He asked the Prophet about it, and the Prophet replied the same as in the case of 'Āisha. Miyān Jīv commented on these interpretations with reference to *Hadīth*. Former interpretation means that it is impossible to behold the Pure Essence (*zāt-i baht* or *wujūd-i sirf*) even for the prophets; the latter interpretation means that when He descends and appears in veil with attributes then He can be beheld through the veil as the beautiful shape.¹⁵

Besides this anecdote, on the authority of several words of saints: Shaykh Hasan Basrī, Abū Bakr b. Sulaimān, Zū an-Nūn Misrī and *tafsīrs* of *Qur'ān* (Abū al-Qāsim Samarqandī, *Tafsīr Sulamī*, *Sahīh Muslim*, *Tafsīr 'Arāis*, *Tafsīr Quṣayrī*, *Fasr al-Hazāb*, *Bahr al-Haqqiyiq*, Dārā emphasized the authority of *ru'yat* limited to *anbiyā'* and *awliyā'*. Regarding the possibility of beholding the Essence of Absolute (*wujūd-i mutlaq*), he strictly negated it on the authority of *Qur'ān* 143-9 and *Hadīth*.¹⁶

In section 11, while enumerating the names of God and other religious concepts, *MB* refers to *wahy* (revelation) with its equivalent ākāśavānī. Here the *MB* referred to the episode from *Hadīth*. 'Our prophet has said: the severest moment of me is that of *Wahy* when I hear *Wahy* ringing in my ears like a sound of a bell or the buzzing of wasps.'

Wahy first received by Muhammad in the cave of Mount *Hirā*, however, his auditive revelations are traced in the *sīra* or *Hadīths*. The episodes

¹⁵ *Sakīna* p.75

¹⁶ *Sakīna* pp.74-82.

quoted in the *MB* are two of them. The *Wahy* sounds like the ringing of a bell and this kind of *wahy* was the most painful one for Muhammad. This episode is found in most of the *Hadīths* beginning with Bukhārī and Muslim. Another episode of *wahy* sounding like the humming of bees is found in Tirmidhī and Ḥanbal.¹⁷

The Vision of God (*ru'uya*) is one of the forty-six parts of prophethood. Hearing the speech (*kalām*) of God in the dream is also based on the *Hadīth* to serve the prophethood.

Perfect Man (al-Insān al-Kāmil)

Perfect man is the mediator through whom all knowledge of God is revealed.¹⁸ In the *Qur'ān*, he is represented as Adam. Adam was created by God in His image and regarded as the perfect copy of God. Originally, this concept was inherited from Hermatism and the Hellenistic gnosis. The first Man or prototypal man was formed by the light of the essence.¹⁹ As is shown in the notable Sūra XXIV of light, God is *wālī* of the believers and reveals as light through which the Prophet leads the believers to real Light. *Nūr-i Muhammadiyya* (the Light of Muhammad) stands on the same level of Perfect Man.

- Divine names and attributes belong to Perfect Man inherent in his essence. His idea (*haqīqa*) is signified by those expressed or symbolized. Perfect Man sees his own form in the mirror of the name Allāh, and he is a mirror to God.²⁰ Thus Perfect Man reflecting all the divine attributes is called *wilāya* (Special Saint). The saintly aspect of the nature of Muhammad is regarded by Sūfis as superior to the aspect of a prophet or an apostle.²¹ As has been shown in 2-2-4, in the point of view of Microcosm-Macrocosm sphere, Perfect Man is recognized as the manifestation of One. In human aspect, Logos is represented as Perfect Man whom we find all that is manifested in the universe. As Jurjānī explained, the divine world is combined with the concept of Perfect Man and this created world is called *Insān al-kabīr*.

¹⁷ cf. *SEI Wahy*, p.623.

¹⁸ Nicholson, *Idea* p.70; Schimmel, pp.224-225.

¹⁹ cf. *EI* vol. III, *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, R. Arnaldez, pp.1239-1241.

²⁰ Nicholson, *Studies* pp.106-7.

²¹ Nicholson, *Idea* pp. 61-62.

According to Jīlī, the three stages of manifestation (*tajallī*) : oneness (*ahadiyya*), He-ness (*huwiyya*) and I-ness (*aniyya*) are called illumination of the Names. Illumination of the Attributes (Essence, Beauty, Majesty and Perfection) and Illumination of the Essence. This represents the Primal Man, the first-born of God, and working as creative principle. Perfect Man can be called the final cause of creation, the archetype of all the created beings. Prophets and saints are potentially perfect for receiving these types of Illumination. Such Perfect Men are in every age manifested as the essence of Muḥammad.²²

Saints

A saint is regarded as the popular type of Perfect Man. In this context, Ṣūfi can be called as *awliyā* (saints). Dārā highly respect Ṣūfi saints with the authority of their aphorism with the description of evaluation of Ṣūfis.²³ In the latter part of section 12, Dārā enumerates the names of the prophets and saints categorized in seven ages.

In the first age, Prophet Muḥammad, six *Khalīfas* with names and the remaining six, ten *aṣhābs* (companions), *Muhājirīn* (emigrated believers), *Anṣārīs* (helpers) are followed in section one of the *Safīnat Al-awliyā*, however, without specific names.

The second age is the age of *Tābi’īn* (followers) beginning from Uwais-i Qarānī.

In the third age, sixteen saints are enumerated beginning from Dhun Nūn Miṣrī, Fudail ‘Iyād, Ma’rūf Karkhī, Ibrāhīm Adham, Bishrī Ḥāfi, Sarī al-Saqatī, Bāyazīd Bistāmī, Ustād Abū al-Qāsim Junaidī, Sahl bin ‘Abdullāh al-Tustarī, Abū Sayyid Kharrāz, Ruwaim, Abū al-Ḥusain al-Nūrī, Ibrāhīm Khawwāṣ, Abū Bakr Shiblī, Abū Bakr Wāsiṭī.

In the fourth age, six saints beginning from Abū Sayyid Abu’l Khail, Shaykh al-Islām, Khwāja ’Abdullāh Anṣārī, Shaikh Aḥmad Jām, Muḥammad Ma’shūq Tūsī, Aḥmad Ghazzalī, Abū al-Qāsim Gurgānī.

In the fifth age, six saints are enumerated beginning from his own Pīr, Shaikh Muhyiddīn ‘Abdul Qādir Jīlānī, Abū Madīn al-Maghribī, Shaikh

²²Nicholson, *Study*, pp.82-87.

²³For example, ‘Abdul Qādir Jīlānī stated that Ṣūfis were worldly and heavenly monarchs. *Safīna* p.15.

Muhyi ud-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, Shaikh Najmu-d-Dīn Kubrā, Shaikh Farīd ud-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār, Maulānā Jalālud-Dīn Rūmī.

In the sixth age, four saints are enumerated beginning from Khwāja Mu‘īn ud-Dīn Chishtī, Khwāja Bahā’ ud-Dīn Naqshband. Khwāja Ahrār, Maulānā ‘Abdur-Rahmān Jāmī.

In the seventh age, six saints are enumerated beginning from his own *shaikh*, Miyān Mīr, his own *ustād*. Miyān Bārī, his own *murshid*, Mullā Shāh, and Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā, Shaikh Tayyib Sirhindī, and Bābā Lāl.²⁴

Dārā wrote the *Safīnat al-Awliyā'* in 1049AH/1640 . In this book, divided into eight chapters, he treated orthodox *Khalīfas* and twelve *Imāms*, former Qādīnī saints called Junaidī and saints of four main Sūfi sects: *Naqshbandī*, *Chishtī*, *Kubrawī*, *Suhrawardī*, and wives of the Prophet, and daughters of the Prophet, and female saints. All are enumerated four hundred and eleven saints in chronological order.²⁵ And the aphorisms quoted in the *Hasanāt al-‘Arifīn*, most of the saints whose names are enumerated in the *MB*, are included.

Dārā seems to have been specially interested in the hierarchy of saints. In the introduction to the *Safīnat al-Awliyā'*, he introduced the hierarchy of saints. According to this, there are four thousand²⁶ Friends of God named *Makhtūm* who are unconscious of their own status and Wardens of

²⁴ As the editor of *BI* confessed, “the proper names have, in all the texts, been hopelessly mutilated” (p.127). , some peculiar examples of the variants will be shown here. Beginning from Abū Bakr, seven *Khalīfas* and the remaining six, ten Congratulated (*mubashshar*) and great ones of *muhājirs*, the *Ansārīs* and *Ṣūfīs* are omitted in *B* group. Particularly, *R4* omitted most of the names of the saints. *U2*, *U3* commented on the meaning of the remaining ten as companions (*ashābs*) listing the names of four saints: Talha bun az-Zubair, ‘Abdur Rahmān, Sayyid bun Abī Waqqās, Sa‘id bun Zaid, Abū ‘Ubaida bun al-Jarrāḥ. *T,A3,F* added the name of Shams-i Tabriz, Sayyid Qāsim Anwār, Sayyid Ḥasan, and Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ Shirāzī after the name of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī. *N* group including *U2* and *U3*. add after Mu‘īn ad-Dīn Chishtī, the names of other saints of Chishtī Silsilah, Quṭb ad-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Wāsitī and Khwāja Nazm ad-Dīn Awliyā. The Arabic translation omits the names of Shaikh Muhyid-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, Khwāja Ahrār and Maulānā ‘Abdur Rahmān Jāmī (ff.14ab). The Sanskrit translation listed only twelve names including the six *Khalīfas*, Dhun Nūn Misrī, Junaid, Muhyid-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī, Miyān Mīr, Mullā Shāh and Miyān Bārī (fol. 6b).

²⁵ For the precise contents, see 1-2. The names of prophets and saints are explained in abridged form by Hasrat, however, in the introduction of Tārā Chand’s edition of *Sirr-i Akbar*, they are enumerated totally.

²⁶ Hasrat translated ‘forty thousands’. p.51.

the Court of God, named *Akhyār*²⁷. Forty *Rahyūn* and forty *Abdāl* stand over them. Seven *Abrār* and four *Awtād* stand over them and three *Nuqabā* are there. Two *Imāms* stand on the left and right of *Quṭb*, or *Ghaws* who are the head of this hierarchy of the Masters of Wisdom and Compassion. And in the midway between the Prophets and Saints, Solitary Saints named *Mufrid* are there. He has got this hierarchy of the Masters of Wisdom and Compassion from the books of the ancient sages. And *Dārā* hopes through blessings of this hierarchy, he will get the Grace of God in this world, and in the next, and that God will consider him as one of the most lowly of this group, and that through their grace, he may get faith.²⁸

This description can be traced from *Kashf al-Mahjūb* of *Hujwīrī*. According to him, there are three hundred *Akhyār*, forty *Abdāl* and seven *Abrār* and four *Awtād* and three *Nuqabā* and one *Quṭb* or *Ghawth* enumerated as this hierarchy.²⁹ The Saints form a hierarchical structure with the *Quṭb* at the head. It seems to be an old concept. According to *Tirmidhī*, the highest spiritual authority is the *Quṭb* (axis, pole), or *Ghawth* (help), he is surrounded by three *Nuqabā* (substitutes) four *Awtād* (pillars) and seven *Abrār* (pious), forty *Abdāl* (substitutes), three hundred *Akhyār* (good), and four thousand hidden saints. *Ibn ‘Arabī* told that there are seven *Abdāl*, one of each of the seven *’iqlīm* (climate zone).³⁰ The terms and numbers are varied in the tracts of Sufis. According to *Futūhāt* 2-6...23, *Ibn ‘Arabī* shows much more complicated and extensive scheme. The first degree includes five hundred twenty-nine saints and is classified into thirty five classes, beginning from *Quṭb* and two *Imāms*.³¹

For *Dārā*, as is shown in the introduction of *Sakīna*, ‘loving the Masters is verily loving God; to be near them is to be near Him, to search them is to search Him; to unite with them is to unite with Him, and showing respect to them is showing respect to God.’³² In the *MB*, only four saints are included in the list of saints as his preceptor. Shaikh Muhyiddin Abdul Qādir Jilānī as a *pīr*, Miyān Mir as his *shaykh*. Miyān Bārī as his *ustād*, Mullā Shāh as his *murshid*. Besides these people. Shāh Muhammad Dilrubā and Śaykh Tayyib Sirhindī and Bābā Lāl also ar included among *Dārā*’s *gurus*.

²⁷ Hasrat introduced *Akhyār* as *Akhbār*. p.51.

²⁸ *Compass* p.vii; *Safīna* p.12.

²⁹ *Kashf*, Nicholson’s translation. p.214.

³⁰ Schimmel p.200.

³¹ Takeshita, p.128.

³² *Sakinat* pp,7-8; cf. *Compass* p.ii.

Şūfi guide, spiritual preceptor has got his esoteric knowledge directly from God as his intuitive inspiration. Dārā repeatedly emphasized the necessity of gurus in the preface to the *Safīnat* and *Sakīnat*. On the other hand, in the seven conversations with Bābā Lāl, which were compiled as *Su'āl wa Jawāb Dārā Shukoh wa Bābā Lāl*³³, the main topic focus on the subject of the state of *faqīr*, relationship of *pīr* and *murīd*, and the quality of *pīr*.

In *Vedāntasāra* 30-31, while referring to *Muṇḍaka Up.* (1-2-12,13), the necessity of a *guru* or spiritual guide, is propagated. For the pupil (*adhikārī*) to obtain the knowledge of *Brahman*, the instruction of a learned, spiritual teacher is necessary.

The Role of Saints

The contact with saints in this world is not wishful sentimentality but a practical awareness of their universal world in this life. The intimate contact of Dārā with contemporary saints, Miyān Mīr, Mullā Shāh, Muhibbullah Ilāhābādī and other saints reflects his motive to know the truth and the way to approach. In real life as a novice he was initiated in *Qādirī silsila* by Miyān Mīr and became an eminent disciple of his disciple Mullā Shāh. Dārā's experience led him to write the *Sakīna* and the *Risāla*.

The most important role of the spiritual guide is *tawajjuhu*: the spiritual assistance rendered by the saint to his devotee or by the murshid to his *murīd*.³⁴ The *shaykh* concentrates upon the *murīd*, picturing the spinning of a line of linkage between his pineal heart and the heart of the *murīd* through which power flows. Dream interpretation forms an important element. The *murshid* measures the *murīd*'s progress through seven stages by interpreting the visions and dreams which the *murīd* experiences.³⁵

In his works, Dārā referred to his dream; it has some importance in his progress of spiritual elevation. Like most of the other Şūfīs, he believed that he had been favoured by God with spiritual insight and given to some

³³For the detail, see 3-2-1.

³⁴Bilgrāmī enumerates different categories of *tawajjuh* according ro *Asrār-i Qādiriyah*.

1) *Tawajjuh-i zikr wa fikr* : with invocation of divine names; 2) *tawajjuh-i maskūr* : realisation of God; 3) *tawajjuh-i huzūr* : correspondence to light; 4) *tawajjuh-i bātīnī* : esoteric inclination. p.292.

³⁵Trimingham, p.214; cf. Subhan, p.88; MacDonald, p.197.

special task to describe his experience to obtain the knowledge of truth. One example is found in the introduction of the translation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. In the vision of Rāma in the dream was the direct motive of the remaking of the translation of this work.³⁶

In the preface of the *Risāla*, he emphasized the importance of Divine Grace and superiority to the individual effort. Dārā described his mystical experiences in dreams. One time he travelled to the tombs of the seventh Imām or Ghawth-i A'zam in a dream, another time he received the inspiration to compose the text for the seekers of truth.³⁷ Those who are addressed as *pīr*, *murshid* or *shaykh* are the Perfect Men to conduct the novices to the way of truth. As is the case with most of the Inspired Saint, Dārā himself might have been aware and confident in the bestowment of Divine Grace on him.

³⁶ *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (Persian), p.4

³⁷ *Safīna*, pp.58,122; *Risāla*, p.3.

2-4-4 Jīvanmukti - The Perfection of Man

In the Qur'anic eschatology, the belief in the Last Day (*al-yawm al-āakhir*) is one of the pillars of faith. After death, the soul abandons the body and waits for the day of resurrection. After the preceding signs, the annihilation of all creatures, the resurrection, the universal gathering, and the judgement will come. On that day, the body will be raised and united with its soul. The description of the Day of Resurrection, the signs of it and the process are found in traditions and theological works. But, the *MB* shows little interest in this eschatological process introducing only the concepts of the *Barzakh*(intermediate world) and *Qiyāma*(resurrection).¹

Barzakh

Barzakh, originally meaning 'obstacle' or 'hindrance', is thought to be a barrier between hell and paradise, or the period in which the dead body lies between this life and the next. In Islamic eschatology, *Barzakh* stands for an intervening state between death and the Day of Judgement.² Sufistic interpretation of this term is used for space between the material world and that of the pure spirits. Sūfistic explanations are those of Jurjānī 'the comprehensiveness of the Absolute and of the limited first principle', and Qāshānī 'the memorable world between physical world and cognitive world'.³

In section 18, the *MB* explains, after death how *ātman* (soul) leaves the body of elements and enters the body of *mukti* (emancipation) called *sūksma-śarīra*. This is a fine body formed by our action and will have good and bad form due to good and bad actions.⁴ *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* explains that a subtle body continues to exist till salvation is attained.⁵ This subtle body, in *Sāṃkhya* system, has eighteen components. They are constituted

¹In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1-9-3, the origin of five fire doctrine of two ways of devas and fathers (*pitr*) in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 6-2, similar eschatological ideas can be found.

²E.I. vol.I, Barzakh, Carra de Vaux, pp.1071-72.

³*Ta'arrufāt*, p.30; *Istilāhāt*, p.10.

⁴The Sanskrit translation uses *dharma* as good deed ('aml-i nīk) and *adharma* as bad deed.

⁵SK 39; STK 39,40,41.

of *mahat*, *ahaṇḍikāra*, eleven senses including *manas* and the five *tanmātras*. The gross body is abandoned on its death, and the subtle body associated with eighteen constituents migrates through the three regions due to the intellectual defects and works caused by *buddhi*, soul suffers rebirthes in new bodies.⁶

After examining the meaning of the *Qur'ān*, Sūra XI-106...108⁷, *MB* introduces *Vaikuṇṭha* as the equivalent for the higher Paradise called *Firdaus a'lā*. *Firdaus-i a'lā* is one of the seven heavens and the highest one for those who have perfect faith and righteous deeds (the *Qur'ān*, Sūra XVIII-107). *Vaikuṇṭha* is the heaven of Viṣṇu and can be identified with Viṣṇu. Vaiṣṇava bhaktas regard it as the true revelation of nature and the ultimate sphere where *bhaktas* shall reach is the eternal abode of God (Viṣṇu).

Qiyāmat-i Kubrā and Mahāpralaya

The *MB* introduces *Mahāpralaya* as the equivalent to *Qiyāmat-i Kubrā*. Concerning *Qiyāma*, due to the less explicity of the *Qur'ān*, diverse arguments have been raised among theologians and philosophers. However, the general notions has been summarised above.⁸ *Pralaya* has four-kinds: *nitya* (destruction which occurs in every moment), *naimittika*(the dissolution at the end of an era), *prākṛta*(the dissolution of elements), *ātyantika*(the dissolution of the self into Supreme Soul). In section 1, the *MB* has already discussed the *prākṛta-pralaya*. The five elements(*mahābhūtas*) dissolve into the original source in the reverse order in which they came about. Here earth is called *devī*(goddess) and everything has been created and unto which everything will return. The final *pralaya* is called *Mahāpralaya*. This means total annihilation of the universe which will take place at the end of the *kalpa*.

The equivalent of *Qiyāmat-i Kubrā* is introduced as *Mahāpralaya* in section 19. After the destruction of Heavens and Hells and the completion of the age of *Bramānda*, those who live in Heavens and Hells will achieve *mukti* and be absorbed and annihilated in the Self of the Lord. *Mukti* will be discussed below in connection *mahāpralaya*.

⁶SK 40; According to the commentary of Gauḍapāda ad SK 40, *bhāva* composed of *dharma* etc.; The commentators of SK: *Yuktidipikā*, *Tattvakaumudi*, *Jayamāngalā* interpret as the eight (*dharma*, *adharma*, *jñāna*, *ajñāna* etc.).

⁷Refer to 3-1-1.

⁸cf. *EI*, vol.5, *Qiyāma*, L. Garbe, pp.235-238.

Emancipation(mukti)

All the Indian systems of philosophy that belief in *mukti* (emancipation) as the religious purpose of life. The transcendent state is the final goal of the people to acquire emancipation from the endless cycle of births and rebirths due to *karma*. Buddhists call it *Nirvāṇa*. The concept of emancipation(mukti) in Upaniṣads exists in the Truth of our nature to attain our own selves and become Brahman. The wise man realizes himself to be a Brahman and be free from the bondage to the mundane world. *Mokṣa* (emancipation) is the ultimate salvation from the transmigration through rebirth. In the *Qur'ān*, the equivalent idea of *mukti* may be *najāh* (deliverance) from the misdeed which causes sin or from the punishment hereafter. For Muslims, the performance of five duties is the highest goal. Sūfis regard it as the deliverance from the ignorance of the truth of God.

The state of *mokṣa*(*mukti*) is the reaching point for the Indian people. Generally it can be attained after death. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school hold the impossibility of attainment of *mukti* in the lifetime. However, *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* divided *mukti* into two kinds: *jīvanmukti* (emancipation attained in one's life time) and *videhamukti* (emancipation attained after death). *Jīvanmukti* is attained by cessation of instinctive root desires, controlling of mind and true knowledge. This concept will be discussed in detail below. Śaṅkara also admitted the possibility of *Jīvanmukti*. Vidyāraṇya collected many scriptural quotations to justify the possibility of *jīvanmukti* in his *Jīvanmuktiviveka*. *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* supports the possibility of attainment of true knowledge without suffering from the fruits of *karmas*. ⁹

Regarding emancipation, in section 20, the *MB* introduces three kinds :

- 1) *Jīvan-mukti* : salvation in life
- 2) *Sarva-mukti* : liberation from every kind of bondage and being absorbed in HGod's Self
- 3) *Sarvadā-mukti* : attaining freedom and salvation as 'Ārif

Dārā focused on *Jīvan-mukti* with some emphasis. *Jīvanmukti* is described as the attainment of salvation and freedom endowed with the wealth of knowing and understanding the Truth and considering everything

⁹ *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya*, commented on *Sāṃkhyasūtra* 77,78, much more clearly justified that this *jīvanmukti* is the state of middle discrimination (*madhya-viveka*) in the state of *asamprajñāta* (having subject-object discrimination).

of this world as one ascribed to God.

For the perfect emancipation in this world, he emphasized the meditation of *Mahāpuruṣa*. For that purpose, 'he should regard God as manifesting Himself in all the stages and should look upon *Brahmāṇḍa*, which Sufis call *Ālam-i kubrā* (the Great World) and is (moreover) the "Complete Form" of God, as the corporeal body of God further, considering Him as One Fixed Person, he should behold or know nothing save the Self of that Unique, Incomparable Lord, whether (it be) in a particle of dust or a mountain, whether in the manifest or the hidden world'. On the other hand, 'human being is called the 'small world' ('*Alam-i ṣaghīr*) is one individual, despite his various and numerous limbs and just as his personality is not multitudinous on account of his many limbs , so that Unique Self cannot be considered multitudinous on account of the variety of determinations.' ¹⁰

As already treated in 2-2, the structure of the world deduced from Paurāṇic cosmology forms section 13, *Brahmāṇḍa*. At first, the concept of *Brahmāṇḍa* is explained as the Egg of *Brahmā*. Then follow the ten directions, skies, nether regions, earthly regions and mountains and ocean. Then he proceeds to the world of *Barzakh* (interval world) and resurrection(*qiyāmat*) and doom(*mahā-pralaya*). All these explanations are prepared for the discourse on salvation in this section. *MB* has a peculiar design in this sense. As *Vaśiṣṭha* taught, 'The wise man realized oneness with the universe', ¹¹ *Dārā* might have found the concept of *wahdat ul-wujūd* at this point. This notion has been discussed in 2-2-4.

The identification of the various regions and substances in the world with the limbs of *Mahāpuruṣa* is as follows: ¹²

- (1) the seventh layer of nether regions(*pātāla*) = sole of the foot ¹³
- (2) the sixth layer of nether regions(*rasātala*) = upper part of the foot ¹⁴
- (3) Satans = the fingers of foot ¹⁵

¹⁰ BI pp.68,107.

¹¹ YV 6-13.

¹²The order of enumeration is almost the same among the Persian manuscripts, the Arabic and the Sanskrit translation. For the precise alteration among the manuscripts, refer to the footnotes. Regarding translation, variants are shown in the footnotes. The Arabic translation omits the following items: 10,16,22,23,25,30...39,46...58, 77,78,85,86. Persian manuscripts J,R2,S,U1 omit this item *pātāla*.

¹³ cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-26.

¹⁴ cf. *Bh.P.* ibid.; Persian manuscripts BM1,D1 omit this item. Persian manuscripts E,N,U2,U3,F,V interchanges *rasātala* and Satans.

¹⁵ cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-36; Here, Asura is identified with prowess. Persian manuscripts

- (4) the steed of Satans = the nails of the foot ¹⁶
 (5) the fifth layer of nether regions(*mahātala*) = ankle-bone ¹⁷
 (6) the fourth layer of nether world(*talātala*) = shank ¹⁸
 (7) the third layer of nether world(*sutala*) = knee ¹⁹
 (8) the second layer of nether world(*vitala*) = thigh ²⁰
 (9) the first layer of nether world(*atala*) = the special organ ²¹
 (10) time(*kāla*) = the way of walking ²²
 (11) *Prajāpati-devatā*; the cause of birth and generation throughout the whole world) = the sign of manhood and virility ²³
 (12) rain = seed ²⁴
 (13) the celestial region of *bhuvaloka*, from the earth up to the sky = the part below the navel ²⁵
 (14) three southern mountains (of Mount Meru) = right hand
 (15) three northern mountains (of Mount Meru) = left hand
 (16) Mount Meru = buttocks ²⁶
 (17) the light of false dawn = the thread of the lace of garment ²⁷
 (18) the light of true dawn = whiteness of sheet ²⁸
 (19) the twilight time = covering of private part ²⁹

BM1,C,D1,E,F,N,U2,U3,VM omit this item.

¹⁶cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-35; Here animals are divided into two kinds, the horses, mules, donkeys and elephants and another division consists in all beasts and deer. The former is identified as nails and the latter is identified as hips in *Bh.P.* 2-1-35. Persian manuscripts *C,E,F,J,V,VM* omit this item.

¹⁷cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-26; Persian manuscript *J* omits this item.

¹⁸cf. *Bh.P.* ibid.

¹⁹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-27; Persian manuscript *VM* omits this item.

²⁰cf. *Bh.P* ibid.

²¹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-27; Here, the *Bh.P.* has the same meaning with *vitala*, thigh. Most of the Persian manuscripts *A1,A3,B,BM2,C,D1,D2,E,F,H1,H2,J,R2,R3,S,U1,V* interchange *atala* and *kāla*. Persian manuscript *VM* omits this item.

²²cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-33; Persian manuscripts *K,VM* omit this item.

²³cf. *Bh.P.* 2-10-26; *BI* reads *Parjanya-devatā* (rain-god) (p.69). Most of the manuscripts including *T* support the reading of *parjāpat* or *parjānat* (*Prajāpati*). Here we read *parjāpat* according to the description of the word.

²⁴Persian manuscripts *J,R2,S,U1* omit this item.

²⁵Persian manuscripts *J,S,U1* omit this item.

²⁶Persian manuscripts *BM1,C,D1,D2,S,U3* omit this item.

²⁷Most of the Persian manuscripts omit this item. Only *A1,C* support it.

²⁸Persian manuscripts *K,U3* omit this item.

²⁹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-34.

- (20) ocean = circumference and depth of navel ³⁰
- (21) *Vādabānala* (submarine fire) = heat and warmth of stomach
- (22) the rivers = veins ³¹
- (23) *Bhūloka* = stomach
- (24) the fire of 'the smaller resurrection' = morning appetite ³²
- (25) the drying up of waters in 'the smaller resurrection' = thirst ³³
- (26) *Svargaloka* = chest ³⁴
- (27) all the stars = various jewels ³⁵
- (28) gift before asking = right breast
- (29) gift after asking = left breast
- (30) *Prakṛti* = heart
- (31) *Brahmā*. *Manu* = beating and intention of heart ³⁶
- (32) *Viṣṇu* = love and mercy ³⁷
- (33) *Maheśvara* = wrath and rage ³⁸
- (34) moon = smile and happy mood ³⁹
- (35) *Vasiṣṭha* = intelligence ⁴⁰
- (36) air = *prāṇa* ⁴¹
- (37) the action of *adharma* = back ⁴²
- (38) night = bow ⁴³
- (39) the mount *Meru* = backbone

³⁰cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-31. Here ocean is identified with waist part. cf. *Bh.P* 2-10-29. Persian manuscripts *J,N,U2,U9,R2* omit this item.

³¹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-33: Persian manuscripts *B,F,V,VM* omit this item. The rivers *Gangā*, *Yamunā* and *Sarasvatī* are identified with physical veins *Idā*, *Pingalā* and *Suśmnā*. This identification is found in Tantra-yoga's *Śivasūtra*.

³²Persian manuscript *VM* omits this item.

³³Persian manuscripts *D1,K,R9* omit this item.

³⁴Persian manuscript *D1* omits this item.

³⁵Persian manuscripts *VM* omits this item.

³⁶cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-30; Here *Brahmā* is identified with eyebrow. But in 2-1-36, *Svāyambhuva*, *Manu* is identified as power of comprehension (understanding).

³⁷Some Persian manuscripts *S,U1* omit this item.

³⁸cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-35: Here *Śiva* is identified with the internal organ (made up of *manas*, *citta*, *ahamkāra* and *buddhi* and dwells in the hearts of all).

³⁹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-34.

⁴⁰*BI, T* omit from *Vasiṣṭha*, air and *adharma* (demerit).

⁴¹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-33.

⁴²cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-32: Here religion (*dharma*) is identified with breath and demerit (*adharma*) identified with back.

⁴³Most of the manuscripts omit this item. Only *BI* supports it.

(40) mountains on the right and the left of Mount *Mern* = bones of the ribs⁴⁴

(41) *Indra*: possessing the complete power of bestowing and pouring and of withholding and stopping rain = right and left hands⁴⁵

(42) *Apsaras*: *Houris of Paradise* = lines of the palm⁴⁶

(43) the gods who are the presiding deities of wealth = fingers of the hand⁴⁷

(44) *Yakṣa* = nails of the hand

(45) *Agni* = forearm⁴⁸

(46) *Yama* = arm(Skt. elbow)⁴⁹

(47) *Nairṛti* = upper arm of right hand⁵⁰

(48) *Īśanī* = forearm of left hand

(49) *Kubera* = knee⁵¹

(50) *Vāyu* = upper arm of left hand

(51) *Kalpavṛkṣa*, the tree of *Tūbā* = rod⁵²

(52) the southern pole = right shoulder

(53) the northern pole = left shoulder

(54) *Varuṇa*, the superintendent of water = bone⁵³

(55) *Anāhata* = thin voice⁵⁴

(56) *Maharloka* = throat and neck⁵⁵

⁴⁴cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-32; Here hills and mountains are identified with sticks of bones. Persian manuscripts *N,U2,U3* omit these items.

⁴⁵cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-29.

⁴⁶cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-36; Here, *Apsaras* are included in one group of celestial beings with *Gandharvas*, *Vidyādhara*s, *Cāraṇas* and identified as *svaras* (musical notes or gamut) and *smṛtis*.

⁴⁷This item is only found in the Sanskrit translation. *ghanādhiṣṭhāro devā mahāpuruṣasya karāngulyah* (fol.8b).

⁴⁸cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-29; hereafter, the six *lokapālas* are enumerated. Here *Agni* is identified with the mouth. Persian manuscripts *BM2,F,R1,R3,R4,VM* and *T* omit this item.

⁴⁹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-31; Here, *Yama* is identified with jaws of teeth. Persian manuscripts *BM2,H1,U3* omit this item.

⁵⁰*Nairṛti* and *Īśanī* are omitted in *BI.T*. Most of the Persian manuscripts except *BM2,C,K* support this reading.

⁵¹Persian manuscripts *BM2,H1,K,R3,R4,U2* omit this item.

⁵²Persian manuscript *VM* omits this item.

⁵³cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-30; *Bh.P.* identifies it as palate. In 2-1-32, *Varuṇa* and *Mitra* are identified with two testicles. Persian manuscript *K* omits this item.

⁵⁴cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-20; Here *Bh.P.* identifies sound (*śabda*) as the sense of hearing. Most of the Persian manuscripts except *H1* interchanges *Anāhata* and *Maharloka*.

⁵⁵cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-28.

- (57) *Janaloka* = auspicious face ⁵⁶
 (58) the will of the world = chin-pit ⁵⁷
 (59) the avarice of the world = the lower lip
 (60) the sense of shame and modesty = the upper lip ⁵⁸
 (61) the chest = gums ⁵⁹
 (62) the meal of the whole world = the food ⁶⁰
 (63) the element of water = palate and mouth
 (64) the element of fire = tongue ⁶¹
 (65) *Sarasvatī* = the faculty of speech
 (66) the four Vedas : books of truth = speeches ⁶²
 (67) *māyā* = laughter and good humor ⁶³
 (68) the eight directions of the world = the two ears ⁶⁴
 (69) *Aśvinī-kumāra* = two nostrils ⁶⁵
 (70) the element of dust = the smelling faculty ⁶⁶
 (71) the element of air = breathing faculty ⁶⁷
 (72) the southern half of the sphere between *Janaloka* and *Tapaloka* = right eye
 (73) the northern half of the sphere between *Janaloka* and *Tapaloka* = left eye
 (74) pure light = faculty of eye-sight ⁶⁸
 (75) all the creation = favorable glance
 (76) day and night = twinkling of the eyes ⁶⁹
 (77) *Mitra, Tvāṣṭṛ* = two eyebrows ⁷⁰

⁵⁶cf. *Bh.P.* ibid. *Bh.P.* identifies this as mouth. Persian manuscripts *F, V* omit this item.

⁵⁷cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-32.

⁵⁸cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-31; Persian manuscripts *H1, N, BM2* omit this item.

⁵⁹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-31; here art of affection is identified with set of teeth. Persian manuscripts *H1, N, S, U1* omit this item.

⁶⁰Persian manuscript *U3* omits this item.

⁶¹Persian manuscripts *BM2, E* omit this item.

⁶²Persian manuscripts *K* omits this item.

⁶³cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-31; Persian manuscripts *BM2, E* omit this item.

⁶⁴cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-29.

⁶⁵cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-29; Persian manuscripts *R4, S* omit this item.

⁶⁶cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-29.

⁶⁷Most of the Persian manuscripts omit this except *B, H1, H2, K* and *T* support this.

⁶⁸Persian manuscripts *H1, R4* omit this item.

⁶⁹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-30; Persian manuscripts *H1, R4, VM* omit this item.

⁷⁰Persian manuscripts *BM2, E, F, H1, V* omit this item.

- (78) *Tapaloka* = forehead ⁷¹
- (79) *Satya-loka* = skull ⁷²
- (80) the verses of *Tawḥīd* = dura mater ⁷³
- (81) black clouds = hair ⁷⁴
- (82) vegetation = hairs of the body ⁷⁵
- (83) *Lakṣmī* = beauty ⁷⁶
- (84) the shining sun = purity of the body ⁷⁷
- (85) *Bhūtākāśa* = pores of the body ⁷⁸
- (86) *Cidākāśa* = soul of the body ⁷⁹
- (87) the form of every single human being = dwelling place ⁸⁰
- (88) Perfect Man = closet (special abode)

The concept which recognizes the human body as microcosm; with its various regions and substances at the various limbs and faculties of the body, the motif of which has its roots in the idea of creation from the *Puruṣa* found in *Rg-Veda* X-90 and the idea has been followed by other *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*. ⁸¹ However, here, much more directly, we can find Purānic modification and the way of meditation on *Virāṭa-puruṣa* to acquire the salvation in the *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas*, particularly in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This technical term *Virāṭa-puruṣa* is not found in the *MB*, but, among the Persian manuscripts, we can trace the suggestion of this concept. ⁸².

The Supreme being has been expressed metaphorically using the concept of Cosmic Person as named *virāṭa-puruṣa*. This is not the new idea of

⁷¹cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-28; *BI, T* read this *Pataloka*.

⁷²cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-28; *BI* reads only *Loka*.

⁷³Persian manuscripts *BM2, U3* omit this item.

⁷⁴cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-34; Persian manuscripts *R3, U3* omit this item.

⁷⁵cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-33; Persian manuscripts *H2?, U3* omit this item.

⁷⁶Persian manuscripts *D1, R4* omit this item.

⁷⁷Persian manuscript *BM1* omits this item.

⁷⁸Persian manuscripts *B* omits this item.

⁷⁹Persian manuscripts *D1, J, U1* omit this item.

⁸⁰cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-36; Persian manuscripts *BM2, D1, E, H2, R1, R3, R4, S* omit this item.

⁸¹*Encyclopaedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices*, vol.1(A-C), Sadashiv Ambādas Dange, 1986, New Delhi, p.150; cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VII-5-3; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* XV-2; *Matrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*, III-6-3 etc.

⁸²Persian manuscript *R4* adds the following sentence after the explanation of *bhūtākāśa* 'in the language of India, this *Mahāpuruṣa* is called *Vairāṭa-svarūpa* (*wa bi-zabān-i hind in mahāpuruṣ rā bhrāta sarūp niz gūyand*). Here *R4* implies the identification of *Mahāpuruṣa* and *Vairāṭa-svarūpa*.

Paurāṇikas. We can trace the origin in Vedic verses.⁸³ The object of this metaphorical expression is to point to the fact that God is infinite, omniscient and all-pervasive beyond our speech, mind and intellect. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* II-1, the first step in realization of God is suggested by the sage, Śuka to the king Parīksit. The practical way of controlling the mind is to regulate the breathing process by *Prāṇāyāma*, then follows the meditation on the form of Viṣṇu as the universal form of the *Virāṭa-puruṣa*. Here the sage describes the precise parts of the *Virāṭa-rūpa*. It starts from the planetary systems, his arms, ears, nostrils, mouth, jaws, cerebral passage, teeth, smile, lips, chin, breast, back, waist, bones, veins, hairs, breathing, movements, dress, intelligence, mind, consciousness, ego, nails, residence, thighs, feet etc. In *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in book 2, *Bhaktiyoga* is showed as the best means of deliverance. Here, the *Virāṭa-puruṣa*, the Supreme Spirit, the Personality of God. The phenomenal world is no less than the manifestation of the transcendental all-spiritual form of *Virāṭa* body.

The sage, Śuka said,

One should , with determined intellect, fix one's mind on the *Virāṭ* (gross or great) Form of the Supreme Lord. This special body of the Lord is the biggest among the big. In this (body) is seen the past, present and future universe of gross effects. That Supreme Lord, who is Cosmic Man (*Vairājah Puruṣa*) in this body of the universe, which is like an egg, and is covered with seven sheaths, is the object of contemplation (*dhāraṇā*).⁸⁴

Thus the sage started to explain the extent and configuration (formation) of the body of the Supreme Lord. In the chapter six in this skandha of *Bh.P.* the epic concept of the Cosmic Man in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* is elaborated again in a much more advanced style.⁸⁵

All the universe is said to be nothing but the manifestation of Supreme Man and He is the Ruler of *mokṣa*, liberation or immortality.⁸⁶ God is transcendental to the matter from which the Cosmic egg (*Brahmāṇḍa*) and

⁸³ *Puruṣa-sūkta* in the *Rg Veda* X-90; *Bhagavadgītā* in the eleventh chapter; *Mundaka Up.* 2-1-4, 9 and *Śvetāśvatara Up.* 3-14 etc.

⁸⁴ *Bh.P.* 2-1-23..25

⁸⁵ cf. B.Bhattacharya, *Philosophy of the Srimad-Bhāgavata*, vol1. pp.130-38; 305-6 etc.

⁸⁶ *Bh.P.* 2-6-17.

the Virāṭa consisting of gross element, sense organs and gunas are born.⁸⁷ In creation, which is of a causal nature there is nothing wherein he does not exist. This is the first Puruṣa, the unborn, who in every Kalpa creates himself with himself as the substratum, and the instrument and protects it and destroys it. His real nature is absolute, real knowledge which is pure, underlying the interior of all, accurate, changeless and endless, eternal and alone.⁸⁸

The explanation of Virāṭa-Puruṣa ends at verse 2-10-34 thus : ‘Beyond this (Virāṭa form of the Lord) is the subtlest, unmanifest, attributeless, which has no beginning, middle or end. It is eternal and beyond the reach of words and mind.’ Commentators understood this as the description of the subtle body (*samaṣṭi-liṅga-śarīra* of God. Vīrarāghava’s *Bhāgavata Candrikā* interprets this description as *mukta-jīvas*. Again, here the creation was taught in Vedantic style, the Lord assumes the form of *Brahmā* and takes names, forms and actions, himself being both the things designated and the word denoting it.

Another reference can be found in *Sāroddhāra*, the modification of the second *khāṇḍa* of *Garuda Purāṇa*.⁸⁹ This section is said to be a later addition. An epitome of this section (*Sāroddhara*) was made by Nauridhirama, supplementing from other *Purāṇas*, particularly the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and treated the subject more systematically.⁹⁰ Chapter 15 of *Sāroddhāra* shows the way to the salvation with the help of meditation of Viṣṇu assuming the corporeal body as universe. The explanation is rather rough compared with the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, however, some new entries can be found.⁹¹ In spite of additional explanation, the identification is quite similar to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. And *Sāroddhara* proceeds further, to teach how to meditate. Here we can find *Ajapā-japa* is suggested as the best way to get *jīvan-mukti*.⁹² According to them, meditation upon six cakras⁹³ should be repeated

⁸⁷ *Bh.P.* 2-6-21.

⁸⁸ *Bh.P.* 2-6-32,38,39.

⁸⁹ The second *khāṇḍa* of *Garuda Purāṇa*, the Uttarakhāṇḍa is said that ‘varies hopelessly and the differences in the editions are too numerous’. Hazra, Study p.111.

⁹⁰ *Garuda Purāṇa - A Study* (Thesis approved for M.Lit. Degree of Madras Univ), N.Gangadharan, All India Kashraj Trust. 1972.

⁹¹ *Sāroddhara*, vv.56-69.

⁹² The *MB* treats this way of meditation in section 3.

⁹³ These are said to be situated at the root of the generative organ, in the region of the pelvis, in the navel, in the heart, in the throat, and between the eyebrow at the top of the head.

according to the instrument of guru.⁹⁴

Regarding Sarva-mukti, it stands for the salvation of all the beings absorption into the essence after the *Qiyāmat-i Kubrā*. Sarvadā-mukti stands for the salvation in every stage of the journey (*sayr*) of Ṣūfīs. It has no relation to time and place. It means the real stage of ‘ārif.

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, God is stated as āśraya⁹⁵, the final resort which is Brahman. If one concentrates on God at the time of death, all (*sarvasamśrayaḥ*) will absorb Him in himself.⁹⁶ Regarding the third *mukti*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* calls ultimate *pralaya* as *Mokṣa*.⁹⁷ Ultimate *pralaya* stands for the result in a vast collective ultimate liberation of reabsorption into the Supreme *Puruṣa*. Here, it might be proper to take the concept *mukti* as the progress of devotees to acquire the final goal.

Roma Choudhury criticises that the description of *jīvanmukta* seeing the whole world as the body of God and the descriptin of the different parts of the world as different limbs of God, is totally wrong. For the second *mukti*: *Videha-mukti*, Dārā’s conception is also criticised as totally wrong. For Sarva-mukti or universal salvation after death is an individual affair depending on the efforts of different individuals and Sarva-mukti is not recognized by Indian philosophy. Second point Roma Choudhury raises is that *Mahāpralaya* has nothing to do with *mukti* according to Indian view. *Mahāpralaya* is mere destruction of the Universe, it cannot make the souls free.⁹⁸ Here we can assert that verbal identification is meaningless. The interpretation should be understood in the context. The passages in section 20 make it clear that the concept of *mukti* in the *MB* concerns the way of meditation in spiritual progress to attain *mukti*.

⁹⁴ *Sāroddhara*. v.83.

⁹⁵ *Bh.P.* 2-10-7.

⁹⁶ 12-3-50.

⁹⁷ *Bh.P.*, 12-4-34,37.

⁹⁸ *RC* p.116.

3-1 Islamic Sources

3-1-1 Quotations from Scriptures and the Sayings of Saints

Quotation from the Qur'ān, Tafsīr of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth

The *MB* throws considerable light on the knowledge of the *Qur'ān*, its commentaries and *Ḥadīth*.¹

In the *MB*, the quotations from the *Qur'ān* are found in 43 passages. Particularly, the following verses are quoted twice and even thrice : 3-97, 9-22, 9-72 (thrice), 42-11, 55-26, 27, 57-3, 42-11. In section 1, Sūra 28-88 : *Everything is perishable but His face*, and Sūra 57-26 : *Every one on it must pass away. And there will endure the face of thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Honour* are quoted in the explanation of the dissolution of universe. Face (*wajh*) is used as the subtle body of the Holy Self. As will be shown in 2-3-1, face symbolizes the attribute of God.

In section 2, in the explanation of three kinds of *ahamkāra* (ego sense), for the highest stage Sūra 41-54 : *He encompasses all things* and Sūra 57-3 : *He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant and the Knower of hidden things*; for the middle stage Sūra 41-54 : *Nothing is like a likeness of Him*, Sūra 3-96 : *Allāh is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds*; for the lowest stage, Sūra 18-110 : *Say, I am only a mortal like you*. Three kinds of *ahamkāra* signify the individualization of the Absolute. From the transcendent stage, the limitation or individualization descends to the stage of archetype and human soul.

In section 3, Sūra 17-44 : *And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification* is quoted as the proof that regular inhalation and exhalation results in *ajapā-japa* (recitation of the name of Lord without any effort).

In section 10, for the impossibility of vision of God (*ru'uyat*) for the unbelievers, Sūra 17-72 : *And whoever is blind in this (world), he shall (also) be blind in the hereafter* is quoted. Regarding Muḥammad's *ru'uyat*, for the possibility of vision of God for the believers. Sūra 75-22,23 : *(Some)*

¹ Hasrat criticises Dārā's interpretation of the *Qur'ān* is "an irreligious and ridiculous attempt to extol the virtues of Hinduism over Islam". p.222.

faces on that day shall be bright, looking to their Lord is quoted and for the impossibility of the vision of Pure Self. Sūra 6-104 : *Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision: and He is the knower of subtleties. the Aware* are quoted.

In section 12, regarding the *tanzīh* aspect, Sūra 42-11 : *Nothing is like a likeness of Him* is quoted and *tashbīh* aspect *He is the Hearing , the Seeing* is quoted. For the Muhammad's prophethood, Sūra 57-3 is repeatedly quoted and or his saintship, Sūra 3-109 : *You are the best of the nations raised up for (the benefit of) men.*

In the explanation of cosmological view in section 15, 16, 17, for the explanation of *Kursī* (throne), Sūra 2-255 : *His Kursī extends over the heavens and the earth; for the seven heavens and earth, Sūra 65-2 : Allāh is He who created seven heavens and of the earth the like of them;* for the mountains Sūra 78-7 : *And the mountains are projections there on and for the seven surrounding oceans, Sūra 31-27 : And were every tree that is in the earth (made into) pens and the sea (to supply it with ink) with seven more seas to increase it, the works of Allāh would not come to an end.*

In the eschatological explanation. Sūra 11-106,107,108 : *So as to those who are unhappy, they shall be in the fire; for them shall be sighing and groaning in it: Abiding therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure. except as thy Lord pleases; surely thy Lord is the mighty doer of what He intends. And as to those who are made happy, they shall be in the garden. abiding in it as long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord pleases: a gift which shall never be cut off and for the paradise of God. Sūra 9-72 : And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure - that is the grand achievement* is quoted. For the resurrection, Sūra 55-26,27 : *But when the Great Resurrection comes* and another verse *And the trumpet shall be blown, so all those that are in the heavens and all those that are in the earth shall swoon, except such as Allāh pleases* are quoted. On the occasion of the Great Resurrection, Sūra 55-26,27 : *Every one on it must pass away and there will endure for ever the person of thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour* are quoted.

For *mukti* (emancipation), Sūra 9-72:
And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure - that is the grand achievement: Sūra 10-62: *Now surely the friends of Allāh - they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve and for the mukta (the emancipated), Sūra 9-21,22 : Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself ad (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs; abiding therein for*

ever: surely Allāh has a Mighty reward with Him and give good news to the believers who do good that they shall have a goodly reward.

In section 21, in the explanation of divine time Sūra 22-47 : *And surely a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years of what you number*, and Sūra 70-4 : *To Him ascend the angels and the spirit in a day the measure of which is fifty thousand years* are quoted. For the Great Resurrection, Sūra 14-48 : *On the day when the earth shall be changed into a different earth* and Sūra 21-104 : *On the day when We will roll up heaven like the rolling up of the scroll for writings*, for the suṣupti state (between the resurrection and new creation). Sūra 55-31 : *Soon will We apply Ourselves to you. O you two armies (of jin and human beings)*. For his self-confidence of this treatise, Dārā quotes Sūra 3-96 : *Then surely Allāh is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds*. In section 22, for the infinity of the cycles, Sūra 21-104 : *As We originated the first creation, (so) We shall reproduce it* and for the re-appearance of Adam Sūra 7-29 : *As He brought you forth in the beginning, so shall you also return* is quoted.

The explanations of the Qur'ān (*tafsīr*) are quoted in two places. One is in section 9, the *tafsīr* by Ustād Abū Bakr Wāsitī ad Sūra 24-35, another is in section 18. regarding to the salvation with the grace of God, the explanation by Ibn Mas'ūdī ad Sūra 2-106,107,108. Here, we will show unique explanation of Dārā's own *tafsīr* of Light verse Sūra XXIV-35. Dārā interprets symbolical words in this verse as follows: Niche : the world of bodily existence . Lamp : the Light of the Essence . Glass : the human soul , Blessed Tree : the Self of the Truth, Zait (oil) : the Great Soul (*rūh-i a'zam*). Thus he understands that the light of the Essence shines in the human soul. The human soul appears like a Light of Essence. God is free from the limitations of East and West, however, the Great soul possesses great elegance and purity and does not require to be lighted. ² As is shown in the *Sakīnat* and the *Hasanāt*, Dārā quotes Qur'ānic verse and its interpretation to support his own discussion.

Hadīth is found in six places.

1) In section 1, *I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known; so, I brought the creation into existence.* ³ This is called *Hadīth Qudsī* not found in the orthodox tradition, however, Sūfis prefer to cite this referring to the motive of creation.

²For the detail, see 2-3-2.

³BI p.39.

2) In section 9. the quoted *Hadīth* is, *A moment's engagement in meditation is better than the devotion of a whole year i.e. of the human beings and the fairies.*⁴

3) In section 10. regarding the vision of God (*ru'uyat*), ‘Āisha Siddīqa asked Prophet. Didst thou behold thy Lord? to which the Prophet replied. It is light that I am beholding. Dārā introduces two types of reading of this phrase. It can be read as “It is light that I am beholding (*nūrun innī arā-hu*)” and “It is light how can I behold it? (*nūrun innī ra'ā-hu*)”. The first interpretation implies that God can be seen in the veil of light. The second reading states that the essence of God cannot be seen.

4) In section 11. regarding revelation (*wahy*), *our Prophet said that the severest moment for me is that of Wahy (or Divine Revelation), when I hear wahy ringing in my ears like the sound of a bell or the buzzing of wasps.* This sound is connected with *ākāśavāṇī*. Furthermore, this sound is connected with *anāhata* in section 8.

5) In section 18, the Prophet said that *whoever dies, verily, there is resurrection for him.*

6) In section 22, at *mi'rāj*, the Prophet saw a line of camels, proceeding (in succession) without any break, and on each of which two bags were laden, in each of which there was a world like that of ours and in each such world there was a Muhammad (just) like him. Muhammad asked Jibrāīl what is this. He replied he also has been witnessing this line of camels proceeding with bags, but he does not know the meaning. Dārā quotes this *Hadīth* to refer to the infinity of the cycles of time.

Quotations from Sūfistic Poems

In the *MB*, in eight places, the sayings of eminent Sūfis are quoted to support his explanations.

In the preface, four couplets are quoted. One is Ḥaqīm Sanāī Gaznavī.

In the name of One who hath no name, with whatever name
thou callest Him, He will respond to your call.

⁵ The second one is from Mawlānī Muḥammad Husain Āzād,

⁴ BI p.49.

⁵ SS omits this translation.

Faith and infidelity, both are galloping on the way towards Him.
And are exclaiming : He is One and none shares His kingship. ⁶

The third quotation is from Mauwlāā ‘Abdur Rahmān Jāmī. ⁷

He is the neighbour, the companion and the co-traveller.
He is in the rags of beggars and the raiment of kings.
In the conclave on high and the secret chamber below,
By God, He is all and verily by God, He is all.

The fourth is from Khwāja Ubaidullāh Ahrār, *If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin. is, in a way, singing the note of Monotheism (tawhīd). I go to him, hear him and am grateful to him.* ⁸

In section 7, the dialogue between Junaid and Shaikh Islām ⁹ is quoted from Jāmī’s *Nafahāt*. ¹⁰

Taṣawwuf consists in sitting for a moment without an attendant.
To this, Shaikh al-Islām asked, what does without an attendant mean.

In this section, another couplet from Rūmī is quoted.

If thou desirest to find him, then do not seek for a moment.
If thou wishest to know Him, do not know for a moment.

⁶SS omits this translation.

⁷Lawa’ih, Flash XXII.

⁸SS’s translation is as follows:

yadyaham jāmīyām kaścana nīrīśvaro ’pi kathākhyā-deśa-sthito ’pi mano ’nurañjaka-
śabdais tattvavārttam vadatīti tarhi tatra gatvā śroṣyāmi śisyāmi anunesyāmi ca tam
/

If I ever come to know even of an atheist, who is preaching the Truth, I would go to him,
even though he resides in a country named Kathā, and hear him, learn from him and plead
with him.

Roma Chaudhury translates *kathākhyā-deśa-sthito ’pi* as “he resides in a legendary place”,
however, this is a misunderstanding of the Persian text. The Sanskrit translator could not
understand the meaning of خطا : sin, but interprets it as a proper noun. Thus he
transliterates it and interprets خطا par hāṭā as “in (the country named) Khathā”.

⁹Shaikh al-Islām Abū Ismā’il ‘Abdullāh bun Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Harawī. His
Tabaqāt-i ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī was one of the source book of Jāmī’s *Nafahāt*. Hasrat p.46,
fn.4.

¹⁰Dārā quoted the same couplet in the *Risāla* (p.21) and the *Sakīna* (p.46).

When thou searchest Him inwardly, then thou art hidden from His outwardness.

When thou searches Him outwardly, thou art hidden from His inwardness.

When two factors must be removed from your argument process, undoubtedly, relax yourself and sleep be happily.

In section 8, one familiar couplet to Sūfīs is quoted.

Wherever thou hearest, it is His melodious voice,
Who has, after all, heard such a rolling sound?

In section 12, one couplet is quoted from Shaikh Sa‘d ad-Dīn Hummu‘ī.

Truth is the soul of the world, the whole world the trunk.
Souls, angels and senses are the bodies,
The skies, the elements, the three Kingdoms of nature and the bodies.
This is Monotheism (tawhīd) and all self is device and artifice.

In section 22, Hāfiẓ is quoted.

There is no end to my story, or to that of the beloved.
For, whatever hath no beginning can have no end.

Besides these quotations from noted Sūfīs, Dārā himself writes his own couplets in section 1. How can I know that this limitless ocean would be such,

That its vapour would turn out to be the sky and its foam would become the earth.

Another couplet is:

An egg-like drop heaved an was turned into ocean,
Its foam produced the earth and its smoke ave rise to the sky.

¹¹

¹¹This second couplet is found in *B*, *R4* only. The Sanskrit translation and the Arabic translation omit this.

As we have seen in 2-2-4, the idea of unity, through the concept of microcosm-macrocosm is repeatedly shown with similes and symbols. Ocean is a symbol of the essence of the Absolute and individual soul is symbolized as a drop, wave or bubble of water. In the *Risāla*¹², we can see several symbolical poems for the interpretation of unity of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*). Islamic sources are quoted for supporting his propagation of this doctrine.

¹² *Risāla*, p17-18.

temporary Ṣūfīs

As there was a shaykh Salīm Chishtī to Akbar, Dārā has his spiritual preceptors. The *Pādshāh-nāma* narrates that the first teacher of Dārā was Mullā ‘Abdul Laṭīf Sulṭānpurī.¹ The next teacher was ‘Abdul Ḥaqīm Siālkotī. ‘Abdulhaqīm b. Shams al-Dīn Sīyālkotī (d.1656) who was a teacher of Chandra Bhān Brāhmaṇ. He received marked considerations by the emperor Shāh Jahān.² He wrote not only Arabic commentaries on the *Qur’ān* but also wrote commentaries and explanatory works on several dogmatic books on logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics.³ Regarding him, Dārā left some memoir that he objected to Miyān Mīr against the custom of teaching the neophyte on the superiority of the contemplation on ‘Ālam-i Malakūt than congregational prayer.⁴ In section 12 in the *MB*, Dārā enumerated three Ṣūfīs as his spiritual preceptors. Miyān Mīr as his shaykh, Miyān Bārī as his ustād and Mullā Shāh as his murshid. Besides these three, Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā and Shaikh Tayyib Sirhindī and Bābā Lāl are added.⁵

Miyān Mīr

In the preface of *Risāla*, Dārā shows his veneration of Miyān Mīr and Mullā Shāh. Miyān Mīr is venerated as the one who found undoubted light ; the knower of the details of gnosis ; the knower of the secret of God (omnipotence) ; a guide of philosopher (*ahl-i ḥaqīqat*) : pilot of the traveller of the Ṣūfistic path : intimate friend of the secret of *Jalāl* ; the witness of the attainment; and the greatest of the saints of God.⁶

¹ *Tazkira* p.83.

² His super commentary to al-Baidāvī’s commentary on the *Qur’ān* with the title *Al-Hāshiyya alā Anwār al-Tanzil* and other commentaries are dedicated to the emperor. Marshall pp.5-6.

³ His most famous commentary is that on Jāmī’s commentary to *Kafīya*, the grammatical poem mentioned above. He introduced some of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī’s philosophical mystical ideas into Indian environment. cf. Schimmel, *Islamic Literature*, p.37.

⁴ *Sakīna*, pp.50-51. Rizvi, *History*, vol.II, pp.104-105.

⁵ As is seen in 2-4-3. the number of enumerated saints differs in manuscripts. Particularly, Bābā Lāl is omitted in number of manuscripts.

⁶ *Risāla*, p.4.

In the *Sakīna*, Dārā wrote about his meeting with Miyān Mīr in 1634, and how he was influenced by his spirit, and was initiated into the Qādirī order.

⁷ In the *Sakīna*, after the description of Miyān Mīr's outer characteristics, the teaching of Miyān Mīr is explained with his direct word and supported with the sayings of other Saints. Among the Sūfistic concepts taught here, poverty (*faqr*), renunciation (*tark*), the stages of *sulūk*, prophethood and sainthood, divine vision (*ru'yat*), ecstasy (*wajd*) and separation (*tajrīd*) are included. Some of the explanations are quoted fully or abridged in the *MB*.

There is a sole manuscript of a Persian paraphrase and commentary on the Hindī *Dohās* of Miyān Mīr entitled *Īmā'u al-Muhaqqiqīn*, which is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh.⁸

Miyān Mīr had intimate relations with both Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Jahāngīr visited his *khānaqāh* in 1620.⁹ The conversations between Jahāngīr and Miyān Mīr was on the subject of Sūfism and the kingship of the ruler. To answer for the questions of rules of government, Miyān Mīr collected forty traditions (*Hadīth*), entitled with the *Tarjumat al-Aḥādīth fī-Hasīhat al-Mulk wa al-Salāṭīn* and dedicated him.¹⁰ Shāh Jahān visited his place twice to seek guidance. Same as his father had been done before him, Shāh Jahān asked Miyān Mīr to guide him as a spiritual preceptor, however, Miyān Mīr suggested to him to engage in his own task as a king.¹¹

Mullā Shāh

Mullā Shāh Badakhsī, was a Sūfi poet and eminent Qādirī saint from Arkasa in Badakhshan and Dārā's *pīr* or *murshid*. Regarding his biographical detail, Dārā himself mentioned him in the *Sakīna* and the *Safīna*.

⁷Rizvi, *History*, vol.II, pp.103-108; *Sakīnat*, pp.6-7; *Dabistān* p.387.

⁸fol.2a. Salar Jung Museum and Library. Cat. No. 3341, Tas 25, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts* vol.VIII (Islamic Theology), p.191. This is a kind of compendium of *dohās* including Mullā Shāh's *dohās* and some Sūfistic treatises. The *Sakīnat al-Awliyā'* is referred as the title at the end of this manuscripts , however, it is not the extract of the *Sakīna*.

⁹*Tūzuk*, p.257; pp.286-287.

¹⁰*Sakīna*, pp.46-48.

¹¹*Sakīnat*. p.49.

and Jahānārā Begum write in the *Sāhibiyā*. Court chroniclers left brief description about him¹². The exhaustive work is the *Nuskha-i Aḥwār-i Shāhī* by Tawakkul Beg.¹³ Among the disciples of Mullā Shāh, Tawakkul Beg was not only an unique personality because he spent part of life as a Ṣūfī and spent a part as a governor, but also because he was one of the favourite disciple of Mullā Shāh.¹⁴

Mullā Shāh is introduced as Dārā's murshid in the *MB*. The honourific names given to him are as follows: the king of philosophers; the emperor of the gnostic; Immersed in the ocean of unity (*tawḥīd*); the traveller in the desert of solitary asceticism; the wayfarer of Ṣūfistic path; the experienced annihilation (*fānā*) and perpetuity (*baqā*); the knower of the secret of secrets; the treasurer of divine *tawḥīd*; knower of the secret of *wahdat*; who is free from many evils; my *ustād* who attained the status of *walī* and my *murshid*.¹⁵ In the preface of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā gave Mullā Shāh the following honourific names : most perfect of the perfects; the flower of the gnostic; greatest *ustād*; the greatest *pīr*, the greatest tutor and the unitarian accomplished in the Truth (*muwahhid-i haqāiq*).¹⁶

The *Sakīna* did not give us the systematic teaching of Mullā Shāh, however, we have some information of his stance on several dogmatic concepts from the ideas interspersed in his sayings. On the other hand, the system of Ṣūfism described by Mullā Shāh can be traced in the contents of *Kulliyāt-i Mullā Shāh*¹⁷. The latter part of this *Kulliyāt* is composed with Arabic and Persian *Dīwāns*. From the first part of this work, what is his gnosticism can be known. The work begins from the explanation of unification (*tawḥīd*), and goes on to explain 43 topics inter alia gnosis (*ma'rifat*), love ('ishq), the combination of *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*, *Jalāl* and *Jamāl*, conviction (*yaqīn*), knowledge ('ilm), genesis (*taqwīm*), essence (*zāt*), devotion (*zuhud*), contemplation (*mushāhada*), *fānā* and *baqā* commencement (*badāyat*) and goal (*nihāyat*). From this, we can trace the main topics treated in the *MB*.

What Dārā learned as a disciple of Mullā Shāh was not only Ṣūfistic dogmatic ideas but the devotional practices. Mullā Shāh himself observed

¹² *Amal-i ḥālik* III-370; *Bādshāhnāma*, vol.1, pt.ii, p.333.

¹³ For a summary, *Journal Asiatique*. xiii, 1869, pp.105-59. Bilgrami. p.174.

¹⁴ Bilgrami p.211.

¹⁵ *Risāla* p.4.

¹⁶ *Sirr-i Akbar*, p.10.

¹⁷ Khudā Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Cat. No.328 Hand list No.688.

hard ascetic exercises, however, he never insisted that his disciples on practice such hard exercises. Among different types of spiritual exercises, he was much interested in zikr, particularly, *pās-i anfās*. In the *Risāla*, it has been examined profoundly and in the *MB*. Dārā expounds the similarity of zikr with the *Ajapā-japa* of Hindu Yogins.

Among the contemporary Sūfīs, we introduce Shāh Muhibbulāh Illāhābādī and ‘Abdur Rahmān Chishtī as the most remarkable personalities outside Qādirī order.

Shāh Muhibbulāh Illāhābādī

Although he is not included in the list of the saints in the *MB*, one of the most influential Sūfī in the life of Dārā. The appointment of Dārā as a sūbedār of Illāhābād gave him the opportunity to seek the acquaintance of the noted Sūfī, Shāh Muhibbulāh.¹⁸

Shāh Muhibbulāh was born in 996 A.H. /1587 at Sadrpur, near Illāhābād. He was a descendant of the Shaykh Farid Ganj Shakar of Pakpatan. He studied under the guidance of Shah Abu Sa‘id, notable saint and pantheist of the Chishtī-Şābirī order.¹⁹ When he was issued a fatwa condemning him a charge of heresy, his friend Shaykh ‘Abdur Rashīd Jaunpūrī came to his defence. Shāh Muhibbulāh is noted for his *wahdat al-wujūd*, the idea that all that exists exists through God himself. He sees transcendence and immanence as one uniformity. The One and the Many are only names for two aspects of One Reality.

Shāh Muhibbulāh wrote commentaries on the *Qur’ān* in Arabic and commentary on Ibn ‘Arabī’s *Fusūs* both in Arabic and Persian. In his *Maktabāt*, a collection of his letters, there are the letters addressed to Dārā Shukoh is included. From the topics treated in these letters, it is evident that Dārā was interested in the same topics as his father Shāh Jahān and his grandfather Jahāngīr. Dārā also asked the blessing and the duties of the ruler.²⁰

¹⁸ His tomb is said to be the oldest one built in the 18th century and it remains in Bahādurganj. *Prayāg-pradīp*, p.250.

¹⁹ Abdur Rahmān Chishtī, the author of the the *Mir‘atul Asrār* met Shāh Muhibbulāh at his native place Radauli and was deeply impressed by him. *Mir‘at al-Asrār*, p.916.

²⁰ These letters are included in the *Faiyāz al-Qawānīn* in the *Ruqā‘at-i Ālamgīrī*. *Makātib-i Shaykh Muhibbulāh*.

‘Abdur Rahmān Chishtī

Another distinguished personality in Chishtiyya-Şābirīyya *sisila* is ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī . ‘Abdur Rahmān Chishtī, a descendant of Shaykh Mu’īn ud-Dīn Chishtī, is a Ṣūfī belonging to Şābilī branch of Chishtī silsila. Among the saints of this Şābilī order, ‘Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī is notable for his Persian translation of a Sanskrit work on Yoga, named *Rushd Nāma* (1536) .²¹ ‘Abdur Rahmān wrote several works besides the noted *tazkira*, the *Mir’āt al-Asrār* (1065 A.H. / 1654).²² However, the most remarkable works are the adaptation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* entitled with *Mir’āt al-Makhlūkāt* and the Persian translation of *Bhagavadgītā* named *Mir’āt al-Haqā’iq*. In both works, his Ṣūfistic interpretation has the same tendency to the explanation in the *MB*. For the peculiarities of the *Mir’āt al-Haqā’iq*, refer to 3-2-1.

Dārā’s spiritual preceptors and the Ṣūfis introduced here are included in the circle of the followers of *wahdat al-wujūd* influenced by Ibn ‘Arabī’s ideas. Through the contact with these people Dārā might have accumulated the concepts of *wahdat al-wujūd* indirectly.

²¹Hindi translation was made by Saiyyd Abbhās Rizvi. *Alakhbānī*. Aligarh, 1970. cf. Rizvi, *History*, Vol.I, pp.336-343.

²²For his works, refer to Marshall pp.22-23.

3-2-1 Hindu Sources : Hindu Scriptures Translated into Persian

Upaniṣads

The *Upaniṣads* came to be known to Europe with the help of this Persian translation which Anquetil Duperron translated first into French and then into Latin, *Oupnek'hat*.¹

Here, we have to add the much more interest fact about the unique manuscript of the translation of the *Upaniṣads* dated 1616.² It was found in the Jesuit Archives at Rome with code number 'Goa 59' by Fr. Josef,³ and two chapters of the manuscript were translated with the Introduction by Fr J. Humbert.⁴

This work was written in Portuguese by Fr. Gonçalo Fernandez S.J. who came to India in 1560 and was sent to Madurai in 1595. Chapter eighteen of this manuscript contains a faithful reproduction of *Bṛhma Vidyā* of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (3-1...6). In other chapters, the descriptions of *samskāras* and *āśramas* ar contained. This part is adapted as the description of *sannyāsa āśrama*. It has also a glossary of Sanskrit technical terms. Anquetil Duperron's *Oupnek'hat* was published in 1801-2 and Dārā's Persian translation was made in 1657. It is remarkable, about forty years before the *Sirr-i Akbar*, this translation in European language was produced by a Portuguese priest.

¹ *Oupnek'hat*, id est, *Secretum tegendum : opus ipsa in India rarissimum continens antiquam et arcanam, seu theologicam et philosophicam doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indorum libris. Rak baid. Djedjer baid. Sam baid. Atharban baid, excerptam; ad verbam, e Persico idiomate. samskreticis vocabulis intermixto. in Latinum conversum : Dissertationibus et Annotationibus difficuliora explanantibus. illustratum; studio et opera Anquetil Duperron. Indico pleustae, Argentorati, vol.i, 1801: vol.ii. 1802.* In detail, see Max Müller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, orig. pub. 1859. repr. Delhi 1968, pp.292-3.

² 'The *Bṛhma-Vallī* of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*. an Early XVII century European Translation'. *Indica*, Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, vol.5, September 1968. No.2. pp.139-144.

³ Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandes S.J. über die Brahmanen und Dharma-Śāstra (Madura 1616) , *Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung*, Münster, 1957.

⁴ Hindu Ceremonial of 1616 by Fr. Gonçalo Fernandes, *Boledín de la Asociación Espanola de Orientalistas*, 3, 1967, pp.121-132.

Sirr-i Akbar

Much can be said with regard to the nature and quality of this translation. Hasrat said it needs explanation in more explicit and unambiguous manner, and Dārā has most faithfully followed Śaṅkara's commentary.⁵ The only references to this fact in the *Sirr-i Akbar*, are in one passage each in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* and the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*. An attempt has further been made in the Sanskrit-Persian Glossary, to make it more intelligible to the Muslims, by giving suitable word-equivalents from Islamic phraseology. In this respect, Hasrat regards that the *Sirr-i Akbar* not only attains the merit of an excellent translation but also possesses the charm of an original work.⁶

The preface of the *Sirr-i Akbar* is analysed in detail by Hasrat.⁷ Dārā went to Kashmīr in 1050 A.H. / 1640 and met Mullā Shāh, besides him he came into contact with saints of various orders and sects and studied works on mysticism. Searching for the truth, he collected all the heavenly books, however, to understand allegorical passages in the *Qur'ān*, he studied the other scriptures but felt unsatisfied. On the other hand, he found much discourse on the *tawhīd* in the *Vedas*. In the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā recognizes *brahmavid* and *jñānin* as gnosis ('ārif) and unifier (*muwahhid*), *brahmavidyā* as the knowledge of *tawhīd*.⁸ Thus *Upaniṣads* is regarded as the essence of unity (*wahdat al-wujūd*).

At the beginning of this Persian translation, a list of one-hundred and eleven technical terms of Sanskrit and their interpretations and a list of the fifty-two names of the *Upaniṣads* are put. In some manuscripts of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, the order of the *Upaniṣads* is according to each *Veda*.⁹ Regarding the number of the *Upaniṣads* in Sanskrit, *Muktikā-upaniṣad* gives a list of one hundred and eight *Upaniṣads*. Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press version, published in Bombay in 1917 listed one hundred twelve *Upaniṣads*.

⁵Hasrat p.258, fn. No.12.

⁶Hasrat pp.259-260.

⁷Hasrat p.268-9.

⁸For 'ārif and *muwahhid*, see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 4-4-8,9,23 : *Ānanda Vallī* 9 : (*Taitiṛiya Up.* 2-9) ; *Muṇḍaka Up.* 3-1-4, 3-2-8, 11 ; *Maitri Up.* 7-9, 10; for 'ilm-i *tawhīd*, see *Muṇḍaka Up.* 1-1-1 : *Maitri Up.* 2-34 ; for āyat-i *tawhīd*, see *Muṇḍaka Up.* 2-2-3, 3-2-6 ; *Kaivalya Up.* 22 ; *Mahānārāyaṇa Up.* 12-3.

⁹One manuscript is contains only 34 *Upaniṣads* belonging to *Atharva Veda*. British Library Or.1121, Rieu, vol.I, p.60.

The Persian translation listed 52 names and actually fifty *Upaniṣads*. As Hasrat had remarked, the number of the *Upaniṣad* varies slightly in different manuscripts of the text, between fifty and fifty-two. Anquetil Duperron's Latin version, the *Oupnek'hat* contains only fifty *Upaniṣads*¹⁰ 1) Oupnek'hat Tschehandouk e Sam Beid (Chāndogya) ; 2) Brehdarang e Djedjr Beid (Bṛhadāraṇyaka) ; 3) Mitri (Maitrāyaṇa) ; 4) Mandek (Muṇḍaka) ; 5) Eischavasieh (Īśā) ; 6) Sarb (Sarvopaniṣatsāra) ; 7) Narain (Nārāyaṇa) ; 8) Tadiw (Tadeva) ; 9) Athrbsar (Atharvaśiras) ; 10) Hensnad (Hamsanāda) ; 11) Antrteheh (Aitareya) ; 12) Kok'heuk (Kausītaki) ; 13) Santaster (Śvetāśvatara) ; 14) Porsch (Praśna) ; 15) Dehanbandhu (Dhyānabindu) ; 16) Maha (Mahā) ; 17) Atma Pra Boude (Ātmaprabodha) ; 18) Keioul (Kaivalya) ; 19) Shcat roudri (Śatarudriyam = Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā 16) ; 20) Djog Schak'ha (Yogaśikhā) ; 21) Djogtau (Yogatattva) ; 22) Schiw Sanklap (Śivasamkalpa) ; 23) Athrb Schauk'ha (Atharvaśikhā) ; 24) Atma (Ātma) ; 25) Brahm Badia (Brahmavidyā) ; 26) AnBrad Bandeh (Amṛtabindu) ; 27) Tidjbandeh (Tejabindu) ; 28) Karbheh (Garbha) ; 29) Djabal (Jābāla) ; 30) Mahanaraïn (Mahānārāyaṇa) ; 31) Mandouk (Māṇḍūkya) ; 32) Pankl (Paingala) ; 33) Tschehourka (Kṣurikā) ; 34) Prahm Hens (Paramahāṃsa) ; 35) Arank (Ārunika) ; 36) Kin (Kena) ; 37) Kiouni (Kāṭhaka) ; 38) Anandbli (Ānand-vallī : Taittirīya 2) ; 39) Bharkbli (Bhṛgu-vallī : Taittirīya 3) ; 40) Bark'heh Soukt (Puruṣasūkta) ; 41) Djounka (Cūlikā) ; 42) Mrat Lankoul (Mrtyulāṅgala) ; 43) Anbratnad (Amṛtanāda) ; 44) Baschkl (Bāśkala) ; 45) Tachhakli (Chāgaleya) ; 46) Tark (Tāraka : Tārasāra 2, Rāmottaratāpanīya 2) ; 47) Arkhī (Ārṣeya) ; 48) Pranou (Praṇava) ; 49) Schavank (Śaunaka) ; 50) Narsing'heh (Nr̥siṁhottaratāpanīya).

Compared with the text of the one hundred and eight *Upaniṣads*, the number of verses are not the same with the Sanskrit texts which have been transmitted till now. Some portions are omitted in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*¹¹ and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* also has some omissions. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, mostly based on Kāṇva recension, however, in chapter second and third, the usage of the terms and orders of the words are based on Mādhyandina recension.¹² Dārā himself declared in the introduction that they aimed at making a literal translation, however, in

¹⁰ Vol.I p.13.

¹¹ 1-1-10; 1-2-11...14; 1-3-8...12; 1-4-1; 1-5...7; 1-9-10...13; 2; 3-1...13; 3-15-2...7; 3-16-2...7; 3-17,18; 4-2-45; 4-16,17; 5-2-4...8; 5-3...10; 8-13...15.

¹² However, 2-4 and 2-5 are not interchanged as Kāṇva recension. A. Weber describes it is based only on Kāṇva recension. *Indische Studien*, I. Berlin 1850, p.273.

some cases, it is a kind of commentary with much interpretation of the transliterated Sanskrit term. It is a kind of charm of this translation as Hasrat stated.

Regarding the name of the commentator which was referred to is not identified clearly, however, the name of Śaikarācārya is found in the *Mundaka Upaniṣad* 1-1-8. The explanatory part follows Śaṅkara's commentary.¹³ Another reference can be found in the variants of *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 3-7.¹⁴ The commentaries which might have been referred to can be said to be Śaṅkara's¹⁵ and sometimes the more contemporary Madhusūdhana-Sarasvatī's *Gūḍārthadīpikā* has influence on the explanatory translation.¹⁶

The style of translation as the mixture of both text and commentary without any thought of proper classification and arrangement of each separately is seen by Hasrat as the substantial defect. Hasrat also stated the negligence of the differentiation according to *khaṇḍa* and *adhyāyas*.¹⁷ Precise examination of the *Sirr-i Akbar* makes it clear that the style is not an intermixture but an addition and to differentiate the divisions is not so difficult. Hasrat criticised the peculiarities of the transliteration of Sanskrit word into Persian as inaccuracy.¹⁸ However, the transliteration depends of the informants and compared with other translated works into Persian, in many cases it is possible to identify the original word.¹⁹

As seen above, for Dārā, the *Upaniṣads* are the verses of *tawḥīd* (āyat-i-tawḥīd) As *Upaniṣads* are for the *sannyāsin* to attain ultimate salvation by meditation, Dārā found the teaching of *tawḥīd* in the *Upaniṣads* and it inspired him writing the *MB*.

¹³ SA, p.325.

¹⁴ SA, p.202.

¹⁵ 3-3cd; 5-4-a,c; 5-5a: 5-14d.

¹⁶ cf. BG 8-17a; 10-6ab.

¹⁷ Hasrat pp.275-276.

¹⁸ Hasrat pp.273-5.

¹⁹ In Al-Bīrūnī's case, Suniti Kumar Chatterji analysed seriously the transliterated words and found the peculiarity of Western Panjab and Rājasthānī vernacular. Al-Bīrūnī and Sanskrit, *Al-Bīrūnī Commemorative Volume*, Calcutta 1951, pp.83-100. Compared with the style of Al-Bīrūnī, the style of the SA is simple.

Translations of Bhagavadgītā

In Al-Bīrūnī's *Indica*, the *Bhagavadgītā* was introduced as the dialogue of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa²⁰ included in the *Mahābhārata*.²¹ Now it is translated into about 75 languages all over the world, however, complete form of Persian translation was made in the 16th century.²² Since then translations and re-translations have been done. Persian translation has been classified into several kinds: translated as the part of the *Mahābhārata*, independent translation, literal prose translation, ornate prose translation, abridged prose translation and verse translation.

Regarding the translation ascribed to Dārā, it is a controversial work. The Persian translation preserved in the India Office Library²³ has the same style with the manuscript preserved in the British Museum²⁴, however, it is ascribed to Abu'l Fazl. Bādāūnī's narration and Abu'l Fazl's preface to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* suggest no inference that Abu'l Fazl translated the *Bhagavadgītā* independently. However, Abu'l Fazl shows deep interest on *Bhiśma-parvan* and regretted the insufficiency of the translation in the preface of the *Razm-nāma*, Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*.²⁵

The style of the Persian translation has some omission. The *Bhagavadgītā* is known to have 18 chapters and 700 verses. Beside these, *Gītāprāśasti*²⁶ and *Gītāmāna*²⁷ are added. These additions are omitted in the Persian translation. Compared with Belvalkar's critical edition, it is clear some verses are omitted.²⁸ However, there is no excessive addition as in Kashmīr

²⁰The identification of quoted phrases has been attempted several times. Edward C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London, 1910, rep. New Delhi, 1983, p.265; W.M.Callewaert, Shilanand Hemraj, *Bhagavadgītānuvāda*, Ranchi, 1982, p.330; Arvind Sharma, *Studies in Alberuni's India*, Wiesbaden 1983. However, complete study is waited for.

²¹Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* was made at the instance of Sultān Zain al-Ābidīn in Kashmīr in 15th century. S.A.H.Abidi. Translations in and from Persian, *Anuvād* 3, 1965, pp.75-76.

²²For the details of Arabic and Persian translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, see W.M.Callewaert, Shilanand Hemraj, *op. cit.*, pp.328-332; pp.333-336.

²³Cat. No.1949. Ethe described the description of the catalogue of British Museum is wrong and the real translator is Dārā. Ethe, vol.I, p.1089.

²⁴Add. 7676. Rieu, Vol.I, p.59.

²⁵*Mahābhārata*, ed. by S.M.R.Jalālī Nā'īmī, N.S.Shukla, Tehran 1979, preface p.21.

²⁶*The Mahābhārata*, The Bhishmaparvan, ed. by S.K.Belvalkar, Poona, 1949, p.189.

*113.

²⁷*ibid.*, p.189 *112.

²⁸7-17: 16-34, 14; 10-16bcd to 10-17a.

recension.

As a translation work, compared with the *Sirr-i Akbar*, the translation ascribed to Dārā cannot be said to have the same character. Transliteration style seems to be the same, however, the selection of words for translation and no Sūfistic explanation show the different type of translation. From this translation, we find simple and literal translation style and objective eyes. A more attractive translation is that of Dārā's contemporary Sūfi, 'Abdur Rahmān Chishtī's abridged translation of *Bhagavadgītā* entitled *Mir'āt al-Haqā'iq*.²⁹

From the beginning, Chishtī declared the tenet of *tawhīd* with the explanation of *kalima*: there is no divine being except God (*lā illāha illā al-lāha*) as denoting that all the creation and dissolution of the world, the manifested world and hidden world stand for the word He or the word *kun* (be). In the preface, Chishtī described that the *Bhagavadgītā* is the secret of *tawhīd* through allegories taught by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna and Indian sages regard it as gnosis of God. It omits *Gītāprāśasti*, *Gītāmāna*, and *Gītāsāra*. Peculiarities in this translation is the explanation of the verses of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the authority of the *Qur'an*, *Hadīths*, and the sayings of saint like Nizām ad-Dīn Auliya and 'Irāqī etc. As is generally admitted, the original *Bhagavadgītā* shows, on the one hand pantheistic tendency that the world is the manifestation of God, and on the other hand, monistic tendency that transcendent God controls all creation, preservation and dissolution. Here the reconciliation of the traditional concept of God and the concept of the unity of Brahman-Ātman.

Chishtī uses the word essence (*zāt*) as the object of contemplation. He states the similarity of pantheistic idea that individual essence (*huwiyya*) can be found in eternal essence (*māhiyya*) with monistic idea of unity of Brahman-Ātman. Furthermore, Chishtī shows the similar idea with Ghazzālī's concept of *tawhīd*.³⁰ In chapter 3, Sāṃkhya's *Jñāna Yoga* is understood as *tawhīd*³¹ in Sūfistic context. For Chishtī, *Jñāna Yoga* means the firm belief (*yaqīn*) with God from whom all things come and into whom everything dissolves and for whom every action exists.³² Furthermore, *bhakti* is understood as love ('ishq) of the lovers of the essence of God. The

²⁹British Museum, Or.1883, ff.258-272. cf. Rieu, vol.III, p.1033.

³⁰Ghazzālī classified *tawhīd* in four kinds. The last stage of *tawhīd* is that of losing oneself in *tawhīd* (*fānā-yi tawhīd*). *Iḥyā*, vol.IV, Chapter 5, p.221.

³¹Chishtī ad *BG* 3-19. f.263b.

³²*ibid.* 3-20.25. f.263b.

concentration on God as a practice (*kash*) is achieved through this love. The propagation of love is much more strongly emphasized in the Persian translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* ascribed to Faizī.

Regarding the Persian translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, noteworthy thing is that *Sih Ganj*³³ ascribed to Dārā contains some phrases of the *Bhagavadgītā* very similar to the translation ascribed to Dārā. Further study will make the relation clear.

Translations and Adaptations of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in Persian

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was very popular among Indian Muslims. The Persian translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was first completed in 1591 in the age of Akbar. Since then the related works have been translated into Persian in the style of prosody, verses, abridged edition, and applied works imitated the subject.³⁴ There are 24 different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 11 of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 8 of the *Bhagavadgītā* and 6 of the *Mahābhārata* are established from the published catalogues.³⁵

We can trace the general knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Dārā in his dialogues with Hindu ascetic Bābā Lāl. These dialogues were held seven times in Lahore.³⁶ The subject of dialogue differs in versions, however, according to one version of this dialogue, *Les Entretiens de Lahore*³⁷, among 70 dialogues, we find five mythological questions on Rāma, Sītā, and Rāvana in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.³⁸

In the original Sanskrit *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, there are several kinds of versions and adaptations made in the later days in vernaculars. In the case of Persian *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, too, there are several kinds of Persian translations

³³Salar Jung Museum and Library, Cat. No.3476 (Tas 108).

³⁴S.H.A. Abidi. Translations in and from Persian. *Anuvād* 3. No.6. Delhi 1965, p.76; N.S. Gorekar. Persian Language and Sanskrit Lore, *Indica*, vol.2, Bombay 1965, p.113.

³⁵Fatuhullah Mujtabai, *Aspects of Hindu Muslim Cultural Relations*, New Delhi 1972, p.65.

³⁶In detail, see 3-2-2.

³⁷Les Entretiens de Lahore, entre le prince Impérial Dārā Shikūh et L'ascète Hindou Baba La'l Das. par Cl. Huart et L. Massignon, *Journal Asiatique*, Octobre-Décembre 1926. pp.285-334.

³⁸In the longer version as Urdu translation of the *Makhzan-i Nikāt*, the *Asrār-i Ma'rifat* serves such dialogues in the third session.

and adaptations.³⁹ An abridged work made by Abhinanda of Kashmir was translated by Niẓām al-Dīn Pāṇipattī for Sultān Salīm, i.e. Jahāngīr in the last years of the 16th century.⁴⁰ Mīr Findirskī wrote the *Muntakhab-i Jog* based on Niẓām al-Dīn's translation.⁴¹ In the year 1206 A.H./ 1791-92 at the instance of Akbar Shāh it was re-translated.

In the year 1066 A.H./ 1656, this work was re-translated at the instance of Dārā⁴² Editors of this work, Tārā Chand and A.H. Abidi, assume that Dārā's secretary Banwālī Dās (Walī Rām) had been the translator of the book.⁴³ This work was translated into Urdu by Maulavī Abu'l Ḥasan Farīdabādī. Furthermore, this was translate into Hindi with Perso-Arabic letters.⁴⁴

Another version was based on the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra*, abridged version of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.⁴⁵, which was an anonymous work abridged into ten chapters and 220 verses in the middle of the ninth century. This was translatd into Persian by Šūfi Sharīf Khubjhānī for Jahāngīr Shāh.⁴⁶ Aphorism were found in the *Shāriq al-Ma'rifat* ascribed to Faizī⁴⁷ in the 16th century. 'Abd al-Rahmān Chishtī's *Mir'āt al-Makhrūqāt*, which is the dialogue between Mahādeva and Pārvatī on Hindu cosmogony based on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Furthermore, the popularity of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is re-recognized in the introduction to his *Mir'āt al-Haqā'iq*, the Persian translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Chishtī compared the teaching of Vasiṣṭha in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the teaching of the *Veda* by Kṛṣṇa in

³⁹ For the Persian translation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, see Mujtabai pp.81-84.

⁴⁰ This translation was published in Tehran. *Jogavāsiṣṭha dar Falsafa wa Irfān-i Hind*, tr. by Niẓām Pāṇipattī, eds. Saiyid Muhammad Rīḍā Jalālī Nā'īnī and N.S. Shukla. Tehran 1981.

⁴¹ Ph.D. Thesis of Harvard Univ. by Mujtabai.

⁴² Ethe 1972, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India office, ed. Hermann Ethe, vol.1, Oxford 1903. p.1100. This was lithographed in Cawnpore 1883 and critically edited with glossary and introduction by Tārā Chand and A.H. Abidi. Aligarh 1968.

⁴³ *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, Persian, S.A.H. Abidi. p.10.

⁴⁴ cf. Sheo Narain, pp.31-32.

⁴⁵ The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is regarded as the *Prasthānatrayī*, thus the popular but anonymous abridged version, the *Laghu-yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* was composed.

⁴⁶ This is named as the *Kashf al-Kunūz*, or the *Tuhfat-i Majlis*, or the *Atwār dar Hāl-i Asrār*. See Riew, vol.III, p.1034b.

⁴⁷ Ethe, vol.1, p.1100. Rizvi assumed this work to belong Shāh Jahān's reign. cf. Rizvi: *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, Delhi 1975, p.215.

Bhagavadgītā.⁴⁸ At the end of 18th century, *Adāb-i Ṭarīqāt wa Khudāyābī* interspersed with the verses of Fānī Isfahānī.⁴⁹

The construction of Persian *Yogavāsiṣṭha* coincides with the original in number and name of the section (prakaraṇa).⁵⁰ The translations are sometimes word-by-word literal translation and sometimes just a framework is suggested. however, as a whole, the plot of the each story is preserved. The peculiarities of Persian *Yogavāsiṣṭha* of Jahangīr version is on their profound knowledge about Indian philosophy. They explain with technical terms in Indian philosophy, and similes to make the readers understand ideas peculiar to Vedānta system.⁵¹

In the *MB*, in section 19, referring to *Mahāpralaya*, the direct quotation of 3-11-40 in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is found only in the Sanskrit translation : “Let the deluge-breeze blow. May all the ocean be mingled into one; May the twelve suns shine brightly. One who has attained the mindless stage is not concerned with them.”⁵²

The name of Vasiṣṭha was referred to in section 2 in the *MB*. Here, referring to the creation , Dārā quoted the following word as Vasiṣṭha says, “When the Lord desired to be determined. He was transformed into *paramātmā* immediately on His thinking of it: on the increase of this determination. the stage of *ahamkāra* was attained and when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of *mahātat* (*mahat tattva*) or ‘*aql-i kul*.’ The most significant proof of the strong influence of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* can be seen in the rendering of the concept of three kinds of *ākāśa*. The concept of *ākāśa* has physical meaning as the first of the elements and equation with consciousness and with Brahman. Such an idea

⁴⁸ Mir‘āt al-Haqā‘iq. *op. cit.*, f.260b.

⁴⁹ Edited by Muḥammad Jalālī Nā‘īnī and N.S.Shukla. Tehran 1981.

⁵⁰ Omission is found from the 44 to 46 chapter of the original: most of the manuscripts consisted with 42 chapters or 43 chapters.

⁵¹ For instance, three kinds of knowledge of *Jīva* is explained with *pratyakṣa-jñāna*, *anumita-jñāna* and *śabda-jñāna*, and this *pratyakṣa* is two kinds based on *pramāṇa* and *bhrama*, this *bhrama* is divided into two : *samsaya* and *viparyaya*, furthermore, *anumita-jñāna* is explained the simile of smoke and fire in 3-1-2. This shows the clear understanding about the teaching of logical ideas in *Nyāya* philosophy. The famous similes of silver and pearl shell; water and lotus leaf are often used.

⁵² *taduktam vāsiṣṭharāmāyaṇe //*
kalpānta vāyavoyāntu māṁ caikatvam arṇavāḥ /
tapantu dvādaśādityā nāsti nirmanash kṣitih //

This is also found in the *Bhāṣā-yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* 10-26.

is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.⁵³ This subject has been examined in 2-1-2.

Regarding Kavīndra Sarasvatī's *bhāṣā* version of the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra*, also known as the *Jñānasāra*, Tārā Chand introduced one unique Persian manuscript entitled the *Rāfi' al-Khilāf (Remover of Difference)* by Sītā Rām Saksena, of Lucknow.⁵⁴ He wrote the work for the purpose of making Hindus and Muslims understand the differences which exist between their religious beliefs are superficial and shows a lack of understanding because all the paths of religion seek God. Furthermore, the author said that Dārā's *MB* was so short that many difficulties remained unexplained, thus he undertook to write commentary on Kavīndra Sarasvatī's *bhāṣā* version of the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* as the form of Persian translations of Kāvīndra's *dohās*. In fact, it combined with the poems of famous Ṣūfī like Jāmī and Aṭṭār etc. Tārā Chand said that Sītā Rām used this text to demonstrate the identity of the teachings of Muslim Ṣūfism with those of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. In the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra*, the tendency of pantheistic idea is propagated in the truth about the Brahman. It may have attracted Ṣūfis to connect this with the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd*.

⁵³ YV 6-114-17.

⁵⁴ Rāfi' al-Khilāf of Sītā Rām Kāyastha Saksena, of Lucknow (Kavīndrācāry's *Jñānasāra* and its Persian Translation). *The Journal of the Gaṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute*, November 1944 Vol.II Part. I, pp.7-12. Regrettably enough, this manuscript has been misplaced with other Persian manuscripts in the library of Gaṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute so far.

3-2-2 Hindu Gurus and Entourages

Bābā Lāl

The biographical profile of Bābā Lāl is deficient and anecdotes about him are scarce.¹ Bābā Lāl is known as Bābā La'l or Lāl Dās, or Lāl Dayāl. On the authority of the *Hasanāt al-Ārifīn*, Bābā Lāl is said to have belonged to Kabīr panthī. This has been conveyed by Sujān Rāy informs in the *Khulāsat al-Tawārīkh*.² Qanungo doubts that he was "A Kabīrpanthī out and out".³ Farquhar classified *Bābā Lālīs*, the sect propagated by Bābā Lāl as the sect on the line of Rāmānanda, *Vaiśnava bhakta* and mentions that their religious house was in Śaila near Baroda.⁴ The *Hasanāt al-Ārifīn* has some references to Bābā Lāl.⁵ He has been called a *maṇḍya* (shaved head) and it is said that Kabīr told Bābā Lāl that there are four kinds of *murshid*. One type of *murshid* is like red gold, which changes others to be like him. The second one is like elixir, which changes whatever reaches him into pure gold. However, pure gold cannot change others into pure gold. The third one is like Sandal wood, which can change the meritorious branches into Sandal wood, but non-meritorious ones cannot be changed into Sandal wood. The fourth one is like a candle, which is called perfect *murshid* (*murshid-i kāmil*), because even if candle is only one, it can ignite hundred thousand candles. Furthermore, Bābā Lāl told Dārā not to be a *shaikh*; not to be a *walī*; not to be a miracle maker; but to be a *faqīr* without design (hypocrisy).

Dārā Shukoh and Bābā Lāl met held in seven times in Lahore. Each Majlis has the description of the place where the meeting was held. The dialogues differ in number depending on the manuscripts, printed texts and translations. The Urdu translation of these dialogues, the *Asrār-i Ma'rifat* includes 382 dialogues on 7 occasions, the number of dialogues on each occasion are : on the first occasion 98; on the second occasion 19; on the

¹ *Mathnawi-yi Kajkulāh* by Ānandghan Khwush completed in 1209 A.H. /1794 contains a versified story depicting the relations between Dārā Shukoh and Bābā Lāl. See Marshall, p.74.

² *Dhyānpūr* pp.68-69.

³ Qanungo p.336. cf. Storey, p.994, n.3.

⁴ Farquhar, p.344.

⁵ *Hasanāt*, p.54.

third occasion 11; on the fourth occasion 33; on the fifth occasion 45; on the sixth occasion 29; on the seventh occasion 152. Another Urdu translation, *Rumūz-i Taṣawwuf* includes 208 dialogues on seven occasions, on the first occasion 85; on the second occasion 17; on the third occasion 10; on the fourth occasion 25; on the fifth occasion 40; on the sixth occasion 21; on the seventh occasion 10. The subjects of the dialogue are mainly such concepts as faqīr, murshid and doctrines of Sūfism; and some dialogues deal with mythological matters. The extant Persian manuscripts show not only the titles or quasi-titles but there are some differences of recension, some of which are only abstracts. An English translation of some extracts is given by Qanungo.⁶

Hasrat does not seem to understand this work fully. Firstly he negates the identification of the two versions, saying they do not show any relation with each other. For him the *Nādir un-Nikāt* is neither the dialogue nor a continuation of it.⁷ Secondly he confuses concerning the identification of the speakers of the dialogue. According to Hasrat, the lithographed edition at Delhi and Lahore do not seem to have been translated from Hindī, as in both of them we find some answers given by the faqīr. He understands faqīr as Bābā Lāl.⁸ The most insupportable judgement is the evaluation of manuscripts only on the basis of the beginning line of a manuscript in the catalogue. He said, "The manuscript copy in the Berlin Library and the Bodleian Library not only agree with each other (as appears from the first lines of the both quoted in their catalogues) but with that preserved in the oriental Public Library Patna."⁹

After examination of some manuscripts which are at our disposal, we can tentatively say that there are two types of recension of this dialogue as the Urdu translation shows. There are two manuscripts in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library. One is entitled the *Su‘āl wa Jawāb*.¹⁰ This is just an abridged version and includes only 25 topics. Regarding another manuscript¹¹, the style and subjects are similar to the Bodleian version, however, the order of the topics and the number of the subjects are not exactly the same as Bodleian recension. A manuscript preserved in the Salar

⁶Qanungo pp.337-47.

⁷Hasrat, p.246.

⁸Hasrat used all quotations by Wilson. *JA* vol.xvii(1832) p.290 sq.

⁹Hasrat p.246.

¹⁰Cat. No.2267 (HL 2267) ff.55b-59b.

¹¹Cat. No. 1454 (HL 1449) ff.1-19 (pp.394-411).

Jang Museum and Library¹² is an abridgement. The manuscript preserved in Benares Hindu University is a long version, however the number and the order of the subjects are different from the manuscript preserved in the Āṣafiyya Library.¹³ Another manuscript preserved in Āṣafiyya Library is incomplete but has similar subjects as the Bodleian version. It is urgent to arrange the critical edition of these dialogues consulting with the extant Persian manuscripts.

Rāmānanda Sūri

In the preface of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā translated pāṇḍit as ‘ālim, murshid, scholars of ‘Ilm al-zāhir. Another personality, the legendary pāṇḍit is Rāmānanda Sūri, the scholar and Śaiva Bhakta in Benares. Interesting to note, in the eulogy, Rāmānanda called Dārā as Dārā Shāh. For, there are some works ascribed to Dārā Shāh.

Pāṇḍit Rāmānanda Sūri was a notable pāṇḍit in Kāśī (Benares) Impressed with Rāmānanda’s extensive knowledge, in saṃvat 1713 / 1656, Dārā asked him to write the *Virāṭa Vivarana* which is to prove the saguṇa aspect of God. This work has been completed, however, there is no reference to this work in Dārā’s works and no Persian work was written by him on Saguṇa God. Dārā gave Rāmānanda the title of (*vividha-vidyā-camatkāra-parāmgata*).

There is no proof that the relationship between Dārā and Rāmānanda was that of teacher and disciple (*guru-siṣya*). However, Rāmānanda’s sincere love of Dārā is found in his poems. At the sight of the defeat of Dārā by Aurangzeb, Rāmānanda left some padas with sorrow and regret.¹⁴ Rāmānanda’s Sanskrit poems are notable and almost fifty *Stotras* are left. Beside *Stotras*, he wrote *Rasikajīvanam*, *Padyapīṭuṣa*, *Hāsyasāgar*, *Kāśīkutūha* and *Rāmacaritram*. Furthermore, he wrote a commentary on Kirāṭa’s *Dīpikā*, and the *Kāvyaprakāśa*’s Prākrit portion Even now, in Benares, Rāmānanda is regarded as Sanskrit teacher of Dārā Shukoh.

Among the Hindu poets in Shāh Jahān’s court, Jagannātha Pāṇḍitarāja known as Jagannātha Kalāvant¹⁵ is noted for a poet laureate and a

¹²Cat. No.3773.

¹³Tasawwuf Cat. No.6277 (vol.1 p.469).

¹⁴*Kāśī ka Itihās*, Motīcandra, Varanasi, 1985, pp.386-387.

¹⁵The honorable name of Pāṇḍitarāja was given by Shāh Jahān. cf. Jatindra Bimal

poet-rhetoricain under the patronage of Mughal court through the age of Jahangir to Shāh Jahān. He left many works as a scholar of *Alaṅkāra* and Grammar. He left eulogies to his life-long patron Āsaf Khān entitled *Āsaf Virāsa*. The eulogies of Dārā Shukoh is found in his *Jagadvijayacchandas*.¹⁶ However, in relation to Dārā Shukoh, more remarkable and influentail Hindu pāṇḍit was Kavīndra Sarasvatī.

Kavīndra Sarasvatī

François Bernier called the city of Benares the Athens in India. Dārā admitted that Benares was the centre of academic activities comparable with Agra, Lahore and Kashmir. Bernier mentions the existence of an educational academies to teach Sanskrit, six philosophical schools and *Purāṇa*.¹⁷ Bernier was patronized by Dānishmand Khān. Bernier taught Dānishmand Khān the philosophy of Gassandi, alchemy and medicine, on the other hand Bernier learnt the religious and philosophical ideas in India through the discussion with pāṇḍit. P.K.Gode thinks that the quasi-library which Bernier visited was the library of Kavīndra Sarasvatī.¹⁸ The French merchant Tavernier also informed that when he stayed in Benares in 1665, there was a kind of university established by Rāja Jai Singh and Brāhmaṇas taught Sanskrit.¹⁹

In Benares, the most influential pāṇḍit in the court of Shāh Jahān was Kavīndra Sarasvatī. Benares is one of the most important sacred town equal to Prayāg (Illāhābād), however, as is known from the old coins, in Aurangzeb's age, it was once called Muhammdābād.

A notable episode about Kavīndra Sarasvatī is the abolition of jizya and pilgrim tax.²⁰ In 1042 / 1632 when Shāh Jahān intended to levy jizya

Chaudhuly, *Muslim Patronage to Sanskritic Learning*, rep. Delhi, 1981, p.116.

¹⁶For his works, see Marshall pp.215-126. cf. P.V.Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, repr. Delhi, 1987, pp.321-5 : P.S.Ramchandrudu, *The Contribution of Pāṇḍitarāja Jagannātha to Sanskrit Poetics*, vol.I, Delhi, 1983.

¹⁷Bernier, p.338.

¹⁸P.K.Gode, Har Datt Sharma and M.M.Patkar have some proof for the existence of the Kavīndra Sarasvatī's library. For there are some manuscripts having belonged to Kavīndra collection in Baroda Central Library. Gaekwad, p.ix.

¹⁹Tavernier, vol.II, pp.182-3.

²⁰On jizya in India. see Faruki, pp.140-163.

and pilgrim tax²¹. Kavīndra Sarasvatī's intercession resulted to exemption of Hindus from such tax.²² These *jizya* and pilgrim taxes were abolished by Akbar. In the age of Firoz Shāh Tughluq, these taxes were imposed but was lessened after the petition of *Brāhmaṇas* in Delhi.²³ However, in Aurangzeb's age, it was levied again.²⁴ Court chroniclers keep silent about this incident. The reason may be that it was a remission of tax for Hindus. For this praiseworthy act of Kavīndra Sarasvatī²⁵, 69 Hindu poets and scholars dedicated an anthology (*padyāvalī, prabandha*) entitled *Kavīndracandrodaya* compiled by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Upādhyāya.²⁶

In this anthology, Kavīndra Sarasvatī's extensive knowledge is seen in the poems named *Kavīndrāṣṭaka*. They are six *Vedāṅga*, four *Vedas*, 18 *Purāṇas*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Nyāya*, *Ālaṅkāra*, *Yoga of Yogavāsiṣṭha*, *Sāṃkhya*, and *Vaiśeṣika*. He was praised as equal to Śaṅkara (*Vedānta*), Jaimini (*Mīmāṃsā*), Kanāda (*Vaiśeṣika*), Gautama (*Nyāya*), Kapila (*Sāṃkhya*, *Patañjali* (*Yoga*)), Pāṇini in their field respectively. The list of 2192 books in various academic field entitled the *Kavīndraācāryasūcīpattra*²⁷ also shows his extensive knowledge. He wrote eulogies not only on Shāh Jahān but also on Jahān Ārā Begum and Dārā Shukoh. On the occasion of the abolition of *jizya* and pilgrim tax, Dārā might have taken the side of the *pāṇḍits* of Benares.

As is seen in 3-2-1, the noteworthy work written by Kavīndra Sarasvatī is a Hindi version of the *Yoavāsiṣṭhasāra*. According to Ramaswami Shastri²⁸, this work is similar to Dārā's *MB*, and Kavīndra Sarasvatī initiated Dārā into the mysteries of Yoga and Vedānta and this work seems to have been prepared for Dārā.

²¹This pilgrim tax is called Kar derived from *kara*. cf. *Aīn-i Akbarī*, vol.II, pp.72-73: Manucci, vol.II, p.61; Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p.153.

²²M.M.Harprasad Shastri, *Indian Antiquary*. Vol.XLI, 1912, p.11.

²³Rizvi, *The Wonder*, p.165.

²⁴Sāqī Musta'ad Khān, *Ma'āsir-i 'Alamgīrī*. Calcutta, p.108: Manucci, vol.III, p.274.

²⁵For his works, see Marshall pp.247-248.

²⁶Poona Oriental Series 60, ed. Har Dutt Sharma and M.M.Patkar, Poona 1939. Renou and Rajendra Mitra regard this as the anthology for Shāh Jahān and the compiler might have been Kavīndra Sarasvatī. *L'Inde Classique*, vol.II, p.230.

²⁷Gaekwad's Oriental Series XVII, ed. R.A.Krishna Shastri. Baroda 1921.

²⁸Jagannātha Pāṇḍita, Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No.8, pp.7-8.

Chandra Bhān Brāhmaṇ

Chandra Bhān Brāhmaṇ (d. 1068 -1073 /1657-1663), a disciple of ‘Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkotī²⁹, who became the private *munshī* (secretary) of Shāh Jahān. He was a good poet in a mystically tinged style: on the other hand as a *munshī*, he was an eminent secretary of ‘ilm-i *inshā*. His *Munshy ‘āt-i Brahman*³⁰, a group of official letter models, are eloquent and simple and widely approved as typical models of *inshā*.³¹ His prose work *Chār Chaman-i Brahman* (Brahman’s Four Meadows) gives a lively unofficial account of the life in Lahore and Delhi. His Persian *Diwān*, known as *Iksīr-i A’zam* (The Strongest Elixier) is a typical sample of Persian poetry being written in India in his time. In its present incomplete form it has 133 *ghazal* and 28 quatrains.³² From his other Sūfistic work, *Tuhfat al-widad* and letters to his relatives, we know Sūfistic tenets as the importance of unity of God; self-purification and grace in knowing Truth and one’s self. It is remarkable that he translated a Sanskrit Vedāntic work entitled *Ātma-vilāsa* ascribed to Śaṅkara into Persian and named *Nāzuk Khayālāt*. After Dārā’s execution, Brāhmaṇ served various noblemen before retiring to Benares where he may have lived till beyond 1068 A.H. / 1657-58 to 1073 A.H. / 1662 - 63.³³

Another *munshī* of Dārā was Banwalīdās or Banalī Dās, *takhallus* Wali. He was also a disciple of Dārā’s pīr Mullā Shāh. He left his own *Diwān*. His contribution was the writing some Persian tracts³⁴ and he translated the popular Sanskrit Vedāntic drama entitled *Prabodhacandrodaya* into Persian naming it *Gulzār-i Hāl*. Furthermore, the translation of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* at the instance of Dārā is also ascribed to him.

Even if P.K.Gode left the message to “request to Sanskrit scholars

²⁹In fact, Chandra Bhān himself did not refer to ‘Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkotī as his teacher. See Fārooquī p.32.

³⁰For his works, Marshall pp.120-121.

³¹cf. Momin Mohiuddin. *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography under the Mughal* Calcutta, 1971, pp.228-234.

³²The critical edition of this work is made by Muhammad ‘Abdul Ḥamīd Fārooquī, *Chandra Bhān Brahman : Life and Works, With a Critical Edition of His Persian Diwān*, Ahmedabad, 1967.

³³Fārooquī, pp.76-79.

³⁴Marshall pp.104-105.

and the students of the Mughal history to reconstruct the history of Dārā's contact with Benares Paṇḍits which yet needs careful exploration and reconstruction on the basis of contemporary sources, both Sanskrit and Persian.”³⁵, most of the informations left for us in *itihāsa* are based on legend (*kimvadanti*). It is not traced that Dārā understood Sanskrit language. Sanskrit work entitled *Satabhūmikā* is ascribed to Dārā.³⁶ There is a Sanskrit letter ascribed to Dārā, addressed to Goswāmī Nṛsimha Saraswatī preserved in Adyar Library.³⁷ The manuscript is dated Samvat 1805 / 1748 , however, that may be the date of transcription. Dārā was executed 1659.

In ancient times, searching for truth, kings invited many wise men (*pandits*) for discussion to lead them to find Upaniṣadic knowledge. The same was the Ibādat Khāna’s discussions every Thursday night, it led to find Dīn-i Ilāhī. In the *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, the author introduced many *paṇḍits* and *samnyāsins* who made him understand their religious and philosophical ideas. We can infer that such a *majlis* might have been held in the presence of Dārā and were the source of his ideas.

³⁵P.K.Gode, vol.II, p.446.

³⁶Journal of Gangānātha Jhā Research Institute February 1944, p.193 ff.

³⁷Shelf No. XI-D-4.; Library Catalogue, VolIII, 2(b) 1928; cf. RASB, *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol.IV, No.3111; India Office Library, Eggeling No.3947. Rajendra Mitra introduced this is the part of *Kavindrakalpadruma*. however, it is not approved.

Conclusion

Dārā Shukoh applied his mind to the lifelong task of searching for the truth. On his way of spiritual progress, Dārā began to investigate the truth in a speculative and the devotional way, and thus came to the conclusion narrated in the preface of the *MB*. The *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* is a compendium of what he acquired in his speculative and devotional journey. Scattered pearls of wisdom in the *MB* are joined together with the thread of *tawhīd*.

Dārā Shukoh might have aimed at the construction of speculative mystic theology out of love for searching the truth common to all the creeds. After investigating both Islamic and Hindu scriptures and commentaries, and the works of great saints, after the discussions with scholars and saints, he acquired the essential point common to both creeds. The method in which Dārā wrote the *MB* was not as speculative and systematic one as Al-Bīrūnī did.¹ First, Al-Bīrūnī generalized the problem which should be discussed, then stated parallels in Greek, Islamic, Sufistic and Christian notions. After analysing, he drew the conclusions. The method in which Dārā wrote the *MB* cannot be said to be speculative. Although to some extent verbal, it is *nor* an enumeration of ideas as Abu'l Fazl's description of the Indian philosophy and religious sects in the *A'in-i Akbari*. The *MB* is not the enumeration of technical terms, but a commentary on some selected concepts.

As we have seen in this thesis, the sources of the *MB* can be traced. In spite of differences of languages, religious tenets and ways of living, he collected the source materials with the help of pandits. In addition to the primary sources of Islam and Hindu religious and philosophical ideas, Dārā have consulted secondary sources such as the works translated from Arabic into Persian and Sanskrit into Arabic and Persian. Contemporary scholars and Sufis made translations from Arabic originals and wrote commentaries on the famous classical works. In the history of interaction of Islam and Indian traditions, Dārā has remarkable status in this regard. not only supervising the translations and adaptations of Sanskrit classics, but also interpreting on various concepts based on his own knowledge acquired through various sources through the informants. Direct conversation or correspondence with contemporary Sufi saints and Hindu pandits was the most influential sources of his ideas.

¹ Al-Bīrūnī's Methodology in India. Mudhammad Aslam, *Al-Bīrūnī: Commemorative Volume*, Karachi, 1979, pp.330-334.

The notable parallel ideas or concepts have their sources in parallels, from the *Upaniṣads* to contemporary schools of Philosophy². Purānic literatures³, Yogic and Tantric practices in Hindu side, and the Śūfistic ideas of *tawḥīd* and *wahdat al-wujūd* propagated by Ibn ‘Arabī and his followers. There were commentators for Dārā on these ideas. On the other hand, his own practice as a novice of Qādirī order gave him the reality of spiritual path. the construction of the *MB* is much influenced by that of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

In the perspective of philosophy of religion, we can find two phases of his thought. One phase is the dogmatic concept of Islām, *tawḥīd*. *Tawḥīd* is the main pole of Islām i.e. the affirmation of the existence of God. Dārā's idea of God as shown in the *MB* does not go against the monistic doctrines of orthodox Islam. *Tawḥīd* is the core of his interest. However, Dārā's understanding of *tawḥīd* is not the formal, outward aspect of *tawḥīd* propagated in *shari‘a*. In this respect, orthodox theologians have some doubt. The interrelationship of God, world and man is understood through the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*. The Upaniṣadic concept of the unity of Brahman and Ātman was reconciliated with *tawḥīd* on the ground of *wahdat al-wujūd*. The idea of Macrocosm-Microcosm developed into the idea of Perfect Man as mediator between the dogmatic sphere and the devotional world. The concept of *Virāṭa Puruṣa* is also put in this sphere. Even though, Dārā did not go beyond the Islamic context. The transcendence of God is preserved with the setting of the concept of Perfect Man. Another phase is that of devotional world to know the truth in one's heart. Practical contemplation is one of the important aspects of the devotional world. Such a contemplation can be done with Śūfistic practice which has total similarity with Yogic and more recent Tantric practice. As one of the traveller on the Śūfistic path, the experience of religious practices might have helped him to find out the equivalent. The supreme goal of the Śūfistic path and the Yigin's devotional discipline is acquired through the contemplation of God.

In the perspective of the philosophy of religion, as Hicks defines that the study of “the concepts and belief systems of religion and the prior phenomena of religious experience and the activities of worship and contemplation”, Dārā's *MB* can give the relevant points for consideration. In the history of

²Qanungo notices the Vedānta and Yoga system of much older date as the source of parallels. p.80.

³Particularly, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives much influence on the construction of the *MB* and Vedāntic ideas are collected from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.

philosophy. Dārā contributed as a commentator and transmitter of Hindu philosophical and religious thought. As repeatedly Dārā declared, with the help of divine grace, this difficult task was accomplished. A tragic fate ended Dārā's life as he was reaching the zenith. Mourned by his contemporaries, Dārā Shukoh is remembered as one of those for whom the quest for truth was central to life. Dārā's premature death deprived his fellow seekers of a companion and posterity of works this ardent seeker might have completed. Dārā Shukoh's present significance in the Indian subcontinent is his image as the symbol of tolerance due to his humanity. Qanungo said :

A martyr to Love, human and divine, a heroic soul that stood for peace and concord among mankind, and the emancipation of the human intellect from the shackles of blind authority and dogma, Muhammad Dārā Shukoh merely justified in life and death and inscrutable "ways of God to man" ⁴

⁴Qanungo p.233.

Part II Critical Edition of *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*

1 Persian Text of *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*

1-1 Editorial Note on the Critical Edition of *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*

The critical apparatus used for the present edition of the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* will be shown after the discussion of the problem of the published text.

As we have introduced in 2-1-2, so far two Persian texts of the *MB* have been published. They have been examined exhaustively in this editorial work. *MB* was printed in India edited by Mahfūz al-Haqq in 1929 in Calcutta and in Iran, it was edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā’imī in *Muntahbāt-i Āṭār* in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran, while these editions differ from each other.

In the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition, Mahfūz al-Haqq used five manuscripts for preparing his text, i.e., (1) Asafiyya Library, Hyderabad, dated 9th Rabī‘ I. 1224 A.H.. Catalogue No. P-884 (A3 in my abbreviation) transcribed by Sayyid Gharīb ‘Alī b. Sayyid Shāh ‘Alī Riḍā; (2) Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, No.1450 of the Hand List(K in my abbreviation); (3) Rampur State Library, dated 22nd Zul Ḥijja 1226 A.H., transcribed by Muḥammad Hājī Beg (Catalogue No. 964, R4 in my abbreviation); (4) Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, as is said to be autograph of Dārā Shukoh but the authenticity is negated by the *BI*; (5) the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Curzon Collection No.156 of Hand List (C in my abbreviation). Besides, the editor of the *BI* consulted with unique manuscript of Arabic translation in National Library of Calcutta. ¹*Tarjumat-i Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*, by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Misrī, dated 1185 A.H. / 1771.

The Tehran edition is *codex unicus* based on the only one manuscript preserved in the private collection of Sayyid Muḥammad Muhibb Tabātabā’ī. And *Bibliotheca Indica* edition was provided as footnotes for the comparison. It was published entitld *Muntakhbāt-i Āṭār* compiled with his two other

¹The collection of the Būhār Library; *Catalogue Raisonne of the Būhār Library*. vol.II. Arabic Manuscripts. comp. by Shams-ul-‘Ulamā’ Muḥammad Hidāyat Husain Khān Bahādur. Calcutta. Imperial Library 1923. p.150. Cat. No. 133.. ff. 39 , 15 lines.

works i.e. *Risalat Haqq Nūmā* and *Upanīhat Mundaka* in 1335 H.S. =1957.

. Both editions have proved quite useful to us in the light of the MSS. which have been at my disposal, however, because of the omission of the more indispensable manuscripts, their selection of the variants are limited. Further, some misunderstanding of Sanskrit technical terms leads the hopeless misreading of the text. As a result, their texts can hardly be said to be the nearest to the original. These points will be elucidated by referring to the peculiarities taken from the variants.

With close examination and comparison of their reading, we have tried to provide the students of comparative philosophy or religion with a text which will give them clear information. At first we consulted with the catalogues and collected the manuscripts. To enquire the genealogy of the MSS. we divided the text in the smallest part, in word, and examined the peculiarities of the manuscript and then traced the family members based on the comparison of these parts. In weighing the relative trustworthiness of manuscripts, we made genealogy tree by making a hypothetical common ancestor and selected the texts to be used for collation work. The detailed description of the MSS.. and the critical remarks on the recensions will be reproduced below.

The Persian MSS. of the *MB* are not rare. From the published descriptive catalogues, and the hand lists of MSS. available in public libraries and private collections in India and outside India, the existence of more than 28 MSS. of the *MB* has been so far established. The difficulty of obtaining access to some of the indispensable MSS., only 26 MSS. are at our disposal to collate with a view to bring out the authentic text which restores the original readings.

The translations of the work in Sanskrit, Arabic and Urdu are available in limited number and classed as Testimonia to collate this work. This makes a total of about MSS. of the *MB* available for the consultation. The aforesaid as many as 26 MSS. were actually procured and used for the collation of our edition.

1-2 Materials

Description of the MSS. which were consulted for this edition.

A1 : Asafiyya Library (Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute, Andhra Pradesh State Government). Hyderabad (Deccan). Cat. No. P-

1451. Hand List No. P-111. (ff.1-15, 13-16 lines. Dated 1137 A.H./1724-25).

² This belongs to the older group of MSS. however, it has relatively more scribe error authographically and grammatically. This could be said to be the parent codex of basic version. Most nearest sister Ms. is S.

A2 : Asafiyya Library, Cat.No.P-1761, Hand list P-117. (ff.1-12,19-22 lines, not dated). Written on old paper, and worm eaten. however, it is repaired. This has considerable similarity with A1, however not so near to the parent but intimate sister of A3.

A3 : Asafiyya Library, Cat. vol.1, p.472. Hand list p.106. Cat No. P-884. (pp.1-42, 16-17 lines, Dated 1244 A.H. / 1828-29). ³ This is written in good nash and scribe errors are not so many. Most of the reading follows A1 text.

B : Bodleian Library, Oxford. Cat. No.1241(13), Ms. Ouseley Add.69. *Majmū'i Rasā'il* no.13. ⁴ (ff.132-145v, 20-21 lines. dated 1198A.H. Ramadān 6 = the 24th July, 1784.) This has unique interpolations common to R4.

BM1 : British Museum, London. Cat. No. Add.16821(vii). ⁵ (ff.231b-248a, 19-21 lines, not dated, Yule writes it is probably transcribed in India 17th century). Very clear *naskh*.

BM2 : British Museum, London. Cat. No. Add. 18404(ii). ⁶ (ff.231-248, 15 lines. Dated 1172 A.H / 1758). Special peculiarity of this Ms. is the omission of all the citations and the explanations for those citations. The features retain the reading of the basic version.

C : Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Cat. No.681. ⁷ (ff.1-20, 16-17 lines, Dated 18th Nov. 1871). Feature-wise, this is the most intimate Ms. of B2.

D1 : Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad(Deccan). Cat. No.3340, Hand List No. Tas. 157. ⁸ (ff.1-45, lines, Dated Shawwāl 1190 A.H. / Nov. 1776).

² *Fihrist-i Kutub-i 'Arabi wa Fārsī wa Urdū bi-Kutubhānah-i Āṣafīyyah*, comp. Syed Tassaddug Ḥusain al-Kantūrī, 1332-1335 A.H. /1913-1916 vol.3 p.202.

³ Mahfuz-ul Haqq dated this Ms. 1224A.H., however, the reading of the colophon is 1244 A.H.

⁴ Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. H. Ethe and Beeston, Pt.1, Oxford, 1954.

⁵ Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum. Charles Rieu, Vol.1, 1879 (repr. 1966), p.828.

⁶ Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum. Vol.1, p.841.

⁷ Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Curzon Collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vladimir Ivanow, 1926, Calcutta. Bibliotheca Indica, Work No.241, Issue No.1456. New Series p.455.

⁸ Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts vol.VIII. Islamic Theology, Salar Jung Museum and Library. 1983. p.189.

This has intimate relationship with BM2 and D2.

D2 : Salar Jung Museum. Cat. No.3340. Hand List No. Tas 53. ⁹ (ff.20b-26a, 17-18 lines, Dated 1158 A.H./ 1745-46). Feature-wise, very good Ms, however, from the end of chapter 7 to the end of chapter 9 are missing.

E : Eaton Library, Oxford. Cat. No.36. ¹⁰ (ff.29, 13 lines, not dated).

F : Mulla Feroz Library (preserved in K.R.Cama Oriental Institute), Bombay. Cat. No.9. ¹¹ (ff. 1-20v, 12 lines, Dated 1216 A.H./ 1801-2.) This has close relationship with V.

H1 : Habib Ganj Collection Maulana Azad Library Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. Cat. No. Tasawwuf 21/352. ¹² (ff.1-32v, 14 lines, not dated). This belongs the main stream of the reading as BM2 and S.

H2 : Habib Ganj Collection. Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. Cat. No.593. Hand List No.21/333. ¹³ (ff.33b-45a, 20 lines, Dated 1820). This retains the reading of R1 and makes the family.

J : Jawahar Museum Collection. Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. Cat. No. 469. (ff.1-16b, 15-16 lines, dated 1309 A.H./ 1809-10, a copy of 1101 A.H./1689). Post-colophon says that this was copied in 1101 A.H.. however, other works written in the same hand show the year of the script is 1309 A.H. Considering the hand and the paper condition, it would be reasonable for us to take this former year as the year of the original Ms. on which this Ms. depended.

K : Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna. Cat. No.1452, Hand List No.1450, ¹⁴ (ff.1-16, 16 lines, no date(ca. 18th century)). As the BI suggested, this contains several orthographical mistakes and is not written in a clear hand. ¹⁵

N : Nadwatul 'Ulamā-yi Lucknow. Cat. No.203 (Taṣawwuf 46).

⁹Catalogue, ibid. p.189.

¹⁰Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of Eaton College. Comp. D.S.Margoliouth. Oxford. 1904.

¹¹Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic, Hindustani Persian and Turkish MSS., and Descriptive Catalogue of the Avesta, Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian MSS. in the Mulla Firoz Library at Bombay, comp. by S.A.Brelvi and Ervad B.N.Dhabhar. p.x.

¹²Catalogue of Manuscripts in the MSS. Maulana Azad Library ,Vol.1, Pt.II. Habib Ganj Collection, Comp. M.M.Rizvi, M.H.Qaisar. Maulana Azad Library, 1985, p.94.

¹³ibid. p.79.

¹⁴Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, vol.XVI, Sufism, Prayers, Hinduism and History of Creeds and Sects. Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library Patna. 1994. pp.130-131.

¹⁵BI, p.31

¹⁶ (ff.1-32, 15 lines. Dated 1273 A.H. / 1857.) With its unique commentative reading, it makes the family with *U2*, *U3*.

R1 : Rampur Raza Library, Rampur, Cat. No.960. ¹⁷ (ff.47, dated 1134 A.H. / 1721-22).

R2 : Rampur Raza Library, Cat. No.960b ¹⁸ (ff.1b-13a, dated 1195 A.H./ 1780-81 (not indicated in this Ms.)) Its characteristic is the omission in section12.

R3 : Rampur Raza Library, Cat. No.906 ¹⁹ (ff.1-11b, not dated.) The *Risālah-yi Shattāriyyah* and the Miṣbāḥ al-Āshiqīn are written in the margin. The script is very beautiful and in fairly good condition.

R4 : Rampur Raza Library, Cat. No.964 ²⁰ (ff.1-17b, 1226 A.H. / 1811-12). As is shown by the *BI*, the spurious additions in section12 shows the Shiite tendencies and has many common additional explanations and interpolations common to *B*.

R5 : Rampur Raza Library, Cat no.964b ²¹ , (ff.20, 1226 A.H.)(the exact copy of No.964).

R6 : Rampur Raza Library, Cat. No. 963d ²² .(ff.19-24a, not dated). Damaged. Unfortunately, this retains the centre part of the pages and end of the lines are totally damaged and carefully repaired with natural paper. The peculiar readings show that this retains the family character of *F*, *V*.

S : Subhān Allāh Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. Cat. No.297:7/12. (ff.1-32v, 14 lines, not dated). This follows the reading of *A1*.

U1 : University Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh. Hand List No. Tasawwuf 346. (pp.1-32, ff.1-16v, 15 lines, dated 1342 A.H. = 1923).

U2 : University Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. Hand List No. Tasawwuf 345. (pp.1-45, pp.1-45, 10-21 lines, Dated 1923). This follows the reading of *N*, however, its own readings show

¹⁶ *Fīhrīst-i Nuskh-hā-yi Ḥattī-yi Fārsī-yi Kitābhānah Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’ Lakhnaw, Markaz-i Tahqīqāt-i Zabān-i Fārsī dar Hind, Dihlī Naw.. 1986. p.264.*

¹⁷ *Fīhrīst-i Nuskh-hā-yi Ḥattī-yi Fārsī Kitābhānah-yi Radā Rāmpūr, gild awwal, 1417 A.H.(1996) . p.253.*

¹⁸ *ibid.* p.253.

¹⁹ *ibid.* p.253.

²⁰ *ibid.* p.254.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.254.

²² *ibid.* 254.

its originality.

U3 : University Collection. Research Library of the Institute of Advanced Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. Hand List No. Tasawwuf 32. (pp.1-29, pp.1-29, 10-16 lines, not dated). This belongs to the family of *N* and much nearer to *N* than *U2*.

V : Banaras Hindu University, Benares. Cat. No.428, *Kitāb Bhaukūl Pūrān* (3) ²³ (pp.62, ff.1-30v, 11-14 lines. Dated 1245 A.H. = 1829). This has common readings with *F* and make a family.

*VM : Victoria Memorial Hall. Cat. No. R430/C/327. ²⁴ BI established the non-authenticity of this Ms. as the autograph. BI said that there are so many omissions and inaccuracies and orthographical mistakes. ²⁵

The result of the examination shows that the archetype is the only one. The difference of the text derived from the omission, interpolation or interchanging of the order of the subject. Chronologically, based on the description of each post-colophon of the dated manuscripts, the order of them might be put as follows: Sanskrit translation- *R1-A1-D2-BM2*-Arabic translation-*D1-R2-B-F-R4-J* ²⁶ -*H2-A3-V-N-C-U1.U2*. Among other undated MSS., *BM1* is said to be copied in the 17th century by the cataloguer, W.M.Yule. ²⁷ If we take this granted *BM1* should stand first of all the MSS. Here the most interesting thing is that two translations of the *MB* stand rather earlier date of copied. These MSS. will form indispensable part of a proper reconstruction work. Other undated MSS. are *A2, H1, R3, R6, S, U3*. The position of these MSS. would be established by the interrelationship with the examination of the variants.

An examination of the variants of these MSS. shows that there are some versions of the transmission. One basic version accepted the common reading. This group includes *BM1.A1,D2,BM2,D1,F,J,H2,V,C,E,K*. Among this, *D2* stands first in the authenticity, however, due to the omission of

²³ *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Banaras Hindu University Library*, comp. by Amrit Lal Ishrat, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, no date. *A Detailed Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Banaras Hindu University*, A.K.Ishrat, Dept. of Persian, Hand List, 1965, vol.2, p.352.

²⁴ *Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Manuscripts, Victoria Memorial*, 1973, p.34.

²⁵ BI, p.32.

²⁶ Date of *J* needs some considerations. See the description of *J* stated above.

²⁷ *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, vol.1, p.828.

the portion, it could hardly be said to be the perfect parent codex.²⁸ So, we have to depend on the next one, *A1*. Chronologically, *BM1* should be the base text, however, since it has several orthographical and grammatical errors, it diminishes the value of the reading.

Next comes *R1* as another version. This includes *H2* and far-related *N* group. In *N* group, in many places, the text of the *MB* was altered by the scribe with some interpolations with definite object and in a particular way. On the other hand, *B* group includes only two MSS. Most of the readings show it on the main stream, however, unique application of the verse in section 1 and unique description on the *nubuwat wa wilāyat* in section 12 in Shiic tendencies stand it as one independent stream.

Thus I selected four Persian MSS. as parent codex and its support : *A1, BM1, R1, B*, two translation work of *MB* and the two published text *BI* (Bibliotheca Indica edition) and *T* (Tehran edition) for the collation work as critical apparatus.

1-3 Methods Employed in the Reconstruction

I shall present a statement of the methods which I have worked out for establishing the text of the most nearest to the original, positively and negatively, together with a brief statement of the reasons why we may be confident that there really was such a form. Detailed illustrations will be furnished in later. Since nothing can be decided finally about the original until we are sure what versions are secondarily interrelated, I shall take up the methods by which we may hope to decide that question.

I first collected and selected the versions of the *MB* which could be assumed to contain all, or at least practically all, the evidence that could be used in reconstructing the original form. Next I undertook a very minute comparison of all the materials found in each of these versions in so far as they correspond in meaning of materials found in any of the others. For this purpose I divided the texts into the smallest possible units, each unit consisting of a single prose sentence - sometimes only a word of a sentence. I treated the text of each version critically, noting variant readings of different manuscripts and editions in so far these are available.

Confronting these text-units, I studied the relationship of the versions.

²⁸See the description of *D2*.

When a sentence or a verse was found in identical or practically identical word, I assumed that this sentence or verse was a literal inheritance from the original or general parent codex. I found that such obvious correspondences are sufficiently numerous to establish the fact that these recensions go back to the ancestors of the family and lead to a single literally archetype assumed.

However, in the large majority of cases, I was not so fortunate as to find such general and absolute agreement. It was necessary by a careful examination of the cumulative evidence of all the parallel text-units, to discover the relationship of the versions to the original and to each other in order to interpret their variations. Unless this could be done with an approach to certainty, no reconstruction could be made of passages in which the existing versions disagree, or which are totally lacking in some of them; for otherwise we could not answer the question . which version is more apt to be original in any given case?

We will show some criteria for differentiation.

- 1) Features common to all versions must belong to the original, which includes all the older versions. concordant readings among different versions indicate original reading of the archetype.
- 2) Omission or interpolation or expansions of features common to all the other versions do not seriously diminish the virtual certainty that these features are original. It will be helpful to ascertain the interrelationship between the versions.
- 3) Minor features common to a small number of versions are not necessarily near to the original.
- 4) The versions in question are parts of some larger one, and that larger whole may be of common origin.
- 5) The genealogical method helps us to eliminate certain variants and establish the simplified reading to which most of the descendants agree.

For the restoration of the text, there is no definite line that can be drawn; so it is harder to suppose the difference of versions independent occurrence than its inheritance from the original. However, our methods might be verified inductively and pragmatically, and are not based on mere abstract or a priori considerations. but a detailed and careful study of all the materials.

1-3 Critical Notes

In this edition, the variants are reported in the Critical Notes at the foot of the pages. They are reported by each name of the Ms. in abbreviated form. The non-inclusion of any MSS. in the Critical Notes does not imply that they agree with the text as printed; but selected variants are reported. In this edition, specially the difference of reading of the published texts are criticised. Particular care has been taken with regard to the footnotes at the bottom of the page to be indicated. For the transliterated Sanskrit terms, equivalent terms are indicated in the footnotes.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بَسْنَامٍ أَنْسَكَهُ اُنْسَانِي بُوسِيَانَ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ كَسْوِيَانَ
جَهْرٌ زَنْبَانِي فِي مِثْلِ وَنَظِيرٍ خُوبِشَ طَاهِرٌ حَرَدَانِيَهُ^۳ وَمَعْجَ يَلْكَهُ^۴ اَنْهَا رَأَى جَهَابَ

رَخْ نِيكُوي خُودَ نَسَاخَهُ :

كَفْرُ وَاسْلَامُ دَرْ رَهْشَنْ بُوسِيَانَ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ كَسْوِيَانَ
دَرْ هَهُ اُوستَ طَاهِرُ وَهَهُ اُوستَ جَلْهَهُ، اَوْلَ اُوستَ وَآخِرَ اُوستَ وَغَيْرَ او
مُوجُودَ بِنَاشَدَ :

رِبَاعِي

عَصَابَهُ وَعَنْشَبَنْ وَعَوْرَهُ هَهُ اُوستَ دَرْ دَلْ كَهْدَارَ وَاطَّلسَ شَهَهُ هَهُ اُوستَ
دَرْ اِنْجَمَنْ فَرَقَ وَنَهَا نَعَانَسَهِي هَمْسَيَ^۵ بَالَّهِ هَهُ اُوستَ تَمْ بَالَّهِ هَهُ اُوستَ
وَدَرَوْدَنَا عَدَدَوْدَ بَرْ مَظَهُورَ اِتَّمَ بَاعَشَتَ اِيجَادَ عَالَمَ^۶ مَعَدَ مَعْصَفَى^۷ صَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
وَبَرَّ الْكَرَامَ وَبَرَّ اِصْحَابَ عَطَامَ اوْ بَادَ اَتَمَ^{۱۰} بَعْدَ^{۱۱} مَيْكَوْيدَ فَقَهَرَ بِي حَزَنَ وَانْدَوْهَ
مَعَدَ^{۱۲} دَارَا شَكُوهَ^{۱۳} كَيْ بَعْدَ اَنْ دَرِيَافَتَ حَقِيقَةَ الْمَخَابَفَ وَتَعْقِيفَ رَمَوزَ وَدَفَاعَيَ
مَذَهَبَ بَرْ حَجَّ^{۱۴} سَوَيَّهَ وَفَائِرَ كَشْتَنَ بَابِنَ عَطَلَهُ عَظَمَيَ دَرْ صَدَدَ اَنْ شَدَدَ كَهْ دَرَكَ كَنَدَ
مَشْرَبَ مَوْخَدَانَ هَنَدَ، وَبَا^{۱۵} بَعْضَيَ اَنْ مَعْقَانَ اَيْنَ قَوْمَ^{۱۶} وَكَمَلَانَ اِيشَانَ كَيْ بَهَيَاتَ
رِيَاضَتَ وَادِرَاكَ وَفَهِيدَيَ وَغَايَاتَ تَصَوُّفَ وَخَدَابَيَ وَسَنجِيدَيَ^{۱۷} رِسَيَدَهُ بُورَندَ

^۱ BI,T om.

^۲ T adds

^۳ BI,T

^۴ BI,T add

^۵ BI,T om.

^۶ BI,T add

^۷ T instead of

^۸ BI,T add

^۹ BI,T om.

^{۱۰} T om.

^{۱۱} T adds

^{۱۲} T,R1 om.

^{۱۳} T adds بَادَشَهَ

^{۱۴} B,BM1 om.

^{۱۵} B,BM1,T om.

^{۱۶} A1,B,RI add
^{۱۷} BI,T omit

قدِمَ نَمَادِي يا بَعْضِي اَنْ
وَسَنجِيدَي

مکرر صحبتها^{۱۸} داشته^{۱۹} و گفتگوی نموده^{۲۰} جز اختلاف لفظی در^{۲۱} ذریافت و شناخت^{۲۲} تقاضی ندید. ازین جهت سخنان فریقین را بام^{۲۳} تعطیق داده^{۲۴} و بعضی از سخنان که طالبان حق را دانستن آن ناگزیر و سودمند است فرام آورده رساله ترتیب داده، و چون جمع^{۲۵} حقایق و معارف دو طایفة حق شناس بود^{۲۶} به مجمع البحرين موسم گردانید، بمحض قول اکابر که التصوف هو الانصاف، و التصوف ترك التکلیف،^{۲۷} هر که انصاف دارد و از اهل ادراک است در می یابد که در تحقیق این مراتب چه غور رفته، و یقین که فهمیدگان صاحب ادراک حظی^{۲۸} وافر ازین رساله خواهند برد و کند فهیان غیر بین^{۲۹} را نصیبه از فواید آن نخواهد بود.^{۳۰} و این تحقیق را موافق کشف و ذوق خود برای اهل بیت خود نوشته ام، و مرا باعوام هر دو قوم کاری نیست.^{۳۱}

خواجہ عیید^{۳۲} الله احرار قدس سره فرموده که اگر دانم که کافری در^{۳۳} خطای زمزمه توحید بهنگار^{۳۴} می سراید میروم و از وی میشنوم^{۳۵} و مت دار میشوم و من الله التوفیق و الاستعانه.

^{۱۸}T صحبت

^{۱۹}T داشت

^{۲۰}B,BM1,T نمود

^{۲۱}A1,B,BM1,R1 om.

^{۲۲}BI,T add حق

^{۲۳}A1,B,BM1,R1 هم

^{۲۴}B,BM1,R1 داد

^{۲۵}BI جموعه

^{۲۶}BI,T add لهذا

^{۲۷}BI,T add پس

^{۲۸}BI,T حظ

^{۲۹}BI,T instead of غیرین طرفین

^{۳۰}BI,T شد

^{۳۱}BI adds چنانچه

^{۳۲}BI,T add عیید الله

^{۳۳}BI,T پر

^{۳۴}BI بهنگاری

^{۳۵}A1,BM1,R1 add و می آموزم

(1)

بيان عناصر

بدانکه عناصر^۱ پنج اند^۲ و ماده جمیع مخلوقات ناسوی همین پنج اند. اول عنصر اعظم که آن را اهل شرع عرش اکبر میگویند. دوم باد سیوم^۳ آتش چهارم آب و پنجم خاک و این را بزبان اهل هند پنج ہوت^۴ می نامند. اکاس^۵ و بائی^۶ و تیج^۷ و جل^۸ و پرتهی^۹ و اکاس سه است،^{۱۰} ہوت اکاس^{۱۱} من اکاس^{۱۲} و چد اکاس،^{۱۳} آنچه محیط عناصر باشد آن را ہوت اکاس گویند، و آنچه محیط موجودات است آن را من اکاس نامند، و آنچه بر همه محیط و در همه جا باشد آن را چد اکاس خوانند، و چد اکاس اجن^{۱۴} بر حق است یعنی حادث نیست. و بر حدوث و فنای او^{۱۵} هیج^{۱۶} آیه قرآنی و یید^{۱۷} که کتاب آسمانی است^{۱۸} دلالت نمی کند. از چد اکاس اول چیزی که بهم رسید عشق بود که آن را بزبان موحدان^{۱۹} هند^{۲۰} مایا^{۲۱} گویند و^{۲۲} کنت کنزا مخفیتاً فاحبیت ان اُعرف خلقت الخلق بر این دال است، یعنی بودم من گنچی پنهان^{۲۳} پس دوست داشتم که شناخته شوم پس ظاهر کردم^{۲۴} خلق را^{۲۵} و از عشق روح اعظم یعنی^{۲۶}

^۱ A1.B.BM1.R1 عنصر

^۲ A1.B.BM1.R1 است

^۳ T سوم

^۴ *pañca-bhūtāni* : BI.T پانچہ ہوت

^۵ *ākāśa*

^۶ *vāyu*

^۷ *tejas*

^۸ *jala*

^۹ *pṛthivī*

^{۱۰} BI.T اند

^{۱۱} *bhūtakāśa*

^{۱۲} *manākāśa*

^{۱۳} *cidākāśa*

^{۱۴} *ajanya* : T و آن

^{۱۵} BI.T آن

^{۱۶} T om.

^{۱۷} *veda*

^{۱۸} BI.T باشد

^{۱۹} BM1.T om.

^{۲۰} T هندی

^{۲۱} *māyā*

^{۲۲} C.T adds اهل اسلام را

^{۲۳} T عفی

^{۲۴} T adds بافریدم

^{۲۵} BI.T add برای شناخت خود

^{۲۶} A1.B.BM1.R1 که

جو آتمان²⁷ پیدا شد که آن را حقیقت محمدی گویند و آن²⁸ اشاره بروح کنیا آن سرور²⁹ است، و موحدان هند آن را هرن گر به³⁰ و سمعت³¹ آتها³² مینامند،³³ که اشاره هرتبه اجتماعیت³⁴ است. و بعد از آن عنصر باد است که آن را نفس الرحمن گویند، و از آن نفس باد پیدا شد و چون آن نفس بجهت حبس در حضرت وجود که در هنگام نفخیت³⁵ برای ظهور داشت گرم برآمد از باد آتش پیدا شد. و چون در همان نفس صفت رحمانیت و اتحاد³⁶ بود سرد شد و از آتش آب پدید³⁷ آمد³⁸ اما چون عنصر باد و آتش از غایت لطافت محسوس نیستند و آب به نسبت آن هر دو محسوس است بجهت محسوس بودن آن بعضی گفته اند که اول آب ظاهر³⁹ شد و بعد از آن عنصر خاک، و این خاک هنوز کف آن آب است، چون شیری⁴⁰ که در زیر آن آتش باشد و بجوش آید و کف کند.

بیت

چه دانستم که این دریایی بی پایان چنین باشد بخارش آتمان گردد کف دریا زمین باشد⁴¹
و بر عکس این در قیامت کبری که آن را⁴² مهارلی⁴³ گویند اول فنای خاک خواهد
شد و آن⁴⁴ را آب فرو خواهد برد و آب را آتش خشک خواهد ساخت و آتش را

²⁷ *jivātman* : A1.B.BM1.R1 add باشد

²⁸ A1,B,BM1.R1 که

²⁹ B adds صلوة الله و سلامه عليه add : است

³⁰ *hiranya-garbha*

³¹ *samaṣṭi* : BI,T اوستهات

³² BI,T آتمان

³³ BI,T نامند

³⁴ BI,T رحمانیت D2 : عمنیت C : ماهیت BM2 : اعماقیت BM1 : انانیت B,D1 : اعظمیت : اجل T

³⁵ B,BM1,T حقیقت

³⁶ B, BM1,T ایجاد

³⁷ BI,T پیدا

³⁸ BI,T شد

³⁹ BI پیدا

⁴⁰ T شیر

⁴¹ BI,B,R4 add following verse after : دیگر

یک قطره چو بیضه جوشیده گشت دریا
کف کرد و کف زمین شد وز دود او حاشد

⁴² BI,T add بربان اهل هند

⁴³ *mahapralaya*

⁴⁴ T adds بعد از

⁴⁵ T adds خاک

باد فرو خواهد نشاند و باد با⁴⁶ روح اعظم در مهااکاس⁴⁷ فرو خواهد رفت،⁴⁸ کل شی، هالک الـ وجهـ، یعنی همه چیز فانی خواهد شد مگر روی الله⁴⁹ تعالی که مهااکاس باشد، کل من علیها فان و یقی و جه ربک ذو الجلال و الاکرام یعنی همه آنچه که بر⁵⁰ روی زمین بود فانی خواهد شد و باقی ماند روی پروردگار تو که صاحب جلال و اکرام است.⁵¹ در این دو⁵² آیه کریمه⁵³ که برای فنای جمیع اشیاست قید وجه که رفته مراد مهااکاس است که آن فنا پذیر نیست و الـ میفرمودی : کل شی، هالک الـ هو یعنی همه چیز فانی خواهد شد مگر ذات او. و قید رو برای مهااکاس باشد چه مهااکاس بمنزله بدن لطیف آن ذات مقدس است. و خاک را بربان فقرای⁵⁴ هند دیوی⁵⁵ گویند⁵⁶ که همه چیز ازو پیدا شده است⁵⁷ و باز همه چیز درو فرو میرود بمحض آیه کریمه : منها خلقتم و فيها نعیدم و منها نخزجم تارة اخـرـی، یعنی از آن⁵⁸ خاک خلق کردیم ثـماـ رـاـ و در آن خاک باز خواهیم برـدـ ثـماـ رـاـ و از آن⁵⁹ خاک بیرون می آریم ثـماـ رـاـ بـارـ دـیـگـرـ.

⁴⁶ T به

⁴⁷ *mahākāśa*

⁴⁸ T پـوـسـتـ

⁴⁹ BI,T خـدـایـ

⁵⁰ T به

⁵¹ BI,T add پـسـ

⁵² T om.

⁵³ B,BM1,T om.

⁵⁴ BI اـهـلـ : T om.

⁵⁵ *devi*

⁵⁶ BI,T نـامـنـدـ

⁵⁷ T om.

⁵⁸ BI,T om.

⁵⁹ T om.

(2)

بيان حواس

موافق این پنج عنصر^۱ پنج حواس^۲ است^۳ که بزبان اهل هند آن^۴ پنج اندری^۵ گویند، شامه ذایقه باصره سامعه و لامسه که آن^۶ را بزبان^۷ هند گهران^۸ رستا^۹ چهچهه^{۱۰} سروتر^{۱۱} توک^{۱۲} میگویند، و محسوسات آن^{۱۳} را گندھه^{۱۴} رس^{۱۵} روپ^{۱۶} سبد^{۱۷} و سپس^{۱۸} نامند. و هر یکی از این^{۱۹} حواس پنجگانه از جنس یکی از^{۲۰} عناصر باشد و منسوب بآن. شامه منسوب است بخاک چه هیچ یکی از عناصر بوي ندارد آلا خاک و احساس بوي شامه کند.^{۲۱} و ذایقه مناسبت^{۲۲} است با آن چنانچه آب ظاهر است در زبان، و باصره مناسبت دارد با اتش چنانچه درک رنگها^{۲۳} بچشم است و نورانیت در^{۲۴} هر دو^{۲۵} ظاهر است، و لامسه را نسبت است بیاد چرا که سبب احساس ملموسات باد است، و سامعه منسوب است بعنصر اعظم که مها آکاس باشد که سبب ادرارک اصوات است، و از راه سمع حقیقت مها آکاس بر اهل دل ظاهر^{۲۶} میشود و دیگری

^۱ BI,T عناصر^۲ R1,T interchange and پنج حواس^۳ BI,T اند^۴ T آنها^۵ *pañcendriyāṇi*^۶ T om.^۷ BI,T add اهل^۸ *ghrāṇa* : B چه^۹ *rasanā* : B سروتر^{۱۰} *cakṣu* : B توک گهران A1,BM1,R1^{۱۱} *śrotra* : A1,BM1,R1 رستا چهچهه^{۱۲} *tvak* : A1,BM1,R1 سروتر^{۱۳} A1,B آنها^{۱۴} *gandha*^{۱۵} *rasa*^{۱۶} *rūpa* : B,BM1,R1 سپس^{۱۷} *sabda* : A1 B,BM1,R1 روپ سپس^{۱۸} *sparsa* : A1,B,BM1,R1 شبید^{۱۹} T از^{۲۰} BI,T از این^{۲۱} BI,T میکند^{۲۲} BI,T منسوب^{۲۳} T رنگ^{۲۴} T درو^{۲۵} T om. هر دو^{۲۶} T هویدا

بر آن مطلع نیست. و این شغلیست مشترک درمیان صوفیه²⁷ و موحدان هند که صوفیه این را شغل آواز²⁸ میگویند و ایشان²⁹ دهن³⁰ مینامند. اما حواس باطن نیز پنج اند، حق مشترک خیال³¹ متصرفه³² حافظه و واهمه و نزد اهل هند چهار است³³ بد ه³⁴ و من³⁵ و اهناکار و³⁶ چت³⁷ و جموعه این چهار را چتر³⁹ انته کرن گویند که بمنزله پنجم آنها است. چت یک عادت دارد که آن را بر⁴⁰ گویند و این عادت بمنزله پای اوست که اگر آن قطع⁴¹ شود چت از دویدن باز ماند، دوم⁴² بد یعنی عقل و بد ه آنست که طرف⁴³ خیر رود و بجانب⁴⁴ شر نرود، سیوم⁴⁵ من⁴⁶ که عبارت از دل است و آن⁴⁷ دو وقت دارد سنکلپ⁴⁸ و⁴⁹ بکلپ⁵⁰ یعنی عزمت⁵¹ و فتح⁵² عزمت⁵³ و⁵⁴ چت⁵⁵ پیک دل است و کار او دویدن باشد هر سو و تمیز میان خبر و شر نمیکند،⁵⁶ چهارم اهناکار یعنی نسبت دهنده چیزها بخود و اهناکار صفت

²⁷T صوفیان

²⁸BI,T پاس انفاس

²⁹T هندیان: BI adds هندیان BM2 موحدان هند

³⁰*dhyana*

³¹BI,T متختله

³²BI,T متفکره

³³BI,T اند

³⁴BI بد ه

³⁵*buddhi*

³⁶*manas*

³⁷*ahamkara*

³⁸*citta*

³⁹BI,T om.

⁴⁰BI : سرت پر کرت T : سرت پر کرت A1,B,BM1 بر

⁴¹BI,T منقطع

⁴²BI,T اول

⁴³T بجانب

⁴⁴BI,A1 طرف

⁴⁵BI دوم

⁴⁶*manas*

⁴⁷B,BM1,R1,T من

⁴⁸*sankalpa*

⁴⁹BI,T om.

⁵⁰BI *vikalpa* : BI بکلپ

⁵¹B,T هزمت

⁵²BI فخر

⁵³BI,T om.

⁵⁴BI سوم : T سوم

⁵⁵BI : BI,T add که

⁵⁶BI,T نکند

برم آنها است بسبب مایا و مایا بزبان ایشان عشق است. و اهنکار^{۵۷} سه قسم است ، سائگ^{۵۸} و راجس^{۵۹} و تامس.^{۶۰} اهنکار سائگ یعنی گیان سروپ^{۶۱} که^{۶۲} اعلی است آنست که پرم آنها بگوید^{۶۳} هرچه هست همه من و این مرتبه کلی^{۶۴} احاطه است،^{۶۵} همه اشیا^{۶۶} را الا آنه بکل شی، محیط یعنی دانا و آگاه باش بدرستیکه اوست همه^{۶۷} احاطه کننده،^{۶۸} هو الاول و^{۶۹} الآخر و^{۷۰} الظاهر و^{۷۱} الباطن یعنی اوست اول و اوست آخر و اوست ظاهر و پس^{۷۲} اوست باطن، و^{۷۳} اهنکار راجس مدم^{۷۴} است که اوست بآشید^{۷۵} آنست که نظر بر جیو آنها^{۷۶} کرده^{۷۷} بگوید که^{۷۸} من از بدن و عناصر منزه ام^{۷۹} و جمعانیت من نسبت ندارد، لیس کمثله شی، یعنی نیست مانند او چیزی و^{۸۰} الله غنی عن العلمین یعنی خدای تعالی بی نیاز است از ظهور عالم. و اهنکار تامس ادکم^{۸۱} است که ادنی باشد و این از^{۸۲} او دیا^{۸۳} یعنی مرتبه عبودیت حضرت وجود . و ادنی بودن از جهت آنست که از نهایت تنزل و تقید و تعین نادانی و جهل و غفلت

^{۵۷} BI,T add نیز

^{۵۸} *sattva*

^{۵۹} *rajas*

^{۶۰} *tamas*

^{۶۱} *jñāna-svarūpa*

^{۶۲} BI,T add مرتبه

^{۶۳} BI,T add که

^{۶۴} BI,T interchange کلی and احاطه

^{۶۵} T میباشد

^{۶۶} T اشیای

^{۶۷} BI,T add چیز

^{۶۸} BI,T add دیگر آنکه

^{۶۹} BM1,R1 هو

^{۷۰} R1 هو

^{۷۱} R1 هو

^{۷۲} BI,T om.

^{۷۳} B,T om.

^{۷۴} *madhyama*

^{۷۵} BI,T add و این

^{۷۶} *jīvātman* : BI,T جیو آنمان

^{۷۷} BI,T داشته

^{۷۸} BI,T add ذات

^{۷۹} BI,T منزه است

^{۸۰} BI,T فان

^{۸۱} *adhamā*

^{۸۲} BI,T om.

^{۸۳} *avidyā* : T او دیا

را بخود نسبت میکند و نظر بر حیات⁸⁴ محسوسه خود نموده میگوید که من و تو از مرتبه یگانگی دور می⁸⁵ افتاد: ⁸⁶ قل انها انا بشر مثلکم یعنی بگو ای محمد که جز این نیست که منام بشری⁸⁷ مانند شما، چنانچه بششت⁸⁸ میفرماید⁸⁹ چون حضرت وجود خواست که متعین شود بمجرد این اراده پرم آنها شد و چون این تقدیم زیاده شد اهنجار بهم رسید و چون تقدیم دیگر بر آن افزود مهنت⁹⁰ که عقل کل باشد نام یافت. و از سنکلپ و مهنت⁹¹ من⁹² پیدا شد که آن را پرکرت⁹³ نیز گویند، و از سنکلپ من پنج گیان اندري⁹⁴ که ساممه⁹⁵ و لامسه و باصره و ساممه و ذایقه باشند بظهور آمد، و از سنکلپ و این پنج⁹⁶ گیان اندري⁹⁷ اعضاء و اجسام بهم رسید، و این مجموعه را بدن گویند، پس پرم آنها که ابو الارواح باشد⁹⁹ این¹⁰⁰ تقدیمات را از خود پیدا کرده و خود را با آن بسته کردانیده. چنانچه¹⁰¹ کرم پله تارهای ابریشم از لعاب خود بر آورده خود را با آن¹⁰² بندد¹⁰³ است. و¹⁰⁴ حضرت¹⁰⁵ وجود¹⁰⁶ این¹⁰⁷ قیود وهمی را از خود بر آورده و خود را در آورده است مثل تنم درخت که

⁸⁴T هیئت

⁸⁵T هستیم

⁸⁶T om.

⁸⁷T,R1 آدمی

⁸⁸vasiṣṭha ; T,D1; BM2 adds رکه

⁸⁹BI,T and add میگوید که

⁹⁰mahat-tattva ; BI,T مهاتت R1 مهاتت

⁹¹BI,T ; R1 مهاتت

⁹²manas ; BI,T add یعنی قلب

⁹³prakṛti

⁹⁴jñānendriyāṇi

⁹⁵BI,T شامه

⁹⁶B adds حواس ; BM1,BM2,D2,R1 کرم

⁹⁷A1,B کرم اندري

⁹⁸B,BM1,BM2 احشاع ; اجسام

⁹⁹BI adds the following verse with parenthesis

که ظهور اول او حقیقت محمدی و ثانی او روح القدس که جبرئیل امین باشد است

¹⁰⁰BI,T add همه

¹⁰¹BI,T چنانکه

¹⁰²BI,T در آن

¹⁰³BI,T بسته

¹⁰⁴BI,T همچنان

¹⁰⁵BI,T add واجب

¹⁰⁶BI,T الوجود

¹⁰⁷BI,T add همه

درخت را از خود بر آورده خود در درخت در^{۱۰۸} می آید و در بند شاخها و برگها و گلما میشود،^{۱۰۹} پیش از ظهور^{۱۱۰} عالم در ذات پنهان بود و الحال ذات مقدس^{۱۱۱} او در عالم پنهان است.

^{۱۰۸}B,BM1 interchange در and می

^{۱۰۹}B1 adds پس بدان و هوش دار که

^{۱۱۰}B1,T add این

^{۱۱۱}B,BM1,T,R1 om. مقدس او

(3)

بيان شغل

شغل^۱ نزد موحدان هند اگرچه اقسام است اما بهترین شغل‌ها اجیا^۲ را میدانند و آن^۳ شغلی است که چه^۴ در خواب و چه در^۵ بیداری بی قصد و بی^۶ اختیار از جمیع ذی نفس^۷ همیشه^۸ صادر میگردد چنانچه در^۹ آیه کریمه : و إِنْ مَنْ شَوَّءَ إِلَّا يَسْتَحْيِي بِمُحَمَّدٍ وَ لَكُنْ لَا تَفْقَهُونَ تَسْبِيحُهُمْ، اشاره بهمین است. و آن^{۱۰} را^{۱۱} به دو^{۱۲} لفظ تعبیر^{۱۳} کرده^{۱۴} اند^{۱۵} نفسی که بالا^{۱۶} میود او^{۱۷} میگویند و نفسی که درون^{۱۸} می آید من^{۱۹} می گویند^{۲۰} یعنی او من ، و صوفیه مشغولی ، این دو لفظ را هو الله میدانند که در^{۲۱} بالا^{۲۲} رقت نفسم هو و در بیرون^{۲۳} آمدن الله ظاهر میشود^{۲۴}،

^۱B.R1 om.^۲*ajapā*^۳T این^۴B.BM1,T om.^۵A1,B.BM1,T om.^۶A1,B,T om.^۷BI,T نفوس^۸BI,T add و هر آن^۹A1,B,BM1,R1 om. چنانچه در^{۱۰}BI,R4 add درون رقت و برون آمدن دم^{۱۱}A1,B,R1 add تعبیر^{۱۲}T om. و آن را بدو لفظ^{۱۳}A1,B,BM1,T,R1 om.^{۱۴}T om.^{۱۵}T om.^{۱۶}R1 بیرون^{۱۷}B,BM1,BM2,T سو^{۱۸}BM1,T بیرون^{۱۹}A1,BM1,BM2,R1 هن^{۲۰}BI,T نامند^{۲۱}T,BM2 om.^{۲۲}R1 بیرون^{۲۳}R1 درون^{۲۴}BI,T,R4 add و این دو لفظ از هر ذی حیات جاریست و او بیخبر است

نزد صوفیه دو صفت است، جلال^۲ و جمال^۳ که جمیع آفرینش از تحت این دو صفت بیرون نیست. و نزد فقرای هند سه صفت^۴ است^۵ که آن را ترگن^۶ میگویند. ست^۷ و رج^۸ و تم^۹ سه معنی ایجاد و رج معنی ایقا و تم معنی افنا. و^{۱۰} صوفیه صفت ابقا را در ضمن صفت جمال مندرج^{۱۱} دیده^{۱۲} و اعتبار کرده اند. چون هر یکی از این سه صفت در یکدیگر مندرج اند و موکلان^{۱۳} این سه صفت را ترمورت^{۱۴} نامند که برهمها^{۱۵} و بشن^{۱۶} و مهیش^{۱۷} باشدند و بزبان صوفیه جبرئیل و میکائیل و اسرافیل گویند. برهمها^{۱۸} موکل ایجاد است که جبرئیل باشد و بشن موکل ابقات است که میکائیل باشد و مهیش موکل افاقت است که اسرافیل باشد. و آب و آتش^{۱۹} و باد^{۲۰} نیز منسوب باین موکلان اند، آب بجبرئیل و آتش بمیکائیل و باد باسرافیل و این سه چیز در جمیع جانداران نیز ظاهر است برهمها^{۲۱} که آب باشد در زبان،^{۲۲} مظہر کلام المی گشت و نطق از این ظاهر شد، و بشن که آتش است در چشم،^{۲۳} روشنی و نور^{۲۴} و بینائی ازو ظاهر شد و مهیش که باد است در بینی دو نفخه سور از این ظاهر شد

^۱ A1,B,BM1 add ; T adds الله تعالى را

^۲ BI,T جمال

^۳ BI,T جلال

^۴ BI,T صفات

^۵ BI,T اند

^۶ *triguna*

^۷ *sattva*

^۸ *rajas*

^۹ *tamas*

^{۱۰} A1,B,BM1,R1 چون

^{۱۱} BI,T om.

^{۱۲} B,BM1,R1 add اند

^{۱۳} BI فقراي هند instead of موکلان

^{۱۴} *trimūrti*

^{۱۵} *brahmā* : A1,R1 برهمها

^{۱۶} *vishnu*

^{۱۷} *maheśvara*

^{۱۸} A1,B,R1 برهمها

^{۱۹} BI,T باد

^{۲۰} BI,T آتش

^{۲۱} A1,B برهمها

^{۲۲} A1,B add : BM1 add و لهذا

^{۲۳} A1,BM1 add که

^{۲۴} B,BM1 ازو ست

که دو نفس باشد و چون آن منقطع گردد فانی شود . ترگن²⁵ سه صفت حق باشد که ایجاد و ابقا و افناست و مظہر این سه صفت هم برهمان و بشن و مهیش اند²⁶ که صفات آنها²⁷ در جمیع مخلوقات ظاهر است²⁸ ، اول مخلوق²⁹ پیدا میشود باز بقدر موعود میماند و باز فانی میشود، و شکت³⁰ که قدرت این سه صفت است آن را تردیوی³¹ از این گویند ، و آن ترمورت که برهمان³³ و بشن و مهیش باشند،³⁴ سرسی³⁵ و³⁶ پاربی³⁷ و چهمی³⁸ میگویند، سرسی به رجوگن³⁹ و برهمان⁴⁰ تعلق⁴¹ دارد ، و پاربی⁴² به تموگن⁴³ و مهیش⁴⁴ تعلق دارد،⁴⁵ و چهمی⁴⁶ به ستگن⁴⁷ و بشن⁴⁸

²⁵ BM1 add که

²⁶ A1,B,BM1 است

²⁷ A1,B,BM1,R1 om. که صفات آنها

²⁸ BI,T اند

²⁹ A1,BM1,T om.

³⁰ *sakti*

³¹ *tridevi*

³² BI,T add از

³³ A1,BM2,D1,D2 برهمان

³⁴ BI,T add و از این تردیوی این سه چیز برآمد آن را

³⁵ *sarasvatī* ; R1 سرسوتی

³⁶ BI,T om.

³⁷ *pārvatī* : BM2,R1 چهمی

³⁸ *lakṣmi* : BM2,R1 پاربی

³⁹ *rajoguṇa* : B,R1 رجوگن

⁴⁰ A1,B,BM2,D1,D2,R1 برهمان

⁴¹ T om. تعلق دارد

⁴² B,R1 چهمی

⁴³ *tamoguṇa* : B,R1 ستگن

⁴⁴ B,R1 بشن

⁴⁵ BI,T om.

⁴⁶ B,R1 پاربی

⁴⁷ *sattvaguṇa* : B,R1 رجوگن

⁴⁸ B,R1 تعلق دارد ; مهیش

(5)

بيان روح

روح دو قسم است، یکی روح و دیگر ابو^۱ الارواح که بزبان فقرای هند این دو روح را آتها^۲ و پرم آتها^۳ گویند.^۴ ذات بحث که^۵ متعین و مقید گردد چه به لطافت و چه به کنافت بجهت مجرد بودن در مرتبه لطافت او را روح و^۶ آتها نامند^۷ و در مرتبه کنافت جسد و سریر^۸ گویند و ذاتی که^۹ متعین^{۱۰} گشت که^{۱۱} روح اعظم باشد و^{۱۲} مرتبه احادیث دارد و^{۱۳} که جمیع ارواح در آن مندرج اند آن را پرم آتها و ابو الارواح خوانند^{۱۴} مثل آب^{۱۵} و موج آب بمنزلة بدنه و روح است^{۱۶} که^{۱۷} سریر^{۱۸} و آتها^{۱۹} باشد.^{۲۰} و مجموعه امواج از روی کلیت بابو الارواح و^{۲۱} پرم آتها ماند و آب صرف بمنزلة حضرت وجود و سده^{۲۲} چن^{۲۳} است.^{۲۴}

^۱R1 روح

آتها R1

^۳paramātman ; R1 پرم آتمان

^۴BI adds چون in the parenthesis

^۵BI, T om.

^۶B سرب

^۷BI, T گویند

^۸sārira

^۹A1,B BM1,R1 تعین اول ; بتعین اول

^{۱۰}BI,T add باز

^{۱۱}BI,T om.

^{۱۲}BI,T با ذات جمع الصفات که : BI adds

^{۱۳}BI adds ذاتی

^{۱۴}BI,T نام گشته چنانچه R1 ; گویند

^{۱۵}A1,B,BM1,R1 مثل آب instead of نقش

^{۱۶}BI,T om.

^{۱۷}BI,T و

^{۱۸}sārira

^{۱۹}C جیو آتها

^{۲۰}BI,T است

^{۲۱}BM1 om. از روی کلیت بابو الارواح و

^{۲۲}sūdha : BI,T,A1,BM1,R1 add و

^{۲۳}caitanya : A1,B,R1 چین BM1 om.

^{۲۴}A1,B,BM1, R1 om.

(6)

بیان بادها

بادی که در بدن انسان حرکت میکند چون در پنج موضع میباشد پنج نام دارد : پران^۱ اپان^۲ سمان^۳ اوдан^۴ ویان^۵. پران حرکت آن^۶ از بینی است تا به انگشت پا، و دم زدن خاصیت این باد است. اپان حرکت این از نشستگاه است^۷ تا به عضو مخصوص و این دو^۸ باد^۹ گرد ناف هم^{۱۰} حلقه زده اند^{۱۱} و باعث حیات همان است. همان در سینه و ناف حرکت میکند. ادان حرکت این از حلق است تا آم الدماغ.^{۱۲} و ویان^{۱۳} ظاهر و باطن از این باد پر است .

^۱ *prana*

^۲ *apana*

^۳ *samana*

^۴ *udana*

^۵ *ryana* : B.BM1.T : بیان R1 adds اول

^۶ A1.BM1.R1 او

^۷ T om.

^۸ BI.T om.

^۹ C om. ; A1.B add : با هم بر هم : R1 add هم حلقه زده اند

^{۱۰} B.BM1.R1 om.

^{۱۱} BI.T است

^{۱۲} BM1,R1 add يعني کپال

^{۱۳} BM1,T and add بیان که

یان عوالم اربعه

(7)

عوالم^۱ که جمیع مخلوقات را ناچار گذر بر آنست بطور^۲ بعضی از صوفیه چهار است.^۳ ناسوت و ملکوت و جبروت و لاموت و بعضی پنج میگویند و عالم مثال را داخل میکنند، و جمعی که عالم مثال را با عالم^۴ ملکوت یکی می انگارند چهار میگویند، و بطور^۵ فقرای هند اوستها^۶ که عبارت ازین عوالم اربعه باشد چهار اند.^۷ جاگرت^۸ و سپن^۹ و سکهپت^{۱۰} و تریا.^{۱۱} جاگرت موافق^{۱۲} است به ناسوت که عالم ظاهر و عالم بیداری باشد، سپن موافق است به ملکوت که عالم ارواح و عالم خواب باشد، سکهپت^{۱۳} موافق است به جبروت که^{۱۴} در آن نقش هر دو عالم و تمیز من و تو نباشد خواه چشم را کرده^{۱۵} بینی خواه پوشیده، و بسیاری از فقرای^{۱۶} هر دو قوم بین عالم^{۱۷} مطلع نیستند،^{۱۸} سید الطایفه استاد ابو القاسم جنید^{۱۹} قدس الله^{۲۰} سره خبر داده که^{۲۱} فرموده تصور آن بود که ساعتی بنشینی بی تیمار شیخ الاسلام گفت که^{۲۲} بی تیمار چه بود، فرمود^{۲۳} یافت بی جست و دیدار بی نگریستن، چه^{۲۴}

علوالي

^۱B,BM1,T بتصور

^۲T اند

^۳BI A1,B,BM1,T om.

^۴BI,T بقول

^۵avasthā : BI,T اوستهات

^۶B,BM2,C,D1,R1 است

^۷jāgrat

^۸svapna

^۹susupti : BI,T سکهپت

^{۱۰}turyā

^{۱۱}BI,T مناسب

^{۱۲}BI,T سکهپت

^{۱۳}D1 adds عالم ارواح باشد

^{۱۴}C : آکرده بوشیده

^{۱۵}T این BM2 adds هند و اسلام ; BM1 adds R1 adds هند

^{۱۶}A1,BM1,R1 om.

^{۱۷}B adds ازین عالم ; BI,T add چنانچه

^{۱۸}BI,T add بغدادی

^{۱۹}B,BM1,R1 om.

^{۲۰}T و

^{۲۱}A1,BM1,R1 om.

^{۲۲}BM1 om. ; B,R1 add ; BI,T add گفت

^{۲۳}A1,B,BM1,R1 که

بیتنده در دیدار علت است، پس ساعتی بی تیمار نشستن همین است که نقوش عالم ناسوت و ملکوت در آن ساعت بخاطر نگذرند. و نیز آنچه مولانا پی روم قدس الله سرہ فرموده اشاره²⁵ بهمین²⁶ معنی است:²⁷

خواهی که بیایی یك لحظه مجویش

خواهی که بدانی یك لحظه مدانش²⁸

چون در نهانش جوئی دوری ز آشکارش

چون آشکار جوئی محبوی از نهانش

چون ز آشکار و پنهان بیرون شوی بدھان

پاما دراز میکن خوش خسب در امانش

و تریا موافق است به لاهوت که ذات محض باشد و محیط و شامل و جامع و عین این هر سه عالم. اگر سیر انسان از ناسوت به ملکوت و از ملکوت به جبروت و از جبروت به لاهوت باشد این ترقی ازو²⁹ است و اگر حضرت حقیقته الحقائق که آنرا موحدان هند³⁰ سن³¹ گویند از مرتبه لاهوت³² نزول فرماید و از جبروت و ملکوت بگذرد سیر او متنه به عالم ناسوت میشود، و اینکه صوفیة مراتب نزول را بعضی چهار و³³ بعضی پنج قرار داده اند اشاره باین³⁴ معنی است.

²⁵ T om.

²⁶ A1,B,BM1 معنی است : باین T om.

²⁷ BM1 adds: بیت C adds: ربائی نظم

²⁸ B,BM1,R1 add تا after تا

²⁹ A1,B,BM1,BM2,R1 او

³⁰ BI, T interchange آنرا and موحدان هند

³¹ BI,T add آن را

³² śūnya : BI,T سون : او سن

³³ B,BM1,BM2,R1 هویت

³⁴ BI,T om.

³⁵ T بهمین

(8)

بيان آواز

و ناد^۱ از همان نفس الرحمن است که بجهت^۲ ایجاد باه لفظ کن ظاهر شد، آن آواز^۳ را فکرای هند سرسی^۴ نامند،^۵ و جمیع آوازها و صوتها و صداها از آن آواز^۶ پیدا گشته.

بیت

همه عالم سدای نغمه اوست^۷ که شنید این چنین صدای دراز
و این آواز که ناد باشد نزد موحدان هند بر سه قم است، اول اناهت^۸ یعنی
آوازیکه همیشه بود و هست و خواهد بود و صوته این آواز را آواز مطلق و
سلطان الاذکار گویند^۹ قدیم است و احساس مها آکاس^{۱۰} ازین است . و این آواز را
در نیابند مگر آکابر^{۱۱} هر دو قوم . دوم^{۱۲} آهت^{۱۳} یعنی آوازیکه از زدن چیزی
چیزی بی ترکیب الفاظ پیدا شود. سیوم^{۱۴} سبد^{۱۵} که بر ترکیب الفاظ ظاهر^{۱۶} شود و
این^{۱۷} آواز سبد^{۱۸} را سرسی^{۱۹} مناسب^{۲۰} است، و از همین آواز اسم اعظم که میان
أهل اسلام است و کلمه که فکرای هند آن را بیدمکه^{۲۱} گویند^{۲۲} ظاهر شد،^{۲۳} و

^۱ *nāda* : BI.T آواز instead of

^۲ BI بوقت

^۳ A1.BM1 add ناد B؛ و ناد

^۴ *sarasvatī* : R1 سرسوی

^۵ BI.T گویند

^۶ Nad T ناد

^۷ BI.T هر کجا بشنوی چو نغمه اوست

^۸ *anāhata* : B اناهد

^۹ BI.T که

^{۱۰} *mahākāśa*

^{۱۱} BI.T add آکا

^{۱۲} BI.T دوم

^{۱۳} *āhata*

^{۱۴} T سوم

^{۱۵} *sabda* : R1 شبـد

^{۱۶} BI.T پیدا

^{۱۷} BI.T om.

^{۱۸} R1 شبـد

^{۱۹} *sarasvatī*

^{۲۰} T مناسب

^{۲۱} *vedamukha*

^{۲۲} A1.B.BM1 adds الف واو مع اوقل : م و . ا BI adds اوقل باشد

^{۲۳} T شده

معنی این اسم اعظم آنست²⁴ که اوست صاحب سه صفت²⁵ ایجاد و ابقا و افناست ،
²⁶ و فتحه و ضمته و کسره که آن را اکار²⁷ اوکار²⁸ و²⁹ مکار³⁰ گویند از همین ظاهر
 شده است.³¹ و مر³² این اسم³³ را³⁴ صورتی خاص است نزد موحدان ایشان³⁵ که
 باسم اعظم³⁶ مشابهت تمام دارد و نشان عنصر آب و آتش و خاک³⁷ و باد³⁸ و ذات
 بحث نیز درین ظاهر است.

²⁴ B.BM1.R1 اینست

²⁵ BI.T add که

²⁶ A1.B.BM1 افنا

²⁷ *akāra*

²⁸ *ukāra*

²⁹ BI.T om.

³⁰ *makāra*

³¹ BI.T om.

³² T.R1 om.

³³ C adds اعظم

³⁴ A1.B.BM1.R1 add است

³⁵ BI.T هند

³⁶ BI adds ما

³⁷ A1.B.BM1.R1 باد

³⁸ A1.B; BM1.R1 آکاس

بیان نور

نور سه قسم است. اگر بصفت^۱ جلال ظاهر شود یا برنگ آفتاب است یا^۲ برنگ یاقوت یا برنگ آتش، و اگر بصفت جمال ظاهر شود یا برنگ ماه است یا برنگ نقره یا برنگ مروارید یا برنگ آب، و نور ذات که مذکور است از صفات آن را جز اولیای خدا که^۳ در حق ایشان فرموده : پهدي الله لنوره من يشاء، دیگری در نمی یابد، یعنی هدایت میکند الله تعالی هر کرا میخواهد بنور خود، و آن نوریست که چون شخص^۴ در خواب شود^۵ یا چشم پوشیده بنشیند، نه بچشم بیند و نه بگوش شنود و نه بزبان گوید و نه به بینی بوید و نه بلاسسه احساس کند، و^۶ در خواب همیشه^۷ این همه کارها بیکچیز کند و محتاج اعضاء و جواس ظاهري و روشنائی چراغ نباشد و باصره و سامعه و ذایقه و شامه و لامسه عین یکدیگر شوند و یکدات گردند، آن را نور ذات گویند. و آن نور خدا است.^۸ ایدوست فکر کن که چه گفتم که جای فر است و فکر است. و رسول^۹ صلی الله عليه وسلم در تعریف این فکر فرموده :

تفکر ساعه خیر من عباده^{۱۰} ستة،^{۱۱} یعنی این فکریست که ساعتی درین^{۱۲} بودن بهتر از عمل آدمی و پریست. و نوریکه از آیه کریمه : الله نور السموات والارض، یعنی الله تعالی نور آسمانها و زمین^{۱۳} است مفهوم میگردد آن را فقرای هند جوت سروپ^{۱۴} و سدا پرکاس^{۱۵} و سوم پرکاس^{۱۶} گویند، یعنی این نور همیشه خود بخود روش

^۱T بصورت^۲A1.B.R1 add برنگ طلا یا^۳BI.T add حق سبحانه تعالی^۴B.R1 شخصی^۵T رود^۶BI.T add حال آنکه^۷A1 هماراه T om.^۸BI adds جل شانه^۹BI.T add خدا^{۱۰}B.BM1.T عمل^{۱۱}B.T القلب ^{۱۲}القلب ^{۱۳}الثقلين^{۱۲}BI.T add فکر^{۱۳}BI زمینها^{۱۴}jotiḥsvarūpa : BI.T جوئی سروپ R1 : جون سروپ^{۱۵}BI.T سوا پرکاس^{۱۶}somaprakāśa : BI.T,C سپن پرکاس^{۱۷}A1.B.BM1.T om.^{۱۸}BI.T om

است خواه در^{۱۷} عالم در^{۱۸} نماید خواه ننماید. چنانچه صوفیه نور را بمنور تفسیر میکنند و ایشان^{۱۹} نیز بمنور تعبیر کرده اند. و ترجمه این آیه کربیه چنین^{۲۰} است : الله نور السموات والارض^{۲۱} يعني^{۲۲} الله تعالى نور آسمانها و زمین،^{۲۳} مثل نوره کمشکوہ فيها مصباح^{۲۴} مثل نور او مانند طلبه است که دران مصباح^{۲۵} باشد، المصباح في زجاجة ، و آن چراغ در شیشه بود، الزجاجة كاتها كوكب درزي، و شبشه گويا که ستاره در خشنده است که يوقد من شجرة مب ركة زيتونة لا شرقية و لا غربية افروخته شده است، آن^{۲۶} چراغ از درخت مبارک زيتوني^{۲۷} که نه شرقی است و نه غربی، و يکاد زيتها يضي و لم تمسه نار، نزديك است که روغن آن زيتون مبارک روشنی بخشد با آنکه آتش باآن^{۲۸} روغن نرسیده باشد و نور على نور^{۲۹} نوریست بر نور، يهدی الله لنوره من يتشاء و^{۳۰} راه مینماید الله تعالى بنور خود شخصی^{۳۱} را^{۳۲} که میخواهد. اما آچه^{۳۳} فقیر فهمیده این باشد که^{۳۴} مراد از مشکوہ که طاق باشد عالم اجسام است و مراد از مصباح که چراغ باشد نور ذات است و مراد از شیشه روح و^{۳۵} آن شیشه که روح است^{۳۶} مانند ستاره در خشنده است که از روشنیا^{۳۷} چراغ این شیشه هم مانند چراغ می نماید، افروخته شده است آن چراغ که^{۳۸} عبارت از نور

^{۱۹} BI adds أهل هند in the parenthesis

^{۲۰} BI.T این است C : چنین است که instead of

^{۲۱} BI.T add چنین است

^{۲۲} BI.T که

^{۲۳} BI زمينها

^{۲۴} BI.T add و

^{۲۵} B,B1.C چراغ

^{۲۶} BI.T om. آن چراغ.

^{۲۷} BI.T است زيتون BM1 adds

^{۲۸} BI.T باآن روغن instead of باو

^{۲۹} A1 om.

^{۳۰} B,BM1,D1 om.

^{۳۱} BI.T هر

^{۳۲} BI.T کرا

^{۳۳} BI.T add که

^{۳۴} Most of mss. omit این باشد که

^{۳۵} BI.T om. و آن شیشه که روح

^{۳۶} BI.T add : B adds شیشه که روح است که

^{۳۷} BI.T add آن

^{۳۸} BI.T om.

بيان رؤيت

رؤيت خدای تعالی را موحدان هند ساچهات کار^۱ گويند يعني دیدن خدا بچشم سر^۲. بدانکه در دیدن خدای تعالی در دنيا و آخرين بچشم ظاهر و باطن هيج يكی از انبیاء عليه السلام و اولیاء کامل قدس الله سره^۳ شگی و شبی^۴ و اختلافی^۵ نیست^۶ و جمیع اهل کتاب و کاملان و بینایان هر ملت باین معنی ایمان دارند چه اهل قرآن و چه اهل بید^۷ و چه اهل توریت و انجلیل و زبور. و از نافهمیدگان و نابینایان^۸ ملت خود بود هر که انکار رؤیت نماید^۹، ذات مقدسی که بر همه چیز قادر باشد در^{۱۰} نمودن خود هم چرا قدرت نداشته باشد و این مسئله را علماء اهل^{۱۱} سنت و الجماعت^{۱۲} خوب بی^{۱۳} پرده^{۱۴} اند . اما اگر ذات صرف^{۱۵} را گفته اند که توان دید این محال است چه ذات بحث^{۱۶} لطیف است و بی تعیین^{۱۷} و معین نگردد و در پرده لطافت جلوه گر بشود^{۱۸} توان دید و چنین رؤیت محال باشد . و آنچه گفته اند که در آخرت توان دید و در دنيا توان دید اصلی ندارد^{۱۹} هرگاه^{۲۰} کمال^{۲۱} قدرت درو هست پس^{۲۲} هر طور و هر جا و هرگاه که خواهد قادر بر نمودن خود است^{۲۳} و

^۱sāksatkāra^۲BM1 adds يعني بچشم باطن و چشم سر^۳A1,R1: BM1 اسرارهم^۴T شبی^۵BI,T om.^۶T ندارند^۷veda^۸T ناقصان^۹BI,T add چه^{۱۰}BM1, T بر^{۱۱}BI,T om.^{۱۲}B,BM1,T جماعت^{۱۳}T بی^{۱۴}B,BM1,BM2,R1: BI,T add گفته برد هم^{۱۵}BI,T add بحث^{۱۶}B adds بصرف و BM1,BM2,C,R1,T adds صرف^{۱۷}T om. و است BI,T add بی تعیین^{۱۸}BI,T add پس^{۱۹}BI adds T adds چون زیرا که^{۲۰}R1,T om.^{۲۱}R1,T مجال^{۲۲}BI,T om.^{۲۳}A1,B,BM1,R1 هست

هر که اینجا ندید مشکل²⁴ که تواند در آنجا دید ، چنانچه خود در آیه کریمه فرموده : و²⁵ من کان فی هذه آئم فو فی الآخرة آئم ، یعنی هر که در این دنیا از دولت دیدار من محروم است پس²⁶ آن شخص در آخرت نیز محروم²⁷ خواهد ماند²⁸ از نعمت جمال من . و منکران رؤیت که حکمای ممتازه و شیعه باشند در این مسئله خطای عظیم کرده اند . چرا که اگر میگفتند که دیدن ذات بحث ممکن نیست بهر حال صورتی داشت و چون²⁹ اقسام رؤیت را منکر شده اند این نهایت خطاست بجهت³⁰ آنکه³¹ اکثري از کاملان³² انبیاء³³ و اولیاء³⁴ خدا را بعض ظاهر دیده اند³⁵ و کلام³⁶ او را بیواسطه شنیده اند و³⁷ هرگاه که ایشان شنیدن کلام³⁸ را از همه جهت قابل اند چرا دیدن را هم از همه جهت قابل نباشند . و چنانکه ایمان بخدا و ملائکه و کتابها و انبیاء و قیامت³⁹ و قدر و خیر و شر از⁴⁰ خدا و⁴¹ خانهای متبرک و غیره⁴² فرض است ایمان برؤیت هم فرض و لازم است . و اختلافی که⁴³ علمای اهل⁴⁴ سنت و الجماعت⁴⁵ کرده اند در معنی و لفظ این حدیث رسول⁴⁶ صلی الله علیه و سلم در

²⁴ BI,T add است

²⁵ Most of mss. om.

²⁶ BI,T om. پس آن شخص

²⁷ T adds و بی بھر و

²⁸ A1,B,BM1,R1 بود

²⁹ BI,T add ایشان جمیع

³⁰ BI,T زیرا که

³¹ BI,T om.

³² BI,T om. ; BM1,R1 add و

³³ T add مرسل

³⁴ BI,T add اکمل

³⁵ BI,T om.

³⁶ BI,T add با احترام

³⁷ Most mss. om.

³⁸ BI,T add حق

³⁹ BI,T add قضا

⁴⁰ BI,T om. از خدا

⁴¹ T om. و نهایی متبرک

⁴² A1,B,BM1 غیرها

⁴³ BI adds از نارسید گان

⁴⁴ BI,T om.

⁴⁵ B,T جمعت

⁴⁶ BI,T om. رسول صلی الله علیه و سلم در جواب

جوات که عائشہ صدیقه و قتی که ^{۴۶} پرسیده بود ^{۴۷} که هل رائت ربک یعنی ایا ^{۴۸} دیدی تو پروردگار خود را فرمود : نور آنی اراه یعنی نوریست ، که ^{۴۹} می بین او را ^{۵۰} آنها این حدیث را نور آنی رآه خوانده اند یعنی نوریست چگونه بین او را لاسکن این دلیل نادیدن پیغمبر صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم غمیشود ، اگر معنی اول گیریم اشاره برویت ^{۵۱} اوست در پرده نور ، و اگر چنین خوانده شود که نوریست چگونه بین او را اشاره بذات بحث و بینگ است . این اختلاف عبارتی نیست بلکه اعجاز نبویست که در یک حدیث دو مسئله بیان توان کرد . و آیه کریمه : وجوده یومئذ ناضرة الی ربها ناظرة ، یعنی دران روز ^{۵۲} روها تر و تازه خواهند بود و بینندۀ بسوی پروردگار خود برهانی ظاهر است برای ^{۵۳} رؤیت ^{۵۴} چه این دیدن متعلق بلفظ رت شده است که او را از تعین ریویت میتوان دید ^{۵۵} و آیه کریمه : لا تدرکه الابصار و هو یدرك الابصار و هو اللطیف الخیر ، اشاره به بینگیست یعنی نمی بینند بصرها ^{۵۶} در مرتبه اطلاق و بینگی و او همه را می بیند و او در نهایت لطفت و بینگیست ^{۵۷} و در این آیه کریمه اسم هو ^{۵۸} واقع شده اشاره ^{۵۹} به نادیدن ذات بحث است . دیدن خدای تعالی پنج قسم است . قسم اول دیدن ^{۶۰} در خواب بچشم دل ، قسم ^{۶۱} دوم دیدن در بیداری بچشم سر ، قسم ^{۶۲} سیوم ^{۶۳} در میان خواب و بیداری ^{۶۴}

^{۴۶} BI,T om. وقتی که

^{۴۷} BI,T add instead of پرسیده بود : پرسیده ^{۴۸} آیا

^{۴۹} B,BM1,R1 om.

^{۵۰} A1,BM1,R1 add و

^{۵۱} T add : براءویت ^{۵۲} BI,T add تام

^{۵۲} BI,T روزیکه

^{۵۳} BI بر

^{۵۴} BI پروردگار جل شانه و ^{۵۵} BI adds نزویت

چه این دیدن متعلق بلفظ رت شده است که او را اس تعین ریویت میتوان دید ^{۵۹}

^{۵۶} B,BM1,T add او را

^{۵۷} A1,T بینگی است

^{۵۸} BI,T add که

^{۵۹} T om.

^{۶۰} BI,T om.

^{۶۱} BI,T om.

^{۶۲} BI,T om.

^{۶۳} T سوم

^{۶۴} BI,T interchange خواب and بیداری

که آن بیخودی⁶⁵ خاص است قسم⁶⁶ چهارم در یک تعین خاص دیدن ، قسم⁶⁷ پنجم دیدن یک ذات واحد است در کثرات تعیبات⁶⁸ عوالم ظاهر و باطن ، و این جنین دید⁶⁹ محمد مصطفیٰ صلی الله علیه و سلم در وقتیکه خود نبود درمیان و رائی و مرئی یکی بود، و خواب و بیداری و بیخودی او یکی می نمود و چشم ظاهر و باطن او یکی شده بود مرتبه کمال رؤیت⁷⁰ اینست و این را دنیا و آخرت درکار نیست⁷¹ همه وقت⁷² و همه جا⁷³ میتر است .

⁶⁵T بیخودی

⁶⁶RI.T om.

⁶⁷BI.T om دیدن قسم

⁶⁸B.BM1.R1 add و

⁶⁹R1 BI.T add : دیدار حضرت رسول

⁷⁰T adds و کمال شهود و کمال عرفان

⁷¹BI.T add و

⁷²BI.T جا

⁷³BI.T وقت

اَئمَّةُ^٢ اللَّهِ^٣ تَعَالَى^٤ بِيْ نِهايَتُ اَسْتَ وَ اَزْ حَدَّ حَصْرِ يَدُونَ. ذَاتُ مُطلَقٍ وَ بَحْتٍ وَ صَرْفٍ وَ غَيْبِ الْفَيْبِ وَ حَضْرَتِ وَاجْبِ الْوُجُودِ^٥ رَا بِزَبَانِ فَقْرَاءِيْ هَنْدَ سَنِ^٦ تَرْگُنِ^٧ وَ نَرَاكَارِ^٨ وَ نَرَنجَنِ^٩ وَ سَتِ^{١٠} چَتِ^{١١} آنَندِ^{١٢} گَوِينَدِ ، اَكْرَ عَلَمَ رَا بَأْوَ نَسْبَتِ دَهْنَدَ كَهْ اَهْلَ اَسْلَامَ آنِ^{١٣} رَا عَلَمَ مِيْ گَوِينَدِ فَقْرَاءِيْ هَنْدَ آنَ رَا چِتَنِ^{١٤} نَامَنَدِ ، وَ اَسَمِ^{١٥} الْحَقِّ^{١٦} رَا اَنَنتِ^{١٧} گَوِينَدِ ، وَ قَادِرَ رَا سَمَرَتَهِ^{١٨} مَرِيدَ^{١٩} رَا سَوْنَتِ^{٢٠} وَ سَمِيعَ رَا سَروْنَتِ^{٢١} وَ بَصِيرَ رَا دَرَشَتَنَدِ^{٢٣} خَوَانَدِ^{٢٤} وَ اَكْرَ كَلَامَ رَا بَآنَ ذَاتَ مُطلَقَ نَسْبَتِ دَهْنَدَ وَكَتَنَ^{٢٥} خَوَانَدِ^{٢٦} وَ اللَّهِ رَا اوْمَ^{٢٧} وَ هَوَ رَا سَهِ^{٢٨} وَ فَرَشَتَهِ رَا بِزَبَانِ اِيشَانِ دِيَوَنَ^{٢٩} گَوِينَدِ ، وَ مَظَهُرُ اَتَمِ رَا اوْتَارِ^{٣١} نَامَنَدِ ، وَ اوْتَارُ آنَ باَشَدَ كَهْ قَدَرَتِ الْمَيِّ آَيَهِ دَرَوِ

^١ BI,T add بَدَانَكَه^٢ BM1 om.^٣ A1,B,BM1 om.^٤ A1,B,C om. ; BM1,C add رَا^٥ A1,B,BM1,R1 om. وَاجْبِ الْوُجُودِ^٦ śūnya ; BI,T ظَاهِنَ BM2,T add وَ^٧ nirguṇa ; BI,T تَرْگُنِ^٨ nirākāra ; BI,T نَرَاكَارِ^٩ nirañjana^{١٠} sat : BM1,T add وَ آنَندَ : R1 adds^{١١} cit : BI,T وَ آنَندَ^{١٢} ānanda^{١٣} BI,T او^{١٤} Caitanya ; BI,T چِتَنِ^{١٥} BM2,T om.^{١٦} BI,T حَقُّ الْحَقِّ^{١٧} ananta^{١٨} BI,T om.^{١٩} samartha^{٢٠} BI,T om. مَرِيدَ رَا سَوْنَتِ^{٢١} svatantra^{٢٢} śrotā^{٢٣} drastā^{٢٤} Most of mss. om.^{٢٥} waktā ; BM2,T بَكتَنَ^{٢٦} BI,T نَامَنَدَ^{٢٧} aum ; A1,R1 اوْنَ^{٢٨} sah : BM1 شَيْوَ سَنَهِ ; D2^{٢٩} BM1,T om. بِزَبَانِ اِيشَانِ^{٣٠} devatā^{٣١} avatāra

ظاهر شود³² در هیچ یکی از افراد نوع او³³ در آن وقت ظاهر تواند شد³⁴ و
و حی را³⁶ اکاسپانی³⁷ نامند ، و اکاس بانی بجهت آن گویند که پیغمبر صلی اللہ علیہ و
سلم فرموده که صعب ترین وحیها³⁸ بر من³⁹ و حی است که میشنوم⁴⁰ مانند آواز
جرس یا⁴¹ آواز زنبور و چون این آواز از اکاس ظاهر میشود اکاس بانی میگویند ، و
کتب آسمانی را بید⁴² گویند ، و خوبان جتیان را که پری باشد دیت⁴³ و دانوان⁴⁴ را
که دیو و شیاطین اند راچهس⁴⁵ گویند ، و آدمی را منکه⁴⁶ و ولی را رکھیس⁴⁷
و نبی را مهاسده⁴⁸ نامند.

و از وجود او بنظر آید

³² BI adds انسانی

³³ T نبوده

³⁴ T باشد

³⁵ BI, T add که بر پیغمبر نازل شود

³⁶ akāśavāṇī

³⁷ BI, T add این وحیها

³⁸ BI, T add وقت

³⁹ BI, T add و حی را

⁴⁰ BI, T add مانند

⁴¹ BI, T add vedā

⁴² BI, T add گویند؛ پدران آنها

C نامند

⁴³ daitya؛ BI، A1، BM1 om.; B adds چهرا

⁴⁴ BI, T add بانچهرا

⁴⁵ dānava؛ BI, T add و بدان آنها

⁴⁶ rākṣas

⁴⁷ manusya

⁴⁸ BI, T add رکھیس A1 نرکھی

⁴⁹ mahāsiddha

(12)

بيان نبوت و ولایت

انیاء بر سه قسم اند، یکی آنکه خدا را دیده باشند بچشم^۱، خواه بچشم^۲ ظاهر^۳ خواه بچشم باطن^۴، دیگر آنکه آواز خدا شنیده باشند خواه آواز صرف، خواه آواز مرکب از حروف^۵، دیگر آنکه فرشته را دیده باشند یا آواز فرشته را شنیده باشند.^۶ نبوت و ولایت هم^۷ بر سه قم است. یکی نبوت و ولایت تنزیه‌یی، دیگر^۸ نبوت و ولایت تشیه‌یی، دیگر^۹ نبوت و ولایت جامع التشیه و التنزیه.^{۱۰} نبوت تنزیه‌یی چون نبوت^{۱۱} نوح علیه السلام که خدا را بتنزیه دید و دعوت کرد و امت بجهت تنزیه ایمان تیاوردند^{۱۲} مگر قلیلی و همه در بحر فنا غرق شدند چون زاهدان زمان ما که بتنزیه خدا مریدان را خوائند و هیچکس ازان مریدان عارف نشد و از قول آنها نفعی نبرد^{۱۳} و در راه سلوک و طریقت فنا و هلاک گردند^{۱۴} و بخدا نرسند.^{۱۵} و^{۱۶} نبوت تشیه‌یی چون نبوت موسی است علیه السلام که خود خدای^{۱۷} را در آتش درخت دید و در^{۱۸} ابر سخن^{۱۹} شنید و^{۲۰} اکثري^{۲۱} امت^{۲۲} از تقلید موسی در

^۱ BM2,R1 om; B,BM1 ظاهري

^۲ R1 adds سر خوه بچشم دل و

^۳ B,BM1 BI,T,A1 add خواه بچشم

^۴ BM1,BM2,C,R1 om.; B adds و

^۵ BI,T add کلمه

^۶ BI,T add و

^۷ BI,T om.; R1 نيز

^۸ BI,T دوم; B دويم

^۹ BI T سوم

^{۱۰} BI adds اول

^{۱۱} BI,T add حضرت

^{۱۲} BI,T تیاورد

^{۱۳} T om. از قول آنها نفعی نبرد

^{۱۴} BI,T گردد

^{۱۵} BI,T نرسد

^{۱۶} BI,T دوم

^{۱۷} BI,T خود

^{۱۸} BI,T از

^{۱۹} T BI adds حق

^{۲۰} BI,T om. و امت

^{۲۱} BI اکثري D1,D2,BM2,T om.

^{۲۲} B,BM1,BM2 om.; D1 امت اکثري T اکثري

^{۲۳} BI,T om.

تشبه افتاده گوشه پرست شدند و عصیان خدا²³ ورزیدند و امروز بعضی از مقلدان زمان ما²⁴ آنانکه محض تقلید کاملان پیشه کرده اند و برین زندگانی کنند²⁵ از تزیه دور افتاده در تشبه²⁶ فرو رفته اند²⁷ و بدیدن صورت‌های خوب²⁸ و²⁹ مرغوب در³⁰ لمو و لعب گرفتار باشند³¹ و پیو، ایشان نشاید.³²

هر صورت دلکش که ترا روی نمود خواهد فلک از چشم تو اش زود ربود
رو دل بکسی ده که در اطوار وجود بوده است و همیشه با تو خواهد بود³³

دیگر³⁴ نبوت جامع التزیه و التشیه است،³⁵ یعنی جمع کننده تزیه و تشیه و آن نبوت کامل³⁶ نبوت³⁷ محمدیست صلم که تزیه و تشیه³⁸ مطلق و مقید یرنگ³⁹ و رنگ⁴⁰ را یکی⁴¹ کرده و⁴² اشاره باین مرتبه است⁴³ آیه کریمه: ⁴⁴ لیس کمله شی، و هو السميع⁴⁵ البصیر،⁴⁶ یعنی نیست مثل او چیزی⁴⁷ اشاره بمرتبه تزیه است و

²⁴ BM1,BM2,C,D2 om.

²⁵ B,BM1,D1,D2,R1 add; D1 adds را

²⁶ B,BM1 تشیه

²⁷ BI,T instead of رفته اند

²⁸ A1 adds صورت‌های

²⁹ B,BM1,R1 adds صورت‌های C,D1 add

³⁰ A1,B,BM1,C,D2 و; BM2,R1 om.

³¹ BI,T اند A1,B,BM1 باشد

³² BI,T adds قطعه D1؛ رباعی D2: نظم

³³ BI هم و دو همان T بود و instead of همیشه B adds

³⁴ BI سوم T

³⁵ BI,T om.

³⁶ BI om.

³⁷ BI,T om.

³⁸ BI,T om. تزیه و تشیه

³⁹ BI,T رنگ

⁴⁰ BI,T زدیک و دور

⁴¹ BI,T یکجا

⁴² B,BM2 om.

⁴³ BI,T add درین

⁴⁴ BI,T add که

⁴⁵ B البصیر و هو

⁴⁶ B السميع

⁴⁷ BI,T add و این

شناوی و بینای اشاره به تشییه^{۴۸} و این مرتبه بلند^{۴۹} جامعیت^{۵۰} و خاتمت^{۵۱} که مخصوص^{۵۲} آنسور^{۵۳} صلی^{۵۴} الله علیه و سلم^{۵۵} همه عالم را از شرق^{۵۶} و غرب^{۵۷} فرو گرفته ، و نبوت تزییی محروم است از نبوت تشییی و^{۶۰} نبوت تزییی عاریست از نبوت تزییی ،

و نبوت جامع شامل تزییه و تشییه است ، چون هو الاول و الآخر و الظاهر و الباطن. اینچنین^{۶۱} ولايت مخصوص است بکاملان این امت که حق تعالی در وصف ایشان فرموده^{۶۲} کنتم خیر امة اخر جلت لالناس یعنی بهترین امیان^{۶۳} ایشان اند که جمع کننده تشییه و تزییه اند ، یعنی^{۶۴} در امت محمدی چنانچه در زمان پیغمبر ما صلی الله علیه و سلم از اولیاء ابو بکر و عمر و عثمان و علی و^{۶۵} حسن^{۶۶} و^{۶۷} حسین^{۶۸} و^{۶۹}

^{۴۸} BI,T add; A1,B است

^{۴۹} BI adds ترین و اعلى ترین مرتبه

^{۵۰} A1,B,D1 جامع است

^{۵۱} BM1,C,D2,T است; خاتم A1; خاتمی B; خاتمت BI,T add

^{۵۲} BI,T add بذات

^{۵۳} B,BM1,C,D1,D2,R1 add است

^{۵۴} C,T om. to سلم

^{۵۵} B adds و آله و

^{۵۶} BI,T add است پس رسول ما

^{۵۷} BI,T شرق

^{۵۸} BI,T تا

^{۵۹} BI,T غرب

^{۶۰} BM1,BM2,D1,D2,C om. to تشییی

^{۶۱} BI,T همچنین

^{۶۲} A1,BM1,D1,R1 add که; C adds آیه

^{۶۳} T امّتها

^{۶۴} BI,T om. یعنی آنست C: یعنی در امت محمدی

حضرت مرتضی علی ولی خرافت چهر پدر را عطا شد اول امام^{۶۵}

^{۶۶} A1,BM2,D2 om.;

^{۶۷} B دویم امام

^{۶۸} BM1,BM2,D1 om.; B adds صلی الله علیه و سلم

^{۶۹} B سیوم

^{۷۰} B,BM2 om.; T تسعه

^{۷۱} B om.

^{۷۲} B,R4 om. to طابعین

^{۷۳} BI,T add از آنجلمه

سته⁷⁰ باقیه⁷¹ و عشره⁷² مبشره و اکابر مهاجر و انصار و اهل صوفیه بودند و⁷³ در تابعین چون اویس⁷⁴ و⁷⁵ در زمان دیگر چون ذو النون مصری و فضیل عیاض و معروف کرخی⁷⁶ ابراهیم ادم و بشر حافی و سری السقطی⁷⁷ و بایزید بسطامی و استاد ابو القاسم جنیدی⁷⁸ و سهل بن عبد الله التستی⁷⁹ و⁸⁰ ابو سعید خراز و⁸¹ روم و⁸² ابو الحسین النوری و⁸³ ابراهیم خواص و ابو بکر شبلی و ابو بکر واسطی و⁸⁴ امثال ایشان . و در زمان دیگر چون ابو سعید ابو الحیر و شیخ الاسلام خواجه عبد الله انصاری و شیخ احمد جام و محمد معشوق طوسی و احمد غزالی و ابو القاسم گرگانی⁸⁵ و در زمان دیگر چون پدر من شیخ محی⁸⁶ الدین عبد القادر⁸⁷ جیلانی⁸⁸ و ابو مدین المغری و شیخ محی الدین ابن العربي و شیخ نجم الدین کبری و شیخ فرید الدین عطار و مولانا⁸⁹ جلال الدین⁹⁰ رومی ، و⁹¹ در زمان دیگر چون خواجه معین الدین چشتی و خواجه بهاء الدین نقشبند⁹² و خواجه احرار و مولانا

⁷⁴ A1 adds BI,T add قرنی و مثل اویس

⁷⁵ A1,B,BM1 om.; R4 adds BI,T addه غیره ; رحمت الله عليه D1 adds R1 adds مثل اویس

اویس

⁷⁶ R1 adds و ابو الحسن نوری

⁷⁷ BM1 سقطی

⁷⁸ T جنید

⁷⁹ BM1 تستری

⁸⁰ A1 om. to خراز

⁸¹ A1,R1 om. to روم

⁸² A1,R1 om. to النوری

⁸³ A1,R1 om. to ابراهیم

⁸⁴ A1 adds و ابراهیم خواص

⁸⁵ T گرگانی

⁸⁶ A1,R1 om. to الدين

⁸⁷ A1 adds محی الدين

⁸⁸ A1 جیلی

⁸⁹ R1 مولانای

⁹⁰ A1,BM1,R1 add محمد

⁹¹ T adds حضرت شمس تبریز و سید قاسم انوار و

سید هسن و خواج حافظ سیراز و

⁹² T نقشبندی

⁹³ BI,T دیگر

عبد الرحمن جامي، و در زمان ما^{٩٣} چون شیخ من جنید ثانی شاه میر و استاد من
میان باری و مرشد من ملا شاه و شاه محمد دلربا و شیخ^{٩٤} طیب سرهندي و^{٩٥} میان^{٩٦}
پیراگی^{٩٧}

^{٩٤}A1,B,R1 om. to ۶

^{٩٥}BR1,T om.

^{٩٦}BI بابوا; T om.

^{٩٧}B,T om.

(13)

بيان برهماند

مراد از برهماند کل و تقید ظهور حضرت^۱ وجود^۲ است بصورت کریه مدور است^۳ و چون او را بیچ طرف میل و تعلق نیست و نسبت او با همه برایر است^۴ و همه پدایش و تفاویش در میان این ست^۵ لهذا موحدان هند این را برهماند گفته اند^۶

(14)

بيان جهات

موحدان اسلام هر یک از شرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب و فوق و تحت را جهی اعتبار نموده شش جهت گفته اند و موحدان هند جهات را ده میگویند یعنی مایین شرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب را نیز جهی اعتبار کرده^۷ دس^۸ دشا^۹ می نامند.

^۱ T adds واجب

^۲T الوجود

^۳ BI,T om.

^۴T است

^۵T,R1 است

^۶ BI,T يعني بعضه خدا H1 ; يعني مرجمه خدا B adds گویند

^۷ BI,T آند B,D1 add نموده

^۸ dasa BI,T دسا : A1 دسا

^۹ dis ; BM2,R1,BM2 دسا

(15)

بيان آهانها

آهانها^۱ که آن را گگن^۲ میگویند بطور اهل هند هشت است، هفت ازان مقر هفت کواکب ستاره است که زحل و مشتی و مریخ و شمش و زهره و عطارد و قمر باشند و بربان^۳ هند این هفت ستاره را^۴ سنیچر^۵ و برسپت^۶ و منگل^۷ و سورج^۸ و سکر^۹ و بدہ^{۱۰} و چندرمان^{۱۱} میگویند. و آهانی که جمیع ستاره ها^{۱۲} ثوابت^{۱۳} در آن است^{۱۴} آن را هشت میدانند و همین آهان را حکماء فلك هشتم و فلك ثوابت میگویند که بربان اهل شرع کرسی است ، وسع کرسته السموات و الارض یعنی آهانها و زمینها^{۱۵} در کرسی میگنجند و نهم که ایشان^{۱۶} آن را مهاکاس دانسته^{۱۷} داخل آهانها نکرده اند بجهت^{۱۸} آنست^{۱۹} که^{۲۰} او^{۲۱} محیط همه است و کرسی و آهانها و زمینها^{۲۲} را احاطه^{۲۳} است.

^۱B,BM1,D1,D2,R1 آهان^۲*gagana* ; BI لگن^۳BI,T add اهل^۴BI,T add هفت پچھر یعنی^۵*sanaiscara*^۶*bṛhaspati* ; R1 بر هسپت^۷*mañgala*^۸*sūrya*^۹*śukra* ; BM1 شکر^{۱۰}*budha* ; B بدہ^{۱۱}*candramas* ; BI,T چندراما^{۱۲}BI,T om. اما^{۱۳}A1,B,BM2,D1,D2 است : می ثابت BM1 ; ثابت BM2 adds^{۱۴}BI,T اند^{۱۵}T,D1 زمین^{۱۶}BI,T om.^{۱۷}BI,T میگویند^{۱۸}BI,T جهت^{۱۹}BI,T om.^{۲۰}BI,T آنکه^{۲۱}BI,T آن^{۲۲}T زمین^{۲۳}BI,T add کرده

(16)

بیان زمین

زمین نزد اهل هند هفت طبقه است که آن را سپت تل^۱ میگویند و هر طبقه^۲ این^۳ نام دارد، اتل^۴ بتل^۵ سوتل^۶ تلاتل^۷ مهاتل^۸ رساتل^۹ پاتال^{۱۰} و^{۱۱} بطور^{۱۲} اهل اسلام نیز زمین هفت^{۱۳} است بموجب آیه کریمه : الله الّذی خلق سبع سموات و من الارض مثلمٍ یعنی الله تعالی آن خدائیست که خلق گردانید هفت آسمانها را و از زمین هم مانند آن آسمانها.

^۱ *sapta-tala* ; سپت دیپ D1 ; سپت پاتال T ; سپت پت A1,B,BM1,BM2 ; سپت تال BI

^۲ طبقه T

^۳ BI,T add يك

^۴ *atala* ; BM2 تل

^۵ *vitala*

^۶ *sutala*

^۷ *talātala* : R1 مهاتل

^۸ *mahātala* ; R1 تلاتل

^۹ *rasātala* ; BI,T add و *pātāla*

^{۱۰} BI,T om.

^{۱۱} بنظر T

^{۱۲} طبقه T

بیان قسمت زمین

ریع مسکون را حکماء بهفت طبقه^۱ قسمت کرده اند و هفت اقلیم میگویند و
اهل هند آن را سپت دیپ^۲ می نامند. و اهل^۳ هند این هفت طبقه زمین را بر روی
زمین^۴ هم مثل پوست پیاز نمیدانند بلکه برا تاب^۵ مثل پایه های نزد آن تصور میکنند.
^۶ و هفت کوه را که اهل هند آنها را سپت کلاچل^۷ گویند برگرد هر زمینی کوهي را
محیط میدانند و نامهای^۸ کوه ها^۹ اینست.^{۱۰} اول سیرو^{۱۱} دوم همونت^{۱۲} سیوم^{۱۳}
همکوت^{۱۴} چهارم هموان^{۱۵} پنجم نکده^{۱۶} ششم پارجاتر^{۱۷} هفتم کیلاس.^{۱۸} چنانچه در آیه
کریمه : و^{۱۹} الجبال اوتادا، واقع است یعنی گردانیدم^{۲۰} کوه ها را میخواهی زمین. و بر
گرد هر یکی از آن هفت کوه هفت دریا اند که محیط هر کوه اند و سپت سمندر^{۲۱}
میگویند محیط

هر یکی از آن هفت کوه میدانند^{۲۲}. و نامهای این هفت سمندر^{۲۳} این اند، اول

^۱ Most of mss. om.

^۲ *sapta-dvīpa*

^۳ BI,T om.

^۴ B,BM1,BM2,T om.

^۵ T om.

^۶ A1,BM2,R1 و پلکه دیپ (jambu-dvīpa) و آنها را جنودیپ (plakṣadvīpa)
و سکتمل دیپ (suktimal? dvīpa) و سکور دیپ (śāka-dvīpa)
میخوانند و دیوکر دیپ (devakar? dvīpa)

^۷ *kulācala*

^۸ T adds این هفت

^۹ T adds را چنین مینامند

^{۱۰} T om.

^{۱۱} *sumeru*

^{۱۲} BI,T سوپت

^{۱۳} T سوم

^{۱۴} *himakūta*

^{۱۵} *himawān* ; BI,T همون

^{۱۶} *nigadha* ; BI,T ; BM2 گنده

^{۱۷} *pāriyātra*

^{۱۸} *kailāsa*

^{۱۹} B,BM1,T add جعلنا

^{۲۰} BI in parenthesis

^{۲۱} *sapta-samudra*

^{۲۲} BI,T om. محیط هر یکی از آن کوه میدانند.

^{۲۳} BI,T سمندر

لون سمندر²⁴ یعنی دریای²⁵ شور، دوم انجهه زس سمندر²⁶ یعنی دریای آب نیشکر، سیوم²⁷ سرا سمندر²⁸ یعنی دریای شراب، چهارم گهرت سمندر²⁹ یعنی دریای روغن زرد، پنجم دده سمندر³⁰ یعنی دریای جفرات، ششم کهیر سمندر³¹ یعنی دریای شیر، هفتم سوادجل³³ سمندر³⁴ یعنی دریای آب زلال.³⁵ و بودن دریاهای³⁶ بعدد هفت از این آیه کریمہ:³⁷ و لو ان ما في الارض من شجرة اقلام و البحر يمده من بعده سبعة ابخر ما نفذت كلمت الله، ظاهر³⁸ میشود یعنی اگر³⁹ بدرستیکه از درختان که بر زمین اند قلمها شوند⁴⁰ و دریاهای⁴¹ سیاهی شوند تمام نمیشود کلمات خدا یعنی مقدرات خدا و در هر زمینی و کوهی و دریائی اقسام مخلوقات هستند. و زمین و کوه و دریا که فوق⁴³ زمینها و کوه ها و دریا ها است بطور محققان⁴⁴ هند آن را سرگ⁴⁵ خوانند که بهشت و جنت باشد. و زمین و دریا که تحت همه زمینها و کوه ها و دریاهای است آن را نرگ⁴⁶ گویند که عبارت از دوزخ⁴⁷ و جهنم است.⁴⁸ و تحقیق موحدان هند است که بهشت و دوزخ از همین عالم که آن را برهماند گویند خارج

²⁴ *lavaṇa-samudra*: A1.BM1 سمندر

²⁵ B om. : B.BM1.R1 add آب

²⁶ *ikṣurasa-samudra* : BI نرس A1.BM1 انجهه سر

²⁷ T سوم

²⁸ *sura-samudra* : A1.BM1 سرا سمندر

²⁹ *ghṛta-samudra* : BM1 گهرت سمندر

³⁰ *dadhi-samudra* : A1.BM1 سمندر

³¹ *kṣira-samudra* : A1.BM1 سمندر

³² BM1,T شیرین

³³ *suwādjala* : B جلواد

³⁴ BI,T om. : A1.R1 سمندر

³⁵ Most of mss. شیرین

³⁶ BI,T دریا

³⁷ BI,T om. and add معلوم میشود

³⁸ BI,T om. زاهر میشود

³⁹ BI,T om.

⁴⁰ BI,T add B.BM1 add شود و دریاهای سیاهی گردد

⁴¹ A1,B.BM2 om.: BI,T add آن هفت

⁴² BM1,T دریا

⁴³ BI,T add همه

⁴⁴ BM1 موحدان

⁴⁵ *svarga*

⁴⁶ *naraka*

⁴⁷ BI,T add است

⁴⁸ BI,T om.

نیست، و این هفت آهان را که مقر^{۴۹} هفت ستاره اند میگویند که بر گرد بهشت
میگردند نه بر بالای بهشت. و سقف بهشت را من اکاس میدانند که عرش باشد و
زمین بهشت را کرسی.

⁴⁹ BI.T add این

بيان عالم برزخ

پیغمبر صلی الله عليه و سلم فرموده : من مات فقد قام قیامته یعنی شخصیکه مرد پس تحقیق^۱ که قایم شد قیامت او . و بعد از موت آنها که روح باشد از بدن عنصری مفارق نموده بی تحلل زمان بیدن مکت^۲ که آن را سوچهم سریر^۳ گویند در می آید و آن بدن لطیف است که از عمل صورت گرفته باشد . خواه^۴ عمل نیک^۵ خواه^۶ عمل بد^۷ و بعد از سوال و جواب بی درنگ و^۸ توقف اهل بهشت را به بهشت و اهل دوزخ را بدوزخ میرند موافق این آیه کریمه : فاما الذين شقوا ففي النار لهم فيها زفير و شقيق خلدين فيها زفير و شقيق الحالدين فيها ما دامت السموات و الارض الا ما شاء ربک ان ربک^۹ فعال لما يريد و اما الذين سعدوا ففي الجنة خلدين فيها ما دامت السموات و الارض الا ما شاء ربک عطاء غير محدودا آنانکه بد بخت شده اند در آتش اند مر ایشان را در آتش فریاد سخت^{۱۰} و ناله و زاري، جاودان باشد در آن آتش تا هنگامیکه آسمانها و زمینهاست مگر آنچه خواهد پروردگار تو، بدرستیکه پروردگار تو کننده است هر چیزی را که خواهد و آنانکه نیک بخت در بهشت اند جاویدان^{۱۱} تا^{۱۲} باشند آسمانها و زمینها مگر تا وقتیکه خواهد پروردگار تو که آنها را از آنجا بر آرد که^{۱۳} بخشش او بی نهایت است. بر آوردن از دوزخ^{۱۴} آن^{۱۵} باشد که پیش از بر طرف شدن آسمانها و زمینها اگر خواهد از دوزخ بر آورده به بهشت برد و این مسعود رضی الله عنه در تفسیر این آیه فرموده که لاتین علی جهنم زمانليس فيها احد ذلك بعد ما يمسكون فيها احقادبا يعني می آید بر دوزخ زمانی که نباشد هیچکس از دوزخیان در آن بعد از آنکه مدت طویل در آن مانده باشد. و بر آوردن اهل بهشت را از بهشت آن باشد که پیش از بر طرف شدن آسمانها و زمینها

^۱ R1.T بتحقیق

^۲ mukti

^۳ sūkṣma-sarīra

^۴ BI.T om.; BM1 add از

^۵ BI.T add نیک را صورت

^۶ BI.T از و

^۷ BI.T add بد صورت

^۸ BI.T add بی

^۹ A1.B.BM1,BM2,R1 om.

^{۱۰} BI.T om.

^{۱۱} BI.T تا جاویدان باشند B: همیشه

^{۱۲} BI.T add هنگامیکه

^{۱۳} BI.T و

^{۱۴} T om.

^{۱۵} T adds جا آن

اگر^{۱۶} خواهد ایشان را در فردوس اعلی در آرد که عطای او بی نهایت^{۱۷} است و^{۱۸}
ازین آیه کریمہ^{۱۹} : و رضوان من الله اکبر ذلك هو الفوز العظیم یعنی الله تعالی را
بهشتی است بزرگتر از بهشتها که اهل هند آن را بیکنته^{۲۰} گویند و این بزرگترین
رنگاریست^{۲۱}

^{۱۶} BI adds : خدا^{۱۷} خدای : T adds

^{۱۷} A1 ثابت شده

^{۱۸} BI.T add : ثابت شده است R1 adds : ثابت شده add B.BM1 add : نیز

^{۱۹} BI.T add : ثابت شده

^{۲۰} *vaikuntha*

^{۲۱} RI بطور موحدان هند : رنگار اعظم است BI.T add

(19)

بيان قيمة

تطور موحدان هند اینست که بعد از بودن در دوزخ و بهشت^۱ مدت‌های طویل که^۲ بگذرد مهاپرلی شود که عبارت از قیامت کبری^۳ که از آیه کریمہ : فاذا جاءت الطامة الكبرى يعني وقتیکه باید قیامت کبری مفهوم^۴ میشود و از این آیه^۵ معلوم میشود و نفح في الصور فصعق من في السموات و من في الأرض الا من شاء الله يعني^۶ دمیده میشود آمور^۷ پس بیهوش میشود هر که در آمانها و زمینها^۸ سرت مگر شخصی را که خواسته باشد خدای تعالی از بیهوش شدن نگاه دارد و آن جماعت عارفان باشد که محفوظ اند از بیهوشی و بیخبری^۹ در دنیا و^{۱۰} آخرت و بعد از بر طرف شدن آمانها و زمینها و فانی شدن دوزخها و بهشتها و تمام شدن مدت عمر برهماند^{۱۱} و نبودن برهماند اهل دوزخ و بهشت^{۱۲} را مکت^{۱۳} خواهد شد یعنی هر دو در حضرت ذات مستهلك و محو شوند^{۱۵}

^۱ BI.T add چون

^۲ BI.T om.

^۳ BI.T add است

^۴ T معلوم

^۵ BI.T add نیز

^۶ BI.T add وقتیکه

^۷ B.BM1.R1.T add در

^۸ B.R1.T: BM1 صور تاش

^۹ BM1.T زمین

^{۱۰} BI.T add هم

^{۱۱} BI.T add هم در

^{۱۲} A1.R1: BM2 barmha: برهماند

^{۱۳} BI.T interchange and دوزخ بهشت

^{۱۴} mukti

بوجب این آیه کل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربک ذو الجلال و الکرام

^{۱۵} BI.T add

مکت عبارت از استهلاک و محو شدن تیغات باشد در حضرت ذات که از آیه کربیمه و رضوان من الله اکبر ذلك هو الفوز العظيم ظاهر^۲ میشود^۳ و داخل شدن در رضوان اکبر که فردوس اعلى باشد رستگاری،^۴ بزرگ است که مکت باشد و مکت برس قسم است^۵ اول جیون مکت^۶ یعنی رستگاری در زندگانی^۷ جیون مکت^۸ آنست که در ایام حیات خود^۹ بدولت عرفان و شناسائی حق^{۱۰} رستگار و خلاص باشد و در همین جهان همه چیز را یکی بیند و یکی داند و اعمال و افعال و حرکات و سکنات و نیک و بد را نسبت بخود و بغیر نکند و خود را با جمیع اشیای موجوده عین حق شناسد و در همه مراتب حق را جلوه گر داند و تمام برهماند را که صوفیه^{۱۱} آن را عالم کبیر^{۱۲} گفته اند و صورت کلیت خداست بمنزله بدن جسمانی، خدا،^{۱۳} و عنصر اعظم که مهالکس باشد بمنزله سوچهم سریر یعنی بدن لطیف و ابدی^{۱۵} خدا و ذات خدا بمنزله روح آن بدن، و آن را یک شخص^{۱۶} دانسته^{۱۷} ذره^{۱۸} و جنسی را^{۱۹} با عوالم ظاهر و باطن سوای ذات^{۲۱} یگانه^{۲۲} آن بی همتا نبیند و نداند

^۱mukti^۲T طهول^۳T میکند^۴T رستگاری^۵B,BM1,R1 add قسم^۶jivanmukti^۷B,BM1,R1 زندگی^۸BI,T add نزد ایشان^۹A1,B,BM1,R1 om.^{۱۰}BI,T add تعالی^{۱۱}کرام BI : صوفیای BI^{۱۲}BI,T کبیری^{۱۳}BI,T add گر داند^{۱۴}BI,T om.^{۱۵}BI,T om. و ابدی^{۱۶}BI,T add واحد N معین^{۱۷}BI,T add از^{۱۸}BI adds تا بکوه^{۱۹}BI om. و جنسی را^{۲۰}T om.^{۲۱}B,BM1,BM2,C,D1,R1 om.^{۲۲}A1 om. : D1 adds را

چنانکه²³ یک انسان که اورا عالم صغیر گفته اند باختلاف عضوهای²⁴ مختلفه متکثره یک فرد است و بکثرت اعضاء²⁵ او متعدد نیست آن ذات واحد را نیز بکثرت تعیینات متعدد نشناشد.²⁶ چنانچه شیخ سعد الدین حموی فرماید :

رباعی

حق جان جهان است و جهان جمله بدن
 ارواح و ملائک و حواس این همه تن²⁷
 افلاک و عناصر و موالید و اعضاء
 توحید همین است و دیگرها همه و فن²⁸
 و همچین موحدان هند مثل یاس²⁹ و غیره تمام برهماند را که عالم کبیر است
 شخص واحد دانسته عضوهای بدن او را چنین بیان نموده اند بجهت آنکه صوفی،³⁰
 در هر وقت بر هر چه نظر کند بداند که بر فلان عضو مهاپرس³¹ نظر داشتم . پاتال
 که طبقه هفتم زمین باشد کف پای مهاپرس است رسائل که طبقه ششم زمین باشد
 پشت پای مهاپرس است و شیاطین انگشتی پای مهاپرس اند و جانوران سوار،³²
 شیطان³³ ناخنی پای مهاپرس اند³⁴ مهانل³⁵ طبقه پنجم زمین³⁶ شتالنگ مهاپرس است

²³B,R1; چنانچه R1 adds

²⁴R1; اعضاء و احشای T؛ عضوهایی

²⁵BI,T adds ذات

²⁶BI,T add ; R4 adds نزم؛ بیت and BI,T,R4 add :

جهان یکسر چه ارواح و چه اجسام بود شخصی معین عالمش نام
 پس حق سبحانه تعالی را روح و جان این شخص معین داند که از هیچ سر
 موی جدا نیست

²⁷A1,BM1,R1 om. همه

²⁸BI,T شیوه دگرها instead of همه

²⁹vyāsa

³⁰ BI,T add صافی

³¹ BI adds که اینجا عبارت از ذات حق سبحانه تعالی است

³²T om. بیان

³³BM1,R1؛ شیاطین T om.

³⁴A1,B,BM1,R1 است

³⁵mahātala : BI,T add که

³⁶BI,T add است

³⁷talātala : BI,T add که

³⁸BI,T add بود

³⁹BI,T add که

⁴⁰T om.; BI,T add باشد

، تلائل³⁷ طبقه چارم زمین³⁸ ساق مهایرس است، سوتل³⁹ طبقه سیوم زمین⁴⁰ زانوی مهایرس است ، بتل⁴¹ طبقه دوم زمین⁴² ران مهایرس است، اتل⁴³ طبقه اول زمین⁴⁵ عضو مخصوص مهایرس است کال⁴⁶ یعنی زمانه رفتار مهایرس است پرحاپت⁴⁷ دیوتا⁴⁸ که باعث توالد و تناسل⁴⁹ است علامت مردی و قوت رجولیت مهایرس است باران نطفه مهایرس است بولوک⁵⁰ یعنی از زمین⁵¹ تا آسمان پائین ناف مهایرس است سه کوه جانب⁵² جنوبی و⁵³ سه کوه جانب شمالی دست راست و چپ مهایرس است⁵⁴ و سیر⁵⁵ پرت⁵⁶ دو⁵⁷ سرین مهایرس است⁵⁸ روشنی، صبح صادق رنگ سفید⁵⁹ و روشنی⁶⁰ وقت شام که رنگ شفق⁶¹ دارد پارچه ستر عورت مهایرس است،⁶² سمندر⁶³ یعنی بحر محیط⁶⁴ ناف مهایرس است و بدوانل⁶⁵ آتشیست که آب هفت دریا را

⁴¹ BI,T add که

⁴² BI,T add است

⁴³ A1,B,BM1 add کال یعنی زمانه رفتار مهایرس است

⁴⁴ BI,T add که

⁴⁵ BI,T add است

⁴⁶ A1,B,BM1 om. کال یعنی زمانه رفتار مهایرس است

⁴⁷ *Prajāpati*

⁴⁸ *devatā* ; BM1 دیوتا

⁴⁹ BI,T add تمام عالم

⁵⁰ *bhuva-loka* : R1 بون

⁵¹ BI om.

⁵² BI,T om.

⁵³ BI,T om. و سه کوه جانب شمالی

⁵⁴ BI,T add و سه کوه شمالی دست چپ مهایرس است

⁵⁵ *sumeru* : BM1 om.

⁵⁶ *parvata* ; A1,B,BM1,R1 om.

⁵⁷ BI,T om.

⁵⁸ BI add روشنیا صبح کاذب تار مغزیا جامه مهایرس است

عامه چادر مهایرس است (که الکبریاء ردانی اشاره بآن میکند) دارد BI,T add ; BI add

⁵⁹ A1,B,BM1,R1 add 60 BI,T om.

⁶¹ T سرخ

⁶² BI adds و⁶³ B,BM2 add که العظمة ازاری کنایه بآن میکند

⁶³ A1,BM1,C,D1 سمر

⁶⁴ BI adds حلقه و عمق

⁶⁵ *vādabānala* : BM2 BI adds مکان وادوانل R1 بادوانل

حالا⁶⁶ هم جذب میکند و طفیان⁶⁷ و در قیامت کبری⁶⁸ خشک خواهد کرد و در⁶⁹ سمندر میباشد این حرارت⁷⁰ معده مهاپرس است که بآن آتش همه چیز را هضم میکند⁷¹ و دریاهای دیگر تمام⁷² رگهای بدن⁷³ مهاپرس است و⁷⁴ چنانکه همه رگها بناf میرسد همه دریاهای بسمندر متهی⁷⁵ میگردد گنگا و جنما و سرتی سه رگ⁷⁶ مهاپرس است ادا⁷⁷ گنگا⁷⁸ پنگلا⁷⁹ جنما⁸⁰ سکهمنا⁸¹ سرتی⁸² برو⁸³ لوله که بالای برو لوك است و دیوتهای⁸⁴ گندهرپ در⁸⁵ آنجا میباشند و آواز از آنجا بر میخورد شک مهاپرس است آتش قیامت صفری اشتہای حاضری مهاپرس است و خشک شدن آبها در قیامت صفری⁸⁶ تشنگی و آب خوردن⁸⁷ مهاپرس است سرگ لوك که بالای برو لوك است و طبقه ایست از طبقات بهشت سینه مهاپرس است که همیشه خوشحالی⁸⁸ و خوشحالی⁸⁹ و آرام دروست و جمیع ستاره ها اقسام جواهر مهاپرس است بخشش پیش از سوال⁹⁰ که عطاست پستان

⁶⁶A1B.BM1,R1 om.

⁶⁷A1,R1 om.; T,R4 add شدن غمیده ده هم جذب میکند و طفیان.

⁶⁸BL,T add تمام آب را

⁶⁹BL,T om. در سمندر میباشد

⁷⁰BL,T add و گرمی

که ب آن آتش همه چیز هضم میکند

⁷¹BL,T om.

⁷²BL,T om.

⁷³BL,T om.

⁷⁴B,BM1,R1 om.

⁷⁵T متصل

⁷⁶BL شهر گر

⁷⁷BL,T ; D1 ; گنگا انکلا ; R1 om.

⁷⁸BL,T ; جنما ; R1 ; جنمان

⁷⁹BL,T بیکلا

⁸⁰BL,T ; جونا ; R1 سرتی

⁸¹R ; سوکهمنا

⁸²R1 om. and adds :

و این هر سه رگ عهده رگهاست درین هر سه دریا نیز اعظم اینها است

⁸³B,BM1 ببور

⁸⁴R1 دیوتاها

⁸⁵BL,T om.

⁸⁶R4 کبری

⁸⁷T om. و آب خوردن

⁸⁸BL,T interchanges شادی خوشحالی and

⁸⁹T سؤوال

⁹⁰T سؤوال

چپ مهایرس است و اعتدال سه^{۹۱} گن که رجوگن و ستوگن و تموگن باشند و آن را پرکرت گویند دل مهایرس است و چون^{۹۲} کنول^{۹۳} سه رنگ دارد سفید و سرخ و بنفش دل هم که بصورت کنول^{۹۴} است سه صفت دارد^{۹۵} که^{۹۶} برهمان که من^{۹۷} من ام نام دارد حرکت و اراده دل مهایرس است بشن مهر^{۹۸} و رحم مهایرس است مهیش قهر و غضب مهایرس است ماه تبتم و خوشحالی، مهایرس است که حرارت الم و اندوه را بر طرف میسازد و بششت گیان مهایرس است هوا پران بای مهایرس است اعمال بد و ادهرم بششت مهایرس است^{۹۹} کوه^{۱۰۰} سیمر^{۱۰۱} پرت^{۱۰۲} استخوان میان بششت مهایرس است^{۱۰۳} کوه های دست راست و چپ سر^{۱۰۴} استخوان فرعهای^{۱۰۵} مهایرس است و هشت^{۱۰۶} هشت فرشته که^{۱۰۷} لوکپال^{۱۰۸} اند و اندر که سردار آهه است و کمال قوت^{۱۰۹} دارد و بخشیدن و باریدن و نه بخشیدن و نباریدن متعلق باوست هر دو دست مهایرس اند^{۱۱۰} دست راست بخشش و بارش و دست چپ امساك بخشش مهایرس است اچهرا

^{۹۱} BI,T om. سه گن

^{۹۲} BI,T چنانکه

^{۹۳} F,V کمل

^{۹۴} F,V کمل

^{۹۵} BI,T add و این از سه رنگ ظهور است

^{۹۶} BI,T add برها و بشن و مهیش باشند

^{۹۷} manu

^{۹۸} BI,T interchange رحم مهر and

^{۹۹} BI,T om. و بششت گیان مهایرس است هوا پران بای مهایرس است اعمال بد و دهرم بششت مهایرس است.

شب کمان مهایرس است ; BI adds

^{۱۰۰} T add قاف که

^{۱۰۱} sumeru

^{۱۰۲} parvata ; T adds خوانند

^{۱۰۳} BI,T add و

^{۱۰۴} T سیمر

^{۱۰۵} BI,T add یعنی پسلی های add

^{۱۰۶} R1,T add از جمله

^{۱۰۷} T om.

^{۱۰۸} BI,R4 کوتواں

^{۱۰۹} T قدرت

^{۱۱۰} A1,B,BM1,R1 است

^{۱۱۱} apsaras حوران

^{۱۱۲} BI,T اند

^{۱۱۳} BI,T خطوط

^{۱۱۴} BI,T فرشته های موگل خزاین انگشتی های دست مهایرس است و

^{۱۱۵} BM2,D1,D2,C,R1 om.; B adds

¹¹¹ که حورهای ¹¹² بهشت باشند ¹¹³ خطهای ¹¹⁴ کف دست مهابری است و ¹¹⁵ فرشته ها ¹¹⁶ که آن را چجه ¹¹⁷ می نامند ناخنهاي دست مهابری است ¹¹⁸ سه ¹¹⁹ فرشته ¹²⁰ لوکپال ¹²¹ دست راست مهابری است از بند دست تا آرخ ¹²² آگن نام فرشته ¹²³ و جم فرشته آرخ ¹²⁴ نید فرشته تا بازوی ¹²⁵ دست چپ ¹²⁶ مهابری است و ¹²⁷ است از بند دست تا آرخ ایشان ¹²⁸ نام فرشته کبیر ¹²⁹ فرشته آرخ پای فرشته ¹³⁰ زانوی پایی مهابری است و کلپ برچجه ¹³¹ که طوبی باشد عصای ¹³² مهابری است قطب جنوبی، کتف راست و قطب شمالی کتف چپ مهابری است و بین نام فرشته لوکپال موگل آب است و در سمت غرب میباشد مهره گردن مهابری است مهر ¹³³ لوک که بالای سرگ لوك است گو و گردن مهابری است اناهت ¹³⁴ ناد ¹³⁵ که سلطان الاذکار است آواز باریک ¹³⁶ مهابری است ¹³⁷ جنلوک ¹³⁸ که بالای مهرلوک است روی مبارک مهابری است خواهش عالم زنخ مهابری است طمعی ¹³⁹ که در عالم است لب پائین

¹¹⁶T: فرشته ها

¹¹⁷yakṣa

سه فرشته لوکپال از بند دست راست تا آرخ آگن و جم فرشته

¹¹⁸R1 adds آرخ و نید فرشته بازد و سه فرشته دیگر که لوکپال اند از بند دست حت تا آرنگ ایشان (¹¹⁹BM2,R1,R4,T om. to آرخ)

¹²⁰T om.

¹²¹lokapala

آرخ

¹²²BM1,R1,T om.: A1,B,BM1 آگن نام فرشته

آرخ نید فرشته تا

¹²⁵B,D1,D2 آرخ

¹²⁶BI,T om. دست چپ

لوکپال فرشته دست مهابری است

از بند دست تا آرخ ایشان

¹²⁹kubera

آرخ پای فرشته

¹³¹kalpavṛkṣa

عطای

مهر لوک که بالای سرگ لوك است گو و گردن مهابری است

¹³⁴B,BM1,R1 اناهد

¹³⁵BI,T om.

¹³⁶B,BM1,T om.

مهرلوک که بالای سرگ لوك است گو و گردن مهابری است

¹³⁸janaloka

طبع

¹⁴⁰BI,T بین

مهابرس است شرم و حیا لب بالای مهابرس است سینه یعنی محبت و الفت بنوی^{۱۴۰} دندانهای مهابرس است و خورش همه عالم خوارک مهابرس است عنصر آب کام و خلق^{۱۴۱} مهابرس است^{۱۴۲} آتش زبان مهابرس سرتی قوت ناطقه مهابرس^{۱۴۳} و چار^{۱۴۴} بید^{۱۴۵} صدق و راستی گفتار مهابرس است مایا یعنی عشق^{۱۴۶} که باعث ایجاد عالم است خنده و خوش طبیعی، مهابرس است و هشت جهت عالم هر دو گوش مهابرس است اشنبی کمار که^{۱۴۷} در^{۱۴۸} فرشته^{۱۴۹} در کمال حسن اند هر دو پره یعنی، مهابرس اند گندله تنها^{۱۵۰} یعنی عنصر خاک قوت شامه مهابرس است عنصر^{۱۵۱} میان جن لوك^{۱۵۲} و تپ لوك^{۱۵۳} که طبقه پنجم و ششم بهشت است و از نور ذات^{۱۵۴} پر است نصف جنوبی، آن چشم راست و نصف شمالی، آن چشم چپ مهابرس است و اصل نور که آن را آفتاب ازی گویند قوت بینانی، مهابرس است تمام آفرینش آلم^{۱۵۵} نگاه لطف مهابرس است روز و شب عالم چشم برم زدن مهابرس است مدر نام فرشته که موکل دوستی و محبت است و توستا نام فرشته که موکل قهر و غضب است هر دو ابروی مهابرس است تپ لوك^{۱۵۶} که بالای جن لوك است پیشانیا مهابرس است و ست لوك^{۱۵۷} که بالای همه لوکهاست کاسه سر مهابرس است آیات توحید^{۱۵۸} کتاب الله ام الدماغ مهابرس است ابرهای سیاه که باران مهابرلی دارد موي سر مهابرس است و نباتات همه لوك^{۱۵۹} ها مويهای^{۱۶۰} بدن مهابرس است^{۱۶۱} لچمهی که دولت و خوبی،

^{۱۴۱} BI.T دهن

^{۱۴۲} BI.T عنصر add

^{۱۴۳} B,BM1,C,D1,R1 است add

^{۱۴۴} A1.B om.: T چهار

^{۱۴۵} Veda : BI,T یعنی چار کتاب add

^{۱۴۶} A1,B,BM1,R1 om.

^{۱۴۷} T دو فرشته

^{۱۴۸} BM1,T om.

^{۱۴۹} T om.

^{۱۵۰} tanmātra: B.R1 تنها

^{۱۵۱} A1,BM1,R1 om. عنصر باد نفس زدن مهابرس است

^{۱۵۲} janaloka

^{۱۵۳} tapaloka

^{۱۵۴} A1,B,BM1,R1 om.

^{۱۵۵} BI.T آفرینش

^{۱۵۶} BI.T پتلوك

^{۱۵۷} satya-loka : BI لوك

^{۱۵۸} BI.T add و

^{۱۵۹} BI.T کوه

^{۱۶۰} BI.T موي

^{۱۶۱} B,R1 add و

عالی است حسن مهایرس است آفتاب در خشان^{۱۶۲} صفاتی بدن مهایرس است بوناکاس
مسامات بدن مهایرس است^{۱۶۳} چد اکس روح^{۱۶۴} بدن مهایرس است صورت هر فرد
انسان خانه مهایرس است انسان کامل خلوه خانه و محل خاص مهایرس است^{۱۶۵}
بفرمود بدانو خلیه السلام که ای داؤد برای من خانه بساز گفت خداوند^{۱۶۶} تو^{۱۶۷}
منزهی^{۱۶۸} از خانه فرمود خانه من تویی دل را از غیر خالی کن^{۱۶۹} و هرچه درین
برهماند بر سیل تفصیل است در انسان که نسخه عالم کیر است بطريق اجهال همه
موجود است، کسیکه چنین بداند^{۱۷۰} و بیند او راست جیون مکت و در حق اوست
آیه کریمہ: فرخین بنا اتم^{۱۷۱} اللہ من فضلہ یعنی خوشحال اند آن جماعت بازچه داده
است ایشان را خدای تعالی از فضل خود.

قسم^{۱۷۲} دوم سرب مکت^{۱۷۳} یعنی رستگاری، همه و آن استهلاک در ذات است^{۱۷۴} و
آن شامل همه موجودات است و بعد از قیامت کبری و فتای آسمان و زمین و بهشت
و دوزخ و نبودن برهماند و نبودن روز و شب^{۱۷۵} از محیت در ذات رستگار و
خلاص باشند و آیه کریمہ و رضوان من اللہ اکبر ذلک هو الفوز العظیم و الا آن
اویاء اللہ لا خوف علیہم و لا هم یخزنون^{۱۷۶} بدرستیکه عارفان خدا را نیست ترمی
و نیستند آنها اندوهگین اشاره بهمین مکت است.
قسم^{۱۷۷} سیوم^{۱۷۸} سربدامکت^{۱۷۹} یعنی رستگاریا پس سربدامکت آن باشد که در هر

^{۱۶۲}A1,B,R1 رخشنندگی

صورت هر فرد انسان خانه مهایرس است^{۱۶۳} A1,R1 add

و بزبان هند این مهایرس را بهرات سروپ نیز گویند R4 adds

این^{۱۶۴} A1,BM1,R1 add

چنانچه^{۱۶۵} BI,T add

^{۱۶۶}T om.

^{۱۶۷}T adds پاکی و

^{۱۶۸}A1 منزه T منزهین B منزهی^{۱۶۹} T دار R4

^{۱۷۰}BI,T داند

^{۱۷۱}T آتم

^{۱۷۲}BI,T om.

^{۱۷۳}sarvamukti

ذات است^{۱۷۴} BM1,T

^{۱۷۵}A1,B,BM1,R1 om. ; R1 adds خیر

^{۱۷۶}BI,T add یعنی

^{۱۷۷}BI,T om.

^{۱۷۸}T سوم

^{۱۷۹}sarvadāmukti

مرتبه^{۱۸۰} که سیر کند خواه در روز^{۱۸۱} خواه در شب^{۱۸۲} خواه در عالم ظاهر^{۱۸۳} خواه در عالم باطن خواه برهمند نماید خواه ننماید و خواه در ماضی خواه^{۱۸۴} حال و خواه در استقبال^{۱۸۵} که بهوت^{۱۸۶} بهوشت^{۱۸۷} برتران^{۱۸۸} گویند عارف و رستگار و خلاص باشد و هرجا که در آیات قرآنی در باب بودن در جنت خلدين فيها ابدا واقع شده یعنی همیشه^{۱۸۹} خواهند بود در آن بهشت مراد از جنت معرفت است و مراد از^{۱۹۰} ابدیت این مکت است چه در هر نشاء^{۱۹۱} که باشد استعداد معرفت و عنایات از لی در کار است چنانچه این دو آیه کریمه در باب اینچنین جماعت وارد^{۱۹۲} است بششم ربهم بر حمّة منه و رضوان و جنت کم فیها نعم مقیم خلدين فيها ابدا آن الله عنده اجر عظیم یعنی مزده میدهد ایشان را پروردگار^{۱۹۳} ایشان بر حمّتی از خود و مزده میدهد بفردوس اعلى و بهشتها که مر ایشان راست در آن بهشتها^{۱۹۴} نعمتیابی دائمی و رستگاریا بی انقطاع^{۱۹۵} بدروستیکه مزدیست بزرگ و نیز آیه کریمه دیگر^{۱۹۶} و بیشر المؤمنین الذين يعملون الصلت ان لم اجرا حسنا ماكثین فيه ابدا یعنی مزده بدھید پیغمبر صلی الله عليه و سلم^{۱۹۷} مؤمنان را که عمل میکنند نیکها^{۱۹۸} که حصول معرفت حق سبحانه تعالی^{۱۹۹} باشد و بدروستیکه مر عارفانرا ست^{۲۰۰} مزدی^{۲۰۱} نیکو

^{۱۸۰}T مرتبه ای

^{۱۸۱}BM1 add خدا

^{۱۸۲}BM1 add و خدا; R1 adds

^{۱۸۳}BI,T interchange باطن and ظاهر

^{۱۸۴}A1,B,BM1,R1 add در

^{۱۸۵}BI,T مستقبل

^{۱۸۶}bhūta

^{۱۸۷}bhavīṣṭa ; B بھوکه; BM2 بھوکه; A1,BM1 بھوشت R1 بهشت

^{۱۸۸}vartamāna

^{۱۸۹}A1,BM1 add و مoid B بموید

^{۱۹۰}BI,T add لفظ ابدا

^{۱۹۱}T نشاء

^{۱۹۲}A1,B,BM1,R1 om.

^{۱۹۳}BM1 adds شما را

^{۱۹۴}A1,B,BM1 و فردوس اعلى

^{۱۹۵}BI,T add از نزدیک حق تعالی

^{۱۹۶}A1,B,BM1,R1 om. و نیز آیه کریمه دیگر

^{۱۹۷}BM1 ,R1,T om. پیغمبر صلی الله عليه و سلم

^{۱۹۸}BI,T نیک

^{۱۹۹}A1,B,BM1,R1 om. سبحانه تعالی

^{۲۰۰}T است

^{۲۰۱}A1,B مزده

که فردوس اعلی باشد و درنگ کشندگان باشند همیشه²⁰² مانندگان²⁰³ اندران²⁰⁴ فردوس اعلی.

²⁰² T om.; B,BM1,R1 و جاودان

²⁰³ A1,B,BM1,R1 om.; T ماندگان

²⁰⁴ A1,B,BM1 آن در آن اند در

(21)

بيان روز و شب الوهيت ظهور و بطون

بطور موحدان هند عمر برها¹ که جبرئيل باشد و فتاي برهماند² و تهامي، روز ظهور که روز الوهيت باشد هروده انخ³ دنيا سست که هر ابجي⁴ حد⁵ كرور⁶ باشد بموجب اين دو آيه كريمه : و آن يوما عند ربک كالف سنة منها تعدادون يعني بدرستيکه روزيست نزد پروردگار تو مانند هزار سال که ي شمارند اهل دنيا و آية كريمه : تعرج الملائكة و الروح اليه في يوم كان مقداره خمسين الف سنة، يعني راجع ميشوند بسوی پروردگار خود فرشنگان و روح که عبارت از جبرئيل و برها سست در روزيکه مقدار آن روز پنجاه هزار سال است⁷ و ⁸ هر روز از اين پنجاه هزار⁹ از هزار سال¹⁰ متعارف است که در آيه اول بآن تصریح شده.¹¹ پس صد¹² سال مدت عمر جبرئيل و مدت¹³ روز ظهور¹⁴ که و تهامي، عالم را¹⁵ که برهماند باشد حساب ميکنم¹⁶ هيجهده¹⁷ انخ سال دنيا¹⁸ که¹⁹ هر ابجي صد²⁰ كرور²¹ باشد بي کم و زياد،²² مطابق حساب موحدان هند. و بدانكه²³ خصوصيت²⁴ اعداد هروده²⁵ نزد ايشان

¹ *brahma* ; A1,B

² *brahmāṇḍa*

³ *aṅka* : B,T add سال

⁴ *abja*

⁵ BI,T هزار

⁶ BI,T سال دنيا

⁷ BI,T om.

⁸ A1,B,BM1 که

⁹ A1,B,BM1,T add سال

¹⁰ B,R1,T om. از هزار سال

¹¹ T adds است

¹² BI,T om. صد سال

¹³ BI,T add عمر

¹⁴ BI,T om.

¹⁵ BI,T om.

¹⁶ T ميکنم

¹⁷ BM1,T هروده

¹⁸ BI,T add باشد

¹⁹ BI,T و

²⁰ BI,T هزار

²¹ BI,T سال

²² A1,B,BM1 کاست T : زياده

²³ A1,B,BM1 om.

²⁴ A1,BM1,T add : عدد هروده برای اينستکه مراتب

B adds هروده انخ برای اين است که مراتب

²⁵ B,BM1,R1,T om.

منحصر در ²⁶ هو ²⁷ ده است و ²⁸ از این بالاتر مرتبه ²⁹ قرار نداده اند و قیامت های ³⁰ که در این میان گذشته ³¹ و خواهد گذشت آن قیامتها صفری ³² را کهند پرلی ³³ گویند ³⁴ مثل طوفان آب یا طوفان آتش یا طوفان باد. و چون این مدت تمام گردد ³⁵ این روز را ³⁶ شام شود و قیامت کبری خواهد شد که آن را مهابلی گویند بحکم ³⁶ این دو آیات کریمه : يوم تبدل الارض غير الارض يعني روزیکه بدل کرده شود زمین را بغیر زمین و يوم نطوي السماء كعلت السجل لالكتب يعني روزیکه پیجم آهانرا ³⁷ پیجیدن ³⁸ کاغذ برای کتابت. ³⁹ و بعد از قیامت کبری در ⁴⁰ شب بطون که در برابر روز ظهور است و استهلاک جمیع تمییزات در حضرت ذات خواهد شد نیز هرده سال ایع ⁴¹ دنیاست. و ⁴² اوستهای ⁴³ سیوم ⁴⁴ که عبارت از سکوپت ⁴⁵ و جبروت است، مدت این شب ⁴⁶ سکوپت ⁴⁷ حضرت ذات است که او را فراغ است از ایجاد حق و اظهار ⁴⁸ عالم و آیه کریمه : منفرع لكم ایه ⁴⁹ الثقلن ⁵⁰ اشاره باین سکوپت

²⁶ BI
بر

²⁷ BI
هشت

²⁸ T om. to
اند

²⁹ BI adds
شمار

نیز

³⁰ BI,T add
صفری

³¹ BI,T add
اند

³² BI,T om.

³³ *khandapralaya*

³⁴ BI,T
میگویند

³⁵ BI,T om.; R1
از

³⁶ A1,T ; B,BM1
حکم و حکم

³⁷ A1,B,BM1,R1
آهانها

³⁸ BI,T
مانند

³⁹ R1 adds ; A1,B, BM1 add ; بظهور خواهد شد ظهور خواهد رسید

⁴⁰ A1,B,BM1
مدت

⁴¹ A1,B
سال

⁴² BI,T om.

⁴³ BI,T ; A1,B
اوستهای اوستهایم

⁴⁴ BI,T om

⁴⁵ *susupti* ; BI,T
سکوپت

⁴⁶ BI,T om.

⁴⁷ BI,T
سکوپت

⁴⁸ BI,T
اعدام

⁴⁹ A1,B,BM1,R1
ایها

⁵⁰ T
الثقلان

⁵¹ BI,T add
اشارة باین سکوپت است و حضرت

است یعنی زود است که فارغ میشوم از ثنا ای جن و انس^{۵۱} ذات در ایام ظهور
عالم در مقام ناسوت است و در قیامت‌های صغیری در مقام ملکوت و بعد از قیامت
کبری در مقام جبروت.

ای عزیز آچه در این باب نوشته شده بعد از دققت تمام و تحقیق بسیار مطابق
کشف خود است و این کشف باین دو آیه کریمه مطابق افتاد و^{۵۲} با آنکه تو^{۵۳} در
میچ کتابی ندیده^{۵۴} و از هیچکس نشنیده^{۵۵} اگر بر گوش بعضی از ناقصان گران آید
مارا از این معنی باکی نیست فان^{۵۶} الله غنی عن العلمین.

^{۵۲}B,BM1 om.

^{۵۳}B,BM1,R1 om.

^{۵۴}T ندیده‌ی

^{۵۵}T نشنیده‌ی

^{۵۶}B,BM1,R1 و

بيان في نهاية، أدوار

نَزَدْ عَقْقَانْ أَهْلْ هَنْدْ حَقَّ تَعَالَى رَا نَهْ مِينْ يَكْ شَبْ أَسْتْ وَ يَكْ رَوْزْ بَلْكَهْ أَيْنْ
شَبْ كَهْ تَهَامْ شَوْدْ بازْ رَوْزْ مِيشَوْدْ وَ رَوْزْ كَهْ آخَرْ شَوْدْ شَبْ مَيْ آيَدْ إِلَى غَيْرْ النَّهَيَّاتْ.
وَ أَيْنْ رَا آنَادْ بُرْوَاهَ^۱ مِيكَوِينَدْ . خَواجَهْ حَفَظْ عَلَيْهِ الرَّحْمَةَ^۲ اشَارَهْ بِهِمَنْ بِيْ نَهَايَهِ،
أَدْوَارْ نَمُودَهْ كَفَتْهْ أَسْتْ :^۳

ما جَرَايِيْ مِنْ وَ مَعْشُوقِيْ مَرَا پَايَانِيْتَ هَرْ چَهْ آغَازْ نَدارَدْ نَبَذِيرَدْ انجَامَ^۴
وَ هَرْ چَهْ آزْ خَصْوصِيَّاتْ ظَهُورِ ذاتْ وَ خَفَيَّاتْ درْ رَوْزْ وَ شَبْ پَيْشَينْ شَدَهْ بِيْ كَمْ وَ
بَيْشْ درْ رَوْزْ وَ شَبْ دِيَگَرْ بَعِينَهْ عَوْدَ كَندْ مَوْجَبَ^۵ آيَهْ كَرِيمَهْ : كَمَا بَدَأْنَا^۶ أَوْلَ خَلْقَ
نَعِيَّهِ ، يَعْنِيْ چَنانَكَهْ ظَاهِرْ گَرْدَانِيدِيمْ درْ أَوْلَ خَلْقَتْ مَوْجَدَاتِيْ رَا^۷ كَهْ مَعْدُومْ گَشْتَهْ
بَوْدْ پَسْ بَعْدَ ازْ تَهَامْ شَدَنَ^۸ دُورَهَ^۹ بازْ عَالَمَ^{۱۰} ابُو البَشَرَ^{۱۱} بَعِينَهْ پَدَا شَوْدْ وَ لَا يَزالْ
چَنِينْ باشَدْ وَ آيَهْ كَرِيمَهْ كَمَا بَدَأْنَا^{۱۲} تَعَوْدُونْ نَيزْ دَلَالَتْ بَرِينْ مَعْنَى مِيكَنَدْ يَعْنِيْ
چَنانَكَهْ^{۱۳} أَوْلَ شَهَا رَا پَدَا كَرْدَمَ^{۱۴} بازْ هَمَانْ طَورْ پَدَا^{۱۵} كَنِيمْ . اَكْرَ كَسِيْ شَبَهَ^{۱۶} كَنَدْ كَهْ
خَاتَمَيَّتْ پَيْغَمْبَرْ مَا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ ازِينْ ثَابَتْ نَمِيشَوْدْ مِيكَوِيمْ كَهْ درْ رَوْزْ دِيَگَرْ
نَيزْ پَيْغَمْبَرْ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ إِلَهُ وَ سَلَّمَ بَعِينَهْ مَوْجَدْ خَوَاهَدْ گَرْدَيدْ وَ خَاتَمْ پَيْغَمْبَرَانْ

^۱ anādīpravāha^۲ الرَّحْمَةُ^۳ B1,T add بَيْت^۴ BM1,B,T,A1 instead of هَرْ^۵ B adds جَوْ; BM1 add أَيْنَ^۶ T add بَدَوْنَا^۷ A1,BM1,D2,R1 add ; بر باز اعاده کنم ظهور خرقـت همان موجوداتـي را

باـز اعادـه کـنم ظـهور خـرقـت هـمان مـوجـودـاتـي C

⁸ BI adds اـيـن in parenthesis⁹ T add دـورـه¹⁰ D1 om. B,BM2,R1 add آـدـمَ; A1,BM1 add آـدـمَ; BM1,A1,A3,R1,J,D2,C adds و¹¹ D1,T om. BI adds اـبـو البـشـرـ¹² BI add بـدـأـنـا¹³ B,R1,A1,S,E,D2,BM2,C,J,BM1 چـنـانـجـهـ¹⁴ R1; كـرـدـهـ اـمـ D1; كـرـدـهـ اـيـمـ B,BM1; كـرـدـهـ اـمـ C; كـرـدـهـ اـمـ BM2¹⁵ T om. پـدـاـكـنـمـ¹⁶ T add شـبـهـ¹⁷ BM1,B,A1 بـوـدـهـ¹⁸ BI,T add مـيـكـوـيـنـدـ

آن زوز خواهد گردید¹⁷ و این حدیث شب معراج نیز دلالت بر همین معنی میکند¹⁸
 که پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلم قطار شتران را دیدند¹⁹ که لا ینقطع میروند و بر هر
 یکی دو صندوق بار است و در هر صندوق عالی است مثل همین عالم و در هر عالم
 مثل خود محمدی از جبرئیل پرسید، که این چیست، گفت یا رسول الله از وقتی که
 آفریده شده ام می بین که این قطار شتران با²⁰ صندوق²¹ میروند و من هم نمیدانم
 که این چیست، و این اشاره به بی نهایی، ادوار است. الحمد لله و المثل²²
 الحمد لله و المثل که توفیق اتمام شد رسالت²³ جمیع البحرين یافته شد در سنه²⁴
 یکهزار و شصت و پنج هجری²⁴ که چهل و دویم از²⁵ سین عمر²⁶ این فقیر بی
 اندوه محمد دارا شکوه بود و السلام.

*

¹⁹ BI,T دید

²⁰ BM1,T om.

²¹ BM1,T om.; A1,R1 صندوقها

²² T المثله B,BM1

²³ A1,BM1 سال

²⁴ BI,T add نبوي

²⁵ A1,BM2,D1,R1,T om. از سین

²⁶ A1,BM2,D1,R1 om. عمر این فقیر بی اندوه

Arabic Translation of *Majma' al-Bahrayn*

Unique manuscript of Arabic translation of the *Majma' al-Bahrayn* is preserved in National Library of Calcutta in the Būhār Library Collection (Catalogue No.133). The description of the manuscript told us that it has 39 folia, 15 lines in each folio and dated A.H.1185/1771 written in Naskh script.

¹ Cataloger said that this is the Arabic translation of Dārā Shukoh's *Majma' al-Bahrayn*, which "aimed at reconciling the Hindu doctrine of *jog* (yoga) with that of the Sūfis", and translated into Arabic by Muḥammad Ṣalīḥ bin ash-Shaikh Aḥmad al-Miṣrī. From the date A.H.1185/1771, which is written on folio 23b as the date of transcript of a prayer, it is evident that the work must have been composed between those dates.

Among the 39 folia of this manuscript, the translation of *Majma' al-Bahrayn* ended in folio 23b. The rest are miscellaneous notes on different lists of saints. The date which cataloger said to have been written in folio 23b is found in 24b.² It is clear from folio 1a that this manuscript has been transferred at least through four owners.³ Here, in folio 1a, we can find the description that the last transcription was made by the instance of the last patron in Zil-hijja in 1184 A.H. It has the close relationship with the date of transcription of *Du'ā* written in the folio 24b. As a result, no date is transcribed in the colophon, however, the date of transcription of this Arabic translation of the *Majma' al-Bahrayn* must have been from 1184 A.H to 1185 A.H.

The language of the text is Arabic, however, the scribe or translator must have had little knowledge of Arabic grammar and vocabularies. Firstly, the Persian vocabularies are preferred to use for the translation; secondly, there are so many grammatical errors in the declension of nouns and verbs. Occasionally displayed *i'rāb* helps us to identify the word, however, sometimes it

¹ Catalogue Raisonne of the Būhār Library, vol.II, Arabic Manuscripts, Shams-ul-'Ulamā' M. Hidāyat Ḥusain Khān Bahādur, Calcutta, Imperial Library 1923, p.150.

² The number of the folio is different from the catalogue. We have followed the number written on the manuscript.

³ 1) *Shafa'at Nabīyu al-Hijāzī 'Abdu'llāh Ṣārif al-Qādir Jīrānī*
2) *Shaykh al-Hijāzī al-Nabīyyu al-Hijāzī 'Abd Ibn Mullā Muḥammad al-Tawtanjī*
3) *Muḥammad Ṣārif Aftandī al-Qādirī al-Naqshbandī al-Jayyibī*
4) *Shaykh Muḥammad Sayyid Afandī al-Najbī al-Naqshbandī al-Qādirī*.

The marginal notes in folio 21a shows the second patron *Mahmūd ibn Mullā Muḥammad al-Tawtanjī*. The same name is found in the enumeration of the owners in folio 1a.

shows the lack of grammatical knowledge of the translator or the scribe. On the margin are written in red ink not only the correction of the word but the explanation of the word with the equivalent terms of Sanskrit phraseology or Sūfistic concept in the same hand. In spite of several types of mistakes, it might be possible to determine that this Arabic translation is authentic containing most of the subject of original Persian text and following it literally.

As a translation of the original Persian text, it can be said to be the faithful translation. The cataloger introduced only twenty chapters, however, the Arabic translation has twenty-two chapters.⁴. Chapter five and twenty-two are omitted in the description in the catalogue. Compared with the variants of Persian manuscripts, it belongs to *BM1* (British Museum Add.18404) group. In stead of many omissions found in the section twenty, on the whole, the translation is literal and peculiar interpolations are not found. The transliteration of Sanskrit technical terms follows Persian manuscripts, sometimes rather clear information it gives us with the help of *i'rāb*.

For the technical reasons, here we are not afford to provide the textbook, however, faithful edition to the original text is at our hand. This edition, will be claimed to be a codex unix, does not claim to be fixed as the critical edition, until the older manuscripts could be found and consulted with for the preparation of the critical edition.

⁴Catalogue Raisonne of the Būhār Library. *op. cit.*, p.151.

Sanskrit Translation of Majma' al-Bahrayn

The Sanskrit translation of the *Majma' al-Bahrayn* is known as *Samudra Saṅgama*. The sole manuscript is preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune.¹ According to Poleman, a manuscript with the same title is preserved in Harvard University, however, it has been misplaced.² It is said that 'perhaps this is identical with Dārā's work'³, however, we have to locate the manuscript. As a result, as far as the present edition is concerned, we have used only one manuscript for our testimonium for the study of the Persian original text.

The description of the manuscript is that it has eleven folia, seventeen lines in each folio, and dated Samvat 1795. From the post-colophon of the manuscript of *Samudra Saṅgama*, we know this was transcribed in the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgasīrṣa on the 7th Tithi which was Monday. It is equivalent to 23rd November, 1708.⁴ This manuscript has no name of the scribe, nor the place of transcription. The hand is clear and the corrections are found in the margin only three times.⁵ It begins with the translation of Qur'ānic verse Sūra 57-3: '*He is manifest in all; and everything has emanated from Him. He is the first and the last and nothing exists except Him.*'⁶ This manuscript ends with the post-colophon mentioned above after the additional colophon which has as its material the episode of the churning of the ocean by gods and demons in the *Mahābhārata*.⁷

Regarding the date of the composition of the *Samudra Saṅgama*, the first thing which is clear from the colophon is that original Persian text was completed in 1065 A.H., when Dārā was 42 years old. Most of the Persian manuscripts coincide in this matter. The Arabic translation, too, supported this date. From this, P.K.Gode estimated the date of the completion of the Sanskrit translation. He completed 41 years on 28th Ṣafar 1065 (28th

¹Catalogue No.1043 (1891-95 Government Manuscript Library) cf. Kathawate Report for 1891-95, Bombay, 1901, pp.18-20.

²Poleman, *Indic Manuscripts in U.S.A.*, 1938, p.277. Here this manuscript is classified in cosmology and described as having forty-four folia.

³P.K.Gode, vol.II, p.435.

⁴Post-colophon script: *samvat 1795 varṣe mārgasīra*(sic.) *vadi saptamyām candrajavāre* (fol.10b).

⁵fol.2b, 4a and 7a

⁶*saṛvatra prakataḥ sa sarvāvabhāṣāḥ sa ādīḥ so 'ntas tad-atiriktam vastu nāstīti /*

⁷f.10b.

December, 1654) and he was 41 years and 10th months old when the Hijra year 1065 ended (last day of Zū-l-Hijja on 28th October, 1655). For this reason, P.K.Gode determined that Dārā had not completed his 42nd year when the *Samudra Saṅgama* was composed. He inferred that Dārā's work was composed between 21st Oct. (1st Muḥarram 1066) and 27th Dec. 1655 (28 Ṣafar 1066 A.H.) the date of Dārā's completion of his 42nd year.⁸ The calculation may be correct, however, we cannot determine the date of the composition of the Sanskrit translation due to the absence of description about the date of the completion of the translation work.

As a translation of the original Persian work, it can be said to be a literal translation. Except the additional portion in the colophon, most of the twenty-two sections are literally translated. Though not as many as Persian transliterations of Sanskrit technical terms in Persian text, some phrases and technical terms are transliterated into Devanāgarī.⁹

This manuscript has been published twice so far. In 1954, Roma Choudhury made a critical study of the text and translated it into English. In 1995, Bābū Lāl Śuklā published the text with Hindi translation. Roma Choudhury, having written one small thesis on general views of Islamic Śūfism and Vedānta entitled *Śūfism and Vedānta Part I: Śūfism* in 1945, then *Part II: Vedānta* in 1947, presented the critical study of the *Samudra Saṅgama* with the Sanskrit text. The critical edition of the Sanskrit text was made by Jatindra Bimal Choudhury. Regarding her critical study, the method is very clear. She presented stated points of similarity in the *MB*, then proceeded to present the critical comment from the point of view of both sides. On Islamic side, the orthodox Islam and Śūfistic view; and on Indian side, the different views of the Indian philosophical branches, even in Vedānta, sub sectarian views were taken into consideration. Based on her profound knowledge of Vedānta philosophy, Roma Choudhury's edition has remarkable position. In spite of some parts left in doubt, the critical edition by J.B.Choudhury is helpful. On the other hand, Śuklā presented his own commentary with the Hindi translation. It is interesting to compare this translation with Hindi translation of the Persian text by S.A.A.Rizvi.¹⁰ The Sanskrit text of this edition does not deserve attention due to the number of typing mistakes, extensive alterations and omissions of parts of

⁸P.K.Gode. vol.II, p.438.

⁹Particularly, in the section eleven. (ff.5b-6a.) We have furnished the original words in the footnotes.

¹⁰Rizvi 1978.

the text. There are differences between both editions and between each edition and the manuscript. We present more faithful text of the *Samudra Saṅgama* with the help of J.N.Choudhury's painstaking work.

The value of the Sanskrit translation as testimonium rests on two criteria. One is the date of transcription of the manuscript. The date of transcription of this Sanskrit translation is older than most of the Persian manuscripts which have been at our disposal. The oldest dated Persian manuscript of the *Majma‘ al-Bahrāyīn* is *R1* (Rampur Raza Library: Catalogue No.960) transcribed in 1134 A.H. / 1721-22.¹¹ Chronologically, based on the description of each post-colophon of the dated manuscripts, the order might be as follows: Sanskrit translation- *R1* - *A1* - *D2*- *BM2* - Arabic translation - *D1*- *R2* - *B* - *F* - *R4* - *J* - *H2* - *A3* - *V* - *N* - *C* - *U1*, *U2*. Among other undated manuscripts., *BM1* might be the oldest according to the cataloguer W.M.Yule. For it is said to be copied in the 17th century.¹²

The other reason is the reading itself. We have some confidence that the *Samudra Saṅgama* retains the nearest reading of the archetype of the Persian text. The great evidence is found in some coincidence with the variants with Persian variants preserved in the manuscripts transcribed in rather early days. These readings have been neglected in the published editions. The precise examination has been presented in the comments and the footnotes of section two.

As the critical text, we presented some notes as follows. As regards the orthographical errors the omission of the sign of *avagraha* (separator) , the conversion of nasals written with *anusvāra* sign in the manuscript and the variants of signs of punctuation (/) is not furnished due to the extensive number. The reading with square bracket is the correction of the editor. Original reading and the difference of the reading of published editions is shown in the footnote. The reading with round bracket shows the doubtful reading in the published edition. The abbreviations are as follows: *MS* (the reading of the manuscript); *RC* (the reading of Roma Choudhury's edition); *BL* the reading of Śuklā's edition). Here we have to notice that only serious readings of Śuklā's edition have been furnished as variants due to its extensive alterations and omissions of the text. Original Persian word of the transliterations into Sanskrit is shown with the standard scientific

¹¹ *Fīhrīst-i Nuskh-hā-yī Fārsī Kitākhānah-yī Rādā Rāmpūr*, vol.I, Rampur, 1417 A.H. / 1996. p.253. For the abbreviation of the manuscripts, see pp.145 - 149.

¹² *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, vol.1. p.828.

transliteration following the style of ZDMG (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morganlandischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin).

In the end, we confess that this text does not claim to be the final one due to the codex unix. After collating other manuscripts, it will be much more precise and nearest translation of the original Persian text.

[1a] sarvatra prakaṭah sa sarvābhāṣah sa ādih so 'ntas tadatiriktam vastu
nāstīti /

prativeśī savāśī ca sahagah̄ sarvameva sah̄ /
paṭaccare daridrasya kṣaume rājñah̄ sa sarvatah̄ //
bhāti samsadi bhedo 'yam abhedo rahasi sphuṭah̄ /
iśasya śayanam̄ bhūyas-tac-chayaḥ̄ sarvam eva sah̄ //

praṇāmānām̄ ānanyam̄ parama-prakāśa-prakāśake jagat-sṛṣṭi-nimitte
'smākam̄ siddhānām̄ siddhe parameśvaraṇa satkṛte sanmānīte ca ¹ tathā
pavitratame tat-parivāre mahattare tat-pratinidhirūpe ca / atha kathay-
ati vīta-rāga-vigata-śoka-sandoha-mahammada-dārā-śukohah̄ ² / evam̄
yad-vijñāya sakala-tattva-tattvam̄ nirñīya ca satyaikātmavāda-tātparyam̄
āśādyā ca bhagavan-mahāprasādām̄ tadanu caitad-vicāramadhye praviṣṭam̄
mayā yad antam̄ prāpnuyām̄ abhiprāyasya siddhānām̄ niścetṛṇām̄
vaidikānām̄ anādikulajānām̄ iti / atha ca kaiści[t] kaiścit paripūrṇair
vaidikaiḥ̄ saha viśeṣataś caitanya-svarūpajñānamūrti- sadguru-bābālāla[h̄]
yah̄] antam̄ tapasyāyā jñānasya saubudhya phalasyeśvara-prāpte[h̄] sānteś
ca prāptavān - tena ca saha punah̄ punah̄ saṅgatīr goṣṭhīś cākaravam̄
paribhāṣā-bhedātiriktam̄ kam api bhedam̄ svarūpāvptau nā 'paśyam atas
ca dvayor apy eka-vākyatām̄ akaravam̄ ta[ta]ś ca ³ satyāvāpty-adhikāribhir
avaśyam̄ jñātavyānām̄ saphalānām̄ katipayavākyānām̄ sārasya saṅgraham̄
akaravam̄ / jñāninor dvayor api mata-samudrayor iha saṅgama iti nāma
cāsthāpayam̄ samudra-saṅgama iti / ittham̄ kilopadeśo mahānubhāvānām̄
yan nirmatsaratayā tattva-vivecanam̄ ⁴ sakala-vedāntānām̄ prayojanam̄
ato yaḥ kaścid vivekī jñānī ca sa eva jānāti tattva-nirñaya-talasparśe
kīḍrśah̄ śrama iti / niścayena vidvāṁśo jñāninaś ca bahutaram̄ sukham̄
itayāpsyanti ⁵ na prāpsyanti ca bhedi-vādinaḥ̄ kuṇṭhitamatayeti /
svānubhāvānusāreṇa ca nirñīya tattvārtham̄ svakuṭumbeṣv anukampayā
kr̄to 'yam ārambhaḥ̄ na punar ajñānino ⁶ vibhinna-mata-sambandhino
⁷ bodhanena mama prayojanam̄ iti / anyac ca mahāpuruṣah̄ khvājai

¹ RC adds /

² MS -śukoha

³ MS taśca

⁴ MS tatva-

⁵ MS ita yāpsyanti ; BL iti (rathā) āpsyanti / ; RC itayāpsyanti(?)

⁶ MS ajñāninor

⁷ MS sambandhinor

aharāra ⁸ nāmā śuddhāntahkaraṇah kila ājñaptavān yady aham jānīyām
kaścana niriśvaro 'pi kathākhyā ⁹ deśa-sthito 'pi mano'nurañjaka-śabdais
tattvavārttām vadatīti tarhi tatra gatvā śroṣyāmi śiṣyāmi anunesyāmi ca
tam / atra ca parameśvarād eva mama sāmarthyam parameśvara eva me
sahāyah / ¹⁰

(1)

atha [a]nāsirā- ¹¹ paraparyāya-bhūta-vyākhyā / jānīta bhūtāni pañca /
anubhūyamāna-vastu-samavāyi-kāraṇāni etāni / tatrādyam unsura-aajama
¹² -padābhidheyam dvitīyam bāda ¹³ -padābhidheyam trīyam ātaśa ¹⁴
-pa[1b]dābhidheyam caturtham āba ¹⁵ -padābhidheyam pañcamam ṣoka
¹⁶ -padābhidheyam etāni munibhir ākāśam vāyus-tejo-jalam-pṛthivīti
vyavahṛtāni / tatrākāśam trividham uktam / bhūtākāśaś-cittākāśaś-
cidākāśa iti / tatra sarva-bhūta-vyāpako bhūtākāśah brahmāṇḍa-vyāpakaś
cittākāśah sarva-vyāpakaḥ sarvatra ¹⁷ sthitāś cidākāśah sa cājanyaḥ /
taj-janyatvasya tad-vināśasya ca vede 'smadvede vā kvacid api kandikāyām
apratiपādanāt yuktya-sahatvāc ca / cidākāśāt prathamam iṣka ¹⁸ iti
padārthaḥ abhūt sa vaidikamunibhir māyety ucyate / yad āha para-
masiddho bhagavad-vākyam / aham guptākārah sthitas tataḥ prasiddhah
syāmītīcchayā sr̥ṣṭim kṛtavān iti / tasyā māyāyāḥ sakāśāt jīvātmā prādūr
babhūva / sa eva siddhānām siddhasya tattvam iti vadanti / ayam eva
vaidikamunibhir hirāṇyagarbha ity ucyate / esa eva vyañjanayā amā ¹⁹
ity ucyate / ataḥ param vāyu-vyākhyā / tatra vāyur-nāma paramātmano
nihśvasitam iti vadanti / nihśvāsa-rūpo vāyur utpannah / tasya śvāsasya
śuddha-caitanyena gupta-kāle sr̥ṣṭy-artham nirodhah kṛtas tata uṣmā

⁸Transliteration of خواجہ احرار h̥wāğah-i ḥrār

⁹Transliteration of خطہ ḥaṭā: sin

¹⁰MS sahāya

¹¹MS nāsirā-; BL anāsirā-; RC -[a]nāsirā-

¹²Transliteration of عنصر أعظم 'unsur-i 'a'zam

¹³Transliteration of باد bād

¹⁴Transliteration of آتش̥ ātiś

¹⁵Transliteration of آب āb

¹⁶Transliteration of حاک̥ hāk

¹⁷RC sarvataḥ

¹⁸Transliteration of عشق̥ iṣq

¹⁹Transliteration of عمرَ amā

niḥṣṭaḥ ato vāyostejasa utpattiḥ / tasmīmś ca niḥśvasite ātmīyatā-
 sraṣṭṛtvavati²⁰ sītale jāte sati tejasah sakāśāj jalasyotpattiḥ / vāyu
 tejasoh sūkṣmatvenāpratyakṣatvāj jalasya sthūlatayā pratyakṣatvāt kaiścid
 uktam jalasya prathamam utpattir iti / jalānantaram pṛthivī / iyam
 pṛthivī jalasya śara-sthāniyā yathā dugdhasyādhastād agni-jvālāne dugdhe
 śaro bhavati / kiṁ vedmy²¹ anantārṇava-samjñakasya bāṣpo 'ntarikṣam
 pṛthivī śaras ca / eteśāṁ bhūtānāṁ mahāpralaye vyutkrameṇa layaḥ /
 prathamam pṛthivyā jale layaḥ / tato jalām tejasā śuṣyat tejasī liyate / tato
 vāyunā 'bhihanyamānam tejo vāyau liyate / tato vāyur unsura-aajama-
 padābhidheyena saha cidākāśe liyate / asmad-vede śrūyate sarvam vastu
 vinaśyati vinā parabrahmaṇo mukhātmaka-cidākāśam / anyatrāsmad-vede
 śrūyate / sarvam pṛthivī-samsthitam vastu naśyati nityam tiṣṭhati tvadīya
 parabrahmano rajas-tamo-rūpa-guṇa-yuktasya mukham / sarva-vastu-
 viṇāśa-pratipādake 'smiṇ kaṇḍikā-dvaye mukha-padasya prasaṅgah kṛtaḥ
 / tasya prayojanam cidākāśo 'vināśīti / yady atra mukha-padam na syāt
 tad ebhyām²² uktam syāt sarvam vastu vinaśyati para-brahmaṇi / ato
 mukha-pada-prasaṅgaś cidākāśa²³ nimittam tiṣṭhati yataś cidākāśam
 śuddha-caitanyasya sūkṣma-śāriṇa-sthānam / pṛthivīm tu muna[2a]yo
 vyavahāre devīti vadanti yataḥ sarvam vastu tayā prasūyate / punaḥ
 sarvam vastu tasyām liyate / tathā 'smadvede śrūyate tasyāḥ pṛthivīḥ
 sakāśāt asmābhīr bhavatām śrīṣṭiḥ kṛtā punas tasyām eva bhavanto mayā
 neyā[h] / punaḥ pṛthivīḥ sakāśād bahir āneyāḥ²⁴ iti /

athendriyāṇi pañca sāmma-jāyika-bāsira-sāmia-lāmisākhyāni / teśāṁ
 munirvacobhir nāmāni ghrāṇa-rasana-tvak-cakṣuh śrotrāṇīti²⁵ / ete
 eteśāṁ viśayāḥ maśūmūm majūṣa²⁶ munsar malamūs masamūa²⁷
 iti padābhidheyāḥ gandha-rasa-rūpa-sparśa-śabdāḥ / tāni cendriyāṇi
 pratyekam tat-tad-bhūtotpannāni / tatra ghrāṇam pārthivam pṛthivīm
 vinā kasmīn api bhūte gandhānupalām bhāt gandhavattvam ca gandha-
 grāhakatvāt / rasanendriyam jalīyam rasa-vyanjakatvāt / cakṣur-indriyam
 taijasam rūpa-grāhakatvāt / prakāśakatvāya dvayor api prakaṭatvāt / tvag-

²⁰ BL -śrīṣṭatvavati(?) ; RC -sraṣṭṛtvavati(?) .

²¹ BL kimaha vedmi ; RC kivedmya(?) -

²² MS ebhyam ; RC etthamuktam

²³ RC adds [nityatā]

²⁴ MS āneyā

²⁵ Transliteration of شامه، ذائقه، تاشره، ساميّه، لامنه *sāmmah, dāyiqah, bāṣirah, sāmī-ah, lāmīnah*

²⁶ RC majūkha

²⁷ Not found in Persian text, however, transliteration of مشهوم، مذاق، مبصر، ملuous، مسموع *maśmūm, madāq, mabsar, malamūs, masmū'a*

indriyam vāyavīyam sparsa-vyamjakatvāt / śravaṇendriyam bhūtakāśam²⁸
 śabda-grāhakatvāt / anāhata-śabda-śravaṇa-dvārā ca siddhānām cidākāśa-
 tattvām prakaṭam jāyate siddhair vinā 'njair jñātum aśakyatvāt / idam
 śravaṇa-rūpam dhyānam asmadīyānām siddhānām ca sādhāraṇam eva /
 idam ca dhyānam asmad-ekātmavādino nirantara-śravaṇam iti vadanti
 tad eva siddhair dhvanir ity ucyate / ābhyaṇtarendriyāṇi pañca khyāla
 mutasaripha hāphija vāhimahi simuśrarak²⁹ siddhamate catvāri mano
 buddhi cittāhaṅkārah / eteṣām samudāyam pañcamam antaḥkaraṇam iti
 vadanti / tatra manaso dve śaktī saṅkalpa-vikalpātmake karaṇākaraṇa-rūpe
 dvitīyam buddhiḥ buddhis tu samyag-vastu-gāminī asamyag-vastu-gāminī
 ca / cittam ekam svabhāvam dhatte tam vṛttim vadanti / ayam svabhāvas
 tasya caraṇa-sthānīyah etacchedena cittam dhāvanāt parāvartate cittam
 tu manaso jāṅghikam tat-kāryam sarva-dig-dhāvanam / tat sad-asad-
 viveka-kṣamam ca na bhavati / caturtham antarindriyam ahaṅkārah
 aham karomītyādi pratīti-sākṣikah / ahaṅkārah paramātmanah kāryam
 māyā sānnidhyāt / sa cāhaṅkāras trividhah sāttviko rājasas tāmasaśceti
 / tatra sāttviko jñāna-svarūpa³⁰ uttamaḥ / sa ca paramātmanah sarvam
 khalv aham ity abhimāna-rūpah / ayam sakala-vastu-sāmānyatā-rūpah
 sarva-vyāpakah yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate alā inna ho bikulli śaiin muhīt
³¹ asyārthaḥ jñānī cetanāvān bhavati niścayena sarva-vyāpakah [2b] iti
 huval avval val ākhiru va jāhiru³² val vātin / asyārthaḥ tan-mātram
 ādih tan-mātram antaḥ tan-mātram prakaṭam tan-mātram guptam iti
 / rājaso 'haṅkāro madhyamah / sa ca jīva-bhāvam āpannasya śarīrād-
 bhūtebhyaś cātirikto 'ham nāham bhūta-saṃbaddha ity ākārakah / tathā
 'smad-vede nāsti tat-sadrśam vastu īśvarāvāpta-kāmah samsāra-prākātyāt /
 tāmasāhaṅkāro 'dhamah / ayam cāvidyātah / avidyā tu śuddha-brahmaṇa
 upāsakatva-kalpanā / adhamatvam cāsyātiničatvāt paricchinnatvāc ca
 / ajñānā buddhiḥ³³ pramādān-aṅgīkaroti svīya-sthūla-śarīram dṛṣṭvā

²⁸ MS bhūtakāśiyam

²⁹ Transliteration of خيال، مُتَصْرِفٌ، حَافِظَهُ، وَاهِمَهُ، جِسْ مُشْتَركٌ hayāl, mutasarrif, hāfiẓah, wāhimah, his muštarak

³⁰ MS jñānasvarūpam

³¹ RC alāhommā hobikulli śainnasahīt;

Transliteration of ﴿اَلَا إِنَّ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ بِحِيطٍ﴾ 'alā inna-hu bi-kulli šay'in muhītun (Qur'ān 41:54).

³² RC huvala avval val ākhiru va jjāhirū valavātin:

Transliteration of مَوْ الْأَوَّلُ وَ الْآخِرُ وَ الظَّاهِرُ وَ الْبَاطِنُ huwa 'l-awwalu wa 'al-āhiru wa 'al-zāhiru wa 'al-bātinu (Qur'ān 57:3).

³³ MS buddhi

vadati aham tvam iti ekatva-mānyatāyā dūre patati / asmad-vede śrūyate
 vada he mahā-siddha ayam asti asmād-atiriktaṁ sad-vastu nāsti aham
 manusyo 'ham bhavat-sadṛśah / vasiṣṭhenāpy uktam̄ śuddha-caitanyam̄ hi
 paricchinnam̄ syām-itīcchayā tat-kṣaṇa eva paramātmā-rūpam̄ babbūva /
 tato 'tiparicchinnatayā ahaṅkāra-rūpam̄ babbūva / tato 'pi paricchinnam̄
 mahat-tattva-rūpam̄ babbūva / tat-saṅkalpena mano babbūva / tat prakṛti-
 padenāpy ucyate / manah saṅkalpāt pañca- jñānendriyāni ghrāṇa-rasana-
 cakṣur ³⁴ -tvak-śrotra-rūpāṇy utpadyante / tat-saṅkalpāt karmendriyāni
 vāk-pāṇi-pāda-pāyūpasthākhyāny utpadyante / etat-saṅkalpādvāhyā ³⁵
 ābhyanṭarā avayavā utpadyante / etat-samudāyam̄ śārīram vadanti /
 ittham sarva-padārtha-prapitāmaha-rūpah paramātmā etāny utpādyā etair
 ātmānam̄ babandha yathā kośakīṭo lālā-nirmitais ³⁶ tantubhir-ātmānam̄
 / ittham jagat srṣṭvā svayam tat prativeśa ³⁷ yathā bijam̄ svato vṛkṣam
 utpādyā tatrānupraviśati / pūrvam̄ hi cidrūpe sarvam̄ guptam̄ āśīt
 sāmprataṁ prakaṭī-bhūte jagati svagam̄ gupta iti //

³⁴ MS cakṣuh

³⁵ MS corrected in the margin

³⁶ MS lālānirmitam̄

³⁷ MS prativeśah

(3)

atha dhyāna-nirūpaṇam / tatra yady-api sarva-śvāsa-nirodhā
nānāvidhāḥ siddhair uktās-tathā 'pi ajapāṁ sarvotkṛṣṭāṁ vadanti yat
iyam jāgrad-daśāyām svapna-daśāyān ca svabhāvataḥ sarva-prāṇinām
sarvadā sambhavati / tad uktam asmad-vede nāsti kiñcid īdr̄śam vastu
yat parameśvara-japam sarvadā na karoti / parantu bhavanto na
jānanti / anenājapājapa evoktaḥ / tasyoccāraṇe pada-dvayam kṛtam tatra
śvāsasyopari-gamane sa iti padam āvirbhavati / nīccair-āgamane aham iti
asyārthaḥ so 'ham iti / asmad-ekātmavādino 'pi śvāsa-kriyāyām hu allāha
¹ iti jānanti / śvāsasyopari-gamane hu ² iti bahir-āgamane allāha iti prakaṭī
bhavati /

(4)

atha parameśvaraguṇavyākhyānam / ekātmavādinām mate
parameśvarasya guṇa-dvayam asti / tacca jalāla[3a]-jamālākhyām /
sarvā sṛṣṭir asmād guṇa-dvayād bahir-bhūtā / siddhais tu traya uktā
atas tri-guṇām vadanti sattvām rajas-tama iti / tatra rajasa utpattiḥ
sattvāt ³ pālanām tamasaḥ pralayah / asmadīyais tu pratipālakam
sattva-guṇām ⁴ rajaḥ-padavācyē jamāle antarbhāvyā dvaividhyam uk-
tam / ete trayo 'pi guṇāḥ paraspāram saṃvalita-vṛttayah / eteṣām
adhiṣṭhātāras trimūrti-rūpā ⁵ ucyante / te ca brahma-viṣṇu-maheśāḥ /
asmadīyā jibarāl-mikāl-isarāphīla iti vadanti / utpattyadhiṣṭhātā jibarāl
⁶ pratipālanādhiṣṭhātā mīkāl saṃhārasyādhiṣṭhātā isarāphīl iti / eteṣām
bhūta-traya-rūpā jala-tejovāyavaḥ sambandhīnaḥ / jalām jibarālasya-
sambandhi tejo mīkāila-saṃbamdhī vāyuḥ isarāphīla-sambandhī ete trayo
'pi sarva-śāre prakaṭāḥ / tathā hi jala-rūpo brahmā jihvāyām atāḥ
parameśvara-vākyā-prakāśakah uccaraṇam etasmāt prakaṭī-bhūtam /
tejorūpo viṣṇuś-cakṣuṣi yataḥ prakāśo jyotiṣca tatrāsti darśanam etasmāt
prakaṭam ⁷ vāyu-rūpo maheśo nāsāyām śāṅkhasya phūtkāra-dvayam asmāt
prakaṭam śvāsa-dvaya-rūpam / tasya samāptau vinaśyati prāṇijātam trayo
guṇāḥ parameśvarasya guṇāḥ te cotpatti-sthiti-laya-hetavaḥ / eteṣām
guṇānām prakāśakā api brahmā-viṣṇu-maheśāḥ / te ca guṇāḥ sarva-vastusu
prakaṭāḥ prathamam utpattis tataḥ kiyat-kālam sthitih paścān nāśa iti /
trimūrtes ⁸ tasyaitasya sāmarthyā-paraparyāyam śakti-trayam sarasvatī

¹ Transliteration of Arabic : ﷺ huwa 'l-lāhu

² RC ^{bū}

³ MS, BL satvāt

⁴ MS, BL satva-.

⁵ MS -trimūrti-rūpā

⁶ RC jibarāl

⁷ RC prakaṭam,

⁸ MS -mūrttes-

lakṣmīḥ-pārvatīti vadanti / tatra ⁹ sarasvatī rajoguṇa-yuktā-brahma-saṁbaddhā / pārvatī tamoguṇa-yukta-maheśa-saṁbaddhā / laksṁīḥ sattvaguṇayuktaviṣṇusam̄baddhā /

atha rūha ¹⁰ -paraparyāyasya ¹¹ ātmano nirūpaṇam / rūha-jūjaī (5)
rūhakullī ¹² ca / munaya etau dvau jīvātmānam paramātmānam
ca vadanti / śuddhacaitanyam sthūlopādhinā sūkṣmopādhinā ca
paricchinnam tataḥ sūkṣmopādhinā paricchinnam sat rūha ātmetyucaye
sthūlopādhitayā paricchinnam sat ¹³ dehāḥ śārīram ity ucyate atha
ca śuddhacaitanyam pratham aparicchedakāt paricchinnam sat rūha-
aajama ¹⁴ padābhidheyam ekatva-mānyatām dhārayati / sarve rūhās
tasminn-antarbhūtāḥ tam eva paramātmānam rūha-kullīti ca vadanti /
citra-jala-taraṅgāḥ śārīrātmasthāniyah / sarve tarāṅgāḥ samaṣṭi-rūpa-dvārā
paramātmā-padenocyante / śuddha-svaccha-jalam atra bhavat sadbhaya
¹⁵ śuddhacaitanyasthāniyah /

atha prāṇādi-nirūpaṇam / sa ca sarva-śārīrāntaḥ sañcaran vāyur yataḥ (6)
pañcasu sthāneṣu tiṣṭhati tato nāma-pañcakam dhatte / tāni ca nāmā[3b]ni
prāṇāpāna-samānōdāna-vyāna-rūpāṇi / nāsāntaḥ pādāṅguṣṭha-paryantam
sañcaran prāṇaḥ śvāsa etad-vikāraḥ / gudān-medhṛa-paryantam sañcarann
apānaḥ / etayor dvayor nābhīm parito granthir jīvana-nimittam ¹⁶ nābhī-
hṛdayayor-madhye sañcaran samānaḥ / kanṭhād brahmaṇdhra-paryantam
sañcaran udānaḥ / sarva-śārīre antar-bahiśca tvacam-abhivyāpya vartamāno
¹⁷ vyānaḥ /

atha jagac-catuṣṭaya-nirūpaṇam / eṣu jatatsu sarva-prāṇināḥ avaśyam (7)
sañcaranti / keśāñcid ekātmavādinām tāni jaganti catvāri - nāsūta ¹⁸
malakūta jabarūta lāhūta iti / kecijjaganti pañca vadanti ālāmamisāla
padābhidheyam pañcamam vadanti / kecana ālāmamisālam ¹⁹ malakūte
'ntarbhāvayamtaś catvāri vadanti / siddhā etāni avasthāś-catasra iti vadanti
/ jāgrat-svapna-suṣupti-turiyākhyāḥ / tatra jāgran-nāsūtānusāri tac ca

⁹ RC, BL omit

¹⁰ Transliteration of روح rūh

¹¹ RC rūhā-

¹² Transliteration of روح جزئی، روح کلی روح rūh-i ḡuzī, rūh-i kullī

¹³ MS sata

¹⁴ RC ājama; Transliteration of روح اعظم rūh-i 'a'zam

¹⁵ RC -sadbhaya (?)

¹⁶ RC -nimittam,

¹⁷ MS varttamāno

¹⁸ Transliteration of ناسوت، ملکوت جبروت، لاہوت nāsūt, malakūt ḡabarūt, lāhūt

¹⁹ Transliteration of عالم مثال ālām-i miṭāl

jagat prakaṭam jāgaraṇa-rūpañ ca / atha svapnaḥ malakūtānusārī sa ca
jagad-ātmanah jagat-svāpaśca / atha suṣuptih jabarūtānusāriṇī / tasyām
jagad-dvaya-citrāṇi tvantāhante ca na santi / cakṣuṣor unmilanena [na]
nimilane vopaviṣṭe sati bahavah kula-dvaya viraktas taj jagad-anabhijñāḥ
sarvotkr̄ṣṭa-matena ²⁰ guruṇā juneda-nāmnā ²¹ śuddhāntahkaraṇena
pratibodhitāḥ santa ājñaptāḥ ekātmataḥ sā yan-muhūrtamātram upaviṣṭā
²² vinā yatnam / anyo mahāpuruṣo vadati yatnam vineti kiṃ prāptे
vinā gavesaṇam darśanam vinā 'valokanam dṛṣṭā dṛṣṭi-viṣaye nimittam ato
muhūrta ²³ -mātram upaveśanam ittham yat jāgrat-svapna-rūpa-jagad-
dvaya-citrāṇi tan-muhūrte ²⁴ manasi nāyānti tad uktam brahmajñāne
mahādeva-pārvatī-saṃvāde /

dṛṣṭih sthirā yasya vinā 'valokanam vāyuḥ sthiro yasya vinā
nirodhanam /
manah sthiram yasya vinā valambanam sa eva yogī sa guruḥ sa
sevyah //

tad evoktam cāsmākam siddhaiḥ śuddhāntahkaraṇair ²⁵ vāñchasi cet
prāptum kṣaṇa-mātram nānveṣaya vāñchasi cej jñātuṇi kṣaṇa-mātram
mā jāñihī yato rahasi ced anvesayasi prakaṭād dūrī bhavasi prakaṭe
ced anvesayas rahaso dūrī bhavasi / ato rahaḥ prakaṭābhyaṁ yuktitō
bahir-bhūya pāda-prasāram ²⁶ sukham svapihi tam āśritya iti / atha
turīyā lāhūtānusāriṇī / sā śuddhacaitanya svarūpā vyāpikā"cchādikā
jagat-trayasya / yadi adhikārī jāgrataḥ svapne svapnāt suṣuptau suṣuptes
turīyāyām ity evam krameṇa sañcarati tad etthyam tasya vardhanam ²⁷
bhavati kṣaraścākṣaro bhavati / atra bhavat tattvānām tattvam siddhā
nirguṇam vadanti / [4a] ta[t]tadeva ²⁸ yadi turīyātah suṣuptau suṣupteḥ
svapne svapnājjāgrati visañcaranti tadā akṣaraḥ kṣaro bhavati /

atha śabda-nādayor vyākhya / paramātmāno niḥśvasitam nimittam (8)
prāṇava-paryāya kun ²⁹ śabda-sraṣṭṛtvaya prakaṭam jātam / tasya

²⁰ RC sarvākr̄ṣṭamatenā

²¹ Transliteration of جنی گوناید

²² MS muhūrtta-

²³ MS muhūrtta-

²⁴ MS tanmuhūrtte; RC yanmuhūrtam

²⁵ RC -karaṇaiḥ

²⁶ RC sapādaprāsāram

²⁷ MS vardhanam

²⁸ MS tatadeva; RC sa eva

²⁹ Translitearation of کن kun

śabda-nādasya siddhaiḥ sarasvatīti nāma-sthāpitam / sarve śabdā
 dhvany-ātmakāvarṇātmakāś ca tasmād utpannāḥ / sarvam³⁰ jagat
 tasyānurañjakasya dhvani-mayam / kena śruta īdr̥śo lambamāno dhvaniḥ
 / ayam nāda-śabdaḥ siddhānām mate tri-vidhaḥ / ³¹ prathamo 'nāhataḥ
 ayam arthaḥ īdr̥śa-śabdaḥ sārvādikāḥ ³² / ekātmavādina etacchabdām
³³ aparicchinnam sarva-japānām cakravartinam ³⁴ vadanti / ayam nādo
 'nādiḥ pratyakṣatvam cidākāśasya etasmāt etacchabdām na prāpnūvanti
 kula-dvaya-gata-mahāntau ³⁵ vinā / dvitīya āhataḥ āhataḥ śabda tu paras-
 parābhīghātād utpadyate vinā varṇoccāraṇam / trītyaḥ śabdo varṇātmakah
 padoccāraṇa-prayatnād utpadyate / uktañ ca āhato 'nāhataśceti dvividhaḥ
 śabda ucyate / tatrānāhata-nādam tu munayah samupāsate / gurūpadiṣṭa-
 mārgenā yuktidam na tu rañjakam iti / ayam varṇātmakah śabdaḥ
 sarasvatī sambandhī etasmācchabdāt nāmnām mahīyān asmākam madhye
 'sti sa isma-aajama ³⁶ ucyate / siddhāstu tam veda-mukha iti vadanti /
 om asya veda-mukhasyārthaḥ / so 'sti guṇa-traya-svāmī / guṇa-trayam
 tu utpatti-sthiti-layanmittam / tad evākārokāra-makārā vadanti / te ca
 tatra prakaṭāḥ / ³⁷ atha caitānnāmno lipi-dvaye' py ākṛti-višeṣa eka eva /
 caturnām api bhūtānām jala-tejo-vāy-vāk-āśānām śuddhacaitanyasya cātra
 cihnāni prakaṭāni /

³⁰ MS sarvam

³¹ RC omits /

³² MS sārvādikāḥ

³³ MS etatśabda-

³⁴ MS cakravarttinam

³⁵ RC -mahānto

³⁶ Transliteration of ایم ism-i 'azam

³⁷ RC omits

(9)

atha nūra-paryāya-prakāśa vyākhyā / sa ca tri-vidhaḥ / yadi jalāla¹ -guṇa-paryāya tamo-guṇāt prakaṭo bhavati tadā sūryarūpam vā suvarṇa-rūpam vā agni-rūpam vā bhavati / yadi jamāla² -guṇa-paryāya-sattva-guṇāt prakaṭo bhavati tadā candra-rūpam vā rajata-rūpam vā jala-rūpam vā bhavati / atha ca guṇā-saṁsprṣṭa-svarūpa-prakāśan tu vinā parameśvariya-siddhaiḥ esām ittham asmad-vede ājñaptam svaprakāśam³ svamārgam jñāpayati tamprati yam apekṣate taiḥ⁴ anye na pṛapnuvanti / kiñca / sa prakāśas tu yadi kaścit puruṣaḥ svapiti atha vā cakṣuśi nimilya tiṣṭhati cakṣuṣā na paśyati karṇena na śṝnoti na vācā vadati na nāsikayā jighrati na tvacā sprśati svapne sarvā etāḥ kriyā ekenaiva kriyante / tatra niṣprayojanā avayavā bāhyendriyāṇi jyo[4b]tīṁsi pradīpāś ca / ghrāṇa-rasana-cakṣus-tvak-śrotrāṇi mitha ekī-bhūtāni eka-vyakti-rūpāṇi jāyante /⁵ sa brahma-prakāśa ucyate / he sakhe tvam vicāraya mayā kim uktam / yata idam tīkṣṇa-buddher-vicārasya sthānām / siddhānām siddhena etad-vicārasya praśāṁsāyām ājñaptam /⁶ ayam eko vicāras tasmin muhūrta-mātram avasthānam⁷ bhuvana-traya-gata-manuṣya daityādi dharmād api⁸ śreṣṭhatamam iti / sa prakāśaḥ śuddhacaitanyasya svarūpam / yathā 'smad-vede parameśvara ākāśa-pṛthivyoḥ prakāśaḥ tam prakāśam siddhā jyotiḥ-svarūpam sadā-prakāśam svayaṁ-prakāśaḥ ca vadanti / ayam arthaḥ svayaṁ svayaṁ eva nityaṁ prakāśo 'sti jagat tasmin drṣyate vā na vā / yathā⁹ ekātmāvādinah prakāśa-rūpo na tu prakāśavān iti vadanti tathā siddhā 'pi jyotiḥ-svarūpo na tu jyotiṣmān iti vadanti / tad uktam asmad-vede / śuddham brahma-prakāśaḥ pṛthivyākāśayoḥ sa prakāśo yathā gavākṣa-dīpah sa dīpah¹⁰ kācaghaṭī-madhye kācaghaṭī ca prakṛṣṭaprakāśa-tārāvat prakāśate sa dīpah prajvālita iṅgudī-phala-tailena sa cengudī-vṛkṣo¹¹ na pūrve na vā paścime / nikāte tu śobhāmāneṅgudī-tailam prakāśate vinā gni-samyoge[na] / prakāśasyopari prakāśaḥ / mārgam jñāpayati parameśvaraḥ svaprakāśasya yam icchati / atha yad viraktena mayā buddham tad idam / gavākṣa-

¹ Transliteration of جلال *ğalal*

² Transliteration of جمال *ğamāl*

³ RC svaprajāśaḥ

⁴ RC taiḥ(?); BL tam

⁵ RC omits /

⁶ MS ājñaptam; RC omits /

⁷ MS -muhūrta-

⁸ MS dharmmādapi

⁹ RC ye vā

¹⁰ RC omits sa dīpah

¹¹ RC -vṛkṣā

padasya prayojanam brahmāṇḍam prakaṭam dīpa-pada-prayojanam jyotiḥ-svarūpam / kācaghaṭī-pada-prayojanam ātmā sā kācaghaṭī ātmā bhavati tārā-sadṛṣa-prakāśavatī bhavati / asya dīpasya prakāśena kāca-ghaṭī api dīpa-sadṛṣatām jñāpayati prajvalitaḥ sa dīpo vyāñjanayā śuddhacaitanya-prakāśah¹² śobhamāna-śuddhacaitanya-svarūpa-vṛksat sa sarvadigbhyo vyāvṛttah na pūrvasyām na paścimāyām īngudī-taila-pada-prayojanam paramātmā / tac ca tailam atisūkṣmam atisvaccham / svayam svayam eva prakāśate / prayojanam nāsti prajvalane / ekātmavādinām gurur vāsitī¹³ nāmā ātma-praśamsāyām ājñaptavān ātmanas tu kāca-ghaṭī tathā prakāśavatī yathā smārtatsyāgneh¹⁴ sparśasya veda-śravaṇasya cāpekṣā nāstīti / atyanta-sāmarthyena nikāte svayam svayam eva prakāśo bhavati / ayam taila-prakāśah śuddhabrahma-prakāśena saha prakāśopari prakāśah / asyārthaḥ atisvacchatva-prakāśatvābhyaṁ prakāśah prakāśopari īdṛśo 'pi prakāśopari prakāśo na dṛsyate kenāpi tāvad yāvat svīyaikatva-prakāśena¹⁵ mārgam jñāpayati / prayojanam idam śuddham brahma¹⁶ svaprakāśena prakāśa-sambandhinām sūkṣmāṇām āvaraṇānām madhye prakaṭam / kaścana andhakāra āvaraṇam vā tan madhye nāsti / yādṛśah śuddhabrahma-prakāśah paramātmāvaraṇe prakaṭah atha paramātmā ātmanām āvaraṇe ātmānah śarīrā[5a]nām āvaraṇe / anena prakāreṇa dīpas taila-sahitah kācaghaṭyāvaraṇa-madhye prakaṭah kācaghaṭī gavākṣāvaraṇa-madhye / ete śuddha-brahma-prakāśa-vyāpāreṇa prakāśopari-prakāśam kṛtavantah /

atheśvaradarśana-nirūpanam / īsvara-darśanam siddhaiḥ sākṣatkāra (10)
 ity ucyate / vāhya-cakṣuṣā antaś-cakṣuṣā ca jānihi / parameśvara-darśane ihāmutra darśanam¹⁷ vāhyābhyantra-cākṣuṣe keśām api siddhānām munīnām vā parameśvara-kṛta-śuddhāntah karaṇānām nāsti śāṅkā-vipratipattiḥ parasparsa-virodho vā / sarveṣām apy apauruṣeyagrānthavatām paripūrṇānām darśanavatām pratimatām asminn arthe śraddhā 'sti kiṁ kurāṇa¹⁸ -vatām kiṁ vedavatām kiṁ taurāta¹⁹ -vatām kiṁ īnjila²⁰ -vatām / ajñānino 'ndhāś ca te ye sva-sva-mārge parameśvara-pratyakṣam nāngī-kurvanti / sarva-sāmarthyavataḥ²¹ parameśvarasya sva-

¹² RC śuddhacaitanya-prakāśah

¹³ Transliteration of واسطی wāsiṭī

¹⁴ MS smārtta-

¹⁵ RC (so na)(?)

¹⁶ MS corrected in the margin

¹⁷ RC omit

¹⁸ Transliteration of قرآن qurān

¹⁹ Transliteration of توریت taurit

²⁰ RC ijila-; Transliteration إنجيل īngil

²¹ MS sarvassāmarthyavataḥ

pratyakṣakaraṇe kuto na sāmarthyam / asmin viṣaye sunnīnām samyak
 mārgopalabdhīḥ yadi nirguṇām śuddhacaitanyam draṣṭum śaknoti tad
 etam atyanta-vādhitam śuddhasya ekākinah sūkṣmasyāparicchinnasya
 yāvat paricchedaḥ sūkṣmāvaraṇa-prakāśā ca ²² na bhavati tāvat
 pratyakṣasyāsambhavāt / tasmāt īḍr̥asya pratyakṣasyātyantābhāvah /
 yad uktam̄ paraloka eveśvara-pratyakṣam̄ na tv ihaloka iti tan-nirmūlam̄
 / yadi tasmin sarva-sāmarthyam asti tadā sarva-prakāreṇa sarvasmin
 deśe sarva-kāle ca svapratyakṣa-karaṇasyāpi sambhavāt yasyātrā darśanam
 kaṭhinam khalu tasya tatrāpi darśanam / tathā cāsmad-vede śrūyate yaḥ
 kaścid asmiṁ-loke darsana-sampado nirāśo bhavati sa tasmin avalokana-
 sampado hatāśo bhavati / ye tu hukmāmārtājala ²³ iśvara-pratyakṣam̄
 nāngī-kurvanti te mahāparādham kṛtavantah / yadi śuddhasya pratyakṣam̄
 na sambhavatīti vadeyuh tadā 'sya vivādasyāspadam kiñcid api syāt /
 sarva-prakāreṇāpi pratyakṣam̄ na sambhavatīti vadadbhir atyantam̄ mahā-
 parādhaḥ kṛtaḥ yato bahudhā paripūrṇaiḥ ²⁴ siddhair munibhiśca bāhya-
 cakṣusā paramēśvarasya darśanam̄ śabda-śravaṇāñ ca sāksāt-kṛtam / yadi
 tad-vākyāśravaṇam̄ sarva-dikṣu aṅgī-karoṣi kutas tarhi sarva-dikṣu tad-
 darśanam̄ api nāngī-karoṣi / yathā paramēśvaro devatā apauruṣeya-granthāḥ
 siddhā mahāpralayaḥ sādhv-asādhunī paramēśvarāt-tīrthādīni ca avaśya-
 śraddheyāḥ tathā paramēśvara-darśanam̄ apy avaśyam̄ śraddheyam̄ yata
 iśvara-darśanam eva sarveśām̄ prayojanam̄ / kiñ ca parasparam̄ virodhaḥ
 kṛtaḥ ²⁵ paramasiddha-vākye asmadīya-paṇḍitaiḥ kaścana praśnaḥ kṛto
 dr̥ṣṭaḥ paramēśvaras tvayeti / tataḥ ājñaptavān prakāśamānam̄ paśyāmy
 aham̄ tam / tair etad-vākyam ittham ²⁶ paṭhitam̄ jyotiḥ-svarūpam̄ katham̄
 paśyāmy aham̄ tam / yuktam̄ na bhavati yat paramasiddhasyādarśanam̄
 / yaḥ prathamato 'rtho 'smābhiḥ svīkṛtaḥ vyañjanāsti tasya darśanam̄
 prakāśā[5b]varaṇeyam ²⁷ svīkurmaḥ vyañjanā 'sti atyanta-śuddhacaitanyam̄
 nīrūpam̄ iti / etat pāṭha-dvayam̄ paraspara-viruddhārthakam̄ na bha-
 vati kintu adbhuta-siddo 'yam / ekasmin vākye dvayoh siddhāntayor
 nirṇayaḥ kṛtaḥ / yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate / tasmin divase mukhāni
 prasannāni santuṣṭā hi paśyanti svīya-paramēśvaram / spaṣṭam̄ pramāṇam̄
 darśana-visaye kim idam̄ darśanam̄ iśvara-pada-sambandhi jātam iti ta-
 sya paricchinneśvaratvasya darśanam̄ sambhavati / kvacit kāṇḍikayām
 idam̄ śrūyate cakṣūm̄si tatra paśyanti sa cakṣūm̄si paśyati sa sūkṣmaḥ

²² RC sūkṣmāvaraṇanāśaśca

²³ Transliteration of حكماء متعزّل hukamā-yi mu'tazilah

²⁴ RC paripūrṇeh

²⁵ RC kutah

²⁶ RC tadetadvākyā-

²⁷ RC prakāśācaraṇeyam(?)

sa sarvajñā iti vyañjanā nīrūpatvasyāsti / asyārthah cakṣūṁsi tan na
 paśyanti nirguṇatva-nīrūpatvābhym sa sarvam paśyati sa parama-sūkṣmo
 nīrūpaś ca / asyām kaṇḍikāyām sa iti padam tiṣṭhati tena vyajyate
 śuddhacaitanyasyāpratyakṣatvam / darśanam īśvarasya pañca-prakārakam
 prathama-darśanam svapne manaś-cakṣuṣā dvitīyam darśanam jāgrati
 śīraś-cakṣuṣā tṛtīyam tu svapna-jāgaranayor-madhye višeṣa-nirahaṅkāratayā
 caturtham višeṣa-paricchinne darśanam / pañcamam²⁸ darśanam eka-
 svarūpasya bahūnām paricchinnānām bāhyānām ābhyanṭarāṇān jagatām
 madhye / evam eva dṛṣṭāṇi paramasiddhena tasmin samaye svayam na
 sthitah dṛg-dṛśyayor aikyañ ca sthitam atha ca svapna-jāgraṅ-nirahantānām
 aikyam jñātam abhūt / kiṁca bāhyābhyanṭara-cakṣūṁsi eki-bhūtāni
 abhūvan darśanasya iyam eva mānyatā paripūrṇā etad darśanasyehaloka
 paralokāpekṣā nāsti sarvasmin deśe kāle ca sambhavati /

atha nāmāni nirūpyante / parameśvarasyānantāni nāmāni maryādā-
 paricchedātītāni mutlkbahat²⁹ śuddhacaitanyasya siddhāḥ śūnyam
 nirguṇam nirākāram nirājanam sat-cit-ānanda iti vadanti asmad-
 vedamukhasya allāha³⁰ ity asya om iti vadanti / hu³¹ ity asya
 sa iti vadanti / jñānāparaparyāya ilm³² sambandhāt ālima³³ iti
 vadanti siddhāś caitanyam iti nāma vadanti / haiyah³⁴ nityam iti
 kādarah³⁵ samarthaḥ muridah³⁶ svatantrah samīah³⁷ śrotā vasīrah³⁸
 draṣṭā iti vadanti / vacana-sambandhāt vakteti phiristānām³⁹ de-
 vatā iti majahara-atamasya⁴⁰ mahāvatāra? iti avatāras tu sa yasmin
 samaye yatra parameśvara sāmarthyam yāvat prakaṭam anyatra kutrāpi

²⁸ RC pañcamadarśanam

²⁹ Transliteration مطلق بحث muṭlaq baḥthu

³⁰ Transliteration of الله al-lāhu

³¹ Transliteration of هو hū

³² RC ilama: Transliteration of علم ilm

³³ Transliteration of عالم ālim

³⁴ Transliteration of الحي al-hayyu

³⁵ Transliteration of قادر qādir

³⁶ Transliteration of مرید murid

³⁷ Transliteration of سامی samī'u

³⁸ Transliteration of باشیر basīru

³⁹ Transliteration of فرستہ firiṣṭah

⁴⁰ Transliteration of مظہر اتما mazhar-i 'atamu

tasmin samaye prakaṭī bhavitum na śaknoti / vahayasya ⁴¹ ā[6a]kāśa-vāṇīti ājñaptavān paramasiddhaḥ / sarvābhya ākāśavāṇībhyo mahyam iyam atyantam atikaṭhinatarā ghaṇṭā bhramara-śabdānukāriṇī / yato 'yam śabdaḥ ākāśāt prakaṭo bhavati ata ākāśa-vāṇītyucyate / apauruṣeya ⁴² kurāṇam ⁴³ siddhānām veda ity ucyate / piśācānām madhye sujanāḥ pari ⁴⁴ śabda-vācyāḥ teṣām eva durjanā devaśayātīm ⁴⁵ rākṣasāś cocyante / atha ādāmī ⁴⁶ manusyāḥ nabi ⁴⁷ siddhaḥ valī ⁴⁸ ṛṣīvara iti nāma kathayanti /

(12)

atha siddhatva ṛṣīvaratva-nirūpaṇam / siddhāḥ tri-vidhāḥ / ekaḥ sa yena parameśvaro dṛṣṭo bāhyena ābhyanṭareṇa vā cakṣuṣā / dvitīyah sa yena śabdaḥ śrutiḥ sa śabdo varṇātmako vā dhvany-ātmako vā / tṛtiyah sa yena devatā dṛṣṭā tacchabdo vā śrutiḥ / siddhatvam ṛṣīvaratvam ca tri-vidham / ⁴⁹ ekāṁ siddhatvam ṛṣīvaratvān ca nirguṇatva-sambandhi dvitīyam saguṇatva-sambandhi tṛtiyam ubhaya-sambandhi / nirguṇa-sambandhi rūha ⁵⁰-siddhatvam yathā / tena tattva-samudrasya nirguṇatva-sambandhi dṛṣṭam tenaivopadiṣṭam tadīyalokair na svikṛtam nirguṇatva-sambandhitvāt alpaiḥ svikṛtam tad upadiṣṭam / te nāśa-samudre nimagnā virāgiṇāḥ samaye svīyān śiṣyānupadiṣanti ⁵¹ nirguṇatvam / tad upadeśāt ko 'pi na jñānavān jāyate phalaṁ ca nāpnoti / mārga-madhye gaccha-nto vinaśayanti ca parameśvaram na prāpnuvanti / siddhatvam saguṇatva-sambandhi yathā mūsā ⁵²-siddhatvam tena mahīrūhāgnau dṛṣṭam abhra-madhyato vākyam śrutam / tan-mārgānuyāyināḥ tad-anukāriṇāś ca saguṇa-sambandhinās tanmadhye nimagnāḥ santāḥ pratimopāsakā jātāḥ / tair iśvarasyā "jñābhaṅgāḥ kṛtaḥ / ucchṛṇkhalāḥ kecanādyante asmākāṁ samaye pūrṇānukāriṇāste sva-vyāpāram kṛtavanto 'munā prakāreṇa jīvanti / nirguṇatva-sambandha-rahitāḥ santāḥ saguṇatva-sambandhi-nimagnāḥ

⁴¹ Transliteration of وَحْيٌ *wahy*

⁴² RC adds grantho 'smākam'

⁴³ Transliteration of قُرْآنٌ *qurān*

⁴⁴ Transliteration of پری *parī*

⁴⁵ Transliteration of دِیْفَشِیاَطِلِین *dīvshayātīn*

⁴⁶ Transliteration of آدَمٰی *ādāmī*

⁴⁷ Transliteration of نَبِیٰ *nabi*

⁴⁸ Transliteration of وَالِیٰ *walī*

⁴⁹ RC omits

⁵⁰ Transliteration of نَوْحٌ *nūḥ*

⁵¹ MS śiṣyānupavisanti

⁵² Transliteration of مُوسَى *mūsā*

sundaram rūpam paśyantah anurañjaka-śabdam samśrīvānāḥ asatyā⁵³ -
 prakāreṇa krīdanto baddhā bhavanti / tat-pṛṣṭhato gamanam na yuktam
 yad rūpam sva-svarūpam pradarśya ceto harati / tat kālas tva-dṛṣṭer
 dūram nayati / ato manas tatra deyam yat tava saṅge sthitam
 vartate⁵⁴ sthāsyati ca / tṛtiyam ubhya-sambandhi / asyārthaḥ saguṇatva-
 nirguṇatva sambandhinor ekikaraṇam tat paripūrṇa-siddhatvam paramasid-
 dhasya siddhatvam yato nirguṇatva-saguṇatvāparicchinnatva-nirūpatva-
 sarūpatvānām ekikaraṇam kṛtam / yathā 'smad-vede [6b] śrūyate nāsti
 tat-sadrśam vastu iyam vyañjanā nirguṇatva-mānyatāyām atha ca śrotā
 draṣṭā⁵⁵ ca iyam vyañjanā saguṇatva-mānyatāyām iyam paramamānyatā
 yad dvayor ekikaraṇam / siddhatvam samāpanāñ ca sarvaloka-siro-
 rūpā asādhāraṇī pūrva-paścimāyatam sarvam jagat vyāpya sthitavatī /
 siddhatvam nirguṇatva-sambandhi nīrāśam asti / saguṇatva-sambandhi
 siddhatvāt / saguṇatva-sambandhi-siddhatvam hataśam / nirguṇatva-
 sambandhi-siddhatvāt / paripūrṇa-siddhatvam nirguṇatva-saguṇatvayor
 āchādakam yathā 'smad-vedopaniṣadi śrūyate / huval avval val āśil vajāhir
 valvātin⁵⁶ / asyārthaḥ sa ādiḥ so 'ntah sa prakaṭah sa guptah sa nirguṇah
 sa saguṇah sa paricchinnaḥ so 'paricchinnaḥ sa sākārah sa nīrākāra iti
 / sa eva sarvam idam tad-atiriktam kim api vastu nāsti / īdṛśam sid-
 dhatvam etesām paripūrṇānuyāyinām eva viśeṣataḥ yathoktam asmad-vede
 / sarva-matānusāribhyo bhavanta utkr̄ṣṭah saguṇa-nirguṇayor dvayor api
 aikyena upāsanā-karaṇāt / asyārthaḥ paramasiddhānusāriṇah te ca īśvara-
 satkṛta-paramasiddha-samayavartinah⁵⁷ siddhās-tat-parivāra-bhūtās-tat-
 pratinidhi-bhūtās ca / abūbakr⁵⁸ umar⁵⁹ usmān⁶⁰ ali⁶¹ hasan⁶² husain⁶³
 anyasmin samaye ca etād-īśāḥ junnūna misīrī⁶⁴ junedo⁶⁵ jñāninām guruh

⁵³ MS, RC asatva-

⁵⁴ MS varttate

⁵⁵ MS dṛṣṭā

⁵⁶ Transliteration of هو الأول و الآخر و الظاهر و الباطن huwa 'l-aوّل wa 'l-آخِر و الظاهِر و الباطِن wa 'l-zāhir wa 'l-bātin (Qur'ān 3:109)

⁵⁷ MS -varttinah

⁵⁸ RC avuvakr; Transliteration of أبو بكر abū bakr

⁵⁹ Transliteration of عمر umar

⁶⁰ Transliteration of عثمان utmān

⁶¹ Transliteration of علي ali

⁶² Transliteration of حسن hasan

⁶³ Transliteration of حسین husayn

⁶⁴ RC -misiro; Transliteration of ذو الون مصرى du 'l-nūn misīrī

⁶⁵ Transliteration of گند gunayd

mīrān muhaddīn ibn arābī⁶⁶ sadguruh̄ miyānī mīr mullā shāh miyānī vārī⁶⁷
/

⁶⁶Transliteration of پیر من محبی الدین ابن العربی *pir-i man muhy al-din ibn al-'arabi*

⁶⁷Transliteration of میان میر؛ ملا شاہ؛ میان باری *miyān mīr; mullā shāh; miyān bārī*

atha diñ¹ nirūpaṇam / asmad-ekātmavādinaḥ pūrva-paścimottara- (14)
 dakṣiṇordhvādho-bhedena ṣad² vadanti / siddhāḥ daśa iti vadanti / dvayor-
 dvayor-diśor-madhye ekaikā vidik āgneyī nairṛtī vāyavī aiśānīti daśa diśo
 vadanti / pūrva-dakṣiṇayor-madhye āgneyī / dakṣina-paścimayor-madhye
 nairṛtī / paścimottarayor-madhye vāyavī / uttara-pūrva-madhye aiśānī /

athāsmānā-paraparyāya gagana-nirūpaṇam / siddhāḥ aṣṭau vadanti / (15)
 tatra sapta-grahāṇām bhramaṇa-śilāṇām sara-nirūpāṇi sapta gaganāni / te
 ca grahāḥ / juhal mustarī mirrikh³ śams juharai utārid kamar⁴ iti vadanti /
 graha-nāmāni siddhāḥ śanaiścara bṛhaspati maṅgala sūrya śukra budha
 candrā iti vadanti / sarva-nakṣatrāṇām ādhārabhūtam gaganāni aṣṭamam
 etasya gaganasya dārśanikāḥ aṣṭamam nakṣatragaganam [7a] vadanti /
 yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate / gaganāni pṛthivī ca kurśī madhye sammānti
 navamam mahākāṣam jñātvā gagana-madhye tan nikṣiptam sa sarvavyāpaka
 iti sa sarveśāṁ gaganāṇām pṛthivinām kurśyāś-cāchādaka iti /

atha pṛthivī-nirūpaṇam/ pṛthivyāḥ sapta bhedāḥ / te ca bhedāḥ sapta (16)
 puṭāny ucyante / tāni ca puṭāni atala-vitala-sutala-talātala-mahātala -
 rasātala-pātalākhyāni / asman-mate 'pi sapta bhedāḥ / yathā 'smad-vede
 śrūyate parameśvaraḥ⁵ yena sapta gaganāni kṛtān tadvat sapta pṛthivyāḥ
 kṛtāḥ /

atha pṛthivyā vibhāga-nirūpaṇam / yatra lokāstiṣṭhanti tasyā (17)
 dārśanikaiḥ saptadhā vibhāgaḥ kṛtāḥ tān vibhāgān sapta aaklīma⁶ iti
 vadanti / paurāṇikās tu sapta dvīpāni vadanti / etān khaṇḍān palāṇḍu-
 tvag-vat upary-adhobhāvena na jānanti kintu niḥśreṇī-sopānavaj-jānanti /
 sapta-parvatān sapta kuļācalān vadanti / teṣāṁ parvatāṇām nāmāny
 etāni / prathamaḥ sumeruh madhye dvitīyo himavān tṛtīyo hemakūṭaḥ
 caturtho niṣadhaḥ ete sumeror dakṣinataḥ / nīlaḥ pañcamah śvetāḥ
 ṣaṣṭaḥ śringavān saptamah / ete sumeror uttarataḥ / mālyavān pūrvasyām
 gandhamādanaḥ paścimāyām kailāsas tu maryādā-parvatebhyo 'tiriktaḥ /
 yathā 'smad-vede srūyate asmābhīḥ parvatāḥ śāṅkavaḥ pṛthivyāḥ kṛtāḥ
 / eteṣāṁ sapta-dvīpāṇām pratyekam-āveṣṭana-rūpāḥ sapta-samudrāḥ /
 lavaṇo jambu-dvīpasya āvarakah / iksurasaḥ plakṣa-dvīpasya surā-samudraḥ
 sālmalidvīpasya ghṛta-samudraḥ kuśa-dvīpasya dadhi-samudraḥ krauñca-

¹ MS diñ

² MS ṣat

³ RC miṭarīkh

⁴ Transliteration of زحل، مشتری، مرخ، شمس، زهره، عطارد، قمر zuhal, muṣtarī, marīḥ, śams, zuhrah, 'uṭārid, qamar

⁵ MS adds sa parameśvaraḥ

⁶ RC aaklīma; Transliteration of إقليم iqlim

dvīpasya kṣīra-samudraḥ sāka-dvīpasya svāduja-la-samudraḥ puṣkara-
 dvīpasyāvaraṇa iti samudrāḥ sapta / asmad-vede 'pi prakaṭā bhavanti vṛksā
 lekhanyo ⁷ bhaveyuḥ samudro maśī bhavet tataḥ paścāt sapta-samudrāḥ
 maśī-bhaveyuḥ bhagavad-vākyāni samāptāni na bhavanti prati-dvīpam
 prati-parvatam̄ prati-samudram̄ nānā-jātayo 'nantā jantavas tiṣṭhanti /
 yā pṛthivī ye parvatāḥ ye samudrāḥ sarvābhyaḥ pṛthivībhyaḥ sarvebhyaḥ
 parvatebhyaḥ sarvebhyaḥ samudrebhyaḥ upari tiṣṭhanti tān svarga iti
 vadanti / yā pṛthivī ye parvatā ye samudrāḥ sarvābhyaḥ pṛthivībhyaḥ
 sarvebhyaḥ parvatebhyaḥ sarvebhyaḥ samudrebhyaḥ adhobhāge tiṣṭhati sa
 naraka iti vadanti / niścitaṁ kila siddhaiḥ svarga-narakādikam̄ sarvam
 brahmāṇḍānna kiñcid vahir astīti / te sapta-gaganāśritāḥ sapta-grahāḥ
 svargam̄ parito mekhalāvat paribhramantīti vadanti na svargasyo[7b]pari /
 atha ca svargasya dyadi ⁸ mana-ākāśam̄ jānanti asmadīyās tam̄ arśam̄ ⁹
 vadanti svargabhūmim̄ kurṣīti ¹⁰ vadanti /

atha jagad-varjakha ¹¹ -parīya preta-lokanirūpaṇam / asman- (18)
 mahāsiddhenāñjaptaṁ niścayena khalu yaḥ kaścin-mṛtasya pralayo jātāḥ
 tata ātmā tat-kṣaṇa eva bhautika-sthūlaśarīrā [d]-viyogaṁ prāpya sūkṣma-
 śarīre praviśati / tasya sūkṣma-śarīrya karmaṇa utpattiḥ tac ca karma
 dharmaṇo vā adharmaṇo vā praśnottare samāpte tat kṣaṇam̄ svarginam̄
 svarge nayanti nārakīṇam̄ narake nayanti / anusārī etad-veda-kaṇḍikāyāḥ
 te nirbhāgī jātāḥ santo 'gni-madhye uccair-ākroṣantāḥ sakaruṇam̄ jal-
 panto nityam̄ tatraivāgnau tiṣṭhanti tāvad yāvad dyāvā-bhūmī tiṣṭhataḥ
 paramēvarasyecchām̄ vinā / niścayena kila tava paramēvarah karoti
 yad icchatī / ye bhāgavantas te svarge nityam̄ tiṣṭhanti yāvad dyāvā-
 bhūmī tiṣṭhataḥ vinā paramēvarasya tan-niśkāsanecchām̄ kṛpādānam̄
 tasyānantam̄ yad dyāvā-būmyor nāśat pūrvam̄ api yadīchati narakāt svarge
 nayati / eko mahāpuruṣa etat-kaṇḍikāyā artham ittham akarot / ekaḥ
 samaya etādṛśa āyāsyati yatra nārakīṇāḥ ke 'pi narake na sthāsyanti /
 cira-kālam̄ naraka-sthity-anantaram̄ niśkāsanam̄ svarginām̄ svargāt tad yad-
 dyāvā-bhūmyo-nāśat pūrvam̄ api yadīchati svargāt phiradausa ālā ¹² mad-
 hye nayati yataḥ kṛpādānam̄ tasyānantam̄ / yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate
 paramēvarasyaikah svargas tiṣṭhati / yaḥ sarva-svargebhya utkṛṣṭhatamah
 yaṁ siddhāḥ vaikuṇṭham̄ vadanti iyam̄ mahāmuktih̄ /

⁷ RC lekhantyo.

⁸ RC yadi

⁹ Transliteration of arś ارش

¹⁰ Transliteration of kurṣī كرسي

¹¹ Transliteration of barzah بربخ

¹² Transliteration of firdūs-i 'a'lā فردوس أعلى

atha mahāpralaya-nirūpaṇam / siddhānām idam matam yat nārakinām (19)
narake svarginām svarge cira-kālam sthity-anantaram mahāpralayo jāyate /
yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate / śaṅkhe dhmāte sati paścān-mūrchanti dyusthā
bhūmi-ṣṭhāś ca sarve vinā tam puruṣam yaṁ parameśvaro mūrcchāto
rakṣitum icchatī / te ca jñānina eva ye parameśvareṇehā-mutra ca
mūrchātaḥ pramādāc ca rakṣitāḥ / tad uktam vāsiṣṭha-rāmāyaṇe /

kalpānta vāyavo yāntu ¹³ māntu caikatvam arṇavāḥ /
tapantu dvādaśādityā nāsti nirmanasah kṣitiḥ //

tataḥ paścān nāśam prāpnuvanti divah pṛthivyo narakāḥ svargāśca /
samāpte brahmaṇa āyuṣi brahmāṇḍe cādṛsyatām gate sati nārakinām
svarginām ca videha-muktir-bhāvinī / asyārtha ubhayesām api śuddha-
brahmaṇi aikyam bhaviṣyati / uktam ca /

brahmaṇā saha te sarve saṃprāpte pratisañcare /
parasyānte kṛtātmānah praviśanti param padam /

¹³ RC vāntu yāntu instead of yāntu māntu

athāhorātrasya brahmaṇo gupta-prakaṭatā-rūpasya nirūpaṇam / (21)
 paurāṇikānām mate brahmaṇo jibraīla¹ padābhidheyasya brahmāṇḍa-
 nāśasya parabrahmaṇah prakaṭa-dina-samāptes ca aṣṭādaśābjā-parimitāni
 manusya-varṣāṇi / ekaikam abjam koṭisatasya bhavanti / ayam-arthah
 asmad-veda-kaṇḍikā-dvayānusārī / tatraikā niścayena ca brahmaṇo
 nikāte ekam dinam asti atratyā gaṇanayā sahasra-varṣa-parimitam
 bhavati / dvitīyakaṇḍikā punastannikāt gacchanti devatā ātmā ca /
 ātmā jibraīla-padābhidheyah / jibraīlo² brahmā yasmin divase tasya
 mānam pañcāsat-sahasra-varṣa-parimitam yesām varṣāṇām ekaikam
 dinam prasiddha-varṣa-parimitam³ sahasravarṣasya prathama-kaṇḍikāyām
 prasaṅgo jātah / evam śatavarṣa-parimitam āyuṣah parimāṇam ji-
 braīlasya tathā prakaṭa-dinasya parimāṇam jagat-pada-vācyā-brahmāṇḍa
 samāpteh parimāṇam eteśām gaṇanām kurmaḥ / atratyā lokagaṇanayā
 aṣṭādaśābjāni bhavanti / ekam abjam koṭisatasya bhavati nyūna-visamatām
 vinā anusāriṇiyam gaṇasiddha-gaṇanayā bhavati / aṣṭādaśatva-niyama
 etad-artham gaṇita-maryādā siddhānām nikāte aṣṭādaśasu paricchinnā
 aṣṭādaśottare gaṇana-maryādā yā abhāvāt / etan madhye pralayā bhūtā
 bhaviṣyanti / ca te khaṇḍapralayāḥ kayāmatisuvarā⁴ paraparyāyā
 ucyante / yathā jala-pralayo vahni-pralayo vāyū-pralayo vā etasya dinasya
 sa[10a]māptau rātrau jāyamānāyām kyāmatikuvarā⁵ bhavati / tam
 mahāpralayām vadati / kaṇḍikā-dvayasyeyamājñā / tatraikasyā iyam
 ājñā tasmin divase veṣṭanām karisyāmi gaganānām panna-veṣṭanavat⁶ /
 dvitīya-kaṇḍikāyā iyam ājñā bhaviṣyaty etasyāḥ pṛthivyāḥ pratnidhi-rūpā
 parā pṛthivī prakaṭā bhavati mahāpralayottaram gupta-rātrau prakaṭa-
 dina-samāna-parimāṇāyām paricchinnam sarvam vastu śuddhacaitanye
 līnam bhavati rātrerapi mānam atratyā varṣa-gaṇanayā aṣṭādaśābjā-
 samkhyāni varṣāṇi bhavanti / idam rātreḥ parimāṇam śuddhacaitanyasya
 suṣuptih sr̥ṣṭer jagat-prakāṭī-karaṇād viśrāmyati / etat kaṇḍikāyām
 vyakteyām suṣuptih / tasyāś ca kaṇḍikāyā ayam-arthah śīghram eva
 viśrāmām kurmo bhavadabhyah he devayonayo manusyāś ca yāvad divaseṣu
 jagat prakāṭam tāvacchuddhacaitanyasya jāgrad-avasthāsthānam khaṇḍa-
 pralayāḥ svapnāvasthāsthānam mahāpralayah suṣuptyavasthā-sthānam
 / yadāhur niśvasitam asya vedā vīkṣitam asya pañca bhūtāni sthitam

¹ RC jibraīla

² RC jibraīlo

³ RC -m ;

⁴ Transliteration of قیامت صفری qiyāmat-i ṣuğrā

⁵ Transliteration of قیامت کبیری qiyāmat-i kubrā

⁶ RC patraveṣṭanavat

etasya carācaram asya ca suptam mahāpralaya iti / he suhṛttatama asmin
 nirūpane yal-lihitam sūkṣmadṛṣṭyān ekadhā niścitam tat svānubhāvānusāri
 / anubhavaśaitat-kandikā-dvayānusārī jñātah kutrāpi granthe na dṛṣṭo na
 vā kutaścit śrutah / yady ayam-artho 'paripūrṇa-matīnām śruti-kaṭus tadā
 'smākam na kāpi kṣatih / parameśvaro 'vāptakāmo jagataḥ /

atha brahmāṇḍa-pravāhānāntya-nirūpanam / niścetārah śāstra-jñāḥ (22)
 satya-svarūpasya naikaiveyam rātrir na caikam idam dinam kintu etad rātri-
 samāptau punā rātrir āyāsyati anena prakāreṇānāntyam etasyānādipravāha
 iti nāma vadanti / asmākam jñāna-kavinā vyājanayā 'yam ananta-pravāha
 uktah / vṛttāntasya mama priyatamasya cānto nāsti / yad vastu ādi-rahitam
 tad antavad api na bhavati yat kiñcid vastu-jātam viśeṣataḥ prakātam
 guptam ca pūrvam divā rātrau sthitam tadeva vinā nyūna-viśamatām
 anyasminn ahorātre tathaiva punar āvirbhavati tiro-bhavati ca / yathā
 'smad-vede śrūyate yathā prakaṭī-kṛtah pūrvam sarva-vastu-sṛṣṭayah punar
 api tathaiva tāḥ prakaṭa-sṛṣṭih kariṣyāmo yāḥ sṛṣṭayo naṣṭah āsan paścāt
 samāpte brahmāṇḍe manau ca yathāpūrvam sthitah tathaiva tat-svarūpeṇa
 punar āvir-bhavanti sarvadaiva evam prakāreṇa jāyante / yathāsmad-vede
 śrūyate bhavantah pūrvam sṛṣṭas tathaiva punah⁷ srakṣyāmi / nanu
 asmat-parabmasiddhasya [10b] siddhatva-samāptir anena prakāreṇa na
 sidhyet / atra vayam brūmah / anyasmin divase 'pi parameśvara-satkṛte
 'smat-paramasiddhe tat svarūpeṇa prādūr bhūte tasmin divase punar api
 paramasiddhatvam tatraiva samāpsyate / asmat-paramasiddhasyedam
 vākyam rātrāvīśvara-darśanārtham uparigata-sambandhi / asminn arthe
 pramāṇam tasyām rātrāv asman-mahāsiddhāḥ pravāham uṣṭrāṇām
 drṣṭavantah te ca uṣṭrā anavarataṁ calanti ekaikasyopari mañjūṣā-dvayam
 ekaikamañjūṣāyām ekaikam jagat tiṣṭhati etaj-jagat-sadṛśam ekaikasmīn
 jagati sva-sadṛśo mahāsiddho 'sti / brahmāṇḍam prati pr̄ṣṭaimidam kim
 uktam he mahāsiddha tat-samaye 'ham utpanno jātah paśyāmy enam
 uṣṭrāṇām pravāham mañjūṣā-sahitam gacchantam parantu aham na jānāmi
 kim idam iti / iha mañjūṣā-padasya brahmāṇḍeṣ abhiprāyah uṣṭra-
 pravāha-padasya kāle 'bhiprāyah nityam brahmāṇḍāni tasyopari calanti
 / yacca brahmaṇoktam idam na jānāmīti tasyāyam āśayah pravāhasya
 ādim-antam ca na jānāmīti /
 viṣṇurūpātmana icchayā svīyamāno mandaram kṛtvā samkalpa-vikalpān
 deva-daityān kṛtvā veda-samudram mathitvā jñāna-ratnam ekamīdrśam
 niśkāsitam yad devair daityaiś ca samudramathanam kṛtvā niśkāśiteṣu
 caturdaśa-ratneṣv api na prāptam / ārādhāna parameśvarasya vijñāpanā
 ca yā kṛtā tayā samudra-saṅgama samāptau sāmarthyam prāptam /

⁷ RC putrah

sahasrottara-pañcasastatame samvatsare 'sma[t]-parama-śakād-vyatīte
dvicatvārimśattame ca samvatsare 'sya vīta-rāgasyāyuṣo vidyamāne
parameśvareṇa satkaraṇīyah svajanaśreṣṭatamo 'smat-paramasiddhah
saparivāra-pratinidhi samūhaḥ //

iti śrīsamudrasaṅgamānāmā granthah paripūrṇatāmagamat / śubham
bhavatu lekhakapāthakayoh// śrīḥ // samvat 1765 varṣe mārgasīra vadī
saptamyām candrajavāre // śrīḥ //

Bibliography

- *Abū'l Fażl: *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, ed. by Blochmann, Calcutta 1877.
- *The *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, tr. by Jarret, H.S., repr. from second edition of 1949, Calcutta, 1978.
- *Afnan Soleil, *Philosophical Lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Berirut 1969.
- *Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, Edinburgh, 1969.
- *Afifi, A.E., *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Dīn Ibnul 'Arabī*, Cambridge, 1939.
- *Bernier, Francois. *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, ed. Archibald Constable, New Delhi, 1968.
- **Bhagavadgītānuvāda*, W.M.Callewaert and Shilanand Hemraj. Ranchi, 1982.
- **Bhagavadgītā* (Persian), ed. by S.M.R. Jalālī Nā'īnī, Tehran, 1980.
- *The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* translated and Annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, 5 vols., Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology series, vol.7-11, Delhi, 1992 (repr. of first edition 1976).
- **The Bhāṣāyoga-vāsiṣṭhasāra (Jñānasāra)* of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī, ed. by V.G.Rāhūrkār, 1969. Poona.
- *Bhaṭṭācārya, Siddheśvara. *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, vol.II, Viśvabharati, 1962.
- *Corbin, Henry. *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī*, Paris, 1977.
- *Dasgupta, Surendranath. *A History of Indian Philosophy*. 5 vols., Delhi, 1997 (repr. of first Indian Edition, 1975).
- **Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, Kanpur, 1904.
- **Oriental Literature or the Dabistān*, English translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, New York, 1937.
- **The Encyclopaedia of Islam (EI)*, Leyden, vol.I-VIII, continued.
- **The Gheranda Samhitā*, tr. by Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu, New Delhi, 1996 (repr. of the edition of Allahabad 1914-15).
- *Al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, 5 vols., Cairo, n.d.
- *Al-Ghazzālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, edited by Abū 'Alī 'Afifi, Cairo, 1963.
- *Goichon, A.M, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris, 1938.
- *al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, tr. by Reinold A.Nicholson, Indian Edition.. Delhi, 1991.
- *Ibn 'Arabī, *Fusūṣ al-Hikam*, ed. by A.A.Afifi, Cairo, 1946.

- : *Futūhāt al-Makkiyya*. Cairo, 1329 A.H.
- **Īśādi-aṣṭottaraśtopanisada* ed. Vasudev Lakshman Panashikar, Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, refined edition of Nirnaya Sagara Press, Varanasi . 1990.
- **Kavīndracandrodaya*, Poona Oriental Series 60, ed. Har Dutt Sharma, M.M.Patkar, Poona 1939.
- **Kavīndrasūcīpattra*, Gaekwad Oriental Series XVII, ed. by Krishna Shastry, Baroda. 1921.
- **The Mahābhārata*, ed. by S.K.Belvalkar, Poona, 1949.
- *Marshall, D.N., *Mughals in India*. London. 1967.
- * Mujtabai, Fathullah, *Aspects of Hindu Muslim Cultural Relations*. New Delhi. 1978.
- *Massingnon, L et A.M.Kassim, *Un essai de bloc islamo-hindou au XVII siecle: l'humanisme mystique du Prince Dārā* . RMM LXIII. 1926.
- *Nicholson, Reynold A., *The Mystics of Islam*. 1914.
- * - : *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, repr. Cambridge 1967.
- * - : *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*. Cambridge 1923.
- *Pandita Rāmānandapati Tripāṭhi viracitam *Rasikajīvanam*. Karunāpati Tripāṭhī. 1978. Varanasi.
- *Qamar Jahan Beam, *Princess Jahān Arā Begam : Her Life and Works*. Karachi. 1992.
- *Rahman, M.L.: *Persian Literature in India During the time of Jahangir and Shāh Jahān*. Department of Persian and Urdu. The M.S.University of Baroda. Baroda. 1970.
- *Rizvi.S.A.A .*Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Agra. 1965.
- * - , *A History of Sufism in India*. 2 vols.. New Delhi, 1983.
- *Rypka, Jan. *History of Iranian Literature*. Dordrecht, 1968.
- *Qamar Jahan Begam, *Princess Jahān Arā Begam : Her Life and Works*. Karachi. 1992.
- *Sachau.E. *Alberuni's India*, ed. in the Arabic original, London, 1887.
- *Sachau.E. *Al-Beruni's India*. English translation. first edition. London. 1910.. Indian Edition 1992.
- *Sarkar, Jadunath. *History of Aurangzib*. vol.1. Calcutta 1912.
- **Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*. According to the text of the Mādhyandin School. tr. by Julius Eggeling. Part I. Sacred Books of the East. repr. of First Publication 1882, 1963. Delhi.

- Śāligrām Śsrīvāstava, *Prayāg Pradīp*. Illāhābād, 1937.
- *Sāqī Musta'd Khān. *Ma'āsir-i Ālamgīrī*.
- *Schimmel, Annemarie, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 1995.
- * - . *Islamic Literatures of India*, History of Indian Literature, ed. by Jan Gonda, Wiesbaden, 1973.
- *Shabistari, Maḥmūd, *The Rose-Garden of Mysteries*, ed. and translated by Edward Henry Whinfield, London, 1880.
- *Śīva Sūtras : The Yoga of Supreme Identity, Jaideva Singh, repr, of 1979, Delhi 1995.
- *Storey, C.A., *Persian Literature. A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, London, 1927-77.
- *Tahānawī, Muḥammad 'Alī b. 'Alī. *Kitāb Kashshāf Iṣṭilāhāt al-Funūn*, Calcutta, 1862.
- *Takeshita, Masataka, *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man and its Place in the History of Islamic Thought*, Tokyo, 1987.
- *Tavernier, Jean Baptiste, *Travels in India*, ed. William Crooke, New Delhi 1977.
- *Trimingham, John Spencer, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971.
- *Utas Bo. *A Persian Sufi Poem : Vocabulary and Terminology*, London, 1978.
- ***World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, vol.I, General Editor Geoffrey Roper, London, 1992.
- *The Yogavāsiṣṭha of Vālmīki with the Commentaries *Vāsiṣṭhamahārāmāyaṇattparyaprakāśa*, ed. Vāsdeva Śāstrī Paṇḍikar, Bombay, from the 3rd edition, Delhi 1981.
- *For the Dārā Shukoh's works, bibliography is shown in the footnotes in 2-1-2.