



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

ABSTRACT

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

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BY

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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 Ṣūfī works and the acquaintance in his contemporary Ṣūfis, Dārā wrote hagiographical works on Ṣūfis including his spiritual preceptors, compiled Ṣūfistic aphorisms and wrote some tracts on Ṣūfism. His study of Hindu scriptures and direct contact with Hindu saints and *paṇḍits* 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 Ṣūfism 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-Ḥaqq, 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*, *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 duely 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-Baḥrayn

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 Ṣūfistic works. His initiation into *Qādirī silsila* in 1640, when he was 25 years old is the starting point for his practical study of Ṣūfism. The *Safīnat al-Awliyā'* belongs to the *tazkīra* genre of Ṣūfī 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 *Ḥasanāt al-Ārifīn*, Dārā collected ecstatic or paradoxical utterances ascribed to mystics. The *Ṭarīqat al-Ḥaqqīyat*, *Risālat-i Rumūzāt* and *Risārat-i Ma'āsīr* on Ṣūfistic principles and Islamic dogmas are ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. His *Dīwān* with Ṣūfistic 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-Baḥrayn* based on the Hindu scriptures and philosophical works through the teaching of paṇḍits. Dārā's eagerness in translating Sanskrit works resulting in the translation of the *Upaniṣads* entitled *Sīrr-i Akbar*. The translation of the *Bhagavatgītā* 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 *Muntakhhāt-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 consult 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 (*'Auāṣīr*)
2. The Sense Organs (*Hawṣ*)
3. The Devotional Exercises (*Shughl*)
4. The Attributes of God (*Ṣifāt-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'uyat*)
11. The Names of God (*Asmā'-i Allāh*)
12. The Apostleship and the Saintsship (*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 (*Qisimat-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, *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.

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 *Nāsūt* (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*: *Bhūtākāśa*, *Manākāśa* and *Ādākāśa*. 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 *Ādākāśa* was Love (*īshq*) which is called *māyā*'. Here, the *MB* quotes *Ḥadīth* '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 *Ḥaqīqat-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 Muḥammad (*Ḥaqīqat-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 (*liṅgaśarīra*). All sensory organ is explained with the equivalents of Indian language. Each

sense organ is allied to the element. Next, the *MB* deals with to internal organs (*antaḥkaraṇa*). First, the *MB* enumerates internal organs (*ḥawās-i bāṭin*) in Islamic philosophy as *Ḥiss-i Mushtarik* (sensus communis, generalizing sense), *Khayāl* (imagination), *Mutaṣarrifa*(contemplative), *Hāfiẓa* (retention) and *Wāhima*(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* , *ahaṃkāra*: 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 *ahaṃkāra* is omitted, the difference of three kinds of *ahaṃkāra* is clearly shown. Dārā was much interested in these three kinds of *ahaṃkāras*. For each stage of these *ahaṃkāra*, Dārā referred to a *Qur’ānic* verse as their authority. The three are *ahaṃkāra-sattva*, *ahaṃkāra-rājasa* and *ahaṃkāra-tāmasa*. These three states of *Ahaṃkāra* 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 Ṣūfistic idea is propagated by Jilī.

2-2-3 Purāṇic Cosmology

Cosmological ideas found in the *MB* mostly come from the *Purāṇic* literature. This universe is described as *Brahmāṇḍa* in chapter 13 in the *MB*. Just as in *Purāṇic* 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 *Purāṇic* 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 *R̥g Veda*. As Ikhwān al-Ṣafā distinguished between souls universal soul (*al-kullī*) and particular soul (*al-juz'ī*), 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 Arwāh* 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 (*naẓar*), 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 *triguṇa*.

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 *Isrā'īl* 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 *Jibrā'īl*, *Mikā'īl* and *Isrā'īl* respectively. Three *guṇas* : *rajoguṇa*, *sattvagūṇa* 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* (*inseensible*) ; 2) the Pure (*baḥt*) = *Nirguṇa* (having no qualities, epithets) ; 3) the pure (*ṣīrf*) = *Nirākāra* (formless) ; 4) the Hidden of the hidden (*ghayb al-ghayb*) = *Nirañjana* (pure) ; 5) the Necessary Self (*ḥaḍrat al-wujūd*) = *Sat Cit Ānanda* ; 6) the Knowing ('*alīm*) = *Caitanya* (consciousness) ; 7) the Living (*al-Ḥayyu*) = *Ananta* (endless) ; 8) the Powerful (*qādir*) = *Samartha* (able) ; 9) the Desirous (*murīd*) = *Svatantra* (mighty) ; 10) the Hearing (*samīr*) = *Śrotr* (listener) ; 11) the Seeing (*baṣīr*) = *Draṣṭr* (seer) ; 12) the speaker (*kalām*) = *Vaktr* (speaker) ; 13) *Allāh* = *Auṃ* ; 14) He (*hū*) = *Saḥ* ; 15) Angel (*firishta*) = *Devatā* (divine being) ; 16) the Perfect Manifestation (*maḥzar atammu*) = *Avatāra* (incarnation) ; 17) Divine Revelation (*wahy*) = *Akāśavānī* (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*) = *Ṛṣīśvara* (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 (*rūh-i a'zam*) 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-Arwāḥ*), 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-Bīrūnī'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 cotroversial 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} . 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 *suṣupti* or the third *avasthā* 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*. 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 juz`ī*), that is to say the universal soul (*rūḥ kullī*) and particular soul (*rūḥ juz`ī*). Soul (*rūḥ*) or *ātman* is determined with subtle (*latīf*) aspect of Pure Self (*zāt-i baḥt*) or *śuddhacaitanya* 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 (*aḥadiyya*). According to the monistic doctrine of *Vijñānabhikṣu*, 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 (*aḥadiyya*), 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 *paramātmān* (*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*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*, *vyāna* 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 *Ṣūfīs* 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 *Ṣūfistic* 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, *Ṣūfism* has *sharī'a* (the path to be followed, the Sacred Law of Islam) and *ṭarīqa* (the path of *Ṣūfism*, practical method guided by spiritual guide) and *Ḥaqīqa* (the path of Truth, the experience of Divine Reality) as three pillars of *Ṣūfism*.

Al-Ghazzālī's *Ihyā* recommends contemplation (*zīkr*) as the easiest way to lead directly to God. *Zīkr*, literally means recollection or recital of God's name by the repetition of the religious formulae, *lā-ilā-ha illa 'l-llāh* with the concentration of mind. Among these *zīkrs*, *Shuḡl-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 *Ṣūfīs* of *Chishtī*, *Naqshbandī* and *Qādirī 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 basīt*) 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 mutlaq*). 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 *waḥy* (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 *Ṣūfīs* have the method of concentration of the mind to glorify God by constant repetition of His name by *zīkr*, 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 *Haṃsa mantra* in *Haṃsa Upaniṣad*. The *mantra* called *Haṃsa-haṃsa* 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 *suṣumnā* when the ears, nose, and mouth are closed.

In the *Sirr-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, *Auṃ* is called *Veda-mukha* and *Ism-i A'zam* is its equivalent. In the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, *Auṃ* is called *praṇava* 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 *Auṃ*. 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, sainthood 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 (*iṭlāq*) 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 (*Iusān 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 Muḥammad) 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, Ṣūfī can be called as *awliyā* (saints). Dārā highly respect Ṣūfī 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 explicit of the *Qur'an*, 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 paradisi, 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-sarīra*. 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 ('Ālam-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 *Ṣūfīs*. 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 Wāsītī 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 Wāsītī 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 Ṣūfīs 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 Aḥrār. In section 7, the dialogue between Junaid and Shaikh Islām is quoted from Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt*. In this section, another couplet from Rūmī is quoted. In section 8, one familiar couplet to Ṣūfīs : "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 Hummū'ī, in section 22, Hāfīz are quoted. In the *Risāla*, we can see several symbolical poems for the interpretation of unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*). Islamic sources are quoted for supporting his propagation of this doctrine.

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

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-Muḥaqqiqīn*, which is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. From this, we can have much information about the teaching of Miyān Mīr.

Mullā Shāh Badakhsī, was a Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfism 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 Ṣūfistic dogmatic ideas but the devotional practices. Mullā Shāh Although not included in the list of the saints in the *MB*, Shāh Muḥibbullāh Illāhābādī is one of the most influential Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfī. Shāh Muḥibbullāh 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 *Yogavāsishtha* 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*.

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 (*muwaḥḥid*), *brahmanidyā* as the knowledge of *tawḥīd*. 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 Kṛṣṇa. 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 Ṣūfistic 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 Ṣūfī, 'Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī's abridged translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* entitled *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqā'iq*.

The *Yogavāsīṣṭha* 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 Raḥmān Chishtī's adaptation is unique Ṣūfistic interpretation of the *Yogavāsīṣṭha*.

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 *Ḥasanāt 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 Ṣūfism; and some dialogues deal with mythological matters.

In the preface of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā translated *paṇḍit* as ‘*ālim*. Another personality, the legendary *paṇḍit* 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 *Virāṭa 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 *Saguṇa* God. There is no proof that the relationship between Dārā and Rāmānanda was that of teacher and disciple (*guru-śiṣya*). However, Rāmānanda’s sincere love of Dārā is found in his poems.

Kavīndra Sarasvatī, was an eminent *paṇḍit* 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 *Yoavāsīsthasāra*. 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 Brāhman (d. 1068 -1073 /1657-1663), a disciple of ‘Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkoṭī, 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 Ṣūfistic work, *Tuḥfat al-widad* and letters to his relatives, we know Ṣūfistic tenets as the importance of unity of God; self-purification and grace in knowing Truth and one’s self.

Conclusion

The *Majma’ al-Baḥrayn* 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 *tawḥīd*. 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 *Upaniṣads* to contemporary schools of Philosophy, Purānic literatures, Yogic and Tantric practices in Hindu side, and the Ṣūfistic ideas of *tawḥīd* and *waḥdat 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, *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 *sharī’a*. In this respect, orthodox theologians have some doubt. The interrelationship of God, world and man is understood through the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. The Upaniṣadic concept of the unity of *Brahman* and *Ātman* was reconciliated with *tawḥīd* on the ground of *waḥdat 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-Baḥrayn

1: Persian Text of Majm‘ al-Baḥrayn

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

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.

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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 Mīr and Mullā Shāh. Inspired by the sayings and acts of these spiritual preceptors, prominent Ṣūfī works and the acquaintance in his contemporary Ṣūfīs, Dārā wrote hagiographical works on Ṣūfīs including his spiritual preceptors, compiled Ṣūfistic aphorisms and wrote the tracts on Sūfistic path. *Tazkira* writers gave him the fame of a Ṣūfī poet. Although his poems are not outstanding, his poetical works was compiled as the form of *Dīwān*. His study of Hindu scriptures and direct contact with Hindu saints and *paṇḍits* 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 Ṣūfism 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 Rāmḡ Dāss Pūrī's *Kāfir* (fiction in Urdu) in 1963; Abdu-s-Sattār Qāl's *Dārā Shikūh* (fiction in Urdu) in 1967 ; Harikshā Premī's *Svapnabhāṅga* (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 Gandhī'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-Baḥrayn 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-Bahrayn*, 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-Bahrayn de Dârâ Shokûh*. 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-ḥikma*) 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-Mīlāl wa al-Niḥāl* (*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*, *Purāṇic* 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-Mīlāl wa an-Niḥāl*, *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-Tawārīkha*. Hāfiz Abrū in the *Majmū'*, and Banākārī in the *Tārīkh-i Banākātī*, 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 Faḍl gave an overview on the system of learning in India in his *Ā'in-i Akbarī*. Referring to the learning of the Hindus, nine schools are introduced : Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Pātāñjala (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 Mīmānsā* 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 Śankara 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 Muḥsin 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 Mīmānsā* or *Mīmānsā*, as opposition to *Uttara Mīmānsā* (*Vedānta*), stands for the philosophical school that treats Mantra portion (first part) of the *Vedas*.

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

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 *Rāmāyaṇa*, 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 Ṣūfī disciples, it should have treated dogmatic subjects systematically like orthodox Islamic text by Qushairī's *al-Risālat al-Qushairiyya* or the popular Ṣūfī text in India. Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* and should have treated dogmatic subject systematically. As is the case with Ṣūfī mystics, Dārā writes mostly under inspiration, and rarely under speculation. Referring to Dārā's *MB*, one Hindu named Rai Sītā Rām Lakṣṇavī 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 Ṣūfis.

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 duely 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 *Ṣuḥūf-i Ibrāhīm* (1205 A.H. / 1790), Ikhlas Kishanchand's *Hamīshah Bahār* (1136 A.H. / 1723-24)² and rather modern biographical notices of saint, the *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā* (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 *Tūzūk-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 Sulṭān 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 possessing majesty.⁶

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

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

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

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

⁴*Tūzūk*, 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 Shikohābād in Uttar Pradesh. however, not read as Shukohābād.

⁷گل اولین گلستان شاهی. 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 Šafar, 1024 A.H / 20th March 1615 A.H. The '*Amal-i Šāliḥ*' 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'in-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 Šūfistic 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'in ud-Dīn Chishtī entitled *Mu'nīs al-Arwāh*. On 27th Ramaḏān 1051 / 30 Dec.1641 she completed *Sāhibiyya*, a biography

ن (1) ا (400) ت (60) س (30) ل (20) گ (50) ن (10) ي (30) ل (6) و (1) ا (30) ل (20) گ (50) ا (1) ا (300) ش (50)

⁸ '*Amal-i Šāliḥ* 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 (Ummid 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 Zil-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 Rabī' 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 Muḥammad 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 Ilāhābād¹⁶, 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 unfamiliarity of art of war, court officers' treachery and intrigues. Dārā's flight is precisely described by Blochmann, Sarkar and Sheo Narain. Dārā and Sipihir Shukoh were captured by one Afghan, Malik Jīvan and sent to Khizrābād in Delhi. According to Khāfi Khān, he was executed on 21st Zī'l Hījja 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 Ilāhābād, 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-pradip*, 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-Khāqānī* by Walī 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 Ṣūfistic works. His initiation into *Qādirī silsila* in 1640, when he was 25 years old is the starting point for his practical study of Ṣūfism. 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 *Upaniṣads* into simple and easy flowing Persian, to which he gave the title “*The Greatest Mystery (Sirr-i Akbar)*”.

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

Safīnat al-Awliyā’

The *Safīnat al-Awliyā’* belongs to the *tazkira* genre of Ṣūfī literature, a record of what occurred during the assemblies presided over by the *shaykh* (Ṣūfī 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; Salmān al-Fārsī; Uwais Qaranī; Section two : Saints of the Qādirī order named Junaidī before the time of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī ; 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 Ṣūfīs¹³

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 Luṭfi in 1959 and 1961.

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

¹²On his famous work *An-Nūr as-Sāfir fi Akhbār al-qarn al-'Ashir* (on the account of the scholars and Ṣūfī 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*, *Suḥrawardiyya*, *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'uyat*. 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 Ḥaqq Numā ¹⁸

This mystical explanation of four worlds of existence was composed in 1056 A.H. / 1646. Dārā claimed that this is a compendium of *Futūḥāt (al-Maqqiyya)* by Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ (al-Ḥikam)*. by the same author, *Sawāniḥ* by Aḥmad 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 India ²⁰ and once in Tehran in 1335 H.S. in the *Muntakhbāt-i Āthār* combined with the *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* 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 Huwiyyat and Waḥdat al-wujūd. It is clear that the section 7 of the *MB* is the abridged form of this book.

Ḥasanāt al-‘Ārifīn

This annotated collection of ecstatic or paradoxical utterances ascribed to 107 mystics has another title as *Risālat-i Shathīyāt*. 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 Raḥbūn 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.

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

¹⁹*Risālat*, p.4.

²⁰1316 A.H. in Lucknow; 1885 in Delhi; 1929 in Culcatta: 1315 A.H. in Kanpur.

²¹Edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā‘īmī.

²²For Persian manuscripts, see Marshall p.126.

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

²⁴Hasrat, Chapter IV, pp.105-112.

²⁵Sheo 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'ih* quoted in the preface of the *MB* is also found in the *Ḥasanāt*. 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 *Ḥasanāt*.

Ṭarīqat 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 Shukoh*, 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 *Ḥasanāt* after this *Risāla*. Marshall p.127; Hasrat gave no information about this work.

²⁸ MS. No. 102. See *Yogavāsīṣṭha* 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'īs. ²⁹ This work was published in Lahore in 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 Ṣūfism, 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 *Ṣirāt-i Waḥdat*, 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-Aṣfiyā*. 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.

³³*BI* 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 Zindagī* 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 Bāsiṣṭha (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.

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

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

³⁶*Upaniṣad : Sirr-i Akbar*, ed. Muḥammad Riṣā Jalālī Nā'imī, Tārā Chand, Tehran Taban 1340 H.S. /1961, 1368 H.S. /1989, 2 vols.; *Upaniṣad*, Tehran, Kitābkhānah-i Ahrūrī, 1978.

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

³⁸Marshall, p.128.

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

⁴⁰YV 3-11-40.

Su‘āl wa Jawāb-i Dārā Shukoh ⁴¹

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 Brāhman ⁴² in 1649. Extracted English translation is made in Hasrat ⁴³ 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 Ṣūfī 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 Aquwāl-i Wāsītī* :

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*. Muḥammad ‘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 Wāsītī. ⁴⁹ Versified work on arithmetic, mensuration and algebra entitled *Khulāsat-i Rāz*, written by ‘Atā’ Allāh Rashīdī b. Aḥmad Ma‘amār belonging to the family of the architects of Tāj Mahal ⁵⁰, and a medical treatise entitled *Ṭibb-i Dārā Shukohī* was written by Nūrud-Dīn Mudhammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Ainul-Mulk Shīrāzī. ⁵¹ The governor of Kāshmir and Imperial Librarian, Muḥammad Tāhir, *takhallus*, Āshnā, known as Ināyat Khān dedicated eulogies in his *Kulliyāt-i Āshrā*.⁵²

⁴⁹See *ibid.* p.197.

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

⁵¹See *ibid.* p.381.

⁵²See *ibid.* p.84.

2-1 Overview of Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn

2-1-1 What is Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn?

The Source of the Title

The term *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* 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-Baḥrayn*) or (until) I spend years and years in travel”.’ In this Sūra, from verse 59 to 81, we find the story regarding *al-Khaḍir* or *al-Khidr*. On the journey to the *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn*, 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-Khaḍir* or *al-Khidr*. 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-Khaḍir*. Mysteriously enough, *al-Khaḍir* may be the man who has to be sought out as a seeker of Truth.

The place which the *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* 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-Khaḍir* 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-Baḥrayn*.²

¹ *EI*, vol.IV, 1978, pp.903.

² Commentators like al-Baiḍawī and al-Ṭabarī interpreted this as the geographical place.

Besides Dārā Shukoh, other authors used the *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* as the title of their works. One of the best poets of the Safavid dynasty, in the era of Abbās I, Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Shifā'ī (d.1037/1628), famous for *Namakdān-i Ḥaḡiqat* 'Salt-celler of Truth' wrote *Maṭla' al-Anwār* 'Rising of the Lights' and it also has the title *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* 'Confluence of the Two Seas'.³ Shams ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Mūhtasib of Abarqān wrote Ṣūfistic allegory in 714 A.H.⁴ Another allegorical poem of love of Nāzir and Manzūr was entitled *Majma' Baḥrayn* 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-Baḥrayn* by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī (816/1413-887/1482).⁶ Another Ṣūfistic 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-Baḥrayn*. 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 Zī'l-Ḥijja) 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 *Laṭā'if al-Lughāt*. The *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* 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 Muḥammad to God. (Sūra LIII-9) In Ṣūfistic 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 'Muḥammad Dārā Shukūh attempted in this treatise to reconcile Brahmanism and Muḥammadanism 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-Baḥrayn*. 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.

¹⁰*Concise 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.

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

¹³*Catalogue 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.

¹⁴*A Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Salar Jung Museum and Library*, compiled by Hājī Muḥammad 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.

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

on the terminology or phraseology of Islamic Şūfism 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 Şūfīs, 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-Baḥrayn* 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 *waḥdat al-urudjūd* 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 *Sūfī* 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 lexicque technique' in other words, 'a collection of pseudo-lexicographical correspondences between *Sūfī* 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.)

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

²⁰*EI*, 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 Śūfism and Waḥdat 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 comparative tables.²⁶ Mujtabai explained the subject of the *MB* as 'dealing with the Vedānta school of Hindu philosophy, limited to *Advaita-Vedānta* of Śāṅkara 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-Baḥrayn* 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 *Yogavāsīṣṭha*. 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 Saṅgama* 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 Saṅgama* 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 Ṣūfism 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-Baḥrayn

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 Riḍā Jalālī Nā‘īmī and published in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran under the title *Muntakhabāt-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-Baḥrayn* 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 Bahādūr 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-Baḥrayn* in 1876 in Agra.⁶

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

¹This edition contains *Ḥasanāt al-‘Ārifīn* 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. Muḥtabai 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 Gīlānī translated this work in 1983. ¹⁰

An English translation of the original Persian text has been made by Mahfūz al-Ḥaqq 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 *Ṣirāt-i Waḥdat*, an Arabic adaptation of the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas* on unity of God translated 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 *Ḥasanāt al-'Arifīn* and Ibn al-Arabī's *Kitāb al-Akhlāq*. This was published by Qawmī 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'après 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 consult 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 not 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 Maḥfūz al-Ḥaḡ. 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 *Ḥasanāt al-Ārifīn* and *Rumūz al-Taṣawwuf*, 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 a 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 (*faṣīḥ*) 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 *Paṇḍits*. In Dara's case, too, the mixture of colloquial or vernacular modes of pronunciation of the *Paṇḍits* 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 Hanscrae 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 *Vṣṇu* 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 *Praṇava 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'īmī. 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-Baḥrayn

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 (‘*Anāṣir*)
2. The Sense Organs (*Ḥawā*)
3. The Devotional Exercises (*Shughl*)
4. The Attributes of God (*Ṣifāt-i ‘Allā*)
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 *pariṇāma* 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), *ādhydaivika* (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 *Nāsūt* (human nature) are constituted with five elements (*pañca-bhūtāni*): the great element ('*uṣur-i a'zam*'), 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

¹ Affī, pp.66-69; 77-83.

² Five 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 (*vaṃśa*), (4) History of dynasties (*vaṃśānucarita*), (5) *Manu* period of time (*manvantara*).

³ The Sanskrit translation explains these elements as 'inherent causes of all the objects are concerned (*anubhūyamāna-samavāyikāraṇāni*)'(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 ('*uṣur-i a'zam*).

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 haqq(in real)', however, most of the manuscripts read 'ajan'. According to the Sanskrit translation this can be read as 'ajānya (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 *śabda* 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 *Sulṭān-ul-azkār* (the king of *zīkr*) in Šūfistic 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 *Taittirīya 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 (*ādhibhautika*), *jīva* (*ādhyātmika*) and *paramātman* (*ādhidaivika*). This idea originated from the *Upaniṣads* and developed in later *Vedāntic* works such as the *Yogavāsistha* and the *Pañcadaśī*.

¹⁰3-12-7...9.

¹¹*Taittirīya Up.* 2-15.

¹²*VS* 46, 56, 148, 150-153

¹³*Pañcadaśī* 1-33...36. 3.

¹⁴1-3-10...12, 9-39

World Soul : Hiraṇyagarbha 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 *Ḥadīth* '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 Muḥammad (*ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiyya*) is born. This means the perfect soul (*rūḥ-i kulb*). This is equivalent to *Hiraṇyagarbha* 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 *Mahāvākya* '*tat tvam asi*' shows the unity of *Brahman* and soul (*ātman*), *Ṣūfī* has "*Ana'l-Ḥaqq*" (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 *Ḥadīth qudsī*, however, not included in orthodox *Ḥadīth*. In spite of this fact, it is often quoted in *Ṣūfistic* works. *Rūmī* also quoted it in his *Mathnavi*.

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

¹⁷*BI* reads *a'zamiyyat* اعزمية. The readings of manuscripts have several variations such as *اجمال* (*T*); *اجمالي* (*A1, U1, U2, U3, S*); *اجمالت* (*N*); *اجماعيت* (*S, U1, A2, A3*); *عمانيت* (*C, J, H2*); *رحمانيت* (*D2, E*); *انانيت* (*B, D1*): *ماهيت* (*BM2*). Sanskrit translation transliterates it as *amā*. Arabic translation reads *رحمانيت*. 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. *Futūḥāt*, III, p.578 rendered in Affī p.63. n.2. Nicholson, pp.82. It might be proper to read *اجمالت*.

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-Ṭawāsīn*.¹⁹

In other words, with the concept of Ibn 'Arabī, this ardent Desire is the cause of the Manifestation (ḡuhūr), 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 (*ḡubb 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 Muḡammad (*ḡaḡīḡat-i Muḡammadiyyah*), 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. Śāṇḡilya Vidyā in the *Chāṇḡogya Upaniṣad* symbolized it with the word 'tajjalān': 'All this universe indeed is Brahman; from him does it proceeds; into him it is dissolved; in him it breathes: *sarvam khalv idaṃ brahma taj-jalām iti*' (*Chāṇḡogya 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-Ṭawāsīn*, 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 Affī enumerates twenty-two synonyms which Ibn 'Arabī used to designate the Reality of Muḡammad, Perfect Man or Logos. Among them are the Essence of Muḡammad (*ḡaḡīḡat-i muḡammadiyyah*), Breath of Compassionate (*naḡas al-raḡmān*) and Supreme Spirit (*rūḡ al-a'ḡam*) Affī p.66. cf. Corbin, *Creation* p.317 n.77.

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

²³ *Atharva Veda* 10-8-38.

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

of *Sūtrātman* has been developed in the *Pañcadaśī* 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 *taṃsa*, 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 (*pṛthivī*). 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 *Svetāśvatara 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 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 *Hiraṇyagarbha*.

As seen above, the *MB* identified the *Hiraṇyagarbha* 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 *Pañcikaraṇam*. 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 *Hiraṇyagarbha* 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 *Sirr-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, *Hiraṇyagarbha* is explained as 'the aggregate of elements in pure sense' (*majma` az `anāṣir-i basīṭ*). 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 *Hiraṇyagarbha*. ³²

³⁰ *B. A2* have this reading.

³¹ *Sirr-i Akbar*, pp.6-9.

³² For *Hiraṇyagarbha*. see V.S.Agrawal. *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Purāṇa* 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 Faḥl 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 (*liṅgaśarīra*).²

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

¹As have been introduced in the Introduction (p.7), Abu'l Faḥl 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*, *taṃas*), *vyakta* (*prakṛti*), *aḡamkāra* (nature, he explained in Arabic *طبيعة*), *mahābhūta* (universal existences in the world : five elements), *pañca[taṇ]mātra* (function of five senses). Al-Bīrūnī make misunderstanding and takes this as *pañcamātrā*, 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 *indriyāṇ* (*indriyāṇi*), will (*manas*) which directs the senses in the exercise of their various functions and bring about learning and knowledge and *karmendriyāṇi* (sense of action). Sachau, pp.20-22; Eng. tr. pp.40-44.

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

Concerning sense-perception (*ḥassa* 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' (*'unṣur-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-śarīra*) 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 to internal organs (*antaḥkaraṇa*). First, *MB* enumerates internal organs (*ḥawās-i bāṭin*) in Islamic philosophy as *Ḥiss-i Mushtarik* (sensus communis, generalizing sense), *Khayāl* (imagination), *Mutaṣarrifah* (contemplative), *Hāfīzah* (retention) and *Wāhima* (apprehension). *MB* does not give any further explanation about

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

⁴*BI* 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* (*ḥiss mushtarik*) 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 (*ḥāfiẓah*) and these networking will convey the result to intellectual soul *nafs-i nāṭiqah*. According to Ibn Sinā, five intelligible faculties (*quwwat*) in man are: 1) *ḥiss-i mushtarik* (*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'ānī*), 5) *Zākirah* (memory) which preserves meanings. Ibn Sinā, 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. *Antaḥkaraṇa*, 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 *mutaṣarrifah*.

⁸*E.I.* vol.III, p.509; Goichon, p.160, p.79. Kashshāf enumerated *al-ḥiss al-Mushtarik*, *al-Khayāl*, *al-Wahm*, *al-Ḥāfiẓa*, *al-Mutaṣarrifat* 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 *ahaṃkāra*.

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 *saṅkalpa* 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) *ahaṅkāra*: 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 *saṅkalpa* (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 *Antaḥkaraṇa* has four aspects as *citta*, *buddhi*, *manas* and *ahaṅkāra*. *Manas* is characterised by *Saṅkalpa* and *Vikalpa*. *Ahaṅkāra* 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 *بکلب* and *پکلب*. however, the Sanskrit original is *vikalpa*, so we take the reading of *بکلب*. In the List of technical terms in *Sirr-i Akbar*, the equivalent term is the same *dil*.

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

¹³*BI* reads this as *سرت پرکرت* (*sat prakṛti*), and *T* reads as *سرت پرکرت*. 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 *ahaṅkāra* 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*, *ahaṅkāra* 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 determination ¹⁸ : *manas* as discrimination ¹⁹ : *citta* as running from one object to another object ²⁰ : *ahaṃkāra* as self-consciousness ²¹

In the process of elementary creation. *mahat*, *ahaṃkāra*, *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 *ahaṃkāra*. *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 *ahaṃkāra* 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 *saṅkalpa* and *mahat-tattva*, and from *saṅkalpa* 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 *ahaṃkāra* is omitted, the difference of three kinds of *ahaṃkāra* is clearly shown. In *Sāṃkhya* philosophy, threefold *ahaṃkāra* : *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* has potentiality of producing *jñāna*, *kriyā* and *dravya*. *Tāmasa-ahaṃkāra* changed into *ākāśa*, *vāyu*, *agni*, and *pṛthivī* successively. *Sāttvika-ahaṃkāra* transformed into *manas* and ten sensory organs. *Rājasa-ahaṃkāra* transformed into ten sense organs (*indriyas*). The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* describes three kinds of *ahaṃkāra* ²² *Vasiṣṭha* recommends first two higher *ahaṃkāra* to lead to *jīvanmukti*.

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* adds the concept of *saṅkalpa* 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 (*śuddha-caitanya*).²⁴ The essence is the very *saṅkalpa*²⁵ The universe is manifested by imagination and the causal energiser is *saṅkalpa*.²⁶ This world is the very *saṅkalpa*²⁷ and this is the biggest bondage.²⁸ So Vasiṣṭha taught that this *saṅkalpa* should be cast away.

Dārā was much interested in these three kinds of *ahaṅkāras*. For each stage of these *ahaṅkāra*, Dārā referred to a *Qur'ānic* 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 '*Ahaṅkāra* is the quality of *paramātmā*, for the reason that it possessed *māyā*', the severe criticism came from Roma Choudhuri as 'mis-statement'. Because there is no manifestation of *Ahaṅkāra* or Egoity in the case of God. *Ahaṅkāra* is an empirical something, belonging to the *Jiva* 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. *Māṇḍūkya Up.* and Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍūkyakārikā* 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 *Ahaṃkāra* 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 Ṣūfistic idea is propagated by Jīlī. *Ahaṃkāra-sattva* is equivalent to Oneness, which comprehends all as the consciousness. *Ahaṃkāra-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 *Huwiyya* as inmost self of man and objectified idea of God. ³²

Ahaṃkāra-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 *Māṇḍūkya Up.* 3...5. 9...11.

³² Nicholson, *Study* pp. 95-96.

2-2-3 Universe (Purānic Cosmology)

The cosmological ideas in the *Qur'ān* 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 heavens ¹ 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-Qarār* (Abiding Mansion), *Jannat al-'Adan* (Gardens of Eden), *Jannāt al-Ma'wā* (Gardens of refuge), *Jannatu al-Na'im* (Gardens of delight), *Jannat al-'Illiyūn* (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. *Āruṇika Up.* and *Paramahansa Up.* have the same explanation.

⁴For the description of *Brahmāṇḍa*, according to *Viṣṇu-Purāna* 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-Purāna* (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*, *pāścīma*, *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 *śanaīścala*, *br̥haspati*, *maṅgala*, *sūya*, *śukra*, *budh* and *candramā*. In Śūfistic sphere, the celestial, terrestrial and aqueous 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-rūḥ*), 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 (*maḥall*) 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 *A3* (*H* of *BIs* abbreviation), so we omit the word in our edition.

⁹Corbin, p.929.

Muḥammad. 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 (*Śanaīścara*). ¹¹ There are seven celestial regions, including one as the earth (*bhū*): *Bhūloka, Bhuvanloka, 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 *mahākās* 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 *tajjallī*, 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-Bīrūnī, 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.

¹³*E.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 *puṭa*. Arabic translation and Persian manuscripts (*A1.B.BM1.BM2,E,J,A2,A3*) support this reading *puṭa*. Some of the manuscripts (*D1,F,H1.K.S.U1.V*) mixed with the concept of the divisions of the earth and read this *dīp (dvīpa)*

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

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

Under these nether regions, there are *Naraka* regions. *Qur'ānic* 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 *Purāṇic* literatures, terrestrial regions are called *dvīpa* (island) and *varṣa* (continent). The names of seven *dvīpas* are *Jambū, Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka* 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, Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmali, Gomeda, Puṣkara* are enumerated.

As *Parāṇic* 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), *ṣurā* (wine), *ghṛta* (clarified butter), *dadhi* (whey), *kṣīra* (milk), and *svādjala* (clear and pure water). ¹⁹

Each *varṣa* or *dvīpa* except *Puṣkara*, has seven rivers ²⁰ 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، پلکه، کنول، سکتمل، سگل، دیوکر; in *C* جنو، بریلکه، رکسور، کتمل، کرنج، دہاکر، دھوکر. In Sanskrit translation, each *dvīpas* are set with surrounding sea and enumerated in order: *Jambū-dvīpa, Plakṣa, Śālmali, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka, 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. Kirfel, *Die kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Bonn, 1920, pp.56-57.

²⁰Regarding rivers, three most important rivers are *Gaṅgā, 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 (*nāḍī*) 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*, *Vindhyā*, *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 *Supārśva* (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 *Purāṇic* 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 *o*. For the fifth mountain, the first consonant varied *م*, *ب*, *ن*. *BI*, *T* support the reading of *پارجاتر*، *مکده*، *هموان*، *همکوت*، *سموت*، *سمیر*، *سموت*، *هموت*، *همکوت*، *هموان*، *مکده*، *پارجاتر*، *کیلاس* are enumerated; in the Arabic translation, *Himavat*, *Hemakūta* and *Nisadha* situate in southern side and *Nīla*, *Śveta*, *Śṛṅgavān* 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 *Kailāsa* 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 *R̥g 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 Purāna*, 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 as a complete form of God, as the corporeal body of God. In other words, 'Uṣur-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 Saghīr) 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 Purāṇic 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 Ṣūfīs and Vedāntists. This parable is also used in Dārā's *Risāla* in section 6 on the explanation of unity of being (*waḥdat 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 silkworm ⁹ and the parable of the seed ¹⁰ 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 (*māyāmayī 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 (*naẓar*), 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 (*naẓar*) of the *Dabistān*, the creation of *liṅgaśarīra* (subtle body) from three kinds of *Ahaṁkāra*. 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 *pañcīkaraṇa*¹⁴ are also described.¹⁵

In the *MB*, the concept of Microcosm-Macrocosm is the basic idea of understanding the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and the concept of Perfect Man. Although there is no reference to the term *waḥdat 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 *waḥdat 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 (*ṣifāt*) 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

Affī 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 *triguṇa*. *Triguṇa*: *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. Affī 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'īl*, *Mikā'īl* and *Isrāfīl* respectively. *Trimūrti* is again allied with elements: water with *Jibra'īl*, fire with *Mikā'īl* and air with *Isrāfīl*. 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* - *Rajogūṇa* - *Brahmā*; *Lakṣmī* - *Tamogūṇa* - *Maheśvara* and *Pārvatī* - *Sattvagūṇa* - *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 *rajogūṇa* with desire or passion by which creation occurs. *Śiva* embodies *tamogūṇa* with darkness or wrath by which destruction occurs. *Viṣṇu* embodies *sattvagūṇa* with goodness by which world is preserved.

Jibra'īl, *Mikā'īl* and *Isrāfīl* are the archangels in the *Qur'ān*. Angels are sent to this world for the warning to men. *Jibra'īl* has the epithet of *rūḥ al-amīn* (the Faithful Spirit) and known as the messenger who came to Prophet Muḥammad with the message from God. For *Mikā'īl*, *Qur'ān* only describes as an angel of the same rank as *Jibra'īl*. *Isrāfīl* 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'īl*, *Mikā'īl* and *Isrāfīl* respectively. Three *guṇas* : *rajogūṇa*, *sattvagūṇa* and *tamogūṇa* are identified with the attribute of creation, preservation and destruction respectively.⁶

⁴Regarding the combinations of these *tridevī*, *trimūrti* and *trigūṇa* are confused in the *BI. Rajogūṇa - Brahmā - Sarasvatī; Tamogūṇa - Maheśvara - Pārvatī; Sattvagūṇa - 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 (*ṣirf*) = *Nirākāra* (formless) ²
- 4) the Hidden of the hidden (*ghayb al-ghayb*) = *Nirañjana* (pure)
- 5) the Necessary Self (*ḥaḍrat 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 (*murīd*) = *Svatantra* (mighty) ⁶
- 10) the Hearing (*samīr*) = *Śrotṛ* (listener)
- 11) the Seeing (*baṣīr*) = *Draśṭṛ* (seer)
- 12) the speaker (*kalām*) = *Vakṭṛ* (speaker) ⁷
- 13) *Allāh* = *Aum* ⁸

¹ *BI* reads *Asaṅga*. The Sanskrit translation reads *śūnya*. Most of the Persian manuscripts and the Arabic translation support the reading of سن *sun*, much more correct reading is found in *B, A2* as شون *sūn*, and unique reading is in *J* بشن *bišn* 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) = Saḥ⁹
- 15) Angel (*firishta*) = *Devatā* (divine being)
- 16) the Perfect Manifestation (*mazhar atammu*)= *Avatāra* (incarnation)
- 17) Divine Revelation (*waḥy*) = *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*) = *Ṛṣīśvara* (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-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.

In the Upaniṣadic philosophy, *Brahman* is without body and form, without qualities and attributes. This is exclaimed with the epithet the attributeless (*nirguṇa*). 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 *waḥy* 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, *piśācānām madhye sujanāḥ pariśabdavācyāḥ teṣāmeva durjanā devaśāyātīm rākṣasocyante* / It omits the equivalent words for Persian پری *parī*. Even though the editor translated them as follows: "The Good among the Piśācas we call Parī, they call *Apsarā*. The bad among them we call *devaśāyāti*, 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 *Daiṭya* and *Dānava* which are called *deva* and *shaytān* (in Persian), they are called *rākṣas* (by them)".

¹²*BI* reads رکی *rikhi*, however, most of the manuscripts support the reading of رکیسر *rikhīsar* *Ṛṣīśvara*. *BI* translates it *walī* as *mystic*, however, here the comparison with *nabī*, it would be preferable to translate as *saint*, or literally *the chief of the saints*.

¹³*BI* 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 s. 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 (*ajāḥ*): 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-ḥusnā*). 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 *Jyotis 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 *Jyotiḥ-svarūpa*, *Svaparakāśa* 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-ḥassās*); the glass for the imaginative spirit (*al-rūḥ al-khayālī*); the lamp for the intelligential 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 (*svapprakāśa*) 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 *Śvetāśvatara Up.* 3-8.

¹⁸ *Kāthaka Up.* 2-1-13.

¹⁹ *Mundaka 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 (*ṣifat*). 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-Arwāḥ*), the Soul of Souls manifested in the veil of Soul (*rūḥ*), and the soul is manifested in the veil of Body. ²¹

Ghazzālī introduced one *Ḥadīth* 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 Muḥibbullāh Ḥābādī, 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 (*sūnya*) 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 years ⁴ 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 *aṅka* 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 *Purāṇic* 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* انج. The reading of each manuscript differs and can be read انج , انخ , انج . 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 انج. In this context, we decide to read as انج.

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

⁴ *BI, T* read this as one thousand يك هزار. Most of the Persian manuscripts read صد كرور one hundred crore (10⁹). The Sanskrit translation reads 'koṭi 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*, *Koṭi*, *Nyārbuda*, *Paṇḍma*, *Kharva*, *Nikharva*, *Mahāpadma*, *Śaṅku*, *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. nycthemeron 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 Mārkaṇḍeya'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 *Paulīśasiddhānta* 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-Bīrūnī's description of *parārdha*.

The second point the *MB* describes is that each *abja* equal to hundred crore ⁸ years. We read differently from the first case. The reading of the cotroversial 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 *یک هزار* and translated 'a thousand'. *BI* pp.73, 114. *T* p.27. However, we follow the reading of most of the manuscripts and read *صد کروڑ* '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 *Līlāvati* (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

Samarāṅgasūtrādharma (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 *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha* introduced the limitation as 10²³ (*mahākṣobhya*). Hayashi, pp.7,10.

¹¹ *BI, T* read this اوستها تم and transliterate *avasthātām*. (p.74) Most of the manuscripts read this اوستها سيوم 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 Vācaspatimīśra on Śaṅkara'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 Şūfistic 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 *rūhajūjārī* (*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 baḥt*) or *śuddhacaitanya* 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 (*aḥadiyya*).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 که متعین بازل گشت روح اعظم باشد که با ذات مجمع الصفات مرتبه احدیت 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 که بتعین اول گشت که روح اعظم باشد مرتبه احدیت دارد

Şūfis 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-quḍus*), pure intelligence and the Perfect Man. On the other hand, *nafs* is recognized as the seat of lower character of man. 'Abd al-Karīm Jilānī recognized *rūḥ al-quḍus* 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 a'zam* 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 Jilī 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 (*wāḥidiyya*). 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 (*ḥaḍrat-i wujūd*) or pure consciousness (*śuddhacaitanya*). This simile is favored by Şūfis and Vedantins alike.

On the list of technical terms in the beginning of the *Sirr-Akbar*, *jīvātman* (*ātmanā*) is explained as 'soul possessed with physical body (*rūḥ-i muta'allaq-i badan*) and *paramātman* (*paramātmanā*) 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 : *Hiraṇyagarbha* or *Virāṭapurusa*. *Paramātman* is the essence of the individual souls (*jīvas*). God is the ultimate substratum

³ *E.I.* vol.VII, pp.880-883.

⁴ *SA* 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 *paramātmān* (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) *apāna* : air which moves from the buttocks to the special organ, encircling the navel, for the life-sustaining
- 3) *samāna* : air which moves inside the breast and navel
- 4) *udāna* : air which moves from the throat to the top of brain
- 5) *vyāna* : 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

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

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

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

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

⁵Dasgupta vol.III, p.484.

⁶Deussen p.326. cf. *VS* 2-3-15: 2-41-4.; *Muṇḍaka 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.

⁷Additional 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 *sharī'a* (following the Sacred Law of Islam), *ṭarīqa* (practical Ṣūfistic method guided by spiritual preceptor) and *ḥaqīqa* (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 Ṣūfīs 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 maḥḍ*), 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,

⁹Trimingham pp.160-161.

¹⁰*BI, T* read this word as *اوستها*. 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 *اوستها*. It is proper to read *avasthā*.

¹¹Abū 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.

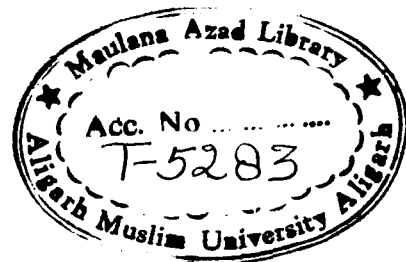
In the *Risāla*, in-between *Nāsūt* and *Malakūt*, 'Ālam-i Mithāl is inserted. This is the midway and gateway to the 'Ālam-i Malakūt and the confused thought-pictures which the *sālik* makes and sees with the eyes of heart the world of ideas. 'Ālam-i Malakūt is called the world of spirits ('Ālam-i arwāḥ), 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 Miyyān 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 *Turīya* 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-jāgara*: concentration on studying and association with saint
- 2) *saṃkalpa-jāgara* : 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.

Sharī'a, Ṭarīqa and Ḥaqīqa

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, Ṣūfism has *sharī'a* (the path to be followed, the Sacred Law of Islam) and *ṭarīqa* (the path of Ṣūfism, practical method guided by spiritual guide) and *Ḥaqīqa* (the path of Truth, the experience of Divine Reality) as three pillars of Ṣūfism.

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 Jilānī, reads, "Every phase between *Nāsūt* and *Malakūt* is *sharī'a*; every phase between *Malakūt* and *Jabarūt* is the *ṭarīqa* and every phase between *Jabarūt* and *Lāhūt* is the *Ḥaqīqa*." ¹ Among the three *sharī'a* is recognized as the main pillar of all the ways of Ṣūfism. According to Al-Qushayrī, the *sharī'a* is concerned with the observance of the outward manifestations of religion; *Ḥaqīqa* (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 Miyyān Jīv who taught the disciples about these three pillars. These three have interdependent relationship. Further, quoting the *Hadīth*, "the *sharī'a* is what I say, *ṭarīqa* is what I do and

¹Trimingham, p.160.

²*ibid.*, p.142.

Ḥaḳīqa is what I am". Miḡān Jiv emphasized the importance of *sharī'a* for *sālik* as fundamental task for proceeding on the path of *Ḥaḳīqa* and *ṭarīqa*.³ In another form, Miḡān Mir, 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 *ṭarīqa* and the reform of soul is by preserving all the grades of *Ḥaḳīqa*. Mullāh Shāh also insisted on the importance of *sharī'a*.⁴ *Ṭarīqa* has different stages and practices. Among them, for Dārā, the most attractive practice seems to have been *zīkr*.

Zīkr

Al-Ghazzālī's *Ihyā* recommends contemplation (*zīkr*) 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 (*zīkr*) 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-Khaḍir*. 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 *Ṣūfīs* and the Indian monotheists; *Ṣūfīs* call it *Shughl-i Pās-i Anfās*, and the Indian monotheists call it *dhyāna* in their own phraseology.

Zīkr, literally means recollection or recital of God's name by the repetition of the religious formulae, *lā-ilā-ha illa'llāh* 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 *ḡabs-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. *zīkr* associated with the fixed poses (*jalsa*) and control of breath are incessant practices. These practices provide Ṣūfis the progress in their stages (*maqām*) to acquire the ecstatic state (*ḥāl*). *Zīkr* is a special act of devotion by means of certain breathing exercises and also by controlling respiration. ⁶ *Zīkr*, the spiritual exercises of the *Qādirī silsilah* is described by Bilgrāmī in detail, ⁷ who enumerates four categories of *zīkr* based on *Makhazin-i Qādirīyya*.

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

(2) *Zīkr-i Malakūtī* : the recollection of heart (*illa'llāh*) ; visualization of *Malakūt*

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

(4) *Zīkr-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) *zīkr-i yak-ḍarab*, (2) *zīkr-i dū-ḍarabī*, (3) *zīkr-i saḥ-ḍarabī*, (4) *zīkr-i chahār-ḍarabī* 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 *zīkr*s is given here. ⁸

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

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

⁶For the general accounts on *zīkr*, see Trimmingham pp.194-207.

⁷Bilgrāmī Fātima Zehra, *History of Qādirī Order in India*, Ph.D. Thesis in History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1982, pp.297-299. See also Murtaza Siddiqui, *Qādirīyya System of Sufism (Qādirīyyah 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 Jīlānī 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 cedar heart so that mind should not remain vacant. ¹⁰ Among these *zikrs*, *Shughl-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 Ṣūfis 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 Sīr* : 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 Qāridīyyah*. 1) *Fanā-yi 'Anāšir-i Arba'a* (annihilation of four elements), 2) *Ṣūrat-i Sarmadī* (eternal or perpetual form), 3) *Shughl-i qawārīr* (regarding divine essence as sun and creatures as flasks), 4) *Shughl-i Baṣīr* (concentration upon shaykh), 5) *Shughl-i Nāšira 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 *Ḥabs-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 *Ḥabs-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 (*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*.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 *Šūfistic* cosmology, this stands for the universal Principle identified with Reality of Muḥammad i.e. Logos as Verba Dei as the archtype 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 (*saṃyoga*), 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 Jiv*, 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 *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* 8 and the *Nṛsiṃha-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 *VŚS* 2-2-31.

¹⁶ *VŚS* 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 *Yogasūtra* 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 *Ṣūfis* 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). *Ṣūfis* 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 *Haṃsa mantra* in *Haṃsa Upaniṣad*. The *mantra* called *Haṃsa-haṃsa* 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 *ahaṃ*. 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 (*koṭi*) times, then ten kinds of sounds can be heard. These sounds are the sound of *ciṇī*, *ciñciṇī*, *ghaṇṭā* (iron gong used as a clock), conch shell, *tantrī* (lute), *tāla* (cymbal), *veṇu* (bamboo flute), *mṛdaṅga* (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 *śakti* with self-illuminating (*svayamjyotiḥ*), 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 *Gheraṇḍa 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-Aṣṭottaraśatopaniṣad*, compiled and edited by Vasudeva Lakshman Panashikar. Varanasi, 1990 (repr. Nirṇayasagar Press, Bombay), pp.131-132.

²² *Gheraṇḍa 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 *dhyāna*, 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 *maṇipura* to *anāhata cakra* to attain the stage of *madhyamā*. As the result of this ascension, through the auditory organ the sound (*vaikhāri*) will be manifested. This external manifestation of *kuṇḍalinī-śakti* is *Auṃ* 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 (ṃ)* and these are described as the waking state (*jāgrat*), dream (*svapna*), dreamless sleep (*susupti*) and the transcendental stage (*tureya*). ²⁵

Regarding the explanation of *Ajapā-japa*, later *Upaniṣads* give us the detailed characteristics of this sound (*nāda*). Beside the *Haṃsanāda 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, *Auṃ* is called *Veda-mukha* and *Ism-i A'zam* is its equivalent. In the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, *Auṃ* 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 *Yogaśikhā 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 *Purānas*, *Auṃ* 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'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 *Auṃ*. In the *Sakīna*, *Dārā* introduced the word of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, *Ism-i A'zam* 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 *Kāṭhaka 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 *Sakīnat* 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 intermediatory world between earth and heaven in the hierarchical spiritual cosmos.

Prophethood and Sainthood

According to Naṣr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, 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 Ṣūfī 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 (*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. 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 *Futūḥāt*, 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 Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī*⁵, he 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-Khaḍir* 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 Muḥammad is the completion and perfection of the prophets.⁸ Jīlī regarded prophethood as a developed stage of sainthood. Sainthood is a rank in which God reveals to a mystic His names and attributes.⁹

Immanence (*tashbīh*) 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 (*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.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 Ḥāmid Ṭāhir, 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 *saguna* and *nirguna* in the Sanskrit translation. fol.3a.

¹¹*Fuṣūs*, 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 *tashbīh* 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 *Murdjīs* 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 on 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 *Mūtaẓilīs* and *Shī'īs*. At the background of these criticism, the teaching of Dārā's *shaikh* 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; Rīzvi 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'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 *Sakīna*, this anecdote is ascribed to the story written in the book *Nihāyat-i Jazrī*. Here, Ibn Sahafī Tābī'ī 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. Miyan Jiv commented on these interpretations with reference to *Hadīth*. Former interpretation means that it is impossible to behold the Pure Essence (*zāt-i baḥt* or *wujūd-i širf*) 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 Mišrī and *tafsīrs* of *Qur'ān* (Abū al-Qāsim Samarqandī, *Tafsīr Sulamī*, *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, *Tafsīr 'Arāis*, *Tafsīr Quṣayrī*, *Faṣr al-Ḥazāb*, *Baḥr al-Ḥaqāyiq*, Dārā emphasized the authority of *ru'yat* limited to *anbiyā'* and *awliyā'*. Regarding the possibility of beholding the Essence of Absolute (*wujūd-i muṭlaq*), 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 *waḥy* (revelation) with its equivalent *ākāsavānī*. Here the *MB* referred to the episode from *Hadīth*. 'Our prophet has said: the severest moment of me is that of *Waḥy* when I hear *Waḥy* ringing in my ears like a sound of a bell or the buzzing of wasps.

Waḥy first received by Muḥammad 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 Muḥammad. 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'ūya*) 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 Hermetism 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 *walī* of the believers and reveals as light through which the Prophet leads the believers to real Light. *Nūr-i Muḥammadiyya* (the Light of Muḥammad) stands on the same level of Perfect Man.

- Divine names and attributes belong to Perfect Man inherent in his essence. His idea (*ḥaqīqa*) 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 Sūfīs 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*.

¹⁷cf. *SEI Wahy*, p.623.

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

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

²⁰Nicholson, *Studies* pp.106-7.

²¹Nicholson, *Idea* pp. 61-62.

According to Jili, the three stages of manifestation (*tajallī*) : oneness (*aḥadiyya*), 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, Ṣūfī can be called as *awliyā* (saints). Dārā highly respect Ṣūfī 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 *aṣḥābs* (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 Qaranī.

In the third age, sixteen saints are enumerated beginning from Dhun Nūn Miṣrī, Fuḍail 'Iyād, Ma'rūf Karkhī, Ibrāhīm Adham, Bishrī Ḥāfī, Sarī al-Saqāṭī, 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 Ṭūsī, Aḥmad Ghazzālī, Abū al-Qāsim Gurgānī.

In the fifth age, six saints are enumerated beginning from his own Pīr, Shaikh Muḥyiddīn 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī, Abū Madīn al-Maghribī, Shaikh

²²Nicholson. *Study*, pp.82-87.

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

Muḥyi ud-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, Shaikh Najmud-Dīn Kubrā, Shaikh Farīd ud-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, Maulānā Jalālud-Dīn Rūmī.

In the sixth age, four saints are enumerated beginning from Khwāja Muʿīn ud-Dīn Chishtī, Khwāja Bahāʾ ud-Dīn Naqshband, Khwāja Aḥrār, Maulānā ʿAbdur-Raḥmān 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-Awliyāʾ* in 1049AH/1640. In this book, divided into eight chapters, he treated orthodox *Khalīfas* and twelve *Imāms*, former *Qādirī* saints called Junaidī and saints of four main Ṣūfī 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 *Ḥasanāt al-ʿArifīn*, 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-Awliyāʾ*, 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 *Anṣārīs* 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 (*aṣḥābs*) listing the names of four saints: Ṭalḥa bun az-Zubair, ʿAbdur Raḥmān, Sayyid bun Abī Waqqās, Saʿīd bun Zaid, Abū ʿUbaida bun al-Jarrāḥ. *T, A3, F* added the name of Shams-i Tabrīz, Sayyid Qāsim Anwār, Sayyid Ḥasan, and Khwāja Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī after the name of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī. *N* group including *U2* and *U3* add after Muʿīn ad-Dīn Chishtī, the names of other saints of Chishtī Silsilah, Quṭb ad-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Wāsītī and Khwāja Nazm ad-Dīn Awliyā. The Arabic translation omits the names of Shaikh Muḥyiud-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, Khwāja Aḥrār and Maulānā ʿAbdur Raḥmān Jāmī (ff.14ab). The Sanskrit translation listed only twelve names including the six *Khalīfas*, Dhun Nūn Miṣrī, Junaid, Muḥyiud-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, 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 *Futūḥāt* 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 Muḥyiddīn Abdul Qādir Jīlānī as a *pīr*, Miyān Mīr as his *shaykh*. Miyān Bārī as his *ustād*, Mullā Shāh as his *murshid*. Besides these people. Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā and Śaykh Ṭayyib Sirhindī and Bābā Lāl also ar included among *Dārā*'s *gurus*.

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

²⁸*Compass* p.vii; *Safīna* p.12.

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

³⁰Schimmel p.200.

³¹Takeshita, p.128.

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

Šūfī 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, Muḥibbullāh 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 *tawajjuh*: 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 Šūfīs, 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 to *Asrār-i Qādirīyyah*. 1) *Tawajjuh-i zikr wa fikr*: with invocation of divine names; 2) *tawajjuh-i maskūr*: realisation of God; 3) *tawajjuh-i ḥuzūr*: correspondence to light; 4) *tawajjuh-i bātinī*: 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'ānic* eschatology, the belief in the Last Day (*al-yawm al-ākhir*) 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 paradisi, 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. Śūfistic 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 *sūkṣma-sārīra*. 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 (*pitṛ*) in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Uṇp.* 6-2, similar eschatological ideas can be found.

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

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

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

⁵*SK* 39; *STK* 39,40,41.

of *mahat. ahaṅkāra*, 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...108 ⁷, *MB* introduces *Vaikuṅṭha* 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). *Vaikuṅṭha* 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 explicit 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 *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*.

⁶ *SK* 40: According to the commentary of Gauḍapāda ad *SK* 40, *bhāva* composed of *dharma* etc.; The commentators of *SK*: *Yuktidīpikā*, *Tattvakaumudī*. *Jayamaṅgalā* interpret as the eight (*dharma*, *adharmā*, *jñāna*, *ajñāna* etc.).

⁷ Refer to 3-1-1.

⁸ cf. *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. *Sūfīs* 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*. *Vidyārāṇya* 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' (*Ālam-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 *waḥdat 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*.

¹³cf. *Bh.P.* 2-1-26.

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

¹⁵cf. *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) *Vāḍabānala* (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, U3, R2* omit this item.

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

³²Persian manuscript *VM* omits this item.

³³Persian manuscripts *D1, K, R3* 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, ahaṅkāra* 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 Meru = bones of the ribs ⁴⁴

(41) Indra: possessing the complete power of bestowing and pouring and of withholding and stopping rain = right and left hands ⁴⁵

(42) Apsaras: Houris of Paradise = lines of the palm ⁴⁶

(43) the gods who are the presiding deities of wealth = fingers of the hand ⁴⁷

(44) Yakṣa = nails of the hand

(45) Agni = forearm ⁴⁸

(46) Yama = arm(Skt. elbow) ⁴⁹

(47) Nairṛti = upper arm of right hand ⁵⁰

(48) Īsanī = forearm of left hand

(49) Kubera = knee ⁵¹

(50) Vāyu = upper arm of left hand

(51) Kalpavṛkṣa, the tree of Tūbā = rod ⁵²

(52) the southern pole = right shoulder

(53) the northern pole = left shoulder

(54) Varuṇa, the superintendent of water = bone ⁵³

(55) Anāhata = thin voice ⁵⁴

(56) Maharloka = throat and neck ⁵⁵

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, Cāraṇas and identified as svaras (musical notes or gamut) and smṛtis.

⁴⁷This item is only found in the Sanskrit translation. *ghanādhiṣṭhāro devā mahāpuruṣasya karāṅgulyaḥ* (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.

⁵⁰Nairṛti and Īsanī 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) *Asvinī-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, Tvaṣṭṛ* = 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 *Tawhīd* = 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 *R̥g-Veda* X-90 and the idea has been followed by other *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*. ⁸¹ 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. 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 nīz 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 *Parīkṣit*. 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 *Virāt* (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 (*Vairājaḥ 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 *R̥g 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 Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, voll. pp.130-38; 305-6 etc.

⁸⁶ *Bh.P.* 2-6-17.

the *Virāṭa* consisting of gross element, sense organs and *guṇas* 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-sārīra* 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 *khaṇḍa* of *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. ⁸⁹ This section is said to be a later addition. An epitome of this section (*Sāroddhāra*) 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 *Sāroddhāra* 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 *cakras* ⁹³ should be repeated

⁸⁷ *Bh.P.* 2-6-21.

⁸⁸ *Bh.P.* 2-6-32,38,39.

⁸⁹ The second *khaṇḍa* of *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* is said that 'varies hopelessly and the differences in the editions are too numerous'. Hazra, *Study* p.111.

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

⁹¹ *Sāroddhāra*, 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 *Ṣūfis*. It has no relation to time and place. It means the real stage of 'ārif.

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, God is stated as *āśraya* ⁹⁵, the final resort which is Brahman. If one concentrates on God at the time of death, all (*sarvasaṃśrayaḥ*) 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 description 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 archtype 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 Muhammad's *ru'uyat*, for the possibility of vision of God for the believers, Sūra 75-22,23 : *(Some)*

¹Hasrat 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 Muḥammad'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 *suṣṭpī* 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 Wāsītī 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 (*rūḥ-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 *Ḥasanāt*, Dārā quotes Qur'ānic verse and its interpretation to support his own discussion.

Ḥadīth 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 *Ḥadīth Qudsī* not found in the orthodox tradition, however, *Ṣūfīs* prefer to cite this referring to the motive of creation.

²For the detail, see 2-3-2.

³*BI* 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 *ākāsavānī*. 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 Muḥammad (just) like him. Muḥammad asked Jibrāil 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 Ṣūfistic Poems

In the *MB*, in eight places, the sayings of eminent Ṣūfis are quoted to support his explanations.

In the preface, four couplets are quoted. One is Ḥaqīm Sanā'ī 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 Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḥusain 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 Mauwlā ‘Abdur Raḥmān 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 Aḥrār, *If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin. is, in a way, singing the note of Monotheism (tawḥīd). 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 *Nafaḥāt*. 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.

⁷*Lawā’ih*, Flash XXII.

⁸SS’s translation is as follows:

yadyahaṃ jānīyāṃ kaścana nirīsvaro ‘pi kathākhyā-deśa-sthito ‘pi mano ‘nurañjaka-
śabdais tattvavārttaṃ vadaṭīti tarhi tatra gatvā śroṣyāmi śiṣyāmi anuṇeṣyāmi ca taṃ
/

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 خطاء *ḥaṭā* : sin, but interprets it as a proper noun. Thus he transliterates it and interprets *par ḥaṭā* as “in (the country named) Khathā”.

⁹Shaikh al-Islām Abū Ismā’īl ‘Abdullāh bun Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Harawī. His *Ṭabaqāt-i ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī* was one of the source book of Jāmī’s *Nafaḥāt*. 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 Şūfis 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 Hummū'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 (tawḥīd) and all self is device and artifice.

In section 22, Hāfiz 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 Şūfis, 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 (*waḥdat 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 Latīf Sulṭānpurī. ¹ The next teacher was ‘Abdul Ḥaqīm Siālkotī. ‘Abdulḥaqīm b. Shams al-Dīn Sīyālkotī (d.1656) who was a teacher of Chandra Bhān Brāhman. 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 Ṭayyib 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 th 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

¹Tazkira p.83.

²His super commentary to al-Baidāvī’s commentary on the *Qur’ān* with the title *Al-Ḥāshiyā alā Anwār al-Tanzil* and other commentaries are dedicated to the emperor. Marshall pp.5-6.

³His most famous commentary is that on Jāmī’s commentary to *Kaḥfiya*, 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.

⁵As 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 Ṣūfistic concepts taught here, poverty (*faqr*), renunciation (*tark*), the stages of *sulūk*, prophethood and sainthood, divine vision (*ru'uyat*), 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-Muḥaqqiqīn*, 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 Ṣūfism and the kingship of the ruler. To answer for the questions of rules of government, Miyān Mīr collected forty traditions (*Ḥadīth*), 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 Badakhshī, was a Ṣūfī 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*.

⁷ Rizvi, *History*, vol.II, pp.103-108; *Sakīnat*, pp.6-7; *Dabistān* p.387.

⁸ fol.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 Ṣūfistic treatises. The *Sakīnat al-Awliya'* 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 *Sāhibiyya*. Court chroniclers left brief description about him ¹². The exhaustive work is the *Nuskha-i Ahwār-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 (*tawhīd*); the traveller in the desert of solitary asceticism; the wayfarer of Ṣūfistic path; the experienced annihilation (*fanā*) and perpetuity (*baqā*); the knower of the secret of secrets; the treasurer of divine *tawhīd*; knower of the secret of *waḥdat*; 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 (*muwaḥḥid-i ḥaqā'iq*). 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 (*tawhīd*). and goes on to explain 43 topics inter alia gnosis (*ma'rifat*), love (*'ishq*), the combination of *tanzīḥ* and *tashbīḥ*, *Jalāl* and *Jamāl*, conviction (*yaqīn*), knowledge (*'ilm*), genesis (*taqwīm*), essence (*zāt*), devotion (*zuhud*), contemplation (*mushāhada*), *fanā* 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 ṣāliḥ* 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 *zīkr*, particularly, *pās-i anfās*. In the *Risāla*, it has been examined profoundly and in the *MB*. Dārā expounds the similarity of *zīkr* with the *Ajapā-japa* of Hindu Yogins.

Among the contemporary Ṣūfīs, we introduce Shāh Muḥibbullāh Illāhābādī and ‘Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī as the most remarkable personalities outside Qādirī order.

Shāh Muḥibbullāh Illāhābādī

Although he is not included in the list of the saints in the *MB*, one of the most influential Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfī, Shāh Muḥibbullā. ¹⁸

Shāh Muḥibbullāh was born in 996 A.H. /1587 at Sadrpur, near Illāhābād. He was a descendent 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-Ṣābirī 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 Muḥibbullāh is noted for his *waḥdat 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 Muḥibbullāh 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. ²⁰

¹⁸His tomb is said to be the oldest one built in the 18th century and it remains in Bahādurganj. *Prayāg-pradīp*, p.250.

¹⁹‘Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī, the author of the the *Mir’at ul Asrār* met Shāh Muḥibbullāh at his native place Radauli and was deeply impressed by him. *Mir’āt al-Asrār*, p.916.

²⁰These letters are included in the *Faiyāz al-Qawānīn* in the *Ruqa‘āt-i Ālamgīrī*. *Makātib-i Shaykh Muḥibbullāh*.

‘Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī

Another distinguished personality in Chishtiyya-Ṣābiriyya *sisila* is ‘Abdul Raḥmān Chishtī . ‘Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī, a descendant of Shaykh Mu‘īn ud-Dīn Chishtī, is a Ṣūfī belonging to Ṣābilī branch of Chishtī silsila. Among the saints of this Ṣābilī order, ‘Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī is notable for his Persian translation of a Sanskrit work on Yoga, named *Rushd Nāma* (1536) .²¹ ‘Abdur Raḥmān 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-Ḥaqā‘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-Ḥaqā‘iq*, refer to 3-2-1.

Dārā’s spiritual preceptors and the Ṣūfis introduced here are included in the circle of the followers of *waḥdat al-wujūd* influenced by Ibn ‘Arabī’s ideas. Through the contact with these people Dārā might have accumulated the concepts of *waḥdat al-wujūd* indirectly.

²¹Hindi translation was made by Saiyyd Abbhās Rizvi. *Alakḥbānī* . 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 interesting 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 *Bhṛgu Vidyā* of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (3-1...6). In other chapters, the descriptions of *samṣkāras* and *āśramas* are 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 *Oupnekhat, 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 verbum, 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 *Bhṛgu-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, *Boletín de la Asociación Española 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 come 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 (*muwaḥḥid*), *brahmavidyā* as the knowledge of *tawhīd*.⁸ Thus *Upaniṣads* is regarded as the essence of unity (*waḥdat 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 *muwaḥḥid*, see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 4-4-8,9,23 ; *Ānanda Vallī* 9 : (*Taittirīya 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) Anrteheh (Aitareya) ; 12) Kok'heuk (Kauṣītaki) ; 13) Santaster (Śvetāśvatara) ; 14) Porsch (Prašna) ; 15) Dehanbāndhu (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 (Pañgala) ; 33) Tschehourka (Kṣurikā) ; 34) Prahm Hens (Paramahaṃsa) ; 35) Arank (Āruṇika) ; 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 (Mṛtyulāṅgala) ; 43) Anbratnad (Amṛtanāda) ; 44) Baschkl (Bāṣkala) ; 45) Tachhakli (Chāgaleya) ; 46) Tark (Tāraka : Tārasāra 2, Rāmottaratāpanīya 2) ; 47) Arkhī (Ārṣeya) ; 48) Pranou (Praṇava) ; 49) Schavank (Śaunaka) ; 50) Narsing'heh (Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīya).

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

¹⁰Vol.I p.13.

¹¹1-1-10; 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.

¹²However, 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 Śaṅkarācārya is found in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 1-1-8. The explanatory part follows Śaṅkara's commentary.¹³ Another reference can be found in the variants of *Śvetāśvatara 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 *tawhīd* (*āyat-i tawhīd*) As *Upaniṣads* are for the *sannyāsin* to attain ultimate salvation by meditation, Dārā found the teaching of *tawhīd* 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 Faḥl. Badāūnī's narration and Abu'l Faḥl's preface to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* suggest no inference that Abu'l Faḥl translated the *Bhagavadgītā* independently. However, Abu'l Faḥl shows deep interest on *Bhīśma-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, *Gītāpraśasti*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 Sulṭān 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 *Bhīśmaparvan*, 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 Ṣūfistic 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 Ṣūfī, 'Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī's abridged translation of *Bhagavadgītā* entitled *Mir'āt al-Haqā'iq*.²⁹

From the beginning, Chishtī declared the tenet of *tawḥīd* with the explanation of *kalima* : there is no divine being except God (*lā illāha illā al-llāha*) as denoting that all the creation and dissolution of the world, the manifested world and hidden world stand for the the word He or the word *kun* (be). In the preface, Chishtī described that the *Bhagavadgītā* is the secret of *tawḥīd* through allegories taught by *Kṛṣṇa* to *Arjuna* and Indian sages regard it as gnosis of God. It omits *Gītāpraśasti*, *Gītāmāna*, and *Gītāsāra*. Peculiarities in this translation is the explanation of the verses of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the authority of the *Qur'ān*, *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 *tawḥīd*.³⁰ In chapter 3, *Sāṃkhya*'s *Jñāna Yoga* is understood as *tawḥīd*³¹ in Ṣūfistic 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 *tawḥīd* in four kinds. The last stage of *tawḥīd* is that of losing oneself in *tawḥīd* (*fanā-yi tawḥīd*). *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 (*kaśb*) is achieved through this love. The propagation of love is much more strongly emphasized in the Persian translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* ascribed to Faiḏī.

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 Rāvaṇa 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.

³⁷*Les Entretiens de Lahore, entre le prince Impérial Dārā Shikūh et L'ascete 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 Pānīpattī 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 Banwalī 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 translated into Persian by Ṣūfī Sharīf Khubjhānī for Jahāngīr Shāh.⁴⁶ Aphorism were found in the *Shāriq al-Ma'rifat* ascribed to Faiẓī⁴⁷ in the 16th century. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Chishtī's *Mir'āt al-Makhrūqāt*, which is the dialogue between Mahādeva and Pārvatī on Hindu cosmogony based on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. Furthermore, the popularity of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is re-recognized in the introduction to his *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqā'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

³⁹For the Persian translation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, see Mujtabai pp.81-84.

⁴⁰This translation was published in Tehran. *Jogavāsiṣṭha dar Falsafa wa 'Irfān-i Hind*, tr. by Niẓām Pānīpattī, eds. Saiyid Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā'inī and N.S.Shukla, Tehran 1981.

⁴¹Ph.D. Thesis of Harvard Univ. by Mujtabai.

⁴²Ethe 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*Yogvāsiṣṭha*, Persian, S.A.H.Abidi, p.10.

⁴⁴cf. Sheo Narain, pp.31-32.

⁴⁵The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is regarded as the *Prasthānatrayī*, thus the popular but anonymous abridged version, the *Laghu-yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* was composed.

⁴⁶This is named as the *Kashf al-Kunūz*, or the *Tuhfat-i Majlis*, or the *Aṭwār dar Hāl-i Asrār*. See Riew, vol.III, p.1034b.

⁴⁷Ethe, 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 Tarīqāt 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 *Mahāpralāya*, 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 *ahaṅkāra* was attained and when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of *mahātāt* (*mahāt 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

⁴⁸Mir’āt al-Ḥaqā’iq. *op. cit.*, f.260b.

⁴⁹Edited by Muḥammad Jalālī Nā’inī and N.S.Shukla. Tehran 1981.

⁵⁰Omission is found from the 44 to 46 chapter of the original: most of the manuscripts consisted with 42 chapters or 43 chapters.

⁵¹For 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 : *saṁśaya* 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 māṃ 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 Ṣūfīs to connect this with the concept of *waḥdat 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 *Ḥasanāt 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, *Vaiṣṇava bhakta* and mentions that their religious house was in Śaila near Baroda. ⁴ The *Ḥasanāt al-Ārifīn* has some references to Bābā Lāl. ⁵ He has been called a *mauṇḍya* (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 kāmīl*), 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 *Ḥasanāt*, 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 Ṣūfism; 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 manuscript ¹¹, 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 Library ¹² 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 paṇḍit as ‘ālim, *murshid*, scholars of ‘*Ilm al-zāhir*. Another personality, the legendary paṇḍit 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.

Paṇḍit Rāmānanda Sūri was a notable paṇḍit in Kāśī (Benares) Impressed with Rāmānanda’s extensive knowledge, in *saṃvat* 1713 / 1656, Dārā asked him to write the *Virāṭa 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 *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-śiṣya*). 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*, *Padyapīyūṣa*, *Hāsyasāgar*, *Kāśīkutūha* and *Rāmacarītram*. Furthermore, he wrote a commentary on Kirāta’s *Dīpikā*, and the *Kāvya prakāśa*’s Prākṛit portion Even now, in Benares, Rāmānanda is regarded as Sanskrit teacher of Dārā Shukoh.

Among the Hindu poets in Shāh Jahān’s court, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja known as Jagannātha Kalāvant ¹⁵ is noted for a poet laureate and a

¹²Cat. No.3773.

¹³Taṣawwuf Cat. No.6277 (vol.1 p.469).

¹⁴*Kāśī ka Itihās*, Motīcandra, Varanasi, 1985, pp.386-387.

¹⁵The honorable name of Paṇḍitarāja was given by Shāh Jahān. cf. Jatindra Binal

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 Vīrāsa*. The eulogies of Dārā Shukoh is found in his *Jagadvijayacchandasa*.¹⁶ However, in relation to Dārā Shukoh, more remarkable and influential Hindu paṇḍit 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 paṇḍit. 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 paṇḍit 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 Muḥammadābād.

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*

Chaudhury, *Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning*, rep. Delhi, 1981. p.116.

¹⁶ For 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 Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha to Sanskrit Poetics*. vol.I. Delhi, 1983.

¹⁷ Bernier, p.338.

¹⁸ P.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.

¹⁹ Tavernier, vol.II. pp.182-3.

²⁰ On *jizya* in India. see Faruki. pp.140-163.

and pilgrim tax ²¹. 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 Sarasvatī ²⁵, 69 Hindu poets and scholars dedicated an anthology (*padyaṅgalī, 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 *Purānas*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Nyāya*, *Alaṅkāra*, *Yoga of Yogavāsīṣṭha*, *Sāṃkhya*, and *Vaiśeṣika*. He was praised as equal to Śāṅkara (*Vedānta*), Jaimini (*Mīmāṃsā*), Kanāda (*Vaiśeṣika*), Gautama (*Nyāya*), Kapila (*Sāṃkhya*, *Patañjali (Yoga)*), Pānini in their field respectively. The list of 2192 books in various academic field entitled the *Kavīndraācāryasūcipattra* 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 *paṇḍits* of Benares.

As is seen in 3-2-1, the noteworthy work written by Kavīndra Sarasvatī is a Hindī version of the *Yoavāsīṣṭhasāra*. According to Ramaswami Shastri ²⁸, 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. *Ā'in-i Akbari*, 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 'Ālamgīrī*, 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 Paṇḍita, Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No.8, pp.7-8.

Chandra Bhān Brāhman

Chandra Bhān Brāhman (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 inofficial account of the life in Lahore and Delhi. His Persian *Diwān*, known as *Iksīr-i A'zam* (The Strongest Elixir) 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 Ṣūfistic work, *Tuḥfat al-widad* and letters to his relatives, we know Ṣūfistic 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, Brāhman 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* Walī. He was also a disciple of Dārā's pīr Mullā Shāh. He left his own *Dīwān*. His contribution was the writing some Persian tracts³⁴ and he translated the popular Sanskrit Vedāntic drama entitled *Prabodhacandrodaya* into Persian naming it *Gulzār-i Ḥāl*. 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 Siyālkotī as his teacher. See Fārooqī 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 Muḥammad 'Abdul Ḥamīd Fārooqī, *Chandra Bhān Brahman : Life and Works, With a Critical Edition of His Persian Diwān*, Ahmedabad, 1967.

³³Fārooqī, 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 (*kiṃvadantī*). It is not traced that Dārā understood Sanskrit language. Sanskrit work entitled *Ṣatabhūmikā* is ascribed to Dārā. ³⁶ There is a Sanskrit letter ascribed to Dārā, addressed to Goswāmī Nṛsiṃha Saraswatī preserved in Adyar Library. ³⁷ The manuscript is dated Saṃvat 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 (*paṇḍits*) 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 *saṃnyāsins* 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.

³⁵ P.K.Gode, vol.II, p.446.

³⁶ *Journal of Gaṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute* February 1944, p.193 ff.

³⁷ Shelf 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-Baḥrayn* 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 *tawḥīd*. .

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, Ṣūfistic 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^{not} an enumeration of ideas as Abu'l Faḥl's description of the Indian philosophy and religious sects in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*. 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 paṇḍits. 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 Ṣūfis 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 Ṣūfī saints and Hindu paṇḍits was the most influential sources of his ideas.

¹Al-Bīrūnī's Methodology in India. Mudḥammad 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 Ṣūfistic ideas of *tawḥīd* and *waḥdat 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 *sharī’a*. In this respect, orthodox theologians have some doubt. The interrelationship of God, world and man is understood through the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. The Upaniṣadic concept of the unity of *Brahman* and *Ātman* was reconciliated with *tawḥīd* on the ground of *waḥdat 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 Ṣūfistic practice which has total similarity with Yogic and more recent Tantric practice. As one of the traveller on the Ṣūfistic path, the experience of religious practices might have helped him to find out the equivalent. The supreme goal of the Ṣūfistic path and the Yogin’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 *Yogavāsistha*.

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, Muḥammad 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-Baḥrayn

1 Persian Text of Majma' al-Baḥrayn

1-1 Editorial Note on the Critical Edition of Majma' al-Baḥrayn

The critical apparatus used for the present edition of the *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* 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 Maḥfūz al-Ḥaqq in 1929 in Calcutta and in Iran, it was edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā'īmī in *Muntahbāt-i Ātār* in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran. while these editions differ from each other.

In the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition, Maḥfūz al-Ḥaqq 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 Ḥājī 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-Baḥrayn*, by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Miṣrī. 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 Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabā'ī. And *Bibliotheca Indica* edition was provided as footnotes for the comparison. It was published entitled *Muntakhbāt-i Āthār* 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 Ḥusain Khān Bahādur, Calcutta. Imperial Library 1923, p.150. Cat. No. 133.. ff. 39, 15 lines.

works i.e. *Risālat Haqq Numō* and *Upaniḥat 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 autographically 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'ī Rasā'il* no.13. ⁴ (ff.132-145v, 20-21 lines, dated 1198A.H. Ramaḍān 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 'Arabī wa Fārsī wa Urdū bi-Kutubhānah-i Āsafiyyah*. comp. Syed Taṣṣaddug Ḥusain al-Kantūrī, 1332-1335 A.H. /1913-1916 vol.3 p.202.

³ *Mahfūz-ul Ḥaqq* 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 Riew, 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*. Wladimir 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.

¹⁰*Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of Eaton College.* Comp. D.S.Margoliouth. Oxford. 1904.

¹¹*Supplementary 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.

¹²*Catalogue 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.

¹³*ibid.* p.79.

¹⁴*Catalogue 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.

¹⁵*BI*, 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-‘Ashiqīn* 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 *Fihrist-i Nuskh-hā-yi Haṭṭi-yi Fārsi-yi Kitābhānah Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’ Lakhnaw, Markaz-i Tahqīqāt-i Zabān-i Fārsī dar Hind, Dihlī Naw.. 1986. p.264.*

¹⁷ *Fihrist-i Nush-hā-yi Haṭṭi-yi Fārsī Kitābhānah-yi Raḍā Rāmpūr. ġild 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 cataloger, 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.Ishat, 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 *nubuwwat wa wilāyat* in section 2 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.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بنام آنسکه او نسای نمدارد هر نسای که خوابی سر بر آرد
حد موفور یگانه را که دو زلف کفر و اسلام را^۱ که نقطه مقابل بهم اند بر
چهره زنیای بی مثل و^۲ نظیر خویش ظاهر گردانیده^۳ و هیچ یک از آنها را^۴ حجاب
رخ نیکویی خود نساخته :

بیت

کفر و اسلام در رهش پویان و صده لا یشربك له گوویان
در همه اوست ظاهر و همه^۵ اوست جلوه گر، ازل اوست و آخر اوست و غیر او
موجود نباشد :

رباعی

همسایه و همشین و همزه همه اوست در دلق گدا و اطللس شه همه اوست
در انجمن فرق و نهانجانهای جمع^۷ بالله همه اوست تم بالله همه اوست
و درود نا محدود بر مظهر اتم باعث ایجاد عالم^۸ محمد مصطفی^۹ صلی الله علیه و سلم
و بر آل کرام و بر اصحاب عظام او باد. اما^{۱۰} بعد^{۱۱} میگوید فقیر نی حزن و اندوه
محمد^{۱۲} دارا شکوه^{۱۳} که بعد از دریافت حقیقه الحقایق و تحقیق رموز و دقائق
مذهب بر حق^{۱۴} سوخته و فائز گشتن باین عملیه عظمی در صدد آن شد که درک کند
مشرب موحدان هند، و با^{۱۵} بعضی از محققان این قوم^{۱۶} و کاملان ایشان که بنهایت
ریاضت و ادراک و فهمیدگی و غایت تصوف و خدایابی و سنجیدگی^{۱۷} رسیده بودند

¹ BI, T om.

² T adds
نی

³ BI, T add
گردانید

⁴ BI, T om.
را BI, T add یکی

⁵ BI, T om.

⁶ BI, T add
از

⁷ T
فوق instead of خلق

⁸ BI, T add
حضرت

⁹ BI, T om.

¹⁰ T om.

¹¹ T adds
چنین

¹² T, R1 om.

¹³ T adds
بن شاهجهان پادشاه

¹⁴ B, BM1 om.
بر

¹⁵ B, BM1, T om.
با بعضی از

¹⁶ A1, B, R1 add
قدیم نباید یا بعضی از

¹⁷ BI, T omit
و سنجیدگی

مکرر صحبتها¹⁸ داشته¹⁹ و گفتگوي نموده،²⁰ جز اختلاف لفظي در²¹ ذريافت و شناخت²² تفاوتی ندید. ازین جهت سخنان فریقین را بام²³ تطبیق داده²⁴ و بعضی از سخنان که طالبان حق را دانستن آن ناگزیر و سودمند است فراهم آورده رساله ترتیب داده، و چون مجمع²⁵ حقایق و معارف دو طایفه حق شناس بود²⁶ به مجمع البحرین موسوم گردانید، بموجب قول اکابر که التصوف هو الانصاف، و التصوف ترك التكليف،²⁷ هر که انصاف دارد و از اهل ادراك است در می یابد که در تحقیق این مراتب چه غور رفته، و یقین که فهمیدگان صاحب ادراك حظی²⁸ وافر ازین رساله خواهند برد و کند فهان غیر بین²⁹ را نصیب از فواید آن نخواهد بود.³⁰ و این تحقیق را موافق کشف و ذوق خود برای اهل بیت خود نوشته ام، و مرا باعوام هر دو قوم کاری نیست.³¹

خواجہ عید³² الله احرار قدس سره فرموده که اگر دانم که کافری در³³ خطا زمزمه توحید بهنجار³⁴ می سراید میروم و از وی می شنوم³⁵ و منت دار می شوم و من الله التوفیق و الاستعانه.

¹⁸ صحبت T

¹⁹ داشت T

²⁰ نمود B, BM1, T

²¹ A1, B, BM1, R1 om.

²² BI, T add حق

²³ A1, B, BM1, R1 بهم

²⁴ B, BM1, R1 داد

²⁵ BI مجموعه

²⁶ BI, T add لهذا

²⁷ BI, T add پس

²⁸ BI, T حظ

²⁹ BI, T instead of طرفین

³⁰ BI, T شد

³¹ BI adds چنانچه

³² BI, T add عید الله

³³ BI, T پر

³⁴ BI بهنجاری

³⁵ A1, BM1, R1 add و می آموزم

بیان عناصر

بدانکه عناصر¹ پنج اند² و ماده³ جميع مخلوقات ناسوتی همین پنج اند. اول عنصر اعظم که آن را اهل شرع عرش اکبر میگویند. دوم باد سیوم³ آتش چهارم آب و پنجم خاك و این را بزبان اهل هند پنج بهوت⁴ می نامند. اکاس⁵ و بائی⁶ و تیج⁷ و جل⁸ و پرتی⁹. و اکاس سه است،¹⁰ بهوت اکاس¹¹ من اکاس¹² و چد اکاس،¹³ آنچه محیط عناصر باشد آن را بهوت 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 اجن¹⁴ بر حق است یعنی حادث نیست. و بر حدوث و فناي او¹⁵ هیچ¹⁶ آیه قرآنی و یید¹⁷ که کتاب آسمانی است¹⁸ دلالت نمی کند. از چد اکاس اول چیزی که بهم رسید عشق بود که آن را بزبان موحدان¹⁹ هند²⁰ مایا²¹ گویند و²² کنت کنزا مخفیاً فاحببت ان أعرف مخلقت الخلق بر این دال است، یعنی بودم من گنجی پنهان²³ پس دوست داشتم که شناخته شوم پس ظاهر کردم²⁴ خلق را²⁵ و از عشق روح اعظم یعنی²⁶

¹ A1.B.BM1.R1 عنصر² A1.B.BM1.R1 است³ T سوم⁴ pañca-bhūtāni : BI.T پانجه بهوت⁵ ākāśa⁶ vāyu⁷ tejas⁸ jala⁹ pṛthivī¹⁰ BI.T اند¹¹ bhūtākāśa¹² manākāśa¹³ cidākāśa¹⁴ ajanya : T و آن¹⁵ BI.T آن¹⁶ T om.¹⁷ veda¹⁸ BI.T باشد¹⁹ BM1.T om.²⁰ T هندی²¹ māyā²² C.T adds اهل اسلام را²³ T مخفی²⁴ T adds بافریدم²⁵ BI.T add برای شناخت خود²⁶ A1.B.BM1.R1 که

جیو آتمان²⁷ پیدا شد که آن را حقیقت محمدی گویند و آن²⁸ اشاره بروح کلیا آن سرور²⁹ است، و موحدان هند آن را هرن گریه³⁰ و سمست³¹ آتما³² مینامند،³³ که اشاره بمرتبه اجمعی³⁴ 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 بر آمد 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 بمنزله کف آن آب است، چون شیری⁴⁰ که در زیر آن آتش باشد و بجوش آید و کف کند.

بیت

چه دانستم که این دریای بی پایان چنین باشد بخارش آمان گردد کف دریا زمین باشد⁴¹
و بر عکس این در قیامت کبری که آن را⁴² مپارلی⁴³ گویند اول فناي خاک خواهد
شد و⁴⁴ آن⁴⁵ 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 : BI.T add است

³⁰ *hiranya-garbha*

³¹ *samaṣṭi* : BI.T اوستهات

³² BI.T آتمان

³³ BI.T نامند

³⁴ BI,T : رحمانیت D2 : عمانیت C : ماهیت BM2 : اعمانیت BM1 : انانیت B.D1 : اعظمتیت

T اجمل

³⁵ B.BM1.T مخفیت

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 :

يك قطره چو بیضه جوشیده گشت دریا
کف کرد و کف زمین شد وز دود او سما شد

⁴² BI,T add بزبان اهل هند

⁴³ *mahapralaya*

⁴⁴ T adds بعد از

⁴⁵ T adds خاک

باد فرو خواهد نشاند و باد با⁴⁶ روح اعظم در مهاکاس⁴⁷ فرو خواهد رفت،⁴⁸ کلّ شيء هالك آلا وجهه، يعني همه چیز فاني خواهد شد مگر روي الله⁴⁹ تعالی که مهاکاس باشد، کلّ من عليها فان و بقی وجهه ربه ذو الجلال و الاکرام يعني همه آنچه که بر⁵⁰ روي زمین بود فاني خواهد شد و باقي مانند روي پروردگار تو که صاحب جلال و اکرام است.⁵¹ در این دو⁵² آیه کریمه⁵³ که برای فاني جميع اشياست قيد وجهه که رفته مراد مهاکاس است که آن فنا پذیر نیست و آلا میفرمودي : کلّ شيء هالك آلا هو يعني همه چیز فاني خواهد شد مگر ذات او. و قيد رو براي مهاکاس باشد چه مهاکاس بمنزله بدن لطيف آن ذات مقدّس است. و خاک را بزبان فقراي⁵⁴ هند ديوي⁵⁵ گویند⁵⁶ که همه چیز ازو پیدا شده است⁵⁷ و باز همه چیز درو فرو می رود بموجب آیه کریمه : منها خلقنکم و فیها نعیدکم و منها نخرجکم تارة اخرى، يعني از آن⁵⁸ خاک خلق کردیم شما را و درآن خاک باز خواهیم برد شما را و از آن⁵⁹ خاک بیرون می آریم شما را بار دیگر.

⁴⁶T به

⁴⁷ *mahākāśa*

⁴⁸ T پوست

⁴⁹ BI, T خدای

⁵⁰ T به

⁵¹ BI, T add پس

⁵² T om.

⁵³ B, BM1, T om.

⁵⁴ BI اهل : T om.

⁵⁵ *devi*

⁵⁶ BI, T نامند

⁵⁷ T om.

⁵⁸ BI, T om.

⁵⁹ T om.

بیان حواس

موافق این پنج عنصر¹ پنج حواس² است³ که بزبان اهل هند آن⁴ پنج اندری⁵ گویند، شامه ذایقه باصره سامعه و لامسه که آن⁶ را بزبان⁷ هند گهران⁸ رسنا⁹ چهچه¹⁰ سروتر¹¹ توك¹² میگویند، و محسوسات آن¹³ را گندهه¹⁴ رس¹⁵ روپ¹⁶ سبد¹⁷ و سپرس¹⁸ نامند. و هر یکی از این¹⁹ حواس پنجگانه از جنس یکی از²⁰ عناصر باشد و منسوب بآن. شامه منسوب است بخاك چه هیچ یکی از عناصر بوي ندارد آلا خاك و احساس بوي شامه کند.²¹ و ذایقه مناسبت²² است بآب چنانچه آب ظاهر است در زبان، و باصره مناسبت دارد بآتش چنانچه درك رنگها²³ بچشم است و نورانیت در²⁴ هر دو²⁵ ظاهر است، و لامسه را نسبت است بیاد چرا که سبب احساس ملموسات باد است، و سامعه منسوب است بعنصر اعظم که مها اکاس باشد که سبب ادراك اصوات است، و از راه سمع حقیقت مها اکاس بر اهل دل ظاهر²⁶ میشود و دیگری

¹ عناصر BI.T² حواس and پنج interchange R1.T³ اند BI.T⁴ آنها T⁵ pañcendriyāṇi⁶ T om.⁷ BI.T add اهل⁸ ghrāṇa : B چهچه⁹ rasanā : B سروتر¹⁰ cakṣu : B توك ; A1,BM1,R1 گهران¹¹ śrottra : A1,BM1,R1 رسنا : B چهچه¹² tvak : A1,BM1,R1 سروتر¹³ A1,B آنها¹⁴ gandha¹⁵ rasa¹⁶ rūpa : B,BM1,R1 سپرس¹⁷ śabda : A1 روپ B,BM1,R1 سپرس¹⁸ sparśa : A1,B,BM1,R1 شبد¹⁹ T از²⁰ BI.T از این²¹ BI.T میکند²² BI.T منسوب²³ T رنگ²⁴ T درو²⁵ T om. هر دو²⁶ T هویدا

بر آن مطلع نیست. و این شغلیست مشترک در میان صوفیه²⁷ و موخدان هند که صوفیه این را شغل آواز²⁸ میگویند و ایشان²⁹ دهن³⁰ مینامند. اما حواس باطن نیز پنج اند، حتم مشترک خیال³¹ متصرفه³² حافظه و واهمه و نزد اهل هند چهار است³³ بده³⁴ و³⁵ من و³⁶ اهنکار و³⁷ چت³⁸ و مجموعه این چهار را چتر³⁹ انته کرن گویند که بمنزله پنجم آنها است. چت يك عادت دارد که آن را برت⁴⁰ گویند و این عادت بمنزله پای اوست که اگر آن قطع⁴¹ شود چت از دویدن باز ماند، دوّم⁴² بده یعنی عقل و بده آنست که طرف⁴³ خیر رود و بجانب⁴⁴ شتر نرود، سیوم⁴⁵ من⁴⁶ که عبارت از دل است و آن⁴⁷ دو قوت دارد سنکلپ⁴⁸ و⁴⁹ بکلپ⁵⁰ یعنی عزیمت⁵¹ و فتح⁵² عزیمت⁵³ و⁵⁴ چت⁵⁵ يك دل است و کار او دویدن باشد بهر سو و تمیز میان خیر و شتر نمیکند،⁵⁶ چهارم اهنکار یعنی نسبت دهنده چیزها بخود و اهنکار صفت

²⁷ T صوفیان

²⁸ BI, T پاس انقباس

²⁹ T در اصطلاح خود BI: هندیان BM2: موخدان هند

³⁰ *dhyāna*

³¹ BI, T متخیله

³² BI, T متفکره

³³ BI, T اند

³⁴ BI بده

³⁵ *buddhi*

³⁶ *manas*

³⁷ *ahamkāra*

³⁸ *citta*

³⁹ BI, T om.

⁴⁰ BI برت A1, B, BMI: سرت پرکرت T: ست پرکرت

⁴¹ BI, T منقطع

⁴² BI, T اوّل

⁴³ T بجانب

⁴⁴ BI, A1 طرف

⁴⁵ BI دویم

⁴⁶ *manas*

⁴⁷ B, BM1, R1, T من

⁴⁸ *saṅkalpa*

⁴⁹ BI, T om.

⁵⁰ *vikalpa*: BI بکلپ

⁵¹ B, T هریمت

⁵² BI فسخ

⁵³ BI, T om.

⁵⁴ BI سوم T: سوم

⁵⁵ *citta*: BI, T add که

⁵⁶ BI, T نکند

پرم آتما است بسبب مایا و مایا بزبان ایشان عشق است. و اهنکار⁵⁷ سه قسم است ،
 ساتگ⁵⁸ و راجس⁵⁹ و تامس.⁶⁰ اهنکار ساتگ یعنی گیان سروپ⁶¹ که⁶² اعلی است
 آنست که پرم آتما بگوید⁶³ هرچه هست همه منم و این مرتبه کَلّی⁶⁴ احاطه است،⁶⁵
 همه اشیا⁶⁶ را الا آته بکلّ شیء محیط یعنی دانا و آگاه باش بدرستیکه اوست همه⁶⁷
 احاطه کننده،⁶⁸ هو الاوّل و⁶⁹ الاخر و⁷⁰ الظاهر و⁷¹ الباطن یعنی اوست اوّل و
 اوست آخر و اوست ظاهر و پس⁷² اوست باطن، و⁷³ اهنکار راجس مدم⁷⁴ است که
 اوسط باشد⁷⁵ آنست که نظر بر جیو آتما⁷⁶ کرده⁷⁷ بگوید که⁷⁸ من از بدن و عناصر
 مزّه ام⁷⁹ و جسمانیت بمن نسبت ندارد، لیس کمله شیء یعنی نیست مانند او چیزی و
⁸⁰ الله غنی عن العلمین یعنی خدای تعالی بی نیاز است از ظهور عالم. و اهنکار تامس
 آدم⁸¹ است که ادنی باشد و این از⁸² اودیا⁸³ یعنی مرتبه عبودیت حضرت وجود . و
 ادنی بودن از جهت آنست که از نهایت تنزل و تقید و تعین نادانی و جهل و غفلت

⁵⁷ BI, T add نیز

⁵⁸ *sattva*

⁵⁹ *rajas*

⁶⁰ *tamas*

⁶¹ *jñāna-svarūpa*

⁶² BI, T add مرتبه

⁶³ BI, T add که

⁶⁴ BI, T interchange احاطه and کَلّی

⁶⁵ T میباید

⁶⁶ T اشیا

⁶⁷ BI, T add چیز

⁶⁸ BI, T add دیگر آنکه

⁶⁹ BM1, R1 هو

⁷⁰ R1 هو

⁷¹ R1 هو

⁷² BI, T om.

⁷³ B, T om.

⁷⁴ *madhyama*

⁷⁵ BI, T add و این

⁷⁶ *jivātman* : BI, T جیو آتمان

⁷⁷ BI, T داشته

⁷⁸ BI, T add ذات

⁷⁹ BI, T است مزّه

⁸⁰ BI, T فانّ

⁸¹ *adhama*

⁸² BI, T om.

⁸³ *avidyā* : T اودیا

را بخود نسبت میکند و نظر بر حیات⁸⁴ محسوسه خود نموده میگوید که من و تو از مرتبه یگانگی دور می⁸⁵ افتد: ⁸⁶ قل انما 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 تقید زیاده شد اهنکار بهم رسید و چون تقید دیگر بر آن افزود مهنت⁹⁰ که عقل کل باشد نام یافت. و از سنکپ و مهنت⁹¹ من⁹² پیدا شد که آن را پرکرت⁹³ نیز گویند، و از سنکپ من پنج گیان اندری⁹⁴ که سامعه⁹⁵ و لامسه و باصره و سامعه و ذایقه باشند بظهور آمد، و از سنکپ و این پنج⁹⁶ گیان اندری⁹⁷ اعضاء و اجسام⁹⁸ بهم رسید، و این مجموعه را بدن گویند، پس پرم آنها که ابو الارواح باشد⁹⁹ این¹⁰⁰ تقیدات را از خود پیدا کرده و خود را بآن بسته گردانیده. چنانچه¹⁰¹ کرم پيله تارهاي ابريشم از لعاب خود بر آورده خود را بآن¹⁰² بندد¹⁰³ است. و¹⁰⁴ حضرت¹⁰⁵ وجود¹⁰⁶ این¹⁰⁷ قیود وهمی را از خود بر آورده و خود را درو در آورده است مثل تخم درخت که

⁸⁴ هیئات T

⁸⁵ هستم T

⁸⁶ T om.

⁸⁷ T,R1 آدمی

⁸⁸ *vasiṣṭha*; T,D1; BM2 adds رکه

⁸⁹ BI,T که میگوید and add

⁹⁰ *mahat-tattva*; BI,T مهاتت R1 مهدتت

⁹¹ BI,T مهاتت R1 مهدتت

⁹² *manas*; BI,T add یعنی قلب

⁹³ *prakṛti*

⁹⁴ *jñānendriyāṇi*

⁹⁵ BI,T شامه

⁹⁶ B adds حواس; BM1,BM2,D2,R1 کرم

⁹⁷ A1,B کرم اندری

⁹⁸ B,BM1,BM2 احشاع T; اجساد

⁹⁹ BI adds the following verse with parenthesis

که ظهور اول او حقیقت محمدی و ثانی او روح القدس که جبرئیل امین باشد است

¹⁰⁰ BI,T add همه

¹⁰¹ BI,T چنانکه

¹⁰² BI,T در آن

¹⁰³ BI,T بسته

¹⁰⁴ BI,T همچنان

¹⁰⁵ BI,T add واجب

¹⁰⁶ BI,T الوجود

¹⁰⁷ BI,T add همه

درخت را از خود بر آورده خود در درخت در¹⁰⁸ می آید و در بند شاخها و برگها
و گنجا میشود،¹⁰⁹ پیش از ظهور¹¹⁰ عالم در ذات پنهان بود و الحال ذات مقدس¹¹¹ او
در عالم پنهان است.

¹⁰⁸ B, BM1 interchange می and در

¹⁰⁹ B1 adds پس بدان و هوش دار که

¹¹⁰ B1, T add این

¹¹¹ B, BM1, T, R1 om. مقدس او

بیان شغل

شغل¹ نزد موخدان هند اگرچه اقسام است اما بهترین شغلها اجپا² را میدانند و آن³ شغلی است که چه⁴ در خواب و چه در⁵ بیداری بی قصد و بی⁶ اختیار از جمیع ذی نفس⁷ همیشه⁸ صادر میگردد چنانچه در⁹ آیه کریمه : و إن من شيء إلا یسبح بحمده و لکن لا تفقهون تسبیحهم، اشاره بهمین است. و آن¹⁰ را¹¹ به دو¹² لفظ تعبیر¹³ کرده¹⁴ اند¹⁵ نفسی که بالا¹⁶ میروود او¹⁷ میگویند و نفسی که درون¹⁸ می آید من¹⁹ می گویند²⁰ یعنی او منم، و صوفیه مشغولی، این دو لفظ را هو الله میدانند که در²¹ بالا²² رفتن نفس هو و در بیرون²³ آمدن الله ظاهر میشود،²⁴

¹ B.R1 om.² *ajapā*³ T این⁴ B.BM1,T om.⁵ A1.B.BM1.T om. چه در⁶ A1.B,T om.⁷ B1.T نفوس⁸ B1.T add و هر آن⁹ A1.B,BM1,R1 om. چنانچه در¹⁰ B1,R4 add درون رفتن و بیرون آمدن دم¹¹ A1.B,R1 add تعبیر¹² T om. و آن را بدو لفظ¹³ A1.B,BM1.T,R1 om.¹⁴ T om.¹⁵ T om.¹⁶ R1 بیرون¹⁷ B.BM1,BM2,T سو¹⁸ BM1.T بیرون¹⁹ A1,BM1,BM2,R1 من²⁰ B1.T نامند²¹ T.BM2 om.²² R1 بیرون²³ R1 درون²⁴ B1.T,R4 add و این دو لفظ از هر ذی حیات جاریست و او بیخبر است

نزد صوقیه دو صفت است، جلال² و جمال³ که جمیع آفرینش از تحت این دو صفت بیرون نیست. و نزد فقراي هند سه صفت⁴ است⁵ که آن را ترگن⁶ میگویند. ست⁷ و رج⁸ و تم⁹، ست یعنی ایجاد و رج یعنی ابقا و تم یعنی افنا. و¹⁰ صوقیه صفت ابقا را در ضمن صفت جمال مندرج¹¹ دیده¹² و اعتبار کرده اند. چون هر یکی از این سه صفت در یکدیگر مندرج اند و موکلان¹³ این سه صفت را ترمورت¹⁴ نامند که برهما¹⁵ و بشن¹⁶ و مهیش¹⁷ باشند و بزبان صوقیه جبرئیل و میکائیل و اسرافیل گویند. برهما¹⁸ موکل ایجاد است که جبرئیل باشد و بشن موکل ابقاست که میکائیل باشد و مهیش موکل افناست که اسرافیل باشد. و آب و آتش¹⁹ و باد²⁰ نیز منسوب باین موکلان اند، آب بجبرئیل و آتش بمیکائیل و باد باسرافیل و این سه چیز در جمیع جانداران نیز ظاهر است برهما²¹ که آب باشد در زبان،²² مظهر کلام الهی گشت و نطق از این ظاهر شد، و بشن که آتش است در چشم،²³ روشنی و نور²⁴ و بینایی از او ظاهر شد و مهیش که باد است در بینی دو نفخه صور از این ظاهر شد

¹ A1, B, BM1 add را ; T adds را الله تعالی

² BI, T جمال

³ BI, T جلال

⁴ BI, T صفات

⁵ BI, T اند

⁶ *triguna*

⁷ *sattva*

⁸ *rajas*

⁹ *tamas*

¹⁰ A1, B, BM1, R1 چون

¹¹ BI, T om.

¹² B, BM1, R1 add اند

¹³ BI و موکلان instead of فقراي هند

¹⁴ *trimūrti*

¹⁵ *brahmā* ; A1, R1 برهما

¹⁶ *viṣṇu*

¹⁷ *maheśvara*

¹⁸ A1, B, R1 برهما

¹⁹ BI, T باد

²⁰ BI, T آتش

²¹ A1, B برهما

²² A1, B add لهذا ; BM1 add لهذا و

²³ A1, BM1 add که

²⁴ 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 مظهر این سه صفت هم برهما 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، و³² آن ترمورت که برهما³³ و بشن و مهیش باشند،³⁴ سرستی³⁵ و³⁶ پارتی³⁷ و لجهمی³⁸ میگویند، سرستی به رجوگن³⁹ و برهما⁴⁰ تعلق⁴¹ دارد، و پارتی⁴² به تموگن⁴³ و مهیش⁴⁴ تعلق دارد،⁴⁵ و لجهمی⁴⁶ به سنگن⁴⁷ 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 śakti

³¹ tridevī

³² BI.T add از

³³ A1,BM2,D1,D2 برهما

³⁴ BI.T add و از این تردیوی این سه چیز بر آمد آن را

³⁵ sarasvatī; R1 سرسوتی

³⁶ BI.T om.

³⁷ pārvatī; BM2,R1 لجهمی

³⁸ lakṣmi; BM2,R1 پارتی

³⁹ rajoguṇa; B,R1 رجگن

⁴⁰ A1,B,BM2,D1,D2,R1 برهما

⁴¹ T om. تعلق دارد

⁴² B,R1 لجهمی

⁴³ tamoguṇa; B,R1 سنگن

⁴⁴ B,R1 بشن

⁴⁵ BI.T om.

⁴⁶ B,R1 پارتی

⁴⁷ sattvagūṇa; B,R1 T : تموگن

⁴⁸ B,R1 مهیش; A1.T add تعلق دارد

بیان روح

روح دو قسم است، یکی روح و دیگر ابو¹ الارواح که بزبان فقراي هند این دو روح را آتما² و پرم آتما³ گویند. ذات بحت که⁵ متعین و مقید گردد چه به لطافت و چه به کثافت بجهت مجرد بودن در مرتبه لطافت او را روح و⁶ آتما نامند⁷ و در مرتبه کثافت جسد و سریر⁸ گویند و ذاتی که⁹ متعین¹⁰ گشت که¹¹ روح اعظم باشد و¹² مرتبه احدیت دارد و¹³ که جمیع ارواح در آن مندرج اند آن را پرم آتما و ابو الارواح خوانند¹⁴ مثل آب¹⁵ و موج آب بمنزله بدن و روح است¹⁶ که¹⁷ سریر¹⁸ و آتما¹⁹ باشد. و²⁰ مجموعه امواج از روی کلیت بابو الارواح و²¹ پرم آتما ماند و آب صرف بمنزله حضرت وجود و سده²² چئن²³ است.²⁴

¹ R1 روح² *ātman* : R1 آتمان³ *paramātman* ; R1 پرم آتمان⁴ BI adds چون in the parenthesis⁵ BI, T om⁶ B سرب⁷ BI, T گویند⁸ *śarira*⁹ A1, B تعین اول ; BM1, R1¹⁰ BI, T add بازل¹¹ BI, T om.¹² BI, T با ذات مجمع الصفات : BI adds¹³ BI adds ذاتی¹⁴ BI, T نام گشتند چنانچه ; R1 گویند¹⁵ A1, B, BM1, R1 مثل آب instead of نقش¹⁶ BI, T om.¹⁷ BI, T و¹⁸ *śarira*¹⁹ C جیو آتما²⁰ BI, T است²¹ BM1 om. از روی کلیت بابو الارواح و²² *śuddha* : BI, T, A1, BM1, R1 add و²³ *caitanya* : A1, B, R1 چیتن ; BM1 om.²⁴ A1, B, BM1, R1 om.

بیان بادها

بادی که در بدن انسان حرکت میکند چون در پنج موضع میباشد پنج نام دارد :
 پران¹ اپان² همان³ اودان⁴ ویان⁵ پران حرکت آن⁶ از بینی است تا به انگشت پا، و
 دم زدن خاصیت این باد است. اپان حرکت این از نشستگاه است⁷ تا به عضو
 مخصوص و این دو⁸ باد⁹ گرد ناف هم¹⁰ حلقه زده اند¹¹ و باعث حیات همان است.
 همان در سینه و ناف حرکت میکند. اودان حرکت این از حلق است تا امّ الدماغ¹² و
 ویان¹³ ظاهر و باطن از این باد پر است .

¹ *prāṇa*² *apāna*³ *samāna*⁴ *udāna*⁵ *vyāna* : B.BM1.T بیان : R1 adds اول⁶ A1.BM1.R1 او⁷ T om.⁸ B1.T om.⁹ C om. ; A1.B add هم : R1 بر هم : BM1 add اند هم خلقه زده اند¹⁰ B.BM1.R1 om.¹¹ B1.T است¹² BM1,R1 add یعنی کپال¹³ BM1,T بیان and add که

بیان عوالم اربعه

عوالم¹ که جمیع مخلوقات را ناچار گذر بر آنست بطور² بعضی از صوفیه چهار است.³ ناسوت و ملکوت و جبروت و لاهوت و بعضی پنج میگویند و عالم مثال را داخل میکنند، و جمعی که عالم مثال را با عالم⁴ ملکوت یکی می انگارند چهار میگویند، و بطور⁵ فقرای هند اوستها⁶ که عبارت ازین عوالم اربعه باشد چهار اند.⁷ جاگرت⁸ و سپن⁹ و سکھپت¹⁰ و تریا.¹¹ جاگرت موافق¹² است به ناسوت که عالم ظاهر و عالم بیداری باشد، سپن موافق است به ملکوت که عالم ارواح و عالم خواب باشد، سکھپت¹³ موافق است به جبروت که¹⁴ در آن نقوش هر دو عالم و تمیز من و تو نباشد خواه چشم را کرده¹⁵ بینی خواه پوشیده، و بسیاری از فقرای¹⁶ هر دو قوم برین عالم¹⁷ مطلع نیستند،¹⁸ سید الطایفه استاد ابو القاسم جنید¹⁹ قدس الله²⁰ سره خبر داده که²¹ فرموده تصوف آن بود که ساعتی بنشیني بی تیمار. شیخ الاسلام گفت که²² بی تیمار چه بود، فرمود²³ یافت بی جستن و دیدار بی نگرستن، چه²⁴

¹ B.BM1.T عوالمی

² بتصور T

³ BI اند

⁴ A1.B.BM1.T om.

⁵ BI.T بقول

⁶ avasthā : BI,T اوستهات

⁷ B.BM2.C.D1,R1 است

⁸ jāgrat

⁹ svapna

¹⁰ susupti : BI,T سکھوپت

¹¹ turyā

¹² BI.T مناسب

¹³ BI.T سکھوپت

¹⁴ D1 adds عالم ارواح باشد

¹⁵ T پوشیده C : آکرده

¹⁶ BM2 adds هند و اسلام ; BM1 adds هند ; R1 adds این

¹⁷ A1.BM1,R1 om.

¹⁸ B adds چنانچه عالم ; BI,T add

¹⁹ BI.T add بغدادی

²⁰ B.BM1,R1 om.

²¹ T و

²² A1.BM1,R1 om.

²³ BM1 om. : B,R1 گفت ; BI,T add که

²⁴ A1.B.BM1,R1 که

بیننده در دیدار علت است، پس ساعتی بی تیار نشستن همین است که نقوش عالم ناسوت و ملکوت در آن ساعت بخاطر نگذرند. و نیز آنچه مولانای روم قدس الله سره فرموده اشاره²⁵ بهمین²⁶ معنی است:²⁷

خواهي که بيابي يك لحظه مجويش

خواهي که بداني يك لحظه سدانش²⁸

چون در نهانش جوئي دوري ز آشكارش

چون آشكار جوئي مجوئي از نهانش

چون ز آشكار و پنهان بيرون شوي بدهان

پاها دراز ميکن خوش خسپ 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 انمان از ناسوت به ملکوت و از ملکوت به جبروت و از

جبروت به لاهوت باشد این ترقی از²⁹ است و اگر حضرت حقیقه الحقایق که آنرا

³⁰ موخدان هند³¹ سن³² گویند از مرتبه لاهوت³³ نزول فرماید و از جبروت و

ملکوت بگذرد سیر او منتهی به عالم ناسوت میشود، و اینکه صوقیه مراتب نزول را

بعضی چهار و³⁴ بعضی پنج قرار داده اند اشاره باین³⁵ معنی است.

²⁵ T om.

²⁶ A1.B.BM1 باين : T om. بهمين معني است

²⁷ BM1 adds ربائي : C adds بيت : B.T adds نظم

²⁸ B.BM1.R1 add تا after تا

²⁹ A1.B.BM1,BM2.R1 او

³⁰ BI, T interchange and آنرا and موخدان هند

³¹ BI.T add آن را

³² *śūnya* : BI, T سون : B اوسن

³³ B.BM1.BM2.R1 هویت

³⁴ BI.T om.

³⁵ T بهمين

بیان آواز

و ناد¹ از همان نفس الرحمن است که بجهت² ایجاد باه لفظ کن ظاهر شد، آن آواز³ را فقراي هند سرستی⁴ نامند،⁵ و جمیع آوازا و صوتها و صداها از آن آواز⁶ پیدا گشته.

بیت

همه عالم سدای نغمه اوست⁷ که شنید این چنین صدای دراز و این آواز که ناد باشد نزد موخدان هند بر سه قسم است، اول اناهد⁸ یعنی آوازی که همیشه بود و هست و خواهد بود و صوتیه این آواز را آواز مطلق و سلطان الاذکار گویند و⁹ قدیم است و احساس مها اکس¹⁰ ازین است. و این آواز را در نیابند مگر اکابر¹¹ هر دو قوم. دوّم¹² آمت¹³ یعنی آوازی که از زدن چیزی بجیزی بی ترکیب الفاظ پیدا شود. سوم¹⁴ سبد¹⁵ که بترکیب الفاظ ظاهر¹⁶ شود و این¹⁷ آواز سبد¹⁸ را بسرستی¹⁹ مناسبت²⁰ است، و از همین آواز اسم اعظم که میان اهل اسلام است و کلمه که فقراي هند آن را بیدمکه²¹ گویند²² ظاهر شد،²³ و

¹ *nāda* : BI.T instead of آواز ناد و

² BI بوقت

³ A1.BM1 add ناد B و

⁴ *sarasvati* : R1 سروسوی

⁵ BI.T گویند

⁶ T ناد

⁷ BI.T هر کجا بشنوی چو نغمه اوست

⁸ *anāhata* : B اناهد

⁹ BI.T که

¹⁰ *mahākāśa*

¹¹ BI.T add آگاه

¹² BI.T دویم

¹³ *āhata*

¹⁴ T سوم

¹⁵ *śabda* : R1 شبد

¹⁶ BI.T پیدا

¹⁷ BI.T om.

¹⁸ R1 شبد

¹⁹ *sarasvati*

²⁰ T مناسب

²¹ *vedamukha*

²² A1.B.BM1 الف واو میم اول BI adds ا. م. و. T adds اول

²³ T شده

معنایی این امم اعظم آنست²⁴ که اوست صاحب سه صفت²⁵ ایجاد و ابقا و افناست ،
²⁶ و فتحه و ضمه و کسره که آن را اکار²⁷ اوکار²⁸ و مکار²⁹ گویند از همین ظاهر
 شده است.³¹ و مر³² این امم³³ 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
 بحت نیز درین ظاهر است.

²⁴B.BM1.R1 اینست

²⁵BI.T add که

²⁶A1.B.BM1 افنا

²⁷akāra

²⁸ukāra

²⁹BI.T om.

³⁰makāra

³¹BI.T om.

³²T.R1 om.

³³C adds اعظم

³⁴A1.B.BM1.R1 add است

³⁵BI.T هند

³⁶BI adds ما

³⁷A1.B.BM1.R1 باد

³⁸A1.B اکاس : BM1.R1 اکاس

بیان نور

نور سه قسم است. اگر بصفه¹ جلال ظاهر شود یا برنگ آفتاب است یا² برنگ یاقوت یا برنگ آتش، و اگر بصفه جمال ظاهر شود یا برنگ ماه است یا برنگ نقره یا برنگ مروارید یا برنگ آب، و نور ذات که منزه است از صفات آن را جز اولیای خدا که³ در حق ایشان فرموده: یهدی الله لئوره من یشاء، دیگری در نمی یابد، یعنی هدایت میکند الله تعالی هر کرا میخواهد بنور خود، و آن نور است که چون شخص⁴ در خواب شود⁵ یا چشم پوشیده بنشیند، نه بچشم بیند و نه بگوش شنود و نه بزبان گوید و نه به بیٹی بوید و نه بلامسه احساس کند، و⁶ در خواب همیشه⁷ این همه کارها بیکچیز کند و محتاج اعضاء و حواس ظاهری و روشنائی چراغ نباشد و باصره و سامعه و ذایقه و شامه و لامسه عین یکدیگر شوند و یکذات گردند، آن را نور ذات گویند. و آن نور خدا است.⁸ ایدوست فکر کن که چه گفتم که جای فر است و فکر است. و رسول⁹ صلی الله علیه و سلم در تعریف این فکر فرموده: تفکر ساعة خیر من عبادة¹⁰ سنة¹¹، یعنی این فکریست که ساعتی درین¹² بودن بهتر از عمل آدمی و پرست. و نوریکه از آیه کریمه: الله نور السموت و الارض، یعنی الله تعالی نور آسمانها و زمین¹³ است مفهوم میگردد آن را فقرای هند جوت سروپ¹⁴ و سدا پرکاس¹⁵ و سوم پرکاس¹⁶ گویند، یعنی این نور همیشه خود بخود روشن

¹T بصورت

²A1.B.R1 add برنگ طلا یا

³BI.T add حق سبحانه تعالی

⁴B.R1 شخصی

⁵T رود

⁶BI.T add حال آنکه

⁷A1 همراه T om.

⁸BI adds جلّ شانه

⁹BI.T add خدا

¹⁰B.BM1.T عمل

¹¹B.T القلب BM1 بالثقلین

¹²BI.T add فکر

¹³BI زمینها

¹⁴jotiḥsvarūpa : BI.T جوتی سروپ R1 : جوت سروپ

¹⁵BI.T سوا پرکاس

¹⁶somaprakāśa : BI.T ,C سپن پرکاس

¹⁷A1.B.BM1.T om.

¹⁸BI.T om

است خواه در¹⁷ عالم درو¹⁸ نماید خواه ننماید. چنانچه صوفیه نور را بمنور تفسیر میکنند و ایشان¹⁹ نیز بمنور تعبیر کرده اند. و ترجمه این آیه کریمه چنین²⁰ است: الله نور السموت و الارض²¹ یعنی²² الله تعالی نور آسمانها و زمین،²³ مثل نوره کمشکوة فیها مصباح²⁴ مثل نور او مانند طلّقه است که دران مصباح²⁵ باشد، المصباح فی زجاجة، و آن چراغ در شیشه بود، الزجاجة کاتها کوكب درّی، و شیشه گویا که ستاره در خشنده است که بوقد من شجرة مب ركة زيتونة لا شرقية و لا غربية افروخته شده است، آن²⁶ چراغ از درخت مبارك زيتوني²⁷ که نه شرقی است و نه غربی، و یکاد زیتها یضی و لو لم تمسه نار، نزدیک است که روغن آن زیتون مبارك روشنی بخشد با آنکه آتش بآن²⁸ روغن نرسیده باشد و نور علی نور²⁹ نورست بر نور، یهدی الله لنوره من یشاء و³⁰ راه مینماید الله تعالی بنور خود شخصی³¹ را³² که میخواهد. انا آنچه³³ فقیر فهمیده این باشد که³⁴ مراد از مشکوة که طاق باشد عالم اجسام است و مراد از مصباح که چراغ باشد نور ذات است و مراد از شیشه روح و³⁵ آن شیشه که روح است³⁶ مانند ستاره در خشنده است که از روشنی³⁷ چراغ این شیشه هم مانند چراغ می نماید، افروخته شده است آن چراغ که³⁸ عبارت از نور

¹⁹ BI adds اهل هند in the parenthesis

²⁰ BI.T این چنین است instead of که

²¹ BI.T add چنین است

²² BI.T که

²³ BI زمینها

²⁴ BI.T add و

²⁵ B.B1.C خراغ

²⁶ BI.T om. آن چراغ

²⁷ BI.T است: BM1 adds زيتون

²⁸ BI.T بآن روغن باو instead of

²⁹ A1 om.

³⁰ B.BM1.D1 om.

³¹ BI.T هز

³² BI.T کرا

³³ BI.T add که

³⁴ Most of mss. omit این باشد که

³⁵ BI.T om. و آن شیشه که روح

³⁶ BI.T add شیشه که روح است B adds که

³⁷ BI.T add آن

³⁸ BI.T om.

بیان رؤیت

رؤیت خدای تعالی را موخدان هند ساچھات کار¹ گویند یعنی دیدن خدا بچشم سر.² بدانکه در دیدن خدای تعالی در دنیا و آخرت بچشم ظاهر و باطن هیچ یکی از انبیاء علیه السلام و اولیاء کامل قدس الله سره³ شکی و شبہی⁴ و اختلافی⁵ نیست⁶ و جمیع اهل کتاب و کاملان و بینایان هر ملت باین معنی ایمان دارند چه اهل قرآن و چه اهل بید⁷ و چه اهل توریت و انجیل و زبور. و از نافھمیدگان و ناینایان⁸ ملت خود بود هر که انکار رؤیت نماید،⁹ ذات مقدسی که بر همه چیز قادر باشد در¹⁰ نمودن خود هم چرا قدرت نداشته باشد و این مسئله را علماء اهل¹¹ سنت و الجماعت¹² خوب بی¹³ پرده¹⁴ اند. اما اگر ذات صرف¹⁵ را گفته اند که توان دید این محال است چه ذات بحت¹⁶ لطیف است و بی تعین¹⁷ و متعین نگردد و در پرده لطافت جلوه گر بشود¹⁸ توان دید و چنین رؤیت محال باشد. و آنچه گفته اند که در آخرت توان دید و در دنیا توان دید اصلی ندارد¹⁹ هرگاه²⁰ کمال²¹ قدرت درو هست پس²² هر طور و هر جا و هر گاه که خواهد قادر بر نمودن خود است²³ و

¹ *sākṣatkāra*² BM1 adds یعنی بچشم باطن و چشم سر³ A1,R1 سرهم: BM1 سرارهم⁴ T شبہتی⁵ BI,T om.⁶ T ندارند⁷ *veda*⁸ T ناقصان⁹ BI,T add چه¹⁰ BM1. T بر¹¹ BI,T om.¹² B,BM1,T جماعت¹³ T بی¹⁴ B,BM1,BM2,R1 پرده: BI,T add گفته¹⁵ BI,T بحت¹⁶ B adds و صرف و BM1,BM2,C,R1,T adds صرف¹⁷ T om. است: BI,T add و بی تعین¹⁸ BI,T add پس¹⁹ BI adds چون: T adds زیرا که²⁰ R1,T om.²¹ R1,T مجال²² BI,T om.²³ A1,B,BM1,R1 هست

هرکه اینجا ندید مشکل²⁴ که تواند در آنجا دید ، چنانچه خود در آیه کریمه فرموده :
و²⁵ من كان في هذه أعمى فهو في الآخرة أعمى ، 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 معتزله و شیعه باشند در این مسئله خطای
عظیم کرده اند . چرا که اگر میگفتند که دیدن ذات بحت ممکن نیست بهر حال
صورتی داشت و چون²⁹ اقسام رؤیت را منکر شده اند این نهایت خطاست بجهت³⁰
آنکه³¹ اکثری از کاملان³² انبیاء³³ و اولیاء³⁴ خدا را بچشم 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 بر رؤیت 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 بهره

²⁸ A1,B,BM1,R1 بود

²⁹ BI.T add ایشان جمیع

³⁰ BI.T زیراکه

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 نارسیدگان

⁴⁴ BI.T om.

⁴⁵ B.T جمعیت

⁴⁶ BI.T om. رسول صلی الله علیه و سلم در جواب

جواب که عائشه صدیقه وقتی که⁴⁶ پرسیده بود⁴⁷ که هل رانت ربك یعنی ایتا⁴⁸ دیدی تو پروردگار خود را فرمود: نور آتی اراه یعنی نور است، که⁴⁹ می بینم او را.⁵⁰ آنها این حدیث را نور آتی راه خوانده اند یعنی نور است چگونه بینم او را لکن این دلیل نادیدن پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم نمیشود، اگر معنی، اول گیریم اشاره برویت⁵¹ اوست در پرده نور، و اگر چنین خوانده شود که نور است چگونه بینم او را اشاره بذات بحت و بیرنگ است. این اختلاف عبارتی نیست بلکه اعجاز نبویست که در یک حدیث دو مسئله بیان توان کرد. و آیه کریمه: وجوه یومئذ ناضرة الی ربها ناظره، یعنی دران روز⁵² روها تر و تازه خواهند بود و بیننده بسوی پروردگار خود برهانی ظاهر است برای⁵³ رویت⁵⁴ چه این دیدن متعلق بلفظ رب شده است که او را از تعیین ربویت میتوان دید⁵⁵ و آیه کریمه: لا تدركه الابصار و هو یدرك الابصار و هو اللطیف الخیر، اشاره به بیرنگیست یعنی نمی بینند بصرها⁵⁶ در مرتبه اطلاق و بیرنگی و او همه را می بیند و او در نهایت لطافت و بیرنگیست.⁵⁷ و در این آیه کریمه اسم هو⁵⁸ واقع شده اشاره⁵⁹ به نادیدن ذات بحت است. دیدن خدای تعالی پنج قسم است. قسم اول دیدن⁶⁰ در خواب بچشم دل، قسم⁶¹ دوم دیدن در بیداری بچشم سر، قسم⁶² سوم⁶³ در میان خواب و بیداری⁶⁴

⁴⁶ BI.T om. وقتی که

از حضرت رسول صلعم BI.T add: پرسیده بود instead of پرسید BI.T

⁴⁸ T آیا

⁴⁹ B.BM1.R1 om.

⁵⁰ A1.BM1.R1 add و

⁵¹ T برویت: BI,T add تام

⁵² BI.T روزیکه

⁵³ BI بر

⁵⁴ BI برویدگار جلّ شانہ و BI adds: رویت BI

چه این دیدن متعلق بلفظ رب شده است که او را اس تعیین ربویت میتوان دید BI.T om.

⁵⁶ B,BM1,T add او را

⁵⁷ A1.T است بیرنگی

⁵⁸ BI.T add که

⁵⁹ T om.

⁶⁰ BI.T om.

⁶¹ BI.T om.

⁶² BI.T om.

⁶³ T سوم

⁶⁴ BI.T interchange خواب and بیداری

که آن بیخودی⁶⁵ خاص است قسم⁶⁶ چهارم در يك تعین خاص دیدن ، قسم⁶⁷ پنجم دیدن يك ذات واحد است در کثرات تعینات⁶⁸ عوالم ظاهر و باطن ، و این چنین دید⁶⁹ محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه و سلم در وقتیکه خود نبود در میان و رأی 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

⁶⁶R1.T om.

⁶⁷BI.T om دیدن قسم

⁶⁸B.BM1.R1 add و

⁶⁹R1 add : دیدار رسول

⁷⁰T adds و کمال شهود و کمال عرفان

⁷¹BI.T add و

⁷²BI.T جا

⁷³BI.T وقت

بیان اسماء الله تعالی

اسماء² الله³ تعالی⁴ بی نهایت است و از حدّ حصر بیرون. ذات مطلق و بحت و صرف و غیب الغیب و حضرت واجب الوجود⁵ را بزبان فقراي هند سن⁶ نرگن⁷ و نراکار⁸ و نرنجن⁹ و ست¹⁰ چت¹¹ آتند¹² گویند، اگر علم را باو نسبت دهند که اهل اسلام آن¹³ را علم میگویند فقراي هند آن را چیتن¹⁴ نامند، و اسم¹⁵ الحی¹⁶ را اننت¹⁷ گویند، و¹⁸ قادر را سمرته¹⁹، مرید²⁰ را سوتنت²¹، و سمیع را سروتا²²، و بصیر را درشتا²³ خوانند.²⁴ و اگر کلام را بآن ذات مطلق نسبت دهند وکتا²⁵ خوانند²⁶، و الله را اوم²⁷، و هو را سه²⁸، و فرشته را بزبان²⁹ ایشان دیوتا³⁰ گویند، و مظهر اتم را اوتار³¹ نامند، و اوتار آن باشد که قدرت الهی آنچه درو

¹ بدانکه BI, T add

² BM1 om.

³ A1, B, BM1 om.

⁴ A1, B, C om. ; BM1, C add را

⁵ A1, B, BM1, R1 om. واجب الوجود

⁶ śūnya ; BI, T BM2, T add و بسن

⁷ nirguna ; BI, T نرگن

⁸ nirākāra ; BI, T نراکار

⁹ nirañjana

¹⁰ sat ; BM1, T add و ; R1 adds آتند

¹¹ cit ; BI, T و آتند

¹² ānanda

¹³ BI, T او

¹⁴ caitanya ; BI, T چتن

¹⁵ BM2, T om.

¹⁶ BI الحق ; T حقّ

¹⁷ ananta

¹⁸ BI, T om.

¹⁹ samartha

²⁰ BI, T om. مرید را سوتنت

²¹ svatantra

²² śrotā

²³ draṣṭā

²⁴ Most of mss. om.

²⁵ waktā ; BM2, T بکتا

²⁶ BI, T نامند

²⁷ aum ; A1, R1 اون

²⁸ sah ; BM1 سنه ; D2 شیو

²⁹ BM1, T om. بزبان ایشان

³⁰ devatā

³¹ avatāra

ظاهر شود³² در هیچ یکی از افراد نوع او³³ در آن وقت ظاهر نتواند³⁴ شد،³⁵ و وحی را³⁶ آکاسیانی³⁷ نامند، و آکاس بانی بجهت آن گویند که پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم فرموده که صعب ترین وحیها³⁸ بر من³⁹ وحی است که میشنوم⁴⁰ مانند آواز جرس یا⁴¹ آواز زنبور و چون این آواز از آکاس ظاهر میشود آکاس بانی میگویند، و کتب آسمانی را⁴² یید گویند، و خوبان جتّیان را که پری باشند دیت⁴³ و دانوان⁴⁴ را که دیو و شیاطین اند راجهس⁴⁵ گویند، و آدمی را منکھه⁴⁶ و ولی را رکھیسر⁴⁷، و نبی را مهاسده⁴⁸ نامند.

و از وجود او بنظر آید³² BI adds

انسانی³³ T

نبوده³⁴ BI; T نشود

باشد³⁵ T

که بر پیغمبر نازل شود³⁶ BI, T add

³⁷ *ākāśavāṇī*

این وحیها³⁸ BI, T; اوقات³⁸ B

وقت³⁹ BI, T add

وحی را⁴⁰ BI, T add

مانند⁴¹ BI, T add

⁴² *veda*

گویند⁴³ BI, T add; پدران آنها⁴³ B adds; A1, BM1 om.; چها⁴³ C; پچها⁴³ T; پچها⁴³ BI; *daitya*

C نامند

و بدان آنها⁴⁴ BI, T; *dānava*

⁴⁵ *rākṣas*

⁴⁶ *manuṣya*

رکھیسر⁴⁷ A1; رکھی⁴⁷ BI, T; *riśiśvara*

⁴⁸ *mahāsiddha*

بیان نبوت و ولایت

انبیاء بر سه قسم اند، یکی آنکه خدا را دیده باشند بچشم¹، خواه بچشم² ظاهر³ خواه بچشم باطن⁴ دیگر آنکه آواز خدا شنیده باشند خواه آواز صرف، خواه آواز مرکب از حروف⁵، دیگر آنکه فرشته را دیده باشند یا آواز فرشته را شنیده باشند. ⁶ نبوت و ولایت هم⁷ بر سه قسم است. یکی نبوت و ولایت تنزیهی، دیگر⁸ نبوت و ولایت تشبیهی، دیگر⁹ نبوت و ولایت جامع التشبیه و التنزیه.¹⁰ نبوت تنزیهی چون نبوت¹¹ نوح علیه السلام که خدا را بتنزیه دید و دعوت کرد و امت بجهت تنزیه ایمان تیاوردند¹² مگر قلیلی و همه در بحر فنا غرق شدند چون زاهدان زمان ما که بتنزیه خدا مریدان را خوانند و هیچکس از ان مریدان عارف نشود و از قول آنها نفعی نبرد¹³ و در راه سلوک و طریقت فنا و هلاک گردند¹⁴ و بخدا نرسند.¹⁵ و¹⁶ نبوت تشبیهی چون نبوت موسی است علیه السلام که خود خدای¹⁷ را در آتش درخت دید و در¹⁸ ابر سخن¹⁹ شنید و²⁰ اکثری²¹ امت²² از تقلید موسی در

¹ BM2.R1 om; B, BM1 ظاهری

² R1 adds سر خوه بچشم دل و

³ B, BM1 باطن; BI, T, A1 add خواه بچشم

⁴ BM1, BM2, C, R1 om.; B adds و

⁵ BI, T add کلمه

⁶ BI, T add و

⁷ BI, T om.; R1 نیز

⁸ BI, T دویم; B دویم

⁹ BI سوم; T سیوم

¹⁰ BI adds اول

¹¹ BI, T add حضرت

¹² BI, T نیارورد

¹³ T om. از قول آنها نفعی نبرد

¹⁴ BI, T گردد

¹⁵ BI, T نرسد

¹⁶ BI, T دویم

¹⁷ BI, T خدا; C adds خود

¹⁸ BI, T از

¹⁹ T حق; BI adds سخن

²⁰ BI, T om. و امت

²¹ BI اکثر; D1, D2, BM2, T om.

²² B, BM1, BM2 om.; D1 امت اکثر; T امتی اکثری

²³ BI, T om.

تشبه افتاده گوساله 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 لهو و لعب گرفتار باشند³¹ و پیروء 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 بود

³³ دیگر³⁴ نبوت جامع التزیه و التشبیه است،³⁵ یعنی جمع کننده تزیه و تشبیه و آن نبوت کامل³⁶ نبوت³⁷ محمدیست صلّم که تزیه و تشبیه³⁸ مطلق و مقید بیرنگ³⁹ و رنگ⁴⁰ را یکی⁴¹ کرده و⁴² اشاره باین مرتبه است⁴³ آیه کریمه: ⁴⁴ لیس کمثلہ شیء و هو المسمیع⁴⁵ 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 را; D1 adds

²⁶ B, BM1 تشبیه

²⁷ BI, T رفته اند instead of رفتند

²⁸ A1 adds صورتهای

²⁹ B, BM1, R1 adds صورتهای; C, D1 add صورتهای

³⁰ A1, B, BM1, C, D2 om.; BM2, R1 om.

³¹ BI, T باشد A1, B, BM1 باند

³² BI, T adds قطعه D1; رباعی BM1, D2; نظم

³³ BI و هم D2, T add م؛ B adds و; C, R1, T adds همیشه instead of همان T: بود و

³⁴ BI سوم T مسموم

³⁵ BI, T om.

³⁶ BI om.

³⁷ BI, T om.

³⁸ BI, T om. تزیه و تشبیه

³⁹ BI, T رنگ

⁴⁰ BI, T بیرنگ و نزدیک 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 المسمیع

⁴⁷ BI, T add و این

شنوایی و بینایی اشاره به تشبیه 48 و این مرتبه بلند 49 جامعیت 50 و خاتمت 51 که مخصوص 52 آنرور 53 صلی 54 الله علیه و 55 سلم 56 همه عالم را از مشرق 57 و 58 مغرب 59 فرو گرفته ، و نبوت تنزیهی محروم است از نبوت تشبیهی و 60 نبوت تشبیهی عاریست از نبوت تنزیهی،

و نبوت جامع شامل تنزیه و تشبیه است ، چون هو الاول و الاخر و الظاهر و الباطن. اینچنین 61 ولایت مخصوص است بکاملان این امت که حق تعالی در وصف ایشان فرموده 62 کتم خیر امة اخرجت لالناس یعنی بهترین امتیان 63 ایشان اند که جمع کننده تشبیه و تنزیه اند ، یعنی 64 در امت محمدی چنانچه در زمان پیغمبر ما صلی الله علیه و سلم از اولیاء ابو بکر و عمر و عثمان و علی و 65 حسن 66 و 67 حسین 68 و 69

48 BI, T add بود; A1, B است

49 BI adds ترین و اعلی ترین مرتبه

50 A1, B, D1 جامع است

51 BM1, C, D2, T خاتمت; B خاتمی; A1 خاتم; BI, T add است

52 BI, T add بذات

53 B, BM1, C, D1, D2, R1 add است

54 C, T om. to سلم

55 B adds و آله

56 BI, T add است پس رسول ما

57 BI, T شرق

58 BI, T تا

59 BI, T غرب

60 BM1, BM2, D1, D2, C om. to تشبیهی

61 BI, T همچین

62 A1, BM1, D1, R1 add که; C adds آیه

63 T امتها

64 BI, T om. یعنی آنست C: یعنی در امت محمدی

65 A1, B, BM2 om.; B adds حضرت مرتضی علی ولی خرافت چهر پیر را عطا شد اول امام

66 A1, BM2, D2 om.;

67 B دویم امام

68 BM1, BM2, D1 om.; B adds صلی الله علیه و سلم

69 B سیوم

70 B, BM2 om.; T تسعه

71 B om.

72 B, R4 om. to طابعین

73 BI, T add از آنجمله

سنة⁷⁰ 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 سري السقطي⁷⁷ و بايزيد بسطامي و استاد ابو القاسم جنیدی⁷⁸ و سهل بن عبد الله التستري⁷⁹ و⁸⁰ ابو سعید خزاز و⁸¹ روم و⁸² ابو الحسين النوري و⁸³ ابراهیم خواص و ابو بکر شبلي و ابو بکر واسطی⁸⁴ و امثال ایشان . و در زمان دیگر چون ابو سعید ابو الخیر و شیخ الاسلام خواجه عبد الله انصاري و شیخ احمد جام و محمد معشوق طوسي و احمد غزالی و ابو القاسم گرگانی،⁸⁵ و در زمان دیگر چون پیر من شیخ محی⁸⁶ الدین عبد القادر⁸⁷ جیلانی⁸⁸ و ابو مدین المغربي 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 قرنی ; BI, T add : و مثل اویس ; BM1 add : و مثل او

⁷⁵ A1, B, BM1 om. ; R4 adds : و رحمت الله عليه ; BI, T adds : غیره ; D1 adds : مثل او ; R1 adds

مثل اویس

⁷⁶ R1 adds : و ابو الحسن نوري

⁷⁷ BM1 سقطي

⁷⁸ T جنید

⁷⁹ BM1 تستري

⁸⁰ A1 om. to خزاز

⁸¹ A1, R1 om. to روم

⁸² A1, R1 om. to النوري

⁸³ A1, R1 om. to ابراهیم

⁸⁴ A1 adds : و ابراهیم خواص

⁸⁵ T گرگانی

⁸⁶ A1, R1 om. to الدین

⁸⁷ A1 adds : محی الدین

⁸⁸ A1 جیلی

⁸⁹ R1 مولانا

⁹⁰ A1, BM1, R1 add : محمد

⁹¹ T adds : حضرت شمس تبریز و سید قاسم انوار و

سید همن و خواجه حافظ سیراز و

⁹² T نقشبندی

⁹³ BI, T دیگر

عبد الرحمن جامي، و در زمان ما⁹³ چون شيخ من جنيد ثاني شاه مير و استاد من
ميان باري و مرشد من ملا شاه و شاه محمد دلربا و شيخ⁹⁴ طيب سرهندي و⁹⁵ ميان⁹⁶
بيراگي⁹⁷

⁹⁴ A1,B,R1 om. to و

⁹⁵ BR1,T om.

⁹⁶ BI باوا T om.

⁹⁷ B,T om.

(13)

بیان برهماند

مراد از برهماند کل و تقید ظهور حضرت¹ وجود² است بصورت کزه مدور است³ و چون او را بهیچ طرف میل و تعلق نیست و نسبت او با همه برابر است⁴ و همه پیدایش و نمایش در میان این ست⁵ لهذا موحدان هند این را برهماند گفته اند⁶

(14)

بیان جهات

موحدان اسلام هر يك از مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب و فوق و تحت را جهتي اعتبار نموده شش جهت گفته اند و موحدان هند جهات را ده میگویند یعنی مابین مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب را نیز جهتي اعتبار کرده⁷ دس⁸ دشا⁹ می نامند.

¹ T adds واجب

² T الوجود

³ BI, T om.

⁴ T است

⁵ T, R1 است

⁶ BI, T گویند خدا; B adds مرجعه خدا; H1 یعنی بیضه خدا

⁷ BI, T نموده; B, D1 add اند

⁸ *daśa* BI, T ده; A1 دسا

⁹ *diś*; BM2, R1, BM2 دسا

بیان آمانها

آمانها¹ که آن را گگن² میگویند بطور اهل هند هشت است، هفت ازان مقرر هفت کواکب سیاره است که زحل و مشتری و مریخ و شمس و زهره و عطارد و قمر باشند و بزبان³ هند این هفت ستاره را⁴ سنیچر⁵ و برهسپت⁶ و منگل⁷ و سورج⁸ و سکر⁹ و بده¹⁰ و چندرمان¹¹ میگویند. و آمانی که جمیع ستاره ها¹² ثوابت¹³ در آن است¹⁴ آن را هشتم میدانند و همین آمان را حکماء فلک هشتم و فلک ثوابت میگویند که بزبان اهل شرع کرسی است، و سع کرسیه السموت و الارض یعنی آمانها و زمینها¹⁵ در کرسی میگنجد و نهم که ایشان¹⁶ آن را مهاکاس دانسته¹⁷ داخل آمانها نکرده اند بجهت¹⁸ آنست¹⁹ که²⁰ او²¹ محیط همه است و کرسی و آمانها و زمینها²² را احاطه²³ است.

¹ B, BM1, D1, D2, R1 آمان

² gagana; BI لگن

³ BI, T add اهل

⁴ BI, T add هفت نچتر یعنی

⁵ sanaiscara

⁶ brhaspati; R1 برهسپت

⁷ mangala

⁸ sūrya

⁹ śukra; BM1 شکر

¹⁰ budha; B بوده; R1 بده

¹¹ candramas; BI, T چندرماناس, D2, R1 چندرمان

¹² BI, T om.

¹³ A1, B, BM2, D1, D2 ثابت; BM1 می ثابت; BM2 adds است

¹⁴ BI, T اند

¹⁵ T, D1 زمین

¹⁶ BI, T om.

¹⁷ BI, T میگویند

¹⁸ BI, T جهت

¹⁹ BI, T om.

²⁰ BI, T آنکه

²¹ BI, T آن

²² T زمین

²³ BI, T add کرده

بیان زمین

زمین نزد اهل هند هفت طبقه است که آن را سپت تل¹ میگویند و هر طبقه² این³ نام دارد، اتل⁴ بتل⁵ سوتل⁶ تلاتل⁷ مهاتل⁸ رساتل⁹ پاتال¹⁰ و¹¹ بطور¹² اهل اسلام نیز زمین هفت¹³ است بموجب آیه کریمه : الله الَّذِي خَلَقَ سَبْعَ سَمَوَاتٍ وَ مِنَ الْاَرْضِ مِثْلَهُنَّ يَعْنِي اللهُ تَعَالَى اَنْ خَدَائِيسَتِ كِه خَلَقَ گِردانید هفت آمانها را و از زمین هم مانند آن آمانها.

¹ *sapta-tala* ; BI سپت تال : A1.B,BM1.BM2 : سپت پت : T سپت پاتال : D1 سپت دیپ

² طبقه T

³ BI,T add يك

⁴ *atala* ; BM2 تل

⁵ *vitala*

⁶ *sutala*

⁷ *talātala* ; R1 مهاتل

⁸ *mahātala* ; R1 تلاتل

⁹ *rasātala* ; BI,T add و

¹⁰ *pātāla*

¹¹ BI,T om.

¹² T بنظر

¹³ T طبقه

بیان قسمت زمین

ربع مسکون را حکماء بهفت طبقه¹ قسمت کرده اند و هفت اقلیم میگویند و اهل هند آن را سبت دیپ² می نامند. و اهل³ هند این هفت طبقه زمین را بر روی زمین⁴ م مثل پوست پیاز نمیدانند بلکه براتب⁵ مثل پایه های نزد بآن تصور میکنند. و هفت کوه را که اهل هند آنها را سبت کلاچل⁷ گویند برگرد هر زمینی کوهی را محیط میدانند و نامهای⁸ کوه ها⁹ اینست. ¹⁰ اول سمیرو¹¹ دوم همونت¹² سوم¹³ همکوت¹⁴ چهارم هموان¹⁵ پنجم نکهده¹⁶ ششم پارجاتر¹⁷ هفتم کیلاس¹⁸. چنانچه در آیه کریمه : و¹⁹ الجبال اوتادا، واقع است یعنی گردانیدیم²⁰ کوه ها را میخهای زمین. و بر گرد هر یکی از آن هفت کوه هفت دریا اند که محیط هر کوه اند و سبت سمندر²¹ میگویند محیط هر یکی از آن هفت کوه میدانند²². و نامهای این هفت سمندر²³ این اند، اول

¹ Most of mss. om.² *sapta-dvīpa*³ BI, T om. اهل هند⁴ B, BM1, BM2, T om.⁵ T om.⁶ A1, BM2, R1 کنند; T adds دیپ (jambu-dvīpa) و آنها را جنودیپ

(plakṣadvīpa) و پلکه دیپ (śāka-dvīpa) و سگردیپ (suktimal? dvīpa) و سکتمل دیپ (kuśa dvīpa) و کشور دیپ

میخوانند (devakar? dvīpa) و دیوکردیپ

⁷ *kulācala*⁸ T adds این هفت⁹ T adds را چنین مینامند¹⁰ T om.¹¹ *sumeru*¹² BI, T سموت¹³ T سوم¹⁴ *himakūta*¹⁵ *himawān*; BI, T همون¹⁶ *niṣadha*; BI, T مکده; BM2 گنده¹⁷ *pāriyātra*¹⁸ *kailāsa*¹⁹ B, BM1, T add جعلنا²⁰ BI in parenthesis²¹ *sapta-samudra*²² BI, T om. محیط هر یکی از آن کوه میدانند²³ BI, T دریا; BM1, R1 سندر

لون سمندر²⁴ یعنی دریای²⁵ شور، دَوم آنچه زس سمندر²⁶ یعنی دریای آب نیشکر، سیوم²⁷ سرا سمندر²⁸ یعنی دریای شراب، چهارم گهرت سمندر²⁹ یعنی دریای روغن زرد، پنجم دده سمندر³⁰ یعنی دریای جفرا، ششم کپیر سمندر³¹ یعنی دریای شیر،³² هفتم سوادجل³³ سمندر³⁴ یعنی دریای آب زلال.³⁵ و بودن دریاها³⁶ بعدد هفت از این آیه کریمه: ³⁷ و لو انّ ما فی الارض من شجرة اقلام و البحر بمده من بعده سبعة ابجر ما نفدت کلمت الله، ظاهر³⁸ میشود یعنی اگر³⁹ بدرستیکه از درختان که بر زمین اند قلمها شوند⁴⁰ و⁴¹ دریاها⁴² سیاهی شوند تمام نمیشود کلمات خدا یعنی مقدرات خدا و در هر زمینی و کوهی و دریایی اقسام مخلوقات هستند. و زمین و کوه و دریا که فوق⁴³ زمینها و کوهها و دریاها است بطور محققان⁴⁴ هند آن را سرگ⁴⁵ خوانند که بهشت و جنت باشد. و زمین و دریا که تحت همه زمینها و کوهها و دریاهاست آن را نرک⁴⁶ 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 سمدر

²⁵ B om. ; B.BM1.R1 add آب

²⁶ ikṣurasa-samudra : B1 سمدر A1.BM1 نرس A1 با نچهرس

²⁷ T سموم

²⁸ surā-samudra : A1.BM1 سرا سمدر

²⁹ ghyta-samudra : BM1 گهرت سمدر

³⁰ dadhi-samudra : A1.BM1 سمدر

³¹ kṣīra-samudra : A1.BM1 سمدر

³² BM1.T شیرین

³³ suwādjala : B جلمواد

³⁴ BI.T om. ; A1.R1 سمدر

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 شود B.BM1 add و دریاها 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 آسمان را که مقرر⁴⁹ هفت ستاره اند میگویند که بر گرد بهشت میگردند نه بر بالای بهشت. و سقف بهشت را من آکاس میدانند که عرش باشد و زمین بهشت را کرسی.

⁴⁹ این BI.T add

بیان عالم برزخ

پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم فرموده : من مات فقد قام قیامته یعنی شخصیکه مرد پس تحقیق¹ که قائم شد قیامت او . و بعد از موت آتما که روح باشد از بدن عنصری مفارقت نموده بی تحلل زمان بیدن مکت² که آن را سوچهم سریر³ گویند در می آید و آن بدن لطیف است که از عمل صورت گرفته باشد . خواه⁴ عمل نیک⁵ خواه⁶ عمل بد⁷ و بعد از سوال و جواب بی درنگ و⁸ توقف اهل بهشت را به بهشت و اهل دوزخ را بدوزخ میبرند موافق این آیه کریمه : فاما الذین شقوا ففی النار لهم فیها زفر و شقیق خلدین فیها زفر و شقیق الخالدین فیها ما دامت السموت و الارض الا ما شاء ربک ان ربک فعال لما یرید و اما الذین سعدوا ففی الجنة خلدین فیها ما دامت السموت و الارض الا ما شاء ربک عطاء غیر محدودا آنانکه بد بخت شده اند در آتش اند مر ایشان را در آتش فریاد سخت¹⁰ و ناله و زاری، 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 جاویدان¹¹ تا¹² باشند آسمانها و زمینها مگر تا وقتیکه خواهد پروردگار تو که آنها را از آنجا بر آرد که¹³ بخشش او بی نهایت است. بر آوردن از دوزخ¹⁴ آن¹⁵ باشد که پیش از برطرف 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 زمان لیس فیها احد ذالك بعد ما یمسکون فیها احقابا یعنی می آید بر دوزخ زمانی که نباشد هیچکس از دوزخیان در آن بعد از آنکه مدت طویل در آن مانده باشند. و بر آوردن اهل بهشت را از بهشت آن باشد که پیش از بر طرف شدن آسمانها و زمینها

¹ R1.T بتحقیق

² mukti

³ sūkṣma-sarira

⁴ BI.T om.: BM1 add از

⁵ BI.T add صورت نیک

⁶ BI.T و A1.R1 add از

⁷ BI.T add را صورت بد

⁸ BI.T add بی

⁹ A1.B.BM1,BM2,R1 om.

¹⁰ BI.T om.

¹¹ BI.T تا جاویدان باشند B همیشه

¹² BI.T add هنگامیکه

¹³ BI.T و

¹⁴ T om.

¹⁵ T adds جا آن

اگر¹⁶ خواهد ایشان را در فردوس اعلی در آرد که عطای او بی نهایت¹⁷ است و¹⁸
ازین آیه کریمه¹⁹ : و رضوان من الله اکبر ذلك هو الفوز العظيم یعنی الله تعالی را
بهشتی است بزرگتر از بهشتها که اهل هند آن را بیکنته²⁰ گویند و این بزرگترین
رستگاریمست²¹

¹⁶ BI adds خدای : T adds خدای

¹⁷ A1 شده ثابت

¹⁸ BI.T add نیز : B.BM1 add شده ثابت : R1 adds است

¹⁹ BI.T add شده ثابت

²⁰ *vaikuntha*

²¹ R1 بطور موخدان هند : BI.T add رستگار اظیم است

بیان قیامت

بطور موحدان هند اینست که بعد از بودن در دوزخ و بهشت¹ مدتهای طولیل که² بگذرد ماهرلی شود که عبارت از قیامت کبری³ که از آیه کریمه : فاذا جاءت الطامة الكبرى یعنی وقتیکه بیاید قیامت کبری مفهوم⁴ میشود و از این آیه⁵ معلوم میشود و نفخ فی الصور فصعق من فی السموت و من فی الارض الا من شاء الله یعنی⁶ دمیده میشود⁷ مور⁸ پس بیهوش میشود هرکه در آمانها و زمینها⁹ ست مگر شخصی را که خواسته باشد خدای تعالی از بیهوش شدن نگاه دارد و آن جماعت عارفان باشد که محفوظ اند از بیهوشی و بیخبری¹⁰ در دنیا و¹¹ آخرت و بعد از بر طرف شدن آمانها و زمینها و فانی شدن دوزخها و بهشتها و تمام شدن مدت عمر برهماند¹² و نبودن برهماند اهل دوزخ و بهشت¹³ را مکت¹⁴ خواهد شد یعنی هر دو در حضرت ذات مستهلك و محو شوند¹⁵

¹ Bl.T add چون² Bl.T om.³ Bl.T add است⁴ T معلوم⁵ Bl.T add نیز⁶ Bl.T add وقتیکه⁷ B.BM1.R1.T add در⁸ B.R1.T صور BM1 صورتاش⁹ BM1.T زمین¹⁰ Bl.T add هم¹¹ Bl.T add در هم¹² A1.R1 BM2 barmhA: برهماند¹³ Bl.T interchange and دوزخ بهشت¹⁴ mukt¹⁵ Bl.T add بموجب این آیه کل من علیها فان و یبقی وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاکرام

مکت عبارت از استهلاك و محو شدن تعینات باشد در حضرت ذات که از آیه کریمه و رضوان من الله اکبر ذلك هو الفوز العظيم ظاهر² میشود³ و داخل شدن در رضوان اکبر که فردوس اعلی باشد رستگاری⁴ بزرگ است که مکت باشد و مکت بر سه قسم است⁵ اول جیون مکت⁶ یعنی رستگاری در زندگانی⁷ جیون مکت⁸ آنست که در ایام حیات خود⁹ بدولت عرفان و شناسائی حق¹⁰ رستگار و خلاص باشد و در همین جهان همه چیز را یکی بیند و یکی داند و اعمال و افعال و حرکات و سکنتات 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 صوفیه¹¹ آن را عالم کبیر¹² گفته اند و صورت کلیت خداست بمنزله بدن جسمانی، خدا،¹³ و¹⁴ عنصر اعظم که مهالکاس باشد بمنزله سوچهم سریر یعنی بدن لطیف و ابدی¹⁵ خدا و ذات خدا بمنزله روح آن بدن، و آن را یک شخص¹⁶ دانسته¹⁷ ذره¹⁸ و¹⁹ جنسی را²⁰ با عوالم ظاهر و باطن سوای ذات²¹ یگانه²² آن بی همتا نبیند و نداند

¹ mukti² T ظهور³ T میکند⁴ T رستگاری⁵ B, BM1, R1 add قسم⁶ jivanmukti⁷ B, BM1, R1 زندگی⁸ BI, T add نزد ایشان⁹ A1, B, BM1, R1 om.¹⁰ BI, T add تعالی¹¹ BI صوفیای : BI, T add کرام¹² BI, T کبری¹³ BI, T add گرداند¹⁴ BI, T om.¹⁵ BI, T om. و ابدی¹⁶ BI, T add واحد N معین¹⁷ BI, T add از¹⁸ BI adds تا بکوه¹⁹ BI om. و جنسی را²⁰ T om.²¹ B, BM1, BM2, C, D1, R1 om.²² A1 om. : D1 adds را

چنانکه²³ يك انسان که اورا عالم صغير گفته اند باختلاف عضوهاي²⁴ مختلفه متکثره
يك فرد است و بکثرت اعضاء²⁵ او متعدد نيست آن ذات واحد را نیز بکثرت
تعينات متعدد نشناسد.²⁶ چنانچه شيخ سعد الدين حموي فرمايد :

رباعي

حقّ جان جهان است و جهان جمله بدن
ارواح و ملايك و حواس اين همه تن²⁷
افلاك و عناصر و مواليد و اعضاء
توحيد همين است و ديگرها همه و فن²⁸
و همچنين موحدان هند مثل يياس²⁹ و غيره تمام برهماند را که عالم کبير است
شخص واحد دانسته عضوهاي بدن او را چنين بيان نموده اند بجهت آنکه صوفي³⁰
در هر وقت بر هر چه نظر کند بدانند که بر فلان عضو ماهر³¹ نظر داشتم . پاتال
که طبقه هفتم زمين باشد کف پاي ماهر است رساتل که طبقه ششم زمين باشد
پشت پاي ماهر است و شياطين انگشتهاي پاي ماهر اند و جانوران سواره³²
شياطين³³ ناخنهاي پاي ماهر اند³⁴ مهاتل³⁵ طبقه پنجم زمين³⁶ شتالنگ ماهر است

²³ B,R1 که چنانچه; R1 adds

²⁴ R1 اعضاء و احشاي T; عضوهاي

²⁵ BI,T adds ذات

²⁶ BI,T add بيت; R4 adds نزم; and BI,T,R4 add :

جهان يکسر چه ارواح و چه اجسام بود شخصي معين عالماش نام
پس حق سبحانه تعالی را روح و جان اين شخص معين داند که از هيچ سر
موي جدا نيست

²⁷ A1,BM1,R1 om. همه

²⁸ BI,T همه instead of شيوه; ديگرها instead of ديگر

²⁹ vyāsa

³⁰ BI,T add صافي

³¹ BI adds که اينجا عبارت از ذات حق سبحانه تعالی است

³² T بيابان

³³ BM1,R1 شياطين; T om.

³⁴ A1,B,BM1,R1 است

³⁵ mahātala : BI,T add که

³⁶ BI,T add است

³⁷ talātala : BI,T add که

³⁸ BI,T add بود

³⁹ BI,T add که

⁴⁰ T om.: BI,T add باشد

، تلاتل³⁷ طبقه چهارم زمین³⁸ ساق مهپرس است، سوتل³⁹ طبقه سیوم زمین⁴⁰ زانوي مهپرس است، بتل⁴¹ طبقه دوم زمین⁴² ران مهپرس است،⁴³ اتل⁴⁴ طبقه اول زمین⁴⁵ عضو مخصوص مهپرس است کال⁴⁶ يعني زمانه رفتار مهپرس است پرجاپت⁴⁷ دیوتا⁴⁸ که باعث توالد و تناسل⁴⁹ است علامت مردی و قوت رجولیت مهپرس است باران نطفه مهپرس است بهلولوک⁵⁰ يعني از زمین⁵¹ تا آسمان پائین ناف مهپرس است سه کوه جانب⁵² جنوبی و⁵³ سه کوه جانب شمالی دست راست و چپ مهپرس است⁵⁴ و سمیر⁵⁵ پرت⁵⁶ دو⁵⁷ سرین مهپرس است⁵⁸ روشنی، صبح صادق رنگ سفید⁵⁹ و روشنی⁶⁰ وقت شام که رنگ شفق⁶¹ دارد پارچه ستر عورت مهپرس است،⁶² سمندر⁶³ يعني بحر محیط⁶⁴ ناف مهپرس 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 يعني زمانه رفتار مهپرس است

⁴⁴ BI, T add که

⁴⁵ BI, T add است

⁴⁶ A1, B, BM1 om. کال يعني زمانه رفتار مهپرس است

⁴⁷ *Prajāpati*

⁴⁸ *devatā*; BM1 دیوته

⁴⁹ BI, T add تمام عالم

⁵⁰ *bhuva-loka*: R1 بهون

⁵¹ BI om.

⁵² BI, T om.

⁵³ BI, T om. و سه کوه جانب شمالی

⁵⁴ BI, T add و سه کوه جانب شمالی دست چپ مهپرس است

⁵⁵ *sumeru*: BM1 om.

⁵⁶ *parvata*; A1, B, BM1, R1 om.

⁵⁷ BI, T om.

⁵⁸ BI add روشنی صبح کاذب تار مغزیا جامه مهپرس است

⁵⁹ A1, B, BM1, R1 add دارد; BI, T add (که الکبریا رداي اشاره بآن میکند)

⁶⁰ BI, T om.

⁶¹ T سرخ

⁶² BI adds و (که العظمة ازاري کنایه بآن میکند) B, BM2 add

⁶³ A1, BM1, C, D1 سمندر

⁶⁴ BI adds حلقه و عمق

⁶⁵ *vāḍabānala*: BM2 مکان BI adds وادوانل R1: بدوانل BM2

حالا⁶⁶ هم جذب میکند و طغیان⁶⁷ و در قیامت کبری⁶⁸ خشک خواهد کرد و در⁶⁹ سمندر مییاشد این حرارت⁷⁰ معده مهپرس است که بآن آتش همه چیز را هضم میکند⁷¹ و دریاهاي دیگر تمام⁷² رگهاي بدن⁷³ مهپرس است و⁷⁴ چنانکه همه رگها بناف میرسد همه دریاها بسمندر منتهی⁷⁵ میگردد گنگا و جمنا و سرستی سه رگ⁷⁶ مهپرس است ادا⁷⁷ گنگا⁷⁸ پنگلا⁷⁹ جمنا⁸⁰ سوکھمنا⁸¹ سرستی⁸² بهو⁸³ لوه که بالای بهو لوه است و دیوتهاي⁸⁴ گندهرپ در⁸⁵ آنجا مییاشند و آواز از آنجا بر میخیزد شک مهپرس است آتش قیامت صغری اشتهاي حاضر مهپرس است و خشک شدن آنها در قیامت صغری⁸⁶ تشنگی و آب خوردن⁸⁷ مهپرس است سرگ لوه که بالای بهو لوه است و طبقه ایست از طبقات بهشت سینه مهپرس است که همیشه خوشحالی⁸⁸ و خوشحالی و آرام دروست و جمیع ستاره ها اقسام جواهر مهپرس است بخشش پیش از سوال⁸⁹ مرا که جود و فضل است پستان راست و بخشش بعد از سوال⁹⁰ که عطاست پستان

⁶⁶ A1B.BM1,R1 om. هفت دریا را حالا

⁶⁷ A1,R1 om. شدن نمیدهد T,R4 add هم جذب میکند و طغیان

⁶⁸ BI.T add تمام آب را

⁶⁹ BI.T om. در سمندر مییاشد

⁷⁰ BI.T add و گرمی

⁷¹ BI.T om. که ب آن آتش همه چیز هضم میکند

⁷² BI.T om.

⁷³ BI.T om.

⁷⁴ B.BM1,R1 om.

⁷⁵ T متصل

⁷⁶ BI شهرگ

⁷⁷ BI.T گنگا ; D1 انکلا ; R1 om.

⁷⁸ BI.T پنگلا ; D2 جمنا ; R1 جمنان

⁷⁹ BI.T بیگلا

⁸⁰ BI.T جمونا ; R1 سرستی

⁸¹ R1 سوکھمنا

⁸² R1 om. and adds :

و این هر سه رگ عهده رگها ست درین هر سه دریا نیز اعظم اینها است

⁸³ B.BM1 بهو

⁸⁴ R1 دیوتها

⁸⁵ BI.T om.

⁸⁶ R4 کبری

⁸⁷ T om. و آب خوردن

⁸⁸ BI.T interchanges شادی and خوشحالی

⁸⁹ T سؤال

⁹⁰ T سؤال

چپ مهپرس است و اعتدال سه⁹¹ گن که رجوگن و ستوگن و تموگن باشند و آن را پرکرت گویند دل مهپرس است و چون⁹² کنول⁹³ سه رنگ دارد سفید و سرخ و بنفش دل هم که بصورت کنول⁹⁴ است سه صفت دارد⁹⁵ که⁹⁶ برهما که من⁹⁷ مرا هم نام دارد حرکت و اراده دل مهپرس است بشن مهر⁹⁸ و رحم مهپرس است همیشه قهر و غضب مهپرس است ماه تبسم و خوشحالی، مهپرس است که حرارت الم و اندوه را بر طرف میسازد و بشنت گیان مهپرس است هوا پران بای مهپرس است اعمال بد و ادهرم پشت مهپرس است⁹⁹ کوه¹⁰⁰ سمیر¹⁰¹ پرت¹⁰² استخوان میان پشت مهپرس است¹⁰³ کوه های دست راست و چپ سمر¹⁰⁴ استخوان فرعهایی¹⁰⁵ مهپرس است و¹⁰⁶ هشت فرشته که¹⁰⁷ لوکیال¹⁰⁸ اند و اندر که سردار آنهاست و کمال قوت¹⁰⁹ دارد و بخشیدن و باریدن و نه بخشیدن و نباریدن متعلق باوست هر دو دست مهپرس اند¹¹⁰ دست راست بخشش و بارش و دست چپ امساک بخشش مهپرس است امچرا

⁹¹ BI.T om. سه گن

⁹² BI.T چنانکه

⁹³ F.V کمل

⁹⁴ F.V کمل

⁹⁵ BI.T add و این از سه رنگ ظهور است

⁹⁶ BI.T add برهما و بشن و همیشه باشند

⁹⁷ manu

⁹⁸ BI.T interchange مهر and رحم

⁹⁹ BI.T om. و بشنت گیان مهپرس است هوا پران بای مهپرس است اعمال بد و دهرم پشت مهپرس است

; BI adds شب کهمان مهپرس است

¹⁰⁰ T add قاف که

¹⁰¹ sumeru

¹⁰² parvata : T adds خوانند

¹⁰³ BI.T add و

¹⁰⁴ T سمیر

¹⁰⁵ BI.T add یعنی پسلی های

¹⁰⁶ R1.T add از جمله

¹⁰⁷ T om.

¹⁰⁸ BI.R4 کوتوال

¹⁰⁹ T قدرت

¹¹⁰ A1.B.BM1.R1 است

¹¹¹ apsaras

¹¹² BI.T حوران

¹¹³ BI.T اند

¹¹⁴ BI.T خطوط

¹¹⁵ BM2.D1.D2.C.R1 om.; B adds فرشته های موکل خزاین انگشتهای دست مهپرس است و

111 که حورهایی¹¹² بهشت باشند¹¹³ خطهای¹¹⁴ کف دست مهپرس است و¹¹⁵ فرشته‌ها¹¹⁶ که آن را چپه¹¹⁷ می‌نامند ناخنهای دست مهپرس است¹¹⁸ سه¹¹⁹ فرشته¹²⁰ لوکپال¹²¹ دست راست مهپرس است از بند دست تا انج¹²² اگن نام فرشته¹²³ و جم فرشته ارنج¹²⁴ نیرت فرشته تا بازوی¹²⁵ دست چپ¹²⁶ مهپرس است و¹²⁷ است از بند دست تا ارنج ایشان¹²⁸ نام فرشته کبیر¹²⁹ فرشته ارنج پای فرشته¹³⁰ زانوی پای مهپرس است و کلب برچه¹³¹ که طوبی باشد عصای¹³² مهپرس است قطب جنوبی، کتف راست و قطب شمالی کتف چپ مهپرس است و برن نام فرشته لوکپال موکل آب است و در سمت مغرب میباشد مهره گردن مهپرس است مهر¹³³ لوک که بالایی سرگ لوک است گلو و گردن مهپرس است اناهد¹³⁴ ناد¹³⁵ که سلطان الادکار است آواز باریک¹³⁶ مهپرس است¹³⁷ جنلوك¹³⁸ که بالایی مهرلوك است روی مبارک مهپرس است خواهش عالم زنج مهپرس است طعمی¹³⁹ که در عالم است لب پائین

فرشته‌ها: T¹¹⁶

*yakṣa*¹¹⁷

سه فرشته لوکپال از بند دست راست تا ارنج اگن و جم فرشته R1 adds¹¹⁸

ارنج و نیرت فرشته یازد و سه فرشته دیگر که لوکپال اند از بند دست حت تا آرنج ایشان

(تا ارنج) om. to BM2, R1, R4, T¹¹⁹

om. T¹²⁰

*lokapala*¹²¹

ارنج om.: A1, B, BM1 BM1, R1, T¹²²

اگن نام فرشته R1, T om.¹²³

ارنج نیرت فرشته تا BI, T om.¹²⁴

ارنج B, D1, D2¹²⁵

دست چپ BI, T om.¹²⁶

لوکپال فرشته دست مهپرس است BI, T add¹²⁷

از بند دست تا ارنج ایشان BI, T om.¹²⁸

*kubera*¹²⁹

ارنج پای فرشته BI, T om.¹³⁰

*kalpavṛkṣa*¹³¹

عطای A1, B, BM1¹³²

مهر لوک که بالایی سرگ لوک است گلو و گردن مهپرس است BI, T om.¹³³

اناهد B, BM1, R1¹³⁴

om. BI, T¹³⁵

om. B, BM1, T¹³⁶

مهرلوك که بالایی سرگ لوک است گلو و گردن مهپرس است BI, T add¹³⁷

*janaloka*¹³⁸

طعم BI, T¹³⁹

بن BI, T¹⁴⁰

مهاپرس است شرم و حیا لب بالایی مهاپرس است سینه یعنی محبت و الفت بنوی¹⁴⁰
دندانهای مهاپرس است و خورش همه عالم خوراک مهاپرس است عنصر آب کام و
خلق¹⁴¹ مهاپرس است¹⁴² آتش زبان مهاپرس سرستی قوت ناطقه مهاپرس¹⁴³ و چار¹⁴⁴
بید¹⁴⁵ صدق و راستی گفتار مهاپرس است مایا یعنی عشق¹⁴⁶ که باعث ایجاد عالم
است خنده و خوش طبعی، مهاپرس است و هشت جهت عالم هر دو گوش مهاپرس
است اشنی کهار که¹⁴⁷ در¹⁴⁸ فرشته¹⁴⁹ در کمال حسن اند هر دو پره بینی، مهاپرس
اند گنده تنماتر¹⁵⁰ یعنی عنصر خاک قوت شامه مهاپرس است عنصر¹⁵¹ میان جن لوك
¹⁵² و تپ لوك¹⁵³ که طبقه پنجم و ششم بهشت است و از نور ذات¹⁵⁴ پر است
نصف جنوبی، آن چشم راست و نصف شمالی، آن چشم چپ مهاپرس است و اصل
نور که آن را آفتاب ازلی گویند قوت بینایی، مهاپرس است تمام آفرینش آلم¹⁵⁵ نگاه
لطف مهاپرس است روز و شب عالم چشم برهم زدن مهاپرس است متر نام فرشته که
موکل دوستی و محبت است و توستا نام فرشته که موکل قهر و غضب است هر دو
ابروی مهاپرس است تپ لوك¹⁵⁶ که بالایی جن لوك است پیشانی مهاپرس است و
ست لوك¹⁵⁷ که بالایی همه لوکهاست کاسه سر مهاپرس است آیات توحید¹⁵⁸ کتاب الله
آم الدماغ مهاپرس است ابرهای سیاه که باران مهابری دارد موی سر مهاپرس است و
نباتات همه لوك¹⁵⁹ ها مویهای¹⁶⁰ بدن مهاپرس است¹⁶¹ لچمی که دولت و خوبی،

¹⁴¹ BI, T دهن

¹⁴² BI, T add عنصر

¹⁴³ B, BM1, C, D1, R1 add است

¹⁴⁴ A1, B om.: T چهار

¹⁴⁵ Veda : BI, T add یعنی چار کتاب

¹⁴⁶ A1, B, BM1, R1 om.

¹⁴⁷ T دو فرشته

¹⁴⁸ BM1, T om.

¹⁴⁹ T om.

¹⁵⁰ tanmātra: B, R1 تنماترا

¹⁵¹ A1, BM1, R1 om. عنصر باد نفس زدن مهاپرس است

¹⁵² janaloka

¹⁵³ tapaloka

¹⁵⁴ A1, B, BM1, R1 om.

¹⁵⁵ BI, T آفرینش

¹⁵⁶ BI, T پتلوک

¹⁵⁷ satya-loka : BI لوك

¹⁵⁸ BI, T add و

¹⁵⁹ BI, T کوه

¹⁶⁰ BI, T موی

¹⁶¹ B, R1 add و

عالم است حسن مهپرس است آفتاب درخشان¹⁶² صفای بدن مهپرس است بهوناکاس
 مسامات بدن مهپرس است¹⁶³ چد اکاس روح¹⁶⁴ بدن مهپرس است صورت هر فرد
 انسان خانه مهپرس است انسان کامل خلوه خانه و محل خاص مهپرس است¹⁶⁵
 بفرمود بداؤد علیه السلام که ای داؤد برای من خانه بساز گفت خداوند¹⁶⁶ تو¹⁶⁷
 منزهی¹⁶⁸ از خانه فرمود خانه من توای دل را از غیر خالی کن¹⁶⁹ و هر چه درین
 برهماند بر سبیل تفصیل است در انسان که نسخه عالم کبیر است بطریق اجمال همه
 موجود است، کسیکه چنین بداند¹⁷⁰ و بیند او راست جیون مکت و در حق اوست
 آیه کریمه: فرحین بها اتم¹⁷¹ الله من فضله یعنی خوشحال اند آن جماعت بآنچه داده
 است ایشان را خدای تعالی از فضل خود.

قسم¹⁷² دؤم سرب مکت¹⁷³ یعنی رستگاری، همه و آن استهلاک در ذاتست¹⁷⁴ و
 آن شامل همه موجودات است و بعد از قیامت کبری و فانی آسمان و زمین و بهشت
 و دوزخ و نبودن برهماند و نبودن روز و شب¹⁷⁵ از محویت در ذات رستگار و
 خلاص باشند و آیه کریمه و رضوان من الله اکبر ذلك هو الفوز العظيم و الا ان
 اولیاء الله لا خوف علیهم و لا هم یحزنون¹⁷⁶ بدرستی که عارفان خدا را نیست ترمی
 و نیستند آنها اندوهگین اشاره بهمین مکت است.
 قسم¹⁷⁷ سیوم¹⁷⁸ سربدامکت¹⁷⁹ یعنی رستگاریا پس سربدامکت آن باشد که در هر

¹⁶² A1.B.R1 رخشندي

¹⁶³ A1.R1 add صورت هر فرد انسان خانه مهپرس است

R4 adds و بزبان هند این مهپرس را بهرات سروپ نیز گویند

¹⁶⁴ A1.BM1.R1 add این

¹⁶⁵ BI.T add چنانچه

¹⁶⁶ T om.

¹⁶⁷ T adds پاکی و

¹⁶⁸ A1 منزهی T: منزین B: منزهی

¹⁶⁹ T.R4 دار

¹⁷⁰ BI.T داند

¹⁷¹ T آتم

¹⁷² BI.T om.

¹⁷³ sarvamukti

¹⁷⁴ BM1.T ذات است

¹⁷⁵ A1.B.BM1.R1 om. ; R1 adds خیر

¹⁷⁶ BI.T add یعنی

¹⁷⁷ BI.T om.

¹⁷⁸ T سوم

¹⁷⁹ sarvadamukti

مرتب¹⁸⁰ که سیر کند خواه در روز¹⁸¹ خواه در شب¹⁸² خواه در عالم ظاهر¹⁸³ خواه در عالم باطن خواه بر همانند نماید خواه ننماید و خواه در ماضی خواه¹⁸⁴ حال و خواه در استقبال¹⁸⁵ که بهوت¹⁸⁶ بهوش¹⁸⁷ برتمان¹⁸⁸ گویند عارف و رستگار و خلاص باشد و هرجا که در آیات قرآنی در باب بودن در جنت خلدین فیها ابداء واقع شده یعنی همیشه¹⁸⁹ خواهند بود در آن بهشت مراد از جنت معرفت است و مراد از¹⁹⁰ ابدیت این مکت است چه در هر نشاء¹⁹¹ که باشد استعداد معرفت و عنایات ازلی در کار است چنانچه این دو آیه کریمه در باب اینچنین جماعت وارد¹⁹² است

بیشترم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنت لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خلدین فیها ابداء ان الله عنده اجر عظیم یعنی مژده میدهد ایشان را پروردگار¹⁹³ ایشان برحمتی از خود و مژده میدهد بفر دوس اعلی و بهشتها که مر ایشان راست در آن بهشتها¹⁹⁴ نعمتهایی دائمی و رستگاریا بی انقطاع¹⁹⁵ بدرستیکه مژدیمست بزرگ و نیز آیه کریمه دیگر¹⁹⁶ و

بیشتر المؤمنین الذین يعملون الصلحت ان لهم اجرا حسنا ما کثیرن فیها ابداء یعنی مژده بدهید پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم¹⁹⁷ مؤمنان را که عمل میکنند نیکها¹⁹⁸ که حصول معرفت حق سبحانه تعالی¹⁹⁹ باشد و بدرستیکه مر عارفانرا ست²⁰⁰ مژدی²⁰¹ نیکو

¹⁸⁰ مرتبه ای T

¹⁸¹ BM1 add خدا

¹⁸² BM1 add خدا; R1 adds و

¹⁸³ BI, T interchange باطن and ظاهر

¹⁸⁴ A1, B, BM1, R1 add در

¹⁸⁵ BI, T مستقبل

¹⁸⁶ bhūta

¹⁸⁷ bhaviṣṭa; B بهولك; BM2 بهوكه; A1, BM1 بهوش; R1 بهوشته

¹⁸⁸ vartamāna

¹⁸⁹ A1, BM1 add بموید B موید و

¹⁹⁰ BI, T add لفظ ابداء

¹⁹¹ T نشاء

¹⁹² A1, B, BM1, R1 om.

¹⁹³ BM1 adds شما را

¹⁹⁴ A1, B, BM1 و فر دوس اعلی

¹⁹⁵ BI, T add از نزدیک حق تعالی

¹⁹⁶ A1, B, BM1, R1 om. و نیز آیه کریمه دیگر

¹⁹⁷ BM1, R1, T om. پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم

¹⁹⁸ BI, T نیک

¹⁹⁹ A1, B, BM1, R1 om. سبحانه تعالی

²⁰⁰ T است

²⁰¹ A1, B مژده

که فردوس اعلی باشد و درنگ کنندگان باشند همیشه²⁰² ماندگان²⁰³ اندران²⁰⁴
فردوس اعلی.

²⁰² T om.; B, BM1, R1 و جاودان

²⁰³ A1, B, BM1, R1 om.; T ماندگان

²⁰⁴ A1, B, BM1 اند در آن T; در آن

بیان روز و شب الوهیت ظهور و بطون
 بطور موخدان هند عمر برهما¹ که جبرئیل باشد و فنای برهماند² و تمامی، روز
 ظهور که روز الوهیت باشد هزده انج³ دنیا ست که هر ابجی⁴ صد⁵ کرور⁶ باشد
 بموجب این دو آیه کریمه : و ان یوما عند ربک کالف سنة مما تعدون یعنی بدرستیکه
 روزیست نزد پروردگار تو مانند هزار سال که می شمارند اهل دنیا و آیه کریمه :
 تعرج الملائكة و الروح الیه فی یوم کان مقداره خمسين الف سنة، یعنی راجع میشوند
 بسوی پروردگار خود فرشتگان و روح که عبارت از جبرئیل و برهما ست در
 روزیکه مقدار آن روز پنجاه هزار سال است⁷ و⁸ هر روز از این پنجاه هزار⁹ از
 هزار سال¹⁰ متعارف است که در آیه اول بان تصریح شده¹¹ پس صد¹² سال مدت
 عمر جبرئیل و مدت¹³ روز ظهور¹⁴ که و تمامی، عالم را¹⁵ که برهماند باشد حساب
 میکنم¹⁶ هیجده¹⁷ انج سال دنیا¹⁸ که¹⁹ هر ابجی صد²⁰ کرور²¹ باشد بی کم و زیاد،²²
 مطابق حساب موخدان هند. و بدانکه²³ خصوصیت²⁴ اعداد هزده²⁵ نزد ایشان

¹ brahmā ; A1,B برهما

² brahmāṇḍa

³ anika ; B,T add سال

⁴ abja

⁵ BI,T هزار

⁶ BI,T سال دنیا

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 میکنم

¹⁷ BM1,T هزده

¹⁸ BI,T add باشد

¹⁹ BI,T و

²⁰ BI,T هزار

²¹ BI,T سال

²² A1,B,BM1,T :زیاده کاست

²³ A1,B,BM1 om.

²⁴ A1,BM1,T add : عدد هزده برای اینستکه مراتب

B adds هزده انج برای این است که مراتب

²⁵ B,BM1,R1,T om.

منحصر در 26 هژده است و 28 از این بالاتر مرتبه 29 قرار نداده اند و قیامت های 30 که در این میان گذشته 31 و خواهند گذشت آن قیامت ها صغری 32 را کهنده پرلی 33 گویند 34 مثل طوفان آب یا طوفان آتش یا طوفان باد. و چون این مدت تمام گردد این روز را 35 شام شود و قیامت کبری خواهد شد که آن را مهابرلی گویند بحکم 36 این دو آیات کریمه : یوم تبدل الارض غیر الارض یعنی روزیکه بدل کرده شود زمین را بغیر زمین و یوم نطوي السماء کطی السجل لالکتب یعنی روزیکه پیچم آمانرا 37 پیچیدن 38 کاغذ برای کتابت. 39 و بعد از قیامت کبری در 40 شب بطون که در برابر روز ظهور است و استهلاک جمیع تعینات در حضرت ذات خواهد شد نیز هژده سال امج 41 دنیاست. و 42 اوستهای 43 سیوم 44 که عبارت از سکویت 45 و جبروت است، مدت این شب 46 سکویت 47 حضرت ذات است که او را فراغ است از ایجاد خلق و اظهار 48 عالم و آیه کریمه : سنفرغ لکم آیه 49 الثقلن 50 اشاره باین سکویت

26 BI بر

27 BI هشت

28 T om. to اند

29 BI adds شمار

30 BI, T add صغری

31 BI, T add اند

32 BI, T om.

33 *khandapralaya*

34 BI, T میگویند

35 BI, T om.; R1 از

36 A1, T حکم و حکم B, BM1

37 A1, B, BM1, R1 آمانها

38 BI, T مانند

39 R1 adds بظهور خواهد رسید A1, B, BM1 add بظهور خواهد شد

40 A1, B, BM1 مدت

41 A1, B سال

42 BI, T om.

43 BI, T اوستها A1, B; اوستهایم

44 BI, T om

45 *susupti*; BI, T سکویت

46 BI, T om.

47 BI, T سکویت

48 BI, T اعدام

49 A1, B, BM1, R1 آیه

50 T الثقلان

51 BI, T add اشاره باین سکویت است و حضرت

است یعنی زود است که فارغ میشویم از شما ای جن و انس⁵¹ ذات در ایام ظهور عالم در مقام ناسوت است و در قیامتهای صغری در مقام ملکوت و بعد از قیامت کبری در مقام جبروت.

ای عزیز آنچه در این باب نوشته شده بعد از دقت تمام و تحقیق بسیار مطابق کشف خود است و این کشف باین دو آیه کریمه مطابق افتاد و⁵² با آنکه تو⁵³ در هیچ کتابی ندیده⁵⁴ و از هیچکس نشنیده⁵⁵ اگر بر گوش بعضی از ناقصان گران آید مارا از این معنی باکی نیست فان⁵⁶ الله غنی عن العلمین.

⁵²B,BM1 om.

⁵³B,BM1,R1 om.

⁵⁴T ندیده‌ی

⁵⁵T نشنیده‌ی

⁵⁶B,BM1,R1 و

بیان بی‌نهایتی، ادوار

نزد محققان اهل هند حق تعالی را نه همین یک شب است و یک روز بلکه این شب که تمام شود باز روز میشود و روز که آخر شود شب می‌آید الی غیر نهایت. و این را اناد پرواه¹ میگویند. خواجه حافظ علیه الرحمة² اشاره بهین بی‌نهایتی، ادوار نموده گفته است:³

ماجرای من و معشوق مرا پایان نیست هر چه آغاز ندارد نپذیرد انجام⁴
و هر چه از خصوصیات ظهور ذات و محفیات در روز و شب پیشین شده بی‌کم و
بیش در روز و شب دیگر بعینه عود کند بموجب⁵ آیه کریمه: کما بدأنا⁶ اول خلق
نعیده، یعنی چنانکه ظاهر گردانیدیم در اول خلقت موجوداتی را⁷ که معدوم گشته
بود پس بعد از تمام شدن⁸ دوره⁹ باز عالم¹⁰ ابو البشر¹¹ بعینه پیدا شود و لایزال
چنین باشد و آیه کریمه کما بدأکم¹² تمودون نیز دلالت برین معنی میکند یعنی
چنانکه¹³ اول شما را پیدا کردم¹⁴ باز همان طور پیدا¹⁵ کنیم. اگر کسی شبهه¹⁶ کند که
خاتمیت پیغمبر ما صلی الله علیه و سلم ازین ثابت نمیشود میگویم که در روز دیگر
نیز پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و اله و سلم بعینه موجود خواهد گردید و خاتم پیغمبران

¹ anādīpravāha² T الرحمة³ B1, T add بیت⁴ BM1, B, T, A1 instead of هر⁵ B adds دو; BM1 add این⁶ T بدؤنا⁷ A1, BM1, D2, R1 add بر باز اعاده کنم ظهور خرقه همان موجوداتی را

B, C باز اعاده کنیم ظهور خلقت همان موجوداتی B, C

⁸ BI adds این in parenthesis⁹ T دوره¹⁰ D1 om. B, BM2, R1 add آدم; A1, BM1 add آدم; BM1, A1, A3, R1, J, D2, C adds و¹¹ D1, T om. ابو البشر; BI adds علیه السلام¹² BI بدأکم¹³ B, R1, A1, S, E, D2, BM2, C, J, BM1 چنانچه¹⁴ R1 کرده ام; D1 کرده ایم; B, BM1 کردیم; C کرد; BM2 کرده ام¹⁵ T om. پیدا کنیم¹⁶ T شبهه¹⁷ BM1, B, A1 بود¹⁸ BI, T add میگویند

آن روز خواهد گردید¹⁷ و این حدیث شب معراج نیز دلالت بر همین معنی میکند¹⁸ که پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم قطار شتران را دیدند¹⁹ که لا ینقطع میروند و بر هر یکی دو صندوق بار است و در هر صندوق عالمی 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 بینم که این قطار شتران با²⁰ صندوق²¹ میروند و من هم نمیدانم که این چیست، و این اشاره به بی نهایتی ادوار است. الحمد لله و المته²²
 الحمد لله و المته که توفیق اتهام شد رساله مجمع البحرين یافته شد در سنه²³ یکهزار و شصت و پنج هجری،²⁴ که چهل و دویم از²⁵ سنین 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 المته B, BM1 المته

²³ A1, BM1 سال

²⁴ BI, T add نبوی

²⁵ A1, BM2, D1, R1, T om. از سنین

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 *yog* (*yoga*) with that of the *Ṣūfis*", and translated into Arabic by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ 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) Shafā'at Nabīyu al-Ḥijāzī 'Abdu'llāh Ṣāriḥ al-Qādir Jirānī

2) Shaykh al-Ḥijāzī al-Nabīyyu al-Ḥijāzī 'Abd Ibn Mullā Muḥammad al-Tawtanjī

3) Muḥammad Ṣāriḥ 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 Maḥmūd 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 Şūfistic 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 Saṃvat 1795. From the post-colophon of the manuscript of *Samudra Saṅgama*, we know this was transcribed in the dark fortnight of the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* 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 Šafar 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: *saṃvat 1795 varṣe mārgaśīra(sic.) vadi saptamyāṃ candrajavāre* (fol.10b).

⁵fol.2b, 4a and 7a

⁶*sarvatra prakataḥ sa sarvāvabhāṣaḥ sa ādīḥ so 'ntas tad-atiriktaṃ 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 Šafar 1066A.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

⁸ P.K.Gode. vol.II, p.438.

⁹ Particularly, in the section eleven. (ff.5b-6a.) We have furnished the original words in the footnotes.

¹⁰ Rizvi 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-Baḥrayn* 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 cataloger 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 *Fihrist-i Nuskh-hā-yi Fārsī Kitābhānah-yi Raḍā 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 morganländischen 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 prakāṣaḥ sa sarvābhāsaḥ sa ādīḥ so 'ntas tadatiriktaṃ vastu
nāstīti /

prativeśī savāsī ca sahaḥ sarvameva saḥ /
paṭaccare daridrasya kṣaume rājñaḥ sa sarvataḥ //
bhāti saṃsadi bhedo 'yam abhedo rahasi sphuṭaḥ /
īśasya śāyanam bhūyas-tac-chayaḥ sarvam eva saḥ //

praṇāmānām ānantyam parama-prakāśa-prakāśake jagat-srṣṭi-nimitte
'smākaṃ siddhānām siddhe parameśvareṇa satkr̥te sanmānīte ca ¹ tathā
pavitratame tat-parivāre mahattare tat-pratinidhirūpe ca / atha kathay-
ati vīta-rāga-vigata-śoka-sandoha-mahammada-dārā-śukohaḥ ² / evam
yad-vijñāya sakala-tattva-tattvaṃ nirṇīya ca satyaikātmavāda-tātparyam
āsādyā ca bhagavan-mahāprasādam tadanu caitad-vicāramadhye praviṣṭam
mayā yad antam prāpnuyām abhiprāyasya siddhānām niścetṛṇām
vaidikānām anādikulajānām iti / atha ca kaiści[t] kaiścit paripūrṇair
vaidikaiḥ saha viśeṣataś caitanya-svarūpajñānamūrti- sadguru-bābālāla[ḥ
yah] antam tapasyāyā jñānasya saubudhya phalasyeśvara-prāpte[ḥ] śānteś
ca prāptavān – tena ca saha punaḥ punaḥ saṅgatīr goṣṭhīś cākaravam
paribhāṣā-bhedātiriktaṃ kam api bhedaṃ svarūpāvāptau nā 'paśyam atas
ca dvayor apy eka-vākyatām akaravam ta[ta]ś ca ³ satyāvāpty-adhikāribhir
avaśyam jñātavyānām saphalānām katipayavākyānām sārasya saṅgraham
akaravam / jñāninor dvayor api mata-samudrayor iha saṅgama iti nāma
cāsthāpayam samudra-saṅgama iti / ittham kilopadeśo mahānubhāvānām
yan nirmatsaratayā tattva-vivecanam ⁴ sakala-vedāntānām prayojanam
ato yaḥ kaścid vivekī jñānī ca sa eva jñānī tattva-nirṇaya-talasparsē
kīdrśaḥ śrama iti / niścayena vidvāṃso jñāninaś ca bahutaram sukham
itayāpsyanti ⁵ na prāpsyanti ca bhedi-vādināḥ kuṇṭhitamatayeti /
svānubhāvānusāreṇa ca nirṇīya tattvārtham svakuṭumbesv anukampayā
kr̥to 'yam ārambhaḥ na punar ajñānino ⁶ vibhinna-mata-sambandhino
⁷ bodhanena mama prayojanam iti / anyac ca mahāpuruṣaḥ 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 śuddhāntaḥkaraṇaḥ kila ājñaptavān yady ahaṃ jānīyāṃ
kaścana nirīśvaro 'pi kathākhya ⁹ deśa-ssthito 'pi mano'nurañjaka-śabdais
tattvavārttāṃ vadatīti tarhi tatra gatvā śroṣyāmi śiṣyāmi anuneṣyāmi ca
tam / atra ca parameśvarād eva mama sāmartyaṃ parameśvara eva me
sahāyaḥ / ¹⁰

(1)

atha [a]nāsirā- ¹¹ paraparyāya-bhūta-vyākhyā / jānīta bhūtāni pañca /
anubhūyamāna-vastu-samavāyi-kāraṇāni etāni / tatrādyam unśura-aajama
¹² -padābhidheyam dvitīyam bāda ¹³ -padābhidheyam tṛtīyam ātaśa ¹⁴
-pa[1b]dābhidheyam caturtham āba ¹⁵ -padābhidheyam pañcamam śoka
¹⁶ -padābhidheyam etāni munibhir ākāśam vāyus-tejo-jalam-ṛthivīti
vyavahṛtāni / tatrākāśam trividham uktam / bhūtākāśaś-cittākāśaś-
cidākāśa itī / tatra sarva-bhūta-vyāpako bhūtākāśaḥ brahmāṇḍa-vyāpakaś
cittākāśaḥ sarva-vyāpakaḥ sarvatra ¹⁷ ssthitaś cidākāśaḥ sa cājanyaḥ /
taj-janyatvasya tad-vināśasya ca vede 'smadvede vā kvacid api kaṇḍikāyām
apratīpādanāt yuktya-sahatvāc ca / cidākāśāt prathamam iśka ¹⁸ itī
padārthaḥ abhūt sa vaidikamunibhir māyety ucyate / yad āha para-
masiddho bhagavad-vākyam / ahaṃ guptākāraḥ ssthitaś tataḥ prasiddhaḥ
syāmītīchayā sṛṣṭim kṛtavān itī / tasyā māyāyāḥ sakāśāt jīvātmā prādur
babhūva / sa eva siddhānām siddhasya tattvam itī vadanti / ayam eva
vaidikamunibhir hiraṇyagarbha ity ucyate / eṣa eva vyañjanayā amā ¹⁹
ity ucyate / ataḥ param vāyu-vyākhyā / tatra vāyur-nāma paramātmano
niḥśvasitam itī vadanti / niḥśvāsa-rūpo vāyur utpannaḥ / tasya śvāsasya
śuddha-caitanyena gupta-kāle sṛṣṭy-arthaṃ nirodhaḥ kṛtas tata uśmā

⁸ Transliteration of خواجه احرار *ḥwāḡah-i 'hrār*

⁹ Transliteration of خطا *ḥaṭā: sin*

¹⁰ MS sahāya

¹¹ MS nāsirā-; BL anāsirā-; RC -[ā]nāsirā-

¹² Transliteration of عنصر أعظم *'unśur-i 'a'zam*

¹³ Transliteration of باد *bād*

¹⁴ Transliteration of آتش *ātiś*

¹⁵ Transliteration of آب *āb*

¹⁶ Transliteration of خاک *ḥāk*

¹⁷ RC sarvataḥ

¹⁸ Transliteration of عشق *'iśq*

¹⁹ Transliteration of عمى *'amā*

niḥsṛtaḥ ato vāyostejasa utpattiḥ / tasmimś ca niḥśvasite ātmīyata-
sraṣṭṛtvavati ²⁰ śītale jāte sati tejasah sakāśāj jalasyotpattiḥ / vāyu
tejasoh sūkṣmatvenāpratyakṣatvāj jalasya sthūlatayā pratyakṣatvāt kaiscid
uktaṃ jalasya prathamam utpattir iti / jalānantaram pṛthivī / iyam
pṛthivī jalasya śara-sthānīyā yathā dugdhasyādhastād agni-jvālāne dugdhe
śaro bhavati / kiṃ vedmy ²¹ anantārṇava-samjñakasya bāṣpo 'ntarīkṣam
pṛthivī śarās ca / eteṣāṃ bhūtānāṃ mahāpralaye vyutkrameṇa layaḥ /
prathamam pṛthivyā jale layaḥ / tato jalam tejasā śuṣyat tejasi liyate / tato
vāyunā 'bhihanyamānam tejo vāyau liyate / tato vāyur unura-aajama-
padābhidheyena saha cidākāśe liyate / asmad-vede śrūyate sarvaṃ vastu
vinaśyati vinā parabrahmaṇo mukhātmaka-cidākāśam / anyatrāsmad-vede
śrūyate / sarvaṃ pṛthivī-samsthitam vastu naśyati nityam tiṣṭhati tvadīya
parabrahmaṇo rajas-tamo-rūpa-guṇa-yuktasya mukham / sarva-vastu-
vināśa-pratipādake 'smin kaṇḍikā-dvaye mukha-padasya prasaṅgaḥ kṛtaḥ
/ tasya prayojanam cidākāśo 'vināśīti / yady atra mukha-padam na syāt
tad ebhyām ²² uktaṃ syāt sarvaṃ vastu vinaśyati para-brahmaṇi / ato
mukha-pada-prasaṅgāś cidākāśa ²³ nimittam tiṣṭhati yataś cidākāśam
śuddha-caitanyaśya sūkṣma-śārīra-sthānam / pṛthivīm tu muna[2a]yo
vyavahāre devīti vadanti yataḥ sarvaṃ vastu tayā prasūyate / punaḥ
sarvaṃ vastu tasyām liyate / tathā 'smadvede śrūyate tasyāḥ pṛthivyāḥ
sakāśāt asmābhir bhavatām sṛṣṭi[h] kṛtā punas tasyām eva bhavanto mayā
neyā[h] / punaḥ pṛthivyāḥ sakāśād bahir āneyāḥ ²⁴ iti /

athendriyāṇi pañca śāmma-jāyika-bāsira-sāmia-lāmisākhyāni / teṣāṃ (2)
munirvacobhir nāmāni ghrāṇa-rasana-tvak-cakṣuḥ śrotrāṇi ²⁵ / ete
eteṣāṃ viśayāḥ maśūmūm majūṣa ²⁶ munsar malamūs masamūa ²⁷
iti padābhidheyāḥ gandha-rasa-rūpa-sparsa-śabdāḥ / tāni cendriyāṇi
pratyekaṃ tat-tad-bhūtotpannāni / tatra ghrāṇam pāṛthivam pṛthivīm
vinā kasminn api bhūte gandhānupalambhāt gandhavattvam ca gandha-
grāhakatvāt / rasanendriyam jaliyam rasa-vyañjakatvāt / cakṣur-indriyam
taijasam rūpa-grāhakatvāt / prakāśakatvasya dvayor api prakāṣatvāt / tvag-

²⁰ BL -sṛṣṭatvavati(?); RC -sraṣṭṛtvavati(?).

²¹ BL kimaha vedmi; RC kivedmya(?)-

²² MS ebhyam; RC etthamuktaṃ

²³ RC adds [nityatā]

²⁴ MS āneyā

²⁵ Transliteration of لَامِيَّة ، سَامِيَّة ، بَاصِرَة ، ذَائِقَة ، شَائِمَة sāmmah, dāyiqah, bāṣirah. sāmi-
'ah, lāmisah

²⁶ RC majūkha

²⁷ Not found in Persian text, however, transliteration of
مَسْمُوم ، مَذَاق ، مَبْصَر ، مَلْمُوس ، مَسْمُوع maśmūm, madāq, mabṣar, malamūs, masmū'a

indriyaṃ vāyavīyaṃ sparsā-vyaṃjakatvāt / śravaṇendriyaṃ bhūtākāśaṃ ²⁸
śabda-grāhakatvāt / anāhata-śabda-śravaṇa-dvārā ca siddhānāṃ cidākāśa-
tattvaṃ prakāṣaṃ jāyate siddhair vinā 'njair jñātum aśakyatvāt / idaṃ
śravaṇa-rūpaṃ dhyānaṃ asmadiyānāṃ siddhānāṃ ca sādharmaṇaṃ eva /
idaṃ ca dhyānaṃ asmad-ekātmavādino nirantara-śravaṇaṃ iti vadanti
tad eva siddhair dhvanir ity ucyate / ābhyaṅgāntarendriyāṇi pañca khyāla
mutasaripha hāphija vāhimahi simuśrarak ²⁹ siddhamate catvāri mano
buddhi cittaḥaṅkārah / eteṣāṃ samudāyaṃ pañcamam antaḥkaraṇaṃ iti
vadanti / tatra manaso dve śakti saṅkalpa-vikalpātmake karaṇākaraṇa-rūpe
dviṭīyaṃ buddhiḥ buddhis tu saṃyag-vastu-gāminī asaṃyag-vastu-gāminī
ca / cittam ekaṃ svabhāvaṃ dhatte taṃ vṛttiṃ vadanti / ayaṃ svabhāvaḥ
tasya caraṇa-sthānīyaḥ etacchedena cittaṃ dhāvanāt parāvartate cittaṃ
tu manaso jāṅghikaṃ tat-kāryaṃ sarva-dig-dhāvanam / tat sad-asad-
viveka-kṣamaṃ ca na bhavati / caturtham antarindriyaṃ ahaṅkāraḥ
ahaṃ karomītyādi pratīti-sākṣikaḥ / ahaṅkāraḥ paramātmanaḥ kāryaṃ
māyā sānnidhyāt / sa cāhaṅkāras trividhaḥ sāttviko rājasas tāmasasāceti
/ tatra sāttviko jñāna-svarūpa ³⁰ uttamaḥ / sa ca paramātmanaḥ sarvaṃ
khalv ahaṃ ity abhimāna-rūpaḥ / ayaṃ sakala-vastu-sāmānyatā-rūpaḥ
sarva-vyāpakāḥ yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate alā inna ho bikulli śaiin muhīt
³¹ asyārthaḥ jñānī cetanāvān bhavati niścayena sarva-vyāpakāḥ [2b] iti
huval avval val ākhiru va jāhiru ³² val vātin / asyārthaḥ tan-mātram
ādīḥ tan-mātram antaḥ tan-mātraṃ prakāṣaṃ tan-mātraṃ guptaṃ iti
/ rājaso 'haṅkāro madhyamaḥ / sa ca jīva-bhāvaṃ āpannasya śarīrad-
bhūtebhyaś cātirikto 'haṃ nāhaṃ bhūta-sambaddha ity ākāraḥ / tathā
'smad-vede nāsti tat-sadṛśaṃ vastu īśvarāvāpta-kāmaḥ saṃsāra-prakāṣyāt /
tāmasāhaṅkāro 'dhamāḥ / ayaṃ cāvidyātaḥ / avidyā tu śuddha-brahmaṇa
upāsakatva-kalpanā / adhamatvaṃ cāsyātinīcatvāt paricchinnatvāc ca
/ ajñānā buddhiḥ ³³ pramādān-āṅgīkaroti svīya-sthūla-śarīraṃ dṛṣṭvā

²⁸ MS bhūtākāśīyaṃ

²⁹ Transliteration of خَيَالٌ، مُتَصَرِّفٌ، خَافِظُهُ، وَاهِمَةٌ، جِسْمٌ مُشْتَرَكٌ ḥayāl, mutaṣarrif, ḥā-
fiẓah, wāhimah, ḥis muštarak

³⁰ MS jñānasvarūpaṃ

³¹ RC alāhommā hobikulli śainnasahīt;

Transliteration of أَلَا إِنَّهُ بِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ مُحِيطٌ alā inna-hu bi-kulli ṣayrin muḥiṭun (Qur'ān
41:54).

³² RC huvala avval val ākhiru va jāhiru valavātin:

Transliteration of هُوَ الْأَوَّلُ وَالْآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ huwa 'l-awwalu wa 'al-āhiru wa
'al-zāhiru wa 'al-bāṭinu (Qur'ān 57:3).

³³ MS buddhi

vadati ahaṃ tvam iti ekatva-mānyatāyā dūre patati / asmad-vede śrūyate
vada he mahā-siddha ayam asti asmād-atiriktaṃ sad-vastu nāsti ahaṃ
manuṣyo 'ham bhavat-sadṛśaḥ / vaśiṣṭhenāpy uktaṃ śuddha-caitanyaṃ hi
paricchinnaṃ syām-itīcchayā tat-kṣaṇa eva paramātma-rūpaṃ babhūva /
tato 'tiparicchinnaṃ ahaṅkāra-rūpaṃ babhūva / tato 'pi paricchinnaṃ
mahat-tattva-rūpaṃ babhūva / tat-saṅkalpena mano babhūva / tat prakṛti-
padenāpy ucyate / manaḥ saṅkalpāt pañca- jñānendriyāṇi ghrāṇa-rasana-
cakṣur ³⁴ -tvak-śrotra-rūpāṇy utpadyante / tat-saṅkalpāt karmendriyāṇi
vāk-pāṇi-pāda-pāyūpasthākhyāny utpadyante / etat-saṅkalpādvāhyā ³⁵
ābhyanterā avayavā utpadyante / etat-samudāyaṃ śarīraṃ vadanti /
itthaṃ sarva-padārtha-prapitāmaha-rūpaḥ paramātmā etāny utpādyā etair
ātmānaṃ babandha yathā kośakīṭo lālā-nirmitais ³⁶ tantubhir-ātmānaṃ
/ itthaṃ jagat sṛṣṭvā svayaṃ tat prativeśa ³⁷ yathā bījaṃ svato vṛkṣaṃ
utpādyā tatrānupraviśati / pūrvam hi cidrūpe sarvaṃ guptaṃ āsit
sāmprataṃ prakāṣṭaḥ bhūte jagati svagaṃ gupta itī //

³⁴ MS cakṣuḥ

³⁵ MS corrected in the margin

³⁶ MS lālānirmitam

³⁷ MS prativeśaḥ

atha dhyāna-nirūpaṇam / tatra yady-api sarva-śvāsa-nirodhā (3)
 nānāvidhāḥ siddhair uktās-tathā 'pi ajapāṃ sarvotkr̥ṣṭām vadanti yat
 iyaṃ jāgrad-daśāyāṃ svapna-daśāyāṃ ca svabhāvataḥ sarva-prāṇināṃ
 sarvadā sambhavati / tad uktam asmad-vede nāsti kiñcid īdṛśaṃ vastu
 yat parameśvara-japaṃ sarvadā na karotīti / parantu bhavanto na
 jānanti / anenājapājapa evoktaḥ / tasyoccāraṇe pada-dvayaṃ kṛtaṃ tatra
 śvāsasyopari-gamane sa iti padam āvirbhavati / nīccair-āgamane aham iti
 asyārthaḥ so 'ham iti / asmad-ekātmavādinō 'pi śvāsa-kriyāyāṃ hu allāha
¹ iti jānanti / śvāsasyopari-gamane hu ² iti bahir-āgamane allāha iti prakṛtī
 bhavati /

atha parameśvaraguṇavyākhyānam / ekātmavādināṃ mate (4)
 parameśvarasya guṇa-dvayam asti / tacca jalāla[3a]-jamālākhyāṃ /
 sarvā sṛṣṭir asmād guṇa-dvayād bahir-bhūtā / siddhais tu traya uktā
 atas tri-guṇaṃ vadanti sattvaṃ rajas-tama iti / tatra rajasa utpattiḥ
 sattvāt ³ pālanam tamasaḥ pralayaḥ / asmadiyais tu pratipālakaṃ
 sattva-guṇaṃ ⁴ rajaḥ-padavācyē jamāle antarbhāvya dvaividhyam uk-
 tam / ete trayo 'pi guṇāḥ parasparaṃ samvalita-vṛttayaḥ / eteṣāṃ
 adhiṣṭhātāras trimūrti-rūpā ⁵ ucyante / te ca brahma-viṣṇu-maheśāḥ /
 asmadiyā jibrāil-mikāil-isarāphīla iti vadanti / utpattyadhiṣṭhātā jibaraīl
⁶ pratipālanādhiṣṭhātā mikāil saṃhārasyādhiṣṭhātā isarāphīl iti / eteṣāṃ
 bhūta-traya-rūpā jala-tejovāyavaḥ sambandhinaḥ / jalaṃ jibaraīlasya-
 sambandhi tejo mikāila-saṃbandhi vāyuḥ isarāphīla-sambandhi ete trayo
 'pi sarva-śarīre prakṛtāḥ / tathā hi jala-rūpo brahmā jihvāyāṃ ataḥ
 parameśvara-vākya-prakāśakaḥ uccaraṇam etasmāt prakṛtī-bhūtaṃ /
 tejourūpo viṣṇuś-cakṣuṣi yataḥ prakāśo jyotiśca tatrāsti darśanam etasmāt
 prakṛtaṃ ⁷ vāyu-rūpo maheśo nāsāyāṃ śāikhasya phūtkāra-dvayam asmāt
 prakṛtaṃ śvāsa-dvaya-rūpam / tasya samāptau vinaśyati prāṇijātāṃ trayo
 guṇāḥ parameśvarasya guṇāḥ te cotpatti-sthiti-laya-hetavaḥ / eteṣāṃ
 guṇānāṃ prakāśakā api brahmā-viṣṇu-maheśāḥ / te ca guṇāḥ sarva-vastuṣu
 prakṛtāḥ prathamam utpattis tataḥ kiyat-kālam sthitiḥ paścān nāśa iti /
 trimūrtes ⁸ tasyaitasya sāmartyā-paraparyāyaṃ śakti-trayaṃ sarasvatī

¹ Transliteration of Arabic : هو الله huwa 'l-lāhu

² RC hu

³ MS, BL satvāt

⁴ MS, BL satva-

⁵ MS -trimūrttirūpā

⁶ RC jibaraīl

⁷ RC prakṛtaṃ,

⁸ MS -mūrtes-

lakṣmīh-pārvatīti vadanti / tatra ⁹ sarasvatī rajoguṇa-yuktā-brahma-
saṃbaddhā / pārvatī tamoguṇa-yukta-maheśa-saṃbaddhā / lakṣmīh
sattvagūṇayuktaviṣṇusaṃbaddhā /

atha rūha ¹⁰ -paraparyāyasya ¹¹ ātmano nirūpaṇam / rūha-jūjāi (5)
rūhakullī ¹² ca / munaya etau dvau jīvātmānaṃ paramātmānaṃ
ca vadanti / śuddhacaitanyaṃ sthūlopādhinā sūkṣmopādhinā ca
paricchinnam tataḥ sūkṣmopādhinā paricchinnam sat rūha ātmetyucyate
sthūlopādhitayā paricchinnam sat ¹³ dehaḥ śarīram ity ucyate atha
ca śuddhacaitanyaṃ pratham aparicchadakāt paricchinnam sat rūha-
ajama ¹⁴ padābhidheyam ekatva-mānyatām dhārayati / sarve rūhās
tasminn-antarbhūtāḥ tam eva paramātmānaṃ rūha-kullīti ca vadanti /
citra-jala-taraṅgaḥ śarīratmasthanīyaḥ / sarve taraṅgaḥ samaṣṭi-rūpa-dvārā
paramātma-padenocyante / śuddha-svaccha-jalam atra bhavat sadbhaya
¹⁵ śuddhacaitanyasthanīyam /

atha prāṇādi-nirūpaṇam / sa ca sarva-śarīrāntaḥ sañcaran vāyur yataḥ (6)
pañcasu sthāneṣu tiṣṭhati tato nāma-pañcakaṃ dhatte / tāni ca nāmā[3b]ni
prāṇāpāna-samānodāna-vyāna-rūpāṇi / nāsātaḥ pādāṅguṣṭha-paryantaṃ
sañcaran prāṇaḥ śvāsa etad-vikāraḥ / gudān-medhira-paryantaṃ sañcaran
apānaḥ / etayor dvayor nābhiṃ parito granthir jīvana-nimittam ¹⁶ nābhi-
hṛdayayor-madhye sañcaran samānaḥ / kaṅṭhād brahmarandhra-paryantaṃ
sañcaran udānaḥ / sarva-śarīre antar-bahiśca tvacam-abhivyāpya vartamāno
¹⁷ vyānaḥ /

atha jagac-catuṣṭaya-nirūpaṇam / eṣu jatatsu sarva-prāṇinaḥ avāśyam (7)
sañcaranti / keśāncid ekātmavādinām tāni jaganti catvāri - nāsūta ¹⁸
malakūta jabarūta lāhūta iti / kecijjaganti pañca vadanti ālamamisāla
padābhidheyam pañcamam vadanti / kecana ālamamisālam ¹⁹ malakūte
'ntarbhāvayaṃtaś catvāri vadanti / siddhā etāni avasthās-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 کلي، روح جزئي، rūh-i guz'i, rūh-i kullī

¹³ MS sata

¹⁴ RC ājama; Transliteration of روح أعظم rūh-i 'a'zam

¹⁵ RC -sadbhaya (?)

¹⁶ RC -nimittam,

¹⁷ MS varttamāno

¹⁸ Transliteration of ناسوت، ملکوت جبروت، لاهوت nāsūt, malakūt jabarūt, lahūt

¹⁹ Transliteration of عالم مثال 'ālam-i miṭāl

jagat prakāṭaṃ jāgaraṇa-rūpaṃ ca / atha svapnaḥ malakūtānusārī sa ca jagad-ātmanaḥ jagat-svāpaśca / atha suṣuptiḥ jabarūtānusārīṇī / tasyāṃ jagad-dvaya-citrāṇi tvantāhante ca na santi / cakṣuṣor unmilanena [na] nimilane vopaviṣṭe sati bahavaḥ kula-dvaya viraktās taj jagad-anabhijñāḥ sarvotkrṣṭa-matena ²⁰ guruṇā juneda-nāmnā ²¹ śuddhāntaḥkaraṇena pratibodhitāḥ santa ājñaptāḥ ekātmatā sā yan-muhūrtamātram upaviṣṭā ²² vinā yatnaṃ / anyo mahāpuruṣo vadati yatnaṃ vineti kiṃ prāpter vinā gaveṣaṇaṃ darśanaṃ vinā `valokanaṃ drṣṭā drṣṭi-viṣaye nimittam ato muhūrta ²³ -mātram upaveśanaṃ itthaṃ yat jāgrat-svapna-rūpa-jagad-dvaya-citrāṇi tan-muhūrte ²⁴ manasi nāyānti tad uktaṃ brahmajñāne mahādeva-pārvatī-saṃvāde /

drṣṭiḥ sthirā yasya vinā `valokanam vāyuh sthiro yasya vinā nirodhanaṃ /
manaḥ sthiraṃ yasya vinā `valambanaṃ sa eva yogī sa guruḥ sa sevyah //

tad evoktaṃ cāsmākaṃ siddhaiḥ śuddhāntaḥkaraṇair ²⁵ vāṅchasi cet prāptuṃ kṣaṇa-mātram nānveṣaya vāṅchasi cej jñātuṃ kṣaṇa-mātram mā jāñhi yato rahasi ced anveṣayasi prakāṭād dūrī bhavasi prakāṭe ced anveṣayas rahaso dūrī bhavasi / ato rahaḥ prakāṭābhyāṃ yuktito bahir-bhūya pāda-prasāraṃ ²⁶ sukhaṃ svapihi tam āśritya iti / atha turīyā lāhūtānusārīṇī / sā śuddhacaitanya svarūpā vyāpikā”cchādikā jagat-trayasya / yadi adhikārī jāgrataḥ svapne svapnāt suṣuptau suṣuptes turīyāyāṃ ity evaṃ krameṇa sañcarati tad etthyaṃ tasya vardhanaṃ ²⁷ bhavati kṣaraścākṣaro bhavati / atra bhavat tattvānāṃ tattvaṃ siddhā nirguṇaṃ vadanti / [4a] ta[t]adeva ²⁸ yadi turīyātaḥ suṣuptau suṣupteḥ svapne svapnājjāgrati visañcaranti tadā akṣaraḥ kṣaro bhavati /
atha śabda-nādayor vyākhyā / paramātmano niḥśvasitaṃ nimittam (8)
praṇava-paryāya kun ²⁹ śabda-sraṣṭṛtvasya prakāṭaṃ jātam / tasya

²⁰ RC sarvātkrṣṭamatenā

²¹ Transliteration of جنيد *gunayd*

²² MS muhūrta-

²³ MS muhūrta-

²⁴ MS tanmuhūrte; RC yanmuhūrtaṃ

²⁵ RC -karaṇaiḥ

²⁶ RC sapādaprasāraṃ

²⁷ MS vardhanaṃ

²⁸ MS tatadeva; RC sa eva

²⁹ Transliteration of کن *kun*

śabda-nādasya siddhaiḥ sarasvatīti nāma-sthāpitam / sarve śabdā
dhvany-ātmakāvarṇātmakās ca tasmād utpannāḥ / sarvaṃ ³⁰ jagat
tasyānurañjakasya dhvani-mayam / kena śruta īdṛśo lambamāno dhvaniḥ
/ ayaṃ nāda-śabdaḥ siddhānām mate tri-vidhaḥ / ³¹ prathamō 'nāhataḥ
ayam arthaḥ īdṛśa-śabdaḥ sārvaadikāḥ ³² / ekātmavādina etacchabdā
³³ aparicchinnam sarva-japānām cakravartinam ³⁴ vadanti / ayaṃ nādo
'nādiḥ pratyakṣatvaṃ cidākāśasya etasmāt etacchabdā na prāpnuvanti
kula-dvaya-gata-mahāntau ³⁵ vinā / dvitīya āhataḥ āhataḥ śabdā tu paras-
parābhigātād utpadyate vinā varṇocāraṇam / tṛtīyaḥ śabdo varṇātmakāḥ
padocāraṇa-prayānād utpadyate / uktañ ca āhato 'nāhataśceti dvidvidhaḥ
śabda ucyate / tatrānāhata-nādam tu munayaḥ samupāsate / gurūpaḍiṣṭa-
mārgeṇa yuktidaṃ na tu rañjakam iti / ayaṃ varṇātmakāḥ śabdaḥ
sarasvatī sambandhī etasmācchabdāt nāmnām mahīyān asmākam madhye
'sti sa isma-aajama ³⁶ ucyate / siddhāstu taṃ veda-mukha iti vadanti /
om asya veda-mukhasyārthaḥ / so 'sti guṇa-traya-svāmī / guṇa-trayaṃ
tu utpatti-sthiti-layanimittam / tad evākāroka-makārā vadanti / te ca
tatra prakāṣāḥ / ³⁷ atha caitānāmno lipi-dvaye' py ākr̥ti-viśeṣa eka eva /
cāturnām api bhūtānām jala-tejo-vāy-vāk-āsānām śuddhacaitanyasya cātra
cihnāni prakāṣāni /

³⁰ MS sarvvaṃ

³¹ RC omits /

³² MS sārvaadikāḥ

³³ MS etatśabda-

³⁴ MS cakravartinam

³⁵ RC -mahānto

³⁶ Transliteration of اعظم اسم-ي 'a'zam

³⁷ RC omits

atha nūra-paryāya-prakāśa vyākhyā / sa ca tri-vidhaḥ / yadi jalāla ¹ (9)
-guṇa-paryāya-tamo-guṇāt prakāṣo bhavati tadā sūryarūpaṃ vā suvarṇa-
rūpaṃ vā agni-rūpaṃ vā bhavati / yadi jamāla ² -guṇa-paryāya-sattva-
guṇāt prakāṣo bhavati tadā candra-rūpaṃ vā rajata-rūpaṃ vā jala-
rūpaṃ vā bhavati / atha ca guṇa-saṃsprṣṭa-svarūpa-prakāśan tu vinā
parameśvariya-siddhaiḥ eṣām ittham asmad-vede ājñaptam svaprakāśam ³
svamārgam jñāpayati tamprati yam apekṣate taiḥ ⁴ anye na prāpnuvanti
/ kiñca / sa prakāśas tu yadi kaścit puruṣaḥ svapiti atha vā cakṣuṣī
nimīlya tiṣṭhati cakṣuṣā na paśyati karṇena na śṛṇoti na vācā vadati
na nāsikayā jighrati na tvacā sprṣati svapne sarvā etāḥ kriyā eke-
naiva kriyante / tatra nisprayojanā avayavā bāhyendriyāni jyo[4b]tīmṣi
pradīpās ca / ghrāṇa-rasana-cakṣus-tvak-śrotrāṇi mitha ekī-bhūtāni eka-
vyakti-rūpāni jāyante / ⁵ sa brahma-prakāśa ucyate / he sakhe tvam
vicāraya mayā kim uktam / yata idam tīkṣṇa-buddher-vicārasya sthānām
/ siddhānām siddhena etad-vicārasya praśamsāyām ājñaptam / ⁶ ayam eko
vicāras tasmin muhūrta-mātram avasthānam ⁷ bhuvana-traya-gata-manuṣya
daityādi dharmād api ⁸ śreṣṭhatamam iti / sa prakāśaḥ śuddhacaitanyasya
svarūpam / yathā 'smad-vede parameśvara ākāśa-prthivyoh prakāśaḥ
tam prakāśam siddhā jyotiḥ-svarūpaṃ sadā-prakāśam svayaṃ-prakāśaṃ
ca vadanti / ayam arthaḥ svayaṃ svayaṃ eva nityaṃ prakāśo 'sti ja-
gat tasmin drśyate vā na vā / yathā ⁹ ekātmāvādināḥ prakāśa-rūpo
na tu prakāśavān iti vadanti tathā siddhā 'pi jyotiḥ-svarūpo na tu
jyotiṣmān iti vadanti / tad uktam asmad-vede / śuddham brahma-
prakāśaḥ prthivyākāśayoh sa prakāśo yathā gavākṣa-dīpaḥ sa dīpaḥ ¹⁰
kācaghaṭī-madhye kācaghaṭī ca prakṛṣṭaparakāśa-tārāvāt prakāśate sa dīpaḥ
prajvālita iṅgudī-phala-tailena sa ceṅgudī-vṛkṣo ¹¹ na pūrve na vā paścime
/ nikṣe tu śobhāmāneṅgudī-tailaṃ prakāśate vinā'gni-saṃyoge[na] /
prakāśasyopari prakāśaḥ / mārgam jñāpayati parameśvaraḥ svaprakāśasya
yam icchati / atha yad viraktena mayā buddham tad idam / gavākṣa-

¹ Transliteration of جلال *jalāl*

² Transliteration of جمال *gamāl*

³ RC svaprajāśaḥ

⁴ RC taiḥ(?); BL tam

⁵ RC omits /

⁶ MS ājñaptam; RC omits /

⁷ MS -muhūrta-

⁸ MS dharmādapi

⁹ RC ye vā

¹⁰ RC omits sa dīpaḥ

¹¹ RC -vṛkṣā

padasya prayojanam brahmāṇḍam prakāṣam dīpa-pada-prayojanam jyotiḥ-svarūpam / kācaghaṭī-pada-prayojanam ātmā sā kācaghaṭī ātmā bhavati tārā-sadṛśa-prakāśavati bhavati / asya dīpasya prakāśena kāca-ghaṭī api dīpa-sadṛśatām jñāpayati prajvalitaḥ sa dīpo vyañjanayā śuddhacaitanya-prakāśaḥ ¹² śobhamāna-śuddhacaitanya-svarūpa-vṛkṣāt sa sarvadigbhyo vyāvṛttaḥ na pūrvasyām na pāścimāyām iṅgudī-taila-pada-prayojanam paramātmā / tac ca tailam atisūkṣmam atisvaccham / svayaṃ svayam eva prakāśate / prayojanam nāsti prajvalane / ekātmavādinām gurur vāsiti ¹³ nāmā ātma-praśamsāyām ājñaptavān ātmanas tu kāca-ghaṭī tathā prakāśavati yathā smārtatsyāgneḥ ¹⁴ sparśasya veda-śravaṇasya cāpekṣā nāstīti / atyanta-sāmarthyena nikaṭe svayaṃ svayam eva prakāśo bhavati / ayaṃ taila-prakāśaḥ śuddhabrahma-prakāśena saha prakāśopari prakāśaḥ / asyārthaḥ atisvacchatva-prakāśatvābhyām prakāśaḥ prakāśopari idṛśo 'pi prakāśopari prakāśo na dṛśyate kenāpi tāvad yāvat svīyaikatva-prakāśena ¹⁵ mārgam jñāpayati / prayojanam idaṃ śuddham brahma ¹⁶ svaprakāśena prakāśa-sambandhinām sūkṣmāṇām āvaraṇānām madhye prakāṣam / kaścana andhakāra āvaraṇam vā tan madhye nāsti / yādṛśaḥ śuddhabrahma-prakāśaḥ paramātmāvaraṇe prakāṣaḥ atha paramātmā ātmanām āvaraṇe ātmanāḥ śārīrā[5a]ṇām āvaraṇe / anena prakāreṇa dīpas taila-sahitaḥ kācaghaṭīyāvaraṇa-madhye prakāṣaḥ kācaghaṭī gavākṣāvaraṇa-madhye / ete śuddha-brahma-prakāśa-vyāpāreṇa prakāśopari-prakāśam kṛtavantaḥ /

atheśvaradarśana-nirūpaṇam / īśvara-darśanam siddhaiḥ sāṅgatkāra (10) ity ucyate / vāhya-cakṣuṣā antaś-cakṣuṣā ca jānihi / parameśvara-darśane ihāmutra darśanam ¹⁷ vāhyābhyantara-cākṣuṣe keṣām api siddhānām munīnām vā parameśvara-kṛta-śuddhāntaḥ karaṇānām nāsti śāṅkā-vipratipattiḥ paraspara-virodho vā / sarveṣām apy apauruṣeya-granthavatām paripūrṇānām darśanavatām pratimatām asmīn arthe śraddhā 'sti kiṃ kurāṇa ¹⁸ -vatām kiṃ vedavatām kiṃ taurāta ¹⁹ -vatām kiṃ iñjīla ²⁰ -vatām / ajñānino 'ndhāś ca te ye sva-sva-mārga parameśvara-pratyakṣam nāṅgī-kurvanti / sarva-sāmarthyavataḥ ²¹ parameśvarasya sva-

¹² RC śuddhacaitanyasya prakāśaḥ

¹³ Transliteration of واسطي wāsiti

¹⁴ MS smārta-

¹⁵ RC (śo na)(?)

¹⁶ MS corrected in the margin

¹⁷ RC omit

¹⁸ Transliteration of قرآن qur'ān

¹⁹ Transliteration of توریت taurit

²⁰ RC iñjīla: Transliteration إنجيل iñjīl

²¹ MS sarvassāmarthyavataḥ

pratyakṣakarāṇe kuto na sāmāthyam /asmin viṣaye sunnīnām samyak mārgopalabdhiḥ yadi nirguṇam śuddhacaitanyam draṣṭum śaknoti tad etam atyanta-vādhitam śuddhasya ekākinah sūkṣmasyāparicchinnasya yāvāt paricchedaḥ sūkṣmāvaraṇa-prakāśaś ca ²² na bhavati tāvat pratyakṣasyāsambhavāt / tasmāt idr̥śasya pratyakṣasyātyantābhāvaḥ / yad uktaṁ paraloka eveśvara-pratyakṣam na tv ihaloka iti tan-nirmūlam / yadi tasmin sarva-sāmāthyam 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-lloke darśana-sampado nirāśo bhavati sa tasmin avalokana-sampado hatāśo bhavati / ye tu hukmāmārtājala ²³ īśvara-pratyakṣam nāṅgī-kurvanti te mahāparādham kṛtavantaḥ / yadi śuddhasya pratyakṣam na sambhavatīti vadeyuḥ tadā 'sya vivādasyāspadam kiñcid api syāt / sarva-prakāreṇāpi pratyakṣam na sambhavatīti vadadbhir atyantam mahāparādhaḥ kṛtaḥ yato bahudhā paripūrṇaiḥ ²⁴ siddhair munibhiśca bāhya-cakṣuṣā parameśvarasya darśanam śabda-śravaṇaṇ ca sākṣāt-kṛtam / yadi tad-vākyaśravaṇam sarva-dikṣu aṅgī-karoṣi kutas tarhi sarva-dikṣu tad-darśanam api nāṅgī-karoṣi / yathā parameśvaro devatā apauruṣeya-granthāḥ siddhā mahāpralayaḥ sādhv-asādhunī parameśvarāt-tīrthādīni ca avaśya-śraddheyāḥ tathā parameśvara-darśanam apy avaśyam śraddheyam yata īśvara-darśanam eva sarveṣāṁ prayojanam / kiñ ca parasparam virodhaḥ kṛtaḥ ²⁵ paramasiddha-vākya asmadiya-pañḍitaiḥ kaścana praśnaḥ kṛto dr̥ṣṭaḥ parameśvaras tvayeti / tataḥ ājūaptavān prakāśamānam paśyāmy aham tam / tair etad-vākyaṁ itthaṁ ²⁶ paṭhitam jyotiḥ-svarūpam katham paśyāmy aham tam / yuktaṁ na bhavati yat paramasiddhasyādarśanam / yaḥ prathamato 'rtho 'smābhiḥ svīkṛtaḥ vyañjanāsti tasya darśanam prakāśa[5b]varaṇeyam ²⁷ svīkurmaḥ vyañjanā 'sti atyanta-śuddhacaitanyam nīrūpam iti / etat pāṭha-dvayaṁ paraspara-viruddhārthakam na bhavati kintu adbhuta-siddo 'yam / ekasmin vākya dvayoḥ siddhāntayor nirṇayaḥ kṛtaḥ / yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate / tasmin divase mukhāni prasannāni santuṣṭā hi paśyanti svīya-parameśvaram / spaṣṭam pramāṇam darśana-viṣaye kim idaṁ darśanam īśvara-pada-sambandhi jātam iti tasya paricchinneśvaratvasya darśanam sambhavati / kvacit kaṇḍikayām idaṁ śrūyate cakṣūṁṣi tatra paśyanti sa cakṣūṁṣi paśyati sa sūkṣmaḥ

²² RC sūkṣmāvaraṇanāśaśca

²³ Transliteration of حکمای معتزله *hukamā-yi mu'tazilah*

²⁴ RC paripūrṇeḥ

²⁵ RC kutaḥ

²⁶ RC tadetadvākya-

²⁷ RC prakāśācaraneyam(?)

sa sarvajña iti vyañjanā nīrūpatvasyāsti / asyārthaḥ cakṣūṃṣi tan na paśyanti nirguṇatva-nīrūpatvābhyām sa sarvaṃ paśyati sa parama-sūkṣmo nīrūpaś ca / asyām kaṇḍikāyām sa iti padaṃ tiṣṭhati tena vyajyate śuddhacaitanyasyāpratyakṣatvam / darśanam īśvarasya pañca-prakāraḥ prathama-darśanam svapne manas-cakṣuṣā dvitīyaṃ darśanam jāgrati śiras-cakṣuṣā tṛtīyaṃ tu svapna-jāgaraṇayor-madhye viśeṣa-nirahāṅkāratayā caturthaṃ viśeṣa-paricchinne darśanam / pañcamaṃ ²⁸ darśanam eka-svarūpasya bahūnām paricchinnaṃ bāhyānām ābhyantarāṅgān jagatām madhye / evam eva dr̥ṣṭam paramasiddhena tasmin samaye svayam na sthitaḥ dr̥g-dr̥ṣyayor aikyaṃ ca sthitam atha ca svapna-jāgran-nirahantānām aikyaṃ jñātam abhūt / kiṃca bāhyābhyantara-cakṣūṃṣi ekī-bhūtāni abhūvan darśanasya iyam eva mānyatā paripūrṇā etad darśanasyehaloka paralokāpekṣā nāsti sarvasmin deśe kāle ca sambhavati /

atha nāmāni nirūpyante / parameśvarasyānantāni nāmāni maryādā-
paricchedātītāni mutlkbahat ²⁹ śuddhacaitanyasya siddhāḥ śūnyaṃ (11)
nirguṇam nirākāram nirañjanam sat-cit-ānanda iti vadanti asmad-
vedamukhasya allāha ³⁰ ity asya om iti vadanti / hu ³¹ ity asya
sa iti vadanti / jñānāparaparyāya ilm ³² sambandhāt ālima ³³ iti
vadanti siddhās caitanyam iti nāma vadanti / haiyaḥ ³⁴ nityam iti
kādarah ³⁵ samarthaḥ murīdah ³⁶ svatantraḥ samīah ³⁷ śrotā vasīrah
³⁸ draṣṭā iti vadanti / vacana-sambandhāt vakteti phiristānām ³⁹ de-
vatā iti majahara-atamasya ⁴⁰ mahāvātāra? iti avatāras tu sa yasmin
samaye yatra parameśvara sāmāthyam yāvat prakātam anyatra kutrāpi

²⁸ RC pañcamadarśanam

²⁹ Transliteration مطلق تحت mutluqu bahatu

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 الحى al-hayru

³⁵ Transliteration of قادر qādir

³⁶ Transliteration of مرید murīd

³⁷ Transliteration of سمیع samī'u

³⁸ Transliteration of بصیر baṣīru

³⁹ Transliteration of فرشته firīstah

⁴⁰ Transliteration of مظهر آتم mazhar-i 'atammu

tasmin samaye prakāṭi bhavituṃ na śaknoti / vahayasya ⁴¹ ā[6a]kāśa-
vānīti ājñaptavān paramasiddhaḥ / sarvābhya ākāśavānībhyo mahyam
iyam atyantam atikaṭhinatarā ghaṇṭā bhramara-śabdānukāriṇī / yato 'yam
śabdaḥ ākāśāt prakāṭo bhavati ata ākāśa-vānītyucyate / apauruṣeya ⁴²
kurāṇaṃ ⁴³ siddhānāṃ veda ity ucyate / piśācānāṃ madhye sujanāḥ pari ⁴⁴
śabda-vācyāḥ teṣāṃ eva durjanā devaśāyātiṃ ⁴⁵ rākṣasās cocyante / atha
ādami ⁴⁶ manuṣyaḥ nabī ⁴⁷ siddhaḥ valī ⁴⁸ ṛṣīśvara iti nāma kathayanti /
atha siddhatva ṛṣīśvaratva-nirūpaṇam / siddhās tri-vidhāḥ / ekaḥ sa (12)
yena parameśvaro dṛṣṭo bāhyena ābhyantareṇa vā cakṣuṣā / dvitīyaḥ sa
yena śabdaḥ śrutāḥ sa śabdo varṇātmako vā dhvany-ātmako vā / tṛtīyaḥ
sa yena devatā dṛṣṭā tacchabdo vā śrutāḥ / siddhatvam ṛṣīśvaratvam ca
tri-vidham / ⁴⁹ ekaṃ siddhatvam ṛṣīśvaratvaṅ ca nirguṇatva-sambandhi
dvitīyaṃ saguṇatva-sambandhi tṛtīyam ubhaya-sambandhi / nirguṇa-
sambandhi rūha ⁵⁰ -siddhatvam yathā / tena tattva-samudrasya nirguṇatva-
sambandhi dṛṣṭam tenaivopadiṣṭam tadīyalokair na svīkṛtam nirguṇatva-
sambandhitvāt alpaiḥ svīkṛtam tad upadiṣṭam / te nāśa-samudre nimagnā
virāgiṇaḥ samaye svīyān śiṣyānupadiśanti ⁵¹ nirguṇatvam / tad upadeśāt
ko 'pi na jñānavān jāyate phalaṃ 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-mārgānuyāyinaḥ tad-anukāriṇāś ca saguṇa-
sambandhināś tanmadhye nimagnāḥ santaḥ pratimopāsakā jātāḥ / tair
īśvarasyā "jñābhaṅgaḥ kṛtāḥ / ucchṛṅkhalāḥ kecanādyante asmākaṃ
samaye pūrṇānukāriṇāste sva-vyāpāram kṛtavanto 'munā prakāreṇa jīvanti
/ nirguṇatva-sambandha-rahitāḥ santaḥ saguṇatva-sambandhi-nimagnāḥ

⁴¹ Transliteration of وحى *wahy*

⁴² RC adds grantho 'smākaṃ

⁴³ Transliteration of قرآن *qurān*

⁴⁴ Transliteration of پری *parī*

⁴⁵ Transliteration of دیشیاطین *divśayātin*

⁴⁶ Transliteration of آدمی *ādami*

⁴⁷ Transliteration of نبی *nabī*

⁴⁸ Transliteration of ولی *walī*

⁴⁹ RC omits

⁵⁰ Transliteration of نوح *nūḥ*

⁵¹ MS śiṣyānupaviśanti

⁵² Transliteration of موسى *mūsā*

sundaram rūpaṃ paśyantaḥ anurañjaka-śabdaṃ samśrñvānāḥ asatya ⁵³ - prakāreṇa kriḍanto baddhā bhavanti / tat-prṣṭhato gamanaṃ na yuktaṃ yad rūpaṃ sva-svarūpaṃ pradarsya ceto harati / tat kālas tva-drṣṭer dūraṃ nayati / ato manas tatra deyaṃ yat tava saṅge sthitaṃ vartate ⁵⁴ sthāsyati ca / tṛtīyam ubhaya-sambandhi / asyārthaḥ saguṇatva-nirguṇatva sambandhinor ekikaraṇaṃ tat paripūrṇa-siddhatvaṃ paramasiddhasya siddhatvam yato nirguṇatva-saguṇatvāparicchinnatva-nīrūpatvasarūpatvānām ekikaraṇaṃ kṛtaṃ / yathā 'smad-vede [6b] śrūyate nāsti tat-sadrśaṃ vastu iyaṃ vyañjanā nirguṇatva-mānyatāyām atha ca śrotā draṣṭā ⁵⁵ ca iyaṃ vyañjanā saguṇatva-mānyatāyām iyaṃ paramamānyatā yad dvayor ekikaraṇaṃ / siddhatvaṃ samāpanāṅ ca sarvaloka-śīrūrūpā asādhāraṇī pūrva-pāścīmāyataṃ sarvaṃ jagat vyāpya sthitavatī / siddhatvaṃ nirguṇatva-sambandhi nīrāsam asti / saguṇatva-sambandhi siddhatvāt / saguṇatva-sambandhi-siddhatvaṃ hatāsam / nirguṇatva-sambandhi-siddhatvāt / paripūrṇa-siddhatvaṃ nirguṇatva-saguṇatvayor āchādakaṃ yathā 'smad-vedopaniṣadi śrūyate / huval avval val āṣil vajāhir valvātin ⁵⁶ / asyārthaḥ sa ādiḥ so 'ntaḥ sa prakāṭaḥ sa guptaḥ sa nirguṇaḥ sa saguṇaḥ sa paricchinnaḥ so 'paricchinnaḥ sa sākāraḥ sa nīrākāra iti / sa eva sarvaṃ idaṃ tad-atiriktaṃ kim api vastu nāsti / idrśaṃ siddhatvam eteṣāṃ paripūrṇānuyāyinām eva viśeṣataḥ yathoktaṃ asmad-vede / sarva-matānusāribhyo bhavanta utkrṣṭāḥ saguṇa-nirguṇayor dvayor api aikyena upāsanā-karaṇāt / asyārthaḥ paramasiddhānusāriṇaḥ te ca īśvara-satkrīta-paramasiddha-samayavartinaḥ ⁵⁷ siddhās-tat-parivāra-bhūtās-tat-pratinidhi-bhūtās ca / abūbakr ⁵⁸ umar ⁵⁹ usmān ⁶⁰ alī ⁶¹ hasan ⁶² husayn ⁶³ anyasmin samaye ca etād-rśāḥ junnūna misīrī ⁶⁴ junedo ⁶⁵ jñānināṃ guruḥ

⁵³ MS, RC asatva-

⁵⁴ MS varttate

⁵⁵ MS drṣṭā

⁵⁶ Transliteration of هو الأول و الآخر و الظاهر و الباطن huwa 'l-awwalu wa 'l-āḥiru wa 'l-zāhir wa 'l-bāḥin (Qur'ān 3:109)

⁵⁷ MS -varttinaḥ

⁵⁸ RC avuvakr; Transliteration of أبو بكر abū bakr

⁵⁹ Transliteration of عمر 'umar

⁶⁰ Transliteration of عثمان 'uṭmān

⁶¹ Transliteration of علي 'ali

⁶² Transliteration of حسن ḥasan

⁶³ Transliteration of حسين ḥusayn

⁶⁴ RC -misīro; Transliteration of ذو النون مصري dū 'l-nūn miṣrī

⁶⁵ Transliteration of گنبد gunayd

mīrān muhaddīn ibn arabī ⁶⁶ sadgurūḥ miyānī mīr mullā śāh mīyām vārī ⁶⁷
/

⁶⁶Transliteration of *پیر من محی الدین ابن العربی* *pīr-i man muḥy al-dīn ibn al-‘arabī*

⁶⁷Transliteration of *میان باری؛ ملا شاہ؛ میان میر؛* *miyān mīr; mullā śāh; miyān bārī*

atha diñ ¹ nirūpaṇam / asmad-ekātma-vādinaḥ pūrva-pāścimottara-
dakṣiṇordhvādho-bhedena ṣaḍ ² vadanti / siddhāḥ daśa iti vadanti / dvayor-
dvayor-diśor-madhye ekaikā vidik āgneyī nairṛtī vāyavī aiśānī daśa diśo
vadanti / pūrva-dakṣiṇayor-madhye āgneyī / dakṣiṇa-pāścimayor-madhye
nairṛtī / pāścimottarayor-madhye vāyavī / uttara-pūrva-madhye aiśānī /

athāsmānā-paraparyāya gaganā-nirūpaṇam / siddhāḥ aṣṭau vadanti / (15)
tatra sapta-grahāṇām bhramaṇa-śīlānām sara-nirūpāṇi sapta gaganāni / te
ca grahāḥ / juhal mustarī mirrikh ³ śams juharai utārid kamar ⁴ iti vadanti
/ graha-nāmāni siddhāḥ śanaīscara bṛhaspati maṅgala sūrya śukra budha
candrā iti vadanti / sarva-nakṣatrāṇām ādhārabhūtaṃ gaganam aṣṭamam
etasya gaganasya dārśanikāḥ aṣṭamaṃ nakṣatragaganam [ṭa] vadanti /
yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate / gaganāni pṛthivī ca kurśī madhye sammānti
navamaṃ mahākāśam jñātvā gaganā-madhye tan nikṣiptaṃ sa sarvavyāpaka
iti sa sarveṣāṃ gaganānām pṛthivīnām kurśyās-cāchādaka iti /

atha pṛthivī-nirūpaṇam / pṛthivyāḥ sapta bhedaḥ / te ca bhedaḥ sapta (16)
puṭāny ucyante / tāni ca puṭāni atala-vitala-sutala-talātala-mahātala -
rasātala-pātalākhyāni / asman-mate 'pi sapta bhedaḥ / yathā 'smad-vede
śrūyate parameśvaraḥ ⁵ yena sapta gaganāni kṛtān tadvat sapta pṛthivyāḥ
kṛtāḥ /

atha pṛthivyā vibhāga-nirūpaṇam / yatra lokāstiṣṭhanti tasyā (17)
dārśanikāḥ saptadhā vibhāgaḥ kṛtāḥ tān vibhāgān sapta aaklima ⁶ iti
vadanti / paurāṇikās tu sapta dvīpāni vadanti / etān khaṇḍān palāṇḍu-
tvag-vat upary-adhobhāvena na jānanti kintu niḥśreṇī-sopānavaj-jānanti
/ sapta-parvatān sapta kulācalān vadanti / teṣāṃ parvatānām nāmāny
etāni / prathamāḥ sumeruḥ madhye dvitīyo himavān tṛtīyo hemakūṭaḥ
caturtho niṣadhaḥ ete sumeror dakṣiṇataḥ / nīlaḥ pañcamāḥ śvetaḥ
ṣaṣṭaḥ śṛṅgavān saptamaḥ / ete sumeror uttaraṭaḥ / mālyavān pūrvasyām
gandhamādanaḥ pāścimāyām kailāśas tu maryādā-parvatebhyo 'tirikṭaḥ /
yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate asmābhiḥ parvatāḥ śāṅkavaḥ pṛthivyāḥ kṛtāḥ
/ eteṣāṃ sapta-dvīpānām pratyekam-āveṣṭana-rūpāḥ sapta-samudrāḥ /
lavaṇo jambu-dvīpasya āvarakaḥ / ikṣurasāḥ plakṣa-dvīpasya surā-samudraḥ
sālmalīdvīpasya gṛta-samudraḥ kuśa-dvīpasya dadhi-samudraḥ krauñca-

¹ MS diñ

² MS ṣaṭ

³ RC miṭarikh

⁴ Transliteration of زحل، مشتري، مریخ، شمس، زهره، عطارد، قمر zuhal, muštari-
, marīḥ, śams, zuhrah, 'utārid, qamar

⁵ MS adds sa parameśvaraḥ

⁶ RC aaklima; Transliteration of إقليم 'iqlim

dvīpasya kṣīra-samudraḥ śāka-dvīpasya svādujaḥ-samudraḥ puṣkara-
dvīpasyāvaraka iti samudrāḥ sapta / asmad-vede 'pi prakatā bhavanti vṛkṣā
lekhanyo ⁷ bhaveyuḥ samudro maṣī bhavet tataḥ paścāt sapta-samudrāḥ
maṣī-bhaveyuḥ bhagavad-vākyaṇi samāptāni na bhavanti prati-dvīpaṃ
prati-parvatam prati-samudram nānā-jātayo 'nantā jantavas tiṣṭhanti /
yā pṛthivī ye parvatāḥ ye samudrāḥ sarvābhyah pṛthivībhyah sarvebhyah
parvatebhyah sarvebhyah samudrebhyah upari tiṣṭhanti tān svarga iti
vadanti / yā pṛthivī ye parvatā ye samudrāḥ sarvābhyah pṛthivībhyah
sarvebhyah parvatebhyah sarvebhyah samudrebhyah adbhohāge tiṣṭhati sa
naraka iti vadanti / niścitam kila siddhaiḥ svarga-narakādikaṃ sarvaṃ
brahmāṇḍāna kiñcid vahir astīti / te sapta-gaganāśritāḥ sapta-grahāḥ
svargaṃ parito mekhalāvāt paribhramantīti vadanti na svargasyo[7b]pari
/ atha ca svargasya dyadi ⁸ mana-ākāśaṃ jānanti asmadīyās taṃ arsaṃ ⁹
vadanti svargabhūmiṃ kursīti ¹⁰ vadanti /

atha jagad-varjakha ¹¹ -paryāya preta-lokanirūpaṇam / asman- (18)
mahāsiddhenājñaptam niścayena khalu yaḥ kaścīn-mṛtasya pralayo jātaḥ
tata ātmā tat-kṣaṇa eva bhautika-sthūlaśarīrā [d]-viyogaṃ prāpya sūkṣma-
śarīre pravīṣati / tasya sūkṣma-śarīrasya karmaṇa utpattiḥ tac ca karma
dharmo vā adharma vā praśnottare samāpte tat kṣaṇam svargiṇam
svarge nayanti nārakiṇam narake nayanti / anusārī etad-veda-kaṇḍikāyāḥ
te nirbhāgyā jātāḥ santo 'gni-madhye uccair-ākrośantaḥ sakaruṇam jal-
panto nityam tatraivāgnau tiṣṭhanti tāvad yāvad dyāvā-bhūmī tiṣṭhataḥ
parameśvarasyecchām vinā / niścayena kila tava parameśvaraḥ karoti
yad icchati / ye bhāgyavantas te svarge nityam tiṣṭhanti yāvad dyāvā-
bhūmī tiṣṭhataḥ vinā parameśvarasya tan-niṣkāsanecchām kṛpādānam
tasyānantam yad dyāvā-bhūmyor nāśāt pūrvam api yadīchati narakāt svarge
nayati / eko mahāpuruṣa etad-kaṇḍikāyā artham ittham akarot / ekaḥ
samaya etādṛśa āyāsyati yatra nārakiṇaḥ ke 'pi narake na sthāsyanti /
cira-kālam naraka-sthity-anantaram niṣkāsanam svargiṇam svargāt tad yad-
dyāvā-bhūmyo-nāśāt pūrvam api yadīchati svargāt phiradausa ālā ¹² mad-
hye nayati yataḥ kṛpādānam tasyānantam / yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate
parameśvarasyaikāḥ svargas tiṣṭhati / yaḥ sarva-svargebhya utkṛṣṭhatamaḥ
yaṃ siddhāḥ vaikuṇṭham vadanti iyaṃ mahāmuktiḥ /

⁷ RC lekhantyo.

⁸ RC yadi

⁹ Transliteration of ارش arś

¹⁰ Transliteration of کرسی kursi

¹¹ Transliteration of برزخ barzah

¹² Transliteration of فردوس اعلی firdūs-i 'a'la

atha mahāpralaya-nirūpaṇam / siddhānām idaṃ mataṃ yat nārakiṇām (19)
narake svargiṇām svarge cira-kālam sthity-anantaram mahāpralayo jāyate /
yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate / śāṅkhe dharmāte sati paścān-mūrchanti dyusthā
bhūmi-ṣṭhās ca sarve vinā taṃ puruṣam yaṃ parameśvaro mūrccāto
rakṣitum icchati / te ca jñānina eva ye parameśvareṇehā-mutra ca
mūrchātaḥ pramādāc ca rakṣitāḥ / tad uktaṃ vāsiṣṭha-rāmāyaṇe /

kalpānta vāyavo yāntu ¹³ māntu caikatvam arṇavāḥ /
tapantu dvādaśādityā nāsti nirmanasaḥ kṣitih //

tataḥ paścān nāśaṃ prāpnuvanti divaḥ pṛthivyo narakāḥ svargāśca /
samāpte brahmaṇa āyuṣi brahmāṇḍe cādṛśyatām gate sati nārakiṇām
svargiṇām ca videha-muktir-bhāvinī / asyārtha ubhayeṣāṃ api śuddha-
brahmaṇi aikyaṃ bhaviṣyati / uktaṃ ca /

brahmaṇā saha te sarve samprāpte pratisaṅcare /
parasyānte kṛtātmānaḥ pravīṣanti paraṃ padam /

¹³ RC vāntu yāntu instead of yāntu māntu

athāhorātrasya brahmaṇo gupta-prakāṣatā-rūpasya nirūpaṇam /
 paurāṇikānām mate brahmaṇo jībraīla ¹ padābhidheyasya brahmāṇḍa-
 nāsasya parabrahmaṇaḥ prakāṣa-dina-samāpteś ca aṣṭādaśābja-parimitāni
 manuṣya-varṣāni / ekaikam abjaṃ koṭīśatasya bhavanti / ayam-arthaḥ
 asmad-veda-kaṇḍikā-dvayānusārī / tatraikā niścayena ca brahmaṇo
 nikaṣe ekam dinam asti atratya gaṇanayā sahasra-varṣa-parimitam
 bhavati / dvitīyakaṇḍikā punastannikaḥ gacchanti devatā ātmā ca /
 ātmā jībraīla-padābhidheyah / jībraīlo ² brahmā yasmin divase tasya
 mānam pañcāśat-sahasra-varṣa-parimitam yeśam varṣānām ekaikam
 dinam prasiddha-varṣa-parimitam ³ sahasravarṣasya prathama-kaṇḍikāyām
 prasaṅgo jātaḥ / evaṃ śatavarṣa-parimitam āyusaḥ parimānam ji-
 braīlasya tathā prakāṣa-dinasya parimānam jagat-pada-vācya-brahmāṇḍa
 samāpteḥ parimānam eteśam gaṇanām kurmaḥ / atratya lokagaṇanayā
 aṣṭādaśābjāni bhavanti / ekam abjaṃ koṭīśatasya bhavati nyūna-ṣaṣṭatām
 vinā anusārīṇiyam gaṇasiddha-gaṇanayā bhavati / aṣṭādaśatva-niyama
 etad-arthaṃ gaṇita-maryādā siddhānām nikaṣe aṣṭādaśasu paricchinnā
 aṣṭādaśottare gaṇana-maryādā yā abhāvāt / etan madhye pralayā bhūtā
 bhaviṣyanti / ca te khaṇḍapralayāḥ kayāmatisuvarā ⁴ paraparyāyā
 ucyante / yathā jala-pralayo vāhni-pralayo vāyu-pralayo vā etasya dinasya
 sa[10a]māptau rātrau jāyamānāyām kyāmatikuvarā ⁵ bhavati / tam
 mahāpralayam vadati / kaṇḍikā-dvayasyeyamājñā / tatraikasyā iyam
 ājñā tasmin divase veṣṭanam kariṣyāmi gaganānām panna-veṣṭanavat ⁶ /
 dvitīya-kaṇḍikāyā iyam ājñā bhaviṣyaty etasyāḥ pṛthivyāḥ pratidinidhi-rūpā
 parā pṛthivī prakāṣā bhavati mahāpralayottaram gupta-rātrau prakāṣa-
 dina-samāna-parimānāyām paricchinnam sarvaṃ vastu śuddhacaitanye
 līnam bhavati rātrerapi mānam atratya varṣa-gaṇanayā aṣṭādaśābja-
 samkhyāni varṣāni bhavanti / idaṃ rātreḥ parimānam śuddhacaitanyasya
 suṣuptiḥ sṛṣṭer jagat-prakāṣi-karaṇād viśrāmyati / etat kaṇḍikāyām
 vyakteyam suṣuptiḥ / tasyāś ca kaṇḍikāyā ayam-arthaḥ śīghram eva
 viśrāmam kurmo bhavadabhyaḥ he devayonayo manuṣyāś ca yāvad divaseṣu
 jagat prakāṣam tāvacchuddhacaitanyasya jāgrad-avasthāsthānam khaṇḍa-
 pralayāḥ svapnāvasthāsthānam mahāpralayāḥ suṣuptyavasthā-sthānam
 / yadāhur niśvasitam asya vedā vīkṣitam asya pañca bhūtāni sthitam

¹ RC jībaraīla

² RC jībraīlo

³ RC -m ;

⁴ Transliteration of قیامت صغری *qiyāmat-i suḡrā*

⁵ Transliteration of قیامت کبری *qiyāmat-i kubrā*

⁶ RC patraveṣṭanavat

etasya carācaram asya ca suptaṃ mahāpralaya iti / he suhṛttatama asmin
nirūpaṇe yal-likhitam sūksmadrṣṭyān ekadhā niścitam tat svānubhāvānusārī
/ anubhavaścaitat-kaṇḍikā-dvayānusārī jñātaḥ kutrāpi granthe na dṛṣṭo na
vā kutaścit śrutah / yady ayam-artho 'paripūrṇa-matinām śruti-kaṭus tadā
'smākaṃ na kāpi kṣatīḥ / parameśvaro 'vāptakāmo jagataḥ /

atha brahmāṇḍa-pravāhānantya-nirūpaṇam / niścetāraḥ śāstra-jñāḥ (22)
satya-svarūpasya naikaiveyaṃ rātrir na caikam idaṃ dinam kintu etad rātri-
samāptau punā rātrir āyāsyati anena prakāreṇānantyam etasyānādipravāha
iti nāma vadanti / asmākaṃ jñāna-kavinā vyañjanayā 'yam ananta-pravāha
uktaḥ / vṛttāntasya mama priyatamasya cānto nāsti / yad vastu ādi-rahitam
tad antavad api na bhavati yat kiñcid vastu-jātam viśeṣataḥ prakāṣṭam
guptam ca pūrvam divā rātrau sthitam tadeva vinā nyūna-viśamatām
anyasminn ahorātre tathaiva punar āvirbhavati tiro-bhavati ca / yathā
'smad-vede śrūyate yathā prakāṣṭi-kṛtāḥ pūrvam sarva-vastu-sṛṣṭayaḥ punar
api tathaiva tāḥ prakāṣṭa-sṛṣṭīḥ kariṣyāmo yāḥ sṛṣṭayo naṣṭāḥ āsan paścāt
samāpte brahmāṇḍe manau ca yathāpūrvam sthitāḥ tathaiva tat-svarūpeṇa
punar āvir-bhavanti sarvadaiva evaṃ prakāreṇa jāyante / yathāsmad-vede
śrūyate bhavantaḥ pūrvam sṛṣṭās tathaiva punaḥ ⁷ sraḥsyāmi / nanu
asmat-parabmasiddhasya [10b] siddhatva-samāptir anena prakāreṇa na
sidhyet / atra vyaṃ brūmah / anyasmin divase 'pi parameśvara-satkṛte
'smat-paramasiddhe tat svarūpeṇa prādur bhūte tasmin divase punar api
paramasiddhatvam tatraiva samāpsyate / asmat-paramasiddhasyedaṃ
vākyaṃ rātrāvīśvara-darśanārtham uparigata-sambandhi / asminn arthe
pramāṇam tasyāṃ rātrāv asman-mahāsiddhāḥ pravāham uṣṭrāṇām
dṛṣṭavantaḥ te ca uṣṭrā anavarataṃ calanti ekaikasyopari mañjūṣā-dvayam
ekaikamañjūṣāyām ekaikaṃ jagat tiṣṭhati etaj-jagat-sadrśam ekaikasmiñ
jagati sva-sadrśo mahāsiddho 'sti / brahmāṇam prati pṛṣṭaimidaṃ kim
uktaṃ he mahāsiddha tat-samaye 'ham utpanno jātaḥ paśyāmy enam
uṣṭrāṇām pravāham mañjūṣa-sahitam gacchantam parantu aham na jānāmi
kim idam iti / iha mañjūṣā-padasya brahmāṇḍeṣv abhiprāyaḥ uṣṭra-
pravāha-padasya kāle 'bhiprāyaḥ nityam brahmāṇḍāni tasyopari calanti
/ yacca brahmaṇoktam idaṃ na jānāmīti tasyāyam āśayaḥ pravāhasya
ādim-antaṃ ca na jānāmīti /
viṣṇurūpātmana icchayā svīyamāno mandaram kṛtvā saṃkalpa-vikalpān
deva-daityān kṛtvā veda-samudram mathitvā jñāna-ratnam ekamīdṛśam
niṣkāsitam yad devair daityaiś ca samudramathanam kṛtvā niṣkāśiteṣu
caturdaśa-ratneṣv api na prāptam / ārādhanaḥ parameśvarasya vijñāpanā
ca yā kṛtā tayā samudra-saṅgama samāptau sāmartyam prāptam /

⁷ RC putraḥ

sahasrottara-pañcaśaṣṭatame saṃvatsare 'sma[t]-parama-śakād-vyatīte
dvicatvāriṃśattame ca saṃvatsare 'sya vīta-rāgasyāyuso vidyamāne
parameśvareṇa satkaraṇīyaḥ svajanaśreṣṭatamo 'smat-paramasiddhaḥ
saparivāra-pratinidhi samūhaḥ //

iti śrīsamudrasaṅgamanāmā granthaḥ paripūrṇatāmagamat / śubhaṃ
bhavatu lekhakapāṭhakayoḥ// śrīḥ // saṃvat 1765 varṣe mārgaśira vadi
saptamyāṃ candrajavāre // śrīḥ //

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