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
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IN
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BY
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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
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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 Islam 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 Qādiri order and became a disciple of Miyan Mīr and Mullā Shāh. Inspired by the sayings and acts of these spiritual preceptors, prominent Śūfī works and the acquaintance in his contemporary Śūfīs. Dārā wrote hagiographical works on Śūfīs including his spiritual preceptors, compiled Śūfistic aphorisms and wrote some tracts on Śūfism. His study of Hindu scriptures and direct contact with Hindu saints and pandits 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 Śūfism 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 Malḥūz 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, Śāmkhya-Yoga and Tantra Yoga have been inserted, thus it can be said to have a synthetic approach or to be an eclectic work. Some are duly understood and some are misunderstood. Misunderstandings are not rare and interesting or significant, however, how and why they occur is an interesting and enlightening point to describe the world of the MB as a source book of information of contemporary trends in Indian philosophy and religion.

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

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part I consists of the critical study of Philosophy of Religion of Dārā Shukoh. In Chapter 1, a historical study
has been made on his biography and the sketch of Dārā's own works. Works dedicated to Dārā are briefly summarized. In Chapter 2, for the investigation of Dārā Shukoh's philosophy of religion, an analytical study of the MB is made with reference to source books. In Chapter 3, for the investigation of the background of Dārā's thought, an analysis is made of the influence of Dārā's spiritual preceptors, contemporary entourages and translated works into Persian. Part II consists of a critical edition of the Persian text of the MB and Arabic and Sanskrit translations.

Part I Study of Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn

Chapter I: Historical Study of Dārā Shukoh

After brief a sketch of Dārā Shukoh's biography in 1-1, works of Dārā shukoh is described in 1-2. Dārā was a prolific writer. His works reflect his spiritual progress. His author life can be divided into two decades due to his intellectual and spiritual changes. The first half reflects his deep study of mysticism and standard Šūfīstic works. His initiation into Qadiri silsila in 1640, when he was 25 years old is the starting point for his practical study of Šūfīsm. The Safīmat al-Awliyā' belongs to the tazkira genre of Šūfī literature, was composed on the 27th Ramadan 1049 A.H. / 1640. Next, Sakīmat 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 Qadiri 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 Hasanat al-ʿArifin, Dārā collected ecstatic or paradoxical utterances ascribed to mystics. The Tariqat al-Haqrqat. Risālat-i, Risālat-i Ramazat and Risālat-i Maʿāsir on Šūfīstic principles and Islamic dogmas are ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. His Diwān with Šūfīstic tenets and the praise of his shaikhs is also compiled.

The second phase begins at the occasion of meeting Babā Lāl Bārāgī. He opened his eyes to the mysticism in Indian philosophy and religious tenet. In this phase, he wrote the Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn 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 Sirr-i Akbar. The translation of the Bhagavatpīṭā and the Yogavāsiṣṭha is also ascribed to Dārā. The dialogues between Dārā and Hindu sant Babā
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-Bahrayn

2-1-1 What is Majma' al-Bahrayn

Regarding the source of the title, the meaning of the term Majma' al-Bahrayn is investigated. The term is found in the Qur'an in only one place (Sūra XVIII-60). The place which the Majma' al-Bahrayn is located is interpreted variously, however, the interpretation of Majma' al-Bahrayn as the meeting of Moses and al-Khadir standing for the two seas of wisdom seems to be the reason why Dārā Shukoh entitled his work the Majma' al-Bahrayn. Date of composition is agreed in the manuscripts and the translations in the year 1065 A.H. Subject of the MB is Sūfistic 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-Bahrayn 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-Bahrayn

The publications of the Persian text have been done twice so far. One edited by Mahfuz al-Haqq 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 Nāʾinī and published in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran under the title Muntakhbāt-i Āthār.
2-1-3 Textual Problems

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

2-1-4 Contents of Majma’ al-Bahrayn

The contents of the MB is named as follows:
1. The Elements (′Anāšir)
2. The Sense Organs (Ḥawṣ)
3. The Devotional Exercises (Shughl)
4. The Attributes of God (Ṣifāt-i ʿAllāh)
5. The Soul (Rūḥ)
6. The Vital Breaths (Bād-hā)
7. The Four World (′Awālim-i arba’a)
8. The Sound (Awāż)
9. The Light (Nūr)
10. The Vision of God (Ru’uyat)
11. The Names of God (Aasmā’-i Allāh)
12. The Apostleship and the Saintship (Nubuwwa wa Wilāya)
13. The Brahmāṇḍa
14. The Quarters (Jihāt)
15. The Celestial Worlds (Āsman-hā)
16. The Nether World (Zamīn)
17. The Divisions of the World (Qismat-i zamīn)
18. The Barzakh (ʿĀlam-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-nihāvatī-yi adwar)
We arrange the analytical study into three sections: Nature of the World, God and Man. In the section of Nature of the World, Creation of Elements, Creation of Cognitive Organs, Purānic Cosmology; and the idea of Macrocosm and Microcosm; in the section of God, Attributes of God, Name of God and Divine time; in the section of Man, Nature of Soul, Way of Salvation, idea of Perfect Man and Jīvan-mukti are treated respectively.

2-2 Nature of the World

2-2-1 Creation (elements)

The MB opens with the cosmological idea of creation. Worldly creation is described as the evolution of the universe. All the mundane creations in Nasūt (human nature) are constituted with five elements (panca-bhūtāni). Thus the explanation of five elements and their equivalent in Indian philosophy are described. Among the five elements, Darā has keen interest in ākāśa. He introduces the three kinds of ākāśa: Bhūtākāśa, Manākāśa and Cidākāśa. This idea is strongly influenced by the Yovawisīthu 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 Čidākāśa was Love ('ishq) which is called māyā. Here, the MB quotes Hadith: ‘I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known: so, I brought the creation into existence.’ Darā finds the equivalent of this Love in the concept of Māyā, the Vedic Divine creative power. The idea of Hiranyagarbhā and Haqīqat-i Muḥammad, the first born in the process of creation, is focused in the MB. The concept of Ibn ‘Arabi’s the Reality of Muḥammad (Haqīqat-i Muḥammad, 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 (śīngasarīra). 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 (antahkarana). First, the MB enumerates internal organs (hawās-i bātin) in Islamic philosophy as Ḥiss-i Mushtarik (sensus communis, generalizing sense), Khayāl (imagination), Mutasarrifa (contemplative), Hāfiża (retention) and Wālima (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 (dīl), cit: having one quality of vṛtti, ahaṅkāra: 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 Vasistha. This description of the process is clearly found in the Yogavāsisṭha. The five cognitive senses derived from the sattva parts of the five elements. Although the precise process from each ahaṅkāra is omitted, the difference of three kinds of ahaṅkāra is clearly shown. Dārā was much interested in these three kinds of ahaṅkāras. For each stage of these ahaṅkāras, Dārā referred to a Qur’ānic verse as their authority. The three are ahaṅkāra-sattva, ahaṅkāra-rājasa and ahaṅkāra-tāmasa. These three states of Ahaṅkāra can correspond to the three stages of descent (nuzur) or the process of revelation (tajalli) of the Absolute: Oneness (Abadiyya), He-ness (Huwiyya) and I-ness (Aniyya). This Śūfistic idea is propagated by Ḥāfīẓ.

### 2-2-3 Purānic Cosmology

Cosmological ideas found in the MB mostly come from the Purānic literature. This universe is described as Brahmāṇḍa in chapter 13 in the MB. Just as in Purānic literatures, this universe is described with four categories: quarters, celestial, terrestrial and netherial regions, the MB describes it in the same way. Next comes the various regions. Section 15 of the MB treats the firmament (gagana), however, actually, he started to enumerate the seven planets (graha: kawākib-i sayyārah). The section 16 of the MB is only entitled ‘Earth (zāmin)’, however, actually it is the enumeration of the names of the nether world or region: Atala, Vital, Sutala, Rasātala, Talātala, Mahātala and Pātāla. As Purānic cosmology explains, the hollows in the earth are oceans and encircle each dvīpa, the MB enumerates the seven surrounding oceans.
2-2-4 Macrocosm and Microcosm

The motif of the idea of Microcosm and Macrocosm has in one way been brought into Islam with Pythagoras. Since the age of Al-Kindī, the idea that man is Microcosm was found. On the other hand, the concept of Cosmic Man has its root in body-birth idea of creation shown in the Purusa Sūkta in the Rg Veda. As Ikhwān al-Ṣafa distinguished between souls universal soul (al-kullī) and particular soul (al-juzṬ), Dārā introduces two kinds of soul. The universal soul is recognized as the emanated form of God. In Ibn ʿArabī’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 (huwīyya) 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 śārīra (body) and ātman (soul); on the other hand, the combination of waves, in their complete aspect may be likened to Abu ʿArwāh 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 triguna.
Triguna: 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: Jibra’īl, Mikā’īl and Israfil respectively. In the list of technical terms in the beginning of the Sirr-i Akbar, Dārā describes these three, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. They are identified with Jibra’īl, Mikā’īl and Israfil respectively. Three guṇas: rajoguna, sattvaguna and tamoguna 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 (Zāī al-muṭlaq) = Śunya (insensible); 2) the Pure (baḥt) = Nirguṇa (having no qualities, epithets); 3) the pure (sīrf) = Nrākāra (formless); 4) the Hidden (ghayb al-ghayb) = Niṛāṇa (pure); 5) the Necessary Self (ḥadrat al-wujūd) = Sat Cit Ānanda; 6) the Knowing (‘ālim) = Caitanya (consciousness); 7) the Living (al-Ḥayyū) = Ananta (endless); 8) the Powerful (qādir) = Svatānta (mighty); 9) the Desirous (muriḍ) = Svatantra (mighty); 10) the Hearing (samī’) = Srotṛ (listener); 11) the Seeing (baṣīr) = Draṣṭṛ (seer); 12) the speaker (kalām) = Vaktṛ (speaker); 13) Allāh = Amīn; 14) He (Ḥū) = Sah; 15) Angel (firishta) = Devata (divine being); 16) the Perfect Manifestation (maẓhar atamnu) = Avatāra (incarnation); 17) Divine Revelation (wahy) = Akāśavāṇī (heavenly voice); 18) Heavenly Books (kutub-i āsmānī) = Veda; 19) the virtuous jins (parī) = lacuna; 20) the evil jins (deva wa shavāṭīū) = Rākṣasa (demon); 21) the human beings (Adamī) = Manuṣya (human being); 22) saint (wālī) = Ṛṣīvāra (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-asma’ 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-asma’ 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 Ḻāt). It is called as Divine light (nūr-i khudā). This is equivalent with Jyotis svarūpa, sva-prakāśa or svayam-prakāśa. Dārā himself analyses the meaning of each symbolical words in the light verse. The Niche (mishkāt) stands for the world of bodily existence; the Lamp stands for the Light of the Essence; the Glass stands for the human soul; the Sacred Tree (shajarat mubārak) refers to the Self of Truth who is free from the East and West and Olive-oil (zayt) refers to the Great Soul (rūḥ-i aʿẓam) which is luminous without being lighted. At the end of section 9, the MB introduces the idea of veils as the real purport of this Qur’ānic light verse. The Light of the Essence is manifested in the veil of Soul of Souls (Abū al-Arwāh), the Soul of Souls manifested in the veil of Soul. In the questions and answers between Dārā and his respectful guru, Shaykh Muḥibbullāh Ilahābādī. 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 ʿArabī and Ḥīf. 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 (āṅka) and connected with the concept of abja. The MB identifies eighteen āṅka (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 controversial word is very similar in Persian, however, we can read the second one as abja. Because the explanation of this unit is equivalent to abja. One abja equals to 10⁹. The reading of most of the Persian manuscripts shows the equivalent, a hundred crore (10² × 10⁷ = 10⁹). 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 10¹⁷. 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. Jabarūṭ. 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 Jabarūṭ. 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 rūḥakulli (rūḥ kulli) and rūḥajūjāī (rūḥ juzī), that is to say the universal soul (rūḥ kulli) and particular soul (rūḥ juzī). Soul (rūḥ) or ātman is determined with subtle (laṭīf) aspect of Pure Self (zāṭ-i baḥt) or ṣuddhacaitanya and determined with gross (kathīf) aspect which is called physical body (jasad or sārīra). The Essence determined in the beginning is rūḥ-i aʿzām which is the aggregate of all the attributes and has the state of Abstract Oneness (ahadiyya). According to the monistic doctrine of Vijnānabhikṣu, the individual soul exists in the paramātman in an undifferentiated state. The difference is that jīva (individual) is regarded as being a part of God, like son and father. God exists in the jīvas just as the whole existence exists in the parts. Thus Self in three states is described as follows: in pure state: Brahma; in the state associated with māyā: Īśvara; in the state with five subtle elements of matter: Hiranyagarbha or Virāṭapurūṣa. Paramātman is the essence of the individual souls (jīvas). God is the ultimate substratum of all, the functioning of all types of causes (adhiṣṭhānakāraṇata). Regarding the concept of the rūḥ-i aʿzām as the determined form of the Absolute and identification with Abstract Oneness (ahadiyya), we find the concept of descent (nuzūr) or individualization of the Absolute. On the list of technical terms in the beginning of the Sīr-Akbar, jīvātman (ātmā)
is explained as ‘soul possessed with physical body (ruḥ-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, apana, 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 Śūfis 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 Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣad has comparable to the Śūfistic 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. Śūfism has sharī’a (the path to be followed, the Sacred Law of Islam) and ṭariqa (the path of Śūfism, practical method guided by spiritual guide) and Ḥaqīqa (the path of Truth, the experience of Divine Reality) as three pillars of Śūfism.

Al-Ghazzālī’s Ihyā recommends contemplation (zikr) as the easiest way to lead directly to God. Zikr, literally means recollection or recital of God’s name by the repetition of the religious formulae, lā-ilā-ha ʾil-la l-lāh with the concentration of mind. Among these zikrs, Shugl-i Pās-i Anfās seems to have been regarded as the most important one by Dārā. This is called Habs-i dam ‘recollection by regulation of breath’, practised by the Śūfis of Chishti, 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). Ac­

cording 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 latīf). 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 decreas­
ing, 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 ex­
istence of this sound. This is called the infinite (biḥad) 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 Miyaṅ
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 Prānāyāma. From the age of
Upaniṣads, it is considered to be the recommendable way to acquire the true
knowledge of the Absolute. In Śvetāvata Upaniṣad, the practice of Yoga
is recommended to acquire the truth of Soul or the manifestation of Brahman.
In the process of practising Yoga, prānāyāma is said to help controlling the
mind and acquiring the truth of soul.

Just as Šūfis 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 descrip­
tion, 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
**Bisala, Sultan al-Azkar.** 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 *susumnā* when the ears, nose, and mouth are closed.

In the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā commented on the *Atharvasīkā Upaniṣad* as identical with *anāhata* sound and equivalent to universal sound (*āwāz-i mutlaq*). On the other hand, Aum is called *Veda-nukha* and *Ism-i A’zam* is its equivalent. In the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, Aum is called *pranava* 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 (*dhvāni*). In section 11, as we will see in 2-4-3, the equivalent term of *Allāh* is called Aum. In the way of existential realization of ultimate truth, the *MB* find out the experience of *anāhata nāda* as the manifestation of the divine essence.

### 2-4-3 Perfect Man

Prophethood (*nubuwwa*) and Sainthood (*wilāya*) is the controversial problem in Islamic theology. In section 12, the *MB* divides apostles into three categories. 1) apostles who might have beheld God either with the physical or inner eyes; 2) apostles who might have heard the voice of God whether sound only or sound composed of words; 3) apostles who might have seen the angles or heard their voices. In the same way, saintship is also classified into three kinds: 1) pure (*tanzih*) like apostleship of Noah; 2) resembling (*tashbih*) 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 (*tashbih*) and transcendence (*tanzih*) are regarded as the distinguishing points in the *MB*. Ibn ʿArabī used these terms as the way of explanation of an aspect of Reality. In the aspect of Reality manifested in the phenomenal world, the manifestation of His limited form is the attribute of immanence (*tashbih*). In the aspect of Reality that we cannot perceive is the attribute of transcendence (*tanzih*). Thus Ibn ʿArabī
reduced *tanzih* as absoluteness (*itlāq*) and *tashbih* as limitedness (*taqyīd*). Neither of them would be sufficient when we explain Reality. Thus Ibn ‘Arabī criticized Noah as the one-sided because of the emphasis on transcendence. For Dārā, both *tashbih* and *tanzih* 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‘yat-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‘yat*: 1) beholding Him with the eyes of the heart in dream; 2) beholding Him with the physical eyes; 3) beholding Him in an intermediate state of sleep and wakefulness; 4) beholding Him in special determination; 5) beholding Him in the multitudinous determinations. The last one is the case with the Prophet. In *MB*, one Hadīth ascribed to ‘Āisha Siddīqa is referred to. When she asked the Prophet, ‘Did you behold your Lord?’ The reply was ‘*nūrūn inni urāhxt*’. 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‘yat*.

Perfect man (*Insān al-kāmil*) is the mediator through whom all knowledge of God is revealed. In the *Qur‘ān*, he is represented as Adam. Adam was created by God in His image and regarded as the perfect copy of God. The first Man or prototypal man was formed by the light of the essence. As is shown in the notable Sūra XXIV of light, God is *wāli* 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 Sūfis 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, Sūfī can be called as *awliyā* (saints). Dārā highly respect Sūfī saints with the authority of their aphorism with the description of evaluation of Sūfis. 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.’ Dara repeatedly emphasized the necessity of gurus in the preface to the Safina and Sakina. On the other hand, in the seven conversations with Baba Lâl, which were compiled as Su‘âl wa Jawâb Dârâ Shukoh wa Bâbâ Lâl, the main topics focused on the subject of the state of faqîr, relationship of pîr and murid, and the quality of pîr.

2-4-4 Jivanmukti - The Perfection of Man

The MB introduces Mahâpralaya as the equivalent to Qiyâmat-i Kubrâ. Concerning Qiyâma, due to the less explicity of the Qur‘ân, 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), prâkrtâ (the dissolution of elements), âtyantika (the dissolution of the self into Supreme Soul). In section 1, the MB has already discussed the prâkrtâ-pralaya. The five elements (mahâbhûtas) dissolve into the original source in the reverse order in which they came about. Here earth is called devî (goddess) and everything has been created and unto which everything will return. The final pralaya is called Mahâpralaya. This means total annihilation of the universe which will take place at the end of the kalpa.

The equivalent of Qiyâmat-i Kubrâ is introduced as Mahâpralaya in section 19. After the destruction of Heavens and Hells and the completion of the age of Bramânda, those who live in Heavens and Hells will achieve mukti and be absorbed and annihiliated in the Self of the Lord. Mukti will be discussed below in connection mahâpralaya. Barzakh, originally meaning ‘obstacle’ or ‘hindrance’, is thought to be a barrier between hell and paradis, 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 âtman (soul) leaves the body of elements and enters the body of mukti (emancipation) called sūkṣma-śarīra. This is a fine body formed by our action and will have good and bad form due to good and bad actions.

The state of mokṣa(mukti) is the reaching point for the Indian people. Generally it can be attained after death. Regarding emancipation, in section 20, the MB introduces three kinds : 1) Jivan-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 ‘Arif. 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 Purānic modification and the way of meditation on Virāṭa-puruṣa to acquire the salvation in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, particularly in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. This technical term Virāṭa-puruṣa is not found in the MB, but, among the Persian manuscripts, we can trace the suggestion of this concept. 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 Sūfis. 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 (tafsir) are quoted in two places. One is in section 9, the tafsir by Ustād Abu Bakr Wāsiti 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 (tafsir) are quoted in two places. One is in section 9, the tafsir by Ustād Abu Bakr Wāsiti 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 tafsir 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 Şūfis are quoted to support his explanations. In the preface, four couplets are quoted. One is from Haqim Sanā'ī Gaznavi, the second one is from Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḥusain Azād, third quotation is from Mawlaa 'Abdur Raḥmān Jamī, the fourth is from Khwaja Ubaidullāh Aḥrār. In section 7, the dialogue between Junaid and Shaikh Islām is quoted from Jamī's Nafahāt. In this section, another couplet from Rūmī is quoted. In section 8, one familiar couplet to Şūfis: "Whereever thou hearest, it is His melodious voice, Who has, after all, heard such a rolling sound? " In section 12, one couplet from Shaikh Sa'd ad-Dīn Hummu'rī, in section 22, Ḥāfiz are quoted. In the Rīsāla, 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.
In the preface of *Risāla*, Dārā shows his veneration of Miyan Mir and Mullā Shāh. In the *Sakīna*, Dārā wrote about his meeting with Miyan Mir in 1634, and how he was influenced by his spirit, and was initiated into the Qādirī order. In the *Sakīna*, the teaching of Miyan Mir 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 Hindi *Dohās* of Miyan Mir entitled *Imā‘ al-Muḥaqqiqīn*, which is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. From this, we can have much information about the teaching of Miyan Mir.

Mulla Shāh Badakhši was a Sufi poet and eminent Qādirī saint from Arkasa in Badakhshan and Dārā’s pir or murshid. Regarding his biographical detail, Dārā himself mentioned him in the *Sakīna* and the *Safi‘a*, and Jahānārā Begum writes in the *Sahibiyya*. Court chroniclers left brief description about him, and *Nuskha-i Ahwār-i Shāhī* by Tawakkul Beg is exhaustive work. The *Sakīna* did not give us the systematic teaching of Mulla 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 Sufism described by Mulla Shāh can be traced in the contents of *Kulliyāt-i Mullā Shāh*. What Dārā learned as a disciple of Mulla Shāh was not only Sufistic 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 Sufis in the life of Dārā. The appointment of Dārā as a suḥbādār of Illāhābād gave him the opportunity to seek the acquaintance of this noted Sufi. Shāh Muḥibbullāh wrote commentaries on the *Qur‘ān* in Arabic and commentary on Ibn ‘Arabī’s *Fusūs* 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-Ṣābirīyya silsila is ‘Abdūr Raḥmān Chishti’. ‘Abdūr Raḥmān wrote several works besides the noted *tazkira*, the *Mir‘āt al-Asrār* (1065 A.H. / 1654). However, the most remarkable works are the adaptation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* entitled with *Mir‘āt al-Makhluḵāt* and the Persian translation of *Bhagavadgītā* named *Mir‘āt al-Ḥaqā‘iq*. In both works, his Sufistic 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 *jñānīn* as gnosis (*ārif*) and unifier (*muwahhid*), *brahmavidyā* as the knowledge of *tawḥīd*. Thus *Upaniṣads* is recognized as the essence of unity (*nwaḥdat al-wujūd*).

In Al-Birūnī’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 Sufistic 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 Sūfī, ‘Abdur Raḥmān Chishti’s abridged translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* entitled *Mir’āt al-Haqā’iq*.

The *Yogavāṣistha* 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 Chishti’s adaptation is unique Sufistic interpretation of the *Yogavāṣistha*.

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 *Hasanat al-‘Arifin*, 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 faqir, murshid and doctrines of Šūfism; and some dialogues deal with mythological matters.

In the preface of the Sirr-i Akbar, Dārā translated pandit as ʿālim. Another personality, the legendary pandit is Rāmānanda Sūrī, the scholar and Šaiva 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-sīgya). However, Rāmānanda’s sincere love of Dārā is found in his poems.

Kavīndra Sarasvatī was an eminent pandit in Benares. A notable episode about Kavīndra Sarasvatī is the abolition of jīzva and pilgrim tax. In 1042 /1632 when Shāh Jahān intended to levy jīzva and pilgrim tax, Kavīndra Sarasvatī’s intercession resulted to exemption of Hindus from such tax. The noteworthy work written by Kavīndra Sarasvatī is a Hindi version of the Yoavāṣisṭhasāra. 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 Bhan Brāman (d. 1068 -1073 /1657-1663), a disciple of ʿAbdul Ḥakīm Siālki, 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 Šūfistic work, Tuhfat al-widad and letters to his relatives, we know Šūfistic tenets as the importance of unity of God; self-purification and grace in knowing Truth and one’s self.

Conclusion

The Majma’ al-Bahrayn is a compendium of what he acquired in his speculative and devotional journey. Scattered pearls of wisdom in the MB are joined together with the thread of 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 Šūfistic ideas of tawhīd and waḥdat al-wujūd propagated by Ibn ʿArabī 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 Islam, tawḥīd. Tawḥīd is the main pole of Islam i.e. the affirmation of the existence of God. Dārā’s idea of God as shown in the MB does not go against the monistic doctrines of orthodox Islam. Tawḥīd is the core of his interest. However, Dārā’s understanding of tawḥīd is not the formal, outward aspect of tawḥīd propagated in shari’a. In this respect, orthodox theologians have some doubt. The interrelationship of God, world and man is understood through the doctrine of 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 Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn**

1: Persian Text of Majmʿ al-Baḥrayn

1-1 Editorial Note on the Critical Edition of Majmʿ 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 Bihār Library Collection. We provide the description of this manuscripts.

3: Sanskrit Translation and text

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

Appendix : Bibliography

Most of the bibliography are shown in the footnotes in this thesis. Here we show general selected bibliography briefly.
DARA SHUKOH'S CONTRIBUTION TO
PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION
With Special Reference to his Majma' al-Bahrayn

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1998
CERTIFICATE

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

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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 Islam 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.

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 Şūfī works and the acquaintance in his contemporary Şūfīs, Dārā wrote hagiographical works on Şūfīs including his spiritual preceptors, compiled Şūfistic aphorisms and wrote the tracts on Şūfistic path. Taṣkīra writers gave him the fame of a Şūfī poet. Although his poems are not outstanding, his poetical works was compiled as the form of Diwān. His study of Hindu scriptures and direct contact with Hindu saints and pandits led him to translate the Upanīṣads into Persian and write the Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn (MB) as a treatise on comparative study of philosophy and religion of Şūfism and Hinduism. He is remembered for his tragic end and many stories are woven around him. 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 ‘Ali, 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: Aavadha Prasāda Vājapeyi’s Darā Shukoh (fiction in Hindi) in 1962; Sīyās Sunami and Rāmī Dāss Pūr’s Kafr (fiction in Urdu) in 1963; ABDU-S-SATTĀR QĀL’S Darā Shīkūh (fiction in Urdu) in 1967; Harīkshā Premī’s Svapnabhānqa (drama in Hindi) in 1970; Sātyakī Sena’s Mughul Masnad (fiction in Bengali) in 1970; Subhadra Sen Gupta’s Children’s stories named The Sword of Darā Shikoh and other stories from history published in 1992; Gopal Gandhi’s Darā 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 Qanungo 5. 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 Hasrat 9 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

4ibid., p.38.
5Dārā Shukoh. Calcutta 1952.
6Particularly, Chapter 5 : Spiritual Life of Dārā Shukoh. Section 2...6 and Chapter 6 Literally Achievement of Dārā Shukoh.
7Majma' ul-Bahrayn or The Mingling of the Two Oceans by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shikuh, edited in the original Persian with English translation notes and variants, Bibliotheca Indica Work No.246, Calcutta, 1929, repr. 1982.
10Hasrat, pp. 223-232.
religious ideas based on comparative and philological study are scarce. More recently, Daryush Shayegan studied the MB more critically. 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.

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.

A remarkable study on Hindu religion and sects is found in Persian scholars’ work. At the beginning of 12th century, Al-Shahrastānī from Khurāsān wrote a comprehensive work named Kitāb al-Milal wa al-Nihal (the Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects) covering all the philosophical and religious ideas which contemporary Persian scholars could acquire. 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.

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

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1. Indo-Arab Relations (Arab-o Hind ke Ta’alluqāt), tr. by M. Salahuddin, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1962, p.130.
of grammar) and Chandas (science of metre). Among the explanations of Hindu philosophical learning, Al-Biruni’s description on the Sāṃkhya system, based on the Book of Sānk (Sāṃkhya) shows a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the commentaries. He freely quoted the similes used in the commentaries of the Sāṃkhya Kārikā.

Five hundred years later, in the reign of emperor Akbar, Abu’l Fazl gave an overview on the system of learning in India in his Ā’in-i Akbarī. Referring to the learning of the Hindus, nine schools are introduced: Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Pātañjala (Yoga), Jain. Baudhā, Nāstika (Cārvāka). Besides these nine schools, the eighteen sciences are enumerated with brief introductory notes: the four Vedas, Purāṇas, Nirukta (etymology), Jyotīṣa (astronomy), Chandas (science of metre), Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Ayur-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 introduces some tenets of Hindu thoughts in twelve sections: (1) Būdah Mīmāṃsā called Smārta, (2) Purāṇa, (3) the religious ceremonies and acts of Smārta, (4) Vedānta, (5) Sāṃkhya, (6) Yoga, (7) Śākta, (8) Vaiśeṣika (9) Cārvāka, (10) Tārkika (Nyāya), (11) Baudhā, (12) various other religious systems. In the section of Vedānta, the author of the Dabistān introduced Śaṅkara as a distinguished sannyāsin and considered the Yogavāsiṣṭha as the text of this school. The Dabistān is unique in giving vivid descriptions of the tenets with the words and acts of the informant.

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

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4 As Sachau remarks. The Book of Sāmkhya, as used and translated by Al-Biruni, 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 Sāmkhya. Some descriptive passages and subjects are identified with those in Īśvarakṛṣṇa’s Sāmkhya Kārikā.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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-Bahrāyn* can be a part of a bridge across troubled waters.
1-1 Biographical Sketch

There is, unfortunately, not any complete informative course book pertaining to the biography of Dārā Shukoh. Some of the chronograms about poets (taṣkira) gave us the brief notice of Dārā Shukoh. Mirzā Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhwush’s Kalimāt al-Shu‘ārā’ (dated 1093 A.H. / 1682), 1 Alī Ḥāfiz Khān Khalīl’s Suhūf-i Ibrāhīm (1205 A.H. / 1790), Ikhlās Kishanchand’s Hamīshah Bahār (1136 A.H. / 1723-24) 2 and rather modern biographical notices of saint, the Khazīnaat al-Askīyā (dated 1281 /1864-5) introduced Dārā as a faqīr poet and in Ghulām Muḥammad Dihlavī Raqmī’s Tazkira-i Khwāsh- 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 Mir Muḥammad Šāliḥ. 3 Scattered information will be combined as his biographical description.

Name

It is proper to begin with his name. The reading of his name differs in historical works. According to the Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī 4 and the Pādshāh-nāma, 5 the boy born to Bābā Khurram (Shāh Jahān) by the daughter of Āṣaf Khān (Mumtāz Mahal) was given the name Sultān Dārā Shukoh by his grandfather, Jahāngīr. Regarding his name, there are different style of reading. However, if we read Shikūh, it means terror or fear, however, Shukoh, it means the majesty or dignity thus Dārā Shukoh means the man possessing majesty. 6 Furthermore, Jahāngīr gave him the epithet “the Prime Rose of the Empire (gul-i awwalīn gulstān-i shāhī).” 7

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1Ms. preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Curzon No.51, f.46a.
2Ms. preserved in Āṣāfiyya, Taṣkira P-13, pp.252-256.
4Tūzuk, 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.
6We can trace his memory on the names of the cities. The most familiar place is Shikohabād in Uttar Pradesh, however, not read as Shukohabād.
7Abjad of these letters comes to 1024.
Birth

The Pādshāh-nāma narrates that Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) while returning from the successful campaign to Mewar, received the joyous news of the birth of his third child and first son at Ajmer, in the night of Monday, 29th Ṣafar, 1024 A.H / 20th March 1615 A.H. The ‘Amal-i Ṣāliḥ adds the time in detail: it was after 12 ghāris 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-Awliyāż. His father prayed for the birth of son at the tomb of the Muʿīn-ud-Dīn Chishti. As a result, at the bank of Sāgarīl 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 Ḣar Begum may have been the most influential person in his family circles and called a companion in the Śūfistic path. She was herself initiated in the Qādirī order and Mulla Shāh personally appointed her as his hair apparent. In 1047 A.H. /1640, she wrote a biography of Khwaja Muʿīn ud-Dīn Chishti entitled Muʿīnis al-Arwāh. On 27th Ramāzān 1051 / 30 Dec.1641 she completed Sāhibiyāya, a biography.

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{a}}_\text{Amal-i \textsuperscript{b} Sāliḥ, vol.1, pp.93-95.} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{b}Amal-i \textsuperscript{b} Sāliḥ vol.1 p.93; Tuzuk. p.282. Qanungo p.l} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{c}Pādshāh-nāma I, p.391; Tuzuk. p.282.} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{d}Hasrat p.1.} \]

11 These seven are the eldest daughter (Hūr an-Nīsā), the fourth son (Ummed Bakhsh), the fourth daughter (Suriya Banu Begum), 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 Mullâh Shâh. 

His younger brother, Shâh Shuja, was born at night on Sunday, 18th Jumâda al-Âkhir 1025 A.H. / 23rd June 1616. Next younger brother, Aurangzeb, was born at night on Sunday, 15th Zulqa'da, 1027 A.H. / 24th Oct. 1618. The youngest brother, Murâd Bakhsh, was born on 25th Zil-Âhijja 1033 / 28th September. 1624. The youngest sister, Raushan Rai (Raushanârâ) Begum, was born 2nd Ramaçân 1026 A.H. / 24th August 1617.

On the 8th Jumâda I 1042 A.H. / 1633 when he was twenty years old, Dârâ was married to Nadira Begum, the daughter of Prince Parwîz (son of Jahângîr) and Jahân Bânû Begam. Regarding Dârâ’s wedding, the Pâdshâh-nâma gives vivid a picture. 

Preparations for the wedding of Prince Dârâ 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 Pâdshâh-nâma.

According to Pâdshâh-nâma, Dârâ had seven children: four sons and three daughters by his wife Nadira 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, Sulaimân Shukoh (born 27th Ramaçân, 1044 A.H. / March 6, 1635); the second son, Mihir Shukoh (born 2nd Rabî’ al-Awwal, 1048 A.H. / July 4, 1638) who died one month after his birth; the second daughter, Pak-nihad Bânû Begam (born 29th Jumâda al-Awwal, 1051 A.H. / August 26, 1641) ; the third son, Mumtâz Shukoh (born 29th Jumâda al-Awwal 1053 A.H. / 6th August 1643) who died after five years; the fourth son, Sipihr Shukoh (born 11th Sha’bân 1054 A.H. / October 3, 1644) and the third daughter, Jahân Zib Bânû Begam, who was married to the fourth son of Aurangzeb, Prince Muḥammad Akbar.

According to the Alâmgîrînâma, the fourth daughter, Amal un-Nisâ seems to have survived with Aurangzeb’s family.

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

13 A most ingenious chronogram on Dârâ 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.


15 Qanungo, 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 Ilahābād, and successively appointed as the sūbahdār of Panjāb (1647), Gujārāt (1649) and Mūltān 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 Safāvīlītes. 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 Sāmūgarh (Ramāzān 6th 1068 A.H. / 28th May, 1658) and Deora (Jumāda 27th or 28th 1069 A.H. / 13th March, 1659) and Dārā was defeated. There might have been sound reasons for his defeat, because of Dārā’s infamiliarity of art of war, court officers’ treachery and intrigues. Dārā’s flight is precisely described by Blochmann, Sarkar and Sheo Narain. Dārā and Sipihr Shukoh were captured by one Afghan, Malik Jivan and sent to Khizrābād in Delhi. According to Khāfī Khān, he was executed on 21th Zīl’l Hijja 21 in 1069 A.H. Tuesday night/30th August in 1659. The end of his life is precisely described in the Alamgīrīnāma. These descriptions have been proved by the Mir‘āt al-‘Ālam

16In Ilahābād, the memory of Dārā is left as the name of the district Dārāganj. Some Fāizullā, who was a musahib of Dārā’s came there from Khurāsān and settled the area. The younger brother of Fāizullā. Afsullāh 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 Lātā‘īf al-‘Akbār 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 Wāli Qul Shāmül. In this, the letters from Dārā to Shāh Abbās II are included. cf. Marshall p.484.
and the \textit{Ma\'āsir-Ālamgīrī}, however, the date of the execution is different. \textsuperscript{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 \textit{Prabhū} in Hindi letters: discarding prayers, the fast during the month of Ramažān and other canonical ceremonies of Islam. \textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{20}Blochmann pp.278-9.
\textsuperscript{21}Sarkar. vol.1. 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 Ṣūfīstic 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 Bāirāgī 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)”. ⁴

As a preparatory stage to read the Majmaʿ al-Bahrāyn, we introduce his works other than the MB briefly. ⁴

Safinat al-Awliyā’

The Safinat 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 Ramadān 1049 A.H. / 1640). ⁵ Hasrat introduced one printed text ⁶ and an abridged

¹EI vol.II, Dārā Shukoh, Satish Chandra, p.134.
²Qanungo, p.100.
³Mujtabai pp.119-120.
⁴For 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.
⁵For the brief accounts of contents and explanation of the preface, see Hasrat, Chapter II, pp.43-63.
⁶Nawal 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 Muhīy ud-Dīn al-Aidarūs (d. ca. 1622) was a notable scholar. 12

The contents of *Safina* 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 Qaraqāh; Section two: Saints of the Qadiri order named Junaidī before the time of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī; Section three: Saints of Naqshbandī order; Section four: Saints of the Chishti 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 Şūfīs 13

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 *Safina*.

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8 Hasrat p.293.
10 Published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1872, 1873; Kanpur, 1317 A.H.; Agra, 1854. The Urdu translation was made by Muhammad 'Alī Luṭfī in 1959 and 1961.
11 Rampur Raża Library No.4576 (ST 1568), entitled with *Tuhfat al-Asfiya*.
12 On his famous work *An-Nur az-Sāfīr fi Akhbār al-qarn al-Āshir* (on the account of the scholars and Şūfī in Gujarat and South Arabia), and the family of al-Aidarūs, see *Islamic Literature of India*, Schimmel, p.5.
Sakinat al-Awliyā’

Sakinat al-Awliyā’ is included in the genre of malfūzāt. 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. An Urdu translation was done by Maqbul Beg Badakhshani 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 Sakīnāt al-Awliyā’ are as follows: Section 1: Chapter 1 treats superiority of Qādirī order; Chapter 2 covers other Šūfī orders including Chishtīyya, Naqshbandiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Kubrawardiyya, and the eminence of ‘Abd al-Qādir Jilānī; Chapter 3 treats Miyan Mir regarding his name and biographical notes and teachings; Chapter 4 treats Miyan Mir’s miracles; Chapter 5 treats Miyan Mir’s practices; Chapter 6 treats the account for Miyan Mir’s sister, Bibi Jamān Khātūn; Chapter 7 and 8 treats the disciples of Miyan Mir. Among the disciples, Mullā Shāh is included and described in detail.

In section 10, the MB quoted some portions from the Sakīnāt to explain ru’uyat. The explanation of the MB is the abridged form of that of the Sakīnā.

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14 Brief contents and explanation of Introduction and the prologue of this work, see Hasrat, Chapter III, pp.64-104.
15 Marshall, p.126.
16 p.152 ff.
17 See 2-4-3.
Risālat-i Ḥaqq Numā

This mystical explanation of four worlds of existence was composed in 1056 A.H. / 1646. Dārā claimed that this is a compendium of Futūhāt (al-Maqṣīyya) by Ibn ʻArabī. Fuṣūs (al-Ḥikam), by the same author, Sawāniḥ by ʻAlī Ḥamd Ghazzālī, Lawā‘īḥ (dar Bayān-i Mo‘ānī wa Ma‘ānī), Lama‘āt (al-Anwār) by Fakhr ud-Dīn ʻIraqī and Lawāmī‘(anwār al-Kashf) by Jāmī. 19 This work was published several times in India and once in Tehran in 1335 H.S. in the Muntakhbāt-i ʻĀthic combined with the Majma‘ al-Bahrayn and the Persian translation of the Munṣāka 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.

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

Ḥasanāt al-ʻĀrīfīn

This annotated collection of ecstatic or paradoxical utterances ascribed to 107 mystics has another title as Risālat-i Shathiyāt. 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 Rabbūn 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.
19Risālat, p.4.
201316 A.H. in Lucknow; 1885 in Delhi; 1929 in Calcutta: 1315 A.H. in Kanpur.
21Edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā‘mī.
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 Jâmi’s Lava‘îh quoted in the preface of the MB is also found in the Hasanât. The quotation of the episode of Junayd and Shaikh al-Islâm in Jâmi’s Nafahât in the section 7 of the MB is also quoted in the Hasanât.

Tarîqat al-Ḥaqîqat

Hasrat refers to this unique work under the name of Risâlat-i Ma‘rûf. It was published in the Kulliyat-i Dara 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 Dârâ’s other works, ornate and flowery and without uniformity.

Risâlat-i Rumûzât

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 Dârâ Shukoh. 27 This work begins with the explanation of five pillars of Islam, then proceeds to the Sulîfistic pillars: ṭarîqat, ḥaqîqat, ma‘rifat and four stages of spiritual progress: lâhût jabarût, malakût and näsût. Totally, 45 rumûz are explained.

Questions and Answers of Dârâ Shukoh and Fatḥa ‘Alî Qalandar

This work is introduced by Târâ Chand and said to be preserved in Mir Zamin ‘Alî Library in Agra. 28

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27 Ivanow, Curzon No.444. p.311. The same manuscript entitled with Risâlat-i Rumûzât contains the Hasanât after this Risâla. Marshall p.127; Hasrat gave no information about this work.

28 MS. No. 102. See Yogavâsinâtha edited by Tara Chand, p.9. n.4.
Diwan

_Diwan-i Dārā Shukoh_ or _Iksir-i Aʿẓam_ is a collection of poems composed by Dārā Shukoh. Marshall remarks that it has 133 ghazals and 28 rubāʿīs. 29 This work was published in Lahore in 1985 and in Mashhad in 1985. This _Diwan_ 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 Wahdat_, Arabic adaptation of the _Vedas_ and the _Purāṇas_ on unity of God translated by Mirzā Nek Akhtar Taimūr Dihlawi. In fact, it contains the portions of the _MB_ and the Persian translation of the _Bhagavadgītā_. 32

Risālat-i Maʿārif

This is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh by the author of _Khazīnats al-Asfiyā_. 33

31 Jan Marek. _ibid._, p.728; Schimmel, Islamic Literature p.41.
33 BI p.15.
Translation of Sanskrit Scriptures

Sirr-i Akbar or Sirr-i Asrār

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

Bhagavadgītā

There are several kinds of Persian translations, however, the Āb-i Zindagi preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. 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. Regarding the Persian translations of the Bhagavadgītā and the Mahābhārata, refer to 3-2-1.

Tarjuma-i Jog Bāisht (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. 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. For the detailed study, refer to 3-2-1.

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

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


*37* Ivanow 1707; The manuscript preserved in British Museum has the same character but ascribed to Abūl Fażl. cf. British Museum Add. 7676.

*38* Marshall, p.128.


*40* YV 3-11-40.
Su‘āl wa Jawāb-i Dārā Shukoh

This is not his work, however, it is a compendium of seven dialogues between Hindu saint, Babā 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 Munshi Chandra Bhān Brāhman in 1649. Extracted English translation is made in Hasrat and Qanungo’s Dārā Shukoh. 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. Schimmel evaluates that this work shows Dārā’s keen interest in the problems of a common mystical language. 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. 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 ‘Ālamgirī. Beside this, ‘Ināyāt Khān Rāsikh’s ‘Ināyat-nāmah (1163 A.H. / 1750), ‘Abd al-‘Alī Tabrizi’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).

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

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43Hasrat, Chapter XI, pp.239-253.
44Qanungo, pp.337-47.
46Schimmel, p.361.
translation of the sayings of the saint Abu Bakr Wasit.  49  Versified work on arithmetic, mensuration and algebra entitled *Khulāsat-i Rāz*, written by ‘Atā‘ Allah Rashidi b. Ahmad Ma‘amār belonging to the family of the architects of Tāj Mahal  50  , and a medical treatise entitled *Tibb-i Dārū Shukohi* was written by Nūrud-Dīn Mūhammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Ainul-Mulk Shīrāzī.  51  The governor of Kashmīr and Imperial Librarian, Mūhammad Tāhir. *takhallus*. Āshnā, known as Ināyat Khān dedicated eulogies in his *Kulliyāt-i Āshnā*.  52

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49 See *ibid.* p.197.
50 ‘Atā‘ Allah Rashidi is also the translator of *Bījaganīta* of Bhāskara II. See Marshall pp.86-87.
51 See *ibid.* p.381.
52 See *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 Qurʾān 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-Khaḍīr or al-Khīḍr. 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-Khaḍīr or al-Khīḍr. The name of the servant of God whom Moses met was not mentioned in the Qurʾān. However, commentators agreed on his identity with al-Khaḍīr. Mysteriously enough, al-Khaḍīr 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-Khaḍīr 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

²Commentators like al-Baidawi and al-Ṭabarī interpreted this as the geographical place.
Besides Darā Shukoh, other authors used the *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* as the title of their works. One of the best poets of the Safavid dynasty, in the era of Abbās I. Sharaful-Dīn Ḥasan Shīfā’ī (d.1037/1628), famous for *Namakdān-i Haqīqat* ‘Salt-celler of Truth’ wrote *Matla‘ al-Anwār* ‘Rising of the Lights’ and it also has the title *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* ‘Confluence of the Two Seas’. 3 Shams ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Muḥtasib of Abarqūn wrote Şūfīstic allegory in 714 A.H. 4 Another allegorical poem of love of Ṯāzīr and Manzūr was entitled *Majma‘ Bahrayn* by Kāṭibī. This title comes from two types of metres in which the poem should be read. 5 The historical work of the Timurides titled *Malla‘ al-Sā‘dayn wa Majma‘ al-Bahrayn* by ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandi (816/1413–887/1482). 6 Another Şūfīstic work by Rukn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Qādir al-Ḥanāfī al-Chiṣṭī was written in the sixteenth century.

**Date of the Composition**

Now we focus on Darā Shukoh’s *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*. Most of the manuscripts agree on the date of the composition in their colophon. According to it, this work was completed by Darā 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 Safar 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 28th October in 1655. So the *MB* must have been completed between

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3 Rypka, p.300.  
6 Marshall, p.25.  
7 Arabic 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.)

Subject of the Work

Mostly, the MB is classified in the genre of Ṣūfism (*tašawwuf*) in the catalogues. 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';

'A treatise on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology';

'Muḥammad Dārā Shukhūh attempted in this treatise to reconcile Brahmanism and Muḥammadanism by showing the close relationship between Hindu pantheism and Persian Sufism';

'a treatise on Sufic terminology and the equivalent technical terms of Hindu pantheism';

'A treatise on Hindu theosophy vis a vis Islamic mysticism in which the Prince (Dārā Shukoh) has explained various technical terms'; and 'valuable treatise on Indian pantheism and its equivalent in Sufi phraseology, mainly explaining different technical terms and phrases'.

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

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

9 Poleman 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.


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

Dārā’s Motive

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

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

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

Although not found in the original Persian text, the noteworthy thing is that the author of the Sanskrit translation interpolated the reference to the episode of the churning of the ocean by gods and demons to get Nectar (āmrta), 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, Kaustubh (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 Ramāyana 1-45.
at the end they got amrita 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-Bahrarn' where 'the essential unity of the great
religious traditions by leaning heavily on the concept of wahdat al-umdjud
can be found in the Islamic equivalent of the Vedantic concept of advaita,
on-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 Šūfi phraseology' and regarded it as 'a work of utmost interest to a
student of comparative religion', because it embodies an attempt to reconcile
the doctrines of two apparently divergent religions showing the similarity
and identity between Hinduism and Islam. 23 Aziz Ahmad criticized
the MB as 'a syncretic lexique technique' in other words, ' a collection
of pseudo-lexicographical correspondences between Šūfi and Upanishadic
cosmologies, esoteric belief and practices'. He pointed out its weakness and

18Sanskrit translation folio 10b; 'Through a desire of my own Self which is nothing but
Viṣṇu Himself, having made my mind the Mandara-hill, and my resolution and irresolution
gods and demons, having then churned the ocean of the Scriptures, I have extracted such
a gem of knowledge out of it, which the gods and the demons could not get even though
they extracted as many as fourteen gems by churning the ocean.' (SS p.163.)
19Persian Literature in India, in History of Iranian Literature, Jan Rypka, Dordrecht.
21Spiritual Experience in the Meeting of Islam and Hinduism, The case of Dara Shikūh.
p.1.
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'. 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'.

Rizvi compared with the Rushdnāmā (comparative work between Nath terminology and the Dvaitādvaita vilākṣanavāda and terminology of Śāhism and Wahdat al-Wujūd by 'Abdu'l Quddūs Gangohi. described the lack of depth and sensitivity and expressed the feeling of dryness due to a list of comparative tables. Mujtabai explained the subject of the MB as 'dealing with the Vedānta school of Hindu philosophy, limited to Advaita-Vedānta of Śaṅkara and his followers' and what he tried to draw was the parallels between the religious and philosophical views of the Hindus and Muslims, however, was hardly beyond the outward similarities. Regarding Dārā’s method, he criticised as 'more popular than scientific' and 'to base an argument on such superficial similarities is wrong and misleads'.

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

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

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24 Aziz Ahmad p.193.
25 Yogavāsiṣṭha. Tara Chand pp.397-398
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.'

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'.

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.

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30 BI p.iv.
31 SS p.121.
2-1-2 Texts of Majma‘ al-Bāḥrayn

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 Mahfūz 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‘mī and published in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran under the title *Muntakhbhat-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-Bāḥrayn* is preserved in the National Library of Calcutta in the Būhār Library Collection. ⁴ It was translated by Shams al-‘Ulamā’ Muḥammad Hidayat 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 Śaṅvat 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-Bāḥrayn* in 1876 in Agra. ⁶

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

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1. This edition contains *Hasanat al-‘Arifin* and the *Upanikhat Mundaka*.
2. For the details, see Part II, 1-1.
3. Tehran edition describes the reading of the *BI* in the footnotes.
4. For precise description and the transcription, see Part II, 1-2.
5. The exact date described by the scribe is ‘in the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaṣiśa on the 7th Tithi which was Monday’. This is equivalent to the 23rd November 1708. For the precise description of this manuscript and transcription of the text, see p.144 ff. Mujtabai seems to have identified the author of the Sanskrit translation with Dārā himself and wrote ‘(Dārā) wrote a treatise of Vedānta in Sanskrit.’ p.102.
6. Some 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.
An Urdu translation was done by M. Muhammed 'Umar at Lahore and Gokul Prasad at Lucknow in 1872. Another Urdu translation was published in Lahore from Manzilah Naqshbandi, however, it is the translation of BI and not dated. Muhammad Yûnus Shâh Gilânî translated this work in 1983.

An English translation of the original Persian text has been made by Mahfûz 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 Bábû Lâl Shuklâ in 1995. French translation and study of the work has been done by Daryush Shayegan in 1971.

There is an unique Persian manuscript which we have to introduce here. That is some sort of compendium entitled the Sîh Gânj. This is ascribed to Dârâ Shukoh. Catalogue said that this is the Persian paraphrase of Dârâ's Sirât-i Wahdat, an Arabic adaptation of the Vedas and Purânas on unity of God transited by Mirzâ Nek Akhtar Taimûrî Dihrawî. In this work, we can find the quotation of the MB and the Persian translation of the Bhagavadgîtâ.

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.

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7. It has the sub-title, Samudra Sangama, 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.


9. This is combined with the Urdu translation of Hasanat al-'Arifin and Ibn al-Arabi's Kitab al-Akhlq. This was published by Qawmuq Dukan in 1939.


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-'Aīn* by Gokul Prasād lithographed at Lucknow in 1872, was not secured even by Mahfūz al-Ḥaq. 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 Lal wa Dārā Shikāh*.
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. However, compared with Perso-Latin transliteration of Sanskrit in the Oupnekkhat 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 Sāṅgama, this difficulty is overcome. We appreciate P.K. Gode's suggestion that manuscript of Samudra Sāṅgama: 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 Sīr-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-zābān-i hind)’. The case is different from Al-Birūnī or Abu’l Faḍl.

In the Al-Birūnī’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 (fasl) in use among the upper and the educated classes. He intended to signify Sanskrit as classical language and one of the vernaculars is Hindustani, 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 Āʿn-i Akbarī, he introduced Sanskrit grammar as one of the eighteen vidvās 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

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3 The 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)

4 P.K. Gode p.444.

5 Sachau, p.13.

6 Abu’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.

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

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.  

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

Hanscrt 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. 

7 Only one reference about the Sanskrit language can be found in the Persian translation of the Upanisads. Sīr-i Akbar. In the Pranava Upanisad, one phrase is found as 'water is called ap (āpās) in Sanskrit'. Sīr-i Akbar, ed. by Tara Chand and S.M.R. Jalālī Na'mi. Tehran 1957. p.465.


2-1-4 Contents of Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn

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

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

1. The Elements (‘Anāṣir)
2. The Sense Organs (Ḥaw)
3. The Devotional Exercises (Shughl)
4. The Attributes of God (Ṣīfāt-i `Alā)
5. The Soul (Rūḥ)
6. The Vital Breaths (Bāḏ-hā)
7. The Four World (‘Awālim-i arba’at)
8. The Sound (Awāz)
9. The Light (Nūr)
10. The Vision of God (Ru‘yāt)
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 (Zāmīn)
17. The Divisions of the World (Qismat-i zamīn)

1 BI p.30.
2 SS p.7.
3 Hasrat p.220.
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 (Bi-nihāyat-yi adwār)

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

The editor of the Sanskrit translation arranged the subject in three main categories according to the parināma theory in Śāmkhya 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 Brahmāṇda (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), ādhideivaika (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, Purānic Cosmology; and the idea of Macrocosm and Microcosm; in the section of God. Attributes of God, Name of God and Divine time; in the section of Man. Nature of Soul, Way of Salvation. idea of Perfect Man and Jīvan-mukti are treated respectively. 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.

Rizvi, ibid., p.336.
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 ‘Arabi, 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. 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, 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-bhūtānī) : the great element (‘unsur-i a’zam), which stands for ‘the great throne (‘ars-i akbar), wind, fire, water, and dust. These are identified with Indian equivalents: ākāśa, vāyu, tejas, jala, prthivī.

In the Qur’ān, the throne (‘arsh) and footstool (kursi) of God are placed above heavens and earth and ideified as ninth and eighth heavenly spheres.

1Affifi, pp.66-69; 77-83.
2Five main topics dealt in the Purāṇa literature are generally known as pañcalakṣaṇa: (1) Creation (sarga), (2) Recreation after dissolution (prati-sarga), (3) Genealogy of gods and sages (vamsā), (4) History of dynasties (vamśāñucarita), (5) Manu period of time (manvantara).
3The Sanskrit translation explains these elements as ‘inherent causes of all the objects are concerned (anubhūyamāna-samavāyikārāṇānī)’(f.1a). Samavāyi-kāraṇa is one of the three-fold causes that Vaiśeṣika philosophy holds.
According to Ibn 'Arabî and Jilî, the great throne (ʿarsh-i ʿakbar) signifies universal body and a characteristic of the essence as the manifestation of the realities of universe.  

Regarding the Indian concept of ʿākāśa, the MB introduces the idea of three kinds of ʿākāśa. Here we can find the most significant proof of the strong influence of the Yogavāśiṣṭha in the rendering of the concept of three kinds of ʿākāśa. Here, ʿākāśa is known as threefold: Cidākāśa (space of consciousness), Cittākāśa (mental space), and Bhūtākāśa (physical space) as the third. Thus, the conception of ʿākāśa 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 ʿākāśa, 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.  

In the Yogavāśiṣṭha, this idea is expressed in the story of Ākāśaja (space-born). This symbolical parable can be understood as the ideal of ḥīvanmukta (liberated man) with cosmological concepts.  

At the beginning of section 1 of the MB, these three kinds of ʿākāśa are explained as follows: ‘Bhūtākāśa is surrounding the elements, Manakāśa is encircling the whole existence and Cidākāśa is enveloping all and is covering everything and this Cidākāśa is permanent’, 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 ('unsur-i a'żam),

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4 See 2-3.  
6 Yogavāśiṣṭha 3-97-14–18.  
7 In connection with Ḥīvanmukti, see 2-4-4.  
9 BI, T reads ‘bar ḥaq(in real)’, however, most of the manuscripts read ‘ajan’. According to the Sanskrit translation this can be read as ‘ajanya (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-aẓkār (the king of Ḿikr) in Śūfīstic
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 aʿẓam, namely,
Mahākāśa should be regarded as śūkṣma-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. 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, the Vedāntasāra and the Pañcadaśī. Further, the Dīgha Nikāya introduces them as the idea of the concepts of
non-Buddhist sects of Indian philosophy. These ākāsas are symbolized as
the three states of Ātman or Brahma referring to nature (ādhibhautika),
jiya (ādhyātmika) and paramātman (ādhideivika). This idea originated
from the Upaniṣads and developed in later Vedāntic works such as the
Yogavāśīśtha and the Pañcadaśī.
World Soul: Hiranyagarbha and Ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiyya

As described above, in the process of creation, Love is said to be the first creation. ‘The first thing to come out of Cidākāśa was Love (‘ishq) which is called mayā’. 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.’ And, from Love. Rūḥ-i Aʿẓam (jīvātman), the great soul or the soul of Muḥammad (ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiyya) is born. This means the perfect soul (rūḥ-i kullī). This is equivalent to Hiranyagarbha or Samaṣṭi-ātman. This denotes his greatness.

‘The first thing created from cidākāśa is ‘ishq which is equivalent to mayā.’ This description met the severe criticism by Hasrat as ‘far-fetched’.

For the precise examination, first we have to turn to the Sufistic side. As the Upanisadic Mahāvaiya ‘tat tvam asi’ shows the unity of Brahman and soul (ātman), Śūfi has “Ana’l-Haqq” (I am the creative Truth). Rendering this, Massignon explained Hallaj’s concept of creation. According to Hallaj, 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

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15 This is called Ḥadīth qudsi, however, not included in orthodox Ḥadīth. In spite of this fact, it is often quoted in Śūfīstic works. Rūmī also quoted it in his Mathnavī.

16 Bl,T read avasthātman [however, only R4 supports this reading as sthātman (fol.2b)]. Most of the manuscripts read with four consonants ātman; unique reading is B as sūtra-ātman (fol.132b) Same reading in A2 (fol.2a). Ḥaṭm might 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 (the great material).

17 Bl reads aʿẓamiyya. The readings of manuscripts have several variations such as (A1,U1,U2,U3,S) ātāyāt; (A1,U1,A2,A9) aṭāyāt; (S,U1,A2,A9) āṭāyāt; (A1,U1,U2,U3,S) āṭāyāt; (C,J,H2) ʿaṭāyāt; (D2,E) ʿaṭāyāt; (B,D1) ʿaṭāyāt; (BM3). Sanskrit translation transliterates it as amā. Arabic translation reads رحمانیت. 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-ʿamā) which develops consciousness. Fuṣūḥāt, III, p.578 rendered in Affī p.63. n.2. Nicholson, pp.82. It might be proper to read ʿaṭāyāt.

18 Hasrat 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-Ṭawāsin. 19

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

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

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

20 Henry Corbin, Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ‘Arabi, p.149.
21 Affifi enumerates twenty-two synonyms which Ibn ‘Arabī used to designate the Reality of Muhammad, Perfect Man or Logos. Among them are the Essence of Muhammad (ḥaqīqat-i muḥammadiyyah), Breath of Compassionate (nafas al-raḥmān) and Supreme Spirit (rūḥ al-ṣāmān). Affi p.66. cf. Corbin, Creation p.317 n.77.
23 Atharva Veda 10-8-38.
24 On Mundaka Up. 2-1-4. Ānandagiri commented viśvarūpa of Brahman is pictured as the sūtrātmā. 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 virāta (gross-soul).

Māyā stands for the Divine creative power in Vedic scriptures. In later Vedantic 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 guna, with the power of māyā predominating in tamas, space (ākāśa) proceeds first. At first the element is in the subtle, uncompounded state and gross materials are evolved out of these subtle elements. Other elements, air, fire, water and earth come into forth as is shown in Taittiriya 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, jālas) from this earth (prthivī). In this process each element is produced by Brahman in the form of the element.  

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

These five kośa are as follows: 1) Vijnāna-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) Prāna-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) Ananda-maya : composed of supreme bliss, innermost of all.  

Moreover, inherited from the idea of

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25Śaṅkara 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 Taittiriya U. 2-1.

27 10-121.

28 3-4; 4-12.

29 Taittiriya U. 2-1; 2-8-1; 3-2...4.
a thread from the *Atharva Veda*, a collective totality of subtle bodies is supposed to exist, and the soul imagined to pass through these subtle bodies like a thread is called *Sūtrātman* (thread soul). This is also identified with *Hiranyagarbha*.

As seen above, the *MB* identified the *Hiranyagarbha* with *Samaṣṭi-ātman*. We can trace the idea to the analysis of nature in the *Vedāntasāra* based on *Vedic* scriptures. They have the idea that the five elements are pure and independent only in their subtle state, while empirically they are mixed up. The *Vedāntasāra* shows the peculiar process of the composition of the gross elements called *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 *Hiranyagarbha* or *Thread Soul* (*sūtrātman*). We can have the proof that the reading of the variants of the Persian manuscripts reflects this concept.  

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.  

Most of the interpretations shown in this list is used in the Persian translation of each verse, too. In the list, *Hiranyagarbha* is explained as ‘the aggregate of elements in pure sense’ (*majma‘ az ‘anāšir-i basīt*). This may be the proof for the correct reading of the text of the *MB* as *samaṣṭi-ātman* instead of meaningless reading of *avasthātman*. And it reflects the correct understanding of the concept of *Hiranyagarbha*.  

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30 *B. Az* have this reading.

31 *Sirr-i Akbar*, pp.6-9.

2-2-2 Creation (Subtle Bodies)

The investigation of knowledge has been considered to be one of the main topics in Indian philosophy. Indian philosophers started from the point what the valid source of true knowledge (pramāṇa) is. Every school admitted perception (pratyakṣa) through the five cognitive senses as the valid source of true knowledge and proceeded to investigate the cognitive process. Abu’l Fazl introduces such tendency in the explanation of nine philosophical schools in the A’in-i Akbarī, 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). All sensory organ is explained with the equivalents of Indian language. Five sense-organs are: smelling (shāmmah), tasting (zā’iqah), seeing (bāṣirah), hearing (sāmi’ah) and touching (lāmisah) that is in Sanskrit. grāṇa, rasana, caksuḥ, śrotra and tvak. The object of these are gandha, rasa, rūpa, śabda, and sparśa. Each sense organ is allied to the element

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1 As have been introduced in the Introduction (p.7). Abu’l Fazl introduced nine philosophical schools in chapter IV in the Book III of the A’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. A’in-i Akbari, Jarret, vol.III. pp.140-228.

2 Al-Bīrūnī, in chapter 3: “On the Hindu Belief as to Created Things, both Intelligibilia and Sensabilia” introduces the twenty-five tattvas of Śāmkhya philosophy as the thought of “those Hindus who prefer clear and accurate definitions”. According to Al-Bīrūnī. Puruṣā. avyakta with three powers (sattva, rajas, tamas), vyakta (prakṛti), ahamkāra (nature, he explained in Arabic ﺍْﺣِﻠْمَاء, mahābhūta (universal existences in the world : five elements). pañca(tan)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 indriyān (indriyāni), will (manas) which directs the senses in the exercise of their various functions and bring about learning and knowledge and karmendriyāni (sense of action). Sachau, pp.20-22; Eng. tr. pp.40-44.
Concerning sense-perception (ḥassā pl. ḥawās), Islamic philosophers learned from Aristotelian theory and call it external (ẓāhira) senses. The sensibilia (the objects of sense organs) are apprehended as the changes caused by sense organs and these are the faculty of the soul. Noteworthy thing is the hearing perception, because it is connected with the great element (‘unsur-i A’zam). It concerns the way of meditation: the exercise of controlling the breath (shughl pās-i anfās). Through it the real essence of mahākāśa is manifested to the religious devotees. This exercise is explained in detail in the section three in the MB. Regarding this see 2-4-2 'Way of Salvation'.

According to Vedānta, subtle bodies (liṅga-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 (aṅkāśa). 6 In the Vedāntasūtra, these five organs of perception are produced separately in consecutive order from the Sattva particles of them, i.e. ears from those of ether, skin from those of air, eyes from those of fire, tongue from those of wind, nose from those of earth.

Five Internal Organs

Next, the MB deals with internal organs (antaḥkaraṇa). First, MB enumerates internal organs (ḥawās-i bāṭin) in Islamic philosophy as Hiss-i Mushtārik (sensus communis, generalizing sense), Khayāl (imagination), Mutassarifah (contemplative), Hāfizah (retention) and Wāḥima (apprehension). MB does not give any further explanation about

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3 For the combination according to Pañcikarana, see the Vedāntasūtra 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. In Islamic philosophy (falsafah), the concept of internal (bāṭin) organs has some modified form of Aristotelian concept. Human soul possesses five internal senses to receive the perception of the external senses following the process of retaining, considering, combining, discrimination and recognizing. Sense-data will be collected to sensus communis (hiss mushtarik) and it will be retained for judgment in fancy (khayāl) and apprehension (mutakhayyalar). It analyses the sensible perception and mutafakkira treats other perceptions then stores in memory (hāfizah) 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) hiss-i mushtarik (sensus communis), which integrates sense-data into perception, 2) khayāl (fantasy) which preserves forms, 3) mutakhayyirah (imagination) which governs sensible objects and mutafakkira (cognitive faculty) which governs intelligible objects, 4) wahm (apprehension), which perceives meaning (ma‘āni), 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.

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. Antahkarana, 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. According to the MB, the functions of these four are:

1) buddhi : understanding (‘aql), possesses the characteristic of moving toward good and not to evil

7 According 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 mutafakkahirah. Most of the manuscripts read these as khayāl and mutasarrifah.


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

10 In the List of technical terms in the Sīrṭ-i Akbar, the equivalent term for buddhi is
2) **manas**: mind (**dil**), possesses two characteristics of **sāṅkalpa** and **vikālpa**. Resolution (**'ażimat**) and judgment of resolution (**khalq-i 'ażimat**) running on all sides without distinguishing right or wrong.

3) **citta**: having one quality of **vṛtti**, 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 wrong.

4) **ahamkāra**: attributing things to itself, the attribute of **paramātma**. For the reason that it possesses māyā.

Śaṁkhya 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 **sāṅkalpa** (synthesis) and **vikālpa** (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. **Antahkarana** has four aspects as **citta**, **buddhi**, **manas** and **ahamkāra**. **Manas** is characterised by **Sāṅkalpa** and **Vikālpa**. **Ahamkāra** is characterised by self-consciousness (**abhimāna**).
According to the *Yogavāśiṣṭha*, buddhi is defined as determination \(^{18}\) : manas as discrimination \(^{19}\) : citta as running from one object to another object \(^{20}\) : ahamkāra as self-consciousness \(^{21}\).

In the process of elementary creation, mahat, ahamkāra, indriyas, tanmātras and the bhūtas form the individuals. Sāmkhya philosophy introduces the idea of three guṇas. From the discord of the three guṇas, mahat rises, then three kinds of ahamkāra, tanmātras, indriyas and five elements rise. The MB explained this process with reference to the word of Vasistha. The process is described as follows: when the Lord desired to be determined, He was transformed into paramātman immediately on His thinking of it; and on the increase of this determination, the stage of ahamkāra was attained and when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of mahat-tattva or ‘aql-i kul (perfect wisdom). Then manas is created from 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 *Yogavāśiṣṭha*. The five cognitive senses derived from the sattva parts of the five elements. Although the precise process from each ahamkāra is omitted, the difference of three kinds of ahamkāra is clearly shown. In Sāmkhya philosophy, threefold ahamkāra: sāttvika, rājas and tāmasa has potentiality of producing jñāna, kriya and dravya. Tāmasa-ahamkāra changed into ākāśa, vāyu, agni, and prthivi successively. Sāttvika-ahamkāra transformed into manas and ten sensory organs. Rājas-ahamkāra transformed into ten sense organs (indriyas). The *Yogavāśiṣṭha* describes three kinds of ahamkāra.\(^{22}\)

Vasistha recommends first two higher ahamkāra to lead to jīvanmukti.

The *Yogavāśiṣṭha* adds the concept of saṅkalpa as the energiser. Furthermore, the different names of mind differ only verbally, \(^{23}\) indicate only one

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\(^{17}\) 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). The essence is the very saṅkalpa.

The universe is manifested by imagination and the causal energiser is saṅkalpa. This world is the very saṅkalpa and this is the biggest bondage.

So Vasiṣṭha taught that this saṅkalpa should be cast away.

Dārā was much interested in these three kinds of ahamkāras. For each stage of these ahamkāras, Dārā referred to a Qurānic verse as their authority. The three are ahamkāra-sattva, ahamkāra-rājas and ahamkāra-tāmasa. The first one is called jñāna-svarupa 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.

The third is the low stage of avidyā, because of the great degradation, limitation and subjectivity, it attributes folly, ignorance and carelessness to himself and speaks ‘I and thou are far from the point of unity seeing the external forms as his sensual objects.

Regarding the statement that ‘Ahamkāra is the quality of paramātmā, for the reason that it possessed māyā’, the severe criticism came from Roma Choudhuri as ‘mis-statement’. Because there is no manifestation of Ahamkāra or Egoity in the case of God. Ahamkāra is an empirical something, belonging to the Jīva and has nothing to do with the Paramātman, Isvara or Brahman. 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 Isvara. This Isvara is the highest manifestation of Brahman in this world. Here in the MB, the limited form of Brahman is called Paramātman and described as having three stages. Māndūkya Up. and Gauḍapāda’s Māndūkya-kārikā 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 (susupti) it is called prājña because there is no determinate knowledge, however, pure

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21 YV 3-96-73.
22 YV 3-4-ab, 44.
23 YV 2-19-20; 9-5-6ab.
24 YV 6-114-20ab.
25 YV 6-126-97 cd.
26 BI 1-100.
27 YV 3-96-73.
28 BI interprets this as the word of a religious devotee and his self is free from the limitations of body and elements.
29 RC p.130.
consciousness and pure bliss is there.  

On the other hand, these three states of Ahaṃkāra can correspond to the three stages of descent (nuzūr) or the process of revelation (tajalli) of the Absolute: Oneness (Aḥadiyya), He-ness (Huiyya) and I-ness (Aniyya). This Sūfistic idea is propagated by Ḍū. Ahaṃkāra-sattva is equivalent to Oneness, which comprehends all as the consciousness. Ahaṃkāra-rājas 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.  

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.

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31 Maṇḍukya Upaniṣad 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 Brahmanda in chapter 13 in the MB. 2 Brahmanda literally means the Egg of Brahma. 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-Biruni explained Brahmanda : the Egg of Brahma in chapter 20: “On the Brahmanda”. It is applied to the whole of heaven. He introduces the process of creation of the Egg of Brahma 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

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1 According to Mishkät book II, these eight heavens are called: Jannat al-Khuld (Garden of Eternity), Dār al-Salām(Dwelling of Peace), Dār al-Qārī (Abiding Mansion), Jannat al-'Adān (Gardens of Eden), Jannāt al-Ma‘wā (Gardens of refuge), Jannat al-Na‘īm (Gardens of delight), Jannat al-‘Ilīyūn (Chamber of Book of Life), Jannat al-Firdaws (Paradise).

2 The Arabic translation omits this chapter completely.

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

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

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 (daša dišā) according to the Indian reckoning adding the four quarters in-between each quarter.

In the same manner, Al-Biruni, in chapter 28: "On the Definition of the Ten Directions", enumerates the four cardinal directions and secondary directions between them in the horizontal plane: uttara, dakṣiṇa, paścima, pūrva, āgneya (southeast), aisāna (north-east), vāyava (north-west), nairīṭa (south-west) and two directions of the horizontal plane, above (upari) and below (adhas or tala). Furthermore, he referred to the name of the dominant of each directions. Indra (east). Varuṇa (west). Agni (South-east). Vāyu (northwest). Yama (south). Kuru (north). Prthivī (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: kawākīb-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 sanaiṣcala, brhaspati, 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-ruḥ), 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, exorbeitance, impiety and misery. All these are included in universe and its locus (mahall) is called the First Intelligence and the Spirit of

7 BI edition reads this word lagana. gagana is proper to the meaning of firmament, sky.
8 Here we find some confusion of the concept. The equivalent of fixed stars (kawākīb-i sayyārah : graha) is said to be naksatra. Naksatra means heavenly body, however generally used collectively and means constellation through which the moon passses. Most of the manuscripts omit this word except A2 and A3 (H of BTs abbreviation), so we omit the word in our edition.
9 Corbin, p.929.
Muhammad. 10

In the chapter 19. “On the Names of the Planets, the Signs of the Zodiac the Lunar Stations, and Related Subjects”. Al-Biruni 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 (Śanaiscara). 11 There are seven celestial regions, including one as the earth (bhū): Bhūloka, Bhuvarloka, Svarloka, Maharloka, Janaloka, Tapaloka 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 Kursî in Islamic cosmology and ninth sky which comprehends all including the Kursî. 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, kursî 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 kursî and ‘arsh has been the object of theological debate, however, according to Ibn ‘Arabî and Jīlī, ‘arsh signifies universal body, locus of tajjalli, and kursî 13

The section 16 of the MB is only entitled ‘Earth (zāmīn)’, 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-Biruni, 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.
12For detail, see 2-4-4.
14Pātāla is often used as the general term for these nether world. Among the Persian manuscripts, T and N group read pātāla. Sanskrit translation reads pūta. Arabic translation and Persian manuscripts (A1.B.BM1.BM2,E,J,A2,A3) support this reading pūta. Some of the manuscripts (D1,F,H1.K.S.U1.V) mixed with the concept of the divisions of the earth and read this dip (dəippy).
15The MB’s order and enumeration follows general enumeration as in the Liṅga Purāṇa 1-45-9.
Ifi

The naming and order are different from the MB.

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

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

As Parānic cosmology explains, the hollows in the earth are oceans and encircle each dvīpa, the MB enumerates the seven surrounding oceans. They are made of lāvana (salt-watered), iksurasa (sugar-cane juice), sura (wine), ghṛta (clarified butter), dadhi (whey), ksira (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

17 In some Persian manuscripts, the names of the dvīpas are described. C and T have following names in order: in T only six are enumerated: चन्द्र, पृथ्वि, कन्या, गोटा, दिपोक, देहुक. In Sanskrit translation, each dvīpas are set with surrounding sea and enumerated in order: Jambu-dvīpa, Plakṣa, Sālmali, Kuśa, Krauṇca, Śaka, Puṣkara.
18 This order and naming depends on the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa
19 The 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 Indier nach den Quellen dargestellt, Bonn, 1920, pp.56-57.
20 Regarding rivers, three most important rivers are Gāṅgā, 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 (nādi) of human body. See 2-4-4.
and Kailāsa. 21 Al-Birūnī 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 Muktī.

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

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21 In 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  masculinity. For the fifth mountain, the first consonant varied  masculinity. BI, T support the reading of  masculinity in the Arabic translation,  masculinity in the Sanskrit translation. Himavat, Hemakūta and Nisadha situate in southern side and Nila, Śveta, Śrīgāvān situate northern side of Mount Śumeru. Furthermore, Sanskrit translation adds three mountains more; Mālyavān situates in the east of Sumeru, Gandhamādana in the west, and Kaylāsa is described as the highest among the mountains.


23 cf. fn.13, p. 55.
The motif of the idea of Microcosm and Macrocosm has in one way been brought into Islam with Pythagoras. Since the age of Al-Kindi, the idea that man is Microcosm was found. On the other hand, the concept of Cosmic Man has its root in body-birth idea of creation shown in the Puruṣa Sūkta in the Rg Veda.

Al-Kindi connected Microcosm concept with self-knowledge and concludes if man knows himself, he knows all. Ikhwan al-Ṣafā developed this theory systematically and influenced Al-Ghazzālī and Ibn ʿArabi. Ikhwan al-Ṣafā distinguished between souls universal soul (al-kulli) and particular soul (al-juzṯi). The universal soul is also called the anima mundi (nafs al-ʿālam) and recognized as the emanated form of God. The generic form or soul of man is called universal, absolute man (insān mutlaq kulli) and individual man is called particular man (insān juzṯi). In Ikhwan’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.

In Ibn ʿArabi’s concept of microcosm-macrocosm, such a detailed structural theory is not found, but general correspondences are explained in the Shajarat al-Kawm. The correspondences are not consistent. For him these are only metaphors and similes. In Ibn ʿArabi’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 ʿArabi contrasts the Perfect Man with the Animal Man. Certain special chosen men, saints can be called Perfect Man. 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.

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

2 The 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 exit to the rest of the body etc.

3 For 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 Kúbra) is considered as a body of the individual self.

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

In the MB, in section 5 on the soul, Dārā uses the simile of water (in the ocean) and waves of the ocean. The inter-relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that of sarīra (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 suddha-caitanya (pure-consciousness). 5

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

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4See 2-4-4.
5In the BI, the two words are identified with suddha and cetana and translated separately as “sudh or cetana”. (BI, pp.45,88.) However, this is uniformed concept of Vedānta, thus we read as suddha-caitanya (pure consciousness).
section of Vedānta. 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.

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 and the parable of the seed 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 mahāsūpta) and assumes divine, human, animal or plant bodies according to their works in the previous existence. Brahman enters into the elements by means of the individual soul thus expands Himself as names and shapes. This comes about in the seed of the elements, carried by the soul with it on its wandering in the form of the subtle body, becoming the gross body by the addition of homogeneous particles from the coarse element which surround it at the same time it unfolds in the psychic organs.

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

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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.
and the explanation of pañcikaraṇa are also described. 

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.
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. Muʿtazilites insisted on the divine attributes in the aspect of tanzih, however, only as more than nominal sense. Ashʿarites recognized the attributes in the divine essence. 1

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

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

2cf. Affifi pp.35-36, 41-47.
3Nicholson, Study, pp.85,90.
with the idea of trimūrti; Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. These three are equivalent with Islamic angels: Jībra’il, Mīkā’il and Isrāfił respectively. Trimūrti is again allied with elements: water with Jībra’il, fire with Mīkā’il and air with Isrāfił. 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 tridevi. Each goddess is connected with each guṇa and each of trimūrti. The combination is as follows: Sarasvatī - Rajoguna - Brahmā; Lakṣmī - Tamoguna - Maheśvara and Pārvatī - Sattvaguna - Viṣṇu. 4

In Sāmkhya philosophy, the guṇas mean substantive entities and not abstract qualities. These are classified into three types: sattva, rajas and tamaś. 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 Śūrya, they are connected with triad of Brahmā, Śiva (Maheśvara) and Viṣṇu. They represent the principles of creation, destruction and preservation. Brahmā embodies rajoguna with desire or passion by which creation occurs. Śiva embodies tamoguna with darkness or wrath by which destruction occurs. Viṣṇu embodies sattvaguna with goodness by which world is preserved.

Jībra’il, Mīkā’il and Isrāfił are the archangels in the Qur‘ān. Angels are sent to this world for the warning to men. Jībra’il has the epithet of rūḥ al-āmin (the Faithful Spirit) and known as the messenger who came to Prophet Muḥammad with the message from God. For Mīkā’il, Qur‘ān only describes as an angel of the same rank as Jībra’il. Isrāfił is the angel with trumpet of resurrection. 5

In the list of technical terms in the beginning of the Sīr-i Akbar, Dārā describes these three, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. They are identified with Jībra’il, Mīkā’il and Isrāfił respectively. Three guṇas: rajoguna, sattvaguna and tamoguna are identified with the attribute of creation, preservation and destruction respectively. 6

4 Regarding the combinations of these tridevi, trimūrti and triguna are confused in the Bl. Rajoguna - Brahmā - Sarasvatī; Tamoguna - Maheśvara - Pārvatī; Sattvaguna - Viṣṇu - Lakṣmī. (pp.44, 88) By the examination of Persian manuscripts, it is clear that the combination had been understood correctly.


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)
2) the Pure (baḥt) = Nirguṇa (having no qualities, epithets)
3) the pure (sīrī) = Nirākāra (formless)
4) the Hidden of the hidden (ghayb al-ghayb) = Niraṅjana (pure)
5) the Necessary Self (ḥaḍrat al-wujūd) = Sat Čit Ānanda
6) the Knowing ('aḥm) = Caitanya (consciousness)
7) the Living (al-Hayyu) = Ananta (endless)
8) the Powerful (qādir) = Samartha (able)
9) the desirous (murid) = Svatantra (mighty)
10) the Hearing (samī) = Śrōtr (listener)
11) the Seeing (baṣīr) = Draṣṭ (seer)
12) the speaker (kaḷām) = Vaḳṭr (speaker)
13) Allah = Aum

1 BI reads Asaṅga. The Sanskrit translation reads Śūnya. Most of the Persian manuscripts and the Arabic translation support the reading of Śūnya, much more correct reading is found in B,A as śun, and unique reading is in J JJJ 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). BI read this as the Truth (al-Haq). Most of the manuscripts, the Arabic translation and transliteration of Persian in the Sanskrit translation support the reading of al-Haqqy (fol. 5b). This al-Haqqy 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.
5 BI. T omit this term. The Arabic translation and the Sanskrit translation support this reading. This is Tantric designation of the Supreme Being.
6 BI translates this portion as follows : 'If spirit is attributed to that Absolute Self, they call Him vaḳṭa'. BI understands this word as Vyakta (p.53 n.13). However, in this context, kaḷām does not mean the spirit, but the word. Vakta i.e. vakṭr means speaker in Sanskrit. Vyakta is meant for this world as emancipated from Brahman, and Brahman himself is designated as ayaḳta. Here we take it proper to read vakta.
7 Regarding the concept of sacred syllable Aum, see 2-4-2.
14) He (hi) = Sah
15) Angel (firishta) = Devata (divine being)
16) the Perfect Manifestation (maqzar atamnu) = Avatara (incarnation)
17) Divine Revelation (wahi) = Akashavani (heavenly voice)
18) Heavenly Books (kutub-i asmanu) = Veda
19) the virtuous jins (pari) = lacuna
20) the evil jins (deva wa shayatin) = Raksi (demon)
21) the human beings (Adam) = Manusya (human being)
22) saint (wali) = Rishi (saint)
23) Apostle (nabi) = Mahasiddha (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-asma' al-husna). 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 Upanisadic philosophy, Brahman is without body and form, without qualities and attributes. This is exclaimed with the epithet the attributeless (nirguna). There are opposite adjectives which indicate the nature (svarupa) 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 Bhagavata Purana declares ‘the wise visualize His attributeless form

9 Some Persian translation and the Arabic translation read as Siva. The Sanskrit translation puts Allah and after Sat Cit Ananda.

10 Regarding wahi and akashavani see 4-2-2.

11 The Sanskrit translation omits the equivalent word for pari. The Arabic translation omits this passage. Original Sanskrit translation reads, pisa-cana姆 madhye sujanah pari-sahana-yath te swameva dvijana devasa-yati rakshaocayante / It omits the equivalent words for Persian ریکھی pari. Even though the editor translated them as follows: “The Good among the Pisacas we call Pari, they call Apsara. The bad among them we call devasa-yati, they call raksi.” (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 pari (in Persian) and Daitya and Danava which are called deva and shaytan (in Persian), they are called raksi (by them)”.

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

13 BI comments this word, as follows: The word Maha Sudh is phonetically equivalent to Maha Sudha, 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 irab of kasra (pronounced as i) on س. And in the list of technical terms at the beginning of the Sirr-i Akbar, we can find the same word siddha for the equivalent meaning of nabi (Sirr-i Akbar, p.8).
even in the manifold of attribute'. 14 Brahman is omniscient (sarvajña): unchangeable (nirvikāra); birthless (ajah); soul of all (sarvātma): free from māyā (nirañjana); without shape or form (nirakāra); truth, consciousness and bliss (sat cīt 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 (wali) 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-asmāʾ 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 Qurʾān, the reference of light as God is found LXI-8,9 and as revelation the light came down in LXIV-8 and most notable Qurʾānic 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 gār). It is called as Divine light (nūr-i khudā). This is equivalent with Jyotis svarūpa, sva-prakāśa or svayaṃ-prakāśa. 15 Here the MB quotes third-fourth of light-verse, and

14 Bh. P. VIII-6-11.
15 BI reads these equivalents as Jyotih-svarūpa. Svaprapkāśa and Svapna-prapkāśa (p.49)
last portion reads “and God creates allegories for man, and God knows all things.”

Dara 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 (ruh-i a’zam) which is luminous without being lighted. He introduced the explanation of this verse by the saint Abū Bakr Wāsītī. 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 Qurʾān, Allah himself is not only the source of light but the only real actual light in all existences. In the third section of the Mishkāt, the symbolical meaning of the expressions in light verse: the Niche, the Glass, the Lamp, the Olive Tree, the Light are explained. These words symbolize the gradations of human spirits: Niche for the sensory spirit (al-rūḥ al-hassās); the glass for the imaginative spirit (al-ruh al-khayālī); the lamp for the intelligential spirit (al-rūḥ al-aḥqāf); the Olive tree for the ratiocinative spirit (al-rūḥ al-fikn) 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 (Ṛg 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 light 18 , the pure light of light 19 . By his light does all this shine 20 . self-manifesting or self-revealing (svaprakāśa) is a nature of Self never determined by anything else. This is the difference from manifested being. In the Bhagavadgītā (15-6) the light is expressed as God’s divine manifestation. “The light of the ātman cannot be illuminated by sun or moon or fire. It is God’s supreme light from which one will never return.”

16 Mishkāt pp.79-81, tr. pp.84-86.
17 Śvetāsvatara Up. 3-8.
19 Mundaka Up. 2-9.
20 Kathāka 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 *jivanmukta* (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 Muhammad'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-Arwaḥ*), the Soul of Souls manifested in the veil of Soul (*rūḥ*), and the soul is manifested in the veil of Body. 

Ghazzālī introduced one Hadith on veils: Allah 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. 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 Muḥibbullah 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 'Arabi and Jilī. Veil symbolizes this phenomenal world as an attribute denoting God.

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21 *BI* p.50
As Colebrook suggests, according to the Hindus, numeration is of divine origin. Nine figures (aṅka) with a zero (śūnya) are ascribed to the Creator of the Universe.  

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 (ānkh) years of the world. Each abja is equal to one hundred crore years. 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-Birūnī 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-Birūnī 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.

According to Purānic literatures, this universe has a cycle with the procedure of four yugas (Krta, Treta, 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.

1Lilāvati p.4.
2The reading of this words differs variously. Bl.T read as anj The reading of each manuscript differs and can be read At the first sight, we have some confusion because of the vagueness of nuqta of the word. Both published editions read this word as 1. The Sanskrit translation reads it as abja. The Arabic translation reads . In this context, we desire to read as .
3In Persian manuscripts, the spelling is the same as aṅk, however, in this context we read this word as abja.
4Bl.T read this as one thousand Most of the Persian manuscripts read one hundred crore (108). The Sanskrit translation reads ‘koṭi śata’, i.e., one hundred crore Bl pp.74,114; T p.27.
5Eighteen orders are as follows: Eka, Daśa, Śata, Sahasra, Ayuta, Lākṣa, Prayuta, Koṭi, Nyarbuḍa, Paḍma, Kharva, Nikharva, Mahāpadma, Śāṇku, 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-Birūnī 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 Mārkaṇḍeeya’s teaching in the Viṣṇu Dharma. Al-Birūnī 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-Birūnī introduces the precise examination of the kalpas and yugas based on the Paulisasiddhānta or Brahmagupta’s the Brahmāsiddhānta 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-Birūnī’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 controversial word is very similar in Persian, however, we can read the second one as abja. Because the explanation of this unit is equivalent to abja. One abja equals to $10^9$. The reading of most of the Persian manuscripts shows the equivalent, a hundred crore ($10^2 \times 10^7 = 10^9$).

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

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6 Sachau, p.169; Eng. tr. p.359-360.
7 Sachau, p.169; Eng. tr. pp.331-332.
8 BI, T read this ياك هزار and translated ‘a thousand’. BI pp.73, 114. T p.27. However, we follow the reading of most of the manuscripts and read عشرون ‘one hundred crore’.
we have seen above. Al-Birūnī also suggested the limitation of the reckoning.

The fourth point to which the MB refers is that the duration of the night of concealment is equal to eighteen anika 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 Nāṣūt. During the period of the smaller resurrections, in the state of Malakūṭ. and after the mahāpralaya, God is in Jabarūt. These correspond to jagrat, suṣupti and svapna state.

As the Viṣṇu Purāṇa narrates, Parārdha means half duration of the time after which the prakṛtika 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. prakṛtika pralaya occurs.

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.

Samarangasutrādhāra (mid 11c.), 10\textsuperscript{20}; in King Basava’s the Śivatattvavatnakāra (17-18c), ibid. pp.9-13.

10 Among the arithmetical works, this limit is found, however, other literatures show more figures beyond 10\textsuperscript{17}. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay, Gorakhpur edition), Yuddhakāṇḍa, sarga 28-33...38, the limitation is 10\textsuperscript{60} (mahaugha). In Encyclopedic Mahāyāna scripture, the Abhidharmakosa described the limit as 10\textsuperscript{53} (tallaksana). Jaina arithmetic work named the Gaṇitārāmatāṅgāra introduced the limitation as 10\textsuperscript{23} (mahāksobhyā). Hayashi, pp.7,10.

11 BI, T read this اوسپهام and transliterate avasthātam. (p.74) Most of the manuscripts read this اوسپها سیوم As the state of suṣupti is the third state among the four states (jagrat, 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 Bhāmati (1-2), the commentary of Vācaspatimiśra 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 Bk. 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 rūḥakullī (rūḥ kullī) and rūḥajujāī (rūḥ juzī). that is to say the universal soul (rūḥ kullī) and particular soul (rūḥ juzī). 1 Soul (rūḥ) or ātman is determined with subtle (laṭīf) aspect of Pure Self (zāt-i baḥt) or suddhacaitanya and determined with gross (kathī) aspect which is called physical body (jasad or sarīra). The Essence determined in the beginning is rūḥ-i aʿzam which is the aggregate of all the attributes and has the state of Abstract Oneness (ahadiyya). 2 Abū al-Arwāḥ or Paramātman comprehends all the rūḥ or ātman.

In this section, the MB uses rūḥ signifying soul. However, originally, in Arabic poetry, rūḥ was used to signify breath and wind, and nafs was used to signify the self organ. Then these concepts came to be equated and applied to the human spirit. In the Qurʿān. Allāh blew His rūḥ into Adam and gave life to his body. Here rūḥ means the breath of life. In the Qurʿān. 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:

'azam and translated as “the self that was determined in Eternity Past is known as Rūḥ-i Aʿzam (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:

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Sufis used the word *ruh* 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 (*ruh al-qudus*), pure intelligence and the Perfect Man. On the other hand, *nafs* is recognized as the seat of lower character of man. 'Abd al-Karīm Jīlānī recognized *ruh al-qudus* or *ruh al-arwāl* 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 *ruh-i a'zam* as the determined form of the Absolute and identification with Abstract Oneness (*ahadiyya*), we find the concept of descent (*nuzūr*) or individualization of the Absolute. As Jīlī describes. Abstract Oneness (*Ahadiyya*) is the outward aspect of Absolute Being (*zāt al-wujūd al-mutlaq*). 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 (*wāḥidīyya*). In this stage, the essence is manifested as attribute.

For the description of interrelation between soul (*ruh*) and *Abū al-Arwāh*, or *Ātman* and *Paramātman*, the *MB* uses one simile. The combination of waves, in their complete aspect may be likened to *Abū'l arwāh* or *paramātman* and water is like August Existence (*ḥadrat-i wujūd*) or pure consciousness (*suddhacaitanya*). This simile is favored by Sufis and Vedantins alike.

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

⁴ *SA* p.6.
of all, the functioning of all types of causes (adhiṣṭhāna-kāraṇatā). The ultimate essence of this world is the nature of knowledge (pure consciousness) and this is also called paramātman (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. The MB explains each prāṇa briefly about its location and function.

1) prāṇa : air which moves from the nostrils to the toes, for the breathing
2) apāṇa : air which moves from the buttocks to the special organ, encircling the navel, for the life-sustaining
3) samāṇa : air which moves inside the breast and navel
4) 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. We will show the Vedāntasāra’s definition of the five vital forces.

Prāṇa : vital force which goes upward and has its seat at the tip of the nose
Apāṇa : vital force which goes downward and has its seat in the organ of excretion
Vyāṇa : vital force which moves in all directions and pervades the entire body
Udāna : ascending vital force which helps the passing out from the body and has its seat in the throat
Samāṇa : the cause of digestion of food which converts it into semen, blood and other materials of body

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5 Dasgupta vol. III, p.484.
6 Deussen p.326. cf. VS 2-3-15: 2-41-4.: Mundaka Up. 2-1-3. Enumeration of prāṇas is found in Brhadāraṇyaka Up.1-5-3: 3-9-26; Chandogya Up. 3-13:5-18; Praśna Up. 3 etc., however, sometimes differently explained.
7 Additional Hatha Yogic explanation can be found in variants of N group.
8 VS 78-83.
Four Stages of the Seeker of the Truth

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

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 Şūfis add the World of Similitude ('Ālam-i mithāl). These worlds are called avasthā (states), which correspond to jāgrat, svapna, susupti 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 maḥd), 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.
   2) 'Ālam al-Malakūt, 'the world of sovereignty' is the invisible, spiritual,
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 Risālah, in-between Nāsūt and Malakūt, 'Ālam-i Mithāl is inserted. This is the midway and gateway to the 'Ālam-i Malakūt and the confused thought-pictures which the sālik makes and sees with the eyes of heart the world of ideas. 'Ālam-i Malakūt is called the world of spirits ('Ālam-i arwāh), the invisible world ('Ālam-i ghayb), the subtle world ('Ālam-i Lātīf), the world of dream ('Ālam-i khwābh). The way of meditation is reciting the name of God. Dārā describes that Miyān Jīv used to tell the disciples about the recitation of the name of Allah without the movement of the tongue. And the method of regulation of breath, called the confinement of breath (Habs-i nafs). 'Ālam-i Jabarūt is called the causal plane or the plane of unity.

Thus, both in the MB and the Risālah, the anecdote of Abū al-Qāsim Junaid and Shaikh al-Īsām 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 Risālah. In the Risālah, 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 nafs 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.  

Jāgrat, svapna, susūpti and turyā are corresponding to four stages of jīva. The Māndūkya Upāniṣad describes these stages with denomination. 

The first stage is the waking state (jāgrat) named viśva or vaiśvānara. This

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12 Risālah pp.6.10.16.18; Compass, pp.6.13.22.26.
13 Māndūkya 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 Prajñā. In this state, there is no perception of external or internal objects is possible and jīva is freed from phenomenal experiences. Beyond this, there is a state of Turiya as the stage of transcendent consciousness beyond the former three stages. In this state, jīva realizes the identity with Brahman. These states are symbolized as three elements of pranava (aum). i.e. akāra, ukāra, makāra and without kāra (letter or sound).  

Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara’s teacher’s teacher the Māndūkya-kārikā as the commentary on this Upaniṣad. He systematized these concepts. The Vedāntasūra inherited this and propagated these stages as the process of purification of the Īśvara limited by upādhi. 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 Vijnānavādins, the concept has been developed into the idea of the seven stages of psychological progress. Jivātman assumes different forms. It has seven states to ascend the process of realization.  

1) svapna-jāgara: concentration on studying and association with saint  
2) samkalpa-jāgara: critical thinking (vīcāraṇā)  
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) ksīna-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  

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14 Māndūkya Up. 8...12.  
15 VS 43...45.  
16 YV V1b-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, Ṭariqa 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, Śūfism has sharī'a (the path to be followed, the Sacred Law of Islam) and ṭariqa (the path, of Śūfism, practical method guided by spiritual guide) and Ḥaqīqa (the path of Truth, the experience of Divine Reality) as three pillars of Śūfism.

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 ṭariqa 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 Śūfism. 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 (mushāhadat ar-rubūbiyya). Law is the Reality because God ordained it and Reality is also the Law because it is the knowledge of God likewise ordained by Him. ²

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

¹Trimingham, p.160.
²ibid., p.142.
**Haqīqa** is what I am”. Miyān Jiv emphasized the importance of sharī‘a for sālik as fundamental task for proceeding on the path of Haqīqa and tariqa. 3 In another form, Miyān 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 tariqa and the reform of soul is by preserving all the grades of Ḥaqīqa. Mullāh Shāh also insisted on the importance of sharī‘a.  4 Tariqa has different stages and practices. Among them, for Dārā, the most attractive practice seems to have been zikr.

**Zikr**

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

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

Zikr, literally means recollection or recital of God’s name by the repetition of the religious formulae, lā-illā-ha illa’l-llāh with the concentration of mind.

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5. Dunkan Macdonald pp.261-263. Schimmel also remarked “In the later Middle Ages, especially in Afghanistan and India, the habs-i dam, holding the breath for a very long time, was practiced - a disputed technique that may show influence from Indian asceticism (p.174).
For attainment of ecstasy (wajd), in other words, union or encounter with God. *zikr* associated with the fixed poses (*jalsa*) and control of breath are incessant practices. These practices provide *Ṣūfis* the progress in their stages (*maqām*) to acquire the ecstatic state (*ḥāl*). *Zikr* is a special act of devotion by means of certain breathing exercises and also by controlling respiration. *Zikr*, the spiritual exercises of the *Qādirī silsila* is described by *Bilgrāmī* in detail, who enumerates four categories of *zikr* based on *Makhazin-i Qādirīyya*.

1) *Zikr-i Nāsūṭī*: the recollection of tongue (*lā-ī-lā-ha-ī-lā-hā*); visualization of *Nāsūṭ*

2) *Zikr-i Malakūṭī*: the recollection of heart (*sīla l-lāh*); visualization of *Malakūṭ*

3) *Zikr-i Jabarūṭī*: recollection of soul (*allāh, allāh*); visualization of *Jabarūṭ*

4) *Zikr-i Lāhūṭī*: recollection of *Lāhūṭ* (the divine world)

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

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

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

2) *Zikr-i ‘Arrab*: a kind of guttural recitation of *haqq*. *haqq*: *ha-hayy, ya-qayyum*

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


*Bilgrāmī, 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-ilā-ha negatively and ill-alla-h affirmatively
5) Zikr-i Pās-i Anfās : recollection by regulation of breath
6) Zikr-i Jāli : shouting the name allāh loudly and repeatedly
7) Zikr-i Khafi : 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

The first kind of zikr-i Āward wa Burd is said to have been introduced by ‘Abdul Qādir Jīlahī 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 ilāh mentally, with the tongue of ceder heart so that mind should not remain vacant.

Among these zikrs, Shugl-i Pās-i Anfās seems to have been regarded as the most important one by Dārā. This is called Habs-i dam ‘recollection by regulation of breath’, practised by the Šūfis of Chishti, 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
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 la ilah 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-lah. 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.  

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.  

**Sulṭān al-Aẓkār**

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 Sulṭān al-Aẓkār (the king of all practices).

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

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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 (awāz-i muḥaddith) and compound sound (awāz-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 (awāz-i basīt) and subtle sound (awāz-i latīf). 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 (biḥād) and absolute sound (awāz-i muṭlaq). This sound comes out without effort all the time. Dārā traces the authority by six Hadiths and explains with the teaching of Miyan Jiv, 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 Awāz-i Muṭlaq (the sound of the Absolute) or Sultan al-Azkar (the king of all the practices). This is said to be the source of the perception of mahākāsa 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-Azkar). The second is Āhata, the sound which originates from the striking of one thing against another without any combination of words. The third is sabda, combined with words. Regarding sabda, 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, sabda 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,

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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 (saṁyoga), disjunction (vibhāga) and sound (śabda), and the organ of ear (śrotra) perceives the sound (śabda).

With reference to śabda, the MB explains Ism-i Aʿzam 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 aʿzam, 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 Miyan Jiv, the way of acquiring the secret of the Ism-i Aʿzam is through the aforesaid practice to recite the name of Allāh.

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 and the Nṛsiṁha-uttaratantrāṇīya Upaniṣad 2, three components of Aum: a-ka, u-kā and m-kā are shown as the symbol of creation, sustaining and destruction.

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 Śvetāsvatara 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,
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 praṇāhāra (abstraction) withdrawing the mind from the sense objects; the sixth is dhāranā (concentration) fixing the mind on definite locus; the seventh dhīvāna (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 Śūfis 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). Śūfis interpret this as ‘Hū Allah’ (He is God).

Ajapā-japa has characteristics similar to Shughl Pās-i Anfās and Sultān al-Azkār. Ajapā-japa is called Ḥāṃsa mantra in Ḥāṃsa Upaniṣad. The mantra called Ḥāṃsa-ḥāṃsa 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

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19 Śvetāsvatara Up. 2-9.
20 HYP II-45; EY p.162.
Tantric Yoga expresses this as follows: when the air (vāyu) will go up through eight chakras and reaches the brahmarandhra, we concentrated as āham. At that time nāda is from the bottom to the brahmarandhra, purifies as crystal and says "sa" namely "Brahman or paramātmā". When the novice practises this japa crore (koṭi) times, then ten kinds of sounds can be heard. These sounds are the sound of cīni, cīcinī, ghaṇṭā (iron gong used as a clock), conch shell, tāla (cymbal), veṇu (bamboo flute), mrdanga (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, Sadasiva with the essence of sakti 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 susumnā 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.

Haṭhayogapradīpikā 23 explains this practice of nāda. It has four stages: Árambha (preliminary), Ghaṭa (the second stage), Paricaya (knowledge) and Nispatti (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.

23 HPD 4-69...76.
In other words, the inner sound becomes more and more subtle as the practice of Yogic process proceeds. In the stage of pratyāhāra, the sound like the cloud, the kettle-drum; 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. Kuṇḍalini śakti ascends from the mūlādhāra to the nāḍīās to attain the stage of madhyāma. As the result of this ascension, through the auditory organ the sound (vaikīhāra) will be manifested. This external manifestation of kuṇḍalini-śakti is Aum and called bāhyā-pranava (manifested sound). All the breath is dedicated to the concentration of soul at anāhata-cakra for its own manifestation as audible sound. This sound is described as having four hierarchical stages: a,u,m, and anusvāra (m) and these are described as the waking state (jāgrat), dream (svapna), dreamless sleep (suṣupti) and the transcendental stage (turyā).

Regarding the explanation of Ajapa-japa, later Upāniṣads give us the detailed characteristics of this sound (nāda). Beside the Haṃsanādā Upāniṣad, the Yogaśikā Upāniṣad and the Nādabindu Upāniṣad record the stages of nāda. 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.

In the Sirr-i Akbar, Dārā commented on the Atharvasikā Upāniṣad as identical with anāhata sound and equivalent to universal sound (āwāz-i mutlaq). On the other hand, Aum is called Veda-nukha and Ism-i A'zam is its equivalent. In the Brāhmaṇas and the Upāniṣads, Aum is called praṇava and was symbolized as the primordial sound in nature. On the other

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24 ibid. 4-87...89.
25 Siddheśvara Bhāṭṭācārya, The Philosophy of the Śrimad-Bhāgavata, vol.II, Vishvabharati, 1962, p.96-98. This Vedantic interpretation is found in the SA.
26 Yogaśikā Up. vv.130-133.
27 EY. pp.130-131.
28 Kaivalya Up 8; Śtarudriya Up...
hand it is regarded as the first manifestation of Universal consciousness, the quintessence of all the universe and the object of meditation. In the later Upaniṣads and Purāṇas, Aum is said to have been formed from the five mystic letters (aksara): a, u, m, bindu, nāda. Each letter is identified with deities, Vedas and other functions of the universe.

The MB regards sābda as the source of Ṣism-i Aʿzam. This is reminiscent of the concept of Šabdabrahman. In the world of sound, anāhata-sābda is uncreated, self-produced sound and manifested itself as lettered sound (sābda) or with sound (dhvani). In section 11, as we will see in 2-4-3, the equivalent term of Allāh is called Aum. In the Ṣakīna, Dārā introduced the word of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, Ṣism-i Aʿzam is the very name of Allāh.

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.

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29 Kathaka Up. 1-2-15...17; Māndūkya Up. 1; Brhadāraṇyaka Up. 5-1-1; Chāndogya Up. 3-16-17; BG 9-24; Gopatha Brahmana 1-1-17...21, 22...32.

30 Ṣakinat p.84.
2-4-3 Perfect Man

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

Prophethood and Sainthood

According to Naṣr al-Dīn 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 Śūfistic thought. Prophethood or prophecy derived from prophet (nabi) 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 (wali) who is under special protection, a friend. The ideal Śūfi is reflected in the form of wali.²

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

1) apostles who might have beheld God either with the physical or inner eyes
2) apostles who might have heard the voice of God whether sound only or sound composed of words
3) apostles who might have seen the angles or heard their voices

In the same way, saintship is also classified into three kinds:
1) pure (tanzīhī) like apostleship of Noah
2) resembling (tashbihī) like apostleship of Moses
3) a combination of pure and resembling like apostleship of 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.

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-mutlaq*) and the prophethood of legislation (*nubuwwa al-tashrīf*) or the prophethood of divine instruction (*nubuwwa al-ta’rif*). 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* 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. 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-Khādir* to Moses means the difference between the station of the prophets and the saints. 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. Jīlī regarded prophethood as a developed stage of sainthood. Saintship is a rank in which God reveals to a mystics His names and attributes.

Immanence (*tashbih*) and transcendence (*tanzih*) are regarded as the distinguishing points in the *MB*. Ibn ‘Arabī used these terms as the way of explanation of an aspect of Reality. In the aspect of Reality manifested in the phenomenal world, the manifestation of His limited form is the attribute of immanence (*tashbih*). In the aspect of Reality that we cannot perceive is the attribute of transcendence (*tanzih*). Thus Ibn ‘Arabī reduced *tanzih* as absoluteness (*īṭlāq*) and *tashbih* as limitedness (*taqyid*). 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.

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.

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4 Takeshita, p.120.
5 Edited by Ḥāmid Tāhir, alif 5, 1985, pp.7-38. See Takeshita p.155.
6 Corbin, p.862.
7 Takeshita p.159.
8 *ibid*. p.818.
9 Corbin p.862.
10 These two concepts are interpreted as *saguna* and *nirguna* in the Sanskrit translation.
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 tashbih and tanzih 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 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 Sunnis, the Dījahmiyya Sunnīs and Mu’tazilīs, Khārijīs, the Zaydis, and Murdīs 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’āris, 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. Ru’uyat-i Allāh has got some significant status in the mystic way.

In section 10, the MB introduces the controversy connected with this concept and every believer of ahl-i kitāb (people with revealed book) should believe this notion in vision of God. The reason is that the Prophets and perfect saints, whether in this or the next world and with the physical or with the heart’s eyes achieved it. However, the Pure Self (Zāt-baḥt) cannot be beheld in any way. Then Dārā refused to accept the limitation of after-life on ru’uyat and insisted on the possibility in this life. He criticised the attitude of Mu’tazilīs and Shi‘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.

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12 Rīsāla pp.16-17; Rizvi p.138.
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 Hadith ascribed to 'Aisha Siddīqa is referred to. When she asked the Prophet, 'Did you behold your Lord?' The reply was 'nūrūn 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-e 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 Zarr-i Ghaffārī replied. He asked the Prophet about it, and the Prophet replied the same as in the case of 'Aisha. Miyan Jiv commented on these interpretations with reference to Hadith. Former interpretation means that it is impossible to behold the Pure Essence (zāt-i baht or wujūd-i sirf) even for the prophets; the latter interpretation means that when He descends and appears in veil with attributes then He can be beheld through the veil as the beautiful shape. 15

Besides this anecdote, on the authority of several words of saints: Shaykh Hasan Basrī, Abū Bakr b. Sulaimān, Zū an-Nūn Misrī and tafsīrs of Qur'ān (Abū al-Qāsim Samarqandi, Tafsīr Sulāmī, Sahīh Muslim, Tafsīr 'Arāsī, Tafsīr Qūṣayrī, Faṣr al-Ḥazāb, Baḥr al-Ḥaqīqī). Dārā emphasized the authority of ru'uyat 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 Hadith. 16

In section 11, while enumerating the names of God and other religious concepts, MB refers to waḥy (revelation) with its equivalent ākāṣavānī. Here the MB referred to the episode from Hadith. ‘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 Hīrā, however, his auditive revelations are traced in the sīra or Hadiths. The episodes

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15 Sakīna p.75
16 Sakīna pp.74-82.
quoted in the *MB* are two of them. The Wahy sounds like the ringing of a bell and this kind of wahy was the most painful one for Muhammad. This episode is found in most of the *Hadiths* 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 (*ruʿuyā*) is one of the forty-six parts of prophethood. Hearing the speech (*kalām*) of God in the dream is also based on the *Hadith* 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 *Qurʾān*, he is represented as Adam. Adam was created by God in His image and regarded as the perfect copy of God. Originally, this concept was inherited from Hermatism and the Hellenistic gnosis. The first Man or prototypal man was formed by the light of the essence. 19 As is shown in the notable Sūra XXIV of light, God is wāli 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 (*haqīqa*) is signified by those expressed or symbolized. Perfect Man sees his own form in the mirror of the name Allah, and he is a mirror to God. 20 Thus Perfect Man reflecting all the divine attributes is called wilyā (Special Saint). The saintly aspect of the nature of Muhammad is regarded by Šūfis 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*.


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According to Jili, the three stages of manifestation (tajallī): oneness (ahadiyya), He-ness (huwwiyah) 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.  

Saints

A saint is regarded as the popular type of Perfect Man. In this context, Şūfī can be called as awliyā (saints). Dārā highly respect Şūfī saints with the authority of their aphorism with the description of evaluation of Şūfis. 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 ašḥābs (companions), Muhājirūn (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 Ṭābi‘īn (followers) beginning from Uwais-i Qaraṇī.


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

23For example, ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī stated that Şūfīs were worldly and heavenly monarchs. Safīna p.15.
In the sixth age, four saints are enumerated beginning from Khwāja Muḥī ud-Dīn Chishtī, Khwāja Bahā’ ud-Dīn Naqshband, Khwāja Aḥrār, Maulānā ‘Abdur-Rahmān Jāmī.

In the seventh age, six saints are enumerated beginning from his own shaikh. Miyan Mīr, his own ustād, Mulla Shāh, his own murshid, Shāh Muḥammad Dīlrūbā, Shaikh Tayyib Sirhindī, and Bābā Lāl. 24

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

Dārā seems to have been specially interested in the hierarchy of saints. In the introduction to the Safinat al-Awliya’, he introduced the hierarchy of saints. According to this, there are four thousand 26 Friends of God named Makhtūm who are unconscious of their own status and Wardens of

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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 Khalifas and the remaining six, ten Congratulated (mubashshar) and great ones of muhājirs, the Ansārz and Sūfis are omitted in B group. Particularly, R1 quoted most of the names of the saints. U2, U3 commented on the meaning of the remaining ten as companions (aṣḥāb) listing the names of four saints: Talḥa b. az-Zubair, ‘Abdūr Rāhmān, Sayyid b. Abī Waqqās, Sa‘īd b. Zaid. Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. T, A, 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 Mu‘īn ad-Dīn Chishtī, the names of other saints of Chishtī Sīlah, Qūṭ ad-Dīn Bakhṭiyār Kākī Wāsī and Khwāja Naẓm ad-Dīn Awlīyā. The Arabic translation omits the names of Shaikh Muḥy-ud-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, Khwāja Aḥrār and Maulānā ‘Abdur Rāhmān Jāmī (ff.14ab). The Sanskrit translation listed only twelve names including the six Khalifas, Dhūn Nūn Miṣrī. Junaid, Muḥy-ud-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, Miyan Mīr, Mullā Shāh and Miyan 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. Forty Raḥyun 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 Qūṭb, 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. 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 Qūṭb or Ghawth enumerated as this hierarchy. The Saints form a hierarchical structure with the Qūṭb at the head. It seems to be an old concept. According to Tirmidhī, the highest spiritual authority is the Qūṭb (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 'iqām (climate zone). The terms and numbers are varied in the tracts of Sufis. According to Futūḥat 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 Qūṭb and two Imāms. 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.’ In the MB, only four saints are included in the list of saints as his preceptor. Shaikh Muḥyiddīn Abdul Qādir Jilānī as a pir, Miyān Mīr as his shaykh. Miyān Bārī as his ustād, Mullā Shāh as his murshid. Besides these people. Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā and Šaykh Ṭayyīb Sirhindī and Bābā Lāl also are included among Dārā’s gurus.

27 Hasrat introduced Akhyār as Akhbār. p.51.
28 Compass p.vii; Safina p.12.
30 Schimmel p.200.
31 Takeshita. p.128.
32 Sakīna pp.7-8; cf. Compass p.ii.
Ṣūfī 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 Safinat and Sakinat. On the other hand, in the seven conversations with Bābā Lāl, which were compiled as Su'ul wa Jawāb Dārā Shukoh wa Bābā Lāl 33, the main topic focus on the subject of the state of ṣaqqūr, 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, Miyan Mīr, Mullā Shāh, Muḥibullāh 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 Miyan Mīr and became an eminent disciple of his disciple Mullā Shāh. Dārā’s experience led him to write the Sakinā and the Risāla.

The most important role of the spiritual guide is tawajjuhu: the spiritual assistance rendered by the saint to his devotee or by the murshid to his murid. 34 The shaykh concentrates upon the murid, picturing the spinning of a line of linkage between his pineal heart and the heart of the murid through which power flows. Dream interpretation forms an important element. The murshid measures the murid’s progress through seven stages by interpreting the visions and dreams which the murid 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 Ṣūfīs, he believed that he had been favoured by God with spiritual insight and given to some

33 For the detail, see 3-2-1.
34 Bilgrāmī enumerates different categories of tawajjuh according to Asrār-i Qādirīyāh. 1) Tawajjuh-i girk wa fiqr: with invocation of divine names; 2) tawajjuh-i maskīr: realisation of God; 3) tawajjuh-i ḥuzūr: correspondence to light; 4) tawajjuh-i bāṭinī: esoteric inclination. p.292.
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.  

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'ẓam in a dream, another time he received the inspiration to compose the text for the seekers of truth.  

Those who are addressed as ṭūr. 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.

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36 *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (Persian), p.4
37 *Safina*, pp.58,122; *Risāla*, p.3.
2-4-4 Jivanmukti - The Perfection of Man

In the Qur'anic eschatology, the belief in the Last Day (al-yawm al-akhir) 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 Qiyama (resurrection). ¹

Barzakh

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

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

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¹ In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 1-9-3, the origin of five fire doctrine of two ways of devas and fathers (pitr) in Brhadāraṇyaka ṛṣi. 6-2, similar eschatological ideas can be found.
³ Ta’arrufat, p.30; Istilāḥat, p.10.
⁴ The Sanskrit translation uses dharma as good deed (‘amī-i nīk) and adharma as bad deed.
⁵ SK 39; STK 39,40,41.
of mahat. ahaṃkāra, 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 rebirths in new bodies. 6

After examining the meaning of the Qur‘ān. Sūra XI-106...108 MB introduces Vaiśkūṭha as the equivalent for the higher Paradise called Fīrdaus a’lā. Fīrdaus-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). Vaiśkūṭha is the heaven of Viṣṇu and can be identified with Viṣṇu. Vaiṣṇava bhaktas regard it as the true revelation of nature and the ultimate sphere where bhaktas shall reach is the eternal abode of God (Viṣṇu).

Qiyāmat-i Kubrā and Mahāpralaya

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

The equivalent of Qiyāmat-i Kubrā is introduced as Mahāpralaya in section 19. After the destruction of Heavens and Hells and the completion of the age of 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.

6SK 40: According to the commentary of Gaudapāda ad SK 40. bhāva composed of dharma etc.: The commentators of SK: Vuktisipikā, Tattvakaumudi. Jayamaṅgalā interpret as the eight (dharma, adharmā, jñāna, ajñāna etc.).
7Refer to 3-1-1.
8cf. EI. vol.5. Qiyāma. L. Garbe, pp.235-238.
Emancipation (mukti)

All the Indian systems of philosophy that believe 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 Upanisads 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. Śūfis regard it as the deliverance from the ignorance of the truth of God.

The state of mokṣa(mukti) is the reaching point for the Indian people. Generally it can be attained after death. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school hold the impossibility of attainment of mukti in the lifetime. However, Yoga-vāsiṣṭha divided mukti into two kinds: jīvanmukti (emancipation attained in one’s life time) and videhamukti (emancipation attained after death). Jīvanmukti is attained by cessation of instinctive root desires, controlling of mind and true knowledge. This concept will be discussed in detail below. Śaṅkara also admitted the possibility of Jīvanmukti. Vidyāraṇya collected many scriptural quotations to justify the possibility of jīvanmukti in his Jīvanmuktiviveka. Sāmkhya 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) Jivan-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 Jivan-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

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9 Sāmkhyapraśanabhaṣya, commented on Sāmkhyasūtra 77,78, much more clearly justified that this jīvanmukti is the state of middle discrimination (madhyā-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 Mahâpuruṣa. For that purpose, 'he should regard God as manifesting Himself in all the stages and should look upon Brahmâṇḍa, 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 ṣagḥīr) 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.’

As already treated in 2-2, the structure of the world deduced from Paurānic cosmology forms section 13, Brahmâṇḍa. At first, the concept of Brahmâṇḍa is explained as the Egg of Brahmâ. 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 Vaśīṣṭha taught, ‘The wise man realized oneess with the universe’, Dārā might have found the concept of wahdat ul-wujūd at this point. This notion has been discussed in 2-2-4.

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

1. the seventh layer of nether regions(pâṭâla) = sole of the foot
2. the sixth layer of nether regions(rasâṭala) = upper part of the foot
3. Satans = the fingers of foot

¹⁰Bh.P. 68,107.
¹¹YV 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 pâṭâla.
¹⁴cf. Bh.P. ibid.; Persian manuscripts BM1, D1 omit this item. Persian manuscripts E,N,U2,U3,F,V interchanges rasāṭala 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
(5) the fifth layer of nether regions (mahātala) = ankle-bone
(6) the fourth layer of nether world (talātala) = shank
(7) the third layer of nether world (sutanā) = knee
(8) the second layer of nether world (vitala) = thigh
(9) the first layer of nether world (atala) = the special organ
(10) time (kāla) = the way of walking
(11) Prajāpati-devatā; the cause of birth and generation throughout the whole world = the sign of manhood and virility
(12) rain = seed
(13) the celestial region of bhuvaloka, from the earth up to the sky = the part below the navel
(14) three southern mountains (of Mount Meru) = right hand
(15) three northern mountains (of Mount Meru) = left hand
(16) Mount Meru = buttocks
(17) the light of false dawn = the thread of the lace of garment
(18) the light of true dawn = whiteness of sheet
(19) the twilight time = covering of private part

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

16 cf. 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.

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


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

20 cf. Bh.P. ibid.

21 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-27; Here, the Bh.P. has the same meaning with vitala, thigh. Most of the manuscripts A1,A8,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.

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

23 cf. 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.

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

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

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

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

28 Persian manuscripts K,US omit this item.

29 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-34.
(20) ocean = circumference and depth of navel  
(21) Vadāhanala (submarine fire) = heat and warmth of stomach  
(22) the rivers = veins  
(23) Bhūloka = stomach  
(24) the fire of ‘the smaller resurrection’ = morning appetite  
(25) the drying up of waters in ‘the smaller resurrection’ = thirst  
(26) Svargaloka = chest  
(27) all the stars = various jewels  
(28) gift before asking = right breast  
(29) gift after asking = left breast  
(30) Prakṛti = heart  
(31) Brahmā. Manu = beating and intention of heart  
(32) Viṣṇu = love and mercy  
(33) Maheśvara = wrath and rage  
(34) moon = smile and happy mood  
(35) Vasistha = intelligence  
(36) air = prāṇa  
(37) the action of adharma = back  
(38) night = bow  
(39) the mount Meru = backbone

31 cf. 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 Iḍā, Piṅgalā and Susmā. This identification is found in Tantra-yoga’s Śivasūtra.
32 Persian manuscript VM omits this item.
33 Persian manuscripts D1,K,R3 omit this item.
34 Persian manuscript D1 omits this item.
35 Persian manuscripts VM omits this item.
36 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-30: Here Brahmā is identified with eyebrow. But in 2-1-36, Śvāyambhuva, Manu is identified as power of comprehension (understanding).
37 Some Persian manuscripts S,UI omit this item.
38 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-33: Here Śiva is identified with the internal organ (made up of manas, citta, ahamkāra and buddhi and dwells in the hearts of all).
39 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-34.
40 BI, T omit from Vasistha, air and adharma (demerit).
42 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-32: Here religion (dharma) is identified with breath and demerit (adharma) identified with back.
43 Most 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.
(41) Indra: possessing the complete power of bestowing and pouring and of withholding and stopping rain = right and left hands.
(42) Apsaras: Houris of Paradise = lines of the palm.
(43) the gods who are the presiding deities of wealth = fingers of the hand.
(44) Yakṣa = nails of the hand.
(45) Agni = forearm.
(46) Yama = arm (Skt. elbow).
(47) Nairṛti = upper arm of right hand.
(48) Īśani = forearm of left hand.
(49) Kubera = knee.
(50) Vāyu = upper arm of left hand.
(51) Kalpavyuḥṣa, the tree of Ṭūbā = rod.
(52) the southern pole = right shoulder.
(53) the northern pole = left shoulder.
(54) Varuṇa, the superintendent of water = bone.
(55) Anāhata = thin voice.
(56) Maharloka = throat and neck.

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34 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-32; Here hills and mountains are identified with sticks of bones. Persian manuscripts N,U2,U3 omit these items.
36 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-36; Here, Apsaras are included in one group of celestial beings with Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, Cāraṇas and identified as svaras (musical notes or gamut) and smṛtis.
37 This item is only found in the Sanskrit translation. ghanaḥdiśṭhāro devā mahāpurusasya karāṇigulyah (fol.8b).
38 cf. 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.
39 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-31; Here, Yama is identified with jaws of teeth. Persian manuscripts BM2,H1,U3 omit this item.
40 Nairṛti and Īśani are omitted in BI.T. Most of the Persian manuscripts except BM2,C,K support this reading.
41 Persian manuscripts BM2,H1,K,R3,R4, U2 omit this item.
42 Persian manuscript VM omits this item.
43 cf. 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.
44 cf. 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.

106
(57) Janaloka = auspicious face
(58) the will of the world = chin-pit
(59) the avarice of the world = the lower lip
(60) the sense of shame and modesty = the upper lip
(61) the chest = gums
(62) the meal of the whole world = the food
(63) the element of water = palate and mouth
(64) the element of fire = tongue
(65) Sarasvatī = the faculty of speech
(66) the four Vedas: books of truth = speeches
(67) māyā = laughter and good humor
(68) the eight directions of the world = the two ears
(69) Aśvinī-kumāra = two nostrils
(70) the element of dust = the smelling faculty
(71) the element of air = breathing faculty
(72) the southern half of the sphere between Jana-loka and Tapaloka = right eye
(73) the northern half of the sphere between Jana-loka and Tapaloka = left eye
(74) pure light = faculty of eye-sight
(75) all the creation = favorable glance
(76) day and night = twinkling of the eyes
(77) Mitra, Tvaṣṭṛ = two eyebrows

58 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-31: Persian manuscripts H1,N,BM2 omit this item.
59 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-31: here art of affection is identified with set of teeth. Persian manuscripts H1,N,S.U1 omit this item.
60 Persian manuscript US omits this item.
61 Persian manuscripts BM2,E omit this item.
62 Persian manuscripts K omits this item.
63 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-31: Persian manuscripts BM2,E omit this item.
64 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-29.
65 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-29: Persian manuscripts R4,S omit this item.
67 Most of the Persian manuscripts omit this except B,H1,H2,K and T support this.
68 Persian manuscripts H1,R4 omit this item.
69 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-30: Persian manuscripts H1,R4,VM omit this item.
70 Persian manuscripts BM2,E,F,H1,V omit this item.
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 Purānic modification and the way of meditation on Virāṭa-puruṣa to acquire the salvation in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, particularly in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. This technical term Virāṭa-puruṣa is not found in the MB, but, among the Persian manuscripts, we can trace the suggestion of this concept.

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

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71 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-28; BI,T read this Pataloka.
72 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-28; BI reads only Loka.
73 Persian manuscripts BM2, U3 omit this item.
74 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-34; Persian manuscripts R3, U3 omit this item.
75 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-33; Persian manuscripts H29, U3 omit this item.
76 Persian manuscripts D1, R4 omit this item.
77 Persian manuscript BM1 omits this item.
78 Persian manuscripts B omits this item.
79 Persian manuscripts D1, J, U1 omit this item.
80 cf. 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 Ambadas Dange. 1996, New Delhi, p.150; cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* VII-5-3; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* XV-2; *Mātrayāni Sanshāti*, III-6-3 etc.
82 Persian manuscript R4 adds the following sentence after the explanation of bhūtākāśa 'in the language of India, this Mahāpuṣra is called Vairāṭa-svarūpa(va bi-zabān-i hind in mahāpurus rā bhrāta sarup ni; guyand). Here R4 implies the identification of Mahāpuṣra and Vairāṭa-svarūpa.
Paurānikas. 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 II-1, the first step in realization of God is suggested by the sage, Śuka to the king Parikṣīt. 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 Viṁśa-puruṣa. Here the sage describes the precise parts of the Viṁśa-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 Viṁśa-puruṣa, the Supreme Spirit, the Personality of God. The phenomenal world is no less than the manifestation of the transcendental all-spiritual form of Viṁśa body. The sage, Śuka said,

One should, with determined intellect, fix one’s mind on the Viṁśa (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 (dharana).

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.

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

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83 Puruṣa-sūkta in the Rg Veda X-90; Bhagavadgītā in the eleventh chapter; Mundaka Up. 2-1-4, 9 and Śvetāṣṭra Up. 3-14 etc.
84 Bh. P. 2-1-23.25
85 cf. B.Bhattacarya, Philosophy of the Srimad-Bhagavata, volI. pp.130-38; 305-6 etc.
86 Bh. P. 2-6-17.
the Virāta 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 Virāta-Puruṣa ends at verse 2-10-34 thus: ‘Beyond
this (Virāta 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-līṅga-śarīra of God. Virarāghava’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 ad-
dition. 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 Ajapa-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 Uttarakhāṇḍa is said that ‘varies hope-
lessly 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.  

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 Ṣārif.

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

Roma Choudhury criticises that the description of jīvanmukta seeing the whole world as the body of God and the descriptin of the different parts of the world as different limbs of God, is totally wrong. For the second mukti : Videha-mukti, Dāra’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. 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.
9612-3-50.
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, Tafsir of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth

The MB throws considerable light on the knowledge of the Qur'ān, its commentaries and Ḥadīth. 

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 Muḥammad’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 irreverential and ridiculous attempt to extol the virtues of Hinduism over Islam”. p.222.
faces on that day shall be bright, looking to their Lord is quoted and for the impossibility of the vision of Pure Self. Sūra 6-104 : Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision: and He is the knower of subtleties, the Aware are quoted.

In section 12, regarding the tanzīh aspect, Sūra 42-11 : Nothing is like a likeness of Him is quoted and tashbīh aspect He is the Hearing, the Seeing is quoted. For the Muhammad’s prophethood, Sūra 57-3 is repeatedly quoted and or his saintship, Sūra 3-109 : You are the best of the nations raised up for (the benefit of) men.

In the explanation of cosmological view in section 15, 16, 17, for the explanation of Kursī (throne), Sūra 2-255 : His Kursī extends over the heavens and the earth; for the seven heavens and earth, Sūra 65-2 : Allāh is He who created seven heavens and of the earth the like of them; for the mountains Sūra 78-7 : And the mountains are projections there on and for the seven surrounding oceans, Sūra 31-27 : And were every tree that is in the earth (made into) pens and the sea (to supply it with ink) with seven more seas to increase it, the works of Allāh would not come to an end.

In the eschatological explanation. Sūra 11-106,107,108 : So as to those who are unhappy, they shall be in the fire; for them shall be sighing and groaning in it: Abiding therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure. except as thy Lord pleases; surely thy Lord is the mighty doer of what He intends. And as to those who are made happy, they shall be in the garden. abiding in it as long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord pleases: a gift which shall never be cut off and for the paradise of God. Sūra 9-72 : And best of all is Allāh’s goodly pleasure - that is the grand achievement is quoted. For the resurrection, Sūra 55-26,27 : But when the Great Resurrection comes and another verse And the trumpet shall be blown, so all those that are in the heavens and all those that are in the earth shall swoon, except such as Allāh pleases are quoted. On the occasion of the Great Resurrection, Sūra 55-26,27 : Every one on it must pass away and there will endure for ever the person of thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour are quoted.

For mukti (emancipation), Sūra 9-72:

And best of all is Allāh’s goodly pleasure - that is the grand achievement; Sūra 10-62: Now surely the friends of Allāh - they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve and for the mukta (the emancipated), Sūra 9-21,22 : Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself ad (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs: abiding therein for
ever: surely Allah 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 sūupti 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 Allah 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'ūd 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 (ruh-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 Sākinat and the Hasanāt. Dārā quotes Qur'ānic verse and its interpretation to support his own discussion.

Hadīth is found in six places.

1) In section 1. I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known; so. I brought the creation into existence. 3 This is called Hadīth Qudsī not found in the orthodox tradition, however, Sūfis prefer to cite this referring to the motive of creation.

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2For the detail, see 2-3-2.
3BI p.39.
2) In section 9. the quoted Hadith 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 (nūrūn innī arā-hu)” and “It is light how can I behold it? (nūrūn 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 ākāśavāpi. 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’raj. the Prophet saw a line of camels, proceeding (in succession) without any break, and on each of which two bags were laden, in each of which there was a world like that of ours and in each such world there was a Muhammad (just) like him. Muhammad asked Jibrail 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 Hadith to refer to the infinity of the cycles of time.

Quotations from Şūfīstic Poems

In the MB, in eight places, the sayings of eminent Şūfis 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,

4BJ p.49.
5SS 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.  

The third quotation is from Mauwlaa ‘Abdur Rahman Jami.  

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 Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, *If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin. is, in a way, singing the note of Monotheism (tawhid). I go to him, hear him and am grateful to him.*

In section 7, the dialogue between Junaid and Shaikh Islam is quoted from Jami’s *Nafahat.*

*Tasawwuf* consists in sitting for a moment without an attendant.  
To this, Shaikh al-Islam asked, what does without an attendant mean.

In this section, another couplet from Rumi 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.*

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6 SS omits this translation.  
7 Lawd’ih, Flash XXII.  
8 SS’s translation is as follows:

*yadyaham janiyam kaścana nirūvare ’pi kathākhya-deśa-sthitore ’pi mano ’nurañjaka-śabdais tattvavarttam vadatiti tarhi tatra gatvā śroṣyami śīṣyāmi anunesyāmi ca tam /

If I ever come to know even of an atheist, who is preaching the Truth, I would go to him, even though he resides in a country named Kathā, and hear him, learn from him and plead with him.

Roma Chaudhury translates *kathākhya-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 *khatā*: sin, but interprets it as a proper noun. Thus he transliterates it and interprets *par hata* as “in (the country named) Khathā”.


10 Dārā 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 Şûfis is quoted.

Whereever 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-Din Hummu’î.

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 (tawḥîd) and all self is device and artifice.

In section 22, Hâfiz 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 Şûfis, Dârâ 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

11 This 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\textsuperscript{12}, we can see several symbolical poems for the interpretation of unity of being (wahdat al-wujūd). Islamic sources are quoted for supporting his propagation of this doctrine.

\textsuperscript{12}Risāla. p17-18.
temporary Şūfis

As there was a shaykh Salīm Chishti to Akbar. Dārā has his spiritual preceptors. The Pādshāh-nāma narrates that the first teacher of Dārā was Mullā ‘Ābdul Latīf Sultanpūrī. The next teacher was ‘Abdul Ḥaqīm Siālktī. ‘Abdulhaqlm b. Shams al-Dīn Siāltī (d.1656) who was a teacher of Chandra Bhan Brāhman. He received marked considerations by the emperor Shāh Jahān. 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. Regarding him, Dārā left some memoir that he objected to Miyan Mir against the custom of teaching the neophyte on the superiority of the contemplation on ‘Ālam-i Malakūt than congregational prayer. In section 12 in the MB, Dārā enumerated three Şūfis as his spiritual preceptors. Miyan Mīr as his shaykh, Miyan Bārī as his ustad and Mullā Shāh as his murshid. Besides these three, Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā and Shaikh Ṭayyib Sirhindī and Bābā Lāl. 5

Miyan Mīr

In the preface of Risāla. Dārā shows his veneration of Miyan Mīr and Mullā Shāh. Miyan Mīr is venerated as the one who found undoubted light; the knower of the details of gnosis; the knower of the secret of God (omnipotence); a guide of philosopher (ahl-i ḥaqīqat); pilot of the traveller of the Şūfistic path; intimate friend of the secret of Jalāl; the witness of the attainment; and the greatest of the saints of God. 6

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1 Tazkira p.83.
2 His super commentary to al-Baidāvi’s commentary on the Qur‘ān with the title Al-Ḥāshiyya ala Anwar al-Tanzil and other commentaries are dedicated to the emperor. Mar­shall pp.5-6.
3 His most famous commentary is that on Jāmi’s commentary to Kafiya. the grammatical poem mentioned above. He introduced some of Mullā Šadrā Shirāzī’s philosophical mystical ideas into Indian environment. cf. Schimmel. Islamic Literature, p.37.
5 As is seen in 2-4-3. the number of enumerated saints differs in manuscripts. Particu­larly, Bābā Lāl is omitted in number of manuscripts.
6 Risāla. p.4.

119
In the *Sakina*, Dārā wrote about his meeting with Miyan Mir in 1634, and how he was influenced by his spirit, and was initiated into the Qādiri order. In the *Sakina*, after the description of Miyan Mir’s outer characteristics, the teaching of Miyan Mir is explained with his direct word and supported with the sayings of other Saints. Among the Sūfistic concepts taught here, poverty (*faqr*), renunciation (*tark*), the stages of *suluk*, prophethood and sainthood, divine vision (*ru’uyat*), ecstacy (*wajd*) and separation (*tajrid*) 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 Hindi *Dohās* of Miyan Mir entitled *Īmā’u al-Muḥaqqiqīn*, which is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh.

Miyan Mir had intimate relations with both Jahangīr and Shāh Jahān. Jahangīr visited his khānaqāh in 1620. The conversations between Jahangīr and Miyan Mir was on the subject of Sufism and the kingship of the ruler. To answer for the questions of rules of government, Miyan Mir collected forty traditions (*Ḥadīth*), entitled with the *Tārjumat al-Āḥadīth fi-Hasthat al-Mulk wa al-Salāṭīn* and dedicated him. Shāh Jahān visited his place twice to seek guidance. Same as his father had been done before him, Shāh Jahān asked Miyan Mir to guide him as a spiritual preceptor, however, Miyan Mir suggested to him to engage in his own task as a king.

**Mullā Shāh**

Mullā Shāh Badakhšī, was a Sūfi poet and eminent Qādirī saint from Arkasa in Badakhshan and Dārā’s pīr or murshid. Regarding his biographical detail, Dārā himself mentioned him in the *Sakina* and the *Safina*.

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7Rizvi, *History*, vol.II, pp.103-108; *Sakina*, pp.6-7; *Dabistān* p.387.
8fol.2a. Salar Jung Museum and Library. Cat. No. 3341, Tas 25, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts* vol.VIII (Islamic Theology), p.191. This is a kind of compendium of *dohās* including Mullā Shāh’s *dohās* and some Sūfistic treatises. The *Sakina al-Awliyā* is referred as the title at the end of this manuscripts, however, it is not the extract of the *Sakina*.
11*Sakina*, p.49.
and Jahanara Begum write in the *Sahihiyya*. Court chroniclers left brief description about him. The exhaustive work is the *Nuskha-i Ahwar-i Shahi* by Tawakkul Beg. Among the disciples of Mullâ Shâh, Tawakkul Beg was not only an unique personality because he spent part of life as a Sufi and spent a part as a governor, but also because he was one of the favourite disciple of Mullâ Shâh.

Mullâ Shâh is introduced as Dârâ’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 (*tawhid*): the traveller in the desert of solitary asceticism: the wayfarer of Sufistic path; the experienced annihilation (*fanâ*) and perpetuity (*baqâ*): the knower of the secret of secrets: the treasurer of divine *tawhid*: knower of the secret of *wahdat*: who is free from many evils: my *ustâd* who attained the status of wali and my *murshid*. In the preface of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dârâ gave Mullâ Shâh the following honourific names: most perfect of the perfects; the flower of the gnostic; greatest *ustâd*; the greatest *murshid* and the unitarian accomplished in the Truth (*muwahhid-i haqâ’iq*). The *Sakina* did not give us the systematic teaching of Mullâ Shâh, 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 Sufism described by Mullâ Shâh can be traced in the contents of *Kulliyat-i Mullâ Shâh*. The latter part of this *Kulliyat* is composed with Arabic and Persian *Divans*. From the first part of this work, what is his gnosticism can be known. The work begins from the explanation of unification (*tawhid*). and goes on to explain 43 topics inter alia gnosis (*ma’rifat*), love (*’ishq*), the combination of tanzîl and tashbîh, *Jalâl* and *Jamâl*, conviction (*yaqûn*), knowledge (*‘ilm*), genesis (*taqwîm*), essence (*zât*), devotion (*zuhud*), contemplation (*mushâhada*), *fanâ* and *baqâ* commencement (*badâyat*) and goal (*nihâyat*). From this, we can trace the main topics treated in the MB.

What Dârâ learned as a disciple of Mullâ Shâh was not only Sufistic dogmatic ideas but the devotional practices. Mullâ Shâh himself observed

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14 Bulgrami p.211.
15 *Risâla* p.4.
16 *Sirr-i Akbar*, p.10.
17 Khudâ Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Cat. No.328 Hand list No.688.
hard ascetic exercises, however, he never insisted that his disciples on practice such hard exercises. Among different types of spiritual exercises, he was much interested in zikr, particularly, pās-i anfās. In the Risāla, it has been examined profoundly and in the MB. Dārā expounds the similarity of zikr with the Ajāpā-japa of Hindu Yogins.

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

**Shāh Muḥibbullāh Ilāhābādī**

Although he is not included in the list of the saints in the MB, one of the most influential Ṣūf in the life of Dārā. The appointment of Dārā as a subedar of Ilāhābād gave him the opportunity to seek the acquaintance of the noted Ṣūfī, Shāh Muḥibbullāh. 18

Shāh Muḥibbullāh was born in 996 A.H. /1587 at Sadpur, near Ilāhābād. He was a descendent of the Shaykh Farīd Ganj Shakar of Pakpatan. He studied under the guidance of Shah Abu Sa’īd, notable saint and pantheist of the Chishti-Ṣābirī order. 19 When he was issued a fatwa condemning him a charge of heresy, his friend Shaykh ‘Abdur Raḥṣīd Jaunpurī 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 Qurān in Arabic and commentary on Ibn ‘Arabi’s Fusūs 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

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

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

20 These letters are included in the Fatyāz al-Qawānīn in the Ruqā’at-i Alamgīrī, Makātib-i Shaykh Muḥibbullāh.
'Abdur Rahman Chishti

Another distinguished personality in Chishtiyya-Šabiriyya sisila is 'Abdul Rahman Chishti. 'Abdur Rahman Chishti, a descendant of Shaykh Mu'īn ud-Dīn Chishti, is a Šūfī belonging to Šābili branch of Chishti silsilā. Among the saints of this Šābili order, 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangoūī is notable for his Persian translation of a Sanskrit work on Yoga, named Rushd Nāma (1536). 21 'Abdur Rahman wrote several works besides the noted taṣkīra, 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 Šūfistic 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 Šūfīs introduced here are included in the circle of the followers of waḥdat al-wujūd influenced by Ibn 'Arabi's ideas. Through the contact with these people Dārā might have accumulated the concepts of waḥdat al-wujūd indirectly.

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22 For 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, *Oupnekhat*. ¹

Here, we have to add the much more interest fact about the unique manuscript of the translation of the *Upaniṣads* dated 1616. ² It was found in the Jesuit Archives at Rome with code number ‘Goa 59’ by Fr. Josef, ³ and two chapters of the manuscript were translated with the Introduction by Fr J. Humbert. ⁴

This work was written in Portuguese by Fr. Gonçalo Fernandez S.J. who came to India in 1560 and was sent to Madurai in 1595. Chapter eighteen of this manuscript contains a faithful reproduction of Bhṛgu Vidya of the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* (3-1...6). In other chapters, the descriptions of sāṃskāras 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 *Oupnekhat* 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.

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² The Bhṛgu-Vallī of the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, an Early XVII century European Translation*. *Indica, Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture*, vol. 5, September 1968. No. 2, pp.139-144.


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 Śvetāsvatara 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 Kashmir in 1050 A.H. / 1640 and met Mullā Shāh, besides him he came into contact with saints of various orders and sects and studied works on mysticism. Searching for the truth, he collected all the heavenly books, however, to understand allegorical passages in the Qur’ān, he studied the other scriptures but felt unsatisfied. On the other hand, he found much discourse on the tawḥīd in the Vedas. In the Sirr-i Akbar, Dārā recognizes brahmavid and jñānin as gnosis (‘ārif) and unifier (muwahhid). brahmavidyā as the knowledge of tawḥīd. 8 Thus Upaniṣads is regarded as the essence of unity (wahdat al-wujūd).

At the beginning of this Persian translation, a list of one-hundred and eleven technical terms of Sanskrit and their interpretations and a list of the fifty-two names of the Upaniṣads are put. In some manuscripts of the Sirr-i Akbar, the order of the Upaniṣads is according to each Veda. 9 Regarding the number of the Upaniṣads in Sanskrit, Muktikā-upaniṣad gives a list of one hundred and eight Upaniṣads. Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press version, published in Bombay in 1917 listed one hundred twelve Upaniṣads.

5Hasrat p.258, fn. No.12.
6Hasrat pp.259-260.
7Hasrat p.268-9.
8For ‘ārif and muwahhid, see Brhadāranyaka Up. 4.4-8.9.23 : Ananda Valli 9 : (Taittiriya Up. 2-9) ; Muṇḍaka Up. 3.1-4. 3-2-8, 11 ; Mātrī Up 7-9. 10: for ‘ilm-i tawḥīd, see Muṇḍaka Up. 1-1-1 : Mātrī Up. 2-34 ; for āyat-i tawḥīd, see Muṇḍaka Up. 2-2-3. 3-2-6. Kaivalya Up. 22 ; Maḥānārāyaṇa Up. 12-3.
9One manuscript is contains only 34 Upaniṣads belonging to Atharva Veda. British Library Or.1121, Rieu. vol.1, p.60.
The Persian translation listed 52 names and actually fifty *Upaniṣads*. As Hasrat had remarked, the number of the *Upaniṣads* 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*.

1) Oupnek'hat Tschehandouk e Sam Beid (Chândogya) ; 2) Brehdarang e Djedri Beid (Bṛhadāraṇyaka) ; 3) Mitri (Maitrāyana) ; 4) Mandek (Muṇḍaka) ; 5) Eischavasieh (Īśā) ; 6) Sarb (Sarvopaniṣatsāra) ; 7) Narain (Nārāyaṇa) ; 8) Tadiw (Tadeva) ; 9) Athurbsar (Atharvaśiras) ; 10) Hensnād (Hāṃsaṇāda) ; 11) Antrteheh (Aitareya) ; 12) Kōk'heuk (Kauśītaki) ; 13) Santaster (Śvetāśvatara) ; 14) Porsch (Praśna) ; 15) Dehanbandhu (Dhyānabindu) ; 16) Māha (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) Brahmd Badia (Brahmavidyā) ; 26) Anbrad Bandeh (Amṛtabindu) ; 27) Tidjbandeh (Tejabindu) ; 28) Karbheh (Garbha) ; 29) Djabal (Jābāla) ; 30) Mahanaraǐn (Mahānārayaṇa) ; 31) Mandouk (Māṇḍūkya) ; 32) Pankl (Paṅgala) ; 33) Tschehourka (Kṣurikā) ; 34) Prabh Hens (Paramahāṇaṇa) ; 35) Aranķ (Arunika) ; 36) Kīn (Kena) ; 37) Kiouni (Kāthaka) ; 38) Anandbli (Ānauḍ-valli : Taittikīya 2) ; 39) Bharkbli (Bṛgū-valli : Taittirīya 3) ; 40) Bark'heh Soukt (Puruṣañkta) ; 41) Djounka (Cuḷikā) ; 42) Mrat Lankoul (Mṛtyulāṅgala) ; 43) Anbratnad (Amṛtanāda) ; 44) Baschkl (Bāśkāla) ; 45) Tachhakli (Chāgaleya) ; 46) Tark (Tāraka : Tārasāra 2, Rāmottaratāpāṇi 2) ; 47) Arkhī (Ārṣeya) ; 48) Pranou (Prāṇava) ; 49) Schavank (Śaunaka) ; 50) Narsing'heh (Nṛśimhottaratāpāṇi).

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 *Chândogya Upaniṣad* 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 Mādhyaṇḍina recension. Dāra himself declared in the introduction that they aimed at making a literal translation, however, in

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11 1-1-10: 1-2-11...14; 1-3-8...12; 1-4-1; 1-5...7: 1-9-10...13: 2; 3-1...13: 3-15-2...7: 3-16-2...7: 3-17,18: 4-2-45: 4-16,17: 5-2-4...8; 5-3...10: 8-13...15.

12 However, 2-4 and 2-5 are not interchanged as Kāṇva recension. A. Weber describes it is based only on Kāṇva recension. *Indische Studien*, I. Berlin 1850, p.273.
some cases, it is a kind of commentary with much interpretation of the transliterated Sanskrit term. It is a kind of charm of this translation as Hasrat stated.

Regarding the name of the commentator which was referred to is not identified clearly, however, the name of Śaṅkarācārya is found in the *Mundaka Upaniṣad* 1-1-8. The explanatory part follows Śaṅkara’s commentary. 13 Another reference can be found in the variants of Śvetāsvatara *Upaniṣad* 3-7. 14 The commentaries which might have been referred to can be said to be Śaṅkara’s 15 and sometimes the more contemporary Madhusūdhana-Sarasvatī’s *Gūḍārtha-dipikā* 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 *khāṇḍa* and *adhyāyās*. 17 Precise examination of the *Sirr-i Akbar* makes it clear that the style is not an intermixture but an addition and to differentiate the divisions is not so difficult. Hasrat criticised the peculiarities of the transliteration of Sanskrit word into Persian as inaccuracy. 18 However, the transliteration depends of the informants and compared with other translated works into Persian, in many cases it is possible to identify the original word. 19

As seen above, for Dārā, the *Upaniṣads* are the verses of *tawḥīd* (āyat-i *tawḥīd*) As *Upaniṣads* are for the sannyāsin to attain ultimate salvation by meditation, Dārā found the teaching of *tawḥīd* in the *Upaniṣads* and it inspired him writing the *MB*.

13 *SA*, p.325.
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-Birūnī’s case, Suniti Kumar Chatterji analysed seriously the transliterated words and found the peculiarity of Western Panjab and Rājasthānī vernacular. Al-Birūnī and Sanskrit, *Al-Birūnī Commemorative Volume*, Calcutta 1951, pp.83-100. Compared with the style of Al-Birūnī, 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 Kṛṣṇa included in the *Mahābhārata*. Now it is translated into about 75 languages all over the world, however, complete form of Persian translation was made in the 16th century. 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 Library has the same style with the manuscript preserved in the British Museum, however, it is ascribed to Abu’l Ṭāzī. Badāīnī’s narration and Abu’l Ṭāzī’s preface to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* suggest no inference that Abu’l Ṭāzī translated the Bhagavadgītā independently. However, Abu’l Ṭāzī shows deep interest on Bhīṣma-parvan and regretted the insufficiency of the translation in the preface of the *Razm-nāma*, Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*.

The style of the Persian translation has some omission. The Bhagavadgītā is known to have 18 chapters and 700 verses. Beside these, *Gītaprāśasti* and *Gītāmāṇa* are added. These additions are omitted in the Persian translation. Compared with Belvalkar’s critical edition, it is clear some verses are omitted. However, there is no excessive addition as in Kashmir

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*113.

27*ibid.*, p.189 *112.

287-17: 16-34. 14: 10-16bcd to 10-17a.
recension.

As a translation work, compared with the Širr-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 Sufistic 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 Sufi, ‘Abdur Rahmān Chishti’s abridged translation of Bhagavadgītā entitled Mir’āt al-Haqā’iq. 29

From the beginning, Chishti declared the tenet of tawḥīd with the explanation of kalima: there is no divine being except God (lā ʾilāha ʾillā al-lāh) 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, Chishti 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 Gitāprāsasti, Gitāmāna, and Gitāsāra. Peculiarities in this translation is the explanation of the verses of the Bhagavadgītā in the authority of the Qurʾān, Ḥadīths, 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.

Chishti uses the word essence (zāt) as the object of contemplation. He states the similarity of pantheistic idea that individual essence (huwīyya) can be found in eternal essence (māhiyya) with monistic idea of unity of Brahman-Ātman. Furthermore, Chishti shows the similar idea with Ghazzālī’s concept of tawḥīd. 30 In chapter 3, Sāṁkhya’s Jñāna Yoga is understood as tawḥīd 31 in Sufistic context. For Chishti, 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 (ʾishq) of the lovers of the essence of God. The

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30 Ghazzālī classified tawḥīd in four kinds. The last stage of tawḥīd is that of losing oneself in tawḥīd (fanā-ʾyi tawḥīd). Ḫiyāʾ, vol.IV, Chapter 5, p.221.
31 Chishti ad BG 3-19. f.263b.
32 ibid. 3-20.25. f.263b.
concentration on God as a practice (kasb) is achieved through this love. The propagation of love is much more strongly emphasized in the Persian translation of the Bhagavadgītā ascribed to Faizī.

Regarding the Persian translation of the Bhagavadgītā, noteworthy thing is that Sīh Gānj 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 Rāmāyana 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 Rāmāyana. 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 Rāmāyana of Dārā in his dialogues with Hindu ascetic Bābā Lāl. These dialogues were held seven times in Lahore. 36 The subject of dialogue differs in versions, however, according to one version of this dialogue, Les Entretiens de Lahore 37, among 70 dialogues, we find five mythological questions on Rāma, Sītā, and Rāvana in the Rāmāyana. 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.
and adaptations. An abridged work made by Abhinanda of Kashmir was translated by Nizām al-Dīn Pānīpattī for Sultān Salīm, i.e. Jahāngīr in the last years of the 16th century. Mir Findirskī wrote the Muntakhab-i Jog based on Nizām al-Dīn’s translation. 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 Dārā. Editors of this work, Tārā Chand and A.H. Abidi, assume that Dārā’s secretary Banwali Dās (Wāli Rām) had been the translator of the book. This work was translated into Urdu by Maulāvī Abu’l Hasan Faridabādī. Furthermore, this was translate into Hindi with Perso-Arabic letters.

Another version was based on the Yogavāsīṣṭhasāra, abridged version of the Yogavāsīṣṭha, 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 Khubjānī for Jahāngīr Shāh. Aphorism were found in the Shārīq al-Ma’rifat ascribed to Faizī in the 16th century. ‘Abd al-Rahmān Chishtī’s Mir‘āt al-Makhruqīt, which is the dialogue between Mahādeva and Pārvatī on Hindu cosmogony based on the Yogavāsīṣṭha and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Furthermore, the popularity of the Yogavāsīṣṭha is re-recognized in the introduction to his Mir‘āt al-Ḥaqāʾiq, the Persian translation of the Bhagavadgītā. Chishtī compared the teaching of Vasiṣṭha in the Yogavāsīṣṭha and the teaching of the Veda by Kṛṣṇa in

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References:

39 For the Persian translation of the Yogavāsīṣṭha, see Mujtabai pp.81-84.
44 cf. Sheo Narain, pp.31-32.
45 The Yogavāsīṣṭha is regarded as the Prasthānātrayī, thus the popular but anonymous abridged version, the Laghu-yogavāsīṣṭha and the Yogavāsīṣṭhasāra was composed.
46 This is named as the Kashf al-Kunūz, or the Tuhfat-i Majlis, or the Aṭwār dar ‘Alā-i Asrar. See Riew, vol.III, p.1034b.
At the end of 18th century, Adāb-i Țarīqāt wa Khudāyabi interspersed with the verses of Fānū Isfahānī. The construction of Persian Yogavāsiṣṭha coincides with the original in number and name of the section (prakāraṇa). The translations are sometimes word-by-word literal translation and sometimes just a framework is suggested, however, as a whole, the plot of each story is preserved. The peculiarities of Persian Yogavāsiṣṭha of Jahangir 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.

In the MB. in section 19, referring to Mahāpralaya, the direct quotation of 3-11-40 in the Yogavāsiṣṭha is found only in the Sanskrit translation: “Let the deluge-breeze blow. May all the ocean be mingled into one; May the twelve suns shine brightly. One who has attained the mindless stage is not concerned with them.”

The peculiarities of Persian Yogavāsiṣṭha can be seen in the rendering of the concept of three kinds of ākāṣa. The concept of ākāṣa has physical meaning as the first of the elements and equation with consciousness and with Brahman. Such an idea

**Bhagavadgītā** 4

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 pratvaksā-juñāna, anumita-juñāna and śabda-juñāna, and this pratvaksā is two kinds based on pramāṇa and bhrama, this bhrama is divided into two: samśaya and viparyaya, furthermore, anumita-juñāna 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.
52taduktam vāsiṣṭharaṃśāyanē //
kalpānta vāyavoyāntu mām caikatvam arṇavāḥ /
tapantu dvādaśādityā nāsti nirmāṇaḥ kṣitih //
This is also found in the Bhāsa-yogavāsiṣṭhasara 10-26.
is found in the Yogavāsiṣṭha. 53 This subject has been examined in 2-1-2.

Regarding Kavīndra Sarasvatī’s bhaṣā version of the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra, also known as the Jñānasāra. Tārā Chand introduced one unique Persian manuscript entitled the Ṛafi’ al-Khilaf (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 supercial 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 bhaṣā version of the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra as the form of Persian translations of Kavīndra’s dohas. In fact, it combined with the poems of famous Ṣūfī like Jāmī and Aṭṭār etc. Tārā Chand said that Sītā Rām used this text to demonstrate the identity of the teachings of Muslim Ṣūfism with those of the Yogavāsiṣṭha. In the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra, the tendency of pantheistic idea is propagated in the truth about the Brahman. It may have attracted Ṣūfis to connect this with the concept of wahdat al-wujūd.

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53 YV 6-114-17.

54 Rāfi’ al-Khilaf 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. 1. 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 Lāl or Lāl Dās, or Lāl Dayāl. On the authority of the Ḥasanāt al-ʿArifin. Bābā Lāl is said to have belonged to Kabīr panthī. This has been conveyed by Sujān Rāy informs in the Khulāṣat al-Ṭawārikh. 2 Qanungo doubts that he was “A Kabīrpanthī out and out”. 3 Farquhar classified Bābā Lālis, the sect propagated by Bābā Lāl as the sect on the line of Rāmānanda. Vaiṣṇava bhaktas and mentions that their religious house was in Sāila near Baroda. 4 The Ḥasanāt al-ʿArifin has some references to Bābā Lāl. 5 He has been called a maundya (shaved head) and it is said that Kabīr told Bābā Lāl that there are four kinds of murshid. One type of murshid is like red gold, which changes others to be like him. The second one is like elixir, which changes whatever reaches him into pure gold. However, pure gold cannot change others into pure gold. The third one is like Sandal wood, which can change the meritorious branches into Sandal wood, but non-meritorious ones cannot be changed into Sandal wood. The fourth one is like a candle, which is called perfect murshid (murshid-i kāmil), because even if candle is only one, it can ignite hundred thousand candles. Furthermore, Bābā Lāl told Dārā not to be a shaikh; not to be a wall; not to be a miracle maker: but to be a faqir 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 Maʿrifat 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

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1Mathnawi-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.
2Dhyanpur pp.68-69.
4Farquhar. p.344.
5Ḥasanāt, 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 Tasawwuf* 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 faqir, 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.  

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. 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 Hindi, as in both of them we find some answers given by the faqir. He understands faqir as Bābā Lāl. 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.”  

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*. This is just an abridged version and includes only 25 topics. Regarding another manuscript, 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

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6 Qanungo pp. 337-47.
7 Hasrat, p. 246.
8 Hasrat used all quotations by Wilson. *JA* vol. xvi (1832) p. 290 sq.
9 Hasrat p. 246.
10 Cat. No. 2267 (HL 2267) ff. 55b-59b.
11 Cat. No. 1454 (HL 1449) ff. 1-19 (pp. 394-411).
Jang Museum and Library 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 Asaṣīyya Library. Another manuscript preserved in Asaṣīyya 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 Sūrī

In the preface of the Sirr-i Akbar, Dārā translated paṇḍīt as ‘ālīm, murshid, scholars of Ḫul ḥālim. Another personality, the legendary paṇḍīt is Rāmānanda Sūrī, the scholar and Śaiva Bhākta in Benares. Interesting to note, in the eulogy, Rāmānanda called Dārā as Dārā Shāh. For, there are some works ascribed to Dārā Shāh.

Paṇḍīt Rāmānanda Sūrī was a notable paṇḍīt in Kāśī (Benares) Impressed with Rāmānanda’s extensive knowledge, in sāṃvat 1713 / 1656, Dārā asked him to write the Virāṭa Vivarana which is to prove the saguṇa aspect of God. This work has been completed, however, there is no reference to this work in Dārā’s works and no Persian work was written by him on Saguṇa God. Dārā gave Rāmānanda the title of (vividha-vidyā-camatkāra-parāmgata).

There is no proof that the relationship between Dārā and Rāmānanda was that of teacher and disciple (guru-sīya). 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.

Rāmānanda’s Sanskrit poems are notable and almost fifty Stotras are left. Beside Stotras, he wrote Rasikajwanam, Padypañjūsa, Hāṣyāsāgar, Kāṣikutāha and Rāmacaritram. Furthermore, he wrote a commentary on Kirāta’s Dipikā, and the Kāvyaparakāśa’s Prākrit portion Even now, in Benares, Rāmānanda is regarded as Sanskrit teacher of Dārā Shukoh.

Among the Hindu poets in Shāh Jahān’s court, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja known as Jagannātha Kalāvant is noted for a poet laureate and a
poet-rhetorician under the patronage of Mughal court through the age of Jahangir to Shāh Jahān. He left many works as a scholar of Alāṅkāra and Grammar. He left eulogies to his life-long patron Āsaf Khān entitled Āsaf Virāsa. The eulogies of Dārā Shukoh is found in his Jagadviṣayacchandasa. However, in relation to Dārā Shukoh, more remarkable and influential Hindu pañḍit was Kavīndra Sarasvatī.

Kavīndra Sarasvatī

Francois 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. 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 pañḍit. P.K.Gode thinks that the quasi-library which Bernier visited was the library of Kavīndra Sarasvatī. 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.

In Benares, the most influential pañḍit in the court of Shāh Jahān was Kavīndra Sarasvatī. Benares is one of the most important sacred town equal to Prayāg (Ilahābād), however, as is known from the old coins, in Aurangzeb’s age. it was once called Muḥammdābād.

A notable episode about Kavīndra Sarasvatī is the abolition of jizya and pilgrim tax. In 1042 / 1632 when Shāh Jahān intended to levy jizya po
and pilgrim tax. Kavindra Sarasvatī's intercession resulted to exemption of Hindus from such tax. 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. However, in Aurangzeb's age, it was levied again. 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 Kavindra Sarasvatī, 69 Hindu poets and scholars dedicated an anthology (padyāvalī, prabandha) entitled Kavindracandrodaya compiled by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Upādhyāya.

In this anthology, Kavindra Sarasvatī's extensive knowledge is seen in the poems named Kavindrāśṭaka. They are six Vedaṅga, four Vedas, 18 Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstra, Nyāya, Alankāra, Yoga of Yogavāsiṣṭha, Sāṃkhya, and Vaiśeṣika. He was praised as equal to Śaṅkara (Vedānta), Jaimini (Mimāṃsā), Kanāda (Vaiśeṣika), Gautama (Nyāya), Kapila (Sāṃkhya, Patañjali (Yoga)), Pāṇini in their field respectively. The list of 2192 books in various academic field entitled the Kavindrāścāryasūcipattra 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 pandīts of Benares.

As is seen in 3-2-1, the noteworthy work written by Kavindra Sarasvatī is a Hindi version of the Yoavāsiṣṭhasūtra. According to Ramaswami Shastri, this work is similar to Dārā's MB, and Kavindra Sarasvatī initiated Dārā into the mysteries of Yoga and Vedānta and this work seems to have been prepared for Dārā.

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23 Rizvi, The Wonder, p.165.
25 For his works, see Marshall pp.247-248.
28 Jagannātha Pāṇḍita, 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 Siālkoṭī, who became the private munshi (secretary) of Shah Jahan. He was a good poet in a mystically tinged style; on the other hand as a munshi, he was an eminent secretary of ‘ilm-i inshā. His Munshy’āt-i Brāhman, a group of official letter models, are eloquent and simple and widely approved as typical models of inshā. His prose work Chār Chaman-i Brāhman (Brāhman’s Four Meadows) gives a lively unofficial account of the life in Lahore and Delhi. His Persian Diwān, known as Iksir-i Aʿzam (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. From his other Ṣūfīstic work, Tuhfat al-widad and letters to his relatives, we know Ṣūfīstic 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 Saṅkara 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.

Another munshi of Dārā was Banwalīdās or Banālī Dās, takhallus Wali. He was also a disciple of Dārā’s pir Mullā Shāh. He left his own Diwān. His contribution was the writing some Persian tracts and he translated the popular Sanskrit Vedāntic drama entitled Prabodhacandrodaya into Persian naming it Gulzār-i Hāl. Furthermore, the translation of Yogavāśīṣṭha at the instance of Dārā is also ascribed to him.

Even if P.K. Gode left the message to “request to Sanskrit scholars...
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 itiḥāsa are based on legend (kiṃvadantī). It is not traced that Dārā understood Sanskrit language. Sanskrit work entitled Ṣatabhāumikā is ascribed to Dārā. 

36 There is a Sanskrit letter ascribed to Dārā, addressed to Goswāmī Nṛśimha Saraswati 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 Din-i Ilāhī. In the Dabistān-i Mazāhib, the author introduced many paṇḍits and samnyāsins who made him understand their religious and philosophical ideas. We can infer that such a majlis might have been held in the presence of Dārā and were the source of his ideas.

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-Bahrayn is a compendium of what he acquired in his speculative and devotional journey. Scattered pearls of wisdom in the MB are joined together with the thread of 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. 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 Faţl’s description of the Indian philosophy and religious sects in the A‘īn-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 Ṣūfīs 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 Ṣūfi saints and Hindu paṇḍits was the most influential sources of his ideas.

\footnote{Al-Bīrūnī’s Methodology in India. Mudhammad Aslam, Al-Bīrūnī: Commemorative Volume, Karachi. 1979, pp.330-334.}
The notable parallel ideas or concepts have their sources in parallels, from the *Upāniṣads* 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. 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 Islam. *tawḥīd*. *Tawḥīd* is the main pole of Islam 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 *sharīʿa*. 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 *Upāniṣadic* 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 *Vīrāṭa 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

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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 *Yogavasistha*. 
philosophy. Dārā contributed as a commentator and transmitter of Hindu philosophical and religious thought. As repeatedly Dārā declared, with the help of divine grace, this difficult task was accomplished. A tragic fate ended Dārā’s life as he was reaching the zenith. Mourned by his contemporaries, Dārā Shukoh is remembered as one of those for whom the quest for truth was central to life. Dārā’s premature death deprived his fellow seekers of a companion and posterity of works this ardent seeker might have completed. Dārā Shukoh’s present significance in the Indian subcontinent is his image as the symbol of tolerance due to his humanity. Qanungo said:

A martyr to Love, human and divine, a heroic soul that stood for peace and concord among mankind, and the emancipation of the human intellect from the shackles of blind authority and dogma, Muhammad Dārā Shukoh merely justified in life and death and inscrutable “ways of God to man”.

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\[Qanungo\ p.233.\]
Part II Critical Edition of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

1 Persian Text of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

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

The critical apparatus used for the present edition of the Majma‘ al-Bahrayn will be shown after the discussion of the problem of the published text.

As we have introduced in 2-1-2, so far two Persian texts of the MB have been published. They have been examined exhaustively in this editorial work. MB was printed in India edited by Mahfūz al-Ḥaqq in 1929 in Calcutta and in Iran, it was edited by Muhammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā‘mī in Muntahbāt-i Āṭār in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran. while these editions differ from each other.

In the Bibliotheca Indica edition, Mahfūz al-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 Hijja 1226 A.H., transcribed by Muhammad Ḥāji 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. \textsuperscript{1}Tarjumat-i Majma‘ al-Bahrayn. by Muḥammad Sāliḥ b. al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Miṣrī. dated 1185 A.H. / 1771.

The Tehran edition is \textit{cōder unicus} based on the only one manuscript preserved in the private collection of Sayyid Muḥammad Muḥiṣ Ţabāṭabā’ī. And Bibliotheca Indica edition was provided as footnotes for the comparison. It was published entitld \textit{Muntakhbāt-i Āṭār} compiled with his two other

works i.e. *Risalat Haqq Numā* and *Upanihat 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-

This belongs to the older group of MSS. however, it has relatively more scribe error authographically and grammatically. This could be said to be the parent codex of basic version. Most nearest sister MS. is S.

A2 : Asafiyya Library. Cat.No.P-1761, Hand list P-117. (ff.1-12,19-22 lines, not dated). Written on old paper, and worm eaten. however, it is repaired. This has considerable similarity with A1, however not so near to the parent but intimate sister of A3.


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.


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3 Mahfūz-ul Ḥaq dated this Ms. 1224A.H., however, the reading of the colophon is 1244 A.H.


This has intimate relationship with BM2 and D2.

D2 : Salar Jung Museum. Cat. No.3340. Hand List No. Tas 53. (ff.20r-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.


F : Mulla Feroz Library (preserved in K.R.Cama Oriental Institute). Bombay. Cat. No.9. (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. (ff.1-32v, 14 lines. not dated). This belongs the main stream of the reading as BM2 and S.


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. (ff.1-16. 16 lines. no date (ca. 18th century)). As the B1 suggested, this contains several orthographical mistakes and is not written in a clear hand.


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9 Catalogue, ibid. p.189.
13 ibid. p.79.
15 BL, p.31
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 Shutārīyyah and the Miṣbāḥ al-Āshiqin are written in the margin. The script is very beautiful and in fairly good condition.
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.
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

20 ibid. p.254.
21 ibid. p.254.
22 ibid. 254.
its originality.


V: Banaras Hindu University. Benares. Cat. No.428. Kitab Bhauku Puran (3) (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. BI established the non-authenticity of this Ms. as the autograph. BI said that there are so many omissions and inaccuracies and orthographical mistakes.

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 -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. 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...

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25 BI. p.32.

26 Date of J needs some considerations. See the description of J stated above.


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the portion, it could hardly be said to be the perfect parent codex. 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 section1 and unique description on the *nubuwat wa wilāyat* in section12 in Shi‘ic 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.

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28 See 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.
مكرر صحيحها 18، دائرته 19، و فنيوئي يعود 20، جز اختلف لنظير في 21، رضوان و
شناخت 22، تفاوت في الذي تحت حساس رفقة 23، تطبيق دابة 24، وبعضها از
حتانه ك طالبان حقاً را دانست أن ناغير و سودنته است فراهم أو رده رساله ترابب
داده، و جوان مجمع 25، محايض و ممارس ذو طابع حقا شناست تعود 26، به مجمع البحرين
موسوم كرداني، بدون قبول خاص 27، القصص هو الإنسان، و القصص تراك
التكيف، 28، هرك وصاف دارد و از اهل ادرائك است در في بابه ك في تطبيق اين
مراهب 29، غور نفسه، و يقيق كه فيمظان صاحب ادرائك حقا 28، وافر اين رساله
خواهش يرد و كند فيمان غير بين 29، را نصيب از نوايده أن نخواهد تعود 20، و اين
تطبيقت را موفق كشف و ذوق خود براي اهل بيت خود نوشته أم، و مرا باغواهم 28
دو قوم كاري نست 31،
خواجة عيد 32، الله احترار تقس سره فرودها ك اگ دانم ك كافي در 33
خطا
زمزم توحيد بيشجار 34، م سراد مبرو وم أز وي ميشوم و منت دار ميشوم و من
الله التوفيق و الاستمانه.

18، صحيحها
19، دائرته
20، يعود
21، فنيوئي
22، تفاوت
23، الذي
24، بعضها
25، محايض
26، ممارس
27، قبول
28، تراك
29، هرك
30، هرك
31، مراهب
32، خواجة
33، الله
34، بيشجار
35، م سراد مبرو
(1) 

بيان عناصر

بداً عناصر ا پنجم اند و مادة جميع عناصر ناوندو همین پنجم اند. اول عناصر

اعظم که آن را اهلِ شرع عرش اکر میگوئند. دوم باد سیم، سوم چهارم آهن و پنجم

خالد و این را ایزبان اهل هند پنج بوت، سی نامند. اکس، ی سالی و پنج و جل و

پرته و اکس ها است. پنج بوت اکس ی من اکس و چد اکس، آهن عیط

عناصر باشد آن را ایزبان اکس گوئند، و آهن عیط موجودات است آن را ایز

نامند، و آهن بر عیط و در عیط جا باشد آن را ایزبان اکس خواند، و ایزبان

اکس ی بر حق است یعنی حادث نیست و بر حادث و فنا نو ایزبان و آهن عیط

و پره. چه کتاب آنانی است دلایل غم کند. از ایزبان اکس اولی جادی که بیم رسید

عشق بوت که آن را ایزبان موحدان رهند و میلبا گوئند و گوئند کرد غمی راه

ان غرف قلقله الخلق بر این ذال است. یعنی بوت من گنجی پنهان پس دوست

داشته که شناخته شوم پس ظاهر کردم خلق را و از عشق روح اعظم یعنی

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1 A1. B BM1 R1
2 A1. B BM1 R1
3 T سوم

پانچ بوت

4 پررنگ-بختان : BL T

5 یکن

6 نار

7 تِریس

8 یالا

9 پرته

10 BL T 

11 بختان کن

12 نوع

13 بختان کن

14 ایزبان

15 آهن

و آهن

16 BL T

17 BL T

18 BM1 T

19 ہندی

20 T میشی

21 C T

22 اهل اسلام را

23 A1. B BM1 R1

24 T اصلیر

25 T بالای

26 BL T

که (R1)
چیز آنهای ہے کہ انہوں نے را حیثیت محققی گویند و آنہوں نے اشارہ بروح کیا آنے
سرور 29 است، و موحیدان ہند آنے را ہر رہنمائی 30 و سمت 31 آنے 32 میانے۔
کہ اشارہ بروحی ہمتی 34 است، و بعد از آنے گویند کہ آنے را نفس الريحان
گویند، و آنے نفس باد پیدا شد و چون آنے نفس بھیجت حیسی در حضرت وجود
کہ در هنگام نفلتی 35 برای ظهور داشت گرم بر آمد از باد آتش پیدا شد۔ و چون
در هنگام نفس صفت رحیماتیت و آغذاد 36 بود سرد شد و از آتش آب پیدا 37 آمد
اما چون عنصر باد و آتش از غائب لفافات محسوس نیستند و آب پہ نسبت آن هر
دو محسوس است بھیجت محسوس بودن آن بعضی گفتہ انہوں کے اول آب ظاهر 39 شد و
بعد از آنے عنصر خاک، و آنے خاک بننے کہ کف آنے آب، چون شیری 40 کہ در زیر
آن آتش باشند و بحوش آب و کف کند۔

چہ دانست کہ این دریا در پلر آن چین باشند۔ بخارش آنهای گرد کاف دریا زمین باشند
و بر عکس این در قیامت کبیر کہ آنے را 42 ملاپری 43 گویند اول نفی خواہد
شد و 44 آنے را آب فرو خواہد برد و آب را آتش خشک خواهند ساخت و آتش را

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باد فرو خواهد نشاند و باد با روح اعظم در میلکبس فرو خواهد رفت. علیه ماکل آلی و جهه، بعنی همه چنین فاتن خواهد شد مکر روی الله تعالی که میلکبس باشد، کلی من علیها فان و بقیه وجه رده ذو الجلال و الاکرام بعنی همه آنی که بر روی زمان بود فان خواهد شد و باقی مانند روی بروید که صاحب جلال و اکرام است. در این دو آیه کریمه که برای فنای جمع اثبات نمی‌گردد و جه که رفت به میلکبس است که آن فنا پذیر نیست و آلی میفرموی؛ کلی شیوه هالک آلی هو بعنی همه چنین فاتن خواهد شد مکرذات او و قید رو به میلکبس باشد که میلکبس بعنیه بدن لطیف آن ذات مقدس است. و خاله را برایان فقراً هند دیوی که همه چنین از رضا شده است و باز همه چنین درو فرو میروید بهوجب آیه کریمه؛ مینها خلقتم و مینها میندکم و مینها خرجم تاریه اخیر، بعنی از آن خاله خلق کردم شما را و درآن خاله بار خواهیم برد شما را و از آن خاله بیدهن می آرم شما را با بار دیگر.
بیان جوامع


۱ BI.T
۲ R1.T interchange پنجم حواس
۳ BI.T
۴ اندری
۵ تولک
۶ بیان
۷ T om.
۸ BI.T add
۹ gharaṇa : B چنین
۱۰ سروتن
۱۱ طولک : A1,BM1,R1
۱۲ چینه : B
۱۳ BI.T
۱۴ BI.T
۱۵ BI.T
۱۶ BI.T
۱۷ BI.T
۱۸ BI.T
۱۹ BI.T
۲۰ BI.T
۲۱ BI.T
۲۲ BI.T
۲۳ BI.T
۲۴ BI.T
۲۵ BI.T
۲۶ BI.T

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بر آن مطلع نیست، و این شغله مشترک در میان صوفیه ۲۷ و موهدان هند که 
صوفیه این را شغل آواز ۲۸ میگویند و ایشان ۲۹ ده ۳۰ می‌پندارند. اما خلاصه باطن نیز 
پنج اند، هنگ مشترک خیال ۳۱ می‌گردد ۳۲ حافظه و واده و نزد اهل هنر چهار است. 
بده ۳۳ و ۳۴ و ۳۵ و ۳۶ اهتمار و ۳۷ چت و ۳۸ و ۳۹ و ۴۰ اینه کر گویند 
که یک‌زیل یکن آنها است، چت یکه عادت دارد که آن را بر ۴۱ گویند و این عادت 
بین‌زیل پای اوست که اگر آن فطل ۴۲ شود چت از دویدن هزینه ماند، دووم ۴۳ به یعنی 
عقل و بده آنست که طرف ۴۴ خیر رود و بجای ۴۵ شر رود، سیون ۴۶ نیز گوی ۴۷ عبارت از دل است و آن ۴۸ دو قول دارد ستکب ۴۹ و ۵۰ یعنی گوی ۵۱ و 
فتح ۵۲ عزیمت ۵۳ و ۵۴ چت ۵۵ پیک در دل است و کار یا دویستان باشد بهر سو و گیر میان 
خیر و نزش میکند، چهار اهتمار یعنی نسبت دهنده چیزها جدید و اهتمار صفت

۲۷ ت
پاس انفاس
در اصطلاح خود BM1 هندی‌تان
۲۸ BI,T
۲۹ ت
۳۰ dhyana
۳۱ BI,T
مختیله
۳۲ BI,T
متفکر
۳۳ BI,T
آمد
۳۴ BI
بده
۳۵ buddhi
۳۶ manas
۳۷ ahamkara
۳۸ citta
۳۹ BI,T om.
۴۰ BI
برت یکرکار BM1 : BM1, A,B
۴۱ BI,T
مفعول
۴۲ BI,T
او:۱
۴۳ T
بجای
۴۴ BI,A
طرف
۴۵ BI
دو
۴۶ manas
۴۷ B,BM1.R,T
من
۴۸ sankalpa
۴۹ BI,T om.
۵۰ evakupa : BI
پکب
۵۱ BI,T
عزیمت
۵۲ BI
فسح
۵۳ BI,T om.
۵۴ BI
سوم : سوم BM1 که BI,T add
۵۵ BI,T
نکن
پرمر آنها است بسب میا و مالی رزبان اشیان یاقع است. و اهتكار ۵۷ سقق است، ساک ۵۸ و راجس ۵۹ و نامس. ۶۰ اهتكار ساک است بسمه سروب ۶۱ کی ۶۲ اعلی است آنست که پرمر آنها بگوید ۶۳ هرچه حست همه می و این مربی ۶۴ احاطه است، حمی اشیا ۶۵ را الا اینه بعل می، عطق بینی دانه و آگاه باش بدرسته که حست همه احاطه گنده ۶۶ حمی انزل و ۶۷ الانه و ۶۸ الانه و ۶۹ الانه و ۷۰ الانه و ۷۱ انبلان بینی اورست آنل و اورست آخر و اورست ظاهر و پس ۷۲ انبلان پنل، و ۷۳ اهتكارکزاه مقم ۷۴ است که اورست باشند ۷۵ آنست که نظر بر بیانه ۷۶ کردند ۷۷ بگوید که ۷۸ ممن ایم و ۷۹ و جامانیت ممن نسبت ندارد، لیس کمیت می، بینی نیست مانند او چنین و الله غنی عن العلیمین بیش خدا نیالی بی نیاز است از ظهور عالم و اهتكار عامس اکثر است که ادین باشد و این از ۸۰ اورطا ۸۱ بینی مربیه عیدیت حضرت ووجود و ادین بودن از جهت آنست که از نیابت نتلا و نقید و نیابت ناتلی و جهل و غفلت

۵۷ BL.T add نیز
۵۸ sattva
۵۹ rajas
۶۰ tamas
۶۱ jñana-svarupa
۶۲ BL.T add مربیه
۶۳ BL.T add که
۶۴ BL.T interchange احاطه گنده and که
۶۵ T میابشند
۶۶ T اشبیا
۶۷ BL.T add چیز
۶۸ BL.T add دیگر یکه
۶۹ BM1.R1 هو
۷۰ R1 هو
۷۱ R1 هو
۷۲ BL.T om.
۷۳ B.T om.
۷۴ madhyama
۷۵ BL.T add و این
۷۶ jñatman : BL.T جیو آتشان
۷۷ BL.T داشته
۷۸ BL.T add ذات
۷۹ BL.T مینه استه
۸۰ BL.T فن
۸۱ adhama
۸۲ BL.T om.
۸۳ avadha : T وودیا
را خدود نسبت می‌کند و نظر بر حیات. بخش عمومی خدود خوده می‌گوید که من و تو از متنه یکانی دور می‌افتد. گل آنها انا بشر متعلق به یک یا دو سنته که ماند بشرح مانند ما، رهیم به‌شکل می‌ماریم. چون حضرت وجود خواست که متن شود بجز این اراده برم آنها شد و چون این مقابلی رهیم شد اهتمکر بهم رسید و چون مقید دیگر بر آن افزوده می‌گری که عقل کل باشد نام باشد. و از سنتکب و مهیت 9.9 نیز گویند. و از سنتکب من پنج گیان اندرا 9.9 سامه 9.9 و لامسه و باصره و سامه و ذایق باشد بطور آمد، و از سنتکب و این پنج 9.9 گیان اندرا 9.9 آمده و از سنتکب و یک پنج 9.9 گیان اندرا 9.9 اعضا و اجسام مسی، و این جمعه را بدن گویند، پس برم آنها که اب انریش باشد 9.9 این این 100 مقیدات را از خود پیدا کرده و خود را بنده یکداهنده. جنابه 9.11 کرم پهلو ناره‌ای بریم را از لحاظ خود بر آورده خود را بنده 102 بنده 103 است. و 104 حضرت وجود 105 این 105 قبود وهمی را از خود بر آورده و خود را در آورده است ملت فرست که

هیات

همه

آدمی 

ام

108 vasijsha ; T.D1; BM2 adds که

108 BI,T and add که می‌گوید

108 mahat-tattva ; BI,T مهیت

108 BI,T مهیت

108 manas ; BI,T add ضعی قلب

103 prakrti

103 jñanendrajñi

103 BI,T شاخص

103 B adds کرم BM1.BM2.D2.R1

103 A1,B کرم اندرا

103 BM1.BM2 احجاب

104 BI adds the following verse with parenthesis که طوراً اول اور حیفت معتقد و ثانیه اور روح القدس که جبریل اورن باشد است

104 BI,T add همه

104 BI,T جانه

104 BI,T در آن

104 BI,T بنده

104 BI,T اهرام

104 BI,T الدور

104 BI,T add همه
درخت را از خود بر آورده خود در درخت در ۱۰۸ می‌آید و در بند شاخها و برگها و گلها می‌شود. ۱۰۹ پیش از ظهور ۱۱۰ عالم در ذات پنهان بود و الحال ذات مقدس ۱۱۱ در عالم پنهان است.

۱۰۸ B,BM1 interchange در and می
۱۰۹ BI adds پس بدان و هوش دار که
۱۱۰ BI,T add آین
۱۱۱ B,BM1,T,R1 om. مقدس او
بيان شغل

1 B.R1 om.
2 ayard
3 T
4 B,BM1,T om.
5 A1,B,BM1,T om.
6 A1,B,T om.
7 B/T
8 B/T add و هر آن
9 A1,B,BM1,R1 om.
10 B/L,R4 add چناما در
11 B/L,R4 add درون رفقت و برون آمن دم
12 B/L,R4 add تفاهيم
13 T ok.
14 A1,B,BM1,T,R1 om.
15 T om.
16 T om.
17 R1
18 B,BM1,BM2,T سو
19 B/BM1,T برون
20 A1,BM1,BM2,R1 حن
21 B/T تامن
22 T,BM2 om.
23 R1 برون
24 B/L,T,R1 163
بيان صفات الله تعالى

نذد صوقيّة دو صفت است، جلال 3 و جمال 2 و جمال 3 كه جميع آفريقيّ آز تعتص ابن دو صفت نير Logger. و نذد فراراي هند دو صفت 4 است 5 كه أان را ترگ 6 ميكة وست 7 و رج 8 و رج 9 و رج يت بيغ ايا و رج يبي ايا و رج يبي انا و رج 10 صوقيّة صفت ابجا را دير ضمن صفت جمال مندرج 11 ديد 12 كه اعتبار كرده أان. جون حر يكي از ابن دو صفت دو بكدگر مندرج أند و ميگلا 13 ابن دو صفت دو ترمورت نامنده كه بیرها 14 و پشي 16 و مييش 17 باشند و بزیا صوقيّة جيرثيرل و ميکايل و ایرافيل گوينده. بيرها 18 ميکايل ابجد است كه جيرثيرل باشند و بزیر ميگلا ابجد كه ميکايل باشند و مييش ميگلا اختيست كه ایرافيل باشند. و آب و آتش 19 و باد 20 نيز ميگلا ابن ميگلا ابن، آب جيرثيرل و آتش ميکايل و باد باسرافيل و أين دو صح در جميع جانداران نيز ظاهر است رهها 21 كه آب باشند در ژيان 22 ميگلا كلام الهي گشت و نطق از ابن ظاهر شد، و بيش كه آتش است در چشم 23 روشنی و نور و بينانی ازو ظاهر شد و مييش كه باد است در بيني دو نفحه صور از ابن ظاهر شد

1 A1.B.BM1 add I۸: T adds را
2 BI.T جمال ۲
3 BI.T جمال ۳
4 BI.T صفات ۴
5 BI.T اند ۵
6 fraguna ۶
7 sattva ۷
8 rayas ۸
9 tams ۹
10 A1.B.BM1.R1 چون ۱۰
11 BI.T om. ۱۱
12 B.BM1.R1 add أند ۱۲
13 BI و ميگلا ۱۳
14 فراراي هند instead of ميکايل ۱۴
15 psmürti
16 بیرها A1.R1
17 esnafo
18 R1
19 بیرها R1
20 BI.T باشند ۲۰
21 BI.T آتش ۲۱
22 A1.B بیرها ۲۲
23 A1.B add: BM1 add لهد ۲۳
24 A1.BM1 ازو است ۲۴
25 B.BM1
که دو نفس باشد و چون آن منقطع گردد فنانی شود. ترگن ۲۵۳ صفت حقیق باشد که ابداد و آباد و انفست و منشر آن صفت مبرها و بشن و میشش انداک۲۶۹ صفات آنها در جمع عقلات ظاهر است. ۲۸۹ او لعل خلق ۲۹۹ یبد میشود بز بقدر موعود میحادد و باز فانی میشود، و شکت ۳۰۹ که قدرت آن صفت است آن درد ۳۱۹ در این گونه، و ۳۲۹ ان ترورت که برهم ۳۳۹ و بشن و میشش باشد. ۳۴۹ سرستی و ۳۵۹ پارشی و ۳۶۹ میگونه، سرستی به رجوکن و برهم ۳۷۹ تعلق دارد و پارشی ۴۲۹ به تموکن و میشش ۴۴۹ تعلق دارد، و ۴۵۹ تعلق ۴۶۹ به شن و ۴۷۹.
بيان روح
روح دو فقم است، یکی روح و دیگر آب او ارواح که بر این فقرای هند این دو روح را آنها2 و پرم آنها3 گویند. ذات بخت که5 متین و مقید گردید چه به لطافت و چه به کثافت بجست برودن در مرتبه لطافت او را روح و6 آنها نامند.7 و در مرتبه کثافت جسد و سریر8 گویند و ذاتی که9 متین10 گشته که11 روح اعظم باشد و12 مرتبه ادیت دارد و13 که جمع ارواح در آن مرزین آن را پرم آنها و14 ارواح خوانند14 مثل آب15 و موج آب معنی بهن و روح است16 که17 سریر18 و آنها19 باشد.20 و گروه امواج آ روی گیت آب ارواح و21 پرم آنها ماند و آب صرف بهزنا حضرت و سد22 پهن23 است.24

1 R1
2 آنها
3 paramātman : R1 پرم آنها
4 Bl adds in the parenthis
5 Bl, T om
6 B گویند
7 Bl, T sarira
8 تعمین اول BM1, R1 بتمین اول
9 Bl, T add بتمین
10 Bl, T om.
11 Bl, T با ذات مجمع الصفات
12 Bl adds ذاتی
13 Bl, T نام گشده چنین BM1 : R1 گویند
14 A1, B, BM1, R1 مثل آب نقش
15 Bl, T om.
16 Bl, T و
17 Bl, T sarira
18 C جیب آنها
19 Bl, T است
20 BM1 om.
21 از روی گیت آب ارواح و
22 saddha : Bl, T, A1, BM1, R1 add و
23 cantanya : A1, B, R1 : BM1 om.
24 A1, B, BM1, R1 om.
بادی که در بدن انسان حرکت می‌کند، چون در پنجم موضع می‌باشد، پنجم نام دارد: پران، اپان، اودان، و پران حرکت آن از پنجم است تا به انگشت پا، و دم زدن خاصیت این باد است. این حرکت این از نشستگاه است تا به عضو خصوصی و این در گرد ناف م حلقه رده اند و باعث حیات همان است. جان در سینه و ناف حرکت می‌کند. این حرکت این از حلق است تا ام‌دماغ و ویان ظاهر و باطن از این باد پر است.

1. prana
2. apana
3. samana
4. udana
5. prana: BM1,T
6. A1,BM1,R1 or R1 adds: BM1
7. T om.
8. BLT om.
9. Com.: A1,B add R1: BM1 add م حلقه رده اند ری: BM1
10. B,BM1,R1 om.
11. BLT م
12. BM1,R1 add 
13. BM1,T and add یعنی کمال بیان

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بهان عوامل اریب

عوامل

1. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را که بنمای را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده و عادت مدل را با نتیجه می‌کردیم. 

2. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

3. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

4. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

5. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

6. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

7. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

8. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

9. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

10. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

11. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

12. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

13. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

14. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

15. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

16. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

17. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

18. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

19. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

20. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

21. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

22. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

23. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده. 

24. تمام مدل‌ها را ناطق را با عادت یک در مدل را نمجکنده.
(8)

بان آوار
و نادا 1 از همان نفس الرحمن است که بیان 2 ایجاد باه لفظ کن ظاهر شد، آن آوار 3 را فقرا ی هند سرستی 4 نامند 5 و جمع آوارها و صوتی و صداها از آن آوار 6 پیدا گی‌که‌

بیت
همه عالم سدای ناخمه اوسط 7 که شنید این چنین صداهای دراز
و این آوار که ناد باشد نزد موجودان هند بر سه قم است، اول ادعت 8 بعنی آواریکه همیشه بود و هست و خواهد بود و صوتی این آوار را آوار مطلق و سلطان الادکار گویند و 9 قدم است و احساس‌ها اکنون 10 ازین است. و این آوار را در نبند مگر اکبر 11 هر دو قوم. دوم 12 آدم 13 بعنی آواریکه از زدن چندی بجیسی بی ترتیب الاظهار یبدا شود. سوم 14 سید 15 که برتکم الاظهار 16 شود و این 17 آوار سبد 18 را برسی 19 مناسب 20 است. و از همین آوار ام اعظم که میان اهل اسلام است و کمک که فقرا ی هند آن را بیدمگه 21 گویند 22 ظاهر شد. و

1 nada : BI.T آوار instead of آوار
2 BI
3 A1.BM1 add ناد B ناد
4 sarasvati : R1
5 BI.T گویند
6 BI
7 BI.T اوسط
8 anahata : B ادعت
9 BI.T که
10 mahakasa
11 BI.T آگه
12 BI.T گویند
13 ahata
14 BI.T گو
15 sakda : R1
16 BI.T گیدا
17 BI.T ادعا
18 H1
19 sarasvati
20 BI مناسب
21 vedamukha
22 A1.BM1 گویند BI add، M و \ اول ادعت BI add 3 شده
معنی این این اعظم‌انست که اوست صاحب سه صفت یک‌باز و ابیا و افاست، و فتحه و ضحیه و کربته که آن را اکل ۲۷ اواکل ۲۸ و مکار ۳۰ گویند از همین ظاهر شده است. و مر ۳۲ این ام ۳۳ را ۳۴ صورتی خاص است نزد موی‌مان ایشان ۳۱ و به اعظم ۳۶ مشابه‌تیام دارد و نشان عنصر آب و آتش و خال و ۳۷ و باد و ۳۸ و ذات بخت تیز درین ظاهر است.

24 B.BM1.R1
25 BLT add که
26 A1.B.BM1 افتنا
27 akara
28 waara
29 BLT om.
30 makara
31 BLT om.
32 T.R1 om.
33 C adds اعظم
34 A1.B.BM1.R1 است
35 BLT هند
36 B1 adds ما
37 A1.B.BM1.R1 باد
38 A1.B اگاس : BM1.R1
یان نور

نور سه قسم است: اگر بصفت یک جلال ظاهر شود یا برگ آقتاب است یا
بافوت یا برگ آتش، و اگر بصفت جلال ظاهر شود یا برگ آتش و نور ذات که ممکن است از صفات آن جز اولایی
خذا که در حق ایشان فرموده: پیدا الله نوره می‌شانه، دبیری در می‌یابد،
یعنی هدایت می‌کند الله تمامی هر کرا می‌خواهد نور خود، و آن نوریست که جون
خخصوصاً در خواب شود یا چشم پوشیده بهشینه، نه بیشترین بلند و نه بکوش شنود و
نه بریان گوئید و نه به بیشترین بلند و نه بلاسره احساس کند، و در خواب همیشه
این همه کارها بیکجی گردند و معنا ساز و حواس ظاهری و روشنایی جراح ناشده و
باصره و سامعه و ذهن و شکوه و لامس عین یکدیگر شوند و یکدیگر گردند، آن را
نور ذات گوئید و آن نور خدا است ۹ ایوست تکر که خوش که جای زیب
است و فکر است و رسول ۹ صلی الله علیه و سلم در تعريف این فکر فرموده:
تفرگ ساعت خور از عبادت ۱۰ ۱۱، یعنی این فکرت که ساعتی درین ۱۲ بودن پیشر
از عمل آدمی و پرست. و گوئید از آن که: الله نور السموت و الأرض، یعنی
الله تمامی نور آمانه‌ها و زمین ۱۳ است مفهوم می‌گردد ۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
و سربراکس ۱۵ و سوم پرکاس ۱۶ گوئید، یعنی این نور همه‌شان خود بجود روشن

1 B.T
2 A.B.R1 Add یک طلا یا
3 Bl.T Add حقی سباهان تمامی
4 B.R1 خخصوصی
5 Rود
6 Bl.T Add حال آنکه
7 A1 همراه T om.
8 Bl. Add جلّ شانه
9 Bl.T Add خدا
10 B.BM1.T عمل
11 B.T القلب BM1 الفثلین
12 Bl.T Add فکر
13 Bl زمین
14 Jotbhavara: Bl.T جوتی سروب R1 بیرون سروب
15 Bl.T سوا پرکاس
16 somaprabha: Bl.T.C سیم پرکاس
18 Bl.T om.

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است خواهد در ۱۷ عالم درو ۱۸ نیاید خواه نباشد. چنانچه صوفیه نور را بمنوی تفسیر
میکنند و ایشان ۱۹ نیز بمنوی تفسیر کرده اند. و ترجمه این آیه کریمه چنین ۲۰ است: الله نور السموت و الأرض ۲۱ يعني الله تمام نور آنانا و زمین. ۲۱ مثل نوره کمکشکوه فیا مصالح ۲۲ مثل نور او مانند طلقه است که دران مصالح ۲۳ باشد، المصالح معنای افروخته شده است، ان ۲۶ چراخ آز درخت مارد زیتونی ۲۷ هن شرقي است و هن غربی و یکاد زیتونا پری و او لم نمسه نار، ندیده است که روغن ان زیتون مارد روشنی علیه با این آتش ۲۸ روغن ترسیده باشد و نور علی نور ۲۹ نوریه بر نور، بیدي الله انوره من پیاده و ۳۰ راه مینیاید الله تعالی ان حرف خصوصی ۳۱ هم میخواهد. اند آتش ۳۲ فیشر فیشره این باشد که مراد از مشکوه که طاق باشد عالم اجسام است و مراد از مصالح که چراخ باشد نور ذات است و مراد چراخ روی و ۳۵ این شیشه او روح است ۳۶ مانند سناره در خشنده است که از روشنی ۳۷ چراخ این شیشه م مانند چراخ می نیاید، افروخته شده است آن چراخ که ۳۸ عبارت از نور

۱۸ B1 adds Aهل هند in the parenthesis

۱۹ B1,T این چنان است C این

۲۰ B1,T این چنان است

۲۱ B1,T که

۲۲ B1,T زیتون

۲۳ B1,T و

۲۴ B1,T C چراخ

۲۵ B1,T آن چراخ

۲۶ B1,T است

۲۷ B1,T زیتون BM1 adds

۲۸ B1,T بیان روغن B1,T instead of

۲۹ A1 om.

۳۰ B1,T هز

۳۱ B1,T کرای

۳۲ B1,T این باشد که

۳۳ B1,T این باشد که

۳۴ Most of mss. omit

۳۵ B1,T این باشد که

۳۶ B1,T این باشد که

۳۷ B1,T آن

۳۸ B1,T om.
یان رؤیت

رؤیت خدايی تعالی را موحیدان هند ساجدان کار گویند. یعنی دیدن خدا بیشتر به
سر ۲ بهانه در دیدن خدای تعالی در دنیا و آخرت بیشتر به
از انبیاء، علی سلام، و اولیاء کامل فقیه الله سره شیخ و شیبی ۴ و اختلافی ۵ نیست.
و جمع اهل کتاب و کاملاً و بیانان هر ملت با باین معنی اینان دارند. چه اهل قرآن
و چه اهل عدل، و چه اهل توریت و انجیل و زبور و از نافعیان و نابینايان.
مثل خود بوده که انگار رؤیت نیاید. ۶ ذات مقیضی که بر همه چیز قادر است.
در ۱۰ شویدن خودم که قدرت داشت در و این مثل نداشت اهل ۱۱ ست و
الجعفر ۱۲ خوبی در ۱۳ پرده اند. اما اگر ذات صرف ۱۵ را گفته اند که توان دید
این حادثه که ذاتی نخواهد ۱۶ لطیف است و بی تعیین ۱۷ و تعیین نگردد، و در پرده
لطفت جلوه گر بشود. ۱۸ توان دید و چنین رؤیت عالی باشد. و آنچه گفته اند که
در آخرت توان دید و در دنیا توان دید اصلی ندارد. ۱۹ هرگاه که ۲۰ کمال ۲۱ قدرت دورو
همست بس ۲۲ هر طور و هر چه و هرگاه که خواهد قادر بر تعودن خود است و

۱ sākyātāra
۲ BM1 adds
۳ A1.R1.ت زمام
۴ شیبی
۵ Bl.T om.
۶ ندارند
۷ weda
۸ ت ناقصان
۹ Bl.T add
۱۰ BM1. ت
۱۱ Bl.T om.
۱۲ B.BM1. ت
۱۳ بی
۱۴ B.BM1.BM2.R1 گفته باشد Bl.T add
۱۵ Bl.T
۱۶ بی
۱۷ T om.
۱۸ Bl.T add
۱۹ Bl.T ت زرایا که T adds
۲۰ R1.T om.
۲۱ R1.T کمال
۲۲ Bl.T om.
۲۳ A1.B.BM1.R1 همست

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هرک اینجا ندید مشکل ۲۴ که تواند در آجا دید، چنانکه خود در آیه کریم خود ۲۵ و من کن فی این به آهنگ بپزد، اکثریت وی از آیه نشتیه، دیدار من می‌شود است پس ۲۶ آن مخصوص در آخرت نیز موروم ۲۷ خواهند ماند ۲۸ از نممت جمال ی. و منکران رؤیت که حکایت معمولی و شیوه باشند در این مسلم خطای عظمی کرده اند. چرا که اگر میگفتند که دیدن ذات بخت ممکن نیست برد حال صورتی داشت و چون ۲۹ اقسام رؤیت را منکر شده اند این نیاوت خطاست بجای آنکه ۳۱ اکثراً از کمالان ۳۲ انبیاء ۳۳ و اولیاء ۳۴ خدا را به تأمین ظاهر دیده اند ۳۵ و کلام او را بی‌واسطه شنیده اند و ۳۷ هرگاه که ایمان شندن کلام ۳۸ را از همه جهت قابل ان جوا دیدن را م از همه جهت قابل ناشند. و چنانکه ایمان بخش و ملانکه و کتابها و انبیاء و قیامت ۳۹ و فدر و خیر و شر از ۴۰ خدا و ۱۱ خانایی مترادف و غیره فرض است ایمان برویت هم فرض و لازم است. و اختلافی که ۴۲ علمای اهل ۴۳ سنت وrending text
جوان که عاشقه صدیقه وفته که پرسیده بود چه هل راندت رنگی ای؟
دیدی تو پرورتگر خود را فرومود خور ای اراه معنی نوریست، که می‌پن اور را.
آنها این حذف را را نور ای اراه خوانده اند معنی نوریست چگونه پین اور را
لاکن این دلیل نادیدن پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم می‌گوید، اگر معنی اوئل گریم
اشناره برویت اولیست در پرده نور و گر چهین خوانده شود که نوریست چگونه
پیم او را اشاره بذاق بخت و پرگی ایست، این اختلاف عبارتی نیست بلکه اجاز
نوریست که در یک حذف دو مسئله بیان توان کرد و آیآ کرده و جوهر پیدا
ناظره ای رت‌ها ناظره، معنی دران روز و روزه خوانهند بود و بینه‌ه
بسپی پرورتگر خود برهانی ظاهر ایست براب و رؤیت پرست پرست چه این دیدن مشغول بلطف
رب شده ایست که اور ای از تیکن رویت میتوان دید و آیآ کرده؛ لا تدرکه
ابزاره و هو پرگی ایست، معنی این بینند بصرها در متینه اطلاع و بیرگی و ایام هم ان بینند و او در نهایت لفتاف
و بیرگی ایست و در این آیآ کرده ایم هو واقع بشره ایست بی نادیدن ذات
بخت است دیدن خدا، عالی پنجم فرم است. فرم اول دیدن در خواب بچم دل،
فرم یک دوم دیدن در پیادار بچم سر، فرم 62 دیوم درمان خواب و پیاداری

46 ب. ت. ثب
47 ب. ت. ثب
48 آیا
49 ب. ت. ثب
50 A1.BM1.R1 om.
51 T نام
52 ب. ت. ثب
53 ب. ت. ثب
54 بیوم
55 ب. ت. ثب
56 B.BM1.R1 om.
57 A1.BM1.R1 add
58 T اول
59 ب. ت. ثب
60 ب. ت. ثب
61 A1.BM1.R1 add
62 ب. ت. ثب
63 T اول
64 ب. ت. ثب
65 ب. ت. ثب
که آن بیخدودی خاص است قسم چهارم در یک تبعین خاص دیدن، قسم ۶۶، دیدن یک ذاپ و اد است در کنار تبعینات عوالم ظاهر و باطن، و این دیدن ملایم صلی الله علیه و سلم در وقیت خود نبود درمان و راه و مرئی بوده، و خواب و نیدری و بیخدودی آگهی نبود و چشم ظاهر و باطن او یکی شده برند مرتب کمال رؤیت ۷۰، ایندست و این را دنیا و آخرت درک نیست، ۷۱، همه وقت و همه جا می‌نیم است.

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۶۵ بیخدودی
۶۶ R1 T om.
۶۷ Bl.T om دیدن قسم
۶۸ B.BM1.R1 add و
۶۹ R1 حضرت رسول
۷۰ I adds و کمال شوید و کمال عفان
۷۱ Bl.T add و
۷۲ Bl.T جا
۷۳ Bl.T وقت
یبان امّاء الله تعالى

امّاء الله تعالى، في نهاية است و از حце حصر بيون، ذات مطلق و بخت و صرف و غيب الخيب و حضرت واجب الوجود، رأ بيزان فقرائي هند سن، نرجع براءان، 8 و نزاكر 9 و نرجن 10 و ست. 11 آنند 12 گویند، اگر علم را باو نسبت هند، ف اهل أسلام أن 13 را علم میگویند فقرائي هند آن را چبند 14 نامند، و ام 15 گویند، 16 و بیان 17 گویند، 18 و قادر را حررت 19 و مرید 20 را سوئت 21 و بیان را مروتا 22 و بصیر را درشت 23 خواند، 24 و اگر کلام را آن ذات مطلق نسبت هند 25 و وقتا و 26 خواند، 27 و الله را آم، 27 و هو را سه، 28 و فریق را بیزان 29 ایشان دیوانا 30 گویند، و مظهر بیان را آنتر 31 آنند، و آنتر آن باند که قدرت الهی آنچه درو

1 Bl.T add
2 BM1 om.
3 Al.B.BM1 om.
4 Al.B.C om.; BM1.C add را
5 Al.B.BM1.R1 om.
6 जंग : Bl.T
7 नीर्घ : Bl.T
8 निरकार : Bl.T
9 नीरण्यान
10 sat : BM1.T add و R1 adds آنند
11 citi : Bl.T و آنند
12 ananda
13 Bl.T او
14 जैर : Bl.T
15 BM2.T om.
16 Bl.T حقّ : T
17 अनान्त
18 Bl.T om.
19 samarthka
20 Bl.T om.
21 sūtantra
22 श्रेष्ठा
23 Most of mss. om.
24 वक्ता : BM2.T
25 Bl.T نامند
26 अनुपात
27 अम : Al.R1
28 सह : BM1
29 BM1,T om.
30 देवता
31 avatāra

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ظاهر شود 32 في هيئة بكي من أفراد نوع أو 33 في أن وقت ظاهر توانى 34 شد، و
وجي را 36 أكسبان 37 نامند، و آكس باني يجي أت غوند ك يفرح صلى الله عليه و
سلم فرموده ك صعب نزين وجيا 38 ب من 39 وجي است ك ميشنو 40 ماند آوار
جرس 41 وأور زتبور و جون ات أوراف من آكس ظاهر ميشود آكس باني ميجوند، و
كتب آخاني را يبد 42 غوند، و خوبان جطيان را ك 43 يزيشند دين 44 و دانوان 44، را
كه ديو و شياطين اند راچس 45 غوند، و آدمي را منكيه 46 و ولي را ركيم 47، و
نمي را مهاده 48 نامند.

32 BI adds أية
33 T
34 BI ننبيه T نشود
35 T باشد
36 BI ت add كه يزغم نازل شود
37 akāśavātī
38 BI ت ات وحيا B اوقات
39 BI ت وقت
40 BI ت add را وحيا
41 BI ت add مانند
42 vedā
43 daitya : BI T ؛ من أت كهرا C ؛ جهرا : A1.BM1 om.; B adds غوند: نمود انها ; BI.T add
44 C نامند
44 dānava : BI.T و بدان انها
45 rākṣas
46 manugya
47 rāṣṭrārāja : BI.T رکم 1 A1. ترکم
48 mahāśiddha
دانشنایی بررسی قسمت اول، یکی از آنها خدا را دیده باشند: بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم. خواه چیزی طاهر، خواه چیزی نیست. دیگر آنها آذربایجان خدا شنیده باشند خواه آذربایجان خواه آذربایجان مرگت از خون می‌گیرند، دیگر آنها فرشته را دیده باشند، یا آذربایجان خدا شنیده باشند. یکی نیست و جعبه نیست. دیگر یک نیست و و لاکچری، دیگر یک نیست و و لاکچری در جامع التثنیه و التثنیه، یکی نیست و جعبه نیست چون نیست نوح علی السلام که خدا را بنتنی دید و دعوت کرد و آن را بنتنی التثنیه ایبان نیازمندی، دیگر نیست و و همه در بحر فنا غرق شدند چون راهبان زمان ما که بنتنی خدا میریان را خوانند و هیچکس از ایبگنار دیار عفر نشود و از قول آنها نفعی نبرد و در راه سلول و طریقت این و هلال و گردن و از خود از قول بهت و یکی نیست و جعبه نیست و ویا موسی است و نوح علی السلام که خود خدا نشیب و در آن درخت بیش و در 18 اب حسن 19 شنید و 20 اکثری 21 آمن و 22 آمنی تقدم موسی در

1 BM2.R1 om; B.BM1 ظاهروی
سر خود بیخم دل و و
2 BM2.R1 adds
خواه بیخم
3 B.BM1; A1 add باباطن
4 BM1.BM2.C.R1 om; B adds و
5 BL.T add
6 BL.T add و
7 BL.T om; R1 نیت
8 BL.T دوم B "دووم" سوم "سوم
9 BL.Som Om: A1 لوم
10 BL.T add حصرت
11 BL.T "نیاوردی
12 BL.T om. از قول آنها نفعی نبرد" گردید
13 BL.T نرسد
14 BL.T دوم "دووم" خود
15 BL.T از "خونی
16 BL.T adds "متن
17 BL.T حیثی
18 BL.T om.
19 BL.T اکثر D1.D2.BM2.T om;
20 BL.T اکثر BM1.BM om;
21 BL.T اکثر BM1.BM2 om;
22 BL.T om.
تشبیه افتاده گوساله پرست شدند و عصبان خدا و وزین‌دار و امروز بینمی از مفاقان زمان ما، آن‌ها بخش تشکیل کاملان پیشه کردند و بهین زندگانی کننده تازی، دور افتاده در تشبیه فرو رفته اند و بدین صورت‌های خوب و مغرور در هو و لمع گرفتار باشند و پرود اخبان نشاید. البته صورت دلکش که ترا روز ممود خواهد فله آن روند زود رود. رو دل بکسی ده که در اطور و وجود بوده است و همیشه با تو خواهد بود.

دبکر، تبیت جمع التزیه و التشیب است، يعني جمع کننده تزیه و تشیب و آن تبیت کامل، تبیت مفیدی می‌کند که تازیه و تشیب مطلق و مفید ییبرگ. و رگد، را بکی یکی کرده و اشاره با باین مرتبه است. آن کریم، لیس که دخی و هو السام زربد، یعنی نیست مثل چنین اشاره بر تزیه است و

24 BM1.BM2.C,D2 om.
25 B,BM1.D1,D2.R1 add را D1 adds
26 B,BM1 تشبیه
27 B,T رفته اند رفتن
28 A1 adds صوت‌های
29 B,BM1.R1 adds جدیدتایی C,D1 add
30 A1,B,BM1.C,D2 بو BM2,R1 om.
31 B,T باشد A1,B,BM1
32 B,T om. قلمعی D1
33 B,T همیشه T بهو M م instead of C,R1,T om. B ای BM2,T add
34 B,T سوم T صوم
35 B,T om.
36 B,T om.
37 B,T om.
38 B,T om. تزیه و تشیب
39 B,R ییبرگ و نزدیک و دور
40 B,T ییبرگ
41 B,T را BM2 om.
42 B,T add در دی
43 B,T add که
44 B,T البصر و هو
45 B السام
46 B ای BM2,T add

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الشروق والمساء و نبئيه به نبئيه 48 و ابن مرتاه بلند 49 جامع 50 و خاتم 51
خصوص 52 آسرور 53 صلى الله عليه و 55 سم 56 هم عام را از مشرق 57 و 58 مغرب
فربه 59 و نبئيه به نبئيه متروم است أن نبئيه به نبئيه و 60 نبئيه به نبئيه
عارض است از نبئيه به نبئيه.
و نبئيه جامع شامل نبئيه و نبئيه است، جو هو الول و الآخر و
البطن. لينج 61 ولايت مخصوص است بكاملان ابن امت كه حق تلاهي در وصف
ابيان مردوه 62 كنت خير امة اخرد لانناس يعني بهنر امتين 63 ابيان اند كه جمع
كندة نبئيه و نبئيه اند، يعني 64 در امت محضي چناوه در زمان پیغمبر م ما حمل لله
علي و سلم از اولاء، ابی بكر و عمر و عثمان و علي و 65 حسن 66 و 67 علیه و 68 و
69

48BI,T add بود: A1,B
49BI adds ترين و اعلي ترين مرتبة
50A1,B,D1 جامع است
51BM1,C,D2,T خاتم: BI,T خاتم
52BI,T add بقات
53B,BM1,C,D1,D2,R1 add است
54C,T om. to سلم
55B adds و الله و
56BI,T add ما است
57BI,T شرق
58BI,T تا
59BI,T غرب
60BM1,BM2,D1,D2,C om. to نبئيه
61BI,T معين
62A1,BM1,D1,R1 add C आيه
63T امتها
64BI,T om. يعني آنست
65A1,BM2 om.; B adds يعني محضي
66A1,BM2,D2 om.
67B دویم امام
68BM1,BM2,D1 om.; B adds صلى الله عليه و سلم
69B سبیوم
70B,BM2 om.; T تسعه
71B om.
72B,R4 om. طابعین
73BI,T add از آنچه

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ستة٥٠ ياقية٧٠ و عشرة٢٢ مبهرة و كبرى مهاجر و انضام و اهل صوفي بدُم١٠٨ و
تلقىهمَّون الوسيط٣٤ و و٢١٤ و في زمن دِيَرْ جُون ذو النور المصري و فقه عاش و
معروف كِرَم٣٦ ابراهيم ادم و بشر حافي و سري السفلي٦٦ و بابزاب سلطاني و
استاد أبو القاسم جندي٧٧ و سهل بن عبد الله النسيري٧٨ و أبو سعيد خاز٢ و
رومي و هو الحسن التوري و ابراهيم خواص و أبو بكر شيب و أبو بكر واسطى
و امثال ايشان و في زمن ديَرْ جُون أبو سعيد ابوبدي و شيخ الإسلام خواجة
عبد الله التماري و شيخ أحمد حآن و عقد ممثوق طوسي و احمد غزالي و ابوب
القاسم گرگانی٢ و في زمن ديَرْ جُون رضي من شيخ حسین١٠٧الدين عبد الله البادر٧٧
جبلاني٨ و أبو مدين الغربي و شيخ مهتدي الدين ابن العربي و شيخ تيم الدين كبرى و
شيخ زيد الدين عطار و مولانا٨٩ جلال الدين٩٠ رومي و و٠٩٩ در زمان ديَرْ جُون
خواجة مهتدي الدين قسطي و خواجة بهاء الدين تاشفين٩٩ و خواجة احرار و مولانا

٧٤أ1 adds مثل اويس
٧٥أ1,B,بمي1 om.; R4 adds يَرْحَم الله عليه_; B1,T adds هي.; D1 addsمثل اويس; R1 adds

٧٦R1 adds و أبو الحسن توري
٧٧Bم1
٧٨T
٧٩Bم1

٨٠أ1 om. to خاز٢
٨١أ1,R1 om. to روم٢
٨٢أ1,R1 om. to ابوبدي٢
٨٣أ1,R1 om. to ابوبدي٢

٨٤أ1 adds و ابوبدي خواص
٨٥T

٨٦أ1,R1 om. to الدين٢
٨٧أ1 adds بيج الدين
٨٨أ1 جبل
٨٩R1 مولانا

٩٠أ1,Bم1,R1 adds مصعد٢
٩١T adds حضرت شمس تبريز و يَرْحَم الله عليه_; B1,T adds حضرت شمس تبريز و يَرْحَم الله عليه
سيّد همس و خواجة حافظ سيراز و
٩٢B1,T
عبد الرحمن جامی، و در زمان ما 93 جوهر شیخ من جنید ثانی شاه میر و استاد من میان باری و مشهد من ملا شاه و شاه محقق میربا و شیخ 94 طبیب سرهندی و 95 میان 96 پیراکی 97 و

94 A1, B, R1 om. to
95 BRI, T om.
96 BI, T om.
97 B, T om.
ящان برهماند
مراد از برهماند کل و تقدیم ظهور حضرت ۱ وجود است بصورت کره مدور است ۲ و چون او را به جای طرف میل و تعلق نبست و نسبت او با همه برابر است ۳ و همه پیداش و نباش در میان این ست ۴ لذا موعدان هنند این را برهماند گفته اند

یافن جهات
موعدان اسلام هر یک از شرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب و فوق و پشت را جهت اعتبار نویده شد جهت گفته اند و موعدان هنند جهات را داد میگویند یعنی مایین شرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب را نیز جهت اعتبار کرده س ۸ دوش ۹ می نامند.

۱ T adds واجب
۲ T این
۳ BI,T om.
۴ T است
۵ T,R1 است
۶ BI,T: B adds و گویند: B,D1 adds یعنی بپشه خدا: H1 یعنی مرجمه خدا
۷ BI,T: B,D1 add یعنی نویده
۸ daša BI,T: A1 دسا ۵۵
۹ daša: BM2,R1,BM2 دسا
(15)

بيان آمانها

آمانها، كن آن را گمکی میکویند بطور اهل هند هشت است، هفت اراظ مقرو هفت کواکب ستاره است که زحل و مشتی و مزغ و نفس و زهره و عطارد و قهر باشنده و یران. هند این هفت ستاره روای نیبیری و برسبی و منگل و سورج و سکری و بده و چندمیان میکویند. آن آنانی که همه ستاره های گوناگون در آن هستند آن را هشت میداند و همین آمان را حکاکی فلک هشم و فلک ثوابت میکویند که بزبان اهل شرع کرمی است، و سم کریسموسون و الأرض بعنی آمانها و زمینها در کرمی میگنجد و نام که ایشان آن را مهابکسان دانسته داخل آمانها نکرده اند. این چپ به آنست ۲۰ او ۲۱ میعت همه است و کرمی و آمانها و زمینها ۲۲ را احاطه ۲۳ است.

1 B,BM1,D1,D2,R1
2 gagana : BI, T اهل
3 BI,T add هفت که یعنی
4 BI,T add sanasicara
5 bhapisati : R1 برهمسیت
6 mangala
7 surya
8 sukra : BM1 شکر
9 budha : B بده
10 candramas : BI,T, R1, D2, R1 چندرماس
11 BI,T, R1 om.
12 BI,T om.
13 A1,B,BM2,D1,D2 ثابت : BI,T, R1, D2, R1, D1 add
14 BI,T اند
15 T,D1 زمین
16 BI,T om.
17 BI,T میکویند
18 BI,T جهت
19 BI,T om.
20 BI,T آنکه
21 BI,T آن
22 BI,T زمین
23 BI,T, T کرده

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بيان زمن

زمن نزد أهل هفة طقه است كه آن را سبت تل 1 ميكود و هر طقه 2

ابن 3 نام دارد، اثل 4 بثل 5 سوئل 6 تلال 7 ميال 8 ريتال 9 يلال 10 و 11 بطور 12 أهل

إسلام نز زمن هفة 13 است بموجب آية كريمه: الله الذي خلق سبع سوئ و من}

الارض مثله يعني الله تعالى آن خداينست كه خلق جردياند هفة أجاتها را و از

زمن م ماند أن أجالها.

1 sapta-tala : BI سبت ديب 1 : سبت يلال ت : سبت يت 2 : سبت يت ب : D1

2 طقه

3 BI,T add يك

4 atala : BM2 تل

5 vitala

6 sutala

7 talatala : R1 ميال

8 mahatala : R1 تلال

9 rasatala : BI,T add و

10 patala

11 BI,T om.

12 T بنظر

13 T طقه

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बियां पत्रम्ण जिनमा घड़ी बहुत ठहरी है । प्रत्येक जिनके आदि और हेतु आत्मानिवृत्ति तथा अन्य प्रजातियों और दीर्घाः प्रयोग सभी जीवन रूपों में आत्मानिवृत्ति के अनुसार रूप प्रदर्शित करते हैं। अर्थात् मनोज्ञान के अनुसार, जीवन रूपों में आत्मानिवृत्ति के अनुसार रूप प्रदर्शित करते हैं।

1 Most of ms. om.
2 गिट-द्विपा
3 एहल हेंड
4 B,BM1,BM2, T om.
5 T om.
6 A1,BM2, R1: त adds अण बा स्नदेभ (jambu-dvipa) और बा गन्धेप (plakṣadvipa)
7 स्क्रेप द्विपा और गन्धेप (suktimal? dpvipa)
8 मिहानद (dvpipā)
9 T adds रा चिन्त मिनांद्
10 T om.
11 सुमेता
12 B,BT कृपया
13 T सौम
14 हिमकुषा
15 हिमस्वय: B, T
16 गन्धेप: B, T; मक्ते; BM2
17 पांडपांड्राण
18 काशास
19 B,BM1, T add जैलना
20 B in parenthasis
21 गिट-समुद्र
22 B,BT om.
23 जिनके आदि और हेतु आत्मानिवृत्ति के अनुसार रूप प्रदर्शित करते हैं।
لون سوم، و فرد دریای‌های شور، درم، اینه زمان حکم‌تر،
سیم سوم را حکم‌های چراغ‌گیرنده دریایی را، گرفت و دریایی زمرد، گرفت و دریایی جزیره، که بکر حکم‌های سوم را، هفتم، سوم جزیره سوم و دهم دریاها، بعدد هفت از
این آب کرده: و لواح ما في الأرض من لجة اقلام و البحر بدء من بعدد سه
بیرون ما نفتکه کننده الله، ظاهر میشود به‌عنی آری و بدلسته‌کرده درختان که بر
زیمن اند قلمها شوند و دریاها سباهی شوند تجاویز و میشود کمال خدا به
مقدرات خدا و در هر زمینی و کوهی و دریایی اقسام علوم‌های مهندس، و زمین و
کوه و دریا که فوق زمینها و کوهها و دریاها انتظار غفلتانی طرفان آن را
سرگرد خوانند که بیش‌تر باشد و زمین و دریا که گرفت‌های زمینها و کوه
ها و دریاها است آن را نرکند و گوناگونی که علی‌ارتاز دورنگ گرفت و جهت است، و غفلت
موحدهای هند است که بیش‌تر و دورنگ از همین عالم که آن را برهم‌اند گوناگون خارج

28 Ivanava-samudra: A1.BM1
29 B om. : B.BM1.R1 add A
30 Sura-samudra : BI
31 Ghita-samudra : BM1
32 Gate-samudra : A1.BM1
33 Kelva-samudra : A1.BM1
34 BM1.T
35 Jamshid
36 Most of mss. : A1.R1
37 BI.T
38 BI.T om. and add معروف معروف
39 BI.T
40 BI.T om. زائر معروف
41 A1.BM2 om. : BI.T add و دریاها سباهی گرفت
42 BI.T دریا
43 BI.T همه
44 BM1
45 وارقا
46 Naraka
47 BI.T است
48 BI.T om.
نیست، و این هفت آدان را که مقزّهٔ هفت ستاره اند میکویند که بر گرد بهشت میگردند نه بر بالای بهشت. و سقف بهشت را از اکس میدانند که عرش باشد و زمین بهشت را کرمی.
بيان عالم برزخ

بحمير صلى الله عليه وسلم فرموده: من مات فقد قام قيامه بمعنى شخصيه مرد

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بفحق 1 كه قام شد قيامت او. و بعد از موت آنها كه روح باشد از بدن

عندما مقاتته مقدمه بي كنال زمان بين مكت كه اني كن سوچم دو گوينده در

سي آيد و آن بين لطيف است كه اد صورة انرفت باشد. خواه 8 عمل نيبه

خواه 9 عمل 9ه و بعد از سوال و جواب بي درگي. 8 توقع اهل بهشت را به

بهشت و اهل دوزخ را بدو زمین مواقف اين آييه كريمه: فتا الذين شقوا في

النار فهم فيها زنده و شقي خلدين فيها زنده و شقي الخلدين فيما مات السموت

و الارض االا ن شاء ربي أن ركبه9 فعال ما يريد و ائته الذين سعدوا في الجهه خلدين

فيا ما دام السموت و الارض االا ن شاء ربي عطاء غير محدودا آناتوه ببند شده

اند در آتش اند مر ايشان را در آتش فرياد سخت10 و نالوه و زاري. جاوادان باشد در

آن آتش تا هنگامه آجاكها و زمينا ست مكر آنها سخت خواهد پروردهگا. تو كنده است هر جددي را كه خواهد و آنانكه نيبه نبت در بهشت أند

جاويadan11 باشد آجاكها و زمينا مكر تا وقتنيه خواهد پروردهگا. تو كه آنها را

از آجاك بر آره كه12 نخشش او بي نهايت است. بر آخران از دوزخ.14 ان15 باشد كه

پيش از برطرف شدن آجاكها و زمينا آخر خواهد از دوزخ بر آورده به بهشت برود و

ابن مصعود رضي الله عنه در تفسير اين آييه فرموده كه لايني على جم زمان ليس

فيا احدهذالله بعد ما يعقول فيها احكاما يعني كه آيد بر دوزخ زماني كه تباشر

هيچكين از دورخيان در آن بعد از آنها مدة طويله في منده باشد. و بر

اورون اهل بهشت را از بهشت آن باشد كه پيش از بر طرف شدن آجاكها و زمينا

1 RI.T
2 makht
3 sukema-sarrna
4 BL.T om.; BM1 add ار
5 BL.T add را صورة نيبه
6 BL.T y. A1.R1 add ار
7 BL.T add را صورة به
8 BL.T add ل
10 BL.T om.
11 BL.T تا جاويadan باشد
12 RI.T هنگامه
13 BL.T و
14 RI.T om.
15 '1 add; '1 أن

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Akti 18 خواهد ایشان را در فردوس اعتی در آرد که عطای او در نهایت است و ازین آیه کریمه 19: و رضوان من اکرم ذلك هو الفوز العظیم يعني الله تعالی را بهشتی است برگردد از بهشتها که اهل هنده را ببینند 20 و ابن بزرگترین رستگاریست 21.

16 Bl adds خداي خدا
17 A1 ثابت شده
18 Bl.T add تبیث شده است R1 adds ثابت شده
19 Bl.T add ثابت شده
20 van kuntha
21 R1 بطور موحدان هند R1 add Rستگار اطم است
بيان قيامت

بطور موحدان حین ایست که بعد از بودن در دوزخ و بیشت ۱ می‌تای طول که۲ بگذرد مهابطی شود که عارت از قیامت که ۳ که از آیه کریه. فذل، جزء الطاعت

الکریه بی‌عنی و هنگام بیاگد قبایل کری مفصول می‌شود و از این آیه معلوم می‌شود و

نفخ فی الصور فیصق می‌فیسی فی السور و من فی الأرض الیا من شاه الله: بعضها می‌شود، مور۶، بعض بی‌گونه می‌شود هرکه در آنها و زمینها ۷، می‌گوید شخصی را که

خواست باشد خداونی از بی‌گونه شدن نگاه دارد و آن جمعت عامان باشد که

مفهوم انشد، بی‌گونه و بی‌گونه ۱۸ در دنیا و ۱۰ بعد و بعد از بر طرف شدن

آنانها و زمینها و فنی شدن دوزخها و بیشتی و تمام شدن می‌کند ۲۰. نیویه برهمان ۱ اهل دوزخ و بیشت ۱۲ را مکت ۱۱ خواهد شد بی‌عنی هر دو در

حضرت ذات مستقل و هو شوند۱۵

۱ Bl.T add "چون"—
۲ Bl.T om.—
۳ Bl.T add "است"—
۴ Bl.T add "معلوم"—
۵ Bl.T add بی‌گونه
۶ Bl.T add بی‌گونه
۷ B.M1.R1.T add در
۸ B.R1.T صورتاش: BM1
۹ B.M1.T زمینها
۱۰ Bl.T add م
۱۱ Bl.T add م در
۱۲ A1.R1 برهمان
۱۳ Bl.T interchange دوزخ and بیشت
۱۴ multi
۱۵ Bl.T add بوجود این آیه کلی من علمه فان و بیش و رضه ریه ذو الخلل و الاکرم
مکت عبارت از استنبال و حضور شدن تعبیات باشد در حضور ذات که از آیه کریم و رضوانالله به آسمان هوای و تازه دیده است و داخل شدن در رضوان الله که فردوس الله بانو رستگاری بر نست و مکت بر همه است‌۶ اول جویان مکت‌۷ بما رستگاری در زندگانی جویان مکت‌۷ آنست که در اینها حس خود ۹ بدولت عرفان و شناسایی حق ۱۰ رستگار و خلاق باشد و در هنگام خاص می‌باشد که یکی یکی دارد و پیک دارد و اعمال و حرکات و سکنان و نیک و بد را نست خود و بعید نکند و خود را با همیشگی موجوده عیان حق شناسی در عیان را جلو که و نیام برخیان را یک فضای ۲۱ آن را علام کرید ۱۲ گفت زندگی و صورت گرفته اند و خواسته خود می‌خواند بنده جهانی خدا ۱۳ و ۱۴ عنصر اعظم که می‌کانست باشد بمنزله سوچه میریب عیان بدن لطف و ابدی ۱۵ خدا و ذات خدا بمنزله روح آن بدن و آن را یک نهضت ۱۶ دانسته ۱۷ ذی و ۱۹ جنسی را ۲۰ با عوامل طاهر و باطن سویه ذات ۲۱ پیگیری ۲۲ آن پا همان بینند و تن‌تند
چنانکه بله انسان که اورا عالم صفر گفته انذ باختلاف عضوهاي مختلف منکر
پر فرد است و بکترت اعضاء 25 اور مدند ستند ان ذان واحد را نيز بکترت
تعمت متعدد نشكنند.26 چنانكه شيخ سعد الدين خوئي فرميد:
رایبه
حق جان جهان است و جهان جمله بدن
ارواح و ملايه و حواس اين همه ي
افلاع و عناصر و مواليد و اعضاء
توحيد مهني انت و ديگرها همه و فن.
و همچنين مولودان هند مثل ياس
و غيره نيام پرهباند را كه عالم كيرد است
خپس واحد دانسته عضوهاي بدن او را چنين بیان نموده انذ بجيج آنکه صوفي
در هر وقت بر چه نظر كند بداند كه بر فلان عضو مهارس 31 نظر داشت . پالتل
كه طبيقه هپم زمين باشد كه پای مهارس است رسلال كه طبيقه ششم زمين باشد
پشت پاى مهارس است و شياطین اكنتهای پای مهارس انذ و جوانان سواره.
شيطان 33 اکنتهای پای مهارس انذ 34 مهال 35 طبيقه پنجم زمين 36 پالتل مهارس است
23 B.R1 evenly adds
24 R1 adds : چنانکه
25 R1 adds: اعضاء و احباي
26 BL.T adds: ذات
27 BI.T add: بيت; R4 adds: نزم and BI.T.R4 add :
28 BI.T om.: جهان پکس چه ارواح و چه اجسام
29 BI.T add: باشد خصوص معين عالمان نام
30 BI.T add: صافي
31 BI add: که اينجا عبارت از ذان حق سببان تعالی است
32 BI.T add: پييان
33 BM1.R1 : شياطين
34 BI.B,BM1.R1 ast: است
35 mahatala: BI.T add که
36 BI.T add: است
37 talatala : BI.T add که
38 BI.T add: پرود
39 BI.T add: که
40 T om.: BI.T add باشد

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که باعث ناولد و تنازل است علامت مرتی و قوت رجوایت مهارس است یاران
نطفه مهارس است بیولوژی یعنی از زمین تا آهان پاپان ناف مهارس است
سی و چه مهارس است ۵۴ و هیر ۵۵ ود ۵۷ سرم مهارس است ۵۸ روشنا، صح صادق رگ سفید و
روشنه ۶۰ وقت شام که رگ شفق ۶۱ دارد بارچه ستر عورت مهارس است ۶۲
بیمار
یعنی مهر مییخ ۶۴ ناف مهارس است و بدوائل ۶۵ آتشبس که آب هفت دربا را

41BI.T add که
42BI.T add است
43A1,B,BM1 add کال بیمی زمانه رفتار مهارس است
44BI.T add که
45BI.T add است
46A1,B,BM1 om. کال بیمی زمانه رفتار مهارس است
47Prayāpati
devatā : BM1
tapam गुण
48BI.T add
49Puṇya-bhika : R1
50BI om.
51BI.T om.
52BI.T om.
53BI.T om.
54BI.T add و سی کوه جانب مهاشی
55sumera : BM1 om.
56parvata : A1,B,BM1,R1 om.
57BI.T om.
58BI add روشنا صبح کاذب تار میشی یا مهارس است
59A1,B,BM1,R1 add دارد BI.T add دارد
60BI.T om.
61سرخ
62BI adds و B.BM2 add و
63A1,B,BM1,C,D1
64BI adds و B.BM2 add
65vādakaṇala : BM2
حالا هم جذب می‌کند و طلیتان و در قیامت کردن شکل خواهد کرد و در
حمل مسئولیت این حرفات ۷۰ مدد مهارس است که بآن آتش هم چنان را تخت می‌کند
و دریاها درک تمام ۷۲ رگهای بدن ۷۳ مهارس است و ۷۴ جانشینه رگها بنا
پیموده هم دریاها به مدت طولانی ۷۵ میکرود گنگا و جمیا و سرسبزه رگ ۷۶ مهارس
است اما ۷۷ گنگا ۷۸ گنگا ۷۹ سم و ۸۰ سم کردن ۸۱ سرسبزه ۸۲ لوله که بالای
پلول است و دیوتیا ۸۴ گندمک در ۸۵ آنجا می‌سانند و آواز از آنجا بر می‌خیزند شکم مهارس
اس است آتش قیامت صغری استخان حاضری مهارس است و خشک شدن آب در قیامت
صغری ۸۶ تنشکی و آب خوردن ۸۷ مهارس است نگه‌ساز لوله که بالای بو لوله است و
طبقه ایست از طبقات بهشت سینه مهارس است که همه‌شد خوشه‌های ۸۸ و خوشه‌های
و آرام دروست و جمع ستاره‌ها اقطام جوهر مهارس است بهشت بیش از سوال
می‌کند جو و فضول است پستان راست و بهشت بعد از سوال ۸۹ عطایت پستان

۶۶ A1R:BM1.R1 om. ۶۷ A1.R1 om. ۶۸ BI.T add تأم آب را در حاضر مسئول
۶۹ BI.T om. ۷۰ BI.T add و گرمی
۷۱ BI.T om. ۷۲ BI.T om. ۷۳ BI.T om. ۷۴ BI.BM1.R1 om. ۷۵ تعقیل
۷۶ BI تهرگر
۷۷ BI.T om. انگکا : D1 گنگا : R1 om. ۷۸ BI.T جمنا : R1 چمنا : D2
۷۹ BI.T گاچکا
۸۰ BI.T سرسبزه : R1 جمنا : T سوکمک
۸۱ R1 om. and adds : و این هر سه رگ عده گرها است درین هر سه دریا نیز اعظم آنها است
۸۲ B.BM1 تور
۸۳ R1 دیوتیا ۸۴ BI.T om.
۸۵ R4 کرگ
۸۶ T om. و آب خوردن
۸۷ BI.T interchanges شادی خوشه‌های and
۸۸ R T سوال
۸۹ T سوال
جب مهارسی است و اعتدال سه گن که رجوگون و ستوگن و نمی‌گون باشدند و آن را پرکر دهند دل مهارسی است و چون کنول که رنگ دارد سفید و سرخ و بنفش غم که بصورت کنول این سه صفت دارد گونه که به‌خاک که من گن واحد نام دارد حرکت و ارداد دل مهارسی است بشن مهر و رحم مهارسی است میش و قمر و غلب مهارسی است ماه تار و خوشحالی، مهارسی است که حراست می‌کردو پا و اندوه را بر طرف می‌کود و بهشت گیان مهارسی است هوا پر در این است اعمال و ادهم پشت مهارسی است گونه گین چیز استخوان میان پشت مهارسی است گونه هایی دست راست و چپ سمر استخوان فرخنی است گونه و استخوان گونه و و نخستین و بی‌خیال و نمی‌خیال و نپریشن متصل با این دست مهارسی اند دست راست بخشش و بارش و دست چپ اساسی بخشش مهارسی است بی‌خیال.

81 BI. T om.
82 BI. T چناوکه
83 F.V کمال
84 F.V کمال
85 BI. T add و این از سه رنگ ظهور است
86 BI. T add برها و بشن و میش راشند
87 munnu
88 BI. T interchange and رحم
89 BI. T om.
90 BI adds شک گیان مهارسی است هوا پر در این است اعمال و ادهم پشت مهارسی است
91 BI.T om.
92 parrata: T adds خوانند
93 BI. T اد و
94 BI. T یعنی بسیلی هایی
95 BI. T از جمله
96 BI. R4 کنوتال
97 BI. R4 یافت
98 BI. R4 است
99 BI. R4 ادخ
100 T add قاف که
101 sameru
102 parata: T om.
103 BI. T و
104 BI. T یعنی بسیلی هایی
105 BI. T از جمله
106 BI. R4 کنوتال
107 BI. R4 یافت
108 BI. R4 است
109 A1.B.BM1.R1
110 upsaraa
111 BI. T حوران
112 BI. T اد
113 BI. R4 خطوط
114 BI. T
115 BM2.D1.D2.C.R1 om.; B adds فرشته هایی موقتی خزاین اکشنهای دست مهارسی است و
مهمات است شرم و حیا لابالای مهارس است سبیله به علت است عصر آب کام است خلق ۱۴۱ مهارس است ۱۴۲ آتش زبان مهارس سرستی پایه‌گذاری مهارس ۱۴۳ و چار بید ۱۴۵ صدیق و راستی گفتار مهارس است مايا به عنوان عالم است خندو و خوش طبیعی مهارس است و هست جهت عالم هر دولو مهارس است اشتي کبار که ۱۴۷ در ۱۴۸ فرشه ۱۴۹ در جنگ حسن اند هر دولو بید مهارس اند گنده تنباط ۱۵۰ به عنصر خالق قوئت شانه مهارس است عنصر ۱۵۱ میان جن لولد و تن لولد ۱۵۲ که طبه پنیم و ششم بهشت است و از نور ذات ۱۵۳ بر است نص جنوبی؛ أن جنح راست و نصف غربی؛ أن جنح چپ مهارس است و اصل نور که آن را آتاق ارزی گوئند قوئت بیناتی؛ مهارس است توالی آفرینش آم ۱۵۴ نگاه لطف مهارس است روز و شب عالم جنح دم مهارس است مرا نام فرشه که مؤگل دوستی و علت است و توستی نام فرشه که مؤگل فهر و غضب است هر دو ابروی مهارس است تئ تئ ۱۵۵ که یلایی جن لولد است بیشانیا مهارس است و ست لولد ۱۵۶ که یلایی همه لوکاست که بر مهارس است آبیت توحید ۱۵۷ کتاب الله ام الدماغ مهارس است ابرهای سیاه که بران مهارسی داره مچی سر مهارس است و نباتات همه لولد ۱۵۸ ها موهایی ۱۶۰ بدن مهارس است ۱۶۱ پچمی که دوته و خویی.

۱۴۱ BL.T
۱۴۲ BL.T add عنصر
۱۴۳ B,BM1,C.D1.R1 add است
۱۴۴ A1.B om.: T چار
۱۴۵ Veda : BL.T add به علت چار کتاب
۱۴۶ A1,B,BM1.R1 om.
۱۴۷ BL.T om.
۱۴۸ BM1.T om.
۱۴۹ BM1.T om.
۱۵۰ BM1.T om.
۱۵۱ tanmāra: B.R1 تنباط
۱۵۲ A1,BM1.R1 om.
۱۵۳ janaloka
۱۵۴ lapaloka
۱۵۵ A1,B,BM1.R1 om.
۱۵۶ BL.T آفرینش
۱۵۷ BL.T پنلود
۱۵۸ satya-loka : BL لولد
۱۵۹ BL.T و
۱۶۰ BL.T کوه
۱۶۱ BM1 موهی
۱۶۲ B,R1 om.
مرتبه 181 که سیر کند خواه در روز 182 خواه در شب 183 خواه در عالم ظاهر 184 خواه در عالم باطن خواه برهانند تیمید خواه نتیجید و خواه در ماهی خواه 185 حال و خواه در استقبال 186 که ببوت 187 پوست 188 پرتاب 189 گونه عارف و رستگار و خلاص باشد و هرگاه که در آیات قرآنی در باب بودن در جنت خلدونه فی ابدا واقع شده یعنی همیشه 189 خواهد بود در آن بخش مراد از جنگ مررف است و مراد از 190 بهترین این مکت است چه در هر نشان 191 که باشد استعمال معرفت و عنايت ازلی در مرکز است چنانچه این دو آیه کریم در باب ایمنی جهادت وارد 192 است بیشتر بر رفاه من و رضوان و جنگ گم نمی نمی خلدونه فی ابدا ان الله عندنا اجر عظمی یعنی مهده ایشان را پروردگر 193 ایشان برهمتی از خود و مهده مهده بهفرودس اعلی و بشتگی که م ایشان راست در آن بشتگی 194 یعنی داعی و رستگاریا بر انتقال 195 بدرستیکه مؤسست برگز و نیز آیه کریم 196 و پیشر مؤمنین یعنی عملیال الصلح ان فم اجرا حسنا مأکل فی ابدا یعنی مهده بهبهان پیامبر صلی الله علیه و سلم 197 مؤمنان را که عمل میکند نمیکا 198 که حصول معرفت حق سبحانه تمال 199 باشد و بدرستیکه مراعماآرا مسیه 200 مرادي 201 نیکو

مرتبه ای 180 ت
BM1 add خدا
BM1 add خدا R1 adds باطن ظاهر
BI,T interchange and
184 A1,B,BM1,R1 add مستقبل
185 BI,T مستقبل
186 bhuta
187 bhanusa م B2; بولد B1; بولد BM2; بولد BM1 بپیشش R1
188 vartamana
189 A1,B,BM1 add و موبد
190 BI,T add لفظ ابدا
191 T نشأة
192 A1,B,BM1,R1 om.
193 BM1 adds یها را
194 A1,B,BM1 و بهفرودس اعلی
195 BI,T add از نزدیک حق تمال
196 A1,B,BM1,R1 om. و نیز آیه کریم دیگر
197 BI,T پیامبر صلی الله علیه و سلم
198 BI,T نیک
199 A1,B,BM1,R1 om. سبحانه تمال
200 T است
201 A1,B مرده
که فردوس اعلی باشد و درگذشت، کندگان باشند همیشه ماندگان اند. 

203

204

205

206
بطور موحدان هند عمر پرها ۱۹ بجریال باشد و فتاى پرها ۲۰ و تکای، روز ظور که روز الهیت باشد هدده این ۳ دنیا ست که هر ایمی ۴ صد ۵ کورن ۶ باشد نمی‌توان دو آیه گرامی: و ان ایمی عند ربه کالف سنتا منهند عمیق در رسیله روزیست نزد پرورگار نو مانند هزار سال که می‌گوئند اهل دنیا و آیه گرامی: تمرح الملائکه و الروح الهیه هیهیه پرورگار خود فرشته و روح گه عبرات از جمیل و پرها ست در روزیه مقدار آن روز پنجه هزار سال است: و ۸ هر روز از این پنجه هزار ۳ از هزار سال ۱۰ متعارف است که در آیه اول بان تصمیم شده. ۱۱ پس مدت ۱۲ سال مدت عمر جریال و مدت ۱۳ روز خور ۱۴ هر تکای، عالم را ۱۵ که برهمانه باشد حساب می‌کن ۱۶ هجده ۱۷ این هزار سال دنیا ۱۸ که ۱۹ هر ایمی صد ۲۰ کورن ۲۱ باشد پد و زیاد ۲۲ مطابق حساب موحدان هند. و بدائه ۲۳ خصوصیت ۲۴ اعداد هدده ۲۵ نزد ایشان

۱ brahma: A1,B
۲ brahmāṇḍa
۳ nāka: B,T add سال
۴ abya
۵ BI.T هزار
۶ BI.T دنیا
۷ BI.T om.
۸ A1,B,BM1,T که
۹ A1,B,BM1,T دنیا
۱۰ B,RI.T om. از هزار سال
۱۱ T adds است
۱۲ BI.T om.
۱۳ BI.T صد سال
۱۴ BI.T om.
۱۵ BI.T om.
۱۶ میکم
۱۷ BM1,T هدده
۱۸ BI.T یاد "باشد
۱۹ BI.T و
۲۰ BI.T هزار
۲۱ BI.T سال
۲۲ A1,B,BM کاست
۲۳ A1,B,BM1 om.
۲۴ A1,BM1,T اعداد هدده برای اینستیتی مراقبت
۲۵ A1,B,BM1,T نزد ایشان

B adds هدده این برای این است که مراقبت

B1,BM1,R1,T om.
30
33

^

oju«f t j

32

Jj~*

L u l i o' C - I J ^ X * l ^ » . ^

31

CJJkT j L . ^ t j J * T

i i ^ T ft(J O J u j i t j ^ > ^ o L ot»^» *i j - ^ 0 ^ ^ » ^i «-^ ol»^» J 1 *
36

p

jk-.y J j j l * . l j J[ «f J^i ^ * ' > < ^

i^-i

o-Li ^ *j-i

« * / J x * C j ^ j J - i ^ j ^ t jti- ^ S t

<OJUJ * ^ i j j j ^j—i v ^ ^
«r o > > v -

1 4

J ? ^ ' ^ " ^ * ^ * " u>>^ fy.

V ^ o - u » j t A * j

U

35

tj j

3

>^y
j

J l ; f^. : •orjT o t i y

J

3 9

r

34

.o-tr^

3 <j±»j J^i
j*r

s8

oJ^ii

jit
ji<

' j iJvj
37,

A^

j j j Jul Juk'^i- o t i Oj«<> )•> ot>*«u / " i ^ jJV^*-»»i _j C » ' i j4*t* J .5J jiL^ J^
O>A<» j
JI U J

45

c ~ « C j l OjLfr «f 4 4 »j«-. " ^ ^ L i ^ j t

j l vi—I £ ! > l j _jt «/" C—l O l j 0 > a »

^ ^ L .

j i l SjLSI

50

jli)l

49

47

42

^ .o—LJ

0-«5L-

<l £l f > - : « * . / «J

46

3

v >-i

^

J7

BIC~i*
T om. to X t

M

..

"BladdsjU
30

BI,T add

l

*"

Jji**

31

BI,T add Jut
BI,T om.
33
fcAandapna/aya
" B I / T JUi^JL*
35
BI,Tom.; Rl j !
36
A1,T <J» 3 ; B,BM1 <L»
32

37
M

A1,B,BM1,R1 L:|<j

B I , T JU;L

39
40

Rl adds Jul JUkly. j ^ k ) ; A1,B, BMl add J U - j JUkly.

A1,B,BM1 OJU

41

A1,B J L .
BI,Tom.
^BI.T / L u . j t ; A1,B L u . j t
42

44

BI,T om
*ssuaupii ; BI,T C^uX->
46
BI,T om.
47
BI,T 0 - > C
48
49

BI,T »lj*l

A1,B,BM1,R1 Ltl

S0

T oMiilt

51

BI,T add CJJJW

J C~-l 0 - > C j i t OjLtl

205

j^u

41

* 1 J L . asy*

j i t o i » 'C—t
*8jW j

j *


است بعثت زود است که فارغ می‌شوم از نگ‌ای جن و انس ذات در ایام ظهور عالی مقام ناسوت است و در قائم‌های صغری در مقام ملکوت و بعد از قائم‌های صغری در مقام جهانیت

این عزیر آن‌هی در این باب نوشته شده بعد از دقیق تجام و تکمیل بسیار مطابق کشف خود است و این کشف باین دو آن کرده مطابق افتاد و با آنکه نویس هیچ کتابی ندیده و از هیچ چیز نشیده وگر گوش به‌فیضی از ناصحان گران آید مارا از این معنی باکی نیست فان الله غنی عن الملایین.

52 B, BM1 rid.
53 B, BM1, R1 rid.
54 B, BM1, R1 rid.
55 B, BM1, R1 rid.
بیان در نهایت، ادوار

نگرفته‌اند اهل هنگ حاصل را به موه می‌پیش و یک روز بلکه این
شب که تمام شود باز روز می‌شود و روز که آخر شود به می‌آید تا غیر نهایت.
و این را اند دروازه می‌گویند. خواهش حافظ علی الرحمه آن شاه عیان در نهایت.
ادوار شکوه کنن است: ۱

ماجرا مم و منشور ما یا نیست. هر چه آغاز ندارد نه‌بی‌صد انجام.
وه رنگ آز خصوصیات ظهور ذات و خصوصیات در روز و شب بهبود می‌فرما و
بیش در روز و شب دگر بیمه عود کند موجب آیه کریم: کفا بدایه اول خلق
نعمت یا بهنی چنانکه ظاهر گردانیمی در اول خلق موجودات را ۷ که ماعوم گشت
بود پس بعد از تمام شدن ۸ دوره ۹ پاز عام ۱۰ بیست و دوم و لاانال
چنین باشد و آیه کریم کیا بدایه ۱۲ تعودون نیز دلائل برین معنی می‌کند بینه.
چنانکه ۱۱ اول نیا را بیست کرد ۱۴ بیست هسان طور پیدا ۱۵ کمک. اگر کمی ثب ۱۶ که
خاقانیت پیشه متقی الله علیه و سلم ازین ثابت می‌گوید که در روز دیگر
بیست پیشه الله علیه و سلم بینه موجود خواهد گردید و خانم پیامبران

۱ anádpárvaha
۲ T
۳ Β1,T add بیت
۴ BM1,Β,Τ,Α1 أَنَّ إِنْ فِي هِرِ
۵ B adds بیو BM1 add این
۶ بدیو
۷ Α1,BM1,D2,R1 add را
بر پاز اعازه کم ظهور خرقت هسان موجوداتی را:

باز اعازه کم ظهور خرقت هسان موجوداتی

۸ B1 adds این in parenthesis
۹ T دوره
۱۰ D1 om. B,BM2,R1 add ایم BM1,Α1,A3,R1,J,D2,Β adds Α1,BM1 آدم BM1,Α1,A3,R1,J,D2,Β adds
۱۱ D1,T om. بیست و دوم
۱۲ BI بدایه
۱۳ Β,Ρ1,A1,Ε,Β2,ΒΜ2,Κ,ΒΜ1 کرده ام D1 کرده ام BM1,ΒΜ1 کرده ام BM2,Κ
۱۴ R1,Β,ΒΜ1 Κرده ام BM1,ΒΜ1 کرده ام
۱۵ T om. بیست و دوم
۱۶ T شبه
۱۷ ΒΜ1,Β,Α1 بیست و دوم
۱۸ B1,T add می‌گویند

۲۰۷
أن روز خواهد گردید ۱۷ و این حديث شب مراج نیز دلالت بر همین معنی می‌کند ۱۸ که پیامبر صلی الله علیه و سلم قطر شتران را دیدند ۱۹ که لا یقطع میروند و بر هر یکی در صندوق بار است و در هر صندوق عالی است مثل همین عالم و در هر عالم مثل خود عمدی از جبریل پرسید، که این چیست، گفت‌با رسول الله یا وقید که آفریده شده ام می‌گویم که این قطر شتران با۲۰ صندوق میروند و من هم قیدام که این چیست، و این اشاره به بی‌نازه، ادوار است. الحمد لله و المَلَّه۲۱ الحمد لله و المَلَّه که توفیق آن‌ها است رساله مجمع البحرین یافته شد در سنه ۲۲. یکوار و شمع و پنجره۲۳ که چهل و دوم از ۲۵ سنین عمر۲۶ این فقره در اندوه محمد دارا شکوه بود و السلام.
Unique manuscript of Arabic translation of the Majma’ al-Bahrayn is preserved in National Library of Calcutta in the Buhar 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 Darā Shukoh’s Majma’ al-Bahrayn, which “aimed at reconciling the Hindu doctrine of jog (yoga) with that of the Šūfis”, and translated into Arabic by Muḥammad Šāliḥ 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’a 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

² Th number of the folio is different from the catalogue. We have followed the number written on the manuscript.
³ 1) Shafa’at Nabīyyu al-Ḥijāzi ’Abdu’llāh Šāriḥ al-Qādir Jirānī
2) Shaykh al-Ḥijāzi al-Nabīyyu al-Ḥijāzi ’Abd Ibn Mulla Muḥammad al-Tawtānī
3) Muḥammad Šāriḥ Aftandī al-Qādirī al-Naqṣbandī al-Jayyībī
4) Shaykh Muḥammad Sayyid Aftandī al-Najībī al-Naqṣbandī al-Qādirī. The marginal notes in folio 21a shows the second patron Maḥmūd ibn Mullā Muḥammad al-Tawtānī. 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 Sufistic 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. 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.

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4 Catalogue Raisonné of the Būhār Library. op. cit., p.151.
Sanskrit Translation of Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn

The Sanskrit translation of the *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* is known as *Samudra Saṅgama*. The sole manuscript is preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. According to Poleman, a manuscript with the same title is preserved in Harvard University, however, it has been misplaced. It is said that ‘perhaps this is identical with Dārā’s work’ , however, we have to locate the manuscript. As a result, as far as the present edition is concerned, we have used only one manuscript for our testimonium for the study of the Persian original text.

The description of the manuscript is that it has eleven folia, seventeen lines in each folio, and dated Samvat 1795. From the post-colophon of the manuscript of *Samudra Saṅgama*, we know this was transcribed in the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa on the 7th Tithi which was Monday. It is equivalent to 23rd November, 1708. 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. 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.’ 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*.

Regarding the date of the composition of the *Samudra Saṅgama*, the first thing which is clear from the colophon is that original Persian text was completed in 1065 A.H., when Dārā was 42 years old. Most of the Persian manuscripts coincide in this matter. The Arabic translation, too, supported this date. From this, P.K.Gode estimated the date of the completion of the Sanskrit translation. He completed 41 years on 28th Ṣafar 1065 (28th

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2 Poleman, *Indic Manuscripts in U.S.A.*, 1938, p.277. Here this manuscript is classified in cosmology and described as having forty-four folia.
4 Post-colophon script: *samvart samvat 1795 vares margashira(sic.) vadi saptamyam candrajavare* (fol.10b).
5 fol.2b, 4a and 7a
6 *sarvatra prakatah sa sarvabhisah sa adik so 'ntas tad-atiriktam vastu nastiti /
7 fol.10b.
December, 1654) and he was 41 years and 10th months old when the Hijra year 1065 ended (last day of Zu-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 Șafar 1066 A.H.) the date of Dārā’s completion of his 42nd year. 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.

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 Šuklā 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, Šuklā 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.

The Sanskrit text of this edition does not deserve attention due to the number of typing mistakes, extensive alterations and omissions of parts of
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 *Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn* 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 Šuklā's edition). Here we have to notice that only serious readings of Suklā'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

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transliteration following the style of ZDMG (Zeitschrift der deutschen morganlandischen Gesellschaft, Berlin).

In the end, we confess that this text does not claim to be the final one due to the codex unix. After collating other manuscripts, it will be much more precise and nearest translation of the original Persian text.
[1a] sarvatra prakaṭaḥ sa sarvāvabhāsaḥ sa ādiḥ so 'ntas tadatiriktam vastu nāśīti /

prativeśī savāśi ca sahagāḥ sarvameva saḥ /
paṭaccare daridrasya kṣaume rājnaḥ ca sarvataḥ //
bhāti sāmsadī bhedo 'yam abheda rahasi sphuṭaḥ /
iśasya śayanam bhūyas-tac-chayaḥ sarvam eva saḥ //


1RC adds /
2MS -sukohā
3MS taśca
4MS tatva-
5MS ita yāpasyanti ; BL iti (rathā) āpasyanti / : RC itāyāpasyanti(?).
6MS ajñānīnor
7MS sambandhinor

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ahārārī 8 nāmā śuddhāntakaraṇāḥ kīla ājñāptavān yady aham jāniyāṁ kaścana nirūvaro ‘pi kathākhyā 9 deśa-sthito ‘pi mano’nuraṇjaka-ābdaṁ tattvavārttāṁ vadaṛīti tarhi tatra gatvā śroṣyāṁ śiyāṁ anuṛṇyāṁ ca tām / atra ca paramēṣvarād eva mama sāmarthyaṁ paramēṣvara eva maṁ saḥāyaḥ / 10


8 Transliteration of ḫwāṅghaḥ-ī ḍhrōr
9 Transliteration of ḫaṭaṁ ṣin
10 MS saḥāya
11 MS nasīrā : BL anāsīrā : RC [aṁ]nasīrā
12 Transliteration of unnār-i ṣaṝgam
13 Transliteration of bāḥ ḍād
14 Transliteration of āṭiś  āb
15 Transliteration of ḍaḥ  śaṅk
16 Transliteration of ḍaḥ  āb
17 RC sarvataḥ
18 Transliteration of  ḍaṅq
19 Transliteration of ḍaṅq  ṣaṁā
niḥṣṛtaḥ ato vāyo-tejasa utpattih / tasmaṁ ca niḥsvasite ātmya-ta-
sraṣṭṛtvavati 20 śītale jāte sati tejasah sakāśaj jalasyotpattih / vāyu
tejasoḥ śūkṣmatvenāpratyakṣatvāy jalasya sthūlatayā pratyakṣatvāy kaiṣcid
uktam jalasya prathamam utpaṭṭar iti / jālanantaram pṛthivi / iyaṁ
pṛthīvi jalasya śara-sthāniyā yathā durgayādhaṣṭād agmi-jvālāne dudhe
śāro bhavati / kim vedṇā 21 anantārṇava-saṃjñākasya bāṣgo 'nārīkṣaṃ pṛthīvi
śaraḥ ca / eteśām bhūtānāṃ mahāpralaye vyuṭkramena layaḥ / prathamam pṛthivyā jale layaḥ / tato jalaṁ tejasa śūṣyat tejasī liyate / tato
vāyuṇā 'bhihanyāmanāṃ tejo vāyu liyate / tato vāyur unsura-aajama-
padābhidheyena saha cīḍākāśe liyate / āsmad-vede śreyate sarvaṁ vastu
viṇāśyati vinā parabhramaṇo mukhātma cidākāśṃ / anvātrāsmad-vede
śreyate / sarvaṁ pṛthivyā-saṃsthitam vastu naśyati nityāṃ tiṣṭhāti tvadiya
parabhramaṇo rajas-tamo-rūpa-guṇa-yuktasya mukham / sarva-vastru-
vināśa-pratipādake 'smin kaṇḍikā-dvaye mukhā-padasya prasaṅgaḥ kṛtaḥ
/ tasya prayaṅjanam cidākāśo 'vināśi / yady atra mukha-padam na syāt
tad ebyām 22 uktam syāt sarvaṁ vastu viṇāśyati para-brahmaṇi / ato
mukha-pada-prasaṅgaś cidākāśa 23 nimittam tiṣṭhāti yataḥ cidākāśaṃ
duddha-caitanyasya sūkṣma-sārārā-sthānaṃ / pṛthiviṁ tu muna[2a]yo
vyāvahāre devi tā rasaṁ vastu tayā praśyate / punaḥ sarvaṁ vastu tasyāṃ liyate / tathā 'smadvede śreyate tasyāḥ pṛthivyāh
saṅāśata asmabhīr bhavātāṃ sṛṣṭi[ḥ] kṛtā punaḥ tasyāṃ eva bhavanto mayā
neyi[ḥ] / punaḥ pṛthivyāh sakāśād bahir āneyāḥ 24 iti /
athendriyānāṃ pañca śāmma-jāyika-bāsirā-sāmim-lāmisākhyāni / teśām (2)
munirvacchibhir nāmāni ghrāṇa-rasana-tvāk-cakṣuḥ śrotāṇi 25 / ete
eteśām viṣayāḥ maśūmāṃ maṇḍaṃ 26 munsar malaṃ murāṃ māsumāṃ 27
iti padābhidheṣyāḥ gandha-rasa-rūpa-sparśa-sabdāḥ / tāni cendriyāṇā
pratyekam tat-tad-bhūtotpannāni / tatra ghrāṇaṃ pārthivām pṛthiviṁ
vinā kasmīna api bhūte gandhānupalambhāt gandhavatvām ca gandha-
grāhakatvāt / rasanendriyāṃ jaliyām rasa-vyaṇjakatvāt / caṃyur-indriyāṃ
taijasaṃ rūpa-grāhakatvāt / prakāśakatvāsya dvayor api prakātattvāt / tvag-

20 BL-sraṣṭṛtvavati(?); RC-sraṣṭṛtvavati(?).
21 BL kimaha vedmi; RC kivedmya(?).
22 MS ebyām; RC etthamuktaṃ.
23 RC adds [nityāṭā]
24 MS āneyā

25 Transliteration of
शानाम, दयाय, बाज्र, सानाह, लामिसाह

26 RC maṃkha

27 Not found in Persian text, however, transliteration of
मन्स, मद्य, माल्य, मालमो, मामो, लामिसाह
indriyām vāyavīyaṃ sparṣa-vyāṃjakaṭvāt / śravāṇendriyāṃ bhūtākāśam
28
śabda-grāhakatvāt / anāhata-śabda-śrāvaṇa-dvāra ca siddhānām cidākāśa-
tattvaṃ prakātaṃ jāyate siddhair vinā 'njair jñātum asaṅkyaṭvāt / idāṃ śrāvaṇa-rūpaṃ dhyāṇam asmadiyānāṃ siddhānāṃ ca sādhāraṇam eva / idāṃ ca dhyāṇam asmad-ekākāṭmaṇḍinā nirantarā-śrāvaṇām iti vadanti
tad eva siddhair dvhanī ity ucyate / ābhyaṃtarendriyāṇī paicā khyāla
mutasaripha hāphya vāhimaḥ simuśrārak 29 siddhamate catvāri mano
buddhī cittāhaṅkārāḥ / eteśāṃ samudāyaṃ paicitram antākaraṇam iti
vadanti / tatra manaso dve śakti saṅkalpa-vikalpaṭmaṇi karaṇākaraṇa-rūpe
dviṭiyāṃ buddhiḥ buddhiḥ tu saṃyaṃg-vastu-gāminī asaṃyaṃg-vastu-gāminī
ci ca cittam ekam svabhāvam dhatte tāṃ vyttim vadanti / ayaṃ svabhāvas
tasya caraṇa-sthāniyāḥ etaccheda cittam dhāvaṇāt parāvartate cittam
tu manaso jāṅghikaṃ tat-kāryaṃ sarva-dig-dhāvanam / tat sad-ad-
viveka-kṣamaṃ ca na bhavati / catuṛtham antarindriyām ahaṅkāraḥ
ahaṃ karomityādi pratiti-sāksikāḥ / ahaṅkāraḥ paramātmanāḥ kāryaṃ
māyā sānnidhyāt / sa cāhaṅkāras trividhaḥ sāttviko rājasas tāmasaśceti
/tatra sāttviko jāna-svarūpa 30 uttamaḥ / sa ca paramātmanāḥ sarvaṃ
khalv aham ity aḥbhimāna-rūpaḥ / ayaṃ sakala-vastu-sāṁyata-rūpaḥ
sarva-vyāpakaḥ yathā 'smad-vede śrūyaṭe alā inna ho bikulā śaīn muihit
31 aṣṭārthāḥ jānāni cetanāvān bhavati niścayena sarva-vyāpakaḥ [2b] iti
huval avval val aṅkhiru va jāhiru 32 val vātin / aṣṭārthāḥ tan-mātram
ādīḥ tan-mātram antaḥ tan-mātram prakātaṃ tan-mātram guptaṃ iti
/rājaso 'haṅkāro madhyamaḥ / sa ca jiva-bhāvam āpannasya sārirād-
bhūtebhyaḥ cātirikto 'haṃ nāham bhūta-sambaddha ity ākāraḥ / tathā
'smad-vede nāsti tat-sadṛṣṭam vastu iśvarāvāpta-kāmaḥ saṃśāra-prākaṭṭāt /
tāmasāhaṅkāro 'dhamaha / ayaṃ cāvidyātah / aśvidyā tu sūddha-brahmaṇa
upāsakatva-kalpanā / adhamaṭvaṃ āsāyitaṭvāt paricechitaṃvāc ca
/ ajānāḥ buddhiḥ 33 pramādaṇ-āṅgikaro ti sviśa-sthūla-saṅkuraṃ drṣṭvā

28 MS bhūtākāśam
29 Transliteration of hayāl, maṭṭaparīf, hā-
-īstah, wāḥṁah, hīs muṭṭarāk
30 MS jānānasvarūpaṃ
31 RC alāhamām hobikulli śaīnasahit;
Transliteration of 'ulā inna-hu bi-kulli šayīn muḥītun (Qurʾān
41:54).
32 RC huvala avval va aṅkhiru va jāhiru va
avatān: Transliteration of 'ulā inna-hu bi-kulli šayīn muḥītun (Qurʾān
57:3).
33 MS buddhi
vadati aham tvam iti ekatva-mañyatāyā īdure patati / asmad-vede śrū yat
dahe mahā-siddha ayam asti asmad-atiriktaṁ sad-vastu nāsti aham
manuṣ yo 'ham bhavat-sadarśaḥ / vasiṣṭhenāpy uktaṁ suddha-caitanyaṁ hi
paricchinnam syāṁ-itīcchayā tat-kṣaṇa eva paramātmā-rūpam babhūva /
tato 'tiparicchinnatayā ahaṅkāra-rūpam babhūva / tato 'pi paricchinnam
mahat-tattva-rūpam babhūva / tat-saṅkalpena mano babhūva / tat prakṛti-
padenāpy ucyate / manaḥ saṅkalpāt pañca- jānendriyāni ghrāṇa-rasana-
caksuṁ 34 -tvak-śrotā-rūpāny utpadyante / tat-saṅkalpāt karmendriyāni
vāk-pāṇi-pāda-pāyupasthākhyāny utpadyante / etat-saṅkalpādvaḥ vyāhāyā 35
ābhyanṭarā avayavā utpadyante / etat-samudāyam śaṅkam vadjante /
ittham sarva-pādarthaprapitāmaha-rūpah paramātmā etā ny utpadya etair
ātmānaṁ babanda yathā kośakīto lālā-nirmītaṁ 36 tantubhir-ātmānam
/ ittham jagat sṛṣṭvā svayaṁ tat pratīvesaṁ 37 yathā bijaṁ svato vrkṣam
utpadya tatrāṇupravīśati / pūrvam hi cidrūpe sarvaṁ guptaṁ āṣīt
sāṃpratam prakāṭī-bhūte jagati svagaṁ gupta iti //

34 MS caksuṁ
35 MS corrected in the margin
36 MS lālānirmītaṁ
37 MS pratīvesaṁ

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atha dhyāna-nirūpaṇam / tatra yady-api sarva-śvāsa-nirōdhā nānāvidhāḥ siddhaṁ uktās-tathā 'pi ajaṇām sarvottkṛśāṁ vadanti yat iyaṁ jāgrad-daśāyaṁ svapna-daśāyaṁ ca svabhāvatāḥ sarva-prāṇināṁ sarvādā sambhavati / tad uktam asmād-vede nāsti kiṃcid idrśām vastu yat parameśvara-japaṁ sarvādā na karoti / parantu bhavanto na jānanti / anena-ajāpāja evoktaṁ / tasyoṣcāraṇe pada-dvayaṁ kṛtaṁ tatra śvāsasyopari-gamane sa iti padam āvirbhavati / nīcchār-āgamane aham iti iti asyārthaḥ so 'ham iti / asmād-ekātmyādino 'pi śvāsa-kriyāyaṁ hu allāha 1 iti jānanti / śvāsasyopari-gamane hu 2 iti bahir-āgamane allāha iti prakaṭaṁ bhavati /


1 Transliteration of Arabic : مَا هُوَ الْحَيُّ hawa 'l-lāhu
2 RC
3 MS, BL satva
4 MS, BL satva-
5 MS - trimūrtiyārūpa
6 RC jibaraṁ
7 RC prakaṭaṁ,
8 MS - mūrttes-
lakṣmīḥ-pārvatīti vadanti / tatra ⁹ sarasvatī rajoguṇa-yuktā-brahma-
saṃbaddhā / pārvatī tamoguṇa-yukta-mahēśa-saṃbaddhā / lakṣmīḥ
sattvaguṇayuktaviṣṇusaṃbaddhā /

atha rūḥa ¹⁰ -paraparyāyasya ¹¹ ātmano nirūpānām / rūḥa-jūjāi
rūhakulli ¹² ca / munaya etau dvau jñātvamānāṃ paramātmanāṃ
cā vadanti / suddhacaitanyaṃ sthūlopaḍhīnā sūkṣmopaḍhīnā ca
paricchinnāṃ tataḥ sūkṣmopaḍhīnā paricchinnāṃ sat rūḥa ātmyeyucyate
sthūlopaḍhītayā paricchinnāṃ sat ¹³ dehaḥ śariram ity ucye attha
cā suddhacaitanyaṃ pratham aparichchedakāt paricchinnāṃ sat rūhā-
aajama ¹⁴ padābhidheyaṃ ekatva-māṇyaatāṃ dhārayati / sarve rūhās
tasmin-antarbhūtāḥ tam eva paramātmanāṃ rūhā-kullīti ca vadanti /
citra-jala-taraṅgāḥ śariratmasthānīyāḥ / sarve taraṅgāḥ samaśti-rūpa-dvārā
paramātma-padenaṃcyante / suddhā-svaccha-jalām atra bhavat sadbhaya
¹⁵ suddhacaitanyasyasthāniyam /

atha prāṇādi-nirūpānām / sa ca sarva-śarirānātah saṅcaran vāyur yataḥ
paṇcasu sthāneṣu tiṣṭhāti tato nāma-paṇcaṃ dhatte / tāni ca nāma[3b]ni
prāṇāpāna-samāṅodanā-vyāna-rūpāṇi / nāsātaḥ pādaṅgaūṣṭha-paryantāṃ
saṅcaran prāṇāḥ svāsa etad-vikāraḥ / gudān-meṣhṛa-paryantāṃ saṅcaran
apānāḥ / etayor dvayor nābhim parito granthir jīvāna-nimittāṃ ¹⁶ nābhi-
hrdayayor-madbye saṅcaran samānaḥ / kaṇṭhād brahmarandhra-paryantāṃ
saṅcaran udānāḥ / sarva-śarīre antar-bahiśca tvacam-abhivyāpya vartamāno
¹⁷ vyānāḥ /

atha jagac-catuṣṭaya-nirūpānām / esu jatatsu sarva-prāṇānāh avaśyam
saṅcaranti / keśāścid ekātmavādināṃ tāni jaganti catvāri - nāsūta ¹⁸
malakūṭa jabarūṭa lāhūta iti / kecij jaganti paṅca vadanti ālāmamāla
padābhidheyaṃ paṅcamāṃ vadanti / kecana ālāmamālaṃ ¹⁹ malakūte
’tarbhāvayantāḥ catvāri vāyanti / sidhā etāni avasthās-cataśra iti vadanti /
jaṅgrat-svapna-suṣupti-turiyākhyāḥ / tatra jaṅgran-nāsūtanāsārī tac ca

¹⁹ RC, BL omit
¹⁰ Transliteration of rōḥ
¹¹ Transliteration of rōḥ-
¹² Transliteration of rōḥ-ī ṣvṛ, rōḥ-ī kullī
¹³ MS satā
¹⁴ RC ajama; Transliteration of rōḥ-ī ‘ažam
¹⁵ Transliteration of nāsūt, malakūṭ jabarūṭ, lāhūt
¹⁶ Transliteration of ‘ālam-i mīlā
jagat prakātam jāgaraṇa-rūpaṁ ca / atha svapnaḥ malakūtānusārī sa ca
jagad-ātmanaḥ jagat-svāpāsca / atha suṣuptiḥ jabarūtānusāriṇī / tasyaṁ
jagad-dvaya-citrāṇi tvantāhante ca na santi / cakṣuṣor unmiłanena [na]
imilane vopaviṣṭe sati bahavaḥ kula-dvaya viraktās taj jagad-anabhijñāḥ
sarvottkṛṣṭa-matena 20 guruṇā juneda-nāmnā 21 sūdhāntāhareṇa
pratībodhitāḥ santa ājnāptāḥ ekātmataḥ sā yan-muhúrtamātrak upaviṣṭā
22 vinā yatnām / anyo mahāpuruṣo vadati yatnāṁ vineti kim prāptier
vinā gavesānāṁ darśanāṁ vinā 'valokanāṁ drṣṭi-drṣṭi-viṣaye nimittam ato
muhūrtā 23 -mātrām upavesānāṁ ittham yat jāgrat-svapna-rūpa-jagad-
dvaya-citrāṇi tan-muhūrte 24 manasi näyānti tad uktāṁ brahmajnānāce
mahādeva-pārvati-saṃpāde /

drṣṭih sthirā yasya vinā 'valokanāṁ vāyuḥ sthīro yasya vinā
nīrodhanaṁ /
manāḥ sthirāṁ yasya vinā 'valambanaṁ sa eva yogī sa guruḥ sa
sevyā / //

tad evoktaṁ cāsmākāṁ siddhāiḥ sūdhāntāhareṇān 25 vāṁchasī cet
prāptuṁ ksāṇa-mātram nānveśaya vāṁchasī cej jūtum ksāṇa-mātram
mā jānīhi yato rahasī ced anveśayasi prakātaṁ dūri bhavasi prakāte
ced anveśayas rahasī dūri bhavasi / ato rahaḥ prakāṭabhyām yuktīto
bahir-bhūya pāda-prasāram 26 sukhaṁ svapihi tam āśiritya iti / ato
turiyā lāhutānusāriṇī / sā sūdhācaraitaṁ svarūpā vyāpikā"cchādikā
jagat-trayasya / yadi adhikāri jāgrataḥ svapne svapnāt sūptau sūpuptes
turiyāyāṁ ity evam kramaṇa saṁcarati tad ettyām tasya vardhanām 27
bhavati ksaraścāksaro bhavati / atra bhavat tattvānāṁ tattvamā siddha
nirguṇāṁ vadanti / [ka] tāṭtadēva 28 yadi turiyātāḥ sūptau sūpuptes
svapne svapnājāgratā visaṁcaranti tadā aksaraṁ ksaro bhavati /
atha śabdā-nādyaṁ vyākbhāyā / paramātmāna niḥsvaṁitam nimittam (8)
prāṇava-paryāya kun 29 śabdā-sraṣṭṭtvasya prakātaṁ jātām / tasya

20 RC sarvākṛṣṭamatenā
21 Transliteration of जनयद jñayd
22 MS mūhurtta-
23 MS mūhurtta-
24 MS tanmūhurtte; RC yammuḥurtam
25 RC-karaṇāḥ
26 RC sapādāprasāram
27 MS vardhhanam
28 MS tatadeva; RC sa eva
29 Transliteration of कृ kṛ
śabda-nādasya siddhaiḥ sarasvatīti nāma-sthāpitam / sarve śabdā
dhvany-ātmaskāvarṇātmaskāś ca tasmai utpānaḥ / sarvam 30 jagat
tasyānurāṇjaśasya dhvani-mayam / kena śruta idṛṣṭa lambamāno dhvaniḥ /
ayaṃ nāda-śabdāḥ siddhānām mate tri-vidhaḥ / 31 prathamo ‘nāhataḥ
ayam arthaḥ idṛṣṭa-śabdāḥ sārvādikaḥ 32 / ekātmavādina etacchabdam
33 aparicchinnaṃ sarvā-jāpānāṃ cakravartinaṃ 34 vadanti / ayaṃ nādo
‘nādiḥ prayākṣatvāṃ ciddākāśasya etasmāt etacchabdam na pāpavantī
dvāya-gata-mahānantau 35 vinā / dvitiya āhataḥ āhataḥ śabdās tu paras-
parābhīghatād utpadyate vinā varṇoccāraṇam / tṛtiyaḥ śabdo varṇātmakāḥ
padoccāraṇa-prayatnād utpadyate / uktaḥ ca ‘nāhataśceti dvividhaḥ
śabdā ucayate / tatrānāhata-nādāṃ tu munayaḥ samupāsate / guṇapadiśta-
māṛgeṇa yuktidam na tu raṇjakam iti / ayaṃ varṇātmakāḥ śabdāḥ
sarvasvātī sambhandhi etasmāchadbāt nāmnāṁ mahīyān asmākanām madhye
‘sti sa isma-aajama 36 ucayate / siddhāśtu tam veda-mukha iti vadanti /
om asya veda-mukhasya-ārthāḥ / so ‘sti guṇa-traya-svāmi / guṇa-trayaṃ
tu utpatti-sthiti-layanimitam / tad evākāro-kāra-mākāra vadanti / te ca
tatra prakāṣṭāḥ / 37 atha caitānāmno lipī-dvaye' py ākṛti-viśeṣa eka eva /
caturāni api bhūtānāṃ jala-tejo-vāy-vāk-āsānāṃ śuddhacaitanyasya çiftā
cihnāni prakāṣṭāni /

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30 MS sarvam
31 RC omits /
32 MS sārvaadikaḥ
33 MS etatsabda-
34 MS cakravartinam
35 RC -mahānte
36 Transliteration of iśu’m-ʾaʿām
37 RC omits
atha nūra-paryāya-prakāśa vyākhyā / sa ca tri-vidhaḥ / yadi jalāla ¹ -guṇa-paryāya tamo-guṇāt prakaṭa bhavati tadā sūryarūpaḥ vā suvarṇa-
rūpaḥ vā agni-rūpaḥ vā bhavati / yadi jamāla ² -guṇa-paryāya-sattva-
guṇāt prakaṭo bhavati tadā candra-rūpaḥ vā rajata-rūpaḥ vā jala-
rūpaḥ vā bhavati / atha ca guṇa-saṇḍhra-svarūpa-prakāśaḥ tu vinā 
paramesvārya-siddhāḥ ēsām ittham asmad-veda ājñaptam svaprakāśaṁ ³ 
svaṁāgraṁ jñāpayati tamprati yam apekte taitī ⁴ anye na prāpnuvanti
/ kiṁca / sa prakāśas tu yadi kaścit puruṣaḥ svapiti atha vā caṅkuṣo
nimīla tiṣṭhati caṅkuṣa na paśyati kāṃṣena na śrṇoti na vācā va
dati na nāśikāy jighrati na tvacā spṛṣati svapne sarvā etāḥ kriyā eke-
naiva kriyantē / tatra nispryojānā āvayavā bāhyendriyāni jyo[4b]tiṃśi
pradīpā ca / ghrāṇa-rasana-caṅkuṣa-tvāk-śrotṛāṇi mithā ekiḥ-bhūtāni eka-
vyakti-rūpaṇi jāyante / ⁵ sa brahma-prakāśa ucyate / he sakhe tvam vi-
cāraya mayā kim uktam / yata idaṁ tiṣṭha-buddher-vicāraya sthānām
/ siddhānāṁ siddhena etad-vicāraya praśaṁśāyān ājñāpatam / ⁶ āyam eko
vicāras tamasin mūḥūrtā-mātram avasthānam ⁷ bhuvana-traya-gata-manuṣya
dayādi dharmād api ⁸ śreṣṭhatamam iti / sa prakāśaḥ siddhacaitanyasya
svarūpaṁ / yathā 'smad-veda paramesvāra ākāśa-prthivyoh prakāśaḥ
taṁ prakāśaṁ siddhā jyotih-svarūpaṁ sadā-prakāśaṁ svayaṁ-prakāśaṁ
cad vadanī / āyam arthāḥ svayaṁ svayaṁ eva nityaṁ prakāśo 'sti ja-
gat tasmin dṛṣyate vā na vā / yathā ⁹ ekātmāvadānaḥ prakāśa-rūpo
na tu prakāśavān iti vadanī tathā siddhā 'pi jyotih-svarūpo na tu 
jyotiṣmān iti vadanī / tad uktam asmad-veda / siddham brahma-
prakāśaḥ prthivyākāśaḥ svāryaḥ prakāśo yathā gavākṣa-dipaḥ sa dipaḥ ¹⁰ 
kācaghaṭi-madhve kācaghaṭi ca prakṛṣṭapraśaṁ-tāravat prakāśate sa dipaḥ 
prajāvālita iṅgudi-phala-tailena ca cēṅgudi-vṛkṣo ¹¹ na pūrve na vā pasicme 
/ nikaṇa tu sōbhāmāneṅgudi-tailam prakāśate vinā gni-sanṣyoge[na] / 
prakāśasyapari prakāśaḥ / mārgaṁ jñāpayati paramesvāraḥ svaprakāśaṁ 
yam ichati / atha yad viraktena mayā buddham tad idam / gavākṣa-

¹ Transliteration of गल्ल गल्ल ² Transliteration of गमल गमल ³ RC svaprajasah ⁴ RC taiti(?): BL tam ⁵ RC omits / ⁶ MS ājñaptam: RC omits / ⁷ MS -muhūrtta- ⁸ MS dharmaśādi ⁹ RC ye vā ¹⁰ RC omits sa dipaḥ ¹¹ RC -vṛkṣa
padasya prayojanaṁ brahmānāṃ prakāṣaṁ dipa-pada-prayojanaṁ jyotiḥ-
svaṁ / kācaghaṭi-pada-prayojanaṁ ātma sā kācaghaṭi ātma bhavati
tāra-sadṛśa-prakāṣaṁ bhavati / asya dipasya prakāṣena kāca-gaṭi āpi
dipa-sadyatāṁ jīvāpayati prajvalitāḥ sa dipa vyaṇjanayā sūdhacaitanya-
prakāṣaḥ 12 sōbhamāna-sūdhacaitanya-svarūpa-vyaktāṁ sa sarvadhībhū
vyāvṛttāḥ na pūrvasyām na paścimāyāṁ ināgūdī-taila-pada-prayojanaṁ
paramātmā / tac ca tailam atisūkṣmaḥ atisvaccham / svayam svayam
eva prakāṣate / prayojanaṁ nāsti prajvalane / ekātmāvādinām gurur
vāsītī 13 nāmā ātma-praśāmsāyāṁ ajñaptavān ātmanas tu kāca-gaṭi tathā
prakāṣaṁvasati yathā śaṅktaśāyāneḥ 14 sparśasya veda-śravaṇasyā cāpeksā
nāstīti / atyanta-sāmarthyaṁ nīkaṭe svayaṁ svayaṁ eva prakāṣo bhavati
ayaṁ taila-prakāṣaḥ sūdhabhṛma-prakāṣena saha prakāṣopari prakāṣaḥ
/ asyaṛthāḥ atisvaccchaṭva-prakāṣātvaḥbhāyām prakāṣaḥ prakāṣopari idṛśo 'pi
prakāṣopari prakāṣo na drṣyate kenāpi tāvad yāvat śīvākāṭva-prakāṣena
15 mārgam jīvāpayati / prayojanaṁ idaṁ sūdhāṃ bhṛma 16 svaprabhṛṣena
prakāṣa-sambandhināṁ sūkṣmaṁ āvartaṇāṁ madhye prakātaṁ / kaścana
andhakāra āvaraṇaṁ jaṁ bāhaye tām madhye nāstī / yādṛśāḥ sūdhabhṛma-
prakāṣaḥ paramātmāvāraṇe prakāṣaḥ atha paramātmā ātmanāṁ āvaraṇe
ātmānāḥ śārirā[5a]ḥāṁ āvaraṇe / anena prakāreṇa dipas taila-sahitaḥ
kācaghaṭyāvaraṇa-madhye prakāṣaḥ kācaghaṭi gavāṅsāvaraṇa-madhye / ete
śuddha-bhṛma-prakāṣa-vyāpāreṇa prakāṣopari prakāṣaṁ kṛtvantaḥ/
athēśvaradarśaṇā-nirūpaṇam / īśvara-darśanaṁ siddhaṁ sākṣatkāra
ity ucyate / vāhya-caṅkuṣaṁ antā-caṅkuṣaḥ ca jānīhi / paramēśvara-
darśane ihāmutra darśanaṁ 17 vāhyaśeyantara-cākṣuṣe keṣām āpi
siddhānāṁ munināṁ vā paramēśvara-kaṭa-sūdhāntaṁ karaṇāṁ nāstī
saṅkā-vipratipatiḥ parasaṁ-virodho vā / sarveṣāṁ apy aparūṣeyā-
granthavatāṁ paripūrṇānāṁ darṣanavatāṁ pratīmāt aṣmīn arthe
śraddhā 'sti kim kurāṇa 18 -vatāṁ kim vedavadatāṁ kim taurāta 19 -vatāṁ
kim injila 20 -vatāṁ / ajñānino 'ndhāśa ca te ye svā-svā-mārge paramēśvara-
pratyakṣaṁ nāṅgi-kurvanī / sarva-sāmarthyaṁ 21 paramēśvarasya svā-

\[12 \text{RC sūdhacaitanyaśasya prakāṣaḥ}
13 \text{Transliteration of } \text{vā}
14 \text{MS śaṁtta-}
15 \text{RC (ṣo na) (?)}
16 \text{MS corrected in the margin}
17 \text{RC omit}
18 \text{Transliteration of } \text{vṛ̤n}
19 \text{Transliteration of } \text{tu}
20 \text{RC injila: Transliteration } \text{īnjil}
21 \text{MS sarvassamarthyaṁvataḥ}

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22 RC sūkṣmāvāraṇaṇaśaśa
23 Transliteration of hukama-yi mu'tazilah
24 RC paripūrṇaḥ
25 RC kutaḥ
26 RC tadetadvākya
27 RC prakāśācaraṇeyāṃ (?)
sa sarvajña iti vyañjanā nirūpātvasyāsti / asyārthaḥ ca caksuṣaṁ tan na pañjanti nirguñatva-nirūpatvābhyaṁ sa sarvam pañjati sa paraṁ-sūkṣmo nirūpa ca / asyam kañḍikāyaṁ sa iti padaṁ tişthati tena vyajyate śuddhacaitanyasya-pratyaśyakṣatvam / darśanam iṣvara-sa pañca-prakāraṁ prathamā-darśanam svapne mañaś-caksuṣaṁ dvitiyaṁ darśanam jagratī śiraś-caksuṣaṁ tṛtiyaṁ tu svapna-jāgaraṁy—or-madhye viśeṣa-nirahankarataya caturtham višeṣa-paricchinne darśanam / pañcamāṁ 28 darśanam eka-śvarūpasya bahūnāṁ paricchinnāṁ bāhyānām abhyantarānāṁ jagatāṁ madhye / evam eva dṛṣṭaṁ paramaśiddhena tasmin samaye svayam na sthitāḥ dṛgh-dṛṣṭaṁ aikyaṁ ca sthitam attha ca svapna-jāgaraṁ-nirahantānāṁ aikyaṁ jñātām abhūt / kim ca bāhyābhyantara-caksuṣaṁ eki-bhūtāṁ abhūvan darśanasya iyaṁ eva mānyatā pariśpurṇa evad darśanasyehaloka paralokāpekṣa nāsti sarvasmin desē kāle ca sambhavati /

atha nāmāṁ nirūpyante / paramāśvarasyānāmtāṁ nāmāṁ maryādā- paricchedātitāṁ mutklbhah 29 śuddhacaitanyasya siddhāḥ śunyāṁ nirguñam nirākāram nirañjanāṁ sat-cit-ānanda iti vadanti asmadvedamukhasya allāḥa 30 ity asya om iti vadanti / hū 31 ity asya sa iti vadanti / jñāna-paraparyāya ilm 32 sambhandhāt ālima 33 iti vadanti siddhāḥ caitanyam iti nāma vadanti / haiyāḥ 34 nityam iti kādaraḥ 35 samarthaḥ muridāḥ 36 svatantraḥ sāmīḥ 37 śrotā vaśīrāḥ 38 draṣṭā iti vadanti / vacana-sambhandhāt vakteti phiristāṁ 39 devatā iti majahara-amasya 40 mahāvatārā? iti avatāras tu sa yasmin samaye yatra paramāśvara sāmartyaṁ yāvat prakātaṁ anyatra kutrāpi

28 RC pañcamāṁ darśanam
29 Transliteration of muṣluṣu ṇuḥātu
30 Transliteration of al-lahu
31 Transliteration of hū
32 RC Ilma: Transliteration of ilm
33 Transliteration of 'ālim
34 Transliteration of al-hayyu
35 Transliteration of qādir
36 Transliteration of murid
37 Transliteration of sāmī
38 Transliteration of baṣīrāt
39 Transliteration of frīṣtaḥ
40 Transliteration of mazhar-i 'atāmmu

41Transliteration of ωḥy
42 RC adds grantho 'smākaṁ
43Transliteration of qur'tān
44Transliteration of pari
45Transliteration of dīvīsyātāṁ
46Transliteration of ādami
47Transliteration of nābi
48Transliteration of wali
49 RC omits
50Transliteration of nūh
51 MS śiśyānupaviśānti
52Transliteration of mūsā
sundaraṃ rūpaṃ paśyantaḥ anurāṇjaka-śabdāṃ saṃśṛṇvānāḥ asatya 53 -
prakāreṇa krīḍanto baddha bhavanti / tat-prṛṣṭhato gamanānāṃ na yuktām
yad rūpaṃ sva-svārūpaṃ pradarśya ceto hārati / tat kālas tva-dṛṣṭer
dūrāṃ nayati / ato manas tatra deyam yat tava saṅge sthitam var-
tate 54 sthāṣyati ca / tṛṣṭyam ubhaya-sambandhi / asyārthaḥ saṅguṣṭvā-
nirguṇatva sambandhinor ekikaraṇam tat paripurṇa-siddhatvam paramaśid-
dhāsya siddhatvam yato nirguṇatva-saṅguṇatvāparicchinnatva-nirūpata-
sarūpavānāṃ ekikaraṇam kṛtam / yathā 'smad-vede [6b] śrūyaṃ nāsti
tat-sāḍṣaṃ vastu iyaṃ vīṣṇjanā nirguṇatva-mānyatāyām atha ca śrotā
draṣṭā 55 ca iyaṃ vīṣṇjanā saṅguṇatva-mānyatāyām iyaṃ paramaṁnāya
tyad dvayor ekikaraṇam / siddhatvāṃ samāpanaṃ ca sarvaloka-śīro-
rūpā āsāḍhāraṇī pūrva-pāścināyataṃ sarvaṃ jāgat vyāpya sthitavati /
siddhatvāṃ nirguṇatva-sambandhi nīrāśaṃ asti / saṅguṇatva-sambandhi
siddhatvāḥ / saṅguṇatva-sambandhi-siddhatvāḥ ātāhāṃ / nirguṇatvva-
sambandhi-siddhatvāḥ / paripūrṇa-siddhatvāṃ nirguṇatva-saṅguṇatvāyor
ācādakaṃ yathā 'smad-vedopāṇiṣādī śrūyaṃ / huvāl avval val āsīl vajāhīr
valvātin 56 / asyārthaḥ sa ādīḥ so 'antaḥ sa praṅaṭaḥ sa guptaḥ sa nirguṇaḥ
sa saṅguṇaḥ sa paricchinnāḥ so 'paricchinnāḥ sa sākāraḥ sa nirākāra iti
/ sa eva sarvaṃ idāṃ tad-ātiriktaṃ kim api vastu nāsti / idāṃ śrīṃ
siddhatvāṃ eteṣāṃ paripūrṇaṃyāyānām eva viśeṣaḥāṃ yathoktaṃ asmad-vede
/ sarva-matānusārībhyo bhavanta utkṛṣṭaḥ saṅguṇa-nirguṇaṃ dvayor api
āikyena upeṣaṇā-kaṇaṇāḥ / asyārthaḥ paramaśiddhānusārīṇaḥ te ca īvara- 
satṛta-paramaśiddha-saṁyavaśantaḥ 57 siddhās-tat-parivāra-bhūtaś-tat-
pratiniṇḍhi-bhūtaś ca / abūbakr 58 umar 59 usmān 60 alī 61 hasan 62 husain 63
anvāymin samaye ca etād-ṛśāḥ junnūna miṣīrī 64 junede 65 jūnaināṃ guruk
mirān muhādīn ibn ārābī

\[\text{Transliteration of } \text{pir-i man muhy al-dīn ibn al-'arabī} \]

sadgūrūḥ miyān mīrullā śāh miyān vārī

\[\text{Transliteration of } \text{miyān mīr; mullā shāh; miyān bārī} \]

66 Transliteration of pir-i man muhy al-din ibn al-arabi
67 Transliteration of miyan mir; mulla shah; miyan bari
atha dīnāḥ nirūpāṇam / asmad-ekātmavādinaḥ pūrva-paścimottara-
dakṣiṇopādhyādo-bhedena saṣ 2 vadanti / siddhāḥ daśa iti vadanti / dvayor-
advayor-diṣor-madhyaṁ ekaikā vidikā āgniṁ āhirī vāyavi anuśāṇī daśa diśo
vadanti / pūrva-dakṣiṇa-vedaḥ śāyeyi / dakṣiṇa-paścimottara-madhyaṁ
ahirī / paścimottara-vedaḥ vāyavi / uttara-pūrva-madhyaṁ anuśāṇī /
ātmaśāṇāṁ—parāparāyaṁ gaganā-nirūpāṇam / siddhāḥ asṭau vadanti /
tatra sapta-grahaṁ bhramanā-śilānāṁ sara-niṣūpaṇī sapta gaganāni / te
ca grahaḥ / juhal mustari mirrikh 3 śams juharai utārid kamar 4 iti vadanti /
graha-nāmāni siddhāḥ śanaiscara ṇṛhaspati maṅgala sūrya śukra budha
candra iti vadanti / sarva-nakṣatranāṁ adhārābhūtām gaganāni asṭamaṁ
etasya gaganasya dārśanākāḥ asṭamaṁ nakṣatraṇagaganāṁ [7a] vadanti /
yathā śmad-veda śṛiyate / gaganāni pṛthvī ca kūra madhyā samānti
navamaṁ mahākāśaṁ jñātva gaganā-madhyaṁ taṁ nikiṣpaṁ sa sarvavyāpaka
iti sa sarvaṁ gaganānāṁ pṛthvināṁ kūraśāś-cāchādaka iti /
atha pṛthvī-nirūpāṇam/ pṛthivyāḥ sapta bhedāḥ / te ca bhedāḥ sapta
puṭāṇy ucyante / tān ca puṭāṇī atala-vitala-sutala-talātala-mahātala-
rasātala-pātalākhyāni / asman-mate 'pi sapta bhedāḥ / yathā śmad-veda
śṛiyate paramesvarāḥ 5 yena sapta gaganāni kṛtān tadvat sapta pṛthivyāḥ
kṛtāḥ /
atha pṛthivyāḥ vibhāga-nirūpāṇam / yatra lokāṅśaṅphānti tasyā
dārśanikāḥ saptaḥ kṛtāḥ tān vibhāgaṁ sapta aakkli 6 iti
vadanti / paurāṇikās tu sapta dvipāṇī vadanti / etān khaṇḍān palaṇḍu-
tvag-vat upary-adhobhāvena na jānanti kintu niḥśreṇi-sopānavaṇa-jānenti
/ sapta-parvāṭān sapta kulācaṁān vādanti / teṣām parvāṭānāṁ nāmaṁ
etāni / prathamaṁ sumeruḥ madhyā dvitiyā himavāṇ tṛtiyā hemakūṭaṁ
caturtho niṣadhaṁ ete sumero daṁśatāḥ / nilaṁ paṃcamaṁ śvetāṁ
ṣaṇṭāṁ śṛiṇgavaṁ saptaṁ / ete sumeror uttaraṁ / mālyāvaṁ pūrvasyaṁ
gandhamādanaṁ paścimāyāṁ kailāsaṁ tu māryāda-parvatebhya 7 tīrīkhaṁ /
yathā śmad-veda śṛiyate asmaṁhiḥ parvataṁ śaṅkavaḥ pṛthivyāḥ kṛtāḥ /
eteṣām sapta-dvipāṇāṁ pratyekamāveṣṭāna-rūpāṁ sapta-samudrāḥ /
lavanō jambu-dvipasyā avarakaḥ / ikṣurasya plakṣa-dvipasya sura-samudrāḥ
śālādīvīpasya ghrīta-samudraḥ kuśa-dvipasya dadhi-samudraḥ kraunca-

1 MS dīn
2 MS sat
3 RC mitarikh
4 Transliteration of zuhal, mustari-
5 Transliteration of marīh, šams, zuhraḥ, utārid, qamar
6 MS adds sa paramēsvarāḥ
7 RC aaklima; Transliteration of ilim

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dvipasya ksīra-samudraḥ śāka-dvipasya svāduṣja-la-samudraḥ puśkara-
dvipasyāvaraṇa iti samudraḥ sapta / asmad-vede "pi prakāṭa bhavanti vrkṣā lekhanyo ⁷ bhaveyyoḥ samudro maṣī bhavet tatāḥ pāścāt sapta-samudraḥ maṣī-bhaveyyuḥ bhagavad-vākyāni samāptāni na bhavanti prati-dvipam prati-parvataṃ prati-samudraṃ nāṇā-jātaya 'nantā jantavas tiṣṭhanti / yā prthivi ye parvataḥ ye samudrāḥ sarvābhyaḥ prthivisthāḥ sarvebhyaḥ parvatebhyaḥ sarvebhyaḥ samudrebhyaḥ upari tiṣṭhanti tāṁ svarga iti vadanti / yā prthivi ye parvataḥ ye samudrāḥ sarvābhyaḥ prthivisthāḥ sarvebhyaḥ parvatebhyaḥ sarvebhyaḥ samudrebhyaḥ adhobhāge tiṣṭhati sa naraka iti vadanti / niṣcitam kila siddhiḥ svarga-narakādikāṃ sarvaṃ brahmāṇān kincid vahir astiti / te sapta-gaganāśritāḥ sapta-grahāḥ svargaḥ parito mekhalāvat paribhramantiti vadanti na svargaḥyā[7b]pari / atha ca svargasya dyadi ⁸ mana-ākāsāṃ jānanti asmadīyās tāṁ arṣāṃ ⁹ vadanti svargābhūminī kurṣīti ¹⁰ vadanti /

atha jagad-varjakha ¹¹ -paryāya preta-lokanirūpaṇam / asman-
mahāsiddhenāśaptam niścayena khalu yaḥ kaścin-mṛtyasya pralayo jātāḥ tata ātmā tat-kaṇa eva bhaunīka-sthulaśaṅkā [d]-viyogaṃ prāpya sūkṣma-
śaṅkāre praviṣati / tasya sūkṣma-śaṅkārasya karmaṇa utpattiḥ tac ca karma
dharmo vā adharmo vā praśnottare samāpte tat kṣaṇāṃ svargaṃ svarga
nayantā nārakāṃ nārake nayantā / anusārī etad-veda-kaṇḍikāyāḥ te
nīrṇāyāgī jātāḥ santo 'gni-madhana uccair-aṅkṛṣṭaṃtāḥ sakarūṇām jāl-
panto nityāṃ tatraśvātaṃ tiṣṭhanti távad yāvad dyāvā-bhūmi tiṣṭhataḥ
dvāmaśvarasvacchāṃ vinā / niścayena kila tava prameśvarāḥ karoti
yad ichate / ye bhāgyavantastevarsevānāṃ tiṣṭhante yāvad dyāvā-
bhūmi tiṣṭhataḥ vinā prameśvarasya tan-nīkāsanecchāṃ kṛpādānaṃ
tasyānantaṃ tad yāvad-dvāma-svaṃ nāsāt pūrvam api yadichate
narakāṃ svargam yāvad yāvad dyāvā-bhūmi dyāvā-bhūmi tiṣṭhate
vā suṣṭhena tamānto dharmo api sadbhavate dyāvābhumya-nāsāt
pūrvam api yadichate svargam phirudausā ālā ¹² madh-
bye nayati yataḥ kṛpādānaṃ tasyānantaṃ / yathā 'smad-vede śrīvate
parameśvarasyaiṁaḥ svargas tiṣṭhate / yaḥ sarva-svargabhya utoṣṭhataṁ
yaṁ siddhiḥ vaikunṭhaṁ vadanti iyaṁ mahāmukiḥ /

⁷ RC lekhanto.
⁸ RC yadi
⁹ Transliteration of आर्य arṣ
¹⁰ Transliteration of कर्षी kūrṣī
¹¹ Transliteration of बर्ज़ barṣaḥ
¹² Transliteration of فردوس أطه firdūs-i 'aṭā
atha mahāpralaya-nirūpaṇam / siddhānām idāṃ mataṃ yat nārakiniṃ (19) 
naraṃ svargiṇāṃ svarga cīra-kālāṃ sthity-anantarāṃ mahāpralayo jaye / 
yathā 'smad-vede śrūyaṃ / śaṅkhe dhmāte sati pāscān-mūr chasti dyusti bhūmi-śṭhāś ca sarve vinā taṃ puruṣaṃ yaṃ paramesvāro mūrcchāto raksitum ichati / te ca jūnina eva ye paramesvareṇaḥ-mutra ca mūrchātaḥ pramādac ca raksitāḥ / tad uktāṃ vāsiṣṭha-rāmāyaṇe / 
kalpānta vāyavo yāntu 13 māntu caikatvāṃ arṇavāḥ / 
tapantu dvādaśādityā nāsti nirmanasaḥ kṣitih // 
tataḥ pāscān nāsaṃ prāpnuvanti divaḥ pṛthivyāḥ narakāḥ svargāśca / 
samāptē brahmaṇa āyuṣi brahmāṇḍe cādṛṣyataṃ gate sati nārakiniṃ svargiṇāṃ ca videha-muktir-bhāvinī / asyārtha ubhayēśām api suddha- 
brahmaṇa aiṃyaḥ bhaviṣyati / uktāṃ ca / 
brahmaṇā saha te sarve saṃprāpte pratisaṅcare / 
parasyānte kṛtātmānaḥ praviṣānte param pādam / 

\[13 \text{RC vāntu yāntu instead of yantu māntu}\]
athlete rātrasya brahmaṇo gupta-prakāṣṭatā-rūpasya nirūpāṇam / 
paurāṇikānāṁ mate brahmaṇo jibraīla 1 padābhidheasya brahmaṁda-
nāsya para-brahmaṇaṇaḥ prakāṣṭa-dina-samāpteś ca aṣṭādaśābja-parimitāṁ 
manuṣya-varṣānāṁ / ekaikam abjaṁ koṭiśatasya bhavanti / ayam-arthaḥ 
asmad-veda-kanḍikā-dvayāṇusāṁ / tatraikā niścayena ca brahmaṇo 
nikte ekam dinam asti atratyā gaṇānayo sahāsra-varṣa-parimitam 
bhavati / dvitiyakaṇḍikā punastannikāt gacchanti devātī ātma ca / 
ātma jibraīla-padābhidheyaḥ / jibraīla 2 brahmaṁ yasmin divase tasya 
mānaṁ pañcāsat-sahasra-varṣa-parimitam yeśāṁ varṣānāṁ ekaikam 
dinam prasiddha-varṣa-parimitām 3 sahāsaravāryasya prathamam-kanḍikāyāṁ 
prasāṅgo jātaḥ / evam śatavarṣa-parimitam āyuṣāḥ parimāṇam jib-
braīlaṁya tathā prakṣet-dinasya parimāṇam jagat-pada-vācyā-brahmaṇa 
samāpteḥ parimāṇam eteśāṁ gaṇānāṁ kurmaḥ / atratyā lokagaṇanayā 
aṣṭādaśābjaṁ bhavanti / ekaik abjaṁ koṭiśatasya bhavati nyūna-viṣamatām 
viniḥ anusāriṇyaṁ gaṇaśiddha-gaṇānaya bhavati / aṣṭādaśata-niṣaya 
etad-arthaṁ gaṇita-maryādā śiddhānāṁ nikte aṣṭādaśaus paricchinnā 
aṣṭādaśottare gaṇana-maryādā yā abhāvāt / etan madhye pralayaḥ bhūta 
bhavisyanti / ca te khaṇḍapravāyāḥ kayāmatisuvarā 4 pariparyāya 
cuṇyaḥ / yatād jala-pralayo vahni-pralayo vāyu-pralayo vā etasya dinasya 
sa[10]jamātāu rātrau jāyamānayaṁ kyāmatikuvarā 5 bhavati / taṁ 
maḥāpralayaṁ vadati / kanṭikā-dvayaśeyamāṇāṁ / tatraikyā yam 
ājīṁ yasmin divase veṣṭanāṁ kariṣyāmi gaṇānāṁ panna-veṣṭanavāt 6 / 
dvitiya-kanḍikāyā yam ājīṁ bhavisyatī etasyāḥ prthivyāḥ pratinidhi-rūpā 
parā prthivi prakāṣṭā bhavati maḥāpralayottaram gupta-rātrau prakaṇ-
ṭa-dina-samāna-parimāṇāyāṁ paricchinnāṁ sarvaṁ vastu suddhacaitanye 
linam bhavati rātrerapi mānaṁ atratyā varṣa-gaṇānayaḥ aṣṭādaśābja-
saṃkhyāni varṣāṁ bhavanti / idam rātreḥ parimāṇāṁ suddhacaitanyasya 
suṣuptiḥ śṛṣṭeṣ jagat-prakāṣṭai-karaṇaṁ viśramyati / etat kanḍikāyāṁ 
vakṣyeyam suṣuptiḥ / tasyāṁ ca kanḍikāyā ayam-arthaḥ śighrama eva 
viśramāṁ kurmo bhavadabhyāṁ he devayonayo manuṣyāṁ ca yāvad divasa tu 
jagat prakāṣṭaṁ tāvachchuddhacaitanyasya jāgrod-avasthāhāṁnaṁ khaṇḍa-
pralayaḥ svapna-avasthāhāṁnaṁ maḥāpralayaḥ suṣuptyaavasthā-thānāṁ 
/ yadāhur nīvasitam asya vedā vikṣitam asya paica bhūtāṁ sthitam

1 RC jibraīla
2 RC jibraīla
3 RC-m ;
4 Transliteration of कैमत सहरी कैमत-इ पुज्रा
5 Transliteration of कैमत धरी कैमत-इ कुब्रा
6 RC prataveṣṭanavāt

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etasya caračaram asya ca suptam mahāpralaya iti / he suhṛttatama asmin nirūpaṇaḥ yal-lihitam sūkṣma-adrṣṭyān ekadhā niścitam tat svānabhāvānusāri / anubhavācaitattakaṇḍikā-dvayānusāri jātaḥ kutrāpi granthe na dṛṣṭo na vā kutaścit śrutaḥ / yady ayam-artho 'paripūrṇa-maṭīnāṃ śruti-katuḥ tadā 'smaṇaḥ na kāpi kaśṭiḥ / paramesvāra 'vāptakāmo jagataḥ /

atha brahmanāḍa-pravahānanta-nirūpam / niścetāraḥ śāstra-jānaḥ satya-svarūpasya naikaiveyamā rātrir na caikam idāni dinām kintu etad rātri-
samāptaun pavān rātrir āyasyai anena prakāreṇānantaṃ etasya-ādi-pravāha iti nāma vaḍaṇti / asmākaṃ jūna-kavinā vyañjanayā 'yam ananta-pravāha uktāḥ / vṛttāntasya mama priyatamasya canto nāstī / yad vastu ādi-rahitam tad antavad api na bhavati yat kiścid vastu-jātaṃ viśeṣataḥ prakāṭam 
guptam ca pūrvaṃ divā rātrau sthitam tadeva vinā nyūna-vaśātmām anyasmin āhorrātre tathāvita punar āvīr-bhavati tiro-bhavati ca / yathā 'smad-vede śrūyate yathā prakāṭi-kṛtāḥ pūrvaṃ sarva-vastu-sṛṣṭayaḥ punar api tathāvātā tāḥ prakāṭa-sṛṣṭiḥ karisvāma yāḥ sṛṣṭayo naṣṭāḥ āsan pasēt samāpte brahmaṇe maṇuḥ ca yathā-pūrvaṃ sthitāḥ tathāvāt tat-svarūpeṇa punar āvīr-bhavati sarvadaiva evam prakāreṇa jāyante / yathā-smad-vede śrūyate bhavantaḥ pūrvaṃ sṛṣṭṁ tathāvāt punaḥ 7 sṛṣṭyāmi / nanu asmat-parāmahiddhasya [10b] siddhatva-samāptir anena prakārene na 
sidhyet / atra vayaṃ brīmaḥ / anyasmin divase 'pi paramesvāra-satkṛte 'smat-parāmahiddhi tat svarūpeṇa prādūr bhūte tasmin divase punar api 
paramasiddhaṃ tatraṇa samāśyate / asmat-paramasiddhasya evaṃ vākyāṃ rātrāviśvara-darśanārtham uparigata-sambandhi / asmin arthe 
pramāṇam tasyāṃ rātrāv asman-mahāśiddhāḥ pravāhaṃ uṣṭrāṇaṃ 
ṛṣṭavantaḥ te ca uṣṭrā anavarataṃ calanti ekaikasyopari maṇiūṣā-dvayam ekaikamānunjūśayām ekaikam jagat tiṣṭhāti etaj-jagat-sadṛṣam ekaikasmīn 
jagati sva-sadṛṣ sa mahāsiddho 'sti / brahmaṇaṃ prati prṣṭaimādiṃ kīm 
uktāṃ he mahāsiddha tat-samaye 'ham utpanno jātāḥ paśyāmy evam 
ṛṣṭarāv pravāhaṃ maṇiūśa-sahitaṃ gacchantām parantu aham na jānāmi 
kīm idām iti / iha maṇiūśa-padasya brahmaṇḍeṣv abhiprāyaḥ uṣṭra-
pravāha-padasya kāle 'bhāpīrāyaḥ nityaṃ brahmaṇḍāni tasyopari calanti / 
yacca brahmaṇoktam idām na jānāmiti tasyāyam āśayaḥ pravāhasya 
ādīm-antar ca na jānāmiti /

visūpūrpatmanā icheyā śvīyamāna mandaraṃ kṛtva saṃkalpa-vikalpān 
deva-dāyān kṛtva veda-samudrāṃ maṭhitvā jūna-ratnam ekamidrṣaṃ 
niṣkāsitaṃ yad devair dāyāsī ca samudramathanaṃ kṛtva niṣkāsīteṣu 
caturdaśa-ratneṣv api na prāptam / ārādhānā paramesvārasya vijnāpanā 
ca yā kṛtā tāyā saṃudra-saṅgama samāptaṃ sāmarthyaṃ prāptam /

7RC putraḥ
sahasrottara-pañcāsaṣṭatame saṁvatsare 'sma[t]-parama-śakēd-vyatīte dvicatvārimśattame ca saṁvatsare 'sya vīta-rāgasyāyuṣo vidyaṃāne paramesvareṇa satkaraṇīyāḥ svajanaśreṣṭatama 'sma-t-paramasiddhāḥ saparivāra-pratinidhi samūhaḥ //

iti śrīsamudrasaṅgaṁanāmā granthāḥ paripūrṇatāmagamati / śubham bhavatu lekhaka-pāṭhakyoh // śrīḥ // saṁvat 1765 varṣe mārgaśīra vadi saptamyāṃ candra-javāre // śrīḥ //
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