ABSTRACT

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

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by

Kazuyo Sakaki

Under the Supervision of
Prof. Muḥammad Rafique

Department of Philosophy
Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
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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 a two-sided figure. As heir-apparent of Shāh Jahān, he was a political figure. On the other hand, he was a prominent follower of Qādirī order and became a disciple of Miyan Mir and Mullā Shāh. Inspired by the sayings and acts of these spiritual preceptors, prominent Šūfī works and the acquaintance in his contemporary Šūfīs, Dārā wrote hagiographical works on Šūfīs including his spiritual preceptors, compiled Šūfīc aphorisms and wrote some tracts on Šūfism. His study of Hindu scriptures and direct contact with Hindu saints and pandits led him to translate the Ḫudūndhāvīds into Persian and write the Majma‘ al-Bahrayn (MB) as a treatise on comparative study of philosophy and religion of Šūfism and Hinduism.

Hindu-Muslim cultural and religious interactions have not received their due share of attraction from modern scholars. There are several works on Dārā Shukoh, beginning with the Sheo Narain, pioneer of historical study on Dārā’s life and works. After the publication of the MB by Maḥfūz al-Ḥaqq, Vikrama Jīt Ḥasrat wrote comprehensive study of Dārā Shukoh. Ḥasrat’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 Ḫudūndhāvīds, Vedānta, Sāmkhya-Yoga and Tantrā Yoga have been inserted, thus it can be said to have a synthetic approach or to be an eclectic work. Some are duly understood and some are misunderstood. Misunderstandings are not rare and interesting or significant, however, how and why they occur is an interesting and enlightening point to describe the world of the MB as a source book of information of contemporary trends in Indian philosophy and religion.

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

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

Part I Study of Majma‘ al-Bahrāyin

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 Safinat al-Awliyā’ belongs to the tazkira genre of Šūfī literature, was composed on the 27th Ramaḍān 1049 A.H. / 1640. Next, Sakīnat al-Awliyā’ composed in 1052 A.H. / 1642. is included in the genre of malfūzāt. The topics treated are concerned not only with the lives of the saints but also with the spiritual doctrines of the Qadiri sect and devotional exercises. The Risalat-i Haqq Numā is mystical explanation of four worlds of existence was composed in 1056 A.H. / 1646. In the Hasanat al-‘Arifin, Dārā collected ecstatic or paradoxical utterances ascribed to mystics. The Tariqat al-Haqrqat, Risalat-i, R.urnazat and Risarat-i Ma‘āsir 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 Bairāgī. He opened his eyes to the mysticism in Indian philosophy and religious tenet. In this phase, he wrote the Majma‘ al-Bahrāyin based on the Hindu scriptures and philosophical works through the teaching of paṇḍīts. Dārā’s eagerness in translating Sanskrit works resulting in the translation of the Upaniṣads entitled Sīr-r-i Akbar. The translation of the Bhagavatgītā and the Yogavāsīṣṭha is also ascribed to Dārā. The dialogues between Dārā and Hindu sant, Babā
Lal Bairagi is also indispensable to understand the philosophical and religious ideas of Dara Shukoh.

Chapter II: Philosophy of Religion of Dara 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 (Sura 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 Dara 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 Sufistic phraseology of Islam and Hindu equivalents. Dara’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 Dara’s other two works edited by Muhammad Ridā Jalālī Nā’inī and published in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran under the title Muntakḥbāt-i Āthār.
2-1-3 Textual Problems

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

2-1-4 Contents of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

The contents of the MB is named as follows:
1. The Elements (‘Anāṣir)
2. The Sense Organs (Ḥawṣ)
3. The Devotional Exercises (Shughl)
4. The Attributes of God (Ṣifat-i ‘Allāh)
5. The Soul (Rūḥ)
6. The Vital Breaths (Bād-hā)
7. The Four World (‘Awālim-i arba‘a)
8. The Sound (Awāz)
9. The Light (Nūr)
10. The Vision of God (Ru‘uyat)
11. The Names of God (Aṣmā‘-i Allāh)
12. The Apostleship and the Saintship (Nubuwwa wa Wilāya)
13. The Brahmānḍa
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 (‘Ālam-i barzakh)
19. The Great Resurrection (Qiyāma)
20. The Salvation (Mukti)
21. The Day and Night of God (Rūz wa shab)
22. The Eternity of the Cycle of Existence (Bi-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 Nāṣūt (human nature) are constituted with five elements (pañca-bhūtani). Thus the explanation of five elements and their equivalent in Indian philosophy are described. Among the five elements, Dārā has keen interest in ākāśa. He introduces the three kinds of ākāśa: Bhūtākāśa, Manākāśa and Cidākāśa. This idea is strongly influenced by the Yagyavishthā for explaining the three states of Brahman.

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

2-2-2 Creation (cognitive organs)

After explaining the gross elements and the process of elementary creation, the MB proceeds to the definition of the nature of the subtle bodies (līngasarīra). 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), Mutasarrīfa (contemplative), Hāfiẓa (retention) and Wahima (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, ahaṃkāra: attributing things to itself, the attribute of paramātmā, for the reason that it possesses māyā. The MB explained this process with reference to the word of Vasiṣṭha. This description of the process is clearly found in the Yogavāsiṣṭha. The five cognitive senses derived from the sattva parts of the five elements. Although the precise process from each ahaṃkāra is omitted, the difference of three kinds of ahaṃkāra is clearly shown. Dārā was much interested in these three kinds of ahaṃkāras. For each stage of these ahaṃkāras, Dārā referred to a Qur’ānic verse as their authority. The three are ahaṃkāra-sattva, ahaṃkāra-rajasa and ahaṃkāra-tāmasa. These three states of Ahaṃkāra can correspond to the three stages of descent (nuzūr) or the process of revelation (tajalli) of the Absolute: Oneness (Abadiyya), He-ness (Huwiyya) and I-ness (Aniyya). This Ṣūfistic idea is propagated by Jīlī.

2-2-3 Purānic Cosmology

Cosmological ideas found in the MB mostly come from the Purānic literature. This universe is described as Brahmāṇḍa in chapter 13 in the MB. Just as in Purānic literatures, this universe is described with four categories: quarters, celestial, terrestrial and netherial regions. The MB describes it in the same way. Next comes the various regions. Section 15 of the MB treats the firmament (gagana), however, actually, he started to enumerate the seven planets (graha: kawākib-i sayyārah). The section 16 of the MB is only entitled ‘Earth (zamīn)’. However, actually it is the enumeration of the names of the nether world or region: Atala, Vital, Sutala, Rasātala, Talātala, Mahātala and Pātāla. As Purānic cosmology explains, the hollows in the earth are oceans and encircle each dvipa, 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-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 Śūkta in the Rg Veda. As Ikhwan al-Ṣafā distinguished between souls universal soul (al-kulli) and particular soul (al-juz?), Dārā introduces two kinds of soul. The universal soul is recognized as the emanated form of God. In Ibn 'Arabi's theory, on the basis of the concept that the existence of God is immanent in all existences, God manifests Himself in the process. The first manifestation is that of the Divine Identity (huwiyya) i.e. identity or ipseity, and second manifestation is that of the Divine Names, various forms of the universe. Dārā uses the simile of water (in the ocean) and waves of the ocean. The inter-relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that of śarīra (body) and ātman (soul); on the other hand, the combination of waves, in their complete aspect may be likened to Abu ʾArwāh 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.
Triguṇa: sattva, rajas, and tamas are described as having attribute of creation, duration and destruction respectively and connected with the idea of trimūrti; Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara. These three are equivalent with Islamic angels: Jibrā'īl, Mīkā'īl and Isra'īl respectively. In the list of technical terms in the beginning of the Sirr-i Akbar, Dārā describes these three, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara. They are identified with Jibrā'īl, Mīkā'īl and Isra'īl respectively. Three guṇas: rajoguṇa, sattvaguṇa and tamoguṇa are identified with the attribute of creation, preservation and destruction respectively.

2-3-2 Name of God

God's transcendence is revealed with the Names which were given by Himself. In section 11 entitled as “the Names of God”, twenty-three terms are enumerated with equivalent Sanskrit terms: 1) the Absolute (Zāt al-muṭlaq) = Šūnya (insensible); 2) the Pure (baḥt) = Nirguṇa (having no qualities, epithets); 3) the pure (sirf) = Nirākāra (formless); 4) the Hidden (ghayb al-ghayb) = Nīrānjana (pure); 5) the Necessary Self (ḥaḍrat al-wujūd) = Sat Cit Ānanda; 6) the Knowing (ʿalīm) = Caitanya (consciousness); 7) the Living (al-Ḥayyu) = Ananta (endless); 8) the Powerful (qādir) = Svaṭantra (mighty); 9) the Desirous (murīd) = Svātāra (consciousness); 10) the Hearing (samīʾ) = Sīrīṣ (listener); 11) the Seeing (baṣīr) = Drāṣṭṛ (seer); 12) the speaker (kalām) = Vakṭṛ (speaker); 13) Allāh = Aūm; 14) He (hu) = Ṣahā; 15) Angel (fīrishta) = Devatā (divine being); 16) the Perfect Manifestation (mazhar atamnu) = Avatāra (incarnation); 17) Divine Revelation (wahy) = Akāśavānī (heavenly voice); 18) Heavenly Books (kutub-i āsmānī) = Veda; 19) the virtuous jins (parī) = lacuna; 20) the evil jins (deva wa shavāṭī) = Rāksasa (demon); 21) the human beings (Adam) = Manuṣya (human being); 22) saint (walī) = Ṣīrīṣvara (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-asmaʾ 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 (努r) is one of the ninety-nine beautiful names (al-asmaʾ 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
The MB only focuses on the Light of Essence (nūr-i zāt). It is called as Divine light (nūr-i khudā). This is equivalent with Jyotis svarūpa, sva-prakāśa or svayam-prakāśa. Dārā himself analyses the meaning of each symbolical words in the light verse. The Niche (mishkāt) stands for the world of bodily existence; the Lamp stands for the Light of the Essence; the Glass stands for the human soul; the Sacred Tree (shajarat mubārak) refers to the Self of Truth who is free from the East and West and Olive-oil (zayt) refers to the Great Soul (rūḥ-i aʿzam) which is luminous without being lighted. At the end of section 9, the MB introduces the idea of veils as the real purport of this Qur’ānic light verse. The Light of the Essence is manifested in the veil of Soul of Souls (Abū al-Arwāḥ), the Soul of Souls manifested in the veil of Soul. In the questions and answers between Dārā and his respectful guru, Shaykh Muḥībbullāh 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 ‘Arabī and Jīlī. Veil symbolizes this phenomenal world as an attribute denoting God.

2-3-3 Divine Time

In section 21, the MB introduces the idea of divine time. The MB might have mixed the concept of digit (sthāna) and figure (āṇka) and connected with the concept of abja. The MB identifies eighteen āṇka (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 $10^9$. The reading of most of the Persian manuscripts shows the equivalent, a hundred crore ($10^2 \times 10^7 = 10^9$). The third point the MB describes is that beyond eighteen nothing can be counted. This may refer to unit in decuple proportion consisted of successive multiples by 10 upto to $10^{17}$. A set of 18 terms ending in Parārdha became standard in North India by the time of Śrīdharma 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 ānika 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 Nāsūṭ, during the period of the smaller resurrections, in the state of Malakūṭ, 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-arwāh). In Sanskrit translation, these two are transliterated as rūḥakullī (rūḥ kullī) and rūḥajūjī (rūḥ juz’ī), that is to say the universal soul (rūḥ kullī) and particular soul (rūḥ juz’ī). Soul (rūḥ) or ātman is determined with subtle (laṭif) aspect of Pure Self (zāt-i baḥt) or śuddhacaitanya and determined with gross (kathif) aspect which is called physical body (jasad or sarīra). The Essence determined in the beginning is rūḥ-i a’zām which is the aggregate of all the attributes and has the state of Abstract Oneness (aḥadiyya). According to the monistic doctrine of Viṣṇunābhiṣku, 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 Virātapuruṣa. Paramātman is the essence of the individual souls (jīvas). God is the ultimate substratum of all, the functioning of all types of causes (adhiṣṭhānakāraṇatā). Regarding the concept of the rūḥ-i a’zām as the determined form of the Absolute and identification with Abstract Oneness (aḥadiyya), we find the concept of descent (nuzūr) or individualization of the Absolute. On the list of technical terms in the beginning of the Šīr-Akbar, jīvātman (ātma)
is explained as ‘soul possessed with physical body (रुङ-ि मुना-ःला-ि बदन) and paramātmān (paramātmā) is explained as ‘great soul (जन-ि बुजुर्ग).

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

In section 7, four cosmic evolutionary worlds are described as the progressive stages of the seeker (the gnostic’s path). In the MB, the four spheres of existence are explained as the worlds through which all the created beings must pass. These are four: Nāsūt, Malakūt, Jabarūt and Lāhūt, and some Šūfs add the World of Similitude (‘Ālam-i mithāl). The explanations described in the MB is a mere summary of his Risāla. These worlds are called avasthā (states). These correspond to jāgrat, suṣupti, svapna and turyā respectively. The characteristics of these states described in the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad has comparable to the Šūfistic 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, Šūfism has shari’a (the path to be followed, the Sacred Law of Islam) and ṭariqa (the path of Šūfism, practical method guided by spiritual guide) and Ḥaqīqa (the path of Truth, the experience of Divine Reality) as three pillars of Šūfism.

Al-Ghazzālī’s Ihyā recommends contemplation (ẓikr) 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-ःला-ःः इला इलाह 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 Šūfs 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 Sulṭān al-Azkār (the king of all practices). According to the *Risāla*, this Sulṭān al-Azkār is the practice of hearing the voice of the silence and the path of the faqūrs. Dārā explained that there are three kinds of sound. The first one is the transitory sound (āwāz-i muḥaddith) and compound sound (āwāz-i murakkab). The second sound is produced without the contact of two object and without the utterance of words physiological sound (āwāz-i basīt) and subtle sound (āwāz-i laṭīf). The third one is the sound which is self-existent from eternity and exists now and will continue to exist in the future, however, without cause, without increasing nor decreasing, unchangeable. The whole world is said to be filled with this primeval sound, however, except the spiritual men, no one else can find out the existence of this sound. This is called the infinite (biḥad) and absolute sound (āwāz-i muṭlaq). This sound comes out without effort all the time. Dārā traces the authority by six Ḥadīths and explains with the teaching of Miyān Jīv, this was practised by Prophet Muḥammad and is connected with waḥy (revelation) at the cave of mount Hirā.

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

Just as Šūfīs have the method of concentration of the mind to glorify God by constant repetition of His name by *zikr*, Hindu devotees have the practice of *japa* (muttering God’s name or mantras). In section 3, the *MB* introduces *ajapā* as the best devotional exercise (*shughl*). From the description, it means ordinary breathing. *Ajapā-japa* has characteristics similar to *Shughl Pās-i Anfās* and Sulṭān 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 suṣumnā 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 muṭlaq). On the other hand, Aum is called Veda-nukha and Ism-i A’zam is its equivalent. In the Brahmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, Aum is called praṇava and was symbolized as the primordial sound in nature. On the other hand it is regarded as the first manifestation of Universal consciousness, the quintessence of all the universe and the object of meditation.

The MB regards šabda as the source of Ṭsm-i A’zam. This is reminiscent of the concept of Šabdabrahman. In the world of sound, anāhata-šabda is uncreated, self-produced sound and manifested itself as lettered sound (śabda) or with sound (dhvaṇī). 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 ‘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 (itlāq) and tashbih as limitedness (taqyild). Neither of them would be sufficient when we explain Reality. Thus Ibn ‘Arabi 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’uyat-i Allāh (the vision of God) was the controversial problem among the Islamic theologians. In section 10, the MB introduces the controversy connected with this concept and every believer of ahl-i kitāb (people with revealed book) should believe this notion in vision of God. The reason is that the 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 ‘Āisha Siddiqā is referred to. When she asked the Prophet, ‘Did you behold your Lord?’ The reply was ‘nurun 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’uyat.

Perfect man (Insān al-kāmil) is the mediator through whom all knowledge of God is revealed. In the Qur’ān, he is represented as Adam. Adam was created by God in His image and regarded as the perfect copy of God. The first Man or prototypal man was formed by the light of the essence. As is shown in the notable Sura XXIV of light, God is wali of the believers and reveals as light through which the Prophet leads the believers to real Light. Nur-i Muḥammadīyya (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 Muḥammad is regarded by Şūfīs 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, Şūfi can be called as awliyā (saints). Dārā highly respect Şūfi saints with the authority of their aphorism with the description of evaluation of Şūfīs. For Dārā, as is shown in the introduction of Sakīna, ‘loving the Masters is verily loving God: to be near them is to be near Him. to search them is to
search Him; to unite with them is to unite with Him, and showing respect to
them is showing respect to God.' Dārā repeatedly emphasized the necessity
of gurus in the preface to the Safīna and Sakīna. On the other hand, in the
seven conversations with Bābā Lāl, which were compiled as Su‘āl wa Jawāb
Dārā Shukoh wa Bābā Lāl, the main topics focused on the subject of the
state of faqīr, relationship of pīr and muʿrid, and the quality of pīr.

2-4-4 Jīvāmukti - The Perfection of Man

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

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

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

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

For the perfect emancipation in this world, Dārā emphasized the meditation of Mahāpuruṣa. For that purpose, God should be regarded as manifesting Himself in all the stages and Brahmanḍa (‘Alaṁ-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 (‘Alaṁ-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 Purāṇikas. 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 Sarvamukti, 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 (ṣawr) of Šūfis. 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'an 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, 57-3, 42-11. The explanations of the Qur'an (tafsir) are quoted in two places. One is in section 9, the tafsir by Ustad Abu Bakr Wasi ad Sura 24-35, another is in section 18, regarding to the salvation with the grace of God, the explanation by Ibn Mas'udi ad Sura 2-106, 107, 108. Hadith is found in six places. In section 1, section 9, section 10, section 11, in section 18, section 22. The explanations of the Qur'an (tafsir) are quoted in two places. One is in section 9, the tafsir by Ustad Abu Bakr Wasi ad Sura 24-35, another is in section 18, regarding to the salvation with the grace of God, the explanation by Ibn Mas'udi ad Sura 2-106, 107, 108. Here, we introduced unique explanation of Dara's own tafsir of Light verse Sura XXIV-35 comparing with al-Ghazzali's interpretation. The MB throws considerable light on the knowledge of the Qur'an, its commentaries and Hadith.

In the MB, in eight places, the sayings of eminent Sufis are quoted to support his explanations. In the preface, four couplets are quoted. One is from Haqim Sanai gaznavi, the second one is from Mawlawi Muhammed Husain Azad, third quotation is from Mauwlaa 'Abdur Rahman Jami, the fourth is from Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. In section 7, the dialogue between Junaid and Shaikh Islam is quoted from Jami's Nafiaht. In this section, another couplet from Rumi is quoted. In section 8, one familiar couplet to Sufis: "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-Din Hummi in section 22, Hafiz are quoted. In the Risala, we can see several symbolical poems for the interpretation of unity of being (wahdat al-wujud). Islamic sources are quoted for supporting his propagation of this doctrine.
In the preface of *Risāla*, Dārā shows his veneration of Miyān Mīr and Mullā Shāh. In the *Sakīna*, Dārā wrote about his meeting with Miyān Mīr in 1634, and how he was influenced by his spirit, and was initiated into the Qādirī order. In the *Sakīna*, the teaching of Miyān Mīr is explained with his direct word and supported with the sayings of other Saints. Some of the explanations are quoted fully or abridged in the *MB*. There is a sole manuscript of a Persian paraphrase and commentary on the Hindi *Dohās* of Miyān Mīr entitled *Imā’ al-Muḥaqiqīn*, which is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. From this, we can have much information about the teaching of Miyān Mīr.

Mullā Shāh Badakhsī, was a Sūfī poet and eminent Qādirī saint from Arkasā in Badakhshan and Dārā’s pir or murshid. Regarding his biographical detail, Dārā himself mentioned him in the *Sakīna* and the *Safīna*, and Jahānārā Begum write in the *Sāḥibiyya*. 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 Mullā Shāh, however, we have some information of his stance on several dogmatic concepts from the ideas interspersed in his sayings. On the other hand, the system of Sūfism described by Mullā Shāh can be traced in the contents of *Kulliyāt-i Mullā Shāh*. What Dārā learned as a disciple of Mullā Shāh was not only Sūfistic dogmatic ideas but the devotional practices. Mullā Shāh, although not included in the list of the saints in the *MB*, Shāh Muḥibballāh Ilāḥābādī is one of the most influential Sūfī in the life of Dārā. The appointment of Dārā as a sūbahdār of Ilāḥābād gave him the opportunity to seek the acquaintance of this noted Sūfī. Shāh Muḥibballāh wrote commentaries on the *Qur’ān* in Arabic and commentary on Ibn ‘Arabī’s *Fuṣūs* both in Arabic and Persian. In his *Maktūbāt*, 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-Sabirīyya 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 *Yogavāśīṣṭha* entituled with *Mir’āt al-Makhluḵāt* and the Persian translation of *Bhagavadgītā* named *Mir’āt al-Haqīqīq*. In both works, his Sūfistic interpretation has the same tendency to

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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, *Oupnekḥat*. Much can be said with regard to the nature and quality of Persian translation entitled *Sirr-i Akbar*. We introduced the precise information about the construction and peculiarities of this translation. In the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Dārā recognizes brahmavid and jñānin as gnosis (ārif) and unifier (muwaḥhid), brahmavidyā as the knowledge of tawḥīd. Thus Upaniṣads is recognized as the essence of unity (nwahdat al-wujūd).

In Al-Bīrūnī’s *Indica*, the *Bhagavadjīta* 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 Şūfistic 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 Şūfī, ‘Abdur Raḥmān Chishti’s abridged translation of the *Bhagavadjīta* entitled *Mir‘āt al-Haqā‘iq*.

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

3-2-2 Hindu Gurus and Entourages

The biographical profile of Bābā Lāl is deficient and anecdotes about him are scarce. On the authority of the *Hasanat al-‘Arifīn*, 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 Şüfism; and some dialogues deal with mythological matters.

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

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

Chandra Bhan Brāhman (d. 1068-1073 /1657-1663), a disciple of ‘Abdul Hakīm Siālkoti, who became the private munshi (secretary) of Shāh Jahān. 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. From his other Şūfistic work, Tuhfat al-widad and letters to his relatives, we know Şūfistic 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 Śūfistic ideas of *tawḥīd* 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 *shariʿa*. 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-
timonía. 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 Bihar 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 Saṅvat 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.