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, Gujārat, Panjāb and Multān. However, he himself remained in the Capital entrusting administrative work to his deputies. Dārā did not have a distinguished political career, however, his promotion of rank and gain were rich. ¹

On the other hand, he was a prominent follower of Qādirī order and became a disciple of Miyan 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. Tazkīra 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 Upaniṣads into Persian and write the Majma‘ 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. ² However, from the works he left, some scholars and men of heart can appreciate his role in the history of thought.

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

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

²The adapted works based on the life of Dārā have been made in the style of fiction or drama. The following works have been written so far : Avadha Prasāda Vājapeyi’s Dārā Shukoh (fiction in Hindi) in 1962 ; Syah Sunami and Rāmā Dāss Pūr’s Kāfīr (fiction in Urdu) in 1963; Abdus-Sattār Qāl’s Dārā Shikoh (fiction in Urdu) in 1967 ; Harikshā Premī’s Svapnabhaṅga (drama in Hindi) in 1970 ; Satyakī Sena’s Mughal Masnad (fiction in Bengali) in 1970 ; Subhadra Sen Gupta’s Children’s stories named The Sword of Dārā Shikoh and other stories from history published in 1992 : Gopal Gandhi’s Dārā Shikoh (drama in English) in 1993.
short treatise, “Dārā Shikhoh 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.1 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 Ḥasrat 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, Ḥasrat’s approach is limited to a historical, general survey. As a whole, his approach is sketchy, thus the considerations of the philosophical and

4 Ibid., p.38.
5 Dārā Shukoh. Calcutta 1952.
6 Particularly, Chapter 5 : Spiritual Life of Dārā Shukoh. Section 2...6 and Chapter 6 Literally Achievement of Dārā Shukoh.
10 Ḥasrat, 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-Ulama 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 completeded 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 Nadi 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. 2 In this work, the ideas of sects of Islam, Christians, Judaism, Magians, Zoroastrians, Greek philosophers including Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras are described in detail with the help of commentaries, and philosophers of Islam and the religions and philosophy in India are introduced. Unfortunately, the information concerning Indian religious traditions available to Khurāsān’s scholars was not very precise. However, their familiarity with Buddhism helped impart insights to a surprising degree. 3

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

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1 Indo-Arab Relations (Arab-o Hind ke Ta'alluqāt), tr. by M. Salahuddin, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1962, p.130.
3 Regarding Buddhism, in 14th century. Rashid ad-Din wrote the Jāmi’ al-Tawārikh, Hāfiz Abrū in the Majmu’, and Banākārī in the Tārikh-i Banākati, wrote adaptations of this work and gave interesting information about Buddhism in those days. See Rashid ad-Din’s History of India, ed. Karl Jahn, Hague. 1965.
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) ⁴ shows a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the commentaries. He freely quoted the similes used in the commentaries of the Sāṃkhya Kārikā. ⁵

Five hundred years later, in the reign of emperor Akbar, Abu’l Fazl gave an overview on the system of learning in India in his A‘īn-i Akbarī. Referring to the learning of the Hindus, nine schools are introduced: Nyāya, Vaiśesika, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Pātañjala (Yoga), Jain, Baudha, Nāstika (Cārvāka). Besides these nine schools, the eighteen sciences are enumerated with brief introductory notes: the four Vedas, Purāṇas, Nirukta (etymology), Jyotiṣa (astronomy), Chandas (science of metre). Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, 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 ⁶ introduces some tenets of Hindu thoughts in twelve sections: (1) Būdah Mīmāṃsā ⁷ called Smārta, (2)Purāṇa, (3) the religious ceremonies and acts of Smārta, (4) Vedānta ⁸, (5) Sāṃkhya, (6) Yoga, (7) Śākta, (8) Vaiṣṇava (9) Cārvāka, (10) Tārkika (Nyāya), (11) Baudha, (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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⁴As 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of the reasons of difficulty of the study of the MB lies in Dārā's elusive style. He is neither a systematic writer. Had the MB been the textbook for the Śūfi disciples, it should have treated dogmatic subjects systematically like orthodox Islamic text by Qushairī's al-Risālat al-Qushairiyya or the popular Śūfi text in India. Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Suhrawardī's 'Awārif al-Maʿārif and should have treated dogmatic subject systematically. As is the case with Śūfi 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 Kavindra Sarasvatī's Jñāna-sāra, Bhāṣā version of the Yogavāsiṣṭha. Because of the many difficulties which remained unexplained in the MB, the author intended to explain it with the
use of 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 Śūfis.

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, Ṛṣi, Śāṅkhya-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-Bahrayn* can be a part of a bridge across troubled waters.
1-1 Biographical Sketch

There is, unfortunately, not any complete informative source book pertaining to the biography of Dārā Shukoh. Some of the chronograms about poets (taṣkīrā) gave us the brief notice of Dārā Shukoh. Mirzā Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhwush’s Kalimāt al-Shu‘arā’ (dated 1093 A.H. / 1682), 1 Allāh ʿĪbrahīm Khān Khalīl’s Suḥūf-i ʿĪbrahīm (1205 A.H. / 1790), Ikhlās Kishanchand’s Hamīshah Bahār (1136 A.H. / 1723-24) 2 and rather modern biographical notices of saint, the Khazīnāt al-ʿAṣfiyā (dated 1281 /1864-5) introduced Dārā as a faqīr poet and in Ghulām Muḥammad Dihlāvī Raqsīm’s Tazkīrat-i Khwāsh-nawşān (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 Ṣāliḥ. 3 Scattered information will be combined as his biographical description.

Name

It is proper to begin with his name. The reading of his name differs in historical works. According to the Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī 4 and the Pādshāh-nāma, 5 the boy born to Bābā Khurrām (Shāh Jahān) by the daughter of Āsaf Khān (Mumtāz Mahal) was given the name Sultan 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 awwalin gulistān-i shāhī)”. 7

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1 Ms. preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Curzon No.51, f.46a.
2 Ms. preserved in Āsāfiyya. Taṣkīra P-13, pp.252-256.
4 Tūzuk, p.282. Jahāngīr gave the name of Dārā Shukoh to hope that his coming will be propitious to this State conjoined with eternity and to his fortunate father.
6 We can trace his memory on the names of the cities. The most familiar place is Shikohabād in Uttar Pradesh, however, not read as Shukohabād.
7 Abjad of these letters comes to 1024.
Birth

The *Pādshāh-nāma* narrates that Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) while returning from the successful campaign to Mewar, received the joyous news of the birth of his third child and first son at Ajmer, in the night of Monday, 29th Ṣafar, 1024 A.H / 20th March 1615 A.H. The ‘*Amal-i Ṣālīḥ* adds the time in detail: it was after 12 ghāris and 42 palas of the night had passed.  

Jahāngīr was much pleased and named him Dārā Shukoh and as mentioned above gave the epithet of the Prime Rose of the Empire.  

Dārā describes the episode of his birth in the *Ṣafīnāt al-Awliyā‘*. His father prayed for the birth of son at the tomb of the Mu‘īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī. As a result, at the bank of Sāgartāl lake, Mumtāz Mahal gave birth to Dārā.

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.  

Dārā has three brothers and two sisters.

His elder sister Jahān Ḍarā Begum may have been the most influential person in his family circles and called a companion in the Ṣūfistic 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 Khwāja Mu‘īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī entitled *Mu‘nis al-Arwāḥ*. On 27th Ramaḍān 1051 / 30 Dec.1641 she completed *Ṣāhibiyya*, a biography

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9 ‘*Amal-i Ṣālīḥ* vol.1, pp.93-95.  
12 Hasrat p.1.  
13 These seven are the eldest daughter (Ḥur’ān-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 Mullāh Shāh. 12 His younger brother, Shāh Shuja, was born at night on Sunday, 18th Jumādā al-Ākhir 1025 A.H. / 23rd June 1616. Next younger brother, Aurangzeb, was born at night on Sunday, 15th Zulqā'īda, 1027 A.H. / 24th Oct. 1618. The youngest brother, Mūrād Bakhsh, was born on 25th Zil-Ḥijja 1033 / 28th September. 1624. The younger sister, Rāushan Rai (Rāushanārā) Begum, was born 2nd Ramaẓān 1026 A.H. / 24th August 1617.

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

According to Padshāh-nāma, Dārā 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, Sulaimān Shukoh (born 27th Ramaẓān, 1044 A.H. / March 6, 1635); the second son, Mihir Shukoh (born 2nd Rabī’ al-Awwal, 1048 A.H. / July 4, 1638) who died one month after his birth; the second daughter, Pak-nihad Bānū Begam (born 29th Jumādā al-Awwal, 1051 A.H. / August 26, 1641); the third son, Mumtāz Shukoh (born 29th Jumādā al-Awwal 1053 A.H. / 6th August 1643) who died after five years; the fourth son, Sipīhr Shukoh (born 11th Sha’bān 1054 A.H. / October 3, 1644) and the third daughter, Jahān Zīb Bānū Begam, who was married to the fourth son of Aurangzeb, Prince Muḥammad Akbar. According to the Almqirnāma, the fourth daughter, Amal un-Nisā seems to have survived with Aurangzeb’s family. 15

12 Regarding these two works and her letters, see Marshall, pp.218-219.
13 A most ingenious chronogram on Dārā Shukoh’s wedding can be found in the Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser, F. Ruckert, 1827, ed. W. Pertsch, Berlin; repr. 1966., p.246 ff. See Schimmel, Islamic Literatures of India, p.9, f.n.
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), Gujārat (1649) and Multān and Kābūl (1652) and Bengāl and Orīssa (1657). In most of the cases, Dārā resided in the capital and left the management to his deputies. In 1653, after the failure of Aurangzēb’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 Samūghar (Ramāzān 6th 1068 A.H. / 28th May, 1658) and Deora (Jumādā 27th or 28th 1069 A.H. / 13th March, 1659) and Dārā was defeated. There might have been sound reasons for his defeat, because of Dārā’s infamiliarity of art of war, court officers’ treachery and intrigues. Dārā’s flight is precisely described by Blochmann, Sarkar and Sheo Narain. Dārā and Sipihr Shukoh were captured by one Afghan, Malik Jīvan and sent to Khızrābād in Delhi. According to Khāfī Khān, he was executed on 21th Zīl’ Hijja 21 in 1069 A.H. Tuesday night/30th August in 1659. The end of his life is precisely described in the Alamgīrnama. These descriptions have been proved by the Mir’āt al-‘Ālam

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16 In Ilahābād, the memory of Dārā is left as the name of the district Dārāganj. Some Faizullā, who was a musāhib of Dārā’s came there from Khurāsān and settled the area. The younger brother of Faizullā, Afzallullāh named the area after his brother’s master.

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

18 For the description of this expedition, Qanungo treats in detail in section 4 to 7, and chapter 4. The Lata‘if al-Akkhār 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 Quli Shāmulū. In this, the letters from Dārā to Shāh ‘Abbās II are included. cf. Marshall p.484.

19 Alamgirnama pp.218-325, 408-415, 430-435.
and the *Ma’āsir-Ālamgīrī*, however, the date of the execution is different.  

Anecdotes told that his dead body was placed on the back of an elephant and taken in procession to the bazār.

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

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.

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1-2 Works of Dārā Shukoh

As Satish Chandra admits, Dārā was a prolific writer.  

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. The first half reflects his deep study of mysticism and standard Šūfīstic works. His initiation into Qādirī silsila in 1640, when he was 25 years old is the starting point for his practical study of Šūfism. The chance of meeting Bābā Lāl Bairāgī might have been the beginning of the second phase. He opened his eyes to the mysticism in Indian philosophy and religious tenet.

As Mujtabai suggests, Dārā was one of those who engaged themselves in translating Sanskrit works, writing about the beliefs and practices of the Hindus, and putting Hindu religious and philosophical ideas in Islamic terminology. He tried to show that the ideas and spiritual values of Islam and Hinduism are not different or incompatible. To this purpose Dārā also translated fifty Upaniṣads into simple and easy flowing Persian, to which he gave the title “The Greatest Mystery (Sirr-i Akbar)”. As a preparatory stage to read the Majma’ al-Bahrāyn, we introduce his works other than the MB briefly.

Safinat al-Awliyā’

The Safinat al-Awliyā’ belongs to the taẓkira genre of Šūfī literature, a record of what occurred during the assemblies presided over by the shaykh (Šūfī master). This work was composed on the 27th Ramadān 1049 A.H. / 1640. Hasrat introduced one printed text and an abridged

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1EI vol.II, Dārā Shukoh, Satish Chandra, p.134.
2Qanungo, p.100.
3Mujtabai pp.119-120.
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-'Aidarus (d.1653). 11 He came from the Aidarus 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-'Aidarus, 'Abdul Qadir Muhyi ud-Din al-'Aidarus (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 Mahdí; Salmān al-Fārsī; Uwais Qarānī; Section two: Saints of the Qādirī order named Junaidī before the time of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī; Section three: Saints of Naqshbandī order; Section four: Saints of the Chishti order; Section five: Saints of the Kubrawī order; Section six: Saints of the Suhrawardi order; Section seven: Saints of miscellaneous orders, included poets, philosophers, theologians and Śūfīs 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 Raza Library No.4576 (ST 1568), entitled with *Tuhfat al-Asfiya*.
12 On his famous work *An-Nūr as-Safir fī Akhbar al-qarn al-ʿĀshir* (on the account of the scholars and Śūfī in Gujarāt and South Arabia), and the family of al-'Aidarus, see *Islamic Literature of India*, Schimmel, p.5.
13 Regarding the names of the saints, Hasrat enumerates the names and the year of the death of some important saints. For the full list, see *The Catalogue of the India Office Library*, comp. by H.Ethe. Vol.1, p.273 ff.
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 Badakhshan 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 Sakinat al-Awliyā’ are as follows: Section 1: Chapter 1 treats superiority of Qādirī order; Chapter 2 covers other Šūfi orders including Chishtiyya, Naqshbandiyya, Suhrwardiyya, Kubrawardiyya, and the eminence of ‘Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī; Chapter 3 treats Miyan Mīr regarding his name and biographical notes and teachings; Chapter 4 treats Miyan Mīr’s miracles; Chapter 5 treats Miyan Mīr’s practices; Chapter 6 treats the account for Miyan Mīr’s sister, Bībī Jamān Khātūn; Chapter 7 and 8 treats the disciples of Miyan Mīr. Among the disciples, Mullā Shāh is included and described in detail.

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

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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 18

This mystical explanation of four worlds of existence was composed in 1056 A.H. / 1646. Dārā claimed that this is a compendium of Futūḥāt (al-Maqqīyya) by Ibn ‘Arabī. Fūṣūṣ (al-Hikam) by the same author. Sawāniḥ by Aḥmad Ghazzālī. Lawā‘ī (dar Bayān-i Mo‘ānī wa Ma‘ānī). Lāma‘āt (al-Anwār by Fakhr ud-Dīn ‘Irāqī) and Lawāmī (‘anwār al-Kashf) by Jāmī. 19 This work was published several times in India 20 and once in Tehran in 1335 H.S. in the Muntakhbāt-i Āṭhār combined with the Majma’ al-Bahrāyn and the Persian translation of the Muṇḍaka Upaṇiṣad. 21 Persian manuscripts of this work are not rare. 22 The free rendering was made by S.C. Vāsī entitled with the Compass of the Truth in 1912. 23

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

Ḥasanāt al-‘Ārifīn

This annotated collection of ecstatic or paradoxical utterances ascribed to 107 mystics has another title as Risālat-i 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 Raḥbūn published in Tehran. The Urdu translation was done by Muḥammad Umar Khān in Lahore and published in 1930. 25 In this work, Dārā’s allusions to the sayings of the renowned saints have been used to support his own ideas. Among the quatrains, Dārā’s own works are also included.

19Risālat, p.4.
201316 A.H. in Lucknow; 1885 in Delhi; 1929 in Calcutta: 1315 A.H. in Kanpur.
21Edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nāʿīnī.
22For Persian manuscripts, see Marshall p.126.
23This includes the translation of the preface of the Safīna.
24Hasrat, Chapter IV, pp.105-112.
25Sheo Narain gave the abridged translation from this work. JPHS vol.II. No.1, pp.28-29.
Among the 107 saints, most of the saints which are enumerated in section 12 in the MB are included. The quatrain of Jāmī’s Lāwā ’ūḥ quoted in the preface of the MB is also found in the Ḥasanāt. The quotation of the episode of Junayd and Shaikh al-Islām in Jāmī’s Nafahāt in the section 7 of the MB is also quoted in the Ḥasanāt.

Ṭariqat al-Ḥaqīqat

Hasrat refers to this unique work under the name of Risālat-i Ma’rūf. It was published in the Kulliyāt-i Dārā Shukho in 1857. ⁶⁶ This treats the stages of the spiritual path divided into thirty manzils (stages). As Hasrat describes, the style of writing is different from Dārā’s other works, ornate and flowery and without uniformity.

Risālat-i Rumūzāt

This work contains mystical explanations of various principles and dogmas of Islam. The sole manuscript is preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. ⁶⁷ This work begins with the explanation of five pillars of Islam, then proceeds to the Ṣūfistic pillars: ṭariqat, ḥaqīqat, ma’rifat and four stages of spiritual progress: lāhūṭ jabarūt, malakūṭ and nāsūṭ. Totally, 45 rumūz are explained.

Questions and Answers of Dārā Shukoh and Fatḥa ‘Alī Qalandar

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

²⁷Ivanow, Curzon No.444. p.311. The same manuscript entitled with Risālat-i Rumūzāt contains the Ḥasanāt after this Risāla. Marshall p.127; Hasrat gave no information about this work.
²⁸MS. No. 102. See Yogavānśṭha edited by Tara Chand, p.9. n.4.
Diwan

Diwan-i Dara Shukoh or Ikhsir-i A'zam is a collection of poems composed by Dara Shukoh. Marshall remarks that it has 133 ghazals and 28 rubai'is. 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 Sufism, the worshipping of the saints of the Qadiriyya sect, the praise of Kashmir, the Panjab and Lahore. As Hasrat describes, Dara'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 Dara Shukoh's Arabic work entitled Sirat-i Wahdat, Arabic adaptation of the Vedas and the Puranas on unity of God translated by Mirza Nek Akhtar Taimuri Dihlawi. In fact, it contains the portions of the MB and the Persian translation of the Bhavadgita. 32

Risalat-i Ma'arif

This is ascribed to Dara Shukoh by the author of Khazinat al-Asfiya. 33

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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 \( \text{Upanishads} \) 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 \( \text{Āb-i Zindagi} \) 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 Bāsisht (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 \( \text{Upanishads} \) as fifty-two, however, in fact fifty.
\[37\] Ivanow 1707; The manuscript preserved in British Museum has the same character but ascribed to Abūl Fazl. 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, Baba Lai and Dārā Shukoh held in Lahore seven times. Another name of this work is the Nādir al-Nikāt. These dialogues are recorded and translated into Persian by Shāh Jahān’s Munshī Chandra Bhān Brāhman 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, Nādīrā 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 Ruqqāt-i ‘Ālamgīrī. Beside this, ‘Ināyat Khān Rāsikh’s ‘Ināyat-nāmah (1163 A.H. / 1750), ‘Abd al-‘Alī Tabrizī’s Maktūbāt and a collection of letters of Shāh Jahān, Ahkām-i Shāh Jahānī are main sources. ‘Azīz Allāh include Dārās sayings among the Šūfī saints in Dar Maknūn (1151 A.H. / 1739).

Some of the Persian works dedicated to Dārā Shukoh are briefly introduced next. Ibrāhīm Miskīn dedicated Tarjumat Aqwal-i Wāsiti:
translation of the sayings of the saint Abū Bakr Wāsītī. 49 Versified work on arithmetic, mensuration and algebra entitled Khulāsat-i Rāz, written by ‘Atā’ Allāh Rashīdī b. Ahmad Ma’amār belonging to the family of the architects of Tāj Mahal 50, and a medical treatise entitled Tibb-i Dārū Shukhī was written by Nūrūd-Dīn Mudhammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Aīnul-Mulk Shīrāzī. 51 The governor of Kashmir and Imperial Librarian. Muhammad Tāhir. takhallus. Āshnā, known as Ināyat Khān dedicated eulogies in his Kulliyāt-i Āshnā.52

49 See ibid. p.197.
50 ‘Atā’ Allāh Rashīdī is also the translator of Bhāgavata of Bhāskara II. See Marshall pp.86-87.
51 See ibid. p.381.
52 See ibid. p.84.
2-1 Overview of Majma‘ al-Bahrayn

2-1-1 What is Majma‘ al-Bahrayn?

The Source of the Title

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

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

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

²Commentators like al-Baidawi and al-Tabari interpreted this as the geographical place.
Besides Dārā 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. Shara‘u’d-Dīn Ḥasan Shīfā’ī(d.1037/1628), famous for Namākdān-i Ḥaqīqāt ‘Salt-cell of Truth’ wrote Mata’ al-Anwār ‘Rising of the Lights’ and it also has the title Majma‘ al-Bahrayn ‘Confluence of the Two Seas’. 

Shams ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Mūḥtāsib of Abarqān wrote Ṣūfīstic allegory in 714 A.H. Another allegorical poem of love of Nażīr and Maṇẓūr was entitled Majma‘ Bahrayn by Kāṭibī. This title comes from two types of metres in which the poem should be read. The historical work of the Timurides titled Malla‘ al-Saadayn wa Majma‘ al-Bahrayn by ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandi (816/1413-887/1482). Another Ṣūfīstic work by Rukn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Qādir al-Ḥanafi al-Chishtī was written in the sixteenth century.

Date of the Composition

Now we focus on Dārā 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 Dārā Shukoh in the year 1065 A.H., which corresponds to the forty-second year of the age of the author. The Arabic and the Sanskrit translation support the same date. As seen in the biographical survey, he was born on 19 Šafar 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 Zi‘l-Ḥijja) on the 28th October in 1655. So the MB must have been completed between

Jurjānī interpreted this in much more mystical way in accordance with the description in the Lata‘if al-Lughāt. The Majma‘ al-Bahrayn stands for the symbolical words “qab-i qausayn”, i.e. two bows’ or two cubits’ length (counting 100 to 150 yards to a bow-shot), which symbolizes the highest degree of proximity of Prophet Muḥammad to God. (Sūra LIII-9) In Ṣūfīstic interpretation, it symbolizes the sālik’s state where the potential (imkān) existence becomes one with the necessary (wujūd) existence. In the Dictionary of Philosophical Terms, Tahānawī defined it in accordance with Jurjānī. al-Tu‘arrufāt. p.136; Kashshāf, vol.1 p.118.

3Rypka, p.300.
6Marshall, p.25.
7Arabic translation f.23b; Sanskrit translation f. 10b.

26
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 (taṣawwuf) 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 Shuk̲ūh̲ 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 Shuk̲ūh̲) 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 Shuk̲ūh̲’s Majma‘ 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 Şifism 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. Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, after knowing the Truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Şūfīs, and having been endowed with this great gift, he thirsted to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monotheists: and having had repeated intercourse and (continuous) discussion with the doctors and perfect divines of this religion who had attained the highest pitch of perfection in religious exercises, comprehension (of God), intelligence and (religious) insight, he did not find any difference, except verbal, in the way in which they sought and comprehended truth, consequently, having collected the views of the two parties and having brought together the points - a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of Truth - he has compiled a tract and entitled it Majma‘ al-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 from this quotation that he took two oceans as two truth knowing groups, i.e. Islam and Hinduism. As the title implies, we can find the truth and wisdom of both groups at the meeting point.

Although not found in the original Persian text, the noteworthy thing is that the author of the Sanskrit translation interpolated the reference to the episode of the churning of the ocean by gods and demons to get Nectar (amṛta), taken from the Mahābhārata. 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

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16 BI, p.38.
17 Mahābhārata 1–15...17. This plot is found in Ramayana 1–45.
at the end they got amṛta in the cup in the hand of Dhanvantari (physician
of the gods). The translator imagined that Dārā Shukoh churned the ocean
of scriptures of Hindu and Muslim creeds and got perfect knowledge that is
much more precious than nectar. 18

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

Negative evaluation came from Johan Van Manen as 'poor in spirit
and largely verbal' because it lacks 'deep insight and great spirituality'.
22 Hasrat followed this criticism, however, remarked that the MB is 'a
treatise on the technical terms of Indian pantheism and their equivalents
in Śūfi 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 Śūfi 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
Vīśṇu 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 Shikuh.
Discussion Paper Series 1-4, Arij A. Roest Crollius,S.J., Sophia University, Tokyo. 1988,
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 Rushdnāma (comparative work between Nath terminology and the Dvaitādvaitavilākṣaṇavāda and terminology of Śāhism and Wahdat al-Wujūd by ‘Abdu’ll 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 Śāṅkara and his followers’ and what he tried to draw was the parallels between the religious and philosophical views of the Hindus and Muslims, however, was hardly beyond the outward similarities. Regarding Dārā’s method, he criticised as ‘more popular than scientific’ and ‘to base an argument on such superficial similarities is wrong and misleads’.  

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 Yogavāṣṭhā, 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-Baḥrayn

The manuscripts of the MB are not rare. Regarding the manuscripts, we shall treat in detail in Part II. The publications of the Persian text have been done twice so far. One edited by 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’īnī and published in 1338 S.H. / 1959 in Tehran under the title Muntakhbāt-i Āthār. 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 Tarjumāt-i Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn is preserved in the National Library of Calcutta in the Būhār Library Collection. 4 It was translated by Shams al-‘Ulama’ 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 Saṅvat 1765 / 1708. 5 We edited the Sanskrit translation in Part II.

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

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

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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 Mārgaśīr ḍha 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.
in 1961. \(^7\) An Urdu translation was done by M. Muḥammad ‘Umar at Lahore and Gokul Prasad at Lucknow in 1872. \(^8\) Another Urdu translation was published in Lahore from Manzilah Naqshbandī, however, it is the translation of BI and not dated. \(^9\) Muḥammad Yūnus Shāh Gilānī translated this work in 1983. \(^10\)

An English translation of the original Persian text has been made by Mahfūz al-Ḥaqq with the critical edition in the Bibliotheca Indica series described above. English translation of the Sanskrit translation of MB was made by Roma Choudhury in 1954 and translated into Hindi by Bābū Lāl Shuklā in 1995. French translation and study of the work has been done by Daryush Shayegan in 1971. \(^11\)

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

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

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

\(^8\) Hasrat, p.294.

\(^9\) This is combined with the Urdu translation of Hasanat al-ʿArifīn and Ibn al-Arabi’s Kitāb al-Akkhāq. This was published by Qawmī Dukān 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 consulted five manuscripts in his hand to prepare the text, collating and selecting best reading from them. So many variants and the different forms of Persian transliteration of Sanskrit terms or quotations was a difficult task. He confesses, 'I admit that all my selections may bot be approved of by my readers and they may permit of further improvement, but, with the texts that I had, I fear I could not do better'. ¹ Here is the one improvement with as much as thirty manuscripts we have perused and collated as better as we can.

The editor of *BI* selected the variants, 'I have kept in view the fact that only such variations of the text should be noted as are material and cannot possibly be ascribed to a mistake on the part of the copyist'. He consulted the apparently unique manuscript of the Arabic translation of the *MB* which is preserved in the Buhar Library (Imperial Library, Calcutta). This translation was of much use to me in correcting the Arabic quotations etc. However, Urdu translation entitled *Nūr al-'Ain* by Gokul Prasād lithographed at Lucknow in 1872, was not secured even by Mahfūz al-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-ʿArīfīn and *Rumūz al-Taṣawwuf*, i.e. Urdu translation of *Mukālimah-i Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*. 34
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 Oupnıkhat 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 Saṅgama: the Sanskrit version of the MB, which was copied fifty-three years after the date of its composition has great value for the purpose of textual reconstruction.

As the transliteration of technical terms in Persian translation of the Upaniṣads, the Sirr-i Akbar has the forms of Sanskrit and vernacular languages, the MB has the same type of forms. Dārā knows the terminology of Indian philosophy so well, however, nowhere he mentions the words are Sanskrit or Hindi or any other vernaculars. When referring to the language of India or of the Hindus he calls it simply ‘in the word of India (bi-zabān-i hind)’. The case is different from Al-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 (fāṣḥ) in use among the upper and the educated classes. He intended to signify Sanskrit as classical language and one of the vernaculars is Hindustānī, and pointed out the difficulties in pronunciation and transliteration of Indic words in the Perso-Arabic writing system.

In Abu’l Faḍl’s case, he used the i’rāb system effectively. In ‘The Description of India’ in the third part of the Ā‘īn-i Akbarī, he introduced Sanskrit grammar as one of the eighteen vidvās 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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3The editor of the BI narrated “identification and transliteration of Sanskrit terms which had been so mutilated in the Persian text that in many cases it became almost impossible to identify them correctly”. (p.33)

4P.K.Gode p.444.

5Sachau, p.13.

6Abu’l Faḍl, pp.117-119.

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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. 7

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

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

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

7 Only one reference about the Sanskrit language can be found in the Persian translation of the Upanisads. Sīr̲-i Akbar. In the Pranava Upaniṣad, one phrase is found as ‘water is called ap (āpasj in Sanskrit’. Sīr̲-i Akbar, ed. by Tara Chand and S.M.R. Jalālī Nā’īnī. Tehran 1957. p.465.


2-1-4 Contents of Majmaʿ al-Bahrāyn

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’. As the editor of Sanskrit translation noticed. Sanskrit translation has only twenty-one sections except the section thirteen. In the introduction, Hasrat enumerates the twenty sections only omitting section five, ‘The Soul’ and the section twenty-two, ‘The Infinity of Cycles’. Rizvi introduces the contents of the MB as having twenty chapters, however, enumerated the titles of twenty-two chapters. We should correct these mistakes.

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

1. The Elements (‘Anāṣir)
2. The Sense Organs (Ḥaww)
3. The Devotional Exercises (Shughl)
4. The Attributes of God (Ṣifāt-i Ḥallā)
5. The Soul (Rūḥ)
6. The Vital Breaths (Bāḍ-hā) 
7. The Four World (‘Awālim-i arba’at)
8. The Sound (Awāz)
9. The Light (Nūr)
10. The Vision of God (Ru’uyat)
11. The Names of God (Asmā’-i Allāh)
12. The Apostleship and the Saintship (Nubuwat wa Wilāyat)
13. The Brahmāṇḍa
14. The Quarters (Jihāt)
15. The Celestial Worlds (Āsmān-hā)
16. The Nether World (Zāmin)
17. The Divisions of the World (Qismat-i zāmin)

1BI p.30.
2SS p.7.
3Hasrat p.220.
18. The Barzakh (‘Alam-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 Bābā 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 Brahmānda (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), ādidaivika (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 Macrocospm 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.

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*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 Upanisads.

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 Purānas, and the production of the five elements (bhūta), the objects of senses, the sense-organs and the intelligence is called the subtle creation.

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

In the Qurʾān, the throne ('ārsh) and footstool (kursī) of God are placed above heavens and earth and identified as ninth and eighth heavenly spheres.

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

Regarding to the Indian concept of ākāśa, the MB introduces the idea of three kinds of ākāśa. Here we can find the most significant proof of the strong influence of the Yogavâsiṣṭha in the rendering of the concept of three kinds of ākāśa. Here, ākāśa is known as threefold: Cidākāśa (space of consciousness), Cittākāśa (mental space), and Bhûtākāśa (physical space) as the third. Thus, the conception of ākāśa has both the physical meaning and the meaning of equation with consciousness and with Brahman. These are said to be common and are present everywhere, by the power of pure consciousness they attain the essence of reality. About each ākāśa, Cidākāśa (space of consciousness) is pervading all beings: Cittākāśa (mental space) bestows well-being to all the beings and is the promoter of time, by which everything is extended; Bhûtākāśa (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 Yogavâsiṣṭha, this idea is expressed in the story of Ākāśaja (space-born). This symbolical parable can be understood as the ideal of ātman (liberated man) with cosmological concepts. Here ākāśa serves as the most powerful symbol for the advaita of pure consciousness.  

At the beginning of section 1 of the MB, these three kinds of ākāśa are explained as follows: ‘Bhûtākāśa is surrounding the elements, Manākāśa 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’ânic or Vedic verse testifying to its annihilation or destruction. Then follows the evolution of process. 

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

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4 See 2-3.
6 Yogavâsiṣṭha 3-97-14...18.
7 In connection with Jivanmukti, see 2-4-4.
9 BI, T reads ‘bar haqq(in real)’; however, most of the manuscripts read ‘ajan’. According to the Sanskrit translation this can be read as ‘ajanya (unborn, eternal)’. 

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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 Awāz-i Muṭlaq (the sound of the absolute) or Sultan-ul-azkār (the king of zikr) in Sufistic 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 Brahmanda, should be regarded as the corporeal body of God, and ‘Uṣur-i a’zam, namely, Mahākāśa should be regarded as sūkṣma-sārira 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: jagrata, suṣupti and svapna. These concepts have influence on the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, the Vedāntasāra and the Pañcadaśi. Further, the Dīgha Nikāya introduces them as the idea of the concepts of non-Buddhist sects of Indian philosophy. These ākāśas are symbolized as the three states of Ātman or Brahman referring to nature (ādhibhuṭika), jīva (ādhyātmika) and paramātman (ādhaivaṭika). This idea originated from the Upaniṣads and developed in later Vedāntic works such as the Yogavāśīṣṭha and the Pañcadaśi.

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10 3-12-7...9
12 VS 46, 56, 148. 150-153
13 Pañcadaśi 1-33...36. 3.
14 1-3-10...12, 9-39
World Soul: Hiranyagarbha and Ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiyya

As described above, in the process of creation, Love is said to be the first creation. ‘The first thing to come out of Cidakasa was Love (‘ishq) which is called māyā’. Here, the MB quotes the favorite alleged Ḥadīth ‘I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known; so, I brought the creation into existence.’  

And, from Love. Rūḥ-i Aʿzam (jīvatman), the great soul or the soul of Muḥammad (ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiyya) is born. This means the perfect soul (rūḥ-i kulli). This is equivalent to Hiranyagarbha or Samaṣṭi-ātman.  

The first thing created from cidakasa is ‘ishq which is equivalent to māyā.’ 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), Ṣufi 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...
an image of Himself through His attribute and names. This is the picture in which Hallâj described the creation of Adam in the *Kitâb al-Ṭawâsin*. 19

In other words, with the concept of Ibn ‘Arabi, this ardent Desire is the cause of the Manifestation (zuhûr). 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 ‘Arabi’s classification of love, this may be equivalent to the divine love (ḫubb ilâhî) 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 (haqiqat-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 *Upaṇiṣads*. 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. Śāṅḍilya Vidyā in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* symbolized it with the word ‘tajjālān’: ‘All this universe indeed is Brahman; from him does it proceed; into him it is dissolved; in him it breathes: sarvam khalv idam brahma taj-jalām iti’ (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 3-14-1). The simile of thread originated in the text of *Atharva Veda*. 23 Here the thread spreads all over, in which all the beings are strung and that is the Brahman. The universal spirit is described as the thread for the cloth of universe. 24 The concept of

20 Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ‘Arabī*, p.149.
21 Affifi enumerates twenty-two synonyms which Ibn ‘Arabî used to designate the Reality of Muhammad, Perfect Man or Logos. Among them are the Essence of Muhammad (haqiqat-i muhammadîyyah), Breath of Compassionate (nafas al-raḥmân) and Supreme Spirit (rûh al-‘azâm). Affîn p.66. cf. Corbin, *Creation* p.317 n.77.
23 *Atharva Veda* 10-8-38.
24 On *Mundaka Up.* 2-1-4. Ānandagiri commented viṣvarūpa of Brahman is pictured as the sūtrâtman, the world form of virâta. See 2-4-4.
of Sutrātman has been developed in the Pañcadasī by Vidyāraṇya and formed the vivaraṇa view of Brahman with the concept of the antaryāmin (inner-self), sutrātman (thread-soul) and virāta (gross-soul).

Māyā stands for the Divine creative power in Vedic scriptures. In later Vedāntic cosmology, influenced by Sāṁkhya 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 Sāṁkhya 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 Taittirīya Upaniṣad. There goes forth from Brahman first of all the ākāśa or more properly all-penetrating space conceived as a very subtle form of matter, from ākāśa air (vāyu), from this fire (tejas) from this water (āpas, jalas) from this earth (prthivī). In this process each element is produced by Brahman in the form of the element.  

Since the Rg Veda, the world soul was brought about as the first born of the creation and as eternal knowledge in the Śvetāsvatara 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) Vijñāna-maya-kośa : sheath composed of mere intellection associated with the organs of perception. 2) Mano-maya : sheath composed of mind associated with the organs of action. 3) 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...

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

26 Taittirīya Up. 2-1.
27 10-121.
28 3-4; 4-12.
29 Taittirīya Up. 2-1; 2-8-1; 3-2...4.
a thread from the Atharva Veda, a collective totality of subtle bodies is supposed to exist, and the soul imagined to pass through these subtle bodies like a thread, is called Sūtrātman (thread soul). This is also identified with Hiraṇyagarbha.

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

In the beginning of the Sīrī-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, Hiraṇyagarbha is explained as ‘the aggregate of elements in pure sense’ (majma’ az ‘anāsīr-i basīt). This may be the proof for the correct reading of the text of the MB as sāmāstī-ātman instead of meaningless reading of avasthātman. And it reflects the correct understanding of the concept of Hiraṇyagarbha.

30 B. A2 have this reading.
31 Sīrī-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 Ā‘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 (liṅgaśaṁśa). All sensory organ is explained with the equivalents of Indian language. Five sense-organs are: smelling (śāṃmha), tasting (zā’iqah), seeing (bāṣira), hearing (sāmi’ah) and touching (lāmisah) that is in Sanskrit, ghrāṇa, rāsanā, caksuḥ, śrotṛa and tvak. The object of these are gandha, rasa, rūpa, śabda, and sparśa. Each sense organ is allied to the element

\[1\]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 Ā‘in-i Akbarī. In the beginning of the explanation of each school, he referred what is admitted to be the valid source of true knowledge. Ā‘in-i Akbarī, Jarret, vol.III. pp.140-228.

\[2\]Al-Bīrūnī, in chapter 3: “On the Hindu Belief as to Created Things, both Intelligibility and Sensibility” introduces the twenty-five tattvas of Sāmkhya philosophy as the thought of “those Hindus who prefer clear and accurate definitions”. According to Al-Bīrūnī, Puruṣa. avyakta with three powers (sattva, rajas, tamas), vyakta (prakṛti), ahamkāra (nature, he explained in Arabic طبيعة), mahābhūta (universal existences in the world : five elements). pañcaṭanmāatra (function of five senses). Al-Bīrūnī make misunderstanding and takes this as pañcamaṭrā, and translates it as ‘five mothers’ and explains the relationship of simple element and object of senses. He confesses that he could not find the scientific reason why Hindus mean by bringing sound into relation with heaven. Then he explains five senses called indriyāṇ (indriyāṇa), will (maṇas) which directs the senses in the exercise of their various functions and bring about learning and knowledge and karmendriyāṇi (sense of action). Sachau, pp.20-22; Eng. tr. pp.40-44.
earth, water, fire, ākāśa and air respectively.  

Concerning sense-perception (ḥāṣṣa pl. ḥawāṣ), 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).  

Kanāḍa’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.  

The organ of hearing, called cavity of the ear is a portion of ether (ākāśa). 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 to internal organs (antaḥkarana). First, MB enumerates internal organs (hawāṣ-i bāṭin) in Islamic philosophy as Hiss-i Mushtārik (sensus communis, generalizing sense), Khayāl (imagination), Mutasarrīfah (contemplative), Hāfizah (retention) and Wāhima (apprehension). MB does not give any further explanation about

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3For the combination according to Pañcikarana. see the Vedāntasūtra ch.2. v.103.
4 Bir translates it as 'qualities of perception'.
5 VŚŚ 8-2-5.6. For earth cf. 2-2-1.2; air cf. 2-1-4.9.
6 VŚŚ 7-1-22.
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 (*mutakhayyayal*). It analyses the sensible perception and *mutafakkira* treats other perceptions then stores in memory(*ḥāfizah*) and these networking will convey the result to intellectual soul *nafs-i nāṭiqah*). According to Ibn Sīnā, 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 (*maʿānī*), 5) *Zākirah* (memory) which preserves meanings. Ibn Sīnā, in his commentary on Aristotle’s *De Anima*, showed originality in the function of Wahm as psychological faculty to explain instinctive and emotional response to the percept. On the basis of ideas or memories, the perceptual judgement can be obtained. 

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 (*ʿaql*), possesses the characteristic of moving toward good and not to evil

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7 According to the readings of manuscripts, we changed the reading of the names of the second and the third organs. *Bl.T* read second one as *mutakhayyilah* and the third one as *mutafakkirah*. 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 *ahamkāra*.

10 In the List of technical terms in the *Sirr-i Akbar*, the equivalent term for buddhi is
2) manas: mind (dil), possesses two characteristics of saññalkaṇa and vikalpa, resolution ('azimat) and judgment of resolution (khalq-i 'azimat).

3) cit: 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.

Śāṅkhya 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 saññalkaṇa (synthesis) and vikalpa (imagination, abstraction). Citta works as the messenger from sense organs to manas. In the Vedaṇṭasūtra, buddhi is said to be a modification of internal organs. Antahkarana has four aspects as citta, buddhi, manas and ahamkāra. Manas is characterised by Saññalkaṇa and Vikalpa. Ahamkāra is characterised by self-consciousness (abhimāṇa).
According to the *Yogavasishtha*, buddhi is defined as determination : manas as discrimination : citta as running from one object to another object : ahamkara as self-consciousness.

In the process of elementary creation, mahat, ahamkara, indriyas, tanmatras and the bhutas form the individuals. Sankhya philosophy introduces the idea of three guṇas. From the discord of the three guṇas, mahat rises, then three kinds of ahamkara, tanmatras, indriyas and five elements rise. The MB explained this process with reference to the word of Vasishtha. The process is described as follows: when the Lord desired to be determined, He was transformed into parama man immediately on His thinking of it; and on the increase of this determination, the stage of ahamkara 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 *Yogavasishtha*. The five cognitive senses derived from the sattva parts of the five elements. Although the precise process from each ahamkara is omitted, the difference of three kinds of ahamkara is clearly shown. In Sankhya philosophy, threefold ahamkara : sattvika, rājas, and tāmasa has potentiality of producing jñāna, kriyā and dravya. Tāmasa-ahamkara changed into akāśa, vāyu, agni, and prthivī successively. Sattvika-ahamkara transformed into manas and ten sensory organs. Rājas-ahamkara transformed into ten sense organs (indriyas). The *Yogavasishtha* describes three kinds of ahamkara.

Vasishtha recommends first two higher ahamkara to lead to jīvanmukti. The *Yogavasishtha* adds the concept of saṅkalpa as the energiser. Furthermore, the different names of mind differ only verbally, 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.

Dāra was much interested in these three kinds of ahamkāras. For each stage of these ahamkāras, Dāra referred to a Qur’anic 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 jīvātmāna.  

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 paramātma, 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, Īśvara 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 Īśvara. This Īśvara is the highest manifestation of Brahman in this world. Here in the MB, the limited form of Brahman is called Paramātman and described as having three stages. Māṇḍūkya Up. and Gauḍapāda’s Māṇḍūkyakārikā described these three stages as jīva’s three states: Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña as the manifestations of the Self. In the state of wakefulness it is called viśva or vaiśvānara, in the dream state taijasa and in the deep sleep (susupti) it is called prājña because there is no determinate knowledge, however, pure

\[24\] YV 3-96-73.

\[25\] YV 3-4-ab,44.

\[26\] YV 2-19-20; 5-9-56ab.

\[27\] YV 6-114-20ab.

\[28\] YV 6-126-97cd.

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

\[30\] RC p.130.
consciousness and pure bliss is there.  

On the other hand, these three states of Ahaṃkāra can correspond to the three stages of descent (nuzūr) or the process of revelation (tajallī) of the Absolute: Oneness (Ahadiyya), He-ness (Huwiyya) and I-ness (Aniyya). This Śūfistic idea is propagated by Ḥāfiz. Ahaṃkāra-sattva is equivalent to Oneness, which comprehends all as the consciousness. Ahaṃkāra-rājasa is equivalent to He-ness and is used to denote the Absolute Divine Idea in which all ideas are contained. Ibn ‘Arabī explains this Huwiyya as inmost self of man and objectified idea of God. 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 Up. 3...5. 9...11.
32 Nicholson, Study pp. 95-96.
2-2-3 Universe (Purānic Cosmology)

The cosmological ideas in the Qur‘ān are based on the Greek, Jewish and Christian Biblical traditions. The God created seven firmaments and of the earth, a similar number (65-11): the earth was made as a carpet (20-53: 71-19) in a wide expanse (78-6) and surrounded by water, one sweet and the other salty (35-12). The mountains are fixed as pegs (16-15.13-3, 15-19) to support the firmament. Seven firmaments are built (78-12) upon them. Paradise is called al-Jannat (the garden) and there are eight heavens ¹ as the place of bliss.

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

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

¹According to Mishkät book II, these eight heavens are called: Jannat al-Khuld (Garden of Eternity), Dār al-Salām (Dwelling of Peace), Dār al-Qarīf (Abiding Mansion), Jannat al-‘Adan (Gardens of Eden), Jannat al-Ma‘wā (Gardens of refuge), Jannatu al-Na‘īm (Gardens of delight), Jannat al-‘Ilhayyūn (Chamber of Book of Life), Jannat al-Firdaūs (Paradise).

²The Arabic translation omits this chapter completely.

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

⁴For the description of Brahmanḍa, 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 Brahmanḍa like the seed of the wood-apple (Kapittha: Feronia Elephantum). Brahmanḍa-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-Bīrūnī, in chapter 28: "On the Definition of the Ten Directions", enumerates the four cardinal directions and secondary directions between them in the horizontal plane: uttara, dakṣiṇa, pāścima, pūrva, āgniya (southeast), āśāna (north-east), vāyava (north-west), nairīta (south-west) and two directions of the horizontal plane, above (upari) and below (adhās 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: kawākib-i sayyārah) 8 and equivalent names of those. Among eight skies, seven are the stations of the seven planets; Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. The equivalents are sanaiscala, brhaspati, maṅgala, sūya, śukra, budh and candramā. In Śūfistic sphere, the celestial, terrestirial and aqueins universe are considered to have some special meaning. For example, Jīlī gave special explanations for the heavens of Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn are created from the nature of Spirit (al-rūḥ), reflection (fikr), phantasy (khayāl), the light of heart (qalb), the light of judgment (wahm), the light of meditation (himma) and the light of First Intelligence respectively. Khayāl has marks an intermediate stage between the sensible world and the spiritual world. 9 Furthermore, seven nether world are arranged to souls, devotion, 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

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7BI edition reads this word lagana. gagana is proper to the meaning of firmament, sky.
8Here we find some confusion of the concept. The equivalent of fixed stars (kawākib-i sayyārah: graha) is said to be naksatra. Naksatra means heavenly body, however generally used collectively and means constellation through which the moon passes. Most of the manuscripts omit this word except A2 and A3 (H of BI's abbreviation), so we omit the word in our edition.
9Corbin, p.929.
Muhammad. 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 (Maigala), Mercury (Budha), Jupiter (Bṛhaspati), Venus (Śukra), Saturn (Śanaiscara). There are seven celestial regions, including one as the earth (bhū): Bhūloka, Bhuvarloka, Svarloka, Maharloka, Janaloka, Tapoloka and Satya loka. The MB neglects this idea in this section, however, we can trace the enumeration of these regions in section 20.

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

The section 16 of the MB is only entitled ‘Earth (zamin)’, however, actually the enumeration of the names of the nether world or region: Atala, Vital, Sutala, Rasātala, Tatātala, Mahātala and Pātāla. The order of the enumeration differs in the Purāṇas. 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.

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10 Nicholson, Study, pp.122-123.
12 For detail, see 2-4-4.
14 Pātāla is often used as the general term for these nether world. Among the Persian manuscripts, T and N group read pātāla. Sanskrit translation reads pūta. Arabic translation and Persian manuscripts (A1,B,BM1,BM2,E,J,A2,A5) 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 (dēIPA).
15 The MB’s order and enumeration follows general enumeration as in the Līṅga-Purāṇa 1-45-9.

55
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 *Iqīlīm* 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. Nevertheless, the names of the mountains and oceans related with each *dvīpas* are enumerated.

In Purānic literatures, terrestrial regions are called *dvīpa* (island) and *varṣa* (continent). The names of seven *dvīpas* are *Jambū*, *Plakṣa*, *Śālmala*, *Kuṣa*, *Krauṇca*, *Śāka* and *Puṣkara*. 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*, *Kuṣa*, *Krauṇca*, *Śālmali*, *Gomedha*, *Puṣkara* are enumerated.

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

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

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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: जनो, पल्ल, सकेल, सग, दिबोक, in *C* जनो, पल्ल, कोल, सकेल, दिबोक. In Sanskrit translation, each *dvīpa* is set with surrounding sea and enumerated in order: *Jambu-dvīpa*, *Plakṣa*, *Śālmali*, *Kuṣa*, *Krauṇca*, *Śāka*. *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*, *Reva* (or *Narmadā*), *Sarasvati*. In the section 20, the belief that the fluid (water) of the rivers is the life-essence of a living body, and identified with the nerves (*nāḍī*) of human body. Sec 2-4-4.
and Kailāsa. 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).

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 Kursū. 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 Muktā.

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 o. For the fifth mountain, the first consonant varied بب و م. BI, T support the reading of جمیر، سوزیت، همکوت، هموان، مکده، پارچاتر جمیر، سوزیت، همکوت، هموان، مکده، پارچاتر کیلارکس in the Arabic translation, جمیر، همکوت، هموان، مکده، پارچاتر in the Sanskrit translation. Himavat, Hemakūta and Nisadha situate in southern side and Nila, Śveta, Śrīgavān situate northern side of Mount Śumeru. Furthermore, Sanskrit translation adds three mountains more; Mālyavān situates in the east of Śumeru, Gaudhamādana in the west, and Kaylāsa is described as the highest among the mountains.


23 cf. fn. 13, p. 55.
2-2-4 Microcosm and Macrocosp

The motif of the idea of Microcosm and Macrocosp 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 Purusaa Sūkta in the Rg Veda.

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

In Ibn ‘Arabi’s concept of microcosm-macrocosp, such a detailed structural theory is not found, but general correspondences are explained in the Shajarat al-Kawm. ² The correspondences are not consistent. For him these are only metaphors and similes. 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 oripseity, and second manifestation is that of the Divine Names, various forms of the universe. Ibn ‘Arabi contrasts the Perfect Man with the Animal Man. Certain special chosen men, saints can be called Perfect Man. ³ Perfect Man is said to be the heart of the body of the universe. Thus Perfect Man stands for the position of the first manifestation of the essence of God.

¹In detail, refer to Takeshitā. pp.100-103. Regarding the equivalent idea in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, in connection with section 20 in the MB, refer to 2-4-4.
²The correspondences are as follows: Mountains correspond to the bones, lakes from which rivers branch out correspond to aortae which transmit the blood and from which veins extend to the rest of the body etc.
³For the concept of Perfect Man, refer to 2-4-3.
In section 20, referring to jīvātman, the MB declares that attaining salvation is possible by being endowed with knowing and understanding in the following way: seeing everything in this world as one, and regarding every existing object as incomplete identity with the Truth; regarding God as manifestation at all stages and regarding this universe is a complete form of God as the corporeal body of God. In other words, ‘Usūr-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 Vasistha’s teaching that the universe (Brahmāṇa, ‘Ālam-i Kubrā) is considered as a body of the individual self.

Here the idea of Microcosm-Macrocosm is clearly propagated with reference to the idea of salvation. The correspondence of the parts of body is shown in detail after the teaching of Vasistha, 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 Arwāh or Paramātman; while water is like the August Existence or śuddha-caitanya (pure-consciousness). 5

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

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

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14 Bh. P. 2-5-25...29.
15 Dabistan, pp.138-139.
2-3 God

The essence of God is unknowable for us. We seek to know it through its names and attributes. Absolute Being revealed itself as Divinity with attributes. The created world is the outward aspect of inward aspect in God. Man, in essence, is the microcosm in whom all attributes are united. This is the position of *waḥdat al-wujūd* propagated by Ibn ‘Arabi 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

Affīfī 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 Jīhī 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

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¹ *EI* vol.I, p.410.
² cf. Affīfī pp.35-36, 41-47.
with the idea of trimūrti: Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. These three are equivalent with Islamic angels: Jibra‘īl, Mīkā‘īl and Isra‘īl respectively. Trimūrti is again allied with elements: water with Jibra‘īl, fire with Mīkā‘īl and air with Isra‘īl. 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.

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

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

In the list of technical terms in the beginning of the Sīrāj-i Akbar, Dārā describes these three, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. They are identified with Jibra‘īl, Mīkā‘īl and Isra‘īl respectively. Three guṇas: rajoguna, sattvaguna and tamoguna are identified with the attribute of creation, preservation and destruction respectively.

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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 (Zat al-mutlaq) = Šunya (insensible)

2) the Pure (baht) = Nirguṇa (having no qualities, epithets)

3) the pure (sirf) = Nirākāra (formless)

4) the Hidden of the hidden (ghayb al-ghayb) = Niraṅjana (pure)

5) the Necessary Self (ḥadrat al-wujūd) = Sat Cīt Ānanda

6) the Knowing (ālīm) = 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) = Śrotṛ (listener)

11) the Seeing (baṣir) = Draṣṭṛ (seer)

12) the speaker (kalām) = Vaktr (speaker)

13) Allāh = Aum

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1 BI reads Asanga. The Sanskrit translation reads Šunya. Most of the Persian manuscripts and the Arabic translation support the reading of sun, much more correct reading is found in B, A as sun, and unique reading is in J 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-Cīt-Ānanda as a famous designation of Brahman.

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

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

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

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

8 Regarding the concept of sacred syllable Aum, see 2-4-2.
14) He (hū) = Saḥ
15) Angel (firishta) = Devatā (divine being)
16) the Perfect Manifestation (maḏhar atammu) = Avatāra (incarnation)
17) Divine Revelation (waḥy) = Akāśavāni (heavenly voice)
18) Heavenly Books (kuttub-i āsmānī) = Veda
19) the virtuous jins (parī) = lacuna
20) the evil jins (deva wa shayātīn) = Rāksasa (demon)
21) the human beings (Ādamī) = Manusya (human being)
22) saint (wali) = Rṣiśvara (saint)
23) Apostle (nabi) = 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 (aJ-asma' ai-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 Bhāgavata Purāṇa declares ‘the wise visualize His attributeless form.

9Some Persian translation and the Arabic translation read as Śiva. The Sanskrit translation puts Allāh and after Sat Cit Ānanda.
10Regarding wahy and ākāśavāni sec 4-2-2.
11The Sanskrit translation omits the equivalent word for pari. The Arabic translation omits this passage. Original Sanskrit translation reads, pīśācānāṁ madhye sujanāḥ pariṣadhanācyāḥ teṣaṁeva dūjana devaśāyāti rāksasocayante / It omits the equivalent words for Persian بَرْزِجَةٌ pari. Even though the editor translated them as follows: “The Good among the Piśācas we call Pari, they call Apsara. The bad among them we call devaśāyati, they call rākṣas.” (p.145) With the careful reading of Persian manuscripts, BI 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 Dānava which are called deva and shaytaṇ (in Persian), they are called rākṣas (by them)”.
12BI reads rikhī, however, most of the manuscripts support the reading of Rṣiśvara. 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.
13BI comments this word, as follows: The word Mahā Sudhī is phonetically equivalent to Mahā Śuddha, or, ‘highly pure’, which is hardly an epithet for an Apostle. (p.54 n.10.) It is proper to read as siddha because some manuscripts have i'rab of i asa (pronounced as j) or i of ā. 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 (sarvatmā): free from māyā (niranjana): without shape or form (nirakāra): truth, consciousness and bliss (sat cit ānanda) as His mark and Brahman as His name. By using these epithets and attributes for God they express the formless aspect of the divinity. Brahman, the Absolute is as the all-originating, all-sustaining, all-regulating self of the universe. Interestingly indeed, the last two words are saint (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 Dāra.

God as Light

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

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

In section 9, the MB classified light in three kinds. One is light manifested with the attribute Jalāl, the second is light manifested with the attribute Jamāl, and the last is Light of the Essence devoid of any attribute. The MB only focused on the Light of Essence (nūr-i gār). It is called as Divine light (nūr-i khudā). This is equivalent with Jyotis svariṣa, 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 Jyotiṣ-svariṣa, Svaprakāśa and Svapna-prakāśa (p.49)
last portion reads “and God creates allegories for man. and God knows all things.”

Darâ himself analyses the meaning of each symbolical words. The Niche (mishkât) 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 mubârak) refers to the Self of Truth who is free from the East and West and Olive-oil (za}~t) 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 Abû Bakr Wâsîtî. 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 Mishkât al-Anwâr, al-Ghazzâlî commented on the above mentioned light-verse. In the Qur’ân, Allâh himself is not only the source of light but the only real actual light in all existences. In the third section of the Mishkât, 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-rûh al-hassâs); the glass for the imaginative spirit (al-ruh al-khayâlî); the lamp for the intelligent spirit (al-rûh al-'aqli) ; the Olive tree for the ratiocinative spirit (al-rûh al-fikrî) and Light for the transcendental prophetic spirit (al-rûh al-qudsî al-nabawi). 16

We can trace the concept of light as supreme being in Vedic scriptures. The Gayatri-mantra presents the supreme being as the divine light (Rg Veda 3-62-10). It is described as the complexion of the sun and beyond all darkness. “I know the Supreme Person of sunlike lustre beyond the darkness”. 17 It is like a smokeless light 18 , the pure light of light 19 . By his light does all this shine 20 . self-manifesting or self-revealing (svaprakâśa) is a nature of Self never determined by anything else. This is the difference from manifested being. In the Bhagavadgîtâ (15-6) the light is expressed as God’s divine manifestation. “The light of the atman cannot be illuminated by sun or moon or fire. It is God’s supreme light from which one will never return.”

16 Mishkât pp.79-81, tr. pp.84-86.
17 Śvetasvatara Up. 3-8.
19 Mundaka Up. 2-9.
20 Kathaka Up. 2-2-15.

67
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’anic 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, 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’anic light verse. The Light of the Essence is manifested in the veil of Soul of Souls (*Abū al-Arwāḥ*), the Soul of Souls manifested in the veil of Soul (*rūḥ*), and the soul is manifested in the veil of Body. 21

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

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21 BI p.50  
2-3-3 The Divine Time

As Colebrook suggests, according to the Hindus, numeration is of divine origin. Nine figures (āṅka) with a zero (śūnyā) are ascribed to the Creator of the Universe. ¹

In section 21, the MB introduces the idea of divine time. The Day of divinity, or the day of Brahmā is said to be eighteen āṅka (āṅkh)² years of the world. Each abja ³ is equal to one hundred crore years ⁴ And their (Indian's) specification of the figure eighteen is based on 'eight' and 'ten' and beyond which no thing can be counted.

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

According to Purānic literatures, this universe has a cycle with the procedure of four yugas (Krta, Treta, Dwāpara, 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 anj, āṅj, āṅk. At the first sight, we have some confusion because of the vagueness of nuqta of the word. Both published editions read this word as āṅk. The Sanskrit translation reads it as abja. The Arabic translation reads ʿāṣīj. In this context, we decide to read as āṅk.
³In Persian manuscripts, the spelling is the same as āṅk, however, in this context we read this word as abja.
⁴Bl, T read this as one thousand ʾāṣīj. Most of the Persian manuscripts read ʾāṣīj. 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, Lakṣa, Prayuta, Koṭi, Nyarbuda, Padma, Kharva, Nikharva, Mahāpadma. Šāṅku. 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-Biruni explains the various measures of the time composed of Days, the life of Brahmā. A day of Brahmā (brahmāhoratā) i.e. nychthemeron of Brahmā is composed with two kalpas. Thus the life of Brahmā is said to be 100 of his years, i.e. 72,000 kalpas. At the end of chapter 38, referring to Mārkaṇḍeya's teaching in the Viṣṇu Dharma. Al-Biruni 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-Biruni 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 (brahmāhoratā) has similarity with al-Biruni'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 x 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 up 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 Śrīdharma in the eighth century. 9 As

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6Sachau, p.169; Eng. tr. p.359-360.
7Sachau, p.169; Eng. tr. pp.331-332.
8BI, T read this يك هزار and translated ‘a thousand’. BI pp.73, 114. T p.27. However, we follow the reading of most of the manuscripts and read ‘one hundred crore’.
we have seen above. Al-Biruni 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 aṅka years of the world and corresponds to susupti or the third avasthā 11 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 Malakūt. and after the mahāpralaya, God is in Jabarūt. These correspond to jāgrat, susupti and svapna state. 12

As the Viṣṇu Purāṇa narrates, Parārdha means half duration of the time after which the prākrtika 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. prākrtika pralaya occurs. 13

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

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10 Among the arithmetical works, this limit is found, however, other literatures show more figures beyond 10^{17}. In the Rāmāyana (Bombay, Gorakhpur edition), Yuddhakānda, sarga 28-33...38, the limitation is 10^{60} (mahauhga). In Encyclopedic Mahāyāna scripture, the Abhidharmakosa described the limit as 10^{53} (tallaksana). Jaina arithmetic work named the Gauitasaramangalā introduced the limitation as 10^{23} (mahākṣobhyā). Hayashi, pp.7,10.

11 BL,T read this اوسپتام and transliterate avasthātam. (p.74) Most of the manuscripts read this اوسپتام سوم. As the state of susupti is the third state among the four states (jāgrat, svapna, susupti, 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 Vācaspatimisra 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 Sufistic cosmology, Prophet Muḥammad stands for Adam.

\[14\textit{Bh.P. XII-4-35.}\]
\[15\textit{Bi.T} read this as \textit{manas} from the transliteration ماناس, however, the Sanskrit translation reads \textit{Manu}. Although the Persian transliteration is the same with \textit{manas}, in this context it is proper to read \textit{Manu}.\]
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 rūḥakūlli (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 (latīf) aspect of Pure Self (zāt-i baḥt) or sūdha caitanya and determined with gross (kathī) aspect which is called physical body (jasad or šarīra). The Essence determined in the beginning is rūḥ-i a’zam which is the aggregate of all the attributes and has the state of Abstract Oneness (ahadiyya). 2 Abū al-Arwāḥ or Paramātman comprehends all the rūḥ or ātman.

In this section, the MB uses rūḥ signifying soul. However, originally, in Arabic poetry, rūḥ was used to signify breath and wind, and nafs was used to signify the self organ. Then these concepts came to be equated and applied to the human spirit. In the Qur’an. Allāh blew His rūḥ into Adam and gave life to his body. Here rūḥ means the breath of life. In the Qur’an. 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. 3

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1 SS fol. 3a.
2 BI, T read this portion as :

3 “the self that was determined in Eternity Past is known as Rūḥ-i A’zam (or the Supreme Soul) and to possess uniform identity with the Omniscient Being”. (BI, pp. 45, 88; T, p. 8.) According to the reading most of the manuscripts, we read as follows:

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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 Jīlīnī recognized *ruh al-qudus* or *ruh al-arwāl* as one of the aspects of Divine reality.

*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 (*Aḥadiyya*) is the outward aspect of Absolute Being (*zat 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 (*wāḥidiyya*). 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 *Abu‘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* (*paramāṭmā*) is explained as ‘great soul (*jān-i buzurg*). According to the monistic doctrine of Vijñānabhikṣu, the individual soul exists in the *paramātman* in an undifferentiated state. The cardinal difference is that *jīva* (individual) is regarded as being a part of God, like son and father. God exists in the *jīvas* just as the whole existence exists in the parts. Self in three states is described as follows: in pure state: *Brahman*; in the state associated with *māyā* : *Īśvara*; in the state with five subtle elements of matter : *Hiranyagarbha* or *Vīraṭapuruṣa*. *Paramātman* is the essence of the individual souls (*jīvas*). God is the ultimate substratum

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4 *SA* p.6.
of all, the functioning of all types of causes (adhisthāna-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) vyāṇa : air which includes everything, inside and outside

The explanation is so brief that some manuscripts added further commentaries on each kind of vital air. 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; Chāndogya Up. 3-13;5-18; Praṇa 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 ḥaqiqta (the experience of Divine Reality). These are represented as bridging four spheres of existence or natures - human (nāsūt), angelic (malakūt), dynamic (jabarūt) and divine (lāhūt) nature.

In the MB, the four spheres of existence are explained as the worlds through which all the created beings must pass. These are four: Nasūt, 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 (‘alam-i ḥābir) and wakefulness (bīdārī)
2) ‘Ālam-i Malakūt: the world of souls (‘alam-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 mahf), 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-Lahūt is ‘the world of the godhead’, not perceived, since now the phenomenal world is absorbed into timeless unity.

In the Risdā, in-between Nāsūt and Malakūt, ‘Ālam-i Mithāl is inserted. This is the midway and gateway to the ‘Ālam-i Malakūt and the confused thought-pictures which the sālik makes and sees with the eyes of heart the world of ideas. ‘Ālam-i Malakūt is called the world of spirits (‘Ālam-i arwāḥ), the invisible world (‘Ālam-i ghayb), the subtle world (‘Ālam-i Laṭīf), the world of dream (‘Ālam-i khwāb). The way of meditation is reciting the name of God. Dārā describes that 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 Risdā, the anecdote of Abū al-Qāsim Junaid and Shaikh al-Īslām 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 Risdā. In the Risdā, the way of meditation on each stage is recommended. To find a solitary quiet place and sit in meditation to form a picture in the mind of some saint or Master and to see the picture with the eyes of the hearts is the way of meditation of sālik in Nāsūt. The meditation with Habs-i nafas is recommended for the sālik in Malakūt. For the sālik in Jabarūt, all the limbs of the body should be rest and close both of the eyes, the right palm should be placed on the lect, and the heart should be emptied without any object. In Lāhūt, the last method of meditation is to sit catching hold of one’s self to consider himself as the absolute and true existence and recognise everything as one essence.  

Jāgrat, svapna, susupti 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

\[\text{\cite{Risāla pp.6.10.16.18: Compass, pp.6.13.22.26.}}\]

\[\text{\cite{Māndūkya Up. 3... 7.}}\]
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 Prajñā. 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 Vedāntasāra inherited this and propagated these stages as the process of purification of the Īśvara limited by upādhi. Yogavāsīṣṭha 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 Vijnanavadins, 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 (vicāraṇā)
3) kevala-jāgṛata: mental practice of dissociation from outer passions (asaṅga-bhāvanā)
4) cira-jāgṛata: right understanding of the nature of truth (vilāpi)
5) ghana-jāgṛata: the state of saint with pure knowledge, jīvanmukta
6) jāgṛata-svāpaṇa: half-sleep and half-awake state and stage of pure bliss
7) kṣīṇa-jāgṛata: transcendental (turyātiṭa)

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 turyātīṭa.  

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14 Māndūkya Up. 8...12.
15 VS 43...45.
16 YV Vlb-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'ā, Ṭariqa and Ḥaqqīqa

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'ā (the path to be followed, the Sacred Law of Islam) and ṭariqa (the path of Śūfism, practical method guided by spiritual guide) and Ḥaqqīqa (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 Nasūt and Malakūt is sharī'ā; every phase between Malakūt and Jabarūt is the ṭariqa and every phase between Jabarūt and Lāhūt is the Ḥaqqīqa." Among the three sharī'ā is recognized as the main pillar of all the ways of Śūfism. According to Al-Qushayrī, the sharī'ā is concerned with the observance of the outward manifestations of religion: Ḥaqqīqa (Reality) concerns inward vision of divine power (mushāhadāt ar-rubūbiyya). Law is the Reality because God ordained it and Reality is also the Law because it is the knowledge of God likewise ordained by Him.

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'ā is what I say, ṭariqa is what I do and

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1Trimingham, p.160.
2Ibid., p.142.
Haqiqa is what I am”. Miyān Jīv emphasized the importance of shari‘a for sālīk as fundamental task for proceeding on the path of Haqiqa and tariqa.  

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

Zikr

Al-Ghazzālī’s Iḥyā 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-Khādir. 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.

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 mahākāśā is manifested to the religious devotees. Such an exercise is common to the Sūfīs and the Indian monotheists; Sūfīs call it Shughl-i Pās-i Anfās, and the Indian monotheists call it dhyāna in their own phraseology.

Zikr, literally means recollection or recital of God’s name by the repetition of the religious formulae, lā-ūl ā-hā illa l-lāh with the concentration of mind.

3 Nuskha f.34b. cf. Sakīna. p.103; Schimmel, p.99.
4 Hasanat pp.64-65.
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 Sufis 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 silsilah is described by Bilgrāmī in detail, who enumerates four categories of zikr based on Makhazin-i Qādiriyya.

1) Zikr-i Nāṣūtī : the recollection of tongue (lā-‘ilā-ha-‘ilā-l-lāh) : visualization of Nāṣūt

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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6 For the general accounts on zikr, see Trimingham pp.194-207.
7 Bilgrāmī Fātima Zehra, History of Qādirī Order in India, Ph.D. Thesis in History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1982, pp.297-299. See also Murtaza Siddiqui, Qādiriyya System of Sufism (Qādiriyyah Niṣām-i Taṣawwuf or Sulūk), Ph. D. Thesis in History, Osmania University, 1959 pp.124-163.
8 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 illa’l-lāh affirmatively
5) Zikr-i Pās-i Anfās: recollection by regulation of breath
6) Zikr-i Jalī: shouting the name allāh loudly and repeatedly
7) Zikr-i Khafi: secret recitation of his name, lā ilā-h with inhalation, illā lā-h 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 Jīlānī and practised by Miyan Mīr. Furthermore, Miyan 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 ilā-h mentally, with the tongue of cedr heart so that mind should not remain vacant. 10

Among these zikrs, Shugl-i Pas-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 sīsilah. 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

9 Bilgrāmī enumerated the following four ways of zikr. 1) Zikr-i Sīrr: the mysterious recollection, 2) Zikr-i Rūḥī: recollection relating to soul, 3) Zikr-i Murabba: recollection, sitting cross legged, 4) Zikr-i Lāfz or Zikr-i Lab: verbal or literal recollection, 5) Zikr-i Ma’anāvi: the real, the essential recollection. All the saints of Qādirī sīsilah attached great importance to zikr. Besides these recollections, several kinds of ashghāl (ascetic discipline) in Qādirī sīsilah are also recommended in Suluk-i Qādirīyyah. 1) Fānā-yi ‘Anāsīr-i Arba’a (annihilation of four elements), 2) Šūrät-i Šārmāḏī (eternal or perpetual form), 3) Shughl-i qawārīr (regarding divine essence as sun and creatures as flasks), 4) Shughl-i Basīr (concentration upon shaykh), 5) Shughl-i Nāsīra wa Maḥmūda (holding the breath), 6) Shughl-i Hamdam (mental visualizing with th name of God) (pp.305-307.)

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

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.  

**Sulțān al-Azkār**

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

According to the *Risāla*, this *Sulțān al-Azkār* 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 (āwāz-i muḥaddith) and compound sound (āwāz-i murakkah). The second sound is produced without the contact of two object and without the utterance of words. Due to the operation of the two elements of fire and air, this appears to be inside the human being. This is called physiological sound (āwāz-i 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 (bīhād) 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 Miyan Jīv, this was practised by Prophet Muḥammad and is connected with waḥy (revelation) at the cave of mount Hirā.  

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

13 Risāla, pp.12-13; Compass, pp.16-17.
14 SS f.9b; RC p.138.
but not worldly enjoyment.

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

With reference to saṁbda, 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 Jīv, 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 8 and the Nṛṣimha-uttaratāpaniyo Upaniṣad 2, three components of Aum: a-kāra, u-kāra and m-kāra 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,

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15 VŚ 2-2-31.
16 VŚ 2-2-21.
17 Risāla p.10.
18 In Brhadāraṇyaka U. 5-1-1 in SA also showed the same explanation.
breathe through his nostrils, with diminished breath; let the wise man restrain his mind vigilantly as (he would) a chariot yoked with vicious horses.”

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 praṇāyāma (regulation of breath) stopping the process of inhalation (pūraka), retention of the air (kumbhaka) and stopping exhalation (reçaka); the fifth is praṭvāhāra (abstraction) withdrawing the mind from the sense objects; the sixth is dhāraṇā (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.

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-Ażkār. Ajapā-japa is called Haṃsa mantra in Haṃsa Upaniṣad. The mantra called Haṃsa-hamṣa 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.
“sa”. Tantric Yoga expresses this as follows: when the air (vāyu) will go up through eight chakras and reaches the brahmarandhra, we concentrated as ahām. At that time nada is from the bottom to the brahmarandhra, purifies as crystal and says “sa” namely “Brahman or paramātma”. When the novice practises this japa crore (koṭi) times, then ten kinds of sounds can be heard. These sounds are the sound of cīrū, cīrūm, ghantā (iron gong used as a clock), conch shell, tantri (lute), tāla (cymbal), veṇu (bamboo flute), mṛdaṅga (a kind of drum), bherī (kettle drum) and the tenth is the sound of thunder in the cloud. In the tenth state, he will become Parama-Brahman and in his mind, Sadasiva with the essence of sakti with self-illuminating (svayamjyotiḥ), pureness (śuddha), intelligence (buddha) and eternity (nitya) shines out. 21

Anāhata nāḍa is explained in the Rīsāla 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 susūmna when the ears, nose, and mouth are closed. This is acquired in Rasānandayoga-samādhi.

According to the Gherunda Sāṁhitā, there are six kinds of samādhi 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 nāḍa, inner sound of body. Through daily practice of this samādhi, he can hear anāhata sound and ultimately absorbs in Supreme Lord.

Hathayogapradyotikā explains this practice of nāḍa. It has four stages: Ārāmbha (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 (mardāla); 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 *pratyahāra*, the sound like the cloud, the kettledrum; in the stage of *dhāraṇā*, the sound is like drum, the conch, the bell and the horn; in the stage of *dhyāna*, the sounds resemble those of tinkling bells, the flute, the Vīṇā and bees. Thus having controlled *prāṇa* by *prāṇāyāma*, senses by *pratyāhāra*, mind will be concentrated on the abode of God.

In the system of Tantra Yoga, the concept of *nāda* is connected with the concept of Śakti. Kundalini śakti ascends from the mūlādhāra to the māṇipura to anāhata cakra to attain the stage of *madhyamā*. As the result of this ascension, through the auditory organ the sound (vaikhāri) will be manifested. This external manifestation of *kundalini-śakti* is Aum and called bāhya-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 Ajapā-japa, later Upaniṣads give us the detailed characteristics of this sound (*nāda*). Beside the *Haṃsa-nāda Upaniṣad*, the Yogaśīkā Upaniṣad and the Nādabindu Upaniṣad 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 Kriyāśaktī.  

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 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. 20 In the later Upaniṣads and Purāṇas, Aum is said to have been formed from the five mystic letters (aṅkṣara): a. u. m. bindu. nāda. Each letter is identified with deities. Vedas and other functions of the universe.

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

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

30 Sakinat p.84.
2-4-3 Perfect Man

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

Prophethood and Sainthood

According to Naṣr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, prophethood is the subject treated in the field of metaphysics as accessories (farū'). Prophethood (nubuwwa) and Sainthood (wilāya) is the controversial problem in Islamic theology.¹ These two are sister concepts in Şūfistic thought. Prophethood or prophecy derived from prophet (nabī) designates the prophecy given by the divinity and characterised with revelation in the form of touches of lights and sound. Sainthood is derived from saint (wali) who is under special protection, a friend. The ideal Şūfī 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 (tanzihī) 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 Šīr-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 ‘Arabi 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 Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabi put more precise qualifications. Nābī 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 ‘Arabi describes that the words of al-Khadīr to Moses means the difference between the station of the prophets and the saints. Thus, Ibn ‘Arabi 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. Jiḥ 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 ‘Arabi 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 ‘Arabi reduced tanzih as absoluteness (itiłāq) and tashbih as limitedness (taqyīd). 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.

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 Ṭāhir, 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. fol.3a.
11 Fuṣūs, 78-82.
But all was in vain. People refused to follow him and perished in the flood. Moses beheld the signs of God in the fire (Sūra XXVII-8...10: XXVIII-30) however, the people of Moses made an image of a calf out of their gold ornaments and lost their way (Sūra VII-148). Sakina 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 Dijāhmiyya Sunnis and Mu’tazilis, Khārijis, the Zaydis, and Murdijis refuted this notion. The traditional Sunni view is based on the description on the Day of Resurrection (Qur’an Sūra LXXV-22,3). Al-Ash’ārī, 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’tazilis 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’tazilis and Shi’is. At the background of these criticism, the teaching of Dārā’s shaikh can be traced. Shaikh ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī 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 *Risāla* pp.16-17; Rizvi p.138.
14 Sakina 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 ‘nūrun innī arāḥu’. 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 al Jazri*. Here, Ibn Sahafū Tābi‘ī told that if he will meet the Prophet, he would like to ask him ‘Did you behold your God?’ Then Abū Zar-I Ghaffārī replied. He asked the Prophet about it, and the Prophet replied the same as in the case of ‘Aisha. Miyān Jiv commented on these interpretations with reference to Hadith. Former interpretation means that it is impossible to behold the Pure Essence (zāt-i baḥt or wujūd-i sīrf) 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.  

Besides this anecdote, on the authority of several words of saints: Shaykh Hasan Basrī, Abū Bakr b. Sulaīmān, Zū an-Nūn Mīṣrī and tafsīrs of Qur’ān (Abū al-Qāsim Samarqandī, Tafsīr Sulami, Sahih Muslim, Tafsīr ‘Arāsī. Tafsīr Quṣayrī, Faṣr al-Ḥazāb, Baḥr al-Ḥaqqīq, Dārā emphasized the authority of ru’yat limited to anbiyā’ and awliyā’. Regarding the possibility of beholding the Essence of Absolute (wujūd-i muṭlaq), he strictly negated it on the authority of Qur’ān 143-9 and Hadith.  

In section 11, while enumerating the names of God and other religious concepts, MB refers to waḥy (revelation) with its equivalent ʿākāṣavānī. 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 Bukhari and Muslim. Another episode of wahy sounding like the humming of bees is found in Tirmidhi and Hanbal. 17

The Vision of God (ru’uya) is one of the forty-six parts of prophethood. Hearing the speech (kalām) of God in the dream is also based on the 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 Qur’an, 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 prototypical man was formed by the light of the essence. 19 As is shown in the notable Sūra XXIV of light, God is wali of the believers and reveals as light through which the Prophet leads the believers to real Light. Nūr-i Muḥammadiyya (the Light of Muḥammad) stands on the same level of Perfect Man.

Divine names and attributes belong to Perfect Man inherent in his essence. His idea (ḥaqīqa) is signified by those expressed or symbolized. Perfect Man sees his own form in the mirror of the name Allāh, and he is a mirror to God. 20 Thus Perfect Man reflecting all the divine attributes is called wilāya (Special Saint). The saintly aspect of the nature of Muhammad is regarded by Sūfis as superior to the aspect of a prophet or an apostle. 21

As has been shown in 2-2-4, in the point of view of Microcosm-Macrocosm sphere, Perfect Man is recognized as the manifestation of One. In human aspect, Logos is represented as Perfect Man whom we find all that is manifested in the universe. As Jurjānī explained, the divine world is combined with the concept of Perfect Man and this created world is called Insān al-kabīr.

17 cf. SEI Wahy, p.623.
18 Nicholson, Idea p.70; Schimmel, pp.224-225.
According to Jili, the three stages of manifestation (tajalli): oneness (ahadiyya), He-ness (huwiyya) and I-ness (aniyya) are called illumination of the Names. Illumination of the Attributes (Essence, Beauty, Majesty and Perfection) and Illumination of the Essence. This represents the Primal Man, the first-born of God, and working as a 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 Muhammad.  

Saints

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

In the first age, Prophet Muḥammad, six Khalifas with names and the remaining six, ten aṣḥābs (companions), Muhājirin (emigrated believers), Anṣārîs (helpers) are followed in section one of the Safinat Al-awliyâ, however, without specific names.

The second age is the age of Ṭābiʾîn (followers) beginning from Uwais-i Qarâni.


In the fifth age, six saints are enumerated beginning from his own Pir. Shaikh Muḥyiddîn ʿAbdul Qâdir Jîlânî. Abû Madîn al-Maghribî, Shaikh...
Muḥyī ud-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, Shaikh Najmūn-d-Dīn Kubrā, Shaikh Farīd ud-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, Maulānā Jalālūd-Dīn Rūmī.

In the sixth age, four saints are enumerated beginning from Khwāja Muʿīn ud-Dīn Chishtī, Khwāja Bahlāw ud-Dīn Naqshbandī, Khwāja Aḥrār, Maulānā ʿAbdur-Rahmān Jāmī.

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

Dārā wrote the Ṣafinat al-ʿAwtīyāʾ in 1049AH/1640. In this book, divided into eight chapters, he treated orthodox Khalīfas and twelve Imāms, former Qādirī saints called Junāʿīdī and saints of four main Ṣūfī sects: Naqshbandī, Chishtī, Kubrawī, Suhrawardi, and wives of the Prophet, and daughters of the Prophet, and female saints. All are enumerated four hundred and eleven saints in chronological order. 25 And the aphorisms quoted in the Ḥasanāt al-ʿArīfīn, 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 Ṣafinat al-ʿAwtīyāʾ, 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

24 As the editor of B1 confessed, "the proper names have, in all the texts, been hopelessly mutilated" (p.127). Some peculiar examples of the variants will be shown here. Beginning from Abū Bakr, seven Khalīfas and the remaining six, ten Congratulated (mubashshar) and great ones of muḥājīrs, the Ansārīs and Ṣūfīs are omitted in B group. Particularly, R1 omitted most of the names of the saints. U2, U3 commented on the meaning of the remaining ten as companions (ashāb) listing the names of four saints: Ṭalḥa būn az-Zubair, ʿAbdūr Rāḥmān, Sayyid būn Abī Waqqās, Saʿīd būn Zaid, Abū ʿUbaidā būn al-Jarrāh. T, A3, F added the name of Shams-i Tabrīz, Sayyid Qāsim Anwār, Sayyid Ḥasan, and Khwāja Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī after the name of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī. N group including U2 and U3. add after Muʿīn ad-Dīn Chishtī, the names of other saints of Chishtī Sīlahah, Quṭb ad-Dīn Bakhṭiyār Kākī Wāsītī and Khwāja Naẓm ad-Dīn Aḥwāyā. The Arabic translation omits the names of Shaikh Muḥyīd-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, Khwāja Aḥrār and Maulānā ʿAbdur Rāḥmān Jāmī (ff.14ab). The Sanskrit translation listed only twelve names including the six Khalīfas, Dhūn Nūn Mīṣrī. Junāʿīd. Muḥyīd-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, Miyan Mīr, Mūllā Shāh and Miyan Bāri (fol. 6b).

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

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

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

For Dārā, as is shown in the introduction of Sakīna, ‘loving the Masters is verily loving God; to be near them is to be near Him, to search them is to search Him; to unite with them is to unite with Him, and showing respect to them is showing respect to God.’ 32 In the MB, only four saints are included in the list of saints as his preceptor. Shaikh Muḥyiddīn Abdul Qādir Jilānī as a pir, Miyān Mir as his shaykh. Miyān Bāri as his ustād, Mulla Shah as his murshid. Besides these people, Shaikh Muḥammad Dilrubā and Šaykh Ṭayyib Sirhindī and Bābā Lāl also ar 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 Sakina pp.7-8; cf. Compass p.ii.
Sufi 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 *Safīnāt* and *Sakināt*. On the other hand, in the seven conversations with Bābā Lāl, which were compiled as *Su'āl wa Jawāb Dārā Shukoh wa Bābā Lāl* 33, the main topic focus on the subject of the state of faqīr, relationship of pīr and murīd, and the quality of pīr.

In *Vedāntasāra* 30-31, while referring to *Mundaṇa Upaniṣad* (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, Mīyān Mīr, Mulla Shāh, Muhībbullāh Ilahābādī 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 Mīyān Mīr and became an eminent disciple of his disciple Mulla Shāh. Dārā's experience led him to write the *Sakina* and the *Risāla*.

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

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

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33 For the detail, see 3-2-1.
34 Bilgrāmi enumerates different categories of *tawajjūh* according to *Asrār-i Qādiriyāh*:
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 pīr. murshid or shaykh are the Perfect Men to conduct the novices to the way of truth. As is the case with most of the Inspired Saint, Dārā himself might have been aware and confident in the bestowment of Divine Grace on him.

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36 *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (Persian), p. 4
37 *Safina*, pp. 58, 122; *Risāla*, p. 3.
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 Qiyyāma (resurrection).

Barzakh

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. Sufistic interpretation of this term is used for space between the material world and that of the pure spirits. Şūfistic explanations are those of Jurjāni 'the comprehensiveness of the Absolute and of the limited first principle', and Qāshāni 'the memorable world between physical world and cognitive world'.

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-sārira. This is a fine body formed by our action and will have good and bad form due to good and bad actions. Sāmkhya Kārikā explains that a subtle body continues to exist till salvation is attained. This subtle body, in Sāmkhya system, has eighteen components. They are constituted

1 In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 9-3, the origin of five fire doctrine of two ways of devas and fathers (pitr) in Brhadāraṇyaka ṛj. 6-2, similar eschatological ideas can be found.
3 Ta'arrufat, p.30; Ištīlahat, p.10.
4 The Sanskrit translation uses dharma as good deed (āmi-i mīk) and adharma as bad deed.
5 SK 39; STK 39,40,41.
of mahat. ahaṅkāra, eleven senses including manas and the five tanmātras. The gross body is abandoned on its death, and the subtle body associated with eighteen constituents migrates through the three regions due to the intellectual defects and works caused by buddhi. soul suffers rebirths in new bodies. 6

After examining the meaning of the Qur'ān. Sūra XI-106...108 MB introduces Vāikuṇṭha as the equivalent for the higher Paradise called Fīrāusa a’lā. Fīrāusa-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). Vāikuṇṭha 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 philosophs. However, the general notions has been summarised above. 8 Pralaya has four-kinds: nitya (destruction which occurs in every moment), naimitta (the dissolution at the end of an era), prakṛta (the dissolution of elements), aṭyantika (the dissolution of the self into Supreme Soul). In section 1, the MB has already discussed the prakṛta-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: Yuktidhikā, Tattvakaumudi. Jayamaṅgalā interpret as the eight (dharma, adharma, jñāna, ajñāna etc.).

7Refer to 3-1-1.

8cf. EI. vol.5. Qiyāma. L. Garbe, pp.235-238.
Emancipation (mukti)

All the Indian systems of philosophy that belief in mukti (emancipation) as the religious purpose of life. The transcendent state is the final goal of the people to acquire emancipation from the endless cycle of births and rebirths due to karma. Buddhists call it Nirvāṇa. The concept of emancipation (mukti) in 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-vāśiṣṭha 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) Jīvan-mukti: salvation in life
2) Sarva-mukti: liberation from every kind of bondage and being absorbed in God’s Self
3) Sarvadā-mukti: attaining freedom and salvation as ‘Ārif

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

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9Sāmkhyapravacanabhaṣya, 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 Mahāpuruṣa. For that purpose, he should regard God as manifesting Himself in all the stages and should look upon Brahmāṇḍa, which Sufis call Ālam-i kubrā (the Great World) and is (moreover) the “Complete Form” of God, as the corporeal body of God ..... further, considering Him as One Fixed Person, he should behold or know nothing save the Self of that Unique, Incomparable Lord, whether (it be) in a particle of dust or a mountain, whether in the manifest or the hidden world”. On the other hand, ‘human being is called the ‘small world’ (‘Ālam-i ṣaghīr) is one individual, despite his various and numerous limbs and just as his personality is not multitudinous on account of his many limbs, so that Unique Self cannot be considered multitudinous on account of the variety of determinations.’

As already treated in 2-2, the structure of the world deduced from Paurānic cosmology forms section 13, Brahmāṇḍa. At first, the concept of Brahmāṇḍa is explained as the Egg of Brahmā. Then follow the ten directions, skies, nether regions, earthly regions and mountains and ocean. Then he proceeds to the world of Barzakh (interval world) and resurrection (qiyaṭmat) 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 oneness 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 Mahāpuruṣa is as follows:  
(1) the seventh layer of nether regions (pāṭāla) = sole of the foot
(2) the sixth layer of nether regions (rasāṭala) = upper part of the foot
(3) Satans = the fingers of foot

10 BI pp.68,107.
11 YV 6-13.
12 The 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 pāṭāla.
14 cf. Bh. P. ibid.; Persian manuscripts BM1,D1 omit this item. Persian manuscripts E,N,U2,U3,F,V interchanges rasāṭala and Satans.
15 cf. Bh. P. 2-1-36; Here, Asura is identified with prowess. Persian manuscripts
(4) the steed of Satans = the nails of the foot
(5) the fifth layer of nether regions (mahātala) = ankle-bone
(6) the fourth layer of nether world (tātātala) = shank
(7) the third layer of nether world (sutala) = 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,U2,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) Vadāhanāla (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) Vaiśistha = intelligence
(36) air = prāṇa
(37) the action of adharma = back
(38) night = bow
(39) the mount Meru = backbone

31cf. Bh.P. 2-1-33: Persian manuscripts B, F, V, VM omit this item. The rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī are identified with physical veins Iḍā, Piṅgalā and Susmā. This identification is found in Tantra-yoga’s Śivasūtra.
32Persian manuscript VM omits this item.
33Persian manuscripts D1, K, R3 omit this item.
34Persian manuscript D1 omits this item.
35Persian manuscripts VM omits this item.
36cf. Bh.P. 2-1-30: Here Brahmā is identified with eyebrow. But in 2-1-36, Svāyambhuva, Manu is identified as power of comprehension (understanding).
37Some Persian manuscripts S, U1 omit this item.
38cf. Bh.P. 2-1-33: Here Śiva is identified with the internal organ (made up of manas, citta, ahamkāra and buddhi and dwells in the hearts of all.
39cf. Bh.P. 2-1-34.
40Bl. T omit from Vaiśistha, air and adharma (demerit).
42cf. Bh.P. 2-1-32: Here religion (dharma) is identified with breath and demerit (adharma) identified with back.
43Most of the manuscripts omit this item. Only Bl 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) Nairṛtī = upper arm of right hand

(48) Iśāni = forearm of left hand

(49) Kubera = knee

(50) Vāyu = upper arm of left hand

(51) Kalpavrṣa, the tree of Ĥūbā = 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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44 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-32; Here hills and mountains are identified with sticks of bones. Persian manuscripts N, U2, U3 omit these items.


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

47 This item is only found in the Sanskrit translation. ghanādhiṣṭhāro devā mahāpurusasya karaṇāgulyaḥ (fol.8b).

48 cf. Bh.P. 2-1-29; hereafter, the six lokaṇālas are enumerated. Here Agni is identified with the mouth. Persian manuscripts BM3, F, R1, R3, R4, VM and T omit this item.

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

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

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

52 Persian manuscript VM omits this item.

53 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.

54 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.

Janaloka = auspicious face  
the will of the world = chin-pit
the avarice of the world = the lower lip
the sense of shame and modesty = the upper lip
the chest = gums
the meal of the whole world = the food
the element of water = palate and mouth
the element of fire = tongue
Sarasvatī = the faculty of speech
the four Vedas: books of truth = speeches
māyā = laughter and good humor
the eight directions of the world = the two ears
Aśvinī-kumāra = two nostrils
the element of dust = the smelling faculty
the element of air = breathing faculty
the southern half of the sphere between Janaloka and Tapaloka = right eye
the northern half of the sphere between Janaloka and Tapaloka = left eye
pure light = faculty of eye-sight
all the creation = favorable glance
day and night = twinkling of the eyes
Mitra, Tvaṣṭṛ = two eyebrows

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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 Puranic modification and the way of meditation on Virāṭa-puruṣa to acquire the salvation in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, 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
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 Parikṣit. The practical way of controlling the mind is to regulate the breathing process by Prāṇāyāma, then follows the meditation on the form of Viṣṇu as the universal form of the Virāṭa-puruṣa. Here the sage describes the precise parts of the Virāṭa-ruṇa. It starts from the planetary systems, his arms, ears, nostrils, mouth, jaws, cerebral passage, teeth, smile, lips, chin, breast, back, waist, bones, veins, hairs, breathing, movements, dress, intelligence, mind, consciousness, ego, nails, residence, thighs, feet etc. In Bhāgavata Purāṇa, in book 2, Bhaktiyoga is showed as the best means of deliverance. Here, the Virāṭa-puruṣa, the Supreme Spirit, the Personality of God. The phenomenal world is no less than the manifestation of the transcendental all-spiritual form of Virāṭa body.

The sage, Śuka said,

One should, with determined intellect, fix one’s mind on the Virāṭ (gross or great) Form of the Supreme Lord. This special body of the Lord is the biggest among the big. In this (body) is seen the past, present and future universe of gross effects. That Supreme Lord, who is Cosmic Man (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-Bhāgavata, vol1. pp.130-38; 305-6 etc.
86 Bh.P. 2-6-17.
the Virātā 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 Virāt-Puruṣa ends at verse 2-10-34 thus : 'Beyond this (Virāt form of the Lord) is the subtlest, unmanifest, attributeless, which has no beginning, middle or end. It is eternal and beyond the reach of words and mind.' Commentators understood this as the description of the subtle body (samaṣṭi-liṅga-śarīra of God. Virarāghava's Bhāgavata Candrika interprets this description as mukta-jīvas. Again, here the creation was taught in Vedantic style. the Lord assumes the form of Brahmā and takes names, forms and actions, himself being both the things designated and the word denoting it.

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

According to them, meditation upon six cakras 93 should be repeated

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87 Bh. P. 2-6-21.
88 Bh. P. 2-6-32,38,39.
89 The second khaṇḍa of Garuḍa Purāṇa, the Uttarakhaṇḍa is said that 'varies hopelessly and the differences in the editions are too numerous'. Hazra, Study p.111.
91 Sāroddhāra, vv.56-69.
92 The MB treats this way of meditation in section 3.
93 These are said to be situated at the root of the generative organ, in the region of the pelvis, in the navel, in the heart, in the throat, and between the eyebrow at the top of the head.
according to the instrument of guru. 94

Regarding Sarva-mukti, it stands for the salvation of all the beings absorption into the essence after the Qiyamat-i Kibrâ. Sarvadâ-mukti stands for the salvation in every stage of the journey (sayr) of Şûfis. It has no relation to time and place. It means the real stage of ʿârif.

In the Bhâgavata Purâna, God is stated as āśraya 95, the final resort which is Brahman. If one concentrates on God at the time of death, all (sarvasamāśrayah) will absorb Him in himself. 96 Regarding the third mukti. Bhâgavata Purâna calls ultimate pralaya as Mokṣa. 97 Ultimate pralaya stands for the result in a vast collective ultimate liberation of reabsorption into the Supreme Purûṣa. 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 jivanmukta seeing the whole world as the body of God and the description of the different parts of the world as different limbs of God, is totally wrong. For the second mukti: Videha-mukti, 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 Mahâpralaya has nothing to do with mukti according to Indian view. Mahâpralaya is mere destruction of the Universe, it cannot make the souls free. 98 Here we can assert that verbal identification is meaningless. The interpretation should be understood in the context. The passages in section 20 make it clear that the concept of mukti in the MB concerns the way of meditation in spiritual progress to attain mukti.

94 Sâroddhara. v.83.
95 Bh. P. 2-10-7.
96 12-3-50.
97 Bh. P., 12-4-34,37.
98 RC p.116.
3-1 Islamic Sources

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

Quotation from the Qur'an, Tafsir of the Qur'an and Hadith

The MB throws considerable light on the knowledge of the Qur'an, its commentaries and Hadith. 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, 55-26,27, 57-3, 42-11. In section 1, Sūra 28-88: Everything is perishable but His face, and Sūra 57-26: Every one on it must pass away. And there will endure the face of thy Lord. the Lord of Glory and Honour are quoted in the explanation of the dissolution of universe. Face (wajh) is used as the subtle body of the Holy Self. As will be shown in 2-3-1, face symbolizes the attribute of God.

In section 2, in the explanation of three kinds of ahamkāra (ego sense), for the highest stage Sūra 41-54: He encompasses all things and Sūra 57-3: He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant and the Knower of hidden things: for the middle stage Sūra 41-54: Nothing is like a likeness of Him, Sūra 3-96: Allāh is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds; for the lowest stage, Sūra 18-110: Say, I am only a mortal like you. Three kinds of ahamkāra signify the individualization of the Absolute. From the transcendent stage, the limitation or individualization descends to the stage of archetype and human soul.

In section 3, Sūra 17-44: And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification is quoted as the proof that regular inhalation and exhalation results in ajapa-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'an is "an irreligious and ridiculous attempt to extol the virtues of Hinduism over Islam". p.222.
faces on that day shall be bright, looking to their Lord is quoted and for the impossibility of the vision of Pure Self. Sūra 6-104: Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision: and He is the knower of subtleties, the Aware are quoted.

In section 12, regarding the tanzih aspect, Sūra 42-11: Nothing is like a likeness of Him is quoted and tashbih 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 Kursi (throne), Sūra 2-255: His Kursi 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 susupti 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 Wāṣītī ad Sūra 24-35, another is in section 18. regarding to the salvation with the grace of God, the explanation by Ibn Mas'ūdī ad Sūra 2-106,107,108. Here, we will show unique explanation of Dārā's own tafsīr of Light verse Sūra XXIV-35. Dārā interprets symbolical words in this verse as follows: Niche: the world of bodily existence. Lamp: the Light of the Essence. Glass: the human soul. Blessed Tree: the Self of the Truth. Zait (oil): the Great Soul (rūḥ-i a' zam). Thus he understands that the light of the Essence shines in the human soul. The human soul appears like a Light of Essence. God is free from the limitations of East and West, however, the Great soul possesses great elegance and purity and does not require to be lighted. 2 As is shown in the Sakīnāt 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 Qudsi not found in the orthodox tradition, however, Sūfis prefer to cite this referring to the motive of creation.

2 For the detail, see 2-3-2.
3 BI 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.

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 ākāśavānī. 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 Muḥammad (just) like him. Muḥammad 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 Ṣūfīstic Poems

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

In the preface, four couplets are quoted. One is Ḥaḍīm Sanāʾī Gaznavī.

In the name of One who hath no name, with whatever name thou callest Him, He will respond to your call.

The second one is from Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād,

4 BJ p.49.
5 SS omits this translation.
Faith and infidelity, both are galloping on the way towards Him. And are exclaiming: He is One and none shares His kingship.  

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 Lawa’i, Flash XXII.  
8 SS’s translation is as follows: yadyaham janlyam kascana nirisvaro ‘pi kathakhya-desa-sthito ‘pi mano ‘nuraunjaka-sabdais tattvavarttam vadafiti tarhi tatra gatva srosyami siyayami anunesyami 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 Katha, and hear him, learn from him and plead with him. Roma Chaudhury translates kathakhya-desa-sthito ‘pi as “he resides in a legendary place”, however, this is a misunderstanding of the Persian text. The Sanskrit translator could not understand the meaning of خطا: sin, but interprets it as a proper noun. Thus he transliterates it and interprets par hafta: as “in (the country named) Katha”.  
10 Dārā quoted the same couplet in the Risāla (p.21) and the Sakina (p.46).
When thou searchest Him inwardly, then thou art hidden from His outwardness.
When thou searchest 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.

Wherever thou hearest, it is His melodious voice,
Who has, after all, heard such a rolling sound?

In section 12, one couplet is quoted from Shaikh Sa'd ad-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 (tawḥīd) 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 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* 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.
temporary Şûfis

As there was a shaykh Salîm Chishti to Akbar. Dârâ has his spiritual preceptors. The Pûdshâb-nâma narrates that the first teacher of Dârâ was Mullâ 'Abdul Latîf Sultanpurî. ¹ The next teacher was 'Abdul Ḥaqîm Siâlkoî. 'Abdulhaqîm b. Shams al-Dîn Siyâlkoî (d.1656) who was a teacher of Chandra Bhân Brâhman. He received marked considerations by the emperor Shâh Jahân. ² He wrote not only Arabic commentaries on the Qur‘ân but also wrote commentaries and explanatory works on several dogmatic books on logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics. ³ Regarding him, Dârâ 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 Malakût than congregational prayer. ⁴ In section 12 in the MB, Dârâ enumerated three Şûfis as his spiritual preceptors. Miyan Mir as his shaykh, Miyan Bârî as his ustad and Mullâ Shâh as his murshid. Besides these three, Shâh Muḥammad Dilrubâ and Shaikh Ṭayyib Sirhindî and Bâbâ Lâl are added. ⁵

Miyân Mîr

In the preface of Risâla. Dârâ shows his veneration of Miyan Mîr and Mullâ Shâh. Miyan Mîr is venerated as the one who found undoubted light ; the knower of the details of gnosis ; the knower of th secret of God (omnipotence) ; a guide of philosopher (ahl-i haqiqat) ; pilot of the traveller of the Şûfistic path : intimate friend of the secret of Jalâl : the witness of the attainment; and the greatest of the saints of God. ⁶

¹Tazkira p.83.
²His super commentary to al-Baidâvi’s commentary on the Qur‘ân with the title Al-Hâshiyya ala Anwar al-Tanzîl and other commentaries are dedicated to the emperor. Marshall pp.5-6.
³His most famous commentary is that on Jâmî’s commentary to Kâfiya. the grammatical poem mentioned above. He introduced some of Mullâ Şadrâ Shirâzî’s philosophical mystical ideas into Indian environment. cf. Schimmel. Islamic Literature, p.37.
⁵As is seen in 2-4-3. the number of enumerated saints differs in manuscripts. Particularly, Bâbâ Lâl is omitted in number of manuscripts.
⁶Risâla. p.4.
In the *Sakina*, Dārā wrote about his meeting with Miyān Mir in 1634, and how he was influenced by his spirit, and was initiated into the Qādirī order. In the *Sakina*, after the description of Miyān Mir’s outer characteristics, the teaching of Miyān Mir is explained with his direct word and supported with the sayings of other Saints. Among the Sufistic concepts taught here, poverty (*faqr*), renunciation (*fart*), the stages of *suluk*, prophethood and sainthood, divine vision (*rūyāt*), ecstasy (*wa*j*d) 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 Miyān Mir entitled *Imā’u al-Muḥaqiqin*, which is ascribed to Dārā Shukoh. Miyān Mir had intimate relations with both Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Jahāngīr visited his khānaqāh in 1620. The conversations between Jahāngīr and Miyān Mir was on the subject of Sufism and the kingship of the ruler. To answer for the questions of rules of government, Miyān Mir collected forty traditions (*Hadīth*), entitled with the *Tαrjumat al-Aḥadīth fi-Ḥastat 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 Miyān Mir to guide him as a spiritual preceptor, however, Miyān Mir suggested to him to engage in his own task as a king.

**Mulla Shāh**

Mulla Shāh Badakhšī, 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 *Safina*.

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7 Rizvi, *History*, vol.II, pp.103-108; *Sakīnat*, pp.6-7; *Dabīstān*, p.387.
8 fol.2a. Salar Jung Museum and Library. Cat. No. 3341, Tas 25, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts* vol.VIII (Islamic Theology), p.191. This is a kind of compendium of dohās including Mulla Shāh’s dohās and some Sufistic treatises. The *Sakīnāt al-Awliyā* is referred as the title at the end of this manuscripts, however, it is not the extract of the *Sakīna*.
11 *Sakīnat*, p.49.
and Jahanara Begum write in the Sahibiyya. Court chroniclers left brief description about him. The exhaustive work is the Nuskha-i Ahwâr-i Shâhî 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 Şûfi 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 (tawhîd); the traveller in the desert of solitary asceticism: the wayfarer of Şûfistic path; the experienced annihilation (fânâ) and perpetuity (baqâ); the knower of the secret of secrets; the treasurer of divine tawhîd; knower of the secret of wahdat; who is free from many evils; my ustâd who attained the status of wâli 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 plr, the greatest tutor and the unitarian accomplished in the Truth (muwâhhid-i haqâ’iq). The Sakîna 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 Şûfism described by Mullâ Shâh can be traced in the contents of Kulliyât-i Mullâ Shâh. The latter part of this Kulliyât is composed with Arabic and Persian Divâns. From the first part of this work, what is his gnosticism can be known. The work begins from the explanation of unification (tawhîd), and goes on to explain 43 topics inter alia gnosis (ma’rifat), love (‘ishq), the combination of tanzîl and tashbîh, Jalâl and Jamâl, conviction (yaqîn), knowledge (‘ilm), genesis (taqwîm), essence (zât), devotion (zuhud), contemplation (mushâhada), fânâ 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 Şûfistic 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 Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Cat. No.328 Hand list No.688.
hard ascetic exercises, however, he never insisted that his disciples on practice such hard exercises. Among different types of spiritual exercises, he was much interested in zikr, particularly, pās-i anfās. In the Risāla, it has been examined profoundly and in the MB. Dārā expounds the similarity of zikr with the Ajapā-japa of Hindu Yogins.

Among the contemporary Sufis, we introduce Shāh Muḥibbullah Illāhābādī and ʿAbdur Rahmān Chishti as the most remarkable personalities outside Qādirī order.

Shāh Muḥibbullah Illāhābādī

Although he is not included in the list of the saints in the MB, one of the most influential Sufi in the life of Dārā. The appointment of Dārā as a sūbedār of Illāhābād gave him the opportunity to seek the acquaintance of the noted Sufi, Shāh Muḥibbullah.  

Shāh Muḥibullah was born in 996 A.H. /1587 at Sadpur, near Illāhābād. He was a descendent of the Shaykh Farid Ganj Shakar of Pakpatan. He studied under the guidance of Shah Abu Saʿīd, notable saint and pantheist of the Chishti-Ṣābirī order. When he was issued a fatwa condemning him a charge of heresy, his friend Shaykh ʿAbdur Rashīd Jaunpūrī came to his defence. Shāh Muḥibullah 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 Muḥibbullah wrote commentaries on the Qurʾān in Arabic and commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's Fusūṣ 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.  

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

ʿAbdur Rahmān Chishti, the author of the the Mīrʿatul Āsrār met Shāh Muḥibbullah at his native place Radauli and was deeply impressed by him. Mīrʿat al-Āsrār, p.916.

These letters are included in the Ṣayyidu l-Qawānīn in the Ruṣūm al-ʿĀlīmīn. Makātīb-i Ṣayyid Muḥibbullah.
‘Abdur Raḥmān Chishti

Another distinguished personality in Chishtiyya-Ṣābīriyya sisila is ‘Abdul Raḥmān Chishti. ‘Abdur Raḥmān Chishti, a descendant of Shaykh Muḥammad ud-Dīn Chishti, is a Ṣūfī belonging to Ṣābīlī branch of Chishti siiha. Among the saints of this Ṣābīlī order, ‘Abd al-Quddūs Gangoḥī is notable for his Persian translation of a Sanskrit work on Yoga, named *Rushd Nāma* (1536). 21 ‘Abdur Raḥmān wrote several works besides the noted taṣkira, the *Mi‘rāt al-Asrār* (1065 A.H. / 1654). 22 However, the most remarkable works are the adaptation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* entitled with *Mi‘rāt al-Makhlūkāt* and the Persian translation of *Bhagavadgītā* named *Mi‘rāt al-Ḥaqā‘iq*. In both works, his Ṣūfistic interpretation has the same tendency to the explanation in the MB. For the peculiarities of the *Mi‘rāt al-Ḥaqā‘iq*, refer to 3-2-1.

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

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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, *Oupnek'hat*. ¹

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

This work was written in Portuguese by Fr. Gonçalo Fernandez S.J. who came to India in 1560 and was sent to Madurai in 1595. Chapter eighteen of this manuscript contains a faithful reproduction of Bhṛgu Viḍyā of the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* (3-1...6). In other chapters, the descriptions of saṃskāras and āśramas ar contained. This part is adapted as the description of sannyāsa āśrama. It has also a glossary of Sanskrit technical terms. Anquetil Duperron’s *Oupnek’hat* was published in 1801-2 and Dārā’s Persian translation was made in 1657. It is remarkable, about forty years before the Sirr-i Akbar, this translation in European language was produced by a Portuguese priest.

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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.

³ *Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandes S.J. über die Brahmanen und Dharma-Śāstra (Madura 1616) , Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münster*, 1957.

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. 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.

The preface of the Sirr-i Akbar is analysed in detail by Hasrat. Dārā went to Kashmir in 1050 A.H. / 1640 and met Mullā Shāh, besides him he come into contact with saints of various orders and sects and studied works on mysticism. Searching for the truth, he collected all the heavenly books, however, to understand allegorical passages in the Qur’ān, he studied the other scriptures but felt unsatisfied. On the other hand, he found much discourse on the tawḥīd in the Vedas. In the Sirr-i Akbar, Dārā recognizes brahmavid and jūnīn as gnosis (‘ārif) and unifier (muwahhid). brahmavidyā as the knowledge of tawḥīd. 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. 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.

\[\text{Hasrat p.258, fn. No.12.}\]
\[\text{Hasrat pp.259-260.}\]
\[\text{Hasrat p.268-9.}\]
\[\text{For ‘ārif and muwahhid, see Brhadāraṇyaka Up. 4-4-8,9,23 : Ananda Valli 9 : (Taittirīya Up. 2-9) ; Muṇḍaka Up. 3-1-4, 3-2-8, 11 ; Maitri Up 7-9, 10; for ilm-i tawḥīd, see Muṇḍaka Up. 1-1-1 : Maitri Up. 2-34 ; for ayat-i tawḥīd, see Muṇḍaka Up. 2-2-3, 3-2-6 ; Kaivalya Up. 22 : Mahānārāyaṇa Up. 12-3.}\]
\[\text{One manuscript is contains only 34 Upaniṣads belonging to Atharva Veda. British Library Or.1121, Rieu. vol.I. p.60.}\]
The Persian translation listed 52 names and actually fifty Upaniṣads. As Ḥasrat had remarked, the number of the Upaniṣad varies slightly in different manuscripts of the text, between fifty and fifty-two. Anquetil Duperron’s Latin version, the Oupsék hat contains only fifty Upaniṣads.

1) Oupsék hat Tschehandouk e Sam Beid (Chāndogya) ; 2) Brehdarang e Djejdri Beid (Brhadāraṇya) ; 3) Mitri (Maitrāyaṇa) ; 4) Mandek (Muṇḍaka) ; 5) Eischavasieh (Īṣā) ; 6) Sarb (Sarvopaniṣatsāra) ; 7) Narain (Nārāyaṇa) ; 8) Tadiw (Tadeva) ; 9) Athirbas (Atharvasiras) ; 10) Hensnad (Hansanāda) ; 11) Antrteheh (Aitareya) ; 12) Kok’heuk (Kauśitaki) ; 13) Santaster (Śvetāśvatara) ; 14) Porsch (Praśna) ; 15) Dehanbandhu (Dhyānabindu) ; 16) Maha (Mahā) ; 17) Atma Pra Boude (Ātmaprabodha) ; 18) Keioul (Kaivalya) ; 19) Shcat roudri (Śatarudriyam = Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā 16) ; 20) Djog Schak’ha (Yogaśikha) ; 21) Djogtau (Yogatattva) ; 22) Schiw Sanklap (Śivasankalpa) ; 23) Athrb Schauk’ha (Atharvasikha) ; 24) Atma (Ātma) ; 25) Brahmd Badia (Brahmavidyā) ; 26) Anbrad Bandeh (Amṛtabindu) ; 27) Tidjbandeh (Tejabindu) ; 28) Karbheh (Garbha) ; 29) Djabal (Jābāla) ; 30) Mahanaraĩn (Mahānārāyaṇa) ; 31) Mandouk (Māṇḍūkya) ; 32) Pankl (Paiṅgala) ; 33) Tschehourka (Kṣurikā) ; 34) Prahm Hens (Paramahaṃsa) ; 35) Arank (Arunika) ; 36) Kin (Kena) ; 37) Kiouni (Kāthaka) ; 38) Anandbl (Ānaua-vallī : Taittiriya 2) ; 39) Bharkbl (Bṛgu-vallī : Taittiriya 3) ; 40) Bark’heh Soukt (Puruṣasükt) ; 41) Djounka (Cuılıkā) ; 42) Mrat Lankoul (Mrtyulāṅgala) ; 43) Anbratnad (Amṛtanāda) ; 44) Baschkl (Bāskāla) ; 45) Tachhakli (Chāgaleyā) ; 46) Turk (Tāraka : Tārasāra 2, Rāmottaratāpiṇya 2) ; 47) Arkhī (Ārṣeya) ; 48) Pranou (Prāṇava) ; 49) Schavank (Śaunaka) ; 50) Narsing’heh (Nṛṣimhottaratāpiṇya).

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 Chandogya Upaniṣad and the Brhadāraṇya Upaniṣad also has some omissions. In the Brhadāraṇya 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 Madhyandaṇa recension. Dāra himself declared in the introduction that they aimed at making a literal translation, however, in

\[^{10}\text{Vol.I p.13.}\]
\[^{11}\text{1-1-10: 1-2-11...14; 1-3-8...12; 1-4-1; 1-5...7: 1-9-10...13; 2; 3-1...13; 3-15-2...7; 3-16...2...7; 3-17,18; 4-2-45; 4-16,17; 5-2-4...8; 5-3...10: 8-13...15.}\]
\[^{12}\text{However, 2-4 and 2-5 are not interchanged as Kāṇva recension. A. Weber describes it is based only on Kāṇva recension. Indische Studien, I. Berlin 1850, p.273.}\]
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 Muṇḍaka 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 Gūḍārthadīpikā has influence on the explanatory translation. 16

The style of translation as the mixture of both text and commentary without any thought of proper classification and arrangement of each separately is seen by Hasrat as the substantial defect. Hasrat also stated the negligence of the differentiation according to khaṇḍa and adhyāyas. 17 Precise examination of the Sirr-i Akbar makes it clear that the style is not an intermixture but an addition and to differentiate the divisions is not so difficult. Hasrat criticised the peculiarities of the transliteration of Sanskrit word into Persian as inaccuracy. 18 However, the transliteration depends of the informants and compared with other translated works into Persian, in many cases it is possible to identify the original word. 19

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

13 SA, p.325.
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-Biruni 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-Birūnī's Indica, the Bhagavadgītā was introduced as the dialogue of Vāsudeva and Kṛśna 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 Fazl. Badāūnī's narration and Abu'l Fazl's preface to the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata suggest no inference that Abu'l Fazl translated the Bhagavadgītā independently. However, Abu'l Fazl shows deep interest on 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, Gitāprāśasti and Gitāmāna 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.
recension.

As a translation work, compared with the Ṣirr-i Akbar, the translation ascribed to Dārā cannot be said to have the same character. Transliteration style seems to be the same, however, the selection of words for translation and no Ṣūfistic explanation show the different type of translation. From this translation, we find simple and literal translation style and objective eyes. A more attractive translation is that of Dārā’s contemporary Ṣūfī, ‘Abdur 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 kalīma: there is no divine being except God (lā ʾllāha ʾllā al-llāha) as denoting that all the creation and dissolution of the world, the manifested world and hidden world stand for the the word He or the word kūn (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 Gitāprāsaṣti, Gitāmāṇa, and Gitāsāra. Peculiarities in this translation is the explanation of the verses of the Bhagavadgītā in the authority of the Qur‘ān, Ḥadīths, and the sayings of saint like Nizām ad-Dīn Auliyā and ‘Īrāqī 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, Sāmkhya’s Jñāna Yoga is understood as tawḥīd 31 in Ṣūfistic 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 (ʿishq) of the lovers of the essence of God.

30 Ghazzālī classified tawḥīd in four kinds. The last stage of tawḥīd is that of losing oneself in tawḥīd (fanā-yi tawḥīd). Ḫyā‘. 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 Sih Ganj 33 ascribed to Dārā contains some phrases of the Bhagavadgītā very similar to the translation ascribed to Dārā. Further study will make the relation clear.

Translatoins 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 Rāvāna 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

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33 Salar Jung Museum and Library, Cat. No.3476 (Tas 108).
p.65.
36 In detail, see 3-2-2.
38 In the longer version as Urdu translation of the Makhzan-i Nikāt, the Asrār-i Ma‘rifat serves such dialogues in the third session.
and adaptations. An abridged work made by Abhinanda of Kashmir was translated by Nizām al-Dīn Panipatti for Sultān Salīm, i.e. Jahāngīr in the last years of the 16th century. Mir Findirski 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 Abū‘l Ḥasan Faridabādī. Furthermore, this was translated into Hindi with Perso-Arabic letters.

Another version was based on the Yogavāśisthasāra, abridged version of the Yogavāśishṭha, 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 Śāfi Sharif Khubbhānī for Jahāngīr Shāh. Aphorism were found in the Shārīq al-Ma‘rifat ascribed to Faizī in the 16th century. ‘Abd al-Rahmān Chishti’s Mir‘at al-Makhruqāt, which is the dialogue between Mahādeva and Pārvatī on Hindu cosmogony based on the Yogavāśistha and the Bhagavata Purāṇa. Furthermore, the popularity of the Yogavāśistha is re-recognized in the introduction to his Mir‘at al-Ḥaqā‘iq, the Persian translation of the Bhagavadgītā. Chishti compared the teaching of Vasistha in the Yogavāśistha and the teaching of the Veda by Kṛṣṇa in

39 For the Persian translation of the Yogavāśistha, see Mujtabai pp.81-84.
44 cf. Sheo Narain, pp.31-32.
45 The Yogavāśistha is regarded as the Prasthānātrayī, thus the popular but anonymous abridged version, the Laghu-yogavāśistha and the Yogavāśisthasāra was composed.
46 This is named as the Kashf al-Kunūz, or the Tuhfat-i Majīs, or the Aţwār dar Ḥal-i Asrār. See Riew, vol.III, p.1034b.
At the end of 18th century, *Adā‘ī Tariqāt wa Khudāyabi* interspersed with the verses of Fārūq Isfahānī. The construction of Persian *Yogavāsishtha* 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 *Yogavāsishtha* 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 *Yogavāsishtha* 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 name of Vasishṭha was referred to in section 2 in the *MB.* Here, referring to the creation, Dārā quoted the following word as Vasishṭha says, “When the Lord desired to be determined. He was transformed into paramātmā immediately on His thinking of it: on the increase of this determination, the stage of ahamkāra was attained and when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of mahātat (mahat tattva) or ‘aql-i kul.” The most significant proof of the strong influence of the *Yogavāsishtha* can be seen in the rendering of the concept of three kinds of ākāśa. The concept of ākāśa has physical meaning as the first of the elements and equation with consciousness and with Brahman. Such an idea

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50 Omission is found from the 44 to 46 chapter of the original: most of the manuscripts consisted with 42 chapters or 43 chapters.
51 For instance, three kinds of knowledge of Jīva is explained with pratyakṣa-jñāna, anumīta-jñāna and sābda-jñāna, and this pratyakṣa is two kinds based on pramāṇa and bhrama, this bhrama is divided into two: samśaya and viparyaya, furthermore, anumita-jñāna is explained the simile of smoke and fire in 3-1-2. This shows the clear understanding about the teaching of logical ideas in Nyāya philosophy. The famous similes of silver and pearl shell, water and lotus leaf are often used.
52 *taduktam vāsiśṭharāmāyane //
kalpānta vāyuvoyāntu mām caikatvam arṇavāh /
tapantu dvādasādiryā nāsti nirmanākṣītih //
This is also found in the *Bhāṣa-yogavāsīṣṭhasara* 10-26.
is found in the *Yogavāśiṣṭha*. This subject has been examined in 2-1-2.

Regarding Kaviṇḍra Sarāsvatī’s bhāṣā version of the *Yogavāśiṣṭhasūra*, also known as the *Jñānasūra*. Tārā Chand introduced one unique Persian manuscript entitled the *Rāfī‘ al-Khilaf* (Remover of Difference) by Sītā Rām Saksena, of Lucknow. He wrote the work for the purpose of making Hindus and Muslims understand the differences which exist between their religious beliefs are superficial and shows a lack of understanding because all the paths of religion seek God. Furthermore, the author said that Dārā’s *MB* was so short that many difficulties remained unexplained, thus he undertook to write commentary on Kaviṇḍra Sarāsvatī’s bhāṣā version of the *Yogavāśiṣṭhasūra* as the form of Persian translations of Kaviṇḍra’s doḥās. In fact, it combined with the poems of famous Śūfī like Jāmī and Aṭṭār etc. Tārā Chand said that Sītā Rām used this text to demonstrate the identity of the teachings of Muslim Śūfism with those of the *Yogavāśiṣṭha*. In the *Yogavāśiṣṭhasūra*, the tendency of pantheistic idea is propagated in the truth about the Brahman. It may have attracted Śūfis to connect this with the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd*.

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53 YV 6-114-17.
54 Rāfī‘ al-Khilaf of Sītā Rām Kāyastha Saksena, of Lucknow (Kaviṇḍraśāry’s *Jñānasūra* and its Persian Translation). *The Journal of the Gaṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute*, November 1944 Vol.II Part. I. pp.7-12. Regrettably enough, this manuscript has been misplaced with other Persian manuscripts in the library of Gaṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute so far.
3-2-2 Hindu Gurus and Entourages

Bābā Lāl

The biographical profile of Bābā Lāl is deficient and anecdotes about him are scarce. Bābā Lāl is known as Bābā Laī or Lāl Dās, or Lāl Dāval. On the authority of the Ḥasanāt al-ʿArifīn. Bābā Lāl is said to have belonged to Kabīr panthī. This has been conveyed by Sujān Rāy informs in the Khulāṣat al-Tawārikh. Qanungo doubts that he was “A Kabīrpanthī out and out”. Farquhar classified Bābā Lālīs, the sect propagated by Bābā Lāl as the sect on the line of Rāmānanda. Vaiśnava bhakta and mentions that their religious house was in Śaila near Baroda. The Ḥasanāt al-ʿArifīn has some references to Bābā Lāl. He has been called a maungda (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 faqīr without design (hypocrisy).

Dārā Shukoh and Bābā Lāl met held in seven times in Lahore. Each Majlis has the description of the place where the meeting was held. The dialogues differ in number depending on the manuscripts, printed texts and translations. The Urdu translation of these dialogues, the Aṣrār-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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1 Mathnawi-yi Kazkulāh by Ānandghau Khwush completed in 1209 A.H./1794 contains a versified story depicting the relations between Dārā Shukoh and Bābā Lāl. See Marshall, p.74.
2 Dhyānpūr pp.68-69.
3 Qanungo p.336. cf. Storey, p.994. n.3.
4 Farquhar, p.344.
5 Ḥasanāt, p.54.
third occasion 11: on the fourth occasion 33: on the fifth occasion 45: on the 
sixth occasion 29: on the seventh occasion 152. Another Urdu translation. 
*Ramūz-i Taṣawwuf* includes 208 dialogues on seven occasions, on the first 
ocasion 85: on the second occasion 17: on the third occasion 10: on the 
fourth occasion 25: on the fifth occasion 40: on the sixth occasion 21: on the 
seventh occasion 10. The subjects of the dialogue are mainly such concepts 
as faqīr, murshid and doctrines of Ṣūfism; and some dialogues deal with 
mythological matters. The extant Persian manuscripts show not only the 
titles or quasi-titles but there are some differences of recension, some 
of which are only abstracts. An English translation of some extracts is given 
by Qanungo. 6

Hasrat does not seem to understand this work fully. Firstly he negates 
the identification of the two versions, saying they do not show any relation 
with each other. For him the *Nādir un-Nikāt* is neither the dialogue nor a 
continuation of it. 7 Secondly he confuses concerning the identification of 
the speakers of the dialogue. According to Hasrat, the lithographed edition 
at Delhi and Lahore do not seem to have been translated from Hindi, as 
in both of them we find some answers given by the faqīr. He understands 
faqīr as Bābā Lāl. 8 The most insupportable judgement is the evaluation 
of manuscripts only on the basis of the beginning line of a manuscript in 
the catalogue. He said, “The manuscript copy in the Berlin Library and the 
Bodleian Library not only agree with each other (as appears from the first 
lines of the both quoted in their catalogues) but with that preserved in the 
oriental Public Library Patna.” 9

After examination of some manuscripts which are at our disposal, we 
can tentatively say that there are two types of recension of this dialogue as 
the Urdu translation shows. There are two manuscripts in Khuda Bakhsh 
Oriental Public Library. One is entitled the *Suʿāl wa Jawāb*. 10 This is 
just an abridged version and includes only 25 topics. Regarding another 
manuscript 11, the style and subjects are similar to the Bodleian version. 
However, the order of the topics and the number of the subjects are not 
exactly the same as Bodleian recension. A manuscript preserved in the Salar

6 Qanungo pp.337-47.
7 Hasrat, p.246.
8 Hasrat used all quotations by Wilson. *JA* vol.xvii(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 Āṣāḥiyā Library. Another manuscript preserved in Āṣāḥiyā 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 Sīrr-i Akbar, Dārā translated paṇḍīt as ‘ālim, murshid, scholars of ‘Ilm al-zāhir. Another personality, the legendary paṇḍīt 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.

Paṇḍīt Rāmānanda Sūrī was a notable paṇḍīt in Kāsī (Benares) Impressed with Rāmānanda’s extensive knowledge, in samvat 1713 / 1656, Dārā asked him to write the Virāṭa Vivarana 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. 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-sisya). 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, Padyapīṭāsa, Hāśyasāgar, Kāśikutāha and Rāmacaritram. Furthermore, he wrote a commentary on Kirāta’s Dipi, and the Kāvyaprakāśa’s Prākrit portion Even now, in Benares, Rāmānanda is regarded as Sanskrit teacher of Dārā Shukoh.

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

\cite{12} Cat. No.3773.
\cite{13} Taṣawwuf Cat. No.6277 (vol.1 p.469).
\cite{14} Kāśi ka Itihas, Motiendra, Varanasi, 1985, pp.386-387.
\cite{15} The honorable name of Paṇḍitarāja was given by Shāh Jahān. cf. Jatindra Bimal
poet-rhetorician under the patronage of Mughal court through the age of Jahangir to Shah Jahan. He left many works as a scholar of *Alaṅkāra* and Grammar. He left eulogies to his life-long patron Āsaf Khān entitled *Āsaf Virāsa*. The eulogies of Dārā Shukoh is found in his *Jagadvijayacchandhas*. However, in relation to Dārā Shukoh, more remarkable and influential Hindu pāṇḍit 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 pāṇḍit. 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 pāṇḍit in the court of Shāh Jahān was Kavīndra Sarasvatī. Benares is one of the most important sacred town equal to Prayāg (Ilāhābād), 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...
and pilgrim tax. Kavindra Sarasvati’s intercession resulted to exemption of Hindus from such tax. These jizya and pilgrim taxes were abolished by Akbar. In the age of Firoz Shah Tughluq, these taxes were imposed but was lessened after the petition of Brähmanas 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 Sarasvati, 69 Hindu poets and scholars dedicated an anthology (padyāvāli, prabandha) entitled Kavindracandrodaya compiled by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Upādhyāya.

In this anthology, Kavindra Sarasvati’s extensive knowledge is seen in the poems named Kavindrāṣṭaka. They are six Vēdaṅga, four Vēdas, 18 Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstra, Nyāya, Alankāra, Yoga of Yogavāsiṣṭha, Sāṅkhya, and Vaiśeṣika. He was praised as equal to Śaṅkara (Vedānta), Jaimini (Mīmāṃsā), Kanāda (Vaiśeṣika), Gautama (Nyāya), Kapila (Sāṅkhya, Patanjali (Yoga)), Pāṇini in their field respectively. The list of 2192 books in various academic field entitled the Kavindrāścāryasuciḥprattra 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 pandits of Benares.

As is seen in 3-2-1, the noteworthy work written by Kavindrā Sarasvati is a Hindi version of the Yōvāsiṣṭhasūrya. According to Ramaswami Shastri this work is similar to Dārā’s MB, and Kavindrā Sarasvati 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.
26 Poona Oriental Series 60, ed. Har Dutt Sharma and M.M. Patkar, Poona 1939. Renou and Rajendra Mitra regard this as the anthology for Shāh Jahān and the compiler might have been Kavindrā Sarasvati, L’Inde Classique, vol.II, p.230.
28 Jagannātha Pāṇḍita, Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No.8, pp.7-8.
Chandra Bhān Brahmān

Chandra Bhān Brahmān (d. 1068 / 1657-1663), a disciple of 'Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkotī, who became the private munshī (secretary) of Shah Jahan. He was a good poet in a mystically tinged style; on the other hand as a munshī, he was an eminent secretary of 'ilm-i inshā. His Munshyāt-i Brahmān, a group of official letter models, are eloquent and simple and widely approved as typical models of inshā. His prose work Chār Chaman-i Brahmān (Brahman’s Four Meadows) gives a lively unofficial account of the life in Lahore and Delhi. His Persian Diwān, known as Iksīr-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 ghazals and 28 quatrains. From his other Sufistic work, Tuhfat al-widad and letters to his relatives, we know Sufistic 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 Atmvilāsa ascribed to Śaṅkara into Persian and named Nazik Khayālat. After Dārā’s execution, Brahmān 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 munshī of Dārā was Banwaḷīdās or Banālī Dās, takhallus Wallī. 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. Goede left the message to “request to Sanskrit scholars...”

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29 In fact, Chandra Bhān himself did not refer to ‘Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkotī as his teacher. See Fārūquī p.32.
30 For his works, Marshall pp.120-121.
33 Fārūquī, pp.76-79.
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 Šatabhūmikā is ascribed to Dārā. 36 There is a Sanskrit letter ascribed to Dārā, addressed to Goswāmī Nṛśimha Saraswātī 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 Iḥādat 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.

37Shelf No. XI-D-4.: Library Catalogue. VolIII, 2(b) 1928; cf. RASB. Descriptive Catalogue. vol.IV, No.3111; India Office Library. Eggeling No.3947. Rajendra Mitra introduced this is the part of Kavindrakaipadruma. 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, Şūfistic 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 Fażl’s description of the Indian philosophy and religious sects in the Aʿin-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 Şūfis 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 Şūfi saints and Hindu paṇḍits was the most influential sources of his ideas.

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 *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 Qādīrī 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 *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*. The idea of Macrocosp-Microcosm developed into the idea of Perfect Man as mediator between the dogmatic sphere and the devotional world. The concept of *Virāṭa Puruṣa* is also put in this sphere. Even though, Dārā did not go beyond the Islamic context. The transcendence of God is preserved with the setting of the concept of Perfect Man. Another phase is that of devotional world to know the truth in one’s heart. Practical contemplation is one of the important aspects of the devotional world. Such a contemplation can be done with Šūfistic practice which has total similarity with Yogic and more recent Tantric practice. As one of the traveller on the Šūfistic path, the experience of religious practices might have helped him to find out the equivalent. The supreme goal of the Šūfistic 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*. 

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

A martyr to Love, human and divine, a heroic soul that stood for peace and concord among mankind, and the emancipation of the human intellect from the shackles of blind authority and dogma, Muḥammad Dārā Shukoh merely justified in life and death and inscrutable “ways of God to man” ⁴

⁴Qanungo p.233.