MAJMA‘-UL-BAHRAIN
OR
THE MINGLING OF THE TWO OCEANS
BY
PRINCE MUHAMMAD DĀRĀ SHIKŪH.

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN
WITH
ENGLISH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND VARIANTS
BY
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Prefatory Note

I have great pleasure in presenting the third edition of the work entitled *Majma-ul-Bahrain* by Prince Muhammad Dara Shikuh, which is a reprint of the first edition of this work, to the scholarly world. The Asiatic Society published its first and second editions respectively in May 1929 and in April, 1982. I had the proud privilege of writing the preface to the second edition of this work. Again, I got the opportunity of writing a Foreword to the present edition.

It should be noted that the "Muslim intellectual perception of Hinduism" would help us to understand how "the establishment of Turkic rule in India opened up many opportunities for contact between Hinduism and Islam". Learning Sanskrit al-Biruni (d. after 1050 A.D.) translated Sanskrit Classics into Arabic and he wrote *Kitab fi tahqiq malil-Hind* for acquainting his 'Ghaznavid rulers with Hinduism'. He also observed that "at the level of the common people, anthropomorphism is found in Hinduism, Islam, Jewry and Christianity." The initiative taken up by al-Biruni for translating Sanskrit works into Arabic was undertaken at a later period by some other Muslim Scholars, who were well conversant in Sanskrit Language.

Several Muslim rulers "ordered the translation of various Sanskrit works into Persian in order both to satisfy their own intellectual curiosity and to increase Muslim understanding of Hinduism." There was no doubt that the *Maktab Khana*, a translation bureau of Akbar, "helped considerably to change the Muslim perception of Hinduism." The 'most remarkable' productions of this bureau were "the translations of the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and the *Yoga Vashishta*." Akbar thought that the translation of texts from both Hinduism and Islam "would form a basis for a united search for truth"
and would also "enable the people to understand the true spirit of their religion". In this way the Emperor "sought to heal the religious differences amongst his subjects." As a result of the translation of Sanskrit works into Persian, the Muslim intellectuals became aware of 'the Vedanta school of Hindu philosophy.'

At a later period Akbar's Sulh-i-Kulh or path of uninterrupted peace in relationship with all people, was carried on by Prince Dara Shikuh, who translated the Upanishad from Sanskrit into Persian "in order to discover Wahdat al-Wujud doctrines hidden in them". He criticised the Hindu theologians for "hiding the Upanishadic truth from both Hindus and Muslims." He believed that "his translation would help mystics of both faiths." In his work Majma-ul-Bahrain (The Mingling of Two Oceans), Dara Shikuh "tried to prove that an appreciation of the deeper elements in Sufism and Hindu mysticism could be achieved only by the elite of both religions." He compared the Islamic Sufi concepts with those of Hindu mysticism and came to this conclusion that "they were identical." Through his theological discourses, Dara Shikuh infused the spirit of liberalism into the medieval Indian life and expanded the horizon of Indian mind.

The publication of the third edition of this work indicates that the scholars and general readers who are engaged in studying Indian theological discourses are attracted to Dara Shikuh's views.

Amalendu De
General Secretary
The Asiatic Society

March 19, 1998
FOREWORD.

The 'science of religion' has in the last fifty years developed and progressed in many ways. We have the comparative, the historical, the sociological and the psychological methods. Of late a new school has arisen which is well-exemplified by its forerunner James (Varieties of religious Experience), and latterly by Otto (Das Heilige and Die Religionen), a school which relegates history and philology to the background to concentrate in the first place on the religious experience itself. Pratt in his recent work The Pilgrimage of Buddhism applies the principle in a practical way and rightly says: "To give the feeling of an alien religion it is necessary to do more than expound its concepts and describe its history. One must catch its emotional undertone, enter sympathetically into its sentiments, feel one's way into its symbols, its cult, its art, and then seek to impart these things not merely by scientific exposition but in all sorts of indirect ways." Non scholae sed vitae is the motto of this school.

Nevertheless, history and philology will remain indispensable accessories. And also in the historical method there is development and subdivision. A group of phenomena of great interest and importance, but scarcely as yet touched upon, is the one furnished by what may be called the symbiotics of religion. In Europe, the confluence of paganism and Christianity has submerged all paganism without destroying it. In Java, the confluence of Indonesian animism, Hinduism and Islam has produced a doctrinal, terminological and sentimental complex which is difficult to analyse and is an example of permeation without suppression. In China, Confucianism and Buddhism have remained unmixed side by side, whilst Buddhism has intimately influenced Taoism, chiefly in the popular strata. In India, likewise, Hinduism and Islam have remained oil and water, though a subtle influence has perhaps been exercised upon later Islamic mysticism and magic by the surrounding Hindu atmosphere. On the contrary the purely artificial individual endeavours of an Akbar and a Dārā Shikūh to introduce Hindu thought and speculation into Persian literature have remained almost completely isolated and sterile. A little literary theological island has been created which has remained uninhabited and from which no travellers have undertaken further voyages into the world of Islam. The rich and fertile results of the introduction of Greek thought into the Arabic and the mediaeval western world is in this instance counterbalanced by an entire lack of consequences, and the effort was still-born. Nevertheless syncretistic and irenicistic tendencies are always interesting and deserve attention. The sharply defined and definitely circumscribed literary activity of the few notable Muhammadans who have sought to transplant Indian thought into the Islamic world is of such a nature and moreover connected with incidents of human and dramatic value.

It is difficult to decide where to begin in this study: with the artificial endeavours of rulers, like Akbar or Dārā Shikūh or with those of humbler mystics without autocratic influence. One might either
prefer to approach the problem through translations such as the Persian translation of the Upanisads or through systematic treatises such as the one that forms the subject of the present volume. The whole subject has been scarcely touched. Speyer in his De Indische Theosophie has in one of his chapters dealt with the influence of Indian theosophy on the West and has shortly spoken about Kabir, the Sikhs, Akbar, and Ram Mohan Roy. De Massignon has recently published and translated the conversations between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dās. ‘Abdul Wali has dealt with the relations between Dārā Shikūh and Sarmad (Journal, A.S.B., Vol. XX). The most fundamental discussion, however, hitherto, of Indian influence on Muhammadan mysticism seems M. Horten’s Indische Strömungen in der islamischen Mystik (Heidelberg 1927 and 1928). The two parts of the work contain ample bibliographical references.

Now Professor Mahfuz-ul-Haq comes, in the present publication, with a contribution of singular interest for this subject. It is not that this “Mingling of the two Oceans” proves to be a book of deep insight or great spirituality. On the contrary, it seems ‘poor in spirit’ and largely verbal. But it gives us a starting point. From this little book we can work backwards and forwards. It is an apt focus for further research.

Professor Haq, by his painstaking translation, and by the fullness of his annotation, has deserved well of his readers and has made easy the task of students in this particular field who may be neither Sanskritists nor Persianists. Above all, by his careful and straightforward work he has taken away a false glamour with which the tragic death of its author had endowed the booklet as long as it remained sealed. But in this connection a word of caution suggests itself. We feel that the absence of the glow of true inspiration in the treatise is obvious. But is this poverty of quality a true measure of Dārā’s attitude and endowments? From other data known concerning him it is legitimate to regard this question as one open to a certain measure of doubt. Have we not rather to esteem the matter-of-fact substance and the terminological comparisons of the treatise not as the measure of his vision but as the measure of his prudence? After all he was executed as a heretic. Could he in his time and in his circumstances have said more than he did in this work without danger of dire consequences? All these are matters of speculation, but of great human interest. We shall only know for certain when his whole œuvre is made accessible to us, and we are grateful to Professor Haq for having made a beginning. Dārā Shikūh, whether he was great of soul or only an aristocratic but small dabbler in great things, will remain a tragic figure in human history. As the last continuator of a short line of activity begun by his great-grandfather, the great Akbar, he is also an historical figure in the development of Indian thought. For all these and many other reasons we welcome the present work in which from beyond the gulf of death the voice of Hindu-Muslim Unity has been given life again, insistent, sincere, and tragic.

Calcutta: 

15th May, 1929. 

Johan van Manen.
The founder of the Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones, initiated discussion on religions of different countries in a comparative manner. A new branch of human knowledge, Comparative Religion, developed and progressed in this way in our country. Efforts were made by the Asiatic Society to unfold various aspects of social and religious life of the Asiatic peoples. The publication of the Bibliotheca Indica Series, started in 1849, was a collection of works representing Oriental literature and containing original text editions as well as translations into English including bibliographies, dictionaries, grammars and studies. The New Series had begun in 1860, and is still continuing. In this Series, in 1929, the Asiatic Society published the original Persian Text of *Majma-UL-Bahrain* (1654-1655) by Prince Muhammad Dara Shikuh (1615-1659). In the same year the English translation of this text along with notes and variants was done by Professor M. Mahfuz-UL-Haq of the Presidency College, Calcutta. Professor Haq consulted five Manuscripts of *Majma-UL-Bahrain* available in different parts of India in preparing the present text. He also used the Arabic version of *Majma-UL-Bahrain*. But he could not secure a copy of Urdu translation of this work by Gocul Prasad.

It is gratifying to note that Professor Haq received ungrudging assistance from several noted scholars in editing this work. At the initial stage Dr. Surendra Nath Das Gupta was associated with it and made some important suggestions. Professor Nilmoni Chakravarti helped Professor Haq in identifying and transliterating the Sanskrit terms. As regards the vast Islamic bibliography and Quaranic literature Professor Haq got help from his teacher and colleague Dr. M. Hidyat Husain. The urge for acquiring knowledge on comparative religion was so strong that the scholars of different communities could move together to produce such a valuable work.

The attention of the scholars to the works and ideas of Dara Shikuh was, however, drawn by the famous historian William Irvine, who in a letter to Sir Jadunath Sarkar in August 1905, pointed out: "The losing side (e.g. Dara Shikuh's) always gets
scanty justice in histories". Sir Jadunath threw enough light on the career and character of Dara Shikuh as 'a soldier and a politician' in his History of Aurangzib and he suggested to Dr. Kalika Ranjan Qanungo the idea of a monograph on Dara Shikuh. Accordingly, Dr. Qanungo took up the study of the tragic career of the Philosopher-Prince and published his work Dara Shukoh in 1935. In his study of Dara Shikuh Dr. Qanungo took his clue from the observations of William Irvine. Afterwards a very learned article entitled Les Entretiens de Lahore by Huart and Massignon came out in the Journal Asiatique in October-December 1926 which gave 'a new turn' to Dr. Qanungo's study.

In spite of the second edition of Dr. Qanungo's work, which was published after a lapse of about seventeen years, and the monographs and papers of Rezaul Karim (Sadhak Dara Shikuh, Calcutta, 1944), Bikramjit Hazrat, Dara Shikuh, Life and Works, (Santi nikan, 1953), Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (Sanskriti Silpa Itihas, Calcutta, 1976) and Syed Muztaba Ali (Jubaraj-Raja-Kahinir Patabhum, 1381 B.S.) on this aspect, the study of Dara Shikuh did not progress much. Realizing the importance of the study of Dara Shikuh in the present context of Indian life, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji as President of the Dara Shikuh—Rammohun Institute, in collaboration with its Secretary Rabiuddin Ahmed, organized a seminar in Calcutta on the Life and Thoughts of Prince Dara Shikuh on 20-21 March, 1976 in which prominent scholars took part.

In this way the ground was prepared by several scholars to develop the study of Dara Shikuh in our country. I am presenting the second edition which is a reprint of the first edition of Majma-ul-Bahrain 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."

10 April, 1982.

Amalendu De
General Secretary.
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# IMPORTANT ERRATUM.

All page numbers given in the margins on p. 78 of the work (p. 2 of Section III, Text) and on pp. 117-128 of the work (pp. 1-12 of Section IV, Variants) should be increased by 2, as by an oversight the page numbers of the title leaves of the two sections have not been taken into account. Owners are advised to make the necessary corrections in their copies.
TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION.

- k. ..... d.
- th. ..... t.
- ch. ..... t.
- b. ..... z.
- kb. ..... 'a,i,'u
- db. ..... gh.
- z. ..... c.
- zh. ..... k.
- sh. ..... u.
- y. ..... 'a,i,'u.
- i. ..... l, y.

Errata.

p. 3, l. 3 For Kandhār read Kandahār.
p. 11, l. 17 Schath
p. 11, l. 34 Rūzbahān
p. 12, l. 4 pp. xxx–xxvii
p. 21, l. 28 See
p. 23, l. 29 Kandhār
p. 33, l. 13 page 5
p. 39, l. 35 See p. 6, n I
p. 40, l. 36 Rasa
p. 47, l. 16 (Āwāz) ā
p. 48, l. 10 Dhamma
p. 51, l. 11 ruyat
p. 53, ll. 20, 21 Qaflāri
p. 55, l. 14 (Path) ā
p. 60, l. 35 p. 13
p. 97, l. 10 ɛnɛi ɛraɛ
p. 98, ll. 16, 17 ɛnɛari
INTRODUCTION

Dārā Shikūh, the author of the present work, was born at Ajmīr, (Monday night, the 29th Šafar, 1024 A.H.), the city hallowed by the memory of the great mystic, Mu'tunuddin Chishti, whose tomb there has, for centuries past, been visited by the devoted followers of the Prophet. Dārā's father, Shāhjahān, had also frequented the tomb of the celebrated saint and prayed earnestly for the birth of a son, for his two eldest children had been daughters. The prayer was accepted, as it is said, and Dārā's birth was naturally hailed with the outburst of feelings of joy by his devoted parents.

The prince himself records the circumstances attending his birth, while noticing the life of Mu'tunuddin Chishti, in his Sāfīvat-ul-Awliyā: "And this faşīr was born in the suburbs of Ajmīr, by the (lake of) Sāgar Tāl, on the last day of Šafar, Monday midnight, 1024 A.H. As in the house of my respected father three daughters had been born and there were no male issues and (as) the age of His Majesty had reached twenty-four, he, on account of the faith and devotion that he had for the Khwāja (i.e. Mu'tunuddin Chishti) prayed, with thousand presentations and supplications, for the birth of a son. And with His grace God, the Most High, brought this meanest slave of his (i.e. Dārā Shikūh) into existence who hopes that He will grant him the grace of doing good and will bring to his host His goodwill and that of His friends. Āmis, Oh, Lord of the world." Thus, it is a happy coincidence that Dārā who was born at the city of a great mystic and divine turned out to be a devout Şūfi and a 'man of the Path' throughout his life.

EARLY LIFE.

We know very little about Dārā's early life, for the Mughal historians, who have primarily been the chroniclers of the political events occurring in the State, give us very scanty information on the subject,
and the first glimpse that we get of him is at the time when he is handed over to Jahāngir as a hostage on behalf of his rebel father, Khurram, and jealously guarded by his step-grandmother, Nūr Jahān. Dārā was detained at Lahore up to the date of Šāh Jahān’s accession (1037 A.H. = 1627 A.D.). When Dārā Shikūh returned to Āgra he was about 13 years old and it must have been about this time that Šāh Jahān would have given earnest and serious attention to imparting higher education to him. But there is nothing on record, so far as I know, to show how far Dārā Shikūh had progressed in his studies and what special endeavours had been made by his father to educate him in accordance with the best traditions of the Mughals. What the Court Historians inform us of is not about the progress made by Dārā in his study of Philosophy or Caligraphy but of the showering of royal favours, in the form of presents and gifts and promotions in official rank, etc. But we must confess that such matters can hardly interest us. They can only be used profitably by a chronicler of Dārā’s political history and not by one who aims at tracing the literary attainments of this illustrious prince. So, I am constrained to pass over the many unimportant events recorded in the official and non-official histories of the reigns of Šāh Jahān and Aurangzib, and would only make a passing reference to some of the more important ones.

Dārā, as is generally known, was the most loved child of Šah Jahān and, as such, the Emperor did not like to lose his company by sending him to distant provinces. The other princes, Šuja’, Murād and Aurangzib, were sent out as provincial governors but Dārā, “the eldest child of the Khilāfat,” was kept at the Imperial Court, under the very eyes of his fond father who was unwilling to part company with him. This excess of love was unfortunate in two ways: it aroused the jealousy of the other princes and shut out Dārā from gaining first-hand experience as a soldier and an administrator. Undoubtedly, he was appointed

1 Dārā was handed over, along with Aurangzib, to Jahāngir in June, 1626 A.D., Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 377; Tuzuk-i-Jahāngir (‘Aligarh, 1804.) p. 391; Beni Prasad’s Jahangir, p. 304.
2 Dārā Shikūh was escorted with Aurangzib to Āgra and received by the parents on the 1st Rajab, 1037 A.H. (Bāḏahānāma, Vol. I, Part i, pp. 177, 178; Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 398.)
3 We only learn that Mullā Mirāk Harawi was appointed as a tutor of Dārā (Bāḏahānāma, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 344; Sūkanat-ul-Awliyā, p. 47).
governor of the provinces of Allahabad\textsuperscript{1} and the Panjāb,\textsuperscript{2} but he was allowed to live at the capital and rule through his agents. This rule by proxy could hardly make him experienced. He also led the Kandhār campaign in 1053 A.H.\textsuperscript{3} But, from the accounts of the campaign, it is apparent that it was not like an expedition led to a distant land or a march through difficult and perilous territory but rather the triumphant pageant of a victorious general. The expedition was unsuccessful, so was the previous one led by Aurangzib. But it cannot be denied that Dārā made certain tactical blunders and the over-concern of his father for him hastened his recall;\textsuperscript{4} the task being thus left unaccomplished.

It will appear, therefore, that Dārā was more a man of the court than of the camp; but it cannot be denied, at the same time, that he possessed an extraordinary capacity for adaptability. A prince who had passed his days in the luxuries of a most magnificent Mughal court, would have been expected to be utterly hopeless in the field of action; but we find that Dārā can compose himself, he can adjust himself to his environment and can face the frowns of fortune with a dignified countenance and a lofty resignation. In the struggle for succession, which followed the illness of Shāhjahān, in 1067 A.H., Dārā displayed all his latent powers of organisational and generalship; but he was no match for the sun-dried diplomat and general—Aurangzib. The three brothers Shuja', Aurangzib and Murād were marching on Agra with a well-equipped and trained army and Dārā had to face them with all the resources at his disposal. He sent his son Sulaimān Shikūh against Shuja', who was routed and turned back, but, before Sulaimān could come to the rescue of his father, the latter had been defeated by the combined forces of Aurangzib and Murād, at Samūgarh (7th Ramādān, 1068 A.H.). The battle of Samūgarh sealed the fate of Dārā, who fled to Agra, thence to Lahore, Multān, Bhakkar, Gujarāt and Cutch. He returned and fought with Aurangzib but only to be turned back after an ignominious defeat. The flight of Dārā is a very painful episode of suffering, privation and misery. His companions

\textsuperscript{1} Allahabad and the forts of Rohitas and Janada was given to Dārā on the 1st Jamāda I, 1055 A.H. (Bāḏehānāme, Vol. II, p. 424).
\textsuperscript{2} Bāḏehānāme, Vol. II, p. 611.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 291–308.
\textsuperscript{4} Muntahab-ul-Lubāb, (Bih. Ind.), p. 581.
deserted him, his best supporters left him and the climax of calamities was reached when Nadira Begam, his dearest and best loved wife, was snatched away by the cruel hand of Death. Darā presented a miserable figure; he was a broken man, and resigned himself to the will of God. His sufferings, however, were soon to end. He was captured by Malik Jīwan of Dādar, his Afghān host, and brought to Delhi under the escort of Aurangzib’s generals and paraded through the streets on a large elephant. He underwent a mock trial at the hands of Aurangzib’s ‘Ulamā and was found guilty of apostasy from Islam. The younger brother passed orders for his execution,1 which was carried out on the night of Wednesday, 21st Dhul Hijja,2 1069 A.H. So died Darā, the eldest son of Shāhjahān and the would-be emperor of Hindūstān.

DARĀ AS AN AUTHOR.

A perusal of the writings of Darā Shikuh will make it abundantly clear that he had Sufistic leanings from a very early age. He

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1 For an account of the trial of Darā Shikuh and the charges brought against him see Maṭṭhīr-i-‘Alamgirī, (Bib. Ind.), p. 4; ‘Alamgirnāma, (Bib. Ind.), pp. 34–36, in which the charges are enumerated in some detail, and p. 432 where the immediate reasons of the execution are given; Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, (Bib. Ind.), ii, p. 87, in which Darā is accused of vilifying Taṣawwuf; Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, i, pp. 356–358, gives a very graphic account of the execution but makes the highly incredible statement that Darā wanted to embrace Christianity in his last moments; Bernier’s account (Travels, p. 100), is brief; J. N. Sarkar (Aurangzib, i, pp. 296–299 and ii, pp. 213–219) gives the best account based, among others, on Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā’ of Mir Muḥammad Maʿṣūm.

2 ‘Alamgirnāma, (Bib. Ind.), 432. According to Maṭṭhīr-i-‘Alamgirī, (Bib. Ind.), p. 27, Darā was executed on the night of Thursday, the 21st Dhul Hijja; the author of ‘Amal-i-Shāh (Elliott vii, p. 244) records on the 26th Dhul Hijja, Khāfi Khān (Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, ii, p. 87) says that Darā was executed on the last (6th) day of Dhul Hijja, (i.e. 29th), while Mufti Ghulam Surwār (Khuznhat-ul-Aṣfāyā, i, p. 174), records the date of execution on the 1st Muharram, 1070 A.H., which is evidently wrong. H. Blochmann (J.A.S.B., xxxix, i, p. 277) accepts the 21st Dhul Hijja and says that it was Tuesday evening. He observes:—

"The last day (29th Zī Hajjah) of the year 1009 coincides with Wednesday, 7th September, 1659. Hence the 21st Zī Hijjah is Tuesday, 30th August. The Muhammadan Historian says, Darā was killed on a Wednesday evening. This fully agrees with our computation; for the Muhammadan Wednesday commenced on Tuesday, 6 o’clock P.M."
had studied the well-known works of the Şûfis of Islâm and had examined their contents very closely and minutely. We find him making very apt quotations from the works of the various masters of Şûfism and also deducing relevant, but mostly independent, conclusions from the Holy Kurân and the Traditions of the Prophet. He appears to be independent in his judgment and bold in his conclusions. He does not seem to make a fetish of the stereotyped dogmas nor, necessarily, follows the beaten path. His studies in Şûfism lead him to the conclusion that Truth is not the exclusive property of any particular or 'chosen' race but that it can be found in all religions and at all times. But this conclusion was not reached in one day. It was the result of deep study and continued association with the divines of different religions and the Şûfis of various shades of opinion. This gradual development of the mental attitude of Dârâ is a very interesting study. His is a mind which advances from the commonplace to the sublime. We can have some idea of this gradual advancement from a perusal of the various works and their contents, a list of which I give here in their chronological order:

1. Safinat-ul-Awliyâ, is the first work of Dârâ, which he wrote in his 25th year (27th Ramadân, 1049 A.H.). He writes in the introduction to this work that he had a particular respect for the Şûfis and the religious divines, and had studied their lives closely but had been disappointed to find that the details of their lives were scattered in the pages of so many different manuscripts. Moreover, as he remarks on p. 12, the dates of the birth and death of many mystics were wanting in the standard biographies of the Şûfis, to wit, the Nafahat-ul-Ums, Tarih-i-Yâftî and Tabakât-i-Suliânî. So he contrived to compose this work with the distinct object of supplying, within a very short compass, the details regarding the dates of birth and death, the place of burial and other important particulars of the saints of Islâm. The extent as well as the conciseness of the work is apparent from the fact that in some 200 pages, Dârâ has noticed the lives of about 411 saints and divines, including the Prophet, his wives, the Orthodox Caliphs and the Imâms. The following is a detailed list of the contents of the work:

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1 The Nawal Kishîr edition (1884) comprises 218 pages.
1. Prophet Muhammad, the Caliphs (4), the three Amir-ul-Muminin and the Imams (18) \[1-26\]
2. Saints of the Kādiri order \[27-45\]
3. Saints of the Naḳshbandi order \[66-94\]
4. Saints of the Chishti order \[95-119\]
5. Saints of the Kubrawi order \[120-139\]
6. Saints of the Suhrawardi order \[140-169\]
7. Saints of the various minor orders \[160-377\]
8. Wives of the Prophet \[378-388\]
9. Daughters of the Prophet \[389-392\]
10. Female mystics \[393-417\]

In the introduction to the work Dārā styles himself, as he has done in most of his later works, Ḥanafī, Kādirī, namely, a follower of Imām Abū Ḥanifa and a Murīd of the order which owes its origin to Shaikh ‘Abdul Kādir of Gilān, and concludes by hoping that his (i.e. Dārā’s) future may be happy through the grace of the many divines and mystics whose lives he has noticed in this work.

2. Sakīnā-ul-Auliya.—This is Dārā’s second work which he wrote in his 28th year (p. 134),¹ in 1052 A.H. (p. 6), dealing with the biography of Miyān Mir, or Miyān Jīv, the spiritual guide of his Pir and Murshid, Mulla Shāh,² called Lisānullāh, and his many disciples. Dārā Shikūh writes in the introduction to this work that on a certain Thursday, in the 24th year of his life, an angel cried out to him, in his dream, that he will get such a reward from God as has not been bestowed on any previous king, and the fulfilment of this message came on the 29th Dhul Hijja, 1049, when he was initiated into the Kādirī order by Mulla Shāh, who, according to Dārā, was the greatest divine of his time. Dārā, besides noticing at considerable length the lives of Miyān Jīv, his sister Jamāl Khâtūn, and his many disciples, the most notable among

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¹ Urdu translation lithographed at Lahore.
² In Binyon’s The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls (Milford, 1921), Plate No. XXXIII, there is a fine miniature portraying Miyān Jīv and Mulla Shāh sitting opposite each other. And in Havell’s Indian Painting and Sculpture, (London, 1908), there is a fine painting, reproduced in colour, in which Mulla Shāh and Khwaja ‘Abdullāh are seen sitting opposite to Miyān Jīv, and in E. Blechot’s Les Illuminures des Manuscrits Orientaux (Paris, 1920), there is a portrait of Dārā Shikūh and Mulla Shāh, which the learned author could not identify.
whom is Mullā Shāh, discusses various Sūfistic and religious problems, such as the need of a spiritual guide, the way to find him, the desirability or otherwise of Samā' (or engagement in hearing esoteric songs), the problem of the vision of God (or rūyāt), etc. In short, the work is replete with interesting discussions on the various problems of the Path and can be read with profit by the serious students of Sūfism. It appears that Dārā has supported his arguments by reference to or quotations from the various standard works of Tradition or Sūfism and the names of the following works, to which Dārā has referred in this book, may serve to give an idea of the extensive studies of this prince: Kašf-ul-Mahjūb (p. 5), Tāriḵ-i-Yāfī (p. 13), Mu'jam-ul-Buldān (p. 14), Shāhī Muslim (p. 24), Mishkāt (p. 24), Bahr-ul-Ḥakā'īk (p. 63), Tafsīr-i-Sullāmī, (p. 63), Tafsīr-i-'Arā'is (p. 64), Tafsīr-i-Kubshārī (p. 64), Faṣl-ul-Khijāb (p. 65), Takmilā (p. 81), Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī (p. 135).

This work is also valuable in another way, namely, that it gives us an insight into the relation which existed between Dārā and Miyān Jīv and Mullā Shāh. He first meets Miyān Jīv in the company of his father, Shāhjahān, in 1043 A.H., and the immediate effect of this meeting is his complete recovery from the serious malady he had been suffering from for the last four months (pp. 38, 39). The second visit of Dārā, which was also paid in company of his father, produces a still greater effect on him. He goes bare-footed to the upper storey of Miyān Jīv's house and, out of reverence to the saint, gathers the chewed clove thrown away by him. Next, he goes to him alone and pays him homage by placing his hands at his feet (p. 41). This opened the portals of Divine mysteries on Dārā and Miyān Mīr pronounced him to be his "very life and vision," (p. 42). And it was through the kindness of Miyān Mīr that Dārā received lessons in Mushāhida (or, Beholding of God) and also witnessed the Lailat-ul-Kadr, on the 27th Ramaḍān, 1050 A.H. The relations that existed between Dārā and his spiritual guide, Mullā Shāh, were more intimate and endured up to the latter's death, in 1072 A.H. It is impossible to reproduce even in brief the many personal reminiscences of Dārā's relations with Mullā Shāh which the

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2 This interview took place on the 8th Rajab, 1044 A.H. (see Budhāhānāma, vol. I, part ii, p. 65 and Sakina-ul-Awliyā, p. 39).
former has recorded in the Sakina, but the following extract from the letters which the latter wrote to Dārā may serve to show the esteem in which the prince was held by his Pir and Murshid. He writes: "... I repose much trust in your wisdom and understanding ..." (Letter No. 1, p. 140). "You are well informed of divine mysteries ..." (Letter No. 3, p. 141). ... "O! temporal and spiritual King ..." (Letter No. 9, p. 147), etc.

Moreover, Mullā Shāh has written a special Ghazal in which he has exalted the spiritual attainments of Dārā Shikūh. He writes¹:

The first and the second Ṣāḥib Kīrān (namely Amīr Tīmūr and Shābjahan) are the kings of grandeur, (while) our Dārā Shikūh is the Ṣāḥib Kīrān of heart.

From the universe, the provision of the two worlds, he has brought under his grip on account of the merchandise of his heart.

We also learn from the Sakinat-ul-Awliyā that Mullā Shāh had asked Dārā to impart spiritual instructions to the murīds; but the 'Ulama who were known to Dārā dissuaded him from doing so (p. 135). He took omen from the Kūr'ān which was favourable to him but it appears that he never actually engaged himself in imparting spiritual instructions. Mullā Shāh exhorted Dārā, on the eve of his departure to Kashmīr, "to advise the companions (yārās) as he was the wisest among them"; and Dārā, in his turn, requested him to pray for his future salvation (p. 138). It also appears that Mullā Shāh was of opinion that the propagation of the Kādirī mission in India would take place at the hands of the prince (p. 139). Of the religious exercises in which Dārā engaged himself, there is one which deserves special mention, namely, his exercise of restraining the breath. He writes, "One day he (Mullā Shāh) said that the exercise of restraining the breath which prevails in our order is absent from all others, and is extremely difficult to perform. He taught me the method which is peculiar to this order. Of the exercises in which I engaged myself in the beginning (of my spiritualistic

¹ Sakinat-ul-Awliyā, Curzon Collection, No. 443, fol. 83b:

صلحبقران اول ونائي تربين حمشت اند داراشكره ما شده ماحبقران دل آخر ز كنان متنام دو کن را گر دو خود خون دمغی دان دل
career), this is one and, as a result, I could pass the whole night, whether it be long or short, in two breaths and, at times, my condition became such as if my life was going to be extinct."

3. *Risāla-i-Haḍ Numā*, or 'the Compass of the Truth,' is the third work of Dārā Shikūhī. It is a small tract of some thirty pages\(^1\) dealing with the various stages of spiritual development and discussing the ways and means of reaching the highest pitch of spiritual perfection. The prince writes in the introduction that "none should read this Risāla unless he has got the companionship of some perfect (divine)" (p. 6). Further, he adds that this tract is a compendium of *Futūḥāt*, *Fusūs-ul-Hikam*, *Lawā'ih*, *Lana'āt*, *Lawāmi'*, and other works of Sūfism and expects that, "if this tract is examined by a man of God, he will justly remark what a (wonderful) gate of Divine inspiration has been opened to this jāhir and that God has, inspite of his being in this garb (of a prince), opened to him the portals of saintliness and divine knowledge; so that human beings may know that His favour is without any (particular) cause. He draws towards Himself whomsoever He likes, in whatever garb he be. This wealth (of Divine knowledge) is not bestowed on every one but has been bestowed specially on him." (p. 6). Dārā goes on speaking in this strain. He says that his first work, *Safīna*, was a composition of the period of quest (after a perfect divine) and his second, *Sakīna*, was written after he had reached the companionship of such a divine and had learnt from him "the paths of Sulūk and the Makāmāt (or the stages of the Sūfis)," (p. 7). Lastly, he says, "Now that the gates of Tawḥīd (Divine Unity) and 'Iṣrān (Divine knowledge) have been opened to him by God, the Most Holy and High, and He has bestowed on him His special gifts and bounties, he records them in this tract." (p. 7). Dārā further speaks (p. 5) that he has uniformly named a book by taking omens from the Holy Kur'ān. He writes "In all my compositions I have followed the practice of taking omens from the Holy Kur'ān and naming them at the Divine instance. It had come to my mind to name this tract, *Hak Numā*, (or, the Compass of the Truth) and, when I took omen, the following Holy verse, which unmistakably points to this tract being a guide to truth and also to its greatness, came out":

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\(^1\) Lithographed at the Nawal Kishūr Press, Lucknow, 1910. It has also been translated into English and published by the Panini Office, Allahabad.
And certainly We gave Moses the Book after We had destroyed the former generations, clear arguments for men and a guidance and a mercy, that they may be mindful (Ch. xxviii: 43).

The tract is divided into six jālās (or, sections) dealing with the four worlds of Nāsūt, or, the Human World (pp. 8, 9); the Malakūt, or, the Invisible World (p. 9-21); the Jabarūt, or, the Highest Heaven (p. 21-22); and Lāhut, or the World of Divinity (p. 22). The fifth jāl deals with Hawiyat or Divine Essence and the sixth is a continuation of the same discussion. The author concludes the work by quoting one of his quatrains which shows that the tract was completed in 1056 A.H. and that it was written under inspiration:

"The whole of this tract is a compass of the Truth, and was completed in the year one thousand and fifty-six.

Consider this to be the work of Kādir (i.e. the Absolute) and not of Kādirī (i.e. Dārā Shikūh),

Understand whatever I have said, and peace be on thee."

4. Shāhīyāt, or Ḥasanūl-‘Ārifīn, is a collection of Śūfī aphorisms containing the ecstatic utterances of the mystics, which seemingly appear to be in direct contravention of the orthodox doctrines of Islam. The author says in the introduction that his mystic utterances and the expression of higher truths in moments of ecstasy gave rise to serious objections from interested quarters. He writes 1:

"As I had become dissatisfied with the current books of the men of the Path, and at times used to utter words containing the highest truth, in my ecstatic states, and some ill-natured and insincere people, out of shallow knowledge, began to taunt and accuse me of heresies, it struck me that I should collect sayings called Shataḥat of high-souled and eminent men of sanctity as authorities for my professions, to convince those who are imbued with the spirit of Dajjal instead of that of Christ or with that of Pharaoh instead of that of Moses or with that

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of Abū Jahl instead of that of a Muhammad. Some sayings had been, no doubt, collected by one Bukli 1, but as they were in allegorical style, I have added more, and simplified the language so that it may be properly understood.”

A perusal of the above extract will make it abundantly clear that Dārā had reached a very high stage of spiritual life and, if we take his statement to be correct, there is no gainsaying that he indulged in such ecstatic effusions as are the exclusive privilege of those alone who are spiritually perfect. He has boldly supported his aphorisms and utterances by writing this work, which not only embodies the ecstatic utterances of the various divines and mystics—such as Bāyazīd, Dhun Nūn al-Misrī, Sahl b. ' Abdullāh at-Tustarī, Abū Sa‘īd Kharrāz, Junaid al-Baghḍādī, Ruwāim, Abū Bakr Wāṣiṭī, Aḥmad-i-Ḡazzālī, ‘Abdul Ḵādir-al-Jilānī, Ibn al-‘Arabī and others—but also of Prophet Muḥammad, the four Orthodox Caliphs and Imām Zain al-‘Abidīn and Imām Ja‘far-i-Ṣādīq. Dārā concludes by saying that some truth-seekers had asked him to embody in this work his own Shāth, or aphorisms, but he replied by saying, “My Shāth is that all the Shāths contained in this work are mine.” This is certainly a very bold statement and may be said to do credit to the prince.

It appears from the introduction that Dārā Shikūh undertook to write this work in 1062 A.H., when he was 28 years of age (p. 1), 2 and actually completed it on Monday, the last day of Rabī‘ al-Awwal, 1064 A.H., (p. 64). His conclusion is interesting as it gives us an insight into his mental attitude. He writes (p. 64): “He is fortunate who finds taste in these matters, and is benefited by them and considers himself a sincere devotee of theirs (i.e. the Šūfts) and engages himself in such pursuits. God, the Generous, has said, ‘We did not create the Jin and the human beings except for devotion.’ All the erotic and esoteric commentators of the Kur‘ān have explained devotion by the word Irjān (or, Divine knowledge). Hence, nothing is better than Tawḥīd (monotheism) and Ma‘rifat (Divine knowledge) . . . .”

1 The learned Pandit has wrongly read Bukli (بکلی) as Bukli. It is part of the name of Shaikh Rūzbāhān Baḵlī, the well-known saint, whose life Dārā has noticed on p. 176 of his Suhnuṭ-ul-Awliyā (d. 606 A.H.).

2 Ḥasan-ul-‘Ārifīn, (Urdū translation) lithographed at Lahore and published by Malik Faḍluddīn, Malik Shānuddīn and Malik Tājuddīn, Kakkay Zaiy.
5. *Majma‘ul-Bahrayn,* or 'the Mingling of the Two Oceans,' is the fifth work of Dārā Shikūh which he completed in 1065 A.H., namely, when he was forty-two years old. As I have discussed the work more fully in subsequent pages, (pp. xxx–xxxiii, in/r.) I need not repeat what I have stated elsewhere.

6. *Upanishads—*This is a translation of some fifty chapters of the *Upanishads,* or *Upanikhat,* entitled *Sirr-i-Akbar,* made by Dārā Shikūh, in 1067 A.H., or some two years before his execution.

The chief merit of this translation lies in its simplicity and it must always be considered as one of the best specimens of easy, flowing style. I cannot do better than present to the reader a translation of the introductory pages of this work, which will give him, I believe, an adequate idea as to the reasons which prompted Dārā to undertake this work; the pains that he took to read the Old and the New Testaments, the Psalms of David and other Scriptures; his disappointment at not finding in these scriptures a true solution of the problem of *Tawḥīd*; and, finally, getting his heart’s desire in the *Upanishads.*

He writes: "Praise be to the Self which has made the dot on the letter bi (ب) of Bismillāh, (in the name of God), an eternal secret in all the revealed books; and Al-Ḥamd which is *Omul-kitāb,* in the Holy *Kur‘ān,* is a reference to His Great Name (*Ism-i-Aʿẓam,* in which are included all the angels, Heavenly Books, Prophets and Apostles. *Preface:* Now, thus sayeth, this griefless faqīr; Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, that when he visited the Paradise-like Kashmir, in 1050, he had, through Divine grace and His boundless mercy, occasion to become a disciple of Mullā Shāh ...... As he had an ardent desire for seeing the God-knowing devotees of the various ‘orders’ and hear their high utterances regarding monotheism, he had read the various works on mysticism and had himself composed tracts, but, inspite of this, his thirst for understanding *Tawḥīd,* which is a vast ocean, was increasing more and more.

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1 Anquetil Duperron, 'the famous French traveller and discoverer of the Zend Avesta,' translated the *Upanishads* into French (not published) and into Latin, from the Persian translation made by Dārā Shikūh. It was published in two volumes in 1801 and 1802. (See the *Upanishads,* translated by Max Müller in the *Sacred Books of the East Series,* Vol. I, p. lvi.)

2 *Sirr-i-Akbar,* (A.S.B. Curzon Collection, No. II, 154), fols. 1b, 2a, 3a, b, and 4a. See also J.A.S.B., (New Series), Vol. XIX, No. 7, pp. 242 to 244 and 250 to 252.
New problems were coming to his mind, the solution of which was impossible without a reference to the sayings of God or without (quoting) an authority from His Omniscient Self. Moreover, there were many secrets concealed in the Holy Qur'an and the Sacred Book, whose interpreter it was difficult to find. So, he (i.e. the author) desired to read all the revealed Books, for the utterances of God elucidate and explain one another. It may be that in one place it is found in compendium, while in others it may be given in detail; and, as such, the compendium may be understood by the help of the detailed. I read the Old and the New Testaments and the Psalms of David and other scriptures but the discourse on Tawhid found in them was brief and in a summary form and, from the easy translations which have been made by interested persons, the object could not be realized. . . ."

Further, the author says that he examined the religious works of the Hindūs, "who do not negate monotheism," and found that the monotheistic verses contained in the four Vedas have been collected and elucidated in the Upanikhat, which is an ocean of monotheism. So he undertook a literal and correct translation of the work with the help of the Pandits and the Sanyāsīs of Benares and accomplished the work in 1067 A.H. He says: "Any difficult problem or sublime idea that came to his mind and was not solved in spite of his best efforts, becomes clear and solved with the help of this ancient work, which is undoubtedly the first heavenly Book and the fountain-head of the ocean of monotheism, and, in accordance with or rather an elucidation of the Qur'an. And this verse appears to have been revealed for this very ancient book:

إنه للقرآن كريم في كتب مكروه لا يسمه إلا المطهرون. 

(Ch. LVI : 77, 78, 79. )

It is ascertainable that the above verse does not refer to the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the Gospels, nor to the Secret Tablet (Lauh-i-Mahfūz), as the word tanzil cannot be applied to the latter. Now, as Upanikhat is a hidden secret . . . and the actual verses of the Qur'an can be found in it, it is certain that the hidden book (or, kitāb-i-makhfūz) is a reference to this very ancient book. This Fāṣīr has known unknown things and understood un-understood problems through the medium
of this book. And (he) had no other object in view (in translating this work) except that he would be personally benefited or that his issues, friends and the seekers of the Truth would gather its fruits. The graced one who, having set aside the promptings of passion, and casting off all prejudice, will read and understand this translation,—which is entitled Sirr-i-Akbar (or, the Great Secret)—will consider it to be Divine utterance, he will have no anxiety or fear or grief and will be helped and fortified with Divine grace .......

7. Bhāgavat Gītā.—The Persian translation of this well-known Sanskrit work is ascribed to Dārā Shikūh in the manuscript copy (No. 1949) preserved in the India Office Library. Dr. Ethé is of opinion¹ that Dārā Shikūh and not Abul Faḍl, as wrongly asserted by Dr. Rieu,² is the author of the work. In view of the categorical statement made by Dr. Ethé it is difficult to discredit his statement. The translation does not bear any date but most probably it was not made before 1067 A.H., namely, the year in which Dārā translated the Upanishads.

To the above list we may add the following works, which are, more or less, of a fragmentary character :

8. I learn from the Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib,³ an extremely valuable biography of Persian poets, that Dārā Shikūh had compiled a Bayād, or Anthology, which was used by the author of Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib in compiling his Tadhkira. It is unfortunate, however, that even a single copy of the Bayād cannot be traced in any of the Oriental libraries. It is needless to add that had the Bayād been available it must have thrown some light on the poetical taste of the prince and might also have enabled us to gather some more verses of the prince.

9. Dārā Shikūh is also the author of a large number of letters which are of no mean literary importance. The Fayyāḥ-ul-Kawānīn ⁴

³ MS. copy in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, (No. 230 of the Hindustani), p. 3.
⁴ The Fayyāḥ-ul-Kawānīn is a valuable collection of a large number of letters divided into three books: "(i) Letters of kings and princes, (ii) Letters from nobles to each other and to kings and princes, and (iii) miscellaneous letters." (Sarkar's Aurangzib, ii, p. 315). Copies of this work are extremely rare but I was fortunate
contains some eight letters written by the prince to Shâh Muḥammad Dilrubâ, Shaikh Muḥibbullâh of Allahabad and others, asking from them an explanation of certain abstruse points of Taṣawwuf. I have also come across a number of letters, ascribed to him in certain books of Inqâhâ and also in Majmûâ's, or the fragmentary collection of small tracts, etc.

10. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, (No. 701 of Blochet's Catalogue), there is a MS. copy of Nigaristân-i-Munir, which contains, at the end, the Introduction of a Murâjkâ', (or, Album), which was, as the compiler's note indicates, dictated by Dârâ Shikûb. It is not known as to whether the Album was arranged by the Prince himself or that it belonged to some one else who asked him to write the Introduction. It may also be possible that this introduction in Nigaristân is of the same Album which Dârâ presented to his "nearest and dearest wife," Nâdira Begum, in 1051 A.H. (=1641-2 A.D.).

Besides the above works, of which the first four have been printed and the last three are in manuscript, there are other works ascribed to the authorship of Dârâ which have not been traced so far. However, if an attempt is made at their identification and the statements of the various authors, who have ascribed hitherto untraced works to Dârâ, are verified in the light of modern research it will, I hope, shed more light on the life and works of this prince. I append, herewith, a list of such works as are said to have been written by Dârâ but have not, so far as I know, been traced in any of the important libraries of the East or the West:—

1. Risâla-i-Mâtârîf.—This is said to be a tract on, as its name indicates, the doctrines of mysticism. The author of Khazinat-ul-Asfiyâ 1 (vol. I, p. 175) ascribes its authorship to Dârâ Shikûb. Muḥammad Latif, in his Lahore 2, has also included it in the list of Dârâ Shikûb's works but the latter appears to have only copied it from the Khazima.

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in examining a MS. copy of the above work. I have taken down a transcription of the letters of Dârâ Shikûb which I propose to publish sometime later. Two of the above letters are included in a MS. copy of Safina-i-Bahr-ul-Muḥfiz, preserved in the Berlin Library (Pertech, pp. 40, 45). Another letter which Dârâ Shikûb wrote in 1055 A.H. (=1645 A.D.) is preserved in MS. No. 56 of the above library (Pertech, p. 115) and a letter to Sarmad was published in the Indian Antiquary, 1923.

1 By Muṭfî (Shulâm Sarwar of Lahore (Lucknow. 1874).  
2 'Latîf's Lahore (1892), p. 64.
2. *Nādir-un-Nikāt.*—Dr. Ethé has ascribed this work to Dārā Shikūh but has quoted no authority in favour of his assertion. It is not improbable, however, that *Nādir-un-Nikāt* is only another name of *Risāla-i-Haḍ Numa*, for a manuscript copy of the latter tract (in the A.S.B. Curzon Collection) bears the former title. It is equally probable that *Nādir-un-Nikāt* and *Mukālima-i-Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh* (of which I will speak later) are identical, for a manuscript copy of the latter work preserved in the O.P. Library bears the title of *Makhzan-i-Nikāt*, which is closely allied to *Nādir-un-Nikāt*. It is however, difficult to choose between the two probabilities.

3. *Maḥnawi.*—It appears from the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (vol. II, No. I) that a Persian *Maḥnawi* said to have been composed by this prince, is mentioned in the *Makhzan*, a monthly magazine of Lahore (September, 1907).

4. It is stated in the above *Journal* that Dārā Shikūh is reported to have written an autobiography, but, so far, I have found no mention of such a work in the books I have consulted in connection with the life of this prince.

**Dārā Shikūh as a Poet.**

So far, we have described only the prose works of Dārā Shikūh or such other works as have been ascribed to his authorship but have not, as far as I know, been traced anywhere. Now we may discuss briefly the merits of Dārā as a poet. But, I must state at the outset, that the materials for such a discussion are very scanty. We know from authoritative sources that Dārā Shikūh composed a *Diwān*, entitled *Iṣr-i-Aʿzam*, which, according to the author of *Khasiīn-ul-Āṣfiyya*, contained “a mine of information regarding *Tawḥīd*,” and was actually perused by him. It is a pity, however, that such a valuable *Diwān* has not, as yet, found room in the well-known libraries of the East or the West, nor has seen the light of print. I was pleased to see an announcement in the *Nigar*, (an Urdu monthly of Bhūpūl), that the *Diwān* of

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4. Ibid, p. 28.
Dārā Shikūh has been discovered and that full particulars regarding this valuable manuscript will be published in a subsequent issue of the magazine. I waited for two years but no such description of the manuscript appeared. Finally, I wrote to the editor of the magazine who informed me, in reply, that the owner of the manuscript had left for England and I must wait till his return. Hence, my disappointment. I also found an announcement in the price-list of Hāji Jān Muḥ. Allāh Bakhshī Ġanā’ī, the well-known book-sellers of Lahore, that the Quatrains of Dārā Shikūh (ربيعيات داراشکور) are in the course of print. It is more than two years since I saw the announcement and I have been asked by the publishers to wait for some months more!

It is difficult to hazard any opinion regarding the contents of the Diwān, nor is it possible to say whether the Quatrains, which are said to be in the course of publication at Lahore, are included in the Diwān, or the Matnawī, which has been ascribed to him, is also included in it. Such questions can only be answered on the publication of the Diwān or a list of its contents. For the time being, at least, we are to be contented with some 25 quatrains and a few Ghazals only, which have either been quoted by Dārā in his prose-works or have been ascribed to him in the various Tahkīras.

The largest number of Quatrains, totalling more than 20¹, are quoted by Dārā in his Hasanāt-ul-‘Arifīn and only a few more can be found in all his remaining works. Hence, it is apparent that the materials, as I have stated before, are very scanty. But we are to judge their value by their quality and not by their quantity. We find, that Dārā’s verses were appreciated in his own lifetime. The following appreciation from the pen of Mullā Shāh, who was himself an accomplished poet, will serve to convey an idea as to Dārā being a poet of no ordinary merit:²

“'All the excellences are under the subjugation of an ‘Arif, and this is well-established that he (also) possesses (some degree) of harmonious-

¹ I have calculated this number from my manuscript copy of Hasanāt, and have taken only such quatrains about which the author has distinctly mentioned that they are his composition. A perusal of other manuscripts may either increase or reduce this number.
² Mullā Shāh’s letter to Dārā Shikūh in Sakīnāt-ul-Awliyā, p. 144.
ness. What to say of your incomparable and heart-pleasing verses. How sweet fruits cannot be borne by this pure clay?"

'We learn from the Tadhkiras that Dārā had adopted the Takhallus, or nom de plume, of Kādirī, which testifies to his sincere devotion to the Kādirī order. Sakhsh, who wrote his Kalīnāt-ush-Shu'arā only twenty-one years after the execution of Dārā, speaks of him in the following words:

"Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh styled as "Shāh-i-Baland Ḥubāl," the heir-apparent of Shāhjahān Pādshāh, was a prince of good disposition, fine imagination and handsome appearance. He had patience; led the life of a Ṣūfī, was a friend of the devotees, and was also an Unitarian and a philosopher. He had a noble mind and a far-reaching intelligence. He expressed Ṣūfistic ideas in Quatrains and Ghazals and, in view of his adherence to the Kādirī order, adopted the pen-name of Kādirī."

Then, the author proceeds to narrate a story showing Dārā's forbearance towards one of the buffoons of his court who had made a very impertinent joke at the expense of the prince.

The author concludes the notice of Dārā with the following remarks:

"He has written excellent Ṣūfistic works and has solved difficult problems therein. A small Diwān of his verses has been collected."

The same author, while giving an account of Mirzā Raḍī, Dānīgh, who came to India in the reign of Shāhjahān, writes:

"Dārā Shikūh, having appreciated this verse of his, selected it as Misra'-i-Tarāb:"

تأك را سرسبز دار لم ابر نيسان در بهار
فطرة تمي مي تواند شد جرا گوه شود

Every one composed verses according to his liking. The prince also wrote a verse:

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1. Afdaluddin Sakhsh wrote his Tadhkira in 1090 A.H.
2. Fol. 58 b. of my manuscript copy.
3. The story is given on fols. 68b and 69a of my manuscript copy. The author of Mukhtazar al-Qara'id (p. 682, O.P. Library copy) writes that four poets.
I cannot do better than quote some of his verses, from certain Tadkhiras, and leave them to the readers to pass their own judgment on the same; but, I would ask them to keep in mind the fact that the verses were written at a time when the grandeur and magnificence of the Mughal court had reached the highest pitch of perfection and, in the midst of that mirth and merry-making, there was the heir-apparent who did think of the Transcendent and rise above the gross materialism of his day to the planes of higher spiritualism. He writes:

[Persian text]

including the prince, had written verses in reply (جواب) to the above verse of Faiṣl. I think, the biographer is wrong in ascribing the authorship of the verse to Faiṣl as it is not included in his Divān.
Dārā Shikūh AND THE Fine ARTS.

Dārā Shikūh was a lover of the fine arts. He studied Calligraphy with Āḵā ʿAbdur Raḥīd ad-Dailamī, the well-known Calligrapher at the court of Shāhjahān and the last great scribe of Nastaʿlīk. The author of Tādḫīb ī-Khushnawīsān¹ states that Dārā wrote a very good hand in Nastaʿlīk and was the best pupil of Āḵā Raḥīd. He adds that none of the pupils of the Āḵā excelled him in fine penmanship. It may be added that there is a painting in the collection of Mr. A. Ghose of Calcutta in which Dārā Shikūh is depicted as taking his lessons in Caligraphy from the Āḵā.² Besides Nastaʿlīk, Dārā also wrote a very good hand in Naskh, and the specimens of his Calligraphy preserved in the various Oriental Libraries prove conclusively that he excelled both in Naskh and Nastaʿlīk.³ He was also a great admirer of paint-

¹ By Ḍhuʾlām Muḥammad, Ḥaft Rāḵem, (Bib. Indices), p. 54.
² The painting has been reproduced in the Calcutta Review, March, 1925.
³ I know of the following autographs of Dārā Shikūh preserved in the various libraries of Europe and India:

1. Sofīnat-ul-Awkīdā, (Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS. No. 673) bearing the following note in the hand-writing of Dārā Shikūh:

   "هذا كتاب سفينة الأولياء حريه محمد دارا شكره حنفي فارسي ١٠٠٠"

Khān Bahādur ʿAbdul Muṭṭadīr (Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, Vol. VIII, pp. 47, 48) is of opinion that the MS. has been collated by Dārā Shikūh, as the marginal notes indicate, and not copied by him, as is generally asserted.

2. Kurʾān, written on deer skin in 1051 A.H., bearing the following note at the colophon:

   "كتبه بنده ١٠٠٠ دارا شكره بني شاه علی بأذن مقام شهر اباد"

Shams-ul-ulama Ḥāfiz Naṣīr Ahmad, who examined the MS. in the ‘Aziz Bāĝh Library, Hyderabad (Deccan), gives the following account of the MS. in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (New Series, 1917, p. xc.) : "The verses of the Kurʾān are written throughout in gold. The headings are illuminated with fine floral designs and the copy is beautifully illuminated throughout. The MS. is carefully preserved in a splendid binding."

3. Pāvyāsra, written in a learned Naskh in gold. The MS. formerly belonged to the Būḥār Library, (Imperial Library), Calcutta, but is now deposited with the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Cal-
ings and a good judge of their technique and value. The Album which he presented to his "nearest and dearest wife." Nādira

(4) Dak Pand-i-Araştū, in fine, clear Nasta'liq, within gold-ruled borders preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

(5) Rīżāla-i-Ḥikmat-i-Araştū, copied by the prince in 1041 A.H. and now preserved in the Āṣīfya Library, Hyderabad (Deccan). (See the Urdu Hand-list of the Library, Vol. II, pp. 1770, 1771.)

(6) Ĥarā-i-Dīwān-i-Rāʾīš, (by Saifuddin Abul Ḥasan 'Abdur Rahmān) defective at the beginning. The date of transcription is not given in the Urdu Hand-list (Vol. I, pp. 738, 739) of the Āṣīfya library, where the MS. is at present.

(7) A note on the fly-leaf of an autograph copy of a Maqāmāt of Bahruddin Sultān Walad, son of the well-known Jālāluddin Rūmī. The MS. belonged to the Government of India and was noticed in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870. p. 251, but, unfortunately, is, now, no longer in the Government (Curzon) Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. H. Blochmann published a facsimile of the Autograph-note of Dārā Shikāh in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, p. 272, which runs as follows:—


Blochmann has, due to an oversight, read for هو القادر هو القادر هو القادر

(8) A Waṣīl exhibited at the Sixth Session of the Nadwati-ul-Ulomā held at Benares, in 1906. See (An-Nadwa, Vol. III, No. 4.).

(9) A Waṣīl exhibited at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore, 1920. (See p. xxii of the Proceedings of the Commission).


(11) If appears from one of the Letters of Shibli Nu'mān, a well-known Urdu scholar, that Dr. Sir E. Denison Ross had, in his possession, an autograph of Dārā Shikāh (See Makābīl-i-Shibli, Vol. II, p. 241).

(12) Waṣīl exhibited at the Fourth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Delhi, 1922. (See the Proceedings of the Commission, Vol. IV, p. 107 and Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India, No. 29, p. 12.)
Begam and which bears the following inscription in his own handwriting:

"This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend, the Lady Nadira Begum by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, son of the Emperor Shahjahān in the year 1051 (1641-2 A.D.)", is one of the most valuable treasures of the Mughal Art.

Principal Percy Brown in his admirable *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, while discussing the value and importance of the Album, observes:

"As a criterion of the artistic taste of a cultivated Mughal prince this Muragga is of interest; it shows that its original owner, while attracted by weak prettiness in some of his selections, was on the whole a good judge of a miniature and had gathered his examples with care."

And, Cecil L. Burns, describing the Album in an illuminating article in the *Times of India Annual*, 1925, writes:

"What the Koh-i-Noor is to other eastern diamonds, surely this richly bound volume in wrought leather, containing miniatures by Persian, Central Asian and Mughal artists, and specimens of Calligraphy of the highest quality of the penman’s and painter’s art, must be to any other volume of a similar character. The album is

(13) An autograph-note on the valuable Album which Dārā Shikuh presented to his "nearest and dearest wife," Nadira Begam, in 1051 A.H.

It may be added, here, that an ornamented and illuminated copy of the *Kurān* which, it is believed, was actually used by Dārā Shikuh, is now in the collection of Nawwāb Husamuddin Haydar of Comilla. The author of *Safar Nāma-i Mašhār* (late Ḥāji Mašhār ‘Allīn Anşārī Rūdawlawī) gives us the following particulars regarding the copy:

‘Nawwāb Husam Haydar Ṣāḥib showed me a MS. copy of the *Kurān* which was illuminated and ornamented with gold. It is written by a Persian scribe on thick, fine paper. The size is folio. My eyes were brightened on seeing the MS. It was this very *Kurān* from which Dārā Shikuh read daily. It bears his seal. The Nawwāb Ṣāḥib got the MS. from a European lady. It is a unique copy of the *Kurān*.

(p. 98 of the *Safar Nāma*).


similar to such an one as Vasaris, the great biographer of the Renais-
sance in Italy, prepared of the drawings of the artists of that period.

......All are of the highest quality, of the schools represented, and
afford a striking testimony to the knowledge and taste of the Prince
who selected them."

WORKS WRITTEN AT THE INSTANCE OF DĀRĀ.

In addition to the works which are Dārā's own composition, there
is a large number of books which have either been written at his
instance, or have been dedicated to him as a tribute to his patronage
of such authors. The number of the works of former class cannot be
expected to be large but the works of the latter class are numerous and,
as such, it will not be possible to notice all of them. Moreover, the
identification of all such books has not been complete. I will, therefore,
enumerate only the more important ones of this class.

Now, let us discuss the works of the former class:—

(1) Mukālima-i-Dārā Shikūh wa Bābā Lāl—contains a summary
of the questions that were asked by Dārā Shikūh on the various topics
of Hindū religion and ascetic life and the replies that were given to
them by Bābā Lāl, a Hindū devotee of the Panjāb. It appears, from
the investigations made by Pandit Sheo Narain, that Bābā Lāl, actu-
ally named Lāl Dāyāl, was a Khatāri of Kāşūr, who lived at
his Asthān, at Dhiānpūr near Batāla. Dārā Shikūh intended to go to
him, as he was a friend of Mīyān Jīv, but the saint himself came down
to Lahore, where Dārā conversed with him.² It is, however, difficult to
fix the actual date of these conversations; for there is no internal
evidence, except one perhaps, to give us a clue to ascertain this point.
From the seventh and the last sitting it can be ascertained that these
conversations took place after Dārā's return from the expedition to
Kandhār, in 1082 A.H.

In his Hasunāl-ul-Ārifin, which he completed in 1084 A.H., Dārā
has included the name of Bābā Lāl—the only Hindū whose aphorisms
he has quoted. He writes (p. 40):

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¹ In his "Dārā Shikūh as an author" (Journal of the Punjab Historical
² Pandit Sheo Narain writes that he has found a manuscript copy of Bābā
Lāl's biography, from which he has taken the above details.
“Bābā Lāl Mandiya is one of the perfect ‘Āris, and I have seen none in the Hindū community who is equal to him in majesty and firmness. He told me, ‘There are ‘Āris and perfect (divines) in every community through whose grace God grants salvation to that community’.”

In the Majma’-ul-Bahrayn also, (p. 24). Dārā has put down the name of this saint, whom he calls Bābā Lāl Bairāγī, by the side of those Muḥammadan saints and divines who have been the best representatives of the Sūfī order in Islām. The inclusion of the name of a Hindū in such an exclusive list of Muslim divines shows unmistakably the high esteem in which this devotee was held by Dārā Shikūh.

Hence, it is not surprising that Dārā did invite the saint and had the conversations, which passed between him and the mystic, recorded. It appears that Dārā’s private Secretary, Chandar Bhān, was present on the occasion of these interviews and perhaps, acting as an interpreter, took a verbatim report of the whole dialogue, from which he prepared the present book, entitled Mukālima-i-Dārā Shikūh wa Bābā Lāl.

In the A.S.B. (Curzon Collection 1908-1910) there is a manuscript copy of Pūthū’ Ārisī in Persian, which contains the memoirs of Bābā Lāl and also an account of the interview which he had with Dārā Shikūh in 1059 A.H. (= 1649 A.D.)

It may be added here, that there is a painting reproduced in Binyon’s The Court Painters of the Grand Moghals, in which Dārā Shikūh is depicted as sitting by the side of Bābā Lāl. Binyon gives us the following particulars regarding the Bābā:

“Lāl Swāmī......was a Kshatriya, born in Malwa in the reign of Jahāṅgir; after having been initiated, he settled near Sirhind, in the Panjāb, where he built himself a hermitage, together with a temple, and was visited by a large number of disciples. Among those who were attracted by his teaching was Dārā Shikoh; two learned Hindus who

1 In the same book (p. 64) Dārā, while quoting the aphorisms of Bābā Lāl, writes that this saint belonged to the order of Kābir.

2 Chandar Bhān was an inhabitant of Patyūl or of Lahore, as asserted by some. He was the Mir Mungāli to Dārā and was appointed in the Dār-ul-Inqāl of Shāhjāhān in 1066 A.H., and entitled Rūs Chandar Bhān. He died in 1068 A.H., or in 1653. He left several works including Chahār Chāman, Mungāli-Brāhman, Kārnāma, Guldasta, Majma’ul-Wuzūz, etc., and a Dīvān.

3 Humphrey Milford, (Oxford University Press), 1921, Plate No. XXII.
were in this prince's service have recorded, in a work entitled Nādir-al-Nikūt, the conversation, that took place between the Swami and the prince during seven interviews between them in the year 1649.\(^1\)

In another painting,\(^2\) reproduced in the above book, the Bābā appears in a group of some twelve Indian Divines to wit, Rāy Dās, Pipā, Nāmiddī, Sā'īn, Kamāl, Awghar, Kabīr, Pir Machandar, Gorakh Jafrū, (?) Pir Panth Swāmī (?), and is styled there as Lāl Swāmī. A painting was also exhibited at the second meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission\(^3\) in which Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl (called there Lālās) are shown in each other's company.

And an unidentified painting in Percy Brown's Indian Painting under the Mughals (Plate No. XLVI from M. Demotte's collection), also portrays, in my opinion, the meeting scene between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dās.\(^4\)

(2) Jūg Bāghīst—or a Persian translation of the famous Sanskrit, Yoga Vāsishṭha, was undertaken at the instance of Dārā Shikūh by one of his courtiers, whose name, unfortunately, we do not know. The translator says in the introduction that Prince Dārā Shikūh ordered him, in 1066 A.H., to translate the Yoga Vāsishṭha into simple Persian, for the other translations, and more specially, the one made by Mulla Sūfī,\(^5\) did not serve the purpose of the seekers of the truth. The immediate reason, however, of having the book translated was that

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1 P. 82.  
2 Plate No. XIX.  
3 Proceedings, Appendix, p. XXV.  
4 The dialogues have been arranged and edited by one Chiranjī Lal and lithographed at Delhi in 1885. An Urdu translation, entitled Asrīr-i-Ma'rīfat, has also been published, some years back, by Diwān Māyā Dās of Lahore and another, with the Persian text, and entitled Shu'ā-i-Ma'rīfat was published by Munā'ī Bulākī Dās of Delhi in 1896. I have perused the second lithographed copy and am surprised to find that it differs materially from the manuscript copy preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, (No. 1449 of the Hand-list of Persian MSS.). Further, a perusal of the above MS. copy reveals the fact that the work was originally composed in Hindi and then translated into Persian (fol. 1a). It may be added, here, that MS. copies of the Mukǎlima in the Berlin Library, (Pertsch, No. 1,081,2) and the Bodleian Library (Ethé, Column 758) agree, as appears from the first line quoted in the catalogues, with the copy in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. Since the above was in type, an excellent text of the Mukǎlima, with its French translation, has been published by Huart and Massignon in the Journal Asiatique, Paris, Tome CCIX, No. 2.

5 In A.S.B. Collection MS. No. 158, the name of the translator is Shaikh Sūfī.
both Vāsīṣṭha and Rām Chandar appeared, one night, before Dārā Shikūh in dream; the former asking Rām Chandar to embrace Dārā Shikūh which he did and then again asking him, (Rām Ch.) to give some sweets to Dārā, which he took and ate. As a result of this dream it came to the mind of Dārā to have the work translated into Persian. He commanded one of his courtiers to do the work which he performed in collaboration with certain well-known Pandits of the place.


Of the works dedicated to Dārā I append, hereto, a list of only two:

(1) Țibb-i-Dārā Shikūhi—is a big work of some 400 folios on "the general principles of medicine and the treatment of the various diseases" which was written by Nūruddīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shīrāzī. It was written about the year 1056 A.H. and dedicated to Dārā Shikūh, the then heir-apparent of Shāhjāhān.

(2) Tarjuma-i-Akwāl-i-Wāsīṭi—or a Persian translation of the sayings of the famous Sūfī, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāsīṭī (d. C. 320 A.H., 932 A.D.), by one Ibrāhīm Miskin who dedicated them to this prince in 1067, that is, only two years before his execution.

**Dārā’s Religious Views.**

A close examination of the works of Dārā Shikūh, in their correct chronological order, will reveal the fact that his earlier studies were purely Şūfīstic in character and were not extended to an examination of the mystic systems of other religions. But the deeper and wider was his study the greater was the realization of the truths found in other religions and more outspoken the appreciation for them. There is no denying the fact that he must have received his education on old, orthodox lines but, nevertheless, he had the courage to cast away all prejudice and examine things in their true perspective. He writes himself in his introduction

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1 In the Paris MS. Nos. 857-859 (Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans, pp. 103, 104) the MS. is entitled ʻIlājāt-i-Dārā Shikūhi.

2 The author writes in the introduction that he composed the work about the time Shāhjāhān conquered Badakhshān, namely 1055-56 A.H.

3 A MS. copy of the work is in the A.B.B. Library, see Ivanow’s Catalogue, p. 612.
to the translation of the *Upanishads* that after his discipleship of Mullā Şāh, in 1050 A.H., he came in close contact with the divines of the various religions and perused the Psalms, the Gospels and the Pentateuch. This marks the beginning of Dārā’s examination of the systems of various religions. But in the books and tracts which he wrote before 1062, he does not express his opinion on the various religions, or, more specially, on Hindūism. In the *Shaḥiyyāt* only (1062) we find him quoting the aphorisms of a Hindū divine, Bābā Lāl, which purports to declare that ‘Truth is not the monopoly of any one religion.’

The next work, in order of chronology, is the *Majma‘-ul-Bahrām*, written in 1065, in which he has expressed his views very clearly, and is definitely of opinion that in the higher planes of the realization of Truth there is no essential difference between Hindūism and Islām. Dārā knew that such an outspoken expression of opinion must be considered as sacrilegious by a large section of the members of both the communities, so he gives the note of warning and says, “I have written this book for the members of my family and have nothing to do with the common ones of both the religions.” This small book is an attempt to reconcile Hindūism and Islām. The author has endeavoured to show that the conception of the Elements, God, the Senses, the Almighty, the Soul, the Communion with the Infinite, the Day of Resurrection, the Universe, the Planets and the Cycles, etc., is practically the same in Hindūism and Islām. His attempt has been mostly confined to showing the points of identity between the two religions without exalting or undermining either. He is concerned with facts and puts them as they are. His is rather a comparative study of Hindūism and Islām with an attempt to point out the various points on which they meet. As a student of comparative religion he has put down the points of resemblance between the two religions, however superficial they may be, and, surprisingly enough, in his zeal for establishing a close identity between them, has chosen to ignore the many points of difference. But it must be admitted, at the same time, that Dārā had not renounced his own faith and become a Hindū as is asserted by a biased section of the community. The very Introduction, which he has begun with the praise of God, the Prophet, his companions and the descendants, will belie such a presumption, and a careful perusal of the later chapters will show that he was a Muslim through-
out, believing in the saints and the mystics of Islam and calling Muhammad the ‘last Prophet.’

From 1065 A.H. onwards, Đārā was more deeply interested in the study of Hinduism. In 1066 A.H., he got the Jāg Bāghī translated into Persian. A year later he himself translated the Upanishads into Persian prose. About this time he also translated the Bhāgavat Gītā¹ or, perhaps, had it translated by one of his courtiers.

In all these works there is not the slightest indication that Đārā had renounced Islam and embraced Hinduism. He is a Muslim throughout. He is of opinion that the Vedas are ‘revealed books’ but certainly this could not amount to an apostasy from Islam. He believed in the Kur’ān and was of opinion that ‘the Vedas were in accordance with the Kur’ān or rather they were an interpretation of that.’ Can such an opinion amount to renouncing Islam? It is for the doctors of the Faith to pronounce an opinion on the point but, to a layman like myself, it appears that no one could possibly be declared a Kāfir on one’s simply expressing the above views. There have been many revealed books, which according to the Muslim faith have been abrogated, but, nevertheless, they can be studied profitably by one who wishes to make a higher and deeper study of religions and theological problems. So, if Đārā found in the Vedas an elucidation and explanation of certain abstruse problems of the Kur’ān, he cannot be condemned. Mirzā Jānjānīn Mazhab, Shahid (d. 1130=1717 A.D.), who was a very well-known saint of India has expressed practically the same views but he has not been condemned by any. He writes²:

“. . . . . . It appears from the ancient books of the Indians that the Divine Mercy, in the beginning of the creation of the human species, sent a Book, named the Bed (Veda), which is in four parts, in order to regulate the duties of this as well as the next world . . . . . . All the schools (of the Hindus) unanimously believe in the unity of the most high God; consider the world to be created; believe in the

¹ Dr. Ethé writes in the Catalogue of Pers. MSS. in the India Office Library (c. 1089): “In the British Mus. copy it (i.e. Bhagavat-Gītā) is wrongly ascribed to Ābū-al faṭḥ; the real translator was, as a note on fol. 1a in the present copy proves, prince Đārā Shukūh”

² Extracts from the life and teachings of Mirzā Mazhar, translated by the late Mawlāwī ‘Abdul Wali, J.A.S.B., Vol. XIX, pp. 238, 239.
destruction of the world, in the reward for good and bad conduct; on the resurrection and accountability (of conduct). The rules and regulations of their faith are fully and well arranged. So it is evident that it had been a good religion but abrogated. In Islamic Sharī'ah no mention of any other abrogated religions, save Judaism and Christianity, is made; whereas many other religions have undergone the process of obliteration and affirmation (i.e. changes).

It ought to be noted that according to the holy verse (of the Qur'ān):

'And there is not a people but a warner has from among them' and also, 'And every nation had an apostle,' and other verses, there were prophets also in the countries of Hindustan, on whom be peace, and their account is contained in the books of the Hindus.

If the above views cannot amount to an apostasy from Islām, it is difficult to understand how Dārā Šikāh could have been condemned for expressing practically the same views.

His works and writings are before us and, on examining them, we can only state that he was a Muslim throughout and, being a Şūfi himself, expressed such views, which, though appearing as revolting at first sight, cannot have amounted to an apostasy from Islām. What to say of Dārā? If one cares to examine the works and writings of the most eminent Şūfis one will find that their aphorisms and paradoxes are more condemnable than those of Dārā Šikāh. We find that Mansūr was crucified, Shihābuddin Suhrawardi executed and Sarmad put to death, but time has vindicated their honour. Today, they are hailed as martyrs and sufferers on the Path; and such is the case with Dārā. Time has vindicated his honour and, now, he is adored and admired by a large section of the Muslims as a prince who suffered death, not as an offender against Islām, but as one who fell a victim to the Imperialistic ambitions and aspirations of his wily, faqīr brother.

But yet we find that Dārā Šikāh was indicted by the ecclesiastics of the court of Aurangzib for his apostasy. According to Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgīrī, the official history of Aurangzib, the charge against him was that "The pillars of the Canonical Law and Faith apprehended many kinds of disturbances from his life. So the Emperor, both out of necessity to protect the Holy Law, and also for reasons of State, considered it unlawful to allow Dārā to remain alive any longer as
a destroyer of the public peace." But the above indictment is too
meagre to need any comment. Anyone can choose to be the Champion
of Islam and remove all those who stand in the way of the realization
of his political ambitions.

Majma'-ul-Bahrain.

This small tract is of supreme importance to a student of compara-
tive religion as it embodies, so far as I know, the first and perhaps the last
attempt of its kind to reconcile the two apparently divergent
religions. It is the last original work of Dârâ Shikûh and, as such,
has an importance of its own. And, according to one authority, it
was this very work which brought about his death. It is said that
this tract was laid before the ecclesiastics who declared its author a
heretic and sentenced him to death, which was only too faithfully
carried out by his over-zealous brother.

An examination of the concluding portion of the work will show
that it was written in 1065 A.H., that is, when Dârâ was 42. It
appears from the Introduction that Dârâ wrote this work, "according
to his own inspiration and taste, for the members of his family." He
declares openly, "I have nothing to do with the common folk of both
the communities."

The tract begins with an Introduction and contains twenty sec-
tions having the following headings:

1. The Elements.
2. The Senses.
3. The Religious Exercises.
4. The Attributes.
5. The Wind.
6. The Four Worlds.
7. The Fire.
8. The Light.
9. The Beholding of God.
10. The Names of God, the Most High.
11. The Apostleship and the Prophetship.
12. The Barkhând.

2 Siyar-ul-Mutaakhibin, p. 403.
13. The Directions.
14. The Skies.
15. The Earths.
16. The Divisions of the Earth.
17. The Barzakh.
18. The Great Resurrection.
20. The Night and the Day.

It is unfortunate that, although the MSS. of Majma'-ul-Bahrayn are not rare in the libraries in India, they are full of clerical mistakes and also contain innumerable errors both of omission and commission. I have consulted five MSS. in preparing the present text, but to my great disappointment none of them could satisfy me. There are so many variants and the Persian transliteration of Sanskrit terms or quotations from the Kur'ān are so very different that the task of the editor becomes extremely difficult and, at times, even insurmountable.

The MSS. that I have used in preparing my text are:—

(1) MS. from the Aṣifiya Library, Hyderabad, dated 9th Rabī' I, 1224 A.H., transcribed by Sayyid Ǧhārīb ‘Ālī b. Sayyid Shāh ‘Ālī Rizā. The Librarian, Mawlāy ‘Abbās Ḥusain Kāntūrī was good enough to have it copied under his supervision. The MS. contains innumerable clerical mistakes. I have named this MS. H.

(2) A MS. from the (Khudā Baksh Kān) Oriental Public Library, Bankipore (No. 1450 of the Hand-list of Persian MSS. prepared by Kān Bahādur; Abdul Muḥtadīr), bearing no date of transcription nor the name of the scribe. It is a relatively better MS. than H, but, nevertheless, contains several orthographical mistakes and is not written in a clear hand. I have collated MS. H with the Oriental Public Library MS. which I name K.

(3) A MS. from the Rāmpūr State Library, dated 22nd Dhul Hijja, 1226 A.H., copied by Muḥammad Ḥājī Beg at the instance of Khwāja Mīr ʿĀsīm. The MS. is imperfect in several ways. There are apparently spurious additions in the text which display Shītī tendencies. A perusal of the list of variants will confirm this statement.
I have got a transcription of the above MS. through Shams-ul-ulamā M. Hidayat Husain, who, in his turn, got it, as he informs me, through the kindness of Hāfiz Ahmad 'Alī Khan, the Librarian of the Nawwāb's Palace Library. I have named this MS. R.

(4) A MS. from the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, which is displayed in the shelves of the Hall, as an autograph of Dārā Shikūh. I examined the MS. carefully and found that there was no internal or external evidence to prove or even suggest that the MS. was an autograph one. The handwriting is not that of Dārā Shikūh, for it is quite different from the known autographs of the prince. Moreover, there are so many omissions, inaccuracies and even mistakes of spelling that it is impossible for one to believe that it is an autograph copy of Dārā Shikūh. I have named the MS. V.

(5) MS. from the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon Collection. No. 156, III, of the MS. Hand-list), which has been acquired quite recently. As the Text and Translation were already in type, I could use the MS. very sparingly. I have, however, made full use of it in preparing the list of variants. I may add here that had this MS. been available at the time of preparing my Text it would have helped me a great deal in preparing a relatively better text. I would call this MS. A.

Besides the above MSS., I have sometimes consulted the apparently unique MS. of the Arabic translation of Majma-ul-Bahrain which is preserved in the Būhār Library, (Imperial Library, Calcutta.) This translation was made by one Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. ash-Shaikh Ahmad al-Miṣrī and was of much use to me in correcting the Arabic quotations, etc.

An Urdu translation of Majma-ul-Bahrain, entitled Nūr-ul-Ain, by one Gocul Prasad, was lithographed at Lucknow (1872), but, unfortunately, I could not secure a copy of that.

1 Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Būhār Library (Imperial Library, Calcutta), prepared by Shams-ul-ulamā Dr. M. Hidayat Hussain, pp. 150, 151.
The above description of the MSS. of *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* will make it abundantly clear that none of them by itself could possibly have been used as the basis of a good text: So, I had no other alternative than to prepare my text by collating all the MSS. and selecting the best reading for my text. I admit that all my selections may not be approved of by my readers and they may permit of further improvement, but, with the texts that I had, I fear I could not do better.

I may add here that in preparing the list of 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. But in order to give the reader an idea of the large number of variations, I have noted down almost all the variations found on page 5 of the printed text, which, I think, will bear a striking testimony to the idiosyncrasies of the copyists.

A very difficult task which confronted me was that of 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. I explained my difficulty to my friend and colleague, Dr. Surendra Nath Das-Gupta, the author of the admirable *History of Indian Philosophy*, who was good enough to go through the first few pages of my English translation. On examining my MS. translation the learned doctor suggested to me that Dārā Shikūh had made several inaccurate statements in his text and it was desirable that footnotes were added, explaining and correcting such statements. He also promised to write the foot-notes himself, but, on account of his departure for America, he was unable to fulfil his promise. I am greatly indebted to Professor Nilmuni Chakravarti, M.A., my colleague at the Presidency College, who has very kindly identified and transliterated the Sanskrit terms. He has always helped me ungrudgingly.

I cannot conclude, without thanking Shams-ul-ulama Dr. M. Hidayat Husain, my teacher and colleague, who has helped me throughout and has always been willing to lay at my disposal his vast store of knowledge regarding Islamic bibliography and *Kur‘anic* literature. I am also indebted to Khan Sahib Abdul Walt (who is, unfortunately, no longer alive) and Mawlavi Sayyid Muhammad Tahir, M.A., for their kind assistance.

My thanks are also due to Mr. A. H. Harley, M.A., Principal
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Finally, I thank Mr. Johan van Manen, F.A.S.B., the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for his many valuable suggestions and for securing me the permission of the Society for the publication of this work in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*.

M. MARFUZ-UL-HAQ.

**Presidency College:**

*Calcutta.*

*December 1, 1929*
TRANSLATION.
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20. .. on Mukt (Salvation).
21. .. on Day and Night (Rūz wa Shab).
22. .. on the Infinity of the Cycles.
TRANSLATION.

“In the name of One who hath no name. With whatever name thou callest Him, He uplifteth His Head.”

Abundant praise be (showered) on the Incomparable One, who has manifested on His beautiful, unparalleled and matchless face the two parallel looks of Faith (Ismān) and Infidelity (Kufr), and by neither of them has He covered His beautiful face.

Verses:

“Faith and Infidelity, both are galloping on the way towards Him,
And are exclaiming (together): He is One and none shares His kingship.”

He is manifest in all; and everything has emanated from Him. He is the first and the last and nothing exists, except Him.

Quatrain:

“The neighbour, the companion and the co-traveller is He,
In the rags of beggars and the raiments of kings, is He,
In the conclave on high and the secret chamber below,
By God, He is all and, verily by God, He is all.”

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1 This verse is quoted from the Ḥadīṣat-ud-Ḥaḍīṣat of Ḥakīm Sanī’s Qasamawi. Dīrā Shikhī also has written a quatrain which bears a close affinity in meaning to the above verse of Sanī’s.

   “We have not seen a single particle of dust separate from the sun.
   (And) every drop of water is the sea in itself.
   With what name one should call the Truth?
   (For) whatever name there is, it is one of the names of God.
   Jāmi’ also has a similar quatrain:
   “At times we call Thee wine and next the wine-cup,
   (And) at times we call Thee grain and then a snares:
   There is nothing except Thy name on the tablet of the earth
   Now, with what name should we call Thee?

2 It appears from the Darbūr-i-Abbar of Mawlāwi Muḥammad ʿUṣūn Āṣād (p. 462) that Abūl Faḍl had this verse inscribed on a building which Akbar had built for the common use of the Hindūs and the Musalmāns.

3 This is one of the quatrains of Jāmi’. Dīrā also quotes it in his Ḥusnātul-ʿArifin in connection with the Ṣaḥāḥaṭ of the poet.
And unlimited benedictions be upon the complete manifestation, the cause of the creation of the universe—Muḥammad, may peace be on him and his exalted descendants and great companions. Now, thus sayeth this unafflicted, unsorrowing ḥakīr, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, that, after knowing the Truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Sūfis and having been endowed with this great gift (i.e., Sūfistic inspiration), 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 (i.e. Indian) 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 (i.e. the author) has compiled a tract and entitled it Majmaʿ-ul-Bahrāin or "The Mingling of the Two Oceans," as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of two Truth-knowing (Haḳ Shinās) groups. The great (mystics) have said: "Taṣawwuf is equity and (further) Taṣawwuf is the abandonment of (religious) obligations." So, one who is just and discerning will at once understand that in ascertaining these points how deeply I had to think. It is certain that discerning, intelligent persons will derive much pleasure from this tract (Risāla), while persons of blunt intelligence, of either side, will get no share of its benefits. I have put down these researches of mine, according to my own intuition and taste, for the benefit of the members of my family and I have no concern with the common folk of either community. As, Khwāja Aḥrār,1 may his secrets be sanctified, has said, "If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin, is, in a way, singing the note of Monotheism, I go to him, hear him and am grateful to him."

And from God comes grace and help!

1 Khwāja Naṣīruddīn ʿUbdullāh, better known as Khwāja Aḥrār, was a great Naṭṭaṭbāndī mystic. He was born in 806 A.H. and lived for the greater part of his life at Samarkand where he died on the 29th Rabiʿ I, 895 A.H. 'Ali b. Ḥusain al-Waṭiq al-Kashīfī in his Raschā'ī deals, principally, with the life and teachings of the Khwāja. (See Naṣīḥat-ul-Ums, Nawal Kiāfīr edition, p. 394.) Dārā Shikūh quotes the above saying, attributed to Khwāja Aḥrār, on p. 39 of his Ḥasanāt-ul-Ārifīn.
I. DISCOURSE ON THE ELEMENTS ('Akāsir).

Know that the elements are five in number and that these five alone form the constituents of all the mundane creations—First, "the great element" ('Unṣūr-i-A'ẓam), which the men of Faith ('Shār), call "Aṣḥā-i-Akbar", or, the "great throne"; Secondly, the wind; Thirdly, the fire; Fourthly, the water and Fifthly, the dust. And, in the Indian language these are called Pāñc Bhūt ¹ⁱ, namely, akāś ², ātī ³, tej ⁴, jal ⁵, and pīrīthi ⁶. (Now) there are three akāś: bhūt akāś ⁷, man akāś ⁸, and chid akāś ⁹; and (of these) bhūt akāś is surrounding the elements, man akāś is encircling the whole existence and chid akāś is enveloping all and is covering everything. This chid akāś is permanent, namely, it is not transitory and there is no Kur'ānic or Vedic verse (which is a revealed book) testifying to its annihilation or destruction. The first thing to come out of chid akāś was Love (or 'Iṣḥāq), which is called māya ¹⁰ in the language of the Indian monotheists; and "I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known; so, I brought the creation into existence"—this is a proof of the above statement. From 'Iṣḥāq (Love), (Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam) jīv ātmān ¹¹, the great soul was born, by which is understood a reference to the soul of Muḥammad and (further) to the "complete soul" of the Chief (of the Faithful)—may peace be on him and salutation. And the Indian monotheists name him Hiran Garbha ¹² and Avasthāt ¹³, which denote his greatness. After that comes the element ('Unṣūr) of wind, which is said to be the breath of the Merciful (Rahmān) from which springs air mundane. At the time of breathing it came out hot, on account of its confinement in His August Self, fire came out of air; and, as the same breath possessed the qualities of mercy and unity, it became cold and, as such, water was created from fire. And as, on account of their great purity, the elements of air and fire are hardly perceptible and as water is more perceptible than either, some have held that, water was created first, followed by the element of dust. This dust is likened to the froth of that water and resembles the milk which, when put on fire, boils and froths.

¹³ Pahca ḍhūka. ² Akāśa. ³ Vāyu. ⁴ Tejas. ⁵ Jala. ⁶ Pīrīthi. ⁷ Bhūtakāśa. ⁸ Manaṭkāśa. ⁹ Ātīka. ¹⁰ Māya. See p. 6, n.l. ¹¹ Jīvātman. ¹² Hiranagarbha. ¹³ Avasthātman.
(Quite) unaware was I that this limitless ocean would be such,
That its vapour would turn out to be the sky and its foam would become the earth.

Next:
An egg-like drop heaved and was turned into an ocean,
Its foam produced the earth and its smoke gave rise to the sky.

And, as against this, on the day of the Great Resurrection, which the Indians call mahā pari⁰⁰,¹ the dust will be destroyed first, being swallowed by water; water being dried up by fire; fire being extinguished by air and air being merged in mahā akāś,⁶ together with Ruh-i-A'zam (or, 'the Great Soul'):

"Everything is perishable but His face (i.e. He)⁵." (And) "Everyone on it must pass away. And there will endure the face (i.e. the person) of thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Honour."⁴ So, the exception of wajh (or, His face) found in the above two verses, which purport to deal with the destruction of everything, points (unmistakably) to mahā akāś, which does not admit of annihilation. And had it not been so, He would have said: "Everything is to be annihilated except Him"; but the specification of 'face' (found in the above verse) cannot but apply to mahā akāś which constitutes the fine body of the Holy Self. Now, in the Indian language, earth is called divi, from which everything has been created and unto which everything will return; and, as stated in the Holy verse, : "From it We created you and into it We shall send you back and from it will We raise you a second time."⁶

II. DISCOURSE ON THE SENSES (Jāwās).

Corresponding to these five elements, there are five senses called Panj Indri⁴, in the Indian language. They are: (1) Ghãmma (smelling); (2) Dха̣'ika (tasting); (3) Bāśira (seeing); (4) Sāmi'a (hearing) and (5) Lāmīsa (touching), which are called gahrān,⁷ rasā,⁸ chach,⁹ sarutā¹⁰ and tvak¹¹ respectively, in the Indian language, and their qualities of perception are named gandh,¹², ras,¹³, rūp,¹⁴, sabd,¹⁵ and spars.¹⁶ Each

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¹ Mahāpralaya.
² Mahākāśa.
³ Kur'ān, Chapt. XXVIII : 58.
⁵ Kur'ān, Chapt. XX : 56.
⁶ Padma Indriyāni.
⁷ Ghãra (nose).
⁸ Rasā (tongue).
⁹ Oakpu (eye).
¹⁰ Sotra (ear).
¹¹ Tvak (skin).
¹² Gandhā (smell).
¹³ Rasā (colour).
¹⁴ Sabdā (sound).
¹⁵ Sparsā (touch).
of these five senses is of the same genus as one of those elements and
is also allied to them. Thus, the sense of smell is allied with dust; for
the reason that none of the elements, except dust, possesses smell which
is perceived only by Sāṃma (or, the sense of smelling); Dhaṭika, (or, the
sense of taste), is connected with water—(the taste of) water being per-
ceived with our tongue; Bāśira, (or, the sense of sight), is connected
with fire and, as such, colour is perceived by the eyes only, while lumi-
nosity is present in both; Lānisa, (or, the sense of touch), is connected
with air, as the perception of all tangible things is through the air;
(finally), Sāmi’a, (or, the sense of hearing), is connected with ‘the great
element’ (‘Unṣur-i-A’zam), namely mahā akāś ¹, through whose instrument-
ality we hear sounds. And it is through the sense of hearing that
the real essence of mahā akāś is manifested to the religious devotees,
(Ahl-i-Dil), only, while no one else can realise it. Such exercise is
common to the Sūfis and the Indian monotheists; the former naming it,
Shaykh-i-Pās-i-Anfās ², (or, the exercise of controlling the breath), and
the latter calling it dhun ³ in their own phraseology.

Now, the internal senses also are five in number: Mushtarak (Common);
Mutakhayyila (Imaginary); Mutafakkira (Contemplative); Hāfsa (Reten-
tive) and Wāhima (Fancying); but in the Indian system, however, they are
four in number, namely, budh ⁴, man ⁵, ahankār ⁶ and chit ⁷—a com-
bination of which is called antah karan ⁸ and this, in its turn, may be
looked upon as the fifth. Now, chit is possessed of a characteristic,
called sat parkarat ⁹, which is like its leg and, if cut, chit is prevented from
running. (Of the above), (1) Budh, namely, understanding, possesses the
characteristic of moving towards good and avoiding evil; (2) Man, or
mind, possesses the two characteristics of sankalp ¹⁰ and pakalp ¹¹, name-
ly, of determination and abandonment (doubt) (3) Chit, which, as the
messenger of mind, is entrusted with the duty of running on all sides;
does not possess the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong;
(4) ahankār, which attributes things to itself, is one of the qualities

¹ Mahākāśa.
² There is a Persian tract entitled Risāla-i-Pās-i-Anfās, attributed to the
authorship of Jāmī, in the Bodleian Library. (See Catalogue of Persian MSS. by
Sachau and Ethé, p. 758.)
³ Dhyaṇa. ⁴ Buddhī. ⁵ Manas. ⁶ Ahankāra. ⁷ Chīt.
⁸ Aniaḍkaraṇa. ⁹ Satprakṛti. ¹⁰ Samkalpa. ¹¹ Vikalpa.
of paramātmā, for the reason that it possesses māyā, which, in their phraseology, is the name given to ‘love.’ Now Ahankār again is subdivided into three: Śālaṅg, Rājas, and, Tāmas. First, Ahankār Śālaṅg, or Gayān Surūp, is the high stage when param ātmā says: “Whatever there is is I”—such is the stage of complete encircling of everything: “Now surely He encompasses all things.” Another (Holy Verse) says: He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (over all) and the Knower of hidden things.” Secondly, Ahankār Rājas, is maddhim, namely the middle stage, when (a religious devotee) having fixed his eyes on jīv ātmā says: “My self is free from (the limitations of) body and elements, and corporeality has no access to me.” “Nothing is like a likeness of Him” (And) “Then surely Allāh is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds.” Thirdly, Ahankār Tāmas is adham, or the low stage of awiddiyā, namely of servitude to the August Self; and its inferiority is due to the fact that a man, on account of his great degradation, limitation and subjectivity, attributes folly, ignorance and carelessness to himself and, having an eye on his sense existence, speaks out in such a manner that, as a result of it, “I” and “Thou” are rent apart from their point of unity. “Say: I am only a mortal like you.” Consequently, Bashist says that when the Lord desired to be determined, He was transformed into param ātmā immediately on His thinking of it; and, on the increase of this determination, the stage of ahankār was attained and, when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of mahātāt or “Akl-i-Kul” (Perfect Wisdom). Now, man, or mind, which is also styled parakart, was created from sankalp and mahātāt; and from sankalp man, the five Gayān-i-Indrī, namely, (the senses of) smell, touch, seeing, hearing and taste, were created; and, from a combination of sankalp and the five Gayān-i-Indrī, the limbs and bodies were created,

1 I am told by certain Sanskrit scholars that māyā does not mean “love,” as stated by Dārā Shikúh, but it means ‘the inscrutable power of paramātmā which produces appearances.’

2 Sattwa. 3 Rājas. 4 Tāmas. 5 Jñānasvarūpa.
6 Kur’ān, Ch. XLI : 64. 7 Kur’ān, Ch. LVII : 3. 8 Madhyama.
9 Jivātman. 10 Kur’ān, Ch. XLII : 91. 11 Kur’ān, Ch. III : 96.
16 Mahātattva. 17 Manas. 18 Prakriti. 19 Sankalpa. 20 Jñānendriya.
which, in their combined form, are named badan, or body. So, Paramātmā—who is called Abul-Arwāḥ has enforced by His Own will all these limitations on Himself and has tied Himself to these; and, 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, (so our Lord has confined Himself in this world). Thus, know and be mindful (of the fact) that before its creation, this world of ours was concealed in His Self and now His Holy Self is concealed in the world.¹

III. DISCOURSE ON THE DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES (Aṣghāl).

Although, according to the Indian monotheists, there are several kinds of devotional exercises, yet they regard ajpa² as the best of all. This exercise originates from every living being, both in sleep and wakefulness, without any will or control, at every moment—and always. Consequently, the Holy verse, : “And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification”³, refers to this very fact. The incoming and outgoing of breath have been interpreted in two words—the breath that comes out is called Ū (و, i.e. He) and the breath that goes in is named Man (من, i.e. I); and (their combination) “Ū manam” (و منم) means “He is I.” The Sūfis consider their occupation in these two words as Hū Allāh (i.e. He is God)—Hū appearing while the breath comes in and Allāh when it goes out. And these words are being uttered by every living being, without his being conscious of the fact.

IV. DISCOURSE ON THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD, THE MOST HIGH (Ṣifāt-i-Allāh Ta‘ālā).

According to the Sūfis, there are the two divine attributes of Beauty (Jamāl) and Majesty (Jalāl), which encircle the whole creation, while,

¹ Cf. Sa‘duddin Mahmūd Shabistari’s Gulshan-i-Rāz, where he says: “Is not, after all, the Necessary Being a part of Existence? For (now) Existence has concealed His Self!”
² Ajapā.
³ Kurān, Ch. XVII: 44.
according to Indian devotees, there are three attributes (of God), collectively called tirgun; or sat, raj and tam, which mean Creation, Duration, and Destruction; the Sufis, (on the other hand), viewing, and accepting the quality of Duration as the attribute of Beauty (or, Jamāl). But, as these attributes are included in one another, the Indian devotees name them tirmana, or Barhmā, Biṣṇun and Mahīṣh, who are identical with Jibra'īl, Mikā'īl and Isrā'īl of Sufi phraseology. Barhmā, or Jibra'īl, is the (superintending) angel of Creation; Biṣṇun, or Mikā'īl, is the angel of Duration (or Existence); Mahīṣh, or Isrā'īl is the angel of Destruction. Now, water, wind and fire are also allied with these (superintending) angels—thus water goes with Jibra'īl, fire with Mikā'īl and air with Isrā'īl: and these three things (i.e. water, fire and air) are manifest in all living beings. Thus, Barhmā, who appears as the water (or, moisture) of the tongue, is the cause of Divine utterance and is (further) the source of the power of speech; Biṣṇun, who is (like) fire in the eyes, is the source of light, refulgence and eyesight; Mahīṣh, who is the air in the nostrils, is instrumental in creating the two blowing horns, namely the two breaths, which, if cut off (or stopped), lead to death.

Now, tirgun, which constitutes the three Divine attributes of Creation, Duration and Destruction, is manifested through Barhmā, Biṣṇun and Mahīṣh, whose attributes (in their turn) are manifest in all the creations of the world. (Thus), when a creature is born, it lives for an appointed period and then it is annihilated Shakti, or the potential power of the (above) three attributes is called tirdivi. Now, tirmana gave birth to Barhmā, Biṣṇun and Mahīṣh, while tirdivi was the mother of these three: Sarasati, Pārbaṭi and Lachmi. (Of the latter) Sarasati is connected with Rajūgan and Barhmā, Pārbaṭi with Tamūgan and Mahīṣh and Lachmi with Satūgan and Biṣṇun.

V. DISCOURSE ON THE SOUL (Rūḥ).

The soul is of two kinds: (i) a (common) soul and (ii) the Soul of souls, (Abul-Arwāḥ), which are called ātmā and paramātmā, respectively, in the

\[1\] Tirgun.  
\[2\] Sattva.  
\[3\] Brahmā.  
\[4\] Rajas.  
\[5\] Trimūrti.  
\[6\] Viṣṇu.  
\[7\] Mahāvīra.  
\[8\] Tridevī.  
\[9\] Sarasvati.  
\[10\] Lakṣmi.  
\[11\] Tamūgan.  
\[12\] Rajuguna.  
\[13\] Satvaguna.
phraseology of the Indian divines. When the 'Pure Self' (Dhāt-i-Baḥt) becomes determinate and fettered, either in respect of purity or impurity, He is known as ṛūḥ (soul), or ātmā, in His elegant aspect and jāsād (body), or sarīr,

in His in-elegant aspect. And the self that was determined in Eternity Past is known as Rūḥ-i-Aʾẓām (or, the Supreme Soul) and is said to possess uniform identity with the Omniscient Being. Now, the Soul in which all the souls are included is known as paramāṭmā or Ābūl-Arūḥ (i.e. the Soul of Souls). The inter-relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that between sarīr and ātmā. The combination of waves, in their complete aspect, may (very aptly) be likened to Ābūl-Arūḥ or paramāṭmā; while water only is (just) like the August Existence, or sudh

or chītan.

VI. DISCOURSE ON THE AIR (Bād).

As the air, which moves within the human body, remains in five places, so, it has got five names, namely parān, apān, samān, udān and vayān. (1) Parān, which is the movement of air from the nostrils up to the toes, possesses the characteristic of breathing. (2) Apān, whose movement is from the buttocks up to the special organ, is encircling the navel, and is, moreover, the cause of life. (3) Samān moves inside the breast and the navel. (4) Udān moves from the throat up to the top of the brain (or, the duramaṭer). (5) Lastly, Vayān, (is that air) which is penetrating everything, whether manifest or hidden.

VII. DISCOURSE ON THE FOUR WORLDS ('Awālim-i-Arba'a).

According to certain Sūfis, the worlds, through which all the created beings must needs pass, are four in number, (that is), Nāsūt (the Human World), Malakūt (the Invisible World); Jābarūt (the Highest World) and Lāhūt (the Divine World); but, according to others, they are five in all—the World of Similitude ('ālam-i-mīḥāl) being added to them. And those who consider the world of Similitude as identical with the Invisible world, regard them (i.e. the worlds) as consisting of four only. According to the Indian divines, the Avasthāt, which term applies to these four worlds, consists of four (only), namely, Jāgrat, Sāman.
Sakhūpat 1 and Turyā. 2 (Of these), (1) Jāgari is identical with Nāṣūt (or, the Human World), which is the world of manifestation and wakefulness; (2) Sapan, which is identified with Malakūt (or, the Invisible World), is the world of souls and dreams; (3) Sakhūpat is identical with Jābarūt, (or, the Highest World), in which the traces of both the worlds disappear and the distinction between “I” and “Thou” vanishes—whether you see it with your eyes open or closed. There are many devotees of both the communities who have no information regarding this world. Accordingly, Sayyid-ut-tā'īfa, Ustad Abū Kāsim, 3 (May his soul rest in sanctity) has informed us that he said, “Taṣawwuf consists in sitting for a moment without an attendant.” The Shaikh-ul-Islām 4 asked “What does ‘without an attendant’ mean?” He explained “(It means) finding without seeking and beholding without seeing, for the (employment of) eyes in beholding (God) is an infirmity. So, ‘sitting without an attendant’ means that the marks of the Human World (‘ūlam-i-nāsūt) and of the Invisible World (‘ūlam-i-malakūt) may not enter the mind (of the beholder.)” And, Mawlānā-i-Rūm, (May God hallow his grave), has also hinted at the same point:

“If thou desirest to find him, then do not seek for a moment, (And) if thou wishest to know Him, then do not know for a moment.

When thou seest He secretly, thou art far from His manifestation, And when thou seest Him openly, thou art hidden from His secrets.

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1 Sūrūpi.
2 Turiya.
3 Abū Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Junayd al-Kharrās al-Kawārī, the great mystic of Baghdaḏ was a nephew of Sāri as-Sakātif and a pupil of as-Sakhfī. He died at Baghdaḏ in 297 A.H. (910 A.D.). See Jāmi’s Nafaḏāt, p. 81. The saying, ascribed here to Junayd, is quoted, with Shaikh-ul-Islām’s explanation, on p. 82 of Jāmi’s Nafaḏāt. It appears that Dārī himself considered the above ‘saying’ as very important, for in three of his works i.e. Risāla-i-Ḥaḍ Nūnā (p. 21); Ḥasan-ul-Arīfīn (col. 1b of A.S.B. copy No. III 10) and Sākinat-ul-Awliyā (p. 45 of Urdu translation), he quotes that in full.
4 Shaikh-ul-Islām Abū Ismā’īl ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Harawī was born on the 2nd Shābaḏn 396 A.H. (1006 A.D.) He is the author of several Sāfi works but his fame mainly rests on his extremely popular Munajāt. His lectures on the life and doctrines of the Sāfis, which were embodied in a book and entitled Ṭabākāt-i-‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, form one of the main sources of Jāmi’s Nafaḏāt. (For details see J.A.S.B., 1922, pp. 385-391). He died in 481 A.H. (1088 A.D.).
And when thou comest out of the hidden and the manifest, so, undoubtedly,
Stretch thy legs and sleep comfortably in His protection.

(Now) (4) Turyā is identical with Lāhūt, (or, the World of Divinity), which is (identical with) Pure Existence, encircling, including and covering all the worlds. If a person journeys from the Nāsūt (or, the Human World) to the Malakūt (or, the Invisible World) and from Malakūt to the Jabarūt (or the Highest World) and from this last to the Lāhūt (or, the World of Divinity), this will be considered as a progress, on his part. But, if the Truth of Truths, whom the Indian monotheists call avasan¹, descends from the stage of Lāhūt (or, Divinity) to that of Malakūt (Invisibility) and thence to Jabarūt (or, the Highest Heaven), His journey terminates in Nāsūt (or, the World of Humanity). And the fact that certain Sūfis have described the stages of descent as four, while others as five, is a reference to this (very) fact.

VIII. DISCOURSE ON SOUND (Āwzā). Sound emanates from the same breath of the Merciful which came out with the word Kus², (or, Be), at the time of the creation (of the universe). The Indian divines call that sound Sarasa, which, (they say), is the source of all other sounds, voices, and vibrations:

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

According to the Indian monotheists, this sound, which is called Nād, is of three kinds. First, Anākat,³ which has been in Eternity Past, is so at Present, and will be so in Future. The Sūfis name this sound, Āwāz-i-Muulak (or, the sound of the Absolute), or Sulṭān-ul-Adbhār⁴ (i.e. the Sulṭān of all devotional exercises). This (sound) is

¹ Avasāna (ultimate).
² According to Muhammadan belief, the world owes its origin to the Will of God which was expressed by the word Kus, or, Be. So runs the Holy verse:
   "Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth; and when He decrees an affair, He only says to it, Be, so there it is." (Kur'ān, Ch. II : 117.)
³ Anākat.
⁴ Sulṭān-ul-Adbhār—Among the Sūfis there is a peculiar exercise of the 'tuition of the breath' called Sulṭān-ul-Adbhār. It is said to be even more difficult than Shaght-i-Pās-i-Anfās, which has been discussed before.
eternal and is (also) the source of the perception of mahā ākāś; but this sound is inaudible to all, except the great saints of both the communities. Secondly, Ākāś, or the sound which originates from the striking of one thing against another, without its (i.e. sound’s) combination into words. Thirdly, Sabd, or the sound which emanates together with its formation into words. Sabd possesses an affinity with Sarasa and is (further) the source of Ism-i-Ā’zam (or, the Great name) of the Musalmāns and the Bīdūnā, or Om, of the Hindu divinities. Ism-i-Ā’zam means that He is the possessor of the three attributes of Creation, Preservation and Destruction; and Fath, Dhamma and Kasra, which correspond with ākār, wukār and makār, have also originated from this (i.e. Ism-i-Ā’zam). They (i.e. the Indian divinities) assign a special symbol to this sound, which bears a close resemblance to our Ism-i-Ā’zam, and, in which, traces of the elements of water, fire, air and dust and of the Pure Self are manifest.

IX. DISCOURSE ON LIGHT (Nūr).

Light (nūr) is of three kinds; if it is manifested with the attribute of Jalāl (Majesty), it is either sun-coloured, ruby-coloured, or fire-coloured; and, if manifested with the attribute of Jamāl (Beauty), it is either moon-coloured, pearl-coloured, or water-coloured; and, (lastly) comes the Light of the Essence which is devoid of all (such) attributes, and is not manifested to any one, except the Holy men in whose favour God (the Most High and Holy) has declared: “Allāh guides to His light whom He pleases.”

This is the Light which appears (at the time) when a man, either in sleep or with the eyes closed, neither beholds anything with his eyes nor hears with his ears nor speaks with his tongue nor smells with his nose nor feels with his sense of touch, and, as a matter of fact, performs all these functions, in sleep, with only one faculty and does not require the aid of, either the limbs, the external faculties or the light of a lamp; and the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch

1 Ākāś. 2 Sabd. 3 Ism-i-Ā’zam literally means ‘the great name’ and, undoubtedly, refers to one out of the ninety-nine names of God, but as to which of them in particular, it refers is unsettled. Some identify it with al-Ḥaqq-al-Ḥaqyūn and others with ar-Ruḥmān and ar-Rahim. 4 Veda-mukha. 5 Om (see foot-note on p. 13). 6 Akāra. 7 Ukāra. 8 Makāra. 9 Qur’ān, Ch. XXIV: 35.
become merged in one—such is the Light of Essence, or, in other words, the Light of God. Exalted is His Dignity! O my friend! reflect on what I have said, as it is a matter of discernment and meditation: And, the Prophet of God, may His blessings and peace be on him, has said in praise of this reflection that, "A moment's engagement in meditation is better than the devotion of a whole year" i.e., of the human beings and the fairies. Now, the 'Light' discernible from the Holy verse "Allāh is the light of the heavens and the earths," is called jun surūp, savāparakās, and sapanparakās by the Hindus, which (Light) is always effulgent by itself, whether appearing in the world or not. Accordingly, the Súfis have explained nûr (Light) by the word munawwar (Illumined), and the Hindus also have explained in the same manner. The Holy verse on this point is, as follows: "Allāh is the light of the heavens and the earth; a likeness of His light is as a niche in which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, (and) the glass is as if it were a brightly shining star, lit from a blessed olive-tree, neither eastern nor western, the oil whereof almost gives light though fire touches it not—light upon light—Allāh guides to His light whom He pleases."

But, what this fākîr has understood, (from the above-mentioned verse), is that Miṣbâh (or, niche) applies to the work of bodily existence, Miṣbâh (or, the lamp) to the Light of the Essence and Shîsha (or, glass) to the (human) soul which is like a shining star and that, on account of this lamp (miṣbâh); the Shîsha (or, glass) also appears like a lamp (or, Miṣbâh). And: "That lamp is lit," applies to the Light of the Essence; while the "Sacred tree" (Shajar-i-Mubârak) refers to the Self of the Truth, Holy and Exalted is He, who is free from the limitations of the East and the West. By Zaîût (olive-oil) is meant "the Great Soul" (Rūh-i-A'zam), which is neither of Eternity past nor of Eternity to come, in that the Zaîût is luminous and resplendent by itself, for the reason that it possesses great elegance and purity, and does not require to be lighted. Consequently, Ustâd Abû Bakr Wâsîštî, may he be bless-

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1 Hadîth. Dârâ has quoted this Hadîth on p. 52 of his Sakinat-ul-Awliyâ.
2 Kur'ân, Ch. XXIV: 35.
3 Juyûsh Sūratâ.
4 Sānâparakās.
5 Kur'ân, Ch. XXIV: 35.
6 Sânaparakās.
ed, says, in defining soul, that the ‘glass’ of soul is so luminous that it need not be touched with the fire of the Human World (nūr-i-nāsūt) and it is imminent that, on account of its inherent potency, it may, automatically, be illumined. This light of Zait (olive-oil) is “light upon light” (nūr-un-‘alā nūr), which signifies that, on account of its extreme purity and brightness, it is light-full of light; and no one can behold Him with this light, unless He guides (and directs) him with the Light of His unity. So the main purport of a combination of all these verses is that God, the Most High and Holy, is manifest, with the Light of His Essence, in elegant and refugent curtains and there is no veil or darkness concealing Him. Now, the Light of (His) Essence is manifest in the curtain of Soul of Souls (Abul-Aruāḥ), the Soul of Souls in the curtain of Soul (Rūḥ) and the Soul in the curtain of Body—(exactly) in the manner in which the ‘lamp’ is luminous and manifesting itself within the cover of ‘glass’; the glass being placed in a niche (tākcha), deriving its illumination from the Light of His Essence and thus adding light to light (nūr-un-‘alā nūr).

X. DISCOURSE ON THE VISION OF GOD (Rūyat).

The Indian monotheists call the Vision of God, Sāchālkūr 1, that is, to see God with the (ordinary) eyes of the forehead. Know that the Vision of God, either by the Prophets, may peace be on them, or by the perfect divines, may their souls be sanctified, whether in this or the next world and whether with the outer or the inner eyes, cannot be doubted or disputed; and the “men of the Book” (ahl-i-kitāb), the perfect divines and the seers of all religions—whether they are believers in the Kur’ān, the Vedas, the Book of David or the Old and the New Testaments—have a (common) faith in this respect. Now, one who disbelieves the beholding of God is a thoughtless and sightless member of his community, the reason being: if the Holy Self is Omnipotent, how can He not have the potency to manifest Himself? This matter has been explained very clearly by the ‘Ulāma of the Sunni Sect. But, if it is said, that (even) the Pure Self (dhāt-i-baḥt) can be beheld, it is an impossibility; for the Pure Self is elegant and undetermined, and, as He cannot be determined, He is manifest in the veil of elegance only, and as such cannot be beheld, and such beholding is an impossibility. And the sug-

1 Sāchālkūr.
gestion that He can be beheld in the next and not in this world, is
groundless, for if He is Omnipotent, He is potent to manifest Him-
sel房 in any manner, anywhere and at any time He likes. (I hold) that
one who cannot behold Him here (i.e., in this world) will hardly
behold Him there (i.e. in the next world); as He has said in the
Holy verse: “And whoever is blind in this, he shall (also) be blind in
the hereafter.”

The Mu’tazila and the Shi’a doctors, who are opposed to rūyat
(Beholding), have committed a great blunder in this matter, for had
they only denied the capability of beholding the Pure Self, there would
have been some justification, but their denial of all forms of rūyat (i.e.
Beholding) is a great mistake; the reason being that most of the Prophets
and perfect divines have beheld God with their ordinary eyes and have
heard His Holy words without any intermediary and, now, when they are,
by all means, capable of hearing the words of God, why should they not
be capable of beholding Him? Verily, they must be so; and, just as it
is obligatory to have faith in God, the Angels, the (revealed) Books,
the Prophets, the Destiny, the Good and the Evil, and the Holy
Places, etc., so it is obligatory and incumbent to have faith in
rūyat (Beholding). The unversed Sunni ‘Ulama’ who have disputed the
meaning and wording of the tradition—in which ‘Ā’isha Siddīqa asked Prophet (Muḥammad), Peace be on him, : “Didst thou behold thy Lord !” to which the Prophet replied, “It is light that I am beholding” —have read it as نير انی ارک “It is Light, how can I behold it ?” But this (tradition) cannot be an argument against beholding God, for if we put the former interpretation it will refer to His “complete beholding” (rūyat-i-tām) in the veil of Light but, if we interpret it as, “It is Light, how can I behold it ?,” it will refer to His Pure and Colourless Self. So, it is not a difference in the context but rather a manifestation of the miracle of (our) Prophet who has explained two problems in one tradition. And the Holy verse : "(Some) faces on that day shall be bright, Looking to their Lord."² is a clear argument in favour of rūyat, (Beholding), of our Lord, Exalted is His Dignity; (while) the verse : "Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision; and He is the knower of subtilities, the Aware"³ refers to his colourlessness, that is, the eye cannot behold Him in his Colourless and Absolute capacity, although He beholds all and possesses extreme elegance and colourlessness. And, the word huwa (He), found in the above Holy verse, refers to the invisibility of His Pure Self. Now, the beholding of God is of five kinds: first, in dream with the eyes of heart; secondly, beholding Him with the ordinary eyes; thirdly, beholding Him in an intermediate state of sleep and wakefulness, which is a special kind of Selflessness; fourthly, (beholding Him) in (a stage of) special determination; fifthly, beholding the One Self in the multitudinous determinations of the internal and external worlds. In such a way beheld our Prophet, may peace be on him, whose ‘self’ had disappeared from the midst and the beholder and the beheld had merged in one and his sleep, wakefulness and selflessness looked as one and his internal and the external eyes had become one unified whole—such is

¹ ‘Ā’isha, the favourite wife of the Prophet, was born between 613 and 614 A.D. She was the daughter of Abū Bakr, the first Caliph, and was married to the Prophet in 623 A.D. She died on the 17th Ramadān, 58 A.H., 13th July, 678 A.D. “‘Ā’isha occupies a prominent place amongst the most distinguished traditionists. 1210 traditions are recorded as having been reported by her direct from the mouth of the Prophet. She was often consulted on theological and juridicial subjects.” (Encycl. of Islam, Vol. I, pp. 216, 217.)

² Qur’ān, Ch. LXXV : 22, 23.

³ Qur’ān, Ch. VI : 104.
the state of perfect rūyat ¹ (Beholding), which is not confined either to this or the next world and is possible everywhere and at every period.

XI. DISCOURSE ON THE NAMES OF GOD, THE MOST HIGH
(Asmāʾ Allah Ta'ālā).

Know that the names of God, the Most High, are numberless and beyond comprehension. In the language of the Indian divines, the Absolute, the Pure, the Hidden of the hidden and the Necessary Self is known as asan ², tirgun ³, nirankār ⁴, niranjan ⁵, sat ⁶ and ghīt ⁷. If knowledge is attributed to Him, the Indian divines designate Him as čhit ⁸, while the Muslims call Him 'Alîm (Knowing). For Al-Ḥaḍrā (the Truth) they have (the word) anant ⁹; for Kādir (the Powerful) they have samarth ¹⁰; for Samē (the Hearkener) they have sarutā ¹¹ and for Baṣir (the Beholder) they have draṣṭā. ¹² If spirit is attributed to that Absolute Self, they call Him waktā ¹³; Allah (God)

¹ Dārā Shikūh has discussed, in some detail, the question of Rūyat, or the vision of God, in his Saḵinat-ul-Awliyā, pp. 60–66. He has quoted many authorities in support of his argument, which it is unnecessary to discuss here. I may, however, give a brief summary of the introductory remarks made by Dārā Shikūh:

"One day I asked Miya Jiv that it is stated in Nihāya-i-Jazari that Ibn-i-Shakīk told Abū Dhar-i-Ghaffārī, 'Had I seen Prophet Muḥammad, I must have asked him as to whether he saw God or not.' Abū Dhar-i-Ghaffārī replied 'I have enquired of Prophet, but he replied, 'Nūr-un-anna-arāhū' i.e. He is Light, I cannot see Him anyhow. But mark that verbal play (Tajnis-i-Khaṭī) in the above sentence, for, it may also mean, 'It is light that I am beholding' . . . . . . ."

Now, Ḥaḍrat Miya Jiv told Dārā Shikūh that if the first interpretation is put on the words of the Prophet, then it will refer to the Pure Self, and such beholding is an impossibility even for the Prophets; but if the second interpretation is put, then it means that 'He can be seen when he descends and appears in veil or guise.' Dārā Shikūh has summed up his views on the subject of Rūyat in the following quatrains which I quote from his Saḵinat-ul-Awliyā, (p. 61):

"Those who will behold God in that (Future) time,
Know that at first they behold Him in this world;
The vision of God is identical, whether in this or the next (world),
Every moment they see Him, open and secretly."

² Asaṅga (1).
³ Triguna.
⁴ Nirākāra.
⁵ Nirāṅgāna.
⁶ Sattva.
⁷ Cits.
⁸ Cita.
⁹ Satya.
¹⁰ Ananta.
¹¹ Srotā.
¹² Draṣṭā.
¹³ Vyakta.
they call um\(^1\); Ḥā (He) they call saḥ\(^2\) and they designate Firīšta (i.e. angel) as dīvatā\(^3\), in their language. The ‘perfect manifestation’ (mahzar-i-ālam) is called awtār\(^4\), through whom the Majesty of God is manifested in such a way as would not be manifested, in any other individual of his class, in that particular period. Wahi (Divine Revelation) which dawns on the Prophets, is called akās bānī\(^5\); and this name (akās bānī) is given to it for the reason that our Prophet, may peace be on him, has said: the severest moment for me is that of Wahi (or, Divine Revelation), when I hear Wahi ringing in my ears like the sound of a bell or the buzzing of wasps; so this voice, descending from heaven, is called akās bānī. They call the Heavenly Books Ved, and the beautiful ones of the jīns (Geniiis), who are the pariś, are called anchānt\(^6\), while the evil ones, who are the demons and the devils, are called rūchas.\(^7\) Manukh\(^8\), according to them, are the human beings, while rikhi\(^9\) is a mystic and mahā sudh\(^10\), an Apostle.

XII. DISCOURSE ON APOSTLESHIP AND SAINTSHIP (Nubuwat wa Wilāyat).

Apostles may be divided into three classes: first, those who might have beheld God either with the outer or the inner eyes; secondly, those

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\(^1\) Um. "O'm a mystic monosyllable or ejaculation by Hindus, which is supposed to be uttered in place of naming the Supreme Being. Hindus, from its awful and sacred meaning, hesitate to pronounce His name aloud, and place one of their hands before their mouths and say O'm!

\(^2\) Saḥ.

\(^3\) Dīvatā.

\(^4\) Awtār.

\(^5\) Akās bānī.

\(^6\) Anchānt.

\(^7\) Rūchas.

\(^8\) Manukh.

\(^9\) Rikhi.

\(^10\) The word Mahā Sudh is phonetically equivalent to Mahā Suddha, or, "highly pure," which is hardly an epithet for an Apostle.
who might have heard the voice of God, either sound only or sound, composed of words; thirdly, those who might have seen the angels or heard their voice.

Now, Apostleship and Saintship is of three kinds: (1) Pure (tanzih) Apostleship; (2) Resembling (tashbih) Apostleship and (3) a combination of Pure and Resembling Apostleships.

First, Pure (tanzih) Apostleship, like which was the Apostleship of Noah, May peace be on him, who beheld God in purity (tanzih) and invited people (to embrace his religion) but, except a few, they did not accept his faith, on account of his (tanzih) (‘pure beholding’), and, (as a result), were sunk in the ocean of destruction. Similarly, the divines of our day invite disciples to a ‘pure beholding’ of God, but none of those disciples ever attains the stage of an ‘Arif, nor is he benefited by their discourses and, dying on the way of Suluk (Journey) and Tarikat (Path) never reaches God.

Secondly, Resembling (tashbih) Apostleship, like the Apostleship of Moses, May peace be on him, who saw God Himself in the fire of the tree and heard words from the clouds. A large section of the followers of Moses, having become Anthropomorphists, began worshipping the cow and committed sin. Now-a-days, some of our followers (mukallidin) whose only profession in life is (blind) following, having fallen aside from purity (tanzih), have been sunk in Anthropomorphism, and, as such, indulge in seeing handsome and attractive faces and (pass their time) in playing and toying. One should never follow such persons.

Verses:

“Every heart-attracting face that thou beholdest,
The sky will soon remove it from before thy eyes;
Go, and give thy heart to one, who, in the circle of existence,
Has remained always with thee and will so continue to be.”

Thirdly, a combination of Pure (tanzih) and Resembling (tashbih) Apostleships, like the Apostleship of Muḥammad, May peace be on him and salutation, who joined together the Absolute (muлak) and the Determined (muкyyad), the Colourless and the coloured, the Near and the Distant. There is a reference to this very dignity, in the Holy verse: “Nothing is like a likeness of Him; and He is the Hearing, the
Seeing." ¹ The former, i.e. "Nothing is like a likeness of Him," is a reference to His Purity (tanzih) and the latter, i.e. "He is the Hearing, the Seeing," is one to that of Resembling (taṣḥih). This is the highest and the loftiest stage of Universality and Perfection, which was reserved for that lord (Muḥammad), Peace be on him. So, our Prophet has encircled the whole world, from (the remotest corner of) the east to the (farthest end) of the west. Now, Pure (tanzih) Apostleship is void of Resembling (taṣḥih) Apostleship, while Resembling Apostleship (in its turn) is void of Pure Apostleship; but the "Uniting" (jāmi`) Apostleship combines both tanzih and taṣḥih Apostleships; as contained in the Holy verse: "He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (over all) and the Knower of hidden things." ² Similarly, Saintship is limited to the perfect ones of the sect in whose praise God, the Most High, has said: "You are the best of the nations raised up for (the benefit of) men," ³ namely, they are the best of My followers who combine tanzih and taṣḥih. Thus, in the time of our Prophet, May peace of God and salutation be on him, there were, among the mystics, Abū Bakr, ⁴ 'Umar, ⁵ 'Uṯmān, ⁶ 'Alī, ⁷ Ḥasan ⁸ and Ḥussain, the Six Bāḥi (Sitta-i-Bāḥiyan), the ten Congratulated (Aṣḥara-i-Mubāghahāra) ¹⁰ and the great ones of the muḥājirīn, ¹¹ the ansār ¹² and the Śūfts.

And in the time of the Tābi‘īn ¹³ there were (saints) like Uwais-i-Ḵarān ¹⁴ and others; ¹⁵ and in another period saints like Ḏhun Nūn al-Miṣri ¹⁶, Fuḍail b. 'Iyād ¹⁷, Ma‘rūf-i-Karkh ¹⁸, Ibrāhīm Adham ¹⁹, Bīghr-i-Ḥāfī ²⁰, Ṣarī as-Saḵāṭi ²¹, Bāyazd-i-Bišṭāmī ²², Ustād Abū Kāsim Junaidi ²³, Šah b. 'Abdullāh at-Tustari ²⁴, Ruwaim ²⁵, Abū Saʻīd Kharrāz ²⁶, Abū Ḥasan an-Nūrī ²⁷, Ibrāhīm Khawwās ²⁸, Abū Bakr Ṣhiblī ²⁹, Abū Bakr Wāsīṭ ³⁰ and others of their type. In another period there were Abū Saʻīd Abū Khaṣir ³¹, Ṣaḥīb-ul-Ḵism Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī ³², Ṣaḥīb Ahmad-i-Jām ³³, Muḥammad Ma‘ṣhūk Tūsī ³⁴, Ṣaḥīb Ghazzālī ³⁵, and Abū Kāsim Gurgānī.³⁶ In another period there were (saints) like my pir (spiritual guide) Ṣaḥīb Muḥiuddin 'Abdul Kādir Jalālī ³⁷, Abū 'Uṯmān al-Maghribī ³⁸, Ṣaḥīb Muḥiuddin Ḏū al-‘Arabī ³⁹, Ṣaḥīb Naṣīmuddin Kūḏrī ⁴⁰, Ṣaḥīb Fārīuddin 'Affār ⁴¹ and Mawlānā Jalāluddin Rūmī.⁴² In another period there were Khwāja Mu‘inuddin Chishti,⁴³ Khwāja Bahāuddin Naḵšbandī ⁴⁴, Khwāja Ṭabīr ⁴⁵ and Mawlānā 'Abdur

¹ Kur’ān, Ch. XLII : 11. ² Kur’ān, Ch. LVII : 3. ³ Kur’ān Ch. III : 109.
Rahmān Jāmī. In another period there were (saints) like my Shaikh, the second Junaid, Shāh Mīr; my teacher Miyan Bārī; my Murshid Mullā Shāh; Shāh Muḥammad Dīrūbā, Shaikh Ṭaiyyīb Sarhindī, and Bāwā Lāl Bairāgī.

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(Biographical Notes to Section XII.)

1 Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh (surnamed 'Atīk) was the first orthodox Caliph who succeeded Prophet Muḥammad in 632 A.D. He died on the 22nd Jamāda II, 13 A.H. = 23rd August 634, and was buried beside the Prophet.

2 Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second orthodox Caliph, succeeded Abū Bakr in 13 A.H. (= 634 A.D.). He ruled over the countries of Islam for ten years and was assassinated in 23 A.H., (644 A.D.).

3 Uthmān b. 'Affān, the third orthodox Caliph, succeeded 'Umar on the 1st Muharram, 24 A.H. = 7th November, 644 A.D., and was assassinated by some conspirators on the 18th Dhul Hijja, A.H. 35 = June 17th, A.D. 656. He is called Dhun Nūrain, or "the possessor of two lights," as he married two of the Prophet's daughters, Rukayya and Umm-i-Kulthum.

4 'Ali b. Abī Ṭalīb was the fourth orthodox Caliph. He was a cousin and the son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad and was among the first few who embraced Islam. He became Caliph on the 25th Dhul Hijja, 35 A.H. = June 23rd, 656 A.D. and died on the 21st Ramaḍān, 40 A.H. = 27 January, 661 A.D. as a result of wounds inflicted by Ibn-i-Muljām. He is regarded by the Shi'as as the only lawful Caliph after the Prophet.

5 Ḥasan, the eldest son of 'Ali, and a grandson of Prophet Muḥammad, was born in 3 A.H. He succeeded 'Ali as Caliph in 40 A.D. and, after a rule of about six months, abdicated in favour of Mu'āwīya. He was, however, poisoned by his wife Ja'īda, in 49 A.H.

6 Ḥusayn, the second son of 'Ali and a grandson of Prophet (through Fāsim) was born in 4 A.H. He was the rightful successor of Mu'āwīya, but the latter nominated Yazid, his son, as successor, who slew Ḥusayn, under the most tragic circumstances, at Karbalā, in 61 A.H. The martyrdom of Ḥusayn is mourned every year by the whole Muslim world and, more specially, by the Shi'as from the 1st to the 10th of Muharram.

11 The Muljīrīn is the title given to those believers who emigrated to Medina from Mecca.

12 al-Anṣār, (lit. the helpers), or, more explicitly speaking, Anṣār-un-Nabī, is the title given to those believers of Medina who received and assisted the Prophet.

13 Taibe' (or, "the followers") is, in the language of the *Muḥaddišin*, or the traditionists, the title of those persons who met and conversed with one of the companions (ṣafīb) of the Prophet.


15 In certain texts the name of Ḥanbal is given. Abū 'Abdullāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, known as Imām Ḥanbal, the founder of the fourth school of Sunnī jurisprudence, was born in A.H. 164 (= 780 A.D.). He was a favourite pupil of asb-Shāh'i and enjoys considerable reputation as a traditionist and theologian. He stubbornly refused to subscribe to the new faith of al-Ḥasan that the Kur'an was created and thereby seriously endangered his life. His death took place at Baghdaḏ, in 241 A.H. (= 855 A.D.), and it is said that 800,000 men and 60,000 women attended his funeral. (For details see Ibn Khallikān, de Slane's translation, vol. I, p. 44; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 214-219; *Khasān-ul-Asfiyyā*, vol. I, pp. 66-66.

16 Dḫun Nūn Abul Frīḍ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīṣrī, whose real name was Thawbān, was a pupil of Malīk b. Anas. He lived in Egypt and died at Qhira, in 245 A.H. (= 850 A.D.). He is well-known for his piety and sanctity, and Jāmi' records several instances of his miraculous acts. His fame, however, mostly rests on the fact that Sufi doctrines were first explained and expressed by him. (For details see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 32-37; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 114-134; *Safināt-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 126, 127; *Kashf-ul-Mahjūb*, tr. Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series), pp. 100-103.

17 Fuḍail b. 'Iyāḏ, with his Kūnys Abū 'Ail, was a native of Kūfa, or, as stated by some, of Khurāsān. He is a celebrated, early mystic of Islām and died on the 2nd Rabi' I, 187 A.H. (= 803 A.D.). For further particulars see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 38, 39; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, 74-85; *Safināt-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 86, 87; *Khasnāt-ul-Asfiyyā*, vol. I, pp. 228-235; *Siyar-ul-Ārifin*, pp. 24-29; *Kashf-ul-Mahjūb*, pp. 97-100.

18 Maṭrūf-ī-Karḵālī, with his Kūnys Abū Mahfūs, was the teacher of Sārī as Saḵāti. At first he was a magician, but with his father Firūz or Firūzān accepted Islām at the hands of Abū b. Mūsā ar-Riḍā. He died at Baghdaḏ on the 2nd or the 8th Muḥarram, A.H. 200. For further particulars regarding his life and teachings see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 269-274; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 39-40; *Khasnāt-ul-Asfiyyā*, vol. I, pp. 76-78; *Safināt-ul-Awliyā* pp. 35, 36.

19 Ibrāhīm b. Adham b. Musābīr b. Yāsīd b. 'Jābir (Abū Ḥabīb), the famous mystic, was a native of Balkh, where he is said to have ruled as king, but, subse-


22 Abū Yazīd Ṭaḥfūr b. ‘Issā b. Adam b. Surūbā, better known a Bayyāsid al-Bistāmī, was a great mystic of Bistām. He led the life of an ascetic and died in 261 A.H. (≈ 875 A.D.) or 264 (877–976 A.D.). His fame chiefly rests on his introducing the doctrine of Fānū in Muslim mysticism and is also reputed to be a “convinced pantheist.” His followers are designated after him as Ṭaḥfūria or Bistāmīya. For further particulars see Nafahāt, pp. 59–60; Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 134–179; Khasinat-ul-Afsyā, vol. I, pp. 519–522; Safinat-ul-Awliyā, pp. 73, 74.

23 Abū Kāsīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Junaid al-Kharrāz al-Sawārī, also known as Suwayd-ul-Bayy’s, and Tāfī-ul-Ulomā, was a celebrated mystic of Baghdaḍ. He was a pupil of Abū Thawr, who, in his turn, was a student of asb-Shafti. Junaid died at Baghdaḍ in 297 A.H. (≈ 910 A.D.) and was buried beside his uncle, the well-known Sarī as-Saḵayf. His followers are called Junaidī. For further reference see Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 5–39; Nafahāt, pp. 81–85; Khasinat-ul-Afsyā, vol. I, pp. 81–86; Safinat-ul-Awliyā, pp. 37–39.


25 Abū Muḥammad Ruwaim b. Yazīd was a well-known mystic of Baghdaḍ and a disciple of Junaid. In Juirisprudence he was a follower of Dī’ud-i-Iṣfahān,

26 Abü Sa'id Ahmad b. 'Isa al-Kharrāz was a disciple of Muhammad b. Mağūr at-Tisī and a companion of Dhun Nūn, Bishr and Sa'ī. Both, according to Jāmi (Nasaehet, p. 76) and Hujwiri (*Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, p. 143), Kharrāz “was the first who explained the doctrine of annihilation (fanā) and subsistence (baša).” His followers are known as Kharrāzis (see *Kashf*., pp. 241-246). It is said that he left 400 works on mysticism. He died in 286-287 A.H. = 900 A.D. For further reference see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliya*, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 40-45; *Khasinat-ul-Assiyar*, vol. II, p. 185; *Safinat-ul-Awliya*, pp. 134, 135.

27 Abū Ḥusain Ahmad b. Muhammad an-Nūrī, was a companion of Junaid and a disciple of Sa'ī. He was also known by the name of Ibn al-Baghdābi as his father hailed from Baghdūr, or Baghdāhr (*Kashfina*, p. 169), a city between Hīrat and Marv. Nūrī was born at Baghdad and died in 295 A.H. = 907 A.D. His followers are known as Nuris whose principal doctrine is “to regard Suflam (tasawwuf) as superior to poverty (fakr).” (See *Kashf*, pp. 189-195.) For further information see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliya*, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 46-55; *Nasaehet*, pp. 80, 81; *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, pp. 130-132; *Khasinat-ul-Assiyar*, vol. II, pp. 169-171; *Safinat-ul-Awliya*, pp. 137, 138.


32 Shaikh-ul-Islām Khwāja Abū Isma'il 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, the well-known
author of the Munajjat or "Supplications" and several other Sufi works, was born at Hirat, on May 4, 1006 A.D. He delivered learned discourses at Hirat on the life and teachings of the Sufis, which were embodied in a book, entitled Tabakat i'-Abdullah Anjari, a copy of which is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see Ivanow’s Catalogue, pp. 78-83). Anjari died in 1088 A.D. For further particulars see Browne, Literary History of Persia, vol. II, pp. 269, 270.

33 Shaikh-ul-Jamâ Abû Naṣr Ahmad b. Abû Ḥasan al-Jami, surnamed Zhandapil, was born in the district of Jâm, in A.H. 441 A.H. = 1049 A.D. He is celebrated as a mystic and the author of some fourteen works on Sufism, of which only five are said to be extant. He also compiled a Diwan which has been lithographed several times in India. His death took place in 536 A.H. = 1141 A.D. For further particulars see K. B. ‘Abdul Muqit’i’s Catalogue of O.P. Library; Bankipore, vol. I, pp. 30-32.

34 Muhammad Mahbul at-Tusi had, according to Kashf-ul-Mahjub, "an excellent spiritual state and was aglow with love." According to Jami, (Nafaqat, p. 284), Abû Salih b. Abû Khair visited him with several of his companions. He was buried at Tusi. See Nafaqat, pp. 283, 284.

35 Shaikh Ahmad al-Ghazzali, the brother of the celebrated Imam al-Ghazzali, is the author of several Sufic-religious works, the principal among them being Risala-i-Sawâni. He died in 517 A.H. See Nafaqat, pp. 336, 337; Satsfat-ul-Awliya, pp. 102, 103.


37 Muḥiuddin Abû Muḥammad ‘Abdul Kâdir b. Abi Sâlih Muṣâ al-Jili, one of the greatest and most celebrated saints of Bagdad, was born in 470 A.H. = 1077-1078 A.D. He died in 561=1166 A.D.; and the order of the Kâdiris, to which Dârâ Shikûh belonged, owes its existence to him. Prof. Margoliouth has given the salient points of his life in the Encycl. of Islam, vol.I, pp. 41, 42; see also Nafaqat, N. Lees ed., pp. 586-590 and Shams-ul-ulamâ M. Hidâyat Husain’s Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Bûhâr Library, Calcutta, p. 132.

38 Abû Madyan Shu’ayb b. al-Husain al-Andalusi, was born at Cautilana (Kauτniyâna), a village near Seville. According to Jami, Muḥiuddin Ibn al-‘Arabi received training at his hands. He died in 594=1197-1198 A.D., or in 590 A.H. = 1193 A.D., as recorded in Nafaqat. His Sufistic doctrine may be summed up in the following verse which he is said to have often repeated. "Say, Allah, and abandon all that is matter, or is connected with it, if thou desirest to attain the true goal." Encycl. of Islam, vol. I, p. 99. See Nafaqat, p. 473, Satsfat-ul-Awliya, p. 67.

39 Shaikh Muḥiuddin Ibn al-‘Arabi was born at Murcia, in Spain, on July 25, 1165 A.D. He is considered to be one of the greatest mystics of Islam. Of his
extant works 150 are known, of which Fugūs-ul-Ḥikam, the Fustal-ul-Makhiya
and the Dīdân enjoy wide celebrity. He came to the East in 1201 A.D. and died
at Damascus on November 16, 1240 A.D. See Browne, Literary History of Persia,

40 Abū Jannāb Āḥmad b. 'Umar al-Khwāṣī, commonly known as Shāikh
Najmuddin Kūbrā, was the celebrated mystic of Khwāṣīm. His title "Kūbrā"
is derived from the name of "az-Ṣammat-ul-Kūbrā", or "the supreme calamity",
given him on account of his wonderful ability as a debater. He was killed during
the sack of Khwāṣīm by the Mongols, 618 A.H. = 1221. See Browne, Literary
490-487; Safīnāt-ul-Awliyāq, p. 103-105.

41 Abū Ṭālib (or Abū Ḥāmil) Muhammad b. Abū Bakr ʿIbrāhīm, better
known as Farduddin ʿAṭṭār, is the celebrated mystic poet. He is said to have
composed 114 works but, now, only about 30 are extant. His Taghkirat-ul-Awliyāq,
is one of the most wellknown biographies of Muslim saints and mystics. Various
dates have been given of his death, but the most acceptable of all, is, perhaps,
627 A.H. For his life see Browne, Literary History of Persia, vol. II, pp. 500-515
and the valuable introduction to Taghkirat-ul-Awliyāq written by Mīrṣā Muham-
mad of Kāzin.

42 Jalāluddin Muḥammad, commonly called Jalāluddin Rūmi, the author of
the celebrated Mafānwā, was born at Balkh, in 1207 A.D. He had to leave his
native country during his infancy and, after staying at several places, settled at
Kūniya, where he came in contact with that mystic of magnetic personality—
Shams-i-Tabrīz. Rūmi is also the author of a Divāna which is dedicated to the
memory of his spiritual guide, the well-known Shams-i-Tabrīz. He died in
815-825; Nafaṣāt, p. 409.

43 Muʿīnuddin Muḥammad Ḍīqūṭī, who is considered by many as the greatest
mystic of India, was born in 537 A.H. =1142 A.D. Having travelled in Khurāsān,
he came to Baghdad and thence to Dihīl, (598 A.H. = 1193) and finally to Ajjār,
where he died in 633 = 1236. His tomb is visited every year by thousands of
votaries. He is the founder of the Ḍīqūṭī order, which finds the largest number of
votaries in India. A lithographed Divāna, popularly ascribed to him, has been con-
clusively proved to be the work of Muʿīnuddin Mīnik, the famous preacher of
Hirāt and author of Māʿārīj-un-Nubuwat.

44 Muḥammad b. Muhammad, called Khwāja Bahṣuddin Naqaḥband, the
founder of the Naqaḥbandi order, was born at Bukhārā, in A.H. 728 = 1327 A.D.
His sayings were collected by one of his disciples, a copy of which is preserved
in the British Museum (Rieu, p. 862). Bahṣuddin died in 791 A.H. = 1388 A.D. See

45 Khwāja Naṣiruddin ʿUbaisullāh Abūrār, better known as Khwāja Aḥrār,
was born in 806 A.H. =1403 A.D. His life and teachings form the main topic of
ʿAlī b. Ḥussain al-Wāṣī al-Kaḥfi's, Rasaḥāl, ʿĀin-ul-Raḥšt, which records his
Nārūddīn 'Abdūr Rāhīm Jāmī, the well-known author of Nafakāt-ul-Uns and the last great classical poet of Persia, was born in a village in the district of Jām, on the 23rd Shabān, 817 A.H. = 7th November, 1414 A.D. He attended the courts of Sulṭān Abū Sa‘īd and Sulṭān Huṣain Bayḫarā in and died at Hirāt, on the 18th Muḥarram, 898 A.H. = 9th November, 1492 A.D. Besides Haft Awrang and three Diwāns, Ahā‘vat-ul-Lama‘āt, Arba‘in, Shauṭhīd-un-Nubuwwat and other works on religious and Sūfīstic subjects are also written by him. See K. B. 'Abdūl-Muhtarī’s Catalogue of the O.P. Library, Bankīpore, vol. II, pp. 32-90.

Mir Muḥammad b. Sā‘īn Dātī, commonly known as Miyān Mīr or Miyān Jīv, was born in A.H. 938. He came to Lahore and stayed there for about sixty years. He was highly respected for his piety and was frequently visited by Shāh Jāhān and Dārā Shikūh. His death took place on the 7th Rabī‘ I, 1045 A.H., at the ripe old age of 107. Dārā Shikūh has written a work, entitled Sāfinat-ul-Awliyā, dealing with the life of the saint and his disciples, and has also given a notice of the life of the saint in his Sāfinat-ul-Awliyā.

He was one of the spiritual teachers of Dārā, and died on 15th Rabī‘ I, 1062, (Hasanāt-ul-‘Arīfīn, pp. 53-57.)

Mulla Shāh Muḥammad b. Mulla ‘Abd Muḥammad, commonly known as Mullā Shāh or Lisanullāh, came from Badakhshān to Lahore in 1023 A.H. = 1614 A.D., and became a disciple of Miyān Mīr, the great saint of the time. He was highly respected by Dārā Shikūh who was initiated by him into the Ḥadīrī order in 1049 A.H. = 1639 A.D. After the death of Miyān Mīr (1045 A.H.), Mullā Shāh retired to Kashmīr where he passed the remaining days of his life in a monastery built by Dārā Shikūh and his sister Jahan Aṭrā. He died in 1072 A.H. = 1661-62 A.D. Mullā Shāh was a voluminous writer and has left a Diwān, which has been lithographed, besides several works on Sāfism. (For his life see Sāfinat-ul-Awliyā, pp. 116-128.)

Shaikḥ Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā is spoken of by Dārā Shikūh as one of his teachers (Hasanāt-ul-‘Arīfīn, pp. 59-61) and considered as “unrivalled in Paḵtirī, self-suppression, religious exercises, retirement and singularity.” Further, he tells us that now-a-days (i.e., about 1064 A.H.) he has adopted a life of complete isolation and sees the face of none and speaks with visitors from behind the veil. Dārā records a number of very interesting sayings of the saint in his Hasanāt-ul-‘Arīfīn (pp. 59-61).

Shaikḥ Tayyib Sarhindī receives very scanty notice in the Hasanāt-ul-‘Arīfīn of Dārā Shikūh. There, (p. 45 of the Urdu text), he is spoken of as a friend of Bābā Piyašay and as one who narrated several very interesting anecdotes of the Bābā. Beyond this, I have not been able to get any other information regarding the life of this Shaikḥ.

Bābā Lāl Bairāgī was a Hindū saint who was held in high esteem by Dārā Shikūh. For his life and the conversations that he had with Dārā Shikūh see Introduction.
XIII. DISCOURSE ON Barhmānd.

By Barhmānd is meant "All" (kul), which (term) applies to the determination of the Necessary Self in the shape of a round globe and, as it is not inclined towards or joined to any one; its proportion to all is equal and every creation and exhibition takes place in its midst—hence the name Barhmānd, given to it by the Indian monotheists.

XIV. DISCOURSE ON THE DIRECTIONS (Jihāt).

The Muslim monotheists regard the East, the West, the North, the South, the top and the bottom as each a separate direction. Hence, according to them, there are six directions, while, according to the reckoning of the Indian monotheists, there are ten directions (in all). They consider the space between the East, the West, the North and the South as each a separate direction and, accordingly, name them dāh dīshā 1.

XV. DISCOURSE ON THE SKIES (Āsmānḥā).

According to the Indians, the skies, which are called Gagana, are eight in number. Of these, seven are the stations of the seven planets, namely, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. In the Indian language, however, they are called the seven nichattars, that is, saṃchār, dirakṣpat, mangal, sūraj, sukra, budh, and chandra-mās. Now, the sky which contains all the fixed stars is regarded as the eighth and the learned men call this very sky 'the eighth sphere', or, ‘the sphere of fixed stars’ (jalak-i-thawābit), while the Muḥammādan religious doctors (ahl-i-shar) designate it Kursi in their own phraseology. (So runs the Holy verse): “His Kursī (throne) extends over the heavens and the earth.”

The ninth (sky), which is called māḥā akās, has not been included in the (list of) skies; the reason being that it (i.e. māḥā akās) encircles all and even the Kursi, the skies and the earths are contained in it.

XVI. DISCOURSE ON THE EARTH (Zamin).

According to the Indians, the earth has been divided into seven layers, called Sapta tāl, each of which is named aṭal 14, batal 15.

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1 Daśa dīshā. 2 Gagana. 3 Nakṣatra. 4 Sunaidecara. 5 Bhakṣpati. 6 Mangala. 7 Sūṇya. 8 Sukra. 9 Budha. 10 Chandramas. 11 Kurān, Ch. 11: 255. 12 Mahākāśa. 13 Sapta tāl. 14 Aṭal. 15 Batal.
sūtal 1, talātal 2, māhātal 3, rasātal 4, and pātal 5. According to the Muslims also, the earth has seven (layers), as contained in the Holy verse: “Allāh is He who created seven heavens, and of the earth the like of them.” 6

XVII. DISCOURSE ON THE DIVISIONS OF THE EARTH.
(Kismat-i-Zamīn).

The learned men have divided the inhabited globe into seven parts, designating them as the “seven spheres” (Haft Iklim), which the Indians name sapatāvipa. 7 They do not consider the seven spheres as the layers of an onion, rather, they conceive them, as the steps of a ladder. And, the seven mountains, which the Indians call sapat kulāchāl, are regarded by them as surrounding every sphere—their names being—(1) Sumī-rū 9 (2) Samūpat 10, (3) Himakūt 11, (4) Himavan 12, (5) Nakadī, (6) Pārjālar 13 and (7) Kailās. 14 Accordingly, it is mentioned in the Kur'ān: “And the mountains are projections thereof,” (i.e. on the earth). 16

Now, round each of the seven mountains there are seven seas, which are surrounding each mountain. They are called Sapat Samundar: 16 their names being: (1) Lavan Samundar 17, or the sea of salt; (2) Unchch ras samundar 18, or the sea of sugar-candy, (3) Surā Samundar 19, or the sea of wine, (4) Ghirat Samundar 20, or the sea of Ghee, (5) Dadda Samundar 21, or the sea of oourd, (6) Kīr Samundar 22, or the sea of milk and (7) Sawād jal, 23 or the sea of pure water. The fact that the seas are seven in number is ascertainable from the (following) verse of the Kur'ān: “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 words of Allāh would not come to an end.” 24 Now in every land, mountain and river, there is a variety of creation. The land, the mountain, and the river which are above all lands, mountains

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1 Sutala. 2 Talatala. 3 Mahatala. 4 Rasatala. 5 Patala. 6 Kurdan, Ch. LXV : 12. 7 Saptadvipa.
8 Sapta Kulacala. 9 Sumeru. 10 Sukimah. 11 Hemakut. 12 Himavan. 13 Parjalar. 14 Kaila. 15 Kurdan Ch. LXXVIII : 7.
16 Sapat Samudra. 17 Lavaana Samudra. 18 Ikṣu-rasa Samudra. 19 Sur Samudra. 20 Ghrita Samudra. 21 Dadhi Samudra.
22 Keira Samudra. 23 Sudujala. 24 Kurdan, Ch. XXXI : 27.
and rivers, are called Sarag 1 by the Indian doctors, which, in other words, is called Bihisht or Jannat (i.e. Paradise) (by the Muslims). Now, the land, the river and the mountain which are below (all) lands, mountains and the rivers, are known as narak 2, or Dūzakẖ and Jahan nam, that is, Hell and the infernal fire. The Indian monotheists have held that the Heaven and the Hell are not beyond this very universe (of ours), which we call Barhmānd and (they further hold) that the seven skies, which are the stations of the seven planets, do not revolve above Paradise but (rather) round it. The roof of Paradise is called man akōs, that is 'Arsh, and its (i.e. Paradise) ground is called Kursi.

XVIII. DISCOURSE ON THE WORLD OF Barzakẖ (Interval between the Death of a Man and the Resurrection).

Our Prophet, may peace be on him and salutation, has said: "Whosoever dies, verily, there is resurrection for him."

After death, ātmā, or soul, having left the body of elements, enters, without any delay, the body of mukt, which is called Sūcham Sarīr. 3 It is a fine body, formed by our action—good action having a good and bad action having a bad form. Now, after "Question and Answer," (which will be made after death), those deserving of Paradise will be taken to Paradise, while those deserving of Hell to Hell; as stated in the Holy verse: "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." 4

Now, "bringing out of hell," means that, before the destruction of the skies and the earths, He may, if He wishes, take out (the condemned person) from Hell and carry him to Paradise. In explaining this verse, Ibn Mas‘ūd 5, may God be pleased with him, has said that "a period will come in the (life of) Hell when, after a long sojourn, no one will remain

1 Swarga.
2 Naraka.
3 Sūcham Sarīrā.
4 Kur‘ān, Ch. XI: 106, 107, 108.
5 Ibn Mas‘ūd ('Abdullāh b. Mas‘ūd) (b. 28 before Hijra) was a well-known companion of the Prophet. He was present at the battle of Badr. His death took place at al-Madīna in 32 A.H.
inside it." And, "bringing out of Paradise", means that, before the destruction of the skies and the earths, God may, if He wishes, bring up its occupants to the High Paradise (Firdaws-i-Alla)—for His generosity is limitless. The following Holy verse is also a proof (of the above statement): "And best of all is Allah's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement"¹—namely, that God has a Paradise which is larger than other Paradises.

The Indians call it Baikunth², which, in the opinion of the Indian monotheists, is the greatest salvation.

XIX. DISCOURSE ON THE RESURRECTION (Kiyamat).

The Indian monotheists have held that, after a very long stay in Heaven or Hell, the mahā pari³, or the Great Resurrection, will take place, which (fact) is also ascertainable from the Holy verse (of the Kur'än). "But when the Great Resurrection comes."⁴ The following verse also speaks of the same, "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 Allah pleases."⁵

This (exception) refers to the group of 'Ārifis (i.e. Knowers of God) who are immune from senselessness or thoughtlessness both in this and the next world. Now, after the upsetting of the skies, the destruction of the heavens and the hells and the completion of the age of Barhmānd, the occupants of Heaven and Hell will achieve mukt⁶; that is, both will be absorbed and annihilated in the Sef of the Lord, as stated in the Holy verse: "Every one on it must pass away. And there will endure for ever the person of thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour."⁷

XX. DISCOURSE ON MUKT (SALVATION).

Mukt means the annihilation and disappearance of determinations, in the Sef of the Lord, as it appears from the Holy verse: "And best of all is Allah's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement."⁸

Now, entrance into Ridwān-i-Akbar, or the High Paradise, is a great salvation, called mukt. Mukt is of three kinds:

¹ Kur'än, Ch. IX : 72.  ² Vaikuntha.  ³ Mahāpralaya.
⁴ Kur'än, Ch. LXXIX : 34. Mawlawi Muhammad 'Ali has translated, as "the great predominating calamity" which, he says, may not necessarily refer to Resurrection.  ⁵ Kur'än Ch. XXXIX : 68.  ⁶ Mukt.
⁷ Kur'än, Ch. LV : 26, 27.  ⁸ Kur'än, Ch. IX : 72.
First, Jiwan mukt, or salvation in life. According to them (i.e. the Hindus), Jiwan mukt consists in one's attainment of salvation and freedom, by being endowed with the wealth of knowing and understanding the Truth, in seeing and considering everything of this world as one, in ascribing to God, and not to oneself, all (i.e. man's) deeds, actions, movements and behaviour, whether good or bad, and in regarding oneself, together with all other existing objects, as in complete identity with the Truth. Further, he should regard God as manifesting Himself in all the stages and should look upon Barhmānd, which the Sūfis call 'Ālam-i-Kuḍrā (or, the Great World) and is (moreover) the "Complete Form" of God, as the corporeal body of God. He should regard 'Unṣūr-i-ʾAẓam (or the Great Element) namely, mahā akūs, as, Sūcham Sarīr, or the fine body of God, and should consider the Self of God as the soul of that body. 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. Now, just as a human being, who is called the 'smaller world' ("Ālam-i-Ṣagār"), 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. (Verse):

"The whole world, whether of souls or bodies,
Is One Fixed Person—called 'Ālam.'"

So, one should consider God, the Most Holy and High, Who is not separated even by a hair's breadth, as the soul and life of that "Fixed Person"; as is said by Shaikh Sa’duddin Ḥummu’ī. 2 Quatrain:

"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 (i.e.,
animal, vegetable and mineral) and the bodies—
This is Monotheism and all else is device and artifice."

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1 Jiwanmuki. 2 SūchamSarīr. 3 Sa’duddin b. al-Muwayyad Ḥummu’ī was a great mystic and a writer of numerous works on Sūfism. A summary of 400 of his works, entitled Kaṣf-ul-Haḳḳī, is noticed in A.S.B. Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 563. He died in 650 A.H. = 1253 A.D.
Similarly, the Indian monotheists, like Vayāś¹ and others, having considered Barhmānd, which is ‘Ālam-i-Kabīr (or the great world), as one individual self, have, accordingly, described the different limbs of its (i.e. Barhmānd’s) body. The reason (of such description) is that whenever a pure mystic casts his eyes on anything he conceives that he is looking at a particular limb of mahā puras², that is, the Self of the Truth, Sanctified and Exalted is He.

(Now), Pāṭā³, which is the seventh layer of the earth, is the sole of mahā puras’ foot; Rasātal⁴, which is the sixth layer, is the upper part of mahā puras’ foot; the Satans are the fingers of mahā puras’ foot; the steeds used by the Satans are the nails of mahā puras’ foot; Mahātal⁵, which is the fifth layer of the earth, is the ankle-bone of mahā puras; Talātal⁶, which is the fourth layer of the earth, is the shank of mahā puras; Sutāl⁷, which is the third layer of the earth, is the knee of mahā puras; Batal⁸ which is the second layer of the earth, is the thigh of mahā puras; Atal⁹, which is the first layer of the earth, is the special organ of mahā puras; Kāl¹⁰, or time, is the pace of mahā puras; Parjānat divā¹¹, who is the cause of birth and issue throughout the whole world, is the sign of manhood and virility of mahā puras; rain is the seed of mahā puras; dhuluk¹², namely, from the earth up to the sky, is the part below the navel of mahā puras; the three southern and the three northern mountains are the right and the left hands of mahā puras; sumir parat¹³ is the buttocks of mahā puras; the light of the false dawn is the thread of the lace of mahā puras’ garments; the light of the true dawn is the whiteness of mahā puras’ sheet (chādar); the evening when the twilight is visible is the garment, covering mahā puras’ private parts; the sea, namely, the encircling ocean, is the circumference and depth of mahā puras’ navel; Bādavāna¹⁴, namely, the place of the fire, which even today is sucking the water of the seas and is preventing storms and will suck all waters on the day of Resurrection, is the heat and warmth of mahā puras’ stomach; the rivers are the veins of mahā puras and, as

¹ Vāyāś. ² Mahāpurāsa. ³ Pāṭāla. ⁴ Rasātala. ⁵ Mahātala. ⁶ Talātala. ⁷ Sutala. ⁸ Vitala. ⁹ Atala. ¹⁰ Kāla. ¹¹ Parjanya deva. ¹² Dhumukha. ¹³ Sumeruparvata. ¹⁴ Bādavāna.
all veins reach the navel, so all the rivers meet the ocean; the 
Gangā, the Jamnā and the Sarasā are the principal veins (Shahrag) of 
mahā puras; anklā, jamnān, biklā, jamunān, Sakhmanā and Sarasti 
bhuluk, which is above bhuluk and is the abode of Gandharp divās 
and where all sounds originate, are the stomach of mahā puras; the fire 
of "the smaller Resurrection" (Kiyāmat-i-ṣughrā) is the morning appetite 
of mahā puras; the drying up of waters in "the smaller Resurrection" 
is the thirst of mahā puras; sarag luk, which is above bhuluk and 
is one of the divisions of Paradise, is the chest of mahā puras, for, 
it is the abode of perpetual festivity, happiness and peace; all the 
stars are the various jewels of mahā puras; gift, before the asking, which 
is liberality and bounty, is the right breast and gift, after the asking, 
which is donation, is the left breast of mahā puras; moderation (i'tidāl), 
which is composed of rajūgun, satūgun and tamūgun, called parakā-
art (collectively), is the heart of mahā puras; and, just as water-lily 
has three colours, namely, white, red and violet, so the heart also, 
whose colour is like that of a water-lily, has three qualities, (which 
may be identified with) the three colours of manifestation, namely, 
Barhmā, Bisāun and Mahīsh; Barhmā, who is also called man, is the 
beating and intention of the heart of mahā puras; Bisāun is the love and 
mercy of mahā puras; Mahīsh is the wrath and rage of mahā puras; the 
moon, which removes the heat of pain and grief, is the smile and the 
happy mood of mahā puras; the night is the bow of mahā puras; the 
sumir parat mountain is the backbone of mahā puras; the mountains 
that are on the right and the left of Sumirā are the bones of the ribs of 
mahā puras; the two hands of mahā puras are the eight guardian angels 
who have Indar as their chief, (the latter) possessing the complete 
power of bestowing and pouring and of withholding and stopping rain; 
the right hand of mahā puras is that of showing generosity and pouring 
rain, while the left one is that of holding the same back; amcharā, or the 
Houirs (Ḥūr) of Paradise, are the fīnes of the palm of mahā puras; the 
angels, called chach, are the nails of the hand of mahā puras; the 
three luk pāl 11 angels are the right hand of mahā puras; . . . . . . . . . 
the angel named jam 13 is the arm of mahā puras; the remaining

1 These words could not be identified. 2 Gangharou devatā. 3 Svapaloka.
4 Rajoguna. 5 Suvaguna. 6 Tamoguna. 7 Prakṛti.
8 Sumeruparavata. 9 Indra. 10 Aprarasa. 11 Yakṣa.
12 Lokapala. 13 Yama.
luk pāl angels are the left hand of mahā puras; the angel Kubair is the knee of mahā puras.

Kalap birach 1, or the Tūbā 2 tree, is the wand of mahā puras; the southern and the northern poles are the right and the left shoulders, respectively, of mahā puras; the luk pāl angel, named Baran, who is the superintendent of water and resides in the west, is the bone of mahā puras' neck; anāhat, 3 or Sulān-ul-Adhkār, is the thin voice of mahā puras; mahār luk 4, which is above sarag luk 5, is the throat and neck of mahā puras; jan luk 6, which is above mahār luk, is the auspicious face of mahā puras; the will of the world is the chin-pit of mahā puras; the avarice of the world is the lower lip of mahā puras; the sense of shame and modesty is the upper lip of mahā puras; the chest, that is, (the abode of) love and attachment, is the gums of mahā puras; the meal of the whole world is the food of mahā puras; the element of water is the palate and mouth of mahā puras; the element of fire is the tongue of mahā puras; sarastī is the faculty of speech of mahā puras; the four Vedas, or the four books of truth, are the speeches of mahā puras; māyā, or love, which is the cause of creation of the universe, is the laughter and good humour of mahā puras; the eight directions of the world are the two ears of mahā puras; Āṭhī Kumār 7, who are the two angels of exceeding beauty, are the two nostrils of mahā puras; gandha tanmālar 8, or the element of dust, is the smelling faculty of mahā puras; the element of air is the breathing faculty of mahā puras; jan luk and lap luk 9, which are the fifth and sixth divisions of Paradise, are illumined with the light of His Self, and their southern and northern halves are the right and the left eyes, respectively, of mahā puras; the pure light (or, nūr), which is called "the Eternal Sun," is the faculty of eye-sight possessed by mahā puras; the whole creation is the favourable glance of mahā puras; the days and the nights of the world are the twinklings of the eyes of mahā puras; the angel Mīr, who is the commissary of love and friendship and the angel Tavastī 10, who is the commissary of wrath and rage,

1 Kalpa urīka.
2 Tūbā, a tree on the seventh heaven, is said to be the abode of Gabriel. It is stated that no one can go above the Tree—the only exception being made in the case of Muḥammad on the night of Miʿrāj, or, Ascent.
3 Anāhat.
4 Mahār loka.
5 Saragaloka.
6 Gandhatrahmāra.
7 Tavastī.
is the two eye-brows of mahā puras; tap luk, which is above jan luk, is the forehead of mahā puras; and the sat luk, which is above all luk, is the skull of mahā puras; the verses of Tawḥīd (monotheism) and the Book of God are the dura mater of mahā puras; the black clouds, which carry the water of mahā parli 1 (i.e., the great dissolution), are the hairs of mahā puras; the vegetation of all the luka is the hair of mahā puras' body; Lachmi 2, who is the wealth and adornment of the world, is the beauty of mahā puras; the shining sun is the purity of mahā puras' body; bhūt akās 3 are the pores of mahā puras' body; chid akās 4 is the soul of mahā puras' body; the form of every single human being is the abode of mahā puras; the perfect man is the closet and special abode of mahā puras; as He said to David, may peace be on him, "Oh David, build a house for Me." (He) replied, "Oh God! Thou art exempt from habitation." (God) said, "Thou art my abode. Make thy house void of others'." The attributes, found in abundance in Barhmānd, are present in man who is the epitome of "the Great World" (Ālam-i-Kabīr). In fine, one who beholds and understands in this way attains jiwan mukt 5, and the following verse (of the Kurān) is in favour of the above: "Rejoicing in what Allah has given them out of His grace." 6

Secondly, Sarbadā mukt, 7 or the liberation from every kind of bondage, consists in absorption in His Self. This (salvation) is universally true in the case of all living beings, and, after the destruction of the sky, the earth, the Paradise, the Hell, the Barhmānd and the day and the night, they will attain salvation by annihilation in the Self (of the Lord). And the Holy verse: "And best of all is Allah's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement," 8 and "Now surely the friends of Allah—they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve," 9 is a reference to this very mukt, or salvation.

Thirdly, Sarbadā mukt 10, or later salvation, consists in becoming an Ari (i.e. knower of God) and in attaining freedom and salvation, in every stage of "progress" (sair), whether this (progress) be made in the day or the night, whether in the manifest or the hidden world, whether the Barhmānd appears or not and whether (it takes place) in

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1 Mahāpralaya.  2 Lakṣmi.  3 Bhūlākāśa.  4 Cidākāśa.  5 Jīvanmukt.  6 Kurān, Ch. III : 169.  7 Saranmukt.  8 Kurān, Ch. IX : 72.  9 Kurān, Ch. X : 62.  10 Sarbadā mukt.
the past, the present or the future i.e. bhūt, bhūṣht, bartamān. And, wherever the Holy Kur'ān speaks of Paradise, “Abiding therein (i.e. in jannat) for, ever”⁴, there, (the word) jannat (Paradise) applies to ma’rīfat (or, knowledge) of God and abadā (‘abd) refers to the perpetuity of this mukt (or, salvation); the reason being that, in whatever state (one) may be, the capacity to know God (i.e. of ma’rīfat) and to receive Eternal favour is (absolutely) necessary. Hence, the following two Holy verses have been revealed (to give good tidings) to such a group (of persons) as attain mukt, or, salvation: “Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs; abiding therein for ever; surely Allah has a Mighty reward with Him”⁵ and, Give good news (O Prophet) to the believers who do good that they shall have a goodly reward; (i.e. a ma’rīfat, or, knowledge of God, the Most Holy and High, which, certainly, is a handsome reward for the ‘Āri/s, namely, that of Firdaws-i-Ā’lā) staying in it (i.e. in Firdaws-i-Ā’lā) for ever.”⁶

XXI. DISCOURSE ON DAY AND NIGHT (Rūz wa Shab).

Divinity of Creation and Concealment.—According to the Indian monotheists, the age of Barhmā, who is identical with Gabriel, and the annihilation of Barhmānd and the end of the “Day of Creation,” or the “Day of Divinity,” is eighteen anj years of the world, each anj (again) is equal to one thousand years, as mentioned in the two Holy verses of the Kur’ān: “And surely a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years of what you number.”⁷ The other Holy verse is: “To Him ascend the angels and the Spirit (that is Jibra’īl or Barhmā) in a day the measure of which is fifty thousand years,”⁸ and each day of which consists of one thousand years, as may be deduced from the former verse (of the Kur’ān). So, according to my reckoning, the age of Gabriel and the duration of the life of Day and the whole Universe, which is identical with Barhmānd, is (equal to) eighteen anj years of the world; each anj of which (in its turn) is equal to one thousand years—there being not the least increase or decrease. Such is the reckoning of the Indian monotheists. It must also be known that their (i.e. Indians’) specification of the figure eighteen

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1 Bhūta. 2 Bhūṣyat. 3 Vartamāna. 4 Kur’ān, Ch. IX : 22. 5 Kur’ān, Ch. IX : 21, 22. 6 Kur’ān, Ch. XVIII : 2, 3. 7 Kur’ān, Ch. XXII : 47. 8 Kur’ān, Ch. LXX : 4.
is based on (the figures) 'eight' and 'ten,' beyond which, they say, no thing can be counted. Now, "the Smaller Resurrections," that have taken place in the past and will so recur in future, are called khandh pari, which come either like the inundation of water or the conflagration of fire or the storm. And, after this period has elapsed, this day (of ours) will turn into evening and "the Great Resurrection," which they call mahā pari, will take place; as ordained in the following two verses: "On the day when the earth shall be changed into a different earth;" ² and "On the day when We will roll up heaven like the rolling up of the scroll for writings." ³ Now, after "the Great Resurrection," on the "Night of Concealment," which is parallel to the Day of Manifestation, all the "determinations" will be absorbed in the Self of the Lord—its duration being equal to eighteen anj years of the world. And, the period of avasthātam, which is identical with sakhūpat and Jabarūt, is equal to the age of the Lord, who is undisturbed by the creation of mortals or the destruction of the Universe; and the verse of the Kurān: "Soon will We apply Ourselves to you, O you two armies (of jin and human beings)," ⁵ is a reference to this very sakhūpat. During the life of the earth, the Lord God dwells in the stage of Nāṣūt (or, the Human World) and, during the period of "the Smaller Resurrections," in the stage of Malakūt (or, the Invisible World) and, after "the Great Resurrection, in Jabarūt (or, the Highest Heaven).

O my friend, whatever I have recorded in this chapter is the outcome of much painstaking and considerable research and is in accordance with my own inspiration, which, although you may have not read in any book or heard from any one, is also in conformity with the two (above-mentioned) Holy verses (of the Kurān). Now, if this (exposition) falls heavy on the ears of certain defective ones, I entertain no fear on that account: "Then surely Allah is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds." ⁶

XXII. DISCOURSE ON THE INFINITY OF THE CYCLES (Adwār).

According to the Indian doctors, God, the Most High, is not confined to these days or these nights only but, that, when these nights will termi-
nate, days will re-appear and when these days will terminate, nights will re-appear—this process continuing without end. This (process) is named anād parvāh ¹ and Khwāja Ḥāfiz, may mercy be on him, having his eye on this Infinity of cycles, has said:

"There is no end to my story, or to that of the beloved,
For, whatever hath no beginning can have no end."

Now, whatever peculiarities of the manifestation and concealment of His Self have appeared in previous days and nights will also re-appear, in exactly the same manner, in the following days and nights, as stated in the Holy verse: "As We originated the first creation, (so) We shall reproduce it." ²

So, after the termination of this cycle, the world of Adam, the father of men, will re-appear in exactly the same manner; and, as such, it will be endless. And, the verse of the Kur'ān: "As He brought you forth in the beginning, so shall you also return", ³ is also an argument, proving the above (statement). If, however, any one doubts and says that the finality of our Prophet, may peace be on him, is not proved by this exposition, I will tell him that next day also, our Prophet, may peace be on him, will re-appear in an exactly similar manner and on that day (also) he will be called, "the Last of the Prophets." The following Tradition, which is narrated in connection with the night of Ascent (Miʿrāj), is an argument to this effect. It is said that our Prophet, may peace be on him, 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. (Our Prophet) asked Gabriel, "What is this?" (Gabriel) replied, "Oh Prophet of God! since my creation, I have been witnessing this line of camels proceeding with bags (laden on them), but, I am also unaware of their (real) significance." This, (as I believe), is a reference to the Infinity of the Cycles.

Praise be to God for His favours, Who granted me the grace of completing this tract, entitled Majmaʿ-ul-Bahrain, in the year 1065 A.H., which corresponds to the forty-second year of the age of this unafflicted and unsorrowing faqīr, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh.

¹ Anād pravāh.
² Kur'ān, Ch. XXI : 104.
³ Kur'ān, Ch. VII : 29.
مجمع الباكرین

از تصنیف

شاهرزاده محمد دارا شکوه

که در سنه 1063 هجري قدسي باتمما رسمد
و حالا در سنه 1367 هجري مطلب 968 ميلادي

بسمی و تصمیم اهل عباد

محمد محفوظ الحق

مدرس زبان فارسي و آردو در پريسديني کالم معلپته

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همساوي و همينشین و همره شه شه اوسط
در دلی گدا و اطلس شه شه اوسط
در انجمی فرق و نهانضانه جمع
بیظه شه اوسط ثُمَّ بیظه شه اوسط
و درودنا معجر و بر مظهر اتم باعث ایجاد عالم حضرت محمد ملّی
اللّه علیه و سلم و بر آل کرام و بر اصجاب عظام او/بار- اما بعد میکوید فقیر
بیحور و اندره محمد دارا شکوه که بعد از دربانت حقائق الحکایات و تحقیق
رموز و دقاتی به‌مذهب برینجی صوفیه و فائز کشتی بنین علیه عظمی در مارد آن
شد که درک کند مشروب مفرح‌الژک هند و بی بعضی از معقلان این قوم
و کاملاً ایشان که به‌خیتی ریخت و ادرک و فهمیدگی و غایبی تصرف
وحدا بابی رسیده کلمهٔ صحبتها داشته و گفتگو ندهد. جز اخلاقی
لعظی از دربانت و شناخت حق تفاوتی ندید. ازین جهت سقطان
فریقی را با هم تطبیق داده و بعضی از سقطان که طالبی حق را دانستن آن
ناگزیر، سومند است فراموش آورده، رساله‌ی نزدیکی داده و چون مجموعه
حقایق و معافد در طلبه حقیقیت بود لذا به‌جمع به‌بیضی موسم
گردیدند. بموجب تولی اکبر که التصرف هو الامشاف والتصوف تربک التكفیف
پس هرکه انصف دارد و از اهلی ادرک است در می‌یاد که در تحقیق
این مراتب جه عور رفت و رفتین که فهمیدگی صاحب ادرک حظّ رافتر ازین
رساله خواهند برد. و گند فهمان طریفی را نصیحت از فراید آن نخواهد چش-
و این تحقیق را مونیق کشف رذیق خرد پران اهلیبیت خرد نشانه ام
و مرا با علوم یه ردى قوم کاری نیست. - صافنه‌ی خواجگی عبیداللّه احرار(1) می‌بی

(1) خواجگی‌نامزادنی عبیداللّه که بلقب خواجگی احرار معرف انده، از محمد جلیل
القدر طاییه نشستنی به‌ودنی. ولادت شان در سنه ۱۹۰۹ موقوع آمد. و ایشان بیشتر ایام
أ — بيان عناصر

بادئة عناصر بناءً على مائع جميع معلومات نسويين همهم بناءً.

أول عنصر أعظم أنه ما أهل شرع مُعَز ميكويند. دوم باد. سيوم

انش — جهار أن وبنجم خاک وأن را برتيل اهل هند باتجاه مي

نامند — أكس وباقي وتيه وجاه وبرزغي. ول أكس ساند. نور اكلس،

من أكس. وجعل أكس. عنيي عنصر باشد أن نور اكلس كوفند،

و أنيي معه موجودات است أن را من أكس نامند وعند أنيي برح است يعني

حات نيس نر. بحر ورث وننلي أن هيري أيه ترانوي وبيك ككتب أساسي.

باشند دالات نمي كند. أز جهد أكس أول جدير كي به رسيد "عشق" بنو

ك أنرا يعبرل موحدين هند ملي كوفند وكن كنرا مغف竖ية فاحدست أن نفر

فظلت الطلق برئ دال است، يعني بنود من كنغي بنغل بس

دوز داشته كه شفاخته صومنه ياظر كرد خلق را برلي شفاخت خوند

واز "عشق" رح أعظم يعني جيرو أتملي يبدأ شك أن را مكفيت معمدي

كوفند وان أشارة بروح كلي أن سرو صلة الله وسلام عليه است.

زندختية خوش في مقرودق بسر بردند ويانرم 21 وืน الأوَّل سنة 810 ونات يانندد، ماً

بلي بحسين الواعظ الكاشفي في "رشعاء بين العباد" ذكرها اخبار بتفصيل

نوشتة. وهم رجوم كند به نفحات الناس جامع مهفر 330، وفينة الأولى

از داراشكة مصفعة 81). وداراشكة قرر بالرا كه از خواجه احرار مربي است، در

حسانه الغاربي (مصفعة 39) هم نقل نبردة. 6
ودوَحدالی هند آبی‌ها ره گرفته و ارتباط آتنل نامند که اشتری برمی‌نگ
اعظیمت است. و بعد از آن عنصر خواست که آبی‌ها نفس الهی کرده،
و ازآن نفس باد پیدا شد و چون آن نفس بجهت حبیس در حضرت به‌وجود
که در هنگام نفس‌پذیر برای ظاهر داشت گرم بر آمد از باد آتش ییدا شد.
و چون در هنگام نفس مفت‌ریزمانیت و اتصاد بود سرد شد و از آتش آب
پیدا شد آمّا چون عنصری باد و اشتر از غافل لطافت معوس نیستند
و آب به نسبت آن هر در معوس است، بجهت معوس بودن آن
بعضی گفته اند که اول آب پیدا شد و بعد از آن عنصری خاک، و این خاک
بنظر آف آب است، چون شیری که در زیر آن آتش باشد و بجوش
آب را کنده.

چه دانستم که این دیرینی بی پایل چنین باشد
بضاغ‌ش آسمان گردید کفی دیدا زمین باشد

دیگر

یک قطره چه بیضه جرجه‌هده کشته دریا
کف کرد و کف زمین‌ش درد وز درد آور ساورد

و بر عِسک این در قیامت کبیری که آنرا برخی اعلی هند می‌رَلِی
گویند اوّل نفلی خاک خواهد شد و آن را خرو خواهد تری و آب را آتش
گشک خواهد ساخت و آتش را باد خرو خواهد نشاند، و باد با برج اعظم
درنب‌آکس نفلی خواهد رنگ کلّ شَریف هالّک آ رَجه (؟). يعني همه جز
نفلی خواهد شد مکر روز خداونی تعالی که مِنّا اکس باشد. کلّ می‌شّریف
نفلی زیبایی و جهش رُیک دُرّالجَلّ و الْآَمَّر (؟) يعني همه آنجه که بر

(1) تقریر معبد، ۲۷۴: ۶۸ (۲) تقریر معبد، ۵۵: ۳۲۹
روش زمینی توود نانی خواهد شد و بقایی مانند روزی پروردگر نو که صاحب جلال و اکرام است. پس در در آبگ در کوبه که برای نگاهی جمعی اشیست قید رجاه که رنگه مراد می‌خای اکلس است که آن نانا پدر نیست و آن مینفرسی کل شنی‌های کالک الاحریعني همه چه سالی خواهد شد مگر ذاتی آر. و قیدی رو برلی می‌خای اکلس باشد. چه می‌خای اکلس به نفر بدلی لطفی آن ذات مکنی است. و خاک یا راژیری اهل هند دیوبی نامند که همه چهیز از پیدا شده است و باز همه چهیز در نفر سیر پس همه یکپارچه که منبیا خلق بکه و منبیا نیزدیگم و منبیا نظریمک نظر نعلی‌ان (1). یعنی از خاک خلق کرده‌ایم شما را و در آن خاک باز خواهیم بردن شما را و آن خاک بیرون می‌آزم شما را بار دیگر.

3. بیان حواس

موافق این پنچ عناصر هپنچ حواس اند که بزبانی اهلی هند آن را پنچ اندری گویند، شامه ذاپنا به عسکر سامه راخمسه که آن رابژیری اهل هند که گریز، رسنا چهیز یز یزک میکویند و محتاجیا آن را کچره ره روب سبید و شمس نامند و هرکی از حواس پنگانه از جنس پکی از این عناصر بالاد و منسوب به شامه منسوب است باضافت چه هیچ یکی از عناصر بوزی ندارد آخاک و احساسی باره شامه میکند و ذاپنا منسوب است باه چنایته آب ظاهر است بر زبان. و باهم مناسبت دارد بانش چنایته درک زنگ که به جسم است و نورانیت در هر در ظاهر است. ولی این را نسبت

(1) قرآن ص 200 ۵۵۵
است بباد چرا که سبب احساسی ملهمات باد است، سامعاً منسوب است اگر اعظم که می‌گویم باشد که سبب ادرارِ اصول است. و از راه سمع حقیقت‌ها اگر بر اهل دل ظاهر می‌شود و دگرگان بر آن مطلع نمی‌نمایند. و اپی شفیست مشترک در میانی صرفه و موودی هندش که صون، و این را شغل پایان انگیز (می‌گویند) و ایشان در اعمال خود دهه می‌نامند. اما حواسی باطل نیز بفی ان، حس مشترک متفاوتی منفی بر حاصله و راهمه و نزد اهل هند، چهار اند بدهه و مش و اهنگ‌هار و چیت و منجومه این چهار را آن‌یه کردن که بمنزه بنجم آنها است. چیت یک عادت دارد که آن را گرفت گریند و این عادت بمنزه پای اوست که اگر آن منفعت شود چیت از دردی باز ماند. او لگده یعنی عقل، و بگذا آنست که طرف حیور رود و طرف شیر فرود، درم من که عیرات از دل است و آن در قوت دارد ستکل پکیپ یعنی عزیمت و نسم، سیوم چیت که پیک دل است و کلی آر دردی باشد بهسوس ته میل خیز و شرنکد، چهارم اهدگار یعنی نسبت دهدتا چیزها بطرود، و اهدگار مفت پرم آنها است بسب میای، و میای بزینی ایشان عشاق است. و اهدگار نیز سره قسم است، ساک، و رایس و ناماً اهدگار ساک یعنی گیان سر به مرتبه اعلی است آنست که پرم آنها بکوبد که هره هست حسن و این مرتبه احاطه کلی است

(1) در کتابهای پرلیابن (آکسفر) کتابی است مسیب به "رساله پاس انگلیس" از صرفاً مزلاً میبد درجس جامی (برای تفصیل وجوه کنید بهفهرست کتابخانه هذل، مرتبه زخره و ادبیات مفهوم 458 458)
همه اشیا را آن‌انه بنگل شریع می‌سازید (1) علیه دانه و آگاه باش بدست‌تانه اوست همه جهیزی احاطه کننده، دیگر آن‌ها هوا‌پر، والاخر و الباخت و الباخت (2) علیه اوست اول و اوست آخر و اوست ظاهر و اوست باتیک. و این‌که راجع مذهب است که ارسط باشد و ایب انست که نظر بر جهی آدن داشته بگوید که ذات من از بدن و عناصر مشی است و جسمانیت بی‌نسبت ندارد، نیست که مثلاً نشین (3) علیه نیست مانند او جهیزی فی آنالله علیه علیه الکلیم‌ان. (4) علیه خدایی تمائلی به نیاز است از ظهور عالم و این‌که نامس آن‌هم است که ادنی باشد و ایب ارگیست علیه عزیزه عبوردیت حضارت وجود و ادنی بود از جهیزی آنست که از نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و نهایت نظر و
ظهور اولی اور حقیقت معمدوی روح القدس که جبرئیل امین باهد است) ای در همه تفییدات را از خود پیدا کرده و خود را با نیایه کردند(2).
چنانکه کرم پیله ناراهی ابریشم از لابی خود بر آورده خود را در آن بسته است همچنان حضرت ولیج الوجود ای همه قربان و همی را از خود بر آورده و خود را در آورده است مثل تضم درخت که درخت را از خود بر آورده خود در درخت در می آید و در بند شاخ و برگها و گلها میشود، پس بدل و هدش دار ای پیش از ظهور این عالم در ذوات بنهل بود و الحال ذاتی مقدس ای در عالم بنهل است.

۳- بیان شغل

شغال زند موحدان هنون اگرچه اقسام است اما بهترینی شغلها آنجا را
میدانند و آن شغلیست که چه در خواب و چه در بیداری بی تصد و بی اعتبار از جمعی نفوس همیشه ره چنان مادر میکرده، چنانچه در آن کوه
زبان میشوند آمیز پیش و به نمایی لا تحقب تیپسیم(2) اشارة به همین است
و آن درون رنگ و بروز امیدی دم را بر لفظ تعبیر کرده اند، نفی که بالا
میرود "آو" میکренد و نفی که درون می آید "می" نامند بهنی
"آو" من و مرنی مشغولی ایب ان در لغت را "هو می" میدانند که در بالا
نفی "هو" و در بروز امیدی "الله" ظاهر میشوند و این در لفظ از
هر فی حکایت جباریت و آر بیشتر است.

(1) مولانا معمر خوشنوی در "گلش زرآ" می نرماندد:--
(2) قرآن مجدد ۱۷: ۳۳-۳۴
بعض- عباد صفات الله تعالى

نرد صونه در صفت است، جمال و جلال که جمعی آن را تزکیه می‌کنند، ست و رجَم و ایجاد، و رزیعی ابقاد، و ردیعی ابقاد، و ایجاد ست. چون هر کی از ابنیه صفت در یکی‌گر مندرج اند فقرای هند این

سد صفت در ترموت نامند که برهم باشن و میشی باشن و بزنای صورت جبرئیل و میکاپل و اسرائیل کوکندر برهم موکل ایجاد است که جبرئیل باشد و بشی موکل ابقاد است که میکاپل باشد و میشی موکل ابدا ست که اسرائیل باشد و آب و باد و آتش نیز منسوب باین موکلند، اب بچرهیل و آتش، بنیکاپل و باد باسرائیل و لین. سه چیز در جمعی گانداران نیز ظاهر است، برهم که آب باشد در زمین، مظهر کلام که گست و نطق ازینی ظاهر یک، و بشی که آتش است در چشم، روشنی و نور و بیفانی از رو ظاهر شد و میشی که باد است در بینی، در نطفه صور ازین ظاهر شد که

در نفس باشد و جوین آن منقطع گردید نافی شد. یکی سه صفت حق باشد که ایجاد و ابقاد و اتفاوت و مظهر اینی سه صفت هم برهم باشند و میشی میکاپل که صفات آنها در جمعی مطالب ظاهر

اند، اول مخلوق پیدا میشود باقی مورد میباند و باز نافی میوه، و شکت که تردید اینی سه صفت است آن را تریدی بکرند، و ازینی تر موت...
۵ - بیان روح
روح دو قسم است؛ یکی روح و دیگر ابوا الزواج که پرینا قراری هند این در روح را آنما و پر آنما کویند. (جوان) ذات بعثت منعیت و مقید گردید چه بلطافت و چه بکفانیت بجیبت مجرّد بودی در مرتبه لطفان اورا روح و آنما کویند و در مرتبه تفکری و سربر کویند و ذاتی که منعیتی نبزل گشت روح اعظم باشد که با ذات مجیعم الصفات مرتبه احیای دارد و ذاتی که جمع اریاج در آن مندرج اند آن را پر آنما و ابوا الزواج کویند. مثلاً آب و موه آب بمنزله یکدی، روح و سربر و آنما است، و مجموعه احیاج از اریج نَکْیت بابوا الزواج و پر آنما مانند و آب موه بمنزله حضرت وجود و شناخت و چیرگّ است.

۶ - بیان باها
بابی که در به‌دی انسان حکمت مهم‌کنند، جویت در پنجم موضع مبیانش به‌نام دارد، پرآن آبان مسلم اوّلادن و آنان. پرآن حکمت آن از بینی است تا پانگشته یا، و درم زن حاضرت این باد است. ابدی حکمت این از نشستگه است. تا به عضو مخصوص و این باد گردد ناف هم حلقه زده است.
7 - بيان عوالم أربعة

عوالم كلها جمع مخلوقات را ناجب كيد برس أنس بطر بعضاً از مونيه
جهان اند، نملات وملكات وجبيرت وراهيرت وعضاً ينمي ميكوند وعالم مثل
زا داخل ميكوند، وجميعاً كه عالم مثل را با عالم ملكوت ينمي مي انج زي
جبار ميكوند، وبقول تقولاً هند أستنات كه عبارات، ازمي عوالم اربعة باشند
جهان اند، جاكرت وسني وسكيوبت وثرياً - جاكرت مناسب است
بنانوت كه عالم ظاهر وعالم يبداري باشد، سنين مواقف است بملكوت كه
عالم أغرا وعالم خراب باشد، سكيوبت مواقف است بجبيرت كه در آن نقوش
هير دو عالم ونميز "مي" و "تير" نبناش خواه دن كرده بيني خواه
بوشيدا، وبياري از نقولي هير دو قزدي ديني عالم دلع نيستند، جنایته سيد
الطابعه أستاد ابولقاس ينيد بغدادي (1) قنس لله سر خبر داده كه فروده

(1) ابولقاس بن محمد بن مجالدالخزاز الفراقيري كه ميرنيل ديزي بزودي بغداد بودند
نوادر زاده سري السفري وشاكر امام شافعي رح بودند، ودر بغداد داري به 1437 ميلاد
(مطلق سنة 11 ميلاد)، فرت حضوراً بر انتقال رجوع كرده به نفعات الآنس صفحه
وذكرية الأولياء (مرتبة تاکفر نکلس) جلد دوم صفحه 60
قول بالا كه بنام حضرت ينيد رح منقول است، برصفه 42 نفعاته الآنس مع تشيره
نجم الإسلام موجود است وابلب اين كه دازاکرة آن را از نفعاته نقل نوهد، ومعلوم

III. 13
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نصر اف آن بود که سعی بر صنعتی بی نیمار. ۱) شیخ الاسلام گفت که بی نیمار چه بود، فرمود که یک عائشه و بی‌پیری نمی‌کردند و بینندگان در دیدار علیت است، پس سعی بر نیمار نشسته همین است که نظر عالم ناصر و ملکوت دارن. دانست بخاری تا کنار. و نیز آنچه موانعی روم نزد الله سیره فرموده است، همیشه معنی است.

خواهی که بی‌بی‌پی لحظه مجروح
خواهی که بدانی یک لحظه مداشت
چون در نهایت جوانی دوری ز اشکارش
چون آشکار جوانی معجوبی از نهانش
چون ز آشکار و پنهان بیرون شوی برهعن
باها دراز میکن خوش گرس در امانش

و تریا موانع لست بلهرد که ذات معنی باشد و مخصوص
و شامل و جامع عین این هر سه عالم. اگر سیر لسان از نظرت
بلهکروت از ملکوت از جنگت و از جنگت بلهرد باشد این ترکی از بین
و اگر حضرت حقیقت‌الحقائقی که موحدان هنک آن را آزمی گوند

می‌شنود که در ادکوکه این قول حضرت جنیدرا خلبی درست مبداشت چه ای درسه
از تصنیفه خوش؛ بعین رشته حق نما (صفه ۲۱ نسخه مطبوعه مهک شور) حسنات
النابینا (ورق ۸ ۱۵) نسخه تلی موجود بوده لازم برودی و سکنیه‌الاولیا (صفه ۶۹
فرچه اردو؛ مطبوعه لازم) دری نموده.

۱) موارد از شیخ الاسلام، ابو اسماعیل عبد الله بن محمود الاصغری البوستان که
بیت‌الله ۲ شعبان سنه ۳۹۱ (مطابق سنه ۱۹۱۱) بیدا شدند، ایشان مؤلف چند رسا
اند، لکه شهرت اشاق مبنی بر موانع است که خلبی قابل مسئول است و ایشان در
مجمع تذاکر و موضع بر شربت و علم و حال و سیفه صوالتی کرای اکلام در موزن
8. بیان آواز
آواز از همله نفس الرب حسین است که بروت. ایجاد بغلع "کی" ظاهر شد. (1) آن آواز را نقلری هندسری گوئند، و جمع آوازها و صوتها و مداها از آن آواز بیدا گشته. هر چجا بشنوی چراغ‌نگمه آرست که شنید این جنین مدلی دراز و این آواز که ناد باند نژد سومدال هند برسد، قسم است، اول آن‌هاست. به‌عنوان آوازه، همیشه بود، رهست و خواهد بود، و صویه این آواز از آواز مطلق و سلطان ال‌الجزک گوئند که قدم‌های است، و احسان‌می‌کند، از آن است، و این آواز را در نیابت مکرر آگاه‌هاره در تمر دیوارت، به‌عنوان آوازه‌ای آوازه‌ای از زندیه.

از طبقه آبیار عالمان خود که به فاطمه می‌خوره، می‌خواره، بیشتر.

(1) این مطلب بعض‌ی از آنها حق تمامی که بلظت "که" ظاهر شد بوجود آمد، جنابانه حق تمامی مبین، بی‌سیل، البته و اگر اینی نامه‌ای باشد که "که".

(قرآن مقدس، 2: 117)
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بشكل طبيعي. يرجى 提供可以正确读取的文本。
9 - بیان نور
نور سه قسم است. اگر بصفت جلال ظاهر شود یا بزنگ آتش، و اگر بصفت جمال ظاهر شود یا بزنگ ماه است یا بزنگ نقره یا بزنگ ماروارید یا بزنگ آب، و نور ذات که منفرد است از مفاتیح آن را جز یک چیز خدا که حق سبب‌سازی تمامی در حیات ابیشان پرموده 
پیشکهالله لکفی می‌باشد. (1) دیگری در نمی‌پاید، بعنی هدایت میکند الله تعالی هرکارا می‌پردازد بنزرف خود، و ان نوریست که جهان شخص در خواب شود یا جصح پوشیده بنشینند، بنچشم بیند و بنگوش شنوید و نه بزنگ گویید و نه به بینی بود و نه بلمسه احساس کنند، و حال آنها در خواب همه‌ای به کاره بیک چیز کند و معتنین اعضا و حواس ظاهری و روشانی جنابی، باهم و سامه، و ذاوه، و شامه، و لمسه، و عین بدیگر شوند و بیندات گویند، آن را نور ذات گویند و آن نور خدا ست جلَّ شانه.

(1) قرآن مجید، گ: 35
ابدروست فکری که چه کفم که جایی فرامیت و تفاوت و رسول خداوند الله علیه و سلم در تعريف این فکر فرموده تهذیب سازه خریم مبنی عبادت سنه، يعني این فکریست که ساختی دری فکر بوده بهتر از عمل آدمی و پریست و نوریکه از آیه کرمه الله نورالسومت و الأَرْضِ، يعني الله تعالی نور آسانسناها و زمینهها است مفهوم میگردد آن را فقرای هند جون سربه و سوا پرکس و سپی پرکس گرفند يعني این نور همیشه خود با خود درست خواهد در عالم نماید خواه نمامید - چنانچه صوفه نور را به فنر تفسیر میکنند و ابشت. (اهل هند) نیز به نور تعبیر کرده اند - و ترجمه این آیه کرمه که آیه گرامه که آیه نور السومت و الأرض چنین است که الله تعالی نور آسانسناها و زمینهها است، (مثل نوره، کمکنده یا مصباح) و مثل نوره آر مانند طاقیه است که دران مصباح باشد؛ (المصباح فی زجاجة) و آن جراح در شیشه بیوه، (الزجاجة كأنها قوس النور ) و شیشه غواهی که ستارا درختندیه است که، (یوبد مین شجوع مبزیره زینتونة فسریه و لیغیه،) افروخته شده است از درخت مبارک زینون. که که شرقی است و نه غربی، و (یکدان زینونی رضیمنی و لو لیم نسمته فار) نزدیک است که روشن آن زینونی مبارک رشته نامید با آنها آتش بار نرسیده باشد و (نور علی نور) پریست بر نور، (یبدی الله نوره میان یشان) و راه مینامید الله تعالی بنهر خور هرکه یک میخواهد، اما آنچه که نوره فهمیده این باشد که مراد از مشکوکه که طاق باشد عالم اجسام است و مراد از مصباح که جراح باشد نور ذات است مراد.
از شیشه روح است که مانند ستاره درخشش‌های است که از روشی،
آن جراح این شیشه هم مانند جراح می‌نماید، و "انرخنه" شده است
آن جراح" عبارت از نور و وجود است و "شجره مبارک" ذات حق سبُعْتاءُ
تعلیق مراد است که مفهوم است از جهات شرقي و غربي - و مراد
از "زیت" روح اعظم است که نه از راه و نه از ابی است؛ یعنی آن زیت
از ناغی، لطافت و صفا خود بعضی رشن و نابینا است و معمای بانوختن
نیست، چنانچه استاد ابوبرک راستی (۱) علیه‌الرحمه در تعویف روح مهرابی‌یاد که
زجاجه روح برتکه رشش است که محتاج لمس نارنسی و شعاع نیست
و از ناغی استعداد ذاتی نزدیک است که خود خود خود
و این نور زیت "نور علی نور" است یعنی از نهایت صفا و روسایی نوریست
بر نور و باری روشاتی نیمی بیند کسی اگر را آور خود هدایت نیافت بند
خود - پس مراد از مجموعه این آیه کرده آنست که حق سبعته، تعالی
بنور ذات خود در پرده‌های لطف و فورانی ظاهر است و همچنین
و حجابی درمیان نیست و نور ذات در پرده روح الازهر ظاهر است و روح
الازهر در پرده از ازهار و ازهار در پرده اجسام - همچنین "چراح" باان
نور زیت در پرده شیشه تابی و ظاهر است و "شیشه" در پرده طاقچه -
و اینها اکتساب نور از نور ذات می‌گنند لذا روشایی بر روشایی انزوده.

(۱) معین بن موسی الیمرقوه ابوبرک راستی از اعماق حضرت جندید و حضرت
اوالحس نوری بودند، ولادت شن تبل از عشیره و نسل‌نامه در شهر مرور بوتوم اکد -
شیخ الإسلام می‌گفتند که ایشان امام نوحید بودند - برای نفع لفظ روح کنید نه نعماه
الناس صفحه ۱۷۱ و ذکرکه الأوزار (موت به دکتر نگاشین) صفحه ۲۹۵ تا صفحه ۳۸۴
10 — بیان رويت

رویت‌خوانی تعالی نمودانی هند ساپه‌ها کار گونه‌ی زیبایی دیدی‌
خدا بی‌پنجم سر. بدانه‌ی در دیدی خوانی تعالی دردنیا و آخرون بی‌پنجم
ظاهر و باطن حیاتی یکی از انبیاء‌الله و اولیایی کامل قلی‌الله
سرّه شکّ و شبهی نیست و جمعی اهل کتاب و کاملان و بی‌نازی‌ه‌
ملت باعی معنی ایمان دارند، چه اهل قرآن و چه اهل بید و چه اهل
توریت و انگیل و زپور و از ناتونه‌بدگی و نابی‌نازی‌ملت خوش بود هر
که انگار رويت نمایید، چه ذات مقیّسی که بر خیمه جهیز قادر باشد بر نمودی
خود هم چرا تقریت نداشتی باشد و ایبی مسئله‌ی علمای سنت و جماعة
خوب بپره‌گفت‌گفت انداز - اما اگر ذات تصویب را گفت‌گفت انداز که توان دید این
مصالح است چه ذات بعثت لطیف و چه تعیین است و متعیین نگردید و در
برکه‌ی لطائیت جلودکتر در به‌سمازدن دید و چنین رويت مصالح باشد.
و آنچه‌ی گفت‌گفت انداز که در آخر بچو دید و در دنیا بچو دیدنی‌ندازد
زنگ‌که هرجا کمال تدرت در هر هست‌هر‌طوره‌ها و هرجا که خواهد قادر بر
نمودی خود است و هرهک اینجا ندید مشکل است که تواند در آنجا دیدن
جنانیه‌ی خود در آیه‌ی کوچه نرموده و چنین کلّی‌ه‌ی هذّه‌ی آمیز نهوره‌ی آخیره‌
آمیز (1)، یعنی هرکه در بنی دنیا از دست‌ی‌دیدار می‌مکنیم است در
آخر نیز معروف خواهد ماند از نعمت جمالی‌من - و مکنایی روبرت که
حكم‌ه‌ای معقله و شیعه‌ی باشنده‌ی برین، مسئله‌ی خطای عظیم کرده‌اند، چرا که اگر
می‌گفتند که دیدی‌ذات بعثت ممکن نیست به‌هر حال مرزی‌دنشن و خوری

(1) قرآن مقدس، 17: 72.
يابن جميع انفسهم رويت رواياخدة انذ ابن نهبت خطأ فانه اكترى انفسباي مرس ورواياي اكل خدا را ريشم ظاهر ديدة و كلام با احترام او را بيوسط شفاعة انذ و هزوا كك ايض شفيعي كلام حق را ا زه جهت قبل انذ جوا ديجي را هم ا زه جهت قبل نتباعند الجنة باشند. وايةناي ايمان ببعدا و ملائه و كتابنا و انبياها و قيمت و قضا و قدر و خيرو شر و خانهباي متبرك زيمره فرض است ايمان برويت هم فرض و لازم است و اختلاني كه از ناسبتعال علمي عالما ست و الجماهير كرده انذ در معني و لفظ اي حديت كه عائيه صدقيه بردت از حضرت رسول صللم كه هل زانت رك يعني ايا ديدم تو بورفارس خود را. فارود نور إني أورا يعني نوريست كه مي بينم امرا. آني ايا حديت را نور إني أورا خوانده انذ يعني نوريست كخونه بينم امرا. لاكي ايا دلال دا ديدمي ببغمير الل حق علية و سلم نميشون اكي معنعي أول غيري. اشارة برويت نام أورست در برد نورا و اگر جنيد خوانده شود كه نوريست كخونه بينم امرا اشارة ردت بحث و برينجك است. يعني اختلاف عبارتي نيست بلته اعجاز نوريست كه در يك حديت در مسلته بينا دوان كرد و أيا كرمها وجهة يومم شريحة إلى جنسطة ناظرة. يعني دراه بزينه ريها تره نازاخواني بور و بينده نرسو بورفارس خود برهاي ياهرف است برويت بورفارس جل شانه و أيا كرمها لا تدركه الأنصار و هو يدريكي الأنصار و هو اللطيف العضود. اشارة به بينكريست يعني نمي بينند بصرا در لحظة إلتق و بينكري و آر همه يا مي بينند و آر دنجباين لطانت و بينكريست و دربين آيا كرمها اسم "هو" كه واقع شده اشارة به نادييذات

(1) قرآن محديد 15: 70 (2) قرآن محديد 20: 70
بحث است. دیدی خدایی تعالی بذل قسم است. قسم اول، در خواب. بچشم دل، نور دیدن در بیداری بچشم سرم، سیاوش، نورنیایی بیداری و خواب که آن بیداری خاص است. چهارم دریک تعیین خاص بنجم دیدی بک ذات واحد است در کثیر تعیینت عوالم ظاهر‌بنا، و این جنیه دید حضرت رسول مسلم در رقتیه خود نبود در میل و رازی و مرئی بی‌زمی بود و خواب و بیداری و بیداری آریک می‌نمود و بچشم ظاهر و باطلی آریک شده بود، مرنگه کمال رؤیت اینست و این را دنیا و آخیر دزگار نیست و همه جا و همه وقت می‌سر است.

۱۱ - بیان اسمال الله تعالی

بدانه اسمال الله تعالی بی نهایت است و از حد حصر بیرون. ذاک مطلق و بهشت و مرف و غیب الگیب و حضرت واجب‌الوجود را بیافا

(1) داراوشکوه ذ سکینه الولیا (از صفحه ۱۰۰ تا صفحه ۱۲۷) مسلاه روت را بالتفصیل در بحث آروده، و اسناد بسیاری باقی‌مانده ادامه خرخش درچ‌کرده که نقل همه آنها باعت تریل شد، لکه برهمین اختصار اکتفا نمود صد

بیک از اصل‌الکبار بسم گفته که روزی حضرت میل جیب را پوستم که در نهایت جزیره، مذکر است روزی این شقیق به ابا ذر نقلی گفت که اگر رسول الله را دیدم از پرسیدم که خدا را دیدی با‌نیا؛ ابا ذر نقلی گفت که نمی‌دانم، نجاتی گرفت نور آیآری علیه او نوریست میهمانه ممکن نبست که او را بیان، پوشیده نماند که در مبارز بالا تجنیس خصی واقع شده، يعني "نور آیآری" علیه نوریست که بر این امر

حضرت سیلاجیه داراوشکوه مردم که اگر معنی آیا گریم نوشته یکی وجود ورف‌

فدت حق باند و چنین روست برابر اینها هم مصالح باشد، لکن اگر معنی نیم ردا احتر

نیم رواه این باشید که روست و در وقت تنزل بهدأ نگاه، و لباس پرسي ممکن است
برای مدارک دیگر و ترکیب و نرگذاری و نزنجیری و سنت و پایت گویند. اگر علم را بار نسبت دهنده که اهل اسلام اوا علیم می‌گویند فقراتی هنر و رازی نامند و اسم الحق را انتف گویند. نادر و سمیته، و سپس گوئند باصی را نگشته‌کنند، و اگر کلام را باح، دست مطلق نسبت دهنده وکننا نامند و الله را آری و هو را سه و فرشته‌ی را پردازی ایشان دیویا گوئند. و مظهر این را ایشان نامند، و ایشان را باشند که قدرت الی بانه آنها در ظاهر شرک و از وجود ای بنظر آید. در هنگی بیک از انفراد نوع او در این وقت ظاهر نشود، و وحی را که بر ییمه نزل شود الکس بانی نامند و الکس بانی بیجت آن گوئند که ییمه علیه الله عمومی، سلم نه نه. که صعب نوی اوقات بررسی وقت و وحی است که می‌شفمز و وحی را مانند آغاز بیکس یا مانند آغاز زنفر، و جون‌ای آغاز از الکس ظاهر می‌شود الکس بانی می‌گوئند و کتیب آسانی را بیک گوئند، و خواب‌ی جنگی را که پری باشند نیشرا گوئند و بدین آنه را که دیو و شیاطین اند راجس گوئند و آدمی را مانگه، وی‌را رکمی، و نبی‌را مه‌ها سده نامید.

۱۳ — بیان نبوت و ولایت

سبا بر مسب هم اند، یکی آنه‌ها خدا را دیده باشند، خواه بیچشم ظاهر خواه به‌چشم بانی، دیگر آنه‌ها آغاز خدا شهید باشند خواه آغاز مرفه؛

و شاخص مصرف خیال اختیاری در یک مسئله روت بروجت تلم دریان رابعی

بیان نبرده (سکنیه‌ایا عمله (۲۱))

کاتکه خدا در گن زمان می‌بیینند. اول تبیدی دری دیه می‌بیینند، هدایا خدا هرین و آن یکسانست. هر لکه برظام و نهال می‌بیینند.
خواه آواز مركّب از حروف كلمة - دیگر آنها فرتنگه الزا دیده بایندن یا آراز فرتنگه را شفیده باشند - و نبّوت و رایت برسه قسم است، یکی نبّوت و رولاپس نتفیزی، دوم نبّوت و رولایت تشییع، سیوم نبّوت و رولایت جامع التشبه والتنفیزه یا آور نبّوت نتفیزی، جوری نبّوت حضرت نوح عليه السلام که خدا را بتنفیزه دید و دعوت کرد و آمّانت بجهت تنفیزه ایمان نیازارد مگر قلیلی و همه در بحر نا غرق شدند چون زاهدایی زمین ما که بتنفیزه خدا مریدانرا خواهند و هیچکس ازون مریدان عرف نشود و از قرل آنها نغم نیرد و در زاه سلوك و طریقت نما و هلاک گردید و پبخدا نردى

درم نبّوت تشییعی چجوری نبّوت موسی است عليه السلام که خورده خدا، را در آتشی درخت دید و از ابر سطح حق شنید و اثر آمّانت از تقلید موسی در تشیع آقاندا گوساله پرست شدند و عصیان و رضیدند و احمرز بعضی از مقلّدین زمان ما آنها متعادلی کاملی پیشه کردند و پری دینگانی مکنّد از تقلید خود در اقتراح در تشیع فرزند و بدلی صرتهای خبر و مرغوب در لب و لعب گردناران اند و بدوری ایشان نشیید.

هر صرب دلکّش که نزرا روزی نمود خواهد نکید از جمّن تواش زود پرود زو دل بسی می مه که در اطوار وجود بود است و همیشه با تو خواهد بود

سیم نبّوت جامع التنزیه و التشییع، يعني جمع کنندا تنفیزه و تشییع و آن نبّوت معمدیست صلى الله عليه وسلم که مطلق و مقیّد رئف و بیرونگ و نزدیک و دور را بدخا کرده، و اشاعه باپی مرتیه است ذهن آیه کویه
كه ليس كمْ مه شَيْ رَهُ السِّمْعُ البصيرة (1) يعني نست مثل آر جربى و أبى اشتر بمثابة تنزية است و شوقي و ليسى اشتر به تشبيه بُدُ - أبى مرتين بلزن تنزية و اغلب ترين مرتبة جامعى وتختتم است 26 مخصص بذات أنسور صلما است، بس رسول ما هده عالم را اشر شا غرب نو غهنة - و نبرت تنزية مخصوم است از نبرات تشبيه و نبرات تشبيه عامرة است از نبرات تنزية، و نبرات جامع شامل تنزية و تشبيه است جوه هذو الأول و الأخر و ظاهر و الباطن (2). هعم يعالم ولايت مخصص است بكاملى ابن أمته 26 حق تقالى در وصف إيشى نسوبه كنف خبر أمته أخدرج للفن (3) يعني بذرين أمشى إمانى كإشناند كجم كنندة تشبيه و تنزيه انذ - جفنفده در زمل بيغمبر ما صلى الله عليه وسلم از اوالي (4) أبو بكر و عمرو عثمان و علي و خص و حسنين وستان بابه و عشرة مبدورة و أكابر مهجر و انصار وأهل صوفية بوبدن و ار أنجله در تابعين كجو آريس تنزيه و غيره. و در زمل دينج كجو فايلن منى و نفس عيان و معرف فرخى و ابراهيم ادهم و بيتر حافي و سرى السقى و بايزد بسطامي و استاد اقبالس جندي والم بن عبد الله التسنيري و أبو سعيد خراز و زعم و أبو الحسين الغوري و ابراهيم خواس، و أبو بكر شيلي و أبو بكر وبسطى و امثال إيشة و در زمال دينج كجو أبو سعيد اقبالس غدر و شئف السلام خواجه عبد الله انصاري و شيمه احمد جام و محمد مساعد طويسي و أحمد غزالي و اقبالس فرغاني و در زمال دينج كجو

(1) تران مجيد : 67 (2) تران مجيد : 43 (3) تران مجيد : 109 (4) برای ترجمه احوال ابن اولیایی کامل رجوع کنید به ترجمه انگلیسی.
۱۱ - بیان برهماند

مربوط از برهماند "کل" و تقدیم ظهور حضرت وجود است بصورت گروه مدرّس و جوهر از هم تعریف می‌شود و تعاقب نیست و نسبت او به برهماند و همراه با هم برای سنت و همراهی یادگیری این سنت لازم می‌باشد. هنگین این‌ها برهماند گویند.

۱۲ - بیان جهات

محورداری اسلام هریک از شرق و غرب و شمال و جنوب و فنک و تتحت را جهتی اعتبار نموده شش جهت گفته اند و محورداری هنگ جهات ۰۰ می‌کوبند یعنی میانی شرق و غرب و شمال و جنوب را نیز جهاتی اعتبار نموده ده‌دشت ما نامند.

۱۳ - بیان آسمان‌ها

آسمان‌ها که آن‌هاگر که می‌کوبند بطور اهل‌هند هنگ پیش، هنگ از اول مغفرت هفت کواکب سیست که زحل و مشتری و مریم و شمس و زهره و عطارد.
و قدر باشنند و بزیای اهل هند این راهفته سناره را هفت تجویزی علیه سنیپر و بریست و منفک ووردی و سکر و باده و چندرا ماس میگویند. و انسانی که جمع ثوابت در آن اند آن را هشتی میدانند و همین انسانی را احکام‌کل هشت و نبود. و این‌که برای میگویند که بهایی اهل شرع قریش است و زمینی که را این‌که انسان‌ها و زمین‌ها در قریش میگویند و نمی‌که آن را می‌باید میگویند داخل انسان‌ها نکردی اند جبهت آنکه آن محیط‌های است و قریشی و انسان‌ها و زمین‌ها را احاطه کرده است.

16 — بیان زمین
زمین نزد اهل هند هفت طبقه است که آن را سیست تال میگویند و هر طبقه این یک نام دارد؛ این بند بسته، این بند سوئل تاق، این بند میتال، این بند پاتال. بطور اهل اسلام نباید زمین هفت طبقه است بیش‌تر این که که همه آن‌ها انتظار حیات سبب شود، مسیحی می‌گویند (1) پهنا به‌این‌ها تعلق این خداانیست که خلق گردانید هفت انسان‌ها را و از زمینه هم مانند آن انسان‌ها.

17 — بیان قسمت زمین
زبان مسکون را چکا به هفت طبقه قسمت کرده اند و هفت اقلیم میگویند و اهل هند آن را سیست تبیین نمی‌نمایند و این هفت طبقه زمین را بروری زمین هم مثل پوست بیاز میدانند بله بمراتب مثل پا به‌این نرمال تصور میگویند. و هفت کوتاه را که اهل هند آنها را سیست کلاهی گویند برکرد هر.

(1) قرآن مجید: 2: 255 (2) قرآن مجید: 4: 12

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زمینی که جهان همواره بنجم متلک شده شکم با پرتابها هفتم کلال - چنانچه در آبی کرم‌های و ایوان‌های آوازه‌ای (1) این هفت کوه هفت دریا اند که می‌کنند هر کوه انده و آن را سیدر سندرس میگردند و نام‌یابی این هفت دریا این دنیاهای این هفت دریا این دنیاهای دریایی اولین زاده سندرس علیه دریای سپید شاه، در مانگریر سندرس علیه دریاهای نیشکر، همکار سربند علیه دریای شیرو، چهار گهر سندرس علیه دریاهای یکی زده، بنجم دنده سندرس علیه دریاهای جرفات، ششم کبر سندرس علیه دریای سه، هفت سواد جل علیه دریای آب زال - و بوسی دریا بعد هفت آبی معلوم می‌کرد و تولان ما ناگفته که به آن علیه بدرستی و از درختان که بر زمین انده قلملا شد و آن هفت دریاها سیاهی شوند تمام نیشود کلما حدبی ریزی مقتدر خدا و در هر زمینی و کوهی و دریابی انسام مظله‌ها هستند - زمین و کوه دریا که فویه همه زمینها و کوهها و دریاهای است بطور متعقیقی این آبها سپر خوانند که بهشت و رجنه باشد. و زمینی و دریا که تختیه همه زمینها و کوهها و دریاهای است آبها نرک کرونک که عبارت از درخت است و جهانی - و تعقیب‌موجدانی هنده است که بهشت و درز خ از همین عالم که آن را به‌مانند کرونک خارج نیست، و این هفت آسمان را که مشوق‌اکن هفت ستاره اند میگردند که بر گرد بهشت می‌گردند نه بر بالای بهشت و سقف بهشت را مان عکس میدانند که درشت باشد و زمینی بهشت را می‌کنیم‌.
8 — بيان عالم برزخ

نعامبر صلی الله علیه و سلم نرموده من مات فقد قام قیامته يعني شخصیه مرد پس تحقیق که نام شد قیامتت ان و بعد از موت آنکه روح باشد از بدن عرضی مفارقات نموده بي نخال زمان بيض معتضد كه ان را سوچم سرير قرونذ در مي ايد و أن بدن لطيف است ده از عمل صبر قرنطه باشد عمل نيك را صرت نيك و عمل بد را صرت بد و بعد از سوال و جواب بي درنك و بي نتاقه اهل بهشت را به بهشت و اهل برزخ را بهدوزخ ميرند مواقف اين آية كيمه تمام قلل ندين شكو فقير الفار لم فيها زيب و شبيه خادمين فتى ما دامت السموت و الأرض الا ما شاء ربك ان ربك تعالى لما يريد ر آيه الدين صحروا فقي الجنه خادمين فيها ما دامت السموت و الأرض الا ما شاء ربك عطاء غني مجدد (1) يعني أنائه بد بختت شده اند در آتش اند در ان مشي و رينا و ناله و زاري جاردين باشد در عن آتش نا هنامكيه آسمانها و زمينها ست مكر انچه عواده پورودگر نتو بدرستي پورودگر تو كنده است هار جريز را ك خواهد و آنانه نيك بختت در پشت ان هميشة نا هنامكيه بارند آسمانها و زمينها مکر توتنه خواهد پورودگر تو كه انها را از آنجا بارد و پخشش ارب نيايت است بر آوردن از دوزخ ان باشد كه پيش از بطرف شدی آسمانها و زمينها اگر خواهد پورودگر تو كه انها را از آنجا بارد و پخشش ارب نيايت است بر آوردن از دوزخ بر ورده به پشت بر و اب مصوص (2) رني الله علیه در تفسير اين آيه نرموده كه آنينى على جهيم زمان ليس تيبى أحد

(1) ترجمه معجم 11: 31
(2) دراي حالات حضرت ابى مصعود رجوم كنيد بترجمه انگلیسي
و یکه بعد ما یمسکن زنیا آنها آخده‌یا. يعني می‌آید بی‌درزخ زمانی‌
که نباشد هیچ‌کس از دروژخان در آن بعد از آنها مدتی طولانی در آن
مانده باشد و بی‌آتوس هسته را از هم نکند. آن باشد که بی‌شی از بر
طرف شده آسایها و زمین‌ها اگر خدا خواهد ایشان را در فردوسی اعلی در آر
که علی او بی نهایت است و نیز از این آییا که می‌آنده ثابت شده و در عنوان
می‌آورد دامنه‌ای هواها و دامنه‌ای عظیم (1) يعني الله تعالی را به‌شی است
بزرگتر از بهشتها که اهل هند آن را بی‌شنیده گویدند. و این بزرگترین استوای
بتور موحدانی هند.}}

19 - بیان قیامت

بی‌پایان موحدانی هند اینست که بعد اتر بودن در دروژخ و بهشت جوی
شدبانی طولانی بکردن می‌هیا برند که بهار می‌کنند از قیامتی که است که از
آیین کرده‌قا نیاز به‌المه‌الکبیر (2) يعني رفتارهٔ معیتی به‌شی قیامتی که
مکه می‌شود و از آن آیه نیز معنی می‌شود و نعمت می‌یافته باشد و هم در عنوان
السوم و من فی الأرض الی آن شیار الله (3) يعني رفتاره‌ی دمیده می‌شود مور
بی‌پایان می‌شود هرکه در آسایها و زمین‌ها سمت مکر شیروئید از که خواسته
بی‌پایان می‌شود هرکه در آسایها و زمین‌ها سمت مکر شیروئید از که خواسته
بی‌پایان می‌شود هرکه در آسایها و زمین‌ها سمت مکر شیروئید از که خواسته
بی‌پایان می‌شود هرکه در آسایها و زمین‌ها سمت مکر شیروئید از که خواسته
بی‌پایان می‌شود هرکه در آسایها و زمین‌ها سمت مکر شیروئید از که خواسته

(1) قرآن مکی، 22: 72-73
(2) قرآن مکی، 71: 72
۲۰ - بیان مکت

مکت عبایت از استحکام و معروف شدن تعیینات پاشند در حضرت ذات
که آیه کیسه و پیشانی می‌شود، او ماکت دلیل‌کاری می‌کرد. این معروف است که
و علیاً فی رینهٔ ریزه برکت دوازده والی و یکمی (۱)

(۱) قرآن معجوب، ۵۵۵: ۲۲ ۲۰۱۷ (۲) قرآن معجوب، ۱۴۱: ۷۷
جحل یکسره ارواح و جه اجساد. یکدی شخصی ممین عالی نام
بس حق مبناین تعالی را روح و جلال این شخصی ممین داند که از هیچ سر
موی جدا نیست. چنانچه شیطان سعدالدين حمروی (1) نرماید. ی و رابعی
حق جهل جهل است و جهل جمله بس
ارواج و علایک و تاریخ این همه تی
اهلک و عناصر و موالید و اعضا
توحید همین است و دگر شیوه و فن
همچنین موعدی هند مثل بیس زنیر، توحد بهمانند را که عالم دویر است
میخشد ولد دانسته عضوها بدن اروا چنین بیل نموده اند بجهت آنکه
سوفي صافی در هر وقت بهره نکند بنده که بر فلان عضو می پرس که
یپنا عبارت از ذات حق مبناین تعالی است نظر داشتم. پاتال که
لبق ی هفتم زمین بخش که پای می پرس است. رستاق که طبقه
پنجم زمین بخش بیل می پرس است. و شیاطین انگشتهای بایی
پنجم اند و جنازه‌ای سواری شیاطین ناخنی آنها می پرس. اند
پنجم که طبقه پنجم زمین است شناکنی می پرس است. نرال ق که طبقه
چهلم زمین بود ساقی می پرس است. سوال ق که طبقه سیام زمین باشد زانوی
می پرس است. بنال ق که طبقه دیلم زمین است زانو می پرس است. کمال نعمتی زمانه
فلح می پرس است. برجانت دیورا که باعث توادلت فعال

(1) درای حلال حضرت مهدو دین حموی و جهود کنید به روی انجمنی.
است علامت مرند وقوت رجولیتی مها پرس است - باری نطفه
مها پرس است - مبولزک عنی از زمین نا آسان پایین ناف مها پرس
است - سه کره جنوبی است - راست مها پرس است و سه کره شمالی
دست بچه مها پرس است و تیمور پات بشری مها پرس است -
رشته‌ای صعوب کاذب نفر ملفی جامه مها پرس است (که آکبی‌پور رضایی اشاره به آن می‌کند)
و وقتی یاد که رنگ سفید دارد پرجه ستور موت مها پرس است (که
العظیم آذری کتابی به آن می‌گوید) - سمندر عنی بحیره محصور حلقه و عمق ناف
مها پرس است و درانال مکی آتشیست که آب هفت دریا را حاصل کنه جذب
میکند و طغیان سدی نمیدهد و در قیامت کبیر تمام آب‌ها خشک خواهد
کرد و این حرات و کرمی معدا مها پرس است، و در این‌ها دیگر رگه‌ای
مها پرس است - و جذب اینها به آن می‌گوید همه دریاها بسمندر منتهی
میگردند - گنگا و چننا و سرسبز شهرک مها پرس است - اغلب جمیل
بی‌گنا جدون سه‌گنها سرسبزی به‌چون که بالای بیولزک است و درپایی
گنده‌پا - آنا می‌بایست و آراز از آنا برهم‌پیزد شکم مهاپرس است -
انشی نیمات‌کشی اشنهای حاضری مها پرس است - و خشک شدی
آب‌ها در قیامت صفریتشنکی (و آب خردیدی) مها پرس است - سرگ
لوا تکه بالای بیولزک است و طبقه ابست از طبقات بهشت سینه
مها پرس است که همیشه شادی و خوشعلای و آرام درست - و جمع
سناره‌ها از اقسام جوامع مهاپرس است - بخشش پیش از سوال که جود و
فقط است پشتی راست و بخشش بعد از سوال که عطام است پشتی چپ

مها پرس است. و اعتدال که رجوگی و سنوگی و تموگی باشند و آن را پرکر

گویند دلی مها پرس است، و چنانه کنول سه رنگ دارد، سفید و سرخ

و بخشش، دل هم که بصرت کنول است سه صفت دارد، و این از

سی رنگ ظهر است، که بره، و بخش و مهیش باشند. برهم که

سم هم نام دارد حروق و اراده دلی مها پرس است، بشی رهم و مهر

مها پرس است، مهیش نوبر و غضب مها پرس است. ماه شب

وز خوشحالی مها پرس است که حرات الام و اندرها را بر طرف میسازد و شب

کامل مها پرس است. کوه تهیه یت استخوان ماپی پشت مها پرس است

و کوه هال دست راست و چپ سمر استخوان نزدیکی به انی بسی های

مها پرس است. و هشت فرنشته که سر وال اند و اندره که سردار آنها است

و کمال قوت دارد و بخشیدن و باربی و نه بخشیدن ونربندی متعلق بارست

هر در دست مها پرس اند، دست راست بخشش و بارش و دست

چپ امساک بخششی مها پرس است. امتشا که حروقی بهشت اند

خطوط کف دست مها پرس است و فرنشته که آن را چچمه می نامند

نافذوی مها پرس است. سه فرنشته لبک پال دست راست

مها پرس است. از بند دست تا انفک نام فرنشته) و چم فرنشته باروی مها پرس

است و لونکال فرنشته دست چپ مها پرس است، کبیر فرنشته زانوی

پایا مها پرس است و کلیب برجه که طوری باشد عصبی مها پرس است،

قطب جنوبی کنف راست و قطب شمالی کنف چچ مها پرس است
و تین نام فرشته لبک پال که موگل آب است و در سمته غرب میباشد میوه
گونی میباشد است، انا هدی که سلطان الذهار است آواز یاریک میباشد است.
است، مهر لبک که بازی سرگ لبک است گلو و گردنی میباشد است.
جب لبک که بازی مهر لبک است روی مبارک میباشد است، خواهش
عالم زنگ خرها میباشد است، طبع که در عالم است لب بانی میباشد است
شتر و رحیم لب بازی میباشد است، سینه بعنای محتال و الفت بی
دندانیها میباشد است و خورشید همه عالم خراک میباشد است.
عنصر آب کم و دهی، میباشد است، عنصر آتش زنگ میباشد است.
سرسیقوت نافذ میباشد و چار بید بعنای چار کتاب صد و راستی گفتار
میباشد است، میانی بعنای عشق که باعث ایجاد عالم است خندیده و خوش
طبعت میباشد است و هشت چهه عالم هر دو گوشی میباشد است.
اشنی کم که در ترشته در کمال عیس انده و دو برآ بهبی میباشد انده
گذرده تی مانیر بعنای عنصر خاک قوت شامه میباشد است، عنصر باد
نفس زنگ میباشد است، میانی جه لبک و نمک لبک که طبته به نیم.
وشش بهشت است و از نور ذات بر است نصف جنوبی آن چشم راست
و نصف شمالی آن چشم چپ میباشد است، و اصل نور که آن را آتشب
از آم گوینده قوته بینفی میباشد است، تمام آهنینش نگاه لطف میباشد
است، روز و شب عالم چشم برهم زنگ میباشد است، مرنام فرشته که
موگل درستی و محبت است و نوستا نام فرشته که موگل قهر و غصب
استقلال می‌تواند است؛ پس لرک که بالای جنگ لرک است به‌شکلی می‌تواند است. و لرک که بالای همه لرک‌ها است، کل است. آیات نویسندگان و کتاب‌الله آمدازیم می‌توانیم است، افرادی سه که بارب‌ی می‌برند دارم می‌توانیم است. و نباید همه کرده‌ها می‌توانیم بسیاری می‌توانیم است. چیزی که دوست و خوبی هم است کل است، بهره اکثر مسلمانان بدل می‌یابد می‌توانیم است. و همچنین در خانه می‌توانیم است، جد آکس روج بدل می‌توانیم است. می‌توانیم هر نفر انسان خاله می‌توانیم است، انسانی کامل خلوت خانه و محل خاص می‌توانیم است. چنانچه بفرمود بجا بود، در حالی که اما دوست برای می‌خواند بسار گفت خداوند تا من‌رها از خانه، نمود خانه‌ها می‌تواند دل را از به خالی می‌گردد. و هرچه دری برهمان بر سپید تفکیک است در انسن در نسخه عالم کم‌کم است به‌طوری اجمله همه موجود است، سیستم جنین داند و به‌سهر از است کش و در حقی است، آیین کرده‌های وقیانی با آن‌ها از الله علیه فضله، (1) این خوشحال انده قسمت به‌صورت داده است ایشان را خدا نمی‌تعلی از فصل خود. 0

(1) قرآن مصیبی 3: 118.
العظمی (۱) و آن‌ان ایلیا، الله لا خرف علیم ولا هم بعزنی (۲) يعني بدرستیه عارفی خدا را نیست ترسی و نیستند آنها اندهنای اشارة بهمی‌ئی مکت است. سیویم — سربدا مکت يعني استخاره پس — سربدا مکت آن پاشک به در هر مرتبه که سیرکند خواه در روز خواه در شب خواه در عالم باطلی خواه در عالم ظاهر خواه برهمان نماید خواه نامهای و خواه در ملی حکایت حل و خواه در مستغل که بهتر بهوشیت برملی گرند عارف و رستگار خلاص باشد. رهرا که در آیه‌ی قرآنی در باب پرسته در جنگ حکایت خلیل‌ین پیش آن‌ادا رفع شده يعني همینه خواهند بود دان بهشت مراد از جنگ معرفت است و مراد از لغو ابدا ابدیت این مکت است، چه دان هر نشان که پاشک استخاره مشترک و عناوانی از درکدار است، چنانچه این در آیه‌ی کریمه در باب اینچینی جمعات وارد است بیشتر رهم برهمه‌ی منفی و رخوان و جنگ لن‌یا لکن معاصر خلیل‌ین پیش آن‌ادا يعني الله علیه نجر عظمی (۳) يعني مزده میدهد ایشا را بیوردگار ایشان برهم‌ی از خود و مزده میدهد بفردرس اعلی و بهشتی‌ها که مرا می‌دان راست در آن بهشتها نعمت‌های دانی و ترستگار پی انقطاع از نزدیک حق تعالی بدرستیه مزدیست برگ. و نزد آیه‌ی کریمه زیگر پیشیرالموصوفین اللمین یعملین الصلحانت ان لم اجرا حسن‌نا مالکین نه آیدا (۴) يعني مزده میدهد (پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم) مرمنارا که عمل میکند نیک که حصول معرفت حق سبیله‌ی تعالی باشد و بدرستیه مزدا نزادرا ست مرزی نیکر که فرهادس ابوه باشد و درنگ کنگک باشد و همینه مانندگان اندیشان فردرس اعلی.
۲۱ - بیان روز و شب

الوهیت ظهور و بطور موحدان هند عمر پر هما که جبرئیل باشد و فنلی برهماند و تمامی روز ظهور که روز الهیت باشد هدیه آنی سال دنیا است که هرانچه هزار سال دنیا باشد بموجب این در آیه کویمده و این یاد می‌گیریم

عند ریش کافی سال می‌گردد (۱). يعني بدرستیه روز پرده زر مانند هزار سال که می‌شامند اهل دنیا و آیه کویمده تعرج المثله که شنیدی فی بوم کان مقدار خاصین آلف ساله (۲) يعني راجع می‌شونده به‌سوی پرورگذار خود شنیدن و روح هم به‌واسط جبرئیل و برهمامست در روزهه مقدار آن روز بنجایه هزار سال و هر روز ازین بنجایه هزار از هزار سال متعارف لست که در آیه اول بان تصمیم شده - پس مدت عمر جبرئیل و مدت عمر روز و عمر تمامی عالم که برهماند باشد حساب می‌گیرد. آنی سال دنیا باشد و هر انچه هزار سال باشد. چه کم و زیاد. مطالبی حساب موحدان هند.

و نیز به‌سمت خصوصیت اعداد هدیه نزد ایشان منحصر به‌رهشید. دسی و ازین بالانر مرتبی شمار تقریب نداده اند و قیامت‌هایی خاصی که دریم می‌آیند. گذشته اند و خواهد گذشت آن قیامت‌ها را که‌به‌پرهیز می‌گویند مثل طولانی آب‌یا طولانی آتش‌بیا طولانی باد. و چون هر مدت تمام گردید این روز شام شوید. قیامت کمی که خواهد شد که آن را ما بپری نیامده که به‌عمل این در آیه کویمده بی‌پنده. آن‌درآیه. بدل کرده. شوید زمین را

(۱) قرآن مقدس، ۲۲: ۳۷ (۲) قرآن مقدس، ۳: ۹۸ (۳) قرآن مقدس، ۳: ۸۱
بغير زمنين و يومٍ نظيرى السماوى كرسي السجى لذكر (1) يعني روزبه بديم
أسمانا مانند كانى برلى كتابت - و بعد از قيامت كبرى در شبه
بطلن كه در برای روز ظهور است و استنكاک جميع تعیینات در حضرت
ذات خواهد شد نيز هرند سل انگ دنیا ست - لوستهام كه عبارت از سکوبت
و جبروت است، مدت این سکوبت حضرت ذات است كه از
فراغ است از ايجاد خلق و اعداد عالم و آیا كرده سفرغ ثم ایذه
التقلی (2) يعني زرد است كه فقر ميشويم از شما لى جین و انس اشراء
بابى سکوبت است، و حضرت ذات در یاد ظهور عالم در مقام نسوم است
و در قیامت‌ها صفرق در مقام ملکوت و بعد از قیامت كبرى در مقام
جبروت ۰
لی عزیز أنجیه دربی باب نوشته شده بعد از دقیت تمام و تعقیب سبق
مطابق كشف خود است و ایبى كشف بایی در آیة كرمه مطابق آتی و بآنها
تن در هیچ كتابي ندیده از هچیچ نشيدنها - اگر بگوشي بعضى از نقضان
گوران آید ماور از بصن معنی بایاك نیست قل الاله غنی عی العلیین (3) ۰

۲۲ - بیان به نهایتی ادوار
نزد محققین اهل هند حق تمامی را نه هیچ پیک شب است و یک
روز بله ایف شب كه نام شمید پار روز میشود و روز كه آخر شمره شب می
آید ایلی غیر الکهیات - و این را اتاد برنا میکودند - خولجه حافظ عليه الرحمه
امشکه بهمین به نهایتی ادوار نموده گفته است ۰

(1) قرآن مجيد ۲۲: ۳۱۰ (۲) قرآن مجيد ۵۵: ۳۱۱ (۳) قرآن مجيد ۵۳: ۳۱

مجرایی مس و متعقی مرا بایان نیست
هرچه آنداز ندارد نیز زیر انجام
و هرچه از خصوصیات ظهور ذات و معنیات در روز و شب بیشتر شده بود
کم و بیش در روز و شب دیگر بعید عود کنن بموجب آیه کرده کم‌کم بدایا دانا
اول خلقت نعیده ۴۰۱ - یعنی جناته‌های ظاهر گردانی‌کنن در اول حلقه موجوداتی
را که معتقد کنن به‌رس کبس بعد از تمام شدنی (این) در از عالم ابوالبشر
آدم یعنی السالم بعیده بیدا شرد و از زبال و جنین باشد و آیه‌ای کرده کم‌کم بدایا
نظام ۱۲۷ - نیز دلالت بین مسیع می‌کند یعنی جناته‌ها اول شما را بیدایا کرد
باز همان طور بیدا کنیم - اگر کسی شبه کند که خانمیت پیغمبر ما یلی الله
علیه و سلم ازبی ثابت نمی‌شود می‌کونم که در روز دیگر نیز پیغمبر یلی الله علیه
و آیه و سلم بعیده موجود خواهد گردید و خاتم پیغمبران آن روز خواهد
گردید و ایبی حسیب شب معراج نیز دلالت بر همیش مسیع می‌کند - می‌گویند
که پیغمبر یلی الله علیه و سلم قطار شتراندا دید که لبخند می‌وروند و بر هر چی
دو صندوق بر است و در هر صندوق عالمی است مثل همین عالم و در هر فاصله
مثل خرد معنی‌خواندنی - از جبرئیل پرسید که این چیست - گفت یا رسول الله
از رقیته آن‌دیه شده ام می‌بینم که این قطار شتران با صندوق می‌ورود و می
هم نمیدانم که این چیست - و ایبی اشاره به‌بی نهایتی اگر است
آللّع‌هد الله و السالمه که توقیف امام رساله مجمع البصرين یافته شد در سفه
بی‌بهرام و شخص و بنم هجرین نریبی که جهل و درهم از سنین عمر ایبی فیقر
بی اندروه معنی دارا‌کرده بود - و السالمه

(1) ترکان مجید ۱۳:۲۱ - ۱۰۴ ۲۰۲۲ (۲) ترکان مجید ۹۷-۹۸ ۲۹
VARIANTS.

List of MSS. referred to:—

1. A. MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon Collection, III No. 156).

2. H. MS. in the Aṣifīya Library, Hyderabad, Deccan.


4. R. MS. in the Rāmpūr State Library, Rāmpūr, U.P.

5. V. MS. in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

(Page numbers refer to the pages of the printed text.)

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1. K has for before بنام; A, K add before در, R omits بهم;

2. A, K add before در; R omits بنام; K adds before زبایی, R has before هم; 7. R has before هم، A has از، K: omits هم، A has before هم، R has before هم، K: omits هم، A has before هم، R has before هم، K: omits هم، A has before هم.

3. A has for before خلق هم; 6. R, K omit for آل کرام; A omits and adds نه الجيش before مملکت; V omits and adds اسم البلد before کثیرا كثيرا.; 7. K, R add before دارا شکر، 8. K, R omit for before بن شامسبان باشماش، 9. H has for before در کسی کسی، K, R have before درکسی کسی، V omits for before بن شامسبان باشماش.; 11. V has after for before اعتماد، K, R have after for before اعتماد، 12. A has after for before اعتماد، V has after for before اعتماد.; 14. A, H, V, R have for before مجموع، K, V has for before مجموع، A has for before مجموع، K, V has for before مجموع، A has for before مجموع، K, V has for before مجموع، A has for before مجموع.
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21. R has نصرالله; H, V, A omit میثم. نصرالله, except V, which has میثم.


2. V has جمال for جمال; 3. R omits اعمالیت for عظیمت.

4. A, H, K, V have میغفیت for میغفیت; 5. V omits آب. 6. R has عبادی for ایجاد.

7. A, H have بیان. 8. A V, H, K have ظاهر for ظاهر. 9. H has شریک and A for شریک. 10. R has عبد for عبد. 11. V has قبل for قبل.


16. R has بعد for بعد. A, H have بروع for بروع. 17. H, R have before شهد for شهد. 18. V has از for از. 19. H has برده for برده. 20. R has میثم for میثم. 21. V has فروردگار for فروردگار. 22. all texts, except K, omit کیسه.; A, H have فروردگار for فروردگار. 23. K has است after فروردگار.

1. H has شرود for شرود. 2. R omits برده after برده. 3. K has است after فروردگار. 4. H has قبل for قبل. 5. A has است after است. 6. V has فعل. 7. V omits نامنه. 8. R has برده for برده. 9. V omits نامنه. A has before از for از. 10. V omits فروردگار for فروردگار. 11. R has برده for برده.
for the same; R adds از آن خاک; V omits ما را باز یک
A has before before; 10. A adds خسنه before منصر
H, V have منصور after منصور; K omits پنج منصور
V has بنگاهن in and 
12. R has هند
A, H, V omit بزبان;
13 A has and K has آنها می‌باشند; 
14. V has از before منصور
H and R have از before منصور
A has از before جنس
15. K omits A, R have 
منصوری است before پنج
A, R have راست before راست
16. R has پس for after خاک
V has است for لاهسن
17. H reads مناسب است except K, which has
مناسب است except K, which has
18. R has رنگ for after درک, 
V has است for سامنه
K omits هر دو and R has درو for هر دو;
H has لامش

1. R omits ولامش را نسبت ... باد است
2. H has مناسب دارد 
3. V omits A, H, K, V have هر که سبب
4. V omits A, H, K, V have شغل پاس انفاش
5. A, H, K, V omit در اطماع خود
6. all MSS.
have strange variations in enumerating the five internal senses;
8. H, K, V have چومنش کن
9. A has که ایشان می‌گویند است
10. A, H have می‌باشد after, all
11. all texts have هر وله
12. V has هر
H, V, R have فرامی و A has نقص for
13. R has نقص
15. V has کلی احاطه

1-2. A omits translation of the Kur'anic verse; 3. A, H have
Page

۱۱. R has حیات محسوس K omitted omit after این صوغ و نظر. A has
۱۲. H, K repeat جز این نیست دور می‌اند در هستم
۱۳. A has معمولاً for معمولاً and R has معمولاً for معمولاً for
۱۴. H has معمولاً for معمولاً for معمولاً for معمولاً for
۱۵. R has و از میلاد فیضی بر قابلیت
۱۶. R has و از میلاد فیضی بر قابلیت
۱۷. R reads که گوید نیاز کرده
۱۸. A, H, R have کرمه می‌گذانند for احشام

۱. R only has که بیشتر اول جبرئیل امین باشد است (omit. in trans.);
۲. all texts, except V, have است کردناده.
۳. all texts have قبودات توجه به همی را;
۴. V omits قبودات را;
۵. R omits که این است;
۶. H omits گلوا;
۷. all texts, except R, omit پیش از این پیش بدان و هوش دار

۱۱. all texts, except R, omit مقدس;
۱۲. all texts, except R, omit and چی.

۱۲. all texts, except R, omit هاین قبل است اختیار می‌گیرد;
۱۴. all texts, except R. omit هیچ چی بهش را;
۱۵. H, V, A have است کردناده;
۱۶. R, have و این دو لفظ را که او باشد همی‌گوند و آن لفظ را الله

۱۷. H, K, V, A omit و این دو لفظ;
۱۸. all texts omit این نمایی را نزد مرفی به صفت است

۱۵. all texts have هرچه K, R omit صفت به صفت;
۱۶. all texts, except H, have دیده مندرج before;
۱۷. all texts, except H, have دیده مندرج before;
۱۸. all texts, except H, have دیده مندرج before;
۱۹. R, omit نظرات هنر می‌گردد;
۲۰. R, omit نظرات هنر می‌گردد;
۲۱. K, R omit نظرات هنر می‌گردد;
۲۲. A reads روشی و نظر ایزوس و بینالی این H reads روشی و نظر ایزوس و بینالی است این

۱۵. A adds دو نفع و در صورت اسرافیل بعین آواز مهاد و بعینی نفس زن و نفعه
۱۶. R omits هم صفت هم;
۱۷. all texts omit معرفی.
1. All texts, except R, omit for رجوع and omits for نآرا
2. V has for مَعَرَّد دارد
3. V has for بَعْد مَطِيق بُدْنِي كَه
4. A has for بُعْد مَطِيق بُدْنِي كَه
5. H has for مَعَرَّد دارد
6. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد, while A reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
7. K adds for before مَعَرَّد دارد; all texts, except K, have for مَعَرَّد دارد
8. K adds for before مَعَرَّد دارد; all texts, except K, have for مَعَرَّد دارد
9. A, V, H omit for مَعَرَّد دارد
10. H reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
11. H reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
12. A has for مَعَرَّد دارد
13. V reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
14. A reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
15. R has for مَعَرَّد دارد

II
1. R has for مَعَرَّد دارد
2. A adds for مَعَرَّد دارد
3. V reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
4. K omits for مَعَرَّد دارد
5. H has for مَعَرَّد دارد
6. A has for مَعَرَّد دارد
7. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد
8. A has for مَعَرَّد دارد
9. R has for مَعَرَّد دارد
10. V reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
11. H, K, A have for مَعَرَّد دارد
12. R has for مَعَرَّد دارد
13. A adds for مَعَرَّد دارد
14. V omits for مَعَرَّد دارد
15. K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد

III
1. R has for مَعَرَّد دارد
2. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد
3. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد
4. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد
5. R has for مَعَرَّد دارد
6. V reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
7. A, V, H omit for مَعَرَّد دارد
8. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد
9. A has for مَعَرَّد دارد
10. R reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
11. H, K, A have for مَعَرَّد دارد
12. V reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
13. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد
14. R has for مَعَرَّد دارد
15. A, V, H omit for مَعَرَّد دارد

IV
1. A has for مَعَرَّد دارد
2. V reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
3. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد
4. A has for مَعَرَّد دارد
5. H, K, R have for مَعَرَّد دارد
6. A reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
7. K adds for before مَعَرَّد دارد; all texts, except K, have for مَعَرَّد دارد
8. K adds for before مَعَرَّد دارد; all texts, except K, have for مَعَرَّد دارد
9. A, V, H omit for مَعَرَّد دارد
10. H reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
11. H reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
12. A has for مَعَرَّد دارد
13. V reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
14. A reads for مَعَرَّد دارد
15. R has for مَعَرَّد دارد
اشترات باین معنی است.

Page

1. A, K, V add after and An شیشه که روح است H has و آن شیشه که روح است; 2-3. A, H, K omit R omits از رویشته شده است از شجره مبارک ذات که مارچه A reads است آن جراح است; 3. R adds منذ و وجود صلاة لله مليه وبسمل after all texts, except R, omit R read چت که نه شرقت. نه خوبی; 5. R has for R omits که نه از و نه ابدی است R adds مبارک after زیبت; 6. all texts, except R, omit و نابال; 7. A, K add and H adds ممکن هند R omits است اساد A reads مصوت صمام کتاب نیست, H has و صمام کتاب نیست, R has و وفاعی و اکتساب نیست and و V has و کتاب نیست; 9. all texts, except R, omit ذاتی; 10. V has for all texts add after زیبت; K has R omits مابین و بین مابین و بین وجود اپنهه and V has for V has اور خود for V has نور ذات ... ظاهرامست and V has نور; 16. all texts, except H, omit تابان و; 17. A, H have K has افروخته for افروخته and V has for; 18. A adds بعد کشم باطن باد دید A omit and A adds اختلاف after A omits و بین لاین and V has and Bین لاین K adds در after و و و و چه اهل بیبل W; 6. all texts, except K, omit in A the order is مرکه انگار روبیت V omit ناقدان V omit مرکه انگار روبیت کرد ... ملت خود کرده 18; 8. all texts
have for 9. A, R, K omit هم; R has سنت و الصمامات نباتی; 10. A, H, K, V omit گفتگه; A, H, V, K have بسط for بسط; R reads بسط که بهت را بیرون دید که دیدن ذات بسط معال ماست; K omits دیدن; A omits بسط; K omits را; A reads دیدن; V reads دیدن که بهت بسط و لطف بی نعیت دان متعین نگردید, نگردید, از لنگری چهره گرمیشدند; 14. all texts, except R, omit زیراکه; R has for روزگار; V has for مجله; R adds قبل از کمال قدرت before قادر; 15. R adds بعد after نیز; R has پس متركا; A, H have بعد after نیز; پس که شخص; 17. A, H, K add مکروم است after پس که شخص; از لنگری چهره گرمیشدند; 18. R adds و بپر after مکروم; A omits از لنگری چهره گرمیشدند; 19. R adds قبل before; R omits شیمه و بعضی از نا سیدگان در به حال مسئنی درست for مسئنی and has درست for داده.

1. all texts, except R, omit اشتیاق جمع for حیاتی معیم کرده اند; R has کمالان و انبیا و اولیا, ابن نیابت خطasta; 2. all texts, except R, have دیدند; R omits با احترام; 3. R has کلام حقی نا از همه و از همه جهات شلودند; 4. all texts, except R, omit البته پاشند; all texts have for جهانیه; 5. A, H, K add قبل after خبر و شر; R omits خبر و شر; 6. all texts, except R, omit از نا سیدگان; R omits از نا سیدگان; 8. H, K, V read den من ممکن ولطف از خواب حضرت عابشه (چرب) (چرب) is evidently a mistake for جربا پرسرد بهبود; A adds پرسرد before پرسرد; 9. R has made strange additions and alterations: جوی مایه خبره سال برد نفیمید و ابن معنی ندیدن لیذا گفت: A, V have for نورانیت; R reads نورانیت for نورانیت; 10. A, H, V have for نورانیت; 11. R reads ابن را دلیل نادیدن پیمجر می آورد خلط for آناته; آناته for آناته; 12. all texts, except R, omit این این است and روز و تفکر این است and روز و تفکر این است; 13. V adds بعد before بزراگ است and Bzrag است:
17. all texts, except R, have بر دویت پوردرگار جمله که برای روبیت for برای روبیت;
unfortunately, a sentence has been omitted in the printed text which runs as follows: چه این ذیل متعلق بلطف رب شده است که اورا در: پس این ذیل: R adds بعد بعث after بزیرگی;
18. R adds; بعد نیت after بزیرگی;
19. all texts add after اورا; R adds بعد نیت after بزیرگی;
A has و آو درواب مالخب دیده را A, R omit برگیست;
پس این آیت هم مناح ادراک هب میشود نه مانع روبیت.

5. K omits درمیان; 6. R adds; 7. K adds و جسم مبارک after چشم; R add نیت after روبیت و کمال شهد و کمال عزمان A, H, K have جسم مبارک after روبیت و این روبیت R reads و این روبیت از دندان‌ها مناح نیست و در آگهی خداخان نیست;
درگذر نیست;
10. A reads درگذر نیست.

3. H omits اسم; H has احیٰ and A, R have حقی for الحیٰ; 4. A adds مرشد را سرونت and H, R have مرشد را سرونت K has و مرید را سرونت and H, R have مرید را سرونت 5. R omits برای ایشان;
6. R adds بعد حضرت محمد مصطفی صلی اللهو علیه و آلله و سلم، و حضرت علي کرم الله رازه ایشان; R adds before نزد ایشان before and before;
7. all texts, except R, omit R has نزد ایشان before و از وجود آن بنظر آید;
8. A, K have نونان شد H has and V has نونان شد; R has 9-10.
9. all texts, except R, omit R has نونان شد;
A, V have صمغ نزین وحی ها برمن H has مصغ نزین وحی برمن آن است K has و جهت ...
11. R omits...
12. A has حوزه جنان K has خربان حسینان and R has جنان K has خربان جنان and V has خربان جنان K has نهایت K has برکا K و بنیان کونند R adds and A reads for دیوان شیخیان اند.

22. H adds بعنی منبرة و هم مشابهت دارد که نبر منبره ماست و مشابه after all texts omit پس اول دان while R has ماست و مشابه after all texts omit پس وا تنشب R has و از قول آنها نفی نبرد;}
8. R has نرسیدند نبردند; 9. all texts, except R, omit خود; 10. V has بر and A, H, K have در for; R reads از; R adds having a; all texts, except R, omit حق; H, K, V have امت اکثری and R has مندبند and H has مقلدان بیفیدان for; 11. A, H, K add خدا after عمیان; K has مندبند and H has مقلدان while H has آنهاپیکه R adds after بینه; 12. A has زمان زمانی for زمان ما آنها, while H has آنهاپیکه R adds صرطبای before زمروب; 13. all texts except H, have زمروب A adds before زمروب and A adds before زمروب اند R adds بعد R reads جدای را هلاک نمودند پیروی and R adds بعد R reads اند جذور و فلک زهار نیبید نیبود and V reads بعد است مریمی بخوره و خواهد بود R adds after the verse زمروب A, V have نورت کامل نورت کامل معمدی بست (صلم) while H, K have نورت کامل نورت معمدیست R adds نورت کامل نورت معمدیست while H, K add Nورت کامل نورت Mعمدیست only; R reads جمعت التشیبی و المنزیه و جمعت البطن والمقبی A has رنگ و رنگ while R reads رنگ در بیرنگی و بیرنگی در رنگ 21. all texts, except K, omit نزدیک و دور all texts, except K, have بکجا for یکب.

2. R has ششیب for ششیب R omits 3. A reads بود نشونای و شوگر و فیزیت این مرتبه جمع است و خاتمت H reads این مرتبه جمعت و خاتمت K reads این مرتبه جمعت و خاتمت all texts, except R, omit ترنیب all texts, except R, omit البطن all texts, except R, omit بس رسول ما A, H, K have مشور و مغرب; 5. R omits زمان R omits شامل 6. H omits شامل 7. all texts, except R, have Wolait R adds کامل after 8. R has حق for بعنی در این معمدی هم و V adds در این معمدی R, which has apparently been transcribed by a 386's adds بهترین امر نفی انسانی که بخاطب لعیمی (و) فرمی انا مملکه: العلم وعلى بابا شاه ولایت حضرت ملی کرم الله وجهه تا امام مهدی صلوا الله علیه و سلماء و از آنجمله سرگرویا اوایا که بخاطب اینی لاجد نفس الرحمن من قبلة البیم ذات مبارک حضرت ابیس فرست زمیره الله ملیه و در زمین دیگر......
1. A reads که در هر جایی، H، K، R omit که در هر جایی. A reads که در هر جایی.
3. A reads که در هر جایی, H, K omit که در هر جایی. A reads که در هر جایی.
5. A reads که در هر جایی, H, K omit که در هر جایی. A reads که در هر جایی.
10. A reads که در هر جایی, H, K omit که در هر جایی. A reads که در هر جایی.
17. A reads که در هر جایی, H, K omit که در هر جایی. A reads که در هر جایی.

Page

1. A, H, K omit 
2. H reads 
3. A, H, K read 
4. R has اولین 
5. A reads 
6. A, H, K have 
7. A reads 
8. R omits 
9. A has 
10. A, H, K add 
11. A has 
12. A, H, K add 
13. R omits ....... 
14. A adds 
15. A has 
16. K has 
17. K reads 
18. H reads 
19. H reads 

A reads 
A, H, K have 
A reads 
A has 
R has 
A adds 
A reads 
A, H, K adds 
R omits 
R omits 
A, H, K add 
A has 
R reads 
A, H, K read 
R has 
R omits 
H reads 
A, H, K read 
A reads 
A, H, K read 
R has 
A, H, K read 
A has 
R omits 
A, H, K read 
R omits 
A, H, K read 
R omits 
A, H, K read 
A, H, K read 
R reads 
R reads 
A, H, K omit
هر سه قسم است
10. R omits زند و بید;
11. R reads بلکه بخدا کند و بید را بی‌پی نسبت نکند بلکه بخود;
R has for غیر and R adds صرور کلیه for صدح کلیه;
A has for غیر و R adds لهیت before جسمانی;
14. A adds و ابدی, H adds and K has after
15. all texts omit را;
A, H, K omit
17. R reads اعضای نکرده ناکفر
18. R omits هر و احتمال مختلفه مختلفه یک نرد است;
A, H, K omit ذو اور.

A, H, K omit lines 2 to 3;
A, H, K have
2. A, H, K omit lines 2 to 3;
4. A has شیخ معدی;
8. A, K
9. A omits بی‌پی و غیر;
10. R has زند و بید;
11. R adds صرور کلیه for صدح کلیه;
A, H, K omit
12. H has
13. A, H, K omit
14. A omits باشند;
R has کف یافتن;
H omits
15. K has
16. A omits و شیازلین;
A adds 
17. A, H, K omit
18. A, H, K omit
19. A, H, K omit

1. H has دست راستا و چهار
3. A, H, K have
4. A omits است;
5. A, H, K omit
6. A, H, K omit
7. A has روزبه
8. R only has
9. A, H, K omit
10. R only has
11. A, H, K add
12. A, H, K add
13. A, H, K add
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12. A adds and H, K add after نامه بدن and H, K add بعد ; A Adds
13. in the texts the Sanskrit terms are so hopelessly mutilated that, in most cases, it was impossible for me to decipher them correctly. 15-16. R adds after آواز و ناماد. R omits
17. H, K, R only have after و آب خروش (omitted in translation). 18. A has
19. للنفي اضافة جواهر خانه معا. R reads
20. R omits باضلاع
21. راست باضلاع
22. R omits
23. A has سیاه for and adds بنفش و نقش
24. چنانکه گنای
25. R omits بنفش و نقش
26. R omits
27. A, H, K omit دل هم ..... دارد ; A, H, K omit باشد پشت مبا پرس است .
29. A reads است
30. A, H, K have میزند
31. و بدر after ماه ... میر... مبا پرس است ... کوه سیمریم
32. A adds رازه before اندار ; 12. A has
33. و دست چپ یک مشت باضلاع بسایس است
34. R adds قدرت for
35. 13-14. R omits
36. 17-19. the texts here are hopelessly confused, and R has entirely re-written this portion ; 20. A, H, K have کف
37. A adds and R adds بعد after نامه بادری;
38. A, H, K omit زنگ و رحم
39. 5. A has زنگ و رحم for
40. A has طبیعی
41. H, K add and R has
42. A omits
43. H, K have خوانش for
44. A omits
45. H, K have
46. R adds before
47. 9. H, K omit
48. A, H, K omit
49. A, H, K omit
50. A, H, K omit
51. همان وقت .....
52. A, H, K add
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1-2 R omits the Persian translation; 4. A, H add روز ... برهم رزند; while R adds while R adds ... 


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K have روز before هزار and omit دنیا; A omits روز before هزار and also omits دنیا; H reads هزار روز از دنیا and K has هزار روز از دنیا هزار روز از دنیا هزار روز از دنیا and R has هزار روز از دنیا هزار روز از دنیا هزار روز از دنیا and R has روز هزار مثال است and K has روز هزار مثال است

11. A, R omit باین; all texts add بعد
12. A, H, K have صدر کرور for هزار سال A, H, K read صدر کرور for هزار سال

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2. A, K add پیچیدگان and H adds پیچیدگان
2. A, K add پیچیدگان and H adds پیچیدگان
3. R adds پیچیدگان
3. R adds پیچیدگان
4. R omits پیچیدگان
4. R omits پیچیدگان
5. R omits پیچیدگان
5. R omits پیچیدگان
6. A, H, K have پیچیدگان
6. A, H, K have پیچیدگان
7. R adds پیچیدگان
7. R adds پیچیدگان
8. R omits پیچیدگان
8. R omits پیچیدگان
9. R omits پیچیدگان
9. R omits پیچیدگان
10. R adds پیچیدگان
10. R adds پیچیدگان
11. A has پیچیدگان
11. A has پیچیدگان
12. R omits پیچیدگان
12. R omits پیچیدگان
13. R adds پیچیدگان
13. R adds پیچیدگان
14. R omits پیچیدگان
14. R omits پیچیدگان
15. R adds پیچیدگان
15. R adds پیچیدگان
16. A, H, K read پیچیدگان
16. A, H, K read پیچیدگان

All texts have آنچه but in Brock. edition of Diwân-i-Hâfs is given; 4. A has پیچیدگان; 5. A, K, R add پیچیدگان
للهذا خانميت بیحمر ما (صلِّم) ازین ثابت نمی‌شود زیرا چه در روز دیگر بی‌حمر درمیان راه‌الله صلی الله علیه وآله وصحیح باعث موجود خواهد شد. 13. R adds راه‌الله صلی الله علیه وآله وصحیح باعث موجود خواهد شد before تقار. 14. R adds شتر یکی آنها را بنشاند after. 15. R adds و پس از آن و در هر صندوق after با بار است. 16. A, K, R omit پس از آن and; 17. R adds اسرار after. 18. A has محدودت النبی صلی الله علیه وآله وصحیح می‌تواند به هر بعیدی کشم. 19. R has هر محدودت النبی صلی الله علیه وآله وصحیح می‌تواند به هر بعیدی کشم. 20. R has بی‌بیانی که اندوکر دارا شکوه after.
## INDEX I

[Translation]

### Names of Persons.

In the following Index, prefixes like Abū, Ibn and Umm are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement: thus, for example, names like Abū al-Hasan, Ibn-1-Muljam must be sought under H and M respectively, not under A and I. The letter b. between two names stands for Ibn, “son of...”; the letter d. coming after a person’s name relates to his death, and c (circa) to the approximate date of his birth or death, as the case may be. A number placed in parenthesis, after the name of a ruler, relates to the beginning and end of his reign; and n after the number of a page indicates a footnote.

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INDEX II

[TRANSLATION]

Technical Terms, Important Words, Sects, Şûfi Orders,
etc.

In the following Index, Sanskrit words have been arranged as they are given in the Text, and not as they are written in Sanskrit; but an attempt has been made to transliterate them, wherever possible. Such proper names as Jibrîl or Malîk etc. have, for good reasons, been included in this list.

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