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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
M. MAHFUZ-UL-HAQ, M.A.,
Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta.

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TEXT AND TRANSLATION.
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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 Indonesián 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 Islām. 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 irenistic 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 Shikůh and Bābā Lāl Dās. 'Abdul Wali has dealt with the relations between Dārā Shikůh and Sarmad (*Journal*, A.S.E., 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 Shikůh, 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.
## CONTENTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Table of Transliteration</td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Errata</td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Synopsis of Contents of the English Translation</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Synopsis of Contents of the Persian Text</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Persian Text</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Variants</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Indexes</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Names of Persons</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Technical Terms, Important Words, Sects, Sufi Orders, etc.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Books mentioned in the Text and the Notes</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Places mentioned in the Notes</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ERRATA.

- p. 3, l. 3 For Kandhār read Kandahār.
- p. 11, l. 17 "Shath" "Shath".
- p. 11, l. 34 "Rūzbahān" Rūzbihān.
- p. 12, l. 4 "pp. xxx–xxxiii" pp. 30–33.
- p. 21, l. 28 "See (" (See
- p. 23, l. 29 "Kandhār" "Kandahār.
- p. 33, l. 13 "page 5" page (III. 7) 83.
- p. 39, l. 35 "See p. 6, n I" "See p. 8, n. I.
- p. 40, l. 36 "Rasa" 10 Rasa.
- p. 47, l. 16 "(Āwz) ā" (Āwāż).
- p. 48, l. 10 "Dhamma" Damma.
- p. 51, l. 11 "ruyat" ruyat.
- p. 53, ll. 20, 21 "Ghaffāri" Ghifāri.
- p. 55, l. 14 "(Path) ā" "(Path).
- p. 60, l. 35 "p. 13" p. 49.
- p. 97, l. 10 " انی زاغ " " انی زاغ "
- p. 98, ll. 16, 17 "غفارى" "غفارى"
INTRODUCTION.

Dārā Shikūh, the author of the present work, was born at Ajmir, (Monday night, the 29th Ṣafar, 1024 A.H.),¹ the city hallowed by the memory of the great mystic, Mu‘inuddin 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.² 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‘inuddin Chishti, in his Ṣafīnāt-ul-Awliyā’:³

“And this faţīr was born in the suburbs of Ajmir, by the (lake of) Sāgar Tāl, on the last day of Ṣafar, 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‘inuddin 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. Āmin, 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 Śūfi 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,

² Ḥūr Nisā Begam (b. 8th Ṣafar, 1022 A.H., and d. 4th Rabī‘ II, 1025 A.H.), and Jahān Ārā Begam (b. 21st Ṣafar, 1023 A.H. and d. Ramadan, 1092 A.H.).
and the first glimpse that we get of him is at the time when he is handed
over to Jahāngīr¹ 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 Shāhjāhān’s accession (1037
A.H. = 1627 A.D.).² When Dārā Shikūh returned to Āgra he was
about 13 years old and it must have been about this time that Shāh-
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 Philosophy³ or Calligraphy 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 Shāhjāhān and Aurangzīb, 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 Shāh-
jahān and, as such, the Emperor did not like to lose his company
by sending him to distant provinces. The other princes, Shuṭā, Murād
and Aurangzīb, 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 Aurangzīb, to Jahāngīr in June, 1626 A.D.,
Prasad’s Jahangir, p. 394.
² Dārā Shikūh was escorted with Aurangzīb to Āgra and received by the
parents on the 1st Rajab, 1037 A.H. (Būdehāhnāma, Vol. I, Part i, pp. 177, 178
³ We only learn that Mullā Mirāk Harawī was appointed as a tutor of Dārā
governor of the provinces of Allahabad 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. 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; 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 organisation and generalship; but he was no match for the sun-dried diplomat and general—Aurangzib. The three brothers Shujā‘, Aurangzib and Murād were marching on Āgra 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 Shikāh against Shujā‘, 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 Ramadān, 1068 A.H.). The battle of Samūgarh sealed the fate of Dārā, who fled to Āgra, thence to Lahore, Mūltān, 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
deserted him, his best supporters left him and the climax of calamities was reached when Nādira Begam, his dearest and best loved wife, was snatched away by the cruel hand of Death. Dārā 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 Jiwan of Dadar, 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 Islām. The younger brother passed orders for his execution, which was carried out on the night of Wednesday, 21st Dhul Hijja, 1069 A.H. So died Dārā, the eldest son of Shāhjahān and the would-be emperor of Hindūstān.

DĀRĀ AS AN AUTHOR.

A perusal of the writings of Dārā Shikāh will make it abundantly clear that he had Ṣūfīstic leanings from a very early age. He

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1 For an account of the trial of Dārā Shikâh and the charges brought against him see Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirî, (Bib. Ind.), p. 4; 'Ālamgirīnama, (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-Lubâb, (Bib. Ind.), ii, p. 87, in which Dārā 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 Dārā 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 Tārikh-i-Shāh Shujâ' of Mīr Muḥammad Maṣūm.

2 'Ālamgirīnama, (Bib. Ind.), 432. According to Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirî, (Bib. Ind.), p. 27, Dārā was executed on the night of Thursday, the 21st Dhul Hijja; the author of 'Amal-i-Sālīh (Elliott vii, p. 244) records on the 26th Dhul Hijja, Khān Khân (Muntakhab-ul-Lubâb, ii, p. 87) says that Dārā was executed on the last (nīkhīr) day of Dhul Hijja, (i.e. 29th), while Muftī Ghulām Sarwar (Khazinat-ul-Aṣfiyâ, i, p. 174), records the date of execution on the 1st Muḥarram, 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 Hijjah) of the year 1069 coincides with Wednesday, 7th September, 1659. Hence the 21st Zī Hijjah is Tuesday, 30th August. The Muḥammadan Historian says, Dōrā was killed on a Wednesday evening. This fully agrees with our computation; for the Muḥammadan Wednesday commenced on Tuesday, 6 o'clock r.m."
had studied the well-known works of the Sūfis of Islām and had examined their contents very closely and minutely. We find him making very apt quotations from the works of the various masters of Sūfism and also deducing relevant, but mostly independent, conclusions from the Holy Qur'ān 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 Sūfism 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 Sūfis of various shades of opinion. This gradual development of the mental attitude of Dārā 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. Prophet Muhammad, the Caliphs (4), the three Amir-ul-Muminin and the Imams (18) ... 1-26
2. Saints of the Kādirī order ... 27-65
3. Saints of the Nakshbandī order ... 66-94
4. Saints of the Chishtī order ... 95-119
5. Saints of the Kudrawī order ... 120-139
6. Saints of the Suhrawardī order ... 140-159
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, Ḥanafi, Kādirī, namely, a follower of Imam Abū Ḥanifa and a Murid of the order which owes its origin to Shaikh ‘Abdul Kādir of Ghān, 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. Sakinat-ul-Awliyā.—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 Pīr and Murshid, Mullā Shāhī,2 called Lisānūllāh, 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 Mullā Shāli, 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 Khātūn, 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 Mullā Shāhī sitting opposite to each other. And in Havell’s Indian Painting and Sculpture, (London, 1908), there is a fine painting, reproduced in colour, in which Mullā Shāhī and Ḥuwāja ‘Abdullāh are seen sitting opposite to Miyān Jīv, and in E. Blochet’s Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux (Paris, 1926), there is a portrait of Dārā Shikūh and Mullā Shāhī, which the learned author could not identify.
whom is Mullā Shāh, discusses various Sufistic and religious problems, such as the need of a spiritual guide, the way to find him, the desirability or otherwise of Samī' (or engagement in hearing esoteric songs), the problem of the vision of God (or rūyat), 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 Sufism. It appears that Dārā has supported his arguments by reference to or quotations from the various standard works of Tradition or Sufism 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: Kāshī-ul-Mahjūb (p. 5), Tārīkh-i-Yāfī (p. 13), Mu‘jam-ul-Buldān (p. 14), Sahih Muslim (p. 24), Mishkāt (p. 24), Bahir-ul-Iḥkā’ī (p. 63), Tafsīr-i-Sullamī, (p. 63), Tafsīr-i-ʿArā’īs (p. 64), Tafsīr-i-Kubēharī (p. 64), Faṣl-ul-Khillāb (p. 65), Takmīla (p. 81), Tafsīr-i-Ilūsainī (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 Mir pronounced him to be his “very life and vision,” (p. 42). And it was through the kindness of Miyān Mir that Dārā received lessons in Mushāhida (or, Beholding of God) and also witnessed the Lailat-ul-Ḵādīj, 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

2 This interview took place on the 8th Rajab, 1044 A.H. (see Badshāhnāma, vol. I, part ii, p. 65 and Sakīnāt-ul-Awliyā, p. 39).
former has recorded in the *Sakīna*, 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 *Pīr* and *Mursīd*. He writes: “... I repose much trust in your wisdom and understanding...” (Letter No. 1, p. 110). “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 *Ṣāhib Kirān* (namely Amir Timūr and Shāhjahān) are the kings of grandeur, (while) our Dārā Shikūh is the *Ṣāhib Kirān* 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 *Sakīnat-ul-Auliya* 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 *Kurān* 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 (*yārs*) 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 *Sakīnat-ul-Auliya*, Curzon Collection, No. 443, fol. 83b:

ملح بران، اول وثاني قرين حمشت اند داراشکر ما ورد، ملاحبران دل آخر ز کانکت مناع دو کئین زا کرد اودست خود زمناع دکان 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-Ḥak Numā, or ‘the Compass of the Truth,’ is the third work of Dārā Shikūh. It is a small tract of some thirty pages 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, Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam, Lawā’īh, Lama‘āt, Lawā’īnī; and other works of Ṣūfism 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 faqīr and that God has, in spite 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 whomever 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, Ṣafīnī, was a composition of the period of quest (after a perfect divine) and his second, Ṣakīnī, was written after he had reached the companionship of such a divine and had learnt from him ‘the paths of Sulāk and the Maḥāmāt (or the stages of the Ṣūfis),’ (p. 7). Lastly, he says, ‘Now that the gates of Tawḥīd (Divine Unity) and ‘Irjān (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 Kurʾān. He writes ‘In all my compositions I have followed the practice of taking omens from the Holy Kurʾān and naming them at the Divine instance. It had come to my mind to name this tract, Ḥak 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 fasls (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 Lāhūt, or the World of Divinity (p. 22). The fifth fasl 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. Shalḥiyāt, or Hasanāt-ul-'Arifin, is a collection of Sūfī aphorism containing the ecstatic utterances of the mystics, which seemingly appears to be in direct contravention of the orthodox doctrines of Islām. 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:

"As I had become dissatisfied with the current books of the mystics 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 Dajjāl instead of that of Christ or with that of Pharaoh instead of that of Moses or with the...

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of Abū Jahl instead of that of a Muhammad. Some sayings had been, no doubt, collected by one Bukli, 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, Dīnān Nūn al-Miṣrī, Sahl b. ʻAbdullāh at-Tustārī, Abū Saʻīd Kharrāz, Junāid al-Baghdādī, Ruwaim, Abū Bakr Wāsīṭī, ʻĀhmād-i-Ghazzālī, ʻAbdul Ḵādir al-Jilānī, Ibn al-ʻArabī and others—but also of Prophet Muḥammad, the four Orthodox Caliphs and Imām Zāin al-ʻĀbidīn and Imām Jaʻfar-i-Ṣādiq. Dārā concludes by saying that some truth-seekers had asked him to embody in this work his own Shatl, or aphorisms, but he replied by saying, "My Shatl is that all the Shatlās 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), 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 Ṣūfīs) 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 Bālī (بدل) as Bukli. It is part of the name of Shāhī Rūzbālān Bālī, the well-known saint, whose life Dārā has noticed on p. 176 of his Sakīnāt-ul-Awliyā (d. 606 A.H.).

2 Ḥasanāt-ul-ʻArifin, (Urdu translation) lithographed at Lahore and published by Malik Faḍluddīn, Malik Čhananuddīn and Malik Tājuddīn, Kakkay Zāiy.
5. Majma‘ul-Bahrain, 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, infra.) 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,\(^1\) 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:\(^2\) “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-Hamad which is Oinul-kitāb, in the Holy Kur‘ān, is a reference to His Great Name (Ism-i-A‘ẓam), in which are included all the angels, Heavenly Books, Prophets and Apostles. Preface: Now, thus sayeth. this grievless faṭīr, 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 Ave-ta,’ 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. iviii.)

\(^2\) Sirr-i-Akbar, (A.S.B. Curzon Collection, No. II, 151), fols. 1b, 2a, b, 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 Kur‘ān 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 Tawḥīd 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 inspite 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 Kur‘ān. And this verse appears to have been revealed for this very ancient book:

(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 (Laḥ-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 Kur‘ān can be found in it, it is certain that the hidden book (or, kitāb-i-maknūn) is a reference to this very ancient book. This Faḥīr 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. Bhāgvat 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 opinion 1 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‘īb, 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‘īb in compiling his Taddkira. 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 Fayyād-ul-Kaawānīn 4

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4 The Fayyād-ul-Kaawānīn 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 Şāh Muḥammad Dilrubā, Shaikh Muḥibbullāh 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 Inshā and also in Majmūa'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 Nigaristān-i-Munīr, which contains, at the end, the Introduction of a Muraḵḵa', (or, Album), which was, as the compiler's note indicates, dictated by Dārā Shikūh. 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 Nigaristān is of the same Album which Dārā presented to his "nearest and dearest wife," Nādira Begam, 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 Dārā 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 Dārā, 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 Dārā but have not, so far as I know, been traced in any of the important libraries of the East or the West:—

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

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

¹ By Mufti Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore (Lucknow, 1874).
² Latif's Lahore (1892), p. 64.
2. *Nādir-un-Nikāt*.—Dr. Ethé\(^1\) 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-Ḥal: Numā*, 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*\(^2\) (of which I will speak later) are identical, for a manuscript copy of the latter work preserved in the O.P. Library\(^3\) bears the title of *Makhzan-i-Nikāt*, which is closely allied to *Nādir-un-Nikāt*. It is, however, difficult to choose between the two probables.

3. *Mathnawi*.—It appears from the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (vol. II, No. I)\(^4\) that a Persian *Mathnawi* 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 *Divān*, entitled *Ilkīr-i-ʿAẓam*, which, according to the author of *Khażīnaʿt-ul-ʿAṣṣīyā*, contained "a mine of information regarding *Tawḥīd*," and was actually perused by him. It is a pity, however, that such a valuable *Divān* 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 Bhūpāl), that the *Divān* of

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\(^1\) *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library*, vol. I, p. 275.

\(^2\) *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol. II, No. I, p. 27.


\(^4\) Ibid, p. 25.
Dārā Shīkūh 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 Ḥājī Jān Muḥ. Allāh Bakhshī Ganāʾī, the well-known book-sellers of Lahore, that the Quatrains of Dārā Shīkūh (رباعیات داراشکوه) 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 it is 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 Mathnawi, 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 Tadhkiras.

The largest number of Quatrains, totalling more than 20¹, are quoted by Dārā in his Ḥasanāt-ul-ʿĀrifīn 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 life-time. The following appreciation from the pen of Mulla Shāh, who was himself an accomplished poet, will serve to convey an idea as to Dārā being a poet of no ordinary merit:

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

¹ I have calculated this number from my manuscript copy of Ḥasanāt, 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 Mulla Shāh’s letter to Dārā Shīkūh in Sakīnat-ul-Auliyyā, 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 Takhallūs, or nom de plume, of Kādirī, which testifies to his sincere devotion to the Kādirī order. Sarḫush, who wrote his Kalimāt-ush-Shw'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 Ilkbāl," 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 Şūfi, 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 Şūfistic 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 Şūfistic 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, Dānīsh, who came to India in the reign of Shāhjahān, writes:

"Dārā Shikūh, having appreciated this verse of his, selected it as Miṣra‘-i-Ṭarah:

تاك را سرسبز دارائی ابر نیسان در بحار
قطرة نامی می تواند شد چرا گوهشود

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

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1 Aḥṣāluddin Sarḫush wrote his Tadhkira in 1090 A.H.
2 Fol. 58 b. of my manuscript copy.
3 The story is given on fols. 58b and 59a of my manuscript copy. The author of Makhtzan-ul-Gharā‘ib (p. 682, O.P. Library copy) writes that four poets,
I cannot do better than quote some of his verses, from certain *Tadhkiras*, 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:

مِرَادمَ شَدَمْ تَاَّكَه بِقَرْآنَ ۖ گَشَتَم
عَارفَ شَدَمْ وَ زَ خَوْشَ عَرْبَانَ گَشَتَم
پَیْدَا کُرَدِی مَرَآ وَ لِیکَن مِن هَم
پَیْدَا کُرَدِم تَراَ و تَرِزان گَشَتَم

بِنَفَیْهُ بِرِخَرَتْهُ فَنْا کِشَان مَرْجُ آبِ حیاتِ را مانِدَ

including the prince, had written verses in reply (جواب) to the above verse of *Faiqī*. I think, the biographer is wrong in ascribing the authorship of the verse to *Faiqī* as it is not included in his *Diwān*.
DĀRĀ SHIKŪH AND THE FINE ARTS.

Dārā Shikūh was a lover of the fine arts. He studied Calligraphy with Ākā 'Abdur Rashīd ad-Dailamī, the well-known Calligrapher at the court of Shāhjahān and the last great scribe of Nasta'īlīk. The author of Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisān⁰¹ states that Dārā wrote a very good hand in Nasta'īlīk and was the best pupil of Ākā Rashīd. He adds that none of the pupils of the Ākā 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 Calligraphy from the Ākā.² Besides Nasta'īlīk, 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 Nasta'īlīk.³ He was also a great admirer of paint-

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1 By Ghulām Muḥammad, Haft Raḵān, (Bib. Indica), 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) Safinat-ul-Awliyā, (Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS. No. 673) bearing the following note in the hand-writing of Dārā Shikūh:

هذا كتاب سفينة الأولى حررة محمد دارا شكره خنف قادري ١٠٥٠

Khān Bahādur ‘Abdul Muḥtaḍir (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) Kurʿān, written on deer skin in 1051 A.H., bearing the following note at the colophon:

كتبه بندّة آئّم دارا شكره بن شاهچحلان بابشلا قزي در مقام شاهچحلان آباد ١٠٥٠

Shams-ul-ulumā Ḥāfiz Nādhir Ahmad, who examined the MS. in the ‘Azīz Būḥā Library, Hyderabad (Oceean), gives the following account of the MS. in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (New Series, 1917, p. x.c.): “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) Panjeṣāra, 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 cutta (See Catalogue Raisonne of Persian MSS. in the Būhār Library, p. viii.)

(4) Dahr Pand-i-Arastū, in fine, clear Nastaliq, within gold-ruled borders preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

(5) Risāla-i-Hikmat-i-Arastū, copied by the prince in 1041 A.H. and now preserved in the Aṣifīya Library, Hyderabad (Deccan). (See the Urdu Hand-list of the Library, Vol. II, pp. 1770, 1771.)

(6) Shahr-i-Dīwān-i-Hāfiz, (by Saifuddīn Abul Ḥasan ‘Abdur Raḥmān) defective at the beginning. The date of transcription is not given in the Urdu Hand-list (Vol. I, pp. 738, 739) of the Aṣifīya library, where the MS. is at present.

(7) A note on the fly-leaf of an autograph copy of a Māthnawi of Bahāuddīn Sulṭān Walad, son of the well-known Jālāluddīn 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 Shikāḥ in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, p. 272, which runs as follows:—

هو القادر
مثنوي سلطان ولد
بخط مبارك إشتر
رأمه محمد دارا شغرة

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

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

(9) A Waṣīlī 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'mānī, a well-known Urdu scholar, that Dr. Sir E. Denison Ross had, in his possession, an autograph of Dārā Shikāḥ (See Makālib-i-Shibli, Vol. II, p. 241).

(12) Waṣīlī 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. Sur. of India, No. 29, p. 12.)
Begam¹ 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 Shahjahan in the year 1051 (1641-2 A.D.)”², 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 Shikūh presented to his “nearest and dearest wife,” Nadira Begum, in 1051 A.H.

It may be added, here, that an ornamented and illuminated copy of the Kur'ān which, it is believed, was actually used by Dārā Shikūh, is now in the collection of Nāwwāb Ḥusāmuddīn Ḥaidar of Comilla. The author of Safar Nāma-i-Maẓharī (late Ḥāji Maẓhar ‘Alīm Anṣārī Rūdawlawī) gives us the following particulars regarding the copy:—

‘Nāwwāb Ḥusām Ḥaidar Ṣāḥīb showed me a MS. copy of the Kur’ān 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 Kur’ān from which Dārā Shikūh read daily. It bears his seal. The Nāwwāb Ṣāḥīb got the MS. from a European lady. It is a unique copy of the Kur’ān, (p. 98 of the Safar Nāma).

² Smith (V. A.), History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, (Oxford, 1911) pp. 457, 458. For a description of the Album see Percy Brown’s Indian Painting under the Mughals, (1925), pp. 94, 95; The Times of India Annual 1925.
similar to such an one as Vasaris, the great biographer of the Renaissance 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 Shīkūh wa Bābā Lāl**—contains a summary of the questions that were asked by Dārā Shīkūh 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, actually named Lāl Dayāl, was a Khatri of Kāśī, who lived at his Asthān, at Dhiānpūr near Batāla. Dārā Shīkūh intended to go to him, as he was a friend of Miyan Jīv, but the saint himself came down to Lahore, where Dārā conversed with him. 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 1062 A.H.

In his **Hasanāt-ul-Ārijin**, which he completed in 1064 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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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 Mandīya is one of the perfect ‘Ārif, and I have seen none in the Hindū community who is equal to him in majesty and firmness. He told me, ‘There are ‘Ārif and perfect (divines) in every community through whose grace God grants salvation to that community.’

In the Majna’-ul-Bahrain also, (p. 24), Dārā has put down the name of this saint, whom he calls Bābā Lāl Bairāgī, 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 va Bābā Lāl.

In the A.S.B. (Curzon Collection 1908-1910) there is a manuscript copy of Pūthī Īrīsī in Persiān, 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 Jahāngīr; 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

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1 In the same book (p. 44) Dārā, while quoting the aphorisms of Bābā Lāl, writes that this saint belonged to the order of Kabīr.

2 Chandar Bhān was an inhabitant of Putyālā or of Lahore, as asserted by some. He was the Mīr Munghi to Dārā and was appointed in the Dār-ul-Inghā of Sāhījahān, in 1066 A.H., and entitled Rāi Chandar Bhān. He died in 1068 A.H., or in 1073. He left several works including Chahār Chaman, Munghiṭ-i-Brahman, Kārnāma, Guldasta, Majna’-ul-Wuzarā, etc., and a Diwān.

3 Humphrey Milford, (Oxford University Press), 1921, Plate No. XXII.
were in this prince's service have recorded, in a work entitled Nādir-al-Nikāt, 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, Nāmālī, Sā'mīn, Kamāl, Awghar, Kabīr, Pīr Machandar, Gorakh Jadrū, (?) Pīr 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 Shikhūh and Bābā Lāl (called there Lāldās) are shown in each other's company.

And an un-identified 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 Shikhūh and Bābā Lāl Dās.\(^4\)

(2) Jag Bāshist—or a Persian translation of the famous Sanskrit, Yoga Vāsishtha, was undertaken at the instance of Dārā Shikhūh by one of his courtiers, whose name, unfortunately, we do not know. The translator says in the introduction that Prince Dārā Shikhūh ordered him, in 1066 A.H., to translate the Yoga Vāsishtha into simple Persian, for the other translations, and more specially, the one made by Mullā 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 Chiranji Lāl and lithographed at Delhi in 1885. An Urdu translation, entitled Aṣrār-i-Ma'rīfat, has also been published, some years back, by Dīwān Māyā Dās of Lahore and another, with the Persian text, and entitled Shu'ār-i-Ma 'rifat was published by Mungī Bulālī 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 Hindī and then translated into Persian (fol. 1a). It may be added, here, that MS. copies of the Mukālima 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 Mukālima, with its French translation, has been published by Huart and Massignon in the Journal Asiatique, Paris, Tome CCLX, No. 2.

\(^5\) In A.S.B. Collection MS. No. 158, the name of the translator is Shaikh Sūfī.
both Vāsistha 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) Tibb-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. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAin-ul-Mulk Shirāzī. It was written about the year 1056 A.H. 2 and dedicated to Dārā Shikūh, the then heir-apparent of Shāhjahān.

(2) Tarjuma-i-Akwāl-i-Wāsitī—or a Persian translation of the sayings of the famous Sūfī, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāsitī (d. C. 320 A.H., 932 A.D.), by one Ibrāhīm Miskīn who dedicated them to this prince in 1067, that is, only two years before his execution. 3

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 Sūfistic 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

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

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

3 A MS. copy of the work is in the A.S.B. Library, see Ivanow’s Catalogue p. 612.
to the translation of the *Upanishads* that after his discipleship of Mullā Shāh, 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 Hinduism. In the *Shaikhāyat* only (1062) we find him quoting the aphorisms of a Hindu 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-Bahrayn*, 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 Hinduism and Islam. 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 Hinduism and Islam. 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 Hinduism and Islam. 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 Hinduism and Islam 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 Hindu 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 mysteries of Islām and calling Muḥammed the ‘last Prophet.’

From 1065 A.H. onwards, Dārā was more deeply interested in the study of Hindūism. In 1066 A.H., he got the Jug Bāghist translated into Persian. A year later he himself translated the Upanishads into Persian prose. About this time he also translated the Bhāgavat Gītā 1 or, perhaps, had it translated by one of his courtiers.

In all these works there is not the slightest indication that Dārā had renounced Islām and embraced Hindūism. 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 Islām. 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 Islām? 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 Dārā found in the Vedas an elucidation and explanation of certain abstruse problems of the Kur’ān, he cannot be condemned. Mirzā Jānjānān Mażhar, Shahīd (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 writes 2:

“... . . . . . . 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

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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. Bhagvat-Gītā) is wrongly ascribed to Abū-al fālī; the real translator was, as a note on fol.1a in the present copy proves, prince Dārā Shukūh.”

2 Extracts from the life and teachings of Mirza Mażhar, translated by the late Mawlānā ‘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 Ṣharʿ, 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 Qurʾān): '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 Shikūh 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 Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfis one will find that their aphorisms and paradoxes are more condemnable than those of Dārā Shikūh. We find that Maʾnūr was crucified, Shihābuddin Suhrawardī 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, faḏr brother.

But yet we find that Dārā Shikūh was indicted by the ecclesiastics of the court of Aurangzib for his apostasy. According to Maʿāthir-i-ʾĀlmgiri, 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-Baḥrain.

This small tract is of supreme importance to a student of comparative 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 Darā Shikūh and, as such, has an importance of its own. And, according to one authority,² 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 Darā was 42. It appears from the Introduction that Darā 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 sections 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 Barhmānd.

² Siyār-ud-Mutawakkilīn, p. 463.
13. The Directions.
14. The Skies.
15. The Earths.
16. The Divisions of the Earth.
17. The Barzakh.
18. The Great Resurrection.
19. The Mukt.
20. The Night and the Day.

It is unfortunate that, although the MSS of Majma‘-ul-Bahrain 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'an 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 Aṣifīya Library, Hyderabad, dated 9th Rabī‘ I, 1224 A.H., transcribed by Sayyid Gharib ‘Alī b. Sayyid Shāh ‘Alī Rizā. The Librarian, Mawlawī ‘Abbās Ḥusain Kantūrī 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 Bakhsh Khān) Oriental Public Library, Bankipore (No. 1450 of the Hand-list of Persian MSS. prepared by Khān 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 Ḥijja, 1226 A.H., copied by Muḥammad Ḥāji Beg at the instance of Khwāja Mir Ḵāsim. The MS. is imperfect in several ways. There are apparently spurious additions in the text which display Shīte 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. Hidāyat Ḥusain, who, in his turn, got it, as he informs me, through the kindness of Ḥāfiz Aḥmad ‘Alī Khaṅ, 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-Bahrayn which is preserved in the Būhār Library, (Imperial Library, Calcutta.)¹ This translation was made by one Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. ash-Shaikh Aḥmad al-Miṣrī, and was of much use to me in correcting the Arabic quotations, etc.

An Urdu translation of Majma‘-ul-Bahrayn, entitled Nūr-i-‘Ain, by one Gocul Prasād, 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. Hidāyat Ḥusain, pp. 150, 151.
The above description of the MSS. of *Majmuʿ-al-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 variation 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 variants, 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 idiosyncracies 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 Shīkūh 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 footnotes himself, but, on account of his departure for America, he was unable to fulfill his promise. I am greatly indebted to Professor Nilmoni 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-ulamā Dr. M. Hidāyat 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'ānic* literature. I am also indebted to Khān Saḥīb 'Abdul Wali (who is, unfortunately, no longer alive) and Mawlāy Sayyid Muḥammad Tahir, M.A., for their kind assistance.

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TRANSLATION.
SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

1. Discourse on the Elements ('Anāsir).
2. " on the Senses (Hawāss).
4. " on the Attributes of God, the Most High (Ṣifāt-i-Allāh Ta'ālā).
5. " on the Soul (Rūh).
6. " on the Air (Bād).
7. " on the Four Worlds ('Awālim-i-Arba'ā).
8. " on Sound (Āwāz).
11. " on the Names of God, the Most High (Asmāi Allāh Ta'ālā).
12. " on Apostleship and Saintship (Nubuwvat wa Wilayat).
15. " on the Skies (Āsmānhā).
17. " on the Divisions of the Earth (Kismat-i-Zamīn).
18. " on the World of Barzakh (i.e. Interval between the Death of a Man and the Resurrection).
19. " on the Resurrection (Kiyāmat).
20. " on Mukt (Salvation).
21. " on Day and Night (Rūz wa Shab).
TRANSLATION.

"In the name of One who hath no name. With whatever name
then calleth 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 locks of Faith (Imān) and Infidelity (Kufr), and by neither of
them has He covered His beautiful face.

 Verses: 1

"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." 2

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1 This verse is quoted from the Ḥabīl-Ṭaḥā-Ṭabīk of Ḥakīm Sanāʾi
Ghanawī. Dārā Shikāh also has written a quatrain which bears a close affinity in
meaning to the above verse of Sanāʾī.

"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.
Jāmī also has a similar quatrain:

"At times we call Thee wine and next the wine-cup,
(And) at times we call Thee gram and then a snare:
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 Darbār-i-Akbari of Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzūd
(p. 492) that Abul 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 Jāmī. Dārā also quotes it in his Ḥasanāt,
ul-Ārifīn in connection with the Shatḥiyāt 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, unsorrowsing faḵīr, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, that, after knowing the Truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Śūfīs and having been endowed with this great gift (i.e., Śūfīstic 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-BAḥraīn or “The Mingling of the Two Oceans,” as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of two Truth-knowing (Ḥak Shīnās) 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 (Riṣāla), 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 Naṣiruddīn Ḥāmidullāh, better known as Khwāja Aḥrār, was a great Naṣḥībāndī 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 Rabi‘ I, 895 A.H. ‘Ali b. Ḥusain al-Wazīr al-Kāshfī in his Rasḥāḥāt deals, principally, with the life and teachings of the Khwāja. (See Nafṣāḥāt-ul-Uns, Nawal Kishūr edition, p. 364.) Dārā Shikūh quotes the above saying, attributed to Khwāja Aḥrār, on p. 39 of his Ḥasanāt-ul-ʿArisīn.
I. DISCOURSE ON THE ELEMENTS (‘Anāśir).

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", (‘Unsur-i-A‘zam), which the men of Faith (Shar) call "Arsh-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 Pānch Bhūt, namely, akās, bāti, tej, jal, and pirthī. (Now) there are three akās: bhūt akās, man akās, and chid akās; and (of these) bhūt akās is surrounding the elements, man akās is circumscribing the whole existence and chid akās is enveloping all and is covering everything. This chid akās is permanent, namely, it is not transitory and there is no Kūrānīc or Vedic verse (which is a revealed book) testifying to its annihilation or destruction. The first thing to come out of chid akās was Love (or ‘Isīk), which is called mayā 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 ‘Isīk (Love), (Rūh-i-A‘zam) jīv ātmān, the great soul was born, by which is understood a reference to the soul of Muhammed 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 and Avasthāt, which denote his greatness. After that comes the element (‘unsur) of wind, which is said to be the breath of the Merciful (Rāhmān) 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.

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1 Pañca bhūta.
2 Ākāśa.
3 Vāyu.
4 Tejas.
5 Jala.
6 Prthivī.
7 Bhūtākāśa.
8 Manaākāśa.
9 Cidākāśa.
10 Māyā. See p. 6, n1.
11 Jivātmā.
12 Hiranagārhā.
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 parlī 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 akās 2 together with Rūḥ-i-Aʿẓam (or, ‘the Great Soul’):

"Everything is perishable but His face (i.e. He) 3." (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 akās, 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 akās 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 5."

II. DISCOURSE ON THE SENSES (Hawās).

Corresponding to these five elements, there are five senses called Panj Indri 6, in the Indian language. They are: (1) Shāmma (smelling); (2) Dhā’ika (tasting); (3) Bāsira (seeing); (4) Sāmī’ā (hearing) and (5) Lāmīsā (touching), which are called gahrān 7, rasanā 8, chach 9, sarutar 10 and tvāk 11 respectively, in the Indian language, and their qualities of perception are named gandh 12, ras 13, rūp 14, sabd 15 and spars 16. Each

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 Śhāmma (or, the sense of smelling); Dhā'īkha, (or, the sense of taste), is connected with water—(the taste of) water being perceived with our tongue; Bāṣira, (or, the sense of sight), is connected with fire and, as such, colour is perceived by the eyes only, while lumenosity is present in both; Līṃsa, (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‘ẓam), namely mahā akās, through whose instrumentality we hear sounds. And it is through the sense of hearing that the real essence of mahā akās 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, Shaqūl-i-Pās-i-Anfās, (or, the exercise of controlling the breath), and the latter calling it dhun in their own phraseology.

Now, the internal senses also are five in number: Mustārak (Common); Mutakhyayīla (Imaginary); Mutafakkira (Contemplative); Ḥāfiẓa (Retentive) and Wāhima (Fancying); but in the Indian system, however, they are four in number, namely, budh, man, ahankār and chit—a combination of which is called antah karan and this, in its turn, may be looked upon as the fifth. Now, chit is possessed of a characteristic, called sat parkarat, 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 and pakalp, namely, 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 Risūla-i-Pās-i-Ānfas, attributed to the authorship of Jāmi, in the Bodleian Library. (See Catalogue of Persian MSS. by Sachau and Ethé, p. 758.)
3 Dhyāna. 4 Buddhi. 5 Manas. 6 Ahankāra. 7 Chit.
8 Antahkarana. 9 Satprakṛti. 10 Saṃkalpa. 11 Vikalpa.
of paramātmā, for the reason that it possesses māyā, which, in their phraseology, is the name given to ‘love.’ ¹ Now Ahankār again is subdivided into three: Sūtaq,² Rājas,³ and, Tāmas.⁴ First, Ahankār Sūtaq, or Gayān Śrūtip,⁵ 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.’ ⁶ Another (Holy Verse) says: He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (over all) and the Knower of hidden things.’ ⁷ Secondly, Ahankār Rājas, is madhikīm,⁸ namely the middle stage, when (a religious devotee) having fixed his eyes on jīv ātmān⁹ 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.’ ¹⁰ (And) ‘Then surely Allāh is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds.’¹¹ Thirdly, Ahankār Tāmas is adham,¹² or the low stage of aviddiyā,¹³ 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.’¹⁴ Consequently, Baṣḥīṣt¹⁵ 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 māhātāt¹⁶ or ‘Aṭh-i-Kul’ (Perfect Wisdom). Now, man¹⁷, or mind, which is also styled parakari,¹⁸ was created from sankalp¹⁹ and māhātāt; and from sankalp man, the five Gayān-i-Indrī²⁰, 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 Shikūb, but it means ‘the inscrutable power of paramātmā which produces appearances.’
² Sattva.
³ Rājas.
⁴ Tāmas.
⁵ Jñānasvarūpa.
⁶ Kurān, Ch. XLI: 54.
⁷ Kurān, Ch. LVII: 3.
⁸ Madhyama‘.
⁹ Jīvātmā.
¹⁰ Kurān, Ch. XLI: 11.
¹¹ Kurān, Ch. III: 96.
¹² Ādhamā.
¹³ Avidyā.
¹⁴ Kurān: Ch. XVIII: 110.
¹⁵ Vāsiṣṭha.
¹⁶ Mahattatva.
¹⁷ Manas.
¹⁸ Prakṛti.
¹⁹ Sankalpa.
²⁰ Jñānendriya.
which, in their combined form, are named badan, or body. So, Param-
ātmā—who is called Abul-Arwāh 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, con-
fines itself to them, so our Lord has created all these imaginary limita-
tions 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 (Ashghāl).

Although, according to the Indian monotheists, there are several
kinds of devotional exercises, yet they regard ajpā ² as the best of all.
This exercise originates from every living being, both in sleep and wake-
fulness, without any will or control, at every moment—and always. Con-
sequently, the Holy verse, : “And there is not a single thing but glori-
fies 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 Û
(و) i.e. He) and the breath that goes in is named Man (من i.e. I); and (their combination) “Û manam” (و من) means “He is I.” The
Sūfis consider their occupation in these two words as Ḥū Allāh (i.e.
He is God)—Ḥū 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
(Ṣifāl-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 Maḥmūd 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 Ajpā. ³ Kur‘ān, Ch. XVII : 44.
according to Indian devotees, there are three attributes (of God), collectively called *tirgun*\(^1\), or *satt*\(^2\), *raj*\(^3\) and *tamas*\(^4\), which mean Creation, Duration, and Destruction; the Sūfis, (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 *tirmūrat*\(^5\), or *Brahmā*\(^6\), *Bishnu*\(^7\) and "Māhēśh"\(^8\), who are identical with *Jibra’il*, *Mikā’il* and *Isrā’il* of Sūfī phraseology. *Brahmā*, or *Jibra’il*, is the (superintending) angel of Creation; *Bishnu*, or *Mikā’il*, is the angel of Duration (or Existence); *Māhēśh*, or *Isrā’il* is the angel of Destruction. Now, water, wind and fire are also allied with these (superintending) angels—thus water goes with *Jibra’il*, fire with *Mikā’il* and air with *Isrā’il*; and these three things (i.e. water, fire and air) are manifest in all living beings. Thus, *Brahmā*, 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; *Bishnu*, who is (like) fire in the eyes, is the source of light, refulgence and eyesight; *Māhēśh*, 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 *Brahmā*, *Bishnu* and *Māhēśh*, 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 *shakt*, or the potential power of the (above) three attributes is called *tirdīvī*.\(^9\) Now, *tirmūrat*\(^10\) gave birth to *Brahmā*, *Bishnu* and *Māhēśh*, while *tirdīvī* was the mother of these three: *Sarastī*\(^11\), *Pārbati*\(^12\) and *Lachmi*.\(^13\) (Of the latter) *Sarastī* is connected with *Rajūgun*\(^14\) and *Brahmā*, *Pārbati* with *Tamūgun*\(^15\) and *Māhēśh* and *Lachmi* with *Satūgun*\(^16\) and *Bishnu*.

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

\(^{1}\) *Trīguṇa.*  \(^{2}\) *Sattva.*  \(^{3}\) *Rajas.*  \(^{4}\) *Tamas.*  
\(^{5}\) *Trimūrti.*  \(^{6}\) *Brahmā.*  \(^{7}\) *Viṣṇu.*  
\(^{8}\) *Māheśvara.*  \(^{9}\) *Tridevī.*  \(^{10}\) *Trimūrti.*  
\(^{11}\) *Sarasvati.*  \(^{12}\) *Pārvati.*  
\(^{13}\) *Lakemī.*  \(^{14}\) *Rajoguṇa.*  \(^{15}\) *Tamoguṇa.*  
\(^{16}\) *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 rūḥ (soul), or ātmā, in His elegant aspect and jāsd (body), or sarīr,¹ in His in-elegant aspect. And the self that was determined in Eternity Past is known as Rūḥ-i-Aʿẓam (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 paramātmā or Abul-Ârwāḥ (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 Abul-Ârwaḥ or paramātmā; while water only is (just) like the August Existence, or sudh² or chītan.³

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,⁴ apān,⁵ samān,⁶ udān⁷ and vāyān.⁸ (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 duramater). (5) (Lastly), Vāyān is that air, which is penetrating everything, whether manifest or hidden.

VII. DISCOURSE ON THE FOUR WORLDS ('Ālam-i-Āqrāb).

According to certain Sūfis, the worlds, through which all the created beings must needs pass, are four in number; that is, the Ḫayr (the Human World), Malakāt (the Invisible World), the Ḫayrāt (the Ethereal World) and Lāhūt (the Divine World); but, according to others, there are five in all—the World of Similitude ('ālam-i-mīhā) being added to them. And those who consider the world of Similitude as included in the Invisible world, regard them (i.e. the worlds) as consisting of four. According to the Indian divines, the world of Similitude is added to the four worlds, consists of four.

¹ Sarīra. ² Sudhā. ³ Chītan. ⁴ Parān. ⁵ Apān. ⁶ Samān. ⁷ Udān. ⁸ Vāyān.
Sakhūpat ¹ and Turyā.² (Of these), (1) Jāgart is identical with Nāsūt (or, the Human World), which is the world of manifestation and wakefulness; (2) Sapan³, which is identified with Malakūt (or, the Invisible World), is the world of souls and dreams; (3) Sakhūpat is identical with Jabarūt (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, Ustād Abul Kāsim, ⁴ (May his soul rest in sanctity) has informed us that he said, “Tašawwuf consists in sitting for a moment without an attendant.” The Shaikh-ul-Islām ⁵ 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 (‘ālam-i-nāsūt) and of the Invisible World (‘ālam-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 desiriest 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 seestest Him secretly, thou art far from His manifestation,

And when thou seestest Him openly, thou art hidden from His secrets.

¹ Sūripti.
² Turiya.
³ Abul Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Junaïd al-Kharrīz al-Kawārī, the great mystic of Baghādād was a nephew of Sārī as-Saḳṭāt and a pupil of as-Shāhī. He died at Baghādād in 297 A.H. (910 A.D.). See Jāmī’s Nafaḥāt, p. 81. The saying, ascribed here to Junaïd, is quoted, with Shaikh-ul-Islām’s explanation, on p. 82 of Jāmī’s Nafaḥāt. It appears that Dārū himself considered the above ‘saying’ as very important, for in three of his works i.e. Risāla-i-Hāk Numā (p. 21); Ḥasan-īnul-‘Arīfīn (fol. 18 b of A.S.B. copy No. III 10) and Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā (p. 46 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 Shabān 396 A.H. (1006 A.D.) He is the author of several Sūfī works but his fame mainly rests on his extremely popular Munījāt. His lectures on the life and doctrines of the Sūfis, which were embodied in a book and entitled Talīqūt-i-‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, form one of the main sources of Jāmī’s Nafaḥāt. (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) Ṭuryā 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 (Awzān).

Sound emanates from the same breath of the Merciful which came out with the word Kun², (or, Be), at the time of the creation (of the universe). The Indian divines call that sound Sarasti, 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, Anāhat,³ which has been in Eternity Past, is so at Present, and will be so in Future. The Sūfis name this sound, Āwāz-i-Muṭlak (or, the sound of the Absolute), or Sultān-ul-Adhkār⁴ (i.e. the Sultañ 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 Kun, 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." (Kūr'ān, Ch. II: 117.)
³ Anāhata.
⁴ Sultān-ul-Adhkār—Among the Sūfis there is a peculiar exercise of the ‘tuition of the breath’ called Sultān-ul-Adhkār. It is said to be even more difficult than Shaghil-i-Pās-i-Anfūs, which has been discussed before.
IX. **DISCOURSE ON LIGHT (Nūr).**

Light (nūr) is of three kinds; if it is manifested with the attribute of Jahāl (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 guideth to His light whom He pleaseth." ⁸

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

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1 Āhata.  
2 Sabda.  
3 Ism-i-Azam 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-ul-Ḵayyām and others with ar-Rahmān and ar-Rahīm.  
4 Veda-mukha.  
5 Om (see foot-note on p. 18).  
6 Akāra.  
7 Ukāra.  
8 Makāra.  
9 Kurān, 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 ḥan surūp, sarvāparahāst, and sīvaprakāśa by the Hindus, which (Light) is always effulgent by itself, whether appearing in the world or not. Accordingly, the Sūfis have explained nūr (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
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 (nār-i-nāsūl) 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” (nār-un-‘alā nār), 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 refulgent 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-Arwāḥ), 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 (tākēha), deriving its illumination from the Light of His Essence and thus adding light to light (nār-un-‘alā nār).

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

The Indian monotheists call the Vision of God, Sāchātūkār, 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-kirāb), the perfect divines and the seers of all religions—whether they are believers in the Qur’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 Ulama of the Sunni Sect. But, if it is said, that (even) the Pure Self (dīhāt-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 Sāchātūkārā.
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 Himself 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 ruyat (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 ruyat (Beholding). The universal Sunnt 'Ulamā who have disputed the

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1 Qur'an, Ch. XVII: 72.
2 "Mu'tazala (lit. the separatists) a sect of Muḥammadans founded by Wāsil ibn 'Aṭū who separated from the school of Ḥasan al-บาṣrī (A.H. 110). The following are their chief tenets: They entirely reject all eternal attributes of God...... They believe the word of God to have been created in subjects ................. They deny all vision of God in Paradise by the corporeal oye, and reject all comparisons and similitudes applied to God .......... During the reigns of the ‘Abbaside Khalīfas, al-Māmūn, al-Mu'taṣim, and al-Wāthik (A.H. 198-228) at Baghdad the Mu'tazala were in great favour.” (Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, p. 425).

3 Shi'a (lit. "followers") is the name given to the "followers" of 'Ali and his descendents, through Fāṭima, the daughter of Prophet Muḥammad. They consider Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, the first three orthodox Caliphs, as usurpers and regard 'Ali and his eleven descendents as the only rightful Imāms or Khalīfas. They are also called Iḥṣāniyā or tālīfīyā as they believe in twelve Imāms, namely, 'Ali; al-Ḥasan; al-Ḥusain; 'Ali, surnamed Zain-al-Abidīn; Muḥammad al-Bāṣir; Ja'far as-Ṣādiq; Mūsā al-Kāẓim; al-Ridā; Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥṣīl; 'Ali an-Naḳī; al-Ḥasan al-Askārī; Muḥammad al-Mahdi (whom supposed to re-appear before the day of judgment).
meaning and wording of the tradition—in which ‘A’isha Siddika¹ 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 نَرَى إِنَّ إِرَاحَ “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-lām) 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
the state of perfect rayi' (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
(Aššārā Ḥumā, Taʿālā).

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 oṣānā, ṭīṣṭiyā, nīrasātā, sītanāsā, sātā and ēḥīṣā. If knowledge is attributed to Him, the Indian divines designate Him as ēḥīṣā, while the Muslim call Him Ḥumā (Knowing). For Al-Ḥak (the Truth) they have the word oṣātā; for Kādir (the Powerful) they have oṣātī; for Saṭār (the Heartener) they have sāta; and for Asār (the Beholder) they have drāṣṭā. If spirit is attributed to that Absolute Self, they call Him wīkū; Ḥumā (God)

Now, Harirat Miyan Jiv told Dāta Šikāh 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.' Dāto Šikāh has summed up his views on the subject of Rūyat in the following quatrains which I quote from his Sakinat-ul-Âlīyyā, (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 Aṣāna (T).
3 Ṭīṣṭīyā.
4 Niṟākūra.
5 Nīrasātā.
6 Ṣātūa.
7 Cītā.
8 Cetana.
9 Aṇanta.
10 Sāmartha.
11 Sṛṇā.
12 Drāṣṭā.
13 Vyakta.
they call um; Hū (He) they call sah and they designate Firishta (i.e. angel) as divatā, in their language. The ‘perfect manifestation’ (mażhar-i-atam) is called avtār, 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. Waḥi (Divine Revelation) which dawns on the Prophets, is called akās bānī; 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 Waḥī (or, Divine Revelation), when I hear Waḥī 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 V ed, and the beautiful ones of the jīns (Geniiis), who are the parīs, are called anchrānt, while the evil ones, who are the demons and the devils, are called rāchas. Manukh, according to them, are the human beings, while rikhī is a mystic and mahā sudh, an Apostle.

XII. DISCOURSE ON APOSTLESHIP AND SAINTSHIP (Nubuwvat 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 Om. “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! A Brahman beginning or ending a lecture of the Veda (or the recital of any holy strain), must always pronounce to himself the syllable O’m. From various passages in Asiatic Researches, Mr. Colebrooke and other authorities think it may be collected that A. O. M. or A. U. M. is interpreted to signify Brahm, the Supreme Being, under his three great attributes of the creator, the preserver and the destroyer, the letters standing in succession for the attributes as they are described. O’m is also supposed to express the words of the gaytri, a passage in the Veda which is imparted to the youthful Brahman at his initiation into the mysteries of his faith. . . . O’m (A.U.M.) is also imagined to be a monogram of the triad, the initials of Aditi, Varma, and Mitra.” (Cycl. of India, Vol. iii, p. 21.)
2 Saḥ.
3 Devatā.
4 Avatāra.
5 Akāśavānī.
6 Apsaras.
7 Rakṣas.
8 Manusa. 9 Rei.
10 The word Mahā Sudh is phonetically equivalent to Mahā Sudhha, 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 (tanzihi) Apostleship; (2) Resembling (tasbihi) Apostleship and (3) a combination of Pure and Resembling Apostleship.

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 disciple to a 'pure beholding' of God, but none of those disciples ever attains the stage of an ārīf, nor is he benefited by their discourses and, dying on the way of Suluk (journey) and Tarīkat (Path) never reaches God.

Secondly, Resembling (tasbihi) 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 (muḥaddidin) 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 (tasbihi) Apostleships, like the Apostleship of Muhammad, May peace be on him and salutation, who joined together the Absolute (muṭlaḵ) and the Determined (muḥayyad), 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 (tanzīh) and the latter, i.e. “He is the Hearing, the Seeing,” is one to that of Resembling (tashbīh). 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 (tanzīhī) Apostleship is void of Resembling (tashbīhī) Apostleship, while Resembling Apostleship (in its turn) is void of Pure Apostleship; but the “Uniting” (jāmī’) Apostleship combines both tanzīh and tashbīh 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 tanzīh and tashbīh. 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 ‘Uthmān,⁶ ‘Ali,⁷ Ḥasan⁸ and Ḥusain,⁹ the Six Bāḥi (Sittā-i-Bāḥīya), the ten Congratulated (‘Aṣhara-i-Mubashshara)¹⁰ and the great ones of the muḥājirs,¹¹ the ansārs¹² and the Şūfis.

And in the time of the Tābi’in¹³ there were (saints) like Uwais-i-Karānī¹⁴ and others;¹⁵ and in another period saints like Dhu‘Nūn al-Miṣrī¹⁶, Fuḍail b. ‘Iyād¹⁷, Ma‘rūf-i-Karkhī¹⁸, Ibrāhīm Adham¹⁹, Biṣhr-i-Ḥāfīz²⁰, Sārī as-Saḵaṭi²¹, Bāyazid-i-Bistāmī²², Ustād Abū Kulām Junaidi²³, Saḥb b. ‘Abdullāh at-Tustarī²⁴, Ruwaim²⁵, Abū Sa‘īd Kharrāz²⁶, Abū Ḥasan an-Nūrī²⁷, Ibrāhīm Khawwās²⁸, Abū Bakr Shiblī²⁹, Abū Bakr Wāsītī³⁰ and others of their type. In another period there were Abū Sa‘īd Abū Khair³¹, Shaikh-ul-Islām Khwāja ʿAbdullāh Ansārī³², Shaikh Ahmad-i-Jām³³, Muḥammad Ma‘ṣūk Tūsī³⁴, Aḥmad Ghazzālī³⁵, and Abū Kāsim Gurgānī.³⁶ In another period there were (saints) like my pīr (spiritual guide) Shaikh Muḥiuddin ʿAbdul Ẓādir Jilānī³⁷, Abū ʿUthmān al-Maghribī³⁸, Shaikh Muḥiuddin Ibn al-ʿArabi³⁹, Shaikh Najmuddin Kubrā⁴⁰, Shaikh Farūkuddin ʿAttār⁴¹ and Mawlānā Jalāluddin Ṣūrī.⁴² In another period there were Khwāja Muḥiuddin Chishti,⁴³ Khwāja Bahāuddin Nakshband⁴⁴, Khwāja Aḥrār⁴⁵ and Mawlānā ʿAbdur

¹ Kurān, Ch. XLII: 11. ² Kurān, Ch. LVII: 3. ³ Kurān Ch. III: 109.
Rahmān Jāmī. In another period there were (saints) like my Shaikh, the second Junaid, Shāh Mīr; my teacher Miyan Bārī; my Murshīd Mulla Shāh; Shāh Muḥammad Dīlrubā, Shaikh Ṭaiyyyib Sarhindī, and Bāwā Lāl Bāīrāgī.

(Biographical Notes to Section XII.)

4 Abū Bakr ʿAbdullāh (surnamed ʿAtīk) 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.

5 ʿUmar 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.).

6 ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, the third orthodox Caliph, succeeded ʿUmar on the 1st Muḥarram, 24 A.H. = 7th November, 644 A.D., and was assassinated by some conspirators on the 18th Dhul Ḥijja, 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, Ruqayya and Umm-i-Kulthūm.

7 ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib 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 Ḥijja, 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-Muljam. He is regarded by the Shiʿas as the only lawful Caliph after the Prophet.

8 Ḥasan, the eldest son of ʿAlī, and a grandson of Prophet Muḥammad, was born in 3 A.H. He succeeded ʿAlī as Caliph in 40 A.D. and, after a rule of about six months, abdicated in favour of Muʿāwiya. He was, however, poisoned by his wife Jaʿda, in 49 A.H.

9 Ḥusayn, the second son of ʿAlī and a grandson of Prophet (through Fāṭima) was born in 4 A.H. He was the rightful successor of Muʿāwiya, but the latter nominated Yazid, his son, as successor, who slew Husain, under the most tragic circumstances, at Karbalā, in 61 A.H. The martyrdom of Husain is mourned every year by the whole Muslim world and, more specially, by the Shiʿas, from the 1st to the 10th of Muḥarram.

10 ʿAgbara-i-Mubahahara, or the ten who received the glad tidings, is the title given to ten of the most eminent companions (aṣḥāb) of the Prophet, whose entry into Paradise was foretold by Muḥammad. They are: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalhā b. az-Zubair, ʿAbdūr Raḥmān, Saʿd b. Abī Waṣṣāṣ, Saʿid b. Zaid, Abū ʿUbaida b. al-Jarrāḫ.

11 The Muḥājirīn 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 Tābi‘īn (or, "the followers") is, in the language of the Muḥaddīḥīn, or the traditionists, the title of those persons who met and conversed with one of the companions (aṣḥāb) of the Prophet.


15 In certain texts the name of Ḥanbal is given. Abū ‘Abdullāh Ḥamad 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 aṣḥāb Shāfi‘ī and enjoys considerable reputation as a traditionist and theologian. He stubbornly refused to subscribe to the new faith of al-Māmūn that the Kurʾān was created and thereby seriously endangered his life. His death took place at Baghdād, 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; Tadhkira-ul-Awliyā, Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 214-219; Khazinat-ul-Asfiyyā, vol. I, pp. 64-66.

16 Dhūn Nūn Abū Fā‘id b. Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī, whose real name was Thawbān, was a pupil of Mālik b. Anas. He lived in Egypt and died at Qūra, in 245 A.H. (= 860 A.D. He is well-known for his piety and sanctity, and Jāmī records several instances of his miraculous acts. His fame, however, mostly rests on the fact that Ṣūfī doctrines were first explained and expressed by him. (For details see Nafahīṭ, pp. 32-37; Tadhkira-ul-Awliyā, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 114-134; Safinat-ul-Awliyā, pp. 126, 127; Kashf-ul-Mahjūb, tr. Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series), pp. 100-103.


18 Māṭrīf-i-Karkhī, with his Kunnya Abū Mahfūz, was the teacher of Sārī as Ṣaḥāṭī. At first he was a magician, but with his father Fīrūz or Fīrūzān accepted Islam at the hands of ‘Ali b. Mūsā ar-Riḍā. He died at Baghdād on the 2nd or the 8th Muharram, A.H. 200. For further particulars regarding his life and teachings see Tadhkira-ul-Awliyā, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 269-274; Nafahīṭ, pp. 39-40; Khazinat-ul-Asfiyyā, vol. I, pp. 76-78; Safinat-ul-Awliyā pp. 35, 36.

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


22 Abū Yazīd Thāfīr b. Isā b. Adham b. Sūrāshān, better known a Bāyazīd 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 261 (877-976 A.D.). His fame chiefly rests on his introducing the doctrine of Fanā in Muslim mysticism and is also reputed d to be a "convinced pantheist." His followers are designated after him as Taṭfīrīya or Bistāmiyya. For further particulars see Naṣāḥāt, pp. 53-60; Tadhkira-ul-Awliyā, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 134-179; Khażinat-ul-Afsiyā, vol. I, pp. 319-322; Safinat-ul-Awliyā, pp. 73, 74.

23 Abul Kūsim b. Muhammad b. al-Junaid al-Khaṣṣāz al-Kawātimi, also known as Sayyid-ul-fa’ifa and Taṭfīr-ul-Ulama, was a celebrated mystic of Baghdād. He was a pupil of Abū Thawr, who, in his turn, was a pupil of ash-Shāfī. Junaid died at Baghdād in 297 A.H. (= 910 A.D.) and was buried beside his uncle, the well-known Sārī as-Saltātī. His followers are called Talibīs. For further reference see Tadhkira-ul-Awliyā, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 5-39; Naṣāḥāt, pp. 81-85; Khażinat-ul-Afsiyā, vol. I, pp. 81-86; Safinat-ul-Awliyā, pp. 57-59.


25 Abū Muhammad Ruwaim b. Yazīd was a well-known mystic of Baghdād and a disciple of Junaid. In Jurisprudence he was a follower of Ḥanāfī-Asbaḥī.

26 Abû Sa‘îd Aḥmad b. ‘Isâ al-Kharrûz was a disciple of Muḥammad b. Maṣûr at-Tûsî and a companion of Dhu n-Nūn, Bishr and Sârî. Both, according to Jâmi (Naqaat, p. 75) and Hujwiri (Kashf-ul-Mahjub, p. 143), Kharrûz “was the first who explained the doctrine of annihilation (fanâ) and subsistence (ba‘â).” His followers are known as Kharrûzîs (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-Awliyâ, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 40-45; Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, vol. II, p. 165; Safinat-ul-Awliyâ, pp. 134, 135.

27 Abî Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nûrî, was a companion of Junayd and a disciple of Sârî. He was also known by the name of Ibd al-Baghâvî as his father hailed from Baghâshâr, or Baghrshûr (Khazina, p. 169), a city between Hirât and Marv. Nûrî was born at Baghdât and died in 295 A.H. = 907 A.D. His followers are known as Nûris whose principal doctrine is “to regard Sûfism (tasawwuf) as superior to poverty (jakr).” (See Kashf, pp. 189-195.) For further information see Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyâ, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 46-55; Naqaat, pp. 80, 81; Kashf-ul-Mahjub, pp. 130-132; Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, vol. II, pp. 169-171; Safinat-ul-Awliyâ, pp. 137, 138.


31 Abû Sa‘îd Fadlullâh b. Abû Khâir, the celebrated Shaikh and author of mystic quatrains, was born at Mahna, a village in the district of Khâwarân, on December 7, 967 A.D. According to the author of Akhlâk-i-Jalâlî, he is said to have come in personal contact with Avicenna. He died on January 2, 1049 A.D. For further particulars see Browne, Literary History of Persia, vol. II, pp. 261-269; Kashf-ul-Mahjub, tr. Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series), pp. 164-166; TadhKirat-ul-Awliyâ, ed. Nicholson vol. II, pp. 322-337; Naqaat, pp. 277-282.

32 Shaikh-ul-Islâm Khwâja Abû Isma‘îl ‘Abdullâh Anşârî, the well-known

40 Abū Jannāb ʿĀḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Ḵhwāṣḵī, commonly known as Shaikh Najmuddin Kūbrā, was the celebrated mystic of Ḵhwārazm. His title “Kūbrā” is derived from the name of “al-tāʿmat-ul-Kūbrā”, or “the supreme calamity”, given him on account of his wonderful ability as a debater. He was killed during the sack of Ḵhwārazm by the Mongols, 618 A.H. = 1221. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 491–494; *Nafahāt*, Nassau Lees’ edition, pp. 429–437; *Safinat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 103–105.

41 Abū Ṭalib (or Abū Ḥāmid) Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm, better known as Fariduddin ʿAlī̄r, is the celebrated mystic poet. He is said to have composed 114 works but, now, only about 30 are extant. His *Tadhkīrat-ul-Awliyā*, is one of the most well-known 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. 506–515 and the valuable introduction to *Tadhkīrat-ul-Awliyā* written by Mirzā Muḥammad of Ḵazwīn.

42 Jalāluddin Muḥammad, commonly called Jalāluddin Rūmī, the author of the celebrated *Mathnawī*, 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 Ḵūnīya, where he came in contact with that mystic of magnetic personality—Shams-i-Tabrīz. Rūmī is also the author of a *Divān* which is dedicated to the memory of his spiritual guide, the well-known Shams-i-Tabrīz. He died in February, 1231. For his life see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 515–525; *Nafahāt*, p. 409.

43 Muʿīnuddin Muḥammad Chishti, who is considered by many as the greatest mystic of India, was born in 537 A.H. =1142 A.D. Having travelled in Ḵhūrāsān, he came to Baghēdād and thence to Dihlī, (598 A.H. = 1193) and finally to Ajmīr, where he died in 633 = 1236. His tomb is visited every year by thousands of his votaries. He is the founder of the Chishti order, which finds the largest number of votaries in India. A lithographed *Divān*, popularly ascribed to him, has been conclusively proved to be the work of Muʿīnuddin Miskīn, the famous preacher of Hīrāt and author of *Maʿārij-un-Nabvevat*.

44 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, called Ḵhwāja Bahāuddin Naḵshband, the founder of the *Naḵshbandī* order, was born at Bulghara, 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). Bahāuddin died in 791 A.H. = 1388 A.D. See *Nafahāt*, Nassau Lees’ edition, pp. 439–445; *Safinat-ul-Awliyā* pp. 78, 79.

Nūruddīn 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī, the well-known author of *Nafahāt-ul-Ums* and the last great classical poet of Persia, was born in a village in the district of Jām, on the 23rd Shabāb, 817 A.H. = 7th November, 1414 A.D. He attended the courts of Sulṭān Abū Sa'id and Sulṭān Ḥusain Baykara and died at Hirāt, on the 18th Muḥarram, 898 A.H.=9th November, 1492 A.D. Besides *Haft Awrang* and three Divāns, *Aḥzā'at-ul-Lama'āt, Arba'in, Shauhāid-un-Nubuwat* and other works on religious and Ṣūfistic subjects are also written by him. See K. B. 'Abdul-Muḳṭadīr’s *Catalogue of the O.P. Library*, Bankipore, vol. II, pp. 32–90.

Mir Muhammad b. Sā'īn Dātur, commonly known as Miyan Mir or Miyan 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-Jahān and Dārā Shikhū. His death took place on the 7th Rabī‘ I,1045 A.H., at the ripe old age of 107. Dārā Shikhū has written a work, entitled *Saḥīn-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 *Saḥīn-ul-Awliyā*.

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

Mullā Shāh Muhammad b. Mullā 'Abd Muḥammad, commonly known as Mullā Shāh or Lisanullāh, came from Badaḵshān to Lahore in 1023 A.H. = 1614 A.D., and became a disciple of Miyan Mir, the great saint of the time. He was highly respected by Dārā Shikhū who was initiated by him into the Kādirī order in 1049 A.H.=1639 A.D. After the death of Miyan Mir (1045 A.H.), Mullā Shāh retired to Kasīmīr where he passed the remaining days of his life in a monastery built by Dārā Shikhū and his sister Jahān Ārā. He died in 1072 A.H.=1661-62 A.D. Mullā Shāh was a voluminous writer and has left a Divān, which has been lithographed, besides several works on Ṣūfism. (For his life see *Saḥīn-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 116–158.)

Shaikh Shāh Muhammad Dīrubā is spoken of by Dārā Shikhū as one of his teachers *(Hasanāt-ul-'Arifin*, pp. 59–61) and considered as “unrivalled in Faḳirī, 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-'Arifin* (pp. 59–61).

Shaikh Ṭayyib Sarhindī receives very scanty notice in the *Hasanāt-ul-'Arifin* of Dārā Shikhū. There, (p. 45 of the Urdu text), he is spoken of as a friend of Bābā Piyāray 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 Shaikh.

Bāwā Lāl Bārāgī was a Hindū saint who was held in high esteem by Dārā Shikhū. For his life and the conversations that he had with Dārā Shikhū 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 dah disḥā 1.

XV. DISCOURSE ON THE SKIES (Āsmānḥā).

According to the Indians, the skies, which are called Gagan 2, 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 nīchattars, 3 that is, sanīghār 4, birahspat 5, mangal 6, sūraj 7, sukur 8, budh 9, and chandramūs. 10 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' (falak-i-thawābit), while the Muḥammadan religious doctors (ahl-i-sharī) designate it Kursī in their own phraseology. (So runs the Holy verse): "His Kursī (throne) extends over the heavens and the earth." 11

The ninth (sky), which is called mahā akāš 12, has not been included in the (list of) skies; the reason being that it (i.e. mahā akāš) encircles all and even the Kursī, the skies and the earths are contained in it.

XVI. DISCOURSE ON THE EARTH (Zamīn).

According to the Indians, the earth has been divided into seven layers, called Sapat tāl 13, each of which is named atal 14, batal 15,

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1 Daśa disḥā. 2 Gaganā. 3 Nakṣatra. 4 Sanaīcara. 5 Brhaspati. 6 Mangala. 7 Śūrya. 8 Sukra. 9 Budha. 10 Candramas. 11 Kurʿān, Ch. 11: 255. 12 Mahākāśa. 13 Sapta tala. 14 Atala. 15 Vītāla.
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 *Duzakhs* 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 akās*, that is *'Arsh*, and its (i.e. Paradise) ground is called *Kursī*.

**XVIII. Discourse on the World of *Barzakh* (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 *Sūkṣma 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 Masʻūd\(^5\), 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*

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\(^1\) *Svarga*.

\(^2\) *Naraka*.

\(^3\) *Sūkṣma Sarīr*.

\(^4\) *Kurān*, Ch. XI: 106, 107, 108.

\(^5\) Ibn Masʻūd (ʻAbdullāh b. Masʻūd) (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-‘A‘lā)—for His generosity is limitless. The following Holy verse is also a proof (of the above statement): “And best of all is Allāh’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 Baikunth ², which, in the opinion of the Indian monotheists, is the greatest salvation.

XIX. DISCOURSE ON THE RESURRECTION (Kiyāmat).

The Indian monotheists have held that, after a very long stay in Heaven or Hell, the maha parli ³, or the Great Resurrection, will take place, which (fact) is also ascertainable from the Holy verse (of the Kurān). “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 Allāh pleases.”⁵

This (exception) refers to the group of ‘Aris (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 mukt ⁶; that is, both will be absorbed and annihilated in the Self of the Lord, as stated in the Holy verse: “Everyone 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 Self of the Lord, as it appears from the Holy verse: “And best of all is Allāh’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 Kurān, Ch. IX : 72. ² Vaikuntha. ³ Mahāpralaya. ⁴ Kurān, Ch. LXXIX : 34. Mawlāwī Muḥammad ‘Ali has translated, as “the great predominating calamity” which, he says, may not necessarily refer to Resurrection. ⁵ Kurān Ch. XXXIX : 68. ⁶ Mukti. ⁷ Kurān, Ch. LV : 26, 27. ⁸ Kurān, Ch. IX : 72.
First, Jiwan mukt, or salvation in life. According to them (i.e. the Indians), 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 Šūfīs call ‘Ālam-i-Kubrā (or, the Great World) and is (moreover) the "Complete Form" of God, as the corporeal body of God. He should regard ‘Unṣūr-i-‘Aẓam (or the Great Element) namely, mahā akās, 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-Ṣaghīr), is one individual, despite his various and numerous limbs and just as his personality is not multitudinous on account of his many limbs, so, that Unique Self cannot be considered multitudinous on account of the variety of determinations. (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. 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."

1 Jiwanmukt. 2 Sūcham Sarīr. 3 Sa‘duddin b. al-Muwayyad Ḥummu’ī was a great mystic and a writer of numerous works on Šūfism. A summary of 400 of his works, entitled Kasba-ul-Ḥakīk, is noticed in A.S.B. Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 565. He died in 650 A.H. = 1253 A.D.
Similarly, the Indian monotheists, like Vayās\(^1\) and others, having considered Barhmā\(^2\), which is Ālam-i-Kabīr (or the great world), as one individual self, have, accordingly, described the different limbs of its (i.e. Barhmā\(^2\)'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 puras\(^2\); that is, the Self of the Truth, Sanctified and Exalted is He.

(Note), Pātal\(^5\), which is the seventh layer of the earth, is the sole of mahā puras' foot; Rasātal\(^4\), 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; Mahātāla\(^6\), which is the fifth layer of the earth, is the ankle-bone of mahā puras; Talātāla\(^7\), which is the fourth layer of the earth, is the Shank of mahā puras; Sutāla\(^8\), which is the third layer of the earth, is the knee of mahā puras; Batal\(^9\) which is the second layer of the earth, is the thigh of mahā puras; Atala\(^10\), which is the first layer of the earth, is the special organ of mahā puras; Kāl\(^11\), or time, is the pace of mahā puras; Parjānat dīvān\(^11\), 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; bhūluk\(^12\), 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 purat\(^13\) 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; Bādavānāl\(^14\), 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

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1 Vayās.
2 Mahāpuruṣa.
3 Pātāla.
4 Rasātala.
5 Mahātāla.
6 Talātāla.
7 Sutāla.
8 Vītalā.
9 Atala.
10 Kālā.
11 Parjanya devatā.
12 Bhūlokā.
13 Sumeruparvata.
14 Vādavānālā.
all veins reach the navel, so all the rivers meet the ocean; the Gangā, the Jamnā and the Sarasitī are the principal veins (Śahrag) of mahā puras; ankā, jamnān, bīkā, ḍamunān, Sakhmanā1 and Sarasitī bhuluk, which is above bhuluk and is the abode of Gandharp diviās2 and where all sounds originate, are the stomach of mahā puras; the fire of "the smaller Resurrection" (Kiɣ̄amāt-i-Şughrā) is the morning appetite of mahā puras; the drying up of waters in "the smaller Resurrection" is the thirst of mahā puras; sarag luk,3 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,4 satūgun5 and tamūgun,6 called parakart7 (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, Bīshun and Mahish; Barhmā, who is also called man, is the beating and intention of the heart of mahā puras; Bīshun is the love and mercy of mahā puras; Mahish 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 parat8 mountain is the backbone of mahā puras; the mountains that are on the right and the left of Sumirū are the bones of the ribs of mahā puras; the two hands of mahā puras are the eight guardian angels who have Indar9 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,10 or the Houris (Hūr) of Paradise, are the lines of the palm of mahā puras; the angels, called chach,11 are the nails of the hand of mahā puras; the three luk pāl12 angels are the right hand of mahā puras; .............. the angel named jam13 is the arm of mahā puras; the remaining

1 These words could not be identified. 2 Gandharva devatā. 3 Svapaloka. 4 Rajuguna. 5 Savaguna. 6 Tamaguna. 7 Prakṛti. 8 Sumeruparvata. 9 Indra. 10 Apears. 11 Yaka. 12 Lokapala. 13 Yama.
luk pāl angels are the left hand of maha puras; the angel Kubair is the knee of maha puras.

Kalp bīrāch, or the Ṭūbā tree, is the wand of maha puras; the southern and the northern poles are the right and the left shoulders, respectively, of maha puras; the luk pāl angel, named Baran, who is the superintendent of water and resides in the west, is the bone of maha puras; neck; anahata, or Sullān-ud-Adhikār, is the thin voice of maha puras; mahā luk, which is above saray luk, is the throat and neck of maha puras; jān luk, which is above mahar luk, is the auspicious face of maha puras; the will of the world is the chin-pit of maha puras; the avarice of the world is the lower lip of maha puras; the sense of shame and modesty is the upper lip of maha puras; the chest, that is, (the abode of) love and attachment, is the gums of maha puras; the meal of the whole world is the food of maha puras; the element of water is the palate and mouth of maha puras; the element of fire is the tongue of maha puras; sarastī is the faculty of speech of maha puras; the four Vrādas, or the four books of truth, are the speeches of maha puras; māyā, or love, which is the cause of creation of the universe, is the laughter and good humour of maha puras; the eight directions of the world are the two ears of maha puras; Ashīni Kumār, who are the two angels of exceeding beauty, are the two nostrils of maha puras; gandha tannātar, or the element of dust, is the smelling faculty of maha puras; the element of air is the breathing faculty of maha puras; jān luk and tap luk, 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 maha puras; the pure light (or, nur), which is called "the Eternal Sun," is the faculty of eye-sight possessed by maha puras; the whole creation is the favourable glance of maha puras; the days and the nights of the world are the twinkleings of the eyes of maha puras; the angel Mīr, who is the commissary of love and friendship and the angel Tavastā, who is the commissary of wrath and rage,

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1 Kalpa vriṣa.
2 Ṭūbā, 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 Muhammad on the night of Mīrāj, or, Ascent.  
3 Anāhata.
4 Mahā loka.  
5 Saragaloa.  
6 Jāmaloka.
7 Āśvini kūmāra.  
8 Gandhātanmātra.  
9 Tapaloa.  
10 Tavastā.
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 luks, is the skull of mahā puras; the verses of Tawhīd (monotheism) and the Book of God are the dura mater of mahā puras; the black clouds, which carry the water of mahā parli¹ (i.e., the great dissolution), are the hairs of mahā puras; the vegetation of all the luks is the hair of mahā puras’ body; Lachmi², 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; bhūl akās³ are the pores of mahā puras’ body; chīd akās⁴ 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-Kabir). In fine, one who beholds and understands in this way attains jīvan mukt⁵, and the following verse (of the Qur’ān) is in favour of the above: “Rejoicing in what Allah has given them out of His grace.”⁶

Secondly, Sarab mukt⁷, 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 goodwill 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 mukt¹⁰, or later salvation, consists in becoming an ‘Arij (i.e. knower of God) and in attaining freedom and salvation, in every stage of “progress” (sa’ir), 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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the past, the present or the future i.e. bhūt¹, bhūṣīṭ², kartamān.³ 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 mārifat (or, knowledge) of God and abdūlā (‘āl) 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 mārifat) 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 Allāh has a Mighty reward with Him"⁵; and, Give good news (Oh Prophet) to the believers who do good that they shall have a goodly reward; (i.e. a mārifat, or, knowledge of God, the Most Holy and High, which, certainly, is a handsome reward for the ‘Ārif, namely, that of Firdaws-i-‘Ālā) staying in it (i.e. in Firdaws-i-‘Ālā) 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

¹ Bhūta. ² Bhūṣīṭ. ³ Kartamān. 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 parli, 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 parli, 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 sakḥūpat 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 sakḥūpat. During the life of the earth, the Lord God dwells in the stage of Nāsūt (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 Allāh 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-

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1 Khaṇḍa pralaya. 2 Kurān, Ch. XIV : 48. 3 Kurān, Ch. XXI : 104.
4 Avasthātam. 5 Kurān, Ch. LV : 31. 6 Kurān, Ch. III : 96.
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 ṭarwāb 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 Kurān: "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 (al-o) he will be called, “the Last of the Prophets.” The following Tradition, which is narrated in connection with the night of Ascent (Mi'rāj), 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 Majma'-'ul-Bahrāin, in the year 1065 A.H., which corresponds to the forty-second year of the age of this unafflicted and unsorrowing ḥākir, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh.

¹ Anād ṭarwāb
² Kurān, Ch. XXI : 104.
³ Kurān, Ch. VII : 29.
مجموع الباكری‌ین

از تنظیف

شاعرزاده مهدی دارا شکوه

که در سال ۱۰۴۵ هجری قمری بانی‌مام رصد و حذای در سال ۱۲۴۷ هجری مطابق ۱۹۲۸ میلادی

به هی و تصمیم اقل دباد

مهدی محفوظ الحق

مدرس زبان فارسی و اردو در پریسه‌نی کالج سلطنتی

به حلیه طبع آرائه گردد
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بناذل آنکه ذکر نام هوام ۴۱ بر نامی که خواندی سربار آرد (۱) حمد مومن یک باد که ذرو فنکر و اسم مه نطقه مقدب ببیم انده، بر چربی زیبا بی و مثل و نظم خیمه نرمند گرانفیند و همی یکی را از آنها نظم

حجاب بخ نبکی خود نسلشته کفر و اسلام در جهان پرپان

وها حکمی نسبت لکه کودان (۲) در همه اروست ظاهر و همی اروست جلوگیر ازل اروست و آخر اروست

و غیر او موجود نباشد (۳)

رباعی

ا این شعر از حکمت‌الاسلام حکم سنتی خواندیست و دواشت شکوه هم ربعی

درین معنی کنده: یک ذرو نددم به ورد نبست جدی، در می تهبتت که سخت خواندیست، دو نام که مست مست از اسماه خدا

رحتمی است بحیطه و که هم چنین خوانند ترا

که بیه ذرت و که چنین خوانند ترا، که دانت و دان مخوانند ترا

(حملات الفارسی بیانه، و صفحه ۳۵)

(۱) زیرین کدی در معلوم معلوم محمد محمدرضا (منهیه ۲۳) معلوم می‌باشد که

(۲) نمی‌تواند که بپذیرد تولیت برفی و می‌تواند اختیار کرد، شکر که بکوب و کم‌کوب بپناه، و گویند

که بیه حمایت می‌تواند دریابند، و اصل استناد

(۳) نیی نیی نیی چه درک حکمت‌الاسلام بی‌خواست توانایی نردنی شکوه آنها

(۴) حسین حسین زادی (منهیه ۲۳) در خمس تنظیمات مولوی مربوط معمول تثنیوی نموده
بداية عناصر بقية اند و مادة جميع معلومات ناستي همین بقی اند

اول عنصر اعظم که ان را اهل شرع عرش أكبر میگیرند. درم بدل سیاس
آشن - چهار آب و پنج خاک و این را برزان اهل هنگ پانچهه ببینو می
نامند - کاس و یکی و تیم و جعل و پرین - و اکس سه اند ببینو اکس،
من اکس و چطور اکس - آنچه معیط عناصر باشد انرا ببینو اکس گویند;
و آنچه معیط موجود است ان را من اکس نامند و آنچه بر هم معیط
و در هم جا باشد ان را چند اکس خوانند، و چند اکس برحق است يعني
حادث نیست - و بر عودت و فنایی ان هیچ آیه فرانی و بید که کتاب آسمانی
باشد دلائل نمی کند - از چند اکس اول چندی که بهم رسید "عشق" بود
که انرا پزیل مبوت هنگ مایا گویند و کنست کنزا معیطی فاصلبیت ان عرف
فتحاتت الخلق بینی دال است، يعني ببینو من گنجی پنهان پس
دیست داشته که شناخته شوم پس ظاهر کردم خلق را برای شناخت خود
و از "عشق" روز اعظم يعني جیو آمین پیدا شد که ان را حقیقتی معیطی
گویند و ان اشاره بروج گلی ری سرور علیه الله سلامه علیه است;

زدگانی خوشی در سویدن به سبب بردن و بیان ۲۹ ربع الول سنه ۸۴۵ ه ق نایفرد ملد
على بن حسین الراست کافی در "رشعات عین العیادات" ذکر
کوز خواجه اجرار بتفصیل
نوشت، و هم رجوع کنید به نغفات الانس جامع صفحه ۱۳۷ ۰ - ۳ و سفیة الولاء
از داردکنگ صفحه ۸۱ - و داردکنگ قول بالا را که از خواجه اجرار مروی است، در
حسنات العارفین (صفحه ۴۳) هم نقل نمی‌رود.
و موحّدان هنّد آنرا هرازگری و وارّتباش آنها نامند که اشاره بمرتبه
اعظمیت است - و بعد از آن عنصری باد است که آنرا نفس الرحمن‌گویند،
و ازان نفس باد پیدا شد و چون آن نفس بچه‌تی حسی در حضرت وجود
که در هنگام نفع‌یافت برای ظهر داشت گرم بر آمد از باد آتش پیدا شد -
و چون در همان نفس صفت رحمانیت و اتحاد بود سرد شد و از آتش آب
پیدا شد - آمّا چون عنصر باد و آتش از غایبت اطاعت محسوس نیستند
و آب به نسبت آن هر دو محسوس است، بچه‌تی محسوس بودن آن
بعضی کفته‌اند که اوّل آب پیدا شد و بعد از آن عنصر خاک، و این خاک
به‌نفع کف آب است، چون شیری که در زیر آن آتش باشد و بچوش
آید و کف کند.

چه دانستم که این دریئی بی پایان چنین باشد
بخارش آسان گردید کف دریا زمین باشد

* دیگر *

یک قطعه چو بیشتری چرخیده گشت دریا
کف گرد و کف زمین شد وز دوری آور سما شد

و بر عکس این در قیامت کبیر که آنرا پژاری اهل هند مها پرلی
گویند اول فنّی خاک خواهد شد و آن را آب نور خواهد گری و آب را آتش
خشک خواهد ساخت و آتش را باد نور خواهد نشاند، و باد با روح اعظم
در مّبآ کشش سپرده رفت کل شنوای هاکی‌الّا وجة (1) - يعني همه چیز
نفّین خواهد شد مگر روزی خدانی تعلیم که مّبآ کشش باشد - کلّ میّ علیّبا
فانی بی‌بیّ و زّه و زّه دّنّجّلی و الّکّرام (2). يعني همه آنچه که بر

(1) قرآن مجید ؛ ۲۸ : ۸۸
(۲) قرآن مجید ؛ ۵۵ : ۳۲
روی زمین بود فانی خواهد شد و باتی ساند روی پروردگار تن به صاحب جالب و اکرام است. پس در بعیه کریمه که برای فانی جمع اشیایت یکدید به گرنه مراکشها اکس است که آن فنا پذیرفته نیست و الی می‌فروشد. کل شده‌های زنی مردم معمولاً به‌همه چیز فانی خواهد شد مگر زیات او و زیادی رو بروی می‌می‌آکس باشد که می‌می‌آکس بماند هر اطیاف آن دات مقدّس است و خاک را بزبانی اهل هند دیوی نامند که همه چیز از بیدا شده است و باز همه چیز دوست فور سیرورد بموجب آیه کویه مبنای خلق‌کن و فی‌بی بازند و منه‌ها نواجعی نازه آخره. (1) - يعني از خاک خلق کودیم شما را و در آن خاک پاز خواهیم برد شما را و از آن خاک بیرون می‌آورم شما را بار دیگر.

۳ - بیان حواس

موافق ایبین پنچ عناصر پنچ حواس انک و بزبانی اهل هند آن را پنج خودادی گوهند، شامیه‌ز دانه‌بامه باصره سامعه ولامسه که آن را بزبانی اهل هند که‌بان، رسانا چه‌چیه‌هایبور و گوتک میچوند. و محسوسات آن را گنده را روبی سبد و سپسر نامند و هرکه ازش حواس پنچ‌فانی‌های جنسی یکی ازبیان عناصر باشند و منسوب بیان - شامه منسوب است باشاک چه‌چیه یکی از عناصر پنچ ندارد ال‌خاک و احساسی باید شامه میچوند و داشتن منسوب است باب چنانچه آب ظاهر است در بزبان، و باعث مناسبی‌دارد یا شامه‌ی چنانچه درک رنگ‌ها بچشم است و نورانیت در هر دو ظاهر است و لامسه را نسبت.
است بادآ چرا که سبب احساس ملزمت نباشد - و سامعه منسوب است بعفصر اعظم که می‌آید باشد که سبب ادرک اصول است - و از راه‌ سمع حقیقت‌ می‌آید با الهه دل ظاهر می‌شود و دیگری بر آن مطلع نیست. و این شغلیست مشترک در ماه‌ی صوفیه و موحدی هند که صوفیه‌ای را شغل پاس انگل (1) می‌گویند و ایشان در اصطلاح خود دهی می‌نامند.
اما حواسی باطنی نیز پنی اند، حس مشترک متعلقه منفیه هائی حافظه و واهمه و نزد اله هند جهار اند گدهه و می‌آهنگار و چیت و مجموعه‌ای جهار را آنتبه کردن گویند که بمزدیه پنچم‌ آنها است - چیت یک عادت دارد که آن را است پرکردن گویند و این عادت بمزدیه پنچم‌ آوست که اگر آن منفیه شود چیت از دردیت بار مانده - اول بی‌دیه عقل، و بی‌دیه آنست که طرف خیر رود و طرف شر نرود، در کیفیت که عبات از دل است و آن درقوت دارد سکل‌یکلی عینی عزیمت و فسی، سیویم چیت که پیک دل است و کار آر دردیت باشد بهرس و تمیز میلی خیر و شریک‌نیه و می‌آهنگار عشق است - و اهنگار نیز سه قسم است، ساخت و راجع و نامن - اهنگار ساخت عینی گیل سربی که مرتبه اعلی است آنست که نرم آنها بگویید که هرچه نسته همه مدن و این مرتبه احاطه کلی است

(1) در کتابخانهٔ برکلی (آکسفورد) کتابی است مشابه به "رسالهٔ پاس انگلاس" از مولفه میراندا عبدالرحمان جامی (بیای تفصیل رجوع کنید به فهرست کتاب خانه).

*هذا، مربیه‌زکر و ایتایی صفحه ۷۶۸*
(1) يعنى في المجمع، هو "النَّبِيُّ"، يعنى دان و أكاه باش بطريقته.
(2) يعنى أوسيل سهيل و أوسيل آخر و أوسيل ظاهر و أوسيل بازى.
(3) يعنى أوسيل أول و أوسيل آخر و أوسيل ظاهر و أوسيل بازى.
(4) يعنى قومي شديد.
(5) يعنى نيسان ماتاند أو جزين قنال الله في علمنا.
(6) يعنى فعلىvi و ناز است عن ظهر عالم و اهتمار خمس.
(7) يعنى است كده باش و اين أوديات يعنى مربعة عبديت حضريت.
(8) يعنى بويند أين أوديات است كه نباتت نشايل و نتيل و نعين ناذري و جيل و غلت را بويند نيسات مينند و نظر بر حيات محصوله.
(9) يعنى قيرب ١٢وُّ لابانيك فيز مي من أقد.
(10) يعنى بكو أز محصد كه جزتين نيست كه مد.
(11) يعنى بشري ماتاند شمأ- يناثي ششتة موكلد كه جوز حضرت وجود خواتست كه متعين شود بهدراد اين أراده رود آناما شد و جوز اين تقيد زيداد شد أهتمار.
(12) يعنى قلب بيدا شد كه آن باي بريت نيز لويند و از سكلب و سحلات من يعنى قلب بيدا شد كه آن را بريت نيز.
(13) يعنى قلب بيدا شد كه آن را بريت نيز.
(14) يعنى قلب بيدا شد كه آن را بريت نيز.
(15) يعنى قلب بيدا شد كه آن را بريت نيز.
ظهور آرِل اور حقیقت، مصحدی و ثانی آرِ زطور المقدس که جبرئیل امینی باشد
عست) این همه تَقیدات را از خورد پیدا کرده و خورد را بآن بسته گردانیده (١) چنان که کرمپلی نارهایی ابریشم از لعاب خود بر آرویده خود را در آن بسته
عست همچنان حضرت، واجبالوجود این همه قید و رمی را از خود بر آورده و خود را در آورده است مثل نگش درخت که درخت را از خود بر آورده خود در درخت دم، می آید و در بنده شاخها و برگها و گلها
میشورد، پس بدان و هوش دار که پیش از ظهور آن عالم در ذات پنهان بود
و الحلال ذاتی مقدس او در عالم پنهان است

٣ - بیان شغل

شغل زند موحّدی هند اگرچه اقامت عست، آن پیادی شغلی آجَ‌ها را
میدانند و آن شغلیست که چه در خواب و چه در بیداری به قصد و بی
اختیار از جمعی، في نفوس همیشه و هر آن صادر می‌گردد، چنان‌چه در آبِه کوی‌ه
و ان سی شهیِ‌لا پسیب بحمد، ولی لا تغفیر تسبیح‌هم (٢) اشارة بهمین است،
ر آن درون رفت و بوران آمدی، دم را به لطف تعبیر کرده، ان، نفّس که بالا
میرود، او، میگردد و نفّس که درون می‌آید، می نامند، يعني
آو، متم مرویی، مشغولین، ایان در لغظ را یا یک علّه، میدانند که در بالا
رفت نفّس، یا و در بیرون آمدن، علّه، ظاهر میشود، ایان در لغظ از
هر فی حیات جاریست، او، بیشتر است

(١) مولانا محمود شجستری در "گلش راز" می نوریند:
نه آخر ولایت آدم جوزه پیشی که هستی کرد اورا زیر دستی
(٢) قرآن مجید، ١٧: ٤٥٤
3- بيان صفات الله تعالى

نزد عونية در سفته است، جمال وجلال 26 جميع أورينش از نحت

ابن در سفته بدرین نیست. و نزد نقرای جند سه سفاته انذ کان را ترک‌ک
میکوند، ست و رژ و تم. ست يعني ایجاد، و رژ يعني ابقا و تم
 يعني افشا، و بدرین سفته ابعا در تمام سفته جمال دیده و اعتبار کرده
انذ- جون هرکی ازین سه سفته در پیکر مندرج انذ نقرای هند این
سه سفته را نیز ورت نامه 6 گیمها و بیش و میشیش باشد و بینانی مولیه
جذاب و میکائیل و اسرائیل کویند. بریما مورک ایجاد است 6 جبران
باشد و بین سویلما ابقا است 10 میکائیل باشد و میشیش مورک ابنا است 5
ابن اسرائیل باشد و آب و بان و آتش ذیز منسوب باین مولانا، آب
جبران و آتش میکائیل و بان باسیلیل و لن سه چهره در جمع جانداران
نیز ظاهر است، و یکه 6 آب باشد، در زنی، مظهر کلام امپی کشت و نقط
ارزی ظاهر شد، و یکه 6 آتش است در جشن، بیشینی و دزد و بینانی از
ظاهر شد و میشیش که بان است در بینی، در دنیه، داع این ظاهر شد که
در نفس باشد و چون آن منقطع گردید نابی شود،

برخی سه سفته حق باشد که ایجاد و ابجا و افتاده و مظهر این که
سفته هم بیش و بان و میشیش اند که صفات آنها در جميع مخلوقات ظاهر
انذ، اول مخلوق پیدا میشود بار بقدر معروف میماند و بار ناقی میشود،
و شکت که قدرت این سه سفته است آن را تضلیله کویند، و ازان خیرت
۵ — بیان روح
روح در قسم است، یکی روح و دیگر ابواالرýchا که بزرگی فقرای هنگ این در روح را آنما و پرم آنما گویند. (چون) ذات به بخت متعین و مقیم گردید چه بلطان و چه بکافانی ببجست مجیر بودن در مرتبه اطالت اررا روح و آنما گویند و در مرتبه کفست، جسد و سرور گویند و ذاتی که متعین بازل گشت روح اعظم باشند که با ذات مجمع الصفات مرتبه احديست دارد و ذاتی که جمع اروا در آن مندرج اند آن را پرم آنما و ابواالرýchا گویند. مثل آب و موج آب بهمنوله بدن و روح و سرور و آنما است، و مجموعه امواج از روى کلیت ابواالرýchا و پرم آنما ماند و آب صرف بهمنوله حضرت وجود و شده و جان است.*

۶ — بیان باها
بادی که در بدن انسان حركت میکند چون در پنجه موضع میباشد پنجه نام دارد. پر این آیا سیم اورمان و زمان. پر این حركت آن از بینی است. نا بانگستر پال. دم زدن خاصیت این باد است. این حركت این از نشستگاه است که به عضو مخصوص و این باد گرد ناف هم حلقه زده است.
ولا يعنى حياة همدان. است است سهل في سلالة ونانث حرکت میکنند. آردن، حرکت این از حلق است تا آمدماغ و روابطی که ظاهر و باتی ازنه باش در است.

7 - عوازم که مختلیات را نشان گذر آنست بطور به گونه از مروفه
چهار اند، ناسوت و ملکوت و جبریت و لهوت و بعضی پنچ میکوینما و عالم مثل را داخل میکنند، و جمعی که عالم مثل را با عالم ملکوت یکی می‌انگرند چهار میکوینما، و بقول فقرات هند است، یکی که عبارت ازن عوازم ارباعه باشد.

چهار اند، جاگرد و سهین و سکبویت و دزه - چاگرت مناسب است بناسوت که عالم ظاهر و عالم بیداری باشد، سهین موقوف است بملکوت که علامّات که عالم ظاهر و عالم بیداری باشد، سهین موقوف است بملکوت که عالم ارواح و عالم خواب باشد، سکبویت موقوف است بجبریت که در آن شوق هر دو عالم و تمیز "مس " و "تار " تبادل خواه زمین وا کرده بینی خواه پوشیده، و بسیاری از فقرات هر دو قوم بین عالم مطلع نیستند، چنانچه سیّد الطیفة استاد ابولقاسم جعفری بغدادی (1) قدر الله سره حبر داده که فرموده

(1) ابولقاسم بن محمد بن الجنید الخرازی: القاربري که از مرییبی بر بر بغداد بودند

برادر زاده سروی السقطی و شاکر ابن شاهی رح بودند، و در بغداد در سننه ۷۹۴

( مطالب سننه ۱۱۴۹ ) فیث شدن، برای تفصیل رجوع کنید به نقویات الإنسان صفحه ۸۱

و تذکره الأمير ( مرتضی کاگر کلایس ) جلد دوم صفحه ۵ تا ۳۲

قول بالا که بنام حضرت جنید رح منقول است که بر صفحه ۸۴ نقویات الإنسان مع تشريع شیخ الإسلام موجود است و اغلب ابن که دارا شکوه آن را از نقویات نقل نموده و معلوم
تصوّف آن بود که سعی کردنی بی‌تیمار - (1) شیخ الاسلام گفت که بی‌تیمار
چه بود - فراموش که یادت بی جستجو دیگران بر نگرفتی، چه بین‌بندیده در
دیدار علیت است، پس سعی کردنی بی‌تیمار نشستی همین است که نقوش
عالم نسبت و ملکوت در آن ساخت ببطرک تا پرند و چنین آنچه مولانا روم
قدس الله میراء فرموده اشارة بهمین معنی است: —
خواهی که بیانی یک لحظه مجوشی
خواهی که بدانا یک لحظه مدانش
چون در نباهت جویی در بزی زیارشان
چون آثار جویی محلجوئی از نباهش
چون ز آثار و پن‌هان بیرن شوی ببرهان
پدید دراز میکن خوش خسی در امانش
ترجمه از ترجمه ابن رضوان!
و اگر حضور حقیقت حقیقتی است موحدان هنگ آن را آویز گویند

میشوره که داراشکوه این قول حضور جدید را خیلی دوست میداشت چه او درنه
از ترجمه از ترجمه ابن رضوان.

(1) مراز از شیخ الإسلام، ابو اسماعیل عبد الله بن محمد الانصاري البهريست که
بیانم ۲ شعبان سال ۱۲۹۹ ه مطلق (سال ۱۹۸۷ ام) یبدا شنیده، ایشان مولفه چند رسایل
بیان کرد. چند شیخ و پرناهج است که خیلی مقبول است و ایشان در
مجمع تذکرو میوزه بطرکی و علم و حوال و سیرت صوفیای کرام املا می‌کنند.
آواز از همان نفس الريحی است که بوقت ایجاد بلغظ "گی" ظاهر شد؛ (۱) آن آواز را فقرات هند سرسبزی کویزنده، و جمعی آوازها و صوت‌ها و هم‌اواعه‌ها.

۸ - بیان آواز

آواز از همان نفس الريحی است که بوقت ایجاد بلغظ "گی" ظاهر شد؛ (۱) آن آواز را فقرات هند سرسبزی کویزنده، و جمعی آوازها و صوت‌ها و هم‌اواعه‌ها.

هر چا بخشی چو نغمه آورست

که شنید این چهین مدلی دراز

و این آواز که ناد باشد نزد صوهدان هند بررسی قسم است، اول آن‌ها

یعنی آوازیکه همیشه بود وهست و خواهد بود و صوهدان این آواز را آواز مطلق و سلطان الاظهار گویزنده که قدیم است و احساس خیلی اکنون از این است، و این آواز را در نیابیده مگر که آقا هر دو قوم - دویم آهست یعنی آوازیکه از زنی

که آن را در قید کتابات آورد. "طبیعت عبد اله انصاری" کتاب نامیده، و نسخه‌ای نخستی که از بس نادرالرود است در کتاب خانه ایشانگ سوسائیتی بنگالی موردن است (رکود کند به فرست مخطوطات فارسی کتاب خانه ایشانگ سوسائیتی، صفحه ۷۸ تا صفحه ۸۵).

و میلانا جامی کتاب تفهیمات الانتاس را (جانشین خود در دبایه می نگرد) بیشتر از طبقات شیخ الاسلام اخذ کرده - وفات شیخ الاسلام در سال ۱۳۸۱ میلادی (مطالعه سال ۱۹۸۸ میلادی) واقع شده.

(۱) این عالم بخصوص اراده حق تعالی که بلغظ "گی" ظاهر شد بوجود آمد;

جانشینه حق تعالی میگوید: "دیش گالیم" و "آرام" و "آواز" امروآ فیاها یاقول له کن

۱۱۷ (قرآن مجید، ۲:۷۱)
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
بيان نور

نور سه قسم است - اکر بصفت جلال ظاهر شود یا بنگک آفتح افتاد است یا بنگک یاقوت یا بنگک آتش و اکر بصفت جمال ظاهر شود یا بنگک ماه است یا بنگک دُرْخِی یا بنگک سِم وارد یا بنگک آب و نور ذات گُم‌ی خاجه است از مفهوم آن را جز اولیای خدا که حق سبقت‌تان تعالی در حق ایشان فرموده یِدعی الاللّه لِفَوْزَة مَن یَقُومُ (۱۱) دیگری در نمی یابد، بعضی عدادت میندند الله تعالی همکارا میخواهد بذور خود را دنیا درجه نور و نه در خواب شود یا جمجمه پوشیده بنشیند، نه بچشم بید و نه بکوس شفون و نه بزین کوید و نه به بیضی بوده و نه بالا هم احساس کند، و حال آنکه در خواب همیشه این همه کارا بیک چیز کند و صحت اعضا و حواس ظاهرا و روشنایی جواهر نباشد و باشر و سامعه و ذهنی و شامه و لامسه عین بکیدگر شوند و یکدات گردند، آن را نور ذات کویند و آن نور خدا شد جمل شانه -

سادات عزت در عالم ظهر آمد و هریک حرف است و حرف وارد اشیاء خراب مترد شده و ام این در مطلق بخشند نه معلول و مشتق ... و باتفاقد جمله عشاق، هر مشتق وار متنیسن اسم الله است و هرجه، از راز عدالت در سائر اسماءست آین را اشاری و در دائرة هو است - آورد امکان که این اسم هو اصل و ام، جمله اسماء، چنانه، سورة فاتحه امل و ام نامه قرآن ... عبد الرزاق کاشی در معنی اسم اعظم این دو بیت نورهوده، اسم اعظم جامع اسم‌با، صورت و معنی اشبیا بود، اسم دریا و تعیین موج، این کسی داند که از این می‌بود، ظهوری،

نیامد زدن نا دم از عشق هرکس طلسمی بر این اسم اعظم به بندم

(۱) قرآن مجید، ص ۴۵
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
از شیشه زوج است که مانند ستاره درخشش‌ده است که از روشانی. آن چرا رنگ درون خود است. مانند چرا رنگ ما درون نماید، و افرادی که درون است، آن‌چه‌ی که درون دارد، از نور رنگ است. از کدامیکی مبنا که دارای حق سبک‌اند، مراود است که مفصل است از جهات شرقی و غربي. از زیر زندگی اعظم است که هنگام و هنگامی است، یعنی آن زندگی از غایه‌ی ایجاد و مرگ خود روش و تابی است و محتوا بانی‌گامته نیست. چنانچه استاد ابوبکر واسطی (۱) علیه‌ی ارائه در تعریف زندگی می‌فرماید که زجاجه روح برمزه‌ی روش است که محل نازگ و شراع نیست و از غایه استعداد‌ی ذاتی نزدیک است که خود به‌خود روش‌شود. این در نیست. "هر یک نور" است یعنی از نهایت مفاها و روشی نوریست بر نور، و دین رشتنانی نمی‌بیند که یعنی ارث‌ها و خود‌ها هدایت یابد. بندر و حد و حد زیست مراود از مجموعه‌ی این آیه کریمه سنت که حق سبک‌اند. تنالی بکار ذات خود در پرده‌های طیف و نورانی ظاهر است و هیچ ظلمتی و حجابی درمیان نیست و نور ذات در پرده‌ها روح‌الزوال ظاهر است. و روح الازوال در پرده‌ها از الازوال در پرده‌ها جسمان. همچنین "چرا رنگ" باید در نیست در پرده‌ها شیشه‌تر و ظاهر است و "شیشه" در پرده‌ها طاقت‌ه.

(۱) معین بن موسی المعروف به ابوبکر والاسی از اصحاب حضرت جعفر ع. حضرت

ابوالحسن نوری بودند، ولادت‌شان قبل از عرش و طلسم به شهر مرو بودند. شیخ الاسلام می‌خوانید که ابی‌نامه‌ای این بوده‌که به روحالزوال تحقیل رود به نفاذان

الناس صفحه ۱۷۲ و تذکره‌الویلا (مرتبه‌ی کاکر) صفحه ۲۴۵ تا صفحه ۲۸۱.
1 - بیان روبت

روبات خدا اصلی تعلیم را موحدان هند سامه به کار گرفت و بی‌اسسی دیده‌شده ایستاده گردیده‌اند. به‌ویژه هیچ یکی از انبیاء و عیسی مسیح، پیام و آموزش‌های کامل علیه الله و میراث‌نگارهای شیعی و عالی‌نگارهای شیعی، جمعی از اخلاق و کتاب و کلمه‌های مذهبی و نامه‌های الیکی، ترجمه و انجیل و زیبایی از آنها واقع می‌شود. به این ترتیب که از این نگاه، نیست که خود بوده که اکثریت ادیان، جهودی مقدسی که برهم چسب زاده بر نمودن خود هم درآمده‌اند، چه‌چنین مسئله‌ای که علمای سلطنت و جامعات خود به پرده‌گذاری ایند. اما اگر نیست بسته را گفتگو اند که تووان دید این محل است چه‌چنین استیلیف و بی‌تعیین است و متعیین نگردید و در پرده‌ای اطلاع جلوگیری شود پس بستو و چنین رویه صحنه باشد. و آنچه گفتند که در آنها تووان دید و در نشان دادن دیدن اصلی ندارد زیرا که هرگاه کامل قدرت در هرکس هرگاه و هرگاه که خواهد قادر بر نمودن خود است و هرگاه اینجا ندید مشکل است که فرآیند در آنجا دیدت.

چنانچه‌ی خود در آیه کریمه فرموده و من کل نیاً هدایت آمیزه‌ای فن در آخره آمیزه (1)، یعنی هرگاه دردین دنیا از جمله دیدار من جام‌باله و من نکرایه روبت که حكم‌می‌مزاچ و شیعه باشند در دستی مستند خطای عظیم کره اند، چرا که اگر میگفتند که دیدنی‌هایی بسته ممکن نیست به حال صورتی داشت و چون

(1) قرآن مجمد، 17: 22
ایشان جمع‌انفس روات را منفر شده‌اند این نهایت خطاست زیرا که
اکثری از انسان‌های مرسل ولتیبی اکمل خدای را بیشتر ظاهر دیده و کلام با احترام ار
را بی‌ویژه شهیده‌اند و هرگاه که ایشان شهیدی کلیم حق را از هم جست قابل
اند چرا دیده را هم از هم جست قابل نبایند - البته باشند - و چنان‌که ایمان
بی‌میان و مالکه و کتاب‌ها و انیبی، و پیام و قضاء و قدر و خیر و شر و خاتمه‌ی
متبرک و گفته فرض است ایمان برویست هم فرض و لازم است - و اختلافی که
از ذریه‌گذان علمی سنت والجماعه کرده‌اند در معنی و لغت ایین
حیده‌که عانی‌شَدِه صلی‌الله علیه و سلم هم در رؤیت ریک
یعنی ای‌ا دیده تن بوقرگاه خون را - فرمود نورَ آنی آرَه یعنی نوریست که
می بینم اورا - آنها این حیده‌که را نورَ آنی عَرَأ خوانیده‌اند، یعنی نوریست
چون‌که بینم اورا - لاک این دلیل نا دیده پیغمبر علیه‌الله علیه و سلم دمی‌شود
اگر معنی اول گیریم اشاره برویست تمام است در پرده‌ی نور، و اگر چنین خوانید
شود که نوریست چون‌که بینم اورا اشاره بذات بیست و بینگ است - این
اختلاف عبارتی نیست بلکه اعتبار نوریست که در بک حیده‌که در مسئله
پیان توان کرد - و آیه کرده وجهه یون‌می‌دید تأییدی به ریجا ناظره (۱) یعنی
دران روزیکه روا‌ها تر و تارازخواهد بود و بینگش بنبیس بوزوی بوقرگاه خون که‌ی‌دینی
ظاهر است برویست پی‌یونی گنج شاه‌ت - و آیه کرده لا تدرک الابصار - وهو
یذکر الابصار و هو اللطیف الخبیر (۲) اشارة به بی‌یونیست یعنی نمی‌بینند
بصرا در مرتبه اطلاق و بی‌یونی و آواه‌ها را می‌بینند و ام از نهایت متظاهر
و بی‌یونیست - و درین آیه کرده اسم "هو" که واقع شده اشارة به نادیده‌ی ذات

(۱) قرآن مجيد، ۵۷: ۲۲، (۲) قرآن مجيد، ۶: ۱۰۸
بخت است - دیدن خدام تعالی پنجم قسم است. قسم اول، در خواب بچشم دل، درم دیدن در بیداری بچشم سرم، سپس درمیان بیداری و خواب که آن بیخدودی خاص است، چهارم دریک تعبیر خاص بچشم دیدی یک دیجت واحد است در کثرت تعینات عوامل ظاهر و باطن، و این جهان دید حضرت رسول صلیم در وقته خود نبود درمیان و رئیس و مرئی یکی بود، و خواب و بیداری و بیخدودی آری یکی مم نمود و چشم ظاهر و باطنی آری یکی شده بود، مرتبه کمال روبیت اینست و این را دنیا و این مرت درگر نیست و همه یا و همه وقت میسر است (1).

1- بیان اسماله تعالی

بدانه اسماله تعالی بی‌نهایت است و از حد حصر بیرون دیجت مطلق و بی‌صرف و غیب الغیب و حضرت واجب الوجود را پژنی (در محقیق‌خانه دست‌نخستی از جمعیت ۴۰ تا صفحه ۲۶ مسلم روبرت را بالتفصیل)

بدیع است در کسیتا الأولیا (از مجموعه ۱۰ تا صفحه ۲۶) مسلم روبرت را بالتفصیل در بخت آورده و استاد بسیاری بانیان ادعی خودش در جرد کرده که نقل همه آنها باعث تدوین شد؛ پس برهمین اختصار اکتفا نموده شد.

یکی از ابحاط کبار بین گفته که روزی حضرت ملیه چیزی را هر چندم که در نهایت جزیر، مذکور است روزی ابن شیخی به ابا در غرباط گفت که اگر رسول الله را دیدم اسم پرسیدم که خدا را دیدی یا این، ابا در غرباط گفت که مین از ان حضرت ملیه پرسیدم گفت نور آنی آرایه بیایی او نوریست هیچ چیزی نمی‌کست که او را پیدا، پوشیده نمادی که در عبارت بالا تجنیب خصایق واقع و این به معنی "نورانی آرایه" يعني نوریست که عی بینم اورا.

حضرت ملیه چیزی بداراشکو فرمود که اگر معنی او لِی گیرم اشکال بوجود مصرفی ذات حق باشد و چهین روایت برای انبیاء هم متعلق باشد، لگن اگر معنی دوم را اختیار نماد مرا دین باشد که روایت اور در وقت تنزل بهره نقاب و لباس پوشی ممکن است.
فرقای هند اس و تریگ و ژنگر و ژنگلی و ست و چیت گویند. اگر علم را ببری نسبت به هند که اهل اسلام از میکویند قرآیه هند، آن را به امانت نامند و اسم الحق را انگشت گویند، قادر را سمرتیه، و سبیع را یکتا نامند و الله را آم و هو را سِه و فرشته را بپاسی ایشان دیوتا گویند.

و منظور این را ایتام نامند، و ایتام آن باشد که قدرت الهی آنچه دو ظاهر شود و از وجود و بنظر آید در همیکی از افراد نوع ای در آن وقت ظاهر نشدند، و حیی را که بر یگمکی نازل شود اکس بانی نامند و اکس بانی بچه‌ی آن گویند که یگمکی مانند الامع علیه و بالامع فرموده که صعب ترین لوقات برس و وقت‌ و حیی است که میشود و حیی را مانند ایاز جبرس یا مانند آیاز زنبر، و حیون این آیاز از اکس ظاهر میشود اکس بانی میکویند. و کتب آسمانی را بیش گویند، و خویان جفنی را که پری باشد ایتام گویند و بدایی آنها را که دیور و شیاطین اند راچیس گویند و آدمی را ملکه، وی را پرکی و نبی را مها سد رامند.

۱۲ — بیان نبویت و ولایت

انبیا بررسه قسم اند، یکی آنکه خدا را می‌شندا بیشن، خواه بیشن، ظاهر خواه بیشن باطلی، دیگر آنکه آیاز خدا شنیده باشنده خواه آیاز صرف

و شاهرازه موصوف خیالات خردی را در باب مسئله روتا بوضاحت تمام دریب رحیمی بیان نموده (سکینه ترکیبی صفحه ۲۱) * آنانکه خدا در آن زمان می‌پینند * اول تو بدان دریب جهان می‌پینند دیدار خدا درن و آن پکسانت * هر لحظه ظاهر و نهان می‌پیند
خواهش اواز مرکب از حروف کلمه، دیگر آنکه فرشته را دیده باشند یا آواز فرشته را شنیده باشند، و نیز این را بررسه قسم است، یکی نیز واقعیت تئوریکی، دوم نیز واقعیت تئوریکی، سوم نیز واقعیت جامع تشبيه والتفاعیک، یک از اوایل تئوریکی، چون نیز در یکی نویز علیه السلام که خدا را بتنیزه دید و دوست کرد و آمیزش بیشتر تشبيه باید بیان نیازه ایمان نیازه مکر قلیلی و همه در لحن فنا فرق شند چون زاهدانی زمانی ها به تبنیزه خدا مردانرا خوانند بود. اما مردان اعراب نشود و از قول آنها نفعی نبرد و در راه سلوک و همه رده ی زنا و هلال ک گردید و بهدا نرسد.

(۱) دارایتی، نتیجه در تشیه فرد عمیق دو بیرونی صورتی نخوب و مرغوب در تقویت شورش، پیروی ایند و پیروی ایشان نشاید.

هر صورت دلکش که درا رئی نمود خواهش نکن از چشم تواش زود برد و دل بسی ده که در اطوار وجود بود است و همیشه با نمین خواهد بود.

سیوه نیز جامع التفیزه و التشبيه، یعنی جمع قنددة تخهذه و تشبيه و آن نیز معمول می‌گدیست ملی الله علیه وسلام که مطلق و مکرید رگت بیرونی و نزدیک و دور را یکجا کرده، اشترا با وی مرزه است دربی آیه کومنه
۹۸ لیس کماله شی و هو السَّمِيع ال‌بصیر (۱) يعني نیست مثل او جنیه ۹۹ این اشاره بمعنی تذیه است و شقولی و بیانی اشاره به تشیه بود - این...
۱۰۰ و نبَّوَت تَنْزِیه‌ی مخصوس است از نبَّوَت تشیه‌ی و نبَّوَت تشیه‌ی غاریسی است
۱۰۱ نبَّوَت تَنْزِیه‌ی و نبَّوَت جامع شامل تَنْزِیه و تشیه است چون هوَ الدَّوْلَ وَال‌خَلَال وَالبَطْن (۲) - علیه السلام و برائت مخصوص است بکمالی این انت
۱۰۲ انت که حق تعالی در وعف ایشان نیموده کلّم خبر گناه‌ی بی‌دی ی
۱۰۳ للذّین (۳) يعني بذورین آمرین ایشان ند که جمع کننده تشیه و تَنْزِیه ۱۰۴ نبی
۱۰۵ چنانچه دز زمان بی‌بی‌نم مالی‌الله للهعلیه و سلام لَوْ تاَیا (۴) ابوابیک و عمر مسیت
۱۰۶ و علی و حسین و حسن و اسم الله باقی و عشق و ولی و فتحی و اکبر و علم و اعمال
۱۰۷ صوفیه بوند و از آنجله در تابعین جوین آویس قربی و نقل
۱۰۸ و در زینبی باند
۱۰۹ جوین ذوالونو حسین و غفله عیان و معرف کریخی و ابراهیم ادگن
۱۱۰ حامی و سرب الساطعی و بازرگی بسطامی و استاد ابوالقاسم جنیهی و
۱۱۱ بن عبد الله الخدیری و ابو سعید خراز و ویرم و ابو الحسین الغزی و ابراهیم
۱۱۲ خروشی و ابوکور شبلی و ابوکور رستمی و امثل ایشان - و در زینبی دیگر
۱۱۳ ابوسیف ابوالخیر و شیخ السلام خواجه عبدالله انصوبی و شیخ احمد جام
۱۱۴ و محمد معشوق طوسی و احمد غزالی و ابوالقاسم کرکانی - و در زینبی دیگر

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۳۴:۱۱ (۲) قرآن مجید، ۴۷:۴۷ (۳) قرآن مجید، ۱۰۹ (۴) برای ترجمه احراز ایبی اولیاء کامل رجوع کنید به ترجمه انگلیسی
3 - بيان بوهماند
مراد از بوهماند "كل" و تقّيد ظهير حضرت وجود است بصورت كرا.
مدور و جون اورا بهب گريل و علائق نيميل و نسبت آر با بهم براهير
ست و همه پيدايش و نمايش در ميان اين ست اين ست این موحدان هند اين را
بوهماند گويند.

4 - بيان جهانات
موحدان اسلام هريک از مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب و فوق و تحت
را جهانی اعتبار نموده شش جهته گفت اين و موحدان هند جهات را ده
ميكونيند يعني ميانين مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب را نيز جهاتي اعتبار
نموده دا دشنا مي نامند.

5 - بيان آسمانها
آسمانها که آنا را لكن ميكونيند بطور اهل هند هشت است، هفت ازان میّ.
همفت كواكب سیارة است که زحل و مشتری و مریخ و شمس و زهره و تیریز و
بیان نزدیک‌ترین آدم‌ها هفت طبقه است که آن را سپت تال میگونید.

بطری اهل اسلام نیز هفت طبقه است. ۱۱۱ (۱) یعنی آسمان‌ها و زمین‌ها در گریسی میگونید و دزم که آن را مها اگر میگونید داخل آسمان‌ها نکره اند چه بچت آنها آن محیط همه است. و گریسی و آسمان‌ها و زمین‌ها را احاطه کرده است.

۱۶ - بیان زمین
زمین نزد اهل هفت طبقه است که آن را سپت تال میگونید و هر طبقه این یک نام دارد، این بتل سوتل تالان میهال ناسن و پاتال - بطور اهل اسلام نیز هفت طبقه است، بموجب آیه‌که کسی نز در همه از آسمان‌ها و زمین‌ها را از آسمان‌ها و زمین‌ها که مانند آن آسمان‌ها است.

۱۷ - بیان قسمت زمین
ریب مسکون را حمایتا به هفت طبقه قسمت کرده اند و هفت اقیان میگونید و اهل هند آن را سپت دیده می‌نامند و این هفت طبقه زمین را بر روی زمین‌ها مثل پوست پیاز نمیدانند بلکه بمراتب مثل پایه‌های نردبان تصوی میگونند - و هفت طبقه که اهل هند آنها را سپت کلی ا降落 گردن بر گردن هر

(۱) قرآن مجيب، ۲۵۵ *، (۲) قرآن مجيب، ۲۵۵: ۱۲ *
8 - بيان عالم برزخ

يغمر عيني الله علية وسلم فورودته من ما قام قيامته يعذبي شخصيته مرتين تحقيق كه قائم شد قيامته أو - وبعد از موت أنهما كه روح باشد أز بدي عنصري مفارقة نموذة بني تخلل زمن بدي مهكت كه آن را سوجم سرير غويند در مي آيد وأي بدي لطيف است كه از عمل صورت قرفته باشد - عملي ينكم را صورت نيك و عمل يد را صورت بد - و بعد از سوال و جواب بدي دينك ومي توقف أهله باشد را به يهشت واهل برزخ را بدرخ ميبرد، موافق ابن ايه كيه فاما الدنين شقوا فايا الله لهم فيها زي حبيبي خلدين فيها دعامت السموت والأرض الله ما شاء بركل ان ربلت فعال لما ورد واما الدنين سعوا فايا الفحات خلدين فيها دعامت السموت والأرض الله لما شاء رجلت عطاء غير معروف (1) يعني أناته بدم بكشت شدة اند در آتش اند مر ايشان را در آتش فياد وناله وزاره جاردن باشد در آن آتش تاهناميكه آسمانها وزمنها ست مغر آنله خواهد برودار ان - بدرستيه بيردرار تو كنذده است هر جزيه را كه خواهد و آناته نيك بكشت در بهشت اند هميشه تاهناميكه باشد آسمانها و زمنها مغر كا وقته خواهد بيردرار تو كه آنها را از آنجة بآرد و بخششت اويبى نهات است - بر آردين از دوزخ آن باشد كه بيش از بطرف شدي آسمانها و زمنها أگر خواهد از دوزخ بر آروده به بهشت برد و ابن مسعود (2) رفيي الله علية

(1) قانون مجيد، 11: 610-611
(2) برلي حالات حضرت ابن مسعود رجوع كنيد بترجمه إنجليئي
19 - بيان قيامت

بطر سوؤداني هند اينست كه بعد از بوس در دوزخ و بهشت چوئي

مدهتباء طويل بقدر مها پرلي شود كه عبارات از قيامت كبران است كه از

آييه كريمه كادا جاوات التامه البربر (2) يعني وقتيه بيايد قيامت كبري

سمهقوم ميشواد و ازین آيه بيز معلوم ميشود و نالق في الصير قصيق من في

السموت و من في الأرض اللى من شام الله (3) يعني وقيته دميدة ميشواد مور

بس بيهوش ميشواد هره در آسامها و زمینها ست مقر شخصي را كه خواسته

باشد خداني تعاليل از بهوش شدي نكاه دارد و آن جماعت عافيان باشد كه

محفوظ اند از بهوشي و بيخيزي هم در دنيا وهم در آخرين - بعد از طرف

شدي آسامها و زمینها و فاني شدي دوزخها و بهشتها و تمام شدني مدت عمر

برهماند و نبودي برهماند اهل بهشت و دوزخ را مكن جواهيد شد، يعني

*(1) قوران مجيد: 9: 72 *(2) قوران مجيد: 79: 36 *(3) أيضاً: 39: 68
30 — بيان مكث

مكث عبارات از استهلاک و ضرر شدید تعلیمات باشد در حضرت ذات
که از آیتت کریم و رضوان مسی الله أكبر ذلک هو الفوز العظیم (۲) ظاهر میشود
و داخل شدی در رضوای اکبره فیروزی اعلی باشد رستگاری بزرگ است که
مکث باشد و مکث برسره قسم است. آق۱ جیوه مکث يعني رستگاری در
زنده گانی و جیوه مکث نزن ایشان آنست که در ایام حیات خود بدولت عرفان
و شناسانی حق تعالی رسگان و خالص باشد و در همین جهان همه چیز را یکی
بی‌پای و یکی دانست و اعمال و اعمال و حرکات و سکنات و نیک و بد را نسبت
ببخوش و بی‌بی‌بعد و خود را باجمع اشیاء موجودة عین حق شناسد
و در همه مراتب حق را جلوه گر دانست و تمام برهماند را به صوفیان کرام آن را
عالماً تبیره گفتند اند و صورت کلیت خداست بمزگه بدنی جسمانی خدا گردانند
عنصر اعظم که می آکس باشد بمزگه سوچم سریز يعني بدن لطیف خدا
و ذات‌ندا ومزگه روی آن بسند و آن را یک شخص معین دانسته از دویل تا
بی‌بی‌بعد و یکی دانسته از طریق ظاهر و باطن سوالی ذات آن یک‌گانه بی‌همتی نبینند و ندانند. چنانکه
یک انسان که اولاً عالم می‌گفتند اند بااختلاف عضویه و مخلوط‌های معنی‌گیر
یک نیز است و بکثره اعضا ذات آن متعدّد نیست، آن ذات واحد را نیز
بکثره تعیین متعدد نشاند.

(1) قران مقدس ۵۵: ۴۶، ۴۷، ۴۸ (۲) قران مقدس ۹: ۷۱
بيت

جهان يكسره أرواح و جهان اجسم * بُرد شخصى مصير عالمى نام

(1) فرمائد، * رياضي

حق جهان است و جهان جمله بحس

ارواج و ملايك و خواس اين همه تن

افلاك و عناصر و موايلد و اعضاء

توحيد همين است و دنر شهوة و فين

و همجنين موحدان هند مثل بياس و غيره تام برهمانداى را كيه عالم كبير است

شخصى واحد دانسه عضوى ارى اروا الجنين بان نموذية انى بتجesis آنها

سوفي مانهى دى هى وقت بر هريس نفاز كند بانكد كه بر قال عضوى مها پرس كه

اينجى عبارات از ذات حق سياسته تعالى است نفاز دانشى - پاتال كه

طبقة هفتم زمين باشد كف پلي مها پرس است، رسانى كه طبقة زهم

زمين باشد پشي پى مها پرس است، و شياطين انگشتهى پايى

مها پرس اند و جانوران سواريتين سيفى ناخن가는 پايى مها پرس اند -

مها نيلى كه طبقة پنجى زمين است شتانأىى مها پرس است - دنالى كه طبقة

چهارم زمين بهوت ساقى مها پرس است - سوتلى كه طبقة سيمى زمین باشد زانوى

مها پرس است - بتشى كه طبقة دروم زمين است راني مها پرس است - كاليىى يتعىى زمانى

رظن مها پرس است - برچانت دينينى كه باغىى توالىى و تناسلىى تمام عالىى

(1) برای حالات حضرت سعد الدين حموى رجوع کنید بترجمه انگلیسي *
است علامت مرندی و دو چرخ جهانی می‌توانست پروس است - پاران نطفه‌اند. می‌توانست پروس است - پاران نطفه
است - گر چه جهانی دست راست می‌توانست پروس است و سه کوه شمالی دست چپ می‌توانست پروس است - پاران نطفه
روش‌های علم کافی بیشتر می‌توانست جامعه می‌توانست پروس است - روشنگری علمی داده‌کنند.
رنگ سفید جامعه جاده می‌توانست پروس است (که قهوه‌ای، رودانی اشکابان می‌کند) و وقت شام که رنگ شفقت دارد پارچه ستور عصبینه می‌توانست پروس است (که العظمه ازایی کنایه بان می‌کند) - سمند دینی بی‌پرونی مسیحی حلقه و عمق ناف می‌توانست پروس است و بودن مکلات آتشیست که آب هفت دریا را حالا هم جذب می‌کند و طغیان شدی نمیدهد و در قیامت کبیر تمام آب را خشک خواهد کرد و این حرات و کویمی معده می‌پرس است، و در بانوان دیگر رگه‌ی می‌پرس است، و چنانه همه رگها بغل می‌پسند همه دریاها بسمند متقی می‌کند - گنگا و جمپا و سرستی شیرک می‌پرس است - آنگلا جمان بیکالا جموعا سه‌گانه سرستی به‌پرست که بانی پروس است و دیدن‌هایی گنده‌های آنجا می‌باشد و آراز از آنجا برمی‌خورند شکم می‌پرس است - آتشی نیاپتِ صلیبی اشتهای خانواده می‌پرس است، و خشک شدنی آب در نیاپت صلیبی تشگیکی (ر آب خوردی) می‌پرس است - سرک هک بانی پروس است و طبقه ایست از طبقات بهشت سینه می‌پرس. است که همیشه شادی و خوش‌حالی و آرام دریست - و جمعیت ستاره‌ها از اقطام جواهر می‌پرس است - بخشش پیش از سوال که جو و
فضل است پستی. راست و پخشش بعد از سوال که عطایت پستی چHIP
مه‌پرس است و اعتدال که چگونگی و ستون و تموم یابند و آن را پرکردن گویند: دل مه‌پرس است، و چنانکه کنول سه رنگ دارد، سفید و سرخ و بنفش، دل هم که بصورت کنول است به صفت دارد، و این از سه رنگ ظهور است، که برهم و بش و مهیش باشند. برهم که
هم نام دارد حکمت و اراده دل مه‌پرس است، بش رحم و مهر مه‌پرس است مهیش قهر و فضیب مه‌پرس است، ماه تبسم و خوشش‌الله مه‌پرس است که حواره اللم و اندره را برطرف می‌سازد و شب کمال مه‌پرس است. گوه شیمپنت استخوانی سیال پشت مه‌پرس است
و کوه‌های دشت راست و چین سمر استخوانی فرهنگی عقیده پسی‌های
مهم‌پرس است، و هشت فرشته که کوتول اند و اندره که سردار آبست
و کمال قوّت دارد و بخشیده و باریده و به بخشیدن ونداریده منطبق باوست
هر دو دشت مه‌پرس اند، دشت راست پخشش و بارش و دشت
چین امساك بخششی مهما پرس است. آمیدر که حورانی پشتان
خطوط کف دشت مهما پرس است و فرشتهها که آن را تیبه می نامند
نافذ‌های دشت مهما پرس است، فرشته لوب پال دشت راست
مهم‌پرس است. (از بند دشت تا پنجره گنام فرشته و جم فرشته بارنی مهما پرس
است و لوبیل فرشته دشت چین مهما پرس است، کبیر فرشته زانوی
پای مهما پرس است و کلپ پرچمه دو طرف باشد عصبی مهما پرس است،
قطب جنینی کتف راست و قطب شماری کتف چین مهما پرس است.)
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
است هر در ابستوی مما پرس است، پس لرگ که بالایی جی لرگ است
پیشانی مما پرس است، لرگ که بالایی همه لوپهست کامه مما پرس
است، آیات توحید و کتاب‌الله ام اسلام مما پرس است، امر ابراهیم سیاه که
باری مما پرلی دارد، موری مما پرس است، نباتات همه کوچکی مما پرس
بدری مما پرس، لکمی که دولت و خوئینی عالم مما پرس است، بهم اکثر مسماط
بدری مما پرس است، جد اکاس روح، بدری مما پرس است، مورتی هر فرد
انسان خانه مما پرس است، انسانی کامل خلوت خانه و محمل خاص مما پرس
است، چنانچه بفرمود باود، علیه السلام که ای داود بیایی از خانه بسی
گفت خداوندا تو مسیری از خانه، فیمود خانگی می تولی دل را از غیب
خالی گن و هرچه دری درهماند بر سبیل تفصیل است در انسان که
دسته عالم کبر است بطریق اجمال همه موجود است، کسی که چندین داند
و بینند ارزاست چیون میکنت و در حقی اون است آینه کریمه فرچین پیم آ تین
الله مین فضل (1) یعنی خوشحال اند آن جمعت بانیه داده است ایشان
را خدانی تعالی از فضل خود
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(1) قورآن مکی: 3: 197
الليّة لا تخوف عليهما ولا تُحَرَّلوهَا (2) يعني بدرسية عارفان خدا رآنيست خبيسي ونيستت أننا اندلعتين إشارة إبراهيم مكتب است

سيم — مكتب يعني بدرسية پس — مكتب أن باشد كه در هر مرتبة كه سيركذ خواة در روز خواة در شب خواة در عالم باتي خواة در عالم ظاهر خواة برهمان نمايد خواة نفسياد و خواه در ماهي خواة حال و خواه در مستقبل كه بهوت بهوشت برهمان جويند عارف ورستگار خلاص باشد — و هرجا كه در أيات قرآني در باب بودن در جمیعت خلدون فیها آبادا واقع سیدة يعني همیشه خواهد بود درآن بیست مراد از جمیعت معرفت است و مراد از لغت ابدا ابدتین این مکتب است، چه در هر نشان که باشد استعداد معرفت و اعمالات از این درکار است، چنینچه این در آیه کره در باب ایمانیین جماهت وارد است بی‌بند زنن روحه ملكه و وجود و جمیع لئم فیها نعیم مکیم خلدون فیها آبادا ان الله علیه أجر عظیم (3) — يعني مزیده میهده ایشان را پرودگار ایشان برهمتی از خود و مزیده میهده بفرودسی اعتی و بهشتیبا که مریاش راست درآن بهشتیا نعمتیان داهمی و رستگاری بی انتخاب از نزدیک حق تعالی بدرسیه مزیدست بزگ — و نیز آیه کره دیگر وی بی‌سره موجودین چنان عملون الصلحیان ان لهم آجر حسنی مکیمین فیها آبادا (4) — يعني مزیده بدهید (پیغمبر علیه السلام) مومنانرا که عمل میکنند نیکه که حصول معرفت حق سبکانه تعالی بر باشد و بدرسیه مقرز عارفان است مزیده نیکو که فرودسی اعتی باشد و درکن کندگان باشند و همیشه مانندگان اندران فرودسی اعتی

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(۱) قرآن مسیح، ۶۹، ۷۳
(۲) قرآن مسیح، ۳، ۳۰
(۳) قرآن مسیح، ۱۸، ۱۸
(۴) قرآن مسیح، ۹۹، ۳۱
بیان روزوشب

الوهیت ظهور و بطری - بطور موحدان هنده عصر برکه یا چربه خرزی باشد

و نهایی پرمند و تمامی روز ظهور یا هزین الوهیت باشد هزین آغاز سال دنیا

ست که هزارایی گزار سال دنیا باشد بموجب یاً یک دنیا دیگر کرده و این یهما

بی‌سوی پروریکار حیون فرشته‌گان و این که علت‌های از جبرئیل و برهمست در روزی‌ها

مقداری برای پنجه‌های هزار سال و هر روز از این پنجه‌های هزار سال متعارف

است که در آیه‌الان بیان تصريح شده - پس مدت عمر جبرئیل و مدت عمر

روز و عمر تمامی عالم که برهماند باشد حساب می‌گذرد هیچ‌گاه آغاز سال دنیا باشد

و هر انجیزه هزار سال باشد بن بی کم و زبان، مطابق حساب موحدان هنگد

و بدانه خصوصیت اعداد هزینه نزد ایشان منحصر بر هشته ده است

و ازین با اثر مرزه شمار قرار نداده اند و قیامت‌ها صغری که درین میان

یک‌دشته اند و خواهند گم‌شته آن قیامت‌ها را کندة پرلی می‌گذرند مثل طوفان

آب یا طوفان آتش یا سرما آب، و چون این مدت تمام گردید این روز شام

شود و قیامت کبیر خواهد شد که آن را می‌پردازی گویند ببینم این دی آیات

کریه نمای تبدر از اثر غیر از اثر (۳) یعنی رویکرده یاً دل کرده شود زمین را

(۱) قرآن مسیح: ۳۲: ۷۵۴* (۲) قرآن مسیح: ۷۰: ۴۳* (۳) قرآن مسیح، ۱۶: ۸۸*
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بشكل طبيعي. تحقق من الصورة وأن تكون هناك خطأ في الخصائص المقدمة.
مالگرای من و معشقی مرا پیان نیست
هرچه آثار ندارد نپذیرند انجام
و هرچه از خصوصیات ظهور ذات و مشخصات در روز و شب پیشین شده بی
کم و بیش در روز و شب دیگر بعیسه عود کند بموجب آیه کریم که می‌گویم کمی نا
آرول حلق نبوده (۱) - عیانی چنانه ظاهر گردندهایی در اولی خلق سادات نبوده‌ام و دیگر نیز در که
را که محدود گشته بود پس بعد از تمام شدن (این) دوره بار عالم ایوابی
آدم علیه السالم بعیسه بیدا شود و اسرافل جسیم باشد و آیه کریم که می‌گویم کم
نعودون (۲) نیز دالت بین معنی میکنند عیانی چنانه اول شما را بیدا کنم
با همان طور بیدا کنیم - اگر کسی شبه کند که خاتمیت بیغمر ما علیه
علیه و سلم آنی ثابت دمیرود می‌گویم که در روز دیگر نیز بیغمر علیه
و آله و سلم بعیسه موجود خواهد گردید و خاتم پیغمبر آن روز خواهد
گردید و این حدیث شد مزاوج نیز دالت بر همه معنی میکنند - میکنند
که بیغمر علیه الله علیه و سلم قطار شترانرا دید که لیست سروره و بر هر کنی
در صندوق بار است و در هر صندوق عالمی است مثل همهی عالم و در هر عالم
مثل خدود محمدی - از جبرئیل پرسید که این جیست - گفت یا رسول الله
از وقتیه آفریده شده ام می‌بینم که این قطار شتران با صندوق می‌رونند و
هم نمیدانم که این جیست - و این اشاره به بی نهایتی ادوار است

الحمد لله و منه که توفیقی اتمام رسالهٔ مجمع البصیری یانه شد در سنه
یک هزار و شصت و بیست هجری نبوی که جهل و درم از سنین عمر لی ایتی
بی ادوار محمد داراشکوه بود - والسلام

(۱) قرآن مقدس، ۲۱: ۱۰۴
(۲) قرآن مجيد، ۴۷: ۷۹
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 Āṣifiya 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.)

Page

1. K  packet  بنامی  for  بينامی; R omits  بھم; 2. A, K add  در  before  نطفه; 3. K adds  before  زیبایی, R has  before  نظیر; 7. R has  در  همه  آوست  ظاهر  و  همه  از رست, K omits  همه  از رست; A has  در  همه  آوست  ظاهر  و  در  همه  آوست  و  در  همه  آوست  همه  اوست; in V the first line of the quatrains is given before  در  همه  آوست  ظاهر, and the main text runs thus  در  همه  آوست  ظاهر, همه اوست  نه; 8. A, H omit  باشد  after  نه.

3. A has  خلق  for  خرچ; 6. R, K omit  آل کرام; A omits  اوباد and adds  سلمو  لباسما کچرا  کنیا  after  عظام; V omits  اما  and adds  دارا  شکوه  بین  شامگهان  پادشاه; 7. K, R add  در  کند  بن  شامگهان  پادشاه  after  بعد; 9. H robe  درک  کند  در  کسب  کند  و  محققان  for  قبل  درک  کند; all copies have  قبل  قوم  از  تارم  قبل  قوم  بعد; K, R have  قوم  نماید  after  اقدام; 10. H  خداوایی  for  قبل  قوم  بعد; V has  صحت  بعد  قبل  قبل  قبل  قبل; A has  بعد  قبل; 11. all the texts have  سنجیدگی  after  نموده  نموده  نموده; A has  نموده  نموده  نموده; 12. A, H, V, R have  مرکز  سر  for  مقیم; all texts, except A, omit  هم  before  انصاف.
IV. 2

Page

1. R has X; H, V A omit X; all texts omit accordingly, except V, which has X.

3

1. K has X for X; all texts, except V, have Y for Z; A, R, V add X after Y; A adds Z after Y; 4. A has X before Y; 9. R has X; 10. R has X before Y; A, H, K have X for Y; H adds X after Y; 11. A has X for Y; 13. A has X for Y; 14. A omits X before Y; 15. R has X for Y; H, K, A omit X for Y; R has X after Y.

6

2. V has X for Y, Z, A, K, A omit X; 3. R omits X.

4. A, H, K, V have X for Y; 5. V omits X for Y; 6. A, H, K have X for Y.


5

1. H has X for Y; H, R have X for Y; R omits X before Y; 2. all texts, except K, omit X; A, H have X for Y; 3. K has X for Y; 4. H has X for Y; 5. A has X for Y; 6. V has X for Y; 7. V omits X; 8. A, H, V have X for Y; 9. V omits X; 10. A has X for Y; and V has X.
for the same; R adds 'از آن خاک'; V omits 'باز باز سیردیم شما را' A has 'before حواسخ' 10. A adds 'after'; V has 'پنجره' K adds 'عصر عنصر'; H and R have 'پنجره' A, H, V omit 'پنجره' 12. R has 'فرد'; A, H, V omit 'فرد' H and R have 'before عصر'; A has 'زمان' 15. K omits 'منسوب بان'; A, H, R have 'منسوب بان' 'آتش' H omits 'منسوب بان' R has 'فرح' 16. R has 'پس' A has 'فرح' 17. R has 'پس' A, H, V have 'فرح' A, H, K, V omit 'فرح' 6. all MSS. have strange variations in enumerating the five internal senses; 8. H, K, V have 'چتراند و چتراند'; 9. A has 'چتراند کرن' 11. all texts have 'فرح' 12. V has 'فرح' 13. V has 'فرح'; H, R have 'فرح'; A has 'فرح'; 15. V has 'فرح' 17. all texts, except R, have 'کلی احاطه.'

1-2. A omits translation of the Kur'anic verse; 3 A, H have 'پس' after, all 'ولله' 4. H has 'باشد'; V has 'باشد' 'پس' 6. all texts have 'و الله' 7. R has 'پس' 8. R has 'پس' A has 'پس' 10. A, H have 'پس' 11. 'پس' 12. V has 'فرح' 13. V has 'فرح' 15. V has 'فرح' 17. all texts, except R, have 'کلی احاطه.'
Page

11. R has مرتبطه ملی و توری; K می‌تواند از بین سایر توری; A has توری بعد از پیش در امتداد;
12. H, K repeat جز این نیست در امتداد;
13. A has می‌تواند تعریف آمدی;
14. H has معمول و R has تعیین می‌گیرد;
15. R has وال از مقاومت سنگ پا با ماهینت;
K می‌تواند به این روش نیز دریافت کند;
16. R A, H, R have کرم می‌گیرد;
17. R reads که آن را پرکرده گویند;
18. A جوانان اند;
19. این که بیشتر اول...
20. راستی امین باشد است ( omit. in trans.);
21. all texts, except V, have است گردانیده;
22. all texts have تعریف و همی را چنانکه;
23. V می‌تواند قبودات;
24. R has قبود;
25. همی چه;
26. و همی چه;
27. H, K, A omit به او باشد است;
28. all texts, except R, omit همی باشد;
29. H چه;
30. و آن درون رنگ و بر روی آماده نم را;
31. all texts, except R, have به همین تعریف;
32. و همی چه;
33. R has درون برای;
34. A has هنگ;
35. V هنگ;
36. H چه;
37. and R has من;
38. for R;
39. V می‌تواند قبود;
40. for این دو لفظ را که اپ باشد هم می‌گویند و آن لفظ رونا الله;
41. و این دو لفظ;
42. و یا به خیر است;
43. H, K, V, A omit 
44. 17-18; میدانند.
45. 2. All texts, except R, have الله تعالی را نزد صوریه دضف است;
46. 5. all texts have before صوریه;
K, R omit می‌تواند صوریه بعد از پیش;
47. all texts, except H, have می‌تواند صوریه;
48. 6. all texts, except H, have دیده;
49. 10. H, R, A omit می‌تواند 
50. و آب و باد ... با سرافیل;
51. 12. K, R omit روشنی و نور ازورست و بینایی از آن ظاهر شد;
52. R reads در زبان روش شد;
53. H reads as از آن ظاهر شد;
54. A but has در امتداد;
55. 14. V می‌تواند در اپ;
56. 15. A می‌تواند در سریر اسراشد به عنوان نمی‌سازد و رفته;
57. 16. R می‌تواند 
58. صوریه.
1. All texts, except R, omit ست گن ... آن را واژهزیان .... آن را واژهزیان ... آن را واژهزیان ... آن را واژهزیان ...
2. V has ست گن for رجگن and omits تعقیب دارد.
3. V has ست گن for رجگن while A reads ممکن است...
4. A has جیرات ایها for ممکن است...
5. H, K, R have ممکن است...
6. A has جیرات ایها for ممکن است...
7. K adds در مرتبه بجای می‌گذارد که ممکن است...
8. A has جیرات ایها for ممکن است...
9. A, V, H omit که با ذات مجمع...
10. A, V, H omit جامع الصفات;
11. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
13. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
15. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
17. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
18. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
19. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
20. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
22. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
23. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
25. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
27. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
28. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
29. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
30. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
31. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
32. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
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34. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
35. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
36. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
37. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
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41. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
42. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
43. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
44. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
45. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
46. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
47. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
48. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
49. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
50. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
51. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
52. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
53. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
54. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
55. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
56. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
57. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
58. V reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
59. R has صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
60. A reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
61. H reads صفر بست (؟) مددیر حضرت واجب الوجود باشد.
Page 122

لاوتهم

A, V read: أضحت بابًا معنى؛ 12. A adds: معلومة...


6. R has: پس ازین ظاهر شده.

R reads: اسم رست صریعی خاص.

A has: اسم اعظم را صریعی خاص.

R reads: اسم اعظم را صریعی است خاص.

3. V adds: بصفت

4. V adds: بصفت

5. K adds: صفات after ورنگ که; R has: صفات after قبلاً اسم

6. R has: دیگر نمی یابد

7. H, V have: شخصی

8. R has: شدید رود for

H has: دیگری در نمی یابد

9. all texts, except R, omit: به این بهشد

10. all texts, except H, omit: و حال آنکه

11. R adds: بهم یا هم

12. K, V have: بهم یا هم and H omits

13. A, R have: بهم یا هم

14. R adds: بهم یا هم

15. all texts, except R, omit: چراغ

16. A has: ر روم

2. R has: التفکر ساخته H reads: التفکر ساخته V reads: التفکر ساخته A reads: التفکر ساخته

3. R reads: مفهوم مغزهد

5. R omits: می‌بیند

6. all texts, except R, omit: به این نظر

7. all texts have: ر خواهد بهم

R adds: لغت before نور

K has for: منیر

R has for: می‌کند
H reads K has 

1. A, K, V add and I, an, after

2. 1. A, H, R omit read; R omits adds, K reads and I, an, after

3. R adds adds and I, an, after

4. all texts, except R, omit read; A, R read

5. R has an, after

6. all texts, except R, omit read; 

7. A, K add and I, an, after

8. A, K have an, after

9. K has read, and V has an, after

10. all texts, except R, omit and I, an, after

11. H, K, R have an, after and A, B, and I, an, after

12. V has an, after

13. A, K, V have and I, an, after

14. all texts, except R, omit and I, an, after

15. A adds an, after

16. H, K add and I, an, after

17. V omits and I, an, after

18. all texts, except R, omit and I, an, after
19. all texts, except R, omit خلاصه عظیم کرده‌اند; R has ایشان چنین هستند؛ 2. all texts, except R, have کمال و اندازه و اندازه، R omits خدا را; A has دیدن‌هایه؛ all texts, except R, omit با احترام; 3. R has کمال حق را از دهم و از همه جهات شنودند; 4. all texts, except R, omit البته پاشند; all texts have چنانچه R, omit چنانر; 5. A, H, K add خبر و شر؛ R omits و خانه‌ای مطبق R omits R, omit از نسردگان S. H, K, V read ابن حديثه که حضرت رسول الله (صلى الله عليه و سلم) در خواب حضرت عائشه خواب (جواب) مدیقیه و قلیقه پرسیده بود A adds و وقتی پرسید before 9. R has made strange additions and alterations ابن را دلیل بسیار پیغمبر می‌آند فلک R, omit for آنانه R, omit for آنانه 11. R reads ابن را دلیل تادیی ریزبیگمی آن‌زمان گفته؛ all texts omit و بی‌وقف اند 12. all texts, except R, omit مه من یعنی است و بی‌وقف اند after 13. V adds تام؛ 16. R adds چنان قبل
17. all texts, except R, have بر ریپ سرورگار وی یاه حکم رفت; unfortunately, a sentence has been omitted in the printed text, which runs as follows: چه این دیدن متعلق به ریپ شد; است که لوا در فقط ریپ می‌گفت and R’s reading is as follows: 18. R adds بعد هدایت 18. R adds بعد هدایت; 19. all texts add بعد هدایت; A has بعد هدایت; and V has بعد هدایت. A, R omit بعد هدایت; R adds بعد هدایت.


3. H omits بعد هدایت and A, R have حق for the حق; 4. A adds بعد هدایت and H, R have بعد هدایت and H, R have بعد هدایت and H. R have بعد هدایت; 5. R omits بعد هدایت; 6. R adds بعد هدایت and H has بعد هدایت; 7. all texts, except R, omit بعد هدایت; 8. A, K have بعد هدایت; 9. V has بعد هدایت for after; all texts, except R, omit بعد هدایت; 10. A, V have بعد هدایت; صعب توش وحی بر آن است و هی آنست and K has بعد هدایت; 11. R omits....... 12. A has بعد هدایت and K has بعد هدایت and R has بعد هدایت for خوانن حسینان; K has بعد هدایت and R has بعد هدایت for خوانن حسینان; 13. R has بعد هدایت for خوانن حسینان; K adds بعد هدایت and V has بعد هدایت for خوانن حسینان; 14. A reads بعد هدایت and B has بعد هدایت.

4. H adds بعد هدایت; و دم مشابهت دارد که نب منه در است و مشابه بعد هدایت; all texts omit after, while R has 5. A omits H داده کند; 6. R has بعد هدایت and V has بعد هدایت for و نظره, and R has بعد هدایت for and V has بعد هدایت for
8. R has Nرسیدند; 9. all texts, except R, omit خود 8. R has and A, H, K have in for R reads for all texts, except R, omit حق 10. V has and A, H, K have از R reads after for H, K, V have متعمد in A, H, K add اختصاصي after خدا K has مقصد مغلوب 11. A, H, K add for زمان وما A has Zaman ما for 12. A omits آنهايکه بيميادن while H has for مغلوب 13. all texts, except H, have before R adds مثقفين and A adds مرغوب before R reads اند زمان وما 14. R adds خود را علاك نمودن and ه وبند 15. R reads پيروي and جرير را و فلل زنهر نيايد نمود 16. R has زنهر است است Or Xواه بود and V reads بوده است عمان با تاب من خواهد بود 17. R adds after the (صلم) text, while H, K have A, V have نبیّ كامل تشبيه است A adds تنریزه و تشبيهه است while H, K add تنریزه و تشبيهه است only; R reads 18. R reads تنریزه و تشبيهه است جامع التشبيه، التنزیه، وجامع المطلق، والقيق 19. A has رنگ و رنگ while R reads رنگ در بيرنگي و بيرنگي در رنگ 20. all texts, except K, omit 21. all texts, except K, have for یکجا یکی

2. R has for تشبيه 3. A reads 2. R has for تشبيه 3. A reads 4. all texts, except R, omit 5. R omits مشروب ومغرب 6. H omits شام 7. all texts, except R, have وليس رسول ما 8. R has after ولایت 9. H, K add در آميت محدث and V adds cf. 10. R, which has apparently been transcribed by a Shī‘a refers to a man from the city of فرمولا.a مدينةلاعلم وعلى بابا شاه ولاب حضرت علي كرم الله و وجهه نا امام مهدي صلوا الله عليه وسلم، و از آنجلهي مرمکوه اوليا كه بخطاب اني لاجد نفس الرحمن من قبله اليمين ذات مبارك حضرت اوبن قفظي رحمة الله عليه و در زمان ديگر ...
10. A omits ادريس و سابل و اوبس; ك has ادريس و وابس and H reads ادريس و مثل ابوايیات. 12. V has has ادريس و مثل يونس and H reads ادريس و مثل يونس. The proper names have, in all the texts, been hopelessly mutilated; in R several names have been omitted; H omits و امثال إيشان. In V and in Zمان دیگر. In V is omitted.

1-2. In R several names have been omitted; in R شمس تیروز is added after عطار. 4. R, while omitting the names of جامع جامع, adds the names of سردار قاسم انوار and خواجه احراز. 5. R reads حافظ خواجه حافظ شیاریز and خواجه حسين، مؤلف حق نما, خواجه حافظ شیاریز, حافظ قولم الدين رسل نما. 6. All texts, except H, omit و باوا لی بریانی. 8. A reads بر سورت کتره; H reads یک اول بر مناد تفیید و ظهیر حضرت واجب الوجود است. 11. A, H, K, R have گنگه اند for گوند. 14. A omits جهانی اعتبار نموده; A has فوران داده اند و اعتبار نموده; A reads این. زا این.

نامه‌ای این هفته سندر را که سپت سندر را بعد گوشی می‌گیرد که آن را نرک گوشی می‌گیرد؛ A reads هفتم سواحل..... بعد دریابا بعد هفتم نرد اهل و از اسماع ثابت باون آیی کره است؛ A reads H, K پیوند یکه بهه است; A, K read پیوند مقیتات..... است؛ 13. R omits مقیت است خدا در هر زمین و کوهی و معوضان؛ 17. K has مقرّر است و سیرّه اند.; 19. H reads که مقرّر است و سیرّه اند.


Page

10. R omits before; H has رستگاری و هم و نیک و بهد; R omits before; A adds پنبد و نیکی
11. R reads بلکه بخدا کند و با غیر نسبت تعدد بلکه بخود
12. A, H, K have کبیر; A has صدیجت كلیه for صورت کلیه for R reads
13. A, H, K have کبیر
14. A adds before; H adds and K has
15. all texts omit A, H, K omit
16. A, H, K have اعضاي
17. R reads یک نرد است
18. R omits A, H, K omit

2. A, H, K omit lines 2 to 3; 4. A has شبیر سعیدی; S. A, K have گذار گذارا همه ف
9. A omits مثل بیل و وغيره; R has گذرگاه و گذار
10. R has نظر دانسته انده:
11. A has صورت مانی for ایشان; H, K omit صورت
12. H has که انقل... است
13. A omits باشد; H omits یپشت... است
14. A has اکثر یاد رؤیایی اشاره بان مبکنده... (omitted in translation)
15. K has has for for and omits شیطان; in A, H, K the description of comes before

3. A, H, K have دست راست و چپ; 8. A, H, K have and omit مرجع
4. A omits یپشت... است
5. A, H, K omit روشیصیب غذب... است
6. A, H, K omit مانی for مانی
7. A has وقت for while H, K add همان وقت Dارد
8. R only has (omitted in translation)
9. A, H, K omit بارغه ستور عورت for ابزار
10. A, H, K omit (omitted in translation)
11. A, H, K add کردن و در سامدصر کم باشد
A, H, K omit گرمی and
A, H, K add که آن آتش همه
9
Page

3. R omits بنفش and adds and; A, H, K omit نقص؛ چنانکه کنول
4-5. A has سیاہ بنفش and adds بنفش و نقص؛ A, H, K omit
6. R omits دل هم دارد... و این از... باشند; A, H, K omit
7. R adds ع(dt) and A, H, K omit
8. R adds ماه و بعدر after and A, H, K add
پیش گیان مها پرس است؛ هوا پرآن مها پرس است؛ اعمال که ادهور
باید پیش مها پرس است... R reads بعدر for مساردن
9. A, H, K have که سیمیرپرت
10. A omits و انسیرود... مها است
11. A, H, K have
12. R adds از جمله هشت نشته لرکیل اند before for
13. A, H, K have
14. R omits قدرت
15. A, H, K have
16. R adds بعدر after for
17. A, H, K have
18. A, H, K add

2. A adds ناد and R adds بعد از
3. A adds and H, K add
4. R has رد... و کامش for رنگ و کامش
5. A has for رنگ و کامش
6. H, K add دنیوی after and R has
7. H, K have خوشبختی for خوشبختی
8. A omits... بهم هم
9. A omits
10. R adds
11. A, H, K omit
12. A, H, K omit
13. A, H, K omit
14. A, H, K add
15. A, H, K omit
16. R omits و اصل نیر... بیانی مها پرس است
17. R omits عصر خاک... عصر خاک... عصر خاک... عصر خاک... عصر خاک... عصر خاک... عصر خاک... عصر خاک... عصر خاک...
Page

روز .... برهم زدن ارنیش، عالم بینایی; 18. R omits while R adds HaوR; 19. A omits A has for توسندا; R reads توسندا نام موگل که بر قهر و غصب است.

1. R has has and A has for توسندا است لرک هدولک; 2. A omits and لرک; 3. A omits و کتاب

4. A, H, K have for الله; 4. A, H, K have for کوه‌ها; H omits بدن; 6. A, H read آنان در خشیان و صفایی بسین, while K adds before آنان; 7. R adds پس و برای هنگ این معاشرش را بیرون نیز گوینده است; R omits صورت; 8. S, R reads .... است انسانی کامل مشهده... 9. A reads و معاشر و قهر لحاق و مظهر آنان ذات خلیف خانه... 10. H adds دارد; A reads گفت دارد... چنانکه حکم شده‌بوده... 11. R has for گنت دارد و ریواکی و سرری از خانه را تنزیبی and R has for گنت دارد و ریواکی و سرری از خانه را تنزیبی

تا سن درو خانه‌خورد که و نوردش که با داده‌ای اگر را بات ای عبانی تا بیم برود; R adds پس before مهره; 11. R adds for بر سپید; 12. R reads در که دو ماهانه تفصیل بر ذات انسان کامل مکمل اکثر که قبل است بطريق اجمال و تفصیل و نه خاصه موجودات است بر چنینیا این آیت کریمه ناطق در شان 13. R reads همی یکی از مخلوقات نیست اوست; 14. K, R omit بیاید رستگاری شده; R omits در ذات است; R reads بهاید رستگاری شده; R omits است پیامده در ذات و بیشتر و دوزخ 18. R omits A, H, K omit و شب; R adds مستر این ذات.


2. A reads روبویت و ظهور و بطون; R omits and بطون the roheyt; 4. A, H,
have bord for هزار and omit پنجاہ ; 9. A omits before روز and also omits هزار ; H reads هر روز از پنجاہ, K has هر روز از پنجاہ هزار سال متعاقب است and R has هر روز از پنجاہ هزار سال متعاقب است 10-11. A, R omit بعد سال after پیس ; H has مدت ظهور و تماسی عالم ra ; K has هزار for همچندر ; 12. A, H, K have مدت عمر روز و تماسی عالم ; A, H, K read خاص موضوع عدد هزار برای ; A, H, K have مدت هزار سال مد کور و Rوز ; A, H, K add before پرجم وم حکم for .

2. A, K add پچیدن and H adds البند ; A, H, K add برای این آخر بظهر خواهد رسد and R adds کتابت after بظهور and R adds اضعال after در حضرت ; 3. R adds استحکام after ; H omit شمار ; 4. A, K read یقیمت وهم که در در بین ... تیایت، R يک میل p in r و خواهد، K گذشت آن 11. A, K add تایبہ صغری گویند and میوجاده هنقد آن را ; 16. A, K have قدر after روز را شام شود ; R adds برای گیوند before روز ; 17. all texts have for بحکم و حکم

2. All texts have آنچه but in Brock. edition of دیوان-ی-حسین
لما هذا خاتمهم پیغمبر ما (صلى الله عليه وسلم) ازین ثابت نمی‌شود زیرا که در روز دیگر پیغمبر

13. R adds راه در میان قطار شتر خواهد شد after قطار; R adds شتر after یکی را بنشاند

14. R adds و آنها را بنشاند after است

15. R adds با است ; بار است با صندوق پیشاد و دید که در هر صندوق after صندوق

16. A, K, R omit پرستید که after این

17. R adds اسرار after این

18. A has هجرت النبی صلی الله عليه وسلم ; A omits نبی

19. R has که موسوم به جمع البحرین کشتگ این

20. R has و سلیمان after علیه و سلیمان

داشانشکه‌
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 Ḥasan, Ibn-i-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 n2</td>
<td>A.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 n1</td>
<td>28 n45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 n3</td>
<td>24 n15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abdullaḥ Abū Ṣa‘īd b. Ḥanbal, called Imām Ḥanbal. d. 241 A.H.</td>
<td>Ali an-Naṣiṣi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 n15</td>
<td>17 n3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abdul Rāhamīn</td>
<td>17 n8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam (Prophet)</td>
<td>‘Abdul Ṣa‘īd, see Abū Ṣa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Hāravī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>‘Abdul Ṣa‘īd, see Abū Ṣa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Hāravī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adham (Ibrahīm. see Abū Ishāq Ibrahīm b. Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbdul Razzāk b. Yazīd b. Ḥuwāja.</td>
<td>26 n31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad al-Ḥāshimi, d. 517 A.H.</td>
<td>17 n8. 18 n1. 22. 23 n8. 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥrār, see Nūrūddīn Abū Ṣa‘īd Rāhman Jāmī.</td>
<td>‘Abdul Ṣa‘īd, see Abū Ṣa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Hāravī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>‘Abdul Ṣa‘īd, see Abū Ṣa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Hāravī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar, (813-1014) A.H.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>3 n2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>241 A.H.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāṣīṭī, d. c. 320 A.H. 15, 22
Abū Bakr Shibli, see Abū Bakr b. Dulaf b. Jaḥdar ash-Shibli.
Abū Bakr Wāṣīṭī, see Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāṣīṭī.
Bashāṭ (Vasiṣṭha) .. 8
Bāwā Lāl Bātrāgī .. 23
Bāyazīd-i-Bistāmī, see Abū Ḣazīd Ṭaṭfūr b. Ḥsā b. Ādam b. Surūshān.
Bishr-i-Ḥāfīz, see Abū Naṣr Bishr b. al-Ḥārīth b. ‘Abdūr Rahmān Ḥāfīz.
Chīštī, see Muḥiṭuddin Muḥammad Chīštī.
Colebrooke (Sir Henry Thomas), d. c. 1223 A.H. .. 20 n1
Dārā Shikūḥ, d. 1069 A.H...... 3 n1, n3, 4, 4 n1, 8 n1, 12 n3, 15 n1, 19 n1, 27 n37, 29 n47, n48, n49, n50, n51, n52, 41
Dā’tād Iṣfahānī .. 25 n25
David .. .. 38
Abū Dhar Ḥaṭṭārī .. 19 n1
Djun Nūn, see Abū Fāʾīḍ b. Ibrāhīm Djun Nūn al-Miṣrī.
Djun Nūrain (see also ‘Uṭḥmān b. ‘Aṭṭān) .. .. 23 n6
Dīlrubā, see Muḥammad Dīlrubā (Ṣāḥīh).
Abū Faḍl b. Shaikh Mubārak, surnamed ‘Allāmā, d. 1011 A.H. 3 n2
Abū Fāʾīḍ b. Ibrāhīm Djun Nūn al-Miṣrī, d. 245 A.H.
22, 25 n24, 26 n26
Farīḍuddin ‘Aṭṭār, see Abū Ṭalīḥ Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm.
Fāṭima .. 17 n3, 23 n9
Fīrūz .. 24 n18
Fīrūzān .. 24 n18
al-Ghazzālī, see Ahmad al-Ghazzālī.
al-Ghazzālī (Imām), see Abū Ḣāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī.
Ḥāfīz, see Shamsuddin Muḥammad, Ḥwāja Ḥāfīz.
Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, d. 505 A.H. .. 27 n35
Ḥanbal, see Abū ‘Abdullāh Ḧāmid b. Ḧanbal.
al-Ḥasan, d. 49 A.H. .. 17 n3, 23 n8
Abū Ḥasan ‘Ali Jullābī Ḥuwْ, Shaikh .. 26 n25, n26, 27 n36
al-Ḥasan al-Askarī .. 17 n3
Ḥasan al-Bāṣrī .. 17 n2
Abū Ḥasan Sarī as-Saḥaṣṭī, d. 253 A.H. .. 12 n3, 22, 24 n18, 25 n23, 26 n26, n27
Hughes (T. P.) .. 17 n3
al-Huwْ, see Abū Ḥasan ‘Ali Jullābī.
al-Ḥusain, d. 61 A.H. .. 17 n3
Abū Ḥusain Ḧāmid b. Muḥammad an-Nūrī, d. 295 A.H.
 .. 15 n7, 22, 26 n28
Ḥusain Baykārī, Sulṭān, (873-911 A.H.) .. .. 29 n46
Ibrāhīm Khawwās, see Abū ʾIshāq Ibrāhīm b. Ḧāmid al-Khwawwās.
Imām Ghazzālī, see Abū Ḣāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī.
Imām Ḧanbal, see Abū ‘Abdullāh Ḧāmid b. Ḧanbal.
Abū ʾIshāq Ibrāhīm b. Adham b. Mānsūr b. Yazīd b. Ḫābir, d. between 160-166 A.H. .. 22
Abū ʾIshāq Ibrāhīm b. Ḧāmid al-Khwawwās, d. 291 A.H. .. 22
Abū Ismaʿīl ‘Abdullāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Anṣūrī al-Harawī, Ḧwāja, (Shaikh-ul-Islām), d. 481 A.D.
 .. 12, 15 n7, 22
Ja‘da
Ja‘far as-Sādiq, (Imām), d. 148 A.H.

Jahān Ārā, d. 1092 A.H.

Jalāluddīn Muhammad, known as
Mawlānā Rāmī, d. 672 A.H.

Jalāluddīn Rāmī, see Jalāluddīn
Muhammad.

Jāmī, see Nūruddīn ‘Abdul Rāhmān
Jāmī.

Abul Jannāb Ahmad b. ‘Umar al-
Khīwālī, known as Najmuddīn
Kubrā, d. 618 A.H.

Jannād al-Baghdādī, see Abul Kāsim
b. Muhammad b. al-Jannād al-
Kharrāz al-Kawārīrī.

al-Kāshīfī, see ‘Ali b. Ḥusain al-
Wāqī al-Kāshīfī.

Abul Kāsim b. ‘Ali b. ‘Abdullāh al-
Gurgānī, d. 450 A.H.

Abul Kāsim b. Muhammad b. al-
Jannād al-Kharrāz al-Kawārīrī, d.
297 A.H.

Abul Jannāb Ahmad b. ‘Umar al-
Khīwālī.

al-Khawwās, see Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm
b. Ahmad al-Khwawwās.

Khwāja Ahrār, see Nāṣiruddīn
‘Ubaidullāh Ahrār.

Khwāja Bahnūdīn Nāṣibband, see
Muhammad b. Muhammad.

Khwāja Ḥāfiz, see Shamsuddīn Mu-
hammad Khwāja Ḥāfiz.

Khwāja Mu‘inuddīn Chishti, see
Mu‘inuddīn Muhammad Chishti.

Kubrā, see Abū Jannāb Ahmad b.
‘Umar al-Khīwālī.

Umm-i-Kulthūm

Abū Madīyan Shu‘aib b. al-Ḥusayn al-
Andalūsī, d. c. 594

Abū al-Mahdī, see Muhammad al-Mahdī.

Abū Ma‘ṣūf Ma‘ṣūf Karbārī, d. 200
A.H.

Muḥammad Shabistārī, see Sa‘duddīn
Muḥammad Shabistārī.

Abū Majd Majdūd b. ʿAḍām, San‘ā‘ī,
Ghanawī, d. 625 or 635 A.H.

Mālik b. Anas (Imām)

al-Māmūn, ‘Abbasīd Caliph, (198–
218 A.H.)

Margoliouth, D. S. (Prof.)

Ma‘ṣūf Karbārī, see Abū Ma‘ṣūf
Ma‘ṣūf Karbārī.

Ma‘ṣhīq al-Tūsī, see Muhammad
Ma‘ṣhīq al-Tūsī.

Ibīn Mas‘ūd, see ‘Abdullāh b. Mas‘ūd.

Muhammad b. ‘Abdullāh Dātā,
known as Mi‘yān Mīr or Mi‘yān
Jīv, d. 1045 A.H.

Mīrza Muhammad of Kāzvin

Mīyān Bārī, d. 1062 A.H.

Mīyān Jīv, see Mir Muhammad b.
Sā‘īn Dātā.

Mīyān Mīr, see Mir Muhammad b.
Sā‘īn Dātā.

Moses (Prophet)

Mu‘awwiyah, ‘Umayyad Caliph,(41–60
A.H.)

Muhammad (Prophet), d. 11 A.H.

Muhammad al-Bākīr (Imām)

Muhammad Dārā Shikāh, see Dārā
Shikāh.

Muhammad Dīrūbā (Shāh) d. after
1064 A.H.

Muhammad Ḥusayn (author of
Anwār-ul-Irjīfīn)

137
Muḥammad Ḥusain ʿĀzīd (author of *Darbūr-i-ʿĀliyat*) .. 3 n2
Muḥammad al-Mahdi (Imām) 17 n3
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥāfez 26 n2
Muḥammad Maʿṣūm b. Ṭuṣī 22
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, called Ḥāfīz Ṭahūtī Ṭūsī, called Ḥāfīz Ṭahūtī Ṭūsī band, d. 791 A.H. .. 22
Abū Muḥammad Ruwaim b. Yazīd. d. 303 A.H. .. 22
Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yūnus at-Tustarī, d. 283 A.H. 22
Muḥammad b. Sālim .. 25 n24
Muḥammad b. Sawāra .. 25 n24
Muḥammad at-Taḥlī (Imām) 17 n3
Muḥiuddin Ibn al-ʿArabī, d. 1240 A.D. .. 22, 27 n38
Muḥiuddin Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdul-Kadhir b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Mūsā al-Jilī, d. 571 A.H. .. 22
Muḥiuddin Chishti, see Muḥiuddin Muḥammad Chishti.
Muḥiuddin Misḵī 28 n43
Muḥiuddin Muḥammad Chishti, d. 633 A.H. .. 22
Ibn-i-Muljam 23 n7
Mullā Shāh, see Mullā Shāh Muḥammad b. Mullā ʿAbd Muḥammad. Mullā Shāh Muḥammad b. Mullā ʿAbd Muḥammad, called Lišā-nūllāh, d. 1072 A.H. 23
Mūsā al-Kāzīm (Imām) 17 n3
al-Muṭāṣim, ʿAbbasid Caliph, (218–227 A.H.) 17 n2
an-Naṣirī, see ʿAlī an-Naṣirī. Naṣīḥi band, see Muḥammad b. Muḥammad.
Naṣīrūddin ʿUbaḍullāh AlḤārīrī, Ḫurūj, d. 895 A.H. 4 n1, 22
Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jamī, d. 535 A.H. .. 22
Abū Naṣr Biṣṭir b. al-Ḥārīb b. ʿAbdūr Rahmān Ḥāfi, d. 227 A.H. .. 22, 26 n26
Noah (Prophet) .. 21
an-Nūrī, see Abū Ḥusain ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad an-Nūrī.
Nūrūddin ʿAbdur Rahmān Jamī, d. 598 A.H. 3 n1, 12 n3, n4, 23, 24 n16, 26 n26, n29, 27 n34, n38
Prophet, the, see Muḥammad.
ar-Riḍa, see ʿAlī b. Mūsā ar-Riḍa.
Ruṣṭāra .. 23 n6
Rūmī, see Jalāluddin Muḥammad.
Ruwaim. see Abū Muḥammad Ruwaim b. Yazīd.
Saʿīd b. Abī Waṣīlī 23 n10
Saṇnūddin Muḥammad Shabistari, d. 720 A.H. .. 9 n1
Saṇnūddin b. al-Muwaqqaf ʿAlī Shīkh, d. 650 A.H. .. 34
Saḥbī ʿAbdallāh at-Tustarī, see Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. ʿAbdullāh b. Yūnus at-Tustarī.
Abū Saʿīd ʿAbdallāh b. Isā al-Kharraz, d. 286–287 A.H. .. 22
Abū Saʿīd Faḍlullāh b. Abū Ḥārīrī, d. 440 A.H. .. 22, 27 n34
Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAlī, see Abū Saʿīd Faḍlullāh b. Abū ʿAlī.
Abū Saʿīd Kharrāz, see Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Kharraz.
Abū Saʿīd, Sulṭān (854–873 A.H.) .. 29 n46
Saʿīd b. Zaid 23 n10
Saṇaʿī, see Abū Majd Majdūd b. ʿAdam Ghażnawi.
Saʿīd as-Saḍāqī, see Abū Ḥasan Saʿīd as-Saḍāqī.
Sāyyid-ut-Tāʿīfā, see Abū Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Jansūd al-Kharrāz al-Kawārī.
asb-Ṣāhī (Imām) 12 n3, 24 n15, 25 n23
Shāhjahān, the Emperor. (1037–1068, d. 1076 A.H.) .. 29 n47
Shāh Mīr, see Mīr Muḥammad b. Sāʿīn Dāṭā.
Shaikh Muhammad Dilrubā, see Muhammad Dilrubā.
Shaikh Ahmad al-Ghazzālī, see Ahmad al-Ghazzālī.
Shaikh Ahmad-i-Jāmī, see Abū Naṣr Ahmad b. Abū Ḥasan al-Jāmī.
Shaikh Fariduddin 'Aṭīr, see Abū Ṭālib Muhammad b. Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm.
Shaikh Muḥiuddin 'Abdul Ḵādir Jīlānī, see Muḥiuddin Abū Muḥammad 'Abdul Ḵādir b. Abī Sāliḥ Mūsā al-Jīlī.
Shaikh Muḥiuddin Ibn al-‘Arabī, see Muḥiuddin Ibn al-‘Arabī.
Shaikh Najmuddin Kubbā, see Abul Jannāb Ahmad b. ‘Umar al-Khwārī.
Shaikh Sa’duddin Ḥummu’ī, see Sa’duddin b. al-Muwayyad Ḥummu’ī.
Shaikh Tayyib Sirhindī, see Tayyib Sirhindī, Shaikh.
Shaikh-ul-Islām, see Abū Ḥusayn Abū ’Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Haravī.
Shaikh-ul-Islām Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, see Abū Ḥusayn Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī.
Ibn-i-Shāhiḥ ... 19 n1
Shams-i-Tabrīz, d. 645 A.H. 28 n42
Shamsuddin Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥāfīz, d. 791 A.H. ... 41
Ash-Shiblī, see Abū Bakr b. Dulf b. Jaḥdar ash-Shiblī.
Sultān Ḥusain Bayḵarā, see Ḥusain Bayḵarā.
Sultān Abū Saʿīd, see Abū Saʿīd Sultān.
At-Taḵī, see Muḥammad at-Taḵī.
Talha b. az-Zubair ... 23 n10
Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm, d. c. 627 A.H. ... 22
Ṯa‘ūs-ul-Ulamā, see Abū Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Junaid al-Kharrāz al-Kawārī. ... 25 n23
Ṭayyib Sirhindī, Shaikh, d. after 1064 A.H. ... 23
Abū Thawr ... 25 n23
at-Tustarī, see Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. ‘Abdullāh b. Yūnus at-Tustarī.
‘Abū ‘ubaīda b. al-Jarrāḥ ... 23 n10
‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (Caliph), d. 23 A.H. 17 n3, 22, 23 n6, n10, 24 n14
Ustād Abū Bakr, see Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Waṣīfī.
Ustād Abū Kāsim Junaidī, see Abū Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Junaid al-Kharrāz al-Kawārī.
‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (Caliph), d. 35 A.H. (see also Dhun Nūrān.) ... 17 n3, 22, 23 n10
Uwais-i-Karnānī, d. between 32–39 A.H. ... 22
Vaṣīṣṭha, see Baṣhīṣṭ.
Waṣīl b. ‘Aṭā ... 17 n2
al-Waṣīfī, see Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Waṣīfī.
al-Wathīk, ‘Abbasid Caliph, (227–232 A.H.) ... 17 n2
Yazid b. Muʿāwiya, ‘Umayyad Caliph, (60–64 A.H.) ... 23 n9
Abū Yazid Taifūr b. Isā b. Ādam b. Surūṣān, Bāyazid al-Bīstāmī, d. 261 or 264 ... 22
Zain-ul-Ābidīn, see ‘Alī (Zain-ul-Ābidīn).
Zhanda pīl, see Abū Naṣr Ahmad b. Abū Ḥasan al-Jāmī.
INDEX II

[Translation]

Technical Terms, Important Words, Sects, Sufi 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 Jibra'il or Mahīth etc. have, for good reasons, been included in this list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Other Terms</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abul-Arwāḥ</td>
<td>9, 10, 11, 16</td>
<td>Apūn (Apūna)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adham (Adhama)</td>
<td>... 8</td>
<td>Ārif</td>
<td>21, 33, 38, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aditi</td>
<td>20 n1</td>
<td>Ārīḥ</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adwār</td>
<td>... 40</td>
<td>Ārīḥ-i-Albar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahankār (Ahaṅkāra)</td>
<td>... 7, 8</td>
<td>Āsan (Āṣāṅga?)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahankār Rājas (Ahaṅkāra Rājasa)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Āṣhara-i-Muḥāshēhara</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahankār Śūtag (Ahaṅkāra Śūṭvika)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ṭhūgal</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahankār Tāmas (Ahaṅkāra Tāmasa)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ādīnī Kumār (Ādīnīkumāra)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āhāt (Āhāta)</td>
<td>... 14</td>
<td>Āsmā-i-Allāh Ta'ālā</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ājīpā (Ājīpā)</td>
<td>... 9</td>
<td>Āśmānḥā</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākār (Ākāra)</td>
<td>... 14</td>
<td>Ātāl (Ātāla)</td>
<td>30, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākūs (Ākūsa)</td>
<td>... 5</td>
<td>Āṭmā (Āṭman)</td>
<td>10, 11, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākūs Bāṅī (Ākūsvāṃī)</td>
<td>... 20</td>
<td>Āvās (Āvasāna)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Akl-i-Kul</td>
<td>... 8</td>
<td>Āvāshāt (Āvāshātman)</td>
<td>5, 11, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ālam-i-Kabīr</td>
<td>... 34, 35, 38</td>
<td>Āvālim-i-Ārā'ā</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ālam-i-Malakūt</td>
<td>... 12</td>
<td>Āvūṣ</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ālam-i-Mīthūl</td>
<td>... 11</td>
<td>Āvāz-i-Muṭtāk</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ālam-i-Nāsūt</td>
<td>... 12</td>
<td>Āviddīya (Āvidyā)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ālam-i-Ṣaghīr</td>
<td>... 34</td>
<td>Āvīṭr (Āvīṭrā)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ālim</td>
<td>... 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allāh</td>
<td>9, 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amchārā (Apsaras)</td>
<td>... 20, 36</td>
<td>Bād (Bāḍavānala)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anād parwāḥ (Anādi pravāha)</td>
<td>... 41</td>
<td>Bāḍi (Bāḍyū)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāhata (Anāhata)</td>
<td>... 13, 37</td>
<td>Baikunth (Vaikuntha)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anant (Ananta)</td>
<td>... 19</td>
<td>Baḷā</td>
<td>26 n26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāṣir</td>
<td>... 5</td>
<td>Baran (Varuṇa)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anj</td>
<td>39, 40</td>
<td>Barhmā (Brahmā)</td>
<td>10, 36, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anklā (? )</td>
<td>... 36</td>
<td>Barhmāṃḍ (Brahmāṃḍa)</td>
<td>30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anṣūr (an-Nabī)</td>
<td>... 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antah Karan (Antahkarana)</td>
<td>... 7</td>
<td>Bartamān (Var tâmānā)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Barzakh</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Gagan (Gagana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baṣir</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Gahlān (Ghālān)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bāṣira</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
<td>Gandh (Gandha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Batal (Vitala)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Gandharpūrī (Gandharvā Devatā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhuluk (Bhūloka)</td>
<td>35, 36</td>
<td>Gandhātmanmatār (Gandhātmanmāra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhūk (Bhūkat)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Gangā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhūkt (Bhūkkā)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Gayān-i-Indri (Jñānendriyā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bidmukh (Veda-mukha)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Gayān Surūp (Jñānasvarūpā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bikshīt</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ghīrat Samuddar (Ghīrā Samudra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bikā (?)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Hāfīza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Birahkapat (Bṛhaspati)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Hast Iklim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bishun (Vīṣṇu)</td>
<td>10, 36</td>
<td>al-Hāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bistāmiyā (Order)</td>
<td>25 n22</td>
<td>Ḥavās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bital (Vitala)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>al-Hayy-ul-Kayyīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brahmu</td>
<td>20 n1</td>
<td>Hemakūṭ (Hemakūṭa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>20 n1</td>
<td>Hīmavat (Hīmavat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Budh (Buddha)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hīrān Garbha (Hīrānagarbha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Budh (Buddha)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Hū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chach (Gakṣuk)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hū Allāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chach (Yakea)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Ḥur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chandramūs (Candramas)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Imām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chid Akūs (Ciṭākāśa)</td>
<td>5, 38</td>
<td>Imān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chishti (Order)</td>
<td>28 n43</td>
<td>Indar (Indra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chit (Cit)</td>
<td>7, 19</td>
<td>Iskāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chitan (Cetana)</td>
<td>11, 19</td>
<td>Ism-i-Aʿẓam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dadh Samundar (Dadh-Samudra)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Isrāfīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doh Diska (Dāsa Ditik)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Iḥnāʿ ʿAshkariyā (Sect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dūnma</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Jabarūt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhāiša</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
<td>ḽāgart (Jāgrat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhūṭ-ṭ-Baḥṭ</td>
<td>11, 16</td>
<td>Jahānān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhūn (Dhūna)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jal (Jala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Divatī (Devatī)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Jaltā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Divā</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jām (Yama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Draṣṭā (Draṣṭā)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Jamāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dūzakh</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Jāmīʿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fālak-i-Thawābit</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Jamānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panā</td>
<td>25 n22, 26 n26</td>
<td>Jamunān (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fathā</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Jan ḫur (Jānaloka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fīnāwūs-i-Ālā</td>
<td>33, 39</td>
<td>Jannat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fīrīshṭa</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Jāsir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jibrāʾīl (Gabriel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihāt</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin</td>
<td>20, 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīr Ātmān (Jīrātman)</td>
<td>5, 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīwan Mukt (Jīvanmukti)</td>
<td>34, 38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junādī (Order)</td>
<td>25n23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun Surūp (Jyotiḥ Svarūpa)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādir</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādirī (Order)</td>
<td>27n37, 29n49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailās (Kailāsa)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūl (Kūla)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalap birach (Kūlpā vrikṣa)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasra</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandh parī (Khanda pralaya)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārrāzī (Order)</td>
<td>26n26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūr Samundar (Khūra Samudra)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīsmat-i-Zamin</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiyāmat</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiyāmat-i-Sughrū</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubair (Kubera)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufr</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kun</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kursī</td>
<td>30, 32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lachmi (Lakṣmi)</td>
<td>10, 38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāhuṭa</td>
<td>11, 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāmisa</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavan Samundar (Lavāṇa Samudra)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luk (Loka)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luk pal (Lokapala)</td>
<td>36, 37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhīm (Madhyāma')</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahā Akās (Mahākāsa)</td>
<td>6, 7, 14, 30, 34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāparī (Mahāparīya)</td>
<td>36, 38, 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāpurīṣa (Mahāpurīṣa)</td>
<td>35, 36, 37, 38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahar lūk (Mahā lūka)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahā Sudh (Mahā Sudhā)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahātal (Mahātala)</td>
<td>31, 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahātattva</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālek (Mālekavara)</td>
<td>10, 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālakīt</td>
<td>11, 12, 13, 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālīṣa (Sect)</td>
<td>26n29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man (Manas)</td>
<td>7, 8, 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man Akās (Mānakāsa)</td>
<td>5, 32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangal (Mangala)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manukh (Manusya)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārifat</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māyā</td>
<td>5, 8, 8n1, 37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māzhār-i-Tām</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikālī</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīrījāt</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīr (Mīra)</td>
<td>20n1, 37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhaddithīn</td>
<td>24n13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhājīrin</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūkayyad</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukt (Mukti)</td>
<td>32, 33, 38, 39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munawwar</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushtarāk</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutajakkira</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutakhayyila</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutazīla (Sect)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīṭāk</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nād (Nāda)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakdh (Nīṣaṭa ?)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakṣhandī (Order)</td>
<td>4n1, 28n44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narak</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nār-i-Nūsūt</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīsūt</td>
<td>11, 12, 13, 16, 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nichattar (Nakṣatra)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīrānjan (Nīrāṇjan)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīrāṅkār (Nīrāṅkāra)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nubwweat</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūr</td>
<td>14, 15, 37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūrī (Order)</td>
<td>26n27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Om (Um)</td>
<td>14, 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakalp (Vikalpa)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāneḥ Bhūṭ (Paṇca bhūṭa)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panj Indīrī (Paṇca indriyānī)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parakāri (Praṅkti)</td>
<td>8, 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Param Ātma (Paramātma)</td>
<td>8, 8n1, 9, 10, 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parān (Prāṇa)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārbatī (Pārvati)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārī</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parjānat Devātā (Parjanyā Devatā)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parjātār (Pārjīṭra)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sarag luk (Svarga-loka) 36, 37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sarasti (Sarasvati) 10, 13, 14, 36, 37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sarasti Bhuluk (Sarasvati Bhuloka) 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sarbadā Mukt (Sarbadā muktī) 38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 n3</td>
<td>Sarīr (Sarīra) 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sarutī (Srotā) 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sarutar (Srotā) 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sat (Sattra) 10, 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 36</td>
<td>Sātag (Sattra) 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 35</td>
<td>Sat luk (Satya toka) 38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sat Parkaral (Satprakṛti) 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Satāgun (Sataguna) 10, 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Savaparakas (Svapakāsa) 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 11, 16</td>
<td>Savād jal (Śvādujala) 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, 6, 11, 15</td>
<td>Śhab 39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Śhaghl-i-Pās-ī-Anfās 7, 13 n4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Śhajar-i-Mūbārak 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Śhakt 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 7</td>
<td>Śhāmna 6, 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Śhor 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n3</td>
<td>Śhatiyāt 3 n3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17, 23 n9</td>
<td>Śhīra (Sect) 17, 23 n9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Śīfāt-i-Allāh Ta’ālā 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sitta-i-Bākṣya 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Śparś (Śparśa) 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32, 34</td>
<td>Sucham Sarīr (Śuṣṭma Sarīra) 32, 34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sudh (Suddha) 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Sukr (Sukra) 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, 37</td>
<td>Sulīk 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35, 36</td>
<td>Sumir Parat (Sumerupavata) 35, 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 36</td>
<td>Sumirā (Sumeru) 31, 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 17, 24 n15</td>
<td>Sunni (Sect) 16, 17, 24 n15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Surā Samundar (Surā Samudra) 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Sūrāj (Sūrya) 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 35</td>
<td>Sutal (Sutala) 31, 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Tābi’in 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 n22</td>
<td>Taifūriya (Order) 25 n22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 n1</td>
<td>Taṇiṣ-ī-Ḵẖaṭṭi 19 n1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 35</td>
<td>Talāṭal (Talāṭala) 31, 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tam (Tamas) 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tāmas (Tāmasa) 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 36</td>
<td>Tamūguṇ (Tamoguṇa) 10, 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzih</td>
<td>21, 22</td>
<td>Ü Manam</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzih</td>
<td>21, 22</td>
<td>Uncheh ras Samundar (Ikšu-rasa Samudra)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taplok (Tapoloka)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>'Unṣur</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariqat</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>'Unṣur-i-‘Azam</td>
<td>5, 7, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṣawwuf</td>
<td>4, 12</td>
<td>Varma</td>
<td>20 nl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tashbih</td>
<td>21, 22</td>
<td>Vayān (Vyāna)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tashbih</td>
<td>21, 22</td>
<td>Vayās (Vyāsa)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavasta (Tvaṣṭa)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Wākī</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawḥid</td>
<td>15 n7, 38</td>
<td>Wāḥima</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tεj (Tεjas)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Waktā (Vyaktā)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirdivi (Tridevi)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Wilāyat</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turgun (Trigun)</td>
<td>10, 19</td>
<td>Wukūr (Ukūra)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirmūrat (Trimūrti)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṯūbā</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turjūa (Tūrīya)</td>
<td>12, 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tvaṭk</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddān (Udāna)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Zāhirite (School)</td>
<td>26 n25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Um (Om)</td>
<td>14, 20</td>
<td>Zamin</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX III

[Translation]

Books mentioned in the Text and the Notes.

Akhār-i-Jalālī 26 n31
Anwār-ul-Ārifin 24 n14
Arba'īn 29 n16
Ashī'at-ul-Lamā'at 29 n46
Asiatic Researches 20 n1

Book of David (The) 16

Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (W. Ivanow) 27 n32, 34 n3

Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum (C. Rieu) 28 n14

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Dīwān (of Aḥmad al-Jāmī) 27 n33
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Dīwān (of Jalāluddīn Rūmī) 28 n42
Dīwān (of Jāmī) 29 n40
Dīwān (ascribed to Muṣīmadīn Chishti) 28 n43
Dīwān (of Mūlūb Shīb) 29 n40

Encyclopaedia of Islam 18 n1, 24 n12, 27 n37, n38

Fugās-ul-Ḥikam 28 n39
Futūḥat-ul-Makkiya 28 n39
Qalāt-ul-Wājīdīn 26 n25
Gulshan-i-Rāz 9 n1

Hadīkat-ul-Ḥakīkat 3 n1
Ḥadīth (quoted) 15 n1, 18, 19 n1, 41
Hasanat-ul-Ārifin 3 n3, 4 n1, 12 n3, 29 n48, n50, n51

Kashf-ul-Ḥakīk 34 n3
Kashf-ul-Mahjūb (tr. Nicholson, R.A.), 24 n14, n16, n17, 25 n24, 26 n25, n26, n27, n28, n29, n31, 27 n34, n36

Ibn Khallīkān (tr. de Slane) 24 n15
Khanjīn-ul-Āṣṣyā, 24 n14, n15, n17, n18, 25 n19, n20, n21, n22, n23, n24, 26 n25, n26, n27, n28, n27, n36
Kurān (quoted) 5, 16, 24 n15, 6, 8, 9, 13 n2, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 40

Literary History of Persia, (Vol. II), E. G. Browne, 26 n31, 27 n32, 28 n39, n40, n41, n42

Maṭārīj-un-Nubuwat 28 n43
Majma-ul-Bahrāin 4, 41
Majma'awi (Ma'āwī) 28 n42
Munawāt 12 n3, 27 n32
Muḥaṭṭā 26 n29
Nufahāt-ul-Ums 4 n1, 12 n3, n4, 15 n7, 24 n16, n17, n18, 25 n19, n20, n21, n22, n23, n24, 26 n25, n27, n28, n29, n31, 27 n34, n35, n36, n37, n38, 28 n39, n40, n42, n44, n45, 29 n46

Now Testament (The) 16
Nihāya-i-Jazari 19 n1
Old Testament (The) 16
Rashāhāt 'Ain-ul-Ḥayāt 4 n1, 28 n45
Risāla-i-Ḥak Numā 12 n3
Risāla-i-Sawānīh 27 n35
### INDEX IV

**TRANSLATION**

Places mentioned in the Notes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ahwāz</td>
<td>25 n24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmīr</td>
<td>28 n43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badakhshān</td>
<td>29 n49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badr</td>
<td>32 n5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghdād</td>
<td>12 n3, 17 n2, 24 n15, 18, 25 n20, 21, 23, 25, 26 n27, 28, 27 n30, 28 n43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghshūr</td>
<td>26 n27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghtūr</td>
<td>26 n27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkh</td>
<td>24 n19, 28 n42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baṣra</td>
<td>25 n24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biṣṭām</td>
<td>25 n22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukhārā</td>
<td>28 n44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cautillana</td>
<td>27 n38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>28 n39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dihlī</td>
<td>28 n43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>24 n16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghīra</td>
<td>24 n16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hirāt</td>
<td>26 n27, 27 n32, 29 n40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>27 n33, 28 n43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jām</td>
<td>27 n33, 28 n46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karbalā</td>
<td>23 n9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmīr</td>
<td>29 n49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauṭniyāna</td>
<td>27 n38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazwin</td>
<td>28 n41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwārān</td>
<td>26 n31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurāsūn</td>
<td>24 n17, 28 n43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwārāzm</td>
<td>28 n40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Küfa</td>
<td>24 n17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūniya</td>
<td>28 n42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>29 n47, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahna</td>
<td>26 n31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecca</td>
<td>23 n11, 24 n12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medina (or al-Madinā)</td>
<td>23 n11, n12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murcia</td>
<td>27 n39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>29 n46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samarkand</td>
<td>4 n1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soville</td>
<td>27 n38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>27 n39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>25 n19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūs</td>
<td>27 n34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tustar</td>
<td>25 n24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Contents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demy octavo</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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