

THE CONCEPT OF WILĀYA IN THE EARLY WORKS
OF DARĀ SHUKOH (1024/1615-1069/1659)

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ABSTRACT

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Early Works of Dârâ Shukôh
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The present study deals with the concept of wilâya in the early works of Dârâ Shukôh -- a Sufi, a scholar and a Mughal prince of the 12th/17th century. His interest in Hinduism made him a controversial figure in the Muslim thought of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Consequently his image as a Qâdirî Sufi was overshadowed by the image of him as a prince interested in syncretism. The present study places Dârâ in the tradition of Sufism and analyses the concept of wilâya in his early writings: *Safînat al-Awliyâ*, *Sakînat al-Awliyâ* and *Hasanât al-ʿArifîn*.

It appears that Dârâ was influenced by Sufis such as Ayn al-Quḍât al-Hamadhânî, Ibn al-ʿArabî and his Sufi Masters Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shâh. This influence played a vital rôle in the formulation of his concept of wilâya, broadening it beyond its traditional definition. It was Dârâ's Sufi thought which provided the foundation for his universalist attitude towards other religions.

RESUME

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Titre de la these: le Concept de Wilâya dans les
premières oeuvres de Dârâ
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Cette étude traite du concept de wilâya dans les premières oeuvres de Dârâ Shukôh, soufi, penseur et prince Mughal du ~~XII~~/XVIIe siècle. Du fait de l'intérêt qu'il portait à l'hindouisme il a été considéré comme un être sujet à controverse dans la pensée musulmane du sous-continent Indo-Pakistanaï. Par conséquent son image en tant que soufi Qâdirî a été ternie au profit de celle d'un prince s' intéressant au syncrétisme. Dans cette étude, Dârâ est situé dans la tradition du soufisme par une analyse du concept de wilâya tel qu'on le trouve dans ses premiers écrits: Safînat al-Awliyâ', Sakînat al-Awliyâ' et Ḥasanât al-ʿArifîn.

Il en résulte que Dârâ a été influencé par des soufis tels que Ibn al-ʿArabî, ʿAyn al-Quḍât al-Hamadânî et ses maîtres soufis Miyân Mîr et Mullâ Shâh. Cette influence a joué un rôle vital dans la formulation de son concept de wilâya, dont le développement transcende la définition

traditionnelle. C'est grâce à sa pensée soufie que Dârâ a pu fonder son attitude universaliste envers les autres religions.

DEDICATION

With special love and devotion

to my mother and my father.

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NOTE ON transliteration:

The system of transliteration of Arabic and Persian employed in the present work is generally based on that used by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. However, Arabic words such as Allah, Quran and Sufi have not been transliterated and are treated as a part of the English language. The plural of a number of terms are anglicized, e.g. *silsilas*, *mullâs*, etc. Wherever the plural of terms such as *ârif*, and *muwaḥḥid* are used, the Persian form is used. Other exceptions to the McGill system are as follows:

- (i) ḡ, dh, th and w are used instead of ẓ, z, ṣ and v.
- (ii) The French cedila is used under letters instead of a dot.
- (iii) 'ayn (ع) is represented by the superscript open bracket (').
- (iv) hamza (ء) is represented by the superscript open bracket (').
- (v) - Long vowels are denoted by a circumflex instead of a bar.
- (vi) Non-English words and the names of works are italicized instead of underlined.
- (vii) The tashdîd in wâw and yâ is represented with double (waw) and double yâ instead of ūw and îy.
- (viii) The tâ marbûṭa of terms is dropped, e.g. *wilâyah*

7
becomes wilâya.

When quotations are used from other works, the transliteration system of the respective authors is retained. All the Quranic verses used in this thesis are taken from *The Holy Qur'ân*, text translation and commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1975), except where indicated otherwise. The numbering of the verses is the same as found in there. Books and articles cited in the text and footnotes are given with full title only in the first reference and abbreviated thereafter. }

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INTRODUCTION

Dārâ Shukôh,¹ the eldest son and heir apparent of the Mughal emperor Shâhjahân, occupies an important place in the history of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Apart from being a prince, he was a Sufi Master in the Qâdiriyya silsila, and a scholar who made significant contributions to the study of Sufism and Hinduism.²

Although heir apparent, he did not succeed to the Peacock throne of his father, but was killed by his younger brother Aurangzêb.³ His interest in Hinduism and his tolerance towards the Hindus have made him a controversial figure in history. Such controversy has sometimes obscured his role as a Sufi.

Dārâ's writings have been divided by some scholars into two phases or periods: the early period when he wrote on Sufism, and the later period when he wrote on Hinduism.⁴ Two of his later works, *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* and *Sirr-i Akbar*, have given him recognition not only in the Indo-Pak subcontinent but also in the West.⁵ His controversial stand, studied by some with empathy, elicited considerable criticism from others. For the former he was a representative of those who held the "universalist attitude," including his great-grandfather Akbar and other Muslim scholars.⁶ To his

critics, Dârâ was a heretic, whose allegiance to Hinduism was greater than to Islam.

In the above controversy, Dârâ emerged as a scholar-prince interested in Hinduism only, and his personality as a Sufi has consequently not been given much importance. As a result, his early writings, which are based on Sufism, have not attracted much attention. This absence of literature on Dârâ's Sufi thought led some scholars to form an image of Dârâ based on his later writings and to superimpose this image onto his earlier life. Thus, for a more balanced and impartial view of Dârâ it is essential to emphasize and examine his early writings. This may cast some light on his later inclination towards the study of Hinduism.

The present study is an attempt in such a direction. Its purpose is to examine closely one of the aspects of Dârâ's thought, namely the concept of wilâya as portrayed in his major works on Sufism. The concept of wilâya has been chosen for the following reasons:

1. It is a basic principle of Sufism.
2. Dârâ has written three works on the biographies and sayings of the awliyâ', (sing. walî, meaning friend of God), namely Safînat al-Awliyâ', Sakînat al-Awliyâ' and

Ḥasanât al-ʿArifîn; the necessary sources therefore exist.

3. The domain of the *ʿarifân* (sing. *ʿarif*, meaning gnostic) -- who also form a group among the *awliyâ* -- in Dârâ's writings extends to include controversial figures such as Kabîr, the celebrated mystic, and a Hindu Yôgî, Bâbâ Lâl Dâs. This highlights his most important contribution in the development of Sufism in the Indian context.

This study places Dârâ in the tradition of Sufism and analyses his concept of *wilâya* as one of the major themes emerging from his writings on Sufism. It does not, however, delve into Dârâ's controversial political role and his contribution towards the study of Hindu scriptures. It neither claims to exhaust every element of his thought regarding the concept of *wilâya* in his early writings nor attempts to evaluate Dârâ's place in the history of Sufism in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. More research is needed to bring to light the Sufi aspect of his life, and to compare it with such Sufis as *Ayn al-Quḍât Hamadhânî*, *Ibn al-ʿArabî*, *Rûzbihân Baqlî* and Dârâ's Sufi Masters.

The present study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is based mainly on secondary sources: it gives a short biographical sketch of Dârâ and discusses the background of his personality as a Sufi and prince. The

second chapter is about Dârâ's scholarship on Sufism, limited to his early works. It discusses the importance of his early works as the source material for his concept of wilâya. The third chapter discusses the concept of wilâya as given expression in his three major works and his other peripheral remarks. The conclusion focuses on the implications and the importance of Dârâ's contribution to Sufism as highlighted by his use of the concept of wilâya.

NOTES

¹ Dârâ's name has been transliterated mostly in two ways: Dârâ Shikûh or Dârâ Shukôh. Since Dârâ has transliterated his own name in Sanskrit as dârâ śukoha, I prefer the second option. For details see Guy Monnot's review of Daryush Shayegan's *Les relations de l'Hindouisme et du Soufisme d'après le Majma' al-Bahrayn de Dara Shokûh*, *Bulletin Critique* (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1985), pp. 282-83.

² On Dârâ's life and the different aspects of his personality see Chapter I and Chapter II.

³ Kalika-Ranjan Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh* (hereafter, *Dara Shukoh*) (Calcutta: S.C. Sarkar and Sons, 1952), pp. 227-28.

⁴ For example see Bikrama Jit Haṣṣrat, *Dârâ Shikûh: Life and Works* (hereafter *Dârâ Shikûh*) (Allahabad: Visvabharti, 1953), pp. 9-10.

⁵ Recently a few works have been published on these two later writings. For example see Daryush Shayegan, *Les relations de l'Hindouisme et du Soufisme d'après le Majma al Bahrayn de Dara Shokuh* (hereafter *Soufisme*) Paris: Editions de la Difference, 1979); Erhard Göbel-Groß, *Sirr-i Akbar Die persische Upaniṣadenübersetzung des Mōgūlprinzen Dârâ Shukoh* (Marburg: 1962). Furthermore, after the Latin translation of Dârâ's *Sirr-i Akbar* by Anquetil Duperron in 1801, this work gained appreciation among European scholars. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (hereafter *Dimensions*) (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), pp. 261-62.

⁶ For example see Shayegan, *Soufisme*, p. 12; Sheo Narain in his concluding remarks emphasises that "Dârâ deserves a niche in the temple of comparative religion, as a translator of Sanskrit works, as a poet, as an administrator and lastly as a man," but ignores the fact that Dârâ's position as a Sufi also deserves recognition. See Sheo Narain, "Dârâ Shikoh as an Author," (hereafter "Dârâ") *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, (1913-1914), p. 38; Yohanan Friedmann in his article "Islamic Thought in Relation to the Indian Context," *Puruṣārtha* (1986), introduces Mirzâ Maẓhar Jân-i Jânân (d.1781 A.D.) as a Naqshbandî Sufi (p. 84), whereas Dârâ has been introduced as "the most significant religious thinker representing the conciliatory trend towards Hinduism." (p. 83) Muhammad Mujëeb comments: "What he [Dârâ] represents socially is the culmination of that understanding between Muslims and Non Muslims of which Akbar laid the foundation." See Muhammad Mujëeb, *The Indian Muslims* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), p. 363. Also see Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p.

271, where he says: "He [Dârâ] devoted the greater part of his time and energy to carry on a literary propaganda for the promotion of peace and concord between the better minds in Islam and Hinduism."

⁷ For example see Iftikhar Ahmad Ghauri, *War of Succession Between the Sons of Shah Jahan (1657-1658)* (hereafter *War*) (Lahore: Publishers United Ltd., 1964), pp. 67-68, where he asserts that Dârâ "gradually drifted away from orthodox Islam and nearer Hindu beliefs." Also see Shibli Nu'mânî, *Maqâlât-i Shiblî*, Vol. VII (Azamgarh: Maṭba' Ma'âraf, 1965), p. 114, where he infers that "it is evident from the preface of this work, [Sirr-i Akbar] that 'Dârâ Shukôh' was totally converted to Hinduism. There is no doubt about this [fact] that if he would have reached the emperor's throne, the Islamic values and practices would have vanished."

⁸ Although Qanungo and Hasrat have written on Dârâ's writings, much attention has been paid to the later writings. See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 99-118; Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikôh*, pp. 43-292. It is also noteworthy that Hasrat discusses the life of Sarmad, dialogues with Muḥibb Allâh and Qâdirî practices mentioned in *Risâla-i Ḥaqq-numâ* while discussing Dârâ's work *Sakînat al-Awliyâ*. The same pattern has been followed by Moin-ud-din. See Moin-ud-din, *Dara Shikoh (The Magnificent Prince)* (Lahore: Caravan Book House, 1969), pp. 11-12.

⁹ For example see Ghauri, *War*, p. 67: "Dara Shikoh chose a new path of his own by becoming a member of the Qadiriya order, whereas his father and his grandfather had belonged to the Chishtiya order." Regarding Dârâ's claim that he has attained *ma'rifa* (gnosis) Ghauri comments that "In this way, he wanted to impress the Muslims with his sainthood." (p.67) Ghauri goes to the extent of saying: "From the very outset he wanted to free himself from orthodoxy; he wanted to think independently even at the cost of antagonising his co-religionists." (p.33)

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Much has been written on Dârâ Shukôh's life.¹ Reproducing a detailed history would merely be repetitive. Nevertheless, an outline of his life with a careful examination of his personality is a necessary first step in the process of examining his thought. The following sections present an outline of Dârâ's biography based on secondary sources, with a concise account of the background of different aspects of his personality. The chapter is divided into two parts: 1) A pen sketch of Dârâ's life and 2) Background of Dârâ's personality.

1. A PEN SKETCH OF DÂRÂ'S LIFE.

Sultân Muḥammad Dârâ Shukôh, the eldest son of the Mughal emperor Shâhjahân² (d.1076/1666) and his wife Mumtâz Maḥal (d.1040/1631), was born in the city of Ajmer on the 29th of Şafar 1024 A.H./30th of March 1615 A.D.³ The Mughal

emperor Jahângîr (d.1037/1627), Dârâ's grandfather, named the newborn Muḥammad Dârâ Shukôh and conferred on his grandson the title of "the Prime Rose of the Empire."⁴

In 1034/1625, Dârâ and his brother Aurangzêb were sent as hostages to the court of Jahângîr -- where Dârâ's younger brother Shujâ' was already staying -- to resolve the political differences between Shâhjahân and Jahângîr following a peace treaty.⁵ After the death of Jahângîr, when Shâhjahân formally crowned himself on the 8th Jumâda al-Thânî 1037 A.H./February 4, 1628, Dârâ and his brothers were brought back to their father's court.⁶

In the official chronicles not much is said about the education of the prince,⁷ but we do know the names of his tutors: Mullâ 'Abd al-Laṭîf Sulṭânpûrî,⁸ Mullâ Mîrak Harawî⁹, and the famous calligrapher 'Abd al-Rashîd Daylamî.¹⁰

At the age of eighteen, Dârâ was married to Nâdira Begum (d.1069/1659).¹¹ In the year 1043/1633, Dârâ was given his first *manṣab* (rank) of 12000 *dhât* (soldiers) and 6000 *sawâr* (horsemen) and was assigned to the *jâgîr* (land) of Hisar in Punjab.¹²

In 1043/1634 he lost his first child and (possibly due to the shock) became ill. This incident had a great impact

on Dârâ's life. His father, the emperor, took him to Miyân Mîr (d.1045/1635) in order to ask him to pray for the health of his beloved son.¹³ According to Qaḥungo, the date of Dafâ's first visit to Miyân Mîr is "April 7, 1634" which corresponds to 8th Shawwal 1043. However, according to Sheikh Muhammad Ikram, Dârâ visited on "25th February 1634" which corresponds to 26th Sha'bân 1043.¹⁴ Dârâ visited Miyân Mîr a second time during the month of Rajab 1044/December 1634 and was much impressed by his personality.¹⁵

In 1049/1639, Dârâ led the first expedition towards Kandahar to stop the attack of the Persians. By the time the Mughal army reached Kabul, fear of the Persian hostility had died down and the Prince was recalled from Kabul in the first week of Rabî' al-Awwal 1049/July, 1639.¹⁶

On the 27th of Ramaḍân 1049/21st January 1640 he completed his first scholarly work, *Safînat al-Awliyâ* -- a compilation of the biographical accounts of more than four hundred Sufis of different *silsilas*.¹⁷ By this time he had begun associating with the Qâdiriyya *silсила*. It seems that during this year he was not only initiated into the Qâdiriyya *silсила* but was asked by his Sufi Master Mullâ Shâh (d.1071/1660) to guide others who already belonged to it. (See below, pp.32-33)

Throughout the next two years, Dârâ's love for art led

him to collect works of calligraphy and Mughal miniatures of his forefathers, which he then presented to his wife Nâdira Begum, with a preface written by him.¹⁸

In 1052/1642, two years after his first expedition to Kandahar, Dârâ led a second one with greater enthusiasm and a larger army. But the Persian king Shâh Šafî died while on the way to Kandahar and war was called off. As a result Dârâ returned home in great disappointment.¹⁹ During the same year, according to many scholars, Dârâ completed his second work *Sakînat al-Awliyâ* -- a work written exclusively on the Qâdiriyya silsila and the Sufis of that silsila. This date, however, is not confirmed by the work itself.²⁰

In 1055/1645, Dârâ was given the governorship of Allahabad.²¹ This enabled him to contact the important literary figure of Ilâhâbâdî²² through both correspondence and personal meetings. In the following year, Dârâ completed *Risâla-i Haqq-numâ*,²³ a short treatise on the *ṭarîqa* (path) written to help the seekers of the Sufi Master.

In 1057/1647, the province of Punjab was added to Dârâ's governorship.²⁴ In Punjab, Lahore was the only place Dârâ himself visited; he took an interest in its administration, and built new markets and buildings.²⁵ Also in Lahore, Mullâ Shâh and other literary figures were

available to him to further his intellectual growth.²⁶ Two years later in 1059/1649, Gujarat was annexed to Dârâ's governorship. However, three years later, in 1062/1652, he was relieved of its charge.²⁷

Dârâ started writing his work *Ḥasanât al-ʿArifîn* in 1062/1652. This work includes the aphorisms of the Sufis, those of the Hindu Yôgî Bâbâ Lâl Dâs and a few other personalities who were popular in Lahore.²⁸ *Ḥasanât* was completed on 7th Muḥarram 1065/17th November 1654. By 1062/1652 Dârâ held the *manṣab* of 30,000 *dhât* with a contingent of 20,000 *sawâr* which had been the rank of Shâhjahân before his accession to the throne.²⁹ Kabul and Multan also came under his governorship.³⁰

In 1063/1653, Dârâ undertook a third expedition to Kandahar,³¹ the results of which adversely affected his prestige as a political and military leader.³² Because of his undiplomatic attitude towards the *manṣabdârs* (commanders), many officers sought the humiliation of Dârâ and his favourites rather than the capture of Kandahar.³³ Although the expedition succeeded in taking the forts in Zamindawar, it was by and large a failure. In spite of that -- due to the love and affection of his father -- Dârâ was praised by Shâhjahân.³⁴

In 1065/1655, Dârâ completed his other work *Majmaʿ*

al-Baḥrayn, a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam.³⁵ In the same year, the title of "Shâh-i Buland Iqbâl" (king of the good fate) was bestowed on him by the emperor Shâhjahân, who made explicit his intentions to involve Dârâ in all matters of the empire.³⁶

The translation of *Yoga-Vâsiṣṭha*, entitled *Jûg Bâshist*, was completed on Dârâ's order in 1066/1656. He dictated, through a translator, the preface to this work.³⁷

By 1067/1657, Dârâ's military command rose to the *manṣab* of 60,000 *dhât* and 40,000 *sawâr*.³⁸ In the same year, Dârâ completed the translation of the *Upanishads* (*Sirr-i Akbar*),³⁹ and supervised the translation of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*.⁴⁰ It was during this time of Dârâ's literary and political achievements that Shâhjahân fell ill.⁴¹ From then on, Dârâ participated actively in the affairs of the empire as his father's regent.⁴² Although the emperor Shâhjahân ordered the courtiers and the officers to obey Dârâ "as their sovereign in everything,"⁴³ Dârâ's brothers, Shujâ', Aurangzêb and Murâd, refused.⁴⁴ As soon as they heard about their father's illness, Aurangzêb and Murâd condemned Dârâ as a *mulḥid* (heretic)⁴⁵ and advanced towards Agra, while Shujâ', after crowning himself, marched towards Banaras.⁴⁶

In 1068/1658, while Dârâ's eldest son Sulaymân Shukôh was engaged in fighting Shujâ',⁴⁷ Dârâ confronted his other

two brothers at Samugarh.⁴⁸ He fought bravely, but due to the treachery and betrayal of his own officers, he lost. Afterwards he retreated from Agra to Delhi. He reached Ahmadabad via Lahore, Multan and Sind, and was able to establish his own court there.⁴⁹

A few months later, in Jumâda al-Thâni 1069/March 1659, Dârâ marched with his troops to Ajmer and faced his younger brother Aurangzêb in Deorai.⁵⁰ But once again he was betrayed by his own camp, and fled to Gujârat,⁵¹ via Kutch.⁵² From Gujarat he reached Balûch tribal territory, where he was offered help so that he could safely reach Kandahar.⁵³ But the offer was turned down by Nâdira and other women of his harem.⁵⁴ As a last resort, Dârâ asked for the help of an Afghânî tribal chief Malik Jîwan, whose life Dârâ had once saved.⁵⁵ When Dârâ reached the fort of Dadar (held by Malik Jîwan), his wife died.⁵⁶ This came as a shock to Dârâ. He sent the remains of Nâdira to Lahore to be buried in the precincts of the grave of Miyân Mîr.⁵⁷

During the month of Ramadân 1069/June 1659, Dârâ was again betrayed. This time it was his host, Malik Jîwan, who imprisoned him and his son while they were on their way to Kandahar.⁵⁸ After two weeks they were handed over to Bahâdur Khan, a general of Aurangzêb. Two months later, the party reached Delhi.⁵⁹ On the orders of Aurangzêb, Dârâ and his son Sipîhr Shukôh were paraded in disgrace on the streets of

Delhi.⁶⁰ Finally, a group of Aurangzêb's confidants advised the emperor to execute Dârâ. He was beheaded in the month of Dhû al-Hijja 1069/August 1659.⁶¹

Although Dârâ failed to prove himself to be a good diplomat, his great contribution to scholarship will always be remembered in the history of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. His major works have already been mentioned in this sketch of Dârâ's life. There remain a few other works which unfortunately cannot be placed in such a precise chronology due to insufficient information.⁶²

2. BACKGROUND OF DÂRÂ'S PERSONALITY:

As was indicated above, Dârâ Shukôh can be seen as a Mughal prince, a Qâdirî Sufi and a scholar interested in Sufism and Hinduism. Knowledge of these aspects of his personality will help us to examine closely his Sufi thought. Since his scholarship on Hinduism does not fall into the domain of the present study and his scholarship on Sufism will be discussed in Chapter II, we will confine this section to two topics only: a) Dârâ as a Mughal prince and b) Dârâ as a Qâdirî Sufi. In discussing the first topic, we will highlight the relationship of Dârâ and his ancestors with non-Muslims, which will help explain Dârâ's inclusion of a Hindu Yogi in his concept of wilâya. This discussion

will not include other political details to the present study. Our discussion of the second topic will place Dârâ firmly in the tradition of Sufism. It will highlight Dârâ's attachment to the Qâdirîyya silsila and the influence of Qâdirî Sufis on his Sufi thought.

(a) Dârâ as a Mughal prince:

Dârâ was considered to be a supporter of Hindus⁶³ by many contemporary historians, as well as by modern scholars. For some of these writers, Dârâ's purpose behind this support was to create an ideal society for both Hindus and Muslims in the subcontinent.⁶⁴ Other scholars believed that by this move he actively identified himself with and sought to promote the heterodox elements of his society. In this way Dârâ and Aurangzêb have been understood to be the two poles of heterodoxy and orthodoxy respectively.⁶⁵

Dârâ's sympathy towards the Hindu religion was exploited by Aurangzêb during the "war of succession," and his view was later accepted by court historians.⁶⁶ A Hindu name in Dârâ's list of awliyâ' and ârifân in his early writings seems to confirm this accusation. To understand Dârâ's inclination towards Hinduism it is necessary to know the relationship of the Mughals with non-Muslims before Dârâ.

The Mughal empire was founded in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁶⁷ The "will" of the first Mughal emperor Bâbar⁶⁸ -- most probably a spurious document -- left for his son Humayûn⁶⁹ portrays Bâbur as having been as open-minded and liberal in his attitude towards the non-Muslim majority as his grandson Akbar was later to be.⁷⁰ Akbar adopted various new measures which may have been understood by the Sharî'a-minded (ulamâ) as un-Islamic. For example he abolished jizya, (a tax imposed by Islamic law on "people of the Book") removed all restrictions upon religious worship by non-Muslims, encouraged the translation of Hindu religious books into Persian, issued orders permitting Hindus who had been converted by force to Islam to revert to their faith, replaced the Hijri or lunar calendar with a solar one called the *Ilâhî* ("divine") calendar and started participating in Hindu festivals.⁷¹

Akbar's "universalist attitude,"⁷² which disregarded the lines of demarcation between the Hindus and the Muslims, culminated in the formation of *dîn-i ilâhî*, a syncretic system of thought based on *tawhîd-i ilâhî* (divine unity).⁷³ However, the Sharî'a-minded (ulamâ) were not ready to erase the "communal lines." They took a strong stand against Akbar, but were not able to bring about any noticeable change in his policy.⁷⁴

When Jahângîr -- Akbar's son -- came to the throne, a

group of the Sharī'a-minded (ulamā) approached him and requested him to re-instate those Islamic institutions which had been closed by Akbar to promote tolerance towards Hindus.⁷⁵ In the beginning Jahāngīr was sympathetic to the Sharī'a-minded (ulamā), but he gradually became less enthusiastic in his support of them. Towards Hindus in general he remained tolerant throughout his life.⁷⁶ Sajida Alvi summarises this attitude:

Jahāngīr's tolerant and liberal policies, which followed the tradition of his father, facilitated further blooming of the Indo-Islamic composite culture.⁷⁷

Jahāngīr was not only tolerant towards Hindus, but was also interested in their teachings. For example, he held a few discussions with Yôgī Jadrûp⁷⁸ at Ujjan. After his meetings he expressed the opinion that the Vedānta of the Hindus and Sufi thought among the Muslims were almost identical.⁷⁹

It appears that the Sharī'a-minded (ulamā) did succeed in convincing Jahāngīr's son, Shāhjahān, to take certain measures against the non-Muslims, which included bans on: 1) the celebration of non-Muslim festivities in the Mughal court, 2) the missionary activities, and 3) the construction of new prayer houses.⁸⁰ Another step taken to draw a clear "communal line" between Hindus and Muslims included the separation of Muslim wives from Hindu husbands unless the latter accepted Islam.⁸¹

Apart from these measures against the non-Muslims, Shâhjahân nevertheless retained many Hindu practices, a fact which can be interpreted as a deviation from the teachings of Sharî'a-minded (ulamâ'). In the words of Pandit Sheo Narain:

Shâh Jahân, as we know, despite his Muhammadan proclivities, manifested his Hindu origin in many ways. His early morning appearance in the Jharoka to give "Darshan" to his subjects, his adoption of the image of a peacock of gold and jewels as the ensign of royalty, after the fashion of the ancient Buddhist and Hindu Rajas, his laying the foundations of public buildings in human blood, placing two stone statues or two stone elephants at the entrance gate of his palace, clearly points his deviation from the orthodox Muhammadan fashion.⁸²

Shâhjahân also supported the artistic endeavours of his people without discriminating between them, and was applauded for this by both Hindus and Muslims.⁸³ In the later years of his life, like Jahângîr, he was also inclined towards non-Muslims. For some historians, this inclination was due to the efforts of Dârâ and his sister Jahânârâ.⁸⁴

There are two instances which show Dârâ's efforts to solve the problems of Hindus. According to the first, he persuaded Shâhjahân to remit the pilgrimage tax; according to the second, the emperor restored the temple of Chintaman -- destroyed by Aurangzêb -- to Hindus on his request.⁸⁵ Though no one can deny Dârâ's efforts in the court of Shâhjahân to bring about a balanced view of the

Hindus and their problems,⁸⁶ to give credit only to Dârâ undermines the fact that Shâhjañan was himself an open-minded person and shared a Hindu heritage through his Hindu mother and Hindu grandmother.⁸⁷

A close examination of the historical facts shows that Dârâ treated both Hindus and Muslims equally. Most scholars recognize Dârâ's efforts towards the abolition of the Hindu pilgrim tax and the restoration of the Chintaman temple.⁸⁸ But very few have paid attention to his architectural work in Lahore, where Dârâ as a Muslim traditional Prince built a mosque and a mausoleum.⁸⁹ As a scholar he had a special interest in studying Hindu literature,⁹⁰ but was equally interested in Sufi literature.⁹¹ He met with Hindu Yôgîs and worked with Hindu scholars⁹² in the same manner as he met with the Sufis of other than his own silsila⁹³ and worked with other Sufi-scholars.⁹⁴

While Dârâ's broad-minded attitude towards the Hindus may be seen as a continuation of Akbar's policy,⁹⁵ it should be noted that this in no way implies Dârâ's automatic acceptance of the *dîn-i ilâhî*.⁹⁶ As a matter of fact, Dârâ does not mention the *dîn-i ilâhî* anywhere in his works,⁹⁷ and he does not claim any relationship with the thought of Akbar.⁹⁸ Although one may suspect that Dârâ must have known about its formation and its after-effects, the apparent resemblance between the two -- Akbar, and Dârâ -- is their

"universalist approach."

(b) Dârâ as a Qâdirî Sufi:

In order to understand and analyse Dârâ's concept of wilâya, it is essential to consider his role as a Sufi. Hence, this section will provide a brief discussion of the Qâdiriyya silsila and Dârâ's role as a Sufi.

About seven hundred years before Dârâ's birth (1024/1615),¹⁰⁰ when Sind was a part of the Umayyad Caliphate¹⁰¹, Manşûr Hallâj (d.310/922) became the first prominent Sufi to visit India and especially Sind.¹⁰² Alî bin 'Uthmân Hujwîrî (d.465/1072?) was the second prominent Sufi to come to India.¹⁰³ He came with the Ghaznavids who attacked the Hindu and Fâtimid territories.¹⁰⁴

Apart from these two personalities, a real influx of Sufis in the Indo-Pak subcontinent can be found only after the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰⁵ Of the later five popular Sufi silsilas, the Chishtiyya, the Suhrawardiyya and the Firdawsiyya established their monasteries in the middle of the thirteenth century¹⁰⁶ while the other two silsilas -- Qâdiriyya and Naqshbandiyya -- became well known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁰⁷

The Qâdiriyya silsila -- the followers of 'Abd al-Qâdir Gîlânî (d.562/1166) -- was established and flourished in Deccan in the middle of the fourteenth century. Interestingly, the Qâdiriyya silsila is mentioned in *A'in-i Akbarî* as a highly respected silsila but is not included among those recognised in India.¹⁰⁸ This was perhaps due to the fact that during the reign of Akbar it was still new and unorganised, unlike its subsequent status during the reign of Jahângîr. Furthermore, the Qâdirîs, in contrast to the Chishtîs and the Suhrawardîs, had no connections with the reigning emperors before or during the Mughal empire until Miyân Mîr visited Jahângîr.¹⁰⁹

One of the important personalities of the Qâdiriyya silsila was Mûḥammad Ghawth (d.932/1517) who reached Uch in 887/1482.¹¹⁰ It was after him that the Qâdiriyya silsila rapidly spread across India and the Qâdirî Sufis became more active in Sind, Punjab and Kashmir. In the seventeenth century, under the leadership of Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shâh, it became more organised and expanded its activities into the subcontinent.¹¹¹

The Qâdiriyya, like other Sufi silsilas, were tolerant in their attitude towards non-Muslims. In this respect they were very close to the Chishtî Sufis who were ardent supporters of the "universalist" approach. An anecdote about a Chishtî Sufi Khwâja Farîd al-Dîn Ganj-i Shakar

(d.664/1265)¹¹², reflects this attitude. When someone presented Farîd with a pair of scissors, he rejected the gift, saying:

Give me a needle and not the scissors, because I am not the 'one who cuts' but I am the 'one who binds'.¹¹³

The idea of "cutting" and "binding" can be interpreted as symbolising the "communalist" and the "universalist" approaches respectively.

The Qâdirî Sufis were also strong supporters of the universalist approach. Historical accounts show, for example, that Miyân Mîr's friends included the Hindu Yôgî Bâbâ Lâl and the Sikh Gurû Har Goind.¹¹⁴ Similarly, Mullâ Shâh, in a letter to Jahânârâ (sister of Dârâ, who was a practicing Chishtî Sufi and later became a Qâdiriyya and a disciple of Mullâ Shâh), reflects the universalist attitude. In it he makes it clear that the concept of God is not limited. It therefore does not ultimately matter to the *ahl-i allâh* (people of God) whether someone is *mu'min* (faithful Muslim) or *kâfir* (infidel), these concepts being "limited" as well.¹¹⁵

This approach was not only against the preachings of the Sharî'a-minded 'ulamâ' of the time but also stood in some contrast to the Naqshbandiyya thought in India which

was grounded firmly in "law-bound mystical life."¹¹⁶ The Indian Naqshbandiyya silsila grew as a reaction to Akbar's religious policy around the beginning of the seventeenth century. The most remarkable personality of this silsila was that of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindî (d.1034/1624).¹¹⁷ About Shaykh Sirhindî, Schimmel says:

In modern times, Ahmad Sirhindî has usually been depicted as the person who defended Islamic orthodoxy against the heterodoxy of Akbar and his imitators, the leader whose descendants supported Aurangzeb against his mystically inclined brother Dârâ Shikôh.¹¹⁸

Sirhindî's "communal" approach can be deduced from his work *Radd-i Rawâfiq* (Refutation of the Shî'is),¹¹⁹ and from certain remarks against Hindus in his letters.¹²⁰ But his image as "a defender of the sharî'a" and the involvement of his followers in court politics is a controversial matter. According to Friedmann, Sirhindî's image as a defender of sharî'a was developed in the beginning of the twentieth century and was not current at that earlier time.¹²¹ Interestingly, Sirhindî's biography mentioned in *Safîna* seems to support Friedmann's suggestion, because at no point does Dârâ criticize or make any direct negative remark against Sirhindî or his followers.¹²² He does not report any indication of the Naqshbandiyya "political" reaction against him or of their support for the Sharî'a-minded (ulamâ). In fact, Dârâ defends Sirhindî by saying that:

Some [of the people] blame the Shaykh [Sirhindî] for claiming that 'my [Sirhindî speaking of himself] status is higher than the *Khulafâ-i Râshidîn*', but this is a mere allegation and is coined by the opponents.¹²³

This supports the idea that Sirhindî had some differences with the 'ulamâ' of the time who were not happy with his thought. It also shows that although Sirhindî's "communalist" approach and attitude towards the "formalism" of Islam was no doubt a Sharî'a-minded attitude, it was very different from that of the Sharî'a-minded 'ulamâ' of his time.¹²⁴ His concept of *waḥdat al-shuhûd* (lit. the unity of witness) was akin to that of Simnânî, yet there was a certain influence of Ibn al-'Arabî on Sirhindî's thought.¹²⁵

Unlike Sirhindî, Qâdirîs in general were ardent supporters of Ibn al-'Arabî's philosophy of *waḥdat al-wujûd* (lit. the unity of Being).¹²⁶ This influence can be traced in the thought of Miyân Mîr and his disciple Mullâ Shâh, both of whom played an important role in the organisation of the *silsila*. About Miyân Mîr, Sheikh Ikram quotes from *'Amal-i Şâlih*:

He [Miyân Mîr] knew many sentences of [the] *Futûḥât* by heart and used to recite each and every page of Jâmî's *Sharḥ-i Fuṣûṣ* from memory.¹²⁷

In the same way Mullâ Shâh was a great admirer of Ibn al-'Arabî's school of thought. Dârâ reports Mullâ Shâh's

admiration of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings.¹²⁸ Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence can be seen in Mullā Shāh's poetry and letters, especially the one he wrote to Dārā's sister Jahānārā (d.1092/1681).¹²⁹ In the same way Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence on the Qādirī poets is also reflected in the works of Shāh Ḥusayn Lāhorī (d.1002/1593-94) and Ḥājjī Muḥammad Qādirī, popularly known as Naushāh (d.1065/1654).¹³⁰

Dārā appears to have been interested in the Qādiriyya silsila from his childhood. After initiation he assumed the role of a Sufi Master and remained loyal to it throughout his life. Mullā Shāh had expectations that through Dārā the Qādiriyya silsila would become well known all over India.¹³¹ These expectations might have become realized, had Dārā assumed power instead of Aurangzēb.

Before Dārā, Mughal history showed a certain inclination of the emperors towards the Sufis. For example Akbar's son Jahāngīr was born in the house of a Chishtī Sufi.¹³² The same Jahāngīr, when he became emperor, had a cordial relationship with Miyān Mīr.¹³³ Jahāngīr's son Shāhjahān visited the tomb of the celebrated Sufi to pray for the birth of his son.¹³⁴ Dārā admits that it was by the grace of God and the prayers of the Sufi that he was born.¹³⁵ Shāhjahān also took Dārā to Miyān Mīr's residence and asked the Sufi to pray for Dārā's health; this, perhaps, became a turning point in the life of Dārā.¹³⁶ Shāhjahān's

daughter Jahânârâ, was a disciple of the Chishtiyya silsila. She wrote Mu'nis al-Arwâḡ, a biography of Khwâja Mu'in al-Dîn, as a token of love and appreciation for him. After quite some time with the Chishtiyya silsila she attached herself to the Qâdiriyya silsila.¹³⁷

The Mughal traditional attachment to the Sufis not only played a vital role in Dârâ's understanding and acceptance of Sufi thought, but his specific inclination to the Qâdiriyya silsila was perhaps due to his teacher, Mullâ Mîrak Harawî.¹³⁸ Dârâ had mentioned his teacher's name in his *Sakîna* as Akhûnd Mîrak, Shaykh, and had introduced him as a Qâdirî Sufi.¹³⁹ Since Mullâ Mîrak Harawî was Dârâ's tutor from his childhood,¹⁴⁰ this may be one of the reasons that Dârâ had claimed his affiliation to the Qâdirî silsila "from the beginning."¹⁴¹ He also claimed that 'Abd al-Qâdir was his Sufi Master.¹⁴² Such statements should not, of course, be taken in a literal sense; it was quite common for Sufis to refer to early masters of their silsila as their own Shaykh. For example Nûr al-Dîn ('Abd al-Rahmân Isfarâ'inî (d.717/1317) refers to Najm al-Dîn Kubrâ (d.618/1221) as his own Shaykh.¹⁴³

As mentioned earlier (see above, p.9), it was not before 8th Shawwâl 1043/ 7th April 1634 or perhaps two months earlier that Dârâ met Miyân Mîr for the first time. Qâḍî Muḥammad, popularly known as Miyân Mîr, Miyân Jiv or

Mîr Muḥammad was a Qādirî Sufî, born in Siwistân (Sind) in 938/1531-32.¹⁴⁴ He was a 'disciple of Shaykh Khiḍr of the Qādiriyya silsila.¹⁴⁵ After completing his education, Miyân Mîr obtained permission [to teach] (ijâzat) from his Shaykh and went to Lahore.¹⁴⁶ Here he joined the school (ḥalqa-i dars) of Mawlânâ Sa'd Allâh Khân and learned the "rational and traditional" sciences.¹⁴⁷ After that Miyân Mîr turned towards meditation. From Lahore he went to Sirhind¹⁴⁸ but returned to Lahore and stayed until his death (7th Rabi' al-Awwal 1045/21st August 1635).¹⁴⁹ During his stay at Lahore he became well known because of his pious personality. The Mughal emperors Jahângîr and Shâhjahân paid him respect. It was during Miyân Mîr's time when the Qādiriyya silsila became famous and organised in the subcontinent.¹⁵⁰

Dârâ developed a relationship with Miyân Mîr which continued to grow stronger till the last year of Miyân Mîr's life. One finds many examples in *Sakîna* which suggest that Dârâ had close contacts with Miyân Mîr. For example, he used to communicate with Miyân Mîr through his teacher Mullâ Mîrak.¹⁵¹ He also received many gifts (amânât wa tabarrukât) from Miyân Mîr via Nûr Muḥammad -- a servant of Miyân Mîr.¹⁵²

The relationship between Dârâ and Miyân Mîr raises the question of whether or not Dârâ was "formally initiated" by

Miyân Mîr. To clarify this question, it should be noted first of all that initiation by a Sufi Master does not necessarily imply complete initiation. Many Sufi Shaykhs would bestow a *khirqa* (lit. 'rag'. A dervish's patched garment) upon their disciple at the beginning of the novitiate (*murîdiyya*) as a sign of initiation, then a second one at the end of their education as a sign that they could represent the Master.¹⁵³ According to Majd al-Dîn al-Baghdâdî (d. 616/1219): "It takes normally three years for such a period of education to be complete according to the custom (*sunna*) of the Shaykhs."¹⁵⁴

There can be no doubt that Dârâ was accepted by Miyân Mîr as a disciple. However, as he knew him for less than nineteen months (i.e. from 26th Sha'bân 1043/25th February 1634 at the earliest till Miyân Mîr's death on 7th Rabî' al-Awwal 1045/21st August 1635), it seems rather unlikely that his Sufi education was completed during Miyân Mîr's life time. In *Safîna*, which was completed in 1049 A.H. (i.e. four years after Miyân Mîr's death) and apparently before he met Mullâ Shâh (who is mentioned in *Safîna* only as one of the "perfect followers" of Miyân Mîr along with others), Dârâ refers to himself as being in Miyân Mîr's service (*mulâzimat*).¹⁵⁵ However, he does not yet refer to him as "my Shaykh" as he does in his later works.¹⁵⁶

The Qâdiriyya silsila is already given preference, in

Dârâ's first work, but apart from a single reference to himself as a "Ḥanafî Qâdirî" in the introduction,¹⁵⁷ there is very little to suggest that Dârâ was writing his *Safîna* as a fully initiated member of the Qâdiriyya silsila. As will be shown in Chapter IV, this work is a collection of biographical accounts of Sufis and saints in general. It is possible that the introduction may well have been written after completion of the work, or, alternatively rewritten later.¹⁵⁸ At any rate, it seems that it was left for Miyân Mîr's disciple Mullâ Shâh to complete Dârâ's education as his second Master. Changing one's Master was generally frowned upon by the Sufis except under certain circumstances, such as the premature death of one's first Master.¹⁵⁹

In his second work, *Sakîna* (started in or before 1052/1642), Dârâ makes it quite clear that his formal affiliation with Sufism (*nisbat-i irâdat*) was due to Mullâ Shâh.¹⁶⁰ Had Dârâ wanted to say that he was directly affiliated twice, i.e. to both Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shâh, he could have done so, as he did in the case of Najm al-Dîn al-Kubrâ. In *Safîna*, using the same term *nisbat-i irâdat* for Kubra's formal affiliation with Sufism, he points out that it was "(split into) two sides" (*dû ṭarafa*).¹⁶¹ Furthermore, in an autobiographical passage of *Risâla-i Ḥaqq-numâ*, Dârâ specifies that he received initiation (*bi-sharaf-i irâdat musharraf shudam*) after the completion of *Safîna*, and before writing *Sakîna*.¹⁶²

However, the fact that in *Sakīna Dārā* refers to Miyān Mīr sometimes as the Shaykh of his own Shaykh and sometimes as simply his own Shaykh, shows that the figure of this Master continued to play an extremely important role in his mind. This is also evidenced by his dedication of *Sakīna* to the memory of Miyān Mīr (*Sakīna-i Miyān Mīr*)¹⁶³ and his reference to Miyān Mīr in *Ḥasanāt*.¹⁶⁴ The same may be said about the visionary appearances of Miyān Mīr that are mentioned by Dārā in *Sakīna*.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately, these two visionary appearances are presented in such a way by Ḥaṣrat that they appear as historical accounts and from them one may erroneously infer that Dārā was initiated by Miyān Mīr after meeting him in Lahore.¹⁶⁶

In the first account, dated 7th Dhū al-Ḥijja (the year is not mentioned), Miyān Mīr asked Dārā to come close, and hugged him so tightly that Dārā was afraid his heart would burst. Dārā writes that Miyān Mīr, while hugging him, told him to carry his *amāna* (lit. trust). After that his heart was purified and illuminated with light and was full of ecstasy.¹⁶⁷ In the second experience, which occurred on the 27th of Ramaḍān 1051/30th December 1641, Dārā had a vision in which he saw Miyān Mīr's tomb.¹⁶⁸ Miyān Mīr came out of the grave and sat on a chair. On his instructions Dārā came close to Miyān Mīr and showed his respect for Miyān Mīr by kissing his hands and feet. Miyān Mīr gave Dārā sweets, took his hand and asked him to come still closer so that he could

teach him "something." After that, in Dârâ's words: "he pressed my two index fingers into my ears so tightly that I became totally *Sultân al-adhkâr* (lit. king of the *dhikrs*)."¹⁶⁹

Since the ~~second~~ experience occurred six years after Miyân Mîr's death and clearly refers to the Sufi's grave,¹⁷⁰ we may interpret this as a kind of initiation in a psychological sense. This may be the reason why Rizvi calls it a symbolical initiation.¹⁷¹ More traditionally speaking, this is what Dârâ means when he says that Miyân Mîr continued to "educate" him (*tarbiyat*) after his death through the "Uwaysî method".¹⁷²

Shâh Muḥammad or Muḥammad Shâh, popularly known as Mullâ Shâh Badakhshî, was born in the village of Arkasa in Badakhshan.¹⁷³ In his youth he came to the subcontinent and became a follower of Miyân Mîr. He performed meditation (*riyâḍat*) and other mystical exercises (*mujâhidat*) under Miyân Mîr for thirty years.¹⁷⁴ During the latter part of his life Miyân Mîr gave permission to Mullâ Shâh to teach some of his followers (*murîdân*).¹⁷⁵ Mullâ Shâh played an active role as Dârâ's Sufi Master. Mullâ Shâh died in 1071/1660 approximately two years after Dârâ's execution.¹⁷⁶

In *Sakîna*, Dârâ recalls the account of his first meeting with Mullâ Shâh, but does not mention when this

meeting occurred.¹⁷⁷ Elsewhere he describes what appears to be a later meeting with a "friend of God":

On 12th of Dhû al-Ḥijja 1049 A.H., when I was in my twenty-fifth year, He [God] made me reach the companionship of one amongst His friends who showed [special] kindness to me. Hence, whatever others would attain in one month from him, I attained in one night and whatever others would attain in one year I attained in one month and if others reached the stage after years of struggle and spiritual exercise I found it without any exercise, with his bounty; and once and for all the friendship [love] of the two worlds went out of my heart. And the doors of [divine] bounty and mercy were opened upon my heart and He gave me whatever I asked. Now even though I belong to the people of the world, yet I am not one of them for I have known their ignorance and affliction [for what it is] and even though I am far from *darvîshî* [externally], I belong to them [spiritually].¹⁷⁸

According to Hasrat,¹⁷⁹ Dârâ meant Miyân Mîr to be the God-knowing man in the above passage, because he met Miyân Mîr in 1049/1639, after becoming the governor of Lahore. This, however, is impossible, since Miyân Mîr died in 1045/1635.¹⁸⁰ In this regard Rizvi is probably right in inferring that Dârâ meant Mullâ Shâh to be the God-knowing person.¹⁸¹ But this was likely not his first meeting with Mullâ Shâh. From Jahânârâ's report in her work *Ṣâḥabiyya*, Dârâ spoke highly about Mullâ Shâh even before she herself reached Kashmir and met with the Sufi on the 9th Dhû al-Ḥijja 1049/1st April 1640.¹⁸² During her stay Jahânârâ was initiated into the Qâdiriyya *silsila* by Mullâ Shâh. This also suggests that Dârâ may have been formally initiated before Jahânârâ.¹⁸³ Thus it seems that the report of the

first meeting refers to his acceptance by Mullâ Shâh, whereas the second report refers to the end of the process of Sufi education.

It is noteworthy that elsewhere in *Sakîna*, Dârâ praises Mullâ Shâh in these words:

He showed more kindness to me than to any of his companions who were in his service since twenty or thirty years.¹⁸⁴

These words of praise in which he expressed that special favours were shown to him, are not only very similar to the report of his second meeting (above) with a "friend of God,"¹⁸⁵ but are mentioned in the context of Mullâ Shâh's request to Dârâ to guide others to the Qâdiriyya fold.¹⁸⁶ This supports the speculation that it was perhaps at this meeting that he reached the highest stage of Sufi education,¹⁸⁷ i.e. the permission to teach Sufism. Dârâ stayed at Kashmir for six months in the year 1049/1639.¹⁸⁸ One may presume that both meetings were held during this stay, and that he was not only "initiated" but also reached the status of "Sufi Master" in a "very short period."¹⁸⁹

As with other contemporary Qâdirî awliyâ' and poets, one can also find the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabî's philosophy in Dârâ's works. Both *Safîna* and *Sakîna* show glimpses of that influence. For example, in both of these

works the concept of "mufradân" (lit. solitaries) has a special place¹⁹⁰, and Dârâ refers to Ibn al-ʿArabî in explaining it.¹⁹¹ In his other writings such as *Risâla-i Haqq-numâ*, *Hasanât al-ʿArifîn*, one finds a remarkable influence of Ibn al-ʿArabî's philosophy of *waḥdat al-wujûd*. His comparative work on Hinduism and Islam *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn* also shows Ibn al-ʿArabî's influence.¹⁹² Similarly in his *Dîwân* many quatrains reflect the same trend of thought. For example:¹⁹³

Look where you can, All is He:
God's face is ever face to face.

or:

Whatever thou beholdest except Him,
is the object of thy fancy;
Things other than He
have their existence like a mirage.

Dârâ's association with the celebrated Sufi-scholar of his time, Muḥibb Allâh Ilâhâbâdî -- author of a *Sharḥ-i Fuṣûṣ* and popularly known as the Ibn-i ʿArabî of Hind -- also demonstrates his interest in the philosophy of Ibn al-ʿArabî.¹⁹⁴

It is interesting to note the account of Dârâ's last days in prison written by the Venetian traveller Niccolao Manucci. According to Manucci,¹⁹⁵ Dârâ in his last days wanted to become a Christian, and for this purpose he asked for a meeting to be arranged with Father Buzeo. His request

was turned down. In disappointment, Dârâ started saying loudly "Muḥammad kills me and the son of God gives me life." Of course, this quotation from hearsay may not reflect Dârâ's words accurately. However, if Dârâ's alleged words are analysed in the light of Ibn al-ʿArabî's teachings, a possible explanation emerges. According to Ibn al-ʿArabî,¹⁹⁶ although every walî (Sufi) follows the sharîʿa of the prophet Muḥammad, he also chooses to follow the example of prophets such as Jesus, Moses or Noah. At the time of his death, a Sufi following such a prophet may invoke the name of that prophet. This invocation, if heard by the general milieu, may be misunderstood, and interpreted to mean that the Sufi has become either a Christian or a Jew. If the above quote was actually stated by Dârâ, it conveys that Dârâ may have been a Sufi and a follower of Jesus in the above sense. In any case, the extent to which Dârâ was influenced by Ibn al-ʿArabî is a question which needs a careful and thorough study.

It seems that Dârâ's attachment to the Qâdiriyya silsila, his Sufi experience, his interest in Ibn al-ʿArabî's works and the inspiration from his Sufi Master and other personalities, helped him to broaden his outlook. He therefore developed an interest in other religions. In the introduction to his *Sirr-i Akbar*, he mentions that he studied *Tawrât* (the Pentateuch), *Injîl* (the Bible), *Zabûr* (the Psalms) and afterwards the four *Vedâs*.¹⁹⁷

In order to determine precisely, how Dârâ's outlook was broadened, it may be of interest to know the personalities whom Dârâ met. Apart from his close relationship with Shaykh Muhibb Allâh Ilâhâbâdî,¹⁹⁸ he was also close to a number of other Sufis which he mentions in the final part of the *Ḥasanât* such as Shaykh Farîd, Shaykh Shâh Muḥammad Yamînî Barî, Shaykh Bârî, Shaykh Shâh Muḥammad Dilrubâ, and Shaykh Sulaymân Mişrî. The accounts of the above mentioned Sufis in *Ḥasanât* make it very evident that none of them was Sharî'a-minded, to say the least. Two of them -- Ḥaḍrat Bârî and Shâh Muḥammad Dilrubâ -- are considered by Dârâ as his masters (*ustâdân*).¹⁹⁹ Dârâ used to write to Shâh Dilrubâ and at least six letters are extant, in *Fayyâḍ al-Qawânîn*.²⁰⁰ He was very close to Ḥaḍrat Bârî whose Sufi Master and silsila remained a secret. Dârâ quotes one of his sayings, that he had "killed both *mullâ* and *pandit*."²⁰¹ Shaykh Farîd and Shaykh Yamînî Barî were two other "solitaries" (*mufraḍ*) of Lahore, and were amongst Dârâ's good friends. Dârâ praises Shaykh Farîd by saying that where the 'special prayer of (*ulamâ*)' failed, Shaykh Farîd's miraculous power worked, and the city of Lahore received rain during the time of natural calamity.²⁰² Shaykh Sulaymân Mişrî was a *qalandarî* Sufi according to Dârâ's account. He himself received him in Delhi and remained with him for a while.²⁰³ Although he criticized his explanation of the Light verse (see below p.148), Dârâ praises him for *tafrîd* (solitude), and *tawḥîd* (one-ness). Sulaymân Mişrî was also condemned by the (*ulamâ*)

for not offering the congregational prayers.

Dârâ was also a close friend of a certain Sarmad, who was a Jew newly converted to the Muslim faith. It is said that Sarmad was well versed in comparative religion and was a liberal thinker, but apparently not accepted by the Sharî'a-minded Muslims of that time.²⁰⁴

Dârâ's other good friends were the Christian priests Father Estanblas Malpica, Henriques Buzeo and Pedro Juzarte.²⁰⁵ As already mentioned, Manucci reports that Dârâ insisted on seeing Father Buzeo, during his last days in prison.²⁰⁶ Similarly, Dârâ had a warm and cordial relationship with the sixth Gurû of the Sikhs, Gurû Har Goind, the same Gurû who is said to have been the friend of Miyân Mîr.²⁰⁷

Dârâ was also a friend of the Hindu Yôgî Bâbâ Lâl, with whom he discussed mysticism in general and in particular its Hindu terminology.²⁰⁸ In *Ḥasanât* Dârâ mentions Bâbâ Lâl Mundiyya²⁰⁹, whereas in *Majma'* Dârâ speaks of Bâbâ Lâl Bayrâgî²¹⁰. It appears that he meant the same person. Bâbâ Lâl was a follower of Kabîr, who is identified in *Dabistân-i madhâhib* as one of the Vaishnavite Vayrâgîs or Bayrâgîs (mendicants).²¹¹ According to the account in *Ḥasanât*, however, Kabîr was a follower of Ramanand Mundiyya (lit., shaven heads).²¹² Since Kabîr was Bâbâ's master and was

known as Bayrâgi or Mundiyya, Bâbâ Lâl was also known by these two names. Apart from these two names, one comes across two other names of Bâbâ Lâl: Lâl Swamî or Bâbâ Lâl Dâs. Binyon in his work, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls*, introduces Bâbâ Lâl as "Lâl Swamî" (Swamî literally means master).²¹³ However, in another painting, exhibited at the second meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Bâbâ Lâl is mentioned as "Lâl Dâs" (Dâs literally means servant).²¹⁴ One may conclude that Mundiyya, Bayrâgi, Swamî and Dâs were the titles of Bâbâ Lâl and perhaps none of them was part of his name.

According to Sheo Narain, the name of Bâbâ Lâl was "Lâl Dyâl" and he was a *khattarî* (one of the four castes of Hinduism) of Kasûr.²¹⁵ Dârâ was interested in meeting him because Bâbâ was a close friend of Miyân Mîr, and Dârâ himself wanted to go to Dhiyanpur for this purpose. Bâbâ came to Lahore, however, where Dârâ met him on several occasions.²¹⁶ An account of their conversations has been recorded, yet the date of these is uncertain. The earliest date given by Qanungo is Muḥarram, Şafar 1064/November, December 1653.²¹⁷ One year later, Dârâ completed his work *Ḥasanât* in which he introduces Bâbâ as "a perfect gnostic." As was pointed out by Makhdoom Rahîn, *Ḥasanât* was completed in 1065/1655 and not in 1062/1652 (see below, p.75).

Dârâ's friendship with a Hindu Yôgi was certainly not a

new thing. As we have seen earlier, it was also a practice of previous Mughal emperors such as Jahângîr and Akbar.²¹⁸ The Qâdirî attitude, too, was very liberal towards non-Muslims.²¹⁹ Moreover, Bâbâ himself was a friend of Miyân Mîr. If one analyses Dârâ's letters and his discussions with the above mentioned mystics and various religious figures (we still do not have material to examine a discussion, if he ever had one, with the Christian priests and the sixth Gurû of the Sikhs), it appears that Dârâ was, in the true sense, a Sufi in search of knowledge. His capacity to widen his outlook can be seen in his acceptance of these persons as sources of knowledge.

NOTES

¹ For a detailed account of Dârâ's life, see Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*; Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, and other articles mentioned in the Bibliography.

² See T. W. Haig, "Shâhjahân", *EI*¹, IV, 257-58.

³ The following is an extract from Dârâ's *Safinat al-Awliyâ'* as translated by Mahfuz-ul-Haq in the introduction to his translation of *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1929), p. 1.

"And this fakîr was born in the suburbs of Ajmîr, by the (lake of) Sâgar Tâl, on the last day of Şafar, 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 twentyfour (sic.), he, on account of the faith and devotion that he had for Khwâja (Mu'înuddîn Chishtî) 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. Dârâ Shikûh) 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. Amin, Oh, Lord of the world."

⁴ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 1. See also Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍâ Jalâlî Nâ'inî's Introduction to Dârâ's *Sakînat al-Awliyâ'* (hereafter *Sakîna*) edited by Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍâ Jalâlî Nâ'inî and Dr. Târâ Chand with introduction in Persian (Tehran: Mû'assasa Maṭbû'iatî 'Ilmî, 1344 H. Solar), p.9, where a quatrain which contains the title of Dârâ as *Gul-i awwalîn-i Gulistân-i Shâhî* is reproduced.

⁵ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 2.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 2.

⁸ Mullâ Laṭîf was an expert on the theological and rational sciences. See Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 3. He is not, however, mentioned anywhere in Dârâ's works.

• Dârâ both in *Safînat al-Awliyâ* (Kanpur: Matba' Munshi Nawal Kishor, 1900) (lithographed version) (p. 197) and *Sakîna*, (p. 59) mentions Mullâ Mîrak as his tutor. It seems that it was through Mullâ Mîrak's influence that Dârâ became inclined to Sufism. For further details also see below, p. 26.

¹⁰ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 4.

¹¹ Karîm al-Nisâ Begum, daughter of Sultân Parvêz, is also known as Nâdira Bânû (Sheo Narain, "Dârâ," p. 24) or Nâdira Begum (Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 7, 11).

¹² Qanungo mentions that jâgîr of Hissar was given to convey the symbolical meaning that Dârâ was the heir-apparent because jâgîr of Hissar was the "Dauphiny of the House of Babar." See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 15.

¹³ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 72; idem, *Sakîna*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁴ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 72. Although Qanungo has not referred to any specific source for this particular date, he has based his accounts, generally, on *Pâdshâh-nâma*. See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 291f. However, Sheikh Ikram has not mentioned any source for his account either. See Sheikh Muhammad Ikram, *Raud-i Kauthar* (Karachi: Feroze sons, 1958), p. 398. For the sake of consistency, corresponding dates cited in this work are according to Faik Resit Unat's *Hicrî Tarihleri Milâdî Tarihe Çevirme Kilavuzu* (Ankara: Maarif Matbaasi, 1943).

¹⁵ For Qanungo, Dârâ visited twice after his first visit i.e. the second time two days after his first visit (and the third time on "December 18, 1634" which corresponds to 27th Jumâdâ al-Thânî 1044. See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 72. However, Dârâ writes about his two visits (*dû bâr* and *dû martaba* in *Safîna* and *Sakîna* respectively) but does not mention the dates. For Sheikh Ikram Dârâ visited twice; the date of the second visit is "28th December, 1634" which corresponds to 8th Sha'bân 1044. See Sheikh Ikram, *Raud-i Kauthar* p. 398.

¹⁶ According to Qanungo, the reason for such a cold response was due to the fact that at that time, the Persian King Shâh Safî (1039-1052/1629-1642), was in a serious conflict with Sultân Murâd IV of Constantinople; see Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 23.

¹⁷ For details see below, pp. 60-68.

¹⁸ Târâ Chand, English Introduction to Dârâ's *Sirr-i Akbar* edited by Dr. Târâ Chand and Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍâ Jalâlî Nâ'inî, with two introductions, in English and Persian respectively (Tehran: Tâbân Printing Press, 1957), p. 49.

¹⁹ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 24.

²⁰ Also see below, pp. 68-69.

²¹ The correct pronunciation of the word is "Ilâhâbâd," but due to the Indian accent, it has become "Allâhâbâd." In this work we will use Allahabad without any transliteration, as names of other cities and countries are used. Moreover, for the sake of consistency all the names of the cities and countries cited in this work are spelled according to *The Times Atlas of the World (Comprehensive Edition)* (London: Times Newspapers Ltd. Printing House Square, 1968).

²² Sahykh Muḥibb Allâh Mubâriz Ilâhâbâdî (996-1058/1587-1648) was a strong supporter of Ibn al-ʿArabî's philosophy of *waḥdat al-wujûd* (lit. the unity of Being). It is said that his teachings convinced many (*ulamâ*) of his time, who were opposed to the teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabî. See Qâdî Jâvêd, *Barr-i Şaghîr me(n) Muslim Fikr kâ Irtaqâ* (hereafter *Muslim Fikr*) (Lahore: Idâra-i Thaqâfat-i Pakistan, 1977), p. 179. For a detailed account of the discussion between Dârâ and Ilâhâbâdî; see Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, (hereafter *History*) (2 vols.; New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1983), II, 268-71. See also below n. 198.

²³ For details see below, pp. 75-79.

²⁴ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 17.

²⁵ Sheo Narain has written an interesting account which gives the detail of Dârâ's building activity in Lahore; see Sheo Narain, "Dârâ," pp. 21-22. Also see Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural remains and Antiquities* (hereafter *Lahore*) (Lahore: New Imperial Press, 1892), pp. 64, 96, 175-178. However, Latif's account regarding Mullâ Shâh and Nâdira Begum seems to be incorrect. In his first report about the construction of the mausoleums of Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shâh he says, "both Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shâh pre-deceased Dara Shekoh" (pp. 175-76). This contradicts his own account where he reports that "Mulla Shâh died in 1072 A.H." (p. 59) whereas Dârâ was killed in 1069 H. Elsewhere he mentions the Bârâdarî of Nâdira Begum, a building adjacent to the Miyân Mîr mausoleum, and writes an interesting account most

probably based on oral tradition. According to the report, Nâdira was a sister of Dârâ who died at the age of eleven years and she was one of the attendants of Miyân Mîr (p. 177). However, Shâhjahân's daughter named Nâdira is not mentioned in the list of Shâhjahân's children. See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 7-8. Therefore it is possible that Dârâ built this Bârâdarî for his wife Nâdira, and as the building already existed, he sent her remains to be buried in this building.

²⁶ *Dara Shukoh, Hasanât al-'Arifîn* (hereafter *Hasanât*) edited by Sayyid Makhdoom Rahîn (Tehran: Châp Khâna-i Wâhid, 1352 H. Solar), pp. 49, 75.

²⁷ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 18.

²⁸ For details see Chapter II, pp. 73-78. It seems that this work was the last work written by Dârâ on Sufism; after this Dârâ wrote mostly on Hinduism. It is perhaps due to this reason that some writers presume that it was after *Hasanât* that Dârâ became interested in other religions, especially Hinduism. For example Qanungo writes:

"Dârâ was mainly occupied with the Sufi theosophy of the Pantheistic School. From 1647 to 1657 he devoted himself to the study of the Jewish, Christian and Hindu religions,..." (Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 100).

²⁹ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 26.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

³¹ Ibid., p. 32.

³² Ibid., pp. 33-71.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ See below, pp. 80-81.

³⁶ Qanungo beautifully narrates the account of this on the basis of Dârâ's letter written to Mullâ Shâh and on the authority of Muḥammad Wârith (a court historian of Shâhjahân, who completed *Pâdshâh-nâma*, a work started by his master 'Abd al-Hamîd Lâhôrî); see Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 127-28.

³⁷ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikôh* p. 234; Târâ Chand in his English Introduction to *Sirr-i Akbar*, p. 49, gives the

original name of the work as *Yôga Vasishta*. Fathullah Mujtabai, gives *Laghu-Yogha-Vâsiṣṭha*; see Fathullah Mujtabai, *Aspects of Hindu Muslim Cultural Relations* (hereafter *Cultural Relations*) (New Delhi: National Book Bureau, 1978), p. 61, n. 3. For *Vâsiṣṭha Râmâyana*, with *Yoga-Vâsiṣṭha*, see Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (Princeton: Bollingen Series XXVI, 1974), p. 586f.

³⁸ Ghauri, *War*, p. 35.

³⁹ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikôh*, p. 254. From the following two comments, one can imagine the importance of this translation:

"But of all his works the translation of the Upanishads is a masterpiece. In the field of scholarship it is an achievement of the highest order." (Târâ Chand, *Introduction to Sirr-i Akbar*, p. 49)

and

"Neither Dârâ Shikôh nor his translator could have foreseen to what extent this first great book on Hindu mysticism would influence the thought of Europe." (Schimmel, *Dimensions*, pp. 361-62).

⁴⁰ It is described by Hasrat as an attempt to present "the highest and best tenets of Hinduism in the most attractive garb." See Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikôh* p. 236.

⁴¹ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 144.

⁴² Sheo Narain, "Dârâ" p. 23. For, Latif, the reason for jealousy among the sons of Shâhjahân was Dârâ's steps to take power into his own hands after the emperor's illness; see Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of Punjab* (hereafter *Punjab*) (Calcutta: The Calcutta Central Press Company Limited, 1891), p. 172.

⁴³ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 163.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 161.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 166-67.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 170-77.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 178-89.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 201.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 208-12.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 214-15.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 219.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Qanungo describes how Dârâ saved his life by quoting Muḥammad Ma'sûm (a servant and protege of prince Shujâ' who wrote a history of his master named *Tâ'rîkh-i Shujâ'i*):

"The governor of Multan arrested him (Malik Jiwan) for committing a dangerous crime and sent him to court. The Emperor (Shah Jahan) wanted him to be thrown under the feet of an elephant and put to death by being inflicted the worst tortures. One of the friends of that zamindar was in the service of Dara Shukoh and enjoyed the confidence and intimacy of the prince. One day in an opportune (lit. delightful) moment he submitted to the prince the facts of Malik Jiwan's affair and begged and wept much for his pardon. The prince melting at the tears of his servant, gave him his word to secure his release. Next day, the prince put the whole affair before the Emperor, saved the doomed one from that perilous situation and made him, upon whose head ought to have descended the sword of justice, the recipient of royal favour. Through the kindness of Dara Shukoh that rejected one (coming out as it were) from beneath the elephant's feet, mounted the back of the elephant, and started homeward in safety and honour." (Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 220, n.l.)

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 221.

⁵⁷ At this point, Dârâ assembled all his friends and followers and gave them the choice to return to Lahore with the others or to stay behind to suffer voluntarily the deprivations due to exile in Persia. According to Qanungo: "None remained with Dara except his son Sipih Shukoh and a few eunuchs and menial servants." See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 223.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 223-24.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 225.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Referring to *Tâ'rîkh-i Shâhjahânî*, British Museum MS. Or 1617, f. 96b, Rizvi states that:

"The *Majma' u'l-bahrain* had always been considered an important work and it was singled out by the 'ulamâ' as a justification for condemning Dârâ Shukoh to death. They accused him of calling infidelity and Islam 'twin brothers.'" (Rizvi, *History*, II, 422)..

However, the historical sources quoted by Mahfuz ul-Haqg and Qanungo do not acknowledge *Majma'* directly in the text of the *fatwâ*. The former quotes *Ma'âthir-i 'Âlamgîrî* whereas the latter quotes *'Âlamgîr-nâma* providing the details of the charges laid against Dârâ:

"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 Dârâ to remain alive any longer as a destroyer of the public peace." (Mahfuz, Introduction to *Majma'*, pp. 29-30; Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 228).

In contrast to the opinions contained in the above quotations, Ghauri rejects the involvement of the 'ulamâ' in the execution of Dârâ and tries to prove that it was a political decision based on the advice of the officials and Raushanârâ -- Dârâ's younger sister -- who were the old enemies of Dârâ; see "Responsibility of the 'Ulama for the Execution of Dara Shikoh. (August 30, 1659)," as Appendix II in Ghauri's *War*, pp. 157-59. The date of Dârâ's execution differs in the historical sources. This has been pointed out by Mahfuz al-Haq in his introduction to *Majma'* p. 4, n. 2:

"According to *Ma'âthir-i-'Âlamgarî*, (Bib. Ind.), p. 27, Dârâ was executed on the night of Thursday, the 21st Dhul Hijja; the author of *'Amal-i-Şâlih* (Elliot vii, p. 244) records on the 26th Dhul Hijja, Khâfî Khân (*Muntakhab-ul-Lubâb*, ii, p. 87) says that Dârâ was executed on the last (âkhir) day of Dhul Hijja, (i.e. 29th), while Muftî Ghulâm Sarwar *Khazînat-ul-Aşfiyâ*, i, p. 174), records the date of execution on the first Muharram 1070 A.H."

“ For details of Dârâ's works see Appendix.

“ For example Qanungo writes:

"There is no denying of the fact, that generally speaking, from the 10th year onwards the policy of Shah Jahan toward the Hindus shows a change for the better, which certainly was due to the growing influence of Dara and Jahanara at court." (Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 278-79).

Qanungo goes to the extent of saying that:

"Dara's pronounced Hindu sympathies and his active and generous patronage of Hindus concealed from Hindu eyes the darker side of Shah Jahan's rule. He was also the maker of the cultural history of the reign of Shah Jahan, and minus this cultural history, the reign of Shah Jahan has little to boast of except his buildings." (Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 278-79).

Also see Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh* p. 18:

"It is really unfortunate that the prince, who devoted the greater part of his life to carrying on a literary propaganda for the promotion of peace and concord between the two conflicting creeds of India, should be vilified thus."

“ See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 279f; Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, pp. 6-7. However, both maintain that Dârâ's purpose behind the struggle to create such a society was very different from that of Akbar. See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 279f; Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, pp. 6-7.

“ For example Ghauri says: "He started, as we have seen, by studying the Sufi tolerance but he gradually drifted away from orthodox Islam and nearer Hindu beliefs." See Ghauri, *War* p. 73. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent* (hereafter *Muslim Community*) (Hague: Mouton and Co., 1962), pp. 160-61; Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*

(Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 191-200. For the expression that Aurangzêb represents orthodoxy whereas Dârâ represents a different ideology, see Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1968), p. 248:

"a deadly war for the throne was fought between two great grandsons of Akbar, Dârâ Shukôh, a manifest champion of the type of religious ideology Akbar had started, and Aurangzeb, the express defender of Muslim orthodoxy."

Also see Schimmel's *Introduction to Islam in the Indian Sub-Continent* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), p. 2, says:

"The tension inherent in the many-sided and colourful Indian Islam seems to be expressed best in the two sons of Shahjahan and Mumtaz Mahal, whose mausoleum, the Taj Mahal, embodies everyone's dream of an ideal India: Dara Shikoh the mystic and Aurangzeb the practical, orthodox minded ruler reflect those trends, which were to result finally in the partition of the Subcontinent in 1947."

⁶⁶ In this context the "images" created by the court historians played a vital role. For a precise discussion on the later images see Sajida S. Alvi's *Introduction to Muhammad Bakhtâwar Khan's Mir'ât al-'Alam (History of Awrangzeb <1658-1668>)* edited with introduction in English by Sajida S. Alvi (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1979), pp. 39-48.

⁶⁷ Babar, the first founder of the Mughal empire, defeated Ibrâhîm Khân Lodhî (last ruler of the Lodhî dynasty) at Panîpat in 933/1526 to become the first emperor of the Mughal empire which lasted more than three centuries. See Sheikh Muhammed Ikram, *Raud-i Kauthar* (Karachi: Feroze sons 1958), pp. 14-16.

⁶⁸ For details and bibliography see M. F. Köprülü, "Babur" *EI*², I, 847-50.

⁶⁹ For details see S. Digby, "Humâyûn" *EI*², III, 575-77.

⁷⁰ A few quotations from the "will" demonstrate this:

"O my son: People of diverse religions inhabit India; and it is a matter of thanksgiving to God that the King of kings has entrusted the government of this country to you. It therefore behoves (?) you that:

1. You should not allow religions (?) prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to the religious susceptibilities and religious customs of all sections of the people.

2. In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows, which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India. Thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

3. You should never destroy the places of worship of any community and always be just-loving, so that relations between the king and his subjects may remain cordial and there be peace and contentment in the land.

4. The propagation of Islam will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

5. Always ignore the mutual dissension of Shī'ahs and Sunnīs, otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam.

6. Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year, so that the body politic may remain free from the disease."

Although this 'will' has been quoted by many authors -- e.g. Ikram, *Raud-i Kauthar*, p. 17, Jâvêd, *Muslim Fikr*, p. 80 -- serious doubts have been raised by Annette S. Beveridge regarding the authenticity of the 'will'. See Annette S. Beveridge, "Further Notes on Baburiana," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1923), pp. 75-82.

⁷¹ Sri Ram Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* (hereafter *The Religious Policy*) (London: Asia Publishing House, 1962), pp. 15-34. Also see C. Collin Davies, "Akbar," *EI*², pp. 316-17.

⁷² In the Chapter "The Indian Timurī Empire: Co-existence of Muslims and Hindus, 1526-1707" in *Venture of Islam* Vol.III, Marshall G. Hodgson has used the terms 'universalist' and 'communalist' approach for the pro-universal and pro-communal approach respectively. I have used these terms in the same connotation throughout this Chapter. See Marshall G. Hodgson, *Venture of Islam* (hereafter *Venture*) (3 vols.; Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1974), III, 59-98.

⁷³ Hodgson on the authority of Prof. Habib, suggests that:

"the term *dīn-e ilāhī*, divine religion, by which the cult is generally known, does not seem to have been used seriously in Akbar's time." (Hodgson, *Venture*, III, 73.)

Also see Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p. 360, who points out that Akbar's movement was a "mystical movement."

⁷⁴ Jāvêd, *Muslim Fikr*, pp. 94-95.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 164-165. Also see A. S. Bazmee Ansari, "Djahângîr," *ER*², II, 379-81.

⁷⁶ Jāvêd, *Muslim Fikr*, pp. 94-95.

⁷⁷ Sajida Alvi, "Religion and State During the Reign of Mughal Emperor Jahângîr (1605-27): Nonjuristical Perspectives," (to be published in *Studia Islamica*, typed manuscript), p. 25.

⁷⁸ Sharma, *The Religious Policy*, pp. 60-78.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 70, where Sharma quotes *Tûzak-i Jahângirî*, pp. 176, 177, 252, 282-84, 117.

⁸⁰ Jāvêd, *Muslim Fikr*, p. 165.

⁸¹ Ikram, *Raud-i Kauthar*, p. 374.

⁸² Sheo Narain, "Dârâ," p. 22.

⁸³ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 274-75.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 277-79.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ See Latif, *Punjab*, p. 166, who points out that Shâhjahân was born "by the daughter of Ude Singh, son of Raja Maldeo, Rana of Marwar, commonly known as Jagut Gosain."

⁸⁸ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 277-78.

⁸⁹ Latif, *Lahore*, p. 64.

⁹⁰ For the names of the works see above, pp. 11-12.

⁹¹ See above, pp. 9-10. Also see Chapter II.

⁹² See below, p. 37-38.

⁹³ See below, pp. 34, 36.

⁹⁴ See below, n. 122.

⁹⁵ See Rahman, *Islam*, p. 248; also see Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p. 360.

⁹⁶ See Qureshi, *Muslim Community*, p. 160, who writes that "Dârâ Shikûh promised to be another Akbar." Also see Sheo Narain, "Dârâ," p. 35, who quotes Lane Poole as saying that Dârâ "trod the path of his great-grandfather Akbar and by praising the Hindu religion he acted politically."

⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that although for many scholars *dîn-i ilâhî* was a mystical movement, Dârâ's omission of *dîn-i ilâhî* in his works shows that he did not accept it as one of the Sufi *ṭarîqas*.

⁹⁸ In *Safîna* he mentions Akbar's relationship with a Sufi Hujjat al-Islâm Shaykh Aḥmad-i Jâm (for a brief life sketch of Aḥmad-i Jâm see F. Meier, "Aḥmad-i Djâm," *EI*², I, 283-84). Dârâ informs the readers that Akbar's mother was a descendant of Shaykh Aḥmad-i Jâm. However, he does not mention any other detail regarding Akbar's religion or *dîn-i ilâhî*. See Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 168.

⁹⁹ See Sheo Narain, "Dârâ," p. 36, where he says:

"When we know moreover that the eclectic religion started by his great-grandfather Akbar had totally failed to fuse Hindu and Muhammadans, it can hardly be believed that political grounds could have prompted him in his undertakings to render Sanskrit works into Persian."

¹⁰⁰ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 94.

¹⁰¹ In 93/713 Muḥammad b. Qâsim -- one of the generals of the Umayyad Caliph Walîd -- conquered Sind which thus became a part of the Islamic lands. See S. M. Ikram, *Ab-i Kâuthar* (Karachi: Feroze sons, 1965), p. 24.

¹⁰² Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p. 345.

¹⁰³ For a short biographical account of Hujwîrî, see Nicholson's Introduction to 'Alî bin 'Uthmân al-Jullâbî al-Hujwîrî's *The Kashf al-Maḥjûb*, (hereafter *Kashf*) translated by Reynold A. Nicholson with introduction (Leyden: E. J. Brill Imprimerie Orientale, 1911), p. xx.

¹⁰⁴ The Ghaznavid dynasty became an independent political power in Khurasan after the decline of Sāmānī power. Subuktegīn (d.387/997) was the first Ghaznavid ruler; his son Maḥmūd (d.421/1030) successfully built a vast empire. It was in his time that great scholars such as Firdawsī and al-Bīrūnī lived. Maḥmūd's successors continued to rule some parts of Iran and north western India, especially Punjab, until the Ghourids replaced them in 563/1187. See Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 39-42.

¹⁰⁵ Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p. 345.

¹⁰⁶ For a precise account of the early development of the Sufi silsilas in the Indo-Pak subcontinent see Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute* (hereafter *Notes*) (Tehran: Imperial Academy of Philosophy, 1978); also see J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (hereafter *Sufi Orders*) (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 51-66; Schimmel, *Dimensions*, pp. 344-359;

¹⁰⁷ Syed Shah Khusro Hussaini, *Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī-i Gīśūdirāz* (721/1321 -825/1422) on Sufism (hereafter *Gīśūdirāz*) (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli), 1983, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ See D. S. Margoliouth, "Kādirīyya," *EI*², IV, 382.

¹⁰⁹ For details of Miyān Mīr's meeting with Jahāngīr, see Dārā, *Sakīna*, pp. 46-47.

¹¹⁰ Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, p. 97.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Farīd al-Dīn was amongst the early Chishtī Sufis whose pioneer work enabled the Chīshtīyya silsila to flourish in India for centuries. See Schimmel, *Dimensions*, pp. 346-47.

¹¹³ Jāvēd, *Muslim Fikr*, p. 27.

¹¹⁴ Gurū Har Goind (d.1055/1645) was the sixth Gurū (religious leader) of Sikhs through the lineage of Gurū Nanak (founder of the religious system of the Sikhs). See Lajwantī Rama Krishna, *Panjābī Sūfī Poets* (1460-1900) (hereafter *Panjābī*) (New Delhi: Ashajanak Publications, 1973), p. 5. Also, see Sheo Narain, "Dārā," p. 28.

¹¹⁵ Dārā, *Sakīna*, p. 187.

¹¹⁶ Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p. 367.

¹¹⁷ At an early age Sirhindî was a Qâdirî-Chishtî. Later he turned to Bâqî billah, performed repentance and joined the Naqshbandiyya silsila and developed a system of thought similar to Simnânî. For details of Sirhindî's thought see Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindî: An Outline of His Thought And a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (hereafter *Sirhindî*) (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971).

¹¹⁸ Schimmel, *Dimensions*, pp. 367-68.

¹¹⁹ Sirhindî wrote *Radd-i Rawâfiq* (Refutation of the Shî'îs) after 996/1587 as a reply to the letter written by the Shî'î ('ulamâ) of Iran. Although in this epistle he declared Shî'îs to be infidels and their killing a permissible act, later he modified his view and refrained from declaring them infidels in his *Maktûbât*. See Friedmann, *Sirhindî*, pp. 51-52.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 73, Friedmann, referring to *Maktûbât*, explains Sirhindî's views:

"The honour of Islâm demands the humiliation of the infidels and their false religion. To achieve this objective, *jizyah* should be mercilessly levied upon them, and they should be treated like dogs. Cows should be slaughtered to demonstrate the supremacy of Islâm."

¹²¹ Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.

¹²² In fact Dârâ patronized Shaykh Badr al-Dîn Ibrâhîm Sirhindî -- Sirhindî's disciple -- to write religious and mystical works. See Rizvî, *History*, II, 24.

¹²³ Dârâ narrates the account of Mullâ Mîrak's meeting with Sirhindî in which Sirhindî cleared Mullâ Mîrak's doubts; see Dârâ, *Safîna* pp. 197-98. However, Dârâ records the discussions between the followers of the Qâdiriyya and Naqshbandiyya silsilas in *Sakîna*, which, while showing the difference of opinion between the two, does not give any impression of enmity between them; see Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 50-51.

¹²⁴ Friedmann writes:

"An apparently influential group of ('ulamâ), both in India and in Hejaz, declared Sirhindî an infidel. More striking than this is the fact that the emperor Aurangzêb, who is said to have been

influenced by Sirhindî in his reforms, actually proscribed the Maktûbât and threatened with shar'î punishment anyone who contravened his order." (Friedmann, Sirhindî, p. xiv).

¹²⁵ It is interesting to note that individuals amongst the awliyâ' of different silsilas can be in favour or be in opposition to a certain philosophy. For example, it is generally an accepted view that early Chishtî awliyâ' were in favour of Ibn al-'Arabî's philosophy, but Khusro Hussaini in his work *Gîsûdirâz*, concludes that Gîsûdirâz was rather a follower of Simnânî and he places him in between Sirhindî and Simnânî. See Hussaini, *Gîsûdirâz*, p. 174. Similarly Muḥaddith Dihlawî was a Naqshbandî but he opposed Sirhindî's view regarding Ibn al-'Arabî. See Rizvi, *History*, II, 91.

¹²⁶ Rizvi, *History*, II, 54-55.

¹²⁷ Ikram, *Raud-i Kauthar*, pp. 378-79.

¹²⁸ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 166.

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp. 186-89; 196-201.

¹³⁰ The Punjâbî poet Naushâh in one of his poems says:

"The Lord encompasses both limited and limitless. There is none except He." (Rizvi, *History*, II, 439).

¹³¹ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 179. Although he was executed by his brother on the charges of infidelity, there is no evidence available which shows that he denounced his link with the Qâdirî silsila. On the contrary, his last work written on the translation of *Upanishads* bears testimony that he was an admirer of Mullâ Shâh-- his Sufi Master and teacher; see Dârâ, *Sirr-i Akbar*, p. 4. For the comments of Mullâ Shâh see idem, *Sakîna*, p. 173.

¹³² Idem, *Safîna*, p. 192. Dârâ describes in detail how the emperor Akbar went to Fatehpur Sikri and met with Shaykh Salîm Fatehpûrî, who prayed for the birth of Jahângîr.

¹³³ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 46-48.

¹³⁴ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 94.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 72; idem, *Sakīna*, p. 49.

¹³⁷ C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, a bio-bibliographical survey* (hereafter *Persian Literature*) (London: The Royal Asiatic Society Great Britain and Ireland, 1927-58), p. 993, n.4. For the life history of Jahânârâ see: G. Yazdânî, "Jahânârâ," *The Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, vol. II, No. 2, pp. 152-169; also see Rizvi, *History*, II, 480-81.

¹³⁸ Mullâ Mîrak was a student of Ni'mat Allâh, disciple of Sa'd Allâh. The same Ni'mat Allâh was one of the teachers of Miyân Mîr. It seems that Mullâ Mîrak used to teach the followers of Miyân Mîr e.g. Mullâ Abû Bakr. See Dârâ, *Sakīna*, pp. 31, 243.

¹³⁹ Dârâ introduces Mullâ Mîrak as "Akhûnd Mîrak Shaykh is my teacher in rational sciences." See Dârâ, *Sakīna*, p. 59.

¹⁴⁰ Mahfuz ul-Haq quotes *Bâdshâhnâma*, (or *Pâdshâh-nâma*) Vol. I, Part ii, p. 344. See Introduction to *Majma'*, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Dârâ, *Sakīna*, p. 173.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ H. Landolt, *Nûruddîn Abdurrahmân-i Isfarâyînî: Le Révélateur des Mystères (Kâshif al-Asrâr)* (hereafter *Révélateur*), Persian text edited with French translation, introduction and notes (Lagrasse: Verdier, 1986), p. 21f.

¹⁴⁴ Dârâ, *Sakīna*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 27. According to Dârâ Shaykh Khiḍr was a Qâdirî Sufî, who lived in Siwistan. He did not like to have any social interaction with the people or the officials of that area. For detail see Dârâ, *Sakīna*, pp. 27-29.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 94.

¹⁵⁰ Jâvêd, *Muslim Fikr*, pp. 378-79. However, according to Surinder Singh, Miyân Mîr's "influence was largely confined to the intellectual and ruling elite." See Surinder Singh, "Muslim Saints in the Mughal Province of Punjab," *Islamic Culture*, LX (Jan-1986),

pp. 89-107.

¹⁵¹ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 59.

¹⁵² Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 247.

¹⁵³ Fritz Meier, Introduction to *Die Fawâ'ih al-Gamâl wa Fawâtiḥ al-Ġalâl des Nağm ad-dîn al-Kubrâ* (hereafter *Fawâ'ih*) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1957) p. 21ff.

¹⁵⁴ Quoted in Meier, *Fawâ'ih*, p. 281.

¹⁵⁵ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 73.

¹⁵⁶ Idem, *Ḥasanât*, pp. 34, 49.

¹⁵⁷ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 12.

¹⁵⁸ See below, p. 64.

¹⁵⁹ Meier, *Fawâ'ih*, p. 18.

¹⁶⁰ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 132, 152. For the date of *Sakîna*, see below, p. 69 with notes.

¹⁶¹ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 104. See also below, p. 116, n. 107.

¹⁶² Idem, *Risâla-i Ḥaqq-numâ'* (hereafter *Risâla*) in *Muntakhabât-i Âthâr* edited by Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍâ Jalâlî Nâ'inî (Tehran: Chap-i Tâbân, 1335 H. Solar), p. 4.

¹⁶³ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 248.

¹⁶⁴ Idem, *Ḥasanât*, pp. 34, 49.

¹⁶⁵ Idem, *Sakîna*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁶⁶ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 78, writes:

"The same year on the 27th Ramadan he visited him again and received instructions in *Mushâhada* (contemplation) and beheld the *Lailat-ul-Qadr*."

Note that expression "the same year" follows the historical account of the second meeting of Dârâ with Miyân Mîr which took place during the year 1044/1634.

¹⁶⁷ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 54.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

¹⁶⁹ For Dârâ, at a certain stage in meditation, a walî hears the voice of the word on which he was meditating, and this voice is so loud that it overpowers all other voices. This voice is known as *Sultân al-adhkâf*. See Dârâ, *Risâla*, pp. 11-14. See also below, p. 137.

¹⁷⁰ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 54-55, where Dârâ has used the expression "*ḥaḍrat-i Miyânjiv az qabr barâmada*."

¹⁷¹ Rizvi, *History*, II, 129.

¹⁷² Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 173f; also see p. 54. For the term *Uwaysî*, see also below p. 109, 126. For the further explanation of the term, see Schimmel, *Dimensions*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁷³ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 154.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 155.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Rizvi, *History*, II, 124.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 161. See also *Sakîna*, p. 160 for his desire to meet Mullâ Shâh "before he received initiation" (*pîsh az irâdat*).

¹⁷⁸ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 6.

¹⁷⁹ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 65.

¹⁸⁰ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 95.

¹⁸¹ Rizvi, *History*, II, 133.

¹⁸² Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 84.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 174.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 174.

¹⁸⁷ According to another report, Dârâ was called al-Kâmil (the Perfect One) by his companions (Qâdiris ?) after he was given the position of Sufi Master by Mullâ Shâh; see Jalâlî Nâ'inî, *Introduction to Sakîna*, p. 44.

¹⁸⁸ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 82.

¹⁸⁹ *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 6. See also above, pp. 31-32.

¹⁹⁰ See below, p. 102.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² See below, pp. 151-54.

¹⁹³ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, pp. 138-39.

¹⁹⁴ *Jâvêd, Muslim Fikr*, p. 179.

¹⁹⁵ Hasrat states the words of the statement in Persian as *Muḥammad marâ bikûshad Ibn-i Maryam marâ jân dâd* and translates this as: "Muḥammad killed me and the son of God (Christ) gave me life" (Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 16). Whereas Sheo Narain states: "*Muḥammad marâ mîkushad Ibnallâh marâ jân mîbakhshad*" and translates: "Muḥammad killed me and son of God gave me life" (Sheo Narain, "Dara", pp. 34-35). However, the translated work of Manucci shows that the latter's rendering is correct. See Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708* (hereafter *Storia*), translated with introduction and notes by William Irvine (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1907), I. 357, 358.

¹⁹⁶ See Michel Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des Saints. Prophétie et Sainteté dans la doctrine d'Ibn 'Arabî* (hereafter *Sceau*) (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1986), p. 103. Chodkiewicz quotes from Ibn al-'Arabî's *Risâlat al-Anwâr*, p. 16.

¹⁹⁷ *Dârâ's introduction to Sirr-i Akbar*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁸ Shaykh Muḥibb Allâh had a liberal attitude towards non-Muslims. This may have influenced *Dârâ's* thought to some extent. The Shaykh's attitude is very evident from the following quote, which is a part of a letter he wrote to the emperor Shâhjahân:

"It is impertinent of me to give counsel, but justice requires that the welfare of the people should be the concern of the administrative officers, whether the people be believers or unbelievers, for they have been created by God, and the person who took lead in being merciful to the righteous and the evil-doers, the believers and the unbelievers was the Prophet of God. This is recorded in (the history of) his victories and is stated in Qur'ân." (Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, p. 309)

¹⁹⁹ Dârâ, Ḥasanât, pp. 67, 72f.

²⁰⁰ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 261. Regarding the MS of *Fayyâq al-qawânîn*, Qanungo writes:

"This collection contains letters of Dara to Shah Dilruba, correspondence between Mulla Shah and Shaikh Muhibbullah, besides several letters bearing on the causes of the War of Succession."

²⁰¹ Dârâ Ḥasanât, p. 71.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 62ff.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 75.

²⁰⁴ For a detailed account of Sarmad's life see B. A. Hashmi, "Sarmad," *Islamic Culture* VII (Jan' 1934), pp. 663-72; A. W. Khan, "A Sketch of the Life of Sarmad," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, XX (1924), pp. 111-22.

²⁰⁵ Manucci, *Storia*, I, 223.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 357, 358.

²⁰⁷ Lajwanti, *Panjâbî*, p. 5; also see Latif, *Punjab*, p. 256.

²⁰⁸ Cl. Huart and L. Massignon, "Les entretiens de Lahore (entre le prince impérial Dârâ Shikûh et l'ascète hindou Baba Lal Das)" (hereafter "Les entretiens"), *Journal Asiatique*, CCVIII (1926), 285-334.

²⁰⁹ Dârâ, Ḥasanât, pp. 49, 54.

²¹⁰ Idem, *Majma'*, p. 102.

²¹¹ Rizvi, *History*, I, p. 374.

²¹² Dârâ, Ḥasanât, p. 53.

²¹³ Mahfûz, introduction to *Majma'*, p. 24.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

²¹⁵ Sheo Narain, "Dârâ," p. 28.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 242.

²¹⁸ See Chapter I, 15-19.

²¹⁹ See Chapter I, 19-36.

CHAPTER II

DĀRĀ'S WORKS ON SUFISM

1. SAFĪNAT AL-AWLIYĀ':

Darā's first work, *Safīnat al-Awliyā'*¹ (lit. ship, ark, boat or book of the awliyā'), was completed on the 27th Ramaḍān 1049/21st Jan 1640 when he was twenty-five years old.²

In this work, Dārā gives more than four hundred short biographical accounts of awliyā'³ in the following order: the Prophet Muḥammad; the first four Caliphs; the eleven Imāms following 'Alī; three notable early saints: Salmān al-Fārsī, Uways Qarānī and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; a traditionist, Qāsim bin Muḥammad Abī Bakr;⁴ the four Imāms of legal schools; two legal authorities of the Ḥanafī school: Abū Yūsuf and Shaybānī; the Sufis of the Qādiriyya silsila starting from Ma'rūf Karkhī⁵ (d.200 A.H.) to Miyān Mīr (d.1045 A.H.); the Sufis of the Naqshbandiyya silsila from Abū Yazīd Baṣṭāmī (d.261 A.H.) to Ṣāliḥ Khwāja Dahbīdī (d.1048 A.H.); the Sufis of the Chishtiyya silsila from Khwāja 'Abd al-Wāḥid (d.177 A.H.) to Jalāl Thānisarī (d.989 A.H.); the Sufis of the Kubrawiyya silsila from Abū Bakr

Nassâj⁶ to Sultân Walad (d.712 A.H.); the Sufis of the Suhrawardîyya silsila from Mamshâd Dînawarî (d.299 A.H.) to Shâh Alam (d.880 A.H.); Sufis from miscellaneous silsilas from Mâlik ibn Dînâr (d.107 A.H.) to Shaykh Bilâwal Lâhorî (d.1046 A.H.); and the women saints from Khadîja (the Prophet Muḥammad's wife) to Bîbî Jamâl Khâtûn, Miyân Mîr's sister, who was still alive at the time of the completion of this work. Rizvi has correctly observed that "the biographical notes in the *Safinatü'l-auliya* refer predominantly to non-Indian mystics....," since Dârâ has included only thirty-five biographical notes of Indian Sufis.⁸

The work is based predominantly on *Nafaḥât al-Uns min Ḥaḍarât al-Quds*, written by 'Abd al-Raḥmân Jâmî (d.898/1492), as is mentioned at the end of the work.¹⁰ Other sources include: 'Alî b. 'Uthmân al-Jullâbî al-Hujwîrî's *Kashf al-Maḥjûb* (p. 13), Ibn al-'Arabî's *Fuṣûṣ al-Ḥikam* (p. 66) and *Futûḥât al-Makkiyya* (p. 57), Nûr al-Dîn al-Shaṭṭanûfi's *Bahjat al-Asrâr wa-Ma'dîn al-Anwâr* (pp. 67, 160), 'Abd al-Razzâq Kâshânî's *Iṣṭilâḥât al-Şûfiyya* (p. 67), Farîd al-Dîn 'Aṭṭâr's *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ* (p. 73), 'Abd al-Raḥmân Jâmî's *Shawâhid al-Nubuwwah li-Taḡwiyat Yaqîn ahl al-Futuwwah* (p. 83), Khwâja Muḥammad Pârsâ's *Faṣl al-Khitâb* (p. 142), Imâm Abû al-Qâsim Qushayrî's *Risâla* (p. 155), 'Abd Allâh al-Yâfi'î's *Rawḍat al-Rayâḥîn fî Ḥikâyât al-Şâlihîn* (p. 215), Shaykh Muḥaddith Dihlawî's *Akḥbâr al-Akhyâr* (p.

187)), etc.¹¹ As explained in its preface¹², Dârâ's purpose in writing *Safîna* was twofold: first to collect and compile scattered biographical accounts,¹³ and second to express his love and devotion for the Sufis.¹⁴

Safîna is stylistically similar to other *tadhkira* (lit. memoir) literature¹⁵, which was available to Dârâ. He mentions that he adopted the style of Jâmi¹⁶ though with a simpler language.¹⁶ The influence of other contemporary *tadhkira* literature on *Safîna* is still unknown. A comparative study of such sources with *Safîna* may throw some light on this. For example, one possible source is the *Majma' al-Awliyâ* written by Mîr 'Alî Akbar Ḥusaynî in 1043/1633, six years prior to Dârâ's completion of *Safîna*. This work was dedicated to the Mughal emperor Shâhjahân and documented the lives of fourteen thousand or fifteen thousand Sufis.¹⁷ Although Dârâ does not mention it, *Majma' al-Awliyâ* has a similar scheme of presentation of biographies as has *Safîna*: the four Caliphs, followed by the eleven Imâms, the *ṣaḥâba* (companions of the Prophet Muḥammad), and Sufis of different *silsilas* including Indian and female Sufis.¹⁸

Safîna, like any other *tadhkira*, is more miracle-oriented than history oriented. For example, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad as presented in *Safîna* contains more miracles than historical facts. Similarly, the life of

'Abd al-Qâdir is also full of miracles.¹⁹ However, a number of instances show that Dârâ had a consciousness of history. For example, he did not accept the age of Salmân or the Prophet Muḥammad, cited in the traditional accounts. He narrates different sources, but accepts that account which for him seems to be nearer to historical fact.²⁰ He was also interested in providing as complete an account of the *awliyâ* as possible: he tried his best to furnish birth dates, death dates and the places of the tombs of every walî.²¹ Dârâ's synthesizing approach towards "history and miracles" can be characterized as a struggle to locate in history those persons who transcend time and space.

While Dârâ writes as an historian basing himself on an impressive number of sources,²² he also relies occasionally on his own experience to settle an historical point. For instance his dream which changed his attitude towards the poet Sanâ'î;²³ his dreams in which he saw the Prophet and four Caliphs,²⁴ or where he saw himself circumambulating the tombs of Mûsâ Kâzîm and 'Abd al-Qâdir.²⁵ His respect for the miraculous is also evident from his mention of the Mughal emperor Jahângîr -- his grandfather -- who took augury from Khwâja Ḥâfiẓ's *Dîwân*;²⁶ and his report of the circumstances of the emperor Jahângîr's birth in the *I'tikâf khâna* (place of worship) of the Chishtî Sufi Salîm Fatehpûrî (d. 979/1572).²⁷

Dârâ's understanding of the *awliyâ'*, as seen in the introduction to *Safîna*, shows a greater degree of maturity in his thought than does the rest of the accounts in this work.²⁸ The material used for the introduction to *Safîna* is very similar to that used for the introduction to *Sakîna* -- a work which according to Dârâ's own statement in *Risâlati Ḥaqq-numâ* -- he wrote after *Safîna*.²⁹ These two factors suggest that he might have written the introduction after writing the rest of the work. The same may be said about other parts of *Safîna*, notably the account of Miyân Mîr³⁰, which contains a direct reference to *Sakîna*.³¹

The introduction of *Safîna*³² also shows Ibn al-ʿArabî's influence. Dârâ's inclusion of the terms *rajabîyûn*³³ (a rank of the *awliyâ'*), *imâmân*³⁴ (two Imâms) and *mufradân* (lit. solitaries) among the *awliyâ'*, and his reference to Ibn al-ʿArabî while defining the term *mufradân*, are a few examples.³⁵ However, he does not explicitly advocate Ibn al-ʿArabî's philosophy as he does in *Sakîna* or *Risâla* or *Ḥasanât*.³⁶ He seems to be more cautious in his approach, as may be seen from his concluding paragraph of *Safîna*. He justifies his cautious attitude by quoting Kharrâz:

And for the reason that great sayings and subtle points made by the sages of old (*akâbir-i salaf*) are not of common understanding, I have not inserted them [in the work]. When Shaykh Abû Saʿîd Kharrâz reached Egypt, they [people] asked him: 'Why do you not speak from the pulpit?' The Shaykh replied, 'These people are absent in the presence of the Truth [and] the remembrance of the

Truth amongst the absentees is a slander.' Accordingly he said 'the walî is recognised by a walî, in the same way a discourse of a walî will not be understood by anyone except a walî.'''

The contents of *Safîna* show a strong influence of the Qâdirî silsila on Dârâ's thought. The longest account is that of 'Abd al-Qâdir -- the founder of the Qâdiriyya -- which, in contrast to other accounts, conveys Dârâ's subjective inclination towards him.³⁸ This further supports the suggestion, as made in Chapter I, that Dârâ was associated with the Qâdiriyya before he completed *Safîna*.³⁹

Dârâ includes the biographies of twelve Shî'î Ithnâ 'Asharî Imâms in *Safîna*,⁴⁰ but he also shows his acceptance of Sunnism. His mention of the first four Caliphs before the Shî'î Imâms is an example of this.⁴¹ Furthermore, he indicates that the individual ranking (in superiority) of the first four Caliphs was according to the order of their succeeding each other in time.⁴² In this context he cites another dream in which he saw all four Caliphs with the Prophet Muḥammad, and shook hands with every one of them, beginning with Abû Bakr and ending with 'Alî.⁴³ However, he mentions 'Alî as the forebear of all the Sufi silsilas.⁴⁴

Dârâ's hesitancy in visiting Ḥakîm Sanâ'î's tomb confirms the more communal Sunnî approach which he held. He was not happy with some of Sanâ'î's verses having a Shî'î colour. It was only after a dream that he convinced himself

that those verses (of Shî'î colour) were not written by the poet himself but were the result of later insertions by others.⁴⁵

The available edition of *Safîna*, published at Nawal Kishôr press has many mistakes as far as names are concerned.⁴⁶ Hasrat has also pointed out mistakes in the autograph manuscript of Dârâ himself. He says:

Even though the MS. is an autograph by Dârâ Shikûh, there are plenty of orthographical mistakes in the pronunciation of names....⁴⁷

As was mentioned above, the Nawal Kishôr edition describes fewer Sufis than the more often cited number of four hundred and eleven.⁴⁸ There is also a discrepancy between the list of Sufis of miscellaneous *silsilas* in the Nawal Kishôr edition and the list which Jalâlî Nâ'inî provides in the introduction to *Sirr-i Akbar*.⁴⁹

Hasrat has pointed out a few other mistakes, some of which require further comment. For Hasrat,

Shaikh Ma'rûf 'Karakhî (d.200 A.H.) is enumerated as one of the Qâdirî saints, but even admitting that the Qâdirî order was called *Junaidî* before Shaikh 'Abdul Qâdir (d.561 A.H.), Shaikh Junaid himself died 97 years later (d. 297 A.H.) than Ma'rûf Karakhî. The latter is also described as a pupil of Salmân al-Fârsî (d. 33 A.H.) !⁵⁰

Dârâ's method of documenting the biographies is to trace the history of each *silasila* to a much earlier point than that of the Sufi after whom the *silasila* became famous. Therefore, Ma'rûf Karkhî, Abû Yazîd al-Bastâmî, 'Abd al-Wâhid, Shaykh Abû Bakr Nassâj and Mamshâd Dînawarî become the forebears of the Qâdiriyya, Naqshbandiyya, Chishtiyya, Kubrawiyya and Suhrawardiyya *silasilas* respectively.⁵¹ For Dârâ these Sufis are also linked because of the lineage of *k̤hirqâ*, which extends in the case of the Qâdiriyya from Ma'rûf to Junayd to 'Abd al-Qâdir. One gets the impression from Hasrat's statement that Dârâ's treatment of Ma'rûf as a Qâdirî is a problem. However, given Dârâ's general approach to the lineages of the *silasilas*, this does not seem warranted.

As for the time difference between Ma'rûf and Junayd, Dârâ connects Junayd to Ma'rûf through Sarî Saqatî, who was a disciple of Ma'rûf and the master of Junayd.⁵² This is the generally accepted order.

The third problem concerns the relationship between Ma'rûf and Salmân. It seems that Hasrat's description of Ma'rûf as the pupil of Salmân is not in accordance with the text as given in the Nawal Kishôr edition of *Safîna*. Dârâ there mentions that Ma'rûf was the pupil of Ḥabîb Râ'î⁵³ who was the pupil of Salmân (*wa dar ṭarîqat murîd-i Ḥabîb Râ'î*

ast *ṣuḥbat dâshta* and *wa Ḥabīb Râ'ī murīd-i Salmân Fârsī*).⁵⁴

Although *Safīna* is basically a biographical work, it is important because of its introduction and the selection of its material. Hence it becomes indispensable for the examination of Dârâ's concept of *wilâya*.

2. SAKĪNAT AL-AWLIYÂ':

Dârâ's second work, *Sakīnat al-awliyâ'*, (lit. tranquility of the minds of *awliyâ'*) is edited by Sayyid Muḥammad Jalâlī Nâi'nī and Dr. Târâ Chand. As described by one of the editors, 'the edited version is based on four manuscripts,⁵⁵ the oldest of which was completed in 1096/1685. It contains the biographies of Miyân Mîr, Mullâ Shâh, Miyân Mîr's sister, and short biographies of the other twenty-five Qâdirî *awliyâ'* who were the disciples of Miyân Mîr.⁵⁶ Thus, in contrast to *Safīna*, *Sakīna* deals only with Indian Qâdirî Sufis.

The date of completion of *Sakīna* is not specified clearly as is the case with the dates of Dârâ's other works. In the prologue, however, he mentions that:

during this time [at the time of his writing] i.e. in the year 1052 H., this sort of people [the *awliyâ'*] is present.⁵⁷

The above date has been accepted by the majority of the scholars as the date of the completion of *Sakīna*.⁵⁸ However, close examination of the text reveals that there are a few other accounts which contain later dates. For example:

- 1 - Hājī Muḥammad's death date is mentioned as 1054 H.⁵⁹
- 2 - Bībī Jamāl Khātūn's death date is given as 1057 H.⁶⁰ and
- 3 - Aḥmad Sanāmī's death date is reported as 1059 H.⁶¹

Storey and Rizvi⁶² suggest that the second account is likely an insertion since Dārā first reports that Bībī Jamāl Khātūn is alive, but ends the account by reporting her death date.⁶³ With the other two accounts, however, the reporting is direct and does not show any sign of insertion. Jalālī Nā'inī, on the basis of these two accounts, therefore suggests that Dārā started writing before 1052/1642, and was still completing parts of his work in 1059/1649.⁶⁴

At the end of the work Dārā names his work *Sakīna-i Miyân Mîr*⁶⁵ (Tranquility of Miyân Mîr). This symbolical dedication reflects the fact that the whole of *Sakīna* revolves both directly and indirectly around Miyân Mîr. The longest account is indeed his biography,⁶⁶ which includes the following sections: a) details regarding his name, title, birth and career;⁶⁷ b) details of his body, clothing and path;⁶⁸ c) his death;⁶⁹ d) his habits;⁷⁰ and e) the

places he used to visit.⁷¹

The rest of the work is indirectly related to Miyân Mîr, and is composed of the following sections: a) the biography of Bîbî Jāmâl Khâtûn - Miyân Mîr's sister;⁷² b) the biographies of Miyân Mîr's eight disciples who died before the completion of *Sakîna*;⁷³ and c) the biographies of Miyân Mîr's fifteen disciples (including Mullâ Shâh) who were still alive by the time the work was completed.⁷⁴ *Sakîna* also contains long poems and verses by Mullâ Shâh⁷⁵ and a short commentary on selected verses of the *Mathnawî-i Mawlawî* written by a Qâdirî Sufi, Miyân Abû al-Ma'âlî.⁷⁶

Throughout *Sakîna*, Dârâ freely makes use of sayings of the Sufis from earlier times. While discussing problems or issues in Sufism related to that time or to a particular personality Dârâ also uses different sources. For example, while explaining the term *faqr* (poverty) he quotes from Hujwîrî's *Kashf al-Mahjûb*.⁷⁷ In another instance, while discussing the problem of *pîr* (master) and *murîd* (disciple), he quotes from Jâmî's *Nafahât al-Uns*.⁷⁸ In the same way on various occasions he quotes from the Quran, the *ḥadîth*, Ibn al-'Arabî's *al-Futuḥât al-Makkiyya*, Shaykh Aṭṭâr's *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ*, Rûzbiḥân's *'Arâ'is al-Bayân fî Ḥaqâ'iq al-Qur'ân*, Rûmî's *Mathnawî* and various others.⁷⁹ It is especially valuable, however, as a first-hand source of the personalities of his own time.⁸⁰

It seems that Dârâ was aware of the importance of his work. He says:

By bringing it also into writing there will be no way to forget. And although these are trustworthy people who pass them [the tradition] on orally, gradually differences in traditions develop and some qualities [khuşûşiyât] are forgotten. But if contemporary witnesses write soon about the group with the available research of that time, they will be able to include the smallest detail. For this reason, I have compiled this work with caution, research and when many companions of ḥaḍrat Miyân Jîv were present.⁸¹

The above closing remarks also show that Dârâ knew the importance of relying on primary sources. This is supported by his responsible attitude towards the collection of facts. For example, he reports the date of Miyân Mîr's death (7 Rabî' al-Awwal 1045/21 August 1635) by quoting from persons who were present at the funeral ceremonies.⁸² Similarly, he cites three different traditions regarding Miyân Mîr's age. The one he relies on is the tradition whose source is Miyân Mîr's nephew Muḥammad Amîn.⁸³ Dârâ's biographical notes about Miyân Mîr and his deceased companions are based on the narrators (râwîs) who were the companions of Miyân Mîr and were alive at the time Dârâ wrote.⁸⁴ The biographical accounts of the personalities who were alive during his time were the direct result of Dârâ's discussion with them.⁸⁵ Hence, in the first case he wrote with the help of a first hand source; in the second case, he himself was the reporter of the source.

Like *Safîna*, *Sakîna* also has a short introduction followed by a prologue. In the introduction, Dârâ, in line with common usage, praises God, the Prophet Muḥammad and the four Caliphs: Abû Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân and 'Alî.⁸⁸ This praise is followed by an account of a personal experience, which has been used by different sources⁸⁹ as historical evidence for Dârâ's initiation into the Qâdirî silsila.

Dârâ then explains his purpose in writing *Sakîna*. Due to his spiritual experience and his belonging to the Qâdiriyya fold, his heart was full of the mysteries of Sufism. He wanted to write a book in which he would mention the *ṭarîqa* (path), the *ashghâl* (lit. occupations i.e. their habits/works) and the *awqâf* (manners/behaviour) of his *mashâyikh* (Dârâ's teachers / Sufi Masters of the Qâdiriyya).⁹⁰ But because the mystery of practices and their occupations could not be expressed and was a matter of the heart, Dârâ decided (for the time being) to write rather about the lives and miracles of this group (Qâdiriyya).⁹¹

The introduction is followed by a prologue in which Dârâ first establishes the importance of a *walî* (or *Shaykh*, or Sufi Master)⁹² and secondly adds a general classification of the *awliyâ*. Thus the introduction along with the prologue (like the introduction to *Safîna*) are most important for the concept of *wilâya* and will be discussed in detail in the following Chapter of the present study.⁹³

The prologue is followed by a chapter on the superiority of the Qâdiriyya silsila, in which Dârâ tries to prove that the founders of all the four silsilas benefited from 'Abd al-Qâdir.² The Chapter on "the superiority of the Qâdiriyya" is followed by the biographical accounts of Miyân Mîr and his companions.

As Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shâh were both Qâdirîs and admirers of Ibn al-ʿArabî, Ibn al-ʿArabî's influence is clear and vivid in *Sakîna*. Dârâ informs the reader that he studied and read a few pages of *Fuṣûṣ* with a Qâdirî walî named Shaykh Aḥmad Dihlawî. He writes:

And a part of the *Fuṣûṣ* has been read by [this] poor [one] in his presence.³

This is clear evidence in support of the above assumption that Dârâ knew the works of Ibn al-ʿArabî. This also nullifies Hasrat's reservations:

His [Dârâ's] knowledge seems to be very superficial both in respect of *al-Futuḥât* and *Fuṣûṣ al-Ḥikam*; it is more probable that the former work, which he claims to have used extensively, might be the *Futuḥât al-Ghaib* of 'Abdul Qâdir Jîlânî or a Persian translation of it.⁴

Although it seems that Dârâ knew Ibn al-ʿArabî's works mainly through Jâmî's Persian paraphrases,⁵ it is impossible to speculate that he might have confused the

Futûḥât with a work of 'Abd al-Qâdir (whose title, incidently, is *Futûḥ al-Ghayb*, not *Futûḥât!*). As compared to *Safîna*, in *Sakîna*, his inclination towards the philosophy of Ibn al-'Arabî is more explicit. However, he was aware of the fact that Ibn al-'Arabî was misunderstood by the masses, as was Manṣûr al-Ḥallâj. He quotes a couple of verses from *Miyân Mîr* while discussing the topic of *waḥdat* (oneness), and explains the last verse: *za ân chih khîzad bi ghayr-i badnâmî* (lit. what came out of that, except [a] bad name) as:

bad nâmî, [bad name] means the accusation of *takfîr* [infidelity] and [the orders] of killing and imprisonment as [it happened to] Manṣûr and Ibn al-'Arabî. Saying *sukhan-i waḥdat* [doctrine of oneness] to the one who is *'ammî* [one who belongs to the general milieu] guarantees this bad name.⁹⁶

The above quote conveys a similar idea to his quotation of Kharrâz cited in *Safîna*.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the influence of *waḥdat al-wujûd* or Ibn al-'Arabî's philosophy is more succinct in *Sakîna*, especially in the letters and the verses of Mullâ Shâh quoted there.⁹⁸

Although *Sakîna* contains exclusively the lives of Qâdirî Sufis, many accounts are not strictly speaking biographical notes. They also contain a discussion on the various aspects of Sufism,⁹⁹ such as the concept of *wilâya*. This explains its importance for our analysis.

3. ḤASANĀT AL-ʿARIFĪN

The third source for the present study, the *Ḥasanât al-ʿArifîn* or "Merits of the Gnostics," was edited by Sayyid Makhdûm Raḥîm and published in Tehran in 1352 Sh. According to the editor, the text is based on a manuscript written during 1065-1068 A.H., and three other manuscripts.¹⁰⁰ It was started by Dârâ at the age of thirty-eight in 1062/1651,¹⁰¹ and was completed on the 7th of Muḥarram 1065/17th Nov 1654.¹⁰² However, various other dates are found in the secondary sources.¹⁰³

Ḥasanât can be counted as the last of Dârâ's works on the biographies of Sufis. Hasrat has rightly remarked that: "This tract [*Ḥasanât*], is in fact a supplement to the *Safînat-al-Awliyâ*."¹⁰⁴ Although *Ḥasanât* partly belongs to the biographical genre of *Safîna* and *Sakîna*, and is a continuation of the general biographical literature found in *Safîna*, its style is different from both of the earlier works. This difference is related to the fact that the work is a collection of *shaṭṭiyyât*, (paradoxical aphorisms), with a brief commentary by Dârâ, and is less concerned with historical facts such as birth dates and death dates of different Sufis.

For Dârâ the purpose of writing *Ḥasanât* was twofold: firstly, to defend his own position as a gnostic (ʿârif) who

could speak paradoxical aphorism (*shaṭḥ*);¹⁰⁵ and secondly, to record selections from Rûzbihân Baqlî's *Sharḥ-i Shaṭḥiyyât* in simple everyday language.¹⁰⁶

Dârâ believed that a *shaṭḥ* (paradoxical aphorism) was pure affirmation of oneness (*tawḥîd*) and that those "monotheists" (*muwaḥḥidân*, i.e. believers of *tawḥîd*) or gnostics (*ʿârifân*) who spoke them were sincere (*râst-bâz*). According to Rûzbihân, quoted by Dârâ already in *Sakîna*,¹⁰⁷ *muwaḥḥidân* and *ʿârifân* belong to the "twelve Tribes" of the "People of God", that is they are among the highest categories of *awlîya* (see below, p. 103). In contrast, Dârâ insinuates that those who accused them of heresy were themselves imposters.¹⁰⁸

Dârâ writes:

This *faqîr* [poor one] without fear and sadness,¹⁰⁹ Muḥammad Dârâ Shukôh says: Since in these days of the year 1062 of the Hijra, which is the thirty-eighth year since my birth, my mind was tired completely of the books on Sufi etiquette and conduct [*kutub-i ahl-i sulûk wa ṭarîqat*] and could only think of pure *tawḥîd*, and because of ecstasy and spiritual experience many times words of high gnostic truth were uttered [by me], as a result of that [some of the] low natured, vulgar, dry and bitter ascetics, out of their narrow outlook, have accused me of infidelity and have disapproved of me. It was then that it came into the mind of this *faqîr* [i.e., Dârâ] that I should compile the "sublime sayings" of great "monotheists" [*muwaḥḥidân*] and eminent "gnostics" [*ʿârifân*], who are the best creation and are sincere in dealing, which are known as *mutashâbihât* [ambiguous] and *shaṭḥiyyât* [paradoxical aphorisms] and are scattered in the

books and epistles of this group, together with whatever I have heard from the gnostics of this time. So [it should] become a "decisive proof" and a "brilliant argument" against those who are Dajjâls [anti-Christ] for those who have the spirit of Christ; who are Pharaohs for those who have the qualities of Moses and Abû Jahls for those who have the taste of "pure wine" of Muḥammad.¹¹⁰

Of course, the status of the genre of *shaṭṭhiyyât* is controversial in Islam, since it is in their very nature to be "paradoxical."¹¹¹ To run counter to the ordinary type of established orthodoxy, Rûzbihân already compared the *shaṭṭhiyyât* of the Sufis with certain "ambiguous" Quranic verses (*mutashâbihât*)¹¹² and Dârâ began his collection with "divine *shaṭṭ*," i.e. such Quranic verses as: "He is the first and the last, the manifest and the hidden (57:3)" (translation: mine); "Wherever you turn, there is the face of God (2:115)" (translation: mine); "Verily those who plight their fealty to God: the Hand of God is over their hands (58:10)."

The (*ulamâ*) who were strong adherents to the *sharî'a* opposed the contents of the *shaṭṭhiyyât* literature.¹¹³ Dârâ faced the same opposition, and his annoyance with them is clear from his introduction to *Ḥasanât*. Dârâ's own understanding of *shaṭṭhiyyât* was that these were the "words of truth and gnosis."¹¹⁴ When asked to include his own *shaṭṭ*, he replied that his *shaṭṭ* was to say that "all *shaṭṭhiyyât* are mine."¹¹⁵ Thus, in a very subtle way he

included himself in the domain of the 'ârifân.

As for the second purpose, Dârâ says:

And since the *shaṭṭhiyyât* collected by Rûzbihân Baqlî are comprised of similes and metaphors which may become the cause of irritation for the readers, I have arranged them with short and simple language with suitable verses of the *mashâyikh* and my own.¹¹⁶

Even a casual glance at Rûzbihân's *Sharḥ-i Shaṭṭhiyyât* will confirm that the latter work was indeed Dârâ's major source as far as sayings of the classical Sufis and their forerunners are concerned.¹¹⁷ But the greater -- and doubtless more interesting -- part of Dârâ's collection is devoted to those *shaṭṭâḥân* not covered by Rûzbihân. As a matter of fact, Dârâ brought the collection up to date, so to speak by including sayings and biographical notes of Sufis from the 5th/11th century up to his own time.¹¹⁸ Comparing *Ḥasanât* with *Sharḥ-i Shaṭṭhiyyât* Carl W. Ernst observes that:

No longer is Hallaj the central figure as for Ruzbihan; now Dara's masters Mian Mir and Mulla Shah are the most important speakers of *shathiyat*.¹¹⁹

Dârâ's perspective is certainly no longer as "Hallajian" as Rûzbihân's -- although it should be noted that Ḥallâj remains the prototype of those killed by the

mullâs for saying the "Truth" (*ḥaqq*)¹²⁰ -- and the role of that "central figure" is, rather, taken by Ibn al-ʿArabî.¹²¹ In fact, some of the most famous and controversial sayings of Ibn al-ʿArabî -- who for Dârâ was the "guide of the monotheists" (*pîshwây-i muwaḥḥidân*)¹²² -- are quoted here in Persian translation as *shaṭḥ*.¹²³

As for Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shâh, they are by no means "the most important speakers of *shaṭḥiyyât*" as claimed by Ernst in the above quote. What Dârâ does say about them is that "Mullâ Shâh himself is the greatest *shaṭḥ* of Miyân Mîr, and I am the greatest *shaṭḥ* of Mullâ Shâh."¹²⁴ It should further be noted that these two Sufis are not the only contemporaries Dârâ acknowledges here as his masters; an enigmatic "solitary" (*mufrad*), Ḥaḍrat Bârî, and Shâh Muḥammad Dilrubâ, are also included as Dârâ's "masters" (*ustâd*).¹²⁵ Finally, perhaps the most striking feature of *Ḥasanât* is the inclusion, among the *shaṭṭâḥân*, of the celebrated poet Kabîr and the Hindu Yôgî Bâbâ Lâl.¹²⁶

OTHER WORKS

Apart from *Safîna*, *Sakîna* and *Ḥasanât*, two other works by Dârâ, *Risâla-i Ḥaqq-numâ* and *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*, have also been used occasionally in this study. *Risâla* (edited by Jalâlî Nâʾînî in *Muntakhabât-i Athâr* and translated into

English by Srisa Chandra Vasu) was begun on 8th Shawwâl 1055/27th November 1645,¹²⁷ and completed in 1056/1646.¹²⁸ Judging from Dârâ's introduction, *Risâla* appears to be the work which he had already planned earlier, when he wrote *Sakîna*.¹²⁹ Unlike our major sources, it is not concerned with biographies (except for short autobiographical hints), nor is it a collection of Sufi sayings like *Ḥasanât*. Instead, Dârâ here gives a rather systematic and descriptive exposition of the spiritual practice of meditation, as experienced by himself and his Qâdirî masters. The stages of meditation are conceived in terms of the "four worlds" (*ʿawâlim-i arbaʿa*): *nâsût* (physical-human world), *malakût* (angelic world), *jabarût* (the world of absolute sovereignty) and *lâhût* (the world of divinity).¹³⁰ Accordingly, as specified in the introduction by Dârâ, this work comprises four chapters; however, it is in fact completed by two additional chapters on *huwwiyya* (the divine essence) and *waḥdat al-wujûd* (Unity of Being).¹³¹ Dârâ intended *Risâla* as a "guide" (*bayân*) for those unable to find a perfect master (*kâmil-i mukammil*)¹³² and as a "summary" (*khulâṣa*) of "all Sufi writings" (*jamʿ-i kutub-i mutaṣawwifa*) especially those of Ibn al-ʿArabî and Jâmî.¹³³ However, he makes it clear that he himself reached his stage not through books, but thanks to spiritual influence of a perfect master (*taʾthîr-i naẓar-i kâmil*).¹³⁴

The *Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn*, Dârâ's comparative study of

Hinduism and Islam (edited and translated by M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq and also edited by Jalâlî Nâ'inî in *Muntakhabât-i Athâr*) was completed in 1065/1655.¹³⁵ While Dârâ's comparative approach to Hindu and Muslim concepts is not, as such, the subject of our study, the *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* contain one chapter which is, of course, relevant here: the one on *nubuwwa* and *wilâya*.¹³⁶ Interestingly, this is the only chapter in which Dârâ undertakes no comparison with similar Hindu concepts!¹³⁷ However, he includes the Hindu Yôgî Bâbâ Lâl -- no doubt the one whose *shaṭḥ* he mentions in *Ḥasanât* -- in his list of contemporary *awliyâ*.¹³⁸

NOTES

¹ The published lithographed text of *Safīna* found in the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, is one of the rare copies published in Kanpur by Munshī Nawāl Kishōr press in 1318/1900 as a second edition. It is an unedited version comprising 216 pages, including a title page, a table of contents, and concluding remarks. A few remarks by an anonymous source are written in the margins but these have unfortunately been trimmed by the binder of the book. For example see *Dārā, Safīna*, pp. 18-24, 32, 39, 208-211.

² Ibid., p. 216.

³ For Hasrat and Storey, the total number of the *awliyā'* cited in *Safīna* is four hundred and eleven. See Hasrat, *Dārā Shikūh*, pp. 53-56; Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 997. However, the Nawāl Kishōr edition is comprised of four hundred and nine biographical accounts of *awliyā'*. See *Dārā, Safīna*, pp. 2-11.

⁴ Although *Dārā* introduces Qāsim (d. 108 or 109/726 or 727) -- grandson of the first Caliph Abū Bakr -- as a *faqīh* (jurist) he is known as one of the early Naqshbandī Sufīs. According to Naqshbandī tradition he is believed to be a follower of Salmān Farsī who was a follower of Abū Bakr the first Caliph. See Mohammad b. Mohammad Pārsā (1348?-1420 A.D.), *Qodsīyyah*, edited by Ahmad Tāheri Iraqi, Iran Culture and Literature Series: 77 (Tehran: 1975), p. 99. Also see 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Jawzī's *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwat* (2 vols.; Hyderabad Deccan: Daī'rat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, 1355 A.H.), II, p. 49f.

⁵ Dates mentioned in this paragraph are those mentioned by *Dārā* in *Safīna*.

⁶ Ibid., p. 102. *Dārā* has not mentioned the death date; according to Trimingham the death date is 487/1094. See Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, p. 32.

⁷ Rizvi, *History*, II, p. 130.

⁸ The total number of the Indian *awliyā'* may vary; this number is found only in the Nawāl Kishōr edition.

⁹ *Dārā, Safīna*, pp. 35, 57, 67, 79, 81, 83-84, 91, 139, 145, 150, 199, 215 etc.

- ¹⁰ Idem, *Safîna* p. 216.
- ¹¹ Apart from these major sources Dârâ has also used other sources. See Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, pp. 61-62.
- ¹² Dârâ, *Safîna*, pp. 12; 13.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ See Mahmud Husain Siddiqui, *The Memoirs of Sufis Written in India* (Baroda: Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1979), p. 21.
- ¹⁶ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 216.
- ¹⁷ Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 991.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Dârâ, *Safîna*, pp. 43-58.
- ²⁰ Ibid., pp. 19, 30.
- ²¹ Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 996.
- ²² See above pp. 61-62.
- ²³ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 167. Also see below, p. 65-66.
- ²⁴ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 23. Also see below, p. 65.
- ²⁵ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 58.
- ²⁶ Ibid., pp. 184, 185.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 192. Also see above, p. 25.
- ²⁸ Dârâ, *Safîna*, pp. 12, 13.
- ²⁹ Dârâ, *Risâla*, p. 4. For the date of *Sakîna*, see below p. 68f and n. 64.
- ³⁰ Miyân Mîr's biography in *Safîna* is very similar to the one found in *Sakîna*. This supports the suggestion that Dârâ may have revised *Safîna* after the completion of *Sakîna*. See Dârâ, *Safîna*, pp. 70-73.
- ³¹ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 72;
- ³² Ibid., pp. 12-17.

³³ Idem, *Safīna*, p. 16 (misspelled *raḥiyūn*); see below p. 98.

³⁴ *Dārâ, Safīna*, p. 16.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 57. Also see below, pp. 97, 132-33.

³⁶ See below pp. 74, 79.

³⁷ *Dārâ, Safīna*, p. 216.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 43-58.

³⁹ See above, p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Dārâ, Safīna*, pp. 22-30.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 19-23.

⁴² Ibid., p. 23.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid. *Dārâ* does not seem to trace the Naqshbandiyya silsila back to Abû Bakr, contrary to their usual "genealogy." It is also interesting to note that in the introduction to the translation of *Yôga Vâsistha*, *Dārâ*, after paying tribute to the Prophet Muḥammad, praises 'Alî only. See Hasrat, *Dārâ Shikûh*, p. 235.

⁴⁵ *Dārâ, Safīna*, p. 167.

⁴⁶ For example the name of the city "Mayhana" in the biographical note has become "Mayhatar." See *Dārâ, Safīna*, p. 162; elsewhere, instead of *tadhkira-i 'Abd al-Qâdir Badâ'unî*, the name of the work has become *tadhkira-i 'Abd al-Qâdir Badla wanî* etc. Ibid., p. 184.

⁴⁷ Hasrat, *Dārâ Shikûh*, p. 63.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 82, n. 3.

⁴⁹ For example the following names are missing from Jalâlî Nâ'inî's list: 1) Bahâ' al-Dîn Zakariyya Multânî; 2) Shaykh Fâris; and 3) Shaykh Abû Muḥammad. Whereas, the following names are missing in the Nawal Kishôr edition: 1) Abû Bakr 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir; 2) Abû Bakr Tamstânî; 3) Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alî; 4) Abû Muḥammad 'Abd Allâh b. Nishabûrî (sic.); 5) Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Warrâq; 6) Abû al-Ḥasan 'Alî Qurayshî; 7) Mawlânâ Zâhid Mar'ânî; and 8) Umm-i Muḥammad Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir. See Jalâlî Nâ'inî's Introduction (Persian) to *Sirr-i Akbar*, pp. 198-202.

⁵⁰ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 62.

⁵¹ *Dârâ, Safîna*, pp. 35, 73, 86, 102, 110.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 37.

⁵³ Elsewhere *Dârâ* mentions that Ḥabib Râ'î was the Sufi Master of Dâūd bin Naṣr Tâ'î. See *Dârâ, Safîna*, p. 121. Also see Shaykh Farîd al-Dîn 'Attâr, *Kitâb Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ'*, edited by Mîrzâ Muḥammad Qazvînî (*Châpkhâna-i Markazî*, n.d.), p. 184; Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmân Jâmî, *Nafaḥât al-Uns min Ḥaḍarât al-Quds* (hereafter *Nafaḥât*) edited with introduction by Mahdî Tawḥîdîpûr (*Kitâbforûshî Sa'dî*, 1336 H. Solar), p. 41.

⁵⁴ *Dârâ, Safîna*, p. 35. However, this text does not seem to be correct, either.

⁵⁵ Jalâlî Nâ'inî, Introduction to *Sakîna*, pp. 25, 26.

⁵⁶ *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 132.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁸ See Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 65; Rizvi, *History*, II, 134; Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 998.

⁵⁹ *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 215.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁶² Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 998. Also see Rizvi, *History*, II, 134.

⁶³ *Sakîna*, p. 131.

⁶⁴ Jalâlî Nâ'inî, Introduction (Persian) to *Sirr-i Akbar*, p. 206. Jalâlî further suggests that *Dârâ* may have completed *Sakîna* in 1059 A. H. However, since *Dârâ* refers to *Sakîna* in *Risâla* which was written between 1055 and 1056 A. H. (see below, p. 80), one will have to conclude that a first version of *Sakîna* was completed before 1055 A. H.

⁶⁵ *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 248.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-131.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-55.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-93.

- ⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 94-99.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 100-125.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 126-128.
- ⁷² Ibid., pp. 129-131.
- ⁷³ Ibid., pp. 133-149.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 152-246.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 196-204.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 222-234.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 6.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 37-38.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 9, 166, 168.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 7.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 247, 248.
- ⁸² Ibid., p. 95.
- ⁸³ Ibid.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 132.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 2-5.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 6. See above, pp. 31-32.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 7.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid. In fact Dârâ did write a book on the spiritual practices of the Qâdirîs, though a few years later: This is the *Risâla-i Haqq-numâ*. See below, p. 79 and n. 129.
- ⁹⁰ Dârâ. *Sakîna*, pp. 7-12.
- ⁹¹ See Chapter III.
- ⁹² Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 19-20. See below, p. 114ff.
- ⁹³ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 218.
- ⁹⁴ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, pp. 123-124. For works of 'Abd al-Qâdir see W. Braune, "Abd al-Qâdir al-Djîlânî," *EI*² I,

69-70.

⁹⁵ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 10, 63, 69, 166. For a quotation from *Futûhât* in *Hasanât* see below, p. 89, n.123.

⁹⁶ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 68-69.

⁹⁷ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 216. See also above p. 62.

⁹⁸ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 179-204.

⁹⁹ For example the discussion of Miyân Mîr with Mughal emperors (Jahângîr and Shâhjahân), a disciple of Aḥmad Sirhindî (Ḥakîm Siyâlkôtî), and others. See Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 46-50.

¹⁰⁰ Makhdûm Rahîn, Introduction to Dârâ's *Hasanât*, p. 37.

¹⁰¹ Dârâ, *Hasanât*, p. 2.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁰³ For Qanungo, the book was "completed in A. H. 1062-1652 A. D." (Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 113). For Hasrat it was "completed on Sunday, Rabi' -ul-Awwal, 1, 1064 H." (Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 105). For Rizvi it was "completed at the end of Rabi' I 1064/Feb 1654." (Rizvi, *History*, II, 143). For Mahfuz ul-Haq the work was completed on "Monday the last day of Rabi' al-Awwal 1064 H." (Mahfuz ul-Haq, Introduction to *Majma'*, p. 11). However the edited text differs from all of them and gives the date based on four manuscripts.

¹⁰⁴ Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁵ See Dârâ, *Hasanât*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 2, 3. Shaykh Rûzbihân Baqlî Shirâzî (d. 606/1209) was one of the Qâdirî awliyâ'. Amongst his works, *Sharḥ-i Shaṭṭhiyyât* is well-known. About *shaṭṭhiyyât*, Schimmel writes:

"Their study is one of the most interesting, but also most difficult, topics in the history of Sufism, and the daring, partly jubilant, partly bewildered words that Rûzbihân has put together and interpreted in an existential, authentic way allow a glimpse into the depths of mystical experience, which, however, can never be appropriately expressed in human words." (See Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p. 145).

See also Henry Corbin's introduction to Rûzbihân Baqlî's *Sharḥ-i Shaṭḥiyyât*, (hereafter *Sharḥ*) ed. by Henry Corbin (Tehran: Departement D'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien, 1966), pp.7ff. Also see Henry Corbin, *En Islam iranien: Aspects spirituels et philosophique*. (4 vols.; Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1972), III, 9-146.

107 Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 9.

108 Idem, *Ḥasanât*, pp. 2, 3.

109 Perhaps allusion to his being 'walî. See Quran: 10:62, according to which: "Behold! Verily on the friends of God there is no fear, nor shall they grieve."

110 Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, pp. 2, 3.

111 For the position of *shaṭḥiyyât* in Islam see Carl W. Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* (hereafter *Words*) (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), pp. 1-6; Also see H. Corbin, Introduction to Rûzbihân's *Sharḥ*; L. Massignon, "Shaṭḥ," *EI*¹ (1938), IV, 335-36.

112 Rûzbihân, *Sharḥ*, p. 57f.

113 One may note here that the opposition of Sharî'a-minded people never died. Those who wrote centuries after the completion of *Ḥasanât* continued to criticize the work. For example, referring to Sayyid Najîb Ashraf Nadavî, Qanungo, writes:

"This has perhaps led a Muslim critic of the orthodox school to remark that Dara Shukoh by writing this book only betrayed himself, and in attempting to defend himself with his pen the Prince acted in a manner less heroic and honourable than that of Mansur bin Hallaj, Shahabuddin Suhrawardy or Sarmad, who died for their conviction without opening their lips in self-defence! Elsewhere the same critic sums up his criticism of Dara's *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* by saying that he would very strongly recommend this book to those who want to study the perversion [lit., ruin] of Sufism." (See Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, p. 115.)

114 Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 2.

115 Ibid., p. 79.

116 Ibid., p. 3.

¹¹⁷ See the remarks of Makhdûm Rahîm in his introduction to *Ḥasanât*, p. 32f; and Ernst, *Words* p. 23; a comparative study remains yet to be done.

¹¹⁸ Ernst, *Words*, p. 23.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

¹²⁰ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 38.

¹²¹ Carl Ernst says:

"He (Dârâ) only retained the barest sense of the theory of *shaṭḥ*, which he interpreted as a simplified form of Ibn 'Arabî's philosophy." (See Ernst, *Words*, p. 23).

¹²² Note that for Dârâ, Ibn al-'Arabî is imâm al-muwahhîdîn already in *Sakîna*, p. 63, as is Rûzbihân. See Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 56.

¹²³ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, pp. 37, 38. For example at one place (p. 37) he quotes Ibn al-'Arabî:

"Pâk ast kasî ki zâhir gardânîd chîz hâ râ wa khûd
(ayn-i hama chîz ast."

which is a Persian translation of a well-known saying of Ibn al-'Arabî. See Ibn al-'Arabî, *Kitâb al-Futûḥât al-Makkiya* (hereafter *Futûḥât*) (Bulâq, Miṣr: 1270 A.H.), II, 508. The text of the saying is:

"Subḥân man aẓhar al-ashyâ' wa huwa 'aynuhâ."

The above quote has been critisized by Simnânî. See H. Landolt, "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Kâšânî und Simnânî über Waḥdat al-Wuġûd," *Der Islam*, Band 50:1 (1973), p. 43.

¹²⁴ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 60.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 67f. and 72f. Also see above, p. 36.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 49, 53-55. Also see above, pp. 37ff.

¹²⁷ Dârâ, *Risâla*, p. 2.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

¹²⁹ See above, p. 72f and n. 89.

¹³⁰ Dârâ, *Risâla*, p. 5. For details regarding 'awâlim see L. Gardet, "âlam," *EI*², I, 349-52.

¹³¹ Ibid., 16f.

¹³² Dârâ, *Risâla*, p. 3f.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

¹³⁵ Dârâ, *Majma'* p. 116.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 54-57.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 57. It is interesting to note that the MS edited by Jalâlî Nâ'inî does not have the name of Bâbâ Lâl. However, it does have four additional names: Haḍrat Shams Tabrîz, Sayyid Qâsim Anwâr, Sayyid Ḥasan and Khwâja Ḥâfiẓ Shirâz. See Dârâ, *Majma' al-Bahrayn* in *Muntakhabât-i Athâr*, p. 17.

CHAPTER : III

DĀRĀ SHUKŪH ON WILĀYA

The term *walāya* or *wilāya* is a verbal noun which means "friendship" or "assistance," and "authority" or "power"; it also corresponds roughly to "sainthood", particularly in a Sufi context.¹ One who possesses *wilāya* is known as a *walī* (pl. *awliyā*). According to Dr. Hermann Landolt, the concept of *wilāya* is "a fundamental notion of Islamic social and spiritual life."² Its social importance can be seen in the legal and political thought of Islam, and its spiritual importance in the principles of both Shī'ism and Sufism. For Shī'ism, it is seen as only one - although the most important - of the pillars of Islam, whereas for Sufism it is considered to be the fundamental concept.³ As Hujwiri says, "The principle and foundation of Sufism and knowledge of God rests on *wilāya*."⁴

In the classical literature of Sufism, the concept of *wilāya* is traced back to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad,⁵ whose companions (either 'Alī or Abū Bakr) are said to have been the forebears of the Sufi *silsilas*. Although one can find Sufi quotations about *wilāya* from as early as the

second century Hijra, 'Ḥakīm Tirmidhī (d.3rd/9th century) is regarded as the first to have written systematically on the concept of wilāya.⁷ Later, many Sufis, including Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d.638/1240) and ʿAlā al-Dawlah al-Simnānī (d.736/1336), wrote on this concept.⁸

As mentioned in Chapter I, Hujwīrī was the first Sufi in the Indo-Pak subcontinent to have written systematically on the doctrines of Sufism.⁹ He introduced Tirmidhī's concept of wilāya in his famous work *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*.¹⁰ This introduction was general and did not deal with specific important issues (raised by Tirmidhī) such as the doctrine of finality or seal (*khātam*).¹¹ This omission is most likely the reason why Sufis writing after Hujwīrī continued to deal with the concept of wilāya in the same general way. Examples can be found in the writings of early Chishtī Sufis such as Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d.726/1325) and Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d.777/1356), and in that of a Firdawsī Sufi, Shāykh Sharaf al-Dīn b. Yaḥyā Manīrī (d.781/1379).¹²

* It was at least four centuries after Hujwīrī -- i.e. 9th/15th century -- before the Indian Sufis started writing on the issues and problems of wilāya.¹³ By this time Ibn al-ʿArabī's writing on Tirmidhī's doctrine had already reached the subcontinent.¹⁴ These writings stimulated a strong debate amongst the Sufis of the 9th/15th and 10/16th centuries in the subcontinent. As observed by Khusro

Hussaini, "this change was probably due to the infiltration of the doctrines of Ibn 'Arabî into India."¹⁵

The doctrine of wilâya, and its related issues, were discussed at length by Sufis such as Gîsû Dirâz, Mas'ûd Bek, Shaykh Muḥammad Jaunpûrî, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawî, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindî and others.¹⁶ When Dârâ first started writing on the lives of the awliyâ', in the 11th/17th century, debates on various aspects of wilâya were an on-going concern in Sufi circles, and Ibn al-'Arabî and Simnânî were well-known figures.¹⁷

It seems from Dârâ's early writings, *Safîna* and *Sakîna*, that his initial goal was only to compile the available material on the biographies of the awliyâ' without involving himself in any discussion related to the controversial issues of wilâya.¹⁸ However, after he became more involved with the Qâdiriyya silsila and read more on Sufism, he seems to have developed his own concept of wilâya. Different aspects of his personality such as his affiliation with the Qâdiriyya silsila, his Mughal background, and his belief in seeking knowledge from other religions contributed to the formulation of his thought.¹⁹

In *Safîna*, *Sakîna* and *Ḥasanât* -- which cover a period of almost thirteen years²⁰ -- Dârâ's approach to the awliyâ' in general is very similar to the classical approach.

However, his perception of his own *silsila* and his attitude towards important issues concerning *wilâya*, such as the relationships between *wilâya* and *nubuwwa* (prophethood), between *wilâya* and *sharî'a* (lit. a path leading towards water), and between *wilâya* and *'irfân* (gnosis) do show his contribution to Sufi thought. Accordingly, this Chapter has been divided into three sections: 1) Dârâ's approach towards *awliyâ'* in general; 2) Dârâ's perception of his own *silsila* and Sufi Masters; and 3) Dârâ's response to some important issues connected with *wilâya*.

1. DÂRÂ'S APPROACH TOWARDS AWLIYÂ' IN GENERAL:

In his early works, Dârâ writes about the *walî* and not about the concept of the *wilâya*. It is therefore his usage of the term *awliyâ'* which will be analyzed in order to determine and examine Dârâ's concept of *wilâya*.

Dârâ's knowledge of the tradition of the *awliyâ'* appears to be fairly comprehensive. While compiling biographical information he was well aware of the Sufi tradition of writing *tadhkira*, and the classical approach towards the concept of *wilâya*. Following the classical *tadhkira* literature, Dârâ describes, in *Safîna* and *Sakîna*, the virtues of a *walî* and explains the importance of the *awliyâ'*. He also divides the *awliyâ'* into different groups,

categories and ranks, but without mentioning their interrelationship.

(a) Definition of the awliyā':

On the basis of content analysis, and the title of his works *Saffna* and *Sakfna*, one may infer that Dārā's definition of the awliyā' was very general. For example, in *Saffna*, his inclusion of Caliphs, Ithnā 'Asharī Imāms, Imāms of Sunnī Schools, legal authorities, wives of the Prophet, poets and Sufis does not show any specification in the domain of wilāya.²¹ Similarly in *Sakfna*, although it revolves mainly around the personality of Miyān Mīr, Dārā also includes a list of Indian Qādirī awliyā' starting from the forebear of the silsila.²²

Dārā did not analyse the word wali linguistically in any of his early works. However, in the opening pages of the *Saffna* he makes it clear that he considers the awliyā' in the literal sense to be "those near to God," identifying them with "Whom He will love as they will love Him" (Quran: 5:57).²³ They are a special category (ṭā'ifa), second in creation only to the Prophets, having always been in existence and forever to be in existence; indeed the existence of the world depends on their existence.²⁴ After a reference to Hujwiri's *Kashf*,²⁵ Dārā then enumerates the

following fourteen qualities of the *awliyâ'*:

Following the Prophets none are nearer to God than they; none are greater, more venerable, more honorable, more courageous, less in need [of material goods], more virtuous, more perfect, more learned, more perfect in action, more affable, more kind, more brave and more generous than they [*awliyâ'*].²⁶

The above mentioned virtues generally convey the concept of an ideal man. It should be noted that this ideal owes as much to the "noble tradition" of *jawânmardî* (lit. manliness), or *futûwwa* (lit. manhood) as to strictly religious virtues such as "learning and action."²⁷ Apart from these virtues, there are also mystical "states" and "stations" which are experienced by a *walî*.²⁸ These states and stations do not come into the domain of qualities or virtues of a *jawânmard* but rather are the stages which a *walî* passes through as a "wayfarer" or "traveller" on the way to reaching *ma'rifa*. *Miyân Mîr*, for example, is portrayed by *Dârâ* as a 'model *walî*', who possesses virtues and has reached *ma'rifa* (gnosis) by going through the states and stations of a *walî*.²⁹

(b) Division of the *awliyâ'*:

In both *Safina* and *Sakina*, *Dârâ* ranks the *awliyâ'* according to various principles of classification. In

Safīna, he divides them into groups (*ṭawā'if*, sing. *ṭā'ifa*) according to their method (*ṭarīqa*); and in *Sakīna* he divides them into "twelve tribes" following Rūzbihān (see below). Three major schemes of division which he has produced in his works are dealt with briefly in the following sections.

(i) Ranks of the awliyā':

In the foreword to *Safīna*, Dārā provides a traditional scheme according to which he divides the *awliyā'* into different ranks.³⁰ Basically the same scheme is also mentioned in *Sakīna*³¹, where it is directly quoted from Hujwīrī's *Kashf*;³² variants can be found in 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī's *Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil* and elsewhere.³³ According to this scheme, there are four thousand *maktûmân* (hidden *awliyā'*), and three hundred and fifty-five *awliyā'*, which may be said to be apparent *awliyā'* (in *Safīna*, they are 356). They are divided as:

300 who are called *akhyār*, 40 others who are named *abdāl*, [in *Safīna*, Dārā also mentions *raḥīyûn* -- i.e. *rajabīyyûn*, [see below] -- who are 40] 7 others who are known as *abrâr*, 4 others who are known as *awtād*, 3 others who are called *nugabâ* [in *Safīna* Dārā also mentions *imâmân* i.e. 2 Imāms], and one who is called *ghawth* or *qutb*.³⁴

This scheme reflects a classical tradition of Sufi literature known as the "ḥadīth of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd":

there are 356 (var. 355) such figures, upon whom "life and death" of all nations depends: 300 "whose heart is after the heart of Adam," 40 who are in the same relationship to Moses (var. Noah), 7 to Abraham, 5 (var. 4) to the angel Gabriel, 3 to Michaél, one to Seraphiel (Isrâfîl, the angel of Resurrection).³⁵

He also quotes (from Jâmi, without indicating his source) another anonymous authority from Khurâsân (*yakî az akâbir-i Khurâsân*), who relates a *ḥadîth* explained by Shaykh-i Ḥaram Najm al-Dîn Iṣfahânî, to the effect that the *budalâ'* (*abdâl*) are forty, twelve of whom are in Iraq and twenty eight in Syria.³⁶ Elsewhere in *Sakîna*, he quotes from Ibn al-ʿArabî that the *abdâl* are seven (instead of forty) and that God has divided the land into seven parts each taken care of by one of the *abdâl*.³⁷ However, he does not take any notice of the difference in number, i.e. that for Ibn al-ʿArabî the *abdâl* are seven while for others they are forty in number.

As was indicated above, the scheme in *Safîna* varies from *Sakîna* in terms of two additional ranks: *imâmân* (two leaders) and "*raḥiyûn*." It is obvious that both terms are taken from Ibn al-ʿArabî's scheme mentioned in *al-Futûḥât al-Makkiyya*.³⁸ However, instead of the term *raḥiyûn* one finds *rajabiyûn* in *Futûḥât*. This difference can be explained as a simple misspelling in the available Nawal Kishôr edition of *Safîna*.

Interestingly, although Dârâ faithfully reports the

classical schemes of Sufi hierarchies of *awliyā'*, he does not seem to attach great importance to these ranks ultimately. For example, with reference to the ranks of *quṭb* and *ghawth*, he once asked his Sufi Master Mullā Shāh which of the two was higher. Mullā Shāh answered to the effect that all these ranks, including *ghawth*, *quṭb*, *awṭād*, *abdāl* (etc.), refer to "people of service" (i.e. unfree), and that only the *mufradān* are free since they are exclusively devoted to God.³⁹ This suggests that these hierarchies did not have a substantial qualitative significance.

(ii) Groups of the *awliyā'*:

Dārā's division of the *awliyā'* into different groups (*ṭawā'if*) is based on their respective method (*ṭarīqa*). He starts with the classical distinction between those who are "manifest" (*āshkārā*, lit. known to others), i.e. who perform charismata (*karāmāt*) under the command of God, and those who conceal their supernatural powers.⁴⁰

He then mentions a group that he calls "subject to divine order" (*ma'mūr*): they act, speak, eat and clothe themselves only under divine impulse (*ilhām, amr*).⁴¹ The ideology of this group remains unclear.

The next group mentioned consists of those who follow the path of renunciation and isolation in accordance with the Qur'anic verse: "Say 'God', then leave them to plunge in vain discourse and trifling" (Quran: 6:91).⁴² A couplet very often recited by Miyân Mîr to the neophytes, and quoted by Dârâ, is characteristic of this attitude and suggests that this grouping might refer to the Qâdirîs or rather Miyân Mîr's branch of the Qâdirîs:

*shart-i awwal dar tarîq-i ma'rifat dâni ki chîst?
tark kardan har dû 'âlam râ wa pusht-i pâ zadan.*⁴³

which means:

Do you know what is the first condition for the path of *ma'rifa* (gnosis)?
Leave both the worlds and abandon them!

The above verse not only shows Miyân Mîr's attitude but is also very akin to the classical attitude in early Sufism:

If you wish to be God's friend (wâf) and care that He loves you, then leave this world and the next and do not heed either; free yourself from both and turn your face to God, so that He turns His face to you!⁴⁴

This attitude contrasts with that of the fourth group who are probably the Naqshbandîs, and who follow the path of "solitude in the midst of a crowd" (*khalwat dar anjuman*).⁴⁵ They live in the world, but not for the world, as exemplified in the Qur'anic verse:

By men whom neither traffic nor merchandise can divert from the remembrance of God nor from regular prayer. (24:27)*6

Dârâ writes that they should not be criticized for their "worldly" appearance, for (like all *awliyâ'*), they are hidden from the eyes of the people, as it is said in a *ḥadīth-i qudsī* (traditions regarded as non-Quranic sayings of God transmitted by a prophet):

My *awliyâ'* are under my gown, no one else knows them except me. (Dârâ adds: "unless I help"; i.e. they may be known through divine inspiration, *ta'yīd*).⁴⁷

Elsewhere in *Sakīna*, Dârâ justifies his own position by discrediting his worldly appearance. He says that "although I am away from *darvīshān* (lit. poor, indigent) I am from them."⁴⁸ Outwardly a prince, he is a *darvīsh* inwardly.

Another group of *awliyâ'* are those who define themselves as *malâmatiyya* (lit. those who incur censorship), so that no one can recognize their status.⁴⁹ Their method (ravenous) of practising religion appears to be against the law (*sharī'a*), but in fact they do not commit any breach of law. According to Dârâ they should not be criticized either. He quotes the famous story of Abū Yazīd al-Bastāmī (d.234/848) (also known as Bāyazīd), who ate a piece of bread publicly during the month of Ramaḍān. He argues that Bāyazīd's

action was not against the law (*sharī'a*), because as a traveller in the city, he was permitted to eat and drink in the month of Ramaḍān.⁵⁰

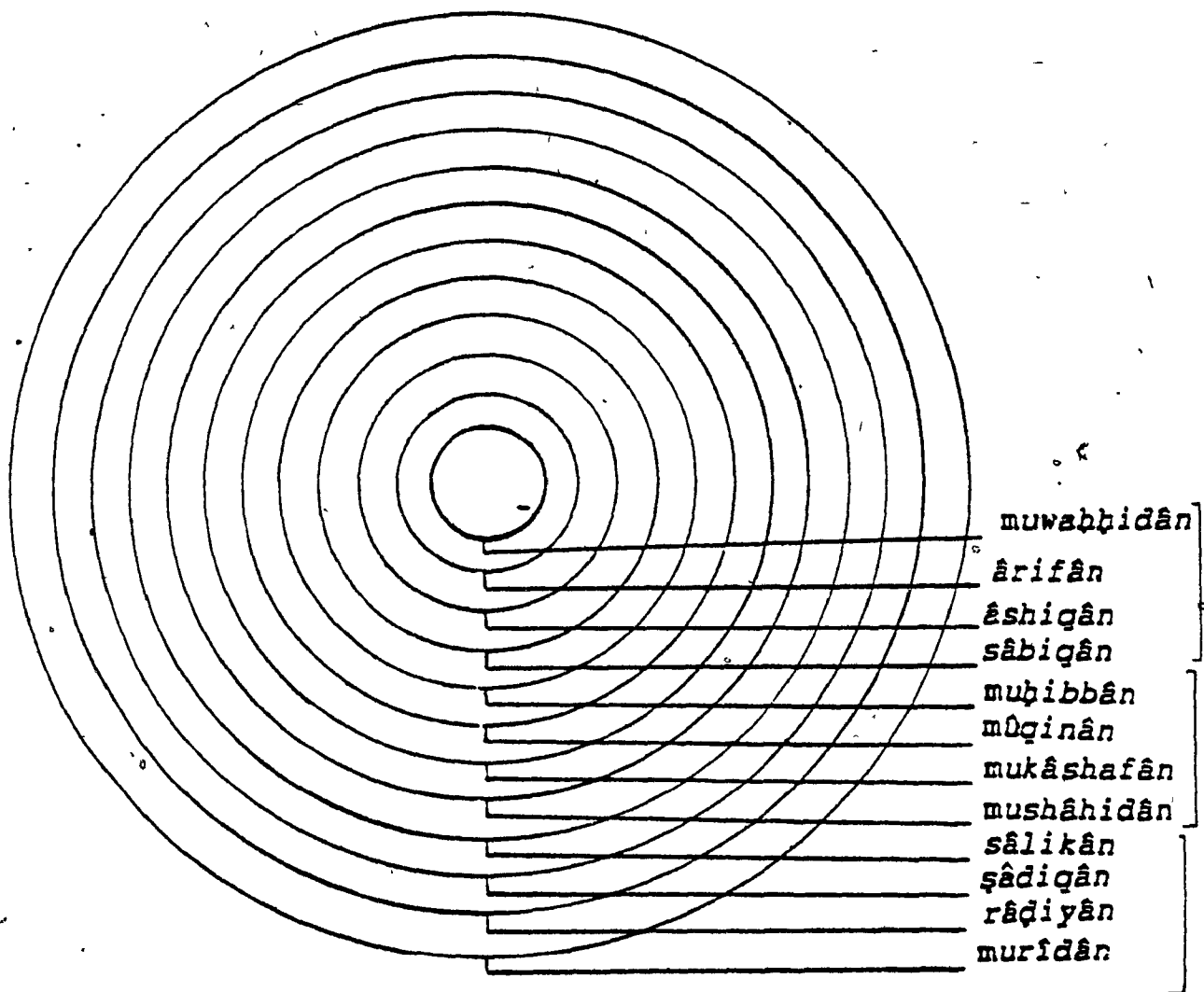
For Dārā there is yet another group, known as the *mufraḍān* (lit. solitaries), who are exalted, without desire, and whose status lies between the ranks of prophethood (*nubuwwat*) and righteousness (*ṣiddīqiyyat*).⁵¹ In both the *Safīna* and the *Sakīna*, Dārā, in defining the term *mufraḍ*, quotes Ibn al-ʿArabī: The "*mufraḍān* form a group, who are not included in the domain of *quṭb* i.e. not subject to the authority of the *quṭb*."⁵²

Actually Ibn al-ʿArabī's term for this group is *afrād* (sing. *fard*, i.e. individual).⁵³ Mullā Shāh's explanation of this term as reported by Dārā is that the *afrād* are called *mufraḍān* because they are aloof from "duality and servitude" (*az dūgānagī wa ghayr-bīnī-i khidmat mufraḍān*).⁵⁴ This may be the reason for which Ibn al-ʿArabī's term *afrād* becomes *mufraḍān* in Dārā's terminology. According to Dārā (and Ibn al-ʿArabī), the *mufraḍān* (*afrād*) have direct access to God.⁵⁵ They do not belong to any defined group, category or rank. This may also imply that there are certain *awliyā'* who are not known. Note, however, that Dārā counts his Sufi Masters Mullā Shāh and ʿAbd al-Qādir as *mufraḍān* even though they are *Qādirī awliyā'*.

(iii) "Tribes" of the awliyā':

Apart from the scheme mentioned above, Dārā uses Rûzbihān Baqlī's Commentary on Quran 7:160: "And we have divided them into twelve Tribes/Communities" (translation: mine))⁵⁶ as his source in *Sakīna*, to divide the "people of God" (*ahl-i Allāh*) into twelve different groups (also called *ṭawā'if*): the *muwaḥḥidān* (affirmers/believers of oneness); the *ʿārifān* (gnostics); *ʿāshiqān* (lovers); *sābiqān* (pioneers, lit. preceding, gone before); *muḥibbān* (lovers); *mûqinān* (those having certitude); *mukāshafān* (those having "unveilings"); *mushāhidān* (contemplators); *sālikān* (travellers); *ṣādiqān* (those who are sincere); *rāḍiyān* (those who have contentment); *murīdān* (seekers). Although Dārā says only that the *muwaḥḥidān* are the most excellent among all, one may speculate that these twelve categories (or, perhaps, categories 1-4, 5-8, 9-12 respectively) reflect stages of mystical achievement in descending order. (See below, p. 104).

Dārā does mention, however, that Miyān Mīr disapproved of the term *murīd* for his followers and instead regarded them as "friends" (*yārān*),⁵⁷ because during the times of the Prophet Muḥammad no one was called a *murīd*; instead all those who accompanied the Prophet were named *ṣaḥāba* (companions).⁵⁸



(c) Importance of the awliyâ' :

For Dârâ, the importance of the awliyâ' rests on several grounds: They are the possessors of knowledge after the Prophet Muḥammad. They fulfill the need for a proper guide for the time, and are the mediators between Man and God. They are also intercessors and as such, a source of blessing. Because they are "close to God," only they can perform charismata (karâmât).

(i) Awliyâ' as the possessors of knowledge:

For Dârâ, the awliyâ' are the possessors of knowledge, the learned ones ('ulamâ') referred to in the ḥadīth which states that "(the) ('ulamâ') of my community are like the Prophets of Banī Isrâ'il."³ Like other Sufis, he interprets the term ('ulamâ') to mean awliyâ', and deduces from this that the awliyâ' are the only source of exoteric (ẓāhirī) and esoteric (bāṭinī) knowledge which the Prophet Muḥammad possessed.⁴ Therefore, the awliyâ' alone are the real teachers of mankind and he strongly feels that without a teacher or a Sufi Master it would be extremely difficult to reach the highest stage of ma'rifa.⁵

The importance of the awliyâ' as teachers is much greater than that of a book or any other source, because the

awliyâ' teach their students from their hearts (bâṭin).
Dârâ says:

Just as at all times a teacher is necessary in order to learn about the exoteric knowledge ('ilm-i ṣâḥir) even more so (bi-ṭarîq-i awlâ) a teacher is necessary for the esoteric knowledge ('ilm-i bâṭin), as the esoteric knowledge reaches a heart through a heart and not through speech, explanation or book.⁶²

Dârâ repeats this argument frequently. He states, for example, that the knowledge of a book can even distract the sâlikân (wayfarers) from their path. In this context, Dârâ explains why Miyân Mîr never wrote a book and even discouraged disciples from studying books. He always emphasized the practice of meditation and contemplation through which one could purify one's heart.⁶³ On the other hand, Dârâ did believe in the vital role played by books. For those who were without a Sufi Master, for example, he wrote *Risâla-i Haqq-numâ*.⁶⁴

Yet Dârâ describes 'ilm (knowledge) more in terms of esoteric knowledge (or, traditionally speaking, knowledge which comes from the heart) than in terms of exoteric knowledge (knowledge which comes from the books).⁶⁵ For him mullâs or the dogmatic 'ulamâ' are the possessors of 'ilm-i ṣâḥir. Thus, neither Dârâ nor his Sufi Master Mullâ Shâh appreciated those who possessed only the exoteric knowledge of religion. For Mullâ Shâh, the hearts of the true 'ulamâ'

are made of knowledge and its inner meaning, "those who had knowledge without its inner meaning were not (*ulamâ*). Elsewhere Dârâ quotes Mullâ Shâh as saying that mullâs are "*mullâyân-i qishr*" (lit. mullâs of husk i.e. mullâs of *zâhir*) and "*zâhidân-i khushk*" (lit. dry ascetics) -- a term later used by Dârâ in *Ḥasanât* for those who did not approve of his *shaṭḥiyyât*."

The following anecdote demonstrates explicitly that *awliyâ*' are the (*ulamâ*) who are like the Prophets of Banî Isrâ'îl as described in the *ḥadīth*:

Haven't you heard that the Christians objected to this *ḥadīth-i nabavī* that (*ulamâ*) of my community are like the Prophets of Banî Isrâ'îl. And they asked the Caliph of the time for [such?] (*ulamâ*). All of them hid their faces and admitted their impotence. However, they brought forth (*Ayn al-Quḍât*). When (*Ayn al-Quḍât*) arrived, he struck his sword in such a way that he made rise, and brought life to, those who were dead for the last few years, saying: "Stand up with my order." They (*ulamâ*) subsequently burnt him and did what they wanted with him."

(ii) *Awliyâ*' as the means to reach God:

According to Dârâ the *awliyâ*' are teachers of mankind; because they are the only ones who possess both exoteric and esoteric knowledge, they become the only means to reach God. Thus, he concludes that it is necessary to search for the wali in order to reach God. The implication is that anyone

who reaches the *awliyâ'* will also reach God. It is the *walî* who will teach and help the follower (*murîd*) to attain his goal, whereas the follower's duty is only to reach the *walî*. Therefore, each action performed for the *awliyâ'* can be treated as an action done for God. Dârâ says:

Friendship with the *awliyâ'* is friendship with God, nearness towards them [*awliyâ'*] is nearness towards Him [God], searching for them [*awliyâ'*] is searching for Him [God], joining them [*awliyâ'*] is joining Him [God] [and], respecting them [*awliyâ'*] is respecting Him [God].⁶⁹

In *Risâla*, written seven years after *Safîna*, Dârâ explains that there are two ways of reaching the Goal: the path of grace (*faql*) and the path of exertion (*mujâhadat*).⁷⁰ The path of grace is such that: "when the Lord takes the seeker to a Master, that Perfect Guide (*murshid-i kâmil*) by one glance at the disciple, accomplishes all his work."⁷¹ Thus with one glance from his Sufi Master a disciple can reach the highest stage of *ma'rifa* without any pain or struggle.⁷² In *Sakîna* Dârâ has described a similar type of experience which he had with Mullâ Shâh.⁷³ He also points out in *Risâla* that he belongs to that group of disciples who have experienced grace without any struggle.⁷⁴

The second path is the path of exertion in which the disciple struggles hard to find a Sufi Master. If he finally succeeds in finding one, and follows the rules of spiritual practice under his instruction, he still needs the

grace of God (*faḍl-i ilāhī*) to reach his Goal. Thus, both paths leading to God require the presence of a Sufi Master and the grace of God, without which there is no hope of reaching God.⁷⁵ Similarly in *Sakīna*⁷⁶ Dārā insists that no one save a prophet may reach God without the intermediary of a *Shaykh*; but he qualifies this by adding that the *Shaykh* may be either physically or spiritually (*Uwaysī*)⁷⁷ present.

(iii) Awliyā' as 'the best of people':

For Dārā the *awliyā'* are "the best of people" mentioned in the following Quranic verse: "You are the best of people raised up for mankind" (3:110).⁷⁸ This aspect of the *wilāya* is also connected with perfect knowledge and is mentioned in Dārā's later work *Majma'*. According to his explanation, the teaching of the Prophet Muḥammad was based on perfect knowledge and was thus a synthesis of *tanzīh* (denial of the attributes of God) and *tāshbīh* (anthropomorphism).⁷⁹ Because the *awliyā'* belonged to his community, they were the inheritors of the same perfect knowledge.⁸⁰ Dārā's perception of the importance of the *awliyā'* shows the great extent of Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence on him. In the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, Ibn al-ʿArabī argues for the superiority of the *awliyā'* from the community of the Prophet Muḥammad in a similar manner.⁸¹

(iv) Awliyâ' as "present at all times":

According to Dârâ the awliyâ' are always present. He strongly rejects the idea that the awliyâ' were present in the past and no longer exist. For him, there cannot be any concept of existence without the awliyâ'. Hence he insists in *Safîna* that even now (i.e. in Dârâ's time) awliyâ' are present.⁸² Furthermore, he says:

Know that there is no period vacant of this esteemed group [i.e., the awliyâ']⁸³

Similarly in *Safîna*, he says:

This esteemed group [of awliyâ'] was always present [in the past] and is present [at the present time] and will remain present [in the future].⁸⁴

(v) Awliyâ' as "the source of blessings":

In the introduction to *Safîna*, Dârâ quotes a few awliyâ' who show themselves to be a source of blessings. For example he quotes Abû 'Abd Allâh Maghribî (d. 279/892) as saying:

Darwîshân [=awliyâ'] are the trustees of God for the people and with their blessings, afflictions terminate from the creation [people].⁸⁵

Furthermore *awliyâ'* are not only a source of blessings for mankind but they are also a source of blessings for the creation and its natural phenomenon. He quotes Hujwiri:

Rain falls due to the blessed feet of the *awliyâ'* and whatever grows on earth is due to the pure inner self (*bâṭin*) of the *awliyâ'*, and the success of the Muslims over the infidels is due to their blessings.⁸⁶

(vi) *Awliyâ'* as intercessors:

Just as the *awliyâ'* are the means to reach God, they are also the means by which to ask for intercession, thus enabling the follower (*murîd*) to receive salvation or forgiveness from God. In his works *Safîna* and *Sakîna*, Dârâ generally asks for God's forgiveness through the *awliyâ'*.⁸⁷

In the introduction to *Safîna* he quotes an anecdote⁸⁸ which shows that the friendship of a wali plays an important role on the Day of Judgement. According to the anecdote, Ibrâhîm Adham (d.160/776) saw an angel writing in a register. When he asked the angel what he was doing, the angel replied that he was writing the names of the friends of God. On discovering that his name had not been included on the list, Ibrâhîm told the angel that he was a friend of the friends of Him (God) i.e. *awliyâ'*. While he was saying

this, he heard a voice which ordered the angel to rewrite the list including Ibrâhîm's name on the top of the list.

At another place in *Sakîna*, Dârâ hints at his motivation for approaching Mullâ Shâh. Before he became his disciple, he says, he was hoping to come close to him so that by virtue of this "closeness" (*ham-sâyagî*) he would benefit from his help in the next world. When he did meet him, Mullâ Shâh took spontaneously his hand and promised him that he would help him in the next world -- something he said to no one else among his disciples.⁸ In fact, Dârâ's prayer reflects the stature in which he holds the Qâdirî *awliyâ'*:

This *faqîr* [poor one] will also receive salvation (*najât*) through the attention (*tawwajuh*) and favours (*inâyât*) of 'Abd al-Qâdir both in this world and the other.⁹

For Dârâ, the souls of the *awliyâ'* continue to help others even after the physical death of the *awliyâ'*. In the biography of Miyân Mîr he writes:

at the present, help, bounties and endless blessings have always reached [towards me] from his [Miyân Mîr's] gracious soul.¹¹

Dârâ's understanding of the *awliyâ'* as intercessors is very similar to traditions (*aḥādīth*, sing. *ḥadīth*) in which the Prophet Muḥammad has been given the same status.¹²

(vii) Awliyâ' as charismatic personalities:

For Dârâ, not only does nature exist because the awliyâ' exist, but in fact they rule the world and hereafter. Dârâ quotes a saying of 'Abd al-Qâdir Gilânî, who said: "They [awliyâ'] are the kings of this world and hereafter."³ Since they also have the power to change the course of natural process, they can perform charismata.

Dârâ cites many charismata (*karâmât* sing. *karâmat*) in the biographies of the awliyâ', all intended to help (be a source of blessings to) their followers (*murîdân*).⁴ His many narratives of the charismata of 'Abd al-Qâdir Gilânî, Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shâh suggest that he was a believer in charisma (*karâmat*).⁵ Yet he also quotes those Sufis, who were not in favour of showing their charismata, which indicates that Dârâ did not want to overemphasize this aspect of wilâya.⁶ One has to keep in mind, however, that for Dârâ, the awliyâ' convey through charismata (*karâmât*) something higher than what is seen or experienced in that charisma (*karâmat*) itself. He says:

With that they mean [something much] higher than just performing [their] charismata (*karâmât*).⁷

2. DĀRĀ'S PERCEPTION OF HIS OWN SILSILA AND SUFI MASTERS:

The second important aspect of Dārā's concept of wilāya is his perception of his own silsila and Sufi Masters. For Dārā the Qādiriyya silsila is the highest. It should be noted, however, that Dārā considered ~~all~~ silsilas to be worthy; he does not make any adverse remarks about any other silsila or Sufi Master. During the time of his early writings, this attitude appears to have been strengthened. From amongst the awliyā', the most important for Dārā are Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī, Miyyān Mīr and Mullā Shāh. However, he also considered other awliyā' as his teachers."

(a) The importance of the Qādiriyya silsila:

Dārā is proud of his own Sufi silsila because he believes that the four major Sufi silsilas active during his time in the Indo-Pak subcontinent received in one way or another spiritual benefits from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī (d.562/1166). To illustrate this he gives the names of four famous Sufis:

1. Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī (d.633/1236) of the Chishtiyya silsila,

2. Khwāja Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (d.535/1140) of the

Naqshbandiyya silsila,

3. Shaykh Abû al-Najîb Suhrawardî (d.563/1168) and Shaykh Shihâb al-Dîn Suhrawardî (d.632/1234) of the Suhrawardiyya silsila, and

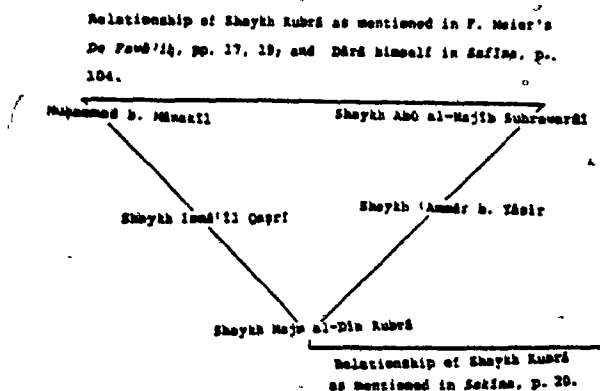
4. Shaykh Abû al-Najîb Suhrawardî (d.563/1168) (as a forebear) of the Kubrawiyya silsila.

Since Dârâ insists that the above claim that all other silsilas have benefited from 'Abd al-Qâdir, is a result of his personal research,¹⁰⁰ this provides us with a reason to examine his perception of history. He says, for example, that in the books of the Chishtiyya silsila there is evidence which confirms that Khwâja Mu'in al-Dîn spent some time in Baghdad with 'Abd al-Qâdir Gîlanî.¹⁰¹ According to Trimmingham,¹⁰² Khwâja Mu'in al-Dîn was born in 537/1142, which means that he was twenty-four years old when 'Abd al-Qâdir died. This implies that he would have met 'Abd al-Qâdir in his youth. Khwâja's biographers claim that he did meet 'Abd al-Qâdir, though their reliability may be questionable.¹⁰³

With respect to Yûsuf al-Hamadânî, Dârâ quotes from 'Abd Allâh Yâfi'î (d.769/1367) who says that Hamadânî was one of those awliyâ' present in the majlis (gathering) where Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir proclaimed that: "My foot is on the

neck of every wali of Allah."¹⁰⁴ Hamadânî's biography suggests that he came to Baghdad from his native province Hamadân, where he studied *fiqh* (jurisprudence).¹⁰⁵ On the basis of his visit to Baghdad, one may speculate about the chances of his having met 'Abd al-Qâdir Gîlânî.

Dârâ establishes that Abû al-Najîb Suhrawardî was a regular visitor of 'Abd al-Qâdir. He associates Abû al-Najîb Suhrawardî with the Kubrawiyya silsila on the basis that he was a teacher of Shaykh 'Ammâr b. Yâsir who was the Sufi Master of Shaykh Najm al-Dîn al-Kubrâ. Dârâ thus argues for Abû al-Najîb's connection with both silsilas.¹⁰⁶ One may point out here, that Dârâ knew that Shaykh Najm al-Dîn al-Kubrâ also had another affiliation as a disciple of Shaykh Ismâ'îl Qaṣrî.¹⁰⁷ While trying to prove his own thesis of 'Abd al-Qâdir being the only source of blessings for all four silsilas, he leaves aside the (second relationship of al-Kubrâ.



Abû al-Najîb Suhrawardî and his nephew Shihâb al-Dîn

Suhrawardî (Abû Ḥafṣ 'Umar) were among the regular visitors of 'Abd al-Qâdir Gîlânî. Dârâ says that Shihâb al-Dîn was interested in 'Ilm al-Kalâm (theology) but due to the influence of 'Abd al-Qâdir he was attracted to the path of Sufism.¹⁰⁸ The biography of Shihâb al-Dîn suggests that he was in Baghdâd for a while and one can not rule out the possibility of his visit to 'Abd al-Qâdir.¹⁰⁹ Dârâ, without referring to any authority, quotes him as saying that "whatever I have received is due to the blessings of 'Abd al-Qâdir."¹¹⁰

The importance of the Qâdiriyya silsila is also indicated, according to Dârâ, by the fact that all the awliyâ' of 'Abd al-Qâdir's time accepted him as the walî of the time and recognised the Qâdiriyya silsila as being the highest amongst all other silsilas. Dârâ bases this on a story in which 'Abd al-Qâdir is reported to have delivered his sermon in a majlis (gathering) of Sufis in Baghdâd, at which the Prophet Muḥammad was also present with his companions. At the end of his sermon 'Abd al-Qâdir said: "My foot is on the neck of every walî of Allah."¹¹¹ After hearing this proclamation, not only did those awliyâ' who were present bow their heads, but the awliyâ' all over the world bowed and accepted Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir. Dârâ quotes Miyân Mîr to explain the act of bowing as meaning that the awliyâ' accepted the higher rank of the Qâdiriyya silsila.¹¹²

It is noteworthy that Dârâ mentions Ibn al-ʿArabî's biography in the group of the Sufis of the Qâdiriyya silsila.¹¹³ In the biography, he notes two versions of how Ibn al-ʿArabî received his *khirqa* from ʿAbd al-Qâdir. According to the first one, it was through Muḥammad Yûnus Qaşâr al-Hâshimî; according to the second one Ibn al-ʿArabî received the *khirqa* directly i.e. without any channel. Although he states both views, Dârâ accepts the former one.¹¹⁴ The relationship of Ibn al-ʿArabî with ʿAbd al-Qâdir through *khirqa* can also be confirmed from the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabî.¹¹⁵ It seems that Ibn al-ʿArabî was impressed by the personality of ʿAbd al-Qâdir and had high regard for him.¹¹⁶

(b) The importance of Dârâ's Sufi Masters:

(i) Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qâdir Gîlânî:

Dârâ introduces ʿAbd al-Qâdir in the following words:

The surname (*kunyat*) of this king of the Sufi Masters (*mashâykh*) of the way (*ṭarîqa*), leader (*imâm*) of the leaders of the law (*sharîʿa*) and beloved of God, is Abû Muḥammad. And the name of this spiritual guide (*pîr*) of the age (*zamâna*), leader of the gnostics (*ʿârifân*), honour (*sharaf*) of the abstainers (*zuhhâd*), pride of the servants (*ʿibâd*) of God, and pole (*quṭb*), is ʿAbd al-Qâdir.¹¹⁷

Dârâ further claims that his Shaykh, 'Abd al-Qâdir, was powerful over all demons (*jinniyân*) and people (*ins*). He was also accepted by the mountains, the sea and the land.¹¹⁸ In another place he quotes 'Abd al-Qâdir as saying that the sun and the moon always paid him homage before they rose. Similarly the year, the month, the week and the day paid him respect and told him whatever had been written by God for others.¹¹⁹

Dârâ quotes yet another story narrated by a certain Shaykh Baqâ'î b. Baṭûr (d.553/1158)¹²⁰ in which the status of 'Abd al-Qâdir seems to be higher than that of 'Abd al-Qâdir's Imâm Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. According to this story, Shaykh Baqâ'î says that one day 'Abd al-Qâdir went to visit the tomb of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. After a while Baqâ'î saw that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal came out of his tomb and embraced 'Abd al-Qâdir and said,

O 'Abd al-Qâdir I depend (*muḥtâj*) upon you in the science of law (*'ilm-i sharī'a*), the knowledge of reality (*'ilm-i ḥaqīqa*) and the knowledge of the path (*'ilm-i ṭarīqa*).¹²¹

This narration becomes significant in light of the fact that 'Abd al-Qâdir was a practising judge (*muftī*) of the Ḥanbalī school (*madhhab*). This implies that although 'Abd al-Qâdir was a follower of Ibn Ḥanbal in the field of law, he was

perceived to be superior to his master even in the latter's own field.

Dârâ quotes a number of prophecies of different *awliyâ*' who made predictions concerning the status of 'Abd al-Qâdir: for example, that he would be the highest one amongst the *awliyâ*'.¹²² Dârâ also quotes an anonymous person who saw the Prophet Jesus in a dream. Jesus told him that 'Abd al-Qâdir was the best amongst the people of the earth.¹²³

For Dârâ, 'Abd al-Qâdir is one beloved of God. Although in the beginning of his work *Safîha* he quotes a Quranic verse showing that all *awliyâ*' are true lovers and beloved ones of God,¹²⁴ he later draws a line of demarcation between the two categories i.e., those who are lovers, and those who are the beloved ones.¹²⁵ He places 'Abd al-Qâdir in the second category, implying that it is better than the first. His argument is based on a story according to which Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir met with the Prophet Khiḍr and recognized him, whereas Khiḍr was not able to recognize 'Abd al-Qâdir. This frustrated Khiḍr and he asked God why he was not able to recognize this wālī, since he (Khiḍr) knew all the other *awliyâ*'. God replied to Khiḍr that he was able to recognize all those who were God-lovers,¹²⁶ whereas 'Abd al-Qâdir was among those who were the beloved ones of God.¹²⁶

Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir Gîlânî is also a major source of intercession for Dârâ. He does not petition his immediate Sufi Masters, Miyân Mîr and Mullâ Shah as often as he petitions 'Abd al-Qâdir to intercede for his forgiveness and salvation.¹²⁷ This suggests that 'Abd al-Qâdir is always present and is able to help at all times.

In this manner the role of 'Abd al-Qâdir comes very near to the role of the Prophet Muḥammad; that is, the bounties of the Prophet Muḥammad (*fayḍ-i Muḥammadî*) are replaced by the bounties of 'Abd al-Qâdir (*fayḍ-i Qâdirî*). As Dârâ says, reporting a saying of Abû Amr Marzûq (d.615/1218):

"God has taken the oath of allegiance from the *awliyâ*' of this time to accept His command (*amr*) and every bounty (*fayḍ*) which reached from the Prophet Muḥammad to his companions will reach the *awliyâ*' of this time through 'Abd al-Qâdir in this period.¹²⁸

While on the one hand 'Abd al-Qâdir is like the Prophet, in that he can intercede for his followers, paradoxically he is also trained by the Prophet himself and as a wali is his follower.¹²⁹ This paradoxical concept can also be traced in the teachings of Simnânî and others.¹³⁰

'Abd al-Qâdir possesses bounty and control over the general populace, being able to elevate or humble a person's position. For example, Dârâ narrates a story¹³¹ according

to which a thief entered the house of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir. In the course of the robbery, he lost his eyesight and was held by the Shaykh. After a while, when the thief was still under the custody of the Shaykh, someone came and informed 'Abd al-Qâdir that a wâlî had died in a certain place. 'Abd al-Qâdir blessed the thief with wilâya, his eyesight was returned, and the thief, who was now a wâlî, was sent to fill the vacancy of the deceased wâlî. Dârâ also mentions a few of 'Abd al-Qâdir's charismata (*karâmât*) in which 'Abd al-Qâdir punishes evil-minded people, including those who do not accept his ('Abd al-Qâdir's) supremacy in wilâya.¹³²

Not only is 'Abd al-Qâdir a wâlî *par excellence*, but is considered by Dârâ to be the wâlî who gave new life to religion (*dîn*).¹³³ He quotes a story according to which a person who was ill in Baghdad was visited by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir. As soon as the Shaykh met with the ill person, the man became healthy and told 'Abd al-Qâdir that 'I am the religion (*dîn*) of your forefathers and I have been given life due to you, hence you are Muḥyi al-Dîn (giver of life to religion).' The whole story is symbolic in nature and conveys an explicit notion that 'Abd al-Qâdir was pivotal for the revival of religion.

It seems that Dârâ is fully aware of the status which he is attributing to 'Abd al-Qâdir. He justifies this by quoting different verses from the Quran. In *Sakîna*, for

example, he quotes: 'we endowed with gifts, some above others' (2:253) by which he means that all silsilas are good and their leaders are the perfect ones.¹³⁴ It is, however, apparent that God has given more of His bounties to one than to the others. At other places in the *Saffna* and the *Sakîna*, Dârâ writes:

All bounties are in the hand of God, He granteth them to whom he pleaseth.¹³⁵ (3: 73)

and

Such is the bounty of God, which He bestows on whom He will and God is the Lord of highest bounty.¹³⁶ (62: 4)

(ii) Miyân Mîr:

For Dârâ, Miyân Mîr is an "ideal walî" second only to 'Abd al-Qâdir. His *ṭarîqa* (method) is superior even to that of other branches of the Qâdirî *sil'sila*, because it is totally based on piety (*taqwâ*) and traditional Sufi practice; it is "adorned" with *sharf'a*, *ḥaqîqa*, *ṭarîqa* and *ma'rifa*.¹³⁷ In the *Sakîna*, he introduces the personality of Miyân Mîr as:

Unique in *tafrîd* (solitude) and *tajrîd* (seclusion), *fanâ* (annihilation) and *ḥawsala* (endurance), *istighrâq* (submersion) and *istighnâ*

(contentment), *muḥafazat-i waqt* (safeguard of "instant") and *satr-i aḥwāl* (covering of states).¹³⁸

Elsewhere in the *Sakīna* he praises Miyān Mīr as:

the direction of Ka'ba (qibla) for the masters (*mashāyikh*) of the time, the prince (*Sayyid*) of the people of the world, the expert of the symbols (*rumūz*) of gnosis (*ʿirfān*), knower of the secrets of the conscience (*wijḍān*), the leader of the people of the religious law (*sharīʿa*), the proof of the wayfarers of the path (*ṭarīqa*), the essence of the lords of certitude (*arbāb-i yaqīn*); wayfarer of the path of the Truth (*ḥaqq*) and Religion (*dīn*).¹³⁹

In one of his poems written in appreciation of his silsila and Sufi Masters, Dārā pays tribute to Miyān Mīr as the "guide of all *awliyā*' of this time" (*pīr-i hama-yi awliyā*) Mīr Muḥammad bī (aṣr).¹⁴⁰ He is the "second Junayd, nay, the (second) (Abd al-Qādir."¹⁴¹ At another place he goes to the extent of saying, in poetry, that "his blessed manners for the nourishment of the religion (are like) a copy of the preface of Prophethood."¹⁴²

For Dārā, like the Prophet Muḥammad and (Abd al-Qādir Gilānī, Miyān Mīr is also a source of intercession.¹⁴³ Dārā prays that on the day of judgement he be raised amongst the group of followers (*gadāyān*, lit. poor ones) of Miyān Mīr.¹⁴⁴

Dārā claims that he received spiritual benefits from

Miyân Mîr during his lifetime and after his death. His different experiences in this context have already been mentioned in Chapter I.¹⁴⁵ In two of these experiences Miyân Mîr is depicted as Dârâ's educator.

Dârâ shows high respect for Miyân Mîr. A report mentioned in *Sakîna*, shows that he respected Miyân Mîr's place as the "holy valley" (*wâdî-i muqaddas*) by entering it barefooted when he went with Shâhjahân to see the walî. In the same report Dârâ also mentions that he kept on^g chewing cloves spit out by Miyân Mîr, which brought a change in his life.¹⁴⁶

Miyân Mîr's personality left a very strong impression on^g Dârâ. In one of his meetings with a Sufi Master, Bârî (see above, p. 36), he was thrilled with joy when Bârî took the form of Miyân Mîr for a while.¹⁴⁷ For Dârâ, Bârî knew what was in Dârâ's heart i.e. a wish^o to see his deceased Sufi Master, Miyân Mîr. At another occasion, during the time of sorrow when Dârâ's wife Nâdira died, he sent her body to be buried near the tomb of Miyân Mîr.¹⁴⁸

As much as Dârâ had respect and love^r for his Sufi Master Miyân Mîr, the latter also had concern and love for Dârâ. According to an anecdote a servant of Dârâ went to Miyân Mîr. After the introduction, Miyân Mîr asked him to sit close to him and recited the verse which meant: "O

flower! I am pleased with you. You have the flavour of someone (special?)" (*Ay gul ba tû khursandam tû bû'f kasî dârî*). Miyân Mîr showed kindness and favours to the servant and advised him to remember his master's (Dârâ's) image during contemplation and meditation.¹⁴⁹ In another instance, one of Miyân Mîr's disciples asked him why he was praying with a rosary, something he infrequently did. Miyân Mîr replied that he was praying for Dârâ.¹⁵⁰

According to Dârâ, Miyân Mîr was an *Uwaysî* although he was also formally affiliated to the *Qâdiriyya silsila* through Shaykh ° Khiḍr.¹⁵¹ Dârâ explains the term *Uwaysî* by paraphrasing Jâmî as meaning those who do not need any *pîr* (master) outwardly because they are guided by the Prophet Muḥammad spiritually. In the case of Miyân Mîr, this means that he was a disciple of the "spirit" (*rûḥâniyat*) of (Abd al-Qâdir himself, without any intermediary, just as the latter case was -- according to Miyân Mîr -- a direct disciple of the spirit of the Prophet Muḥammad himself.¹⁵²

For Dârâ, Miyân Mîr's good disposition was an ideal. He quotes Abû Ja'far Ḥaddâd who once said that "if reason (*'aql*) would have been man, it would have been in the form of Junayd." Using the same analogy, Dârâ says that "if good disposition (*khulq*) had any form, it would have been in the form of Miyân Mîr."¹⁵³

Dârâ explains that Miyân Mîr never carried an 'aşâ (staff) with him because he relied only on God. Carrying an 'aşâ was very popular amongst the darvîshân and had symbolical significance in the medieval Sufi circles. Miyân Mîr's refusal to carry 'aşâ not only showed that he was perfect in *tajrîd* but also distinguished him from the popular Sufis or darvîshân of his time.¹⁵⁴

Although Miyân Mîr appreciated the work and service done by the awliyâ' to propagate Islam, he was not in favour of having many followers (*murîdân*).¹⁵⁵ He was very selective in training his own disciples because his method required difficult exercises and dissolution of all family ties.¹⁵⁶ He used to recite a quatrain to his neophytes which implied that to attain *ma'rifa* one must leave both worlds.¹⁵⁷ He would not show any interest in a neophyte for several years until he observed how serious the neophyte was about learning and achieving the goal. Dârâ justifies this attitude by quoting the verse: "But from the land that is bad, springs up nothing but that which is niggardly." (7:58). Thus, those hearts which are not good do not accept any effect of rain; it is like wasting seeds in the barren land.¹⁵⁸

Miyân Mîr also seemed to be very reserved in his dealing with the general people. His door was only open to those who had a specific purpose for meeting him. In this

respect he did not discriminate between Muslims and non-Muslims, as he was available to Hindu Yôgîs and Sikh Gurûs alike (although this has not been reported by Dârâ).¹⁵⁹ Dârâ explains that Miyân Mîr did not like to waste time and always kept himself busy in contemplation and meditation.¹⁶⁰ In this context Miyân Mîr's explanation of the following phrase is important:

"al-ta'zîm li-amr allâh wal-shafaqat 'alâ khalq allâh"

Pay respect to the command (amr) of God and show kindness to the creation (khalq) of God.¹⁶¹

According to a report in *Sakîna*, a group of 'ulamâ' asked Miyân Mîr to explain this popular saying. Miyân Mîr interpreted the meaning of *khalq allâh* and *amr allâh* to be parts of the human body and the soul respectively. For Miyân Mîr the verse meant that respecting the soul (*amr allâh*) was only possible by means of meditation. Showing love (*shafaqat*) towards parts of the body (*khalq allâh*) however, was by performing righteous acts so that the parts of the body should not be punished ('*adhâb*) for sins. This interpretation did not give importance to the social aspect of the religion. For Dârâ this was an explanation in accordance with the Quranic verse: "Say: 'God', then leave them to plunge in vain discourse and trifling" (6:91).¹⁶²

Dârâ perceives every action of Miyân Mîr to be

according to the Quran. For example, he informs the reader that Miyân Mîr used to fast for a week at a time, and nothing was cooked in his house during a period of thirty years. For Dârâ this act was according to the Quranic verse:¹⁶³ "And in heaven is your sustenance, as (also) that which ye are promised (51:22)." Similarly, when he writes about Miyân Mîr's performance of ṣalât he makes it clear that Miyân Mîr performed the obligatory ṣalât and did not believe in showing off. At another place, Dârâ reports that Miyân Mîr's method of hearing music (*samâ'*) was in compliance with the *sharî'a*, and he did not dance during *samâ'*.¹⁶⁴

For Dârâ, Miyân Mîr is a person with miraculous powers over nature.¹⁶⁵ Dârâ thus interprets Miyân Mîr's physical disabilities such as his loss of eyesight in later years of his life as the *walî's* own choice.¹⁶⁶ In this context he relates a story which shows that Miyân Mîr was able to see from his inner eye what he was not able to see from his outer eye. According to the narrative, Mullâ Mîrak took a letter from Dârâ for Miyân Mîr but forgot to give him the letter. After a while Miyân Mîr himself took the letter from Mullâ Mîrak's turban and read it word by word in front of him.¹⁶⁷

Dârâ explains that Miyân Mîr preferred poverty (*faqr*) over richness (*ghinâ'*) and justifies this preference by

quoting traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad such as "poverty is my pride"¹⁶⁸ and "the poor of my community will enter the paradise five hundred years before the rich people of my community."¹⁶⁹ As further support, Dârâ compares the status of the Prophet Sulaymân -- traditionally known for his richness (*ghinâ'*) -- with that of the Prophet Muḥammad -- traditionally known to be poor (*faqîr*).¹⁷⁰ Since the status of the Prophet Muḥammad is higher than the Prophet Sulaymân, *faqr* is necessarily higher than *ghinâ'*.¹⁷¹ Dârâ also reports Miyân Mîr's criticism of Bahâ' al-Dîn Zakariyyâ Multânî (d. 666/1267):

I wonder what type of *faqîr* he was. I wish he would have come to this world once again and have learnt *faqr* from me and would have known what is meant by *darvîshî* and *faqîrî*.¹⁷²

According to Dârâ, Miyân Mîr was an ideal teacher because he was perfect in knowledge (*ilm*) and gnosis (*irfân*).¹⁷³ He also considers Miyân Mîr's speeches as very inspiring, because he tailored his explanations of the Quran to the audience's background and its level of understanding. But he points out also that Miyân Mîr never taught the "doctrine of unity" (*sukhan-i waḥdat*) publicly. Miyân Mîr believed in the first place that it was difficult for the general public to understand the language of gnosis. Secondly, the recipient of gnosis should have the endurance to keep it a secret.¹⁷⁴ In this context Dârâ quotes Miyân Mîr's criticism of Ḥallâj, who according to Miyân Mîr "had no stomach" to

keep the secret in his bosom.¹⁷⁵

(iii) Mullâ Shâh:

Dârâ's immediate Sufi Master was Mullâ Shâh. As with his other two masters he holds Mullâ Shâh in very high regard:

He is a wayfarer (*sâlik*) of all ways (*masâlik*) of the path (*ṭarīq*) of Truth (*ḥaqīqat*). He is the knower of the symbols (*rumûz*) of the path (*ṭarīqat*). He is the leader of [his] time (*muqtadâ-i zamâna*), and is unique in his time, submerged in the sea of one-ness (*tawḥīd*), traveller of the deserts (*bâdiya*) of solitude (*tafrīd*) and seclusion (*tajrīd*), is the expert of the veils of oneness (*waḥdat*), not subjected to afflictions of multiplicity (*âfât-i kathrat*) king of the researchers (*muḥaqqiqân*), proof for his followers (*dalīl-i murīdân*); the lord of hearts, (*mâlik-i qulûb*) one who effaces sins (*mâḥī-i uyûb*), one who is aware of the mind/heart (*mushraf bar khâṭir*), perfect in exoteric (*ẓâhir*) and esoteric knowledge (*bâṭin*). He is a master of annihilation (*shaykh-i fânî*) the second Dhû al-Nûn, the guide of all those who have lost their path and the king of the *mashâyikh* of the time.¹⁷⁶

Dârâ gives Mullâ Shâh the highest status of an (*ârif* and *muwwaḥḥid* and justifies his title of "*lisân allâh*" (tongue of God) by quoting the famous *ḥadīth-i nawâfil* in which Allah sees from the servant's eyes, hears from his ears and speaks from his tongue.¹⁷⁷ Dârâ also quotes the Quranic verse: "Verily those who plight their fealty to thee do no less than plight their fealty to God" (48:10), which refers

to the pledge of allegiance at al-Ḥudaybiyya, to signify the blessing received by those who were initiated by Mullâ Shâh. Dârâ says that Mullâ Shâh's tongue is a key for closed hearts and is a healer of sick and broken souls. In fact, for the opening of hearts and the giving of life to souls he has not seen any one like Mullâ Shâh in this world.¹⁷⁸

Mullâ Shâh was more perfect than any other follower of Miyân Mîr in asceticism (*tark*), seclusion (*tajrîd*), poverty (*faqr*), contentment (*istighnâ*), reliance upon God (*tawwakul*), acceptance (*taslîm*) and satisfaction (*riqâ*). Miyân Mîr appointed him vice-gerant and assigned him many disciples for the purpose of training. Dârâ reports that Miyân Mîr once said, "My method (*ṭarîqa*) will be illuminated by him (Mullâ Shâh)."¹⁷⁹ Dârâ also writes: "Today the Qâdiriyya silsila and Miyân Jîv's *ṭarîqa* is adorned and strengthened by the personality of Mullâ Shâh."¹⁸⁰

Although Mullâ Shâh was a disciple of Miyân Mîr, Dârâ regards him as a *mufrad*.¹⁸¹ He quotes Mullâ Shâh's definition of *mufradân* as: those "poor ones" (*fuqarâ* sing. *faqîr*) or solitaries (*afrâd* = *mufradân*) who are free and are separate from duality (*dûganagî*), (i.e.) seeing no others (except Allah). They are those "servants of God" meant in the above quoted *ḥadîth al-nawâfil*. Dârâ also mentions that Ibn al-ʿArabî included (the Prophet) Khidr and the Prophet Muḥammad -- before he became the Prophet -- in the domain of

mufradân.¹⁸² It may be pointed out here that for Dârâ Mullâ Shâh is a *mufrad* and Miyân Mîr is an *Uwaysî*. According to the definitions discussed above (see pp. 102, 132), one may assume that Mullâ Shâh is placed on a higher level than Miyân Mîr. As an *Uwaysî*, Miyân Mîr was educated by the spirit of 'Abd al-Qâdir/Prophet Muḥammad but Mullâ Shâh had a direct link to God without any intermediary. Mullâ Shâh himself in one of his poems expressed the same idea when he claims that his hand is in the hand of God and he does not need Muṣṭafa (Prophet Muḥammad).¹⁸³

Dârâ writes that Mullâ Shâh was a strict follower of the *sharī'a*. He quotes Mullâ Shâh as saying that throughout his life he had never missed any prayer.¹⁸⁴ Mullâ Shâh's perfection in meditation was acknowledged by Miyân Mîr, who said: "Mullâ Shâh, the meditation which you have done none amongst the previous *mashâyikh* has accomplished."¹⁸⁵ For seventeen years Mullâ Shâh followed a practice of "controlling breath" (*ḥabs-i dam*) and silent meditation (*dhikr-i khafî*) each night after prayers (*namâz-i 'ishâ*) which continued till the morning. Dârâ justifies this method of meditation by mentioning other *awliyâ'* such as Mamshâd Dînawarî, Ibrâhîm Khawwâş and 'Abd al-Qâdir Gîlânî who practiced their meditation in a similar way.¹⁸⁶

In spite of his struggle to achieve *ma'rifa*, Mullâ Shâh did not believe that personal struggle and hard work were

the means by which *ma'rifa* could be reached; it was only through Allah's grace.¹⁸⁷ Mullâ Shâh's attitude towards "personal struggle" and "grace" also seemed to have wider implications. He did not recommend difficult exercises of meditation to his followers. Mullâ Shâh explained to Dârâ that he had made his method ~~easier~~ for his followers by performing the difficult exercises of meditation on their behalf. He based his *ṭarîqa* on expansion (*bast*) implying that in his *ṭarîqa* there was tranquility (*râḥat*), expansion (*bast*) and happiness (*khwushwaqtî*).¹⁸⁸ This was a remarkable shift in Qâdirî thought, an approach radically different from that of his Master Miyân Mîr, who based his method (*ṭarîqa*) on spiritual contraction (*qabḍ*).¹⁸⁹

According to Dârâ, Mullâ Shâh did not sleep for thirty years: he therefore perceives Mullâ Shâh as the manifestation of the Quranic verse:¹⁹⁰ "No slumber can seize Him nor sleep (2:255)." He also quotes a verse from Arabic poetry which says that those who are in love can not sleep because of the beloved's love.¹⁹¹

Mullâ Shâh, being a wali with miraculous power was able to change the lives of his followers with his eyes (*naẓar*).¹⁹² Like a Perfect Man he could interfere (*taṣarruf*) and open the hearts of the faithful (*mu'min*), the infidel (*kâfir*), the young (*jawân*) the old (*pîr*) and the externally or internally blind (*kûr-i zâhir wa kûr-i bâṭin*).¹⁹³ He

could even raise them to the status of 'ârif without their own struggle and hard work. Dârâ attributes his own experience in this respect to Mullâ Shâh.¹⁹⁴ Not only were Mullâ Shâh's followers blessed by their master, but others also. For, example, infidels (*kâfir*) and heretics (*râfiqf*) also received benefits from Mullâ Shâh and became Muslims.¹⁹⁵

For Dârâ, the *awliyâ'* did not like to be interrupted in their meditation and contemplation. Dârâ quotes Mullâ Shâh's confrontation with the Prophet Khiḍr. According to this anecdote, Mullâ Shâh was washing his clothes near a lake when suddenly he saw a man coming out of the lake. He recognised the man as Khiḍr. Khiḍr, after greeting Mullâ Shâh, offered to take over the washing, so that Mullâ Shâh could continue with his meditation. Mullâ Shâh refused to accept the offer, preferring to do his work while continuing meditation. Dârâ justifies his master's attitude by quoting Ibrâhîm Khawwâş and Abû al-Ḥasan Kharagânî, who also refused the company of Khiḍr.¹⁹⁶ Both were afraid that accepting his company might result in a strong bond with Khiḍr, and interfere in their friendship with God. In this respect the personality of the Prophet Khiḍr as depicted in the Sufi tradition is noteworthy. On the one hand, the Prophet Khiḍr is accepted in the circle of the *mufradân*, giving the *awliyâ'* equal status to Khiḍr.¹⁹⁷ He is usually identified with the knowing "servant of God" who in the Quran (18:

60-82) stands as a symbol of guidance for the Prophet Moses. On the other hand, he is not accepted even as a companion by the *awliyâ*'.¹⁹⁸

3. DÂRÂ'S RESPONSE TO SOME IMPORTANT ISSUES OF WILÂYA:

This section will examine Dârâ's response to some of the important issues related to the concept of *wilâya*, such as: *wilâya* and *nubuwwa*, *wilâya* and *sharî'a*, and *wilâya* and *'irfân*.

(a) Wilâya and nubuwwa:

As mentioned above (see pp. 90-91), the issue of *wilâya* and *nubuwwa* was one of the more important ones discussed by the Sufis of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Although in the beginning it was not a debatable issue (6th/12thc. - 9th/15thc.), it became contentious after the writings of Ibn al-'Arabî reached the subcontinent.¹⁹⁹ One of the earliest examples is found in the correspondence between Gîsûdirâz and Mas'ûd Bek, according to which Gîsûdirâz maintained that

saintship (*wilâya*) experientially is superior to prophethood (*nubuwwa*) even though the mystical stage of saints is lower than that of the Prophets, or rather, of the Prophet Muḥammad.²⁰⁰

Mas'ûd Bek criticized Gîsûdirâz, saying that "it is heresy to consider saintship higher than prophethood even conceptually."²⁰¹ He agreed with Gîsûdirâz only as far as prophethood was given the higher stage.

In the 9th/15th and 10/16th centuries, one finds the majority of the Sufis including, for example, Shaykh Manîrî, Shaykh Muḥaddith Dihlawî, and Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindî, writing on the issue and giving more importance to *nubuwwa* than to *wilâya*.²⁰² There were a few exceptions. For example, Sayyid Muḥammad Jaunpurî, when asked, replied that *wilâya* was better than *nubuwwa*. To prove his argument, he cited what he believed to be a tradition, according to which the Prophet Muḥammad himself said that "wilâya is better than *nubuwwa*."²⁰³

Except for one passage in *Majma' al-Baḥrayn*, Dârâ does not explain his views on the issue systematically. It is nonetheless possible to analyse his main ideas on this subject from his remarks and interpretations scattered all over his works. In what follows, we will try to do so by grouping his statements under three headings:

- i) *Wilâya* and *nubuwwa* (generally).
- ii) The status of the *awliyâ'* vis-à-vis the prophets other than the Prophet Muḥammad.
- iii) The *awliyâ'* and the Prophet Muḥammad.

(i) Wilâya and hubuwwa (generally):

Awliyâ' and Prophets are identical in one sense, and different in another. Their common quality is that they are in direct communication with the divine, either through vision or through hearing. In *Majma' al-Baḥrayn*, Dârâ divides the prophets into three categories: a) those who see God either with the physical or the spiritual eye; b) those who hear the voice of God, either pure sound (*âvâz-i şîrf*) or articulated speech; c) those who see the angel or hear the voice of the angel. This classification corresponds roughly to a scheme found first in classical Shî'î ḥadîth.²⁰⁴

Vision of God as a specific quality of the prophets and of the awliyâ' is discussed at length in *Sakîna*.²⁰⁵ It appears that this quality is specific to Muḥammad among the prophets, and to the (*ârifân* among the awliyâ'). This is also suggested by Dârâ's explanation of a *shaṭḥ* concerning the Prophet Muḥammad's *mi'râj* in *Ḥasanât*.²⁰⁶ As for hearing the "sound" or the voice of God, Dârâ reports an interesting theory from his Master Miyân Mîr in *Risâla*. According to this theory, prophets and awliyâ' have the "hearing of the absolute sound" or *sulṭân al-adhkâr*²⁰⁷ in common. However, what distinguishes prophets from awliyâ' is that for the former, this sound turns in such a way that they can communicate revelation and divine Rules (*aḥkâm-i ilâhî*) to

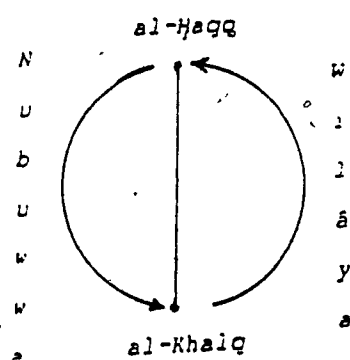
people, while the latter perceive from it "unlimited words" (*ḥarf-i bī-jihat*), without being cut off from the state of unity (*jam'īyyat*) and the joy of ecstasy and "taste".²⁰⁸

Dārā mentions Miyān Mīr's distinction between *wilāya* and *nubuwwa* also in *Sakīna*:

The prophet is a combination of *wilāya* and *nubuwwa*. The necessary concomitant (*lāzima*) of *wilāya* is oneness (*jam'*) and the necessary concomitant of *nubuwwa* is division (*tafriqa*). [The goal of] *nubuwwah* is to teach the orders of religious law (*sharī'a*) to creation [=people] and to fight against infidels. [Whereas the goal of] *wilāya* is [to] break all relations except with God and to annihilate [oneself] in the He-ness (*huwwiyyat*) of God (*Ḥaqq*). Thus, comprehending *wilāya* and *nubuwwa* and being involved with these two stages is a grave affliction (*balā*) for the Prophets and the *awliyā*'.²⁰⁹

The first part of the quotation, which speaks about *wilāya* as a part of prophethood, summarizes the traditional basis of the doctrine of *wilāya* as it was generally accepted both in Shī'ism and Sufism.²¹⁰ The second part of the quotation establishes, however, a radical distinction between the two functions. While such a distinction may be seen to be implicit in the difference between exoteric and esoteric religion quite generally, its radical formulation through Miyān Mīr as quoted by Dārā seems quite unique. Prior to Dārā, a similar distinction had been made by Kubrā's disciple Sa'd Ḥamūya.²¹¹

According to Sa'd Hamûya, wilâya ascends from creation (khalq) towards God (Ḥaqq), or from (tangible) "form" (şûrat) to "meaning" (ma'nâ), whereas nubuwwa descends from God (Ḥaqq) towards the creation leaving the state of "meaning" and experiencing the world of "form".²¹²



The reflection of this thought appears in Dârâ's formulation through the mouthpiece of his Master Miyân Mîr. The main purpose of nubuwwa is to implement the sharî'a and to fight against infidels, which explains the separation (division) of a prophet (nabî) from the Truth i.e. descending towards creation from the Truth. The purpose of the wilâya -- which may seem contrary to the purpose of nubuwwa -- is to break all relations except with God, and to attain oneness, which explains the ascension of a wali from the creation towards God. It is the role of nubuwwa in a prophet which compels

him to work in society while the role of wilâya insists upon the attainment of oneness and the breaking of all relations/ties with society. This creates a certain tension and can be perceived as an affliction (balâ).²¹³ Although the tension (affliction) inherent in the comprehension of both wilâya and nubuwwa is experienced by the Prophets (who combine within themselves wilâya and nubuwwa), it is also experienced by the awliyâ'.²¹⁴ This is explained by Dârâ, who quotes Miyân Mîr as saying:

The awliyâ' always safeguard the status of wilâya so that they are always busy and immersed in the He-ness of the Truth [but as] they are also amongst the people of the world: to train their followers and to indulge in the stages of sharf'a are the afflictions [they suffer] because every walî follows the nabî.²¹⁵

This shows that in practice the walî performs the same function in society as does a nabî. He guides his followers to the right path (as does the Prophet), and experiences the same tension. One may infer that pure wilâya is superior to pure nubuwwa, but that on a practical level they always co-exist in one and the same person, whether nabî or walî. However, the ḥadīth which Dârâ quotes to begin his argument, says: "the most afflicted people, are the Prophets, then the awliyâ' and so forth."²¹⁶ This gives an impression that the awliyâ' experience a lesser degree of tension than the anbiyâ'.

On the other hand, another statement of Dârâ's -- actually a *shaḥḥ* which he reports from Muḥammad Sharîf²¹⁷ -- seems to imply the superiority of *wilâya* over *nubuwwa*. The statement runs as follows:

The pious (*muṭf'ân*) with regard to *nubuwwa* are sinners (*'âṣiyân*) with regard to *wilâya* and the pious with regard to *wilâya* are sinners with regard to the divine (*ulûhiyya*).²¹⁸

This statement evidently implies a hierarchy of values with *wilâya* as intermediary between *nubuwwa* at the bottom of the scale and *ulûhiyya* at the top. Interestingly, exactly the same scale can be traced, again, in the works of Sa'd al-Dîn Ḥamûya, who was criticized for this by Simnânî.²¹⁹

(ii) The status of the *awliyâ'* vis-à-vis the Prophets (other than the Prophet Muḥammad):

Generally, whenever Dârâ writes about the '*awliyâ'*', he also takes the Prophets (*anbiyâ'*) into account. For Dârâ, the '*awliyâ'*' like the '*anbiyâ'*' receive training, attain perfection, reach the Truth; and then return to guide people, and due to their role as a guide they also experience affliction. Like the '*anbiyâ'*', the '*awliyâ'*' also act as intercessors for individuals. From the above qualities one may deduce that '*awliyâ'*' and '*anbiyâ'*' have the same status; however, in at least one instance Dârâ perceives '*awliyâ'*' as better than the Prophets of Isrâ'îl.

In one of his letters which he wrote to Mullâ Shâh, Dârâ speaks about perfection (*kamâl*) as a state (of being) in which no further development is required. When a wali attains this state of Truth, the Qur'ânic verse: "when thou throwest (a handful of dust), it was not thy act but God's" (8:17) becomes applicable to his state.²²⁰ The celebrated verse from the Quran was intended for the Prophet Muḥammad. Dârâ's use of this verse for the perfect *awliyâ'* shows that for him they, too, can reach the stage of perfection.

Dârâ quotes Mullâ Shâh as saying that all the Prophets came with a mission to guard the expression of *tawḥîd* and to develop the *imân-i ḥaqîqî* (the true faith) in the community.²²¹ Similarly, the *awliyâ'* of the community are obliged (it is essential for them) to work for the *tawḥîd* and true-faith, in order to bring life to the dead hearts, open their locks, and provide them healing.²²² Thus, the mission of the *awliyâ'* is similar to the *anbiyâ'*.

Referring to Mullâ Shâh in *Sakîna*, Dârâ says that the *sharî'a* has as its highest aim the acquisition of the knowledge of *tawḥîd*, which is the essence of Allah, through the signs of Allah. Those who have this knowledge are the Prophets and *awliyâ'*.²²³ Not only are the *awliyâ'* the "learned ones," and are equal in knowledge to the *anbiyâ'*, they are even superior to the Prophets because of the knowledge they acquired by following the Prophet Muḥammad.

As Dârâ explains in *Majma'*, the Prophet Muḥammad was more successful in his mission than other prophets because his teachings were based on the synthesis of *tanzîh* and *tashbîh* -- a view propounded by Ibn al-ʿArabî.²²⁴ Since the *awliyâ'* are the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad, they are the inheritors of his knowledge. This implies that the teaching of the *awliyâ'* is more complete and comprehensive than other prophets.

For Dârâ, the *awliyâ'* play an important role in the intercession of an individual. It is only with their intercession (*shafâʿat*) that one is able to reach the highest goal. In this regard he quotes ʿAbd al-Qâdir Gîlânî who says that:

Whoever will relate himself to me, God will accept him and will forgive his sins and he will be [counted] amongst my companions.²²⁵

Similarly at another place in *Safîna*, he quotes ʿAbd al-Qâdir:

By God I will not take a step from the presence of my Lord for as long as he does not send my disciples towards Paradise.²²⁶

Although Dârâ quotes a statement of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qâdir Gîlânî, according to which the Shaykh has a lower

status than the Prophet, Dârâ asks for his salvation through 'Abd al-Qâdir. For example, he takes pride in counting himself amongst those lucky persons who are the followers of 'Abd al-Qâdir, Abû Ḥanîfa and the Prophet Muḥammad, but he prays to 'Abd al-Qâdir²²⁷ for his salvation. This reveals the lofty stature in which Dârâ holds 'Abd al-Qâdir, and suggests that for the purpose of intercession, wilâya becomes more important than Prophethood (even the Prophethood of Muḥammad).

(iii) Awliyâ' and the status of the Prophet Muḥammad:

For Dârâ, the personality and status of the Prophet Muḥammad is unique.²²⁸ In his view, the Prophet Muḥammad is the manifestation (*maẓhar*) of God, his actions (*a'mâl*) are God's actions and he is the seal of prophecy for all times. In the foreword of *Sakîna*, he pays respect to the Prophet Muḥammad by saying:

he is the model of the inhabitants of the universe, the king of the inhabitants of the world, the lord of the two worlds, the messenger of mankind and demons (*jinn*), the intercessor of the two dwellings, the friend and the beloved of God, the king of the gnostics, the master of the people of Allah, the fountain of unlimited knowledge and the [final] cause of the divine manifestation.²²⁹

Dârâ reflects the same view when explaining the aphorism of Ḥallâj: "Manhood (*jawânwardî*) depends on Aḥmad and Iblîs." Dârâ connects Muḥammad with the manifestation of God: "Muḥammad is a manifestation (*maẓhar*) of beauty (*jamâl*), whereas Iblîs is a manifestation of majesty (*jalâl*)."²³⁰

Dârâ explains Muḥammad's supreme status among all the Prophets by arguing that God himself regarded all the actions and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad as His own, whereas for the other Prophets, this was not the case. For example, while narrating the story of David's (*Dâ'ûd*) action against Goliath (*Jâlût*) God said that "David slew Goliath (2:251)."²³¹ Whereas for the Prophet Muḥammad God says that "when thou threwest (a handful of dust), it was not thy act but God's (8:17)."²³²

In *Majma'*²³³, Dârâ offers an interesting interpretation of Muḥammad's being the seal (*khâtam*) of prophecy. He narrates a long ḥadîth on the *mi'râj* (night of ascension) during which the Prophet Muḥammad saw a long endless chain of camels, each of which was carrying two bags. In each of these bags there was a world similar to ours, and in each such world there was a Muḥammad just like him. When the Prophet asked Gabriel about this procession, Gabriel replied that since his creation he had been witnessing this line of camels, but he did not know its significance.²³⁴ For Dârâ

this is an indication of the infinity of cycles (*bî-nihâyatî-i adwâr*, meaning the Hindu concept of cyclical time) and implies that the Prophet Muḥammad is essential for the world of every cycle.

A slightly different concept of Muḥammad as the "seal" of prophecy is alluded to by Dârâ in *Ḥasanât*. He there quotes a beautiful allegory, attributed to Bâyezîd Baṣṭâmî:

The wine seed of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) was sown in the earth during the time of Adam. In the time of Noah that seed took the form of a tree [vine]. During the time of Abraham the vine flowered. In the time of Moses it manifested itself in a cluster [of fruits]; during the time of Jesus it became a grape and in the time of Muḥammad, wine was made out of this grape. Those who drank [*awliyâ'/rindân*] from this wine became intoxicated and began to say: 'Glory be to Me, how great is My dignity' (*subḥânî mâ a'ẓama sha'nî*) I am the Truth (*anâ al-ḥaqq*) 'there is no God except Me', (*lâ ilâha illâ anâ*), 'no one is in my gown except God' (*lâysa fî jubbatî siwâ allâh*).²³⁵

The *awliyâ'* thus receive complete knowledge (the wine) from Muḥammad. Hence, it is for the Prophet Muḥammad that the states of comprehensiveness (*jam'iyyat*) and completion (*khâtimiyyat*) are reserved.²³⁶

For Dârâ, it is the "Reality of being Muḥammad" (*ḥaqîqat-i Muḥammadî*)²³⁷ which exists in the whole of the universe. He relates the following interpretation (*tafsîr*, probably of the Qur'ânic Light verse, 24:35) from Sulaymân Mişrî, a Qalandarî Sufi whom he met in Delhi (see above, p.

The light (*nûr*) of Muḥammad-i Muṣṭafâ was brought into a lamp. Whoever saw Muḥammad's head became one amongst the kings (*pâdishâhân*), whoever saw Muḥammad's eye (*chashm*) became one amongst the gnostics (*ârif*), whoever saw his chest (*sîna*) became one amongst the lovers (*âshiqân*), whoever saw his mouth (*dihân*) became one amongst the scholars (*ulamâ*) and those who saw the lower part of his body became one amongst the Christians, the Jews and the non-believers.²³⁸

Dârâ criticizes this approach and says that:

Everywhere in the whole world there exists only one person (*shakhs*) and that is the Reality of Muḥammad (*ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammad*). How can you compromise (*râqf*) on this [interpretation] that half of Muḥammad is in Paradise and half of Muḥammad is in Hell? For the whole body [of Muḥammad] is excellent (*nîkukâr*) and bountiful (*rastgâr*).²³⁹

Not only is the reality of Muḥammad present everywhere in the world but for Dârâ there is no difference between Aḥmad (one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad) and the One (*aḥad*) (i.e. God) except a letter *mîm*. In *Ḥasanât* he quotes a verse:

za Aḥmad tâ aḥad yak mîm farq ast
hama 'âlam dar ân yak ḥarf gharq ast.²⁴⁰

Meaning:

From Aḥmad to aḥad is the difference of a *mîm* (letter), the entire universe in that one letter is immersed.

The above verse is from Shabistarî's *Gulshan-i Râz*,²⁴¹ and one finds the echo of similar thought in the works of Gîsûdirâz,²⁴² Aṭṭâr,²⁴³ Shaykh Muḥammad Sharîf,²⁴⁴ and in the Punjabi regional poetry of Bulhe Shâh Qâdrî.²⁴⁵ This idea is in accordance with the celebrated ḥadîth-i qudsî in which God says, "I am Aḥmad without mîm".²⁴⁶ Hence the letter mîm is the only letter or thing, which lies between God and Muḥammad. This mîm is understood as alluding to the whole universe, that is creation.

Just as the mîm of Aḥmad signifies the difference between God and Muḥammad, similarly for Dârâ "it is prophethood which serves as a veil to the oneness (waḥda)".²⁴⁷ He makes the above statement while explaining the aphorism (shaṭḥ) of 'Ayn al-Qudât Hamadhânî (d.525/1131):

All the faithfuls have become infidels because they have seen the light (nûr) of "Muḥammad is the messenger of God" (i.e. the second part of the *shahâda*); and no one knows this.²⁴⁸

One may assume that it is not *nubuwwa* (prophethood) as such but rather the separate identity of Muḥammad qua prophetic "Messenger" (i.e. bringer of *sharî'a*) which serves as a veil for those *awliyâ'* who reach the state of *waḥda* (oneness). Aḥmad and aḥad become one when they pass this veil.²⁴⁹ Hence, they utter aphorisms such as the aphorism of

(Ayn al-Quḍāt:

Just as in the solitude (*khalwat*) of Muḥammad, Gabriel has no room (*nagunjad*) [similarly] in my solitude (*khalwat*) Muḥammad does not have any room (*nagunjad*).²⁵⁰

(Ayn al-Quḍāt points here to that state of the Prophet where even the angel, who was a link between the Prophet and God, was not allowed to enter. This state of heart is symbolic of the purity of *tawḥīd* which enters the heart and does not make room for anyone other than God. This implies that at the highest stage of *wilāya*, Muḥammad as a separate identity does not exist. Another Sufi, Abū Bakr Shiblī, after listening to *adhān* (the call for prayer), said:

[O God!] if it were not for your order [to do so], it would be impossible [improper] to hear any other's name [Muḥammad's name] [in conjunction] with yours.²⁵¹

(iv) Wilāya and nubuwwa in Majma' al-Baḥrayn:

Although *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* belongs to Dārā's later writings,²⁵² his discussion of *nubuwwa* and *wilāya* in this work makes it essential to include it here.²⁵³ As mentioned earlier, *Majma'* is a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam.²⁵⁴ Accordingly, every section of the work compares

Hindu and Muslim terminology. Surprisingly, the section on wilâya and nubuwwa is the exception and does not follow the usual scheme of the work.²⁵⁵

In this section, instead of comparing the Muslim concept or terminology of awliyâ' and anbiyâ' with a corresponding Hindu concept, he enumerates three types of wilâya and nubuwwa and compares them with each other.²⁵⁶

Dârâ begins the section by enumerating²⁵⁷ three kinds of prophets (see above, p. 138): 1) those who see God; 2) those who hear the voice of God; 3) those who see the angels and hear their voices. He then draws a parallel between wilâya and nubuwwa²⁵⁸ saying that each have three types:

1. tanzîhî (denial of the attributes of God).
2. tashbîhî (anthropomorphic).
3. jâmi' tashbîh wa tanzîh (comprehensiveness of tashbîh and tanzîh).

Dârâ explains the above types with examples of the Prophets. For the first type of nubuwwa he cites the example of the Prophet Noah, who based his preachings on tanzîh. Due to tanzîh, only a few amongst the people accepted his message and the rest were destroyed.²⁵⁹ A similar idea was first suggested by Ibn al-'Arabî.²⁶⁰ Dârâ points out that there is a certain group of people of his time who are zâhidân

(ascetics) -- probably a group of 'ulamâ'²⁶¹ -- who also preach *tanzîh* to their disciples. But none of the disciples ever attain the stage of an 'ârif; although they die following *sulûk* and *ṭarîqa*, they do not reach God.

For the second type, Dârâ quotes the example of the Prophet Moses. According to Dârâ, Moses, after perceiving God in the Burning Bush and hearing Him in the sounds of clouds, based his preaching on *tashbîh*. As a result, his followers became anthropomorphists and began worshipping a cow (i.e. the golden calf) and committed a sin. Again this idea can be traced to Ibn al-'Arabî, inasmuch as according to the Shaykh, Moses understood the worship of the golden calf as a form of true worship.²⁶² Dârâ also criticizes another group of the people of his time who he names *muqallidân* -- those who only follow the path of *taqlîd* (lit. following) and have dropped *tanzîh*.²⁶³ One can presume that Dârâ may have had a group of Sufis in mind who not only appreciated *samâ'* (dancing and singing) but were also involved in *shâhid bâzî* (to perceive God in beautiful forms such as young and handsome boys).²⁶⁴ His attitude regarding *samâ'* in *Sakîna* shows that the Qâdiriyya silsila was not a strong supporter of *samâ'*. Dârâ may also be pointing towards the 'ulamâ', who became so rigid in following the *sharî'a* that they became worshippers of the *sharî'a*.²⁶⁵ Thus, for Dârâ they were also sunk in anthropomorphism and as such indulged in playing and frivolity (*lahw wa la'b*).

For Dârâ, the third type of *nubuwwa* i.e. comprehensiveness of *tanzîh* and *tashbîh*, is exemplified by the Prophethood of Muḥammad. Furthermore, the Prophet Muḥammad synthesised the *muṭlaq* ("Absolute") and *muḡayyad*, ("limited") colourless and coloured, the near and distant.²⁶⁶ Dârâ, quotes the Quranic verse: "There is nothing whatever like unto Him, and He is the One that hears and sees (all things) (42:11)."²⁶⁷ He explains that the first part of the verse, i.e., "There is nothing whatever like unto Him" is for the *tanzîhî* aspect of *nubuwwa*, and the second part i.e. "He is the One that hears and sees" is meant for the *tashbîhî* aspect. He further explains that since this revelation is given in the Quran (and not in previous scriptures) this highest and loftiest status of comprehensiveness (*jam'îyyat*) and completion (*khâtamîyyat*) was reserved only for the Prophet Muḥammad, and that "our prophet" (Prophet Muḥammad) has encompassed the whole of the universe. Exactly the same argument for the superiority of Muḥammad is found in Ibn al-ʿArabî's *Fuṣûṣ*.²⁶⁸ Dârâ further substantiates his argument with the Quranic verse: "He is the first and the last, the evident and the hidden (57:3)."²⁶⁹ Dârâ infers that *nubuwwat-i tanzîhî* lacks the *tashbîhî* aspect and *nubuwwat-i tashbîhî* lacks the *tanzîhî* aspect. But *jâmi'î tashbîh wa tanzîh* has both aspects.

Since the Prophethood of Muḥammad is "perfect" (*kâmil*), those *awliyâ'* who follow the Prophet are also "perfect

ones," about whom the Quran says: "Ye are the best of Peoples, evolved for Mankind (3:110)." Dârâ interprets 'the best of Peoples' as those who combine *tanzîh* and *tashbîh*. He then enumerates the groups of *awliyâ'* from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad to his own time, including Bâbâ Lâl Dâs.

Although Dârâ elaborates the types of *nubuwwa* only, his parallel with *wilâya* seems to imply that *wilâya* is also of three types. The best of them is the *jâmi'(-i tashbîh wa tanzîh)*. Those who follow this type are the perfect *awliyâ'*. However, others who follow the *tanzîhî wilâya* or *tashbîhî wilâya* are also *awliyâ'*, but not the "perfect ones." Thus in a very subtle way, he excludes the groups of '*ulamâ'*' and a certain group of the Sufis from the domain of the perfect *awliyâ'*, because they do not follow the teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad, and their methods of teaching lack comprehensiveness. On the other hand, he includes Bâbâ Lâl Dâs, a non Muslim, in the group of perfect *awliyâ'*, perhaps because his teaching was based on comprehensiveness and in that respect he was following the Prophet Muḥammad.

(b) Wilâyah and Sharf'a:

In *Safîna* and *Sakîna*, Dârâ's approach towards the *sharf'a* (lit. a path leading towards water, generally meant as religious law) seems to be very traditional and similar

to the understanding of the Sharī'a-minded Muslims, which means strict observance of Muslim practices such as prayer (*ṣalāt*), fasting (*ṣawm*), giving alms (*zakāt*) and performing pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). For Dārā, many *awliyā'*, including his masters were strict adherents of these practices and he explicitly mentions their regularity in *ṣalāt* and *ṣawm*. His explanation of Bā-Yazīd's eating bread in public, and his acceptance of this as a permissible act because Bā-Yazīd was a traveller, shows that his understanding of *sharī'a* was very close to the common Muslim understanding.²⁷⁰

It seems that only later in his life, when Dārā became more involved in the Qādiriyya silsila and especially when he was under the guidance of Mullā Shāh, he may have developed his own view of *sharī'a*. He does not discuss this concept explicitly, but does describe the views of his Sufi Masters Mullā Shāh and Miyān Mîr. These views are not only important due to their great influence on Dārā's thought, but because they also show some important differences in Miyān Mir and Mullā Shāh's understanding of the concept.

In the biography of Miyān Mîr, Dārā writes about the stages a *walī* must pass through before he can attain gnosis (*ma'rifa*). According to the classical approach to which Miyān Mîr adheres, the stages are given as: *sharī'a*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*. Dārā explains:

Thus *sharī'a* is a guard (*nigâhdasht*) in dealings (*mu'âmalat*) [with others] and is a cause of attaining the path (*ṭarīqa*), and the path (*ṭarīqa*) is the purification (*tazkiya*) of one's hidden [self] (*bâṭin*) from the condemned habits (*khaṣâ'il-i madhmûma*) and is the cause of the realization of the stage of Truth (*ḥaqīqa*) [which consists in] making the body (*wujûd*, i.e. existence as a human creature, or *bashariyat*) annihilated (*fânî*) and emptying the heart except for God and is the cause of reaching the state of nearness [to God].²⁷¹

Dârâ, stating the teachings of Miyân Mîr, establishes the link of the above stages to the human body, heart and soul.

He says that:

Know that man is a compound of three things: body, (*nafs*) [lit. "lower soul" or "flesh"] heart (*dil*) and soul (*rûḥ*) [i.e. spirit]. For the purification of the body one has to follow the path of *sharī'a* (*sulûk-i ṭarīq-i sharī'a*); for the heart, one has to fulfill the rights of the path (*ṭarīqa*); and for the purification of the soul one has to safeguard (*ḥifẓ*) the stages of the Truth (*ḥaqīqa*).²⁷²

One may infer that Miyân Mîr's concept of the *sharī'a* did have a well defined boundary more or less akin to its classical notion. However, Miyân Mîr's emphasis on a more conscious rather than a mechanical performance of the practices not only undermined the importance of the exoteric practices but led to the appreciation of "individualistic cautious life" with condemnation of the practices performed in the society without any consciousness.²⁷³ This interpretation of the *sharī'a* was not acceptable to the *sharī'a*-minded people for whom the performance of a ritual

was very important and the intention and its esoteric aspect a secondary thing.

In this context one may also note that Miyân Mîr draws a line of demarcation between the people of *sharî'a* and the people of *ḥaqîqa*. In explaining the example of the recitation of *shahâda* he says that for the people of *sharî'a* an infidel (*kâfir*) can become faithful (*mu'min*) after reciting the *shahâda*, but it is not easy with the people of *ḥaqîqa* to become faithful (*mu'min*) by doing so.²⁷⁴ They have to struggle continuously to remain faithful and they do not have any remedy for their carelessness. This means that externally saying *shahâda* or performing a practice is not sufficient. This also implies that for those who stop at the *sharî'a*, the exoteric aspect of the practices becomes very important. However, those who reach the highest stage, i.e. the Truth (*ḥaqîqa*), remember their Creator continuously, in order not to become careless.

As discussed above (in the section of *nubuwwa* and *wilâya*), Miyân Mîr believed that a *walî*, like a *nabî*, will have afflictions. These afflictions are explained as coming down from the stage of the Truth and becoming involved with the matters of *sharî'a*, which includes the training of the followers.²⁷⁵ Although for Miyân Mîr the highest stage was *ḥaqîqa*, he did not appreciate those who disclosed the secrets of *ḥaqîqa* to the general milieu.²⁷⁶ It

seems that he favoured the observance of the *sharī'a* by the *awliyā'*; even though it was an affliction for them.

Mullā Shāh, on the other hand, offers an interpretation of *sharī'a* in a broader context. For Mullā Shāh, all three stages, viz. *sharī'a*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* are parts of *sharī'a*.²⁷⁷ In this regard his letter to Jahānārā -- Dārā's sister and his disciple -- is of considerable importance. Criticizing *ahl-i ṣāḥir* (lit., people of exotericism or appearance, note that he did not call them people of *sharī'a*) he says:

By neglecting the [full meaning] of the noble law, of what they boast so much, they themselves negate the existence of God and they are not aware that *sharī'a* has a much higher stage [than what they think], namely the *tawḥīd* of the essence of Allah and the gnosis of witnessing Allah -- and this is the special stage (*manṣab*) of those favoured by the unlimited Being who is the most praiseworthy -- that is, the holy bodies of the *anbiyā'* and the *awliyā'*. Thus it is confirmed that the eyes of the *awliyā'* are always at this highest stage of *sharī'a* which is *ḥaqīqa*. This is why it is said that *sharī'a*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* are the stages of *sharī'a*. The first step is named *sharī'a*, where all *ahl-i ṣāḥir* are trapped, the second step is named *ṭarīqa*, where all *ahl-i sulūk* (lit. people of the path) are trapped, and the third stage is named *ḥaqīqa*, which is the straight path (*ṣirāt al-mustaḳīm*) of *ahl-i ḥaqīqa*, (lit., people of the Truth).²⁷⁸

For Mullā Shāh *awliyā'* like Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, Bāyazīd, Junayd and 'Abd al-Qādir speak aphorisms (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) because they have reached the stage of Truth.²⁷⁹

This interpretation of the sharī'a by Mullā Shāh has important implications: first of all, only those who reach the stage of *ma'rifa* are the true adherents to the sharī'a and are considered to be *awliyā'*. Secondly, it follows that the *awliyā'* are at a higher stage of sharī'a. Therefore its first stage is not as important as the people of exotericism (*ahl-i ṣāḥir*) consider it to be. The reason is simple and logical. According to the above statement of Mullā Shāh, the *ahl-i ṣāḥir* attain only a part of the sharī'a, whereas the final goal for the people of the Truth (*ahl-i ḥaqīqa*), is the attainment of the complete sharī'a.²⁸⁰

Mullā Shāh's concept of sharī'a was not only an extension of Miyān Mīr's concept, but also provided the justification for the *awliyā'* as being true possessors of sharī'a. As mentioned earlier, Sharī'a-minded people were strong critics of the *awliyā'*.²⁸¹ A frequent criticism was that in their teachings they did not insist on the observance of the practices of Islam. This implied that they were not adherents of the sharī'a, and therefore their faith was called into question. In this respect Mullā Shāh's explanation of sharī'a was not only an attempt to defend the *awliyā'* as the true knowers of the sharī'a but was an attack on the sharī'a-minded people as being themselves not true followers of sharī'a.

(c) Wilāya and ʿIrfān:

Dārā uses many words which would otherwise convey different meanings as synonyms for *walī*, for example: *darvīsh*, *faqīr*, *Sufi*, *ʿārif* and others.²⁸² Among these synonyms, *ʿārif* (gnostic) is perhaps the most important one, because after two major works on the *awliyāʾ*, Dārā wrote his third work, *Ḥasanāt al-ʿArifīn*. It appears that this choice of title was not accidental. Dārā probably intended to attribute the status of *ʿārifān* to a few *awliyāʾ*. This assumption can be substantiated by the observation: that out of the more than 400 *awliyāʾ* mentioned in *Safīna*, only less than 70 are also included with an entry in *Ḥasanāt*.²⁸³ On the other hand *Ḥasanāt* includes some 40 *ʿārifān* who are not counted as *awliyāʾ* in either *Safīna* or *Sakīna*.²⁸⁴ As was already pointed out earlier these "new" *ʿārifān* of *Ḥasanāt* include a number of contemporary Sufis as well as such figures as Kabīr and the Hindu Yôgī Bâbâ Lâl (see above, pp. 37-38).

Although the domain of the *ʿārifān* thus shrinks to a selected few *awliyāʾ*, it surprisingly extends to other religions and includes a Hindu in the list of the *ʿārifān*.²⁸⁵ By giving a different title to this work, it seems that Dārā has tried to specify the concept of *ʿārifān* as being somewhat different from the concept of *awliyāʾ*. Since on the one hand the domain of *ʿārifān* becomes more

specific and on the other hand it extends to a larger domain, it provides us a reason to enquire about the issue of wilâya and 'irfân in Dârâ's writing.

Dârâ asserts that the majority (*jumhûr*) of the ('ârifân and awliyâ' are agreed that the vision of God occurs in both this world and next, both with the physical eye (*başar*) and the spiritual eye (*başîrat*), for "these two have become one" for them.²⁸⁶ "Seeing God" in this way seems to be the particular quality of the 'ârif. Dârâ explains 'Alî's saying "if the Veil were lifted, my certitude would not increase" by stating that the "Veil" means "this world", and that "lifting the Veil" (at the time of resurrection) applies only to the "others", whereas for the 'ârif, the Veil was lifted at the very same day at which he was given certitude (i.e. here and now). For this reason, his certitude "cannot be increased".²⁸⁷ In another passage in *Sakîna*, he describes Miyân Mîr as someone "entirely free from the world of illusion (*hastî-i mawhûm*), having nothing but the face of Allâh in his vision", adding that "nothing other than the face of Allah enters the vision of the 'ârifân, nay, rather, there remains no (conscious) vision for them, because in 'seeing' and 'seen', there still is a duality."²⁸⁸ At the level of 'ârif, the reflections of dualism such as the concepts of "farness and nearness," "I and He," "I did and He rewarded," are all polytheism (*shirk*).²⁸⁹

When the 'ârif reaches the stage of *ma'rifa*, the 'ârif (knower) and the *ma'rûf* (known) become one;²⁹⁰ and when they become one the knowledge of the 'ârif becomes the knowledge of the *ma'rûf* and vice versa. Dârâ explains an aphorism by stating that knowledge of God is the knowledge of the 'ârif²⁹¹ and that "whatever God knows, the 'ârif knows."²⁹²

After reaching the stage of *ma'rifa* and attaining the knowledge of the *ḥaqīqa*, the acts of *sharī'a* do not seem to remain important for the 'ârif. In this context Mullâ Shâh's concept of *sharī'a* (as discussed in the previous section) seems to have had much influence on Dârâ's thought.²⁹³ Dârâ quotes 'Ubayd Allâh Aḥrâr²⁹⁴ as saying:

During the time when the sun is in the middle of the day [noon], at that time *ṣalât* is *makrûh* [not commendable]. Similarly when the essence of the Truth (*dhât-i ḥaqīqat*) shines in the 'ârif's heart then *ṣalât* becomes *makrûh* for the 'ârif.²⁹⁵

In the same way, Dârâ quotes Najm al-Dîn Râzî: "the 'ârifân will be neither in Paradise nor in Hell, but their place will be *al-A'râf*",²⁹⁶ (from Quran 7:46: "And on the heights [*al-A'râf*] will be men who would know every one by his marks") and explains it to mean that Paradise and Hell are for the (ordinary) "servant" (of God) whereas they (the 'ârifân) have their place in the (divine) Essence (*dhât*).²⁹⁷

He, furthermore, explains the *mi'r âj* of the Prophet as

a purely internal or spiritual event: not to "run upwards like smoke", but to "reach one's own reality (*ḥaqīqat*)", that is to say, "whoever knows himself, has reached *mi'rāj*", which means that every prophet and every wali has a *mi'rāj*".²⁹⁸ In other words, Dārā adds: "tawḥīd and 'irfān are in effect nothing else than prophecy and messengership."²⁹⁹

The above quotations make it sufficiently clear that for Dārā, there is hardly a difference between an 'ārif and a *muwaḥḥid*: both are essentially "one with God". It has also become clear that these two groups are not only the highest categories among the *awliyā'*; their qualities are, in fact, the equivalent of what the "Reality of being Muḥammad" (*ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadī*) stands for. Thus, Dārā understood the concept of *tawḥīd* and 'irfān in such a way that it was not limited to a certain set of religious formulae. The implication of such a concept was that as the *muwaḥḥidān* and 'ārifān transcend the bonds and limitations of a particular religion they could be found in every religion. The echo of this implication can be seen in Bābā's aphorism quoted by Dārā in *Ḥasanāt*:

[Bābā Lāl] told me: In every community there is a "perfect one and gnostic" so that God shall grant salvation to that particular community through him [that gnostic]. Therefore you should not condemn any community.³⁰⁰

In the "Dialogue", Bâbâ tells him that those who worship idols are beginners in faith, because their act is similar to that of a small girl playing with dolls. Those who reach the higher stage, however, go beyond the exoteric aspect and do not hold such worship in high esteem.³⁰¹ Under these circumstances, it is perhaps not so surprising that Dârâ practically applied his concept of *tawhîd* or 'irfân by including Kabîr and Bâbâ Lâl in the highest category of the *awliyâ*, i.e. the 'ârifân. For Dârâ, Kabîr was a "perfect gnostic" who wrote many poems on *tawhîd* in Hindî language.³⁰² Regarding Bâbâ Lâl, he writes:

Bâbâ Lâl Mundiyya who is amongst the perfect gnostics -- I have seen no one among the Hindus, who has reached such 'irfân and spiritual strength as he has.³⁰³

NOTES

¹ For the sake of convenience, we shall use the form *wilāya* exclusively.

² Hermann Landolt, "Walāyah," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade (N.Y.: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), XV, 316.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Hujwīrī, *Kashf*, p. 210.

⁵ See H. Landolt, "Walāyah," p. 321.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Hussaini, *Gīsūdirāz*, p. 45.

⁸ For Ibn al-ʿArabī's and Simnānī's doctrine of *wilāya*, see Toshihiko Izutsu, *A Comparative Study of the Key Philosophical Concepts in Sufism and Taoism -- Ibn ʿArabī and Lao-tzū, Chuang-tzū* -- (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1966), pp. 253-263 and H. Landolt, "Simnānī on Wahdat al-Wujūd," *Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism*, edited by M. Mohaghegh and H. Landolt (Tehran: McGill University Montreal, Institute of Islamic Studies Tehran Branch, 1971) respectively. Also see Hussaini, *Gīsūdirāz*, pp. 47-52.

⁹ In the introduction to his translation of the work, R. A. Nicholson explains the purpose of the writing:

"[*Kashf*] was written in reply to certain questions addressed to him (Hujwīrī) by a fellow-townsmen, Abū Saʿīd al-Hujwīrī. Its object is to set forth a complete system of Sufism, not to put together a great number of sayings by different Shaykhs, but to discuss and expound the doctrines and practices of the Ṣūfis." (Nicholson, Introduction to Hujwīrī's *Kashf*, p. xx).

¹⁰ Hujwīrī, *Kashf*, pp. 210-218. However, Hujwīrī deals with the issues like "Superiority of the Prophets to the Saints" and "Discourse on Superiority of the Prophets and Saints to the Angels," but he does not mention Tirmidhī's name or any reference in this context. See Hujwīrī, *Kashf*, pp. 235-241.

¹¹ Ibid. Prof. H. Landolt has rightly pointed out: "[Hujwīrī] writing in the mood of the 'Sunni

Revival", omits the doctrine of the seal from his summary of Tirmidhî's teaching." See H. Landolt, "Walâyah" p. 322.

¹² Hussaini, *Gîsûdirâz*, p. 53.

¹³ Ibid.; also see Jâvêd, *Muslim Fikr*, p. 105, where Javêd refers to Manîrî's *Maktûbât-i Şadî*, and elaborates his concept of wilâya.

¹⁴ Hussaini, *Gîsûdirâz*, p. 53.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 53-54. Also see Javêd, *Muslim Fikr* pp. 116-117, 131, 155; Rizvi, *History, II* (related portions).

¹⁷ For example the discussion between Gîsûdirâz and Mas'ûd Bek bears the testimony of such ongoing debate. See Hussaini, *Gîsûdirâz*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁸ See above, pp. 60-68.

¹⁹ See above, pp. 14-39.

²⁰ See above pp. 9-11.

²¹ See above, pp. 60f.

²² See above, pp. 68f.

²³ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 13.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Dârâ also quotes Abû 'Abd Allâh Sâlimî, according to whom a walî could be recognized by his kindly tongue, good disposition, fresh face (pleasant face) and compassion towards the creation (of God). See Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 13.

²⁸ Sufi tradition makes a distinction between *maqâm*, (station) and *hâl* (station). The *maqâm* is a stage or station which is acquired by a Sufi through acts, hence, the active part on man's side. For example, *tawwakul* (reliance on God), *faqr* (poverty) etc. The *hâl* on the other hand, is a state which descends from God into a man's heart, it is the passive part on man's side. For example, *qabq* (a spiritual

contraction, a period of desolation), *bast* (expansion), *fanâ'* (annihilation) and *baqâ'* (abiding in God) etc. These stations and stages are related to each other and are possessed by a *walî*. See Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p. 99.

²⁹ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 22-125, pp. 152-195.

³⁰ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 16.

³¹ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 9.

³² Hujwîrî, *Kashf*, pp. 213-14.

³³ Nasafî, *Kitâb al-Insân al-Kâmil*, ed. M. Molé (Tehran: Departement de l'Institut Franco-Iranien, 1966) p. 317; also see Rûzbihân, *Sharḥ*, pp. 52-53; H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien: Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, (4 vols.; Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1971) III, p. 35f.

³⁴ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 9; *Safîna*, pp. 16-17.

³⁵ H. Landolt, "Walâyah," p. 321.

³⁶ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 10. See Jâmî's *Nafahât*, p. 577.

³⁷ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 10.

³⁸ Ibn al-ʿArabî, *Futūḥât*, II, 7-8. Also see Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, p. 132.

³⁹ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 165. About *mufradân* also see below, p. 102.

⁴⁰ Idem, *Safîna*, pp. 14-15.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 14.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 37.

⁴⁴ Prof. H. Landolt quotes this tradition while referring to Muḥāsibî, who quotes Ibrâhîm b. Adham. See "Walâyah" p. 321.

⁴⁵ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 14. For this attitude of the Naqshbandî school, see also Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, p. 203.

⁴⁶ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 14.

⁴⁷ Ibid. For the *ḥadīth* see Landolt, *Révélateur*, p. 105, n. 144; p. 209, n. 136; Persian text p. 136.

⁴⁸ *Dārâ, Sakīna*, p. 6.

⁴⁹ Technically applies to a Sufi school (See Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, pp. 264-269) but may be used in a more general spiritualized sense (as is the case especially with Ibn al-ʿArabī, see Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, index s.v. *Malâmī*):

⁵⁰ *Dārâ, Safīna*, pp. 14-15; for the life and history of Abū Yazīd, see M. Abdur Rabb, *Persian Mysticism -- Abu Yazid al-Bistami* (Dacca: The Academy of Pakistan Affairs, 1971).

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 16-17; idem, *Sakīna*, pp. 165-66. This is exactly the position of *afrād* according to Ibn al-ʿArabī. See *Futūḥāt*, II, 21-22; also see Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, index s.v. *Fard*.

⁵² Idem, *Safīna*, p. 57.

⁵³ See Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *K. Khâtām al-Awliyāʾ*, edited by Othmān I. Yaḥyā, (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1965), p. 480, where a quotation from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt*, II, 24-25, is reproduced in the Appendix.

⁵⁴ *Dārâ, Sakīna*, p. 166.

⁵⁵ Ibid., idem, *Safīna*, p. 57.

⁵⁶ Idem, *Sakīna*, p. 9. Also see Rûzbihân, *ʿArâʾis al-Bayân fī Ḥaqāʾiq al-Qurʾân* (Maṭbaʿ Munshī Nawal Kishôr, 1301 A. H.) p. 286.

⁵⁷ *Dārâ, Sakīna*, p. 9. Also see *Risâla*, p. 5, where Dārâ himself explains that he will address the reader-seeker a "friend" (*yâr*). This may be understood in the context of the prevailing circumstances, i.e. the opposition of the sharīʿa-minded (*ulamâ*) and perhaps that of the court officials. Bruce Lawrence discusses the *pīr/murīd* (master/disciple) relationship in pre-Mughal Sufi literature. In this relationship, *murīdân* could further their spiritual progress by doing a number of different tasks for their respective *pīrs*. These included works ranging from cooking meals for the *pīr* to cleaning the gutters of the *pīr*'s quarters. In return, the *murīd* benefited from the prayers, thoughts and even feelings of their *pīrs*, which were considered to be full of meaning and value. This was criticized by the Sharīʿa-minded (*ulamâ*) and court officials who did not understand the nature of the authority of *pīr*

and "felt threatened." See Lawrence, Notes, pp. 90-93.

⁵⁸ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 73-74.

⁵⁹ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 12. For the *ḥadīth* see Chodkiewicz, Sceau, p. 93.

⁶⁰ Dârâ, *Safîna*, pp. 12-13.

⁶¹ Idem, *Risâla*, p. 2.

⁶² *Sakîna*, p. 7. The difference between *ta'lim bi'l-kitâb* and *ta'lim bi'l-Shaykh* was discussed in classical Sufism. See H. Landolt, *Correspondance spirituelle échangée entre Nûroddîn Esfarâyenî (ob. 717/1317) et son disciple 'Alâoddawleh Semnânî (ob. 736/1336) (hereafter Correspondance), texte persan publié avec une introduction (Tehran: Département D'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien, 1972), French introduction, p. 10f.*

⁶³ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 67-68.

⁶⁴ Idem, *Risâla*, pp. 2-5. See above, pp. 79-80.

⁶⁵ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 7.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 183.

⁶⁷ Idem, *Ḥasanât* p. 2. Dârâ's criticism of the *mullâs* went to the extent that the following is attributed to him:

Paradise is only at a place where no Mullâ lives,
Where no uproar and clamour from a Mullâ is heard,
May the world rid itself of the terror of a Mullâ,
May no-one pay heed to his *fatwâs*,
In a city where a Mullâ dwells,
No wise man is ever found.

(See Rizvi, *History*, II, 145, where Rizvi quotes from *Diwân-i Dârâ Shukoh*, pp. 54-55; for Persian text see Jalâlî Nâ'inî's introduction to *Muntakhabât*, p. 16f.).

At another place in *Sakîna*, with reference to the (*ulamâ*) who do not accept the *sukhan-i wahda* (doctrine of unity), Dârâ quotes the Quranic verse:

"The similitude of those who were charged with the (obligations of the) Mosaic Law, but who subsequently failed in those (obligations) is that of donkey which carries huge tomes (but

understands them not) (62:5)."

and says that they ('ulamâ' or most probably mullâs) are like donkeys, because they possess books and knowledge but they do not act according to it. See *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 68.

" Ibid. One finds a similar type of anecdote in the traditions of the Nizârî Khojâ Ismâ'ilîs about Pir Shams -- an Ismâ'ilî *dâ'î* (lit. one who summons i.e. preacher) of most probably 13th/14th century A.D. -- who preached Ismâ'ilism in Multan, Sind etc. See A. Nanji, *The Nizârî Ismâ'ilî Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (New York: Caravan Books, 1978), pp.54-55. According to the anecdote, "[A prince] had died and in the face of this calamity, the ruler had summoned all the qâdis and muftîs. Under threat of torture should they fail to revive his son, they suggested that he should make a proclamation in the city summoning anyone who is descended from the Prophet to restore his son's life. Since all those who came forward were unable to bring the dead boy to life, the qâdis and muftîs in their consternation repaired to the mosque where they chanced upon Pir Shams resting. After they had implored the Pir for a long time, he reluctantly decided to come to the palace. There by virtue of his own invocation and without calling upon God's help, he brought the Prince back to life. The Prince at once recognized him. All this aroused the jealousy of the hypocrites in the city, and they began to talk ill of the Pir behind his back. They accused him of pretending to be the Creator himself and reproached him for violating the prescriptions of the Sharî'a and demanded that he be punished."

" *Dârâ, Safîna*, pp. 13-14.

" Idem, *Risâla*, p. 2. The discussion is classical; see the discussion on *sâlik* and *majdhûb* in Landolt's *Révélateur*, p. 52f. with notes.

" *Dârâ, Risâla*, p.2.

" Ibid.

" Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 174.

" Idem, *Risâla*, p. 3.

" Ibid., p. 2.

" Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 7f.

" See above, p. 31, n. 172.

⁷⁸ Dârâ, *Majma'*, p. 101.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid. Also see below p. 153.

⁸¹ Ibn al-ʿArabî, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (hereafter *Fuṣūṣ*) edited with commentary by A. A. Afifi (Bayrūt: al-Nāshir dār al-Kitâb al-ʿArabî, n.d.), p. 70.

⁸² Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 13.

⁸³ Ibid. p. 7.

⁸⁴ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 13.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

⁸⁶ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 9.

⁸⁷ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 17; idem, *Sakîna*, p. 52. It is interesting to note that Dârâ himself acted as an intercessor and due to his intercession a person was saved from the affliction of Hell. See Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 84.

⁸⁸ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 16.

⁸⁹ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 160.

⁹⁰ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 52.

⁹¹ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 54; also p. 173f, where he speaks about his relationship with Miyân Mîr; see also above p. 31.

⁹² For the concept of *shafâ'a* (intercession) in Islam, see A. J. Wensinck, "Shafâ'a" *EI*¹, IV, 250-51; also see A. Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger (The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety)* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 81-104..

⁹³ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 16.

⁹⁴ For example, ʿAbd al-Qâdir Gîlânî's miracles. See Dârâ, *Safîna*, pp. 55-56.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 43-58; idem, *Sakîna*, pp. 100-125, 160-162.

⁹⁶ Idem, *Safîna*, p. 14.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ For example, Dârâ describes Shâh Muḥammad Dilrubâ as one of his teachers. See Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, pp. 72-73.

- 99 Idem, *Sakîna*, pp. 14-15.
- 100 Ibid., p. 19-20.
- 101 Ibid., p. 19.
- 102 Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, p. 64.
- 103 Ibid., p. 64.
- 104 Dârâ, *Sakîna*. p. 19.
- 105 Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, pp. 53-54.
- 106 Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 19.
- 107 Idem, *Safîna*, p. 104. Also see F.Meier, *Fawâ'id*, p. 32.
- 108 Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 15.
- 109 Trimingham, *Sufi Orders* p. 34. Trimingham also quotes Ibn Khallikân who says "that one of Shihâb ad-din's masters was 'Abd al-Qâdir, but the subject of study was *uṣūl ad-din*, not *taṣawwuf*."
- 110 Dârâ, *Sakîna*. p. 20.
- 111 Idem, *Safîna*, p. 49.
- 112 Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 16.
- 113 Idem, *Safîna*, p. 67.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 For relationship between Ibn 'al-'Arabî and 'Abd al-Qâdir see Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, p. 113f.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Dârâ, *Safîna*. p. 43.
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Ibid., p. 53.
- 120 Shaykh Baqâ'î bin Baṭṭû or Shaykh Baqâ'î bin Baṭṭûr of *Safîna* is mentioned in *Nafahât al-Uns* as Shaykh Baqâ'î bin Baṭṭû. See Jâmî, *Nafahât*, p. 523. This has also been indicated by Hasrat. See Hasrat, *Dârâ Shikûh*, p. 63. According to Dârâ, Shaykh Baqâ'î bin Baṭṭûr was a disciple of Tâj al-'Arifîn Shaykh Abû al-Wafâ; and was present in the gathering (*majlis*) where Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir proclaimed

that "My foot is on the neck of every walf of Allah." See Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 65.

¹²¹ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 45.

¹²² Ibid., p. 52.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 13. Dârâ quotes: "Whom He will love as they will love Him (5:57)."

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 57.

¹²⁶ Ibid. See also a different version of the same story in Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 166.

¹²⁷ Dârâ also reports a saying of 'Abd al-Qâdir which conveys the same message: "Once Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir said to 'Umar Bazâz that if a person is among my followers and he commits an error, I will help him till the day of judgement." (See Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 51). Similarly he quotes Abû al-Wafâ saying: "O 'Abd al-Qâdir, today is our time while in the near future your time will come [when] the voices of the cocks of others will no longer crow, while yours will continue (to crow) till the day of judgement." (See idem, *Sakîna*, p. 17.)

¹²⁸ Idem, *Safîna*. p. 52.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

¹³⁰ Hussaini, *Gîsûdirâz*, p. 52. Hussaini also quotes Simmânî's saying that "His spirit becomes similar to the eye of the Prophet Muḥammad." See ibid., p. 95.

¹³¹ In this context, Dârâ implies that whosoever has entered the house of 'Abd al-Qâdir has found something no matter be he a walf or a thief. See Dârâ, *Safîna*. p. 47.

¹³² Dârâ, *Safîna*, pp. 47-48.

¹³³ Ibid. p. 43.

¹³⁴ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 16.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.; idem, *Safîna*, p. 49.

¹³⁷ Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 22.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 25.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 51-52.

¹⁴⁷ Idem, *Hasanât*, p. 70.

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter I, p. 13.

¹⁴⁹ *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 53.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 29. See above, p. 27, n.145.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 29f.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 23.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

¹⁵⁶ For example *Dârâ* relates an anecdote according to which the wife of Mullâ Hâmîd -- a neophyte of Miyân Mîr -- complained to Miyân Mîr that her husband had forgotten his marital responsibilities after joining the silsila. Miyân Mîr, instead of asking his follower to go back and to fulfill his worldly responsibilities, told Mullâ's wife that what she wanted from Mullâ is impossible because this is the peculiarity of his *shughal* (lit. occupation). See *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 92.

¹⁵⁷ See above, p. 100.

¹⁵⁸ *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 39.

¹⁵⁹ He was a friend of Yôgîs such as Bâbâ Lâl and Sikh Guru Har Goind. See Lajwanti, *Panjâbî*, p. 5. Also see above, p. 37.

¹⁶⁰ *Dârâ, Sakîna*, p. 44.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 45; often cited as *ḥadīth*, this saying is also one of the classical definitions of Sufism. See Landolt, *Révélateur*, p. 202. n. 58.

¹⁶² *Dārâ, Sakîna*, p. 45.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 71-72.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 100-125.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 58-59.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid. Bahâ' al-Dîn Zakariyyâ Multânî was a Suhrawardî Sufi Master of the 13th century. He had good friendly terms with the officials as opposed to the Chishtî Sufis who were more popular amongst the masses. In the words of Schimmel, *Dimensions*, p. 352:

"Bahâ' uddîn was more formal and had fixed hours for visitors who were invited to partake in meals. And he was willing to mix freely with members of the ruling classes - just as Abû Ḥafṣ (Umar Suhrawardî himself had served the caliph an-Nâṣir."

¹⁷³ *Dārâ, Sakîna*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 67f.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁷⁷ Reference to this *ḥadīth* can be found in Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, p. 137. Also see Landolt, *Révélateur*, Persian text, pp. 88, 120; French introduction, p. 103, n. 136.

¹⁷⁸ *Dārâ, Sakîna*, p. 152.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 155.

180 Ibid., pp. 154-55.

181 Ibid., p. 165.

182 Ibid., p. 166.

183 Dârâ, Sakîna, p. 165. Sheikh Ikram in *Raud-i Kauthar*, p. 384 quotes Mullâ Shâh's verse:

*panja dar panja-i Khudâ dâram,
man cheh parwâh-i Muṣṭafa dâram*

184 Dârâ, Sakîna, p. 154.

185 Ibid., p. 155.

186 Ibid., pp. 156-57. He points out, however, that *ḥabs-i dam* was introduced by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir. For such practices, see H. Landolt's introduction to *Révélateur*, pp. 38-50.

187 Dârâ, Sakîna, p. 164.

188 Ibid., pp. 167-68.

189 Ibid., p. 167.

190 Ibid., p. 157.

191 Ibid., p. 158.

192 Ibid., pp. 168-69.

193 Ibid.

194 Ibid., p. 174.

195 Ibid., p. 160.

196 Ibid., pp. 160-61. Regarding Khidr's ignorance about those loved by God, also see above, p. 117. For detail about Khidr, see A. J. Wensinck, "al-Khaḍir," *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, pp. 232-35.

197 Dârâ, Sakîna, p. 166.

198 Ibid., p. 161.

199 Hussaini, *Gisûdirâz*, p. 53.

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid., p. 54.

²⁰² Jâvêd, *Muslim Fikr*, pp. 105-08, 131-32, 154-55.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 116.

²⁰⁴ Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, I, 238ff., referring to Kulaynî.

²⁰⁵ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 74-83.

²⁰⁶ Idem, *Ḥasanât*, p. 52. Also see below, p. 163.

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 31, n. 169.

²⁰⁸ Dârâ, *Risâla*, p. 13.

²⁰⁹ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 86.

²¹⁰ Landolt, "Walâyah, p. 319f.

²¹¹ Shaykh Sa'd al-Dîn-i Ḥamûya (d.650/1252-53) was a disciple of Shaykh Najm al-Dîn al-Kubrâ. Ḥamûya's influence on later Sufism has not yet been studied. Dârâ quotes his "shaṭḥ" in *Ḥasanât*, p. 39f. Also see *Majma'* in *Muntakhabât*, p. 22.

²¹² Sa'd al-Dîn Ḥamûya, *al-Miṣbâḥ fî al-Taṣawwuf*, ed. by N. Mayel Heravi (Tehran: Intishârât-i Mowla, 1362 solar H.), p. 137. For complete translation of the passage into French see Landolt, *Révêlateur*, p. 76. Isfarâ'îni's explanation of the qâb in "qâb qawsayn" (Quran: 53: 9), seen as inversion of 'bâq" (i.e. bâqîn of Quran: 16: 96), may be mentioned in this context. For him bâq descends from 'aḥad to Aḥmad and qâb ascends from Aḥmad to aḥad. Aḥmad corresponds to tafrîqa and aḥad corresponds to Jam'. See H. Landolt, *Révêlateur*, p. 122.



²¹³ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 86-87.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 86.

²¹⁷ According to Dârâ, he was 'one of the *kharâbâtiyyan* (lit. haunter of taverns) i.e. wanderers and "free ones" of his time. See Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 58.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 58.

²¹⁹ Landolt, *Révélateur*, p. 119f n. 188.

²²⁰ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 191-195. This verse is famous for the expression of the highest mystical state; see Afîfî's "*Ta'liqât*," in *Fuṣûṣ*, p. 314. Also see Landolt, *Correspondance*, Persian text, p. 44.

²²¹ For Dârâ *imân-i ḥaqîqî* ("true belief" or "faith") is *irfân* (gnosticism) which is the highest level and third type of *imân*. According to him 'there are three types of *imân*: 1. *imân-i 'awâmm* (faith of the people) 2. *imân-i khawâṣṣ* (faith of special people) and 3. *imân-i akḥaṣṣ al-khawâṣṣ* (faith of the very special people). See Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 172.

²²² Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 170.

²²³ Ibid., pp. 187-88.

²²⁴ Ibn al-ʿArabi, *Fuṣûṣ*, pp. 68ff. Also see Dârâ, *Majmaʿ*, pp. 99-101.

²²⁵ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 51. Also see above, p. 112, n. 92.

²²⁶ Dârâ, *Safîna*, p. 51.

²²⁷ Ibid., 51-52.

²²⁸ Idem, *Sakîna*, p.2.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Idem, *Ḥasanât*, p. 22, his explanation is akin to Ayn al-Quḍât's. See H. Landolt, "Two Types of Mystical Thought in Muslim Iran," (hereafter "Mystical Thought") *Muslim World*, LXVIII (1978), 187-204.

²³¹ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 3.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Dârâ, *Majmaʿ*, p. 75; Dârâ has not given any explanation of the *ḥadîth*. It would be interesting to compare his symbolic narration with Ibn al-ʿArabi's idea of the 'missing brick' for the 'seal of prophecy'. See Ibn al-ʿArabi, *Fuṣûṣ*, p. 63.

²³⁴ Dârâ, *Majma'*, p. 75.

²³⁵ Idem, *Ḥasanât*, p. 3. A similar type of allegory can be found in Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's work *Mirṣād*. Rāzī has used the allegory of bread instead of grape. See *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād ilā al-Maʿad*, edited by M. A. Riyāḥī (Tehran, 1973), p. 147-52. Also see Hussaini, *Gīṣūdirāz*, p. 80, where instead of bread or grape Gīṣūdirāz has used the allegory of *nabāt* (finest sugar).

²³⁶ Dârâ, *Majma'*, pp. 99-101.

²³⁷ Al-ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadīya is one of the fundamental notions of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see Chodkiewicz, *Sceau*, Chapter IV.

²³⁸ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, pp. 77-78.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 78.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 75.

²⁴¹ Rizvi, *History*, I, p. 339, quotes from the English translation of Shabīstarī's *Gulshan-i Rāz*:

"the One (*aḥad*) was made manifest in the *mīm* of Aḥmad.

In this circuit the first emanation became the last.

A single *mīm* divides *aḥad* from Aḥmad.

The world is immersed in one *mīm*."

²⁴² See Hussaini, *Gīṣūdirāz*, p. 81, where he quotes Gīṣūdirāz:

"God manifested Himself on three degrees. From 'One' (*aḥad*) He revealed Himself to the 'most praiseworthy' (*aḥmad*) and then to the 'praised one' (Muḥammad). The letter 'm' (*mīm*) in Aḥmad is a veil over Aḥad."

²⁴³ A similar type of idea is expressed in one of the verses of *ʿAṭṭār* in *Ilāḥināmā*, translated by J. A. Boyle into English (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), p. 16.: "The *mīm* of Aḥmad fell out, it became Aḥad; and all duality became unity."

²⁴⁴ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 59, quotes a poem of Muḥammad Sharīf:

"*buwad Aḥmad aḥad, bī mīm-i mawḥūm.*"

²⁴⁵ In one of his popular folk poems Bulhe Shâh says;

"Aḥad Aḥmad wich farq na Bulheyâ"

which means: There is no difference between Aḥmad and aḥad.

²⁴⁶ Schimmel, *Dimensions*, pp. 224, 419; also see Carl W. Ernst, *Words*, p. 76; Dârâ also quotes a similar ḥadīth in *Ḥasanât* on p. 4 as a *shaḥ* of the Prophet Muḥammad, without mentioning that it is a part of ḥadīth-i qudsī.

²⁴⁷ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 32.

²⁴⁸ Ibid. (Read *nūr-i Muḥammadun' rasûl Allâh*).

²⁴⁹ See Landolt, "Mystical Thought", pp. 187-204.

²⁵⁰ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 24. According to a tradition, there were times when the Prophet Muḥammad was completely alone in the presence of God. One famous example was during the *mi'râj* (night of ascension). At a place known as *sidrat al-muntahâ*, Gabriel told the Prophet Muḥammad that if he would go beyond that point, his wings would get burnt, therefore the Prophet should proceed alone. See Landolt, *Révélateur*, p. 111f.

²⁵¹ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 24.

²⁵² See above, pp. 80-81.

²⁵³ Dârâ, *Majma'*, pp. 99-102.

²⁵⁴ See above, p. 81.

²⁵⁵ Dârâ, *Majma'*, p. 99.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 99-100.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 100.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibn al-ʿArabî, *Fuṣûṣ*, p. 68ff.

²⁶¹ Dârâ, *Majma'*, p. 99. Similar expressions are found in *Ḥasanât*, p. 2-3. Also see above, pp. 76, 107.

²⁶² Ibn al-ʿArabî, *Fuṣûṣ*, p. 192.

- ²⁶³ Dârâ, *Majma'*, p. 100.
- ²⁶⁴ For details see H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele* (Leyden, 1955), index s.v.
- ²⁶⁵ One can presume that Dârâ was influenced by Ayn al-Quḍât who uses such terms as *sharî'at-parast* (lit. worshipper of *sharî'a*). See Landolt, "Mystical Thought," pp. 187-204.
- ²⁶⁶ Dârâ, *Majma'*, p. 100.
- ²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 101.
- ²⁶⁸ Ibn al-ʿArabî, *Fuṣûṣ*, p. 70.
- ²⁶⁹ Dârâ, *Majma'*, p. 101.
- ²⁷⁰ See above, pp. 101-102.
- ²⁷¹ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 83.
- ²⁷² Ibid.
- ²⁷³ For example see Miyân Mîr's discussion with ʿAbd al-Ḥakîm Sialkotî. See Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 50-51.
- ²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 93. For the details of the Sufi perception of *shahâda*, see A. Schimmel, "The Sufis and the *Shahâda*," *Islam's Understanding of Itself*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian and Speros Vryonis, Jr. (Malibu, California: Undena Publications, 1983), pp. 103-25.
- ²⁷⁵ Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 86.
- ²⁷⁶ Ibid., 69.
- ²⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 187-89.
- ²⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 187-88.
- ²⁷⁹ Ibid., 188.
- ²⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ²⁸¹ See above, pp. 22f., 77.
- ²⁸² Dârâ, *Sakîna*, pp. 9, 11, 62.
- ²⁸³ See Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, index.
- ²⁸⁴ Ibid.

285 Ibid.

286 Idem, *Sakîna*, p. 77.

287 Ibid.

288 Dârâ, *Sakîna*, p. 63.

289 Ibid.

290 Idem, *Ḥasanât*, p. 26.

291 Ibid., p. 17.

292 Ibid.

293 See above, pp. 158ff.

294 Naṣîr al-Dîn (Uḡayd Allāh Aḥrâr (d.895/1490) was a famous Naqshbandî Sufi from whom the Indian Naqshbandiyya trace their spiritual descent. It is noteworthy that Dârâ quotes a Naqshbandî Sufi. This also supports the argument that at the time of Dârâ there was no real hostility among the Sufi silsilas. See above, pp. 23f.

295 Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 48.

296 Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 40.

297 Ibid.

298 Ibid., p. 54.

299 Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 52.

300 Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 49.

301 Haurt and Massignon, "Les entretiens," pp. 290-91.

302 Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 53.

303 Ibid., p. 49.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of Dârâ's concept of wilâya shows that he initially defined it along traditional lines but that he gradually developed an extended view. In a number of ways, his understanding of the different aspects of wilâya was an echo of the Sufi doctrine already formulated before him. The qualities of a walî, for example, were akin to the qualities described in traditional Sufi literature. That is, a walî was a gnostic ('ârif), a learned man ('âlim) a miraculous person and a means to reach God. Similar qualities were reflected in the biographies of all his Sufi Masters. Furthermore the awliyâ', inasmuch as they were the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad, were the best of mankind and even better in terms of knowledge than the "Prophets of Banî Isrâ'îl." As for those awliyâ' who were gnostics, even the veil of Muḥammad did not exist.¹

Dârâ appears to have extended the above concept by including a Hindu Yôgî in the lists of awliyâ' and 'ârifân. Although he does not give any reason for this inclusion, his granting the status of walî and 'ârif to a Hindu had important implications.

The first implication is related to Dârâ's understanding of other religions. His own heritage illustrates that preceding emperors (such as Akbar and

Jahângîr), and Sufis (such as Mullâ Shâh and Miyân Mîr), gave importance to Hindu Yôgis.² Furthermore, Dârâ's attachment to the Qâdiriyya silsila and his training under Mullâ Shâh, highlight a significant development in his Sufi thought. Since Mullâ Shâh was more outspoken in his teaching of the "doctrine of oneness" and more relaxed in his approach to others than Miyân Mîr,³ one may infer that Mullâ Shâh's influence may have played a vital role in Dârâ's understanding of other religions. However, none of the above (emperors and Sufi Masters) delegated to a Hindu Yôgi the status of walî. This seems to be Dârâ's most significant step. This unprecedented move on his part granted a recognition to Hinduism which in the later part of his life developed into the belief that Hindu scriptures were amongst the revealed books.⁴

According to Dârâ, Bâbâ Lâl, although Hindu, had reached *ma'rifa* and had become an *ârif*. To reach the status of an *ârif* i.e. to reach *ma'rifa*, a Muslim walî follows the *sharî'a* of the Prophet and becomes a *murîd* of a Sufi Master. This did not seem to apply to Bâbâ, who was following another religion. However, given Ibn al-ʿArabî's strong influence on the formation of Dârâ's universal and all-comprehensive concept of "*ḥaqîqat-i Muḥammadî*," and his insistence on Muḥammad's being the all-comprehensive prophet, Dârâ seems to suggest that anyone who preaches or follows the comprehensive teachings rather than *tanzîh* or

tashbîh separately, follows the Prophet Muḥammad. It is, therefore, not surprising that he would have included this particular Hindu "gnostic" among the highest *awliyâ*'.

It appears that Dârâ conceptualized all religions in terms of higher and lower levels of people, i.e. those who have reached the stage of gnosis and are the "perfect ones" and those who belong to the general milieu and are "imperfect". Within Hinduism, he explains this idea at least twice by referring to Bâbâ Lâl. In the "Dialogue", Bâbâ tells him that those who worship idols are beginners in faith, because their act is similar to that of a small girl playing with dolls. Those who reach the higher stage, however, go beyond the exoteric aspect and do not hold such worship in high esteem.⁵ The act of worshipping idols can be compared to those who only follow the *tashbîhî* aspect of *nubuwwa* or *wilâya*, whereas those who reach the highest state of the gnosis (*ma'rifa*) follow the comprehensiveness of both *tanzîh* and *tashbîh*. At another place Bâbâ explains to Dârâ that every community has at least one gnostic who will become a means of salvation for the entire community. Therefore no community stands condemned and unredeemed.⁶ These references suggest that Dârâ understood every religion to be a channel through which people may reach the stage of *ma'rifa*. All those reaching this stage become *ârifân* and transcend the bondages of their respective religions.

To believe that any other religion was equal to Islam was a heresy for Sharī'a-minded Muslims and 'ulamā'.⁷ Although Dārā's belief seemed to be a heretical step, seeds of his thought could already be found in the writings of earlier Sufis such as 'Ayn al-Quḍāt.⁸ According to 'Ayn al-Quḍāt, an 'ārif had to pass through Muḥammad -- in a sense the greatest paradox and greatest veil -- to see the Truth.⁹ This could imply that those who had already reached the stage of 'ārif or muwaḥḥid transcended the bondage of any particular prophet or religion.

Another implication of Dārā's thought is that at the plane of ma'rifa and waḥda, wilāya is higher than nubūwā. If a walī is a muwaḥḥid or an 'ārif then he is not in need of the guidance of a particular prophet. For Sharī'a-minded 'ulamā' and even for some Sufis, this concept was ultimately against their belief in the exclusive revelatory role of prophecy which was sealed with the Prophet Muḥammad.

It thus appears that Dārā's Sufi thought provided the foundation for his universalist approach towards other religions. However, his image as a Sufi was overshadowed by his image as an "universalist" and a "syncretist." This was probably due to the political motives of his adversaries and court officials which contributed to the view emphasizing his syncretistic aspirations rather than his commitment to Sufism.

The political implication of Dârâ's concept of wilâya requires a careful study. A number of pertinent questions arise, such as: 1) whether his inclination towards Sufism and the extension of his thought towards other religions, especially Hinduism, was a cause for his defeat at the hands of Aurangzêb; 2) whether he was unpopular amongst the Sharî'a-minded Muslims due to his understanding of the religion, and whether this played a vital role in his downfall; or, 3) whether these are images which were superimposed by later scholars and historians who based their studies on the biased reports of hostile court historians. These issues require a careful examination of the events in the historical socio-political perspective and do not fall within the domain of the present study. Nonetheless, Dârâ's recognition of Hinduism gave Aurangzêb an opportunity to distort the former's image during the "war of succession." This distortion could ultimately have become one of the factors which contributed to Dârâ's death.

NOTES

- ¹ See above, p. 149-50.
- ² See above, pp. 15¹19, 21f.
- ³ See above, pp. 133ff.
- ⁴ See Dârâ, Introduction to Sirr-i Akbar, p. 4.
- ⁵ See above, p. 164.
- ⁶ Dârâ, *Ḥasanât*, p. 49.
- ⁷ For example see above, p. 46 n. 61.
- ⁸ See above, p. 150.
- ⁹ Ibid.

APPENDIX

Supplementary list of works attributed to Dârâ:

The following works are attributed to Dârâ according to various secondary sources. For further details, see the sources mentioned below.

1. Bayâd (Anthology): See Mahfuz-ul-Haq's introduction to *Majma'*, p. 15; Makhdoom Rahîn's introduction to *Ḥasanât*, p. 15.

2. Introduction to the album presented by Dârâ to Nâdira. (*Muraqqa'*) See Mahfuz-ul-Haq's introduction to *Majma'*, p. 15; Makhdoom Rahîn's introduction to *Ḥasanât*, p. 15.

3. Risâla-i Ma'ârif: See Mahfuz-ul-Haq's introduction to *Majma'*, p. 15.

4. Nâdir-un-Nikât: See Mahfuz-ul-Haq's introduction to *Majma'* p. 16; Nâ'inî's introduction to *Sakîna*, p. 36; Sheo Naṭain, "Dârâ," p. 25.

5. Mathnavî: See Mahfuz-ul-Haq's introduction to *Majma'*, p. 16; Makhdoom Rahîn's introduction to *Ḥasanât*, p. 15.

6. Autobiography: See Sheo Narain, "Dârâ," p. 25.

7. Iksîr-i A'zam or Dîwân-i Dârâ Shikûh: See Mahfuz-ul-Haq's introduction to Majma', p. 16; Hasrat, Dârâ Shikûh, p. xvi; Rizvi, History, II, 145.

8. Tarîqat-ul-Haqîqat: See Hasrat, Dârâ Shikûh, p. xvi; Makhdoom Rahîn's introduction to Hasanât, p. 15. According to Jalâlî Nâ'inî, Tarîqat-ul-Haqîqat is another name of Risâla-i Ma'ârif. See Nâ'inî, introduction to Sakîna, p. 36.

9. Risâla-i su'âl wa jawâb Dârâ Shukûh wa Fateh 'Alî Qalandar: See Makhdoom Rahîn's introduction to Hasanât, p. 14.

10. Safîna-i Bahr al-Muhîr (Two letters of Dârâ written to Muhibb Allâh and Dilrubâ): See Jalâlî Nâ'inî's introduction to Sakîna, p. 35.

11. Hâjât-i-Shikûh: See Sheo Narain, "Dârâ," p. 24.

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